VERDI AND THE EVOLUTION OF THE AIDA LIBRETTO

By

JOHN RICHARD KITSON

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M.Mus., The University of British Columbia, 1973

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ABSTRACT

Study of the documentation pertaining to the evolution of Verdi's operas from *Ernani* (1844) to *Falstaff* (1893) reveals that, in many cases, the composer was pre-eminently the creator of large parts of the texts. Verdi worked very closely with his poets and other advisors preparing and reviewing synopses and groundplans, writing scenarios and draft prose librettos, before the versification of the final text was undertaken.

Draft libretto materials and the correspondence between Verdi and his librettists are in various states of preservation. With the exception of *Aida*, however, not a single opera is represented by a complete array of preparatory libretto materials and correspondence that represents each step in the construction of a versified libretto.

A complete collection of the autograph libretto documents for *Aida* (1870-71) exists in Verdi's villa at Sant'Agata. The collection contains a French-language scenario by Auguste Mariette; modifications made to the scenario by Camille Du Locle and Verdi; a prose libretto for the complete opera written by Verdi; and the drafts and revisions of the versified libretto written by Antonio Ghislanzoni under Verdi's supervision.

For a considerable time these autograph mss. were not available for study. In 1979, the American Institute for Verdi Studies in New York received permission to film the collection for its archive. Study and comparison of these texts has made it possible to explore fully the extent of Verdi's involvement in the creation of the *Aida* libretto and, ultimately, to recognize him as principal librettist for this opera.
This dissertation contains eight chapters and seven appendices. Chapter I explores the extent of Verdi's participation in the writing of the librettos for his operas (except Aida). Chapter II studies the musicological literature dealing with Verdi as librettist. The peculiar history of the scholarly (and unscholarly) literature about the Aida libretto is reconstructed in Chapter III. Chapter IV recounts the genesis of the Aida project in the light of Verdi's correspondence. Chapter V comprises a comparison of Mariette's scenario and the modifications made to it by Verdi and Du Locle. Verdi's prose libretto, which is based on the Mariette scenario and the modifications as well as new material written by Verdi himself, is studied in Chapter VI. Of particular interest is the fact that in his prose libretto Verdi created a musical masterplan for the entire opera: throughout the new text, the composer imposed his musical requirements by prescribing the layout of the recitative and lyrical sections when such treatment was not easily discernable in the prose dialogue. Chapter VII explains the lack of order in the manuscript containing Ghislanzoni's first draft and revisions of the versified Aida libretto. In the final chapter, the Ghislanzoni manuscript is studied in the light of Verdi's extensive role in the versification process. Four pertinent facts are made clear: Verdi provided Ghislanzoni with the complete prose libretto, which served as the basis of the versification; Verdi continued to create new prose models for scenes he perceived to be perplexed by serious faults once he had studied Ghislanzoni's poetry or had attempted to set it to music; the composer insisted that the poet retain all items of dialogue and stage directions given in Verdi's model libretto; by a continuous interchange of letters with Ghislanzoni, Verdi exposed a whole
series of interrelated problems in Ghislanzoni's drafts, and proposed possible solutions for each. Clearly, Verdi was principal librettist of this opera.

The seven appendices contain texts from the autograph manuscripts given in microfilm 56 in the Archive, American Institute for Verdi Studies, New York, translations of Italian-language librettos contained therein, and an overview of Italian prosody.
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CHAPTER I

VERDI AND THE LIBRETTOs OF HIS OPERAS

In June 1875, Verdi undertook to conduct performances of his Messa da Requiem and Aida at the Hopfoperntheater in Vienna as part of a festival dedicated to the composer's works. During his stay in the city, Verdi was interviewed by a journalist of the Neue Freie Presse. Verdi's opinions with respect to the state of musical-dramatic composition in the third quarter of the century and his reminiscences of his previous visit to the city almost a half century earlier appeared subsequently in the Viennese newspaper.1 Owing to the significance of the interview, the article was given wider circulation through its immediate reprinting in the June issue of the Signale für die Musikalische Welt published in Leipzig.2

The interviewer reported that his conversation with the composer had turned to a discussion about Wagner:

When we came to talk about Wagner, Verdi remarked that the great genius had rendered incalculable services to melodramatic [operatic] art, because he had had the courage to rid himself of the traditional decadent [baroque] forms. . . .3

1 As reported in "Verdi in Wien," Die Signale für die Musikalische Welt, 30 (1875), 465-67.

2 "Verdi in Wien."

3 "Verdi in Wien," p. 465: "Als wir im Gespräche auf Wagner kamen, bemerkte Verdi, dass dieses grosse Genie der melodramatischen Kunst
The inference of Verdi's statement, of course, had to do with Wagner's then revolutionary theories and practices concerning music and drama and, more particularly, his abandonment of set numbers in his mature operas.

Verdi continued with reference to his own attempts to blend music, text and action: "I too, have attempted the fusion of music and drama, . . . and that in Macbeth, but I could not versify my own librettos, as Wagner does." 

This does not imply, however, that Verdi played no role in the writing of texts for many of his operas, but rather that he was unable to create the final poetic (versified) texts for his operas, and was obliged in this respect to work in conjunction with professional librettists. Diverse evidence allows us to show that the geneses of a number of Verdi's librettos were, in fact, the result of a very aggressive part played by Verdi when collaborating with other writers. Moreover, the success of the actual versification was to some degree dependent upon Verdi's detailed suggestions and astute critical opinions concerning the poetry of other writers.

unberechenbare Dienste erwiesen habe, weil er den Muth hatte, sich der traditionellen barocken Formen zu entledigen. . . ." Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are by the present writer.

4 "Verdi in Wien," p. 465: "Die Berichtschmelzung der Musik mit dem Drama habe ich auch versucht, . . . und zwar in Macbeth, doch konnte ich mir nicht selbst die Textbücher dichten, wie Wagner es thut." It will be noted that in my translation I employ the verb "to versify" for the original verb dichten. In his English translation, Frank Walker ["Verdi and Vienna, Some Unpublished Letters," Musical Times, 92 (1951), 404] translates the verb as "to write" which greatly changes its meaning. However, an Italian-language translation of Walker's article ["Verdi a Vienna (con lettere inedite)," in Giuseppe Verdi, (Siena: Ticci, 1951), pp. 53-54] gives comporre, which means "to compose (poetry)," and, in this case, "to versify."
Previous studies of the extant documentation pertaining to the geneses of Verdi's librettos from *Ernani* (1844) to *Falstaff* (1893) suggest that, in many cases, the composer was preeminently the creator of large parts of the texts. Once the contract with an opera theatre was completed and the subject of a new opera was settled, Verdi frequently worked hand in hand with a poet and, in some cases, with other advisers preparing and reviewing various types of preparatory texts and thereafter overseeing their versification. Much of this material has been preserved and some of it has recently come to light. Types of preparatory materials created during the geneses of these operas were quite varied: groundplans, scenarios, synopses and prose draft librettos of individual scenes and acts, all written by Verdi, are extant. The same types of preparatory texts as well as drafts of versifications created by the composer's poets have also been preserved. Furthermore, a large part of Verdi's collaboration with his poets was conducted by letter, many of which have been preserved; the letters contain Verdi's detailed criticisms and suggestions and the responses of his poets.

Despite this extensive documentation, investigation of Verdi's role as librettist has, to date, proven to be problematical, for, until recently, no Verdi opera was known to be represented by a complete array of libretto materials. Many of the extant materials are incomplete fragments, and consist, for example, of drafts for single scenes or acts, or versifications of fragments of complete operas. Important correspondence between Verdi and his collaborators is also often missing. However, all the relevant libretto materials are, thanks to recently discovered sources, available for one opera, *Aida*. In order to understand the significance of the *Aida*
documents and, indeed, what they reveal about Verdi's creative process, it is important to gain an overview of what the literature reveals about Verdi's collaboration with his librettists.

During Verdi's lifetime, only one writer appears to have perceived the prominent role played by the composer in the writing of his librettos. In his widely-circulated biography of Verdi, first published in 1881, Arthur Pougin discussed, albeit briefly, this aspect of Verdi's activities:

What is generally unknown, is that, in principle, Verdi is the author of all his librettos. This is to say that not only does he always choose the subjects of his operas, but also that he traces the groundplans of the librettos, indicates all the situations therein, constructs them almost entirely with respect to the general plan, and introduces his personages and his characters in such a manner that his collaborator has no more than to follow his indications to complete the whole and to write the verses.⁵

Clearly Pougin understood one of the most crucial facts respecting Verdi's working methods and the scope of his influence in the development of an operatic text, for he outlines all the steps that led to a completed Verdi libretto. Pougin's reference to the disregard of these facts by other writers was to prove quite prophetic: until very recently, most Verdi

⁵ Arthur Pougin, Verdi: Histoire anecdotique de sa vie et de ses oeuvres. (Paris: Calmann Levy, 1886, p. 138): "Ce qu'on ignore généralement, c'est que, en principe, Verdi est l'auteur de tous ses poèmes. C'est-à-dire que non seulement il choisit toujours les sujets de ses opéras, mais encore qu'il trace le canevas des livrets, en indique toutes les situations, les construit presque entièrement en ce qui concerne le plan général, présente ses personnages et ses caractères, de telle façon, que son collaborateur n'a plus qu'à suivre ses indications, à parfaire l'ensemble et à écrire les vers."
scholars neglected or avoided the topic altogether. The unavailability of autograph documents and the lacunae in the correspondence prevented an even general appreciation of this important aspect of Verdi's creative process.

The recent resurgence of Verdi studies has again, however, focused attention to this question. William Weaver, for example, observes that:

Now, after several decades of Verdi studies, and after the publication of a large part (but still far from all) of his correspondence, we can at least attempt to divine what the composer wanted in a libretto, and we can base our attempt on his own words, on his choice of works for the opera stage (for his opera stage), and on his rejections for the works he considered unsuitable. Where a correspondence between composer and librettist survives, the Verdi scholar can see how Verdi demanded that his poet-collaborators forge their words and their dramas to meet his requirements.  

Martin Chusid comments about the variety of Verdi's roles in the preparation of an opera and explains briefly some aspects of the genesis of a typical Verdi libretto:

... his concern for every facet of the lyric theater rivaled that of his great contemporary, Wagner. All the original sources indicate that Verdi wrote, directed, or followed closely every phase of an operatic production: the choice of a subject; its condensation into a scenario or plot summary; the hammering out of the final text with the librettist, a difficult phase extending into the compositional process.  


Julian Budden, among others, stresses Verdi's concern for the number of syllables in each line of poetry, and the poetic diction of librettos prepared by his versifiers:

Most important of all, Ernani was Verdi's first collaboration with the hitherto unknown and inexperienced librettist Francesco Maria Piave. If by the mid-1850s Piave had become the most sought-after poet in Italy, it was because Verdi had created him. Quite different than other composer-librettist collaborations were the relations of Verdi and Piave. Here it was the composer who took the lead from the start, prescribing the lengths of the scenes and the ratio of the versi sciolti [broken lines] to lyrical lines, and never resting content until he had got the poet to provide him with exactly what he wanted. As the years went by he demanded an increasingly terse style of poetry in which the traditional circumlocutions give way to the parola scenica (Verdi's phrase) which "sculpts the situation."

The extent of Verdi's participation in the planning and writing of his librettos varied according to the conditions of specific contracts he secured with the managements of opera theatres. In his early operas written before 1844 Verdi does not appear to have assisted the poet to any great extent in the genesis or the versification of the text. Some of these cases involved prepared librettos written at the request of theatre managements before a specific composer was contracted to provide the music. Others, however, involved a particular poet to whom Verdi entrusted the execution of all details of the libretto. In any case, all the prepared librettos belong to the first part of his lengthy career and it is possible that the

passive role he took in certain cases was partly based on his relative inexperience as an opera composer.

Nonetheless, it is difficult to assess precisely those operas for which Verdi did not require some minor change in the libretto structure or text, owing to the fact that all the evidence for such an assessment—in particular, the correspondence and autograph drafts—have not, as yet, come to light. For example, it was believed, until recently, that Felice Romani's libretto for Verdi's second opera *Un giorno di regno* (1840) was not revised. At least there was no evidence that any request for revision came from Verdi.9 But Romani's libretto had been set by Gyrowetz in 1818 under its original title, *Il finto Stanislao* and, conversant with this fact, Roger Parker made a comparison of the original text set by Gyrowetz and the text set by Verdi. The examination shows that the latter is considerably shortened.10 However, it cannot at present be proven that Verdi demanded the excisions and Budden expresses doubt that the composer undertook or requested the reduction owing to the lack of his written instructions in this matter. Indeed, Budden suggests that the revision was the work of another librettist, Temistocle Solera, "resident poet and 'dramaturge' of La Scala, Milan."11

Verdi himself claimed that he had little or no hand in the preparation of the librettos for three early operas commissioned by the management of

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the Teatro alla Scala in Milan and written and revised by this same Solera: Oberto, Conte di San Bonifacio (1839), Nabucco (1842) and I Lombardi alla prima crociata (1843).12 In a letter addressed to Guglielmo Brenna, secretary of the Gran Teatro la Fenice in Venice, Verdi explains his reluctance to interfere in the making of Solera's librettos:

For my part I would never want to vex a poet to change a line for me: and I wrote the music for three librettos by Solera, and comparing the original, which I keep, with the printed librettos, one would not find other than a few lines changed, and these by Solera's own conviction.13

Verdi's strong statement about his passive role would appear to be true with respect to the Oberto and I Lombardi librettos for no evidence of a collaboration between the composer and Solera has come to light. However, in his recollections written in 1879, Verdi claimed that he had suppressed a love duet in the third act of Solera's original text for Nabucco and that he (Verdi) had demanded that the poet replace the duet with a prophecy.14

Solera also provided Verdi with the libretto for Giovanna d'Arco (1845)15

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14 Verdi's recollections are published in Pougin, Giuseppe Verdi: Vita aneddotica, pp. 45-46.

15 Andrew Porter, "Verdi and Schiller," in Opera Annual, III, 53, notes that identification of the originator of the source subject is prevented by "a nine-month lacuna in the composer's Copialettere from July 1844, which covers three months in which the opera was hastily composed..."
and all but the last act of *Attila* (1846). The final act of the latter was completed by Piave. In the absence of documentary evidence, it is reasonable to conclude that, as in the earlier operas with texts by Solera, Verdi did not interfere in the construction of the greatest part of these texts. However, with the employment of a new poet, completion of the final act of *Attila* was another matter and, in this instance, Verdi's influence can be observed in the concomitant correspondence that has come to light. We shall return shortly to consider Piave's role in the creation of Verdi's librettos.

Another circumstance, peculiar to the customs of the Milanese operatic management at La Scala, may also have hindered Verdi's intimate participation in the writing of librettos with Solera. Verdi's first four operas and *Giovanna d'Arco* were written under the terms of contracts with Bartolomeo Merelli, manager of the Teatro alla Scala. In a letter to Guglielmo Brenna, dated 25 September 1843, Verdi explained that the engagement and payment of librettists was, in general, the responsibility of the Milanese theatre's management. This fact may well explain, in part, Verdi's seeming reluctance to criticize Solera's texts or to request any changes in their structure or poetic content.

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18 Verdi's letter is reproduced in Nordio, p. 21.
Verdi also appears to have played no part in the formation of the texts of two other operas written after 1844 by two different writers: Alzira (1845), the first libretto by Salvatore Cammarano to be set to music by Verdi and I masnadieri (1847), with libretto by Andrea Maffei. It is somewhat difficult to reconcile Verdi's indifference to the preparation of these two librettos, for, by 1844, as we shall see, the composer had already begun to participate actively in the creation of texts for his operas. Cammarano and Maffei, however, were highly respected in their fields: the former was the official librettist-poet and resident stage director at the Teatro San Carlo in Naples, while the latter was a well-known poet and translator and a member of Milan's intelligentsia. Budden has attempted to explain Verdi's apparent passivity with respect to the texts of these two operas:

Cammarano's reputation and perhaps the fact that his libretto [Alzira] was being paid for by the management, resulted in an even more passive attitude on Verdi's part than he adopted over [Solera's] Giovanna d'Arco.  

and with respect to Maffei's text for I masnadieri:

There are no impatient letters exchanged between Milan and London; no demands for alteration of metre here and an extra strophe there; merely an isolated request that part of the second act be revised in the interest of theatrical effect.

In fact, Verdi and Maffei had sketched the draft libretto for I masnadieri


20 Budden, The Operas of Verdi, I, 319-20.
during a holiday at Recoaro in May 1846 but when the work was composed it would seem that Verdi set it as it stood.

Verdi's earlier reluctance to interfere in the making of librettos for his operas changed considerably at the time of his first commission outside Milan. Verdi was engaged by the management of the Gran Teatro la Fenice in Venice to compose an opera for the 1843-44 carnevale-quaresima (Lent) season and, for the first time, the composer worked on the libretto in collaboration with his poet. The complicated genesis of this opera serves well to demonstrate the sort of interaction that was to be typical of Verdi in his dealings with the majority of his librettists and theatre managements during the remainder of his career.

The opera in question, of course, was Ernani but at the time the first contract was signed no actual title was specified. The terms of the management's first contract were not entirely suitable to Verdi and among the adjustments he made to the original conditions were the specifications that the composer (il maestro) was to be responsible for the libretto, the choice of the subject and the selection of the poet-librettist. On the advice of Brenna, the secretary of the Theatre, a would-be librettist, Francesco Maria Piave, contacted Verdi by letter suggesting the use of his already-written libretto based on Victor Hugo's Cromwell. Verdi and Piave reached


22 Verdi's discussion of the contract in a letter to Moncenigo (President of the Teatro la Fenice) is reproduced in Nordio, pp. 15-16.

23 The letter is reproduced in Nordio, p. 18.
a decision by which Piave's *Cromvello* libretto would be reworked from Walter Scott's *Woodstock*, and renamed *Allan Cameron*. The reworking of a libretto was not unusual and often involved the grafting of a new locale, a new epoch and new characters to the original plot. In this case, such alterations would appear to have been predicated by the fear of a refusal by the Venetian censor of a license for any setting of Hugo's controversial play. Revision of the *Allan Cameron* libretto was conducted through the interchange of letters between composer and poet and in them one perceives the emergence of Verdi's powerful personality. The libretto completed, Verdi and the President of the Theatre, the Marquis Nanni Moncenigo, met to discuss the text and together (Verdi and Moncenigo) prepared a revised draft of *Allan Cameron*: the title of the revision was changed to *Cromvello* and this important and politically dangerous character was re-introduced into the action. During the meeting, however, Moncenigo appears to have suggested Hugo's *Hernani* as a possible source for operatic treatment by Verdi. The composer's enthusiasm for this revolutionary romantic drama was enormous: *Cromvello* was immediately abandoned and Verdi consented to pay Piave a

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24 See Budden, *The Operas of Verdi*, I, 140 in which the author dismisses Scott's *Woodstock* as the source of the *Cromvello* libretto. A re-examination by the same writer of the novel and the libretto, the latter was used by Pacini in 1848, however, proves the connection to be true. See Budden, *The Operas of Verdi*, III, vii.

25 For the letters that have come to light, see Abbiati, I, 471-73.

26 As explained in Nordio, pp. 21-22.
compensation fee for the latter's work on the rejected libretto.\footnote{Verdi's letter to Brenna, dated 29 September 1843, is reproduced in Nordio, pp. 21-22.}

The text of the new opera, *Ernani*, was first prepared in the form of a groundplan, a list of possible scenes interspersed with the skeleton of the action. Moncenigo and Piave reworked the original Hugo scheme for the first two acts but when they suggested rearrangement of the last two acts Verdi demanded the retention of their original layout. Verdi's ensuing correspondence with the management of the Fenice Theatre about Piave's versification of the libretto shows the composer to have taken an aggressive part in the formation of the text.\footnote{Budden, *The Operas of Verdi*, I, 143-45, contains a synopsis of the evolution of the libretto, based upon the more complete fasicle *La genesi d'Ernani* by Sandro Della Libera.}

Indeed, the Verdi-Piave collaboration was not without its share of problems and in a letter dated 15 November 1843, from Verdi to Brenna, the composer addresses his assessment of Piave's shortcomings and explains his (Verdi's) exacting demands:

> In your letter I find that Piave would like to come to an agreement with me so as to avoid as far as possible the necessity of changes once the work is finished. . . . Signor Piave has never written [for the theatre], and therefore it is natural that he is wanting in these things. For example, where will you find a woman who will sing in succession a grand cavatina, a duet that ends in a trio, and a whole finale, as in the first act of *Ernani*?

> Signor Piave will produce good reasons for me, but I have others, and I reply that the lungs will not bear this effort. Where will you find a composer who can set to music, without boring the hearer, 100 lines of Recitative as in this third act? In all four acts of *Nabucco* or *I Lombardi* you will not find surely more
than 100 lines of Recitative. And the same can be said of many other little things.

You, who have been so kind to me, please make Piave understand these things and convince him. However slight my experience may be, I still go to the theater all the year, and I am very alert: I have seen for myself that many compositions would not have failed if there had been a better distribution in the numbers, better calculated effects, clearer musical forms. . . . in short if there had been a greater experience both in the poet and in the composer. So many times a Recitative that is too long, a phrase, a sentence that would be very beautiful in a book, and even in a spoken drama, is laughable in a sung drama.²⁹

Verdi and Piave were to collaborate on eight other texts—I due Foscari (1844), Macbeth (1847 and the rifacimento for Paris in 1865), Stiffelio (1850), Rigoletto (1851), La traviata (1853), Simon Boccanegra (1857), Aroldo (the 1857 rifacimento of Stiffelio) and La forza del destino (1862)—and their artistic interaction that lasted for almost two decades has

²⁹ Reproduced in Nordio, p. 24:
"Nella sua lettera trovo che Piave amerebbe d'intendersi meco per evitare il più possibile la necessità di cambiamenti a lavoro finito. . . . Il Sig. Piave non hai mai scritto, e quindi è naturale che in queste cose manchi. Difatti chi sarà quella donna che canterà di seguito una gran cavatina, un duetto che finisce in terzetto, ed un intiero finale come è in questo primo atto Dell'Ernani? Il Sig. Piave avrà delle buone ragioni da addurmi, ma io ne ho delle altre e rispondo che i polmoni non reggono a questa fatica. Chi sarà quel maestro che potrà metter in musica senza seccare cento versi di recitativo come in questo terz'atto? In tutti interi i quattro atti del Nabucco, o dei Lombardi non troverà sicuramente più di cento versi di Recitativo. E sia detto così di tante altre piccole cose.

Lei che ha tanta bontà per me prego di far capire queste cose a Piave e persuaderlo. Per quanto poca esperienza io mi possa avere, vado nonostante in teatro tutto l'anno, e sto attento moltissimo: ho toccato con mano che tante composizioni non sarebbero cadute se vi fossero state miglior distribuzione dei pezzi, meglio calcolati gli effetti, più chiare le forme musicali . . . . insomma se vi fosse stato maggior esperienza sì nel poeta che nel maestro. Tanto volto un recitativo troppo lungo, una frase, una sentenza che sarebbe belissima in un libro, ed anche in un dramma recitato, fan ridere in dramma cantato."
justly been called ideal and unique. Furthermore, Verdi and Piave worked together to draw up a synopsis for Il Corsaro but circumstances prevented the libretto's completion by means of their collaboration. When Verdi came to set this opera in 1848, the pressure of the short time of his contract obliged him to use a private libretto written independently by Piave.\(^{30}\) This was, indeed, an exceptional case.

So consistently great was Verdi's part in the writing of the important stages in the development of almost all of Piave's librettos that Gabriele Baldini considers the poet to have been little more than Verdi's amanuensis:

The collaboration between Verdi and Piave is not unimportant as a critical problem, and should not, as is usual, be regarded as an excuse to indulge in picturesque anecdotes. The meeting with Piave was far more important to Verdi's artistic formation than the later one with Boito, about which we hear so much, and the reason for this is quite simple: working with Piave was Verdi's first opportunity to work with himself. ... The relationship between Verdi and Piave is completely different [from the relationships of other well-known composers and librettists], and is closer to that between Mozart and Schikaneder. The composer completely dominates and enslaves the librettist, who becomes scarcely more than an instrument in his hands. This is the case with Piave, whose libretti are in fact those best suited to Verdi's music—even from a literary point of view they are much finer, in the sense of being better finished, than Boito's—simply because, in detail as well as in general shape, Verdi himself composed them.\(^{31}\)

This is, of course, the extreme point of view, but it does contain a large

\(^{30}\) See Budden, The Operas of Verdi, I, 363-65.

measure of truth and is very important in that it directly probes at the vital issue concerning the degree of Verdi's involvement in the geneses of the texts of many of his operas.

Another writer has investigated this aspect of the Verdi-Piave relationship but in this case the focus has been concentrated on a single opera. In a detailed study of the *Macbeth* libretto, Daniela Goldin is able to separate a portion of the contributions of Verdi and Piave and to determine their exact roles in the genesis of the completed text.\(^{32}\) Piave built the versified libretto on Verdi's prose text in which the dramatic structure of the opera was firmly established. In the process of versification, Piave "extended the poetic text" through the employment of an exceptional vocabulary and poetic techniques, the latter including structural inversion and metric variety.\(^{33}\) However, once Piave had completed his versification, Verdi reworked much of the *Macbeth* libretto in collaboration with another one of his poets, Andrea Maffei.

Without exception, the librettos of the remaining eleven original and revised Verdi operas were the result of a working relationship between the composer and professional librettists. Collaboration usually began once Verdi had secured a satisfactory contract—in which the composer retained control of the libretto—with the management of a particular theatre. As Verdi's career progressed, his publisher Giulio Ricordi came to act as


\(^{33}\) Goldin, pp. 355-61.
intermediary between the composer and the managers of various theatres and often assisted Verdi in the difficult search for suitable plot sources. In many cases, the terms of the contracts show that Verdi suggested, hired and paid the collaborating poet for his part in the making of the text, thereby retaining complete control over the shape and content of the libretto. Bruno Cagli perceived this after studying the conditions of Verdi's demands for a revision of the contract offered by the management of the Gran Teatro la Fenice for Cromvello—Allan Cameron—Ernani. After citing Verdi's response to the initial terms of the contract, Cagli observes:

Verdi does not agree that the Fenice may have the final say on the choice of the libretto. He prefers—as he was always to prefer afterward—to commission the opera at his own expense, thus guaranteeing himself the opportunity of supervising the writing.  

To varying degrees, Verdi's role in the preparation of his librettos with other librettists was similar to his relationship with Piave. Salvatore Cammarano was also Verdi's librettist for La battaglia di Legnano (1849), Luisa Miller (1849) and for a good part of Il trovatore (1853) and in the geneises of these operas Verdi came to be more aggressive with the Neapolitan poet than he had been with him in 1845 for the preparation of the text of Alzira. In fact, a study of the Verdi-Cammarano collaborations reveals a steady increase in Verdi's authority with respect to the details of the creation of an opera libretto.

The subject of *La battaglia di Legnano* was selected by Cammarano, who grafted the historical events of Frederick Barbarossa and the Lombard League in the twelfth century upon Joseph Méry's play *La Bataille de Toulouse* (1828). The latter was set in the nineteenth century. Cammarano enhanced his sources through the development of scenic effects and through the addition of choral pieces—the opera is associated with nineteenth-century Italian *risorgimento* sentiments—and even provided the composer with suggestions as to the musical settings for certain scenes. According to Budden, Verdi adopted some of Cammarano's ideas, altered others and added at least five new details himself: a scene, a role, a recitative, a *duettino* and an aria fused with choral passages.

The suggestion of the source of *Luisa Miller* also came from Cammarano, who prepared the extended synopsis used at the outset of the project. However, Verdi voiced his displeasure at the manner in which Cammarano had portrayed the main character. Although Verdi was unable to defend his position in this matter, he was able to convince the poet about many other changes he deemed necessary.

Details of the genesis of *Il trovatore* demonstrate Verdi's growing self-confidence: it was he who suggested Gutiérrez's romantic drama to Cammarano and he who was able to defend the choice against strong objections on the part of the conservative poet. Cammarano's scenario for *Il trovatore* was studied by Verdi in a mood of great disappointment and the composer's

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36 Selections from the Verdi-Cammarano correspondence are published in Porter, "Verdi and Schiller," 61-63.
response to the poet voiced major complaints and proffered suggestions for a number of important alterations. Verdi's own scenario for the last three acts of Il trovatore was attached to his letter of reply to Cammarano's scenario. Although the first stages of the genesis of this opera are available for study, documents revealing the continued interaction between Verdi and his librettist during the process of versification have not come to light. However, owing to the untimely death of Cammarano, the libretto had to be completed by Leone Emmanuele Bardare, this being accomplished under Verdi's strict supervision. The composer provided Bardare with a draft prose libretto and copious instructions as to his requirements. The resultant text had indeed emerged from a triumvirate of writers: Cammarano, Bardare and Verdi.37

The text of one exceptional opera by Verdi was formerly judged to have been neglected by the composer. For his first venture at the Académie Royale de Musique in Paris, Verdi chose to have I Lombardi alla prima crociata (1843) remade in its entirety: the historical basis, the characters, the sequence of the drama and the musical numbers were all newly created and the new opéra was titled Jérusalem (1847). Budden points out that in refashioning an older opera for his Parisian debut, Verdi was following a precedent of Rossini: the latter's Maometto II, first given at the Teatro San Carlo in Naples in 1820, became La Siège de Corinthe at the Opéra in 1826.38


38 Budden, The Operas of Verdi, I, 342.
Eugène Scribe, doyen of French librettists, advised Verdi to have the new text prepared by Alphonse Royer and Gustave Vaëz, a team of writers who had written the text of Donizetti's grand opera, La Favorite (1840). A number of scholars have dismissed the libretto of Jérusalem as being less well made than its source (I Lombardi) and Verdi has been faulted for his seeming indifference in the matter of the rifacimento of the libretto. However, one of Verdi's letters to his Parisian publisher and agent, Léon Escudier—the letter is undated but the content shows that it was written in 1847—makes clear that Verdi was concerned about structural details in the proposed revision: for example, Verdi asked Escudier to instruct Royer and Vaëz with respect to his wishes as to the sequence of pieces in the second act. According to Budden, Verdi's requests were adopted by the French librettists and thus, a small but important portion of the text of Verdi's first grand opera did involve the close attention of the composer.

Scribe and his assistant Charles Duveyrier transformed a libretto prepared by Scribe for Donizetti in 1847—the first title was Le Duc d'Albe—into the text of Les Vêpres siciliennes (1855), Verdi's second work for the Paris Opéra. Although many Verdi scholars maintained that the libretto by Scribe and his co-worker was set as it stood, Andrew Porter recently demonstrated that Verdi supplied the French librettists with a great many suggestions and requests for alterations of the original libretto and, on the

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39 See, for example, Frank Walker, The Man Verdi (New York: Knopf, 1962), p. 184, where the author refers to the "creation of Jérusalem by the mutilation of I Lombardi, and the hasty and unwilling composition of II Corsaro" as "the least conscientious actions of Verdi's career."

40 Budden, The Operas of Verdi, I, 342-43.
evidence of the completed text, many of these were accepted. Verdi's letters to Scribe show that the composer's suggestions included instructions for additions, deletions and alterations of lines and strophes in a number of places. Unfortunately, Scribe's replies to Verdi have not been located: Porter suggests they are probably at Sant'Agata. Thus, the study of Verdi's role in the creation of certain portions of this libretto remains incomplete.

Antonio Somma was associated with Verdi in the preparation of two librettos: Re Lear—never set to music by Verdi—and Un ballo in maschera (1859). The libretto of the latter was based on another libretto by Scribe, Gustave III, ou le Bal masqué, which had been set to music by Auber and performed in Paris in 1833. Much of the original structure and actual text was retained by Verdi in an initial outline and in the subsequent versification, but the dialogue was newly written under Verdi's vigilant direction. At the outset of their collaboration on the text of the projected Gustavo III di Svezia, Somma requested that Verdi provide him with full specifications concerning all aspects of the versification: the number of lines in particular strophes, the exact rhythm (syllabication) of lines. In the outlines Verdi prepared for Somma, the composer complied with his requests.


44 Verdi's letters to Somma, which have come to light, are reproduced in Alessandro Luzio, Carteggi verdiani, I (Rome: Reale Accademia d'Italia, 1935), 219-40.
However, the large lacuna in their correspondence—only the composer's letters have come to light—and the lack of the poet's draft sketches permit only a partial study of this very important aspect of the preparation of a collaboration-type libretto. So great was the part taken by Verdi in the writing of Un ballo in maschera that it has been suggested that Somma's name was rightfully omitted from the title page of the first edition of the libretto. Gabriele Baldini's comments about this are again both original and instructive to the whole question of Verdi's role as his own librettist:

The libretto of Ballo is the only Verdian operatic text not to carry a signature, and the explanation of this lies in more than one direction. The librettist was a person of some distinction, and could have taken offence at seeing so little of his work in the final text. On the other hand, Ballo presented Verdi with his greatest opportunity of approaching Wagner, who wrote his own libretti. The libretto of Ballo was not written by Verdi in the sense that Wagner wrote the text of Die Meistersinger, but neither was it similar to Rigoletto and La Traviata, which both made use of the amanuensis Piave. It was written by the composer for want of anything better, because although Somma dedicated great efforts to it he was no Piave, and [Somma] retained his literary pride. . . . The composer made his own arrangements and, in my opinion, wrote the greatest musical text in his entire repertoire.

Don Carlos, Verdi's third and last French grand opera, was subsequently refashioned in Italian versions as Don Carlo. The preparation of Don Carlos/

45 See Budden, The Operas of Verdi, I, 365.


Don Carlo was an extremely complicated process: there exist at least eight versions created by Verdi and six collaborators over a span of twenty-one years, 1865 to 1886. The synopses and librettos for the original French version (1865-66)—which, according to Ursula Günther, never reached rehearsal—were attributed to Joseph Méry and Camille Du Locle. Despite the inclusion of Méry's name on the title page of the first libretto, Du Locle appears to have been the principal librettist since Méry was mortally ill during this period and, in fact, died on 17 June 1866. Owing to the fact that Verdi resided in Paris during the crucial part of the work on the French libretto, the correspondence for the genesis of this stage of the opera is rather limited. However, many of the libretto drafts and specifications for revisions have been preserved at Sant'Agata, and these reveal, as Günther has demonstrated, that Verdi actively collaborated with Du Locle in this work.

A complete version (no. 2) of the opera—text by Du Locle and Verdi—was rehearsed at the Opéra in 1866 but was subsequently modified on three further occasions (versions nos. 3, 4 and 5). The revisions, it would seem,


were necessitated owing to the prolixity of the score which was heard in three performances: a dress rehearsal on 24 February 1867, the first public performance, 11 March 1867 and the first repetition, 13 March 1867. This last version (no. 5) was then translated into Italian by A. de Lauzières for performance at the Royal Italian Opera, Covent Garden, as Don Carlo in June 1867. Actually, the London production represents yet another version of the opera: it was far from complete owing to a number of cuts prescribed by the conductor at Covent Garden, Michele Costa. Verdi, however, was not responsible for any of these omissions; he was not, in fact, aware that a shortened version had been employed in London. 51

The composer himself prepared and supervised the production of a new Italian version (Don Carlo, no. 6) for the Teatro San Carlo in Naples in 1871. 52 A year later, Verdi again revised the text and included new lines written by Antonio Ghislanzoni, the poet who had assisted Verdi with the 1869 rifacimento of La forza del destino and had in 1870 versified the libretto of Aida in collaboration with Verdi. 53 Since the Aida libretto is the central topic of our study, details of Ghislanzoni's working arrangements with Verdi will be considered in Chapter VII and VIII.

In 1882-83, Verdi again revised Don Carlos as a four-act opera (version no. 7) in collaboration with Camille Du Locle, the original principal


52 Budden, The Operas of Verdi, III, 28.

53 See Budden, The Operas of Verdi, III, 28-29, where the author explains that the source of information about Ghislanzoni's work with Verdi on the revision of Don Carlos was recently corroborated through one of Verdi's letters to Ghislanzoni.
librettist. Unfortunately, in 1882, Verdi and Du Locle had not been on speaking terms for a number of years owing to a serious quarrel over Du Locle's faulty investment of part of Verdi's fee for Aida. For this reason, Charles Nuttier, archivist of the Paris Opéra and translator in consort with Du Locle of a number of Verdi's operas, acted as intermediary between the estranged composer and librettist. The basis of the new version was three-fold: Du Locle's original verses, fragments of Ghislanzoni's 1872 verses and the 1867 Italian translation by de Lauzières. Fortunately, a large number of letters that passed from Verdi to Du Locle and vice-versa, through the intermediary Nuttier, have been preserved. Thus, it is possible to study the extent of Verdi's participation in this phase of the complicated history of Don Carlos/Don Carlo. The seventh version underwent one further change in that it was translated from the French into Italian by A. Zanardini for the first performance in Milan, which took place on 10 January 1884. Finally, Verdi restored the first act of the French version (no. 5) to the Italian text of the 1882–83 version (no. 7) and the enlarged new version (no. 8) was first performed at Modena in December 1886.

Verdi's last librettist, Arrigo Boito, was responsible for a large part of the adaptation of Shakespeare's plays into the librettos for Otello (1887).


55 See Budden, The Operas of Verdi, III, 38.

56 See Budden, The Operas of Verdi, III, 39.
and *Falstaff* (1893) and, at an earlier date, had assisted Verdi with the 1881 *rifacimento* of Piave's text for *Simon Boccanegra*. Boito's position as the Verdian librettist *par excellence* is an overstatement and, because of this error of judgement, few writers have attempted an assessment of Verdi's role in the preparation of these texts. Weaver has commented on this faulty state of affairs and although he does not pursue the question fully, Weaver does express the opinion that Verdi was one of the three authors of the *Otello* and *Falstaff* texts:

Boito had an alert mind and—when writing for others, to commission—a facile pen. For many years he was overpraised (especially by foreign musicologists with an inadequate grasp of Italian), considered the only Verdian librettist worthy of the composer, and used as a handy stick with which to beat Cammarano and Piave. In fact, Boito's verses are often unnecessarily elaborate and murky... as far as quality is concerned—not very much better than the verses of Verdi's other librettists. Fortunately, in his Verdian operas, Boito had Shakespeare—and Verdi—as collaborators.57

In actual fact, Verdi and Boito worked together much as Verdi had worked with all his collaborators. Boito prepared at least two libretto drafts for *Otello* between 1879 and 1880 and both of these were revised according to Verdi's criticisms and ideas about the appropriate condensation of the source and the layout of the dramatic action. Revision of the libretto continued after Verdi had begun the process of composition (1884-85) and, for this reason, Boito was required to visit the composer at Sant'Agata in

October 1885 to discuss further necessary changes. In point of fact, Verdi continued to request revisions until the opera was completed on 1 November 1886.  

The *Falstaff* libretto appears to have required less interaction between composer and librettist, but Verdi did take part in some of the work. In 1889, Verdi read Boito's synopsis of *Falstaff* and proceeded to correspond with the poet about required changes. Boito took two acts of the proposed libretto to Verdi at Sant'Agata in November 1889 and sent the completed Act III to the composer in March 1890. Although Verdi set Act I as it stood, some alterations were made to Boito's poetry during the process of composition. To the end of his career, Verdi continued his activity as collaborating librettist.

In a few cases, Verdi sought the assistance of collaborators other than his official librettists. For *Macbeth*, Verdi and Andrea Maffei—Verdi's librettist for *I masnadieri*—made substantial alterations to Piave's versification of Verdi's prose libretto. Frank Walker has demonstrated, through an examination of the concomitant correspondence, that Piave's original libretto for *Simon Boccanegra* (1857) was partially revised and rewritten by Giuseppe Montanelli, a Tuscan politician and poet, and an

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58 The evolution of the *Otello* libretto is discussed in Budden, *The Operas of Verdi*, III, 302-22.

59 See Budden, *The Operas of Verdi*, III, 421-33.

acquaintance of Verdi. An exceptional "Verdi collaborator" in the business of preparing librettos was the composer's wife Giuseppina Strepponi. However, to date it has been virtually impossible to isolate her precise contribution to Verdi's librettos. Attempts to discuss this collaboration are defeated by a lack of concrete evidence. For example, David R.B. Kimbell draws attention to the fact that portions of the autograph score of *Jérusalem*--in particular, Act II--are written in Strepponi's hand in purple ink to signify her contribution. Moreover, two of her letters to Verdi contain allusions to her role as co-author of portions of the text of *II trovatore*. But these references only attest to her helping hand and do not clarify the extent of the collaboration. At a later point we shall return to more substantial evidence of Strepponi's presence as advisor, amanuensis, and occasional author of lines of poetry and set descriptions.

Having surveyed the extent of Verdi's involvement as collaborating writer with his official and unofficial librettists, it is now possible to draw some broad conclusions. Verdi's method of working with his poets in the preparation of collaboration-type librettos would seem to have followed a fairly consistent pattern. The composer and his collaborator met at the commencement, at crucial stages in the development of the versification and

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63 Strepponi's letters are given in Alessandro Luzio, *Carteggi verdi*, IV, 264-65.
in the last stages of the compositional process. The first meetings usually involved the preparation or review of a prose synopsis or a scenario in which the major details of the transformation of the source or sources into a masterplan were fixed. A prose libretto, based on the layout of the acts and scenes delineated in the synopsis or scenario was created during the preliminary meetings and then expanded to form the basis of the versification. The last of these tasks was, of course, the official work of the collaborating poet but, as we have demonstrated in the cases of Piave and Somma and shall demonstrate fully in the main part of our study, Verdi also played an extremely important role in this aspect of the work. Meetings between composer and poet at crucial stages in the process were usually necessitated by faulty structure and/or incoherent dramatic action perceived by one or both collaborators. Furthermore, awkward or characterless versifications rendered by the poet and rejected by Verdi as he studied the drafts submitted to him often led to meetings for the purpose of joint revision. At the conclusion of the whole undertaking, during rehearsals for the first performance of the opera, many further revisions were necessitated by any number of problems brought to light in performance. In certain cases, revision was facilitated by the fact that the poets were often stage directors and Verdi himself was responsible for the musical rehearsals as well as the direction of the first three performances. But in some cases the request for revision was carried to excess. For example, the prolixity of the various 1867 versions of *Don Carlos* is partially explained by the fact that the problems encountered at the rehearsals created a seemingly endless stream of revisions. 64 We shall

return to Verdi's own thoughts on revisions necessitated by the interference of officials at the Opéra in the fourth chapter of our study.

Although it is of utmost importance to know what went on at the meetings held between Verdi and his various poets, we can only obtain knowledge about the actual collaborative process of their working methods through analysis of a limited number of different versions of texts, and, to an even more limited extent, from the content of certain of Verdi's letters. Thus, we have, at best, only a partial understanding of this part of the genuses of many of Verdi's operas. Moreover, in the case of the drafts of the versifications, as we shall see in Chapter VII, it is sometimes difficult to separate Verdi's contribution from that of the poet.

On the other hand, when the poet and composer worked in different places, the resultant correspondence preserves some details of the collaborative process. We have already touched upon Verdi's informative letters with the management of the Gran Teatro la Fenice in Venice: these letters form a rich source of information about the new operas Verdi prepared for that theatre. But a more informed opinion of Verdi's dominant role in the preparation of his librettos is to be attained through a study of the letters he addressed to his poets during the actual versification process. These letters contain three interrelated elements. First, Verdi offered detailed reviews of the weaknesses and strengths of various drafts of the versified texts. Second, he analyzed the faults of the poetry. This analysis contains Verdi's

65 Not all of Verdi's letters have come to light. The main collections, in which Verdi's correspondence with his librettists is reproduced, are discussed in the second chapter of the present study.
opinions with respect to the lack of coherence and the projection of the
diction, the quality and quantity of the recitatives and strophes and the
relationship of the poetry to the composer's musical drafts. Third, Verdi
devised models of scenes he considered to be especially weak. The new models
usually contain prose versions of the dialogue, although, in some cases,
Verdi's texts include paraphrased versions of some of the poetry from the
drafts. In farragos such as these, the composer fused those acceptable ele­
ments offered by the poet, with the revisions he conceived during his study
of the versifications. In some cases, as we have pointed out in the discus­
sion of Somma's versification of Un ballo in maschera, Verdi also indicated
the number of lines for specific strophes, the preferred rhythm (syllabica­
tion) and the desired style of the versification. Furthermore, comments in
margins were often given by the composer in consort with the prose models
of dialogue, so as to amplify his intent.
CHAPTER II

VERDI AS LIBRETTIST: THE PRESENT STATE OF RESEARCH (EXCLUDING AIDA)

The scholarly investigation of Verdi's important role in the creation of his librettos has been extremely slow to develop. We have explained that Arthur Pougin recognized the extent of the composer's unique involvement with his librettists and that Pougin's understanding was reached in Verdi's lifetime. Yet until the late 1950s, when Verdi studies improved strikingly, most writers simply ignored the question of the geneses of the librettos for Verdi's operas, preferring to concentrate on the musical properties of the completed scores.

While few studies deal with Verdi's role as collaborating librettist directly, the topic is touched upon in numerous instances. In fact, the librettos Verdi set to music and, to a limited extent, his relationships with his poets has frequently been considered. This chapter is devoted to an examination of this literature.

The reasons for the absence of thorough studies of Verdi's creative process with respect to the librettos for his operas would appear to be four in number. First, the majority of autograph documents, synopses, scenarios, draft librettos and musical sketches—the latter, of course, contain texts different from the final versions of the librettos—that would have made a study of the geneses of Verdi's librettos possible, are in a private collection. The existence of considerable important evidence was either unknown or simply withheld and not made available for scholarly research. The main
obstacle seems to be the general reluctance of Verdi's heirs to release more than a small part of the vast holdings in their private archive at Sant'Agata.

Two special items that were permitted by Verdi's heirs to be published are the reproduction of fragments—in all cases no more than one or two pages—of Verdi's musical sketches for scenes from *La traviata*, *Il trovatore*, *Un ballo in maschera*, *Aida*, *Otello* and *Falstaff*,¹ and a more extensive musical sketch for the greatest part of *Rigoletto*.² The sketch fragments were issued in 1941 under the direction of Carlo Gatti, who makes reference to hundreds of pages of similar sketches he saw at Sant'Agata. Although musical sketches do not belong quite properly to the study of the genases of the librettos of these operas, comparison of the texts Verdi used in the early phases of his work would be instructive to a study of the topic presently under consideration. For example, in another study, Gatti makes reference to words, phrases and lines of poetry that Verdi added to the unpublished *abbozzo* (sketch) for *La traviata*:

In the sketches for *Traviata* that are preserved at Sant'Agata, the work of composition of the opera shows itself to be impetuous. Between many musical thoughts, his pen fatigued behind his fantasy, the Maestro annotates words phrases, lines that he then has sung by this or that character.³

¹ These are found in Carlo Gatti, *Verdi nelle immagini* (Milan: Garzanti, 1941). Reproductions of autograph pages are as follows: *La traviata*, pp. 64-65; *Un ballo in maschera*, p. 184; *Il trovatore* and *Aida*, p. 186; *Otello* and *Falstaff*, p. 187.

² "L'abbozzo del *Rigoletto"* (Rome: Ministero della Cultura popolare, 1941).

³ Carlo Gatti, *Verdi*, 2nd ed. rev. (Milan: Arnoldo Mondadori Editore,
This vexing lack of autograph documents has not gone unnoticed by one scholar. Pierluigi Petrobelli's excellent speculative account of Verdi's creative process—text and music—probes the complex series of problems that impede such a study and explains why the surmounting of these obstacles is not only difficult but also extremely important. According to Petrobelli, numerous studies about Verdi simply repeat stereotyped images of Verdi, put about by the composer himself, many of which are at variance with proven fact. Other studies attempt to explore Verdi's operas through dramatic analysis, while another type of critical examination deals only with factual technical analysis. Petrobelli believes that the study of Verdi's compositional process which might overcome the one-sidedness of existing analyses is defeated by a lack of documentation, the very problem we have explained with respect to the genese of the librettos. Extensive abbozzi for Verdi's operas written before 1848 are not known to exist and may not have been prepared. Verdi's concept of operatic structure changed radically about 1848 with the creation of Luisa Miller. The change appears to involve the musical and dramatic integration of the complete opera. For this reason, Petrobelli is convinced extensive drafts were necessary for the remainder of the composer's operas, while perhaps not before:

1951), pp. 300-01: "Negli abbozzi della Traviata che si custodiscono a Sant'Agata, il lavoro di composizione dell'opera si dimostra impetuoso. Tra pensiero e pensiero musicale, mentre la penna tiene a fatica dietro alla fantasia, il Maestro annota parole, frasi, versi che fara cantare poi a questo o a quel personaggio."

It is thus that one passes from the sketch of the particular moment, from the single situation or scene, to a predetermined and clearly articulated draft of the entire melodrama.\(^5\)

A similar, predetermined draft of a complete opera libretto, prepared by Verdi, will be an extremely important aspect of the present study of the creation of *Aida*.

The second obstacle that impeded a clear understanding of Verdi's collaborations with his librettists was created by the haphazard manner in which the composer's correspondence was published. In most cases, collections of Verdi's letters are quite incomplete—letters are omitted or truncated—or contain unfortunate textual errors caused by faulty transcription of Verdi's hand. In addition, the letters in some collections are arranged in incorrect order with respect to their actual chronology. Prior to 1960, scholars were aware of seven published sources of Verdi's correspondence pertinent to the genoses of librettos. Each source requires some discussion.

Alessandro Pascolato undertook the publication of the complete works of the poet Somma and, in 1902, some of Verdi's letters addressed to Somma that pertained to the genoses of the projected *Re Lear* and *Un ballo in maschera* were issued as part of the series.\(^6\) The content of this publication is fertile ground for study of Verdi's working methods for, as we have

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\(^5\) Petrobelli, p. 128: "È così che si passa dall'abbozzo del momento particolare, dalla situazione o scena singola, ad una stessura preordinata e chiaramente articolata dall'intero melodrama."

already explained, Somma requested Verdi to give specific details about the quality and quantity of the poetry. However, it is curious that only one scholar, Alessandro Luzio, appears to have investigated this source in the first half of the present century. We shall return to Luzio's contribution presently.

Gaetano Cesari and Luzio published Verdi's letter copy books in 1913.\textsuperscript{7} Five copy books that contain drafts of letters written by Verdi between 1844 and 1901 (some years are omitted) form the first part of\textit{I copialettere di Giuseppe Verdi}. The editors also included important Verdi correspondence from other sources in an extensive but incomplete appendix. Although this publication represents only a small portion of Verdi's vast correspondence, it remained the prime source for many aspects of Verdi studies for the next fifty years. Numerous pertinent details about the composer's role in the creation of the librettos for his operas are to be found in the varied content of this excellent source. It must be pointed out, however, that this publication is far from complete with respect to the total of Verdi's correspondence. For example, no letters are given from 22 May 1858 through 20 September 1867 or from 9 February 1875 through January 1877. Moreover, some of the published letters are in incomplete form while others contain textual errors. The chronology of certain letters in parts of the appendix is incorrect.

During the 1920s, Jacques-Gabriel Prod'homme was responsible for the publication in Italian, French and English of selections from two different

\textsuperscript{7}Gaetano Cesari and Alessandro Luzio, \textit{I copialettere di Giuseppe Verdi} (Milan: Comissione Esecutiva per le Onorazione a Giuseppe Verdi nel primo centenario della nascita, 1913).
collections of Verdi's correspondence: the composer's letters to the French librettist and entrepreneur Camille Du Locle and to his (Verdi's) French publisher Léon Escudier. It is unfortunate that Prod'homme's transcriptions of the letters are pitted with errors caused by his faulty comprehension of Italian and his difficulties in interpreting Verdi's often difficult hand. The selection of letters represents only a small portion of Verdi's actual correspondence with his associates and shows every sign of having been selected rather arbitrarily. Prod'homme's introductory articles for both collections contain serious factual errors and misconceptions that border on the outrageous. Neither collection can be considered to have been more than a stopgap in a field already perplexed with serious lacunae.

An extremely important series of studies that reproduce letters pertaining to Verdi's collaborations with his librettists is Alessandro Luzio's Carteggi verdiani; Volumes I and II were published in 1935, and Volumes III


Luzio's articles include correspondence with accompanying commentaries relating to six operas: *Un ballo in maschera*, *Re Lear*, the *rifacimento* of *Simon Boccanegra*, *Aida*, *Otello* and *Falstaff*. This publication can well be called unique for it was the first to address exclusively the question of the genese of these operas. Since Luzio had access to the archives at Sant'Agata, he was able to augment his collections with hitherto unpublished letters by Verdi and his librettists. However, it must be pointed out that, in certain cases, Luzio is incomplete with respect to the correspondence he publishes. He appears to have chosen only those letters or portions of letters he believed to be relevant to the complex evolutions of the operas he studied.

The genesis of *Ernani* was brought to light in 1941 in a significant publication by Andrea della Corte. This article is based on eighteen of the letters that were exchanged between Verdi and the management of the Teatro la Fenice during the period in which Verdi's first Venetian opera evolved. The composer's contract with the management of the Theatre, the search for a suitable librettist, Piave's *Cromvello* libretto and Verdi's eventual rejection of it in favour of Hugo's *Hernani*, the development of the latter and Verdi's heated criticism of Piave's verse are well represented.


11 Andrea Della Corte, "La composizione dell'Ernani nelle lettere di Verdi," *La stampa* (1941), 19-37.
and allow for a reconstruction of the events that led to this extremely successful opera. It must be noted, however, that della Corte does not pursue all parts of the genesis of Ernani, since he does not consider the relationship of the Verdi-Piave text to Hugo's original drama, nor could he study Verdi's criticism of Piave's verse, for the pertinent correspondence was in the private collection of Natale Gallini. Thus, Verdi's role in the creation of goodly portions of this libretto is not fully revealed.

A volume of essays about the five Verdi operas with librettos by Piave—Ernani, Attila, Rigoletto, La traviata and Simon Boccanegra—that received their first performances at the Teatro la Fenice in Venice was published in 1951. In the most extensive essay, Mario Nordio publishes further correspondence between Verdi, the management of the Theatre and Piave—the latter was the librettist of all these operas except Attila—concerning the genuses of the librettos. Although Nordio greatly extends the scope of the published correspondence about these operas, he was unable to enlarge Verdi's correspondence with Piave. Thus, the composer's role remained in an obscure state.

The largest and, in some ways, the most comprehensive biographical study of Verdi ever undertaken is Franco Abbiati's four-volume series that appeared in 1959. Abbiati's study has many advantages for it contains an exceptionally large amount of hitherto unknown correspondence. The new

12 Mario Nordio, "Verdi e la Fenice," in Verdi e la Fenice (Venice: Ente Autonomo del Teatro la Fenice, 1951), pp. 11-57.

material, of course, was published in consort with selected portions of all the important documentation issued up to the mid 1950s. Therefore, scholars were finally equipped with a fairly extensive single source for Verdi studies. The geneses of all the librettos for Verdi's operas are discussed in the light of materials available at this time and Abbiati would seem to have understood the significance of Verdi's role in the preparation of his librettos. However, the study is not without serious problems. First, the chronology of the documentation (and Abbiati's narrative) is often inaccurate. Second, many letters are erroneously attributed and/or incorrectly dated. Third, Abbiati accepts the opinions of other scholars without question and, as we shall see with respect to the Aida libretto, reproduces much faulty information. Fourth, the text is scandalously crude from a mechanical standpoint, for neither footnotes nor a bibliography are provided. Finally, it is difficult to differentiate fact from fiction, owing to Abbiati's constant vacillation between scholarly writing and a style more suitable to popular romances. Frank Walter comments perceptively about this serious fault when he speaks of an unpublished letter cited by Abbiati:

In a work full of imaginary conversations and all the dubious devices of fictional biography it is impossible to decide whether Abbiati intends us to take this [an unknown, and unpublished letter to Giussepina Verdi, presumably from Verdi] as a literal quotation. But out of it he [Abbiati] develops an elaborate fantasy. . . .

Nevertheless, Abbiati's work remains a key source in Verdi studies for, despite its serious problems, no comparable study of the same proportions has appeared to supplant it.

The third problem to impede understanding of Verdi's role in the writing of librettos for his operas was created by the scarcity of first-class studies that concentrate exclusively on the various aspects of the texts of operas. Most studies devoted entirely to discussion of the general history of the libretto or, more specifically, the texts of the melodrammi of Verdi do not appear to have penetrated the complexities of the composer's part in the creation of texts. Although some writers show conversance with Verdi's role, discussion of it is usually rather superficial. It is probable that such a problem is the direct consequence of the unavailability of autograph documents but other difficulties have also prevented development of knowledge in this field. For example, Das Libretto, a study by Edgar Istel which was published and republished between 1914 and 1922, might have proven to be very useful. It purports by its very title to be an exhaustive investigation of this vast and uncharted subject. However, Istel falls short of writing a comprehensive study, owing to the fact that the greatest part of the discussion is given over to lengthy consideration of Wagner's texts; neither Verdi's librettos nor the Italian libretto in general are considered.

In a fairly comprehensive history of the opera libretto, published in 1951, Ulderico Rolandi approaches the content of the librettos of Verdi's

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operas—and many other 19th-century librettos—with severe reprobation:

... acknowledging that the greatest part of the Verdian librettos, is well-conceived from the point of view of the theatrical effect, they are inferior from the literary [point of view]—often through the authoritarian maestro—and are also obscure and complex in their dramatic layout (such as Ernani, Stiffelio, I Vespri siciliani, [Simon] Boccanegra, [II] trovatore) with exaggeration of those strong touches of the most truculent romanticism that Verdi held so dear. They abound in betrayals, revenges, daggers, murders, suicides, up to three onstage deaths in Vespri and four deaths in Forza del destino ... !6

Rolandi is critical of the exaggerated style of the diction which he correctly perceives as emanating from Verdi himself. Moreover, Rolandi finds the romantic themes of many Verdi operas repugnant. In addition, this same writer shares the widely-held opinion that Verdi's texts (and operas?) improved greatly under the influence of poets with literary experience, for example, Ghislanzoni but, more especially, Boito:

... there was a decided and radical change in the Verdian librettos from the time of Aida onward.17

16 Ulderico Rolandi, Il libretto per musica attraverso i tempi (Rome: Edizioni dell'Atanee, 1951), p. 131: "... riconoscere che gran parte dei libretti verdiani, se indovinati dal punti di vista dell'effetto teatrale, sono scadenti da quello letterario—spesso per colpa dell'autoritario maestro —ed anche oscuri e complessi nella stessa drammatica (tali l'Ernani, lo Stiffelio, I Vespri siciliani, il Boccanegra, il Trovatore) con esagerazione di quelle forti tinte del più truculento romanticismo che Verdi tanto prediligeva. I tradimenti, le vendette, i pugnali, le uccisioni, i suicidi vi abbondono fino a tre morti in iscena nei Vespri ed ai quattro morti nella Forza del destino ... !"

17 Rolandi, Il libretto, p. 136: "Un deciso e radicale mutamento si ebbe ... nei libretti verdiani dall'Aida in poi ne diremo appresso."
. . . Undeniably, the quality of librettos was improved in the Eighties. Numerous poets appeared who produced librettos of excellent dramatic sense, and also of refined comicality, not without elevated and temperate literary poetic workmanship.\footnote{Rolandi, \textit{Il libretto}, p. 149: "... Innegabilmente da un'ottantina d'anni le qualità del libretto hanno migliorato. ... sono apparsi numerosi poeti che hanno prodotto libretti di squisito senso drammatico, o anche signorile comicità, non disgiunti da elevata e sobria fattura letteraria e poetica."}

Unfortunately, Rolandi's criticism is of little value, for it is so very subjective and fails to take the aesthetic values of the nineteenth century into account. Furthermore, in the light of our study of Ghislanzoni's poetry for \textit{Aida}, it is doubtful that the poet wrote with greater taste than his librettist predecessors. While Rolandi makes no direct mention of Verdi's role as collaborator with his librettists in this study, he does report about the interaction in another study devoted exclusively to Verdi's librettists.\footnote{Ulderico Rolandi, "Libretti e librettisti verdiani dal punto di vista storico-bibliografico," in \textit{Verdi, studi e memorie} (Rome: Istituto grafico Tiberino, 1941), pp. 183-233.}

However, for what he claims to be lack of space, Rolandi does not examine the internal details of the collaborations and the second study can only be said to suggest a large and unexplored area of research.

Superior to Rolandi's studies in every way is Patrick J. Smith's \textit{The Tenth Muse} which is also completely given over to a broad historical survey of the opera librettos, librettists and composers.\footnote{Patrick J. Smith, \textit{The Tenth Muse: A Historical Study of the Opera Libretto} (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970).} A chapter about the
nineteenth-century melodramma is almost entirely concerned with librettos for Verdi's operas. Smith believes the new and original character of the melodramma libretto came from the influence of Victor Hugo who defied the strict tradition of French versification with new techniques: the new freedom was adopted by Felice Romani and Salvatore Cammarano. From the outset of his discussion of Verdi and his librettists, Smith makes the extent of the composer's participation clear, and says: "Verdi must be treated as a librettist in any study of the form." Nevertheless, Smith, like so many other writers, was without access to the autographs at Sant'Agata and was forced to discuss the sizable Verdi-Ghislanzoni Aida correspondence so as to be able to demonstrate at least a single part of Verdi's method and influence. However, Smith is unable to add new insights into the topic owing to the fact that he was in possession of only one portion of the preparatory materials that might have explained Verdi's role in the creation of the Aida libretto.

Unfortunately, Smith makes a particularly infelicitous observation with respect to the more general study of the versification of librettos by casting doubt on the importance of this aspect in the overall creation of operas:

The relative unimportance of the verse in the making of a libretto probably goes back further than we are willing to allow. The moment that a musical line is added to a line of verse, it necessarily imposes its own "poetry" upon the words. . . . Certainly in the preponderance of cases music has taken over the very function of the poetry, and has thus drained the verse of the

21 Smith, pp. 235-37.

22 Smith, p. 237.
"musical" qualities that render it poetic. Verdi's emphasis on the "parole sceniche" (note "scenic words," not verse) showed his instinctive awareness of this fact, although he clung to the outmoded verse forms.23

This opinion about the "relative unimportance" of the versification and the severe blunder with respect to the parole sceniche--important words and phrases that were an integral part of the versified diction--are, of course, quite incorrect and have not gone unnoticed by another scholar. Robert Anthony Moreen takes Smith's faulty observations on this subject as a point of departure in his dissertation about the relationship of the versified text and music in Verdi's early operas and goes on to prove the great importance of the composer's collaboration with his poets in these matters.24

But we anticipate and shall return to Moreen's contribution in the final two chapters of the present study.

Finally, the fourth obstacle which prevented serious study of the librettos of Verdi's operas and ultimately study of Verdi's role as collaborating librettist was caused by the application of aesthetic concepts at odds with those of the nineteenth-century Verdiario melodramma. Some critical opinions, in which Wagner's librettos are idealized, dismiss the majority of Verdi's texts as being ill-formed and of little consequence. For example, Istel considers that only Verdi's last three operas employ librettos of a new and superior type in which Wagner's concept--the poem decides the music--is

23 Smith, pp. xx-xxi.

followed:

The aged Master [Verdi] no longer refused [in 1883] the conception—most cogently formulated by Wagner—that the poem should, in many respects, decide the form of the music; hence, in his later works (beginning with Aida), he wrought with libretti of a stamp quite different from those he had hitherto composed.25

This is, of course, nonsense, for the texts of the greatest majority of Verdi's operas were structurally conceived as the bases of musical treatment.

Closely related to the faulty notion that Wagner's aesthetics were at variance with Verdi's ideals is the position taken by many writers about Verdi's use of dramas by Shakespeare and Schiller as the sources for his librettos. In several studies Verdi and Piave are considered to have debased Macbeth through their treatment of the original text.26 Indeed, the majority of the scholarly articles about Verdi's operas based on plays by Shakespeare and Schiller are reiterations of similar biased opinions and do little to clarify the manner in which the sources were transformed from plays to operas, much less shed light on the development of Verdi's steadily increasing technique as librettist.27


27 See Karl Leo Gerhartz, "Verdi und Schiller: Gedanken zur Schillers Wallensteins Lager und den Schlusszehen des dritten Aktes der Forza del destino," Bollettino quadrimestrale dell'Istituto di Studi Verdi, 2 (1966), 1590 for a discussion of "defective" studies about Verdi's librettos based on Schiller's plays.
Despite the plethora of prejudiced articles about Verdi's librettos, two scholars did report accurately and perceptively with respect to Verdi's part in the writing of librettos. Andrew Porter's 1956 article about three early Verdi operas based on Schiller's plays gives details about the librettists—Solera, Maffei and Cammarano and reconstructs the increasing degree of influence Verdi brought to bear on these writers as he gained in confidence. Porter's opinions are based on Verdi's correspondence with his librettists and portions of these letters relevant to the revisions of the librettos are quoted to support the author's assessment of the collaborations. Three studies by Winton Dean, each dealing wholly or in part with Verdi's use of Shakespeare's plays as the sources for Macbeth, Otello and Falstaff, were published in the mid-1960s. Dean seems to have been somewhat unclear about the nature of Verdi's collaboration with Piave and Boito in his first article (1964), but in the subsequent articles (1965 and 1966) Dean shows he had benefited greatly through reading Piero Nardi's biography of Boito and Frank Walker's


31 Winton Dean, "Verdi's *Otello*: A Shakespearian Masterpiece," *Shakespeare Survey*, 21 (1968), 87-96.

penetrating study of Verdi. The result, for Dean, was the acquisition of a clear focus on Verdi's role as collaborator with his official poets. While he does not deal specifically with the mechanics of the collaborations, Dean offers some thoughtful insights into the problems associated with the reducti

ion or transformation of a spoken drama (Shakespeare, in particular) into the text of an opera. According to Dean, the time scale of opera requires compression: Verdi (and Piave) and Boito accomplished this. Boito's (and Verdi's) solution involved opposed methods: contraction "... to remove inessentials and episodes not easily soluble in music ..." and expansion "... to allow for the different distribution of weight that an opera requires in comparison with a play." Dean observes that nineteenth-century "number" operas are constructed in closed forms--arias, duets and ensembles--linked by flexible recitative. Such "number" operas correspond to the design of many scenes in Shakespeare's plays. Thus such scenes, according to Dean, do not need to be manipulated for operatic purposes. For example, Lady Macbeth's first soliloquy is shown by Dean to correspond to Verdi's setting in the form of a double aria: a slow cantabile and cabaletta, each preceded by recitative. Finally, Dean considers the interaction between Shakespeare (sic), Verdi and Boito to have been a "... triple collaboration: on the level of dramatic sympathy."


34 Winton Dean, "Shakespeare and Opera," p. 92.

35 Winton Dean, "Shakespeare in the Opera House," pp. 82-83.
Verdian studies have undergone considerable change during the last twenty-five years. The quantity of the scholarly literature has increased to a striking degree and the quality of certain studies is, to say the least, impressive. Verdi's role as collaborator with his librettists is now more widely known and there have been several serious attempts to reconstruct portions of this process despite the continued unavailability of many of Verdi's autographs. For want of space, consideration of every article or book that has been issued in this period and that deals at least in part with this subject is impossible. Rather, we discuss what appear to be the most important studies in which some aspect of Verdi's role in the creation of librettos for his operas receives consideration.

The more recent Verdi literature has been issued in four ways: first bulletins and studies specifically about the composer's operas; second, printed versions of papers read at congresses devoted exclusively to Verdi, his works and his milieu; third, studies in book form of the music and librettos of Verdi's operas and new editions of his correspondence; fourth, independent articles published in scholarly journals. For the sake of convenience, our discussion follows this order.

Various issues of a multi-lingual (Italian, English and German) bulletin published between 1960 and 1973 by the Istituto di Studi Verdiani considered a number of aspects—including the history of the librettos—of three operas: Un ballo in maschera, La forza del destino and Rigoletto. Francesco Flora studies the genesis of the libretto of Un ballo in maschera and concludes that Somma based the action of the situations and characters on the structure of Scribe's Gustave III, but the measure of the language and the diverse
meter of the verse was guided by Verdi. According to Flora, the result of the composer's supervision is a more dramatic and less prosaic text. Frank Walker demonstrates that the incompleteness of the correspondence in the Copialettere and Carteggi verdiyan precludes study of all aspects of Verdi's role in the writing of the Un ballo in maschera libretto. Newly discovered letters show that Verdi rejected Somma's Re Lear libretto, decided upon Scribe's Gustave III and wrote the new opera--text and music--at incredible speed. Giorgio Grignaffini examines the libretto of La forza del destino (1869 version) with understanding but no details of Verdi's strong influence on the preparation of the text. Frank Walker corrects the account given in many Verdi biographies--Abbiati among them--of the period of genesis of the first version of La forza del destino, 1860-61. Walker shows Verdi's supervision of Piave to have been as extensive for this opera as it had been for other texts written by Piave: "As in the cases of Macbeth, Simon Boccanegra and probably other operas written in collaboration with Piave, Verdi himself drafted the libretto in prose."

36 Francesco Flora, "Il libretto [Un ballo in maschera]," Bollettino quadrimestrale dell'Istituto di Studi Verdiyan, 1 (1960), 44-72.


39 Frank Walker, "Introduction to a Biographical Study. (Parliamentary Deputy at Turin, Opera Composer at St. Petersburg)," Bollettino quadri-mestrale dell'Istituto di Studi Verdiyan, 2 (1961), 3-16.
discussion continues with the quotation of one of Verdi's letters in which the composer threatened Piave with the prospect of the intervention of another poet--Andrea Maffei's name was given--should Piave's versification prove unsatisfactory. Verdi's contribution to the shape and content of the third act of *La forza del destino* is revealed by Karl Leo Gerhartz. This writer criticizes the scholarly literature concerning "... the relationships between Verdi's librettos and their sources" as being defective owing to incompetent scholarship in which supposed analogies and differences are discussed without conclusion. Verdi scholars, says Gerhartz, overlooked Verdi's and Piave's use of Schiller's *Wallensteins Lager* to create the finale of the third act. Gerhartz supports his contention about the source of the Act III finale with the following facts: first, Verdi had recommended the use of *Wallensteins Lager* to Salvatore Cammarano in 1849 as a model for a projected libretto, *L'assedio di Firenze*; second, an examination of five musical pieces shows that Schiller's drama was the textual basis for Piave's verse; third, certain stage directions given in Schiller are repeated identically (in Italian translation) in the *La forza del destino* libretto. The issues of the bulletin given over to the study of *Rigoletto* were less successful with respect to the examination of the libretto and its genesis.

Between 1963 and 1971 the Istituto di Studi Verdiani published four volumes--the *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Studi Verdiani*--in which particular


41 Gerhartz, "Verdi and Schiller," 1590.
Verdi operas were examined. The focus of the first three volumes is lesser-known operas. The first volume is concerned with *Il Corsaro* and includes an article by Giuseppe Vecchi about the libretto. Vecchi traces Verdi's interest in Byron's text and the curious genesis of the libretto: Verdi's early collaboration with Piave; the abandonment of the project; the fact that the libretto that Verdi eventually set to music was solely the work of Piave. The second of the *Quaderni* features the *rifacimento* of *I Lombardi alla prima crociata* into *Jérusalem* and the subsequent translation of the French text to become *Gerusalemme*. Giuseppe Pugilese traces an outline of the remaking of the opera, notes the differences in the first Italian score and the French version and continues with a comparative study of the musical changes rather than the rewriting of the text. Unfortunately, Verdi's part in the *rifacimento* remains obscure. *Stiffelio* is the work considered in the third volume of the *Quaderni* series. In this, Helmut Ludwig explores the source of the opera and concludes that Piave suggested the work to Verdi who had no knowledge of its roots. According to Ludwig, Piave's sole task was to reduce (to adapt) the source which was an Italian translation by Gaetano Vestri of a French play, *Le Pasteur ou l'Evangile et le Foyer*, by Souvestre and

42 Giuseppe Vecchi, "Il libretto [Il Corsaro]," *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Studi Verdiani*, 3 (1963), 5-36.


44 Helmut Ludwig, "La fonte letteraria del libretto: Le Pasteur ou l'Evangile et le Foyer. [Stiffelio]," *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Studi Verdiani*, 3 (1968), 9-18.
Bourgeois. Discussion of the libretto is concerned only with its final form, thus Verdi's interaction with Piave remains unknown.

Six Verdi Congresses—the first four organized by the Istituto di Studi Verdiani, the fifth and sixth by the American Institute for Verdi Studies—have been held between 1966 and 1979. The Acts of the first three Congresses have been published, those of the fifth are at press, those of the sixth are in editorial preparation. No announcement of publication of the fourth Congress appears to have been made.

The theme of the first Congress, held at Venice, 31 July to 2 August 1966, was to have been Verdi e Venezia but this was greatly broadened to become Situazione e prospettive degli studi verdiiani nel mondo. Three papers read at the Congress pertained to the genesis or structure of Verdi librettos. Adriano Cavicchi's study concerning Verdi and Solera questions the authenticity of Verdi's reminiscences as published by Pougin in 1881.45 Pougin's version of Verdi's creative process was repeated, says Cavicchi, in an enormous number of biographies and studies about Verdi for many years. However, Cavicchi concludes that much of Verdi's opinion about himself, related in Pougin's biography, was false including his account of his meagre role in the creation of Nabucco and other librettos written by Solera. Cavicchi believes that Verdi had great control over the writing of all the librettos for his operas throughout his long career. Karl Leo Gerhartz studies the libretto by Verdi and Somma for Re Lear. The author notes that a critical

edition and commentary would lead to a proper evaluation of the "Verdi libretto" for the 1848-60 period. According to Gerhartz, from Rigoletto (1851) to La forza del destino (1862) the lines of the versified text fix the scenic action in immediate stage representation. On the other hand, in the Verdi-Somma libretto for Re Lear, the opposite transpires: logic and psychological qualities are represented by the verse. Thus, the differences in textual style and content would seem to account for Verdi's continued hesitation with respect to setting Re Lear musically. Vito Levi discusses the rifacimento of Stiffelio into Aroldo but, unfortunately, fails to explain the distinct role of Piave and Verdi in the collaboration.

The second Verdi Congress was held at Verona, Parma and Busseto between 30 July and 5 August 1969. The theme of the Congress was Don Carlos/Don Carlo: Historical Investigation; Religious Aspects; Libretto. Several of the papers are concerned with the genesis of the Don Carlos/Don Carlo libretto, while others contain discussion of dramaturgy and theory associated with the construction and content of the librettos.

Ursula Günther discusses the French libretto for Don Carlos (1865-67) by Joseph Méry, Camille Du Locle and Verdi. The latter's role as collaborator is explained. Correspondence between Du Locle and Verdi, and draft


librettos preserved at Sant'Agata are amply demonstrated. Martin Chusid suggests that comparison of the substitutions and additions in the revised versions of *Don Carlo* (1884 and 1887) shows that Verdi desired to approximate more closely Schiller's play than had been achieved in the 1867 Paris version. David Rosen compares four versions—music and text—of the Filippo-Posa duet and concludes that the first versions are set in conventional patterns while later versions show experimentation with fragmented structures. Andrew Porter describes the ballet music and its relationship to the entire drama of the first Parisian version: the *Don Carlos* ballet, *La Pérégrina*, which reflects an important dramatic theme in the opera proper, is skilfully introduced into the dialogue and stage effects of Act III.

Karl Leo Gerhartz shows two examples of the manner in which the *Don Carlos* libretto differs from Schiller's play. First, the unhappy love of

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Élisabeth and Carlos (opera, Act I/play, Maffei translation, Act I, scene iv) is recounted by Posa as a monologue in Schiller's play but forms the main thrust of the entire first act in the French-language version of the opera. Second, the Autodafé (opera, Act III, part 2/play, Maffei translation, Act I, scene vi) is the central theme of a monologue for the King in Schiller's play, while, in the opera "... it is transformed into a visible stage picture." Furthermore, Gerhartz notes Verdi's transformations of thoughts and ideas in other Schiller dramas the composer set musically. According to Gerhartz, the tendency to transform is a dramaturgical process but one which must also be considered a "paradoxical consequence" in which a dream (monologue) becomes a reality and, because the dream is presented on the stage, it becomes again the component of an unreal recognition.  

Julian Budden explains the difference between French verse without tonic accent but with light accented final syllables and Italian verse in which only the first of these qualities is a regular feature of poetry. Verdi's experiences of composing to French texts for Les vêpres siciliennes and Don Carlos, says Budden, freed the composer from his Italian-based melodic style and greatly assisted the development of a late melodic style for Italian texts. Budden also notes the influence of French opera on Verdi's formal structures: the so-called "degredation of Gaston" in Jerusalem is, according to Budden, "pure


Meyerbeer" and the "Miserere" from *Il trovatore* shows the further effect of this influence.

Marcello Conati explains the effect of the French grand opera on Verdi, who was associated with the Opéra and other Parisian theatres for almost half a century: 1847-94. The absorption of French structural techniques, says Conati, was not difficult for Verdi: his early operas such as *Nabucco*, *I Lombardi alla prima crociata* and *Giovanna d'Arco*—all with librettos by Solera—and the operas of the late 1850s—*Simon Boccanegra*, *Un ballo in maschera* and *La forza del destino*—exhibit many features of grand opera. Moreover, the advance of grand opera in Italy during the 1860s prompted the creation of *Don Carlos* which Conati considers to be a preparatory work for the supreme grand opera, *Aida*. In turn, the world success of the latter opera prompted the rifacimento of the former to four acts of the prolix five-act French version. This fundamental structural change was, in Conati's opinion, caused by differences in French and Italian taste. Conati discusses similarities between the third act, second part of *Don Carlos* (the autodafé) and the grand finale of Act II, scene ii in *Aida*: there are no less than eight striking structural-dramatic parallels. José Lopez-Caló discusses the difference of treatment of religious themes in Schiller's and Verdi's

55 Marcello Conati, "Verdi, il grand opéra il *Don Carlos*," in *Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di Studi Verdiiani*, (Parma: Istituto di Studi Verdiiani, 1972), pp. 242-79.

Don Carlos. Schiller introduced religious personages such as the Grand Inquisitor into court scenes but attached little importance to religious conflict between Church and State in his drama. Verdi, however, introduced his own interpretation of the same conflict into his Don Carlos: deeply religious in concept, says Lopez-Calo, Verdi was violently opposed to the clericism of the Church. The theme of anticlericism is found in Verdi's operas before Don Carlos and it is also extremely prominent in Aida. However, the essential difference between its treatment in these two operas is the open conflict made manifest in the latter. Lopez-Calo believes this conflict to be Verdi's own concept but notes that the documentary evidence about the genesis of the Don Carlos libretto that would prove his theory is (was, in 1969) entirely lacking. For this reason, only conjecture allowed Lopez-Calo to ascertain what part Verdi played in the drawing up of the duet between Philip II and the Grand Inquisitor in Act IV, part one of Don Carlos.

The third Verdi Congress was held in Milan between 12 and 17 June 1972. The theme of the Congress was the dramaturgy and construction of the librettos of Verdi's operas. Francesco Canessa reports on the collaboration between Verdi and Cammarano for Il trovatore. But apart from quoting one of Verdi's letters to the poet, Canessa fails to discuss the meaning of the collaboration. A comparison of Gutiérrez's El Trovador and Cammarano's Il trovatore


libretto caused David R.B. Kimbell to conclude that the much-criticized text was flawed owing to the difficulties of separating the personal drama of the protagonists from the political conflict of the Spanish setting. Moreover, Kimbell blames Verdi for the creation of "an almost universal distortion of the character Azucena". Pierluigi Petrobelli explains Verdi's transformation of one of Gutiérrez's scenes in *Il trovatore*: what the latter set as a dialogue for three characters, Verdi reset as a ballade for one character addressed to a responding chorus. According to Petrobelli, this manner of delivery was derived by Verdi from the contemporaneous French grand opera. Julian Budden examines the genesis of the libretto for *La battaglia di Legnano* and notes Cammarano's rather dominant role in this undertaking. Verdi, Budden claims, had matured sufficiently to ask for changes but the conditions of performance prevented the collaboration. Ursula Günther reports that an enormous number of documents--letters, contracts, libretto drafts--are to be found in the Archives of the Opéra in Paris. Such documents comprise


materials that concern nine Verdi operas from Jérusalem to Otello, each of which was mounted at the Opéra under Verdi's supervision or with his personal assistance. Günther reviews three relevant items that clarify in some way Verdi's involvement with the preparation of his librettos: first, the original libretto for Les vêpres siciliennes in which all changes effected by Verdi or Scribe are noted; second, Verdi's letters to Emil Perrin about the variety of libretto subjects proposed and/or considered during the genesis of Don Carlos (1865-66); third, four of Verdi's letters about modifications proposed but not realized for the French production of La forza del destino (1865).

Four full-scale books about Verdi's operas, issued in the past decade, do address the composer's collaboration with his librettists and each study is a valuable addition to the scholarly literature on this subject. Outstanding in this respect is Gabriele Baldini's Abitare la battaglia, first published in 1970 and republished, in English translation by Roger Parker, in 1980. We have already shown in Chapter I that Baldini devoted much space to the subject of Verdi as librettist of his own operas. Indeed, Baldini's study is one of the most original and provocative to have appeared to date, a fact which is attested to by the many quotations of his opinions that appear in writings of other scholars.


The first volume of Julian Budden's monumental investigation of all of Verdi's original and revised operas appeared in 1973; Volumes II and III were issued in 1978 and 1981 respectively. Although Budden is primarily interested in analytical and descriptive studies of the music and drama of Verdi's operas—Budden's project has been likened to Ernest Newman's *Wagner Nights*—he introduces each opera with a recounting of the genesis of its libretto. Moreover, Budden shows himself to be keenly aware of Verdi's part in this task. To accomplish this, Budden draws upon a vast array of scholarly literature (not always credited in the author's sparse footnotes and, in many cases, omitted from the meagre and inconsistently documented bibliography) and appears to have selected his facts with great care. However, as we shall see when we discuss Budden's smooth prose narrative of the genesis of the *Aida* libretto, the surface impression of the facts is not always correct and Budden falls victim to error owing to his understandable dependence on the confused opinions of other writers.

Verdi's role in the creation of librettos for his operas receives considerable attention in five of the essays published in *The Verdi Companion*, issued in 1979. Particularly important are two studies by William Weaver which are directly concerned with Verdi's drammaturgy and provide a short introduction to the topic of Verdi's librettists and the composer's

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involvement in the writing of librettos for his operas.\textsuperscript{67} Essays by Julian Budden,\textsuperscript{68} Bruno Cagli,\textsuperscript{69} and Martin Chusid\textsuperscript{70} also contain references to the same topic.

David R.B. Kimbell's study of Verdi's operas from Oberto to La traviata --Verdi in the Age of Italian Romanticism (1981)-- pays great heed to the geneeses of all the librettos for these operas.\textsuperscript{71} To achieve his assessment of the Verdi melodrammi, Kimbell first discusses the development of the nineteenth-century opera libretto and cites the opinions of important writers of the actual period: Romani, Mazzini and Ritorni. Kimbell examines the main structural forms from both a textual and musical basis and the influence of social etiquette on these forms. The gradual alteration of the text favoured by Rossini to that handed down to the young Verdi is carefully


\textsuperscript{70} Martin Chusid, "Verdi's Own Words: His Thoughts on Performance, with Special Reference to Don Carlos, Otello and Falstaff," in The Verdi Companion, ed. William Weaver and Martin Chusid, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1979), pp. 144-92.

considered. In the very large portion of the book given over to a study of the evolution of the early Verdi libretto, Kimbell deals with the operas in chronological order and characterizes the different circumstances surrounding the creation of each text. Verdi's librettists of this period and their interaction with the composer are considered in full detail. Moreover, copious quotation is made from the relevant published correspondence (in English translation) as supportive evidence for Kimbell's observations. It is clear that this author is in full command of the unique circumstances surrounding Verdi's collaborations:

Most composers were affected by the trend towards a more mutual dependency of words and music. It was a big step from Rossini's cavalier unconcern for literary values to Bellini's fastidiousness. And it was a big step again from that to the kind of collaborations characteristic of Verdi with, say, Piave, where there is no aspect of the libretto from the broad architectural layout of the 'sketch' to the minutest verbal details of recitatives and arias, in which the composer is not closely interested.\(^7\)

But it must be pointed out that Kimbell's study does not offer any new ideas or unusual points of view. Rather, it is a thorough review of the great strides made in Verdi studies by a large number of musicologists during the last twenty-five years. It is an English-language summation of Verdi's first quarter-century of activity as an operatic composer.

The critical issue concerning a complete edition of Verdi's known correspondence remains a problem. Only three significant publications of

\(^{72}\) Kimbell, *Verdi in the Age*, p. 70.
portions of the composer's voluminous output of letters have appeared since Luzio's contributions of 1935 and 1947. First, William Weaver's *Verdi: A Documentary Study*, published in 1977, offers an overview of the composer's long career in the form of letters and documents (in English translation) which elucidate the iconographical main section of the book. Although the subject of Verdi as collaborating librettist is not the central topic of Weaver's study, many of the letters and documents touch upon the issue. Second, the complete correspondence between Verdi and Boito that has come to light comprises the *Carteggio Verdi-Boito* published in 1978 under the editorship of Mario Medici and Marcello Conati. The second of two volumes that form this publication is given over to a thorough critical study of the letters' content. Third, Hans Busch has compiled an extensive edition of the correspondence and documentation related to *Aida*. This will be discussed in the next chapter of the present study.

During the past two decades, the number of scholarly articles about Verdi's operas has increased greatly. Although some writers—among them,


David R.B. Kimbell, Massimo Mila and Scott Stringham—have attempted to probe the nature and details of Verdi's collaborations with his librettists, lack of autograph documents has prevented, in most cases, new insights into the composer's special role. However, four scholars did gain access to some part of the autograph sources or re-examined already published evidence.

In 1972, Budden ascertained that a number of changes were wrought to the music and text of *Les vêpres siciliennes* by the composer after the first performances and again at a still later date. Budden isolated (detected) the changes by comparing two different autograph manuscripts—one at the Bibliothèque Nationale, the other at the British Museum—with scores printed by Escudier and Ricordi. Furthermore, Budden brought a new romance for this opera to light: the piece was prepared by Verdi for a revival of *Les vêpres siciliennes* at the Opéra in 1863.

A thorough investigation of the libretto draft books prepared for the 1866-67 Paris versions of *Don Carlos* is given by Ursula Günther in her two-


part article published in 1972 and 1974. Günther recounts the complicated genesis of this opera and explains the content of the libretto draft books which are housed at Sant'Agata. Extracts from the relevant correspondence between Verdi and Du Locle are interspersed among the published libretto texts. Another two-part article published by Günther (with the assistance of Gabriella Carrara Verdi) considers the Italian revisions of the same opera. Extensive correspondence between Verdi, Du Locle and Charles Nuttter is the basis of this discussion.

Francesco Degrada's excellent account of the literary foundations of the Macbeth libretto and Verdi's part in both the writing of the basic prose libretto and its versification must be numbered among a handful of studies that probe all possible sources and successfully synthesize the many ramifications of this complex subject. According to Degrada, Verdi needed the poet Maffei's cultured background to supplement his knowledge, especially during the composer's hectic years in the opera theatre up to the early 1850s. Maffei's Schiller-based translation of Shakespeare's Macbeth was an important source for Verdi but he was also greatly influenced by reading Schlegel's study of the same play. Degrada shows how Verdi paraphrased in

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letters to his official poet, Piave, and to other collaborators key concepts of Schlegel. Testimony to Degrada's opinions and conclusions is a comparison of Verdi's correspondence with the autograph libretto which contains Maffei's corrections and additions. Degrada believes the comparison and analysis permit reconstruction of the "musical and dramatic mechanism" that created the typical Verdi opera of this period.

Finally, mention must be made of Andrew Porter's contribution to the history of Don Carlos. While he does not deal solely with the genesis of the libretto, Porter's several articles about various versions of the opera are informative sources with respect to Verdi's collaboration with his librettists.

CHAPTER III

PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON THE AIDA LIBRETTO

In order to appreciate the problems that beset the majority of scholars who wrote about the genesis of the Aida libretto, one must first understand the chronology of this particular history. The evolution of the libretto can be entirely reconstructed owing to the fact that eight distinct items, each representing a step in the development of the text, have come to light. Moreover, Verdi took an active part in the writing of all but the first of these eight items. For this reason, study of Verdi's role in the creation of the Aida libretto allows a unique insight into the composer's creative process. Each item, with the exception of the fourth and seventh, is a complete text that consists of a synopsis, groundplan, prose libretto or versified libretto of the complete opera. The fourth item is incomplete for it lacks a text for the fourth act, while the seventh consists of the correspondence concomitant to the versification.

It would appear that the evolution of the libretto was accomplished in two stages. The first stage involves the creation of five preparatory libretto items, each of which represents an increasingly developed version of the text:

Item 1, a prose scenario—four acts, six tableaux—in French, by Auguste Mariette

Item 2, an Italian translation of this scenario by Verdi (Acts I and II) and by his wife, Giuseppina Strepponi (Acts III and IV)
Item 3, a two-page groundplan in Italian of the component scenes of the opera—still four acts but now seven tableaux—developed by Verdi from Mariette's scenario

Item 4, the modificazioni (modifications)—Verdi's term—of the first three acts of Mariette's scenario, including the new tableau devised by Verdi in his groundplan. This text was prepared by Verdi and Camille Du Locle and written in French in the latter's hand

Item 5, a libretto in Italian prose dialogue in Verdi's hand.

Stage two comprises the versification of the Italian libretto in consort with the composition of the music. Three interrelated items represent this stage:

Item 6, the versified libretto by Antonio Ghislanzoni which is based on Verdi's prose libretto (item 5). The writing of this text was accomplished under Verdi's direct supervision

Item 7, Verdi's critical review of the drafts of the versified libretto revealed in thirty-five of the composer's letters addressed to Ghislanzoni

Item 8, the selection and assembly by Verdi of the final version of the versified libretto drawn from various drafts of the versification by Ghislanzoni.

Confusion as to the paternity of the Aida libretto and the unavailability of the autographs of the draft librettos and other related materials obscured the genesis of the opera, in particular, its text, for over a century. The title page of the first printed libretto prepared for the world première at
Cairo, 24 December 1871, reads Parole di Ghislanzoni (Words by Ghislanzoni). The poet, however, wrote Versi di Ghislanzoni on the title page of the autograph of the partitura. The word versi means lines of poetry and with the employment of this word it is clear that Ghislanzoni wished to make known that he was the versifier but not the creator of the Aida libretto. The phrase Versi di Ghislanzoni was employed on the title page of the first printed Italian libretto prepared for the European première at Milan on 8 February 1871 and use of this phrase persisted for some time. However, no mention of the other writers—Mariette, Du Locle or Verdi himself—is made on the title pages of any of these librettos. Indeed, meagre information with respect to the authorship of the text continues in printed librettos and scores to the present day.

Two eminent European music critics—Filippo Filippi and Ernest Reyer—attended the first performances of Aida at Cairo in 1871. In their reviews, both writers name three of the authors of the libretto—Mariette, Du Locle and Ghislanzoni—but the manner in which each writer recounts the paternity of the libretto shows both to have misunderstood or, perhaps, to have

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1 A photo copy of the title page is reproduced in Mario Morini, "Antonio Ghislanzoni: Tra musica e poesia," La Scala, 73 (1955), 58.

2 Ghislanzoni's substitution of the word versi for parole is explained by Camille Du Locle in his letter to the editor of the French-language newspaper L'Italie, published in Rome, issue dated 28 March 1880.

3 For example, the title page of the Ricordi partitura, plate no. P.R. 153, reads Libretto di Antonio Ghislanzoni. See also Jean Humbert, "À propos de l'égyptomanie dans l'oeuvre de Verdi: Attribution à Auguste Mariette d'un scénario anonyme de l'opéra Aïda," Revue de musicologie, 62 (1976), 229, no. 2 for further examples of publications in which Ghislanzoni alone is credited with the writing of the libretto.
deliberately obscured the precise role of each of the three mentioned authors. Verdi's role in this work is not addressed.

Filippi, writer for the Milanese newspaper *La perseveranza*, reports in some detail about the progressive development of the text but begins in error by naming another writer, cited below, who does not seem to have played any part in the creation of the libretto. As a result of the inclusion of a fourth author, the roles of the other three writers who did play important parts in the evolution of the text are either minimized or confused. Filippi declares that Ismail, the Viceroy of Egypt, is the "inventor" of the "subject" while Mariette is said to have created a "first scheme" out of the Viceroy's ideas. The "first scheme" is then said, albeit obliquely, to have been turned into a libretto by Du Locle. Furthermore, Filippi says this libretto was then "reduced" by Ghislanzoni into lines of Italian poetry:

The first idea of having an opera for Cairo written by Verdi, with an Egyptian subject, belongs to the Viceroy: the subject is his invention, but expanded by a quantity of historical and archeological particulars. The illustrious scholar Mariette-Bey produced a first scheme for it; the French poet De Locq [sic] hewed it into acts and scenes; our genial Ghislanzoni reduced it to Italian verse, giving care to shape, and often with true poetic inspiration.


5 Filippi, "Verdi Aida: Lettere egiziane," p. 353: "La prima idea di far scrivere a Verdi un'opera pel Cairo, con soggetto egiziano appartiene al Vicere: il soggetto è d'invenzione, ma sussidiato da un quantità di particolari storici ed archeologici. L'illustre scienziato Mariette-Bey
In the remaining chapters of our study, we will show errors in all Filippi's statements with the exception of his attribution of Mariette as creator of the "first scheme."

Reyer, the French composer and critic, reported about the Aïda première for the Parisian newspaper, Le Journal des Débats. Reyer's account of the paternity of the libretto, like Filippi's, is confused for it is a strange mixture of irrelevance, truth and falsehood. First, Reyer begins his discussion with the somewhat curious and irrelevant statement that although Théophile Gautier's Roman de la Momie could have suggested the basis of Aïda to Auguste Mariette, none of the content of the latter's work bears any resemblance to Gautier's novel:

The Roman de la Momie, by Théophile Gautier, could well have suggested the idea of the poem [libretto] of Aïda to Mr. Mariette, but there is not a single situation in the poem of Aïda which is borrowed from the Roman de la Momie.

Second, Reyer correctly names Mariette as the creator of the first version of Aïda. There is no mention of the Viceroy's role of author in Reyer's

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6 Renest Reyer's reports about the Aïda première are reprinted in "Voyage au Caire," in his Notes de musique, (Paris: Charpentier, 1875), pp. 185-213.

7 Reyer, p. 189: "Le Roman de la Momie, de Théophile Gautier, a bien pu suggérer à M. Mariette l'idée du poème d'Aïda, mais il n'y a pas une seule situation dans le poème d'Aïda qui soit empruntée au Roman de la Momie."
report:

This poem is, moreover, an invention of the learned director of the Museum of Bulaq, of the illustrious Egyptologist who has attached his name to so many marvelous discoveries, and quite recently to that of Serapeum. He wrote it entirely, in prose.  

However, employment of the word "poem" (poème) and the statement that Mariette wrote the whole in prose could suggest that this text was indeed a preliminary libretto. The appropriate term "scenario", which would have clarified the precise nature of Mariette's contribution, simply does not appear in Reyer's account. Third, Camille Du Locle is incorrectly named as writer of the libretto in French verse:

It is Mr. Camille du Locle who put it [Mariette's scenario] into verse and who, with that talent and that scenographic intelligence of which he has already given more than one example, adapted it according to the exacting demands of the lyric drama.

Fourth, Reyer erroneously states that Ghislanzoni translated Du Locle's French verse into Italian verse:

The role of Mr. Ghislanzoni (this is the only name that appears on the playbill besides that of Mr. Verdi) has

8 Reyer, pp. 189-90: "Ce poème est donc une invention du savant directeur du Musée de Bulaq, de l'illustre égyptologue qui a attaché son nom à tant de merveilleuses découvertes, et tout récemment à celle du Sérapeum. Il l'a écrit tout entier, en prosé."

9 Reyer, p. 189: "C'est M. Camille du Locle qui l'a mis en vers et qui, avec ce talent et cette intelligence scénique dont il a donné plus d'une preuve déjà, l'a accommodé suivant les exigences du drame lyrique."
been limited to the translation of the French verse of Mr. du Locle into Italian verse.\footnote{Reyer, pp. 189-90: "Le rôle de M. Ghislanzoni (c'est le seul nom qui figure sur l'affiche à côté de celui de M. Verdi) s’est donc borné à traduire en vers italiens les vers français de M. du Locle."}

Finally, Reyer concludes his discussion of the genesis of the libretto somewhat defensively, as if he suspected he had revealed information not quite intended for general circulation:

> I do not commit the least indiscretion in revealing these mysteries. And, moreover, it seems natural enough to me that each receives [mention of] the part that he brings about in the success of Aïda.\footnote{Reyer, p. 190: "Je ne commets pas la moindre indiscrétion en révélant ce mystère. Et d'ailleurs il me semble assez naturel que chacun reçoive la part qui lui revient dans le succès d'Aïda."}

These two confused versions of the paternity of the Aïda libretto by Filippi and Reyer appear to have been the bases of the reports of many other writers for a considerable time thereafter. Moreover, omission of Verdi's role as collaborating librettist rendered both accounts incomplete.

In 1873, similar wrong information concerning the writing of the libretto, in particular, the roles of Du Locle and Ghislanzoni, was given by Félix Clément and Pierre Larousse, who, in addition to their incorrect appraisal of the main authors, substituted another name for that of Mariette:

> Mr. Bassali, curator of the Museum of Bulaq, is said to have provided the theme of the libretto and to have
written it in prose. Mr. Camille du Locle is said to have put it into verse, and Mr. Ghislanzoni is said to have finally translated it into Italian verse for the use of Mr. Verdi.12

However, the French lexicographers had misspelled the new but incorrect surname of the author of the "poem". The person to whom they referred was Luigi Vassalli, an Italian egyptologist who served as Mariette's assistant and who was Keeper of the Bulaq Museum in Egypt from 1859 to 1884.13

Clément and Larousse did give some correct information with respect to Mariette's activities in the Aida project in that they referred to his contribution as designer and advisor for the sets and costumes which were created in authentic pharaonic style for the Cairo première:

With regard to Mr. Mariette-Bey, the learned Egyptologist, his role was very important. Keen on this occasion to apply his archaeological knowledge, he restored the elements of Egyptian life to Pharaonic times; reconstructed ancient Thebes, Memphis, the temple of Ptah, designed the costumes and regulated the scenery and staging.14


14 Clément and Larousse, p. 767: "Quant à M. Mariette-Bey, le savant égyptologue, son rôle a été fort important. Saisissant cette occasion d'appliquer ses connaissances archéologiques, il a restauré les éléments de la vie égyptienne au temps des Pharaons; reconstruit l'ancienne Thèbes, Memphis, le temple de Phtah, dessiné les costumes et réglé l'appareil scénique."
It is clear that the authorship of the text was suspect, for the paternity of the libretto was questioned in the Italian press prior to the first performance of Aïda at the Opéra in Paris on 30 May 1880, where the work was given in a French translation prepared by Du Locle and Charles Nuttier.

Du Locle replied to the inquiry about the libretto in a letter to the editor of the French-language newspaper L'Italie which was published in Rome. The letter was printed in the issue dated 28 March 1880 and in it Du Locle explained:

... the first theme of the poem belongs to Mariette-Bey, the celebrated egyptologist. I wrote the libretto, scene by scene, line [réplique] by line, in French prose, at Busseto, under the eyes of the maestro, who took a large part in this work. The idea of the finale of the last act, with its two superimposed scenes, belongs particularly to him. Translation of this prose into Italian verse was the task of Mr. Ghislanzoni. He has very correctly indicated simply in writing on the score: verses by Ghislanzoni.¹⁵

Du Locle does refer to Mariette's contribution and seems to have been the first writer to make mention of Verdi's role in the preparation of the libretto. But, again, no precise explanation of the nature of Mariette's text is given, for the correct term scenario is not employed. Furthermore,

at least five of Du Locle's explanations are suspect or, in fact, quite incorrect. First, Du Locle refers to his own libretto and infers it to have been a complete text but to date no such libretto has come to light. The only text for Aida written by Du Locle is a series of modifications (modificazioni) applied to various aspects of the content of the Mariette scenario and it must be pointed out that this text was prepared by Du Locle with the assistance of Verdi himself. We shall describe this text in great detail when a more credible version of the genesis of the Aida project is recounted in chapters IV and V of the present study. Second, Du Locle implies that he created a complete libretto (four acts) but the text of the modificazioni comprises only three acts, a suggestion for the split stage in the final tableau and a stage direction for the conclusion of the same scene. Moreover, in Du Locle's own words, the latter were products of Verdi's imagination. Third, the extent of Verdi's part in the writing of the modificazioni is not clear in Du Locle's letter and, as we shall demonstrate in considerable detail, is minimized rather severely. Fourth, Ghislanzoni did not translate Du Locle's French prose into Italian verse. Finally, it is of interest to note that no dates for Du Locle's visit with Verdi for the purpose of writing the libretto "under the eyes of the maestro" are given and that the visit is said to have taken place at Busseto when, in actual fact, it took place at Sant'Agata. Indeed, Du Locle's account does not accurately explain the paternity of the libretto and the French librettist's version of his own role is greatly exaggerated.

Verdi cannot have been unaware of the controversy concerning the paternity of the libretto and could have easily explained the full details of its
creation. He preferred, however, to remain silent but his reluctance to make a public statement can, perhaps, be explained. At the time of the publication of Du Locle's explanatory letter in 1880, the composer and the French librettist were estranged owing to the fact that the latter had caused Verdi to lose a considerable sum of money. The breach between the two was so deep that the Italian rifacimento of Don Carlos/Don Carlo had to be conducted through the offices of an intermediary (Charles Nuttier). Indeed, the quarrel was not healed until February 1883. In addition, it must be pointed out that it was not unlike Verdi to conceal the true details of his professional career. Disclosure of his dominant role in the genesis and development of the libretto was at variance with the self-image he so assiduously cultivated, the simple farmer on his lands at Sant'Agata.

Du Locle's letter to the editor of L'Italie was given further credibility when it was reprinted without critical comment in Arthur Pougin's 1881 biographical study of Verdi. Moreover, this book reached a large audience for it was given world-wide distribution in the form of French and English translations which appeared in 1886 and 1887 respectively. As an official publication of Verdi's agent Ricordi, the content of this often-reliable


text would seem to have been the basis of two very influential Italian-language biographies that were published by the end of the same decade. Eugenio Checchi (1887) and Gino Monaldi (1889) both reprinted, again without comment, Du Locle's letter and, in turn, Checchi's and Monaldi's texts were employed as the sources for subsequent biographies of Verdi published during the next half century. Thus, an erroneous version of the genesis of the Aida libretto was perpetuated for a considerable time.

The texts of thirty-four letters written by Verdi and addressed to Ghislanzoni with reference to the versification of the Aida libretto were published in 1906 and republished in 1913 as part of the appendix of I copialettere di Giuseppe Verdi. Sixteen other letters concerning the Aida project were also given in the Copialettere appendix: one letter, Verdi to Giulio Ricordi about the engagement of Ghislanzoni for the task of writing and versifying the libretto; twelve letters which Verdi addressed...

19 Eugenio Checchi, Verdi 1813-1901, 2nd ed. rev., (Florence: Barberà, 1901); and Gino Monaldi, Verdi 1839-1898, (Turin: Bocca, 1899).


21 At this time the letters were in the possession of Edgardo Masini. Publication was accomplished in the February 1906 issue of Lettura del Corriere.

22 Gaetano Cesari and Alessandro Luzio, eds., I copialettere di Giuseppe Verdi, (Milan: Comissione esecutiva per le onorazione a Giuseppe Verdi nel primo centenario della nascita, 1913), pp. 635-82.

23 Cesari and Luzio, pp. 635-36.
to various recipients about production details concerning the first performances of *Aida* in Cairo, Milan and Parma;\(^{24}\) three letters containing Giulio Ricordi's response to Verdi's inquiry about Ghislanzoni's availability to write the libretto.\(^{25}\)

The Verdi-Ghislanzoni correspondence is unique for it represents the largest known collection of letters by Verdi pertaining to the versification of a single opera. For this reason, the *Aida* correspondence was studied and discussed by most writers who ventured an examination or reconstruction of the genesis of a Verdi opera after 1913. However, as these letters represent only one aspect of the complexities attached to the writing of a libretto, this was destined to be an impossible task. The autographs that would have clarified the meaning of Verdi's discussion given in the letters were apparently not made available for study.

The *Copialettere* publication of the *Aida* correspondence is not, however, without some serious faults.\(^{26}\) For one thing, the order of the published

\(^{24}\) Cesari and Luzio, pp. 676-82.

\(^{25}\) Cesari and Luzio, pp. 636-37.

\(^{26}\) The autographs of twenty-five of the Verdi-Ghislanzoni letters published in the *Copialettere* are held at the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York City. Comparison of the autographs with the *Copialettere* texts shows the following omissions and errors: a. *Copialettere*, 8 settembre 1870, p. 644, seven of Verdi's dotted lines are omitted after the line "DONNE. Cogl'inni ecc. (Come stanno)"; b. *Copialettere*, 10 settembre 1870, p. 645, the word "meglio" is incorrectly substituted for "bene"; c. *Copialettere*, Sabato, p. 655, five dotted lines are omitted after the fifth given line: "RAD. Ah no, fuggiamo . . . ."; d. *Copialettere*, Sabato, p. 656, line 16, the first word "Vieni" is omitted; e. *Copialettere*, Mercoledì, p. 660, one of two dotted lines is omitted after the line "Numi, pietà del mio straziato core"; f. *Copialettere*, Giovedì, p. 661, two dotted lines are
letters is incorrect, for some letters are without indications of specific
dates—day and/or month—and the editors of the Copialettere fail to perceive
that such omissions result in disorder or simply make no effort to rectify
the faulty chronology of their edition. For another, some of the letters
in the Copialettere appendix—Verdi to Ghislanzoni—contain textual errors:
the omission of words, sentences and proposed sentences (the latter were
given by Verdi in the form of dotted lines). Doubtless, such omissions were
caused by the complications of transcribing Verdi's very personal hand or
through sheer misunderstanding by the editors of the meaning of certain
words or signs.

It is curious that the first letter of the Aida correspondence given in
the Copialettere appendix, Verdi to Giulio Ricordi, dated 25 June 1870 at
Sant'Agata, did not receive its due attention from scholars who undertook a
study of the evolution of the libretto. In this letter, Verdi refers to a
printed outline (programma stampato) which is, of course, Mariette's scenario.
Furthermore, Verdi explains to Ricordi how he and Du Locle had studied the
outline at Sant'Agata in order to prepare the necessary modifications:

 omitted after the line "Che più non la vedrai, ecc. ecc."; g. Copialettere,
Domenica, p. 664, two dotted lines preceded by the abbreviation "Reci" are
omitted at the outset of the text which begins "E qui . . . lontana da ogni
sguardo umano"; h. Copialettere, Mercoledì, p. 668, the line "Se otto versi
son pochì ne faccia 10" is omitted between two paragraphs given at the right-
hand side of the model text which begins "Arbitri di tua vita, i sacerdotti";
i. Copialettere, 5 agosto 1871, p. 675, the directive "Rec." at the right-
hand side of the last two lines of text headed Recitativo is omitted;
j. Copialettere, 5 agosto 1871, p. 675, the postscript marked © in the auto-
graph is inserted into the text proper.
Du Locle came here immediately...we studied the outline together, and together we made the modifications we believed necessary." Careful reading of this portion of Verdi's letter makes clear that Du Locle's presence at Sant'Agata in June 1870 was for the purpose of altering certain details in Mariette's scenario. There is no suggestion that a complete French-language libretto was written by Du Locle at this time.

Publication in 1913 of the Verdi-Ghislanzoni correspondence for Aida was almost immediately the source of two articles in which scholars attempted to probe Verdi's creative process and, of course, the genesis of the libretto. In 1914, an extended interpretation by Edgar Istel of the Aida correspondence in relation to the dramatic structure of the completed opera was published in Germany and subsequently, at a later date, republished in America. Istel accepts without question Du Locle's explanation given in his letter to the editor of L'Italie with respect to the roles of the various writers of the Aida libretto. Acceptance of Du Locle's claim is curious, for the Verdi-Ghislanzoni correspondence—the subject of Istel's article—clarifies the basic process of the versification and shows Du Locle's claims to be false. Moreover, Istel's reiteration of Du Locle's claims to have written the libretto—scene par scène, réplique par réplique—once again lends a degree


28 Edgar Istel's article first appeared in Die Musik, 13 (1913-14). Unfortunately, it was not available for use in the present study.

of credibility to a large amount of false information.

In order that he might solve what he perceived to be lacunae and states of disorder in the Verdi-Ghislanzoni correspondence as given in the *Copia-lettere* appendix, Istel re-orders the letters according to the layout of the "fundamental lines of its [the opera's] dramaturgical structure."

Istel's study of the content of the letters is based, as the following quotation indicates, on his own theory of the drama and not on the actual evidence of Verdi's concepts of the musical drama expressed in the discussion of the versification:

> We can get a clear idea of the process of building the libretto only by culling from his correspondence, which is a criss-cross discussion of the whole work . . . arranging them [the letters] systematically and submitting them to dramaturgical analysis.30

Without an accurate chronology of the letters and access to the ms. drafts of the versification, Istel is forced to improvise his own system of analysis and consequently falls very short of obtaining a clear version of Verdi's role in the preparation of the versified *Aida* libretto.

Writing in 1916, Algernon St. John-Brenon allowed that four writers had been involved in the creation of the *Aida* libretto.31 First, " . . . Mariette-Bey conceived the story, and suggested certain historical allusions and details." Second, "Camille du Locle . . . wrote that which in theatrical


parlance is called a scenario, that is an extended description in the prose of the action." Third, "Antonio Ghislanzoni . . . wrote the poem of Aida as we have it now." Finally St. John-Brenon makes more than a passing reference to Verdi's important role in the preparation of the text:

He [Ghislanzoni] also added two scenes purely the product of the imagination of Verdi, the scene of the Judgement and the tragic finale of the whole opera. . . . Moreover, there is scarcely a page of Ghislanzoni's that Verdi has not corrected, amplified or modified as regards the language or as regards episode, all in reference to the stern exactions of the theatre. One is surely justified, then, in referring to Verdi himself as a fourth author of the book of Aida.  

Although St. John-Brenon makes no mention of Du Locle's letter to the editor of L'Italie or Verdi's letter to Giulio Ricordi dated 25 June 1870, it is clear from the second of his statements that he had studied these sources with care. St. John-Brenon's last observation is, of course, founded on a careful reading of the Verdi-Ghislanzoni Aida correspondence. He would appear to be the first writer to reiterate Pougin's observation with respect to the fact that Verdi himself took a large part in the creation of texts for his operas.

In 1921, Jacques-Gabriel Prod'homme published in both Italian and American journals some of the correspondence that passed between Verdi and Du Locle and a short introductory article about their friendship and working methods (1866-76). This important correspondence also appeared in French


33 Jacques-Gabriel Prod'homme, "Intorno ad Aida: alcune lettere inedite di Verdi a Camille du Locle," Il pianoforte, 10 (1921); "Unpublished Letters
translation in 1929. The short period represented by the dates of the selected correspondence parallels the genesses and first productions of *Don Carlos* and *Aida*, and the first Parisian performances of the *Requiem*. The published letters were selected rather arbitrarily by Prod'homme from "... more than two-hundred letters" and included forty-four letters, Verdi to Du Locle; 1 telegram (copy), Du Locle to Verdi; four letters, Giuseppe Verdi to Du Locle; one letter, Du Locle to his wife Marie Du Locle; and one letter, Verdi to Paul Drahnet, an official of the Cairo Opera. Eight of Verdi's letters to Du Locle given in Prod'homme's publication concern the genesis of the *Aida* project but at least five other relevant letters about the same project and from the same source (the Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Paris) were, unfortunately, not included in the publication. In addition to letters, Prod'homme published Verdi's draft of the details of his *Aida* contract with the Cairo authorities and Du Locle's telegram to Verdi in which he notified the composer that the specified conditions for the composition and payment for *Aida* had been accepted by the Egyptians. However, without Du Locle's queries and responses to Verdi's letters, it was impossible for scholars to form an accurate version of the interaction between Verdi and Du Locle during the period in which the *Aida* project was begun. The missing


portion of the correspondence—Du Locle's letters—was held by Verdi's heirs in their archive at Sant'Agata. The only letter by Du Locle in the entire published collection is a reiteration of the false account about the writing of the *Aida* libretto addressed by the French librettist to his wife. Publication of another letter only reinforces the impression created by the 1880 letter to the editor of *L'Italie*.

Prod'homme's publications are not without serious faults. First, the English and French versions of two of Verdi's letters contain incorrect translations of important sentences. In the letter dated 25 April 1870, Verdi's sentence reads "È certamente difficile giudicare da un resoconto, ma a me pare che il soggetto vi sia" (It is certainly difficult to judge from a report, but it seems to me that a theme is there.) In his English version, Prod'homme gives "Of course, it is difficult to judge from a summary, but it seems to me that the subject would suit you [Du Locle]." The French version repeats the error: "Il est certainement difficile de juger d'après un compte rendu, mais il me semble que le sujet vous ira." The misapprehension that "vi sia" (be there) referred to Du Locle as possible librettist for an as yet unwritten opera by Verdi, lent greater credibility to the erroneous claims that Du Locle actually wrote a French-language libretto for *Aida*. The faulty translation of a sentence in the letter dated 26 May

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35 A detailed criticism of Prod'homme's article in its various translations is given in Alessandro Luzio, "G. Verdi e suoi editori di Francia e d'Italia," in his *Carteggi verdiani*, IV (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1947), 152-56.

1870 reads as an absurdity. Verdi's sentence "Sentiremo ora le condizioni pecuniarie dell'Egitto, e poi decideremo" (Now let us hear the financial conditions from Egypt, and then we shall decide) reads in the English version as "Now let us consider the general feminine situation in Egypt, and then we shall decide." The French version again repeats the error: "Voyons maintenant les conditions féminines de l'Égypte et puis nous déciderons." Second, two letters dated 2 and 9 June 1870 are published in the English version in reverse order. The error is corrected in the French translation. Third, the text of the letter dated 26 August 1870 is incomplete in the English version: Prod'homme omits two important conditions to Verdi's instructions about his contract with Cairo. Finally, a letter written by Verdi to Paul Drahnet is headed with an abbreviated salutation—Verdi wrote E for Excellenza—and Prod'homme mistakenly considers this to have been addressed to Du Locle. Moreover, the full salutation is given in the 1929 French translation but no explanation is presented for Verdi's unlikely use of a defferential greeting to an intimate friend. Finally, the text introducing the letters perpetuates serious errors with respect to the paternity of the libretto: Prod'homme maintains that Du Locle had versified the


libretto and this, in turn, had been translated into Italian by Ghislanzoni.  

But a more serious error was established by Prod'homme. In a footnote to Du Locle's letter to his wife, in which Du Locle claimed to have written the entire libretto in French, Prod'homme explained that the French librettist had spent "some three weeks [sic] with Verdi at Busseto [sic]" presumably employed in writing the libretto. The boldly conjectured and highly inaccurate version of the length of Du Locle's stay in Italy lent, of course, still greater credibility to his (Du Locle's) claims that he had written the complete libretto, for it might have been possible to have written the text in this period of time. The genesis of the Aida libretto as given in Prod'homme's account was not to be questioned until the middle of the 1930s.

With the exception of Mariette's scenario—the programma stampato cited by Verdi in his letter to Giulio Ricordi—the autographs of all the preparatory and versified librettos, which would have permitted scholars to understand Verdi's role in the evolution of the text, were in the possession of Verdi's heirs at Sant'Agata. Until recently, the Carrara Verdi family allowed only one scholar, Alessandro Luzio, to examine the autographs. Luzio's findings were published in 1935 in an article in which the Italian scholar sought to clarify the true turn of events that led to the composition of Aida and the responsibilities of the five writers who took part in the


writing of the libretto. The basis of Luzio's investigation was a re-examination of all the published correspondence, unpublished letters and the contents of the autographs at Sant'Agata. The new correspondence was held at the Carrara Verdi Archive and included eight letters, Du Locle to Verdi and one letter, Mariette to Du Locle.

In his re-examination of the genesis of the Aida project, Luzio republished the first part of the 1880 article in the Roman newspaper, L'Italie, (including the opening portion of Du Locle's letter) and Du Locle's letter to his wife, and discussed these in conjunction with Prod'homme's publication of the Verdi-Du Locle correspondence. Luzio concludes that Prod'homme misrepresented Du Locle's position by giving the false impression that Du Locle was obliged to pose as the victim of an economic disaster at the Opéra-Comique and that grave insinuations were thrust at Verdi as a result of this. However, Luzio maintains that the evidence of Du Locle's letters and the autograph of the modificazioni—all held at Sant'Agata, and seen only by Luzio—allow a correction of the biased version of the genesis of the libretto begun by Du Locle and perpetuated by other writers.

Owing to the fact that Luzio examined the autograph of Verdi's prose libretto (item 5) and the now more complete Verdi-Du Locle correspondence,

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44 Alessandro Luzio, "Come fu composta l'Aida," Nuova antologia, 1 March 1935. This article was reprinted in an expanded version in the same author's Carteggi verdiani, IV (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1947), 5-27. The reprinted version was used for the present study.

45 Luzio, Carteggi verdiani, IV, 6-7.

46 Luzio, Carteggi verdiani, IV, 7.
he is able to engage in a more logical discussion of Du Locle's claims that he had written the libretto in French verse. Luzio concludes that Du Locle misrepresented himself as the main author of the libretto and that Verdi's role was much greater than had been hitherto understood. Furthermore, Luzio claims that Du Locle's visit at Sant'Agata—not Busseto as Du Locle had written—lasted two or three days only and not the three weeks postulated by Prod'homme.

The drastically shortened length of the visit was based on Du Locle's comment to Verdi in a letter dated 6 June 1870:

... you will probably have to resign yourself to a visit from me for two or three days. 47

Thus, in Luzio's view there had not been sufficient time in three days to prepare the libretto.

Unfortunately, Luzio's discussion of the contents of the autograph mss. of the documents housed at Sant'Agata is rather superficial. He published excerpts from only five scenes of the Du Locle-Verdi modificazioni (item 4), excerpts of seven scenes from Verdi's libretto (item 5) 49 and excerpts of four scenes from Ghislanzoni's drafts of the versification (item 6). 50

47 Luzio, Carteggi verdiiani, IV, 10: "... il faudra probablement que Vous Vous resigned à avoir ma visite pendant deux ou trois jours."
48 Luzio, Carteggi verdiiani, IV, 13-14; 19; 21.
49 Luzio, Carteggi verdiiani, IV, 17-22.
50 Luzio, Carteggi verdiiani, IV, 17; 22; 24.
Moreover, Luzio does not account for the vast collection of autographs of the various Aida librettos he claims to have seen at Sant'Agata. As a result, the evolution of the versified text remains unclear, for the reader is not shown the process of revision. It would also appear that Luzio was required to study the autograph mss. very hurriedly, for he attributes to the composer one of Ghislanzoni's revisions which Verdi subsequently copied. Careful study of all of Ghislanzoni's drafts would have prevented this error.

In conjunction with the correspondence published in the Copialettere and in Prod'homme's collection, Luzio's article was to be the most important source for scholars and biographers for the next thirty-five years. Nevertheless, apart from Franco Abbiati whose contribution is discussed below, few seemed aware of the article's existence or interested in Luzio's findings, for most discussions of the evolution of the libretto continued to be based on the earliest confusions until the 1970s.

One more letter addressed by Verdi to Ghislanzoni about the versification, dated 6 August 1871, was found in Luzio's papers upon his death and was published in Giuseppe Stefani's locative study of Verdi e Trieste.

51 Luzio, Carteggi verdiani, IV, 17.

52 See Carlo Gatti, Verdi, 2nd ed. rev., (Milan: Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, 1951), p. 543, where Gatti reiterates Luzio's notion that the modificazioni were created in a very few days: "Il Du Locle va a Sant'Agata e in pochissimi giorni, facendo e rifacendo lo 'scenario' con Verdi, 'stendendo da capo a fondo, scena per scena, frase per frase,' finisce il suo compito. (Du Locle went to Sant'Agata and, in a very few days, creating and recreating the "scenario" with Verdi, "writing it down from beginning to end, scene by scene, phrase by phrase," he finished his task.)"

This discovery brought to light the thirty-fifth letter Verdi addressed to Ghislanzoni concerning the versification of the *Aida* libretto.

Franco Abbiati's attempt to recount the evolution of the *Aida* libretto is based on a compilation of all important published correspondence and opinion. In addition, Abbiati presents unpublished correspondence drawn from three sources: the Carrara Verdi Archive at Sant'Agata, the Ricordi Archive and the Enrico Elmo Collection. The new letters that might allow a greater understanding of the *Aida* project include two letters, Ghislanzoni to Verdi; four letters, Giulio Ricordi to Verdi; three letters, Verdi to Giulio Ricordi; one letter, Ghislanzoni to Giulio Ricordi and one letter, Giuseppina Strepponi to Clarina Maffei. Nevertheless, Abbiati's account is unsuccessful for two reasons. First, he follows Luzio's opinions slavishly and does not question the latter's opinion about the two- or three-day visit of Du Locle at Sant'Agata. Furthermore, Abbiati does not question Luzio's account of the autograph libretto materials in the Carrara Verdi Archive and merely repeats the misunderstandings in Luzio's article. Second, he reprints the texts of portions of the Verdi-Ghislanzoni correspondence given in the *Copialettere* appendix without perceiving the disorder and misdates a telegram and a letter. In all cases, Abbiati avoids making any interpretive comment as to what the autographs and letters represent with respect to the versification of the libretto.

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55 Abbiati, III, p. 373 gives the date of Du Locle's telegram to Verdi, in which Du Locle informs the composer that the Egyptian authorities have accepted the contract conditions for *Aida*, as 5 June 1870. The correct date
In commemoration of the 1971 centennial of the *Aida* world première at Cairo, the Istituto di Studi Verdiani dedicated the fourth *Quaderni* to various aspects of the history of the opera. Two parts of this publication are pertinent with respect to the present study. Saleh Abdoun compiled 207 letters relevant to the genesis of the *Aida* project. Of the 137, housed at the Cairo Opera, only sixteen had been previously published. Of the remaining seventy, many are reprints, selected from earlier collections. The new correspondence contains several important letters between Verdi and the management of the Cairo theatre, and the publication of these letters assists in resorting the genesis of the project but not the evolution of the libretto. In particular, the great effort of the Cairo authorities to secure Verdi's services as a composer of a new opera is made clear in this collection of letters. Of greater interest to the present study is Marcello Conati's chronology of *Aida* performances throughout the world during the first decade that followed the Cairo première. We shall return to consider was 10 June 1870. Furthermore, Verdi's eventual reply is dated by Abbiati (III, p. 378) 25 August 1870. The letter is actually dated one day later. See Ursula Günther, "Zur Entstehung von Verdis Aida," *Studi musicali*, 2 (1973), pp. 53-54 and p. 65 for complete versions of these communications. In both cases, the dating is precise.

56 *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Studi Verdiani 4: Genesi dell'Aida*, (Parma: Istituto di Studi Verdiani, 1974).


the statistics of Conati's article when we discuss the reasons for Verdi's insistence that the new opera be composed upon an Italian-language text.

Research during the last decade has permitted four scholars to clarify some, but not all, aspects of the genesis of Aida. In 1973, Ursula Günther published forty-eight letters taken from four sources: Paris Opéra, carton Verdi 1869; Paris Opéra, papiers Ténéo; Sant'Agata, Collection Carrara Verdi and Edouard Mariette's biography Mariette Pacha, Lettres et Souvenirs Personnels. Günther examines the first steps of the Aida project: Egyptian proposals that Verdi write a new work for the Cairo Opera, Verdi's Parisian journey in the spring of 1870, Du Locle's role as intermediary between Verdi and Mariette (spokesman for the Egyptian authorities), and Du Locle's visit with Verdi at Sant'Agata. Furthermore, Günther reviews and criticizes the musicological literature in which scholars attempted discussion of this complex series of events and interactions without adequate sources, for example, Prod'homme, Luzio and Abbiati. Günther concludes that Du Locle introduced the Aida project to Verdi after 27 April 1870, the date on which Mariette mailed his scenario to Du Locle from Egypt and that Du Locle visited Verdi at Sant'Agata in the second half of June 1870 for about one week, the time necessary "to elaborate" Mariette's scenario and to discuss Verdi's contract with the Egyptian authorities at the Cairo Opera. However, Günther does not treat the development of the libretto by Du Locle, Verdi and Ghislanzoni.

A year after the appearance of Günther's article, Philip Gossett questioned the order and textual accuracy of the Verdi-Ghislanzoni correspondence published in the appendix of the Copialettere and proposed a new order for many of the undated letters based on a reconstruction of the 1870 calendar. In addition, Gossett criticizes the scholarly literature based on the content of the Copialettere. He points out that no writer has been able to interpret the meaning of Verdi's instructions to Ghislanzoni despite many claims to the contrary. Although he did not have access to the autograph mss. of the librettos in the Carrara Verdi Collection, Gossett undertakes to interpret the meaning of Verdi's instructions with respect to the structure of the Aida duets. Gossett concludes that despite Verdi's requests for new types of texts, the traditional duet in five-part structure—recitative, fast cantabile, slow cantabile, recitative and cabaletta—was employed in five important duet scenes of the opera.

In 1976, Jean Humbert published Mariette's scenario and its Italian translation prepared by the Verdis. A copy of the former was deposited by Charles Nuttier in the archive of the Bibliothèque de l'Opéra in Paris while the autograph of the latter was released from the Carrara Verdi Collection at Sant'Agata for the purpose of this publication. Humbert deduced that the printed scenario was the work of Mariette despite the fact that it was much longer than was supposed. Humbert also introduces the two

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texts with a short commentary about the history of the scenario and a review of its misinterpretation by many scholars for the greater part of the last hundred years. 62

Hans Busch collected and published in English translation all the letters that pertained, in his opinion, to every aspect of the Aida project between 1869 and 1891. 63 Thus, Busch republished the Verdi-Ghislanzoni correspondence from the Copialettere appendix; however, he did so in a revised order similar to that devised by Gossett. In addition, Busch corrected the textual errors of the earlier edition. Ghislanzoni's letters to Verdi about the versification of the libretto are also included in the new collection and these included two published and four unpublished letters. Four documents relevant to the evolution of the libretto appear in Busch's appendices: an English translation of Verdis' Italian translation of Mariette's scenario; 64 and English translation titled "Scenario by Camille Du Locle" of the modificazioni; 65 a draft for Act IV from Verdi's libretto, also in English translation; 66 and the first six pages of the autograph ms. of Ghislanzoni's versification. While the dialogue of the latter is given in the original

62 Humbert, 231 and 235.


64 Busch, pp. 440-47.

65 Busch, pp. 448-71.

66 Busch, pp. 487-93.
Italian, the set description and stage directions appear in English translation. Although Busch's massive collection is exemplary in many ways, the collection of documents—the scenarios and librettos—is not without its problems. By using English translations, Busch has not followed the syntax of the original languages in every detail. For this reason, the reader cannot judge matters of style and diction, an especially difficult problem in the case of the text of the modificazioni. Moreover, the layout of the texts on the pages of the mss., that is, the lineation, does not correspond with the edition and no indication of the pagination of the autographs is included. As a result, the reader cannot draw conclusions concerning discrepancies in the contents of the various texts. The Verdi libretto fragment and the first pages of the Ghislanzoni versification are, of course, parts of a much greater whole. It is a pity that the complete texts were not made available for publication, for without access to all the autograph mss., it is difficult to assess the complementary activities of each of the writers. Busch, following Luzio, incorrectly assumes that Verdi was the author of lines of poetry that were superscribed above crossed-out lines in Ghislanzoni's libretto owing to the fact that the former are in Verdi's hand.

Despite the fact that new published sources are available, they are incomplete. The lack of all the documentary evidence prevents a clear understanding of the most crucial step in the preparation of the Aida libretto and, in turn, this prevents a study of the predominant role Verdi played.

67 Busch, pp. 483-85.
Three very recent studies about the genesis and evolution of the Aida libretto—two by Julian Budden and one by Roger Parker—show continuation of misconceptions and outright errors that again appear to have been caused by the omission of key texts. While Budden's first article is a reasonably straightforward account of the first negotiations between Mariette, Du Locle and Verdi, he confuses the fact that the Italian translation of Mariette's scenario by the Verdis and Verdi's own libretto are quite different texts. Roger Parker's account of the evolution of the libretto is based on the Verdi-Ghislanzoni correspondence published in the *Copialettere*, the more recently published libretto fragments and the *modificazioni* given in Busch's compendium. However, Parker appears to have studied this material somewhat carelessly for he has arrived at several erroneous conclusions. First, he does not perceive that the Mariette scenario and the *modificazioni* contain several major differences. (These changes will be discussed in the fifth chapter of the present study.) Second, Parker assumes that the *modificazioni* was the source of Ghislanzoni's versification:

After Verdi and Ghislanzoni had met in mid-July, the librettist was sent away with du [sic] Locle's scenario and began to work.

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70 Parker, p. 33.
The fact that the so-called Du Locle scenario was incomplete, and, for this reason, could not have been the only source for the versified libretto, appears to have escaped Parker's notice. Moreover, the fragment of Verdi's libretto that is given in Busch's compendium receives no mention in Parker's study.

Budden's second article is the more extensive of his two studies about Aida, and, in it, he examines Verdi's role and the activities of the other four writers with greater care. Nevertheless, the fact that all the autograph sources had not come to light caused Budden to make a number of errors in his reconstruction of this complicated history. First, he accepts without question Du Locle's explanation of the opera's genesis and Du Locle's role as librettist as given in the French librettist's letter to the editor of L'Italie. Second, Budden again confuses the joint activity of the Verdis, which in this case was limited to the straightforward translation of Mariette's scenario into Italian:

By 8 July the visit [of Giulio Ricordi and Ghislanzoni] had already taken place, and Verdi with the help of Giuseppina was hard at work on the prose synopsis, translating it into Italian, cutting here, filling out there.

We shall show that this is chronologically incorrect. Moreover, the translation prepared by the Verdis was not expanded or abridged. Third, Budden

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compares the Mariette scenario with the modificazioni and in the comparison falls short of reporting the exact details of the changes. Owing to the fact that Budden was forced to use Busch's translation in which no pagination is given, Budden arrives at his conclusions through conjecture. For example, he remarks that there are two drafts for Act II, tableau 1, when, in fact, what he calls a second draft is actually a continuation of a single draft of the tableau. Finally, Budden bases his study of the versification of the libretto on portions of texts printed in Luzio's 1935 article. As a result, Budden merely repeats Luzio's errors which were caused by the latter's failure to examine each of the numerous autograph mss. that constitute Verdi's libretto and the Ghislanzoni versification.

73 Budden, The Operas of Verdi, III, 169-71.
74 Budden, The Operas of Verdi, III, 172-80.
CHAPTER IV

THE GENESIS OF THE AIDA PROJECT

During the last three years of the 1860s, Verdi appears to have declined at least seven invitations or suggestions to create a new opera abroad. The search for a suitable plot source, the ensuing development of the libretto and the myriad of problems that beset the rehearsals and the first performances of a new opera had come to be very vexing to Verdi.

The mounting of a new opera in Paris, for example, had assumed monstrous proportions during the nineteenth century. The preparation of the first performance of Don Carlos at the Opéra was an exceedingly protracted affair that required 270 rehearsals. Moreover, Verdi himself was forced to reside in Paris for ninety-three days to assist in this tedious work. It could well be that Verdi's reluctance to undertake a new commission was actually based on his growing aversion to the constraints attached to the creation of a new opera for foreign centres, in particular, Paris. In a letter addressed to Léon Escudier, dated 30 October 1867, Verdi explained his position:

"... Let us talk of D. Carlos, which, it seems, had a very great success in Bologna. All say the performance is marvellous and there are some very powerful effects. I cannot help but make some considerations: here they

rehearsed not even a month and they achieve great effects; at the Opéra they rehearse eight months and end by achieving a bloodless, frozen performance.

You see how right I am to say that one, single, secure, powerful hand can work miracles! You saw it with Costa in London, you see it even more with Mariani in Bologna. Will the Opéra never be convinced that its performances, on the musical side, are less than mediocre? And will they never believe that there is need of a reform, and of a musical direction, powerful and single?²

Indeed, Verdi's attitude, as revealed in his correspondence, shows him to have been less reluctant to create a new "Italian" opera than a work for a foreign country. The unfolding of the genesis of Aida makes clear that Verdi insisted the new work be an Italian opera. In fact, Aida was produced in Italian in thirty cities throughout Europe and North and South America between the date of its première in Cairo, 24 December 1871, and 22 April 1876 when the opera was finally produced in Paris at the Théâtre Italien.³ The first Parisian production was also given in Italian. Aida was not performed in French until 15 January 1877 when it was given in Brussels in a translation prepared by Camille Du Locle and Charles Nuttier. Moreover, performance at the Opéra, in French, was delayed until 22 March 1880, almost a decade after the Cairo première.⁴ As we piece together the complicated


genesis of *Aida*, it will become increasingly apparent that the work was never considered by Verdi to be a French opera despite a commonly held opinion that the Italian libretto was a mere translation of a French text. A full explanation of the confusion that brought about this erroneous notion will be given as we proceed.

In the spring of 1867, the management of the Imperial Opera at St. Petersburg wrote to Verdi with details of a new opera commission, while the composer was in Paris attending to the rehearsals for *Don Carlos* at the Opéra. The authorities of the Russian theatre proposed that Verdi write an opera based on a libretto for *Le Cid* by Francesco Graziani, the Italian baritone who had created the role of Don Carlo in the St. Petersburg première of *La forza del destino* in 1862. The offer was declined on the grounds that Verdi was too deeply involved with the preparation of *Don Carlos* to undertake a new work. Nevertheless, the St. Petersburg management repeated the offer to Verdi in 1868, only to be refused for a second time. The refusal would seem to have been based on Verdi's concern that the suggested libretto would not attain the high level of quality that might be achieved had the collaboration involved Camille Du Locle, the librettist for the recently completed *Don Carlos*. Verdi's comments about this have been preserved in a letter dated 8 May 1868 addressed to Du Locle: "I have not accepted and I have little will to accept [the Graziani libretto]. And

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even that little will would evaporate if you wrote the Cid. . . \(^6\)

In 1869, Verdi was also under some pressure from the management of the Paris Opéra to create a new work for that theatre. On this occasion, his refusal was based on memories of earlier experiences at the Opéra—*Jérusalem* in 1847, *Les Vêpres siciliennes* in 1865 and *Don Carlos*—at which many persons associated with the theatre had interfered with both the texts and scores during the lengthy rehearsals and had brought about numerous changes to Verdi's original ideas. The many unwanted alterations prevented, in the composer's opinion, the attainment of artistically unified operas. In a letter to Du Locle dated 8 December 1869, \(^7\) Verdi explained his position:

... it is neither the labor of writing an opera nor the judgement of the Parisian public that holds me back but rather the certainty of not being able to have my music performed in Paris the way I want it. ... In your opera houses— I say this without the slightest sarcasm—there are too many know-it-alls! Everyone wants to judge according to their own ideas, their own tastes, and, what is worse, according to a system, without taking into account the character and individuality of the author. Everyone wants to express an opinion, to voice a doubt; and the author who lives in that atmosphere of doubt for any length of time cannot help but be somewhat shaken in his convictions and end up revising, adjusting, or, to put it more precisely, ruining his work. In this way one ultimately finds in one's hands not a unified work but a *mosaic*; and beautiful as it may be, it is still a mosaic.\(^8\)

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\(^7\) English translations of Verdi's correspondence concomitant to the genesis of the *Aida* project and quoted in the present chapter are by Hans Busch and are taken from his *Verdi's Aida: History of an Opera in Letters and Documents* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1978), unless otherwise noted.

\(^8\) Busch, p. 4
In addition to proposals for new operas from Russian and French theatres, Verdi was also approached in 1869 by the management of the newly built Cairo opera house, first for an occasional piece and ultimately an opera. The letters to Verdi that contain the precise details of the proposals from the Cairo Opera management have not come to light but the contents of one of Verdi's letters in reply to Cairo and another to Giulio Ricordi make the nature of the suggestions clear.

Writing to Paul Draneht, general director of the Cairo Opera, on 9 August 1869, Verdi declined an invitation to compose a "hymn" to inaugurate the new theatre:

I am aware that a new theatre will be opened in Cairo on the solemn occasion which will celebrate the cut through the Isthmus of Suez. Although I deeply appreciate that you, Monsieur le Bey, wanted to give me the honor of writing a hymn to mark the date of the opening, I regret that I must decline this honor, because of the number of my current activities and because it is not my custom to compose occasional pieces.9

In another letter to Ricordi dated 25 June 1870, Verdi referred to foreign proposals that he received later in 1869 and in the spring of 1870 for a new opera:

This is what it is about: Last year I was invited to write an opera in a very distant country. I answered no. When I was in Paris, Du Locle was commissioned to talk to me about it again and to offer me a large sum.10

9 Busch, p. 3.

10 Busch, p. 27.
Although the first sentence could refer to many places, the clause "Du Locle was commissioned to talk to me about it again" makes it clear that the invitation came from Cairo. This was the first request for an opera from the Egyptian authorities and was probably made during Du Locle's visit with Verdi at Genoa during December 1869. The interaction of Verdi and the French librettist will be the subject of much discussion as we proceed.

But requests for a new Verdi opera were not limited to foreign theatres. Giulio Ricordi was also anxious to secure Verdi's commitment to create a new Italian opera. Moreover, the composer himself appears to have toyed with a number of proposals of operatic subjects during the years that followed the première of *Don Carlos*. Composition of an Italian opera for Italian theatres was apparently a less ominous task for the composer for he seems to have felt more comfortable working in his own country despite the fact that he had had a number of serious quarrels with the authorities of the major Italian opera houses. Perhaps the enormous critical success of *Don Carlo* under the direction of Mariani at Bologna had persuaded the composer that a new work might lead to an artistic triumph in Italy.

Early in 1870 Verdi suggested to Du Locle that *Acte et Neron* by Alexandre Dumas père might be a possible subject for an "Italian" opera. In his letter to Du Locle dated 23 (January) 1870, Verdi mentioned this subject but qualified his request so as to prevent any notion that the play might be transformed into a French opera:

> I always believe that *Nerone* could be [the] subject for a grand opera, of course made in my way. Thus
it would become impossible at the Opéra, but absolutely possible here. . . .11

Giulio Ricordi appears to have been appraised of Verdi's opinion of Nerone and to have gone to some lengths to influence the composer to contemplate seriously the writing of this new opera. However, Verdi was, as usual, extremely cautious with respect to any commitment for a new work. His objections about both the general and specific problems associated with a new opera are revealed in two letters to Ricordi:

3 February 1870: In writing an opera it is not the labor of composition that burdens me; it is the difficulty of finding a subject to my liking, a poet to my liking, and a performance to my liking that holds me back! And, on the other hand, where to write? In France? Poor me! Every time I set foot in those theatres I have a fever.12

14 February 1870: A drama for music is quite difficult! The more I think about it, the more the obstacles increase. It is certainly not impossible to find a historical event appropriate for a musical setting, but the difficulty lies in grafting the drama or the action to the event.13

In spite of many declarations that he was illdisposed to undertake the composition of a new opera, Verdi's correspondence reveals that a number of

11 Translation by the present writer from Franco Abbiati, Giuseppe Verdi (Milan: Ricordi, 1954), III, 328: "Io credo sempre che Nerone possa essere soggetto per una grand'opera, benitesto fatto a mio modo. Diverrebbe così impossibile all'Opéra, ma possibilissimo qui. . . ."

12 Busch, p. 7.

13 Busch, p. 8.
possible sources were contemplated in the years that followed the 1867 première of *Don Carlos*. The titles of the plays Verdi read at this time show a great variety of subjects that ranged from horror drama—*La Tour de Nesle* (Alexandre Dumas père and Fr. Gaillardet)—to high comedy—*Tartuffe* by Molière. However, none was found to be suitable for transformation into an Italian opera made in Verdi's own way.

The composer had two close associates who assisted him in his search for a new operatic topic. One of these mentors, Giulio Ricordi, would appear to have been prompted to encourage Verdi toward the preparation of a new opera not only for economic reasons but also because he believed in Verdi's remarkable talent. One of Ricordi's letters written to Giuseppina Verdi at the climax of the period of search, 10 February 1870, shows the publisher to have been fully aware of the extent of Verdi's gifts:

And I turn to you, Signora Peppina, so that you may advise me in this. . . . Art needs Verdi. It cannot and must not live but for him, and each year that goes by is fatal to our art—particularly to poor Italy, to whom by now no other true glory is left. What I say pours spontaneously from my soul. I speak with an open heart, aside from any commercial consideration, which in this kind of thing, however, is fortunately tied to art itself.\(^\text{15}\)

Camille Du Locle, French librettist, translator and, at different times, official at the Paris Opéra and the Opéra-Comique, was also anxious to

\(^{14}\) A fairly comprehensive list of the dramas and comedies contemplated by Verdi at this time is given in Budden, *The Operas of Verdi*, III, 161-68.

\(^{15}\) Busch, pp. 7-8.
persuade Verdi to create a new work. Moreover, like Giulio Ricordi, he seems to have also perceived the extent of Verdi's great talent. Because Du Locle played so great a role in Verdi's creative life during this period and because he was to be a key figure in the genesis of the *Aida* project, he needs full introduction. Association with Verdi dated from 1865 when Du Locle and Charles Nuttier approached the composer with respect to the preparation of a French translation of *La forza del destino*. While collaborating on the *Don Carlos* libretto, an extremely strong friendship developed between Verdi and Du Locle and this friendship extended to include their wives.

Du Locle had intimate connections with the operatic administration in Paris: his father-in-law was Emile Perrin who was at various times director of the Opéra-Comique (1848-57), the Théâtre-Lyrique (1854-57) and the Opéra (1862-70). Prior to his own appointment as co-director of the Opéra-Comique, Du Locle had served as Perrin's secretary at the Opéra. Although Du Locle's official appointment at the Opéra-Comique is usually given as 20 July 1870, the text of one of Verdi's letters to Du Locle dated 22 January 1869 makes clear that Du Locle was already serving in that capacity, albeit in an unofficial manner:

> The big shop [Opéra] was not enough for you, so you have reached out for the little one [Opéra-Comique]. But how about Perrin? and the Opéra? Have you deserted him? Anyhow, I wish you all the good fortune that you ever can imagine.16

Du Locle's important position in Paris—the capital of musical Europe in the nineteenth century—also brought him into close contact with important music publishers and the authorities of other opera theatres. These connections were, of course, to be crucial in the genesis of the *Aida* project. Du Locle had business dealings with Giulio Ricordi and with Léon Escudier, the French music publisher, editor and entrepreneur who was responsible for many productions of Verdi's operas in Paris. But Du Locle's connections were not limited to Europe: we shall observe that his sphere of influence extended to Egypt, in particular to the management of the new opera theatre and to important members of the European community residing in that country.

Verdi held Du Locle in high regard as a talented librettist. Thus, the latter was eminently suitable to be the instigator of the complex arrangements that led to the composer's next opera. During the winter of 1869 and the early spring of 1870, Verdi and Du Locle remained in fairly close contact through their interchange of letters and visits with one another. Verdi pressed Du Locle to visit with him in Genoa—the composer and his wife wintered there regularly—in a letter dated 8 December 1869:

If you should come to Genoa, we could no longer offer you *ravioli* because we no longer have our Genoese cook; but at any rate, you won't die of hunger, and—this much is certain—you will find two friends who are very fond of you and to whom your presence will be the greatest gift.\(^{17}\)

\(^{17}\) Busch, p. 5.
The visit took place at the end of December. At this time, Du Locle conveyed a proposal from the Egyptian authorities that Verdi compose a new opera for the Cairo theatre. No source subject for the proposed work is mentioned in the correspondence and for reasons that will be made clear later, it is certain that the Aida project was not considered at this time.

From 31 March to 20 April 1870, Verdi and his wife visited Paris. The sojourn was probably intended as a personal holiday; the Verdis visited with Du Locle and his family, attended the Opéra and other theatres and doubtless shopped and wandered about the great metropolis. While in Paris, Verdi was offered three more possibilities for contracts for new operas: one each from the Opéra and the Opéra-Comique and, again, one from the Cairo Opera. Verdi's account of his meeting with Emile Perrin in the company of the eminent French playwright, Victorien Sardou, is given in a letter to Clarina Maffei dated 30 April 1870. Verdi's amusing description of the encounter shows that the officials of the French theatre were most anxious to secure a contract with the composer:

Sardou told me, in no uncertain terms, that he could not authorize Faccio to do Patrie. He's got it in his head that sooner or later he will do a libretto for the Opéra; and, what is strange, he pretends that I shall do the music. "Bah, mais oui, mais oui" added Perrin, who was present, "cela doit être!" . . . When they left me, they were convinced that I could not live without breathing the air of Paris or write music without me fourrer dans la grande boutique.18

In the same letter, Verdi continued--this time in the third person--to restate

18 Busch, p. 13.
his unwillingness to resume his role as an active opera composer:

The maestro is not writing and has no desire to write. It may be, however, that he will do it later for the Opéra-Comique out of friendship for Du Locle, but it is very unlikely, very unlikely.19

It is clear from this last statement that Du Locle had tried to secure Verdi's interest in an opera to be written especially for the smaller Parisian theatre. During the same period, Du Locle also approached Verdi with an offer from the officials of the Cairo Opera House. Although the correspondence from Cairo instructing Du Locle in this matter has not come to light, Verdi's refusal is mentioned in a letter written by the French egyptologist Auguste Mariette to Du Locle.20 It is interesting to note that the discussions in Paris about the Cairo opera did not include reference to the Aïda scenario. The extant correspondence between the officials in Cairo—Mariette was their mouthpiece—and Du Locle shows without any doubt that the Aïda project was not discussed at this time. In fact, the first mention of it appears in Mariette's letter written in Cairo and dated 27 April 1870, seven days after Verdi and his wife had left Paris for Italy.21

The relationship between Du Locle and the Cairo Opera was obviously a professional affiliation but it was also based on his friendship with Auguste

19 Busch, p. 13.

20 Mariette's letter to Du Locle, dated 27 April 1870, is given in Busch, pp. 11-12.

21 Busch, pp. 11-12.
Mariette who, as we shall see, was indispensable to the genesis of the Aida project.

Mariette was an eminent nineteenth-century archaeologist, scholar and explorer who lived and worked in Egypt from 1850 until his death in 1881. In the service of the Viceroy, Ismail, after 1858, Mariette made many brilliant discoveries of Egyptian historical sites and monuments. He was the author of a number of learned books on Egyptian archaeology and of course, the author of the first source for the Aida libretto.\(^{22}\)

During the Paris Exposition of 1867, Mariette arranged a showing of Egyptian antiquities and it is quite likely that he made the acquaintance of Du Locle during his stay in Paris. Du Locle and Verdi, it will be remembered, were involved in the preparation of the first production of Don Carlos at this time. Furthermore, Du Locle travelled in Egypt in the early part of 1868 and, on this trip, he renewed his acquaintanceship with Mariette.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, Egypt began to emerge from centuries of feudalism. The Viceroy instigated the processo of Europeanization and thus modernization of his country, in particular, Cairo, upon his appointment as Viceroy in 1863. Part of his plan involved the design by Italian architects and the construction in the short space of six months of an opera house in the capital.\(^{23}\) The new theatre was inaugurated on 1

\(^{22}\) For a thorough recounting of Mariette's career, see "Mariette, Auguste Ferdinand François," Encyclopedia Britannica 1926 ed.

\(^{23}\) Details of the building of the Cairo Opera House are recounted in Saleh Abdoun, "Il teatro d'opera del Cairo," in Genesi dell'Aida: Quaderni dell'Istituto di Studi Verdiiani 4 (Parma: Istituto di Studi Verdiiani, 1974), pp. 147-51.
November 1869 with a performance of Rigoletto, conducted by Verdi's pupil Emanuele Muzio. The latter was doubtless one more link in the complicated chain of personalities that was to secure a new opera from Verdi for the Egyptian theatre.

The Viceroy was anxious to commission a new opera by a European composer of some stature. To this end, he would appear to have instructed Mariette to prepare a scenario as the basis of a new work and to begin negotiations with Verdi through the offices of an intermediary. As we have seen, Verdi was approached two times, once in Paris and once in Genoa, as part of this quest and had, on each occasion, refused. According to Mariette in a letter to Du Locle dated 28 April 1870, the Viceroy was "extremely annoyed and chagrined by the idea of foregoing the collaboration of Mr. Verdi whose talent he holds in the highest esteem."24

The Viceroy's appointment of an egyptologist to the role of the creator of the scenario for Aïda seems somewhat unusual in view of the fact that the two professions—archaeologist and librettist—cannot be said to be especially related. Nevertheless, there is a plausible explanation furnished by Mariette himself. In his letter to Du Locle dated 27 April 1870, Mariette attempted to clarify the nature and circumstances of a somewhat unusual assignment:

If I have intervened, it is, in the first place, because of the Viceroy's order and, in the second place, because of my belief that I could give the work true local color, which is the indispensable condition for an opera of this kind. Indeed I repeat to you that what the Viceroy wants is a purely ancient and Egyptian opera. . . . This

24 Busch, p. 12.
care for preserving local color in the mise-en-scène obliges us, by the same token, to preserve it in the scenario itself. In fact, there is a special phraseology for this—a frame of mind, an inspired note which only a thorough acquaintance with Egypt can provide. It is in this capacity that I have intervened and continue to intervene.25

Included with this explanatory letter was a copy of Mariette's scenario entitled Aïda.

The autograph of the handwritten ms. of Mariette's text has not come to light but a copy of a print of the scenario does exist.26 The circumstances of the printing were explained in Mariette's letter to Du Locle dated 27 April 1870:

In the meantime I am sending you a scenario. Don't be shocked by the fancy printing—I have no secretary. I wanted to have four sets of the manuscript copied out; that would have cost 100 francs. So I had four copies printed for 40 francs. This typographical luxury is, therefore, quite a bonus and the result of economy. Consequently regard the enclosed copy as the most modest of manuscripts.27

The title page of the printed copy, preserved at the Bibliothèque de l'Opéra in Paris reads: AïDA, opéra en quatre actes et six tableaux. Mariette is not named as author on this or any other page of the text.

25 Busch, p. 11.

26 For a modern reprinting of the complete text of Mariette's Aïda scenario, see Jean Humbert, "À propos de l'égypomanie dans l'oeuvre de Verdi: Attribution à Auguste Mariette d'un scénario anonyme de l'opéra Aïda," Revue de musicologie, 62 (1976), 228-56.

27 Busch, p. 11.
Indeed, the paternity of the printed copy can only be deduced from the text of the same letter written to Du Locle on 27 April 1870. However, while Mariette did not actually specify outright to Du Locle that he was the author of the text, Mariette's authorship is certainly implied from the context of the sentences. It is of interest that the general tone of the letter is rather vague with respect to this matter but so forceful in others. As we shall see, Mariette was not the only writer to veil the paternity of the scenario.28

There was some question as to the authorship of the scenario during the first stages of Du Locle's fourth and last attempt to interest Verdi in a contract for a new opera for the Cairo theatre. It would seem that Du Locle was also vague and even deliberately confusing with respect to the paternity of the scenario in three letters he sent to Verdi between 7 and 26 May 1870. In these letters, Du Locle gave Verdi the impression that the Viceroy himself was partially responsible for the writing of the text. Du Locle was, of course, hoping to entice Verdi's interest in the Aida project by being deliberately vague as to the paternity of the text. On 7 May 1870, Du Locle introduced Verdi to the notion of a new text:

There is a libretto to which the Viceroy, it seems is no stranger. It is not absurd—and even contains some beautiful dramatic situations. . . . Libretto is an improper word; I should have said scenario.29

28 There would seem to be an error in the date given at the bottom of the title page of the original print of the scenario. This reads: Imprimé au Caire, 1871. Owing to the fact that the printed copy of the scenario was sent to Du Locle at the end of April 1870, it must be concluded that the date on the title page is a misprint.

The French librettist forwarded the printed scenario to Verdi on 14 May 1870:

Here is the plan of the libretto that Egypt proposes. Four copies of this plan have been printed in Cairo. The Viceroy had this one sent to me.\(^{30}\)

And in the letter dated 26 May 1870, Du Locle began his campaign to induce Verdi to undertake the new opera:

If you let yourself be definitely tempted, then, if the Viceroy's libretto does not seem impossible for you to arrange and set to music, just say what you want done . . . \(^{31}\)

Du Locle's prose shows him to have been the master of business strategy and outright cunning. It will be noted that Du Locle misused the word "libretto" in the first and third letters and adopted the phrase "plan of the libretto" in the second letter. Du Locle's imprecise terminology may well have been planned.

Verdi, who was deeply entrenched in the business of writing and judging the merits of scenarios and librettos, suspected the text to have been prepared by a professional writer and he questioned Du Locle about the authorship of the scenario in his letter dated 26 May 1870:

I have read the Egyptian outline. It is well done; it offers a splendid mise-en-scène, and there are two or three situations, which, if not very new, are certainly.

\(^{30}\) Busch, p. 15.

\(^{31}\) Busch, pp. 16-17.
very beautiful. But who did it? There is a very expert hand in it, one accustomed to writing and one who knows the theatre very well.  

In his letter, Verdi made no error with respect to terminology: he used the Italian word *programma* [outline], an appropriate equivalent to scenario. Moreover, the composer was quick to perceive that the basis of the text was not the work of a rank amateur. Verdi's last sentence in this letter might well be considered to contain the subtle inference that he suspected the "very expert hand" to be none other than Du Locle's own. In his reply to Verdi's probing question, Du Locle finally named Mariette as co-author and negated the suspicion that a professional librettist had been involved in the project:

> The Egyptian libretto is the work of the Viceroy and Mariette-Bey, the famous archaeologist. None else has put a hand to it. It has been edited and printed in Egypt as I told you.  

About a decade later, in letters to his wife Marie and to the editor of the Roman newspaper *L'Italie*, Du Locle revealed that Mariette was the "true author of the libretto." Nevertheless, it could well be that Du Locle had advised Mariette or had assisted in the preparatory stages of the writing of the scenario during his (Du Locle's) visit to Egypt in the early

32 Busch, p. 17.

33 Busch, p. 17.

34 Busch, pp. 423-24.
part of 1869. This would explain that the "expert hand" that Verdi had perceived upon reading the text of the scenario was actually Du Locle's.  

The structure of the "four acts ... in six tableaux" given in the Mariette scenario corresponds to the completed Italian libretto with one exception. The second act is conceived in the scenario as a single tableau and this is actually the second of two tableaux given in the Italian libretto. However, the basis for the dramatic action of the new first tableau of Act II, which was probably added by Verdi himself at a later date, is given in Mariette's text as a subsidiary theme in the single tableau of his second act. This theme is the basis of the extended duet in which Amnéris interrogates Aïda with respect to the latter's love for Radamès.

The cast of characters given at the outset of the scenario corresponds to the cast as given in the completed Italian libretto with three exceptions. First, the orthography of the proper names of three characters differs from the Italian libretto: Radamès, Amonasro and Ramfis are given in Mariette's text as Rhadames, Amounasro and Ramphis. The names of these personages were given in Italian spellings by Verdi once he had undertaken the task of creating the opera. Second, the high priestess has a proper name, Thermouthis, in Mariette's scenario. This name was retained in the text of the Verdi-

35 The term "expert hand" was used by Verdi in his letter to Du Locle, dated 26 May 1870. See Busch, p. 17. For a discussion of the suggestion that Mariette based his scenario on Metastasio's libretto Nitteti, see Charles Osborne, The Complete Operas of Verdi: An Interpretative Study of the Librettos and Music and their Relation to the Composer's Life (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969), pp. 377-82. However, Budden in The Operas of Verdi, III, 165-66, dismisses this hypothesis as the "reddest of herrings."

36 Budden in The Operas of Verdi, III, 211, suggests Thermouthis's name was removed to allow the soprano performing Aïda to sing the role as an
Du Locle modificazioni—we shall come to this presently—but was not employed in any other preparatory libretto source or in the final Italian text. Last, the part of the messenger in Act I, scene v of the Italian libretto is called a herald in Mariette's scenario.

The text of the French-language prose scenario comprises six components that were utilized by Verdi to form the basis of the Italian libretto. First, at the outset of each of the six tableaux very detailed set descriptions are given. Two of these set descriptions—Act I, tableau 2 and Act II (tableau 2 in the Italian libretto)—correspond in a number of details to the settings employed in the final version of the libretto. For the other tableaux, Mariette gave specifications that were to be altered wholly or in major part by Verdi, Du Locle and Giuseppina Strepponi at later dates. A full explanation of the development of these changes will be given in the next two chapters of this study.

The second component is the position of the protagonists and/or the ensemble at the rise of the curtain for each of the tableaux. These descriptions were also to be very useful in that they included detailed information about the costumes for the protagonists and for the diverse groups that make up the ensemble—priests, scribes, officers, soldiers, slaves, etc., as well as the concomitant stage furnishings and properties. Owing to the fact that the basis of the greatest part of the dialogue was not in place and the

goastage part. No reduction of the cast took place at the Cairo première, however, for the official libretto, published for that occasion, notes the part of Thermutis, grande Sacerdotessa (high Priestess) was sung by Signora M. Allievi.
precise structure of the Italian libretto had not been decided, the positions of the ensemble and personages at the rise of the curtain was to change greatly from the version given in Mariette's scenario. Nevertheless, the version given in the scenario was the point of departure for the successive librettists of the Aida text.

Third, indications for solo, ensemble and choral pieces at appropriate places in the action as given in the text are found in the Act I portion of the scenario. For tableau 1 these include an opening chorus, an ensemble for three and a lament. For tableau 2, invocations and religious chants are prescribed. All but the first of these was retained in the Italian libretto.

Fourth, directives are given for a procession in Act I, tableau 1, a ballet in Act I, tableau 2, another ballet in Act II, a detailed description of the so-called "grand march" in Act II and a procession in Act IV, tableau 1.

Fifth, musical directives for special effects in the so-called consecration scene (Act I, tableau 2), the repetition of these effects in Act IV, tableau 2 and the introduction and dispersal by trumpet fanfares of the ensemble employed in the grand march (Act II) are also provided in some detail.

Finally, prose descriptions of the skeleton of the dramatic action and the relationships and sentiments of the main protagonists form the bulk of the scenario text. Owing to the fact that a large part of this skeletal framework was to be the basis of the subsequent modifications, Verdi's prose libretto and the versification of the latter, we give a paraphrased reduction of this important aspect of Mariette's scenario. Passages that were not
utilized in Verdi's transformation and development of the libretto have been omitted so as to simplify the reduction.

Reduction of the skeletal description of the dramatic action given in Mariette's scenario

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Act I [scene iii]</th>
<th>1. Amnēris's perception that Rhadamēs is indifferent to her and that her love for him is contended by another woman</th>
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37 The references to scenes and tableaux given in square brackets correspond to the layout of Verdi's libretto.
the Priests
2. The invocation of Ramphis
3. Rhadamès's invocation
4. The dressing of Rhadamès in his battle armor.

Act II [scene ii] 1. Amnérís feigns sorrow in announcing to Aïda that Rhadamès died in battle
2. Aïda's sobs disclose to Amnérís the truth of her suspicions about the lovers.

Act II [tableau 2] 1. The entrance of the Ethiopian prisoners, among them is Amounasro
2. Aïda recognizes Amounasro and begs the King to spare her father's life
3. Amounasro stops Aïda and tells her of his plan for vengeance
4. The King grants Amounasro's life.

Act III [scene ii] Aïda awaits Rhadamès and expresses her grief.

Act III [scene iii] 1. Amounasro appears and informs Aïda of the new Ethiopian revolt
2. Having perceived the love of Rhadamès and Aïda, Amounasro persuades Aïda to wrest the secret of the Egyptian march from her lover.

Act III [scene iv] Rhadamès appears and is fascinated and captivated by Aïda's charms: he decides to betray his country for the love of Aïda.

Act III [scene v] 1. Amounasro reappears; Rhadamès hesitates but
capitulates at the sight of Aïda's imploring eyes

2. Rhadamès reveals the secret of the Egyptian march, and the three characters leave the stage.

Act III [scene vi] Amnérîs enters, having heard everything; she vows vengeance.

Act IV [scene i] A description of the flight of Aïda and Amounasro, the latter's death, the disappearance of Aïda, and Rhadamès's imprisonment as he awaits his trial.

Act IV [scene ii] Rhadamès is brought before Amnérîs, but her pleas to save him are useless: he declares it is Aïda he loves.

Act IV [scene iii] The trial of Rhadamès is conducted by Ramphîs and the Priests: Rhadamès is condemned to death by burial alive.

Act IV [scene iv] 1. Rhadamès alone, is confronted by the appearance of Aïda who has hidden in the tomb

2. The lovers expire to the sound of solemn religious rites.

Mariette's scenario is no more than a synopsis of the skeletal framework upon which an operatic libretto could be developed. Its best points are, in fact, the elaborate descriptions of the sets and costumes, the interesting names of the characters and the locales and the numerous possibilities it afforded for spectacle in the form of tableaux, processions, ceremonies and ballets. The spectacle, of course, is a direct consequence of French grand
The story, however, is not original for with simple changes of locale, time and nomenclature it could have been enacted anywhere at any given time for it is not unlike many other tales and historical events employed as the bases of the librettos of the Italian *melodramma* in the *Otto­cento*. Indeed, the scenario text shows little development of the drama inherent in the framework of the story. For one thing, there is no exposition of the impending war between Egypt and Ethiopia at the outset of the first act. For another, Act II (tableau 2) is extremely clumsy in structure: the grand march and the important dramatic action of this "keystone" scene are presented as two distinct entities. Moreover, the text of the scenario for this act and the following act is strangely lacking in details of ideas and reactions on the parts of the main protagonists that would make the drama more credible. The climax of the third act, for example, shows how inexperienced Mariette actually was in this work. Here, the betrayal of Rhadamès by Aïda is accomplished by the mere employment of seductive eyes:

Il tremble, il hésite, il chancelle. Aïda lève sur lui ses beaux yeux suppliants. C'en est fait.\(^\text{39}\)


\(^{39}\) We employ English-language translations of all quotations of extracts from the scholarly literature and the correspondence so as to facilitate the understanding of our text. However, all quotations taken from the *Aïda* libretto materials are given in the original languages since English-language translations cannot precisely reproduce the syntax and grammar of French and Italian. The present text is taken from Auguste Mariette, *Aïda: Opéra en quatre actes*
Furthermore, the personalities of several of the characters, in particular Rhadamès, Ramphis and Amounasro, are very one-dimensional and unconvincing. Finally, the absence of the greatest part of the sources of dialogue, what Verdi was to call "thoughts in the mouth's of the characters," makes it clear that the scenario comprises only the beginning step in the complicated task of writing an opera libretto.

The Egyptians would appear to have been very determined in their desire to secure a new work for the Cairo Opera. Mariette provided Du Locle with precise instructions as to the steps the latter was to take in his negotiations with the elusive Verdi concerning the Aida project. In the letter dated 28 April 1870, Mariette asked Du Locle to approach Verdi for the third time but added new and special conditions pertaining to the rehearsals for the new opera:

Under the circumstances he [the Viceroy] makes the offer that rehearsals be held in Paris or in Milan, at the Maestro's choice; the artists of the Cairo Theatre would then receive the order to betake themselves wherever Mr. Verdi wishes. See if this plan might be agreeable.

Clearly, Verdi's horror of protracted rehearsals in foreign cities had been relayed to Cairo.

(Cairo: 1871 [?]), p. 17, lines 12-13, as reproduced in Humbert, "À propos," 252: "He trembles, he hesitates, he staggers. Aïda lifts her beautiful, supplicating eyes to him. It is done."

Verdi's phrase was employed in his letter to Du Locle dated 2 June 1870. Reproduced in Busch, p. 19.

Busch, p. 12.
It was also suggested in this letter that Du Locle consider writing the libretto. In addition, he was to rework the scenario should he consider it to be necessary:

> It goes without saying that I am not bringing any kind of personal vanity into this matter and that you can change, turn around, and improve the scenario as you see fit.  

Moreover, should Verdi refuse again, Du Locle was to contact Gounod or Wagner.

Two important facts that bear greatly on our comprehension of the development of the libretto are brought to light in Mariette's correspondence with Du Locle. First, from the content of the letter dated 27 April 1870, it appears that Mariette and Du Locle had envisaged at this point in the negotiations that the proposed opera would be set to a French text. However, Verdi's first positive letter to Du Locle about his acceptance of the proposed *Aida* contract, dated 26 May 1870, specifies that the libretto would be prepared by an Italian poet. Second, Mariette was aware that his scenario was not fully developed and would require certain modifications in the process of transformation into a balanced and complete libretto text. Thus, he gave Du Locle full leave to undertake the changes. The latter task was, as we shall see, the precise and only part Du Locle was to play in the writing of the libretto.

The manner in which Du Locle finally overcame Verdi's reluctance to commit himself to a new opera contract was absolutely brilliant. Indeed,

42 Busch, p. 11.
Du Locle's correspondence with Verdi shows the French librettist to have been the master of the art of persuasion: his letters smacked, not a little, of the all-out strategy of a general at war. On 7 May 1870, Du Locle began his offensive:

This is serious!!! I receive letter after letter from Egypt. The Viceroy cannot resign himself to the thought of not having one of your works. He does not ask you to go to Egypt. He will arrange all the rehearsals you wish, wherever you wish—in Milan, in Genoa, in Paris, in Busseto, at your choice. The conditions will be those you wish. I could not refuse to write you this now; look and judge for yourself. Must you absolutely say no!!??

Two days later, on 10 May 1870, Du Locle pressed Verdi to reach a decision:

I await your reply to the Egyptian proposals in order to transmit your ultimatum to the proprietor of the pyramids. If you ask one of them as a bonus (the biggest, of course), they may be inclined to give it to you.

Du Locle's engaging humour was, of course, a thinly disguised suggestion that the Egyptians would be very generous in their financial arrangements with Verdi.

By 14 May 1870, Verdi had replied and although the composer's letter has not come to light, Du Locle's next letter shows that Verdi's reply had indicated his interest:

This very day I shall write to Mariette that you have agreed to have me send you the plan of the libretto and


44 Busch, p. 15.
that you may, it is hoped, reach a decision. At the same time I shall ask about the precise financial conditions of the affair.  

On 26 May 1870, Du Locle wrote to Verdi to inform him that any conditions would be accepted by the Viceroy and that Verdi had only to specify his terms in concrete detail:

I am bombarded with letters and telegrams urging me to ask you if there is some chance now that you will accept this Egyptian business. If you do, I am told that your conditions will be accepted no matter what.

Verdi replied with greater interest on 26 May 1870 and asked about the financial terms and, more important to our study, the preparation of the libretto:

Now let's hear the financial conditions from Egypt, and then we shall decide. Who would have the Italian libretto made? Of course it would be necessary that I myself have it made.

The composer's second concern is of considerable significance as we shall see in the next chapter of this study when we come to examine these very sentences in the light of Verdi's own activities.

Apparently the financial "conditions"—Verdi's fee for the composition of the opera—were left open by the Egyptian authorities. Du Locle conveyed this information to Verdi in a letter dated 31 May 1870:

45 Busch, p. 15.
46 Busch, p. 16.
47 Busch, p. 17.
I have requested from you, in complete confidence, the conditions you desire for the Egyptian business. They write and telegraph me without respite, asking me for these conditions; they declare themselves ready for everything. The Viceroy passionately wishes to conclude the affair. . . . Nothing is lacking but your yes and a good contract. 48

Verdi's response, dated 2 June 1870, first specified "the sum of 150,000 francs, payable at the Rothschild Bank in Paris at the moment the score is delivered." 49 Second, Verdi was to retain the rights to perform the opera in all parts of the world except Egypt and was not to be required to rehearse and conduct the first performances in Cairo. Verdi, indeed, appears to have taken full advantage of the Viceroy's unfailing desire that Verdi accept the contract for the new opera for Cairo. The sum asked for--and received--was greatly inflated above the fee of 40,000 francs paid to Verdi by the management of the Paris Opéra for Don Carlos three years earlier.

Significantly, at the outset fo the same letter, dated 2 June 1870, Verdi discussed his concerns about the preparation of the libretto:

Here I am at the Egyptian affair; and first of all I must set aside time to compose the opera, because this is a work of the broadest proportions (as though it were for the grand botique), and because the Italian poet must first find the thoughts to put into the mouths of the characters and then fashion the verses from them. 50

48 Busch, p. 18.
49 Busch, p. 16.
50 Busch, p. 17.
From Verdi's text we may conclude that Du Locle had made no mention of Mariette's proposal that he, Du Locle, write the libretto. Verdi seems to have assumed that the as yet unwritten model prose libretto—"the thoughts to put into the mouths of the characters"—and the ensuing versification would be written in Italian. Perhaps the specification of the Italian language precluded Du Locle's participation for he apparently had no experience in writing in that language. At any rate, it is clear that Verdi did not anticipate at this time that Du Locle would write the libretto. It is entirely possible that Verdi was cognizant of the pressures attached to Du Locle's new appointment as co-director of the Opéra-Comique and knew that the tasks of preparing a prose libretto and versifying it would be quite impossible. It is also significant that Verdi's first "condition" given in the letter dated 2 June 1870 specified that he (Verdi) would "have the libretto done at [his] expense."\(^{51}\) The prominence of Verdi's concern for absolute control over the preparation of the *Aida* libretto supports our discussion at the outset of the present chapter: Verdi was reluctant to undertake the composition of a new French opera owing to his vivid and very unpleasant remembrances of the enormous interference he previously confronted in Paris. Indeed, the new opera was to be set to an Italian libretto.

In his letter dated 6 June 1870, Du Locle informed Verdi that he had forwarded the composer's "conditions" to Mariette and that he, Du Locle, would visit at Sant'Agata for "two or three days," presumably to prepare a fair copy of Verdi's contract and to modify some details in Mariette's scenario. Indeed, Du Locle went on in the same letter to say:

\(^{51}\) Busch, p. 17.
On my shoulders, I think, will rest the responsibility for the costumes and sets to be made in Paris. An understanding with you would be needed for the necessary arrangements and changes.52

Clearly, Du Locle's visit to Verdi was necessitated by the fact that changes to the Mariette scenario would bring about changes in the costumes and the set design. This was, as we have noted in our discussion of the content of the scenario, quite true: four quite different set designs were required as a result of the modifications made to Mariette's text. Thus, we may conclude that Du Locle was not, at this time, contemplating the writing of the Aida libretto but was fulfilling commitments as intermediary between Verdi and the Cairo authorities.

Completion of the lengthy negotiations were rapid. On 10 June 1870, Mariette notified Du Locle by telegram that Verdi's "conditions" were acceptable to the officials of the Cairo Opera. The only additional "condition" specified that the opera "must be ready [by the] end [of] January [1871]."53 On the same day, Du Locle telegraphed this information to Verdi. The composer's replies—for he sent Du Locle both a telegram and a letter on 12 June 1870—again raised the important question of the preparation of the libretto. Verdi was fully aware of the possible consequences of the extremely short time specified by the Egyptians for the completion of the entire opera:

52 Busch, p. 22.

53 Busch, p. 23.
RECEIVED CAIRO CONTRACT--IMPOSSIBLE TO SET DATE IF LIBRETTO NOT FINISHED--COME SOON--LETTER FOLLOWS.\textsuperscript{54}

There is no indication in Verdi's letter written to Du Locle on the same day that he expected Du Locle to collaborate on the writing of the libretto. Rather, he indicates Du Locle was to assist in the revising of Mariette's scenario:

Before a completion date can be set, it is absolutely necessary that the libretto be finished. Otherwise I could find myself in a very embarrassing situation through no fault of my own. The end of January is time enough, but we must get to work immediately. If you are authorized to make the necessary revisions, arrange to come here soon and plan to spend as much time as possible. It will be a double pleasure for us.\textsuperscript{55}

The urgency of the negotiations elicited an immediate response on Du Locle's part to Verdi's telegram. On 13 June 1870, the French librettist informed Verdi of the state of the negotiations with Cairo:

I received your telegram in answer to mine, which quoted the one I received from Cairo. The Egyptian affair is thus three-quarters arranged. I am still awaiting some information. I shall then leave to discuss it all with you. The Viceroy cares for this business more than you can imagine. He has sent word to me that he will write to the Emperor [Napoleon III] to get permission for me to go down there--in your absence--for the last rehearsals of the mise-en-scène.\textsuperscript{56}

\textsuperscript{54} Busch, p. 23.

\textsuperscript{55} Busch, p. 23.

\textsuperscript{56} Busch, p. 24.
While awaiting Du Locle's visit, Verdi undertook an important step that would assist him in the proposed modifications. With the assistance of his wife, the composer translated Mariette's scenario into Italian. Acts I and II of the autograph ms. of the translation are in Verdi's hand while Acts III and IV are in Giuseppina Verdi's hand. It is not possible to give a precise date to the translation but Verdi's use of specific phrases and sentences from this text in his own libretto show that it was probably prepared during June 1870. We shall explain the dates of Verdi's prose libretto in the next chapter. Moreover, it is also likely that the translation was prepared soon after Verdi received the print of the scenario from Du Locle in order that he would be absolutely comfortable in his study and revision of the text. Verdi, of course, worked in French—the texts of his French operas written for the Parisian stage attest to this. But it is interesting in this respect to note that he always wrote in Italian when in correspondence with Du Locle and with other French librettists. Comparison of the Italian translation with the text of the print of Mariette's scenario shows that the Verdis were extremely faithful to the original text. A few words have been altered but these alterations would appear to have been made to suit the subtle syntactic and grammatical differences that occur between the two languages.

57 Humbert, "À propos," contains the complete Italian translation.

At the time that Verdi had first instructed Du Locle about his contract "conditions" for Cairo, the composer also made contact with Giulio Ricordi with respect to the preparation of the Italian prose libretto and its versification. Verdi to Ricordi, 2 June 1870:

I have a fully developed outline of an opera, with characters, chorus, mise-en-scène, act divisions, etc. The dialogue and poetry are missing. If I were to make an opera of it, could Ghislanzoni do the libretto for me? Keep in mind that I would like to see the drama completely developed in prose before the verses are made.

Answer me quickly because I am in a hurry, and this thing should be done very fast.\(^{59}\)

The text of this letter is further proof that Verdi was well aware of the limitations of Mariette's scenario. The sentence in which Verdi expressed his desire to see "the drama developed in prose before the verses are made" is of great importance to our understanding of Verdi's creative process, for it reveals that the completed versified libretto was to be preceded by a complete libretto in prose. Note, however, there is no indication in this letter of the extent to which Verdi was to involve himself in this process. Nevertheless, our knowledge of the composer's methods with other poets allows us to surmise that he was, from the outset of his decision to accept the Cairo contract, already formulating prose outlines of the structure and dialogue.

Verdi's study of Mariette's scenario appears to have been very productive for he wrote to Du Locle with considerable confidence about the revisions

\(^{59}\) Busch, p. 19.
that would be made during Du Locle's much anticipated visit to Sant'Agata:

... I believe that in a very short time we shall agree on the modifications that, I think, should be made for Aida. I have already given some thought to them and shall submit my ideas to you.60

60 Busch, p. 24.
CHAPTER V
THE MODIFICATION OF MARIETTE'S AIDA SCENARIO

We have discussed thus far Mariette's scenario and have mentioned briefly Verdi's and Du Locle's modifications of it. This chapter focuses on the modifications. It is perhaps useful at this point to recall all of the sources for the Aida libretto, which are five in number: Mariette's scenario, Verdi's groundplan, Verdi's and Du Locle's modifications, Verdi's prose libretto and Ghislanzoni's versification of Verdi's prose libretto.

In the last section of the autograph ms. of Verdi's prose libretto, which is the subject of Chapter VI, is found a two-page groundplan in

1 Mariette's scenario is reproduced in Humbert "À propos," 242-54. Humbert also gives the Italian translation of Mariette's scenario made by the Verdis. For an English translation of the latter, see Busch, Verdi's Aida, Document II, pp. 440-47.

2 See Verdi Libretto ms., pp. 62-63. The full text of the groundplan with English translation is reproduced in Appendix II of the present study, pp. 533-36.

3 The Verdi-Du Locle modificazioni are given as Appendix I of the present study, pp. 496-532. An English translation by Hans Busch of the modifications is reproduced in the latter's Verdi's Aida as Document III, pp. 448-71.

4 See Appendix III, pp. 537-695.

5 Ghislanzoni's first and subsequent drafts of the versified Aida libretto are reproduced with English translation in Appendix IV of the present study, pp. 696-937.
Verdi's hand. The groundplan consists of a scene by scene projected version of the complete opera. While it is possible that the groundplan was sketched out before the modifications were undertaken, it is impossible to date the ms. with certainty.

The groundplan comprises entries for four acts and for seventeen scenes that form the structure and partial content of the opera as envisaged by the composer at the time he prepared this document. Each act is identified and all the scene entries are prefixed with numerals: I° Scena, II° Scena, etc. (The term tableau is not employed in the groundplan or in any other of the draft librettos prepared by Verdi or Ghislanzoni.) Following each scene prefix are specifications for various aspects of its content: the names of the principal characters who take part in fourteen scenes; specifications of fourteen musical numbers in twelve scenes; two specifications which imply a duet and a trio, but are worded in more general terms; two specifications which imply the nature of the dialogue or dramatic action; one specification which gives the dramatic action after prescribing two musical numbers--chorus and ballet--at the outset of the scene.

VERDI'S GROUNDPLAN FOR AIDA

ATTO I°

I° Scena Ramfis Radamès
    si parla [Illegible word] dell' Egitto
II Scena a due tra Radamès e
    Amneris
III Scena a tre detti e Aida

IV Scena Entra il Re con seguito, riceve un messaggero

[illegible word] la guerra con Radamès

V Scena generale

Aida sola

VI Pezzo Gran Coro di sacerdoti

Danzes sacre delle sacerdotesse

Radamès cinge l'armatura

[consacrata] dai preti

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Atto II

I Coro di schiave d'Amneris con

Amneris (Brev. recit.)

II Breve Reci d'Amneris sola propria

Gran duetto con Aida

III Gran Finale

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Atto III

I Aída sola Romanza

II Duetto detta e Amonasro

III Duetto Aida Radamès

IV Terzetto detti e Amonasro
Atto IV

I Reci Amneris
II Duetto Amneris Rad
III Scena del Giudizio
IV Duetto finale

Comparison of the texts of Mariette's scenario and the groundplan shows that Verdi had reduced the prose descriptions of the dramatic action and the occasional directive for musical numbers given in the scenario to the components of a four-act Italian grand opera. The sources of fourteen of Verdi's seventeen scenes can be recognized in Mariette's scenario without difficulty and the order of these scenes follows the plan of the scenario. Only the first scene of Act I is entirely new in both content and treatment; the insertion of the first two scenes of Act II led to the creation of a two-tableaux act, where Mariette's scenario calls for a single tableau for Act II.

Precise dates for Du Locle's visit with Verdi at Sant'Agata are not given in the correspondence that has come to light. The content of Verdi's letter to Du Locle dated 18 June 1870 shows that the French librettist had not yet arrived at Sant'Agata. However, Verdi's letter to Giulio Ricordi, dated 25 June 1870, reveals that Du Locle had indeed arrived and departed.

6 Verdi's letter to Du Locle is reproduced in Busch's *Verdi's Aida*, p. 24.

7 Verdi's letter to Ricordi is reproduced in Busch's *Verdi's Aida*, p. 27.
Thus, Du Locle's visit took place between 19 and 25 June 1870, and could have lasted no more than a week, not the three weeks postulated by Prod'homme. Luzio suggested three days without offering supporting evidence for his conclusion. One week was probably long enough for the collaborators to arrange the necessary modifications to Mariette's scenario but was not adequate time in which to write a full libretto in verse.

A passage in Verdi's letter to Giulio Ricordi dated 25 June 1870 clarifies the collaboration of the composer and the French librettist:

Du Locle immediately came here, and, with him, I drew up the conditions; we studied the outline together, and together we made the modifications we thought necessary. Du Locle has left with the conditions and the modifications, which are to be submitted to the influential and unknown author.

The word "conditions" means, of course, the contract specifications that were to be submitted to the management of the Cairo Opera for the purpose of drawing up a more official and binding contract. A copy of Verdi's proposed contract in his own hand—undated but doubtless prepared during Du Locle's visit—is preserved at the Bibliothèque de l'Opéra in Paris.


9 See Luzio, Carteggi verdiani, IV, p. 10.

10 Verdi's letter to Giulio Ricordi is reproduced in Busch, Verdi's Aida, p. 22.

11 The complete texts of Verdi's contract specifications and Mariette's official contract with the composer are given in Ursula Günther's "Zur Entstehung von Verdis Aida," in Studi musicali 2 (1973), pp. 28-29 and
The first entry contains two sentences that deal with the genesis and versification of the libretto:

1. Maestro Verdi will compose an Italian opera with music entitled Aida (drawn from an outline, etc.) . . . The verses will be written by an Italian poet chosen by the above-mentioned Maestro.  

The entry was rewritten and expanded—without a change in the meaning of the original draft—by Auguste Mariette as an official contract, dated 29 July 1870:

Mr. Verdi promises to compose the music for an opera in four acts, entitled Aida, the plan of which he has accepted (with the exception of modifications in detail which may be judged necessary). . . . The Italian verses will be written by a poet chosen by Mr. Verdi.

The three designations—an "Italian opera," "Italian verses" and "an Italian poet" further rule out any notion that Verdi or Du Locle considered the projected opera to be written in French. Moreover, Verdi's statements to Ricordi, "we studied the outline together, and together we made the modifications we thought necessary" clarify, once and for all, the intent and the procedure of Du Locle's visit: it was a collaboration in which the librettist

62-63 respectively. See Hans Busch, *Verdi's Aida*, pp. 472-73 for English translations of these documents.

12 Busch, *Verdi's Aida*, p. 472.

13 Busch, *Verdi's Aida*, p. 473.
and the composer joined forces to "modify" the text of Mariette's basic scenario.14

The outcome of the collaboration at Sant'Agata is recorded in a French-language document of great interest, the so-called Scenario by Camille Du Locle, which Verdi referred to as the modificazioni.15 The attribution of Du Locle's authorship is a misnomer, for the French librettist's name does not appear in the ms. and, as we have explained in great detail, the modifications were made by both Verdi and Du Locle.16 Moreover, the ms. is not entirely a scenario, for, although it contains prose narrative, it also contains sections of groundplan materials and dialogue. The specification "scenario" at the outset of the ms. was probably written hastily and carelessly or for want of another term to designate the varied content. However, the error of Du Locle's authorship is an understandable one, for it was based on the falsehoods perpetrated by Du Locle himself in his letters to his wife and the editor of L'Italie and, as we shall see shortly, in the peculiarities of the handwritten autograph copy.

The modificazioni made by Verdi and Du Locle to Mariette's scenario during Du Locle's visit to Italy are found in the autograph ms. preserved

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14 See Busch, Verdi's Aida, p. 27 for the full text of Verdi's letter to Giulio Ricordi.

15 Verdi uses the term modificazioni (modifications) in his letter to Du Locle dated 18 June 1870. The letter is reproduced in Busch, Verdi's Aida, p. 24.

16 See pp. 142-43 of the present study. See also, Hans Busch, Verdi's Aida, Document III, p. 448 where the attribution of Du Locle's authorship is given.
in the Carrara Verdi collection at Sant'Agata. The ms. comprises twenty-two pieces of unbound legal-size paper of which thirty-eight sides contain various types of text, and one smaller piece of paper with text on one side only. There are seven blank pages scattered throughout the ms. Five of these would appear to have been employed to mark the various divisions between the acts. The French text is written in pencil in Du Locle's hand. It is probable that the French librettist played the part of amanuensis during the collaboration with Verdi.

French was the likely language for the collaboration. For one thing, Verdi and Giuseppina Strepponi, who also played a part in the development of the libretto, were conversant with the language while there is no evidence that Du Locle was at ease in Italian. For another, Mariette's scenario was written in French and many of his words and phrases were employed or paraphrased during the process of making the modifications. Translation of these "borrowed" words and phrases would only have protracted the undertaking. Use of French, therefore, eased the rigour of the task at hand and facilitated the creation of a good part—but not all—of the modifications in a very short space of time. Furthermore, the modifications involved major changes to the settings and since these were to be built in Paris, apparently under Du Locle's personal supervision, use of the French language was entirely fitting.

17 Hans Busch, Verdi's Aida, p. 448 describes "... four title pages and thirty-four almost fully covered sides of legal size paper."
The text of the ms. comprises eleven sections, ten of which contain one of each of the three types of preparatory material for Acts I, II and III: groundplans, synopses—called scenarios in the ms.—and prose librettos. The eleventh section comprises only a description of the stage setting for the second tableau of the fourth act and a directive for stage action at the conclusion of the opera. We shall return to the question of the missing portion of Act IV later in our discussion.

The ms. is generally ordered according to the plan of the dramatic action with one exception: the groundplan for Act I, tableau 1 is sandwiched on a separate piece of paper between a synopsis and a prose libretto for Act III. Since the pages of the ms. are not bound together, it is entirely possible that this page was inadvertently repositioned by Verdi or some other person—perhaps by Luzio or one of Verdi's heirs—at a later date. Table 1, which follows, shows at a glance the diverse content of the ms:

TABLE 1

CONTENTS OF THE MODIFICATIONS MADE TO MARIETTE'S SCENARIO

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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The collaboration between Verdi and Du Locle involved the modification of various aspects of Mariette's scenario and the slight expansion of the groundplan probably prepared by Verdi prior to Du Locle's visit. For each act they modified, the collaborators created one or more of the following: a groundplan, prose scenario or prose libretto. It is likely that their method involved three steps: first, the layout of a groundplan; second, the expansion or paraphrase of Mariette's text into a more developed scenario, that might or might not include dialogue; and, third, the writing of a libretto in prose dialogue. Indeed, this last step comprised the finding of "thoughts to put into the mouths of the characters," a problem that had concerned Verdi during his initial examination of Mariette's scenario. Comparison of the different acts of the modificazioni shows that the process varied somewhat in each case. The variation was necessitated by the degree of modification or development needed to enhance Mariette's text.

Our method of dealing with the modificazioni will first focus on the types of materials—groundplans, scenarios and dialogue—created by the collaborators for each act, then on the modifications made to the settings and, finally, on a comparison of Mariette's prose which delineates the action, and the analogous dialogue in the modifications. Grouping the material together in this manner will provide a more precise overview than would dealing with the scenario and modifications in the order in which

18 Verdi's words are taken from his letter to Giulio Ricordi dated 25 June 1870 and reproduced in Hans Busch, Verdi's Aïda, p. 27.
they appear in the print (Mariette's scenario) and the manuscript (the modificazioni).

Types of Materials: Groundplans, Scenarios and Prose Librettos

In the case of Act I, tableau 1, a groundplan, which, based on available documents, duplicated Verdi's, appears to have been transformed directly into a prose libretto without the development of a prose scenario text. However, Act I, tableau 2 is represented only by a groundplan and the directive "Comme au programme imprimé (As in the printed programme)." The groundplan was more developed than the skeleton of Mariette's scenario and Verdi's groundplan, but the groundplan in the modificazioni did not fundamentally change the original text. As we shall see in the sixth and eighth chapters of the present study, this scene was to cause both Verdi and Ghislanzoni considerable trouble when they came to create texts which would expand the skeletal action.

For Act II, tableau 1, Du Locle and Verdi reproduced the composer's groundplan and then greatly expanded it into a prose scenario. The latter contains some dialogue for the first half of the scene and, for this reason, only the last half of the scene came to be rendered as a prose libretto. Verdi's groundplan for Act II, tableau 2 was very general. Thus, Mariette's

19 Modificazioni ms., p. 10; Appendix I, p. 503.

20 Modificazioni ms., pp. 13-18; Appendix I, pp. 504-09.
scenario had to be first greatly developed as a synopsis and then further
developed as a prose libretto. 21

No new groundplan is given for Act III. Verdi's groundplan with the
addition of a new opening scene was directly expanded into a scenario and
then realized as a prose libretto. 22 The omission of the first step was
probably necessitated by want of time. Moreover, the results show a great
deterioration in the quality of the modifications. As we shall demonstrate
in both the present and the succeeding chapters, the two major duets of
Act III, as realized in the prose libretto of the modificazioni, are weak
in both structure and characterization.

The libretto portions of the modifications represent the final stage
in the collaboration between Verdi and Du Locle. Therefore, the changes
brought to Mariette's scenario are explained in the present study on the
basis of the libretto-type text. The division of the four acts into
tableaux in the modificazioni corresponds to the layout of Mariette's
scenario with the addition of the new first tableau for Act II.

Modifications of Mariette's Stage Settings: Act I, Tableau 1; Act II,
Tableau 2; Act III; Act IV, Tableau 2

In the modificazioni, the settings of four tableaux are altered in
varying degrees: Act I, tableau 1 is changed from an interior to an
exterior scene and is greatly reduced to read:

21 Modificazioni ms., pp. 19-28; Appendix I, pp. 509-19.
22 Modificazioni ms., pp. 30-43; Appendix I, pp. 519-32.
Une cour plantée
d'arbres, dans le palais
du roi à Memphis, à
droite un portique. 23

Mariette's Act II—now called Act II, tableau 2—is simplified to read:

Une des entrées de la ville de Thèbes, au fond
les Pylones et les obélisques du temple d'ammon.
à droite une porte triomphale à gauche un trône
surmonté d'un daïs de pourpre. 24

The setting of Act III is completely changed: the scene is shifted from a
palace garden to the banks of the Nile. Moreover, a little temple among
trees is introduced to allow for an important change in the action at the
outset and the conclusion of the act. The time of the action is also
changed from sunset to night, lit by the moon:

23 Modificazioni ms., p. 3; Appendix I, p. 496:
"A courtyard planted
with trees, in the palace
of the king at Memphis, to the
right a portico."

24 Modificazioni ms., p. 19; Appendix I, pp. 509-10:
"One of the entrances to the city of Thebes, in the back
the Pylons and the obelisks of the temple of Ammon.
to the right a triumphal portal [], to the left a throne
surmounted by a purple canopy."
La nuit, au bord du Nil, des rochers de granit
dans lesquels croissent des palmiers. en haut des
roches un petit temple à demi caché dans les
feuilles et se détachant sur le ciel. Clair
de lune splendide.  

Act IV, tableau 2 was enhanced through the employment of a divided set,
which, according to the testimony of Du Locle in his letter to the editor
of L'Italie, was the invention of Verdi himself. Mariette's set description specifies only a subterranean chamber. This is retained for the lower
portion of the stage while the set for Act I, tableau 2, the interior of
the Temple of Vulcan, is placed above the tomb:

décor coupé en 2
En haut le temple de Vulcain.
En bas la crypte où meurent Aïda et Ramphis [sic].

25 Modificazioni ms., p. 34; Appendix I, p. 522. "Night, on the banks of the Nile. some granite rocks on which palm trees grow. on top of the rocks a little temple half-hidden in the leaves and silhouetted against the sky. Splendid moonlight."

26 See p. 76 of the present study for a reproduction of the relevant sections of Du Locle's letter.

27 Modificazioni ms., p. 44; Appendix I, p. 532: "set divided in 2
Above the temple of Vulcan.
Below the crypt where Aïda and Ramphis [sic] die."
The source of Verdi's idea of the two-level set for the final scene of Aida could well have been suggested by one of the ingenious sets devised and executed by the scenographers of the Paris Opéra. Eugène Scribe's and Fromental Halévy's five-act grand opera Guido et Ginevra, ou La Peste de Florence, which was mounted at the Opéra on 5 March 1838 and maintained in that theatre's repertoire until 1841, requires a two-level set for its third act. The action of this tableau takes place on both levels of the set, much in the manner Verdi envisioned and eventually achieved in Aida: a religious ceremony unfolds on the upper half of the stage, while a tomb scene transpires in the lower half. A published contemporary stage manual (production book), written for the use of scenographers in theatres other than the Opéra, describes the complicated mise en scène for Act III in considerable detail. For our purposes, however, it suffices to reproduce the description of the set:


30 "Mises en Scène: Académie Royale de Musique; Guido et Ginevra, ou La Peste de Florence," Revue et Gazette des Théâtres, Supplement (March 1838), 1-7. The initials "J.G." which are given at the conclusion of the article, could not be identified.
Le théâtre représente l'intérieur de la cathédrale de Florence, laquelle est superposée sur les caveaux, au moyen d'un plancher. . . .^1

A design of the stage and the disposition of the ensemble on the two levels prescribed for Act III of Guido et Ginevra is graphically represented in a diagram found in another staging manual--this one unpublished--written in the hand of Louis Paliani. 32 In the diagram, the two levels of the stage are shown as they would be viewed by the audience. 33 While it is difficult to imagine the upper level in the diagram, the meaning of the graphics in the lower portion is particularly clear. Here the vaulted ceiling of the tomb is shown by three curved lines placed just below straight lines representing the floor of the upper part of the stage. The actual realization of this tableau, reproduced in a vivid engraving,^34 shows the massive Florentine cathedral towering above the three vaults of the tomb.

31 "Mises en Scène," 3: "The stage represents the interior of the Cathedral of Florence, which is superimposed on the vaults, by means of a floor. . . ."

32 [Louis Paliani], Quelques Indications sur la Mise en Scène de Guido et Ginevra: Opéra en 5 Actes; Paroles de Mr. Scribe; Musique de Mr. Halevy. H. Robert Cohen refers to a small body of mss. in Paliani's hand in his "La Conservation de la tradition scénique sur la scène lyrique en France au XIXe Siècle: Les Livrets de mise en scène et la Bibliothèque de l'Association de la Régie Théâtrale," Revue de musicologie, 64 (1978), 266-67.

33 [Paliani], p. 28.

34 The engraving is in the collection of the Bibliothèque de l'Opéra. I wish to thank H. Robert Cohen for bringing the staging manuals and the engraving to my attention.
Verdi's first visit to Paris took place in June 1847, 35 six years after Guido et Ginevra was dropped from the repertoire of the Opéra. However, Guido et Ginevra was revived at the Théâtre-Italien and performed there on various dates between 17 February and 30 April 1870. 36 Verdi and Giuseppina Strepponi, it will be remembered, were in Paris from 31 March until 20 April 1870. 37 However, the composer could not have attended a performance of this opera, for it was not given between 27 March and 29 April. 38

Although Verdi did not see a performance of this work in Paris, his concept of a two-level set may have been inspired either by an engraving such as we have described, by studying a production manual, by conversing with the officials and scenographers at the Opéra or the Théâtre-Italien, or by perusing the set description and stage action in Halévy's score. At the outset of the second version of Verdi's prose libretto for the final scene of Aida, the composer drew a sketch of a tomb consisting of seven arches, over which three horizontal lines are placed. 39

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37 Surian, p. 296.

38 The dates of the performances of Guido et Ginevra at the Théâtre-Italien in 1870 were ascertained from the daily issues of Le Journal des débats.

39 Verdi Aida libretto ms., p. 48; Appendix III, p. 663.
While the three horizontal lines could represent a drop curtain to cover the top part of the stage, they could also represent the floor of the upper stage. Moreover, Verdi has drawn a flight of steps in the central arch and has given the abbreviation "Ra. (Radamès)" to denote that character's position on the bottom step at the rise of the curtain. The stage directions, which follow Verdi's sketch contain these details: "Radamès e solo in gradia per cui è disposto sulla scala (Radamès is alone on the steps by which he was disposed en-the-steps)."  

The execution of the final tableau of Aida posed serious problems for the scenographers and machinists during the rehearsals for the first Cairo performance. It would appear that the dancers and choristers who performed in the upper part of the stage (the temple of Vulcan) could not be seen from the lower of the Viceroy's two boxes. In an undated letter to Paul Drahnet, Mariette suggested an arrangement not unlike the realization of the tomb scene from Guido et Ginevra as staged at the Paris Opéra.  

40 The cancellation of sulla scala is given in the Verdi ms.

41 The letter is reproduced in Busch, pp. 233-34.
Filippi points out that the *antiprova generale* of the first Cairo *Aida* was given without scenery owing to the fact that the platform that was to support the upper portion of the stage was unmovable:

The musical rehearsals proceeded ever regularly; to the contrary, those of the *mise-en-scène* went slowly, incompletely, to the point that at the first dress rehearsal there was neither a scene, nor a fly, nor a platform in place, and the great movable stage for the finale of the last act, which set in place the image of the Temple of Vulcan, [above] the subterranean chamber in which *Aïda* and Radames die below, was still unfinished.  

The problems of the stage machinery were so great that the *prova generale*, Saturday 23 December 1871, did not conclude until 3:30 AM. Owing to the fact that the Viceroy had announced his departure from Cairo on Monday 25 December, the problems had to be solved by Sunday 24 December, the date of the *prima rappresentazione*. According to Filippi, the effect of the divided set was temporarily solved by the use of contrasted lighting:

The final scene of the subterranean chamber with the superimposed temple is still a problem, which neither the stage director, nor the machinists here can resolve, on account of the impossibility of moving the apparatus. The effect is then reduced by half, because, instead of

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42 Filippo Filippi, *Musica e musicisti* (Milan: Brigola, 1876), p. 354: "Le prove musicali procedettero sempre regolarmente; quelle invece di messa in scena furono lente, incomplete, al segno che all'antiprova generale non c'era a posto nè una scena, nè una quinta, nè un praticabile, ed era ancora da finire il grande palco movibile per la scena finale dell'ultimo atto, il quale disporà figura il tempio di Vulcano, disotto il sotterraneo dove muoiono Aida e Radamès."

43 Filippi, p. 354.
equally distributed light, the subterranean chamber could be obliged to be dark like a cellar, and the temple above possibly flashing with electric light.\textsuperscript{44}

New Stage Setting Added by Verdi and Du Locle

The setting of the new tableau 1 of Act II is very simply described in the text of the modificazioni:

Une salle dans les appartements de la princesse Amnéris.\textsuperscript{45}

There are two possible explanations for the simplicity of this set description. First, owing to the short duration of Du Locle's visit at Sant'Agata, the collaborators may well have preferred to concentrate their energies on the development of the action and dialogue rather than undertake a full description of the set. Second, and perhaps a more plausible explanation, is the likelihood that Verdi or Du Locle did not have sufficient knowledge of the actual layout or furnishings of an apartment in an ancient Egyptian royal dwelling. For the latter, they had to rely on Mariette's intimate knowledge of such matters. In fact, the French archaeologist did design the

\textsuperscript{44} Filippi, p. 372: "L'ultima scena del sotterraneo col tempio sovrapposto è ancora un problema, che nè il direttore di scena, nè i macchinisti qui non hanno potuto risolvere, colpa l'impossibilità di muovere i congegni. L'effetto è dunque riuscito a mezzo, perché, invece della luce equabilmente distribuita, ci dovrebbe essere il sotterraneo buio come una cantina, e il tempio superiore sfogorante di luce, magari elettrica."

\textsuperscript{45} Modificazioni ms., p. 13; Appendix I, p. 504: "A room in the apartments of princess Amnéris."
sets for the Cairo première of the opera.  

The modifications achieved by the introduction of five new settings greatly heightened the variety of the seven tableaux: first, by contrasting exterior and interior scenes—courtyard, temple, apartment, public square and riverside—second, by positioning a night scene at the crux of the drama (Act III), between daylight scenes and, finally by superimposing light over dark in the final scene.

There can be no doubt that the modifications of the Ai*da settings detailed by Mariette are the first of two extremely important tasks accomplished at the June 1870 meeting. Nevertheless, recent scholarly opinion shows a misunderstanding of the significance of this aspect of the undertaking. For example, Budden comments rather unfavourably that Du Locle "invited himself to Sant'Agata for about one week" and goes on to question the benefits Du Locle might have expected to receive in his capacity of intermediary between Verdi and the Egyptians, to say nothing of the benefits Verdi received as a result of the French librettist's visit. Moreover, Budden fails to mention the changes made to the set descriptions and provides no more than a summary paragraph of the changes in the dramatic action found in the modificazioni.

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46 See Filippi, pp. 367-73, for a detailed description of Mariette's sets and costumes designed for the Cairo première.

47 Budden, The Operas of Verdi, III, 166-69.

48 Budden, The Operas of Verdi, III, 170-71.
The *Aïda* Stage Settings and Contemporary Scenography

Recent research about the mise en scène in nineteenth-century French grand opera shows that the changes brought to the original set descriptions of *Aïda* were in keeping with the concepts of the time and were probably the result of considerable discussion between Verdi and Du Locle. In her preliminary study of the great variety of décors employed at the Paris Opéra between 1822 and 1873, Nicole Wild explains that contrasted settings, often based on reproductions of authentic historical sites or representative of scenes of nature, were scrupulously executed by the scenographic artists at the Salle le Peletier. Since the sets for the Cairo première were to be prepared in Paris and at least four of Mariette's set descriptions were completely changed at the June meeting, it is clear that Du Locle's visit at Sant'Agata was a very necessary event for he doubtless carried back to the French capital even more precise details of the modificazioni than are given in the ms. Moreover, owing to his experience attained through his diverse official capacities at various Parisian opera theatres, Du Locle was obviously in a position to advise Verdi with respect to the plausibility of the changes Verdi might have envisioned during his study of Mariette's scenario.

Another consideration of the scenic modifications reveals the extent of the collaborator's skill. The simplicity of the modified set descriptions for the first tableau of Act I and the new first tableau of Act II

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49 See Wild, pp. 20-22.
were probably calculated to allow for rapid changes of scenery. In each case, the second tableau is more elaborate than the first and could be partially assembled behind the first tableau set. 50 Although no changes were brought about at this time for the first tableau of the fourth act, our study will show how Verdi gradually altered the set description of this tableau for dramatic and musical reasons: the trial of Rhadamès came to be conducted backstage instead of onstage. The new set design was greatly simplified from the original description by Mariette. Owing to this simplification, Act IV joined Acts I and II with rapid scene changes of its first two tableaux. Moreover, the simple new set design and the divided set of the second tableau in Act IV created a great contrast of scene and illumination.

A significant addition to the range of nineteenth-century scenography was brought about through the introduction of gas lighting at the Opéra in 1822. 51 The great increase in the intensity of the illumination permitted a greater variety of times of day and night to be depicted than had been previously possible. The new Cairo opera house was outfitted to the most up-to-date specifications: the lighting fixtures, for example, were brought from Brussels and Paris. 52 In fact, two letters from Paul Draneh...
officials connected with the Cairo gasworks indicate that extra gas pressure was needed for the rehearsals and the performances of Aida in December 1871. It is clear that the modifications made to the setting of the third act, night on the banks of the Nile, lit by the splendor of moonlight, took full advantage of the novel prospects offered at the modern theatre.

Comparison of Mariette's Scenario and the Modifications of Stage Action and Dialogue

The second task of the Verdi-Du Locle collaboration was the writing of a preliminary draft of dialogue that was to provide the basis of the Italian prose libretto. While the greatest part of the libretto section of the modificazioni is based on Mariette's narrative prose, there are a number of additions and changes in the new text. Scenes ii through v in Act I show the smallest degree of modification. Act II is reordered and considerably expanded with new material. Act III, scenes ii through v also contain changes but the degree of modification is lesser than that of the second act. Act I, scene i is completely changed. Act III, scene i is new. Act I, tableau 2 is not modified; it is only given in the form of a groundplan that shows the skeleton of Mariette's prose.

Before we go on to examine the degrees of modification achieved by Verdi and Du Locle, it is both appropriate and necessary to describe the text and to explain the special circumstances in which it was written, for the prose is exceptionally careless and inaccurate throughout. For one

53 The letters are reproduced in Busch, p. 259 and p. 266.
thing, very few of the accents are provided; for another, a number of the
words are misspelled; others are given in abbreviated form; many sentences
dispense with upper-case letters at the outset of their first words; there
are many cancelled phrases, clauses and sentences; in a number of places
Ramphis's name is substituted for that of Rhadames; words and phrases are
interpolated into pre-existing sentences; punctuation is careless through
omission. In fact, it is clear that the modificazioni were written in the
greatest haste. It is not difficult to explain this state of affairs:
the extremely short duration of Du Locle's visit at Sant'Agata simply pre­
vented any refinement of the first draft of the dialogue. In our study,
quotations from the modificazioni are given with appropriate accents and
spellings.

The Mariette scenario and the Verdi-Du Locle modifications constitute
a vast amount of material. To facilitate an understanding of both their
inter-relationships and their development, our method is a comparative one.
We show, in fact, those elements which came to be modified as well as
details of modification. In all cases, our method of examination follows
the chronology of the documents: first, Mariette's text is described and
then the Verdi-Du Locle modifications are discussed. Note that in order
to facilitate the location of extracts of the various scenarios and librettos
quoted in our study, a numbering system which refers to the consecutive
individual speeches, set descriptions and/or stage directions has been
devised. In the appendices, the item numbers are placed in columns on the
left-hand side of each page, directly beside the appropriate portion of
the text.
Act I, Tableau 1, Scene i

Mariette makes mention of an opening chorus—a familiar initiation employed in countless nineteenth-century operas—at the outset of his prose description of Act I, scene i:

Au lever du rideau, les officiers du palais sont réunis et se préparent à entrer chez le roi. [. . .] Sur les dernières mesures du choeur, le cortège vient à peine de disparaître sous la colonnade de gauche. . . .54

However, no basis for the content of the chorus is given in the scenario. Verdi and Du Locle recast the opening scene as a dialogue between Rhadames and Ramphis in which the two protagonists discuss the impending war provoked by an invasion of Egypt by Ethiopians led by Amounasro. It may well be that the composer himself was the originator of this manner of setting the opening scene of Aida, for Verdi's own groundplan specifies

I° Scena Ramfis Radamès si parla [illegible word] dell'Egitto (Scene I) Ramfis Radamès speak [illegible word] of Egypt). 55 Employment of an opening chorus is a feature of all Verdi's operas written before 1849 with the exception of Jerusalem (1846) and I masnadieri (1847). After 1849, however, five of Verdi's operas dispense with the traditional choral introduction and move directly into the action: Stiffelio and Rigoletto (1850), Simon

54 Humbert, "À propos," 244: "At the rise of the curtain, the officers of the palace have gathered and prepare themselves to enter the king's house. [. . .] During the last measures of the chorus, the cortège disappears beneath the colonnade to the left. . . ."

55 Verdi libretto ms., p. 62; Appendix II, p. 533.
Boccanegra (1857 and 1881), La forza del destino (1861 and 1869) and Falstaff (1893).

An essential task of the writers of the modificazioni was, of course, the realization in dialogue of what Mariette infers in his narrative prose. The modified libretto for scene i is clearly the basis of a recitative, for the discussion is passed back and forth in the manner of a conversation. The text of the newly-conceived dialogue, however, is both crude and repetitious. In fact, two speeches for Rhadames (items 4 and 6) repeat that character's idealized vision of a soldier's destiny:

Rhadamès Heureux celui la! Dut il mourir enseveli dans [sic] son triomphe! [item 4]

and

Rhadamès Heureux dut il mourir, celui dont les dieux ont désigné pour garder sa patrie! [item 6].

56 In order to facilitate the location of the extracts of the various scenarios and librettos quoted in this study, a numbering system which refers to the consecutive individual speeches, stage directions and set descriptions has been devised by the present writer. In the appendices, the item numbers are placed in columns on the left-hand side of each page.

57 The English translations of the modificazioni text used in the present study are taken from Hans Busch, Verdi's Aida, Document III, pp. 448-71. The lineation of the modificazioni ms., which is not reproduced in Busch, is restored in our study. Modificazioni ms., p. 3; Appendix I, pp. 496-97; Busch, p. 449: "Rhadamès Fortunate is he! Though he should die shrouded in his triumph! [item 4]

Rhadamès Fortunate [,] though he should die, is he whose the gods have appointed to defend his country! [item 6]"

Crossed-out words, phrases and sentences, reproduced in our study, are found in the ms.
Act I, Tableau 1, Scene II

For Act I, scene ii, Mariette gives a rather protracted description of Amnérîs's first encounter with Rhadamès. In this narrative, the complex triangle—Amnérîs, Rhadamès and Aïda—is explained:

Amnérîs entre en scène. Un regard impérieux d'elle retient Rhadamès. Princesse altière et passionnée, elle aime le jeune capitaine de l'amour le plus profond. Son rang, son titre, ces magnificences qui l'entourent, elle donnerait tout pour celui qu'elle a choisi. Mais Rhadamès répond froidement et ne dissimule qu'avec peine le trouble qui l'agite. Il ne veut rien avouer encore; mais sa pensée, son coeur, son âme sont autre part. Pour lui le monde est dans les beaux yeux d'Aïda. Cent fois plus belle, cent fois plus désirable que la fille des rois, l'esclave a su conquérir un cœur qui désormais n'appartient qu'à elle. Devant la froideur de Rhadamès, Amnérîs, à son tour, est agitée de doutes cruels. Sûrement une rivale lui dispute le coeur de Rhadamès: mais quelle est-elle?

Verdi, it will be remembered, prescribed a Scena a due (Scene for two) but not necessarily a formal duet in his groundplan. It is possible that Verdi's understanding of the content of this scene was based on his perception that Mariette's scene was intended to communicate information revealing states of mind, and this could best be conveyed in dialogue rather than actions.

58 Humbert, "À propos," 244: "Amnérîs enters the stage. Her imperious look detains Rhadamès. Proud and passionate princess, she loves the young captain with a very deep love. Her rank, her title, that magnificence that surrounds her, she would give all to him whom she has chosen. But Rhadamès responds coldly and can scarcely hide the trouble that agitates him. He does not wish to admit anything as yet; but his thoughts, his heart, his soul are elsewhere. For him the world is in the beautiful eyes of Aïda. A hundred times more beautiful, a hundred times more attractive than the daughter of kings, the slave girl has captured a heart which now belongs only to her. At Rhadamès's coldness, Amnérîs in her turn is agitated by cruel doubts. It is certain that a rival contends for Rhadamès's heart; but who is she?"
The realization by Verdi and Du Locle contains two parts. First, a stage direction for the entrance of Amnéris and a conversation—the basis of recitative—between Amnéris and Rhadamès, in which the princess probes the soldier’s emotional state:

Amnéris sort du palais—Ramphis
la salute et entre sous le portique/
Amnéris Ramphis [Rhadamès is written overtop of Ramphis]

Amnéris
quel éclair dans vos yeux Rhadamès? quelle heureuse fierté sur votre visage. Elle serait heureuse celle regards dont la présence mettrait dans vos yeux cette flamme
Ces rayons de joie à votre face!

Rhadamès
fille-des-pharaons
L’Egypte-est-menacé-mais-les-Dieux-ont-parlé
un guerrier [Illegible crossed-out passage] Isis pour combattre et (les ennemis de l’Egypte) pour vaincre que ne sois-je ce guerrier? cette seule pensée fait trembler ma main et battre mon coeur!

Amnéris
N’est-il pas au monde un bonheur plus grand que la joie de la victoire, un destin plus heureux que celui du soldat dans les camps. Rhadamès quitterait-il donc Memphis sans laisser derrière
Second, two asides, intended for ensemble treatment, in which the two protagonists reveal their innermost thoughts to the spectators:

Rhadamès (à part)

Ah! lit-elle dans mon coeur? a-t-elle surpris
de viné
ma secrete pensée a-t-elle lut-dans-mon-coeur mon
amour pour esclave?

Amnérís (à part)

Cette froideur! cette dédaigneuse indifférence. il

59 Modificazioni ms., p. 4; Appendix I, pp. 497-98; Busch, pp. 449-50:
"Amnérís comes out of the palace—Ramphis [sic] salutes her and goes under the portico/
Amnérís, Ramphis [Rhadamès is written overtop of Ramphis]

Amnérís
such brilliance in your eyes, Rhadamès? such
fortunate pride on your face. She would be fortunate, the one
glances whose presence puts this fire in your eyes,
These rays of joy on your face!

Rhadamès
Daughter-of-the-pharaohs,
Egypt-has-threatened-but-the-Gods-have-spoken.

[a warrior has been appointed] by Isis to fight and
(the enemies of Egypt) to defeat why am I not that warrior? this
thought alone makes my hand tremble and my heart
beat faster!

Amnérís
Is there in the world no greater happiness
than the joy of victory, no fate more fortunate
than that of a soldier in the field. Could Rhadamès
indeed leave Memphis without
a regret or a hope?"
est dans son coeur un secret qu'il me cache.
malgré lui, je le pénètrerai. \textsuperscript{60}

**Act I, Tableau 1, Scene iii**

One of the most important aspects of the preparation of the *modificazioni* would seem to have been the creation of dialogue from less-developed passages in Mariette's prose. An example of this occurs in Act I, scene iii, which contains the first appearance of Aïda on the stage. The text of the original scenario prescribes her entrance, reactions on the parts of Aïda, Rhadamès and Amnérís and the fact that all three express their various emotional states of mind. However, there is very little basis for the development of dialogue, and the passage in Mariette's scenario reads more as a transition between the preceding and following scenes:

Aïda, esclave éthiopienne, qu'une récente victoire a livrée entre les mains des égyptiens, se montre alors au fond du théâtre. Un regard enflammé de Rhadamès, un long soupir d'Aïda, menacent de tout révéler. Une sorte d'instinct avertit la princesse que celle dont elle voudrait connaître le nom, c'est l'esclave, qu'elle a sous les yeux.

Au moment où, chacun de leur côté, Amnéris, Aïda,

\textsuperscript{60} *Modificazioni* ms., p. 4; Appendix I, p. 498; Busch, p. 450;

"Rhadamès (aside)
Ah! does she read in my heart? has she discovered guessed my secret thoughts, has she read-in-my-heart my love for her slave?

Amnéris (aside)
This coldness! this scornful indifference. there is in his heart a secret he hides from me. Despite him, I shall penetrate it."
Rhadamès, expriment leur amour, leurs plaintes, leurs regrets et leur douleur. . . . 61

In the modifications, Verdi and Du Locle realized Mariette's scene in three steps. First, Aïda enters and the three protagonists react to their encounter. No dialogue is given, the action would appear to have been intended for gesture and facial expression:

Amnéris, Rhadamès, Aïda

\text{Aïda parait sous le portique, descendant vers hadamès Amnérís. à la vue de Ramphis, elle s'arrête regarde et se trouble. Amnérís l'aperçoit et [illegible crossed-out word] yeux vers Rhadamès qui détourne ses regards, mouvement.} 62

Second, there is dialogue for Amnéris and Aïda: an aside for Amnéris, her questioning of Aïda's sad appearance and the slave's explanation. The last part of this is an attempt to provide information for the spectator that

\text{Humbert, "À propos," 244: "Aïda, Ethiopian slavegirl, who fell into the hands of the Egyptians during a recent victory, appears at the back of the stage. An inflamed look from Rhadamès, a long sigh from Aïda, threaten to reveal all. Some instinct warns the princess that the one whose name she would like to know, is the slave she sees before her eyes. At the moment when, each in his turn, Amnéris, Aïda, Rhadamès are expressing their love, their lamentations, their regrets and their sorrow. . . ."}

\text{62 Modificazioni ms., p. 5; Appendix I, p. 498; Busch, p. 450: "Aïda appears under the portico, descending towards hadamès Amnérís. at the sight of Ramphis, she stops looks and is troubled. Amnérís perceives it and [illegible crossed-out word] eyes towards Rhadamès who turns away his [illegible crossed-out word] movement."}
is given in Mariette's prose:

Amnéris (à part)
Cette rivale dont je cherche en vain le nom . . . Être donc elle . . . Être donc Aïda qu'il aime!! (à Aïda) En quoi mon esclave préférée, toi que je Ensemble-a-treis protège entre toutes et que je traite comme une sœur, pourquoi ce trouble dans tes regards, et ces larmes qui brillent malgré toi dans tes yeux?

Aïda Hélas! La guerre va de nouveau éclater entre La terre chérie où j'ai vu le jour, et ce pays où je suis prisonnière. comment la pauvre captive pourrait-elle retenir ses larmes et contenir les mouvements de son coeur?

The deterioration of Aïda's speech into prose narrative shows how pressed for time the collaborators were. Nevertheless, it is clear that in this basic dialogue, there is an attempt to develop the personalities of the protagonists: on the one hand, Amnéris's subtle probing of Aïda, on the other, Aïda's veiled remarks about the true state of her emotions.

Third, an ensemble trio of asides is given in which each character expresses innermost thoughts:

63 Modificazioni ms., p. 5; Appendix I, pp. 498-99; Busch, p. 450: "Amnéris (aside) This rival whose name I seek in vain . . . could it be she . . . Could it be Aïda he loves!! (to Aïda) Come now, my favorite slave, you whom I Ensemble-a-treis protege above all others and whom I treat like a sister, why this trouble in your glances, and these tears that shine despite yourself in your eyes?

Aïda Alas! War will break out again between the beloved land where I first saw the day, and this country where I am prisoner. how could the poor captive hold back her tears and control the disturbance of her heart?"
Ensemble (en trio)

Aïda

que les Dieux me pardonnent! mon malheur
et celui de ma patrie n'occupent pas
seuls mon coeur troublé! Hélas! en
la vue de Ramphis [sic] je me sens trembler
et mourir mes yeux-se-voilent et mon
trouble se lit dans mes yeux!

Rhadamès

qu'elle est belle et touchante!
Comme sous ses habits d'esclave elle
est noble et fière, on dirait une
Reine captive. Qui ne serait heureux
de sécher les larmes de ces yeux ravissants.

Amméris

Oui c'est elle qu'il aime. ah
je perdrai cette indigne rivale je
me vengerai! Mais non pour vaincre
il ne faut que mon amour, ma
jeunesse et ma beauté!64

64 Modificazioni ms., p. 6; Appendix I, pp. 499-500; Busch, p. 451:
"Ensemble (trio)
Aïda may the Gods forgive me! my misfortunes
and those of my country do not alone
weigh on my troubled heart! alas! at
the sight of Ramphis [sic] I feel myself trembling
and dying my-eyes-become-clouded and my
confusion shows in my eyes!
Rhadamès
Ramphis how beautiful and touching she is!
Under the rainments of a slave how
noble and proud she is, one could say a
captive Queen. who would not be happy
However, the solution to Mariette's weak prescription shows how bound the collaborators were to tradition, for the three-step structure is a commonplace in operatic texts of the nineteenth century. This is one instance in which very little actual "modification" seems to have been accomplished. In Chapter VIII we shall discuss problems concerning the structure and content of this scene encountered by Verdi and Ghislanzoni during the versification of the Italian libretto.

**Act I, Tableau 1, Scene iv**

Mariette structured the action of Act I, scene iv in the following manner:

1. a. The announcement by an officer of the palace that the King comes to hear a messenger sent from the borders of Egypt and Ethiopia
   b. The entrance of the King and his suite of gentlemen
2. a. Entrance of the messenger, now called a herald
   b. His report of the Ethiopian invasion of Egypt, led by Amounasro
3. Aïda's reaction upon hearing Amounasro's name; he is her father. This is presumably intended as an aside for there is no statement of reaction from the ensemble.

—to dry the tears in these ravishing eyes!

Amneris    Yes, 'tis she he loves. ah,
I shall destroy this unworthy rival, I shall revenge myself! But no, to win
I shall need only my love, my youth, and my beauty!"
4. a. The King orders a retaliation to the aggression of the Ethiopians and reviews the might of Egypt
   b. Radames is named leader of the Egyptians and is dispatched to the sacred rites at the temple of Vulcan

5. General chorus and exit of the King. 65

Verdi and Du Locle retained this structure but made several significant changes. First, they attempted to reduce the clumsy and protracted series of entrances at the outset of the scene by excising the part of the officer of the palace and having the herald (messenger) announce himself. The King's entrance, which follows, is announced by the ensemble. The latter plays no part in Mariette's description of the scene. Second, after the King's monologue about the might of Egypt, Radames and Aïda and Amneris together react to the news that Radames is to be leader of the Egyptian army. Third, the King and Ramphis send Radames to the temple and conclude with the command "reviens vainqueur! (return victorious)" which is, in turn, repeated by Amneris and then the entire ensemble. Finally, Mariette's directive for a "general chous" is excised and stage directions for the exit of the entire ensemble excepting Aïda are given. 66

65 Our reduction is a paraphrased version of the original text. See Humbert, "À propos," 244 and 246.

66 See Modificazioni ms., pp. 7-8; Appendix I, pp. 500-01; Busch, p. 452.
Act I, Tableau 1, Scene v

For the final scene of Act I, tableau 1, Mariette describes Aïda's emotional state upon hearing that Rhadamès will face her father in battle. She is, explains Mariette, alone on the stage:

Restée seule, Aïda partagée entre son amour pour les deux chefs qui vont se rencontrer sur le champ de bataille, exhale ses plaintes. Que la victoire se décide pour son père ou qu'elle couronne les efforts de son amant, quelle que soit l'issue de la campagne, il n'y a pour la pauvre esclave abandonnée des dieux que larmes et regrets.67

Mariette's very general description of this scene is realized in the modificazioni as a dramatic aria (air dramatique) that contains six related ideas. Moreover, Aïda's opening command, "Reviens vainqueur Rhadamès!" repeats the last statements of the preceding scene and thus, scene v is the logical outcome of scene iv. In the six ideas, Aïda visualizes two possible results should either her father or Rhadamès be victor. She concludes with a plea for her own death:

1. Aïda is horrified by her own words, she too has joined in the cry "Reviens vainqueur (Return victorious)"

2. The reason for the impending war is her father's desire to rescue

67 Humbert, "À propos," 246: "Remaining alone, Aïda, torn between her love for the two leaders who are about to meet on the battlefield, laments. Whether the victory is won by her father or crowns the efforts of her lover, whatever the outcome of the campaign, the poor slave who has been abandoned by the gods will only have tears and sorrows."
her from slavery

3. Aïda imagines her father dragged behind Rhadâmès's triumphal chariot

4. Aïda asks the gods to disperse the Egyptians

5. New horror: this request could endanger her lover who is now imagined incarcerated in a prison

6. Aïda asks the gods for her own death. 68

Act II, Tableau 1, Scenes i and ii

Another original scene was created for the opening of the new first tableau of Act II. While the text of the modificazioni is a mixture of narrative prose, stage directions and dialogue at this point, five parts are easily discerned: first, stage directions for the adornment of Amnéris at the rise of the curtain; second, a prose text for the opening chorus; third, dialogue for Amnéris, who silences the slaves as she announces the imminent arrival of Aïda; fourth, the entrance of Aïda bearing the victor's crown; and, finally, Amnéris's feigned welcome of the slave. This layout is, of course, a structure employed to set the main theme of the tableau in motion. 69

The source of scene ii—a duet between Amnéris and Aïda—of the new first tableau of Act II is Mariette's secondary theme positioned in the

68 Our reduction is a paraphrased version of the original text. See Modificazioni ms., p. 9; Appendix I, p. 502; Busch, p. 452.

69 Modificazioni ms., p. 13; Appendix I, pp. 504-05; Busch, pp. 453-54.
scenario at the outset of the so-called triumphal scene. Mariette's text comprises four basic ideas that are expanded and developed in the modificazioni:

First, Amnéris is assailed by doubts: she suspects Rhadamès loves another and vows to kill her rival:

La Princesse Amnéris paraît. Son amour pour Rhadamès a grandi de toute la gloire que le vainqueur d'Amounasro vient d'acquérir. Mais des soupçons cuisants ont de nouveau assailli son âme. Ce n'est pas elle que Rhadamès aime. En proie aux doutes, aux tourments jaloux qui la dévorent, elle fera périr celle qu'elle regarde comme son odieuse rivale. Mais auparavant elle veut s'assurer si c'est Aïda que Rhadamès a préférée.

Second, in order to ascertain her suspicion that Aïda is her rival, Amnéris summons the slave to appear before her:

Elle appelle le jeune esclave.

Third, Amnéris pretends great sadness for she claims to have received news of Rhadamès's death:

Elle feint une grande douleur. Elle annonce qu'un messager arrivé à l'instant a apporté la nouvelle de la mort du capitaine.

Finally, Aïda's sobs reveal to Amnéris that her suspicions of Rhadamès's love for Aïda are well founded; as a result, Amnéris resolves that Aïda will die:

Aïda éclate en sanglots. Son père et son amant sont morts. Pour elle la vie n'est plus qu'un supplice et elle cache à peine devant la Princesse éperdue les
sentiments qui l'agitent. Dès lors plus de doute. Pour Amnéris, l'amante de Rhadamès c'est Aïda. Aïda périra.\footnote{Humbert, "À propos," 248: "Princess Amnéris appears. Her love for Rhadamès has grown with all the glory that the conqueror of Amounasro has just acquired. But terrible suspicions have again assailed her mind. It is not she whom Rhadamès loves. Prey to doubts, to jealous torments, she will perish, the one she regards as her hateful rival. But first she wants to assure herself that it is Aïda whom Rhadamès preferred. She summons the young slave. She feigns great sadness. She announces that a messenger who has just arrived has brought news of the captain's death. Aïda bursts into sobs. Her father and her lover are dead. For her[,] life is nothing more than a torment and she is barely able to conceal the sentiments which agitate her in front of the princess. From that moment there is no doubt. For Amnéris, the lover of Rhadamès is Aïda. Aïda will die."}

The modificazioni for Act II, tableau 1 comprises two texts. One version contains the entire scene rendered in narrative prose into which five complete speeches and many other fragments of speeches are interspersed.\footnote{Modificazioni ms., pp. 13-15; Appendix I, pp. 505-07; Busch, pp. 454-55.}
The prose begins in an ordered manner but, owing to the interpolations, which are added to the last third of the text, the readability of the prose deteriorates. For this reason, the collaborator's reworked the second half of the tableau in the form of a libretto.\footnote{Modificazioni ms., pp. 17-18; Appendix I, pp. 508-09; Busch, pp. 456-57.}

For the first time in the evolution of the libretto, the personalities of two protagonists undergo development. For one thing, Amnéris's interrogation of Aïda begins in a kind manner but, by degrees, she becomes fierce...
and unrelenting in her will to ascertain the truth she suspects. For another, Aïda dissembles and evades admission of the truth about her love for Rhadamès until the climax of the scene is reached. Mariette's twice-stated pronouncement that Amnérîs's rival will die is excised. In place of this, Amnérîs forces Aïda to accompany her to the triumph where the slave (and Rhadamès) will witness the crowning of the victor. There is a dash of irony in this new development. This modification is heralded by the new directive Musique en dehors (Music outside), and the reference obviously refers to triumphal music belonging properly to the succeeding scene. Furthermore, the dialogue of the prose libretto section is less stilted than that of the realization of the first act for it takes on a pace that nears the degree of interaction found in spoken drama. We shall observe Verdi's attempt to preserve this type of setting when he came to supervise the Italian versification.

Act II, Tableau 2

A formidable task faced the collaborators when they came to modify the second tableau of Act II. Mariette specified ten actions but these did little more than sketch out the basis of the tableau. In fact, his text comprises less than half of the action required to create a scene that logically generates much of the subsequent action. All ten of Mariette's points of action, listed below, were retained in the modificazioni. The last half of the ninth action was assigned to another character. Mariette's

73 Modificazioni ms., p. 17; Appendix I, p. 509; Busch, p. 456.
text with our commentary follows:

1. The reason for the assembly of the people:

   Le peuple est assemblé. Il attend le roi qui va venir
   voir défiler les troupes rentrant victorieuses de leur
   campagne d'Éthiopie.

2. The entrance of the King and the signal that the so-called grand march
   commence:

   Le roi entre en scène. Il prend place sur le trône
   préparé à gauche du spectateur. Un bruit lointain
   signale l'arrivée des troupes.

3. A description of the grand march of the Egyptian troops and the entrance
   of Rhadamès:

   Grande marche au bruit des fanfares. Les troupes à pied
   de toutes armes, les chars de guerre, paraissent succes-
   sivement et entrent dans la ville en passant sous la
   porte triomphale. Rhadamès est assis sur un palanquin
   porté par seize de ses officiers. Au moment où il passe
   devant le roi, le cortège s'arrête et Rhadamès descend.

4. The King embraces Rhadamès, saviour of the homeland:

   Le roi l'embrasse et le proclame le sauveur de la patrie,
   vainqueur des vainqueurs.

5. The celebration of the victory:

   Il [le roi] ordonne qu'en l'honneur de la victoire une
   fête soit célébrée. Les soldats se groupent avec les
   gens du peuple dans les diverses parties du théâtre.
   Le roi monte sur son trône. Des danseuses, dans le grand
   costume égyptien, mêlent leurs pas devant les spectateurs
   charmés.

6. The exit of the troops:

   À la fin du ballet, les trompettes résonnent de nouveau,
   et bientôt les derniers soldats ont disparu sous la porte
   triomphale.

7. The entrance of the Ethiopian prisoners with Amounasro:
Le roi reste seul avec Amnérîs et ses suivantes, parmi lesquelles est Aïda. Sur son ordre, des soldats amènent les prisonniers faits pendant la bataille. Parmi eux est Amounasro caché sous les habits d'un simple officier de ses troupes.

8. Aïda's recognition of her father and her pleas that his life be spared:

A peine Aïda l'a-t-elle vu qu'elle pousse un cri. O roi tout puissant, s'écrie-t'elle, que les dieux ouvrent votre cœur à la clemence; celui qui est devant vous, esclave résigné, c'est mon père!

9. Amounasro intervenes and does not permit Aïda to reveal his identity, for he plans revenge:

Mais au moment où elle va relever que son père est en même temps le terrible Amounasro, celui-ci intervient et apprend à sa fille que s'il est caché sous les habits de l'un des officiers de ses troupes, c'est pour mieux assurer le vengeance qu'il a méditée.

10. The King grants Amounasro's life; he is to be a palace guard:

Vaincu par les prières d'Aïda. Le roi fait grâce de la vie au prisonnier, et l'Ethiopien vaincu prendra place parmi les esclaves préposés à la garde du palais.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ Humbert, "À propos," 248: "The populace has assembled. They await the king who will come to see the troops returning victorious from their Ethiopian campaign. The king enters the stage. He takes his place on the throne situated to the spectator's left. A distant sound signals the arrival of the troops. Grand march to the sound of fanfares. Foot soldiers bearing many arms, the chariots of war, appear successively and enter the city passing under the triumphal gate. Rhadamès is seated upon a palanquin carried by sixteen of his officers. At the moment when he passes before the king, the cortege stops and Rhadamès steps down. The king embraces him and proclaims him saviour of the homeland, conqueror of conquerors. He [the king] orders that a feast be celebrated in honour of the victory. The soldiers gather with the people on many parts of the stage. The king mounts his throne. Some dancing girls, in fine Egyptian costumes, mingle their steps in front of the fascinated spectators. At the end of the ballet, the trumpets sound again, and soon the last soldiers have disappeared under the triumphal gate."
The modifications to Mariette's plan of action for Act II (tableau 2) form the most extensive series of changes and additions to be prepared by Verdi and Du Locle, who created and realized in dialogue fifteen new pieces of action and interspersed these with the points of action found in Mariette's text. The resulting new libretto has greater logic, shows a heightened degree of unity, and permits more interaction among the characters.

It is curious that Budden notes that "the triumphal scene is further defined in the direction of the finished opera" but that he chooses to discuss only three of the fifteen modifications. Moreover, Budden says that there were three drafts of this scene in the modificazioni ms. when, in fact, there are only two drafts: a prose scenario and a prose libretto.

The king remains alone with Amnēris and her train, amongst whom is Aïda. On his order, some soldiers lead in the prisoners taken in battle. Among them is Amounasro disguised in the dress of a simple officer of his troops. As soon as Aïda has seen him she cries out. Oh powerful king, she cries, let the gods open your heart to clemency; this man who stands before you, a submissive slave, is my father! But at the moment in which she is about to reveal that her father is at the same time the terrifying Amounasro, the latter intervenes and informs his daughter that if he is disguised in the dress of one of the officers of his troops, it is to assure better the vengeance that he has planned. Won over by the pleas of Aïda, the king grants the prisoner's life, and the vanquished Ethiopian will take his place among the slaves assigned to guard the palace."

75 Budden, The Operas of Verdi, III, 170.

76 Modificazioni ms., pp. 19-20; Appendix I, pp. 509-12; Busch, pp. 457-58.

77 Modificazioni ms., pp. 23-28; Appendix I, pp. 512-19; Busch, pp. 459-62.
The fifteen modifications follow; the bracketed items refer to the text of the modificazioni, which is given in Appendix I.

1. The position of the ensemble and five of the protagonists at the rise of the curtain and a text for the opening chorus (items 1 and 2)
2. The announcement by the Herald that the victorious soldiers are gathered and ready to commence the grand march (item 3)
3. The King's gesture that the grand march begin (item 4)
4. The crowning of Rhadamès by Amnérís (item 5)
5. A gesture of challenge thrown at Aïda by Amnérís (item 5)
6. The King's oath to grant Rhadamès his first wish (item 6)
7. Amounasro's monologue about the war and the will of the gods (item 9)
8. Amounasro's first vow for vengeance sandwiched between his monologue and the texts for a central concertato (concerted piece) (item 11)
9. The central concertato in reaction to the events of the first half of the tableau (items 12-18)
10. Rhadamès's request that his reward be the granting of freedom to the Ethiopian prisoners (item 19)
11. The varied reactions of the protagonists and the ensemble to Rhadamès's request (items 20-22)
12. The granting of Rhadamès's request by the King (item 23)
13. The betrothal of Amnérís and Rhadamès (item 23)
14. The final ensemble in which the protagonists react to the outcome of the second half of the tableau (items 24-27 and 30)
15. Amounasro restates his vow for vengeance after Aïda tells him she loves Rhadamès (items 27-28).
One key event in the dramatic action given in the scenario of Mariette is repositioned in the libretto of the *modificazioni* with great effect: the entrance of the Ethiopian prisoners with Amounasro takes place at the moment in which the King asks Rhadames to name his reward. Mariette places this entrance at the end of the tableau almost in the manner of an afterthought. The result of the new placement of this important piece of business allows enormous expansion to the central portion of the second tableau, the *concertato*, and a greater degree of credibility, which is attained with respect to the unfolding of the drama from this point forward. Moreover, in the text of the *modificazioni*, the sparing of the Ethiopian prisoners' lives is not attained through Aida's entreaties as given in Mariette's scenario (in fact, she only asks for the life of her father), but is the result of the entreaties of the greatest part of the ensemble. Only the priests, Ramphis and Thermoutis (item 17) deny the plea for mercy and this opposed opinion generates a striking contrast at this point in the action. In addition, the severe opinion of the forces of the state religion, a characteristic entirely lacking in Mariette's scenario, is suggested for the first time in the evolution of the libretto. This severity, of course, manifests itself very clearly in the fourth act.

**Act III, Scene 1**

The collaborators created an original scene at the outset of the third act not found in Mariette's scenario or in Verdi's groundplan. The version
of the new scene in the libretto of the *modificazioni* commences with a choral prayer sung in the little temple described in the modified stage set --the backdrop of a temple among trees. Amnēris and Ramphís, accompanied by priests and veiled women, disembark from a boat on the banks of the Nile, pause to discuss Amnēris's forthcoming marriage to Rhadamēs and go up into the temple for the wedding vigil. This elaborate stage business and the dialogue heightens the mysterious atmosphere of the night scene and provides useful information for the spectator. But a more important reason for the inclusion of the new first scene of Act III is that it allows for the reappearance of Amnēris and Ramphís at the conclusion of the act. Thus it is both logical and possible that Amnēris and Ramphís could overhear the conspiracy between Aïda, Amounasro and Rhadamēs. In Mariette's scenario only Amnēris appears at the conclusion of the act, and no reason is given for her unaccompanied presence in the palace garden at night.

**Act III, Scene ii**

At the outset of the third act, Mariette prescribes a solo scene for Aïda. The text for this is very general and the content does not provide a clear delineation of a recitative and aria structure. Indeed, the prose of the scenario contains but two facts: first, Aïda loves Rhadamēs more than ever and nature is called upon to attest to this; second, Rhadamēs is coming, Aïda awaits him and she asks Isis to guide him to her:

Au lever du rideau, Aïda est seule. Plus que jamais le souvenir de Rhadamès emplit son coeur. Les arbres, le fleuve sacré qui baigne ses pieds, ces collines lointaines où dorment depuis des siècles les ancêtres de celui qu'elle aime, elle prend tout à témoin de sa constance et de sa fidélité. Rhadamès va venir. Elle l'attend. Qu'Isis, protectrice des amours, le conduise auprès de celle qui ne veut appartenir qu'à lui.\(^79\)

The realization of this sketch as Act III, scene ii—a new scene i precedes this in the \textit{modificazioni}—involved the creation of a two-part aria structure, the excision of the greatest part of Mariette's ideas and the addition of new content. The collaborators laid out the basis of a recitative followed by a \textit{romance}. In the first part, Aïda implores the shadows of the night to hide her and asks a lone star to turn its rays from her (both new ideas) and repeats Mariette's text with respect to the imminent arrival of Rhadamès. The well-known symbols of the night shadows and the star came to be employed owing to the fact that the time of the action in the \textit{modificazioni} is changed from sunset to night. The text of the \textit{romance} is completely new. Verdi and Du Locle, it will be remembered, introduced the announcement of the betrothal of Amnérîs and Rhadamès at the conclusion of Act II, tableau 2. In the \textit{romance} this information is repeated and, as a result of her cognizance of this fact, Aïda decides upon suicide should Rhadamès betray her love:

\(^79\) Humbert, "À propos," 250: "At the rise of the curtain, Aïda is alone. More than ever thoughts of Rhadamès fill her heart. The trees, the sacred river that bathes her feet, those distant hills where for centuries the ancestors of him who she loves have slept, she asks everything to witness her loyalty and faithfulness. Rhadamès is going to come. She awaits him. May Isis, protectress of love, guide him to her who wants to belong only to him."
Scène II

Aïda seule

Ombre de la nuit cache-moi astre à jamais
sans voiles qui règne resplendissant dans l'azur
implacable du ciel détourné de moi tes rayons! . . .
des voix confuses s'élèvent de ce temple secret . . . Une
barque a glissé sur le Nil endormi . . . mais tout
se tait . . . Rhadamès doit venir ici . . . je l'attends!!

Romance

Ô Rhadamès toi mon amour et ma vie, que veux-
tu de ce coeur déchiré qui ne bat que pour toi?
La couronne de l'Égypte est offerte à ton
front glorieux, la belle Amnérîs dont le coeur
t'appartient sera demain ton épouse. ah Rhadamès
si tu viens me dire un éternel adieu . . . je dormirai
demain, pâle et froide parmi les grands roseaux
du Nil! . . .

etc etc etc

80 Modificazioni ms., p. 36; Appendix I, pp. 524-25; Busch, p. 466:

Scene II
Aïda alone
"Shadows of the night, hide me, ever-veilless
star who reigns resplendent in the implacable
azure of the sky, turn your rays from me! . . .
. . . Rhadamès must come here . . . I await him!!

Romance
Oh Rhadamès, you my love and my life, what do you
want from this torn heart that beats only for you?
The crown of Egypt is offered to your
Act III, Scenes iii, iv and v

When compared with Verdi and Du Locle's elaborate development of the second act, the modifications of Act III, scenes iii through v show a great deterioration in the quality of the text. In the modificazioni, the duets for Aïda and Amounasro (scene iii) and Aïda and Rhadames (scene iv) are crude in both structure and content, while the betrayal of Rhadames (conclusion of scene iv) is merely set as a formal trio, lacking in any sense of dramatic action. The reappearance of Amnérís and Ramphis (scene v) has little relationship with the preceding scene and, as a result, reads almost like an afterthought, rather than the logical outcome of the events and ideas contained in scenes iii and iv. Again, these problems were probably caused by the extremely short duration of Du Locle's visit at Sant'Agata and the complexity of the problems at hand. Mariette's text gives the reasons for the encounters between the protagonists but does not contain either exposition or development of their individual personalities or their interactions. It is these omissions that continued to perplex the collaborators.

Act III, Scene iii

Mariette's version of scene iii prescribes:

glorious brow, the beautiful Amnérís whose heart belongs to you will be your wife tomorrow, ah Rhadames if you come to bid me eternal farewell . . . I shall sleep tomorrow, pale and cold, among the tall reeds of the Nile! . . ."
Une porte du pavillon de gauche s'ouvre et la figure sombre d'Amounasro paraît. [. . . .] Il apprend à sa fille que l'Ethiopie a de nouveau levé l'étendard de la révolte, et que de nouveau Rhadamès va marcher contre elle. Dans un discours touchant il lui rappelle le sol natal, sa mère éplorée, les images sacrées des dieux de ses ancêtres. Mais l'amour qu'Aïda a inspiré au jeune Rhadamès n'a point échappé à sa clairvoyance de père. Qu'Aïda profite de cet amour pour arracher à Rhadamès le secret de la marche des troupes égyptiennes. Pendant qu'à la faveur des troubles Aïda et lui prendront la fuite, Rhadamès enlevé à la suite du combat sera transporté comme esclave en Ethiopie, où des liens éternels assureront pour jamais leur bonheur commun. Vaincue par les supplications de son père, par les souvenirs de son enfance, par la joie de posséder celui qu'elle aime loin d'une terre où elle n'a que trop longtemps subi les tortures de l'esclavage, Aïda promet. 81

The realization of scene iii in the modificazioni appears to be no more than a sketch in three sections of what was to be developed by Verdi himself into a full-scale duet. First, Aïda, awaiting Rhadamès, is surprised by the appearance of Amounasro. At this point, the two engage in an ensemble in which they rejoice at being reunited, a familiar cliché in nineteenth-century librettos:

81 Humbert, "À propos," 250:
"A doorway of the pavilion on the left opens and the somber figure of Amounasro appears. [. . . . ] He informs his daughter that Ethiopia has once again raised the flag of revolt, and that Rhadamès will once again march against her. In a touching speech he reminds her of her native soil, her disconsolate mother, the sacred images of the gods of her ancestors. But the love which Aïda has inspired in the young Rhadamès has not escaped her father's clairvoyance. Let Aïda profit from this love to wrest from Rhadamès the secret of the march by the Egyptian troops. Then, in the midst of the turmoil Aïda and he will take flight, Rhadamès captured during the combat will be taken as a slave to Ethiopia, where the eternal bonds will forever ensure their common happiness. Won over by her father's entreaties, by memories of her childhood, by the joy of possessing the one she loves far from the land where she for too long a time has submitted to the torment of slavery, Aïda promises."
Scene III

Amounasro  Aïda

Amounasro

Aïda!...

Aïda

Dieux! ce n'est pas Rhadames... et pourtant cette
voix qui prononce mon nom, elle m'est chérie à moi...
mon père!! mon père bien aimé!...

Amounasro

Oh ma fille chérie!...

Ensemble

joie de se trouver... de se prendre entre leurs bras
toutes leurs misères oubliées... les dieux les ont réunis.82

Second, Amounasro discusses Rhadames's betrothal to Amnérîs and reminds

82 Modificazioni ms., pp. 36-37; Appendix I, pp. 525-26; Busch, pp. 466-67:
"Scene III
Amounasro  Aïda
Amounasro
Aïda!...
Aïda
Gods! it is not Rhadames... and yet this
voice pronouncing my name, is also dear to me...
my father!! my beloved father!...
Amounasro
Oh my dear daughter!...
Ensemble
Joy to find each other again... to hold one another.
all their miseries forgotten... the gods have reunited them!"
Aïda of the devastation of Ethiopia. She asks what she is to do:

**Amounasro**

Ecoute . . . ta patrie, ton roi, ton père attendent de toi un héroïque secours. Rhadamès le vainqueur de l'Ethiopie, le fiancé de la fille du Pharaon t'aime [et de toi pris sera.] sauve à la fois ton amour et ta patrie. Souviens-toi de ces dieux voilés du deuil des tombeaux de tes ancêtres profanés. Souviens-toi aussi de belles forêts embaumées de nos palais resplendissants (de ta patrie où il serait si doux pour toi de libre et glorieuse vivre auprès d'un époux bien aimé!!)

**Aïda** (un jour) que puis-je faire? un jour de cette vie . . . et mourir s'il le faut!

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83 *Modificazioni* ms., p. 38; Appendix I, p. 526; Busch, p. 467:

"Amounasro

Listen . . . your country, your king, your father expect from you heroic assistance. Rhadâmès the conqueror of Ethiopia, the betrothed of Pharaoh's daughter, loves you and will be taken from you. save your love and your country at the same time. Remember the gods veiled in mourning, the desecrated tombs of our ancestors. Remember too the beautiful fragrant our glittering palaces free and glorious forests of your country where your life would be so sweet next to a beloved spouse!!

Aïda (one day) what can I do? one day of that life . . . and die if I must!"
Third, Amounasro announces the planned revolt of the Ethiopians and asks Aïda to wrest from Rhadamès the place at which the Egyptian troops will pass. She agrees to do this. Amounasro hides as Rhadamès approaches:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{Amounasro} \\
\text{Notre peuple héroïque relève la tête on se réunit on} \\
s'arme dans l'ombre. tout est prêt pour la vengeance. \\
Arrache à Rhadamès le secret de la marche des \\
que nous \\
troupes Egyptiennes. pendant que-Aïda-et-lui \\
prenons la fuite, Rhadamès esclave sera \\
transporté en Ethiopie, où loin d'Amneris, des \\
liens éternels assureront à jamais ton bonheur \\
et le sien. \\
Aïda (Ensemble Amounasro \\
et Aïda) \\
Oui! qu'il en soit ainsi! périsse l'armée de \\
L'Egypte altière que nos dieux soient vengés \\
que je vive heureuse et fière, aux côtés de mon \\
bien aimé!!—(Rhadamès paraît Amounasro sort)\]

84 Modificazioni ms., p. 38; Appendix I, pp. 526-27; Buşch, p. 467: "Amounasro \\
Our heroic people raise their heads again. they meet, they \\
arm themselves in the shadows. all is ready for vengeance. \\
Wrest from Rhadamès the secret of the march by the \\
while we \\
Egyptian troops. while-Aïda-and-he \\
take flight, Rhadamès will be captured \\
and taken to Ethiopia where, far from Amnéris,
In a letter to Ghislanzoni dated 7 October 1870, Verdi aptly described Amounasro as "that proud and cunning King" but there is no suggestion of these characteristics in the duet of scene iii, the conclusion of the next scene or elsewhere in the modificazioni. For one thing, Amounasro greets Aïda with a commonplace phrase of endearment. For another, he does not manipulate Aïda, for there is no buildup to the point at which Amounasro asks Aïda to betray Rhadamès. Amounasro's first speech broaches the idea of Aïda's complicity in the Ethiopian revolt and the reason for Amounasro's surprise appearance is revealed immediately after their greeting ensemble. Aïda offers no resistance and agrees without hesitation to her father's demands. Moreover, her reaction to the prospect of return to her homeland in the company of her beloved Rhadamès is drastically reduced to patriotic statements that belie her character. Finally, there is no sign in the modificazioni of the traditional five-part structure for this duet; it seems to have been hastily written as fragments of recitative that precede and follow more extended passages. So much material is given to Amounasro that the bulk of the scene reads as monologues for that character, while Aïda's part is pale and insignificant.

85 Verdi's letter to Ghislanzoni is reproduced in Busch, p. 75.
Act III, Scene iv

Mariette describes the encounter of Rhadamès and Aïda and the reappearance of Amounasro (scene iv) in two large sections:

La scène suivante met en présence Rhadamès et Aïda. Aïda tour à tour menace et prie. Elle fascine son amant, elle l'entraîne, elle le subjugue. Eperdu d'amour, Rhadamès se jette à ses pieds. Ni la patrie, ni le monde, ni les serments sacrés qui le lient, ne valent un regard, un sourire d'elle. En vain l'honneur le réclame. Il trahira son roi, il trahira la foi jurée, et en échange ne demande aux dieux que l'amour de celle pour laquelle il voudrait mourir.

Survient Amounasro. À sa vue, Rhadamès sent s'éveiller en son cœur le sentiment du devoir. Il tremble, il hésite, il chancelle. Aïda lève sur lui ses beaux yeux suppliants. C'en est fait. Près de Napata sont des gorges sombres que commandent d'impenetrables forêts. C'est par là que l'armée égyptienne passera. C'est là qu'une embuscade facile peut permettre à l'armée des Éthiopiens d'anéantir en quelques instants les phalanges égyptiennes.86

The modifications of Act III, scene iv are realized in the following manner:

86 Humbert, "À propos," 250 and 252: "The following scene involves Rhadamès and Aïda. Aïda in turn threatens and pleads. She fascinates her lover, she wins him over, she captivates him. Lost in love, Rhadamès throws himself at her feet. Neither his homeland, nor the world, nor the sacred vows that bind him are worth one look, one smile from her. Honour calls him in vain. He will betray his king, he will betray the sworn faith, and in exchange he asks nothing of the gods but the love of her for whom he would die.

Amounasro arrives. At his appearance, Rhadamès feels the sentiment of duty reawaken in his heart. He trembles, he hesitates, he wavers. Aïda lifts her beautiful imploring eyes to him. It is decided. Near Napata are some dark gorges which impenetrable forests command. That is where the Egyptian army will pass. That is where an easy ambush will permit the Ethiopian army to destroy the Egyptian phalanxes in a few moments."
First, Rhadamès appears, repudiates his betrothal to Amnérís, and declares his enduring love for Aïda:

Rhadamès

Ô mon bien aimé. je te retrouve. Qui c'est
toi seul que j'aime, toi seul à qui mon coeur
appartient. je dédaigne pour toi l'amour de la
fille de Pharaon et la couronne de L'Egypte
toi, belle
fertile. pour une esclave je dédaigne la fille
d'un roi! . . . 87

Second, in a protracted monologue, Aïda reveals Amounasro to be her father, then suggests to Rhadamès that flight from Egypt would be a solution to their dilemma:

[Aïda]

Ecoute . . . moi aussi je suis fille de Roi . . .
Le terrible Amounasro est mon père . . . c'est lui
que tu sauvas hier . . . il te doit la vie . . . mais pour nous
[illegible crossed-out clause] Rhadamès . . . tout est piège

87 Modificazioni ms., p. 38; Appendix I, p. 527; Busch, p. 468:
"Rhadamès
Oh my beloved, I find you again. Yes, you are
the only one I love, the only one to whom my heart
belongs. For you I disdain the love of
Pharaoh's daughter and the crown of fertile
you, lovely)
Egypt. for a slave I scorn the daughter
of a King! . . . ."
et péril ici, la mort est sur nos têtes, l'abîse
sous nos pas . . . Viens . . . fuyons . . . viens régner
avec nous dans ma belle patrie. loin de ces
sables désolés . . . de ces rives que brûlent un
implacable soleil . . . dans nos forêts
aux pieds de nos monts verdoyants que la neige
couronne . . . il fait si bien vivre et d'aimer! . . .
Mais tu te tais? sans doute tes douces
paroles étaient un piège! . . . tu me dédaignes,
tu me fuis!! tu me sacrifies à la fière
Amméris! . . . ah frappe-moi . . . plonge ton épée
dans mon coeur, cruel! . . . qu'au moins j'aie
la joie de mourir de la main de celui que
j'aime.*

* Modificazioni ms., p. 39; Appendix I, pp. 527-28; Busch, p. 468; Aïda
"Listen . . . I too am the daughter of a King . . .
The terrifying Amounasro is my father . . . he is the one
but you saved yesterday . . . he owes you his life . . . for us
[illegible crossed-out half line] Rhadamès . . . everything here
is a trap and a peril, death hangs over our heads, the abyss
[opens] under our feet . . . Come . . . let us flee . . . Come reign
with us in my beautiful country. far from these
desolate sands! . . . from these shores seared by an
implacable sun . . . in our forests
at the foot of our verdant mountains crowned by the
snow . . . it is so sweet to live and to love! . . .
But you are silent? no doubt your soft
words were a trap! . . . you scorn me,
you flee from me!! you sacrifice me to the proud
Amméris! . . . ah strike me . . . plunge your sword
into my heart, cruel man! . . . that at least I may have
Third, Rhadamès hesitates but does agree to flee with Aïda:

Rhadamès

Non Aïda. je t'aime et n'aime que toi...
mais quoi... fuir à jamais mes Dieux et ma patrie...

3-3.

Aïda

Nos dieux seront les tiens et la patrie est là
où l'on nous aime!...

Rhadamès

Et bien fuyons... je suis à toi... fuyons!...

Fourth, Aïda asks Rhadamès to reveal the secret of the Egyptian march, he resists; Amounasro reappears at the outset of this section but his presence is not observed by Rhadamès until its conclusion:

the joy to die by the hand of the one
I love!"

89 Modificazioni ms., pp. 38-40; Appendix I, pp. 528-29; Busch p. 468:
"Rhadamès
No, Aïda. I love you and you alone...
but what... to desert forever my Gods and my country!...
Aïda
Our gods will be yours, and our country is
where we are loved!...
Rhadamès
Well then, let us flee... I am yours... let us flee!..."
Aïda

fais plus encore! (Amounasro paraît au fond sans être vu par Rhadamès)

Rhadamès

que veux-tu donc de moi . . . ah! mon amour me livre à toi tout entier! . . .

Aïda

Livre-nous le secret de la marche des troupes Egyptiennes que ma patrie soit délivrée de ces ennemis implacables.

Rhadamès

jamais! qu'oses-tu exiger de moi! . . .

Aïda

Rhadamès . . . ici pour nous c'est la mort! là-bas le bonheur et la vie!! . . .

Rhadamès

Aïda!

Ô parle Rhadamès . . . je t'aime! . . .

(Aïda s'approche . . . il recule épouvanté. 90)

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90 Modificazioni ms., p. 40; Appendix I, p. 529; Busch, pp. 468-69:

"Aïda do one more thing! (Amounasro appears in the back without being seen by Rhadamès)

Rhadamès what do you want from me . . . ah! my love makes me yours entirely! . . ."
Fifth, an extended stage direction is given for a scene in pantomime; Aïda's seductive glances bring about Rhadamès's capitulation:

(Scène muette Aïda s'appuie sur son père et tend les bras à Rhadamès levant sur lui des regards suppliants elle s'incline. elle tombe à genoux implorant Rhadamès qui hésite et qui tremble. enfin, avec un geste de désespoir elle se relève, cache sa tête dans ses mains, et tombe en pleurs dans les bras de son père. Ramphis [sic] vaincu s'élance vers elle)\(^91\)

Aïda
Confide the secret march of the Egyptian troops to us so that my country may be delivered from its implacable enemies. Rhadamès never! what do you dare demand from me! . . . Aïda Rhadamès . . . there is death for us here! over there, happiness and life! . . . Rhadamès Aïda! Aïda—oh speak Rhadamès . . . I love you! . . . (falls at Aïda's feet) Rhadamès is about to speak (he notices Amounasro who suddenly approaches . . . he draws back frightened."

\(^91\) Modificazioni ms., p. 41; Appendix I, pp. 529-30; Busch, p 469: "(Silent scene. Aïda leans on her father and stretches her arms out to Rhadamès raising her eyes to him entreatingly she bows down. she falls on her knees imploring Rhadamès"
Sixth, Rhadamès reveals the secret of the march:

*Rhadamès [written overtop of Ramphis]*

Près de Napata sont des gorges sombres qui commandent d'impénétrables forêts. c'est par là que l'armée Egyptienne passera. c'est là que l'embuscade facile peut permettre à l'armée des Ethiopiens d'anéantir les phalanges Egyptiennes!

(Ramphis [sic] se tait et reste accablé sous sa honte. Aïda se jette dans ses bras.)

Finally, scene iv is concluded in the traditional form of an ensemble for three:

**Ensemble Amounasro**

(fuyons ... une barque est là sur le Nil! mes

who hesitates and trembles. finally, with a gesture of despair she rises, hides her head in her hands, and falls weeping in the arms of her father. Ramphis [sic] overcome rushes to her).

92 Modificazioni ms., p. 41; Appendix I, p. 530; Busch, p. 469: "Rhadamès [written overtop of Ramphis] Near Napata are some dark gorges leading into impenetrable forests. that is where the Egyptian army will pass. that is where the Ethiopian army can easily ambush the Egyptian phalanxes and annihilate them! (Ramphis [sic] stops and is crushed by his shame. Aïda throws herself into his arms.)"
Compagnons nous attendent. Egypte maudite
adieu nous serons vengés de toi! ... 
Aïda
O mon bien aimé! quel horizon s'ouvre pour nous!
quelle éternité d'amour et de joie! terre d'Egypte
adieu! que ton souvenir soit chassé de nous pour
jamais.
Ramphis [sic]
Aïda! je t'adore! je suis à toi. je te donne
tout ma vie mon sang ... et plus que mon sang mon
honneur! détournez tes regards et ta patrie ... adieu!
adieu pour jamais.
Ils sortent

Although Verdi and Du Locle's libretto version of Act III, scene iv
falls short of the development necessary to form the basis of a versification,

93 Modificazioni ms., pp. 41-42; Appendix I, pp. 530-31; Busch, p. 469:
"Ensemble Amounasro
let us flee ... a boat is there on the Nile! ... my
companions await us. cursed Egypt;
farewell, we will be avenged! ...
Aïda
Oh my beloved! what horizons open for us!
what eternity of love and joy! land of Egypt,
farewell! may your memory be driven from us
forever.
Ramphis [sic]
Aïda! I adore you! I am yours. I give you
all my life and my blood ... and more than my blood, my
honour! turn your eyes away from me, and you, my country ... farewell!
farewell forever.
They leave"
it does show seven modifications of Mariette's scenario. Rhadamès's speech in item 1 contains the repudiation of his betrothal to Amnérís. In item 2, the declaration by Aïda that her father is Amounasro, King of Ethiopia, is new and is made possible by the introduction of Rhadamès's last line in the preceding speech: "... pour toi, belle esclave je dédaigne la fille d'un roi! ... (... for you, lovely slave, I scorn the daughter of a king! ... )". Furthermore, in item 2, the last section shows a greater development of Aïda's manipulation of Rhadamès, for she accuses him of silence despite her pleas. Although very brief, Rhadamès's hesitation and Aïda's continued persuasion are more appropriately positioned in items 3 and 4. The reappearance of Amounasro at the outset of item 6 and Rhadamès's recognition of him at the conclusion of the dialogue between Aïda and Rhadamès (items 8-12) makes the Ethiopian King's participation in the last portion of the scene more credible. The stage directions for Aïda's pantomime seduction of Rhadamès with her eyes are an expansion of Mariette's original attempt to find an appropriate setting of this climactic point in the drama. Finally, the concluding trio (ensemble) is a new item in the modificazioni.

Act III, Scene v

In the final scene of Act III as given in Mariette's text, only Amnérís appears on the stage after the exit of the three conspirators:

... la princesse Amnérîs, pâle et frémissante, sort d'un bouquet d'arbres qui jusques-là l'a tenue cachée aux regards. Elle a tout entendu. Un vengeance terrible est désormais entre ses mains. Aïda périra, et avec elle l'enfîdèle capitaine qui a méconnu les charmes de la princesse.95

Amnérîs's appearance is entirely unaccounted for but, as we have shown, Verdi and Du Locle solved Mariette's theatrical blunder by creating the new opening scene of the act. In the modificazioni, the fifth scene also includes Ramphis who now decrees that Rhadames must die. Amnérîs opposes this and claims she wants to save him. These antithetical stances, of course, prepare the action of the first tableau of the fourth act.

Act IV, Tableau 2

As we have explained, the ms. of the modificazioni does not contain a groundplan, scenario or libretto for the fourth act, owing to the short duration of Du Locle's stay at Sant'Agata. Apart from the new set description for the final tableau of the act, there is but one modification to the action delineated in Mariette's scenario: Amnérîs enters the Temple of Vulcan (the upper part of the stage in the new set description) during the final moments of the opera:

Au moment où Aïda meurt . . . Amnérîs entre dans le temple et vient s'agenouiller en pleurant

95 Humbert, "À propos," 252: "... princess Amnérîs, pale and trembling, emerges from a grove of trees which, until now, have concealed her from view. She has heard all. A terrible vengeance is now in her hands. Aïda will perish, and with her the faithless captain who has scorned the charms of a princess."
sur la pierre scellée du tombeau de Ramphis [sic].

It is clear that the pressure of time was extremely vexing to the collaborators, for even the last word of the modificazioni was introduced in error: the tomb of Rhadamès was incorrectly called the tomb of Ramphis.

* * *

Verdi's testimony in his letter to Giulio Ricordi dated 25 June 1870 explains the purpose of Du Locle's visit with Verdi at Sant Agata in June 1870. Together, the composer and the French librettist undertook two major tasks. First, they drew up a draft version of the conditions of Verdi's contract with the Cairo Opera. Although the details of the draft dealt mainly with Verdi's fee and the date by which the proposed opera was to be completed, one condition stated that the libretto was to be written by an Italian poet of Verdi's choice. This last fact rules out any notion that the Italian Aida libretto is a translation of a versified French libretto written by Du Locle. Second, Verdi and Du Locle modified a number of details in Mariette's scenario. These included changes to four of the stage settings, the creation of a stage setting for a new tableau, and additions to Mariette's stage action. Finally, for the greatest portion of the first three acts, they provided prose dialogue. Our comparative analysis of Mariette's Aïda scenario and the

96 Modificazioni ms., p. 44; Appendix I, p. 532; Busch, p. 470: "At the moment when Aïda dies ... Amnérîs enters the temple and kneels in tears on the sealed stone of Ramphis's [sic] tomb."
modificazioni ms. clarifies the extent to which Verdi and Du Locle were successful in achieving their goal. The writing of the modificazioni was obviously an essential step in the transformation of Mariette's incomplete narrative outline into a libretto.
CHAPTER VI

VERDI'S AIDA LIBRETTO

The fifth step in the evolution of the Aida libretto comprised the writing of a complete version of the libretto in Italian prose that would serve as the basis of the versification.¹ As we have shown in Chapter IV, the assignment of the task was discussed and questioned by Verdi in his correspondence with Giulio Ricordi and Du Locle, written during the period in which the latter negotiated the Aida project. Although Verdi clearly states in his letter to Du Locle dated 2 June 1870 that the prose libretto and its versification were to be the two functions of an Italian librettist (poet), he appears to have changed his mind with respect to the first task. Undoubtedly, the reason for the change was the fact that the writing of a rough prose libretto for the first three acts had been accomplished during the preparation of the modificazioni. On 25 June 1870, the probable date of Du Locle's departure from Sant'Agata, Verdi re-explained his requirements with respect to the writing of the libretto to Giulio Ricordi: "... Now we must think about the libretto or, to say it better, about writing the verses."² The contents of the modificazioni, of course, were not the direct basis of the versification, for Verdi himself wrote the definitive Italian

¹ The complete Italian text of Verdi's prose libretto with English translation is given in Appendix III of the present study.

² The complete letter is reproduced in Busch, p. 27.
prose libretto upon which the poetry was fashioned.

It is difficult to specify the exact dates in which the composer began and completed his libretto since the correspondence that has come to light contains no direct reference to this actual undertaking. However, two facts allow us to conjecture as to these dates. First, Verdi's libretto contains speeches, stage directions and set descriptions drawn from the modificazioni. Thus it must be assumed that the task was begun after 19 June 1870, the conjectured date of Du Locle's arrival at Sant'Agata. Second, in an undated letter probably written on 17 October 1870 and addressed to Ghislanzoni, Verdi referred to "observations and cuts that you [Ghislanzoni] proposed." The poet's recommendations are recorded in the ms. of Verdi's libretto and it is reasonably sure that the changes were accomplished during Ghislanzoni's visit to Sant'Agata in the company of Giulio Ricordi between 5 and 7 July 1870. Owing to the fact that Verdi's comments in his October 1870 letter to Ghislanzoni pertain to the fourth act of the prose libretto, it is clear that the composer had completed his task by the end of the first week of July 1870.

The ms. that comprises Verdi's prose libretto contains eighty-two pages which are the recto and verso sides of forty-one sheets of legal-size

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3 See Chapter V, pp. 140-41 for a reasoned explanation of the possible dates of Du Locle's visit with Verdi at Sant'Agata.

4 Verdi's letter to Ghislanzoni is reproduced in Busch, p. 79.

5 Ghislanzoni's and Ricordi's visit is mentioned in Giuseppina Strepponi's letter to Clarina Maffei, dated 5 July 1870. The letter is reproduced in Busch, pp. 29-30.
Seventy-four pages of the ms. contain texts handwritten in ink. The other eight pages are blank or almost blank and would appear to serve as points of conclusion or division between major sections of the prose libretto and other related texts. Neither the recto nor the verso sides of the pages are numbered by Verdi. Thus assignment of page numbers employed in the present study follows the consecutive order of the frames of microfilm 56, Verdi Archive, American Institute for Verdi Studies, which comprise Verdi's ms. The content of the ms. appears to have been entirely assembled by Verdi and Giuseppina Strepponi and represents texts from two different steps in the evolution of the Aida libretto: Verdi's prose libretto (step 5) and portions of the composite text prepared by the Verdis from various drafts of Ghislanzoni's versification (step 8). The latter, of course, will not be considered in the present chapter but will be discussed at the conclusion of Chapter VIII. Nevertheless, we give Table 2, which is a complete explanation of the order and content of Verdi's ms:

6 Busch, who has seen and translated the first seven pages of the second version of the fourth act, reports that the paper is of legal size. See Busch, Verdi's Aida, Document VII, Introduction to "Sketch of the Fourth Act Dialogue by Giuseppe Verdi," p. 487.

7 See p. 290 of the present study for a discussion of the composite texts found in Verdi's libretto ms. and in the Ghislanzoni ms.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sections and Page Numbers</th>
<th>Type of Text</th>
<th>Content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1., pp. 1-31</td>
<td>Prose libretto</td>
<td>Acts I through III inclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2., p. 32</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>A blank verso page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3., pp. 33-39</td>
<td>Prose libretto</td>
<td>Act IV, second complete draft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4., pp. 40-42</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>a. Blank verso page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>b. Recto page with seven crossed-out lines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c. Blank verso page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5., pp. 43-51</td>
<td>Prose libretto</td>
<td>Act IV, first complete draft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6., pp. 52-59</td>
<td>Prose libretto</td>
<td>Sketches of four versions of Act IV, scene ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7., pp. 60-61</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>a. Blank verso page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>b. Recto page with illegible notes about Act III, scene iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8., pp. 62-63</td>
<td>Verdi's groundplan</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9., pp. 64-70</td>
<td>Prose libretto</td>
<td>Sketches for various scenes, texts taken from Ghislanzoni's versified drafts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10., p. 71</td>
<td>Title page for Act IV</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
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TABLE 2—Continued

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<th>Sections and Page Numbers</th>
<th>Type of Text</th>
<th>Content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11., pp. 72-81</td>
<td>Versified libretto</td>
<td>Composite final version of Act IV (complete), assembled by the Verdis from Ghislanzoni's drafts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12., p. 82</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Blank verso page</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Verdi's libretto texts are handwritten on the left-hand half of each page of the ms. Eleven pages of the ms. have additional draft versions of dialogue handwritten on the right-hand half of the page. The added texts comprise Verdi's rectification of omissions of dialogue items in the complete final version of the prose libretto and models for the expansion of existing dialogue in the various draft versions of Act IV. Twenty-eight directives and eight comments are also handwritten on the right-hand halves of many pages. The directives explain the intended poetic (and musical) structure and are, in most cases, attached to brackets which delineate the extent of the specified treatment. The comments give critical opinions as to the possible problems or faults perceived in the content of the prose libretto.

The actual text of the complete libretto comprises main headings for each of the four acts: Atto primo, etc. The heading Scena with and without the appropriate numerals is given for twelve of the twenty scenes of the four acts. The other eight scenes are headed with the set description or
with stage directions which indicate the entrance of a new character or a group of characters or, more simply, with the name of the character(s) who take part in a particular scene. Set descriptions are given for the seven tableaux of the opera. However, neither the word tableau nor the Italian equivalent quadro are used in the libretto. In fact, scenes which require a change of setting are merely headed Scena and the appropriate new set description follows. Two types of dialogue are employed. First, exchanges between two or more characters which comprise single words, phrases and short sentences are given for sections that are clearly to be set as recitative. Second, extended speeches or model strophes are given for monologues (arias), duets and strophes for individual characters or groups of associated characters (priests, people, etc.) in the lyrical (cantabile) sections of ensemble pieces. Two types of stage directions are employed in the libretto. The first of these are independent explanations for the entrances and exits of important characters or groups of characters: processions, marches, etc. The other type of stage directions are given in conjunction with specific speeches and direct stage actions, for example, kneeling, rising, turning, or are used to describe particular emotional or psychological states of being: con ira (with rage) or sorpresa (surprised). Other directives which indicate musical treatment for particular effects—backstage chorus, ballet, etc.—are also given where appropriate.

The handwriting in the ms. shows that the libretto was prepared in the main by Verdi with suggestions in the form of additions by Giuseppina
Strepponi and comments by Ghislanzoni. Verdi's hand is most prominent for he was responsible for the major portion of all the texts in the ms: all the dialogue in the prose libretto Acts I through III, the prose versions of Act IV and the sketches for individual scenes; most of the set descriptions and stage directions in the prose libretto(s) and sketches; certain of the instructions given on the right-hand halves of some pages; twenty-eight directives for musical (poetic) treatments. Giuseppina Strepponi made some additions to the prose libretto: suggestions and additions for rather extensive dialogue items in the drafts for Act IV; occasional words and phrases given above or beside Verdi's texts throughout the ms. Ghislanzoni's hand appears very occasionally in eight comments given on the right-hand halves of various pages of the libretto: he suggested excisions and additions; he warned of the danger of the employment of words and phrases suggestive of another opera (Bellini's *Norma*); he advised about the poetic rhythm.

In the first three acts, portions of Verdi's texts are based on the dialogue and narrative given in the *modificazioni*. All but one scene (Act I, scene vi) show considerable revision of the materials of the French prose libretto. The composer's reworking involved the excision of words, phrases, clauses and sentences or the deletion of complete speeches given in the *modificazioni* and, in some cases, the introduction of replacements for the excisions and deletions. In other places, new texts were necessitated by the fact that the logic of the dramatic action as detailed in the *modificazioni* was wanting. In these cases, Verdi extended the dialogue considerably.

8 The additions and suggestions by Strepponi and Ghislanzoni are identified in the footnote apparatus of Appendix III.
Portions of the new texts were written by Verdi and Giuseppina Strepponi or were taken from the Italian translation of Mariette's scenario prepared by Verdi and his wife.\(^9\) Entirely new texts are also found in the first three acts of Verdi's libretto and these would appear to have been written by the composer himself. The entire text for the fourth act, of course, was written by the Verdis.

The extensive revision and extension of all but one of the scenes given in the *modificazioni* or in the Mariette Scenario was brought about by the fact that Verdi had developed at this stage in the evolution of the *Aida* libretto a musical (and dramatic) masterplan for the entire opera. Musical shapes and dramatic actions are suggested for a few scenes given in Chapter V, but are insufficiently developed to serve as a finished prose libretto ready for versification. It appears that Verdi restudied his sources—Mariette's scenario and the *modificazioni*—after Du Locle's visit at Sant'Agata. This is certainly suggested in the composer's letter to Giulio Ricordi, dated 25 June 1870:

\[\text{Du Locle has left with the conditions and modificaciones, which are to be submitted to the influential and unknown author. I have further studied the outline [Mariette's scenario], and I have made and am still making new changes.}\]

\(^9\) The complete Italian text of the translation by the Verdis of Mariette's scenario is found in Humbert, "À propos," 243-55. An English translation of the Verdis translation has been made by Busch and is published as Document II in that author's *Verdi's Aida*, pp. 440-447.

\(^{10}\) Verdi's letter is reproduced in Busch, p. 27.
In many parts of Verdi's libretto it is possible to discern the intended musical, and thus dramatic and poetic, treatment from the content and style of the prose texts: as we have suggested, the dramatic action is rendered in short exchanges (recitative) while the more reflective sections comprise model strophes. Moreover, Verdi was careful to make his intentions clear for the versifier by writing words that imply the type of versification required—recitativo, cantabile, aria, etc.—on the right-hand side of those texts that might not show clearly the appropriate type of setting. However, there are a number of places, particularly in Act III, scenes iii and iv, where Verdi does not give sufficient instruction. In these cases, only a careful reading of the composer's text makes the intended type of setting clear. Following is Table 3 derived from Verdi's libretto—prose dialogue and instructions—of the musical masterplan devised by the composer prior to the versification and composition of the music. In the first column, upper-case Roman numerals represent the act, while lower-case Roman numerals specify the scene. Lower-case numerals in brackets rectify omissions in Verdi's libretto. In the second column, Arabic numerals identify dialogue items (speeches) that pertain to particular sections of the musical and dramatic plan. Verdi's instructions are given in the third column. The fourth column supplies an analysis of the content of those sections lacking Verdi's instructions and offers some interpretation of the structure. While the majority of the terms used are self-explanatory, one group of terms employed in the fourth column might require some explanation. The terms scena, first cantabile, tempo di mezzo and second cantabile specify the four parts of the double aria or duet. The first section is traditionally
rendered in unrhymed broken lines (versi sciolti), that is, recitative. The other three sections are rendered as lyrical lines (versi lirici).  \(^{11}\) Another term, \textit{tempo d'attacco} is applied to poetry rendered in versi lirici, which follows the \textit{scena} but precedes the first cantabile proper.  \(^{12}\)

\begin{table}
\centering
\caption{Verdi's Musical Masterplan for Aida}
\begin{tabular}{llll}
\hline
Act, Scene & Dialogue Items & Instructions & Structural Analysis \\
\hline
I, i & 2-6 & Recitative & Five short speeches \\
I, [ii] & 1 & a. -- & Five lines of recitative \\
&  & b. Romance with & Three strophes \\
&  & \hspace{1cm} a refrain & \\
I, iii & 1-3 & as you wish & Three strophes of \hspace{1cm} dialogue \\
& 4-5 & Together & Two strophes: both asides \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

\(^{11}\) For a detailed discussion of these conventions, see Budden, The Operas of Verdi, I, 12-18.

\(^{12}\) See Robert Anthony Moreen, "Integration of Text Forms and Musical Forms in Verdi's Early Operas," Diss. Princeton University, 1975, pp. 30-32, for an explanation of the term \textit{tempo d'attacco}. Moreen bases his discussion on the terminology used by Verdi, Verdi's pupil Emanuele Muzio, and Abramo Basevi. The latter's Studio sulle opere di Giuseppe Verdi, (Florence, 1859) contains, according to Moreen, the most accessible source of nineteenth-century terminology.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Act, Scene</th>
<th>Dialogue Items</th>
<th>Instructions</th>
<th>Structural Analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I, iv</td>
<td>1-12</td>
<td>a. Lyric</td>
<td>Dialogue, an aside,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dialogue; three</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>strophes: all asides</td>
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<tr>
<td>I, v</td>
<td>1-8</td>
<td>a. Lyric or</td>
<td>Dialogue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>recitative</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>9-14</td>
<td>b. --</td>
<td>Recitative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15-20</td>
<td>c. Concerted</td>
<td>Strophes for entire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>style</td>
<td>ensemble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21-22</td>
<td>d. --</td>
<td>Repeated phrases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I, vi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>a. Recitative</td>
<td>Scena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>b. Lyric</td>
<td>First cantabile</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c. Recitative</td>
<td>Tempo di mezzo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>d. Cantabile</td>
<td>Second cantabile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I, vii</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>a. Religious</td>
<td>Strophe (4 dotted lines)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[= tableau 2]</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>b. Chorus of</td>
<td>Strophe (4 dotted lines)</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Priestesses</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>c. Sacred Dance</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>7-8</td>
<td>d. --</td>
<td>Two strophes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Act, Scene</td>
<td>Dialogue Items</td>
<td>Instructions</td>
<td>Structural Analysis</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>e. Religious chants</td>
<td>(No texts)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>f. General reprise</td>
<td>(No texts)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II, [i]</td>
<td>2 Chorus</td>
<td>Two strophes</td>
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<tr>
<td>II, [ii]</td>
<td>3-8 a. --</td>
<td>Scena</td>
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<td></td>
<td>9-10 b. Together</td>
<td>First cantabile, both asides</td>
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<td></td>
<td>11-24 c. Lyric</td>
<td>Strophe and short exchanges (recitative) = Tempo di mezzo</td>
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<tr>
<td>II [tableau 2]</td>
<td>2 Chorus</td>
<td>Two strophes</td>
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<td>3 --</td>
<td>Recitative</td>
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<td>4 --</td>
<td>Description of the Grand March</td>
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<td>5-12 --</td>
<td>Recitative</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Solo of Amonasro</td>
<td>Monologue</td>
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<tr>
<td>Act, Scene</td>
<td>Dialogue Items</td>
<td>Instructions</td>
<td>Structural Analysis</td>
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<td>III, [i]</td>
<td>15-22</td>
<td>Grand ensemble</td>
<td>Strophes</td>
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<td>III, ii</td>
<td>23-32</td>
<td>Recitative</td>
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<td>III, iii</td>
<td>33-38</td>
<td>Type of hymn</td>
<td>Strophes</td>
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<tr>
<td>III, [iv]</td>
<td>1-13</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Scena and Tempo</td>
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- **Act, Scene**
- **Dialogue Items**
- **Instructions**
- **Structural Analysis**
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<td>Tempo di mezzo</td>
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<td>21-23</td>
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<td>Second cantabile</td>
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</tr>
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<td>24-28</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Recitative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>1-10</td>
<td>Recitative</td>
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<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Strophe</td>
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<td>1-10</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>1-7</td>
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<td>8-9</td>
<td>Strophes</td>
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<td>10-17</td>
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<td>18</td>
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<td>Religious March</td>
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<td>19-21</td>
<td>Recitative</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>[Backstage chorus]</td>
<td>Strophe</td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Recitative</td>
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<td>25-31</td>
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<td>Strophes with choral responses</td>
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<td>32</td>
<td>Recitative</td>
<td>Monologue</td>
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<td>2-5</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Recitative</td>
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<td>IV, iv</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Aria</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>conclusion of</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Recitative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3-5</td>
<td>= Scena</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6-8</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>First cantabile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Backstage chorus and ballet music</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-19</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Recitative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Before we go on to study the content of Verdi's libretto in greater detail, some comments regarding the style of the language would seem to be appropriate. Prose sentences, clauses, phrases and exclamations are employed, where fitting, throughout the libretto. Verdi made no attempt to create texts that feature poetic devices such as rhythm—equal syllabication and accent in successive lines—rhyme or assonance. Texts of the model prose strophes simply comprise one or more sentences that express complete thoughts, each in consequence of the other. The sentences are arranged in successive lines of approximate equal width on the left-hand half of each page. This manner of lineation would appear to have been contrived to suggest to the versifier the probable number of lines in each strophe. However, no specific
number of lines is indicated in any of the texts in the prose libretto. Upper-case letters are used only at the commencement of a new sentence, phrase or exclamation. This is, of course, quite unlike the standard treatment afforded versified 18th- and 19th-century libretto poetry in which the first word of each successive line begins with an upper-case letter. The division of sentences (ideas) that make up the model strophes is often achieved by means of elaborate punctuation marks: exclamation marks combined with three dots or dashes. Similar punctuation marks—exclamation and question marks, dots and dashes—are also employed to break up fragmented phrases and words that comprise the model recitative.

Verdi's language is never polished or particularly sophisticated in style; indeed, it is often rather simple in meaning and extremely straightforward with respect to diction and sentence structure. It could well be that the composer wrote intentionally in this manner in order that the precise meaning of the carefully structured succession of dialogue be adapted from one or the other of the two French-language sources—Mariette's scenario or the modificazioni—and, in some of these cases, there is an understandable awkwardness of both diction and sentence structure in the Italian translation.

In our study, reference is often made to specific items: stage directions, speeches and set descriptions. In order to facilitate the reader's comprehension of the references, we have numbered the items of each scene in consecutive order and we refer to these by specific number in our

13 Verdi did specify the exact number of lines for individual strophes in some of his letters to Ghislanzoni concerning the versification of the prose libretto. We shall return to the aspect of the writing of the versified libretto in Chapter VIII.
discussion. In the complete text of the libretto with English translation, which is given as Appendix III of the present study, appropriate consecutive numbers are prefixed to each item in both versions.

Four of the set descriptions in Verdi's libretto were taken from the modificazioni: Act I, tableau 1; Act II, both tableaux; Act III. Italian translations are used in these cases. The other three set descriptions were taken from the Italian translation of Mariette's scenario: Act I, tableau 2; Act IV, both tableaux. Set descriptions of the two tableaux of Act II were expanded by Verdi to include new instructions for the disposition and activity of the ensemble at the rise of the curtain; both tableaux begin with choral pieces:

Act II, tableau 1
Amneris è colle sue schiave che abbigliano per la festa che si prepara. —Si abbrucciano incensi a suoi piedi. Si agita l'aria attorno a lei coi grandi ventagli di piume di struzzo.\(^\text{14}\)

Act II, tableau 2
Il Re è assiso in trono—Amneris al suo fianco. Ramfis e la Gran Sacerdotessa le sono Dappresso. Al basso Aida e le schiave, Popolo, Guardie, Sacerdoti.\(^\text{15}\)

The set descriptions for the two tableaux of Act IV were to be altered by Verdi during the course of the versification, owing, in the case of the

\(^{14}\) Verdi libretto ms., p. 10; Appendix III, p. 563: "Amneris is with her slaves who dress for the celebration that is being prepared. —They burn perfume at her feet. The air around her is agitated by grand fans of ostrich plumes."

\(^{15}\) Verdi libretto ms., p. 13; Appendix III, p. 574: "The King is sitting on the throne—Amneris at his side. Ramfis and the High Priestess are near them. Below Aïda and the slaves, People, Guards, Priests."
first tableau, to changes the composer introduced into the dramatic action. The ms. of the second draft of tableau 2 in Verdi's libretto shows evidence of one of Verdi's changes to the settings: the words "2 Étages" (2 Tiers) are written above the Italian text in Giuseppina Strepponi's hand. It is probable that Strepponi wrote this as a reminder of required alterations to the sets: the divided stage, which, according to Du Locle's testimony, Verdi had invented.

As we have explained, the first three acts of Verdi's libretto are, in part, based on the libretto sections of the modificazioni. While some of the scenes of these three acts, as realized in the Italian libretto, bear strong resemblance to their analogous scenes in the French text, others show their derivation only in certain of the speeches or stage directions. In fact, the amount of revision varies greatly and study of the composer's text in comparison with the modificazioni shows three levels of reworking. First, three scenes show direct translation and minor additions. Second, four scenes and the entire second act are clearly based on the Du Locle-Verdi text but the speech and stage direction items are repositioned, reassigned and expanded through the addition of considerable new material. Third, the design of four scenes was entirely Verdi's own and the content of the source libretto was employed only as the basis of a few dialogue items. The texts of one scene in the first act, the second tableau of the same act and the

16 Verdi libretto ms., p. 38; Appendix III, p. 638.
17 See Du Locle's letter to the editor of L'Italie dated 28 March 1880. The letter is reproduced in English translation in Busch, p. 423.
complete fourth act were created independently by Verdi. Our discussion of
the content and structure of Verdi's libretto follows this same order from
the least to the greatest degree of revision and original work.

The text of Aida's aria, Act I, scene vi, is almost entirely a literal
translation of the prose text with six themes given in the modificazioni
(scene v). An occasional word is eliminated in the translation but the
meaning of the original text is preserved without omission. Furthermore,
Verdi added two newly-written sentences at the end of the translated source
text:

Io non posso far voti nè
pel padre nè per l'amante.
Per me è delitto il piangere
ed il pregare! . . .

Thus there are seven themes in Verdi's text and the commencement of each new
theme is indicated by the use of upper-case letters, the conclusions by full-
stop punctuation. Verdi's musical plan of this scene is a four-part struc-
ture of alternating recitative and cantabile sections, the so-called double
aria. However, the structure cannot be readily discerned in the prose and
is only made clear through the instructions:

18 Verdi libretto ms., pp. 7-8; Appendix III, pp. 556-58.

19 Modificazioni ms., p. 9; Appendix I, p. 502.

20 Verdi libretto ms., p. 8; Appendix III, p. 558:
"I am unable to make prayers neither
for my father nor for my beloved.
For the tears and the prayers
are a crime! . . ."
1. Themes 1 through 3, lines 1-first half of 13, are marked Rec[itativo]

2. Theme 4, lines second half of 13 through 15, is marked Lirico [Lyric]

3. Theme 5, lines 16-21, is marked Rec[itativo]

4. Themes 6 and 7, lines 22 through 29, are marked Cantabile.

In Act I, scene iii, Verdi retained the structure and the greatest part of the content of the analogous scene ii given in the modificazioni. Although Verdi's translation of the French text was fairly faithful, he made a number of small changes. First, the opening stage directions are omitted but new stage directions are not added. Second, five single words or groups of related words are excised: Radamès's name at the conclusion of Amneris's first speech, item 1; "pour vaincre" (to defeat) and "seule" (alone) in Radamès's first speech, item 2; the exclamation "Ah!" and "ma secrète pensée" (my secret thoughts) in Radamès's first aside, item 4. Third, the last sentence of Amneris's aside, item 5, "malgré lui, je le pénétrerai" (despite him, I shall penetrate it) is omitted. Fourth, the diction of two clauses is altered without changing the meaning of the original text: item 3, "Non hai tu in Memfi un desiderio, una speranza! . . ." (Do you not have in Memphis a desire, a hope! . . .) replaces "Rhadamès quitterait-il donc

21 Verdi libretto, ms., pp. 2-3; Appendix III, pp. 542-44.

22 Modificazioni ms., pp. 4-5; Appendix I, pp. 497-98.
Memphis sans laisser derrière lui un regret ou une espérance?" (Could Rhadamès indeed leave Memphis without a regret or a hope?), and "[ . . . ] mi dicono che v'ha un segreto!" ([ . . . ] they tell me that he has a secret!) replaces "il est dans son coeur un secret qu'il me cache" (there is in his heart a secret he hides from me). Fifth, the proper name Isis is changed to "La Dea" (The Goddess) in item 2. Sixth, one complete sentence is added at the commencement of Amneris's aside, item 5: "E non comprende l'amor mio? . . ." (And does he not understand my love? . . .). Verdi's revision somewhat simplifies the language of the speeches and removes a clumsy stage direction at the outset of the scene without altering the meaning or the structure of the text given in the modificazioni. In his instructions, the composer specified that the first three speeches were to be set a piacere (as you wish) and the asides were to be set as an ensemble, insieme (together). The latter, of course, implied to the poet the need for matching syllabication in the versification. Verdi's intention appears to have been the creation of a two-part musical structure that comprised a scena (recitative), items 1-3, followed by a cantabile ensemble. The rendition of this scene in the completed score corroborates this interpretation.

The basis of Verdi's treatment of Act I, scene iv is again the analogous scene (iii) given in the modificazioni. Verdi retained portions of the stage directions and dialogue and the basic layout of the scene given in

23 Verdi libretto ms., pp. 3-4; Appendix III, pp. 544-48.

24 Modificazioni ms., pp. 5-6; Appendix I, pp. 498-500.
the French libretto, but added to these components to create a more logical progression of ideas. Moreover, he reduced unnecessarily prolix language to assist in the clarity of the dialogue. The stage directions at the outset of the scene are simplified and one item of dialogue (an exclamation) is added for Radamès who took no part in the version given in the modificazioni. The opening part of Amneris's first speech, item 2, an aside, is rewritten as a comment on the action of the new stage direction and exclamation for Radamès. A new directive for silence and a gesture of welcome for Aida by Amneris is positioned to divide the latter's first aside, item 5, and the ensuing portion of the same character's continuing dialogue. The second section of Amneris's item 6 is a free translation and paraphrase of the modificazioni text. Aida's speech, item 7, is also a free translation, but is considerably reduced: for example, "La terre chérie où j'ai vu le jour" (The beloved land where I first saw the day) becomes "la mia terra" (my homeland) and the narrative "comment la pauvre captive pourrtaï-elle retenir ses larmes et contenir les mouvements de son coeur?" (how could the poor captive hold back her tears and control the disturbance of her heart?) is paraphrased and reduced to become dialogue: "Come posso ritenere le lagrime e soffocare il mio dolore?" (How can I hold back the tears and control my sadness?). Thus, sixteen French words are reduced to ten Italian words. A single interrogation of Aida by Amneris and a new related stage direction, items 8 and 9, are added by Verdi to give greater sense to what follows (the ensemble of asides). The texts of the aside for Amneris, item 10, is completely rewritten, while those for Aida and Radamès, items 11 and 12, are paraphrased translations of the modificazioni items. Radamès's model strophe is reduced
by the omission of the clause "[...] on dirait une Reine captive" (one would say a captive Queen). The only instruction is the term Lirico (Lyric) at the outset of the scene. However, a bracket encloses the entire text in association with the directive. Somewhat lower on the page of the ms., Verdi has written the suggestion that the text is lacking in excitement: "È forse un po' freddo, si scaldi potendo" (It is perhaps a little cold, warm it up if you can). It is probable that Verdi's intention was again a two-part structure as was employed in the preceding scene: dialogue followed by concluding asides in cantabile style.

At the second level of revision, four individual scenes (Act I, scenes i and v; Act III, scenes i and ii) and the entire second act show that Verdi employed texts from the modificazioni but these materials are repositioned, reassigned to different characters or are deleted and considerable new dialogue and stage directions are added.

In his rendition of the first scene of Act I, Verdi retained the structural concept and the basic content of a recitative of five speeches which had been devised in the text of the modificazioni. Du Locle and Verdi assigned the first, third and last speeches to Rhadamès and the intervening speeches to Ramphis. The layout allowed Rhadamès, a young captain of the guard and not yet the hero of Egypt, rather than Ramphis, the High Priest, to lead a discussion of an important political issue, in fact, the crux of the entire opera, the impending war between Egypt and Ethiopia. The result is careless with respect to dramatic characterization;

25 Verdi libretto ms., p. 1; Appendix III, pp. 537-39.

26 Modificazioni ms., p. 3; Appendix I, pp. 496-97.
it would seem more credible that the High Priest lead the conversation and explain the projected Egyptian policy to a person of obvious lesser rank. Moreover, as we have shown, the Verdi-Du Locle texts are repetitious and, in one case, overly long. Indeed, the prolixity of Rhadamès's first speech prevents the creation of balanced dialogue.

Verdi corrected these faults by rearranging the order of speakers, by reassigning the important content of the first speech and by reducing the lengths of all the speeches considerably. Ramfis is assigned the first, third and last speeches and in these he tells Radamès the details of the impending war (item 2), the appointment of a leader by the goddess Isis (item 4) and the fact that he (Ramfis) takes this information to the King (item 6). Radamès responds to these pronouncements so that his item 3 leads into item 4 and his item 5 reveals a vital aspect of the young Captain's character, his reckless ambition:

Felice Colui! dovesse morire sotto le spoglie del suo trionfo.27

Furthermore, Verdi introduces information not given in the modificazioni about the arrival of a messenger from the Ethiopian front with news of the enemy's advance; thus, the spectator is prepared for the appearance of the messenger in the fifth scene of the same act. The composer-librettist also

27 Verdi libretto ms., p. 1; Appendix III, p. 539: "Happy that Fellow! though he should die under the spoils of his triumph."
omits Amonasro's name (this is given in the first scene in the French libretto) in Ramfis's description of the Ethiopian advance (item 2). This could well have been a carefully planned excision, for the announcement of Amonasro's name and the reaction of the ensemble and Aida is an important feature of the scene with the Messenger and the King at the outset of Act I, scene v.

Verdi's re-ordering and reduction of the scene and its dialogue also appear to have been based on four practical considerations. First, the new order allows for a stronger delineation of the different positions of the two protagonists in the Egyptian hierarchy. Second, the details of the impending war and the suggestion about the appointment of an Egyptian leader are unfolded very gradually for the spectator-listener. Third, the re-ordering of the speech assignments allows Ramfis to exit on account of his last statement in item 5: "Io porto al Re la volonta suprema" (I carry to the King the supreme will), leaving Radamès alone on the stage. Finally, Verdi had, by this time, decided to have Radamès sing a recitative and romanza immediately after the conclusion of scene i. This would prove taxing in itself but to require the performer to sing an extended solo scene after an overly long recitative-dialogue was clearly impractical.

In Act I, scene v, Verdi retained the five progressive steps of

28 Verdi libretto ms., p. 1; Appendix III, p. 539.

29 Verdi libretto ms., pp. 5-7; Appendix III, pp. 548-56.
dramatic action devised for the analogous scene iv in the *modificazioni*. This version comprises ten speeches and three stage directions. Verdi expanded the content of the scene to nineteen speeches and four stage directions. The expansion was accomplished by breaking up long speeches with interjections and responses by other characters and through the provision of texts for strophes for all the characters in the ensemble portion of the scene. The composer tightened the five steps of the *modificazioni* into three sections which were to receive contrasted musical treatment: a *scena* in recitative (items 1-14), an ensemble (items 15-20) and a concluding recitative (items 21-22). To ensure appropriate treatment during the process of versification, Verdi specified that the first eight speeches could be rendered *Lirico o Recitativo a piacere* (Lyric or Recitative as you wish); items 15-20 were to be treated as a *concertato*. Despite the retention of the model given in the *modificazioni*, Verdi did not merely translate the French source texts. Rather, he thoroughly revised the pre-existing material and blended this with new borrowed texts and new original texts. In fact, only ten of the stage directions and dialogue items given in the *modificazioni* are employed as the bases of items in Verdi's libretto and all of these items are revised. Seven other items were derived from the Italian translation of Mariette's scenario in paraphrased versions. Another seven

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30 *Modificazioni* ms., pp. 7-8; Appendix I, pp. 500-02. See pp. 172-73 of the present study for a discussion of the five-step structure in the *modificazioni*.

31 See Humbert, "À propos," 245 and 247 for Mariette's version of the scene.
items were newly written by the composer. Table 4 is an explanation of the sources of the twenty-four items of scene v.

**TABLE 4**

**SOURCES OF STAGE DIRECTIONS AND DIALOGUE IN ACT I, SCENE V OF AIDA**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Mariette/Verdi, p. 3, lines 13-14</td>
<td>Additions of entrances</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Mariette/Verdi, p. 3, lines 10-13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Mariette/Verdi, p. 3, lines 15-17</td>
<td><em>bruciate le città</em> omitted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>New</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Mariette/Verdi, p. 3, lines 17-18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>New</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>New</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>New</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>New</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>New</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td><em>Modificazioni</em>, pp. 7-8, item 7</td>
<td>paraphrased</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>New</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-14</td>
<td><em>Modificazioni</em>, p. 8, items 8-9</td>
<td>reduced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Mariette/Verdi, p. 4, lines 2-4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Mariette/Verdi, p. 4; lines 4-6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Repetition of item 15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-24</td>
<td><em>Modificazioni</em>, p. 8, items 10-12</td>
<td>revised</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In his rendition of the first two scenes of Act III, Verdi retained the basic content and structure of each scene as it had been detailed in the libretto portion of the analogous scenes in the modificazioni. Scene i, a choral strophe before and after a dialogue in recitative for Ramfis and Amneris; scene ii, a recitative and romanza for Aïda, alone. There are minor reductions and one addition in scene i, and more extensive additions in scene ii but these changes do not cause any great alteration to the original format or meaning of either scene. Verdi's excisions appear to have been made for the sake of textual clarity; he deleted complicated or irrelevant dialogue. The additions give direction to the exit of the characters in scene i and explain better Aïda's emotional state in scene ii.

In the first scene, Verdi used all but the fourth item of the modificazioni libretto. In the deleted item, Amneris questions Ramphis with respect to the purpose of their vigil. All the Du Locle-Verdi texts were used in their complete form with the exception of the third, fifth and sixth items which appear to have been reduced for reasons of textual clarity. The final item for Ramfis, an exit cue that concludes the scene, is a new item in the Verdi libretto. In the recitative portion of scene ii, the composer arranged two sentences and seven clauses as eleven lines. The first two sentences (five lines) are a paraphrased version of the text given in the modificazioni while the remainder is newly written:

32 Verdi libretto ms., pp. 21-22; Appendix III, pp. 591-94.

33 Modificazioni ms., pp. 34-36; Appendix I, pp. 522-25.
[ . . . ] Qui verrà Radamès [ . . . ]
che vorrà dirmi? . . . Ahimè
è mia rivale
io tremo . . . Amneris, là
ed è la
figlia dei Faraoni! è-mia
rivale _______ Anch'io son figlia
d'un Re! [ . . . ] Ohimè che dissi? . . . a tutti sia celato
di-Regi . . . ah-ehe-al [Illegible crossed-out words]
[Illegible crossed-out words] . . . tradirei mio padre . . .

Verdi's model romanza is a strophe of two prose sentences arranged as eight lines of text. The first sentence (four and one-half lines) is newly written by the composer:

Me infelice! Ho perduto
la patria, la madre; son
la schiava della mia rivale
e forse perdo l'amor di
Radamès! 35

34 Verdi libretto ms., p. 22; Appendix III, p. 595:
"[ . . . ] Radamès will come here [ . . . ]
what can he want to say to me? . . . Alas
is my rival
I tremble . . . Amneris, the
and she is the
daughter of the Pharaohs! she-is-my
rival _______ I am also daughter
of a King! Alas what did I say? . . . to all let be hidden
of-Kings . . . ah-that-the [Illegible crossed-out words]
[Illegible crossed-out words] . . . I could betray my father . . ."
The words and phrases which are cancelled with series of hyphens reproduce words and phrases cancelled in Verdi's ms.

35 Verdi libretto ms., p. 22; Appendix III, pp. 595-96:
"Unhappy me! I have lost
the homeland, my mother; I am
The second sentence (three and one-half lines) is a translation of the last two sentences of the French text.

Verdi compiled his text for Act II, tableau 1 from a selection of the stage directions and dialogue given in the two incomplete versions of the analogous tableau in the modificazioni. The new text comprises three independent stage directions and twenty-one speeches, six of which have directions which specify stage movement or character reaction. The text of the entire tableau can clearly be divided into two scenes: first, an opening chorus followed by the entrance of Aida, during which Amneris comments about her suspicions regarding the relationship of Aida and Radamès in recitative (items 1-5); second, an extended duet between Amneris and Aida (items 6-24).

A study of the duet text shows Verdi to have conceived it as a four-part structure which comprises two recitatives, each preceding a cantabile section. The content of items four through eight is clearly the basis of recitative although there are no instructions to specify this treatment. The first cantabile consists of two asides (items 9 and 10) with instruction for versification as an ensemble and a speech for Amneris (item 11) marked Lirico. Items 12 through 22 are again the basis of recitative, while the last two items are extended enough to provide material for concluding

the slave of my rival
and perhaps I loose the love of
Radamès."

36 Verdi libretto ms., pp. 10-13; Appendix III, pp. 563-73.

37 Modificazioni ms., pp. 13-18; Appendix I, pp. 504-09.
cantabile strophes.

In his libretto, Verdi employs twenty of the items given in the texts of the modificazioni. Only four of these borrowed items are precise translations of the original source (Verdi's items 5, 14, 16 and 19.) The remaining sixteen items are rewritten in a variety of types of revision and transformation: item 21 is a complete translation in which the phrases of the source are inverted; item 20 is a complete translation with new phrases interpolated into the body of the text; item 24 is a complete translation with additions at the beginning and end of the prose strophe; item 2 is a paraphrased translation with an addition interpolated into the body of the text; items 1, 3, 4 and 13 are incomplete translations: words, phrases and clauses are excised; item 15 is an incomplete translation with one repositioned word; item 23 is a fusion of two separate items of the source but portions of the source are excised; item 6 is a fusion of a narrative and a dialogue item from the sources that also contains excisions and additions; items 7, 8 and 11 show the retention of the framework of the original item but the dialogue is given in new words. Five of Verdi's speech items are new: 9 and 10 are model strophes for the first cantabile of the four-part duet structure. Items 12 a, b and c are a three-part exchange between Amneris and Aida in which the former announces falsely the death of Radamès and the latter reacts emotionally to this news. Although this structure is described in the modificazioni it does not appear in this context.

As the basis of Act II, tableau 2 in his libretto, Verdi retained the

38 Verdi libretto ms., pp. 13-20; Appendix III, pp. 573-90.
structure and content of the second version (prose libretto of twenty-nine items) given in the *modificazioni* 39. The composer expanded his text to comprise thirty-eight items: a set description, three independent stage directions and thirty-four speech items. The increase in the number of speeches was necessitated by omissions of important details of action and ensemble strophes for all the participants in the French-language source. Verdi wrote an original text for each of the necessary speech items. First, Verdi added Radamès's request, which he positioned at the conclusion of the so-called Grand March, that the Ethiopian prisoners be brought before the King. This item (no. 8) is an essential point since without Amonasro's presence the last two-thirds of the tableau does not transpire logically. Second, Verdi provided a strophe for Radamès (item 21) in the ensemble (*largo concertato*, items 15 through 22) that follows Amonasro's monologue (items 13-14), midpoint in the action of the tableau. Third, the composer added three contiguous speeches in which: Ramfis opposes the granting of Radamès's request that the Ethiopian prisoners be granted their freedom (item 29); Radamès responds with the claim that Amonasro is dead, a fact which would prevent insurrection (item 30); Ramfis yields to Radamès's reply but demands that Aida and her father (as yet unnamed) be retained as prisoners (item 31). Finally, Verdi provided strophes for the Priests and People, the King, Radamès, Amneris, Aida and Amonasro in the ensemble which concludes the tableau (items 33 through 38). In addition, Verdi realized the prose content of four model strophes (items 15, 16, 20 and 22) which had only been given

as prose directives with scant content in the *modificazioni*. The twenty-nine items taken from the French-language libretto are, of course, rewritten in various degrees of transformation.

Verdi's libretto text for Act II, tableau 2 is given as one continuous succession of dialogue items and stage actions; there are no scene subdivisions as are found in the libretto of the *modificazioni* or in the ms. of the subsequent versification by Ghislanzoni. It is clear that Verdi conceived his realization of the tableau as a five-part musical and dramatic structure and thus did not employ scene divisions in his libretto. The entire tableau appears to have been built around three massive choral and ensemble pieces that begin, fill the centre and conclude the action. The remainder comprises two intervening sections that contain the main details of the argument. The result is a huge arch form:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A (items 1-4)</th>
<th>B (items 5-12)</th>
<th>C (items 13-22)</th>
<th>D (items 23-31)</th>
<th>E (items 32-38)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Opening chorus</td>
<td>King greets Radamès</td>
<td>Monologue of Amonasro</td>
<td>Radamès's request</td>
<td>Final ensemble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Messenger</td>
<td>Crowning of Radamès</td>
<td>Central ensemble</td>
<td>Ramfis's warning</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand March</td>
<td>Entrance of Ethiopians</td>
<td></td>
<td>The King grants the request; betrothal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 2 Arch Form of Act II, Tableau 2
While appropriate settings—strophes or recitative—for the items of the A and B sections (items 1 through 12) are implicit in the actual texts, Verdi insured the correct type of versification by employing instructions for the remainder of the tableau: items 13–22 are specified as Solo d'Am[onasro] e gran pezzo d'insieme (Solo of Am[onasro] and great ensemble piece) and enclosed in a bracket which continues to the final item; items 23 through 31 are partially bracketed with the directive Re[citativo]; items 32 through 38 are bracketed with the words Specie d'Inno (Type of Hymn).

The third level of Verdi's revision of his source (Act III, scenes iii through vi)\(^{40}\) differs greatly from the method employed in the scenes we have described thus far. The first two scenes of Act III given in the modificazioni were sufficiently developed to be acceptable models for the composer's Italian libretto. The remainder of the act,\(^ {41}\) however, is incomplete with respect to content and usable structure, and shows every sign of having been prepared with extreme haste: texts are provided for the long duets that comprise scenes iii and iv but they are curiously lopsided in the distribution of the dialogue materials. In scene iii, Amounasro is given two long paragraphs (items 5 and 7) that contain the bulk of the scene as developed in the modificazioni. A similar awkward distribution exists in scene iv. Here, Aïda is given one enormous paragraph of eighteen lines (item 2) while the other items for Rhadamès comprise no more than a meagre attempt to provide some basis for interaction between the characters. The betrayal of Rhadamès

\(^{40}\) Verdi libretto ms., pp. 23–31; Appendix III, pp. 596–621.

\(^{41}\) Modificazioni ms., pp. 37–43; Appendix I, pp. 525–32.
(conclusion of scene iv and outset of scene v) is partially realized in seven items of dialogue but the climax of this important episode is treated by way of a description for pantomime. The reappearance of Amounasro at the outset of the same scene is totally without significance; he plays no useful role in the scene and, in fact, is relegated to the position of a stage prop: Aïda leans on him during her visual seduction of Rhadamès. Indeed, the vivid characterization of the three main protagonists—Aïda, Amounasro and Rhadamès—is entirely wanting in the text of the French-language libretto. For example, Amounasro's description of the devastation of Ethiopia, the prime factor behind Aïda's capitulation to her father's demands in the completed libretto, is very pale and hardly more than suggested. Furthermore, Aïda complies with her father's suggestions in this same scene without protest of any kind. In scene iv (Verdi's scene v) there is some suggestion that Rhadamès is hesitant to agree to flee from Egypt as proposed by Aïda, but the details are barely recognizable. The final scene is most unsuccessful owing to the fact that it lacks any sense of belonging to the preceding scenes. The three "conspirators" take no part in it; there is no sense of agitated discovery and flight; Ramphis and Amnérís simply appear to discuss the fact that Rhadamès is a traitor. It is not difficult to conclude that the paucity of materials given in the modificazioni forced Verdi to take the role of creator of the Italian prose libretto for these four scenes. Although the composer used fragments of the texts of the modificazioni as the bases of his own dialogue items, it will be shown that he rearranged, reduced and revised all texts taken from this source and added significantly to them to create a greatly expanded and credible libretto for this portion of the third act.
In Act III, scene iii, Verdi abandoned the idea of a "solo" scene featuring Amonasro as principal character with Aida as supporting character and completely rewrote the text so that the two protagonists would interact in dramatic conflict. The result is a five-part dramatic (and musical) structure in which the outline of a double duet can be perceived by means of careful examination of the meaning and shapes—the lengths of individual speech items—of the first four-fifths of the text. A new element, not found in the traditional four parts of the double duet or aria is the fifth section which forms a bridge to the entrance of Radamès at the outset of the following scene. Unlike many other scenes in his libretto, Verdi provided no instructions with respect to the style of the versification.

Verdi's version of scene iii comprises twenty-eight items of dialogue, three times the size of the French-language libretto, in five sections:

Section 1, Scena, items 1 through 5 first sentence:
A dialogue: Amonasro surprises Aida who expects Rhadamès; the two protagonists engage in a discussion of their fate as prisoners of the Egyptians.

Section 2, first cantabile, items 5 beginning at line 3 through 10:
Amonasro recalls the homeland and its present plight; Aida responds in kind to each of his statements.

Section 3, tempo di mezzo, items 11 through 16:
Active dialogue: Amonasro announces the resumption of the

42 Verdi libretto ms., pp. 23-25; Appendix III, pp. 596-605.
war between the Ethiopians and Egyptians and asks Aida to induce Radamès to disclose the route of the Egyptian army.

Section 4, second cantabile, items 17 through 23:
Amonasro is assigned the greatest portion of the dialogue; in this he visualizes for Aída the defeat of the homeland but her responses are so interpolated as to break up the sense of a monologue and retain the dramatic interaction of the duet.

Section 5, bridge to scene iv, items 24 through 28:
The content of this section shows the dialogue to have been created strictly on a dramatic basis: Aida's capitulation to her father's demands, Amonasro's triumph and the announcement of Radamès's arrival. This section has a strong sense of forward motion.

The greatest portion of Verdi's text for this scene is original; items 3-4, 10 and 12 through 28 are not found in the modificazioni. The other eight items in Verdi's libretto are taken from the source but only one (item 1) is unchanged. The others are reduced (items 2 and 5) or paraphrased (items 6 through 9 and 11).

Verdi did not use the version given in the modificazioni as the structural model or source of dialogue content for Act III, scene iv. Rather,
he wrote an almost entirely new text taking only fragments of the French-language text as the bases of a few items. The composer's version of the fourth scene is modelled on the same plan applied to scene iii: a five-part dramatic structure in which the outline of a double duet can be perceived by means of careful examination of the shape and content of the first four-fifths of the text.

The Italian prose libretto for scene iv comprises twenty-eight items of dialogue and stage directions, exactly double the number contained in the modificazioni.

Section 1, expanded scena, items 1 through 13, a three-part internal structure is apparent:

a. Dialogue: Aida spurns Radamès's protestations of love (items 1 through 5), recitative;

b. Model strophes in which Aida, then Radamès review their possible fates (items 6 and 7), tempo d'attacco;

c. Resumption of dialogue (items 8 through 13), recitative.

Section 2, first cantabile, items 14 and 15:

Model strophes in which Aida visualizes life away from Egypt in her own homeland; Radamès protests his love but explains his reluctance to leave Egypt, his homeland.

Verdi indicates the style of the versification of item 14: the word cantabile appears to the right of the speech and a bracket encloses the first nine lines of the model strophe. However, no instructions are indicated for the treatment of Radamès's strophe. Although it would seem reasonable to conclude that this speech (item 15) constitutes his portion of the cantabile,
we shall observe in Chapter VIII that this very place was to cause Verdi and Ghislanzoni some trouble during the process of versification.

Section 3, *tempo di mezzo*, items 16 through 20:

The dialogue is resumed: Aida again disparages Radamès's love for her while he continues his protestations to the contrary.

Section 4, second *cantabile*, items 21 through 23:

A strophe each for Radamès and Aida followed by an ensemble strophe headed *Insieme* (Together).

Section 5, bridge to scene v, items 24 through 28:

A stage direction and four short speeches: Aida asks how they will avoid the armies of Egypt and Ethiopia in their flight; Radamès explains the route will be deserted until the morrow; Aida asks the name of the route; Radamès names it.

The ms. shows evidence of considerable revision at this point. Items 23, 26 and 27 have crossed-out texts and revised superscriptions. There is a plausible explanation for this state of affairs. We have noted that the treatment of this portion of scene iv and the reappearance of Amounasro at the outset of the next scene—the continuation of the betrayal of Radamès

45 Verdi libretto ms., p. 29 begins with four illegible crossed-out lines. Four other illegible crossed-out lines also appear on this page. The increased incidence of cancellation is testimony to the problems encountered by Verdi in the realization of this scene. See Appendix III, pp. 614-15.
—was most unsatisfactory as envisaged by Mariette. Moreover, the realization of this dramatic climax was not bettered in the version given in the modificazioni. In fact, Verdi was very concerned with the lapse in dramatic integrity at this point in the action. The condition of the ms. shows that Verdi probably created a first version of the dialogue and that this was subsequently revised. The revision appears to have been prepared with the assistance of Ghislanzoni at the first meeting held for discussion of the proposed versification. Verdi explains this in a letter to Du Locle dated 15 July 1870:

We [Verdi and Ghislanzoni] made some modifications in the duet between Aida and Radamès in the third act. The betrayal is no longer so odious, without taking away from the theatrical effect.

Hans Busch assumes that this passage in the correspondence refers to the conclusion of the entire act, that is, Radamès's delivery of himself into the custody of Ramfis. This assumption is in error. The letter specifies the betrayal in the Aida-Radamès duet. The final item of the sixth scene—the surrender of Radamès—was dealt with by Verdi and Ghislanzoni much later during the process of versification. Nevertheless, the revision of items 23, 26 and 27 show an enormous improvement on the analogous scenes in

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46 See Humbert, "À propos," 252 for Mariette's text.
47 Modificazioni ms., pp. 40-41; Appendix I, pp. 528-30.
48 Verdi's letter to Du Locle is reproduced in Busch, p. 32.
49 See Busch, p. 32, n. 2.
Mariette's scenario and in the modificazioni. We shall witness considerable further revision of this portion of the opera during the process of versification.

Only five fragments of the items given in the modificazioni show a direct relationship to Verdi's texts for the fourth scene: item 1 is based on the same item in the French text but the Italian words are new; sentences from item 2 in the modificazioni are employed in items 6 and 14; item 15 is based on item 3 in the modificazioni; item 16 is a translation of item 4 of the source text.

The heading for a separate scene—Scena V—is not given in the Italian libretto. However, it is clear from the context of the stage directions for Amonasro at this point—Amonasro che avrà ascoltato quest'ultima scena proromperà (Amonasro who will have heard this last scene bursts out)—that Verdi conceived this portion of the third act as a new scene. Furthermore, the text of Ghislanzoni's versification treats this section as a new scene. To facilitate the present and later discussion, we call this portion of Act III, scene v.

In the Italian libretto, scene v comprises ten short dialogue items for the three protagonists and a concluding strophe for Amonasro. In these, the action is propelled forward in the manner of a rapid exchange: Radamès is surprised by the appearance of an intruder and asks who has overheard his disclosure of the route of the Egyptian army. Amonasro reveals his true

50 Scene v begins on p. 29 of the ms.; see Appendix III, p. 615.
51 Ghislanzoni ms., p. 61; Appendix IV, p. 786.
identity upon which Radames is horrified and berates Aida about the betrayal. Aida and Amonasro attempt to pacify him. In the concluding strophe, Amonasro explains the route of flight and prophesies a blissful future to the lovers. The first ten items in Verdi's libretto are new texts; the strophe for Amonasro is suggested in scene iv of the modificazioni  but the composer's language is new.

Verdi's revision dispenses with a formally structured rendition of the scene—the modificazioni gave the basis of a formal trio—since such a treatment would have hindered the action and made the third act overly long with respect to traditional ensemble scenes. The terse structure and style of the language in the new version permits an extremely dramatic conclusion to the two duets that precede. Two of the three characters are clearly delineated in Verdi's text, whereas, in the modificazioni, they were no more than pale outlines of figures: Amonasro is overjoyed in his triumph; Radames is beside himself for having revealed the secret and berates Aida for her betrayal. Only Aida's part in the scene remains shadowy and somewhat commonplace. The exit of the three characters, as given in the modificazioni at this point, is omitted. The new version interconnects the action of the fifth scene with the last—the re-entrance of Amneris and Ramfis—and allows the act to conclude with the interaction of all five protagonists.

Verdi's new version of the final scene of Act III permits three separate actions given in two different scenes in the modificazioni—the exit of

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52 Modificazioni ms., p. 41; Appendix I, p. 530.

53 Verdi libretto ms., pp. 30-31; Appendix III, pp. 619-20.
Aida, Amonasro and Radamès (scene iv); the entrance of Amneris and Ramfis (scene v); the suggested pursuit of the conspirators (scene v)—to be fused with three new actions in a single scene. The new actions are the surprise entrance of Amneris at the outset of the scene; Amonasro's attempt to kill Amneris and Radamès's intervention; Radamès's surrender to Ramfis. The last new action also permits the first tableau of the final act to take place as the logical consequence of the conclusion of the third act. Moreover, Verdi's newly-fashioned scene brings the action of the entire opera to a feverish climax at a strategic position in the overall plan of the complete drama.

The final level of Verdi's activity as creator of the model prose libretto for Aida concerns scenes for which no preparatory libretto had been prepared: Act I, scene ii; Act I, tableau 2; the entire fourth act.

The solo scene for Radamès—Act I, scene ii—^54—is not given in Mariette's scenario or Verdi's groundplan. The invention and realization of this scene appears to be the composer's own. Verdi's text comprises two sections. The first is a recitative of five lines in which Radamès dreams of being chosen leader of the Egyptian army and of his triumphant return in that particular role. There is no directive concerning the style of the versification but the fact that it was intended to serve as the model for recitative is made clear by its content:

^54 Verdi libretto ms., pp. 1-2; Appendix III, pp. 539-41.
Oh foss'io quel guerriero!
E ritornare potessi carico
di gloria e d'allori a deporre
a piedi della mia bella Aida
la spada vincitrice.\textsuperscript{55}

The second section is a romanza which comprises three strophes. In these strophes, Radamès compares Aida's beauty to the dawn and to the stars (strophe 1); explains Aida's separation from her homeland (strophe 2); and regrets his inability to return Aida to her homeland (strophe 3). The commencement of each strophe is made clear through the employment of indentation, upper-case letters at the commencement of the first words and punctuation. A bracket contains the entire group of strophes and the directive Romanza con un'intercalare a piacere (Romance with a refrain as you wish) clarifies the proposed treatment.

The second tableau of the first act is the least successful portion of Verdi's prose libretto.\textsuperscript{56} It will be remembered that this tableau was not modified during the Du Locle-Verdi collaboration.\textsuperscript{57} Rather, the skeleton of

\textsuperscript{55} Verdi libretto ms., pp. 1-2; Appendix III, pp. 539-40: 
"Oh that I were that warrior!
And were-able were able to return laden
with glory and just then to lay down
at the feet of my beautiful Aida
the conquering sword."

\textsuperscript{56} Verdi libretto ms. pp. 8-9; Appendix III, pp. 558-62.

\textsuperscript{57} See Chapter V, p. 148 of the present study for a discussion of Verdi's and Du Locle's inability to expand the second tableau of Act I during the June 1870 meeting. The text in question, a groundplan, is found on p. 10 of the modificazioni ms.; Appendix I, p. 503.
the structure of this tableau as given in Mariette's Scenario was written out by Du Locle (and Verdi) as a groundplan of eight items. Thus, Verdi did not have a prose-libretto source and he was forced to turn back to Mariette's narrative for the rather slim text he gives in his libretto. All ten items given in Verdi's libretto are paraphrased versions of selected portions of Mariette's text. The composer, of course, uses the Italian translation of the scenario for his purposes.

Verdi's text is little more than an extended groundplan. Only two of the ten distinct items are true speeches and these are two contiguous items for Ramfis and Radamès (nos. 7 and 8). The other eight items comprise: the set description; a directive for the position of the ensemble at the rise of the curtain; two fairly detailed stage directions for the entrance of Radamès and his investiture with the sacred armor; two musical directives that describe the intended effect of the chorus and orchestra (the last, a sacred dance); two specifications for choral strophes which are given in dotted lines. The textless choruses are bracketed with instructions on the right-hand half of the page. The first reads: Corale alla Palestrina (alla Palestrina di quel tempo s'intende) [Church music in the style of Palestrina (in the style of Palestrina of that time of course)]. The second choral instruction asks for a repeat of the first. Verdi's correspondence with Ghislanzoni shows that the solution for the unrealized model prose texts was achieved by the composer during the process of versification. We shall return to discuss this in the eighth chapter.

Verdi's method of assembling and writing the fourth act of the prose Italian libretto differs somewhat from that employed in large portions of the preceding acts owing to the fact that the *modificazioni* contains neither a prose narrative sketch nor a prose libretto for any part of this act. Moreover, the evidence of the Verdi libretto ms. does not show the same process of revision that we have described for the first three acts. The prolificity of draft versions by Verdi make it appear that the composer wrote the entire text of the fourth act himself, drawing, of course, on the text of the Mariette Scenario and the assistance of Giuseppina Strepponi.

According to Du Locle, Verdi was responsible for the scenographic description of the final tableau and for Amneris's stage action at the conclusion of the same scene.\(^{59}\) Moreover, it will be remembered that Du Locle claimed in 1880 that he had written the text of the entire opera in libretto form himself. We have explained in Chapter III the probable falseness of Du Locle's claims and our position with respect to the extent of his role in the creation of the *Aida* libretto.\(^{60}\) However, Alessandro Luzio is of the opinion that the text of the *modificazioni* had been completed for all acts but the pages of the first tableau of Act IV had been lost at the time Verdi assembled his Italian libretto:

> The sketch of the first tableau of the fourth act by Du Locle was probably lost: [this is] supported by the fact that in the sketch consigned immediately to

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59 See Du Locle's letter to the editor of *L'Italie*, which is reproduced in the present study on p. 76.

60 See pp. 76-79 of the present study.
Ghislanzoni, Amneris passes time in theatrical phrases, turning the situation over, as if [the text had been] provisionally gathered by Verdi.\(^6\)

Luzio's explanation that Verdi's libretto (Act IV, tableau 1) is a provisional version to be amended by Ghislanzoni during the process of versification can be challenged. First, the second monologue in recitative for Amneris, singled out by Luzio in support of his opinion, is given three times in Verdi's draft librettos for this scene: in two complete versions of the entire act\(^62\) and once in a revision of the second of these two versions which was sent to Ghislanzoni in a letter probably dated 17 October 1870.\(^63\) Nor was the monologue abandoned in the final version of the opera. In fact, it was greatly expanded to comprise four strophes, each of four lines. Second, far from "passing time" and "being provisionally gathered," this rhetorical treatment was deliberately cultivated and developed by Verdi. It is well understood that the rhetorical style is a striking feature of nineteenth-century melodramma librettos. Third, at the beginning of his criticism of Ghislanzoni's first draft of the versification of this very scene, Verdi insists on the retention of the dramatic broken style of Amneris's utterances during the process of Radamès's judgement. Verdi's requirements are identical in concept to the style Luzio finds to be at variance with the remainder

\(^6\) Luzio, "Come fu composta l'Aida?", 19.

\(^62\) Verdi libretto ms., p. 35 and p. 45; Appendix III, p. 630 and 654.

\(^63\) See Verdi's letter to Ghislanzoni dated only Monday (the probable date is conjectured by Busch to have been 17 October 1870), which is reproduced in the latter's Verdi's Aida, pp. 79-81.
of the composer's text. Indeed, in his letter to Ghislanzoni dated 4 November 1870 Verdi wrote:

In the first recitative, in addition to Morir mi sento, I need some other broken phrase to be repeated in the piece. [ . . . ] Maintain, however, one phrase that can be repeated later.64

The first part of the Act IV portion of Verdi's ms. contains two related versions of the entire act which are positioned in inverted chronological order: pp. 33-39 contain the second version; pp. 43-51, the first version.65

The text of the version given on pp. 33-39 is clearly a development of the other version. This development comprises the reduction or expansion of speech items through the excision or addition of lines (ideas) and by the rearrangement of some of the lineation. The second chronological version has a number of critical comments in Ghislanzoni's hand and instructions in Verdi's hand which attest to the chronological inversion of the present order of the ms. We have already shown with quotation of Verdi's reference to the poet's critical comments that this particular version of Act IV was discussed by Verdi and Ghislanzoni in the possible presence of Giulio Ricordi at Sant'Agata between 5 and 7 July 1870.66 It is likely that Verdi would have used the second, more refined version in his discussion of the proposed versification. In addition, great portions of the second version were to

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64 The complete letter is reproduced in Busch, pp. 92-93.

65 For the first version, see Appendix III, pp. 621-45; the second version if found on pp. 645-70 of Appendix III.

66 See p. 206 of the present study.
be further rewritten by Verdi before he came to work on its versification with Ghislanzoni during October and November 1870 and the subsequent revisions are based on the second chronological version given in the ms.\textsuperscript{67} We shall, of course, return to the question of further revision in Chapter VIII.

The second part of the Act IV portion of the ms. comprises four versions of the second scene of tableau 1, a duet of sixteen speech items for Amneris and Radamès.\textsuperscript{68} Two of the texts of the four revisions are also in incorrect chronological order in the ms. for the second and third revisions have been inverted: p. 52 contains the first revision; pp. 53-54, the third revision; pp. 55-56, the second revision; pp. 57-59, the fourth revision. The inversion of the second and third revisions is discerned by the fact that speech items not specified for alteration in the first revision are sketched in revised form on the right-hand halves of pages in the second revision, are realized in the dialogue of the third revision and are retained in the fourth revision.

The division of the first tableau of the fourth act into its component scenes as given in the two complete versions in Verdi's libretto differs from the divisions given in the drafts of the versified libretto.\textsuperscript{69} Owing

\textsuperscript{67} Revisions of fragments of the fourth act are found in Verdi's letters to Ghislanzoni which followed the one containing the full draft of scene ii, given in the letter dated Monday. A complete list of the Verdi-Ghislanzoni correspondence and its content is found in Chapter VII of the present study, pp. 281-88.

\textsuperscript{68} Verdi libretto ms., pp. 52-59; Appendix III, pp. 671-95.

\textsuperscript{69} See Ghislanzoni's ms., pp. 123-38; Appendix IV, pp. 792-807.
to the fact that Verdi's librettos will be compared to Ghislanzoni's drafts in the next chapter of this study, the discrepancies must be clarified. The first tableau is divided into three scenes in the prose and versified texts. However, the second and third scenes of the different texts do not comprise the same materials. In Verdi's libretto, the text following the heading Scena II contains, in fact, two separate scenes as given in the versification: the Amneris-Radamès duet and the so-called Judgement Scene. Verdi's Scene III is a short dialogue between Amneris and the King, which, as we shall see, was not further developed by either Verdi or Ghislanzoni and was eventually excised entirely. The entry for this act in Verdi's groundplan shows the composer to have conceived the structure as the four scenes that are found in the versification:

I [Scena] Recitativo Amneris
II [Scena] Duetto Amneris Radamès
III [Scena] Scena del Giudizio
IV [Scena] Duetto finale.

In order to simplify our study of these inter-related versions of Act IV, we adopt the division of Verdi's groundplan and Ghislanzoni's versification and discuss the Amneris-Radamès duet as scene ii and the Judgement Scene as scene iii. Verdi's scene iii will be called the excised scene iii.

Verdi was forced to derive both structure and content from Mariette's

70 Verdi's groundplan is found on p. 63 of the composer's ms. for the prose libretto. See Appendix II, p. 536.
scenario in the creation of the Italian prose libretto. Mariette gives, in prose description and narration, four paragraphs that describe the stage setting and the dramatic action of the first tableau and two paragraphs that describe the components of the second tableau. Mariette's first tableau contains four scenes: first, a chorus for a gathering of Egyptian nobles who discuss the fates of the three protagonists—Amounasro, Aïda and Rhadamès—following their discovery at the conclusion of Act III; second, a solo scene for Amnérís; third, a duet for Amnérís and Rhadamès; fourth, the judgement of Rhadamès by Ramphis and the Priests. The second tableau contains the basis of the final duet for Aïda and Rhadamès as it came to be realized in the Italian librettos. The materials of Mariette's first scene of tableau 1 were absorbed by Verdi into the first solo scene for Amnérís and the subsequent duet with Rhadamès. This is not surprising since the commencement of an act with a choral piece was a commonplace occurrence in nineteenth-century opera and Verdi was attempting, at this time, to rid himself of the chains of tradition. The layout and, to a great extent, the content of the remainder of Mariette's scenario was retained as it stood by Verdi in the first two versions of his libretto. Giuseppina Strepponi's translation of the fourth act of the scenario was of great importance to Verdi in the preparation of his text: many speech items are paraphrased versions of the Italian translation of the French source.

71 See Humbert, "À propos," 252 and 254 for the complete text of Mariette's Act IV.

72 See Humbert, "À propos," 253 and 255 for Strepponi's Italian translation of Mariette's Act IV.
To facilitate the discussion and to show the gradual evolution of the text, we describe Verdi's first version in some detail, indicating, where appropriate, derivations from Mariette's scenario, and show the changes made in the first revision of each successive scene. Following this, the four versions of scene ii are considered.

**Act IV, scene i, 2 items**

The first item, the set description, is the same in both versions. Verdi retained the text given in the Italian translation of the French scenario. Considerable detail is given with respect to exit doors and a pulpit for the trial of Rhadames, which Mariette had conceived as taking place before the audience. Verdi was to change this greatly at a later date: the decision to conduct the trial off-stage allowed for the removal of the pulpit and large statues of Truth and Justice. This is, however, a more appropriate subject for discussion in Chapter VIII.

The second item is a monologue for Amneris that contains seven "themes" in the first version. This is altered by excision and addition in the second version. In the first version, the speech comprised ten sentences arranged as a strophe of seventeen lines:

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73 For the first version see Verdi libretto ms., p. 43; Appendix III, pp. 621-22. The second version of the analogous passage is found on p. 33 of the Verdi libretto ms.; Appendix III, p. 645.


75 Verdi libretto ms., p. 43; Appendix III, pp. 622-23.

76 Verdi libretto ms., p. 33, Appendix III, pp. 646-47.
1. A general statement about the cessation of the war, 1 line
2. The death of Amonasro, 2½ lines
3. The disappearance of Aida, 3 lines
4. Radamès awaits his trial in chains, 2½ lines
5. Amneris's love for Radamès continues, 5 lines
6. Amneris vows to try to save him, 1 line
7. Stage directions and the command that Radamès be brought before Amneris, 1 line.

The "themes are derived from the second and third of Mariette's paragraphs devoted to this scene." Verdi's text was rewritten in the second version to comprise eight sentences arranged as a strophe of seventeen lines:

1. The first theme was excised
2. The remaining six themes were reduced or expanded
3. Three new ideas (themes) were added: the reason for Radamès's accusation is given at the conclusion of theme 3 and, after this, Amneris calls for the deaths of the lovers, only to regret her outburst.

Comments and instructions with respect to the setting of the scene are not given. No other version of Amneris's monologue is given in the ms. or in Verdi's correspondence.

Act IV, scene ii, 16 items


78 Verdi libretto ms., pp. 43-45; Appendix III, pp. 623-30, and ms., pp. 33-35; Appendix III, pp. 647-54.
Item 1 Four sentences arranged as a strophe of ten and one-half lines for Amneris:

1. She announces to Radamès the gathering of the priests for his trial: 2½ lines
2. The charges against Radamès are deemed to be severe: 2 lines
3. Amneris suggests that she petition the King to obtain Radamès's pardon, 4 lines
4. She requires that he swear renunciation of Aïda should she effect this intervention, 2½ lines.

The two versions employ the same text. The themes of the first and third sentences are based on Mariette's prose; the remainder of the text is newly written by Verdi.

Item 2 Three sentences arranged as a strophe of eight lines for Rhadamès; the lineation of the words is slightly different in the two versions.

1. Radamès does not desire pardon, 1 line; 1½ lines
2. His hopes have vanished, life is odious to him, 4½ lines
3. Only death remains, 2½ lines; 2 lines.

The general theme of the text is suggested in the Mariette scenario; however, Verdi's texts are newly written.

Item 3 Three sentences arranged as a strophe of eight lines in the first version, six lines in the second version, for Amneris. The reduction in the second version was accomplished by the omission of the last clause given in the first version.

1. Amneris is overwhelmed by Rhadamès's desire for death, 2 lines
2. He does not understand her love for him, 2 lines
3. For him, she would repudiate all her loyalties, 4 lines.

This is a new item in Verdi's libretto.

**Item 4** One sentence arranged as a strophe of four lines for Radamès: He has also repudiated all his loyalties for Aida. The same text is given in the two versions; no source for this item exists in the Mariette scenario.

**Items 5 through 8** Two strophes for Radamès—each strophe contains one sentence of broken phrases—arranged as four and six lines respectively (items 6 and 8). The lineation of the second item required an extra half line in the second version. Radamès's strophes are introduced by short exclamations by Amneris (items 5 and 7).

1. Radamès excuses his ingratitude and his demented condition on the grounds of his enduring love for Aida; he declares he would give all, should he possess it, to see her for a single moment.

2. Amneris calls for silence.

No source for these items exists in Mariette's scenario.

**Item 9** The original version is crossed out in the ms. Another text is given in the right-hand half of the page and is retained in the second version: one sentence arranged as a strophe of five lines in the first version, six in the second, for Amneris:

Amneris calls Radamès a "crazy one" and tells him that her fury

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Verdi libretto ms., p. 45; Appendix III, p. 652.
is as terrible as her love. She asks if he trembles.

No source for this item is given in Mariette's scenario.

**Items 10 through 14** Five short exchanges that range from one word to a sentence.

1. Radamès replies to Amneris and says that he does not tremble and begs her to strike him.

This text is given in one version in the two drafts of the libretto. 81

2. Twice Amneris asks Radamès to renounce Aida; twice he refuses.

No source for these items is given in Mariette's scenario.

**Item 15** A sentence preceded and followed by exclamations, for Amneris. The material is arranged as a strophe of four lines in the first version of the libretto and as three lines in the second version:

Amneris, dejected and defeated, calls out that the gods be placated, that justice take its course; she then summons the guards.

This text is a partial paraphrase of Mariette's prose. 82

**Item 16** An exclamation and a sentence arranged as a strophe of five lines is given in the first version but is crossed out in the ms. A second text, a sentence arranged as a strophe of three lines is given to the right of the crossed-out text 83 and reproduced in the second version: 84

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81 Verdi libretto ms., p. 45; Appendix III, pp. 628-29; and Verdi libretto ms., p. 35; Appendix III, pp. 652-53.


83 Verdi libretto ms., p. 45; Appendix III, pp. 653-54.

84 Verdi libretto ms., p. 35; Appendix III, pp. 629-30.
Radamès will accept death if he dies for Aida and he exits. No source for this item exists in Mariette's scenario.

The extent of Verdi's contribution to the original content of scene ii is most striking. While Mariette's prose is the source for the general theme of the duet, two items (1 and 2) at the outset and one item (15) at the conclusion of the scene, these are no more than frames by which the scene is set in motion and brought to the conclusion. The bulk of the dialogue, the inner thoughts, the psychological development and reactions of the protagonists, is wholly the work of Verdi and, possibly, Giuseppina Strepponi, whose handwriting is found to an increasing degree in this section of the Verdi libretto ms.

It is difficult to determine the intended musical setting of this scene, for the composer-librettist gives no instructions with respect to recitative and cantabile sections typical of the usual nineteenth-century melodramma formal structures. The text itself comprises four extended strophes at the beginning of the scene followed by a series of twelve items that are evidently intended as dialogue (recitative). Only one item of the last twelve, the eighth for Radamès, is extended, but this strophe is given as a series of broken statements, hardly suitable for an internal cantabile treatment. Nor do Ghislanzoni's comments about the scene in the second version clarify the intended structure. The poet advises treatment of the diction that is "Less crude" (Meno crudo) and "Warmer" (Più caldo) for items 6 and 7 and suggests the omission of the longer internal strophe for Radamès (item 8). The composer was searching for new forms at the time he created Aida and his quest was intensified during the creation of Act IV; Verdi's correspondence
with Ghislanzoni, a topic dealt with in Chapters VII and VIII, is witness to this fact. The less than traditional shape of the second scene may well be part of his efforts to break with tradition.

The third scene of the fourth act, the Judgement Scene, is derived from Mariette's scenario where the trial of Radamès by Ramfis and the priests is described:

Les juges et les prêtres prennent solennellement leur place de chaque côté de la scène. Ramphis est dans la chaire, tenant le sceptre d'or. Rhadamès est amené. Ramphis prononce les formules d'anathème. Traître à son roi et à sa patrie, traître à ses serments, Rhadamès mourra de la mort des infâmes. Par une juste punition des dieux irrités, il sera enseveli vivant dans un des souterrains du temple de Vulcain.

Verdi expanded this greatly, realizing the trial proper and surrounding it with two extended monologues for Amneris. The result is a large three-part design, the central part of which is itself laid out in three steps.

Mariette's prose is reproduced in Humbert, "À propos," 254: "The judges and the priests solemnly take their place on all parts of the stage. Ramphis is in the pulpit, holding the golden scepter. Rhadamès is brought in. Ramphis pronounces the rite of anathema. Traitor to his king and to his homeland, traitor to his oaths, Rhadamès will die the death of the infamous. As a just punishment by the angry gods, he will be buried alive in one of the subterranean chambers of the temple of Vulcan."

For the first version see the Verdi libretto ms., pp. 45-48; Appendix III, pp. 654-61. The second version of the third scene is found on pp. 35-37 of the same ms., Appendix III, pp. 630-37.

In the process of realization of the central portion of the scene, Verdi removed the trial from the stage, leaving Amneris alone to comment on the unalterable fate of Radamès.

The first extended monologue for Amneris comprises items 17 through 21. The protagonist's text is interrupted by an extensive stage direction (item 18) for the entrance and exit of a procession of priests led by Ramfis, and short internal stage directions which refer to Amneris's actions. Headed Amneris sola (Amneris alone), item 17 in both versions of the libretto comprises exclamations for Amneris who feels faint upon hearing Radamès's final words in the preceding scene. Item 19 contains broken lines for Amneris: she sees the procession of priests and, in reaction, calls them fatali, inesorabili (fatal, inexorable) and declares she does not want to see them. A stage direction (item 20), the same in the two versions, follows: she covers her face in her hands. Item 21, the monologue proper, differs in the two versions. The first has seven lines and reproduces these in the second, but the final two lines are crossed out. The retained portion of the original text is a sentence arranged as a strophe of four lines: Amneris bewails her jealousy which caused the irrevocable fate of Radamès.

The trial scene is introduced by a stage direction (item 22) which explains that the priests will have disappeared at this point in the action and will be heard invoking the gods from below. Item 23 gives the text of the choral invocation: three sentences arranged as a strophe of four and one-half lines in both versions of the libretto. In the two versions of Verdi's libretto, item 24 is a sentence arranged as two lines for Amneris: she invokes the gods for mercy for Radamès. To the right side of the text in the second version, a directive specifies frase marcate de + ripetersi
(phrases marked by + repeat). Although the positions of repetition are not shown in the second version, the final versified libretto has similar invocations and invectives at various junctures in the trial portion of scene iii.

The trial proper comprises three items, each of which consists of two parts. In the first part of each item, Ramfis accuses Radamès of a different crime, notes his silence and condemns him. In the second part, the chorus of priests repeats the condemnation. The last two-part item is extended by the addition of Radamès's sentence: he will be buried alive under the Temple of Vulcan. The texts of the two versions of Verdi's libretto, apart from some rearrangement of the lineation, are basically the same.

The concluding monologue for Amneris is in two parts, items 30 and 32. A directive (item 31) orders the repetition of the accusation Traditore (Traitor) by the chorus after the third line of the monologue. Item 30 comprises three lines of broken phrases in which Amneris cries out to the priests that they stop the sentence. Item 32 has four themes: the irrevocable silence that surrounds Amneris at the conclusion of Radamès's sentence; the facts that neither Amneris's power nor her love can save Radamès; the question of the use of royal power when its use is without force. Apart from crossed-out sentences in the first version, the two texts are identical.

Verdi calls for recitative for item 32.

Verdi's original scene iii comprises only four items of dialogue and stage directions in which Amneris begs her father (the King) to save Radamès's
life. The texts of the two versions are the same with the exception of an extension of one short sentence (item 3) in the second version. Although Ghislanzoni wrote *Inutile* (Useless) at the right-hand side of the scene in the second version, he did include the scene as part of his first draft of the versification. The new text, however, expanded the meagre content of Verdi's libretto very little and the scene was eventually excised. Verdi agreed with the poet's judgement and in his letter to Ghislanzoni dated 4 November 1870 Verdi wrote: "You are perfectly correct in saying the King and maidservants are useless." It serves no purpose to linger over this scene. We shall refer to it briefly in later discussions of the versification.

The texts of the second tableau of Act IV, headed *Scena ultima* (final scene) in the first version, *Scena IV* in the second, comprise a set description followed directly by a stage direction which makes mention of sound effects, and contain sixteen items of dialogue and one directive for off-stage music. The initial stage direction (item 2) explains Radamès's position on the stage at the rise of the curtain and continues with a directive for sound effects which are to accompany the first moments of the scene. Both versions read: *Si sentono ancora gli ultimi colpi che inchiodano la*

88 Verdi libretto ms., p. 48 (first version), Appendix III, p. 661; p. 37 (second version), Appendix III, pp. 637-38.

89 Verdi's letter to Ghislanzoni is reproduced in Busch, p. 93.

90 Verdi libretto ms., pp. 48-51; Appendix III, pp. 662-70.

91 Verdi libretto ms., pp. 38-39; Appendix III, pp. 638-44.
pietra del sotterraneo (One still hears the final blows that seal the stone of the subterranean chamber). Moreover, the ms. of the first version has a graphic representation of seven arches (the background of the tomb), a flight of steps and Radamès's position at the bottom of the steps.\footnote{Verdi libretto ms., p. 48; Appendix III, p. 663.}

At the outset of the dialogue, Verdi created an extended monologue for Radamès which comprises six related themes leading progressively to the appearance of Aida:

1. The stone which seals the tomb is closed forever
2. Radamès is condemned to die of hunger
3. He will see neither daylight nor Aida again
4. Radamès wonders where Aida is
5. He hopes she will be happy and forget his destiny
6. He hears a noise, sees what he believes to be a vision, which is, of course, Aida.

The themes are written as five complete sentences and a concluding sentence of broken phrases, and arranged as strophes of seventeen lines in the first version and fourteen lines in the second. The reduction is achieved by the omission of fragments of themes 2 and 6. Only the first and last themes are suggested in Mariette's text.\footnote{See Humbert, "À propos," 254.} In the second version of the libretto, Verdi gives an instruction that the first five themes are to be set as an aria and encloses this portion of the monologue with a bracket. The text of the sixth theme is recitative, since it leads to the ensuing dialogue with Aida.
The remainder of the text for the final scene (items 4 through 19 in both versions) is given over to the concluding duet for Radamès and Aida. Although Verdi gives no instructions as to the structure of the duet, the manner in which the dialogue is written shows the first three sections of a double duet: items 4 and 5 continue the recitative begun as theme six of the preceding monologue (item 3) and thus constitute the *scena*; items 6 through 8 are extended strophes that could serve as models for the first *cantabile*; in items 9 through 19, the recitative style is resumed. In this last section, there is no suggestion of model strophes for the second *cantabile*. The skeleton of Verdi's text (items 6, 8, 10, 12 and 14 through 19) is derived from Mariette's scenario; the remainder is newly written by Verdi. In each instance, the new dialogue items are reactions to or comments upon the meaning of the preceding items drawn from Mariette's prose. The terse style in which Verdi wrote the concluding dialogue of the final scene (items 11 through 19) may well have been intentional on his part. When the composer came to collaborate with Ghislanzoni on the versification of the final scene in November 1870', he urged the poet toward brevity of style:

> At the end I would like to eliminate the usual agony and avoid the words io manco; ti precedo; attendimi! morta! vivo ancor!, etc., etc. I would like something sweet, ethereal, a very brief *duet*, a farewell to *life*.95


95 See Verdi's letter to Ghislanzoni dated only Saturday (the probable date is conjectured by Busch to have been 12 November 1870), which is reproduced in the latter's *Verdi's Aida*, p. 101.
It will be noticed that no text for Amneris's entrance into the Temple of Vulcan, represented on the upper level of the stage, at the conclusion of the scene, is given in Verdi's libretto. Stage action and a text for this is found only in Verdi's correspondence with Ghislanzoni at the time of the versification.  

The sixteen items that comprise Act IV, scene ii—the Amneris-Radamès duet—were revised after the July 1870 meeting between Verdi and Ghislanzoni at Sant'Agata. The precise position of the revision is actually indicated in the ms. of the second version of the libretto: Ghislanzoni, it will be remembered, wrote meno crudo più caldo (less crude warmer). The poet also wrote Omettere e andrei al segno-9- (Omit and go to the sign -9-) to the right of items 3 through 8. In addition, a bracket encloses items 9 through 13 in the ms. and all but one of these items were retained as a unit in the various stages of revision. The main revision involves the introduction of a new theme—Radamès's accusation that Amneris was the cause of Aida's death, her denial of this and Radamès's new knowledge of the fact that Aida is still alive—which leads with greater impact to the final confrontation between Radamès and Amneris at the conclusion of the duet (items 11 through 14). Items 2 and 3 are also subjected to new treatment for they are partially rewritten in the third stage of revision. The new texts given in the third

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96 Verdi's letter to Ghislanzoni, which specifies Amneris's entrance and gives a model prose strophe for the Princess, is reproduced in Busch, pp. 101-03.

97 Verdi libretto ms., pp. 34-35; Appendix III, pp. 626-27.
revision are retained in the subsequent version and in another version included by Verdi in a letter to Ghislanzoni dated 17 October 1870.98

The four versions of the revised scene given in the ms. 99 are of particular interest owing to the fact that they demonstrate the probable method employed by Verdi in the preparation of prose dialogue for a model libretto. It would appear that four stages were required in this instance for the development of the principal additions. First, a sketch was made of the replacement items: the first revision comprises item 5 of the second version of the libretto, six new items and the concluding dialogue of the scene. Second, the new items (with minor additions) were copied into a complete version of the scene (second revision). Third, the second revision was subjected to further changes; in particular, items 2 and 3 were altered and new changes were brought to the new items in the central portion of the scene. Finally, a similar process was carried out to create the fourth revision. Furthermore, the last version given in the ms. was somewhat revised as it was copied into the letter addressed to Ghislanzoni in October 1870.

In the discussion of the four revisions that follows, the new and revised items are distinguished by unique signs rather than numbers, as is the case with respect to the first two versions of the libretto.100 Upper-

98 Verdi's letter to Ghislanzoni is reproduced in Busch, pp. 79-81.

99 First revision, Verdi libretto ms., p. 52; Appendix III B, pp. 671-73; Second revision, Verdi libretto ms., pp. 55-56; Appendix III B, pp 674-79; Third revision, Verdi libretto ms., pp. 53-54; Appendix III B, pp. 680-86; Fourth revision, Verdi libretto ms., pp. 57-59; Appendix III B, pp.686-95.

100 See pp. 220-21 of the present study for an explanation of the number
case letters, W through Z, identify the six new items added in the first revision. A lower-case letter, x, identifies a new item added to the six new items which are retained in the second revision. The signs +, ++ and +++ identify three new items added to the third revision. The signs *, **, *** and **** and the numbered letter 11a identify five additional items added to the fourth revision. We shall revert to the number system for the letter version of the scene when we come to discuss this in the eighth chapter. (The full texts with translations are given at the conclusion of Appendix III; the unique signs are prefixed to their respective items.)

The first revision

1. Item 5

The sentence for Amneris was probably given at the outset of this "sketch" to show the connection with the opening of the scene.

2. Item U

a. Four lines for Radamès: he questions Amneris as to the reason for her desire that he live when she caused Aída's death

b. The text is somewhat confused in the ms.: two words are illegible; the third and fourth lines appear to have been repaired in the process of writing.

3. Item V

A response for Amneris to item U: Essa vive! (She lives!)

system applied to the successive items—set descriptions, dialogue and stage directions—of the various librettos.

101 Verdi libretto ms., p. 52; Appendix III B, pp. 671-73.
4. **Item W**

A revised version of item U: the text now comprises 2½ lines and is more logical with respect to meaning and structure.

5. **Item X**

a. This item is assigned to Radamès at the outset of the line. It is, however, clearly Amneris's response to the preceding item W.

b. The text is given as Essa vive (She lives); this is crossed out and replaced with No . . . Essa vive! (No . . . She lives!)

6. **Item Y**

a. The first line, partially illegible, would seem to repeat item X.

b. 1) Two new lines follow in which Amneris asks that Radamès not see Aida again, should Amneris save him.

2) The first clause of this, ma s'io ti salvo (but if I save you), is crossed out in the ms.

7. **Item Z**

Radamès refuses Amneris's demand that he not see Aida again.

8. **Items 11-14** = second version of the libretto.

9. **Items 9 and 15**

Item 9 is repositioned and linked with the text of the penultimate speech (item 15) given in the second version of the libretto.

The second revision

1. **Items 1-5**

102 Verdi libretto ms., pp. 55-56; Appendix III.B, pp. 674-79.
a. A repetition of the texts given in the second version of the libretto.
b. The lineation shows small adjustments; the lengths of the strophes, however, are the same as the original text.

2. Items W-X
a. A repetition of two contiguous items from the first revision.
b. Other texts in the right-hand column are crossed out and are almost entirely illegible.

3. Item x
A new item for Radamès; he reacts to and repeats a fragment of item X: Gran Dio! Vive (Great God! She lives).

4. Items Y-Z
a. The repetition of two contiguous items from the first revision.
b. 1) Another text is given for item Y in the right-hand column but at a lower level on the page.
   2) The position of this new text—obviously a replacement—in the body of the main text is indicated by the signs + and 0.
   3) In the new text, Amneris explains the details of Amonasro's death and the disappearance of Aida.

5. Items 11-14 = second version of the libretto.

6. Items 9, 15 and 16
a. The order of the first revision is retained.
b. Item 16, omitted in the first revision is returned to the text.
c. A fragment of item 7 is given in the right-hand column beside item 9.
The third revision

1. **Items 1-4**
   a. A repetition of the texts given in the second version of the libretto.
   b. 1) Seven lines are added for the outset of item 2 in the right-hand column.
      2) The second sentence of item 2 (second version) follows this added text.
      3) The new text expands on Radamès's fate before the judges:
         a) They will not hear his self defence.
         b) He spoke rashly, but his heart is pure.
   c. A new text is also given for item 3 in the right-hand column; this, however, is a paraphrased version of the original text.

2. **Item Y = first revision.**

3. **Items +, ++ and +++**
   a. **Item +**
      Radamès reacts to Amneris's speech, item Y: he asks if Aida still lives.
   b. **Items ++ and +++**
      New versions of second revision items X and x.

4. **Items 11-14; 9, 15-16.**
   A repetition of the sequence of texts given in the second revision.

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103 Verdi libretto ms., pp. 53-54; Appendix III, pp. 680-86.
The fourth revision

1. Items 1-5
   a. A repetition of the texts given in the third revision with minor additions.
   b. Item 2 This is the new text sketched in the right-hand column of the third revision.
   c. Item 3 has a new sentence interspersed between the second and third sentences of the third revision text; this reads:
      Tu non conosci le mie voglie
      angosciose i miei giorni che
      non han fine!!
      (You do not know my agonized desires my days that have no end!!)
   d. A portion of the second sentence of Item 3 is also given in a paraphrased version in Giuseppina Strepponi's hand in the right-hand column:
      di qual immenso amor
      io t'ami.
      (by which immense love I love you.)
   e. The first two words of Item 4, Ed io (And I) are crossed out and replaced with E non fui (And was I not); the new phrase is written

104 Verdi libretto ms., pp. 57-59; Appendix III, pp. 686-95.
in Giuseppina Strepponi's hand.

f. A directive, con ira (with rage) is added at the outset of item 5.

2. Item U/W

a. A composite text taken from the two versions of the same speech
given in the first revision: the first line of U, followed by a
reduced version of item W.

b. 1) Sketches for this and the next two items in the fourth revision
in Giuseppina Strepponi's hand are given in the right-hand column.

2) None of these, however, are employed in Verdi's latter version.

3. Items *, **

a. Item *

A new item for Amneris: she answers Radamès's inquiry about Aida's
fate with Non m'accusar di questo? (You don't accuse me of this?)

b. Item **

Radamès responds: Che dite? . . . (What do you say? . . .)

4. Items X, x = second revision.

5. Item ***

a. A new version of Amneris's description of the fates of Amonasro and
Aida: the original text for this was given in the right-hand column
of the second revision with the signs + and ø showing the position
of placement.

6. Item ****

A new text for Radamès: he calls on the gods to return Aida to her
native walls and to allow her to forget his (Radamès's) love. The
directive a parte (aside) has been added at the outset of the text.
7. **Item Y**

A repetition of the text first given in the first revision; the word *almeno* (at least) is added above the second line.

8. **Item Y**

a. Radamès repeats, in a paraphrased interrogation, the content of item Y.

b. A directive at the outset of the item reads:

   *ripetendo col massimo calore le-frase-d'Amneris* (repeating with the greatest heat the-phrases-of-Amneris).

9. **Items 11a, z**

A truncated version of Amneris's command that Radamès renounce Aida, and his refusal.

10. **Items 11-14, 9, 15-16**

a. A repetition of the seven contiguous items that were first given in full in the second revision.

b. Three items have additional texts in Giuseppina Strepponi's hand; these are written in the right-hand column of the page.

   1) *non provocar il mio furore* (do not provoke my fury), for item 11.

   2) Eight lines that repeat in new words and phrases the meanings of the original texts of items 9 and 15.

c. **Item 16**

   1) This is given in its original form in the left-hand column and
is repeated in the right-hand column preceded by a new sentence:

Piombi pure sul mio capo tutta l'ira tua (Explode then on my head all your rage).

2) This is given in Verdi's hand.

d. Item 15

1) The original text is crossed out.

2) The two clauses of this text are inverted and written above the crossed-out lines.

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As we have seen, the definitive step in the writing of the Aida libretto was taken by Verdi, who wrote a libretto in Italian prose for the complete opera. In preparing this Italian text, Verdi thoroughly reworked both portions of the French-language modificazioni he and Du Locle had previously prepared, and Mariette's scenario (also in French). Always keeping in mind the logic of the drama, Verdi created a substantial amount of new stage action and dialogue. The last act, in particular, is the work of the composer, for Mariette's text for this act had not been reworked by Verdi and Du Locle. Of particular interest is the fact that Verdi in his prose libretto created a musical masterplan for the entire opera: throughout the new text, the composer imposed his musical requirements by prescribing the layout of the recitative and lyrical sections when such treatment was not easily discernable in the prose dialogue.
CHAPTER VII

GHISLANZONI'S AIDA MANUSCRIPT

The versification by Antonio Ghislanzoni of Verdi's prose model of the Aida libretto took place between ca. 5-7 July and late November 1870. Subsequent minor revisions were undertaken in December 1870 and January 1871 (Act II, tableau 2), and in August and September 1871 (Act III, scenes ii, iv and v). The poetry was, in the main, prepared by Ghislanzoni in units—portions of acts, scenes and/or individual dialogue items—which were forwarded to Verdi by mail. The composer studied each draft and subsequently, corresponded with Ghislanzoni about the strengths and weaknesses of the poetry therein. Verdi preserved what appears to be almost all of the poet's drafts and these are contained in a document housed at Sant'Agata. In our study, we call this document the "Ghislanzoni ms."¹ This chapter deals with Verdi's and Ghislanzoni's correspondence, their meetings at which the Aida versification was discussed, and the characteristics—content, handwriting, pagination, etc.—of the ms. itself.

The Ghislanzoni ms. is a complex document, the description of which could well lead to confusion on the part of the reader. Moreover, the relationship of the ms. to the concomitant correspondence and the meetings held between

¹ The complete Italian text with English prose translation of the Ghislanzoni ms. is given in Appendix IV A, pp. 696-813 (first draft) and Appendix IV B, pp. 813-937 (revised drafts) of the present study.
Verdi and Ghislanzoni is also difficult to comprehend. To avoid any misunderstanding of these matters, we order our discussion of the correspondence, the meetings, and the content of the ms. in nine sections: first, Verdi's correspondence with Ghislanzoni about the versified drafts of the *Aïda* libretto, which make up the ms; second, the meetings between Verdi and Ghislanzoni at which the libretto drafts were discussed; third, an overview of the content of the Ghislanzoni ms; fourth, the pagination of the ms; fifth, the handwriting in the ms; sixth, the arrangement of the ms. into units and groups of units; seventh, the deduction of the chronological order of the unit groups; eighth, an overview of the first drafts and revisions; ninth, a comparison of Verdi's prose libretto and the Ghislanzoni versified libretto. Each of the nine sections is headed with its appropriate caption.

**Verdi's and Ghislanzoni's Correspondence about the Aïda Libretto**

The composer studied Ghislanzoni's drafts, accepting or rejecting them according to his strong opinions about the style, content and layout of the proposed poetry. Acceptance or rejection, demands for new versions of certain scenes, and revisions of existing verse were sent to the poet in the form of letters which contain detailed criticism of specific faults and, in many cases, proposals (models) for revisions. Thirty-four of Verdi's letters addressed to Ghislanzoni about the *Aïda* versification have come to light.² Four published and two unpublished letters addressed by Ghislanzoni to Verdi

² Verdi's letters to Ghislanzoni about the versification of *Aïda* are reproduced in English translations in Busch's *Verdi's Aïda*. 
In which the *Aida* versification is discussed have also come to light. In his letters, the poet included revised drafts of certain speeches, which had been specified by Verdi for revision, or discussed problems that beset the preparation of the poetry. Five additional letters addressed to Giulio Ricordi—three from Verdi, two from Ghislanzoni—further assist in clarifying the preparation of the versified libretto. Although there are occasional lacunae in the series of letters, a study of almost every aspect of the difficult task of versification—the interaction between poet and composer—is possible owing to the fact that the preserved correspondence reflects each stage of the collaboration.

In Table 5 we give a chronologically arranged list of the forty-five letters connected with the versification of the *Aida* libretto, each prefixed (in column 1) with an identifying number. (Column 1 also contains page number references for the texts of the letters in Busch's English-language edition, and page number references in square brackets for published letters in Italian editions.) In our subsequent discussion of the poetry in the present chapter and in Chapter VIII, we refer to the individual letters by their identifying numbers.

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3 The published letters are given in Busch. The unpublished letters are found in Microfilm 56, The Verdi Archive, American Institute for Verdi Studies.

4 Verdi's and Ghislanzoni's correspondence with Giulio Ricordi is reproduced in English translation in Busch's *Verdi's Aida*.

5 Unless otherwise noted, the page numbers in square brackets in Table 5, column 1 refer to Cesari and Luzio, *I copialettere di Giuseppe Verdi*, pp. 638-75. Letter 5 is given in Abbiati III, p. 462; Letter 40 is given in Stefani, *Verdi e Trieste*, pp. 127-28. In the same column, a dash denotes that the letter has not been published in Italian.
numbers. Column 2 identifies the writer and recipient of each letter, while column 3 gives the date of each letter. It should be noted that dates contained in square brackets in column 3 are Busch's deductions for undated letters or letters dated only by the day of the week. The table provides, as well, a content synopsis of each letter in column 4.

### TABLE 5

**CORRESPONDENCE BY VERDI, GHISLANZONI AND RICORDI CONCERNING THE VERSIFICATION OF THE AIDA LIBRETTO**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Letter Number</th>
<th>Addresser: Addressee</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Content Synopsis</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Page numbers in Busch and Italian language sources</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>pp. 38-39</td>
<td>Ghislanzoni: Verdi</td>
<td>26 July 1870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>pp. 44-45</td>
<td>Verdi: Ghislanzoni</td>
<td>12 August</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[pp. 638-39]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>p. 47</td>
<td>Verdi: Ghislanzoni</td>
<td>14 August</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[p. 639]</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>pp. 47-49</td>
<td>Verdi: Ghislanzoni</td>
<td>16 August</td>
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<td></td>
<td>[pp. 639-40]</td>
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<tr>
<td>5 pp. 50-51</td>
<td>Verdi: Ghislanzoni</td>
<td>17 August</td>
<td>Request for revision of Act II, tableau 1</td>
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<td>[pp. 641-42]</td>
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<td>Act I, tableau 2;</td>
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<td>6 pp. 55-56</td>
<td>Verdi: Ghislanzoni</td>
<td>22 August</td>
<td>Act II, tableaux 1</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>and 2</td>
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<td>7 p. 56</td>
<td>Verdi: Ghislanzoni</td>
<td>25 August</td>
<td>Act I, tableau 1;</td>
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<td>Verdi invites Ghis-</td>
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<td>31 August</td>
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<td>tableau 1, item 2</td>
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<td>2 September</td>
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<td>8 September</td>
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<td>Model sketch for Act II, tableau 2, items 9-16</td>
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<td>[13 September]</td>
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<td>7 October</td>
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<td>9 October</td>
<td>Act II, scene v in revision discussed</td>
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<td>16 October</td>
<td>Act III, scenes iii, iv and ii in second revision discussed</td>
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<td>24 pp. 85-86</td>
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<td>Revision of Act IV, tableau 1, scene ii</td>
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<td>Verdi questioned about the logic of the content of Act IV, tableau 2, scene iv</td>
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<td>Ghislanzoni: Verdi</td>
<td>31 October</td>
<td>Discussion of Act IV, tableau 2, scene iv</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>[Abbiati III, p. 462]</td>
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<td>Verdi: Ghislanzoni</td>
<td>2 November</td>
<td>Discussion of Act IV, tableau 2, scene iv</td>
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<td>[p. 663]</td>
<td>New model libretto for Act IV, tableau 1, scene iii</td>
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<tr>
<td>29 pp. 92-94</td>
<td>Verdi: Ghislanzoni</td>
<td>4 November</td>
<td>Syllabication of Act IV, tableau 1, scene ii</td>
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<td>[pp. 664-67]</td>
<td>Discussion of the drafts for Act IV, tableau 1, scene iii</td>
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<td>30 p. 95</td>
<td>Verdi: Ghislanzoni</td>
<td>[5 November]</td>
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<td></td>
<td>[pp. 662-63]</td>
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<tr>
<td>31 pp. 98-99</td>
<td>Verdi: Ghislanzoni</td>
<td>[9 November]</td>
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<td>[pp. 660-61]</td>
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<td>36</td>
<td>p. 119 [pp. 671-72]</td>
<td>Verdi: Ghislanzoni</td>
<td>28 December</td>
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<td>37</td>
<td>p. 127 [p. 673]</td>
<td>Verdi: Ghislanzoni</td>
<td>7 January 1871</td>
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<td>38</td>
<td>p. 132 [pp. 673-74]</td>
<td>Verdi: Ghislanzoni</td>
<td>13 January</td>
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TABLE 5—Continued

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<td>39</td>
<td>pp. 196–97</td>
<td>Verdi: Ghislanzoni</td>
<td>5 August</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>New model libretto</td>
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<td>Act III, scène ii</td>
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<td>40</td>
<td>pp. 198–99</td>
<td>Verdi: Ghislanzoni</td>
<td>6 August</td>
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<td>Act III, scene v, revisions requested</td>
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<td>[Verdi e Trieste, pp. 127–28]</td>
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<td>41</td>
<td>p. 202</td>
<td>Verdi: Giulio Ricordi</td>
<td>12 August</td>
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<td>New texts for Act III, scenes i and ii</td>
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<td>42</td>
<td>p. 215</td>
<td>Verdi: Giulio Ricordi</td>
<td>[4 September]</td>
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<td>Text of a strophe</td>
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<td>Act I, scene v is questioned</td>
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<td>43</td>
<td>pp. 219–20</td>
<td>Verdi: Giulio Ricordi</td>
<td>7 September</td>
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<td>Deletion of first four lines of Act III, scène ii, item 1</td>
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<td>44</td>
<td>p. 274</td>
<td>Ghislanzoni: Giulio Ricordi</td>
<td>9 January 1872</td>
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<td>New lines added to Act III, scene iii and Act IV, tableau 2, scene iv</td>
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<td>45</td>
<td>pp. 274–75</td>
<td>Ghislanzoni: Giulio Ricordi</td>
<td>[January 1872]</td>
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<td>Discussion of texts for Act II, tableau</td>
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Three meetings between Verdi and Ghislazoni took place at Sant'Agata: one at the outset of the undertaking; the second during the collaboration; and, finally, the third near the conclusion of their work. The probable dates of these meetings can be ascertained from remarks found in the concomitant correspondence. We have already explained in Chapter VI that Verdi and Ghislazoni read and discussed together the entire text of the composer's prose libretto at the first meeting held ca. 5-7 July 1870: Verdi's subsequent reference to Ghislazoni's comments written by the latter in the ms. of the prose libretto testify to this.⁷ For reasons that will become evident below, it is likely that Ghislazoni was given a copy of Verdi's libretto. Furthermore, Ghislazoni made extensive notes with respect to the content and sequence of dialogue items and stage directions at this

⁷ See Letter 21 and p. 206 of the present study.
first meeting. The second meeting was held between 27-28 August and 3-4 September 1870. In Letter 7, Verdi invited the poet to Sant'Agata for the purpose of bringing the first two acts to a point of reasonable completion: "You would be doing a blessed deed by coming to Sant'Agata for two or three days to make a few more little revisions, and clean up these first two acts." Details of these revisions, of course, were not recorded in Verdi's subsequent letters to the poet and, unfortunately, the lack of documentation and the disarray of the Ghislanzoni ms. drafts for Act II, Tableau 2 prevent a complete understanding of certain changes made at this time. The third meeting was held during the final stages of the writing and composition of the last act of the opera in the second half of November 1870. Two of Verdi's letters to Ghislanzoni allow conjecture of the probable dates within November. First, in Letter 32, probably written 12 November 1870, Verdi advised the poet to be prepared to come to Sant'Agata once he had completed the versification of the final scene: "When you have revised this scene and have sent it to me, come to Sant'Agata two days later." Second, in Letter 35, probably written 21 December 1870, Verdi summoned Ghislanzoni: "Come quickly; in fact, immediately, we shall fix everything." For obvious reasons, the details of the proceedings of the third meeting are not given in the correspondence. However, two different texts in different mss. allow us to form some idea of

8 See Letter 7; Busch, p. 56.

9 See Busch, p. 103.

10 See Busch, p. 109.
the steps taken toward the completion of the fourth act at the third meet-
ing. First, page 145 of the Ghislanzoni ms. contains working sketches in
the poet's hand of the *cabaletta* "O terra addio (O earth farewell)", the
final duet for Radamès and Aida, and the distich for Amneris, the words of
which were eventually interspersed among the phrases of the duet *cabaletta*. The page containing the working sketch is unlike any other page in the
Ghislanzoni ms. Here the poet drew a vertical line in the centre of the
page, and wrote the two halves of double lines (*versi doppi*) on either side
of the vertical line. The sketch shows Ghislanzoni's struggle to formulate
the poetry, for many words, phrases and half lines are cancelled or repeated
without meaning. Since no other working sketch is found in the Ghislanzoni
ms., it seems reasonable to conclude that page 145 was written at Sant'Agata
during the third meeting. Second, the composer's composite fourth-act text
--selected from different drafts of Ghislanzoni's poetry--is unique in that
it is written entirely in Verdi's and Giuseppina Strepponi's hands. More-
over, the fourth-act composite text is part of the last section of the ms.
of the composer's own prose libretto, while the composite texts of the
other three acts are superimposed on the pages of Ghislanzoni's first drafts.
Some of the dialogue items, stage directions and set descriptions given in
the composite fourth-act text are not found in Ghislanzoni's drafts. Thus
it seems sure that these new texts were created at Sant'Agata in the presence
of the composer.

The working sketch is reproduced in Appendix IV B, pp. 934-35.

Verdi libretto ms., pp. 72-81; Appendix VI, pp. 959-88.
Overview of the Content of the Ghislanzoni Ms.

The Ghislanzoni Ms. comprises 151 pages that are the recto and verso sides of seventy-six sheets of legal-size paper. One hundred and forty-four pages contain Italian texts for the complete opera handwritten in ink. Seven blank pages are positioned at three major division points in the layout of the opera: pages 23 and 31 precede the texts of complete versions of Act II, Tableaux 1 and 2; p. 44—the verso side of dialogue items from Act II, scenes 1 and 11—separates Act II from Act III; pp. 58-60 separate two versions of the conclusion of Act III; the final page of the ms. is blank. The content of the ms. shows outward signs of logical organization with respect to the chronological order of the opera: complete versions and revisions of individual scenes and portions of scenes of Acts I through III are found in appropriate order between pages 1 and 122; various drafts of Act IV follow to page 149. Only the final page, a single item from Act II, Tableau 2 is, obviously, misplaced. However, we shall see as we proceed, the surface organization belies the fact that the internal organization of the greatest part of the ms. is relatively disordered.

Pagination

The pagination employed in our study was imposed upon the ms. by the present writer; neither Ghislanzoni nor Verdi numbered the pages. Our page numbers follow the sequence of frames given in Microfilm 56 in the Archive of the American Institute of Verdi Studies. An unfortunate omission that

13 Bush, who examined the first four sheets of the ms. at Sant'Agata, describes legal-size paper on p. 487 of his Verdi's Aida.
could affect the numbering of the frames, however, would seem to have been unwittingly made during the process of filming the ms. Frame 71 contains the first fifteen lines of Aida's solo scene "Ritorna vincitor (Return victorious)," Act I, scene vi. The remaining twenty-five or so lines of this aria that should appear on frame 72 (or frames 72 and 73) are not given in draft form at any place in the ms. It could be argued that the missing text for scene vi was lost. Such an omission, however, would be unique in the Ghislanzoni ms. It is also unlikely that Verdi lost the page; the ms. shows that Verdi preserved the poet's drafts with the greatest care. Furthermore, the uneven total of pages (151) given in the microfilm attests to the omission of one page during the preparation of the film. Despite the omission, the present study and the edition of the ms. in Appendix IV of this dissertation retain without correction the consecutive numbers of all the frames as they appear in the microfilm.

**Handwriting**

The handwriting in the ms. shows the basic text to have been written by Ghislanzoni but considerable rearrangement of the content was executed by Verdi and many small additions were made by Giuseppina Strepponi. Ghislanzoni's handwriting is most prominent: he was responsible for the original texts which appear on all but one (p. 57) of the ms. pages. Verdi's handwriting is found on thirty-six pages of the ms: on twenty-two of these pages, texts in Verdi's hand comprise revised versions of the whole or parts of individual dialogue items written by Ghislanzoni at the composer's request. Verdi merely copied these revisions or parts of them in the form of superscriptions above crossed-out lines or portions of crossed-out lines of the
texts of the poet's first draft, or placed the revisions beside the corresponding first drafts. Table 6 identifies the twenty-two pages of the Ghislanzoni ms. that contain Verdi's superscriptions or additions of revised texts. The ms. page numbers are given in the first column; the acts, tableaux and scene numbers are given in the second column; the items that were crossed out and superscribed with revised texts are given by number in the third column; finally, the fourth column gives the source locations of the revisions—the Ghislanzoni ms. itself or the poet's letters addressed to Verdi.

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<td>I 1 i</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Ms., p. 82</td>
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<td></td>
<td>I 1 ii</td>
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<td>I 1 iii</td>
<td>1-3</td>
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<td>II 1 ii</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Ms., p. 98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>II 2 --</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Letter 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>II 2 --</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Letter 11</td>
</tr>
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</table>

14 The item number system in which each speech or stage direction is prefixed with an identifying number is found in Appendix IV, A and B.
TABLE 6--Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ms. page number</th>
<th>Act, Tableau, Scene</th>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Location of revision</th>
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<td>35</td>
<td>II 2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Letter 12</td>
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<td>36</td>
<td>II 2</td>
<td>13, 20, 17</td>
<td>Letter 13</td>
</tr>
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<td>37</td>
<td>II 2</td>
<td>18, 21, 22, 19</td>
<td>Letter 13</td>
</tr>
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<td>38</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>II 2</td>
<td>29, Z, 33, 34</td>
<td>Letter 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>II 2</td>
<td>33/34, 35</td>
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</tr>
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<td>41</td>
<td>II 2</td>
<td>37, 38</td>
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<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>III ii</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ms., p. 104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>III iii</td>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>Ms., p. 105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>III iii</td>
<td>23-27</td>
<td>Ms., pp. 109, 107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>III iv</td>
<td>4-7</td>
<td>Ms., p. 110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>III iv</td>
<td>6-12</td>
<td>Ms., pp. 110-11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>III iv</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Ms., p. 111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>I v</td>
<td>15</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>I v</td>
<td>15-18</td>
<td>Ms. p. 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>142</td>
<td>IV iv</td>
<td>3, 5, 8</td>
<td>Ms. p. 146</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Eleven of the thirty-six pages with superscriptions or additions in Verdi's hand contain words, phrases or sentences for which no source is found in the
ms. or the concomitant correspondence. It must be concluded that these additions were written by Verdi himself or were written by Ghislanzoni during one of the three meetings at Sant'Agata. Table 7, like Table 6, gives the ms. page numbers, the act, tableau, scene and dialogue item(s) to which the additions belong.

TABLE 7

PAGES IN GHISLANZONI'S MS. CONTAINING VERDI'S ADDITIONS FOR WHICH NO PREVIOUS SOURCE HAS COME TO LIGHT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ms. Page Number</th>
<th>Act, Tableau, Scene</th>
<th>Item(s)</th>
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</thead>
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<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>II 1 ii</td>
<td>6-7</td>
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<td>46</td>
<td>III i</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>I 1 v</td>
<td>19-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>II 1 ii</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>II 2</td>
<td>14</td>
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<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>II 2</td>
<td>24, 30-32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120</td>
<td>III v</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>143</td>
<td>IV 2 iv</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144</td>
<td>IV 2 iv</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Three other pages—65, 80 and 81—have names of additional characters in Verdi's hand adjoined to those given in Ghislanzoni's hand. Such cases, of course, imply ensemble rendition of a single speech.
The only page entirely in Verdi's hand in the Ghislanzoni ms., page 57, contains the final composite text for Act III, scenes iv (items 23-26), v and vi, taken from Ghislanzoni's various revisions. It will be remembered that this climactic point in the entire drama perplexed Mariette, Du Locle and Verdi in the scenarios and librettos that were created to serve as the several steps that led to the versification. It is clear that Ghislanzoni's and Verdi's revisions for these scenes were so extensive that the original first draft of the versification could no longer serve as the basis of the revised scene. Thus Verdi was forced to write out the composite text in its entirety himself.

Giuseppina Strepponi's handwriting is found on twenty-five pages of Ghislanzoni's ms. Strepponi's additions--found between pages 7 and 57 of the ms. which contain the near-final composite copy of the first three acts--can be classified as six types of additions. First, additions to stage directions--single words, phrases, complete sentences--are found on pages 7, 24, 25, 27, 34, 47, 56 and 57. Second, additions to set descriptions are found on pages 32 and 45; the first of these, for Act II, Tableau 2, is very long and detailed. Third, musical directives, for example, "Suoni interni (Sounds inside)" at the climax of Act II, Tableau 1, are found on pages 19 and 30. Fourth, additions of the names of characters to those already given by Ghislanzoni are found on pages 15 and 48. Fifth, additions in the form of superscriptions of dialogue--words, phrases and complete sentences--are found on pages 8, 16 and 19. No source for these last additions exists in the ms. or in the correspondence. There are two possible explanations for the appearance of portions of dialogue items in Strepponi's hand. It may well be that Strepponi served as amanuensis during the meetings between Verdi and Ghislanzoni, or,
that she herself is author of the additions. Finally, a rubric on page 39, set beside an item intended by Ghislanzoni for the King, instructs repetition of the King's item by the chorus at the conclusion of Act II, Tableau 2.

**Arrangement of the Ms. into Units and Groups of Units**

The arrangement of Ghislanzoni's ms. was probably devised and assembled by Verdi at the conclusion of the process of versification, ca. 15 November 1870. The ms., in its given order, contains thirty-nine distinct units (sections) of versified dialogue, set descriptions and stage directions. The individual units are discernable by a study of the content of the ms: each unit consists of a recognizable portion of the versified libretto—an act, a tableau, a scene or a fragment of a scene.

Table 8 shows the order, page numbers and specific content of the thirty-nine units as they appear in the ms. As we have explained, the layout of the ms. (shown in column 3 of Table 8) shows a surface chronology of the unfolding drama: the ms. begins with Act I, continues with Acts II and III, and concludes with Act IV. However, close inspection of the content, as shown in Table 8, reveals four major disruptions to the logical order, owing to the interspersion of revisions into a complete version of one act, and the separation of units which contain revisions for the same act and two other acts. First, a complete version of Act I is located in four separated units: 1, 3, 10 and 12. Second, the revisions for Act I, which are readily discerned as revisions owing to their incomplete content, are located in units 2, 11 and 13 through 16. Moreover, these revisions are not arranged in a logical order. Third, the revisions for Act II, tableau 1, again discerned as revisions by reason of their incompleteness, are located in units 7 and 18 through 20.
Finally, unit 9, which contains a revision of Act III, scenes iv through vi, is separated from the main body of revisions for this act, units 22 through 30. The units devoted to the fourth act do not show similar disruptions.

**TABLE 8**

**CONTENT OF THE THIRTY-NINE UNITS IN GHISLANZONI'S MS.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
<th>Content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>Act I, tableau 1, scene i and scene ii, item 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>3-4</td>
<td>Act I, tableau 1, scene ii, item 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>5-6</td>
<td>Act I, tableau 1, scene ii, item 2 and scene iii, items 1-3, and item 4, lines 1 and 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>7-22</td>
<td>Act I, tableaux 1 and 2, complete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Blank page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>24-30</td>
<td>Act II, tableau 1, complete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Blank page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>32-41</td>
<td>Act II, tableau 2, complete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Remarks by Ghislanzoni about omissions in Act II, tableau 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Act II, tableau 1, scene 1, items 4 and 6a; scene ii, items 6b-8, 15-18, and 19, line 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>Blank page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>45-57</td>
<td>Act III, complete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--</td>
<td>58-60</td>
<td>Blank pages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>61-63</td>
<td>Act III, scene iv, items 24-26, scenes v and vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unit</td>
<td>Page Numbers</td>
<td>Content</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>64-71</td>
<td>Act I, tableau 1, scene iii, item 4, lines 3-4-5 through scene vi, item 1, lines 1-15</td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>72-73</td>
<td>Act I, scene iv, items 1-15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>74-76</td>
<td>Act I, tableau 2 (scene vii)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>77-78</td>
<td>Act I, tableau 2, items 3, 8 and 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>Act I, tableau 1, scene iii, items 1-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>80-81</td>
<td>Act I, tableau 1, scene v, items 11-18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>Act I, tableau 1, scene i and scene ii, item 1, line 1-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>83-89</td>
<td>Act II, tableau 1, complete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>90-93</td>
<td>Act II, tableau 1, scene i, item 2, and scene ii, items 9-18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>94-98</td>
<td>Act II, tableau 1, scene i, items 2-3, and scene ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>Act II, tableau 1, scene ii, items 19-22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>100-03</td>
<td>Act II, tableau 2, items 14 and 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>104-05</td>
<td>Act III, scene ii, item 1 and scene iii, items 2-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>106-07</td>
<td>Act III, scene iii, items 20-25, 22 and 22-25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>108-11</td>
<td>Act III, scene iii, items 17-25 and scene iv, items 1-15 and item 16, line 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>112-16</td>
<td>Act III, scene iv, items 1-6, 1-5, 1-26, and</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A study of the content of the thirty-nine units allows a rectification of the underlying disorder and a reduction of the units into eleven groups of related texts. The grouping is based upon the fact that the individual units are of three distinct types: units which contain a complete tableau; units which contain a complete scene or scenes, or portions of a scene; and

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Unit</th>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
<th>Content</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>Act III, scene iv, items 16-19, 23-26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>Act III, scene v, items 1-11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>119-20</td>
<td>Act III, scene iv, items 23-26, scenes v and vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>Act III, scene v, items 7, 10-11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>Act III, scene vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>123-26</td>
<td>Act IV, tableau 1, scenes i and ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>127-30</td>
<td>Act IV, tableau 1, scene ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>131-34</td>
<td>Act IV, tableau 1, scene ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>135-36</td>
<td>Act IV, tableau 1, scenes iii and iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>139-41</td>
<td>Act IV, tableau 1, scene iii, items 17-33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>142-45</td>
<td>Act IV, tableau 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>146-48</td>
<td>Act IV, tableau 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>Act IV, tableau 2, items 5-6, 15 and Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>Act II, tableau 2, item 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
units and contiguous units which contain complete acts. Furthermore, it is clear from Verdi's correspondence with Ghislanzoni about the versification that the poet prepared the libretto by a system which supports our deduction about three types of text in the ms. First, Ghislanzoni wrote a first draft of each complete tableau (Acts II and IV), or each complete act (Acts I and III). Second, the poet rewrote those portions of the first draft which Verdi found not to his liking, and continued to rewrite certain scenes until a satisfactory version had been achieved. Finally, the poet prepared a fair copy of each of the first three acts, the content of which was selected by Verdi from first drafts and revisions. The eleven groups, however, do not show the correct chronology of the process of versification. We shall return to the question of the chronological order of the various drafts once the grouping of the related texts is explained.

Group 1, units 1, 3, 10 and 12, comprises four parts of an almost complete version of Act I, tableaux 1 and 2. Unit 1, which comprises scenes i and ii, is separated from unit 3 by the interpolation of revised versions of a portion of scene ii (unit 2). Unit 3 concludes with the third verso (line) of scene iii, item 4. This text is completed in unit 10 which begins with scene iii, item 4, verso 4 and continues through the first fifteen versi of scene vi. (We have already explained the possible omission of the remainder of scene vi during the process of filming the ms.) Units 10

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15 See Appendix VI, pp. 959-88. The sources of the composite text are given in the footnote apparatus of the Appendix.

16 See pp. 291-92 of the present chapter.
and 12 are separated by the interpolation of a revision of Act I, scene iv (unit 11).

Group 2, units 2, 11 and 13 through 16, comprises six parts of an almost complete series of revisions for Act I, tableaux 1 and 2. The only scene not represented in the revisions is scene vi. The revision of the latter scene was probably accomplished at Sant'Agata during the second meeting between Verdi and Ghislanzoni. In fact, Verdi mentions the need for revision in Letter 2 but allows that the revision will be accomplished at Sant'Agata: "Some lines of the aria [for Aida] could be changed, but we shall take care of this when you visit me at Sant'Agata."¹⁷ Four of the units under consideration, 11 and 14 through 16 (scenes i, iii, iv and v) appear to be related to one another owing to the fact that each one is prefixed by a similar number heading: N. 1 through N. 4. Although N. 2, N. 3 and N. 4 do not correspond to like-numbered scenes—N. 2 heads scene iii; N. 3 heads scene iv; N. 4 heads scene v—it is obvious that the numbers refer to revisions requested by Verdi. Unfortunately, the letter containing Verdi's request for these revisions has not come to light. Unit 2 comprises two revised versions of the versi lirici portion of scene ii: the first version is headed romanza tenore =, the seconda Altra (Other). We know these to be revisions since Verdi mentions the first version of the two-part revision specifically in Letter 2: "Of the changes that were made, I have incorporated: [ . . . ] the romanza, 'Celeste Aida, forma divina [ . . . ] (Heavenly Aida, divine form [ . . . ])'." Unit 13 is without

¹⁷ The letter is reproduced in Busch, pp. 44-45.
special heading but its content of three dialogue items from two separate parts of Tableau 2, versified according to the composer's demands outlined in Letter 4, show it to be a revision.

Group 3, units 4, 5, 6, 8 and 9, comprises a complete text for the first three acts of the opera. The interruption of the third and fourth units of this group (units 6 and 8) is caused by the interpolation of a revision: fragments of items for Act II, tableau 1 (unit 7) are sandwiched between Act II, tableau 2 and Act III of the complete version. Furthermore, there is another minor interpolation in the last part of the ms. of the complete Act III: Verdi's composite text for Act III, scene iv, items 24-26, scenes v and vi (unit 8), in the composer's hand, is placed before Ghislanzoni's text for the same scenes (unit 9).

Group 4, units 7 and 20, comprises two parts of a single series of revisions of three groups of dialogue items from Act II, tableau 1: page 43 (unit 7) concludes with verso 1 of item 19; the second line of this item is continued at the outset of page 99 (unit 20).

Group 5, which comprises a version of Act II, tableau 2, is the only instance in the ms. of a single unit (17) devoted to a complete tableau. Group 6 comprises two contiguous units (18 and 19), each of which contains fragments of revisions for Act II, tableau 1. Group 7, units 21 and 39, contains the only fragments of revisions in the ms. for Act II, tableau 2. There is no apparent reasonable explanation for the wide separation of these related units. Group 8, units 22 through 30, comprises numerous revisions of selected dialogue items for Act III, scenes ii through vi.
Groups 9 through 11 comprise the drafts of Act IV: Group 9a (units 31, 34 and 37) contains a complete version of the act; Group 9b (units 32, 35 and 36) contains another complete version of the act with the exception of the first scene; Group 10 contains a third version of scene II (unit 33); Group 11 (unit 38) contains sketches for five dialogue items from the final scene of the opera.

Deduction of the Chronological Order of the Groups

In the course of his correspondence with Ghislanzoni about the versification of the Aida libretto, Verdi gave copious quotations of specific dialogue items drawn from various drafts by the poet. Since the quoted poetry is, in many cases unique to a particular draft, it is possible to correlate the groups (and units) discerned in the ms. with specific letters. For example, in Letter 8, Verdi discusses Ghislanzoni's first draft of Act II, tableau I, scene II and quotes, among others, Ghislanzoni's setting of dialogue item 18 for Amneris:

In volto gli occhi affisami
E menti ancor se l'osi:
Radamès vive . . . 18

No other version given in the ms. employs this text and thus it is relatively sure that Group 5 (unit 17) comprises the poet's initial draft. In those few

18 Ghislanzoni ms., p. 78; Appendix IV A, p. 733:
"Look into my face with your eyes
And still lie, if you dare . . .
Radamès lives . . ."
cases for which there are no quotations of dialogue in the correspondence that has come to light, that would allow a positive identification of a particular draft, it has been necessary to consider the relationship of the seemingly unidentifiable group with an earlier or near-final draft or with the completed libretto, so as to ascertain the probable stage of the development represented by the group in question. Quotation, for purposes of identification, of all correlations between Verdi's correspondence and Ghislanzoni's drafts would be an unnecessarily protracted affair. For the sake of simplification, we give Table 9 in which the chronology of the groups discerned in Ghislanzoni's ms. is explained. In this table, the group number is given in the first column; the unit number(s) is given in the second column; the letter number(s) in the third column identify the source(s) of the identifying quotation(s); the fourth column indicates the chronological position of the particular draft; the fifth column gives the act, tableau and or scene(s) to which the group belongs. Note should be taken of the fact that the table has been ordered according to the chronology of the preparation of the groups, not the given order of the groups in the ms.

<table>
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<th>Draft</th>
<th>Act/Tableau(x)</th>
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<td>2, 11, 13, 14, 16</td>
<td>1, 2, 6, 7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>I/1, 2</td>
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### TABLE 9—Continued

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<th>Letter(s)</th>
<th>Draft</th>
<th>Act/Tableau(x)</th>
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<td>8, 9, 10, 11, 12</td>
<td>1 and 3</td>
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<td>21, 39</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>II/2</td>
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<td>8, 9</td>
<td>13, 14, 15, 16</td>
<td>1 and 4</td>
<td>III</td>
</tr>
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<td>8a</td>
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<td>13, 14, 16, 16, 17</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8b</td>
<td>23, 25, 28, 29</td>
<td>14, 15, 16, 17</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>III</td>
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<td>IV/1, 2</td>
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<td>32, 35, 36</td>
<td>24, 30</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>IV/1, 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>21, 25</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>IV/1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>IV/2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Overview of the First Drafts and Revisions**

The chronological reordering of Ghislanzoni's ms. permits an overview of the number of revisions Verdi required to reach a satisfactory near-final versified text. Act I, tableaux 1 and 2 were prepared in an initial draft and subjected to one revision: Group 1 comprises Ghislanzoni's first draft of the entire text of the act; Verdi required partial revision—of specific
speech items—for all the scenes of the act with the possible exception of the sixth; Ghislanzoni's revisions comprise Group 2; the revisions were copied by Verdi in the form of superscriptions above the crossed-out lines of the first draft (Group 1); the composite revised text was then recopied by Ghislanzoni (Group 3a).

Act II, tableau 1 was prepared in an initial draft, Group 5, and subjected, in part, to four revisions, Groups 6a, 6b, 4 and 3b: Group 6a, the first revision comprises speech items 2a and b from scene 1 and speech items 10 through 25 from scene ii; Group 6b, the second revision, comprises speech items 4 through 25, the conclusion of scene 1 and the entire scene ii; Group 4, the third revision, comprises speech items 4 through 8 and 15 through 22; Group 3b, the fourth revision and near-final text, comprises speech items for the entire tableau.

Act II, tableau 2 was prepared in an initial draft, Group 3c, and subjected to considerable revision, the greatest part of which does not appear in the ms. Rather, Ghislanzoni's revisions are found in his letters to Verdi: Letter 11 contains revised texts for speech items 2a, b and c, and 29; Letter 13 contains revised texts for speech items 13, 20, 17, 18, 21, 22, 19, 33/34, 35, 36 and 38. However, some revised texts for this tableau are given in the ms: Group 7, comprises texts for items 13, 20, 17, 18, 21, 22, 23 through 31. Furthermore, a new ottava (eight-line stanza) for Donne (Women), item 2, is given on page 151 of the ms. Group 3c also contains a near-final and revised version of the complete tableau: here, Verdi superscribed his choice of revisions over crossed-out lines of the first draft to create the near-final composite text.
Act III was prepared in an initial draft, Group 3d, and subjected to one, two or three partial revisions: Group 8a, the first revision, comprises one multiple revision (five versions) of scene ii, item 1 fused with 2 and one revision each of scenes iii, items 19 through 28, iv, items 1 through 21 and 25 through 28, and complete versions of scenes v and vi. Group 8b, the second revision, comprises one multiple revision (four versions) of scene iv, items 1 through 6, (the fourth version continues to item 12), a fifth version which contains items 8 through 14; two versions of scene iv, items 25 through 28, followed by the first four items of scene v in their first revision and the complete scene v in its second revision; a complete revision of scene vi; another revision of scene v, items 9 through 11. As in the case of Act II, tableau 2, the first draft of Act III (Group 3d) contains a near-final and revised version of the complete act; here, again, Verdi superscribed his selected revisions over crossed-out lines of the first complete draft to create the near-final composite text.

Act IV, tableaux 1 and 2 were prepared in an initial draft and, with the exception of scene i which was never revised, were subjected to two revisions: Group 9a comprises Ghislanzoni's first draft; Group 9b comprises the first revision of scenes ii through iv; Group 10 contains the poet's third revision of scene ii; Group 11 contains sketches of the final duet prepared, as we have explained, at Sant'Agata. Unlike the first three acts, Verdi did not copy his composite text into Ghislanzoni's first draft. He made, with the assistance of Giuseppina Strepponi, a new copy of the entire act, the text of which is a compilation of items drawn from the poet's first three drafts and some newly-written material probably prepared at Sant'Agata during
the third meeting. The ms. of the near-final composite text of Act IV, it
will be remembered, forms the final section of the ms. of Verdi's prose
libretto, pages 72-81.

Comparison of Verdi's Libretto and Ghislanzoni's Versification

Ghislanzoni's versification of the *Aida* libretto is extremely faithful
to the model prose libretto provided by the composer. The poet retained
the order, meaning and content of all but a very few of the dialogue items
and concommitant stage directions developed by Verdi in his libretto. In
fact, the text of Verdi's libretto comprises 259 items, while Ghislanzoni's
first draft comprises 266. The number of items varies somewhat in the stages
of revision that led from the first versification to the final text. More­
over, Verdi himself rewrote portions of his libretto--particularly Act IV--
contracting and expanding certain scenes, as he came to set the versified
text to music. The composite final version of the libretto, achieved
through the collaboration of the poet and composer, comprises 258 items.

Table 10 shows a comparison of the total number of items in each scene
or tableau of the entire opera as found in Verdi's prose libretto and the
two complete drafts which constitute the main development of the versifica­
tion. Column 1 gives the act, scene or tableau. Column 2 gives the number
of items (speeches, stage directions and set descriptions) in each scene or
tableau of Verdi's libretto. Column 3 gives the analogous number of items
in each scene or tableau of Ghislanzoni's first draft. Column 4 gives the
number of items in the final complete version of the libretto as found in
Ghislanzoni's ms. (Acts I through III) and Verdi's prose libretto ms.
(Act IV). At the bottom of columns 2, 3 and 4, the total number of items in each complete libretto is found.

**TABLE 10**

NUMBER OF ITEMS IN VERDI'S LIBRETTO COMPARED WITH THOSE IN GHISLANZONI'S FIRST AND LAST DRAFTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Act, Scene, Tableau</th>
<th>Verdi's Libretto</th>
<th>Ghislanzoni's First Draft</th>
<th>Ghislanzoni's Revised Draft</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I, i</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I, ii</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I, iii</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I, iv</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I, v</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I, vi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I, vii (Tab. 2)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II, tab. 1</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II, tab. 2</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III, i</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III, ii</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III, iii</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III, iv</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III, v</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III, vi</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV, i</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 10—Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Act, Scene, Tableau</th>
<th>Verdi's Libretto</th>
<th>Ghislanzoni's First Draft</th>
<th>Ghislanzoni's Revised Draft</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IV, ii</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV, iii</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV, (excised iii)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV, tab. 2</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>259</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>258</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An accurate comparison of the number of items in Verdi's libretto and Ghislanzoni's revisions is not possible. Many of the poet's revisions comprise only particular items for certain scenes. For example, the revision of Act I, scene iii involved only the rewriting of the first three of the five items specified in Verdi's libretto and included in the first versified draft. At the conclusion of the revision, Ghislanzoni writes "Poi, come sta (Then, as it is)" to indicate the scene is to continue with the texts of the remaining two items written for the first versified draft. Similar cases are found in the revisions for Act I, scenes i, iv and v, and Act IV, tableau 2.

The variation in the number of items in different drafts of the same scenes is especially evident in Act III, scenes iv and v. These scenes, it will be remembered, contain the problematical action and dialogue of the betrayal of Radamès. The drafts show that Verdi and Ghislanzoni continued to wrestle with the solution for a convincing rendition of this climactic
scene: it is at this point in the Ghislanzoni ms. that Verdi was forced to write his composite text on unused paper rather than on one or the other of the poet's drafts. Furthermore, in his first versification of Act III, scene iv, Ghislanzoni omitted items 15 through 20 as given in Verdi's libretto. The composer questioned these omissions in two letters, writing in Letter 16: "I would also have retained the dialogue that is so lively in the outline [Verdi's libretto], especially the words [items 18 and 19 from Verdi's libretto follow],"¹⁹ and, in Letter 18: "You left out Aida's outburst [item 16 from Verdi's libretto follows]."²⁰ The ms. is in a confused state at this point and it is difficult to separate the poet's original version from additions in the composer's hand. In fact, page 55 appears to have another page pasted over the original page.

Ghislanzoni was careful to explain to Verdi—in the form of a note given on page 42 of the poet's ms.—the reduction of three speech items specified in the composer's libretto for Act II, tableau 2. First, according to Ghislanzoni, the texts for items 15 and 16 were useless (inutile) and would interrupt the flow of the central concertato of the tableau. The texts for the redundant items in Verdi's libretto read:

Item 15  Aida (E per salvarlo, io 
\[\ldots\] quasi lo perdeva.)

¹⁹ The complete letter is reproduced in Busch, p. 71.

²⁰ The complete letter is reproduced in Busch, pp. 76-77.
To tighten this action, Ghislazoni rearranged the order of speeches and placed simplified versions of the offending items at the outset of Amonasro's entrance in order to avoid a pair of dramatic interjections within the central concertato. Second, the final sentence of Verdi's protracted speech for the King (item 32) immediately prior to the concluding concertato of the tableau was considered by Ghislazoni as an element of retardation to the action and was thus omitted:

Item 32, Verdi's libretto

Il Re [. . . ] Trascorso appena il tempo, or destinato alle feste d'Iside, si celebrin le nozze—

Ghislanzoni's suggestion and omission were accepted by Verdi for this sentence does not appear in any draft of the versification.

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21 Verdi libretto ms., p. 16; Appendix III, p. 581:
"Aida (And to save him, I [. . . ] almost lost him.)
Amonasro] (Do not give me away . . . I live for revenge.)

22 Verdi libretto ms., p. 19; Appendix III, p. 588:
"The King [. . . ] In due time dedicated to the festivities of Isis, let the wedding take place—"

Item 16  

Am[onasro] (Non mi scoprire . . . Io vivo alla vendetta.)

Item 16  

Am[onasro] (Non mi scoprire . . . Io vivo alla vendetta.)
CHAPTER VIII

THE VERSIFICATION OF THE AIDA LIBRETTO

The transformation of Verdi's precise prose libretto (and copious instructions) into standard nineteenth-century operatic poetry, such as is represented by Ghislanzoni's initial drafts, was not an onerous task for a seasoned, professional librettist. Had the first drafts been intended for musical setting by any one of a number of lesser talents—for example, Luigi or Federico Ricci—the Aida libretto could well have turned out to be a fluent but less than convincing piece of work. Verdi, however, doubtless cognizant of the fact that the situations and actions of Mariette's story are not dissimilar to many other nineteenth-century melodrammi, continued to control the content and shaping of the libretto as Ghislanzoni persevered with his task. The present chapter deals with the development of the versified Aida libretto and Verdi's role in this process.

Comparison of the various drafts of the versified libretto and the concomitant correspondence shows the composer to have dwelt upon at least eight problematic areas in his efforts to draw a dramatically sound libretto from the poet. First, the composer found much of the poetry in initial and successive drafts to be unnecessarily prolix. Second, he maintained that ornate rhyme and overemployment of feminine line endings (parole plane) prevented the flow of the dramatic action. Indeed, in some cases, Ghislanzoni's seeming penchant for such poetic techniques led him to versify sections traditionally set as recitative (versi sciolti) as versi lirici.
Third, Verdi found the diction of many recitatives and certain lyrical strophes shallow and commonplace. Fourth, some individual versi (lines) and some strophes were found to be without meaning, and to do nothing for the plot. Fifth, the composer believed that the position of important words parole sceniche (theatrical words) in Verdi's terminology was miscalculated owing to the placement of accented syllables of individual words upon weak beats of the verso. Sixth, Verdi maintained that the poet omitted individual lines and salient speeches, and whole sections of dialogue to the detriment of the unfolding action. Seventh, the style of the versification—both diction and meter—was criticized for tending to be repetitious in unwarranted situations. Eighth, the meters of the proposed versifications (generally versi lirici but also versi sciolti) were found to be unsuitable to the disposition of Verdi's proposed melodies. Furthermore, Verdi himself was responsible for a number of changes in the second half of the opera. As he came to review Ghislanzoni's initial drafts, and, presumably, to sketch the music for the proposed poetry, the composer had new insights into the forms and certain aspects of the dramatic action. These changes, of course, may have been necessitated by the fact that the Verdi-Du Locle modificazioni disintegrated rather badly in the third act and had not dealt with the fourth act. As a result, Verdi often proposed new model texts for specific scenes and the poet was forced to comply with these new versions and supply second, third and even more drafts.

It might appear expeditious to isolate one salient example of each of these problematical areas to reveal the working method of Verdi and Ghislanzoni in creating the versified Aida libretto. However, such a procedure
would be a detrimental oversimplification of the actual process, and would not, of course, allow us to gain a clear picture of the extent to which Verdi participated in the versification. On the other hand, by undertaking a thorough examination of the poet's drafts and Verdi's discussion of them we gain a complete understanding of Verdi's contribution to the process. Moreover, by proceeding in this manner, we see that the careful disentanglement and setting to rights of interrelated problems preoccupied the composer and poet for the last six months of 1870 and well into 1871, that Verdi sought novel versifications for the last four scene of Act III and for various portions of Act IV in which lyrical verse and recitative came to be blended, and that the composer himself restructured the greatest part of the final act when he came to compose the music.

In his discussions of the various faults of Ghislanzoni's first and subsequent drafts, Verdi usually deals with the recitative and the versi lirici (lyrical verse) sections as separate issues. In our study, we also separate these two types of versification and concentrate on the former before considering the latter. Appropriate headings, which identify the act, scene and type of versification or problem under consideration, are provided throughout the chapter. Readers unfamiliar with the vocabulary employed to describe Italian poetry should consult Appendix VII.

In our discussions of the Verdi-Du Locle modificazioni (Chapter V) and the Verdi libretto (Chapter VI), we assigned consecutive numbers to the individual items—set descriptions, stage directions and speeches—of each scene which was developed into a prose libretto. This system of numbering helped simplify our explanations of the relationships between the libretto
sections of the *modificazioni* and Verdi's libretto. The same relationship exists between the items of the composer's libretto and the greatest majority of the items of Ghislanzoni's versified drafts. We continue, therefore, to assign numbers to the "items" of the various versions of the versified libretto. In a few cases, however, Ghislanzoni introduced new speeches for which there are no model sources in Verdi's libretto. For these new speeches, we employ upper- and lower-case letters or signs (asterisks) to ensure the differentiation of items based on Verdi's libretto and newly introduced items. In the appendices of the present study, item numbers and signs are located on the left-hand side of each set description, stage direction or speech.

Verdi's letter(s) to Ghislanzoni in which the poetry of the first draft of Act I, tableau 1 is reviewed for weaknesses and strengths has not come to light. Nevertheless, comparison of the first drafts of scenes i through v with the revisions (second drafts) show that a reduction of the recitative and the rewriting of certain parts of the *versi lirici* sections were the composer's main concern.

*Act I, Scene i: Recitative*

Although the first draft of scene i appears to comprise fifteen lines, two of these are the first halves of *versi endecasillabi* which are completed in the following speech. Thus the first draft of the scene actually contains eleven lines. However, the majority of the lines are long, for nine

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1 Ghislanzoni ms., pp. 1-2; Appendix IV A, pp. 696-98.
are set in *endecasillabo* rhythm, while the remaining two are *versi settenari*. The second and reduced draft also appears to comprise thirteen lines but three of these are the first halves of *endecasillabo* lines, one is the first half of a *settenario* line and the last line is the first half of an *endecasillabo* line which is completed at the outset of scene ii, item 1. Therefore, the revision reduces the recitative to nine and one-half lines. Furthermore, the process of reduction is further facilitated through the employment of shorter lines: only five of the complete lines are *versi endecasillabi*; the others comprise three *versi settenari* and one *verso quinario*. In his effort to reduce the recitative, Ghislanzoni also simplified the diction of certain phrases. We give, for the sake of comparison, the two versions as they appear on pp. 1 and 2 of the ms. Here, the second draft is superimposed above the crossed-out lines of the first draft. To facilitate the comparison, the crossed-out lines of the first draft are underlined.

### Written Lines

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Written Lines</th>
<th>Actual versi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Ramfis: Si: corre voce che l'Etiope insano, Sfidarci ancora e del Nilo la valle</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Anco una volta di sfidarci ardisca,</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. E del Nilo la valle</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. E Tebe minacciar--fra breve un Messo Recherà il ver.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Qui giunger deve, e tutto il ver fia noto. La sacra</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Radamès: La sacra Iside ancora</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

2 Ghislanzoni ms., p. 82; Appendix IV B, pp. 814-15.
Written Lines

7. Iside consultasti?
   Non consultasti?

8. Ramfis: { Ella già diè il responso,
   ha nomato

9. { E il guerrier designò cui della guerra
   Il condottier suprmo.

10. { Si affidino le sorti.

11. Radamès (da sé): { Oh foss'io quello!... 

12. Ramfis: Il decreto del Nume

13. { Io reco al Re--vado a nomargli il prode,

14. Il giovane guerrier che alla vittoria

15. Guiderà l'armi nostre. (Esce).

---

"1. Ramfis: Yes: it is rumored that the insane Ethiopian
   To challenge us once again and to menace
2. Once again dares to challenge us,
3. And to menace the valley of the Nile
4. And Thebes--soon a messenger
   Will bring the truth.
5. Must come here, and all the truth will be known.
   Sacred
6. Radamès Did you not yet consult
   Isis did you consult?
7. Sacred Isis?
   has named
8. Ramfis { She has already given the reply,
   Of the Egyptian troops
9. { And the warrior designated to whom the fate
   The supreme commander.
10. Of the war is entrusted.
   Oh happy man!
11. Radamès (to himself): { Oh that I were that fellow!... 
   He is young and brave. Now I am taking
12. Ramfis: The decree of the God
   The decree of the God to the King. (He exits)
13. I dispatch to the King--I go to name the brave man to him,
14. The young warrior who will guide
15. Our army to victory. (He exits)."
Act I, Scene ii: Recitative

The first version of the recitative portion of scene ii (ms., p. 2) comprises seven lines: a first half-line which completes the verso endecasillabo begun at the conclusion of the preceding scene, five other endecasillabo lines and one (the penultimate) settenario line:

Radamès solo

Oh! perché il cuore

Mi palpita così? . . . Che il sogno mio

Si avverasse . . .! Un esercito di prodi

Da me guidato! . . . e la vittoria! . . . e il plauso

Di Menfi tutta . . .! E a te, mia dolce Aida,

Tornar di lauri cinto . . .

Dirti: per te ho pugnato e per te ho vinto! ⁴

The second draft, appended to the same for scene i, gives only the revised portion of the recitative:

Radamès

Se quel guerrier

Io fossi! Se il mio sogno

⁴ "Radamès alone

Oh! why does my heart
Beat here? . . . That my dream
Came true . . .! An army of brave men
Led by me! . . . and the victory! . . . And the cheers
Of all Memphis . . .! And to you, my sweet Aida,
To return crowned with laurels . . .
To tell you: for you I fought and for you I won!"
Si Avverasse! ... Un esercito di prodi ecc. ecc. 5

Comparison of the first two drafts shows new and rearranged words in the first half-line and the first complete line, which allowed a reduction of the latter from eleven to seven syllables. In the composite version of the complete libretto (ms., p. 8) the last half of the first complete line--"Se il mio sogno (If my dream)"--and the first half of the second complete line--"Mi palpita così? (Beat here?)"--are excised. These excisions, however, are restored in the completed opera.

Act I, Scene ii: Versi Lirici

The first version of Radamès's romanza (scene ii, item 2) 6 is set as a metro of two sestine in rhymed versi quinari doppi with tronchi endings for the fourth and sixth lines of each sestina. The content of the versified setting is closely related to the content of Verdi's model text. The columns of lower-case letters given on the right side of our reproductions of the versi lirici strophes represent the rhyme scheme of the poetry. While the meaning of the letters a, b, c, etc., is self evident, "s" and "t" require explanation: "s" stands for a line which ends with a parola sdrucciola (slippery word)—a three-syllable word, with an accent on the anti-penultimate syllable; "t" stands for a parola tronca (truncated word) in which the accent

5 Ghislanzoni ms., p. 82; Appendix IV B, p. 816:
"Radamès
That warrior! If my dream
Came true! ... An army of brave men etc. etc."

6 Ghislanzoni ms., p. 5; Appendix IV A, pp. 700-01.
is on the final syllable.

Quanti ha il mattino raggi e splendori, a
Quanti hanno vezzi le perle e i fiori, a
Tutto in te adunasi, forma divina, b
Astro di vita, astro d'amor. t
Qui sei straniera--sei prigioniera--
Pur la regina sei del mio cor. t

Sulle mia braccia chè non poss'io d
Recarti, o bella, nel suol natio? d
Tornarti all'estasi dei dì felici . . . e
Di lunghi amlessi bearmi il cor! t
Ah tu sei figlia de'miei nemici, f
Ma pure io t'amo d'immenso amor! . . . 7 t

However, despite the fact that Ghislanzoni's first draft reproduced the ideas of Verdi's prose libretto, the composer appears to have requested a revision.

7 "As many rays and splendors as has the morning,
As many charms as have pearls and flowers,
All unite in you, divine form,
Star of life, star of love.
Here you are a stranger--you are a prisoner--
Still you are queen of my heart.

Why cannot I return you
In my arms, o beautiful one, to your native land?
Return you to the ecstasies of the happy days . . .
To please my heart in long embraces!
Ah you are the daughter of my enemies,
But still I love you with an immense love! . . ."
Two alternate versions of the **romanza** are given in the Ghislanzoni ms. The first revised setting, "Celeste Aida, forma divina (Heavenly Aida, divine form)", selected by Verdi for musical realization, is the shortest of the three versions, comprising an **ottava** in rhymed versi quinari doppi with alternating **piani** and **tronchi** endings:

Celeste Aida, forma divina

Mistico serto di luce e fior--
Del mio pensiero tu sei regina
Tu di mia vita sei lo splendor.
Il tuo bel cielo vorrei ridarti,
Le dolce brezze del patrio suol--
Un regal serto sul crin posarti
Ergerti un trono vicino al sol.  

The other revised setting is the most protracted of the three versions for it comprises a **metro** of two **ottave** in rhymed versi settenari. **Parole tronche** are employed only at the conclusion of each of the **ottave**; **parole sdruciole** alternate with the rhyme of each **strofetta**:

8 Ghislanzoni ms., pp. 5-6; Appendix IV B, pp. 816-19:

9 "Heavenly Aida, divine form
Mystic garland of light and flowers--
Of my thoughts you are queen
Of my life you are the radiance.
I would like to give you back your beautiful sky,
The sweet breezes of your native land--
To set a royal crown on your brow
To raise for you a throne near the sun."
Rosa di cielo, eterea
Forma di luce e fiori,
Astro in cui tutti splendono
Dell'iride i colori,
Io t'amò, Aida, io t'amò,
O prigioniera bella--
Meta dei passi e stella
Tu sei del mio destin.

Della perduta patria
Vorreì ridarti i cieli,
Le valli, i sogli liberi
A cui piangendo aneli.
Qui di tripudii immensi
Godrei nel tuo sorriso,
Nel contemplarti il viso,
Nel carezzarti il crin. 10

10 "Rose of heaven, ethereal
Form of light and flowers,
Star in whom all the colors
Of the rainbow shine.
I love you, Aida, I love you,
O beautiful prisoner--
You are [the] goal of my steps
And [the] star of my destiny.

I would like to give you back
The skies of the lost homeland,
The valleys, the open thresholds
For which you long for in tears.
Here in the immense jubilation
In keeping with his penchant for reduction, it is not surprising that Verdi selected the shortest of the three versions for musical setting.

The ms. of Ghislanzoni's second draft also contains a rhymed *sestina* in *versi ottonari* for the chorus, appended to the second revision of Radamès's *romanza*:

\[
\text{Coro}
\]

Sorgiam tutti! all'armi! all'armi!

Dell'Egitto il sacro lido

Non eccheggi che un sol grido

Guerra e morte allo stranier!

\[\text{Di-vittere-ii-Die [illegible, cancelled word]}\]

Via d'Egitto gli stranieri

Morte al barbaro invasor!^{11}

The cancelled fifth line, a rare occurrence in the ms, shows the poet's bewilderment as to the appropriate diction for this portion of the scene.

---

11 Ghislanzoni ms., p. 4; Appendix IV B, pp. 855-56:

"Chorus
Let all rise up! to arms! to arms!
On the sacred shore of Egypt
May not any other cry [be heard] but
War and Death to the foreigner!
The God of victory [illegible, cancelled word]
Away with the strangers in Egypt
Death to the barbarous invaders!"
Indeed, the presence of this very contrasted poetry on a page devoted to a version of Radamès's romanza requires some explanation. In his libretto, Verdi gave the poet leave to set the romanza with an interlude, but did not provide a model prose text for it. Although the composer makes no reference to the sestina in Letter 2 in which the revisions are discussed, inclusion of the choral interlude was apparently abandoned without further discussion. Nevertheless, the content of the sestina came to be employed as the King's quartina (item 15b) in the concertato section of Act I, scene v. The same partially paraphrased strophe was also used at the outset of the cabaletta which concludes the gran duetto (Amneris-Aida), Act II, tableau 1, scene ii. We shall return to discuss these two sections in their appropriate places.

Act I, Scene iii: Recitative

A similar reduction in prolix diction is evident through a comparison of the first and second drafts of Act I, scene iii, items 1-3. The first one and one-half endecasillabo lines of Radamès's item 2, first draft:

0 figlia del mio Re, di un lieto sogno
Me [sic] perdea la mente-- [ . . . ]

12 Ghislanzoni ms., pp. 5-6; Appendix IV A, pp. 701-04.
13 Ghislanzoni ms., p. 79; Appendix IV B, pp. 819-20.
14 "O daughter of my King, my mind was lost To a happy dream-- [ . . . ]
are rewritten as one *setttenario* line and the first half of an *endecasillabo* line:

D'un sogno avventuroso  
Si beava il mio cuore. [ . . . ]

Two phrases, each of which constitutes half of an *endecasillabo* line, are eliminated in the second draft of Amneris's item 3. We show the excised lines through underlining:

*Armì e battaglie*  
Stragi e vittorie . . . Nè un altro sogno mai  
Più mite . . . più gentile  
Al cuore ti parlò? Non hai tu in Menfi  
Desiderii . . . speranze . . . ?

As a result of the excisions, the recitative portion of the scene is tightened: the eight *endecasillabo* lines of the first draft are reduced to six through the increase of *setttenario* lines from five to seven; one complete *endecasillabo* line is eliminated.

---

15 "In a dream of adventure  
My heart was basking. [ . . . ]"

16 "   Armies and battles  
Massacres and victories . . . Has not another dream  
Milder . . . more gentle  
Spoken to your heart? Do you not have desires  
In Memphis . . . hopes . . . ?"
Act I, Scene iii: Versi Lirici

The versi lirici section which concludes scene iii comprises an aside each for Radamès and Amneris in the form of a metro of two quartine in similarly rhymed versi settenari:

Radamès (da sé)
Forse . . . l'arcano amore
Scoprì che mi arde in core . . .
Della sua schiava il nome
Mi lesse nel pensier . . .

Amneris (da sé)
Oh! guai se un altro amore
Ardesse a lui nel core! . . .
Guai se il mio sguardo penetra
Questo fatal mister! 17

Verdi accepted this setting without revision.

17 Ghislanzoni ms., p. 6 and p. 64; Appendix IV A, pp. 703-04:
"Radamès (to himself)
Perhaps . . . she discovered
The secret love that inflames my heart . . .
The name of her slave
She read in my thoughts . . .

Amneris (to herself)
Oh! woe if another love
Should inflame his heart! . . .
Woe if my gaze should penetrate
This fatal mystery!"
Act I, Scene iv: Recitative

The development of the versification of the recitative section of Act I, scene iv presented a more complicated task than that of the first three scenes. Verdi himself was probably the instigator of the problem for he directed Lirico (obviously, versi lirici) for the complete scene in his model prose libretto. 18 This is not an unusual setting in the tempo di mezzo section of a four-part aria or in a five-part gran duetto structure and, although scene iv appears to be independent, it is, in fact, the last two parts of a four-part structure which is set in motion in the two parts of the preceding scene.

In the first draft, 19 Ghislanzoni demonstrates, in full measure, his reliance on traditional methods of versification. After five lines of dialogue which comprise four unrhymed versi settenari, the dialogue of items six through eight is set as a metro of two similarly structured sestine in settenario rhythm. While simple rhyme is not apparent, the positions of parole piane and their two variants are identical in each sestina:

[Amneris]
Vieni, o diletta, appressati . . .  
Schiava non sei nè ancella  
Qui dove in dolce fascino  
Io ti chiamai sorella . . .

18 Verdi libretto ms., p. 3; Appendix III A, p. 545.

19 Ghislanzoni ms., pp. 64-65; Appendix IV A, pp. 704-08.
Piangi? Delle tue lacrime  
Svela il segreto a me.

Aida

Ohimè! di guerra fremere
L'atroce grido io sento . . .
Per l'infelice patria,
Per me . . . per voi pavento . . .

Amneris

Favelli il ver? . . . Nè s'agita
Più grave cura in te? . . . 20

We do not possess Verdi's criticism of this draft but, in the light of his other complaints concerning regular series of strophes set in overly ornate poetry, it is not difficult to conjecture as to why this particular rendition dis pleased the composer. Verdi probably requested a

20 "[Amneris]
Come, o beloved girl, approach . . .
You are neither slave nor handmaiden
Here where in your sweet spell
I called you sister . . .
You weep? Reveal to me
The secret of your tears.

Aida

Alas! I hear the atrocious
Cry of the raging war . . .
I fear for the unhappy homeland,
For myself . . . for you . . .

Amneris

Are you telling the truth? . . . Is no deeper Care upsetting you? . . ."
breaking up of the dialogue to permit a greater interaction of all three characters and, of course, a reduction of ornate rhyme.

In the revision, the poet did, indeed, manage to break the long opening monologue for Amneris (first draft, items 4 through 6) by interjecting two speeches—one for Radamès, item S; one for Aida, item T—into the body of the original monologue. Furthermore, the new setting concludes with an experiment in rapid dialogue exchanges: seven speech items which constitute four versi settenari:

**Item**

S  **Amneris**  Nè d'altra angoscia, o misera,

Turbato è il tuo pensiero? . . .

9  **Aida**  (colla massima commozione)  Forse . . .

U  **Amneris**  (animandosi)  Egual dunque! [sic] . . .

V  **Radamès**  (da sé)  Incauta!

W  **Aida**  Rispetta il mio mistero . . .

X  **Amneris**  (con forza)  Schiava . . . io potrei . . .

Y  **Radamès**  Placatevi . . .!

Z  **Amneris**  E la difendi . . . tu? . . .

(psii, le strofe come stanno)

---


22 "**Amneris**  Does not another agony, o unhappy one,  Disturb your thoughts? . . .

**Aida**  (with the greatest emotion)  Perhaps . . .

**Amneris**  (animating herself)  Equal then! [sic] . . .

**Radamès**  (to himself)  Rash!"
It is, however, rather paradoxical that the poet was unable to shake tradition for, in the centre of this more active dialogue, are three items which comprise a *metro* of two *sestine* in *versi settenari*, again with matching patterns of *parole piane*, *tronche* and *sdruciole* line endings (second draft, items T, 6b and 7).

Verdi's criticism of the revision of the scene is given in Letter 2. The composer's only expressed concern is directed at a reduction of the opening portion of the scene:

> [. . . ] In the little trio that follows it would be better to eliminate the first lines so as not to give Aida too much to say [ . . . ];[23]

and the elimination of Amneris's item X. In the end, the composer used the version given in the first draft.

**Act I, Scene iv: Versi Lirici**

The concluding *versi lirici* section of scene iv (items 10-12) comprises an aside for each of the protagonists set as a *metro* of three *sestine* in rhymed *versi ottonari*:

---

**Aida** Respect my secret ...  
**Amneris** (with force) Slave ... I could ...   
**Radamès** Pacify yourselves ...!  
**Amneris** And you defend her ... you? ...  
*(then, the strophes as they were)*"  
---

[23] Busch, p. 45.
Amneris (da sé, con ira repressa)

Di furor geloso in petto

Io ruggir la voce ascolto--

Trema, o schiava, che il sospetto

In certezza un dì sia volto;

Qual da folgore percossa

Tu cadresti innanzi a me.

Aida (da sé)

Della patria il suol soltanto

Non favella al mio core,

V'ha una gioja in questo pianto

Poichè è il pianto dell'amore . . .

(fissando Radamès)

Qual d'un Nume alla presenza

Tremo e avvampo innanzi a te.

Radamès

Quell'accento desolato

Un tumulto in cor mi desta,

Lui felice a cui fia dato

Serenar la fronte mesta'--

Dico le: o schiava, or sei regina,

Io mi prostro innanzi a te.'

Ghislanzoni ms., pp. 65-66; Appendix IV A, pp. 707-08: "Amneris (to herself, with repressed rage)"
Although there is no mention of revision in the correspondence that has come to light, and no draft revision in the ms., the version of these items given in the complete final text in the Ghislanzoni ms. (p. 12) shows considerable reduction. The new text comprises a metro of three quartine in rhymed versi settenari. The content of the new strophes, while expressing the meaning of the original version, is entirely new. Selection of seven-syllable lines for the final version was probably necessitated by the accentual properties of Verdi's melodic line. Verdi, it will be remembered, sketched melodic lines for each versified draft he received from Ghislanzoni. Acceptance or rejection of the proposed poetry often rested upon the appropriateness of the poetic rhythm for the conjectured melodies.

I hear the roaring voice
Of furious jealousy in my breast--
Tremble, o slave, that the suspicion
May be changed one day into uncertainty;
You would fall before me
As if struck by a thunderbolt.

Aida (to herself)
Not only does the wish for the homeland
Speak to my heart,
There is a joy in this lament
Since it is the lament of love . . .
(looking at Rhadamès)
As if in the presence of a God
I tremble and blaze before you.

Rhadamès (to himself)
That desolate accent
Awakens a tumult in my heart,
Happy is he to whom be given
The soothing of the furrowed brow!--
I say to her: slave, now you are a queen
I prostrate myself before you!"

Act I, Scene v: Recitative

The greatest part of the recitative section of Act I, scene v, items 1-12, written in versi sciolti, required no revision on the part of the composer and was set as it stood. However, the conclusion of the recitative, items 13, 14a and b, is somewhat clumsy and repetitive in its first setting: a verso endecasillabo begun at the conclusion of item 11, a verso settentario and two further versi endecasillabi:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Syllable count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Il Re [ . . . ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Radamès [!]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Tutti Radamès!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Radamès</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sien grazie ai Numi!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Immensa è la mia gioja.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14a</td>
<td>Amneris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ed'Egitto gli eroi perde alla guerra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14b</td>
<td>Aida</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Questo popol l'eroi perde alla guerra [ . . . ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


26 Ghislanzoni ms., p. 68; Appendix IVA, pp. 711-12:

"The King [ . . . ]
Radamès [!]
All Radamès!
Radamès Thanks be to the Gods!
My joy is immense.
Amneris
And Egypt is losing its heroes to the war--
Aida
This people loses its heroes to the war [ . . . ]"
Although there is no mention of these items in the correspondence that has come to light, the ms. shows the revision and reduction of these lines to become two versi endecasillabi. In fact, the revised lines are superimposed in and around the original lines, some of which are crossed out:

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Tutti Radamès!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Radamès Sien grazie ai Numi! Son paghi i voti miei . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14a</td>
<td>Amneris Ei . . . duce!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14b</td>
<td>Aida Io tremo . . . ²⁷</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The superimposed and reduced version, of course, was employed in the final version of the text.

The concluding section of scene v, items 20, X, Y, Z and 22, was greatly expanded by Ghislanzoni in the first draft, ²⁸ thus departing from the rather straightforward model given in Verdi's libretto. ²⁹ The new version comprises

²⁷ "The King [ ... ]
Radamès [!] All Radamès!
Radamès Thanks be to the Gods!
My prayers are answered . . .
Amneris He . . . leader!
Aida I tremble . . . ."

²⁸ Ghislanzoni ms., p. 70; Appendix IV A, pp. 716-17.

²⁹ Verdi libretto ms., pp. 6-7; Appendix III A, pp. 554-55.
six rhymed versi settenari in the form of exchanges between three protagonists and the ensemble:

Item

20  Il Re Va Radamès . . .

X  Ramfis Al tempio!

Y  Il Re Ti arrida la vittoria!

Z  Radamès Sul calle della gloria
   Mi spronerà l'amor!

22  Tutti I Numi ti proteggano
    Ritorna vincitor!  

Verdi does not mention this section in his letters; rather, he simply crossed it out in the Ghislanzoni ms. and added at the right-hand side of item 20 the words "Guerra guerra! Sterminio all'invasor (War war! Destruction to the invader)" and the stage direction "a Radamès (to Radamès)" with the text "Ritorna vincitor! (Return victorious!)" The cancelled passage does not appear in the complete near-final version given in the ms. and the reduced new added lines are assigned to the ensemble:

30 "The King Go, Radamès . . .

Ramfis To the Temple!
The King May victory smile on you!
Radamès On the path of glory
   Love will spur me!
All May the Gods protect you!
    Return victorious!"

31 Ghislanzoni ms., p. 16.
The reduction corresponds very closely to the version given in Verdi's prose libretto. In addition, this simplistic version removes all traces of ornate poetry, owing to the versi sciolti meter and the employment of two contiguous tronco endings. This text appears to have been employed at the Cairo première, for this version of the concluding part of the scene is given in the official Cairo libretto. Verdi, however, must have changed his mind for the Milan première for the phrase "Va, Radamès (Go, Radamès)" is excised and the phrase "Ritorna vincitor!" is given to Amneris and repeated by the ensemble in the completed score.

Act I, Scene v: Versi Lirici

The strophes of the concertato (versi lirici) section of Act I, scene v, items 15 through 19b are given in two versions in Ghislanzoni's ms: a

32 "All War! war! Destruction to the invader! Go, Radamès, return victorious! (all exit, except Aida)"

33 Antonio Ghislanzoni, Aida: Opera in 4 atti e 7 quadri, (Cairo: Tipografia francese Delbos-Demouret, 1871), p. 22.
draft and the final text. Both versions are similarly set for each comprises a metro of quartine, the first version in rhymed versi quinari doppi, the second in rhymed versi ottonari. As we have explained, we do not possess Verdi's criticism of the first version nor, it seems, the actual text of the original versified setting. This lacuna in the ms. is explained by Verdi's comments in Letter 2 in which he writes about a revised version and proposes changes for the quartine assigned to Radamès and Amneris:

The hymn [concertato] that follows [scene iv] is all right as revised; I only wish that Radamès and Amneris would take part in this scene, thus avoiding those two asides which are always cold. Radamès has only to change a few words. Amneris could take a flag or a sword or some other old thing and address the strophe to Radamès—warm, loving, warlike.

That Verdi is referring to the version "as revised" and given in the Ghislanzoni ms. (pp. 69-70) is corroborated by several indications in the actual ms. First, the entire text by Ghislanzoni is crossed out. Second, Verdi writes a suggestion beside Radamès's quartina: "questa parte un'inno di guerra (this part a war hymn)". Third, Verdi writes another suggestion beside Amneris's strophe which is related to the composer's discussion in Letter 2: "[...] prendere questi [versi] all'inno di guerra e trovare un pretesto di un movimento di scena. ([...]) turn these [lines] into a hymn of war

34 Ghislanzoni ms., pp. 69-70; Appendix IV A, pp. 713-16.
36 Busch, p. 45.
and find a pretext for some stage movement). For these reasons, it seems likely that the versions given on pp. 69-70 of the ms. are a second version and the version given on pp. 14-16 is the revision brought about by the composer's remarks in Letter 2.

**Act I, Scene vi**

Two problems prevent full discussion of the revision of Act I, scene vi, Aida's four-part aria. First, in Letter 2, Verdi informed Ghislanzoni that some lines of the first draft required changes which were to be made during the poet's second visit to Sant'Agata. Since there is only one (incomplete) draft of this scene in the ms., it is clear that the revision was accomplished during the visit. However, the new drafts are not retained in the ms. Second, owing to the unfortunate omission in the microfilm of the page (or pages) which follow p. 71, the filmed ms. contains only the first recitative (scena) and two lines of the ensuing adagio section set in versi sciolti and versi senari respectively. Nonetheless, one alteration to Ghislanzoni's first draft is shown on p. 71 of the ms. which further attests to Verdi's continued efforts to reduce the dialogue of the first act: the last three lines of the thirteen-line recitative are cancelled in the ms. and are not given in the final version. The cancelled lines read:

37 Ghislanzoni ms., p. 71; Appendix IV A, pp. 717-19.

38 A complete version of Act I, scene vi, however, is given in the fair, near-final copy. See Ghislanzoni ms., pp. 16-18.
Un Re... mio padre... di catene avvinto!...
Ohimè... tremo d'orrore...
E al voto orrendo si ribella il core. 39

Act I, Tableau 2: Versi Lirici

The versification of Act I, tableau 2 caused Verdi and Ghislanzoni considerable trouble owing to the fact that neither Du Locle nor Verdi had been able to develop an explicit model of prose dialogue from the rather static descriptive prose given in Mariette's scenario. The version in the modificazioni, 40 it will be remembered, was no more than a groundplan and Verdi's libretto 41 did little to expand its meagre content.

Ghislanzoni's first draft 42 of the scene is quite one dimensional for it comprises only two versi lirici settings: a metro of four ottave, the first three for Ramfis and the chorus, the last for Radamès and a concluding cabaletta, set as a quartina each for Ramfis and the chorus. The ensuing monotony is created by four salient characteristics. First, the individual ottave of the first metro are all designed in the same layout: the first and fifth lines are set as double lines (quinari doppi) and are, in each

39 "A King... my father... bound in chains!...
Alas!... I tremble in horror...
And to the horrible prayer my heart rebels."

40 See Modificazioni ms., p. 10; Appendix I, p. 503.

41 See Verdi libretto ms., pp. 8-9; Appendix III A, pp. 558-62.

case, followed by three single lines (versi quinari). Employment of the initial double line reduced the occurrence of rhyme by one:

**Ramfis e Coro**

Spirto del Nume scendi su noi!  
Svela ai veggenti  
Gli oscuri eventi  
Dell'avvenir!  
La fede avviva de nostri eroi!  
Raccendi l'ira,  
Nei petti spira  
Forza ed ardir! . . .

**Coro. Ramfis**

Ai preghi nostri si senta il Nume!  
L'armi fatate  
Da lui temprate  
Cingi o guerrier! . . .  
Correte ai margini del sacro fiume!  
Tuoni sul lido  
Terribil grido:  
Via lo stranier!  

**Ramfis**

Numé che i popoli reggi e gli imperi,  
A lui nel core  
Spira il valore
Spira la fè.

Qual polve al vento, degli stranieri

La rea masnada

Dispersa vada

Dinanzi a te!

Ramfis and Chorus

Spirit of the God descend on us!
Unveil to the prophets
The dark events
Of the future!
Renew the faith of our heroes!
Rekindle their rage,
Breathe into their breasts
Force and daring! . . .

Chorus. Ramfis
To our prayers the God listens!
The enchanted weapons
Tempered by him
Gird on o warrior! . . .
Run to the limits of the sacred river!
On the bank resound
The terrible shout:
Be off, foreigner!
Second, it will be noted that each *ottava* of the first *metro* is laden with ornate rhyme as is the concluding *cabaletta*, which is set in *versi settenari*:

**Ramfis**

Impugna il brando invitto!

Cigni la sacra maglia!

Le sorti dell'Egitto

Il Nume a te fidò.

**Tutti**

Per cento trombe squilli

L'inno della battaglia;

Vittoria il Dio promette

E il Dio fallir non può!\(^{44}\)

---

Ramfis

God who governs people and empires,
   Into his heart
   Breathe valor
   Breathe faith.
Like the dust in the wind, the wicked bandits
   Of the foreigners
   Be scattered
   Before you!

Radamès

God guardian of our glory,
   Into my heart
   Breathe valor
   Breathe faith.
Arbiter and leader of victory
   Descend from heaven,
   Defend with me
   The homeland and the King."

\(^{44}\) "Ramfis
Third the diction is repetitious in the extreme since it comprises a series of sentences and phrases all of which are commonplace war cries and invocations. Finally, according to Ghislanzoni's stage directions and the assignment of the strophes, the entire scene is conceived to be performed by men. Moreover, it will be noted that Radamès's part is quite scant; the bulk of the scene is given to Ramfis.

It is not surprising that Verdi reacted somewhat coldly to the first draft. In Letters 3 and 4 the poetry of the first draft is rejected:

Letter 3

... If I must frankly state my opinion, it seems to me that the consecration scene did not turn out to have the importance that I expected. The characters don't always say what they should, and the priests are not priestly enough. It also seems to me that the theatrical word [parola scenica] is missing, or if it is there, it is buried under the rhyme or verse and so doesn't jump out as neatly and plainly as it should.\textsuperscript{45}

and, in Letter 4

Take up the unconquerable sword!
Gird on the sacred armor!
The fate of Egypt
The God entrusted to you.

All
Blast with a hundred trumpets
The hymn of the battle;
The God promises victory
And the God cannot fail!\textsuperscript{45}

\textsuperscript{45} Busch, p. 47.
I think that for the time being it would be better to skip the consecration scene. It must be studied further in order to give it greater character and greater theatrical importance. It must not be a cold hymn but a real scene. I enclose a copy of the French outline [Mariette's scenario] so that you may see the full importance of the tableau.46

Verdi's last statement shows he was as baffled as the poet with respect to creating a satisfactory, even novel, setting of this scene. Ghislanzoni appears to have suggested, in a letter that has not come to light, writing to Mariette for a solution or an amplification of the problematical text given in the egyptologist's scenario. In response to this suggestion, Verdi rallied himself and supplied, in Letter 6, the outline of a more varied rendition of the scene:

This is not the time to write to Mariette; I myself have found something for the consecration scene. [ . . . ] The piece would consist of a litany, intoned by the priestesses, to which the priests reply; [ . . . ] of a short recitative, vigorous and solemn as a biblical psalm; and of a prayer in two strophes, spoken by the priest and repeated by all.47

In addition, in the same letter, Verdi gave for the first time in the development of the versified Aida libretto precise specifications for the syllabication of the first part of the scene:

It seems that the litanies [ . . . ] should be short strophes of one long line and one five-syllable


47 Busch, p. 55.
line; or—and perhaps this would be better so that everything could be said—two eight-syllable lines and the five-syllable line, which would be the ora pro nobis. They would thus become short strophes of three lines each, six in all, and that is more than enough to make a piece.48

The new outline certainly provides a greater amount of variety than is evident in any one of the preliminary librettos and scenarios by Du Locle and Verdi or in Ghislanzoni's first draft.

Before we go on to discuss Ghislanzoni's second draft, it is important to note that Verdi had, in fact, been concerned at the outset of the period of the versification about the authenticity of including women in an European stage recreation of ancient Eastern religious rites. In a letter dated 15 July 1870, the composer questioned Du Locle on this very problem:

[ . . . ] were there priestesses of Isis or of another divinity? In the books I leafed through, I found that this function was actually reserved for men.49

Du Locle responded in a letter dated 26 July 1870:

Mariette asks me to tell you that you can use as many priestesses of Isis or Vulcan as you please.50

Since Verdi and Ghislanzoni had their initial meeting prior to the date of Du Locle's letter, it is not unlikely that the matter of including women in

48 Busch, p. 55.

49 Busch, p. 32.

50 Busch, p. 38.
the consecration scene had been discussed by the composer and poet with the result that the latter excised parts for priestesses in his first draft.

The text of Verdi's Letter 7 shows that the poet prepared two versions of the opening chorus of the tableau:

Yesterday I received the chorus in eight-syllable lines; but twenty-four hours earlier, the other had arrived, and--I don't know if it was fortunate or unfortunate--I had already set it to music. Now we shall have to keep that one in seven-syllable lines, which seemed excellent to me. 51

However, the only completely revised version preserved in the Ghislanzoni ms. is the setting selected by Verdi for musical treatment: a metro of six rhymed terzine each of which comprises two versi settenari and a concluding verso quinario. 52 This plan, of course, apart from the employment of versi settenari, corresponds to Verdi's specifications given in Letter 6 and the ornate poetry of the first draft is, indeed, replaced by verse of a solemn religious character.

The new draft also contains a rhymed quartina each for Ramfis and Radamès. The quartina for Ramfis (item 8) is a recitative which comprises versi endecasillabi formed as double lines: seven and four syllables in the first two lines; six and five syllables in the last line. The lineation of the double lines given in the ms. is preserved in the final version of the libretto and the Cairo 1871 printed libretto:

51 Busch, p. 56.

52 Ghislanzoni ms., pp. 77-78; Appendix IV B, pp. 828-30.
Item

8 Ramfis

Mortal, diletto ai Numi—a te fìdate
Son d'Egitto le sorti—Il sacro brando
Dal Dio temprato, Per tua mano diventi
Ai nemici terror, folgore e morte. 53

Radamès's quartina, set in versi lirici (rhymed versi settenari) is clearly part of a concluding cabaletta. A matching strophe for Ramfis, customary in such traditional structures, is, however, missing from the ms.

Some minor changes were made to the content of the revised version during Ghislanzoni's second visit to Sant'Agata and these revisions are shown in the complete final version of the scene given in Ghislanzoni's ms. 54 For one thing, the six terzine of the opening chorus are reproduced but the first words of the first and fourth terzine and the first complete verso of the second terzina are crossed out and new words are added above the cancellations in Giuseppina Strepponi's hand:

First terzina, verso 1: {Immesso\[\]
Pessente Fìtà del mondo
Second terzina, verso 1: {Bi-quest-pessente-fìglio

53 Ghislanzoni ms., p. 78; Appendix IV B, pp. 830-31; Cairo Aida libretto, p. 29: "Ramfis Mortal, beloved of the Gods—to you entrusted
Is the fate of Egypt—The holy sword
Tempered by the God, May become in your hand Terror, lightning, death for our enemies."

54 Ghislanzoni ms., pp. 18-22.
Fourth terzina, verso 1: "Tu ¿ che dal nulla hai tratto [...]."\(^{55}\)

For another, a new quartina for Ramfis is supplied after the double-line recitative:

**Ramfis**

Nume, custode e vindice

Di questa sacra terra,

L'egida tua distendi

Sovra l'Egizio suol.\(^{56}\)

A small change is brought to lines two through four of Radamès's quartina, the diction of which is altered to match the new strophe for Ramfis:

**Radamès (lines 2-4)**

Sei d'ogni umana guerra,

Proteggi tu, difendi

---

\(^{55}\) Ghislanzoni ms., p. 19: "Mighty Ptah of the world

1: *Powerful Ptah of the world*

Mighty Ptah of the world

1: *Of-this-powerful-son*

You

1: *God who from the void drew [...]*"

\(^{56}\) Ghislanzoni ms., p. 19. In line three, the word L'egida (The aegis) is cancelled and the word La mano (The hand) is written above the cancelled word in Verdi's hand: "Ramfis, God, guardian and avenger

Of this sacred land,

Extend thy aegis

Over the Egyptian homeland."
Finally, the caballeta for Ramfis and Radamès appears to have been set as a metro for double quartine, for p. 22 of the ms. contains the final two lines of a strophe for Ramfis in settenario rhythm, and a pair of quartine for Radamès in rhymed versi settenari. These texts, however, are crossed out in the ms. and are not employed in the final version of the consecration scene:

[Ramfis] Mistica luce splendi
Dei barbari terror.

Radamès Nume: lo sguardo volgi a me
Dalla superna fede,
Ravviva in me la fede
Afferma il mio valor.
Sovra le schiere egizie
L'egida tua discendi,
Mistica luce splendi
Dei barbari terror.

57 Ghislanzoni ms., p. 19: "Radamès
You are of every human war,
Protect and defend
The sacred soil of Egypt."

58 "[Ramfis] Mystic light shine
Terror on the barbarians.

Radamès God: decree to me the glance
Of the celestial faith,
Rekindle in me my faith
The retention of a page of cancelled poetry is not unusual in the Ghislanzoni ms. It is probable that this page was retained owing to the fact that the stage directions for the conclusion of the consecration scene and a reminder about the repetition of music for the chorus and ballet follow the cancelled texts:

/Mentre Radamès vien investito delle
armi sacre—Le sacerdotesse e i sacerdoti
riprendono l'innno religioso e la mistica
danza/\(^59\)

Act II, Scene i: Versi Lirici

The first versification of the opening chorus of Act II, tableau 2, scene i\(^60\) is an ottava of rhymed versi senari doppi in which Ghislanzoni faithfully reproduces the implied content of Verdi's libretto:

Affirm my valor.
Above the Egyptian troops
Send down your aegis,
Mystic light shine
Terror on the barbarians.

\(^59\) "While Radamès is invested with the sacred armor—The priestesses and the priests repeat the religious hymn and the mystic dance/"

Verdi took great exception to this versification and appears to have changed his mind with respect to the construction and partial content of the scene. In Letter 4, Verdi provided Ghislanzoni with a three-part discussion of the scene. First, an explanation regarding his (Verdi's) dislike of the first versification:

... The first chorus is cold and insignificant. It is an account that any messenger could make.62

Second, a model libretto and a description of the proposed revision are

61 "Chorus
The roadways overflow with joyous people,
Festive harmonies echo through the breeze;
The horde of the vile invader was dispersed
Like dry sand pushed by the wind.
Graceful Amneris, be adorned with gems;
The leader of the braves now returns to Thebes,
Let a sweet smile that flowers your lip
Be payment greater than any other to him."

62 Busch, p. 48.
given; the latter specifies the shape and content of the new version:

There should be two couplets of ten lines each. The first four-line strophe of warlike character; the second, also of four lines, amorous. And two voluptuous lines for Amneris.

The second couplet, the same.63

Third, Verdi gives precise details concerning the rhythm of the lines:

And, without seeking rhythmic eccentricities, write lines of seven syllables twice—that is, two lines of seven syllables in one; and, if it doesn't upset you too much, write some lines with masculine endings, which are sometimes very graceful in music.64

The poet provided Verdi with two different versions of the chorus and distico response for Amneris, both of which comply to most, but not all, of the composer's model specifications. One version is contained in a hitherto unpublished letter, from Ghislanzoni to Verdi, dated 2 September 1870, found in microfilm 56 of the Archive of the American Institute for Verdi Studies. In this version, the poet set the two couplets (ottave) in rhymed versi ottonari amply sprinkled with sdruccioli and, more importantly with respect to the requested masculine cadences, tronchi endings; the distico, of course, continues in the same rhythm:

[Coro]

Chi è costui che sfolgorante  

63 Busch, p. 49.

64 Busch, p. 49.
Guida a Tebe i suoi guerrieri?
Splende il Dio nel suo sembiante,
Viva fiamma è il suo cimier.
O fanciulle, i fior versate
Sul cammin del vincitor!
E coll'inni di vittoria
Suona il canto dell'amor!

Amneris
Vieni! al raggio di tua gloria
Può si accender in me l'amor--

Coro
Dov'è mai . . . dov'è il feroce
Che sfidarti un giorno ardì? . . .
Ei del forte udì la voce
E qual nebbia (al sol sparì)--(ovvero: disparì)
O fanciulle, un inno alzate,
Percuotete l'arpe d'ôr,
E coi lauri i fior versate
Sul cammin del vincitor.

Amneris
Vieni--e in estasi beate
Tu m'inebrìa il guardo e il cor! 65

65 "[Chorus]
The other version, given twice in the ms.—once as a draft, once as part of the composite final text—is set as two couplets of rhymed versi settenari with a rhythmically similar distico, and, again, displays a profusion of sdruccioli and tronchi endings:

**Coro di Schiave = Atto Secondo**

Who is that flashing fellow who
Guides his warriors to Thebes?
The God shines in his semblance,
His helmet is a lively flame.
0 maidens strew the flowers
In the path of the victor!
And with hymns of victory
Sound the song of love!

**Amneris**
Come! by the ray of your glory
Love can be kindled in me--

**Chorus**
Where ever is . . . where is the fierce one
Who dared to defy us one day? . . .
He heard the voice of the strong one
And like mist (vanished in the sun)--(or: vanished).
0 maidens, raise a hymn,
Pluck the harps of gold.
And with the laurels the flowers strew
In the path of the victor.

**Amneris**
Come--and in blessed ecstasies
Intoxicate my gaze and my heart!"

66 Ghislanzoni ms., p. 90; Appendix B, pp. 831-33.

Erge alla gloria il vol,
Al par d'un Dio terribile,
Ful gente al par del sol?
Vieni: sul crin ti piovano
Contesti ai lauri i fior;
Suonon di gloria i cantici
Coi cantici d’amor.

Amneris
Vieni, amor mio, m’inebria . . .
Fammi beato il cor!

Coro
Or, dove son le barbare
Orde dello stranier?
Siccome nebbia sparvero
Al soffio del guerrier!
Vieni: di gloria il premio
Raccogli, o vincitor;
T’arrise la vittoria,
T’arriderà l’amor.

[Amneris]
Vieni, amor mio, ravvivami
D’un caro accento ancor--

68 "Chorus of Slaves = Second Act"
It is probable that Verdi dismissed the setting in versi ottonari owing to the invariable strong accent placement in eight-syllable lines and selected the version in seven-syllable lines since that rhythm corresponds in part to the composer's request in Letter 4 for versi settenari doppi. 69

Act II, Scenes i and ii: Recitative

Verdi discussed the versification of the recitative sections of the grande duetto for Amneris and Aïda, Act II, tableau 1, scenes i (conclusion) and ii, in two letters, and on both occasions the composer stressed the need for

Who ever, amid the hymns and the cheers
   Takes flight toward glory,
   Terrible as a God,
   Radiant as the sun?
Come: let flowers rain on your hair
   Competing with the laurels;
   Let the songs of glory sound
   With the songs of love.

Amneris
Come, my love, intoxicate me . . .
   Make my heart blissful!

Chorus
Now, where are the barbarian
   Hordes of the foreigner?
   Like mist they disappeared
   At the breath of the warrior!
Come: receive the prize
   Of victory, o conqueror;
   Victory smiled on you,
   Love will smile on you.

[Amneris]
Come, my love, restore me
   With a cherished word again--"

69 Busch, p. 49.
reduction of the text. In Letter 5, dated 17 August 1870, Verdi reviewed the first draft:

In the duet, there are some excellent things at the beginning and at the end, but it is too long and drawn out. It seems to me that the recitative could be said in fewer lines.\(^70\)

Six days later, in Letter 6, dated 22 August 1870, Verdi's discussion shows he had apparently received the first revision but continued to voice complaints about the prolixity of Ghislanzoni's recitative:

\[\ldots\text{today, [I received] the duet—which is good, except for the recitative which, in my opinion . . . could have been said in fewer words. But, I repeat, it can very well remain as it is.}^71\]

Ghislanzoni, however, continued to revise the recitatives, for the ms. contains four versions of the opening scena (items 4-8) and four complete and one partial versions of the tempo di mezzo (items 11 through 22). In fact, the duet underwent one of the most extensive series of revisions in the entire process of versification.

Comparison of the four complete versions of items 4 through 8 shows the prolix first draft to have been twice decreased and, lastly, somewhat increased from the length of the third and shortest draft. Draft 1\(^72\) comprises a total of twenty-five lines, ten of which are versi settenari, fifteen of which are

\(^70\) Busch, p. 50.

\(^71\) Busch, p. 55.

\(^72\) Ghislanzoni ms., pp. 84-85; Appendix IV A, pp. 726-29.
versi endecasillabi; the complete scene contains 235 syllables. Draft 2
--this section was not revised as part of the second versification
of the complete scene--comprises a total of nineteen lines, four are versi
settenari, fifteen are versi endecasillabi; the complete scena contains 193
syllables. Draft 3 comprises seventeen lines, seven are versi settenari,
ten are versi endecasillabi; the complete scena contains 159 syllables.
Draft 4, which was actually set to music by Verdi, comprises eighteen
lines, six are versi settenari, twelve are versi endecasillabi; the complete
section contains 174 syllables.

Comparison of the four complete versifications--drafts 1, 2, 3 and 4--
of items 11 through 22 shows a similar fluctuating decrease and increase of
numbers of lines and total syllable counts. Draft 1 comprises thirty-two
lines set as versi settenari; the complete section contains 224 syllables.
Draft 2 comprises nineteen lines, three are versi settenari, sixteen are
versi endecasillabi; the complete section contains 197 syllables. Draft 3

73 Ghislanzoni ms., pp. 94-95; Appendix IV B, pp. 839-42.
74 The second versification--Ghislanzoni ms., pp. 90-93; Appendix IV B,
pp. 831-38--comprises the opening chorus and dialogue items 11 through 24.
75 Ghislanzoni ms., p. 43; Appendix IV B, pp. 848-51.
77 Ghislanzoni ms., pp. 86-88; Appendix IV A, pp. 730-34.
78 Ghislanzoni ms., pp. 91-92; Appendix IV B, pp. 834-37.
79 Ghislanzoni ms., pp. 95-97; Appendix IV B, pp. 841-46.
comprises thirty-two lines, seventeen are versi settenari, six are versi endecasillabi and the last nine lines are set as seven versi quinari doppi and two versi quinari; the complete section contains 265 syllables. (The employment of a new type of versification, in this case a versi lirici setting, is not unusual in tempo di mezzo sections, and, in the present scene, the different meter foreshadows a metro of two terzine also in versi quinari doppi.) Draft 4 is incomplete, for it contains only the conclusion of the recitative, items 15 through 22. It is not possible therefore, to calculate the total syllable count of this draft. The versification of the fifth draft, which was set to music by Verdi, shows another increase in content: there are twenty-eight lines, twenty-three are versi settenari, five are versi endecasillabi; the complete section contains 216 syllables. Despite the seeming indecision as to the length of the section, a reduction of the dialogue was achieved: the complete recitative of the first draft comprises 459 syllables in fifty-seven versi, while the fifth draft comprises 390 syllables in forty-six versi.

In the detailed criticism given in Letter 5 of the climactic point of the tempo di mezzo section of the gran duetto for Amneris and Aida (Act II, tableau 1, scene ii, items 17 through 23a, first draft), Verdi concentrates on the necessity to create versified diction that would bring the dramatic situation into the clearest possible and most telling focus. This type of diction is, of course, what Verdi called, among other terms, the parole

80 Ghislanzoni ms., p. 43 and p. 99; Appendix IV B, pp. 848-53.

81 Ghislanzoni ms., pp. 27-29.
sceniche (theatrical words). Letter 5, dated 17 August 1870, commences with the composer's own explanation of this specific term:

The strophes are good until a te in cor destō [item 11]. But then, when the action warms up, it seems to me that the theatrical word is missing. I don't know if I make myself clear when I say "theatrical word," but I mean the word that clarifies and presents the situation neatly and plainly.  

Verdi continues by demonstrating his definition through a comparison of Ghislanzoni's versified items 17-19 and X-21 (first draft) with the corresponding items 19 and 20-21 from his own prose libretto. According to Verdi, the root of Ghislanzoni's problem is an overuse of the artifices of poetry:

I know very well that you will ask: "And the verse, the rhyme, the strophe?" I don't know what to say. But when the action demands it, I would quickly abandon rhythm, rhyme, strophe; I would write unrhymed verse to say clearly and distinctly whatever the action requires.

Verdi's opinion with respect to the ornate character of Ghislanzoni's first draft is corroborated by an examination of the poetry, items 17-19, 20, X, Y and 21. The fragment is set as twelve versi settenari which show an internal structure somewhat like a metro of two sestine. Each sestina commences with a four-line strophe for Amneris which is concluded by a response for Aida and, in the case of the second sestina is continued by a further statement for Amneris:

82 Busch, p. 50.

83 Busch, p. 50.
Item

17 Amneris (prorompendo)

Tremble, o rea schiava, tremula!
Nel tuo pensiero io lessi! ...
In volto gli occhi affissami
E menti ancor, se l'osi ...

20 Aida (cadendo al ginocchio a mani giunte)

Grazie

X Amneris

Alfin dal reo tuo core
Svelasi il mister fatal! ...
Per Radamès d'amore

21 Amneris

Io l'amo ...
E figlia io son d'un Re! ...

84 Ghislanzoni ms., pp. 87-88; Appendix IV A, pp. 732-34:
"Amneris (bursting out)
Tremble, o guilty slave, tremble!
In your thought I read! ...
Look into my face with your eyes
And still lie, if you dare ...
Radamès lives ...
The ms. contains three different unrhymed versions of these items revised according to Verdi's suggestions about the attainment of the so-called parola scenica. The first revision (second draft)\textsuperscript{85} comprises a line of seven syllables (item 17, first line) which completes an endecasillabo line begun at the conclusion of item 16, and seven endecasillabo lines, the last of which is completed in item 22:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Type of verso</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Aida</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ . . . ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sono gli Dei ...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Amneris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trema' nel cor ti lessi</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radamès ... ami ...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Aida</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Io ...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textit{Aida (falling to her knees, her hands clasped)}

\textbf{Thanks}

To you, merciful Gods! ... 

\textbf{Amneris}

Finally from your wicked heart 
I have plucked the fatal mystery! ... 

For the love of Radamès 
You burn ... and you are rival to me! ... 

\textbf{Aida}

What? you love him ... ! 

\textbf{Amneris}

\textit{I love him ...} 

And I am daughter of a King! ... "

\textsuperscript{85} Ghislanzoni ms., pp. 92-93; Appendix IV B., pp. 835-39.
Item | Type of verso
--- | ---
19 Amneris | 11

Si: mentire è vano . . .
Con un sol detto strapperò il segreto
Dal tuo perfido cuor—fissami in volto . . .
Io ti ingannai . . . Radamès vive . . .

20 Aida (con grazia) | 11

Ei vive!
Grazie a voi, Numi!

21 Amneris | 11

E ancor negar potresti?
Si [:] tu l'amì . . . ed io pur . . . sappilo . . . io l'amo
Comprendi tu? . . . Sei mia rivale . . . Rivale
Dei Faraoni t'è la figlia . . .

22 Aida (con fierenza) | 11

E sia . . . !
Anch'io la figlia sono . . .

"Aida"
Are the Gods . . .
Amneris Tremble! I have read in your heart . . .
Radamès . . . you love . . .
Aida . . .
Amneris I . . .
Aida Yes: it is vain to lie . . .
With a single word I shall snatch the secret
From your perfidious heart—Look into my face . . .
I deceive you . . . Radamès lives . . .
The second revision (third draft)\textsuperscript{87} comprises one endecasillabo line and six quinario doppio lines. The latter could well have been included to provide a smooth bridge to similar versification in the succeeding items:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Type of verso</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17 Amneris (prorompendo)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ah! trema, o schiava . . . ti lessi in core . . .</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radamès . . . ami . . .</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 Aida</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Io! . . .</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 Amneris</td>
<td>Double 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sì: l'amore</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ti avanza in volto--vano è il mentir!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guardami . . . ! guardami . . . ! io t'ho ingannata . . .</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radamès vive . . .</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Aida</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Me avventurata!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textit{Aida (with grace)} \hspace{1cm} \textit{He lives!}

Thanks be to you, Gods!

\textit{Amneris} \hspace{1cm} And you still could lie? . . .

Yes: you love him . . . and I also . . . know it . . . I love him [ . . . ]

Do you understand? . . . You are my rival . . . Rival

To you is the daughter of the Pharaohs . . .

\textit{Aida (with savagery)} \hspace{1cm} And so be it . . . !

Also I am the daughter . . . "

\textsuperscript{87} Ghislanzoni ms., pp. 96-97; Appendix IV B, pp. 845-46.
Sien grazie ai Numi!

21 Amneris (con gioja feroce)

Tu sveli... alfin!...
Ma se tu l'ami--sappialo!... invano

The third revision (fourth draft) and, in fact, the final version comprises a partial line of six syllables (item 17, first line) that completes a verso endecasillabo begun in item 16, three versi settenari and four more versi endecasillabi, the last of which is completed in item 22:

88 "Amneris (bursting out)
Ah! tremble, o slave... I read in your heart...
Radamès... you love...
Aida
I!...

Aida
Fortunate me!

Thanks be to the Gods!

Amneris (with fierce joy)
You show it... at last!...
But if you love him--know it!... in vain"

89 Ghislanzoni ms., p. 43 and p. 99; Appendix IV B, pp. 851-53.
Item | Type of verso
--- | ---
17 Amneris | 11
7 | Ah! trema . . . ! in cor ti lessi
| Tu l'ami . . . !
18 Aida | 7
| Io . . . !
19 Amneris | 7
| Non mentire! . . .
| Un detto ancora e il vero
| Saprò . . . fissami in volto--
| Io ti ingannai . . . Radamès vive--
20 Aida | 11
| Ei vive--
| Sien grazie ai Numi [!]
21 Amneris | 11
| ancor mentir tu sperì
| E mentir-speri-aneora?
| Sì: tu l'ami . . . ma l'amo
| Anch'io . . . intendi tu? . . . son tua rivale . . .
| Son tua rivale . . .
| Figlia dei Faraoni . . .
22 Aida | 11
| Ebbene . . . io pure
| Son tal . . . Che dissi mai? . . . pietà . . . perdono! 90

90 "Aida
The Gods are
Since this dialogue surrounds the emotionally charged climax of the entire tableau, Verdi may well have preferred the versi sciolti setting of the fourth draft to the more ornate third draft.

Act II, Scene ii: Versi Lirici

An identical version of the first versi lirici section of the gran duetto for Amneris and Aida (Act II, tableau 1, scene ii, items 9 and 10) is given in the first\textsuperscript{91} and third\textsuperscript{92} of the poet's various drafts. This setting comprises a metro of two quartine in similarly rhymed versi ottonari:

\begin{verbatim}
Against me always . . .
Amneris
   Ah! tremble . . . ! I read in your heart
You love him . . . !
Aida
   I . . . !
Amneris
   Do not lie! . . .
Another word and I shall know
The truth . . . look into my face . . .
I have deceived you . . . Radamès lives--
Aida
   He lives!--

Thanks be to the Gods [!]
Amneris
   And do you still hope to lie? . . .
Yes: you love him . . . but I love him
I also . . . do you understand? . . . I am your rival . . .
I am your rival . . .
Daughter of the Pharaohs . . .
Aida
   Well then . . . I even
Am such . . . What ever have I said? . . . pity . . . pardon!"
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{91} Ghislanzoni ms., pp. 85-86; Appendix IV A, pp. 729-30.

\textsuperscript{92} Ghislanzoni ms., p. 95; Appendix IV B, pp. 841-42.
Ah! In vain I attempt to struggle
With the fatal powerful God—
I shiver with shame . . . and I must love
The oppressor of my native land!

That sadness . . . that turmoil
May unveil the anxieties of the lover . . .
In the pallor of her semblance
I read the shivers of the heart.
Soave ebbrezza--ansia crudel! . . .
Ne'tuoi dolori--la vita io sento . . .
Un tuo sorriso--mi schiude il ciel!)

Amneris (guardando Aida fissamente)

(Ah! quel pallore . . .--quel turbamento
Svelan l'arcana--febbre d'amore . . .
D'interrogarla--quasi ho sgomento . . .
Divido l'ansia--del suo terror.)

The revision was probably prepared at Sant'Agata during the second meeting of Verdi and Ghislanzoni. Employment of double lines was, in fact, an ever-present predilection on Verdi's part during the versification of the Aida libretto. The double lines with half the rhyme of ten five-syllable lines are in keeping with Verdi's constant desire to simplify the poetry. The double-line version was employed in the musical setting.

The other versi lirici section of the same scene, items 23b-24--the concluding cabaletta--is given in Ghislanzoni's ms. in two related versions,

94 Ghislanzoni ms, pp. 26-27:
"Aida (visibly moved)
(Love, love!--bliss . . . torment
Sweet ecstasy--cruel anxiety!' . . .
In your pain--I feel life . . .
A smile from you--opens heaven to me!)

Amneris (observing Aida fixedly)
(Ah! that pallor . . .--that turmoil
Reveal the mysterious--fever of love . . .
To question her--I am almost afraid . . .
I share the anxiety--of her terror.)"
one different version and a final revised version. The first version comprises a metro of two ottave set in rhymed versi ottonari:

[Amneris]

Alla pompa che s'appresta--
Vieni--entrambi assisteremo!
Tu prostrata nella polve,
Io sul trono brillerò.
Fra le schiave, in umil vesta
Ti vedrà l'eroe guerriero,
Mentre il lauro al crine altero
Di mia mano io cingerò.

Aida

Nel mio cuor d'angoscia affranto
Aprir vuoi nuova ferita?
Questo amore che ti irrita
Di scordare io tenterò.
M'hanno i Numi a eterno pianto
Sulla terra condannata,
Pure, oppressa e sventurata,
Per te i Numi io pregherò.95

95 Ghislanzoni ms., p. 89; Appendix IV A, pp. 735-36:

"[Amneris]
To the triumph that is being prepared--
Come--together we will assist!
You prostrate in the dust,
I shall shine on the throne."
The prolixity of this version and the content of Aida's third and fourth lines offended Verdi, who wrote in Letter 5:

The duet ends with a typical cabaletta, which is also too long for the situation. . . . In any case, I do not think it is good to have Aida say:

Questo amore che t'irrita [line 3]
Di scordare io tenterò. [line 4]96

Ghislanzoni provided two alternate versions in an effort to rectify the prolixity of the first draft. The first revision97 is a reduction of both items to comprise a metro of two quartine in similarly rhymed versi endecasillabi. The content of the first strophe for Amneris is simply a reduction of the ottava in versi ottonari from the first draft. Aida's strophe, however, is rewritten: the offending lines three and four are excised and the new idea of Aida's sacrifice through death is added:

Among the slaves, in humble dress
The hero warrior will see you,
While with my hand I shall crown
The supreme brow with laurels.

Aida
In my heart broken with anguish
You want to open a new wound?
This love that annoys you
I shall attempt to forget.
The Gods have condemned me
To eternal weeping on the earth,
However, oppressed and unfortunate
I shall pray to the Gods for you."

96 Busch, p. 51.

Amneris

Vieni! . . . fra poco mi vedrai beata

Cingere il serto al duce vicitor . . .

Io fra le schiave ti vedrò prostrata

Squallida in volto e disperata in cor!

Aida

Perché mai sì crudele e inesorata? . . .

Invan lottai contro il fatale amor . . .

Dì morire per lui sarò beata . . .

E l'amero dentro la tomba ancor. 98

The second revision 99 restores the manner of the versification (versi ottonari) found in the first draft but the ottave are reduced to sestine and the new idea of Aida's sacrifice (draft 2) are retained in the latter's strophe:

98 "Amneris

Come! . . . soon you will see me blessed
Girding the garland on the victorious leader . . .
I shall see you prostrate among the slaves
Desolate in look and desperate in heart!

Aida

Why ever so cruel and implacable? . . .
In vain I struggled against the fatal love . . .
Dying for him I shall be blessed . . .
And I shall love him still inside the tomb."

[Amneris]

Alla pompa che si appresta
Meco, o schiava, assisteraì;
Tu prostrata nella polve,
Io sul trono, accanto al Re.
Vien, mi segui, apprenderai
Se lottar tu puoi con me.

Aida

Qual speranza a me più resta?
Un deserto è la mia vita . . .
Vivi e regna, il tuo furore
Io fra breve placherò.
Quest'amore che t'irrita
Nella tomba porterò. 100

100 "[Amneris]
To the triumph that is being prepared
With me, o slave, you will attend;
You prostrate in the dust,
I on the throne, beside the King.
Come, follow me, you will learn
If you can compete with me.

Aida

What further hope remains to me?
My life is a desert . . .
Live and reign, your fury
I shall soon placate.
This love that annoys you
I shall carry to the tomb."
This last version of item 23b (Amneris's strophe) is given in the final text found in the ms. However, Aida's sestina, as given in the final text of the ms., shows every sign of further struggle on Ghislanzoni's part to achieve a version satisfactory to the composer. The first two lines of what appears to have been a new version in versi ottonari are given in Ghislanzoni's hand:

Ah! pietà . . . ! Ghe piu non resta? . . .
Se l'amore è tolto a me?  

The word che (what), the question mark at the conclusion of the first line and the entire second line are cancelled. The remaining five lines of the versi ottonari version of the second revision are appended in Verdi's hand. This last section in eight-syllable lines was selected by Verdi for musical setting. Although this text does not achieve excision of the line Verdi disliked—"Quest'amore che t'irrita (This love that irritates you)—it is reduced by four lines. However, there may have been another reason for the employment of a cabaletta in ottonario rhythm.

Two additions not prescribed in Verdi's libretto for the final versi lirici section seem to have been developed by the composer as he came to set the text to music. At the juncture of the tempo di mezzo and the cabaletta, Verdi indicates "Squillare trombe al di fuori (Blasting of trumpets from

101 Ghislanzoni ms., p. 30.

102 "Ah! pity . . . ! what does it not exist anymore? . . . If love be taken from me?"
outside)" in his libretto, but gives no precise details as to the manner in which this interruption is to be executed. In his first three drafts, Ghislanzoni writes "Squillo di trombe (Blast of trumpets)", while in the final version of this particular fragment contained in the Ghislanzoni ms., the poet writes "Suoni interni (sounds inside)". As the music came to be composed, Verdi appears to have found a fitting solution to this piece of off-stage musical action: trumpets are indeed sounded and the chorus sings the King's strophe from the concluding concertato of Act I, scene v. (This text included, as we have indicated, paraphrased lines from the choral interlude proposed for Radamès's romanza, Act I, scene ii.) The choral strophe, of course, is set in versi ottonari, a rhythm which matches that of the cabaletta. Verdi also extends the final action of the cabaletta by prescribing Amneris's departure, leaving Aïda alone on the stage to sing a reduced and paraphrased version of the concluding strophe of the latter's first-act aria (scene vi). However, this last addition involves a change in meter, for the text is set as versi novenari:

Numi, pietà del mio martir,
Speme non v'ha pel mio dolor . . .

103 Verdi libretto ms, p. 13; Appendix III, p. 572.

104 Ghislanzoni ms., p. 88 (first draft, Appendix IV A, p. 735; p. 93 (second draft), Appendix IV B, p. 838; p. 98 (third draft), Appendix IV B, p. 847; p. 30 (final version).

105 "Gods, pity on my torment,
There is no hope for my grief . . ."
Act II, Tableau 2: Recitative

The versification of portions of the two recitative sections (items 3-15 and 23-32) of Act II, tableau 2 involved three adjustments, two of which were simply resolved. The third adjustment, however, presented difficulties so great (and vexing) that their solution continued to perplex both composer and poet long after the entire opera had, ostensibly, been completed. Indeed, in this last instance, Verdi was obliged to compose three or four lines at least ten times.

The first adjustment was executed by Verdi who simply excised the four-line recitative for the Herald (item 3), set as two versi settenari and two versi endecasillabi:

Araldo (avanzandosi presso il trono del Re)

Ti piaccia, o Re, di accogliere

In [questa sacra Tebe] i vincitori

Che riedono dal campo—Essi a tuoi piedi

Degl'inimici deporran le spoglie.

(Ad un cenno del Re il corteo tronfale si avanza)\textsuperscript{106}

Obviously, the composer perceived the uselessness of this speech (models of

\textsuperscript{106} Ghislanzoni ms., p. 33; Appendix IV A, pp. 739-40: "Herald (coming near to the throne of the King)
Be you pleased, o King, to receive
In [this sacred Thebes] the victors
Who return from the field--They at your feet
Will put down the spoils of the enemy.
(At a sign from the King the triumphal cortege advances)
which are found in the Verdi-Du Locle modificazioni and the composer's prose libretto) for it simply explains what is to transpire in the elaborate action of the so-called grand march which immediately follows the opening chorus of the tableau. ¹⁰⁷

The second adjustment had to do with the development of the somewhat neglected but important character of Ramfis and it is clear that this idea occurred to Verdi as he dealt with the text of Ghislanzoni's first draft (items 29-31). ¹⁰⁸ The poet, following the model of Verdi's prose libretto, set Ramfis's item 29 as a series of versi endecasillabi to match the surrounding recitative:

Ramfis

Ascolta o Re--tu pure
Giovane eroe, non disdegnar la voce
Della saggezza--Prodì sem costoro,
Son, tu lo dicesti--
Tu-le-dicesti--Dell'Egitto a danno
L'armi riprenderanno . . . ¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ Verdi describes the entire opening portion of Act II, tableau 2, up to the grand march in Letter 10. See Busch, p. 61.

¹⁰⁸ Ghislanzoni ms., p. 103; Appendix IV A, pp. 750-51.

¹⁰⁹ "Ramfis
Listen o King--You also
Young hero, do not doubt the voice
Of wisdom--Valiants they-are they
Are, you said it--
You-said-it--To the loss of Egypt
The armies will retake . . ."
The adjustment, proposed by Verdi in Letter 10, involved the breaking of the recitative style of this *tempo di mezzo* with a rhymed quatrain which would better project the authoritative character of the High Priest:

In the recitative that follows, there is a moment in which the situation demands a musical phrase. After the words *Ascolta o Re, tu pure ascolta, o giovane, la parola della saggezza*, finish the eleven-syllable line, then add four *cantabile* lines of either seven or eight syllables. . . .

These lines should be solemn and sententious. It is the priest who speaks . . .

It is not, it will be remembered, unusual to incorporate *versi lirici* texts (and music) into this penultimate section of the larger structure.

Ghislanzoni's revision of item 29, sent to Verdi in Letter 11, comprises the completion of the preceding dialogue in one *verso endecasillabo* and four rhymed *versi ottonari* with alternating *parole plane* and *tronche* endings:

Ascolta, o Re—tu pure
Giovane eroe, saggio consiglio ascolta.

(additando ai prigionieri Etiopi)

Son nemici e prodi sono . . .
La vendetta hanno nel cuor . . .

110 Busch, p. 62.

111 The text is reproduced in Busch on p. 127.
This text was set by Verdi as it stood.

The other adjustment involved the entrance of Amonasro and the Ethiopian prisoners and the reactions of the protagonists: Aida, Amneris, the King, Amonasro himself and the ensemble (items 8 through 13a). In his libretto, Verdi gives this entrance and the ensuing reactions as the simplest possible dialogue and action. Moreover, in his first draft, Ghislanzoni adhered precisely to this plan but, probably inadvertently, created problems with two minor alterations: he omitted item 12 for Aida and concluded the action with the repositioning of items 15 and 16 which are given as a new action after, and not before the concertato in the composer's libretto:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Type of verso</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radamès</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concedi in pria che innanzi a te sien tratti</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I prigionier . . .</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"Listen, o King--even you Young hero, listen to sage advice. (pointing to the Ethiopian prisoners) They are enemies and they are brave . . . They have vengeance in their hearts . . . Made bold by this pardon They will hasten to arms again!"

112 Verdi libretto ms., p. 15; Appendix III A, pp. 577-79.

113 Ghislanzoni ms., p. 35; Appendix IV A, pp. 742-44.
Verdi's response in Letter 12 to the first draft asks for a filling out of the dialogue for Aida including the retention of the omitted item 12 and a suppression of Amonasro's part in the action:

115 "Radamès
First permit that the prisoners be brought
Before you . . .
Scene v
The Ethiopian Prisoners--Amonasro
Aida (running towards Amonasro)
What do I see! . . . 0 my father . . .
All
Her father!
Amonasro (in an undertone to Aida)
Be silent . . . I live to revenge myself . . .
Aida (checking herself)
Heaven! . . . and I . . .
Amonasro (to those who stand near)
Yes . . . her father! . . . they fought [ . . . ]'"
The dramatic situation requires a slight revision. Aida recognizes her father too quickly. If a few words were added, Aida would better attract the attention of the audience, and the very important phrase È mio padre would stand out clearly. In order to go ahead with the music, I fumbled with the words, which you will render into good verse for me [items 8, 10, 11, 12, 13a follow.]116

It is clear from the context of the last part of the quotation from Letter 12 that the expansion of the dialogue was necessitated as much by musical reasons—the music appears to have been drafted—as by dramatic reasons.

In the Ghislanzoni ms., 117 Verdi crossed out much of the poet's first draft and added what appears to be a new rendition of the dialogue by Ghislanzoni: items 10, 15 and 13a set as two versi endecasillabi followed by two versi settenari. The new version certainly increases Aida's part and removes Amonasro's offending interjection:

<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Radamès</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I prigionier  . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Aida (correndo verso Amonasro)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Che veggo! Egli! . . . Lo salva 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O Re . . . lo salva . . . è il padre mio!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Tutti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Suo padre!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Aída</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

116 Busch, pp. 64–65.

117 Ghislanzoni ms., p. 35; Appendix IV A, pp. 742–44.
After the opera had ostensibly been completed (end of November 1870) Verdi returned to discuss the problems surrounding the second version of the scene fragment with Ghislanzoni in Letter 35, written sometime in late December of the same year:

... I have rewritten the two lines of recitative six times. The situation is beautiful, but it is the characters, perhaps, who do not fit well into the scene; that is to say they do not act as they should.\textsuperscript{119}

The letter continues with a full quotation of Ghislanzoni's second draft found in the ms. in the composer's hand.

Unfortunately, Ghislanzoni's subsequent drafts of the scene fragment have not come to light or are unreadable.\textsuperscript{120} However, three more of Verdi's

\textsuperscript{118} "Radamès
The prisoners . . .
Aida (running toward Amonasro)
  What do I see! Him! . . . Save him
0 King . . . save him . . . he is my father!
All
Her father!
Aida
  Thanks be to him [ . . . ]
Amonasro
Yes . . . her father! I also fought . . ."

\textsuperscript{119} Busch, p. 116.

\textsuperscript{120} Two additional letters addressed by Ghislanzoni to Verdi, which
letters in which the discussion is continued, allow us to piece together the gradual achievement of a solution for this problematical versification. The text of Letter 36 shows that Ghislanzoni's third draft had rearranged the order of the existing lines, added new lines for Amonasro and introduced the King into the dialogue by assigning one of Amonasro's lines to him, but had failed to achieve a satisfactory rhythmic placement of crucial words within the meter of the poetry:

The modification made in the finale [Act II, tableau 2] is natural, but it is cold. For example, that Taci of Amonasro will escape the audience if it is said rapidly; it cools the action if it is said slowly. The Suo padre! sung by everybody must be attached to Aida's words Padre mio! After che dissi [Aida] there is something cold. Aida does not fit well into the scene (by that I am not referring to the physical grouping of the actors); and she does not, perhaps, say what she should at this moment.

The Si, suo padre of Amonasro was better than the question by the King, Suo padre?121

The introduction of the King into the dialogue, however, was a step toward the solution of the versified action, for in Letter 37, Verdi explains a need for the refinement of that character's part in the dialogue:

contain renditions of this portion of Act II, are found in Microfilm 56 of the Archive of the American Institute for Verdi Studies. The letters are, however, unreadable owing to their faded condition or some unfortunate exposure during the process of filming.

121 Busch, p. 119.
. . . I have written that little fragment twice more (that makes eight times), and I haven't succeeded. It's the King who doesn't fit well into the scene . . . but now it's better that I put this little scene aside and occupy myself with finishing the orchestration.  

Nevertheless, within a fortnight, Verdi returned in Letter 38 to discuss the scene fragment in greater detail than in previous letters. The first part of Letter 38 is given over to Verdi's partial rearrangement, as three versi endecasillabi, of what would appear to be the words of Ghislanzoni's third draft:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Aida</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cielo! che veggo! Mio padre! <em>(lanciandosi verso Amonasro)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Tutti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Suo padre!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Aida</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Schiavo tu pur!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Amonasro <em>(piano ad Aida)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non mi scoprire!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Il Re <em>(avanzandosi lentamente verso Amonasro)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ebbene!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Busch, p. 127.
Then Verdi goes on to explain the hazards of creating periodic music for a versified text. First, the initial line of Ghislanzoni's third draft seems to have read as a *verso novenario* (nine syllables), or as the last nine syllables of a longer line. The main accents of the *verso novenario* (accents on the fourth, sixth and penultimate syllables), however, were at odds with the positions for strong accents in Verdi's proposed melody. (The relationship of the poetic accents with the melodic and harmonic accents is, of course, the very crux of the entire problem of setting poetic texts.) Verdi explains his dilemma:

> It was easy for me to say ... o padre mio ... but the accent, on the strong beat, fell on mio, and it is much better on padre; that also avoids three notes of upbeat.\(^{124}\)

\(^{123}\) The text is reproduced in Busch, p. 127:

"Aida
Heaven! what do I see! My father! (lunging toward Amonasro)
All
Her father!
Aida
Even you a slave!
Amonasro (softly to Aida)
Do not give me away!
The King (coming slowly toward Amonasro)
Well then!
Then you are her father?
Amonasro (to the King)
Her father! I also fought ... ."

\(^{124}\) Busch, p. 132.
Second, an alternate new version suggested by Verdi, would realize this line with appropriate accent, and a new line for Amneris who had not, up to this point, taken part in the action would continue with the next line to create two versi settenari:

[ . . . ] If you don't like the accent on the seventh syllable, write three seven-syllable lines instead, adding a few words for Amneris.125

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<td>10</td>
<td>Aida</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cielo! E desso! mio padre! 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Tutti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Suo padre!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126</td>
<td>Amneris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>. . . . . .</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Third, the following line was not entirely satisfactory to Verdi on account of its somewhat veiled diction:

Then I think Aïda's phrase Schiavo tu pur! is all right, or else Tu prigionier!, since it provokes the

125 Busch, p. 132.

126 The dotted line is Verdi's method of indicating that a line of poetry is to be written:
"Aida
Heaven! It is he! my father!
All
Her father!
Amneris
. . . . . . . ."

response *Non mi scoprire*, which is obvious and explains the situation.127

Finally, Verdi explains the usefulness of the King's line as a logical bridge to Amonasro's response:

Then we have the King, who must not be forgotten. Whether the words are those or others is of little importance; but the question is natural, and natural too is the reply *Suo padre!* . . .128

Ghislanzoni followed the composer's draft and suggestions and, in the final version, the scene fragment is realized as four lines of eleven, seven, eleven and eleven syllables respectively. Furthermore, the main accents of the various lines are assigned to the words of importance so carefully explained by the composer:

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<td>Radamès</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I prigionier . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>(Entrano fra le guardie i prigionieri Etiopi, ultimo Amonasro, vestito da uffiziale)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Aida</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Che veggo! . . . Egli? . . . mio padre!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Tutti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Suo padre!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

127 Busch, p. 132.
128 Busch, p. 132.
This version of the text is not given in the Ghislanzoni ms. Our text is taken from the Cairo libretto, pp. 40 and 42 in which the proper lineation is given:
"Radames
The prisoners . . .
(The Ethiopian prisoners enter between the guards, finally Amonasro, dressed as an official)
Aida
What do I see! . . . He? . . . my father!
All
Her father!
Amneris
In our power! . . .
Aida (embracing her father)
You! Prisoner!
Amonasro (softly to Aida)
Do not give me away!
The King
Approach . . .
So . . . you are?
Amonasro
Her father . . . I also fought . . ."
Act II, Tableau 2: Versi Lirici

It is difficult to ascertain the actual proportions and content of the three versi lirici sections of the first draft of Act II, tableau 2 (items 2; 13b through 22; 33 through 38) owing to the fact that the ms. is in a great state of disarray. The first section (item 2) seems to consist of a single ottava in rhymed versi settenari based on the single model chorus given in Verdi's libretto:

Coro

Gloria all'Egitto e ad Iside
Che il sacro suol protegge!
Gloria al gran Re che il mistico
Delta in sua man sorregge!
Eterna al par del sole
[Illegible crossed-out line]
Luce di immensa gloria
Sull'orbe spanderà. 130

130 Ghislanzoni ms., p. 32; Appendix IV A, p. 739; Verdi libretto ms., pp. 13-14; Appendix III, pp. 574-75: "Chorus
Glory to Egypt and to Isis
Who protects the sacred soil!
Glory to the great King who holds
The mystic Delta in his hand!
Eternal as the sun
[Illegible crossed-out line]
Light of immense glory
Will spill on the sphere."
Another *ottava*, also in *versi settenari*, for the "Donne (Women)" is given in the Ghislanzoni ms., but this is appended to the entire document on one side of a smaller piece of paper:

**Donne**

Cogli inni di vittoria

Inni d'amore alziamo!

Del vincitor sul tramite

I serti e i fior versiamo.

Fumin d'incenso l'are,

Tutte, dal Nilo al mare

Inni festosi innalzano

D'Egitto le città—

Verdi's concept of the scene, however, enlarged somewhat as he came to compose this portion of the tableau. The expansion, which is described in Letter 10, involves the addition of a third *ottava* for the priests as well as the rewriting of the opening general chorus:

131 Ghislanzoni ms., p. 151; Appendix IV B, p. 857:

"Women

We raise hymns of love
With hymns of victory!
We scatter garlands and flowers
On the path of the victor.
May the altars fume with incense,
All, the cities of Egypt
From the Nile to the sea
Raise festive hymns—"
You must help me, however, by having the chorus say a little something about the glories of Egypt and of the King, and about those of Radamés. So the first eight lines must be modified; the next for the women are fine, and eight more must be added for the priests . . .

Ghislanzoni thoroughly revised the content of the first general chorus and the chorus for the women and added an ottava for the priests according to Verdi's specifications. The composer copied the new texts, which were forwarded in Letter 11, into the ms. of the first draft. One additional small change was made to the first two lines of the chorus for women in January 1872; Ghislanzoni, in Letter 43 (addressed to Giulio Ricordi), recommended the substitution of the words "il mirto (the myrtle)" with "il loto (the lotus)"; "... the critics, at any rate, who like lotus and live for that, will be satisfied."

The first version of the central largo concertato (items 13b, 17 through 22) comprises seven rhymed quartine set in versi senari doppi. This version is also given in what appear to be revisions, found on pp. 100-01 of the ms. Verdi's criticism of these strophes has not come to light but two sentences in Letter 10 suggest that the double-line setting of the first draft(s) did not suit the musical setting in the composer's mind: "I think the ten-syllable lines you sent me are very good. If the other strophes turn out as

132 Busch, p. 61.

133 Busch, p. 275.

134 Ghislanzoni ms., pp. 36-38; Appendix IV A, pp. 745-48.
good it will be excellent."\textsuperscript{135} A complete setting of the \textit{largo concertato} (items 19-22) is, indeed, given in Ghislanzoni's Letter 13. This version was employed in the final version, six \textit{quartine} in \textit{versi decasillabi}.

The first draft of the third and final \textit{versi lirici} section (items 33-38) comprises an \textit{ottava} for the King and Chorus and four \textit{sestine}, one each for Radamès, Amneris, Aida and Amonasro.\textsuperscript{136} All the strophes are set as \textit{versi settenari} (the meter of the opening choruses); the \textit{ottava} is rhymed a b c b; d e f e, while the \textit{sestine} are unrhymed. The lack of rhyme, however, is compensated for through similar distribution of \textit{tronco} endings on the fourth and sixth lines. Verdi found the strophes of the first draft to be prolix and, in Letter 10, recommended reduction of all the strophes to four lines:

\begin{quote}
At the end it would be good to repeat the first strophe from the chorus of the people, \textit{Gloria, etc., etc.}, strophe of four lines; priests . . . strophe of four lines. For all the others, strophes of four lines.\textsuperscript{137}
\end{quote}

Accordingly, in Letter 13, Ghislanzoni provided Verdi with four \textit{quartine} in \textit{versi settenari}, one each for the King and the chorus, Radamès, Amneris and Amonasro. The poet was apparently troubled about the content of a strophe for the priests and the prisoners which Verdi had not provided in his model libretto:

\textsuperscript{135} Busch, p. 62.

\textsuperscript{136} Ghislanzoni ms., pp. 40-41; Appendix IV A, pp. 753-57.

\textsuperscript{137} Busch, p. 62.
. . . I really don't know anything special the priests and prisoners could say. Don't you think it would be better to blend them into a general chorus rather than have them repeat antiphons or religious laments?\(^{138}\)

The composer accepted the revised draft of the four quartine but continued to demand a strophe for the priests:

. . . it is impossible to do without a strophe for the priests at the end. Ramfis is a personality and he absolutely must have something to say. I know well that there is little for him to say and that is why it was necessary to be sure the priest's strophes at the beginning of the finale [item 2c] could be repeated at the end.\(^{139}\)

The ensuing correspondence that has come to light does not give the new quartina for the priests but p. 40 of the ms., first draft, does contain in Verdi's hand, a quartina for the prisoners. This and the necessary strophe for the priests--not given in the ms.--were probably written during Ghislanzoni's second visit to Sant'Agata. Also prepared at Sant'Agata was a strophe in the same meter for Aida, whose text is neither given in the ms. nor mentioned in the correspondence.

**Act III, Scene i: Versi Lirici**

The problem of reduction of prolix texts vexed Verdi as he came to compose the music for the third act. Three related versions and a fourth new version of the opening chorus of Act III, scene i, item 2 are given in the

\(^{138}\) Busch, p. 66.

\(^{139}\) Busch, pp. 66-67.
first draft found in the ms. The first version comprises a metro of two rhymed sestine set in versi settenari:

**Coro—nel tempio**

I

0 tu che dalle tenebre
Del nulla hai tratto il mondo,
Luce divina, etereo
Spirto d'amor fecondo;
Su noi preganti e supplici
Distendi il tuo favor!

II

0 tu che sei d'Osiride
Madre immortale e sposa,
Moto supremo ed anima
D'ogni creata cosa,
Su noi preganti e supplici
Distendi il tuo favor!\(^{140}\)

---

\(^{140}\) Ghislanzoni ms., pp. 45-46; Appendix IV A, pp. 758-59:

"Chorus—in the temple"

I

0 thou who from the darkness
Of the void hath drawn the world,
Divine light, ethereal
Spirit of fruitful love;
On us who are praying and beseeching
Spread thy favour.

II

0 thou who art immortal mother
And betrothed of Osiris,
The second and third versions are progressively shorter owing to the fact that each comprises a reduction and partial re-arrangement of the lines of the first version. Indeed, Ghislanzoni prefixed both reduced versions with the heading Altro coro = più breve (Another chorus = shorter). Perhaps through his experiences with the demanded reductions of the first two acts, the poet had come to understand one of the prime requisites of a versification acceptable to Verdi. The second version is an ottava in which the following selection of lines from the first version is evident:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lines in Version 2</th>
<th>Lines in Version 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>Strophe 2, lines 1-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Strophe 1, line 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Strophe 1, line 4, reduced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-8</td>
<td>Strophe 2, lines 3-6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Altro coro = più breve

O tu che sei d'Osiride
Madre immortale e sposa;
Luce divina, etereo
Spírito fecondator;
Moto supremo ed anima
D'ogni creata cosa,

Supreme mover and soul
Of everything created,
On us who are beseeching
Spread they favour!"
Su noi preganti e supplici
Distendi il tuo favor.  

The third version, a sestina, is a reduced version of the second version owing to the excision of lines 3 and 4.

In Letter 15, Verdi expressed his preference for the first of the two shorter versions. Nevertheless, the composer objected to the diction of the last four lines on account of similarities with the opening chorus of Act I, tableau 2, the so-called consecration scene:

. . . For the first chorus the second version seems better to me, except we must not repeat what was said in the litanies:
   Luce divina eterna,
   Spirito fecondator.
It is better to say, as in the outline [Verdi's libretto], Iside favorevole agli Amori, etc. . . .

However, in Letter 16, Verdi explains the need for further reduction:

141 Ghislanzoni ms., p. 46; Appendix IV A, pp. 760-61: "Another chorus = shorter
O thou art immortal mother
And betrothed of Osiris;
Divine light, ethereal
Fruitful spirit;
Supreme mover and soul
Of everything created,
On us who are praying and beseeching
Spread they favour!"

142 Busch, p. 69.
Since the chant of the chorus is solemn, eight lines are too many; six would be enough.\footnote{143} Thus, the shortest of the three versions came to be the basis of the final version. The alteration of the diction was sent to Verdi in a letter that has not come to light. In the ms. the last four lines of the third and shortest version are cancelled and a new text is added in superscriptions in the composer's hand:

\[
[\ldots]
\]
Diva che i casti palpiti
Desti agli umani in cor;
Soccorri a noi pietosa,
Madre di eterno amor.\footnote{144}

The diction of the final line was ultimately changed to read: "Madre d' immenso amor (Mother of immense love)."

**Act III, Scene i: Recitative**

The remainder of scene i, the ensuing recitative for Ramfis and Amneris (items 4 through 6), raised no objections on Verdi's part and was set as it

\footnote{143}{Busch, p. 70.}

\footnote{144}{Ghislanzoni ms., p. 46:
"[\ldots]
Goddess who wakest the chaste
Beating of human hearts;
Succor us pityingly,
Mother of eternal love."}
stood in the first draft.\footnote{Ghislanzoni ms., p. 47; Appendix IV A, pp. 762-63.}

**Act III, Scene ii: Recitative**

The first draft of the recitative section of Act III, scene ii, comprises two parts. First, four unrhymed lines of alternating versi settenari and versi endecasillabi in which Aida invokes the protection of the night to hide her sorrows:

_Aida (entra cautamente, coperta d'un velo)_

_Astri dei cieli azzuri_

_Copritevi d'un vel . . . M'avvolgi, o notte;_

_Nel lugubre tuo manto . . ._

_Cela a tutti il mio duol . . . cela il mio pianto._\footnote{Ghislanzoni ms., p. 47; Appendix A, p. 764: "Aida (enters cautiously, covered by a veil) Stars of the azure heavens Cover yourselves with a veil . . . Envelop me, o night; In your doleful mantle, Hide from all, my sadness . . . hide my tears."}

Second, six versi endecasillabi in which Aida announces that she awaits Radamès; recalls her rivalry with Amneris; explains that she herself is of royal descent but must keep this fact hidden; and, she vows to commit suicide:

---Qui Radamès verrà . . . che vorrà dirmi?
Apart from the theme of suicide, the first draft is based on the analogous text in Verdi's prose libretto. 148

Although Verdi claimed the recitative (and following romanza) to be "all right" in Letter 15, he returned, in Letter 17, to discuss the two-part recitative and romanza, recommending the retention of the first part of the recitative but advising reduction of the second part. Curiously, Verdi writes rather obliquely about the romanza portion of the scene, for his discussion and quotation of a rearranged model text (based on Ghislanzoni's poetry) appears to deal only with the recitative:

... I see that Aida has too much to do in this act and I would reduce the romanza, which is rather cold and common. I would shorten this romanza in the following manner. I would leave the first five lines of recitative.

147 Ghislanzoni ms., p. 48; Appendix IV A, pp. 764-65: "--Here Radamès will come ... what can he want to say to me? I tremble ... My rival Amneris ... is daughter Of the Pharaohs ... Nevertheless from Kings [Illegible crossed-out word] I am also descended ... What did I say? Adverse fate ... Shuts the fatal secret in my heart. I shall follow to death my father."

148 Verdi libretto ms., p. 22; Appendix III A, p. 595.
Io tremo!
Se a dirmi vieni eterno addio,
Del Nilo ai cupi vortici
Io chiederò l'oblio;
Là in quella tomba gelida
Forse avrà pace il cor.

Arrange the lines and the rhyme any way you like, and if you also want to change the quatrain to recitative, do as you wish. Only leave the idea of drowning herself in the Nile.149

However, drafts of the revision clarify Verdi's intent. What is actually suggested in the composer's discussion is the retention of the first part of the recitative as written (four lines, not five) and the rewriting of the new model provided in Letter 17 as either versi lirici (a romanza) or as versi sciolti (a recitative) to replace the unsatisfactory first draft of the romanza proper. In the preparation of his new model text, Verdi probably excised the comparison of Amneris's royal descent with Aida's similar but secret lineage owing to the fact that this very comparison had been announced (to the audience) at the climax of the Amneris-Aida gran duetto in Act II, tableau 1, scene ii.150 The revised model libretto is also dramatically sounder than the composer's earlier model, for it focuses Aida's uneasy psychological state with respect to Radamès's love for her and thus paves the way for the action and the consequences of the ensuing scenes of the act.

149 Busch, pp. 74-75.

150 Ghislanzoni ms., p. 88; Appendix IV A, p. 734.
Furthermore, apart from the first line—"Io tremo! (I tremble!)"—Verdi's quotation of Ghislanzoni's first draft is not taken from the recitative section of the draft but actually comprises a slightly shortened version of the second sestina of the romanza proper. The reduction involves the paraphrasing of the first two lines into a single line:

Se a voi quest'ora infausta
Segnò l'eterno addio,
Del Nilo ai cupi vortici
Io chiedero l'oblio . . .
Là . . . in quella tomba gelida . . .
Forse avrà pace il cuor.151

Ghislanzoni responded to these instructions and produced no less than five alternate versions of the proposed changes. In the first version,152

151 See the Ghislanzoni ms., p. 48; Appendix IV A, pp. 765-66 for the complete version of the romanza:
"If this inauspicious hour indicated
To you the eternal farewell,
In the deep whirlpools of the Nile
I shall seek oblivion . . .
There . . . in that frozen tomb . . .
My heart will perhaps have peace."

152 The five alternate versions of the recitative are found on pp. 104-05 of the Ghislanzoni ms; Appendix IV B, pp. 867-70:
First version:
"Here Radamès will come . . . What hope
By now remains for me? The final farewell
Will quench our love . . .
And you, tomorrow, in the whirlpools of the Nile
Will perhaps have peace, o my poor heart!"
Second version:
"Here Radamès will come . . . What can he want to say to me?"
the recitative of four lines from the first draft is given, followed by five unrhymed lines of further recitative: two versi endecasillabi, a verso settenario and two more versi endecasillabi. So as to avoid unnecessary repetition, we give only the new lines:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of verso</th>
<th>Line</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Qui Radamès verrà . . . Quale speranza</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ormai rimane a me? L'ultimo addio</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spegnerà il nostro amore . . .</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E tu, doman, nei vortici del Nilo</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forse avrai pace, o mio povero core!</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The other four versions omit the first four lines from the first draft and

If the hour of the eternal farewell
Resounded for us,
Tomorrow in the cold whirlpools
Of the Nile I shall sleep."

Third version:
"Here Radamès will come . . . What can he want to say to me?
I tremble . . . Ah! if you come
To bid me, o cruel, the final farewell,
The deep whirlpools of the Nile
Will give me a tomb, and perhaps peace and oblivion."

Fourth version:
"Here Radamès will come . . . The last farewell
I shall receive from him . . . The whirlpools of the Nile
Will then be tomb for me . . .
And in that frozen tomb
My wrongs and my sighs will have a truce."

Fifth version:
"Here Radamès will come . . . Perhaps to bring me
The final farewell . . . and everything will soon
Be finished . . . There, in the gloomy abysses
Of the Nile I shall lie dead . . . deprived [of life], the desperate love
Will have a truce . . .
And in that frozen tomb [], the heart will have peace--"
give only the revised second part. The last three versions are set, like the first revised version, in versi sciolti:

Third version:

Qui Radames verrà . . . Che vorrà dirmi? 11
Io tremo . . . Ah! se tu vieni 7
A recarmi, o crudel, l'ultimo addio, 11
Del Nilo i cupi vortici 7
Mi daran tomba, e pace forse e oblio. 11

Fourth version:

Qui Radames verrà . . . L'ultimo addio 11
Raccoglierò da lui . . . Del Nilo i gorghi 11
Poi tomba a me saranno . . . 7
E in quel gelido avello 7
Tregua i miei malì e i miei sospiri avranno. 11

Fifth version:

Qui Radamès verrà . . . L'addio supremo 11
Forse a recarmi . . . e tutto fra brev'ora 11
Sarà finito . . . Là, nei cupi abissi 11
Del Nilo io giacerò . . . priva [della vita], avrà tregua 11
Il disperato amore . . . 7
E in quel gelido avelo [,] pace avrà il core-- 11

The second of the five revisions, however, commences with a verso endecasillabo and continues with a rhymed quartina of versi settenari which concludes with a parola tronca:
Qui Radamès verrà . . . Che vorrà dirmi?

Se dell'eterno addio
L'ora per noi suonò,
Doman nei freddi vortici
Del Nilo io dormirò.

This is, of course, a text for a romanza such as was suggested by Verdi in Letter 17.

No further mention is made of the recitative portion of the scene in Verdi's letters to Ghislanzoni. The second part of the recitative in the Ghislanzoni ms. (first draft) is crossed out; the third of the five revisions is added in the composer's hand. This became, in fact, the final text of the recitative, in conjunction with the first four lines from the first draft. The entire two-part recitative appears to have been retained for the Cairo première for the complete nine-line text is printed in the official published Italian (and French prose translation) libretto prepared for that occasion. Nonetheless, in a letter addressed to Giulio Ricordi dated 7 September 1871, Verdi ordered the deletion of the first four lines on the grounds that "they prolong the recitative and say nothing." Thus it is possible that the retention of these four lines in the Cairo libretto was an oversight. On the other hand, Verdi's request for the deletion may have been intended only for the Milan première in February 1872.

153 Cairo Aïda libretto, p. 54.

154 Busch, pp. 219-20.
Act III, Scene ii: Versi Lirici

The first and only draft of the versi lirici section of Act III, scene ii, (the romanza) given in the Ghislanzoni ms., comprises a metro of two rhymed sestine set in versi settenari. In each strophe, sdruciole and plane endings alternate for the first five lines; the final line concludes with a parola tronca. Since the text of the second strophe has already received quotation in conjunction with the development of the recitative (see p. 403 of the present chapter) we give only the text of the first sestina:

Schiava, deserta ed orfana
Delle materne cure
Tutto l'amaro calice
Vuotai delle sventure
La vita mia redimere,
Solo potrà l'amor.\(^{155}\)

We have noted Verdi's great concern with this scene in our lengthy discussion of the opening recitative. The composer returned to discuss the versi lirici section further in Letter 20 and, at this time, showed considerable dissatisfaction with the setting of the romanza section:

\(^{155}\) Ghislanzoni ms., p. 48; Appendix IV A, p. 765:
"Slave, deserted and orphaned
From the maternal cares,
I emptied the bitter chalice
Of all my misfortunes.
Love only will be able
To redeem my life."
I have composed this romanza: I have not succeeded!

... Fra il verde dei palmizi, sul Nilo etc. should be somewhat idyllic, you say. I agree, but it had to be a great idyll; it had to smell of the odor of Egypt, as Filippi would say, to avoid l'orfana, l'amaro calice delle sventure, etc. and to find a newer form.156

The content of the letter and the first quoted line "Fra il verde dei palmizi (Among the vegetation of the palm trees)," which deos not exist in the ms., suggests that Ghislanzoni had provided Verdi with a second draft of the romanza. No other text for the romanza, however, is given in the Ghislanzoni ms. Indeed, the existence of a second version of the romanza is corroborated in Letter 39 (dated 5 August 1871), written ten months after the opera had been completed:

... I would like to add a little piece for Aida alone, an idyll as you once said. The verses you wrote, however, were not quite suitable for an idyll.157

In the same letter, Verdi continues with a description of his new concept of the scene; a model text of the recitative (the third revised version which had been copied by Verdi into the composite final version) and two optional new lines; a model of the newly proposed romanza, consisting of two strophes; and specific details with respect to the form and the meter of the individual versi:

I would like the two strophes to consist of four rhymed, eleven-syllable lines (I like the long line), but I would like them all to have an accent on the

156 Busch, pp. 78-79.
157 Busch, p. 196.
fourth syllable, without this they do not lend themselves well to the rhythmic cantilena. If you could retain (more or less) Oh patria mia! . . . mai piu ti rivedro! at the end of the recitative, it would serve me as the refrain at the end of each strophe.  

From Verdi's description of the content of the scene and his model recitative and prose strophes, it is clear that he was the creator of the new theme of the text. In addition, the second line of his new recitative and refrain line of the strophes, a verso endecasillabo which concludes with a parola tronca, came to be part of the poetry. Ghislanzoni's task was simply to furnish the versi fashioned out of the composer's description. He did this readily, for in a letter dated 10 August 1871 to Giulio Ricordi, Verdi remarked that he had received the poetry that very day. No further discussion of the scene is found in the Verdi-Ghislanzoni correspondence.

Act III, Scene iii: Recitative

The extended gran duetto between Aida and Amonasro, which comprises Act III, scene iii, was planned by Verdi, in his libretto, as a five-part structure consisting of three recitative sections with two lyrical interludes. There are no instructions as to the precise positions of the versi lirici sections in the model libretto but the content of the extended prose in the form of complete, unbroken sentences given for items 5-9 and 17-21 shows

158 Busch, p. 197.

159 Busch, p. 200.
the positions of dialogue intended for such treatment.\textsuperscript{160}

The complete draft of section 1 (items 1 through 5, line 3) is set as a three-syllable word (Aida) followed by ten unrhymed versi endecasillabi.\textsuperscript{161} In Letter 17, Verdi advised the omission of the first item for reasons of dramatic characterization:

\[ \ldots \text{I would not be too happy if Amonasro were to call out to Aida. I think it would be better if Aida, turning around, were to see her father: Cielo! È mio padre}. \ldots \text{162} \]

The poet complied by excising the first item, altering Aida's outcry to the one suggested by Verdi and truncating the last word of the succeeding phrase, to create a verso endecasillabo tronco:

\begin{enumerate}
\item Item 2
\begin{enumerate}
\item Aida
\begin{itemize}
\item Cielo! mio padre! \ldots
\end{itemize}
\end{enumerate}
\item Amonasro
\begin{itemize}
\item A te grave cagion
\end{itemize}
\end{enumerate}

\textsuperscript{160} Verdi libretto ms., pp. 23-25; Appendix III A, pp. 596-605.

\textsuperscript{161} Ghislanzoni ms., p. 49; Appendix IV A, pp. 766-68.

\textsuperscript{162} Busch, p. 75.

\textsuperscript{163} Ghislanzoni ms., p. 105; Appendix IV B, pp. 873-74:

"Aida Heaven! my father! \ldots"
The third versetto of item 3, a flowery piece of rhetorical writing, offended the composer, who suggested employment of a line from his own libretto in which a much rougher and less contrived diction is evident:

... And I do not care for the phrase Io del tuo cor leggo i misteri from the mouth of that proud and cunning King; it would be better to say Nulla sfuggge al mio sguardo. 164

The line from Verdi's libretto was incorporated into Amonasro's speech in two draft versions, the first of which also retained a paraphrase of the very line that had originally offended Verdi:

**Item**

2 Amonasro A te grave cagion

M'adduce, Aida—Nulla sfuggge al mio sguardo—ti lessi in cor—d'amor ti struggi

Per Radamès, ei t'ama . . . e qui lo attendi—

ovvero Nulla sfuggge al mio sguardo . . . D'amor ti struggi ecc. . . ecc. . . 165

---

A serious matter to you

[ ... ]"  

164 Busch, p. 75.

165 Ghislanzoni ms., p. 105; Appendix IV B, p. 874: "Amonasro A matter serious to you

Brings me, Aida—Nothing escapes my
glance—I read in your heart—you are consumed with love
The alternate version became part of the completed libretto.

The first draft of the central recitative, items 10 through 16, was accepted as the final version without question. However, one sizable addition was made: item 10, which appears in Ghislanzoni's first draft (and in Verdi's libretto) as "Ah! lo rammento . . . (Ah! I remember it . . . !)" was filled out to become a quartina of versi endecasillabi with alternating parole piane and tronche line endings:

[Aida]

Ah! ben rammento quegli infausti giorni!
Rammento i luti che il mio cor soffri ...
Deh! fate, o Numi, che per noi ritorni
L'alba invocata dei sereni di.  

The expanded item, of course, became part of the preceding lyrical section.

Owing to the fact that Aida's item 10—Ah! lo rammento . . .!—was the outset of a verso endecasillabo, which was completed by the first line of

For Radamès, he loves you . . . and here you await him--

or Nothing escapes my Glance—You are consumed with love etc. . . etc. . ."

166 Ghislanzoni ms., p. 50; Appendix IV A, pp. 770-71.

167 This quartina is not found in the Ghislanzoni ms.

"[Aida]
Ah! well I remember those unhappy days! I remember the mourning that my heart suffered . . . Ah! grant, o Gods, that for us return The invoked dawn of serene days."
Amonasro's item 11, the latter began with six syllables of a response which was completed through enjambment into the next line:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Type of verso</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td><em>Aida</em> Ah! lo rammento . . . !</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 11   | *Amonasro* In armi ora si desta  
     | Il popol nostro--tutto è pronto già . . . 168 |

The expansion of Aida's item 10 into a quartina of versi endecasillabi, however, destroyed the syllabic count at the juncture of the two items. For this reason, a simple exhortation of five syllables "Non fia che tardi (Let it not delay)" was prefixed to Amonasro's item 11. These two additions—the expansion of Aida's item 10 and the prefixed phrase for Amonasro's item 11—are not given in the Ghislanzoni ms. However, the first version of Aida's item 11 is crossed out in the ms. and the sign © is affixed to it with the probable intention of marking a place in the text which required revision. 169

The additions and changes were probably executed at Sant'Agata during one of Ghislanzoni's visits, but were misplaced during the assembly of the ms.

An unfortunate misconception on Ghislanzoni's part caused him to versify items 24 and 25 in the first draft of the final section of the scene in the

168 Ghislanzoni ms., p. 50; Appendix IV A, p. 770: "Aida Ah! I remember it . . . !

Amonasro Our people now

Rises in arms--now everything is eady . . . ."

169 Ghislanzoni ms., p. 50; Appendix IV A, p. 770.
form of a cabaletta. This blunder brought forth from Verdi, in Letter 15, an often-cited statement about theatrical conditions which would warrant the writing of a cabaletta:

... I have always been of the opinion that cabalettas should be used when the situation demands it. Those in the two duets [scenes iii and iv] are not demanded by the situation; and the one in the duet between the father and daughter, especially, seems out of place to me. In such a state of fear and moral depression, Aida cannot and must not sing a cabaletta.

Nevertheless, in all fairness to Ghislanzoni, the error is an understandable one, for the model items 24 and 25 in Verdi's libretto are extended statements, however broken in content, and could be easily misconstrued as the bases of a cabaletta.

The first versified draft of items 24 and 25 comprises a metro of two parallel quartine in versi ottonari in which parole piane and tronche alternate at the ends of lines:

Item
24 Aida [ . . . ]

Della patria il sacro amore
Pel tuo labbro mi ha parlato;
A immalinco è pronto il core . . .

170 Ghislanzoni ms., p. 52; Appendix IV A, pp. 775-76.
171 Busch, p. 69.
172 Verdi libretto ms., p. 25; Appendix III A, pp. 604-05.
Item

Ah fia legge il tuo voler.  

25  Amonasro

Se d'un popolo la sorte

A te i Numi han confidato . . .

La sua vita e la sua morte,

Stanno, o figlia, in tuo poter. 173

[ . . . ]

In addition to writing this misconceived cabaletta, Ghislanzoni omitted the last three items (26-28)—the first two of which are strikingly theatrical—of Verdi's libretto and replaced them with three rather innoxious speeches:

Item

X  Aida

Al sacro [illegible word]

Pronta son io . . .

Y  Amonasro

Fa cor . . .

173  
Ghislanzoni ms., p. 52; Appendix IV A, pp. 775-76:

"Aida  [ . . . ]

The sacred love of the homeland

   Spoke to me through your lips;
   My heart is ready for sadness . . .
   Let your will be law.

Amonasro

If the fate of a people
   The Gods have confided in you . . .
   Its life and its death,
   Lie, o daughter, in your power.
   [ . . . ]"
At the conclusion of Letter 15, after dealing with other aspects of Act III, scenes i through iii, Verdi returns to the question of the appropriate content of the final section, notes the omissions and cautions Ghislanzoni to continue to base his versification on the model libretto:

I have reread the outline [Verdi's libretto], and I think this situation is well rendered. I myself would forget about strophic or rhythmic forms; I would not think about singing, and I would render the situation as it is, perhaps even in lines of recitative. At the most I would have Amonasro sing one phrase: Pensa alla patria, e tal pensiero ti dia forza e coraggio. Do not forget the words Oh patria mia, quanto, quanto mi costi! In short I would stick as closely as possible to the outline.  

174 Ghislanzoni ms., p. 52; Appendix IV A, p. 776. The ms. is difficult to read at this point; the words in square brackets are supplied as possibilities, owing to the general diction of the passage:

"Aida
To the sacred [illegible word]
I am ready . . .
Amonasro
Take heart . . .
The Gods will assist
Your virtue . . .
Aida
[You offer] me love!"

175 Busch, p. 70.
In his second draft, Ghislanzoni excised the caballeta and new concluding items and restored the missing items from Verdi's libretto; he does, in fact, follow the model scrupulously. The new versification, however, is not recitative (versi sciolti), for the entire section (items 22-27) is set as a metro—a distico, a terzina, a quartina and two concluding distici—of ten versi quinari doppi. Moreover, the text is elaborately rhymed; parole tronche appear at every fourth line:

**Item**

22 **Aida**

Padre! . . .

23 **Amonasro**

Va, indegna, non sei mia prole!

Dei Faraoni tu sei la schiava!

24 **Aida**

Padre! mi uccidono le tue parole

Cessa! deh cessa! . . . la morte ho in cor!

Sarò tua figlia . . .

25 **Amonasro**

Tu eletta fosti

Dai Numi ad arbitra del nostro fato . . .

Pensa che un popolo, vinto e straziato,

Per te alla vita risorger può . . .

26 **Aida**

Oh patria! oh patria! . . .

Quanto mi costi!
Verdi writes in Letter 17:

... the ending does not correspond to the situation. Perhaps I did not explain myself in the other letter [15], but I thought I told you that this is a dramatic moment which must be carefully thought about and worked over. The role of Aida must be better developed and that of Amonasro, less so, which seems to me easily done this way:

176 Chislanzoni ms., pp. 108-09; Appendix IV B, pp. 871-73. No explanation can be given for the employment of four versi quinari at the conclusion of a metro set in versi quinari doppi.

"Aida [
Father!
Amonasro
Go unworthy one, you are not my offspring!
You are the slave of the Pharaohs!
Aida
Father! your words kill me . . .
Stop! ah stop! . . . I have death in my heart!
I shall be your daughter . . .
Amonasro
You were chosen
By the Gods as arbiter of our fate . . .
Think that a people conquered and ruined
Can rise again to life only through you . . .
Aida
Oh homeland! oh homeland . . .
How much you cost me!
Amonasro
Courage! he comes . . .
There I shall hear all . . ."
If you carefully consider Aida's situation and write me four good dramatic lines, you will see that something plausible and uncommon will come of it.\footnote{Busch, p. 75.}

The text of Ghislanzoni's third draft complies with Verdi's wishes: Amonasro's item 25 is reduced to two lines through the excision of the first and second lines. In addition, three four-line versions of Aida's item 24—the one singled out in Letter 17—are provided for Verdi's perusal. The last of these three renditions was probably selected by the composer for musical setting owing to the fact that it contains much of the same diction given in Verdi's own libretto and in the quotation in Letter 17. The rhyme of the first draft is, moreover, eradicated:

\textbf{Item}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \underline{Dopo il cantabile}
  \item 22 \textbf{Aida}
    \begin{itemize}
      \item Padre!
    \end{itemize}
  \item 23 \textbf{Amonasro}
    \begin{itemize}
      \item Ti scosta! \ldots non sei mia prole
      \item Dei Faraoni tu sei la schiava \ldots
    \end{itemize}
\end{itemize}
Ah, no! . . . mi ascolta! io pur la esecro
Questa vil razza da te abborrita . . .
Per la mia patria darò la vita . . .
D'esserti figlia non scorderò . . .

Pensa che un popolo vinto, straziato
Per te soltanto risorger può .

O patria! o patria . . . quanto mi costi!

Coraggio . . . ei giunge . . . là tutto udrò . . .

Padre! mi uccidono le tue parole . . .
Schiava a costoro non fui giamaia . . .
D'esserti figlia non io scorderò . . .
Col sacrificio [colpa esperò].

Padre . . . a costoro schiava io non sono . . .

The ms. is very difficult to read at this point.
Non maledirmi . . . non imprecarmi . . .

Tua figlia ancor potrai chiamarmi . . .

Della mia patria degna sarò.

Amonasro (come sopra) 179

179 Ghislanzoni ms., pp. 106-07; Appendix IV B, pp. 874-77:
"After the cantabile

Aida

Father!

Amonasro

Go away! . . . You are not my daughter
You are the slave of the Pharaohs . . .

Aida

Ah, no! . . . listen to me! I also detest it
This vile race abhorred by you . . .
I shall give my life for my homeland . . .
I shall not forget that I am your daughter . . .

Amonasro

Think that a conquered people, ruined,
Can rise again only through you.

Aida

O homeland! o homeland . . . how much you cost me!

Amonasro

 Courage . . . he comes . . . there I shall hear all . . .

Or

Aida

Father! your words kill me . . .
I have never been their slave
I will not forget that I am your daughter . . .
With the sacrifice [I will pay] for my guilt.

Or

Father . . . I am not their slave . . .
Do not curse me . . . do not revile me . . .
You can still call me your daughter . . .
I shall be worthy of my homeland.

Amonasro (as above)"
Act III, Scene iii: Versi Lirici

The two versi lirici sections of scene iii—items 5 through 9, which comprise two quatrains surrounding three distichs, set in rhymed versi endecasillabi, and items 17 through 21, which comprise an ottava in versi senari and two sestine in versi senari for Amonasro with interjections for Aida—were written once by Ghislanzoni and set to music by Verdi as they stood. 180

Act III, Scene iv: Recitative Set as Versi Lirici

When Ghislanzoni prepared the first draft of the gran duetto for Radamès and Aida, Act III, scene iv, he appears to have misunderstood the implied structure inherent in Verdi's prose model. The latter, it will be remembered, was envisaged by Verdi as a seven-part structure:

1. An opening recitative (scena), items 1 through the first word of item 7

2. A versi lirici strophe for Radamès (the allegro), the remainder of item 7

3. An intermediate recitative (tempo di mezzo I), items 8-13

4. A versi lirici strophe for Aida (the adagio), item 14, first nine lines

5. An intermediate recitative (tempo di mezzo II), the remainder

180 Ghislanzoni ms., p. 49, (items 5-9); pp. 50-51, (items 17-21); Appendix IV A, pp. 768-69.
of item 14 through item 20

6. A cabaletta (versi lirici), items 21-23

7. A concluding recitative, items 24-28.\textsuperscript{181}

The poet's first draft,\textsuperscript{182} however, has only five parts owing to the omission of the second intermediate recitative—which caused the fusion of Aida's lyrical lines (item 14, first nine lines) with the lyrical lines of the cabaletta (items 21-23)—and the omission of the concluding recitative.

Contrary to the structural implications of Verdi's libretto, the greatest part of the first versified draft is set as versi lirici, in which the artifice of rhyme is especially prominent:

1. Items 1-5, first line are ten rhymed versi quinari doppi with alternating parole piane, sdrucciole and tronche endings;

2. Items 5, second line -6c are five rhymed versi endecasillabi in which the alternation of parole piane and tronche endings is continued;

3. Item 7 is (appropriately) set as nine rhymed versi decasillabi; Items 9-12 are (inappropriately) set as four more versi decasillabi;

4. Item 14 is set as an ottava of rhymed versi settenari;

5. Items 21-23 are set as a metro of two ottave and a quartina in rhymed versi ottonari.

\textsuperscript{181} Verdi libretto ms., pp. 26-29; Appendix III A, pp. 605-15.

\textsuperscript{182} Ghislanzoni ms., pp. 53-56 and p. 61; Appendix IV A, pp. 777-86.
Only the final three lines (items 26-27) break the monotony of adjacent lines of equal length but even at this point the rhyme continues. Furthermore, matters were greatly complicated through numerous omissions of key speeches specified in Verdi's libretto; items 8, 13 and 15 through 20 and 25 are not given in the first draft.

In Letter 16, the first of five of the composer's letters dealing with the duet, Verdi praised Ghislanzoni's cantabili (versi lirici) in general but raised a number of issues including salient questions about the excess of lyrical settings and the lacunae in the recitatives. First, Verdi explains his preference for versi sciolti in the opening scena for reasons pertaining to Aida's characterization in this particular scene and quotes important lines from his own libretto to support his opinion:

... I think it [the duet] lacks development and clarity in the dramatic section. I would have preferred a recitative at the beginning. Aida could have been more calm and dignified, and she would have been able to make certain phrases that add to the scene stand out better—as for example, Non giurare: t'ho conosciuto prode, non ti vorrei spergiuro, . . . and further on, E come potrai sottrarti ai vezzi d'Amneris, al volere d'un Re, al voto d'un popolo, etc., etc.

The two quotations are taken from items 4 and 6 as given in Verdi's libretto; comparison of these items with the analogous items in the first draft shows the diction to have paled significantly under the weight of Ghislanzoni's first versification. Second, the precise position of the outset of the first lyrical section for Radamès (item 7) is specified by the composer:

183 Busch, p. 70.
The cantabile section should have begun with Radamès's Aida, ascoltami; only these two words should have been wedged into the preceding recitative.184

Third, according to Verdi, the second recitative section (items 9-12), set in the first draft as four rhymed versi decasillabi, lacked dramatic action and did not lead forward to the succeeding versi lirici section:

Following this cantabile section [item 7] the four lines are cold and do not adequately prepare for Aida's beautiful strophes Fuggiam gli ardori, etc. [Ghislanzoni's item 14]. I know well that rhyme and strophe are involved; but why not start out with the recitative so that you could first say everything the action demanded.185

Fourth, Ghislanzoni's omission of a strophe of eight lines for Radamès (item 15 in Verdi's libretto) was questioned: "After the eight beautiful lines for Aida, I would have written another eight for Radamès."186 Fifth, Ghislanzoni's omission of the third recitative section (items 15-20) by transforming some of this content into a metro of two ottave and a quartina in rhymed versi ottonari puzzled the composer:

I would have transformed Aida's four lines [item 22], however beautiful, into recitative. ... I would also have retained the dialogue [items 17-20] which is so lively in the outline [Verdi's libretto]. ... And

184 Busch, p. 70.
185 Busch, p. 70.
186 Busch, p. 70.
why did you change the meter of this cantabile section, while saying almost the same thing?\textsuperscript{187}

Finally, in the concluding recitative, the poet omitted item 25 from Verdi's libretto, the very place in which Aida asks the route of the planned ambush of the Ethiopians by the Egyptians:

\begin{quote}
Aida can naturally stop to ask Radamès a question; but after that duet Radamès cannot. . . . Therefore I would always prefer the question of Aida, which is more natural and real.\textsuperscript{188}
\end{quote}

In Letter 18, Verdi begins his efforts to restore the scene to his original concept by probing at the problems of excessive use of versi lirici to the detriment of the recitative:

\begin{quote}
Let it be said once and for all: I never mean to talk about your verses, which are always good, but to give you my opinion on the theatrical effect. The duet between Radamès and Aida has, in my opinion, turned out greatly inferior to the one between father and daughter. Perhaps this is because of the situation or the form, which is more ordinary than that of the preceding duet. Certainly that string of cantabile passages of eight lines, each spoken by one and repeated by the other, is not designed to keep the dialogue alive. In addition, the interludes between these cantabile passages are rather cold.\textsuperscript{189}
\end{quote}

In the remainder of this letter and in Letter 20, Verdi discusses Ghislanzoni's

\textsuperscript{187} Busch, pp. 70-71.

\textsuperscript{188} Busch, p. 71.

\textsuperscript{189} Busch, p. 76.
revisions and continues to wrestle with the difficult task of restoring the omitted action of the scene in the form of appropriate recitative.

The first revision comprises a complete version of the scene with the exception of items 21-23 and the versi lirici for the cabaletta, which were temporarily acceptable to Verdi as they stood. The new version abandons the ornate style of continuous versi lirici and restores the majority of the omissions made in the first draft. Items 1-7 first line, are now realized as ten unrhymed versi sciolti right up to the words "Odimi, Aida (Hear me, Aida)," a paraphrase of the statement Verdi wished to be "wedged" into the text at the outset of Radamès's lyrical strophe (item 7). The first line of the latter is excised and the second and third lines are rewritten to create an ottava in rhymed versi decasillabi. Item 8 is restored and the texts for items 9 through 12 stand as they were given in the first draft. An ottava in rhymed versi settenari for Radamès is added to match Aida's strophe (item 14). The recitative, items 18 through 21, prescribed by Verdi in his libretto is restored and given an appropriate versi sciolti setting. The concluding recitative (items 25 through 28) is rewritten to allow Aida to ask the crucial question about the planned ambush. Indeed, the restoration of the key omissions is an excellent demonstration of Verdi's insistence that his model libretto be adhered to in every respect. His task, however, did not stop at this point.

In Letter 18, Verdi reviewed the first revision, accepting or rejecting the new text and suggesting the assembly of a composite text drawn from the

190 Ghislanzoni ms., pp. 109-17; Appendix IV B, pp. 877-84.
first draft, the first revision and new versifications to be prepared in the second and inevitable revision. First, the composer declared a preference for the first eight versi lirici of the first draft (items 1 through 4, first line) and suggested wedding this section to items 4, second line, through item 7 of the first revision:

At the beginning of the duet I still prefer some of the original lines to this recitative, which is too dry. For example, the first eight lyrical lines to D'uno spergiuro non ti macchiar [draft 1, item 4, line 1] would suit me; I don't know if the form would suit you. Then [use] the recitative in the section, Prode t'amai, benchè . . . nemico; non t'amerei spergiuro [draft 2, item 4, line 2], up to the whole of Radamès's solo [item 7].

Second, the recitative which follows, items 8 (restored) through 14, first line (drafts 1 and 2) was questioned on account of the lack of theatrical diction:

After that the lines . . . are not theatrical; that is to say they give the actor no chance to act; the audience's attention is not captured, and the situation is lost.

Third, Aida's ottava (item 14) and the first four lines of the newly-written ottava for Radamès (item 15) are judged to be good but the remainder of Radamès's strophe is considered to be inferior owing to the fact that Ghislanzoni had again omitted the content suggested in Verdi's libretto.

191 Busch, p. 76.
192 Busch, p. 176.
Ghislanzoni’s first revision of the second half of Radamès’s ottava reads:

Restiam! nel dolce vincolo
Che sposa mia ti chiama,
Aida, se tu mi ami,
Qui un paradiso avrem.  \(^{193}\)

About this, Verdi wrote:

... but in the four [lines] now added, I don’t care very much for the idea of the bride. Wasn’t it better to say, as in the outline [Verdi’s libretto],
Qui dove nacqui e vissi e divenni il salvator della patria?  \(^{194}\)

Fourth, Ghislanzoni had twice (drafts 1 and 2) omitted Verdi’s item 16 for Aida—which is a response to the last half of item 15—and had weakened the action of his first version (second draft) of the recitative (items 18 through 21), which precedes the cabaletta:

... you left out Aida’s outburst
I miei Dei saranno i tuoi,
La patria e dove si ama.

This must be said in lines already written or reduced to recitative as you wish.

\(^{193}\) Ghislanzoni ms., p. 111; Appendix IV B, p. 882: 
"Let us remain! in the sweet bond
Which calls you my wife.
Aida, if you love me,
Here we shall have a paradise."

\(^{194}\) Busch, p. 76.
Then greater prominence must be given to the interlude [recitative] that follows . . . \textsuperscript{195}

An expanded and re-ordered version of items 12, 13, 16 through 18 taken from Verdi's libretto is given at this point in the letter.

The third draft (second revision)\textsuperscript{196} of the versification of Act III, scene iv comprises multiple and single versions of portions of items 1 through the first line of item 14, and items 25 through 28:

1. One version of items 1-6
2. One version of items 1-5
3. One version of items 1-12
4. One version of items 8-14, first line

Each of the five revisions includes some of the poetry of the first draft and some new poetry. In the latter, Ghislanzoni attempted to correct the faults and omissions which Verdi had detailed in Letter 18. However, omitted from the second revision were items 15 and 16, which had been singled out by Verdi for revision or inclusion (item 16). The very persistent composer, of course, returned to these problems in Letter 20.

The crux of Verdi's concern was the omission of patriotic sentiments from Radamès's item 15, which were given in the composer's own model libretto. In letter 20, Verdi quoted his own libretto as examples of the missing texts:

\textsuperscript{195} Busch, p. 77.

\textsuperscript{196} Ghislanzoni ms., pp. 112-16; Appendix IV B, pp. 889-98.
It seems to me you are too worried about the character of Radamès. Let's not discuss it; it should be as you say. But in this duet, for example, isn't Radamès just as interesting as Aida? It seemed natural to me that he should respond to Aida: Lasciar la patria, i miei Dei, i luoghi ove nacqui, ove acquistai gloria, etc., etc. But if you don't like these accounts of glory, find something else. Only since we have taken the path of cantabiles and of cabalettas, we must continue on that path; and it is good that Radamès should reply to Aida's eight lines with eight lines of his own.

I asked you to keep

La patria è dove s'ama,
I miei Dei saranno i tuoi

because it seemed that it was a good theatrical outburst, which could in no way harm the effect.197

Unfortunately, Ghislanzoni's third and/or fourth drafts of Radamès's ottava in versi lirici and subsequent revisions of other items for scene iv have not come to light. The existence of this poetry is made clear in Letter 22 in which two different texts for Radamès and one text for Aida, neither of which is found in the ms., are quoted:

I am aware that you have rewritten Radamès's strophe several times. The time was not wasted because

Il ciel de'nostri amori
Come scordar potrem

is very, very, very good. But I tell you, with the same frankness, that I am not very enamoured of the line È fuoco, è febbre, è folgore. And I am sorry that you did not retain L'are de'nostri Dei with Aida's response

Nel tempio stesso

197 Busch, p. 78.
Gli stessi Numi avrem.

But we can discuss that in person when I have the pleasure of seeing you here to revise, polish and clear up the stage directions, etc., etc.¹⁹⁸

We must conclude that Verdi's composite text of the fourth scene, drawn from various fragments of Ghislanzoni's revisions, was completed at Sant' Agata. As we have explained at an earlier point in the present chapter, the concluding recitative of this scene is given, in its final composite version, entirely in the composer's hand, on p. 57 of the ms.

Act III, Scene v: Recitative Set as Versi Lirici

Ghislanzoni's penchant for traditional forms at climactic points in the action came to the fore again in his first draft of Act III, scene v, in which Radamès perceives his betrayal by Aida, and Amonasro attempts to divert Radamès with the notion of flight. In the first draft, the opening part of the short scene is written in versi sciolti but the conclusion of the action is set as a formal trio: a metro of one sestina and two quartine in rhymed versi settenari:

Item

llc Amonasro

Vieni: oltre il Nilo ne attendono

I prodi a noi devoti;

Per te d'amor, di gloria

¹⁹⁸ Busch, p. 82.
**Item**

Tutti sien paghi i voti . . .

Vieni: d'un Re la figlia

Conforto a te sarà.

---

**X Aida**

Te non di morte orribile

Qui il negro vel si stende . . .

Vieni: ove amor ti attende . . .

L'amor ti salverà.

---

**Y Radamès**

Tradii per te la patria

E amor ti ancor proff'io!

L'onta del nome mio

Chi cancellar potrà? 199

---

199 Ghislanzoni ms., p. 62; Appendix IV A, pp. 788-89:

*Amonasro*

Come: beyond the Nile await

The braves devoted to us;

For you may all your promises

Of love and glory be fulfilled . . .

Come the daughter of a King

Will be comfort for you.

*Aida*

For you the black veil of horrible death

Does not spread out here . . .

Come: where love awaits you . . .

Love will save you.

*Radamès*

I betrayed the homeland for you

And I still offer love to you!

Who will be able to remove

The dishonor of my name?"
There is no indication of a trio in the Mariette scenario or in Verdi's libretto. Therefore it is possible that the trio was based on the Verdi-Du Locle modificazioni in which an ensemble treatment is specified at this very place.\textsuperscript{200} Ghilanzoni may well have perused the French text while at Sant'Agata. Verdi himself had eradicated any suggestion of ensemble treatment in his own libretto by concluding the scene with a short strophe for Amonasro.\textsuperscript{201}

In Letter 16, the composer protests the introduction of an ensemble with two curt sentences:

\begin{quote}
Here you wanted to write a trio; but this is not the place to stop for singing. We must hurry right to the entrance of Amneris.\textsuperscript{202}
\end{quote}

The trio setting does not appear in any subsequent drafts of the scene, all of which comprise an increasingly tightened dialogue in versi sciolti.

While the composer does not directly criticize Ghislanzoni's first draft of the recitative portion of scene v, the text of Letter 16 makes clear Verdi's dissatisfaction with the poet's first rendition:

\begin{quote}
. . . Above all try to emphasize Radamès. The words of the outline [Verdi's libretto], properly ordered, can provide the opportunity for a good bit of action for the actor!\textsuperscript{203}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{200} Modificazioni ms., pp. 41-42; Appendix II, pp. 530-31.

\textsuperscript{201} Verdi libretto ms., p. 30; Appendix III A, pp. 615-18.

\textsuperscript{202} Busch, p. 71.

\textsuperscript{203} Busch, p. 71.
The main problem is Ghislanzoni's omission of items 6 through 8 of Verdi's libretto. To underline this fault, the composer gives the missing dialogue at the conclusion of his frank criticism in Letter 16. In fact, the recitative portion of the first draft curtails the action outlined in Verdi's libretto quite drastically:

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The first revision restores the missing dialogue but two short and rather commonplace exclamations for Amonasro are wedged into the model dialogue:

204 Ghislanzoni ms., pp. 61-62; Appendix IV A, pp. 786-88:

"Amonasro Thanks o Gods
Certain and total the victory ...
Radamès Who listens to us? ...
Aida's father!
Amonasro The King of the Ethiopians.
Radamès You ... Amonasro ... you the King! Whatever have I said now!
Aida You tremble! you stop ... and hesitate?
Amonasro Let us flee!
Radamès (bursting out) Ahi! wretched!
For you I have betrayed the homeland!
Amonasro It was the will of fate ...
Aida A new homeland
Has already opened to you!"
Verdi protests this alteration at the outset of Letter 19 and gives suggestions for longer and more telling sentences for Amonasro and Radamès. Indeed, the main fault of the first revision appears to have been caused by the overuse of short broken phrases, which prevented strong reactions on the part of the protagonists.

Ghislanzoni's third draft—a complete version of the scene and an alternate version of the last three items—complies with the composer's requests with respect to the preservation of the dialogue given in the model prose libretto, the inclusion of two more substantial speeches (one each for Amonasro and Radamès), and the suppression of the final trio. For the final version set to music, Verdi fused the complete and alternate versions

205 Ghislanzoni ms., p. 118; Appendix IV B, p. 885:

"Radamès
You Amonasro . . . you the King . . . Gods! what did I say?
Amonasro
Let us flee!
Radamès
Ah no! a dream . . . nightmare is this . . . !
Aida
Come . . . calm yourself . . . listen to me . . .
Amonasro
Follow me . . . ."

206 Ghislanzoni ms., pp. 119-120; Appendix IV B, pp. 899-902.
given in the third draft and added a new line, "All'amor mio t'affida (Trust in my love)," for Aída (item 7).  

Act III, Scene vi: Recitative

Verdi's prose version of the final scene of Act III is an absolute model of dramatic dialogue realized in short exclamations for the protagonists which propel the action to a swift conclusion. Nevertheless, Ghislanzoni again fell victim to his propensity to round out certain speeches, a tendency which arrests the movement of the action. The composer's perception of this fault is made clear in Letter 16, which contains a review of the first draft. The latter contains eight lines of broken verse, set, in this instance, entirely in ottonario meter. Verdi advises the excision of five offending lines in the draft:

If you like, keep the lines already written; but take out that pel mio pugnale, and, if you can, cut those first four lines (items 1-3) to two. [. . . ] And it would have been good also to omit the two lines that are useless at this moment:

[Radamès, item 7]
Si salvati è tempo anch'or

[Amneris, item Z]
Arrestate il traditor.

At the end the two lines are very good:

207 The new line for Aida is not given in the composite version of the libretto in the Ghislanzoni ms., p. 57.

208 Verdi libretto ms., pp. 30-31; Appendix III A, pp. 619-21.

[Radames, item 10]
Io qui resto, su me scenda
Il tuo vindice furor;
Yet it would not be more beautiful, but it would be
more dramatic, to say simply:
Io qui resto, o sacerdote.210

The second draft shows compliance with Verdi's advice, for the offending lines are omitted and the test is reduced from eight to six versi ottonari.211 Verdi accepted this version in Letter 23. However, at the conclusion of the letter, the composer suggests restoration of Amneris's item Z and a revised version of Radames's final speech, both set in versi ottonari:

If you wish to change the last six lines to eight, because of some rhyme [he means meter], I can very easily do it; in that case Radames's two lines [item 10] would be fine:
Amneris: Arrestate il traditor!
Radames: Sacerdote, io qui resto.
In me sfoga il tuo furor.212

The third draft adheres to Verdi's new prescription concerning item 10 for Radames, but to achieve this in eight versi ottonari, Ghislanzoni excised the important and new line for Amonasro--draft 2, item 3: "Vieni a strugger l'opra mia!/ Muori! (You come to destroy my work!/ Die!)"--and replaced

210 Busch, pp. 71-72.

211 Ghislanzoni ms., p. 122; Appendix IV B, pp. 886-88.

212 Busch, p. 84.
certain words in items 2 and 4 with synonyms. In the end, Verdi set the six-line version of the second draft with subtle changes in diction drawn from the third draft.

Act IV, Scene i: Monologue Set as Recitative

The first scene of the fourth act, a monologue for Amneris, is given in a single version in the ms. and this, apart from the first line which is crossed out in the ms., was used by Verdi as the text for musical setting. The versification, which comprises twelve versi sciolti, follows the themes of the model prose text given in the composer's libretto. The last five lines in the ms. contain some crossed-out phrases and superscriptions in Ghislanzoni's hand. Such changes offer other insights into the working methods of the poet and composer while polishing the text at Sant'Agata.

During the discussion of the versification of the second scene of Act IV, Verdi returned, in Letter 24, to propose another setting of the first scene:

If we gave lyric form to the entire duet [scene ii], don't you think the first scene would require greater development? What if we wrote a romanza? A romanza in nine-syllable lines? What the devil would come of it? Shall we try?

213 Ghislanzoni ms., pp. 120-21; Appendix IV B, pp. 902-03.

214 Ghislanzoni ms., p. 123; Appendix IV A, pp. 792-94.

215 Verdi libretto ms., p. 43; Appendix III A, pp. 622-23.
But now that it [the duet] is under way, continue; and if need be we shall write the romanza at the end.216

The need, however, does not appear to have arisen, for there is no evidence in the ms. that Ghislanzoni proceeded with the creation of an experimental romanza. Perhaps the pressure of the versification of the fourth act prevented a return to a scene already realized in poetry satisfactory to the composer.

Act IV, Scene ii: Experiments in Recitative and Versi Lirici

Three complete drafts of Act IV, scene ii, the gran duetto between Amneris and Radamès, were required before Verdi registered satisfaction with the form and poetry of the text. Although the duets of Acts II and III were also subjected to very thorough revision, none were rewritten in their entirety as was the case with the scene presently under consideration. The reason behind the need for complete revision of this duet is not difficult to explain. In his desire to create a unique setting of the text, Verdi gave very detailed specifications (Letters 21 and 25) in the form of two different model librettos, each of which included instructions concerning the use of recitatives, versi sciolti settings other than recitative, and the numbers of lines in individual dialogue items and types of line (meter). These model librettos were the bases of the first and third versions. Furthermore, the first draft was reviewed thoroughly in Letter 24 and, in

Busch, p. 86.
his comments, Verdi suggested a method by which the poet could rework the first draft into a more novel rendition of the scene. The poet, however, encountered some difficulty in achieving the appropriate poetry for the novel scene specified by Verdi. We shall return to the second draft in its proper place.

The first draft of scene ii is based on Verdi's seventh version which was forwarded to the poet in Letter 21. Verdi's text comprises eighteen dialogue items laid out in a somewhat unusual form owing to the fact that the traditional preliminary scena section (recitative) is replaced by extended speeches (items 1-6), while recitative (items 7 through 16) and more extended speeches (items 17-18) follow. So as to clarify the meaning of his text, Verdi advised a lyrical setting of the entire scene in which two meters were to be applied, one for the first sixteen items; another for the concluding pair, a cabaletta:

\[
\text{By beginning with a recitative, it would be difficult to find a place to start a cantabile section. I think we could begin immediately with lyrical lines of any meter, and continue with the same meter to the end.}^{217}
\]

However, Verdi qualified the last part of his statement with respect to the meter of the last two items:

\[
\text{Only here [written beside item 17 in the prose libretto] it would be good to change the meter, to make a strophe of four or six lines for a small cabaletta.}^{218}
\]

217 Busch, pp. 79-80.

218 Busch, p. 81.
And, for item 18, the composer wrote *As above*.

The number, order and content of the items in Ghislanzoni's first draft corresponds to Verdi's model from the beginning to item 16. The text of the concluding *cabaletta* (items 17-18) was prepared, for Verdi refers to it at the outset of Letter 24: "No problem with the seven-syllable lines, either for the *cabaletta* or for the beginning etc., etc. . . ." However, this page of the ms. appears not to have been preserved, for no seven-syllable strophes for these two items have come to light. The unique lyrical setting, prescribed by Verdi in Letter 21, was not achieved by Ghislanzoni in the first draft. Instead, the poet created the first three sections—and probably a fourth if we take into account the missing *cabaletta*—of a traditional four-part structure: items 1 and 2, although extended, are written in unrhymed *versi sciolti* to comprise the opening *scena*; item 3 is a rhymed *ottava* in *versi settenari*; the remainder of the scene continues in unrhymed *versi settenari* to the end.

Verdi's reaction, of course, was polite but his usual determination with respect to his own ideas is very much in evidence. In Letter 24, the composer insists upon the need for lyrical treatment from the outset of the scene, in particular item 2 for Radamès, and suggests breaking up the dialogue and the employment of *versi settenari doppi* so as to avoid the excessive rhyme of a lyrical *versi settenari* setting:

---

219 Ghislanzoni ms., pp. 123-26; Appendix IV A, pp. 794-800.

220 Busch, p. 85.
... And I really think the duet should begin at once in lyric form. In the beginning of this duet there is (if I am not mistaken) something exalted and noble, especially in Radamès [item 2], which I would like to have sung. A song sui generis; not the usual romanza or cavatina, but a declamatory song, sustained and exalted. The meter is up to you; but break up the dialogue if you think it would add more life. If in adopting the seven-syllable line you find that the rhyme occurs too frequently, why not use the double line of seven syllables... .221

Verdi also found the diction of Amneris's item 3, lines 1, 4 and 5 (quoted in Letter 24) to be out of character: "Allow me to point out that in Amneris's lyric lines there are two or three that slightly diminish her character."222

In addition, the concluding two versi settenari (items 12-15, first draft) are found to be too short and underdeveloped:

Further on, the two lines are too few:

[14 Radamès] Io l'amo . . . [15 Amneris] Ebben . . . morrai!

This is too brief and does not allow for dramatic action; the situation requires greater development and a little more space.223

A day later, Verdi wrote to Ghislanzoni (Letter 25), again concentrating on the lyrical treatment of the duet. On this occasion, he specified the form (strophes and actual numbers of lines) and repeated his request

221 Busch, p. 85.

222 Busch, p. 85.

223 Busch, pp. 85-86.
for a versi settenari setting:

... I am even more convinced that it [the duet] must be written, from the beginning, in lyric form. With the very words of the recitative [Ghislanzoni's first draft] I scribbled out some seven-syllable lines; and I saw that a melody can be made of them.224

Furthermore, to clarify his intentions, Verdi includes a partial model of the scene in which item 1 and part of item 2 are specified as strophes of eight or ten versi and the remainder of item 2 is to be expanded into another strophe of four, six or eight lines. A sharp criticism is also directed at Ghislanzoni's diction in item 3, lines 5 and 6, first draft:

... Only try not to write lines that say little. In this duet every line, I would say every word, has to have weight. Instead of the lines

Come t'ho sempre amato
Oggi ancor t'amo, ingrato

put something more important, something that is not useless. I'll tell you again, this duet must be lofty and noble, as much in the verse as in the music. In other words, nothing common.225

The poet, however, appears to have rewritten the scene according to the specifications given in Letters 21 and 24 before he had received Verdi's more detailed and somewhat altered model libretto in Letter 25. In the second draft, the first sixteen items of the seventh version of Verdi's libretto and the first versified draft are broken up to comprise twenty-six

224 Busch, p. 86.
225 Busch, p. 87.
speeches. The entire new versification, apart from the concluding cabaletta (items 17-18 of the original model), is set in versi settenari. The latter is set as a metro of rhymed sestine set in versi ottonari. In addition many items are rewritten so as to correct the diction which was so offensive to the composer.

It is not surprising that, although he had requested the development of an expanded and somewhat experimental versification, Verdi found fault with the breaking up of the speeches, the metric placement of some important words and the setting of the cabaletta in such a metrically ordinary rhythm. In Letter 26, the second draft is discussed:

The duet in the fourth act, the last you sent me, is very good, but it is too agitated and tormented. The lines are too choppy, and there is no way to make a melody out of them, or even long melodic phrases. Furthermore, the announcement Vive Aida [Item 7] does not stand out well as in the first lines. . . . in this situation the cabaletta is too long. Ah, these damned cabalettas that always have the same form and that all resemble one another. See if there is any way to find something original.  

With respect to the versification of the cabaletta, Verdi prescribed, in Letter 30, four alternate versions, each of which comprised a long verso followed by a short verso: eight and five, or eight and six, or seven and five, or ten and seven syllables. This type of setting is, of course,

227 Busch, p. 88.
228 Busch, p. 95.
known as a polimetro. These specifications, however, do not seem to have been used by the poet, for the ms. does not contain such a setting. In fact, the final version of the cabaletta corresponds to the versi ottonari version given in the second draft with one exception: the line "Chi ti salva, sciagurato (Who can save you, wretch)" is prefixed to the original first line, and the second line "Ti abbandono o sciagurato (I abandon you o wretch)" is excised, owing to its now redundant meaning. 229

In the third draft, items 1 through the outset of 17, Ghislanzoni complied with Verdi's specifications (Letters 21 and 25) inasmuch as he strove to enhance the lyricism of the setting. 230 The entire scene is set in versi settenari. The scene commences with two rhymed ottave. After two versi of dialogue (items X, Y and Z), two more strophes (items 2b and 3) in versi lirici settings are given: an unrhymed quartina for Radamès and a rhymed ottava for Amneris. The concluding dialogue (items 11 through 17a) is greatly extended. Verdi accepted this version in Letter 30: "But this duet is very beautiful--very, very, very." 231 However, minor changes in diction were made during Ghislanzoni's stay at Sant'Agata in November 1870.

Act IV, Scene iii: Ghislanzoni's First Draft

The first versified version of Act IV, scene iii, the so-called Scena del giudizio (Judgement scene) comprises the four-section layout of seventeen

229 The new line was probably added at Sant'Agata.


231 Busch, p. 95.
items given in the second version of the composer's libretto.\textsuperscript{232} The opening recitative for Amneris (items 1, 3 and 5—the intervening items are stage directions) is set in versi endecasillabi. The internal chorus, a terzina, and a response for Amneris (items 6 and 7) are set as rhymed versi senari doppi:

\begin{center}
\textbf{Coro interno}
\end{center}

\begin{quote}
Su noi discendete--o Numi possenti!
La luce del vero--chiarisca le menti;
E l' alma si investa--di sacro rigor.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textbf{Amneris (Scoppia di diretto pianto, esclamando)}
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
Per esso vi imploro, o Numi clementi!
D'un core strazziato rimuova il dolor!\textsuperscript{233}
\end{quote}

The actual trial of Radamès, items 8 through 15, comprises three responsorial units for Ramfis and the Chorus, entirely set in rhymed versi ottonari. The first two units contain rhymed quatrains, while the third unit is extended to be a rhymed ottava, through the coupling of the last choral item with a

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{232} Verdi libretto ms., pp. 46-48; Appendix III A, pp. 630-37.
\textsuperscript{233} Ghislanzoni ms., p. 135; Appendix IV A, pp. 800-05:
"\textbf{Internal Chorus}
\begin{quote}
Unto us descend--o powerful Gods!
By the light of the truth--let the minds be cleared;
And invest the soul--with sacred rigor.
\end{quote}
\textbf{Amneris (Explodes in torrents of tears, exclaiming)}
\begin{quote}
For him I implore thee, o merciful Gods!
Let the grief be removed from a tormented heart!"
\end{quote}"
response for Amneris:

Voce di Ramfis dal sotterraneo

Radamès: tu della patria
I segreti rivelasti
Di perfidia ti macchiasti...
Taci?

Coro
Taci?

Ramfis-Coro
Traditor!

Ramfis
Tu nel di della battaglia
Le bandiere hai disertato.
Di viltà tu sei macchiato...
Taci?

Coro
Taci?

Ramfis—poi il Coro
Traditor!

Ramfis
Alla patria, al Re spergiuro,
Tu da infame morirai.
Tu vivente scenderai
Nella tomba, o traditor!
Coro

Di Vulcan nel sacro tempio
Avrai tomba, o traditor!

Amneris

Ah! pietà . . . Sepolto vivo!
No! fermate . . . quale orror!234

The concluding item, for Amneris, begins with a four-line recitative and continues with a rhymed quatraine in versi quinari doppi:

234 Ghislanzoni ms., p. 135-37; Appendix IV A, pp. 802-04:
"Voice of Ramfis from the subterranean chamber.

Radamès: you revealed
The secrets of the homeland.
With perfidy you stained yourself . . .
You are silent?
Chorus

You are silent?

Ramfis-Chorus

Traitor!

Ramfis

On the day of the battle
You deserted the flags.
You are stained with vileness . . .
You are silent?
Chorus

You are silent?

Ramfis--then the chorus

Traitor!

Ramfis
False to the homeland, to the King,
You will die [the death] of the infamous.
Alive you will descend
Into the tomb, o traitor!
Chorus
In the sacred temple of Vulcan
You will be buried, o traitor!
Amneris
Ah! pity . . . Buried alive!
No! stop . . . what horror!"
Amneris

Tutto tace ... Sepolto ...

Vivo ... ei dunque sarà! ... Dei sacerdoti
Non può sottrarlo al vindice furore
Il mio possente e disperato amore?

Ah che mi giovi, seggio dorato?
Perché mi chiamo figlia di Re! ...
Morire ei veggo chi tanto ho amato ...
Nè di salvarlo sia dato a me! ... 235

Act IV, Scene iii: Verdi's Criticism and New Model Libretto

Faults in each of the four major sections of Act IV, scene iii—the so-called judgement scene—are discussed in Verdi's Letter 29. Again, the composer supplies a new model libretto so as to explain with the greatest clarity the changes he wished to be made. First, the opening recitative requires the creation of a new broken line which could be repeated as a

235 Ghislanzoni ms., p. 137; Appendix IV A, p. 805:
"Amneris
All is silent ... buried ...
Alive ... so he will be! ... Cannot
My powerful and desperate love rescue him
From the vindictive fury of the priests?
Of what use are you to me, golden throne?
Because I call myself daughter of a King! ... I see him whom I love so much die ...
Nor can his salvation be given to me! ... "
refrain in the course of the scene. Verdi demonstrates this phrase in his new model libretto with an item that is a paraphrased version of poetry from Ghislanzoni's first draft: "Che feci? . . . Chi lo salva? . . . Or maledico/ L'atroce gelosia che la sua morte/ E il lutto eterno nel mio cor segnava!"236

Second, the composer requests the rewriting of the backstage chorus in versi endecasillabi:

The backstage chorus is beautiful, but that six-syllable line seems short to me for this situation. Here I would have liked a full line, Dante's line, and also in tercets.237

Third, Verdi discusses the diction, meter and content of the actual trial and judgement:

The Taci? Taci? is so dry that it is impossible to make it musically interrogative. I think the tercet form was good because we could repeat Radamès twice, if we wanted, and because we could write a broken line, for example, like this:

Difenditi!

Tu taci? Traditor!

I know very well that the ti, tu, ta . . . ci is bad (you will revise it); but this dreadful line says what the situation demands. You wanted to say, Nel di della battaglia? There was no battle.238

236 Busch, p. 93: "What have I done? . . . Who will save him? . . . Now I curse/ The atrocious jealousy that marked his death/ And the eternal grief of my heart!"

237 Busch, p. 92.

238 Busch, p. 92.
Fourth, the final section for Amneris, is found to be too traditional in design. In addition, Verdi proposes new stage action to heighten the effect of the scene:

The solo scene for Amneris is cold, and this kind of aria at this moment is impossible. I have an idea which you may perhaps find too daring and violent: I would have the priests return to the stage; seeing them, Amneris, like a tigress, would unleash the most bitter words against Ramfis. The priests would stop for an instant and reply, *E traditor! morrà:* Then they would continue on their way. Left alone, Amneris would shout, in just two lines of either ten or twelve syllables, *Sacerdoti crudeli, inesorabili, siate maleditti in eterno!* The scene would end at this point.239

Further to this new concept of the final portion of the scene, the new model libretto specifies the form—strophes of four lines, always with ten syllables.

**Act IV, Scene iii: Ghislanzoni's Second Draft**

The only revision found in the ms. shows Ghislanzoni to have reworked the versification of the judgement scene according to the specifications laid out by Verdi in Letter 29. Amneris's opening recitative (items 1 and 3) now contains broken lines with appropriate diction which could be repeated as the scene progresses:

Ohimè! morir mi sento . . . oh! chi lo salva?

Io l'amo . . . io l'amo sempre!—Ora, a te impreco

Atroce gelosia che la sua morte

239 Busch, pp. 92-93.
E il lutto eterno del mio cor segnasti!

Che veggo! ecco i fatali . . .

Gli inesorabili ministri di morte . . .

Oh! ch'io non vegga quelle bianche larve.240

The backstage chorus (item 6) is set as a rhymed terzina in versi endecasillabi:

Spirito del Nume, sovra noi discendi!

Ne avviva al raggio dell'eterna luce;

Pel labbro nostro tua giustizia apprendi.241

The forms of each of the three sets of collective speeches for the actual trial of Radamès are realized as terzine in versi endecasillabi followed by a final quartina in versi decasillabi for the chorus:

Ramfis (nel sotterraneo)

Radamès! . . . Radamès: tu rivelasti

240 Ghislanzoni ms., p. 139; Appendix IV B, p. 920:
"Alas! I feel myself dying . . . Oh! who will save him? I love him . . . I love him always!—Now, I curse you Atrocious jealousy that determined His death and the eternal grief of my heart! What do I see? here are the fatal ones . . . The inexorable ministers of death . . . Oh! that I may not see those white spectres!"

241 Ghislanzoni ms., p. 139; Appendix IV B, p. 921:
"Spirit of the God, descend unto us!
Revive us with the ray of eternal light;
Express thy justice through our lips!"
Della patria i segreti allo straniero . . .

Coro

Ti discolpa! . . .

Ramfis

Egli tace!

Coro

Traditor!

Ramfis

Radamès! . . . Radamès: tu disertasti

Del campo il dì che precedea la pugna . . .

Coro

Ti discolpa! . . .

Ramfis

Egli tace!

Coro

Traditor!

Ramfis

Radamès! . . . Radamès: tua fe' violasti,

Alla patria spergiuro, al Re, all'onor.

Coro

Ti discolpa! . . .

Ramfis

Egli tace!

Coro

Traditor!

Tutti

Radamès: è deciso il tuo fato;
Verdi's request for Dantesque treatment of the backstage chorus (item 6), it will be noted, is carried out for the full course of the trial of Radamès.

Finally, the concluding solo scene for Amneris and the eventually disappearing chorus is set in versi decasillabi, alternating quartine, distici and versi:

\[242\] Ghislanzoni ms., pp. 140-41; Appendix IV B, pp. 922-24:

"Ramfis (in the subterranean chamber)
Radamès' . . . Radamès: you revealed
The secrets of the homeland to the foreigner . . .
Chorus
Defend yourself!
Ramfis He is silent!
Chorus Traitor!
Ramfis
Radamès' . . . Radamès: you deserted
From the field the day that preceded the battle . . .
Chorus
Defend yourself!
Ramfis He is silent!
Chorus
Traitor!
Ramfis
Radamès' . . . Radamès: you violated your oath,
False to the homeland, to the King, to your honour.
Chorus
Defend yourself!
Ramfis He is silent!
Chorus
Traitor!
All
Radamès: your fate is decided;
You will have the death of the infamous;
Below the altar of the outraged God
To you alive be opened the tomb!"
Amneris

Nè di sangue son paghi giammai . . .
E si chiaman ministri del ciel!
(volgendosi ai sacerdoti che escono dal sotter[r]aneo)
Sacerdote! tu compisti un delitto
Guai per te se quest'uomo perisce!
Chi lo amò . . . che ad amarlo sol visse
Perdonarti giammai non potrà!
Ramfis e Coro
È traditor! morrà.

Amneris
Sacerdote! tu all'odio nascesti . . .
A te ignota ogni legge d'amore . . .
Questo sol ti rammenta: s'eì muore
Sul tuo capo il suo sangue cadrà!
Ramfis e Coro
È traditor! morrà.

Amneris
Sacerdoti! . . . Nè spersa giammai
L'empia razza dal mondo sarà! 243

243 Ghislanzoni ms., p. 141; Appendix IV B, pp. 924-26:
"Amneris
Nor with blood are they ever sated . . .
And they call themselves ministers of heaven!
(turning herself to the priests who exit from the
Verdi accepted the second draft in Letter 31 but proposed several alterations to the diction of Amneris's recitatives and lyrical strophes. Furthermore, the composer added a request for terzine for Amneris, these to be sung as responses to each unit of the trial of Radamès. Since the Ghislanzoni ms. does not contain drafts for these changes and additions, it is obvious they either were lost when the ms. came to be assembled or were prepared by Ghislanzoni at Sant'Agata.

Act IV, Scene iv: Recitative in Versi Lirici

The very short scene iv. for Amneris, the King and the former's hand-maidens, which is given in Verdi's libretto, is realized only in the first of Ghislanzoni's drafts for the fourth act. The versification of this fragment comprises four rhymed versi quinari doppi:

subterranean chamber
Priest! you committed a crime
Woe to you if this man perishes!
She who loved him ... she who only lived to save him
Will never be able to pardon you!
Ramfis and Chorus He is a traitor! he will die!
Amneris
Priest! you were born to hatred ...
Since every law of love be unknown to you ... Let only this be remembered by you: if he dies
On your head his blood will rest!
Ramfis and Chorus He is traitor! he will die. (they exit)
Amneris
Priests! ... Never will your wicked race
Be scattered [lost] by the world!"

Verdi libretto ms., p. 48; Appendix III A, pp. 637-38.
Scena IV

Il Re--Amneris

Amneris (correndo [illegible word] al Re)

Salvalo, o Padre!

Il Re

Tu l'ami tanto? . . .

Amneris

Morrò s'ei muore . . . pietà! pietà!--

Son disperata . . .

Il Re

Tu preghi invano . . .

È condannato . . . colui morrà.

(Amneris vacilla e cade nelle braccia delle ancelle)

The composer's reference to the first versification of this scene in Letter 245 Ghislanzoni ms., pp. 137-38; Appendix IVA, pp. 806-07.

"Scene IV
The King--Amneris
Amneris (running [illegible word] to the King)
Save him, o Father!
The King

You love him so much? . . .

Amneris
I shall die if he dies . . . pity! pity!--
I am desperate . . .
The King

You beg in vain . . .

He is condemned . . . he will die.
(Amneris sways and falls into the arms of the serving maids)"

245
29 shows the poet, in another letter which has not come to light, to have considered the scene unworthy of further development: "You are perfectly correct in saying the King and maidservants are useless." No other mention of the scene is found in the correspondence.

Act IV, Final Scene: Ghislanzoni's First Draft

The first versified version of the final scene of Act IV comprises sixteen items which follow the model of the second version of Verdi's libretto: a monologue for Radamès (item 3) and four parts of a duet for Aida and Radamès. The duet comprises: a dialogue in versi sciolti (items 4-7); an adagio section which contains a rhymed ottava in versi settenari for Aida and the first line of a quartina for Radamès (items 8 and 9)—the remaining three lines of the latter's strophe are given in dotted lines; a tempo di mezzo in versi sciolti (items 11 through 14c); strophes for a concluding cabaletta in versi settenari, two lines for Radamès, a sestina for Aida and two concluding lines for Radamès (items 15 through 17). In all, the first draft is extremely conventional in tone and certainly comes to a halt in a rather ragged manner. The omission of three lines in item 9 can be explained. Ghislanzoni took exception to the content of Verdi's model item and in Letter 27 explained his reluctance to versify the content of the model:

246 Busch, p. 93.


248 Verdi libretto ms., pp. 38-39; Appendix III A, pp. 638-44.
I am sending you the final scene. At certain points you will find some dots substituted for Radamès's words Ah, vivi! e godiamo un istante di felicità che tra poco sparirà per sempre.

I don't care much for these words. The situation of the two lovers is so desperate, so terrible, that the Ah, vivi! seems out of place to me, and even more the godiamo un istante di felicità. These last words could even lead to an erotic interpretation, which would certainly not correspond to the intentions of the author.

... give me your opinion. Fill in my dots, this one time, with some prose; and I shall write the verse.249

Verdi accepted the first draft provisionally but, as usual, cautioned with respect to the prolixity of the opening monologue, the "cold" diction of the final strophes and the poet's opinion with respect to the incomplete strophe for Radamès: "Have Radamès say whatever you think, and let it be a passionate and cantabile little strophe."250

Ten days later, Verdi returned to the final scene and specified a number of modifications which would "warm up" the conventional tone of the first draft.251 Of course, the usual revised model libretto—a combination of new lines and paraphrased lines from the first draft—takes up the greatest part of Letter 32. First, Verdi demonstrates that three lines of Radamès's monologue (item 3, lines 2, 5 and 9/10) are out of character and also cause the

249 Busch, p. 89.

250 Busch, p. 91.

251 Busch, pp. 101-03.
prolixity of the first part of the scene and thus delay the appearance of Aida:

In the first recitative, which seems to me (as you yourself say) a little ornate, Radamès would not want to utter phrases such as

Me dai viventi separò per sempre . . .
Al guardo mio non splenderà più mai . . .
Un gemito mi parve udir, etc., etc.

Then Aida is there, and she must show herself as soon as possible.252

Second, the manner of versification and the content for the incomplete strophe for Radamès (item 9) are specified:

After the beautiful lines of seven syllables for Aida, it is impossible to find anything for Radamès to say; so I would first write eight seven-syllable lines for Radamès, based on the words Tu morire! Tu innocente, sì bella, sì giovane. Nè posso salvarti! . . . Oh! dolore! Il mio fatale amore ti perdeva, etc., etc.253

Third, the concluding cabaletta, with a newly conceived part for Amneris, is described:

At the end I would like to eliminate the usual agony and avoid the words io manco; ti precedo; attendimi! morta! vivo ancor!, etc., etc. I would like something sweet, ethereal, a very brief duet, a farewell to life. Aida should sink gently into Radamès's arms. Meanwhile, Amneris, kneeling on


the stone above the subterranean chamber, should sing a Requiescant in pacem, etc.\textsuperscript{254}

There is an element of irony in the fact that Verdi insists on the avoidance of phrases such as "io manco (I fail)." These very words are given in the text of the composer's own libretto. It is, however, clear that once a versified draft was at his disposal, Verdi's intelligence was fired and he was able to lift the basic model above the level of the commonplace and develop a more novel and telling rendition of a scene. Indeed, the new model libretto which follows the composer's analysis of the problems of the first draft demonstrates considerable development of the final scene.

**Act IV, Final Scene: Verdi's New Model Libretto**

The new model libretto also included precise specifications for the new concluding \textit{cabaletta} as to content, shape and meter:

[Write] Four beautiful \textit{cantabile} lines of eleven syllables. But, because they are \textit{cantabile}, the accent must be on the fourth and eighth syllables.\textsuperscript{255}

The new lines for Amneris are also specified owing to the fact that Verdi gives in the same letter two model \textit{versi quinari} and two dotted-line \textit{versi} to comprise the \textit{quartina} required for this character:

Riposa in pace,

\textsuperscript{254} Busch, p. 101.

\textsuperscript{255} Busch, p. 102.
Alma adorata.

The creative process, the interaction between the poetry and the musical ideas in gestation, is amply demonstrated in the further evolution of the final scene. Second thoughts about the still somewhat traditional setting given in Letter 32 occurred to Verdi as he came to sketch the musical ideas for the proposed versifications. Chief among the composer's continuing concerns, expressed in Letter 33, was the fear that the final tragedy, evolved so carefully from the first scene up to this very point, would conclude too swiftly. Furthermore, the composer was troubled that matching strophes in the same meter (items 8 and 9) would lead to monotony:

As soon as I mailed my letter to you yesterday, I began to study seriously the final scene. In inexperienced hands it could turn out either too abrupt or too monotonous. It must not be abrupt; after such an elaborate setting, it would be a case of parturiens mons were it not well developed. Monotony must be avoided by finding some uncommon forms.\(^{256}\)

Accordingly, Verdi devised a plan that encompassed six contrasted elements (forms) as the components of a scene that could hardly lead to a monotonous effect and filled out the rather basic and predictable events of the lover's final encounter and ultimate death. For the construction of a novel verse form for Radamès's strophe (item 9), Verdi drew upon his knowledge and

\(^{256}\) Busch, p. 103.
experience in setting French verse and suggested the blending of lines in different meters:

The French, even in their poetry set to music, sometimes use longer or shorter lines. Why couldn't we do the same? This entire scene cannot, and must not, be anything more than a scene of singing, pure and simple. A somewhat unusual verse form for Radamès would oblige me to find a melody different from those usually set to lines of seven and eight syllables and would also oblige me to change the tempo and meter in order to write Aida's solo [item 10] (a kind of half-aria). Thus with a

- somewhat unusual cantabile for Radamès,
- another half-aria for Aida,
- the dirge of the priests,
- the dance of the priestesses,
- the farewell to life of the lovers
- the in pace of Amneris,

we would form a varied and well-developed ensemble.

Appended to this description is a fragment of model lines for the conclusion of Aida's item 8 in versi endecasillabi, an ottava of lines of mixed meters for Radamès's item 9 and Aida's item 10 in versi settenari:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of verso</th>
<th>[Aida] E qui, lontana da ogni sguardo umano</th>
<th>Radamès Morire! Tu innocente?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>E qui, lontana da ogni sguardo umano</td>
<td>Morire! Tu innocente?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.................Sul tuo cor morire.</td>
<td>Morire! . . . Tu sì bella?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tu, negli april degli anni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

257 Busch, p. 103.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of verso</th>
<th>Verse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Lasciar la vita?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Quant'io t'amai, no, nol può dir favella!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Ma fù mortale l'amor mio per te.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Morire! tu innocente?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Morire! Tu sì bella?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Aida  Vedi? di morte l'angelo [ . . . ]

Versi of differing lengths and strophes in different meters, of course, free melodic lines and attendant harmonies from the striction of the ever-predictable appearance of the cadenza regolare of more conventional versifications.

It is also clear that the melodies themselves were already sketched, if not written. And, in this respect, another problem arose concerning the final portion of the scene. The process of sketching the music on the basis of the rough libretto draft given in Letter 32 had yielded a melody

258 Busch, p. 104:

"[Aida] And here, far from every human glance
...............On you heart to die.

Radamès To die! You innocent one?
To die! . . . You so beautiful?
You, in the April of your years
To leave life?
As much as I loved you, no,
But my love was fatal for you.
To die! you innocent one?
To die! You so beautiful?

Aida Do you see? the angel of death [ . . . ]"
which would not fit the specified versi endecasillabi setting. Rather, the composer now amended his request to "uneven twelve-syllable lines" for the final cabaletta. 259

Act IV, Final Scene: Ghislanzoni's Second Draft

Based on Verdi's detailed discussion in Letters 32 and 33, Ghislanzoni's second draft of the final scene of Act IV complies with some, but not all, of the composer's requests. First, Radamès's opening monologue is reduced from twelve to eight lines through the excision of the content Verdi found to be out of character. Second, the poet provided Verdi with two rhymed versions of the experimental strophe for Radamès. The first version has ten lines; the first three are versi settenari, the fourth is a verso quinario, the fifth is a verso endecasillabo, the remainder are five versi quinari:

Morir! sì pura e bella!  
Morir per me d'amore!  
Degli anni tuoi nel fiore,  
[Illegible crossed-out line]  
Al sorriso, all'amore fosti creata . . .  
Ed io t'uccido  
Per averti amata!  
No, non morrai!  

259 Busch, p. 104.
The second version has eight lines; the first three are versi settenari, the fourth is a verso quinario, the fifth is a verso endecasillabo, the sixth is a verso decasillabo, the last two are versi settenari:

Morir! Sì bella e candida!
Degli anni al primo albore!
Dovrai per questo estinguerti
Povero fiore!
Al sorriso, all'amore fosti creata . . .
Ed io t'uccido per aver ti amata.
Giovane e bella tanto
No, tu non puoi morir.260

260 Ghislanzoni ms., p. 143; Appendix IV B, pp. 928-29:
"To die so pure and beautiful
To die for love of me!
At the dawn of your life,
[Illegible crossed-out line]
For smiling, for loving you were created . . .
And I kill you
For having loved you!
No, you will not die!
I loved you too much!
You are too beautiful!"

261 Ghislanzoni ms., p. 143; Appendix IV B, pp. 929-30:
"To die! So beautiful and innocent!
In the prime of your life!
For this you must wilt away
Poor flower!
For smiling, for loving you were created . . .
And I kill you for having loved you.
Third, Ghislanzoni provided a rhymed ottava in versi endecasillabi for the final cabaletta, sketches for the same and for Amneris's final utterances, the latter in versi quinari.

Item Y, the final cabaletta:

A Due

Addio terra d'esiglio e di dolor,

Addio larva di ben che [illegible word] fuggi . . .

Già s'apre il cielo . . . già sul nostro amor

Splende la luce dell'eterno dì.

terra
O te addio addio addio valle di pianti

Sogno di gaudio che in dolor svanian

A noi si schiude il ciel l'alme erranti

Volano al raggio dell'eterno dì.262

t

So young and so beautiful
No, you cannot die!"

262 Ghislanzoni ms., p. 145; Appendix IV B, p. 933:
"Together
Farewell land of exile and of grief,
Farewell spectre of happiness [illegible word] fades away . . .
Already heaven opens . . . already our love
Shines the light of the eternal day.
earth
O ea farewell farewell farewell vale of tears
Dream of joy that vanished in grief
The heavens open to us, our wandering souls
Fly to the glow of the eternal day."
The sketches for another rendition of the caballeta show the poet's technical method with respect to creating versi endecasillabi which are divisible into two halves: a line divides the page, separating the two limbs of the proposed lines:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{O terra addio, addio} & \text{ mendace-erudeil} \\
\text{Addio speranza} & \text{ mentir,} \\
\text{All'alme erranti già} & \text{ si chi schiude il ciel} \\
\text{[Illegible cancelled phrase]} & \\
\text{L'alba già spunta} & \\
\text{Già spunta l'alba} & \text{ dell'eterno di.} \\
\text{Addio per sempre} & \text{ vale} \\
\text{Addio} & \text{ per petr pianti} \\
\text{addie} & \\
\text{O terra addio, addio} & \text{ valle di pianti,} \\
\text{Sogno mendace} & \text{ che in dolor svani} \\
\text{Già-Già-si-sehí} & \\
\text{T'accolga in cielo} \text{263}
\end{align*}
\]

263 Ghislanzoni ms., p. 145; Appendix IV B, pp. 934-35:

"O earth farewell, farewell Farewell hope To the wandering souls already [Illegible cancelled phrase] The dawn already breaks Farewell forever Farewell farewell O earth farewell, farewell Deceitful dream Already already ope Welc
A similar method appears to have been applied to the five-syllable lines for Amneris:

Ombra adorata Ombra pieeata adorata,

Pace ti imploro

Ombra-adorata Pace ti imploro

Eterno il pianto Martire santo

Perdona Del ciel Eterno il pianto

Per me sarà. A-me placata Sarà per me.264

In the end, Verdi took charge of the completion of the final scene himself. In Letter 34, the composer acknowledges the poet's second draft but admits having composed the music to the paraphrased version given in Letters 32 and 33:

I received the verses, which are beautiful but not all right for me. To avoid losing time, since you took so long sending them to me, I had already written the piece to the monstrous verses I sent you.265

Verdi concludes this letter with a request that the poet come immediately to Sant'Agata for the purpose of adjusting the poetry of the paraphrased texts.

264 Ghislanzoni ms., p. 145; Appendix IV B, p. 935:
"Adored shade Shade piaeata adorned,
I implore peace for you

Endered-hade Holy martyr

The eternal-tear Eternal the tears

Will be for me. Te-me placate Will be for me."

265 Busch, p. 109.
For this reason, the ms. does not contain the revised texts and we must conclude that the final revision was created under the supervision of the composer.

* * *

Our study clearly reveals Verdi's extensive role in the versification of the Aida libretto. In fact, short of writing the actual poetry, the composer directed or participated in every phase of the versification. To do this, Verdi undertook to conduct a rather close collaboration with his poet. First, the composer provided Ghislanzoni with the complete prose libretto, which served as the basis of the versification. Second, Verdi continued to create new prose models for scenes he perceived to be perplexed by serious faults once he had studied Ghislanzoni's poetry or had attempted to set it to music. Third, the composer insisted that the poet retain all the items of dialogue and stage directions given in Verdi's model libretto, and did not allow any omissions or additions. Fourth, by a continuous interchange of letters with Ghislanzoni, Verdi exposed a whole series of interrelated problems in Ghislanzoni's drafts—prolixity, faulty diction, ornateness of verse, among other things—and prescribed possible solutions for each problem. Finally, Verdi requested the precise poetic metre of many lyrical strophes, specific syllabic accentuation within lines of recitative, and novel versifications in which recitative and lyrical verse were mingled.

Clearly, Verdi was the principal librettist of this opera.
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APPENDICES:  AIDA LIBRETTO MANUSCRIPTS
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MODIFICATIONS BY VERDI AND DU LOCLE OF MARIETTE'S SCENARIO

[Aïda]

Acte 1er

Scénario

[p. 2] Blank page

1 [p. 3] Acte 1er Une cour plantée 1er tableau d'arbres. dans le palais Scène 1 du roi à Memphis. à droite un portique.

Rhadamès, Ramphís

2 Rhadamès

Vénérable prêtre d'Isis, quelles nouvelles se répandent? Les Ethiopiens, ces cruels ennemis de l'Egypte osent dit-on, relever la tête! Amounasro lui roi, un pressant la vallée du Nil et Thèbes aimée du Dieu. parle... ta sagesse portes-tu au roi les conseils des Isis qui gouvernent le monde?

3 Ramphís (avec intention)

O Rhadamès!

[Intelligible word] Isis veillent l'Egypte. elle a désigné celui qui doit combattre les Ethiopiens et sauver cette terre sacrée...

4 Rhadamès

Heureux celui là! Dut-il mourir enseveli dans [sic] son triomphe!
Ramphis

Les Dieux ont parlé! ... le nom d'un hérois jeune et vaillant est sorti de leur bouche vénérable, et je vais transmettre au Roi leur volonté suprême!

Rhadamès

Heureux dut-il mourir, celui qui les dieux ont désigné pour garder sa patrie!

le prêtre entre dans palais

[p. 4]

Scène II

Amnéris sort du palais—Ramphis

la salue et entre sous le portique /

Amnéris Ramphis [Rhadamès is written overtop Ramphis]

quel éclair dans vos yeux Rhadamès? quelle heureuse fierté sur votre visage. Elle serait heureuse celle dont la présence mettrait dans vos yeux cette flamme

Ces rayons de joie à votre face!

Rhadamès

fille-des-pharaons

l'Egypte est menacée—mais les Dieux ont parlé a désigné un guerrier

un guerrier [Illegible crossed-out passage] Isis pour combattre et les ennemis de l'Egypte pour vaincre que ne sois-je ce guerrier? cette
seule pensée fait trembler ma main et battre
mon coeur!

4

Amneris
N'est-il pas au monde un bonheur plus grand
que la joie de la victoire, un destin plus heureux
que celui du soldat dans les camps. Rhadames
quitterait-il donc Memphis sans laisser derrière
lui un regret ou une espérance?

5

Rhadames (à part)
Ah! lit-elle dans mon coeur? a-t-elle surpris
[ p. 5]
deviné
ma secrète pensée a-t-elle lut-dans-mon-coeur mon
amour pour esclave?

6

Amnérîs (à part)
Cette froideur! cette dédaigneuse indifférence. il
est dans son coeur un secret qu'il me cache.
malgré lui, je le pénétrerai.

Scene III

Amnérîs, Rhadames, Aïda

1 Aïda paraît sous le portique, descendant vers
Rhadames
Amnérîs. à la vue de Ramphis, elle s'arrête
regarde
et se trouble. Amnérîs l'aperçoit et [illegible crossed-out word]

yeux

vers Rhadames qui détourne ses regards, mouvement.

2

Amnérîs (à part)
Cette rivale dont je cherche en vain le
nom . . . est-ce donc elle . . . est-ce donc Aïda qu'il aime!! (à Aïda) En quoi mon esclave préférée, toi que je Ensemble-au-Trois protège entre toutes et que je traite comme une soeur, pourquoi ce trouble dans tes regards, et ces larmes qui brillent malgré toi dans tes yeux?

Aïda

Hélas! La guerre va de nouveau éclater entre La terre chérie où j'ai vu le jour, et ce pays où je suis prisonnière. Comment la pauvre captive pourrait-elle retenir ses larmes et contenir les mouvements de son coeur?

Ensemble (en trio)

Aïda que les Dieux me pardonnent! Mon malheur et celui de ma patrie n'occupent pas seuls mon coeur trouble! Hélas! En la vue de Ramphis [sic] je me sens trembler et mourir mes yeux-se-voilent et mon trouble se lit dans mes yeux!

Rhadamès Ramphis qu'elle est belle et touchante! Comme sous ses habits d'esclave elle est noble et fière, on dirait une Reine captive. Qui ne serait heureux de sécher les larmes de ces yeux ravissants.
Scène IV

1 Les mêmes—un Héraut—puis Le Roi
Ramphis—seigneurs de la suite du Roi.

2 Le Héraut

Je viens des provinces lointaines qui touchent
implorer
la brûlante Éthiopie. je viens parler à
notre glorieux Roi.

3 Seigneurs

Le voici lui-même qui s'avance vers nous . . .

4 (le roi paraît sous le portique avec Ramphis
et les seigneurs de sa suite)

5

Le Roi

Parle quelles nouvelles m'apportes-tu?

6

Le Héraut

Grand Roi. Thèbes est menacée. les féroces
Éthiopiens, Amounasro à leur tête ont
ils brûlent les villes désolent les campagnes
envahi l'Egypte. Le peuple de Thèbes
t'implore et réclame ton secours! . . .
Le Roi

Ils ne m'implorent pas en vain. demain nos phalanges que suit la victoire vont se mettre en chemin. La terre des Rhamsès n'a pas dégénéré. les Dieux la protègent toujours. ils ont désigné celui qui doit délivrer l'Egypte et châtier le [p. 8]

farouche Amounasro. que celui-là ceigne son Epée, et marche vers le temple de Vulcaïn pour y prendre les armes sacrées. Le guerrier désigné par les dieux, Rhadamès c'est toi!

Rhadamès

Grands Dieux! Ô vous comblez mon coeur de joie!

Aïda et Amnériss

Hélas! il va partir ... il va courir pour être en devant de la mort.

Le Roi et Ramphis

Va Rhadamès. va mettre les armes sacrées, pars et reviens vainqueur! ...

Amnériss

reviens vainqueur ...

Les seigneurs et les prêtres

reviens vainqueur!

Rhadamès, s'incline et sort avec Ramphis.
Le roi suivi des seigneurs entre dans le palais
avec Amnérès.

[p. 9]

Scène V

Aïda seule

air dramatique

Reviens Vainqueur Rhadamès! ah! quel
blasphème ma bouche ose prononcer ... quoi?
revenez vainqueur de mon père qui n'a rallumé
la guerre que pour revenir prendre au fond du
le [sic] palais la fille dont on ignore l'illustre
origine!! revenez vainqueur de ma patrie, couvert
du sang des miens amener mon père lié à
ton char triomphé!!! ah, Dieux immortels
dissipez cette armée funeste! ... Donne la
victoire à mon père ... à mon pays ...
que dis-je malheureuse. Rhadamès que je
chérissais plus que la vie ... vaincu ... blessé ... 
mort peut-être ... finissant au fond d'un
noir cachot une existence infortunée ... Dieux
prenez ma vie! délivrez par la mort
l'infortunée Aïda de ses tourments et
de sa douleur!
[p. 10]

Acte 1

2e Tableau.

Le temple de Vulcain à Memphis

Chœur de prêtres

Entrée de Rhadames

Prière de Termouthis et de

Ramphis

danse sacrée.

Voile étendu sur la tête de

Rhadames

Il met les armures sacrées.

Hymne à Isis

(Comme au programme imprimé)

Hôpital

[p. 11]

Aïda

Acte II

Scénario

1er Tableau

Chœur des femmes

récit d'Amnéris

duo d'Amnéris et Aïda

Sortie

2e Tableau

1 Chœur

marche

ballet

marche
septuor—

récit d'Amounasro

finale [sic]:

[blank page]

[p. 13]

Acte II

1er tableau

1

Une salle dans les appartements de la princesse Amnérîs.

S. 1. Amnérîs--les femmes

2

Choeur joyeux. on pare la princesse pour la fête qui va avoir lieu. ses esclaves achèvent sa toilette. On brûle des parfums à ses pieds, on agite l'air autour d'elle avec de grands éventails. // jour béni des Dieux! jour de fête! Les fils d'Osiris ont vaincu! leurs ennemis anéantis les noirs Ethiopiens, sont dispersés et [ont disparu] comme le vent du désert dissipe et sème au loin le sable le glorieux Rhadamès a vu s'évanouir devant lui leurs noirs phalanges. Gloire à Rhadamès, gloire à Isis. la vierge mère! 

3

Silence dit Amnérîs. voici s'avancer vers nous la belle
Aïda mon esclave. elle appartient à la nation vaincue
respectons sa douleur

4 Aïda entre les yeux baissés lentement apportant la
couronne de la princesse. Amnérîs l'accueille avec une bonté
affectueuse
sourire et congédie ses femmes d'un geste.

S. II Amnérîs. Aïda.

5 Le soupçon qui a traversé déjà le cœur d'Amnérîs se
réveille plus piquant encore quand elle a vu paraître
la belle esclave. Cet amour que Rhadames lui refuse

n'est-ce pas à cette pâle Aïda qu'il le donne?

le regarde chargé de flamme qu'elle a surpris entre
la froideur de
eux n'a-t-il pas dévoilé la cause de [du-dédain]

Rhadames le-victorieux-de-héros

6 Amnérîs (à Aïda)
Le sort des armées a été contraire à ton peuple
Amnérîs-à-Aïda les ennemis de l'Égypte sont

Châtiés mais [sois] sans crainte ma protection
à jamais [tienne] et tu vivras heureuse à mes côtés.

7 Aïda

Heureuse? hélas Aïda-oui-je-le-serais-si puis oublier
la terre chérie où j'ai vu le jour . . . puis-je oublier mon
père et mes jeunes soeurs qui pleurent là-bas mon
esclavage?

8 Amnérîs

Un dieu te consolera répond-Amnérîs, un Dieu qui
fait renaître le sourire sur les lèvres pâles des jeunes-filles un Dieu puissant et fort... l'amour!... tu rougis...
quelque jeune fils de l'Égypte a-t-il eu l'art de toucher ton cœur? parle-moi... je suis ta amie...
peut-être un jeune guerrier. un de ceux qui reviennent après la victoire... ah! tous n'ont pas la destinée fatale de leur glorieux chef, que la mort a saisi au moment noble où se décidait son triomphe!... du illustre et malheureux Rhadamès.

Aïda (éperdue)

Rhadamès s'écrie Aïda [illegible word] elle... il est mort!!
Dieux!... je me sens mourir aussi!... ah! frappez-moi impitoyables Dieux éreintés... que la fille du roi d'Éthiopie ne survive pas son ennemi victorieux!

Aïda (représentation)

Qu'as-tu donc? tu pâlis? ta main tremble? un voile s'étend sur tes yeux... pleures-tu donc Rhadamès le héros fatal à ta patrie!...

[p. 15]

je pleure tout ce que j'aime, répond Aïda tout ce que j'aimais les Dieux implacables me l'ont saisi laisse ta plaintive esclave cacher au fond du palais ses angoisses et ses larmes, ne la fais pas assister au triomphe des ennemis de son pays et son Roi.

[Amnérîs]
Rhadamès est mort! les dieux t'ont vengée!

[Aïda]

Les dieux! ... les dieux sont sans pitié pour moi! répond Aïda en désespoir.

Plus de doute, se dit Amnérís. Rhadamès aime cette esclave et cette esclave ose l'aider il faut qu'elle meure. Pourquoi mes regards n'ont-ils pas comme ceux du Basilic le pouvoir de tuer celui qui les brave!

[Amnérís] Non il vit mais tu es ma rivale ... je te perdrai

Il est mort se dit Aïda ... j'ose aimer l'ennemi le destructeur de ma patrie. les dieux ont puni mon sacrilège. tout est fait ah pourquoi [vis-je encore] que tardez à suivre aux rives infernales celui que j'aimais! Elle la force à la suivre.

Scène III' Amnérís--Aïda--femmes

Une musique entendue se fait extérieur. Les femmes d'Amnérís retournent. la fête va commencer Amnérís sort pour y aller, suivie de ses femmes et ordonnant d'un geste à Aïda de rester à ses côtés.

Le théâtre change

[p. 16] Blank page
Act II

1er tableau : 2.

Aïda

11 Je pleure tout ce que j'aime, tout ce que j'aimais
les dieux me l'ont saisi! . . .

12 Amnés (l'observant)
Les Dieux! sont vengés . . . Rhadamès est mort! . . .

13 Aïda
Les Dieux! hélas! ils sont sans pitié pour moi!

14 Amnés (avec violence)
et tremble
Ecoute. j'ai lu dans ton coeur. tu avais osé lever
les yeux à Rhadamès . . . tu l'aimais . . .

15 Aïda (très troublée)
Moi! . . . une esclave! . . .

16 Amnés
Pourquoi mentir? D'un mot je vous l'arracherais.

17 Aïda (tombant à genoux)
é Dieux!

18 Amnés
tu l'aimes. oses-tu le nier encore . . . mais je
l'aime aussi, entends-tu! . . . la fille des Pharaons
est ta rivale!
19 Aïda [pas elle-même]
Il vit! ... oh Dieux cléments! ... 

20 Amnérîs
Brise ton coeur, esclave ou crains ma vengeance!

21 Musique en dehors
Entends-tu? le triomphe de Rhadamès
[p. 18]
s'apprête . . .

22 Aïda
Ah! laisse-moi cacher au fond du palais ma
douleur et ma honte ... aie pitié.

23 Amnérîs
Viens! je veux que le Vainqueur de l’Ethiopie
te voie à mon côté humble et tremblante quand
il entre en pompe à Thèbes, et recevoir
de mes mains la couronne triomphale!

Elles sortent

[p. 19]

Acte II

2ᵉ tableau

Scène 1ère

Une des entrées de la ville de Thèbes--au fond
les grands pylons et les obélisques du temple d’amon.
à droite une porte triomphale, à gauche un trône surmonté d'un dais pourpre. Ramphis, thermoutis. Le Roi est assis sur son trône, la princesse Amnéris à son côté--un peu plus bas, Aïda parmi les esclaves peuple, gardes, prêtres, etc., etc., etc. Chœur général

Un héraut vient demander au Roi s'il consent à recevoir dans sa ville sacrée, les guerriers vainqueurs des Éthiopiens ses ennemis qui reviennent chargés de leurs dépouilles.

Le Roi fait un geste--grande marche--les troupes à pied de toutes armes--les chars de guerre--les trésors des vaincus portés par des danseuses qui mêlent leurs pas devant le trône du pharaon--enfin sur un char triomphal entouré de Captifs enchaînés[qui vont mourir] Rhadamès le front ceint de la couronne triomphale. [et veut se calmer vers lui]

A la vue de Rhadamès Aïda pousse un cri. Amnéris un mot, elle m'avait déçu qui l'observe se lève et l'arrête d'une net regard menaçant. le Roi descend de son trône pour recevoir Rhadamès qu'il embrasse et serre dans ses bras. Un des officiers éthiopiens prisonnier de Rhadamès, s'écarte et regarde Aïda avec intérêt, c'est Amounasro. père d'Aïda et roi d'Éthiopie.

Grand-ensemble-avec-Septuer

à la fin de septuor, Amounasro enchaîné, s'approche d'Aïda et se jette à ses pieds en suppliant. Aïda le regarde et pousse
Ah! s'écrie-t-elle. roi glorieux, vous, héros victorieux
sauve cet homme qui marche à la mort et-suppliant ma
il vient baiser [illegible word] tunique . . . il est de ma race . . . il
est de mon sang! . . . sauvé-le . . . il est . . .
Tais-toi, dit Amounasro à sa fille si je me suis
tenter une
caché sous ces habits c'est pour assurer une vengeance!
Sauve-moi, ne me trahis pas.
Parle dit Rhadamès quel est cet homme . . . pries-tu à Aïda adresserai au Roi
sa vie . . . ? la première prière que [illegible word] en ce jour
il a juré de l'[écouter!] . . .
le septuor
Il l'aime dit Amnérïs! ah! pèrisse cette femme . . .
Vainqueur de ma race, dit Amounasro, épargnez-nous . . .
Les Dieux nous ont frappé hier dans leur colère. ils peuvent
Vous frapper demain. apprenez-lui la pitié s'ils l'ignorent
Courbées sur travaux de la terre, ramant par vous sur les
flots du Nil, nous garderons encore le plus grand des [sic] dans la
Vie! apprenez aux Dieux la pitié!
Aïda ah je [illegible word] nos filles
Aïda joint ses prières à celles des captifs. Amneris-seul
Amounasro
En lieu dit le roi que vos voeux soient accordés et toi Aïda
sera heureuse. Très heureuse comme ma fille Amnérïs que
demain par prix de sa valeur je vais donner [pour épouse]
au plus vaillant des guerriers au glorieux Rhadamès!

Vivats du peuple et des prêtres. joie d'Amnéris désespoir de Rhadamès et d'Aïda. à qui Amounasro promet une vengeance précipitée. Le roi unit les mains de Rhadamès et d'Aïda [sic].

Sortie

[p. 21]

Aïda
Acte II
2ᵉ tableau

[illegible words]
Scénario

[p. 22] Blank page

[p. 23]
Acte II
IIᵉ tableau
1. Acte II
2ᵉ tableau

1 Une des entrées de la ville de Thèbes. au fond les Pylones et les obélisques du temple d'ammon. à droite une porte triomphale à gauche un trône surmonté d'un
dais de pourpre. 

Le Roi est assis sur son trône. Ramphis

et Thermoutis sont près d'elle. en bas Aïda

parmi les esclaves peuple, gardes, prêtres, etc.

2

Chœur général

Gloire à notre Roi glorieux qu'Isis
protège! Gloire à l'Egypte chérie notre Roi
d'ammon. Amnéris-toujours-victorieux-
unit dans ses mains aux palmes de
la haute Egypte, les Lotus du Delta!

Gloire au fils [illegible word] de Ramsès Merâmmonn!

3

Un héraut

Roi puissant te
Reine-puissante Vous plaît-il d'accueillir
dans la ville sacrée de Thèbes [illegible crossed-out word]
[illegible crossed-out word] vos soldats qui reviennent victorieux]
[p. 24]
apporter à vos pieds les dépouilles de vos
enemis anéantis!

4

Le Roi fait un geste, le défilé

commence.

5

Grande Marche

Les clairons--Les troupes à pied de
sorte armées--Les chars de guerre--Les
enseignes--les vases sacrés, les statues des
Dieux—les trésors des vaincus portés par des danseuses qui mêlent leurs pas devant le trône [illegible word] enfin portant sur un char triomphal, Rhadamès-le-front ceint de-la-couronne-triomphale.

Le Roi descent vers Rhadamès [illegible word] s'agenouille-devant-elle qui lui ouvre ses bras


6 Le Roi (à Rhadamès)

Guerrier victorieux, dit-Amnérhis soutier de mon trône, héros choisi par les Dieux. parle.

Par ma couronne sacrée, par le voile d'Isis, ce que tu demanderas, je te L'accorderai si haut que s'élève tu puisses.

[p. 25]

parle. tu peux tout obtenir! ... et regarde Aïda, Amnérhis l'observe

Rhadamès garde le silence à ce moment se fait entendre annoncés par un héraut une marche lugubre—entendre [sic] les prisonniers

Ethiopiens qui suivent enchâinés le char du Vainqueur et marchent à la mort. le dernier d'eux est Amounasro.

7 Aïda

poussant un cri et se jetant dans les
bras d'Amounasro.

Dieux tout puissants! mon père (au
ayez pitié)
Roi) ah / sauvez-le! sauvez . . .

9 Amounasro (interrompant Aïda)

Sauvez, si le bonheur ouvre votre cœur à la
pitié. les malheureux sur qui le sort a
épuisé ses coups. les Dieux nous ont frappé
dans leur colère, ils peuvent vous frapper
demain! apprenez aux Dieux la pitié! . . .

Le roi d'Ethiopie est mort. que cette juste
vengeance suffise à votre colère! épargnez-nous

10 Aïda (à part)

Dieux! j'ai par trahir mon père, ô mon
roi! en voulant te sauver j'ai failli te perdre!

11 Amounasro

tais-toi . . . et que je vive pour la Vengeance!

[p. 26]

Septuor

12 Le-Roi

Le Roi Dans les Septuor jours de prospérité les
dieux nous conseillent l'indulgence et je sens
mon coeur s'ouvrir à la pitié!

13 Amnésis est toute à sa jalousie. elle voit
que Rhadamès ne quitte pas des [sic]
regard Aïda tremblante. elle jure de
se venger de son insolente esclave.

14 Amounasro demande la vie pour lui et ses compagnons. courbez aux travaux de la terre, ramant sur les flots bleus du Nil nous ne demandons qu'un seul bien. Vivre apprenez aux Dieux la pitié.

15 Aïda unit ses supplications à celles de son père, elle adjure tour à tour Le Roi et Rhadamès.

16 Les compagnons supplient avec Amounasro et d'Amounasro Aïda.

17 Ramphis pas de pitié pour les ennemis de Thermoutis l'Egypte. les dieux veulent leurs Les prêtres morts.

18 Le peuple. Freinez votre colère, ô grand Roi Vous, prêtres des Dieux irrités. ouvrez votre âme à la pitié!

[p. 27]

Acte II

Il\textsuperscript{e} tableau après l'ensemble

19 2. Rhadamès\textsuperscript{(au Roi)}

Vous avez juré par le voile d'Isis, de [sic] d'accorder ma première prière ... ma première
priè en la voici. Donnez à ces captifs la vie
et la liberté!

Amméris (à part)

20 Ah! Comme il l'aime! . . .

21 Les prêtres

Non! . . . pas de pitié!

22 Le peuple

pitié! pitié!

23 Le Roi [Amounasro is written underneath Le Roi]

j'ai juré . . . qu'ils soient libres! Mais toi

Rhadamès héros vaillant dans les combats

miséricordieux dans la paix? sais-tu ce que

les dieux m'inspirent? ils ont ouvert mon

coeur pour toi ils-veulent-que-a-mon-eête

tu règnes sur l'Egypte fertile et sur le Nil

les mains de ma

sacré . . . que les prêtres unissent [illegible crossed-out word]

fille aux tiennes en)

(de saintes fiançailles! . . . Viens Rhadamès, et

mon fils et)

que demain tu vois un de ma fille bien

aimée.

24 Grand ensemble. Le peuple les prêtres

au Roi

Gloire à la Reine . . . gloire à Rhadamès!

[p. 28]

25 Le Roi

que ce soit la récompense du héros sauveur de

L'Egypte que nous ont envoyé les dieux!
26 Rhadamès
Ô ciel! la foudre est sur ma tête... si je parle... je perds Aïda... elle meurt avec moi!

27 Amnérès
Les Dieux ont parlé au cœur de mon père!... que l'esclave ose maintenant lever les yeux sur celui que j'aime!

28 Aïda (à Amounasro)
Mon père! j'aime Rhadamès, j'aime et je meurs!...

29 Amounasro (à Aïda)
je te vengerais ma fille! si je me cache, si je m'humble ainsi, c'est pour préparer notre vengeance!...

30 Les prêtres
(unissant les mains de Rhadamès et d'Amnérès)
joyeux en attendant L'Hymen, liés déjà par une sainte promesse.
Gloire aux Dieux de l'Egypte, gloire à Isis qui tient le cœur des hommes dans ses mains (reprise du 1er chœur)

31 Le peuple au Roi
Gloire à Rhadamès--Gloire à la Reine!
Cad. la Tela [sic]

[p. 29]

Aïda

Acte III

Scénario

[p. 30]

Acte III

La nuit. au bord du Nil. des roches de granit dans

lesquels croissent des palmiers. un petit temple caché dans

les arbres et se détachant sur le ciel. Clair de lune très

brillant.

Symphonie peignant la splendeur et le calme de la nuit.

Chants religieux dans le temple. Une barque paraît. Amnèris sort de la

barque suivi de Ramphis et des femmes portant des fleurs. elle monte

au temple X.

au-lever-du-réseau Aïda seule écoutant et pleurant. les

roches ce fleuve sacré ces-collines-lointaines-ou-dorment-depuis

des-siècles-les-ancêtres-de-ceux-qu'elle-amoureux elle prie tout

à témoin de sa constance et de sa fidélité. Rhadamès va

venir, elle l'attend. il lui a prié rendez-vous au pied de

cette petit temple solitaire, la temple d'Isis favorable à

l'amour.—si Rhadamès, souriant à l'hymne fortuné

d'Amneris veut seulement lui dire adieu, elle trouvera la

mort dans le fleuve sacré.
Un homme paraît. Ce n'est Rhadamès. c'est Amounasro qui a suivi sa fille. il apprend à Aïda que derrière les pas de Rhadamès partent victorieux les Ethiopiens ont levé de nouveau l'étendard de la révolte. de nouveau [illegible crossed-out word] Rhadamès va marcher contre eux. Dans un discours tendre il lui rappelle le sol natal, sa mère éplorée, les images sacrées des Dieux et de ses ancêtres. mais l'amour qu'Aïda inspire au jeune Rhadamès n'a pas échappé à sa clairvoyance de père. Aïda profite de cet amour pour arracher à Rhadamès le secret de la marche des troupes Egyptiennes, pendant qu'Aïda et Lui prendront la fuite, Rhadamès esclave sera transporté

X. Elle va supplier Isis de lui ouvrir le coeur de Rhadamès elle monte au temple et entre, la barque s'éloigne.

[p. 31]

comme esclave en Ethiopie ou, loin de Amnérîs, des liens éternels assureront pour jamais leur bonheur commun. Vaincu par les supplications de son père, par les souvenirs de son enfance, par la joie de posséder celui qu'elle aime Aïda promet. Rhadamès paraît. Il proteste à Aïda qu'il n'aime qu'elle Aïda alors tour à tour menace et supplie. elle Et moi aussi je suis fille de Roi.
fascine son amoureux elle l'entraîne elle le subjugué

Et moi aussi je suis la fille de Roi

eperdu d'amour Rhadamès se jette à ses pieds. ni
la patrie, ni le monde, ni les serments sacrés qui le
tiennent ne valent un regard, un sourire d'elle en
vain l'honneur le réclame il trahira son roi, il trahira
la foi jurée!!

Parirent Amounasro. à sa vue Rhadamès sent s'éveiller
dans son coeur le sentiment du devoir il tremble, il hésite,
il chancèle. Aïda lève sur lui ses beaux yeux suppliants
C'est fait. (près de Napata sont des gorges sombres) qui
commandent d'immenses forêts. C'est par là que l'armée
Egyptienne passera ... il y a une barque partez

Amméris et Ramphis sont sortis du temple. ils ont
entendu les dernières paroles de Rhadamès dit Amnérès
C'est un traître dit Amnérès chancelante!

Oui c'est un traître! répète Ramphis ... il doit mourir.
Non il vivra je l'aime, prêtre ... et je veux le sauver.
Il mourra, répond le prêtre!

Choeur général
Acte III

La nuit, au bord du Nil des rochers de granit

dans lesquels croissent des palmiers. en haut des
roches un petit temple à demi caché dans les
feuilles et se détachant sur le ciel. Clair

de lune splendide.

lointain
Chœur / dans le temple /

Isis vierge et mère à la fois, Isis déesse de la nature, Isis favorable à l'amour, entend nos voix envers nous. toi par qui tout nait et se renouvelle Epoues et mère d'Osiris resplendissant. Isis sois favorable à nos prières!

Une barque paraît sur le Nil elle porte

Une-barque-parait-sur-le-Nil--elle-pare-
[et] [paraît]

Amnéris, Ramphis des prêtres et des femmes de leur suite -- ils portent sur leurs vêtements des voiles sombres--ils descendent--la barque s'éloigne

barque-s'éloigner

4

Amnéris

pourquoi, prêtre, me conduire au milieu de la nuit, vers ce temple écarté où l'on implore Isis favorable à l'amour? pourquoi ces voiles qui dérobent à tous les yeux la fille de pharaon et le prêtre d'Isis?

5

Ramphis

Qui peut oser dire qu'il n'a rien à demander aux Dieux! qui peut dédaigner leur secours. pieuse

La princesse Amnéris à la veille de l'Hymen peut-elle oublier d'implorer le conseil d'Isis!
l'âme
d'Isis qui lit dans le cœur des hommes, et pour leurs destins qui l'amour n'ont pas de mystères!

Amnéris

Il est vrai prêtre. Isis tient le cœur des hommes dans ses mains... et je veux l'implorer... (à part) puisse-t-elle. ô Rhadamès. me livrer tout ton cœur comme elle t'a livré le mien.

Amnéris. Rhadamès [sic] et leur suite montent vers le temple et y entrent.--

Chœur lointain / dans le temple /

Isis, Vierge et mère à la fois, Isis déesse de la nature, Isis favorable à l'amour entend nos voix, envers nous!! toi par qui tout naît et se renouvelle, épouse et mère d'Osiris resplendissant, Isis sois favorable à nos prières!

____________________________

[p. 37]

3. (l bis)

Scène II

Aïda seule

Ombre de la nuit cache-moi astre à jamais sans voiles qui règne resplendissant dans l'azur implacable du ciel détourne de moi tes rayons!... des voix confuses s'élèvent de ce temple secret... Une
barque a glissé sur le Nil endormi . . . mais tout
se tait . . . Rhadamès doit venir ici . . . je l'attends!!

Romance
Ô Rhadamès toi mon amour et ma vie, que veux-
tu de ce coeur déchiré qui ne bat que pour toi?
La couronne de l'Egypte est offerte à ton
front glorieux, la belle Amnéris dont le coeur
t'appartient sera demain ton épouse. ah Rhadamès
si tu viens me dire un éternel adieu . . . je dormirai
demain, pâle et froide parmi les grands roseaux
du Nil'. . .
   etc etc etc

Scène III

Amounasro   Aïda

1

Aïda! . . .

[p. 36]

2

Aïda
Dieux! ce n'est pas Rhadamès . . . et pourtant cette
voix qui prononce mon nom, elle m'est chérie à moi . . .
mon père!! mon père bien aimé! . . .

3

Amounasro
Oh ma fille chérie! . . .
Ensemble

joie de se trouver . . . de se prendre entre leurs bras
toutes leurs misères oubliées . . . les dieux les ont réunis!

Amounasro

Ecoute . . . ta patrie, ton roi, ton père attendent de toi un héroïque secours. Rhadamès le vainqueur de l'Ethiopie, le fiancé de la fille du Pharaon t'aime [et de toi pris sera.] sauve à la fois ton amour et ta patrie. Souviens-toi de ces dieux voilés du deuil des tombeaux de tes ancêtres profanés. Souviens-toi aussi de belles forêts embaumées de nos palais resplendissants de ta patrie où il serait si doux pour toi de libre et glorieuse vivre auprès d'un époux bien aimé!!

Aïda (un jour)

que puis-je faire? un jour de cette vie . . . et mourir s'il le faut!

[p. 38]
3-(2.

Amounasro

Notre peuple héroïque relève la tête on se réunit on s'arme dans l'ombre. tout est prêt pour la vengeance.
Arrache à Rhadamès le secret de la marche des
que nous
troupes Égyptiennes. pendant que-âda-et-lui
preneons la fuite, Rhadamès esclave sera
transporté en Ethiopie, où loin d'Amnérîs, des
liens éternels assureront à jamais ton bonheur
et le sien.

Aïda (Ensemble Amounasro
et Aïda)

Oui! qu'il en soit ainsi! périsse l'armée de
L'Égypte altière que nos dieux soient vengés
que je vive heureuse et fière, aux côtés de mon
bien aimé!!--(Rhadamès paraît Amounasro sort)

Scène IV
Rhadamès-apparaît-Amounasro-part
Rhadamès. Aïda.

Ô mon bien aimé. je te retrouve. Qui c'est
toi seul que j'aime, toi seul à qui mon coeur
appartient. je dédaigne pour toi l'amour de la
fille de Pharaon et la couronne de L'Égypte
toi, belle,
fertile. pour une esclave je dédaigne la fille
d'un roi! . . .

[p. 39]

[Aïda]

Ecoute . . . moi aussi je suis fille de Roi . . .
Le terrible Amounasro est mon père... c'est lui que tu sauvas hier... il te doit la vie... pour nous [illegible crossed-out clause] Rhadamès... tout est piège et péril ici, la mort est sur nos têtes, l'abysse sous nos pas... Viens... fuyons... viens régner avec nous dans ma belle patrie. loin de ces sables désolés... de ces rives que brûlent un implacable soleil... dans nos forêts aux pieds de nos monts verdoyants que la neige couronne... il fait si bien vivre et d'aimer!... Mais tu te tais? [illegible crossed-out word] sans doute tes douces paroles étaient un piège!... tu me dédaignes, tu me fuis!! tu me sacrifies à la fière Amnérïs!... ah frappe-moi... plonge ton épée dans mon coeur, cruel!... qu'au moins j'aie la joie de mourir de la main de celui que j'aime!

3

Rhadamès
Non Aïda. je t'aime et n'aime que toi... mais quoi... fuir à jamais mes Dieux et ma patrie!...

[p. 40]

3-3.

4

Aïda
Nos dieux seront les tiens et la patrie est là où l'on nous aime!...
Et bien fuyons . . . je suis à toi . . . fuyons! . . .

fais plus encore! (Amounasro paraît au fond sans être vu par Rhadamès)

que veux-tu donc de moi . . . ah! mon amour me livre à toi tout entier! . . .

Livre-nous le secret de la marche des troupes Égyptiennes que ma patrie soit délivrée de ces ennemis implacables.

jamais! qu'oses-tu exiger de moi! . . .

Rhadamès . . . ici pour nous c'est la mort! là-bas le bonheur et la vie!! . . .

Aïda!

parle. Rhadamès . . . je t'aime! . . .

Rhadamès va parler il aperçoit Amounasro qui s'approche . . . il recule épouvanté.

[Scène muette Aïda s'appuie sur son père et tend les bras à Rhadamès levant sur
lui des regards suppliants elle s'incline. elle
tombe à genoux implorant Rhadamès
qui hésite et qui tremble. enfin, avec un
geste de désespoir elle se relève, cache sa
tête dans ses mains, et tombe en pleurs
dans les bras de son père. Ramphis [sic]
vaincu s'élance vers elle)

15

Rhadamès [written overtop of Ramphis]
Près de Napata sont des gorges sombres qui
commandent d'impénétrables forêts. c'est par
là que l'armée Egyptienne passera. c'est
là que l'embuscade facile peut permettre à
l'armée des Éthiopiens d'anéantir les
phalanges Egyptiennes!

16 (Ramphis [sic] se tait et reste accablé sous sa
honte. Aïda se jette dans ses bras.)

17 Ensemble

Amounasro

fuyons ... une barque est là sur le Nil! mes
Compagnons nous attendent. Egypte maudite
adieu nous serons vengés de toi! ... [p. 42]

3-4

18 Aïda

Ô mon bien aimé! quel horizon s'ouvre pour nous!
quelle éternité d'amour et de joie! terre d'Egypte
adieu! que ton souvenir soit chassé de nous pour
jamais.

Ramphis [sic]

Aïda! je t'adore! je suis à toi. je te donne
tout ma vie mon sang ... et plus que mon sang mon
honneur! détournez tes regards et ta patrie ... adieu!
adieu pour jamais.

Ils sortent

Scène V.

Amnérïs—Ramphis

Ramphis

Oses-tu dédaigner encore les conseils d'Isis ... tu
l'as entendu ... c'est un traître!

Amnérïs (anéantie)

C'est un traître!

Ramphis

Il doit mourir! ...

Amnérïs

Non ... il vivra ... je l'aime encore et je
veux le sauver!
[p. 43]

Ramphis

C'est un traître ... il mourra!!

Amnérïs s'évanouit ... sur un geste de
Ramphis, des prêtres se précipitent par le côté où Aïda Amounasro et Ramphis [sic] sont sortis la toile tombe.

[p. 44]

IV Acte

2e tableau
décor coupé en 2

En haut le temple de Vulcaïn.

En bas la crypte où meurent Aïda et Ramphis [sic].

Au moment où Aïda meurt ... Amnérîs entre dans le temple et vient s'agenouiller en pleurant sur la pierre scellée du tombeau de Ramphis [sic].
APPENDIX II

VERDI'S GROUNDPLAN

[p. 62]:

Atto I°

I° Scena Ramfis Radamès
si parla [Illegible word] dell'Egitto

II Scena a due tra Radamès e
Amneris

III Scena a tre detti e Aida

IV Scena Entra il Re con
seguito, riceve un messaggero

[p. 62]

Act I

I Scene Ramfis Radamès
speak [Illegible word] about Egypt

II Scene for two between Radamès and
Amneris

III Scene for three the former and Aida

IV Scene The King enters with his
suite, he receives a messenger
[
Illegible word] la guerra con Radamès

V Scena Generale
Aida sola

VI Pezzo Gran Coro di sacerdoti
Danze sacre delle sacerdotesse
Radamès cinge [l'armatura]
[consacrata] dai preti

Atto II

I Coro di schiave d'Amneris con
Amneris (Breve recit[ativo])

[Illegible word] the war with Radamès

V General Scene
Aida alone

VI Piece [for] Grand Chorus of priests
Sacred dance of the priestesses
Radamès girds [the armour]
[consecrated] by the priests

Act II

I Chorus of Amneris's slaves with
Amneris (Short recit[ative])
II Breve Recitativo d'Amneris sola propria
Gran duetto con Aida

III Gran Finale

[p. 63]

Atto III

I Aida sola Romanza
II Duetto detta e Amonasro
III Duetto Aida Radamès
IV Terzetto detti e Amonasro

II Short Recitative of Amneris herself alone
Grand duet with Aida
III Grand Finale

[p. 63]

Act III

I Aida alone Romance
II Duet the former and Amonasro
III Duet Aida Radamès
IV Trio the former and Amonasro
Atto IV

I Recitativo Amneris
II Duetto Amneris Radamès
III Scena del Giudizio
IV Duetto finale

Act IV

I Recitative Amneris
II Duet Amneris Radamès
III Judgement Scene
IV Final duet
APPENDIX III

VERDI'S PROSE LIBRETTO

A. ACTS I THROUGH IV

[p. 1]  Atto I°

[Scena I]

1 Un cortile piantato d'alberi nel palazzo del Re a Memfì. A dìritta un portico.

Ramfis e Radamès

2 Ramfis . . . . Sì: corre voce che gli Etiopi i nostri eternì nemici, osino rialzare la testa e minacciano la valle del Nilo

[p. 1]  Act I

[Scene I]

1 A courtyard planted with trees in the palace of the King at Memphis. At the right a porch.

Ramfis and Radamès

2 Ramfis . . . . Yes: it is rumored that the Ethiopians our eternal enemies, dare to recover courage and they menace the valley of the Nile
e Tebe. Fra poco qui verrà un messaggero, e conosceremo il vero.

3 Rad. Consulta intanto Iside, eh[e] che governa il mondo [?]

4 Ramfis Iside ha già disegnato Colui che dovrà combattere e vincere il nemico!

and Thebes. Soon a messenger will come here, and we shall know the truth.

3 Rad. Have you consulted meanwhile Isis, wh[o] who governs the world [?]

4 Ramfis Isis has already named He who will combat and conquer the enemy!

1 All the instructions for appropriate styles of versification are in Verdi's hand unless otherwise noted.

2 Cancelled words and phrases reproduced in this edition are given in the ms.
5 Rad. Felice Colui! dovesse morire sotto le spoglie del suo trionfo.

6 Ramfis Dalla bocca divina sortì il nome d'un eroe giovine e valoroso . . . Ora Io porto al Re la volontà suprema.

[Scena II]
Radamès solo
1 Oh foss'io quel guerriero!

5 Rad. Happy that fellow! though he should die under the spoils of his triumph.

6 Ramfis From the divine lips came the name of a hero young and valorous . . . Now I carry to the King the supreme will.

he exits

[Scene II]
Radamès alone
1 Oh that I were that warrior!
E ritornare potessi potessi carico
de gloria e d'allori a deporre
[p. 2]
a piedi della mia bella Aida
la spada vincitrice.

Tu sei bella più dell'aurora
del mattino, e più splendente
degli astri del cielo. Io t'amo
prigioniera[.] Benché la figlia
de'miei nemici, io t'amo o prigioniera!

Oh potessi asciugare le

And were-able were able to return laden
with glory and just then to lay down
[p. 2]
at the feet of my beautiful Aida
the conquering sword.

You are more beautiful than the dawn
of the morning, and more splendorous
than the stars of the sky. I-love-you
prisoner[.] Although the daughter
of my enemies, I love you o prisoner!

Oh that I were able to dry the
lagrime che notte e di tu
versi sulla patria perduta,
e su se tuoi cari che forse non
vedrai mai più. Io t'amo

Io t'amo prigioniera
che non poss'io ridarti
la patria . . . che non poss'io
vivere con te in un eterno
abbraccio! . . . Ah tu sei la
figlia de'miei nemici. Ma
Ma io t'amo o prigioniera!

tears that night and day you
weep for the lost homeland,
and your beloved ones who perhaps
you will never see again. I love you prisoner
that I am unable to give back to you
the homeland . . . that I cannot
live with you in an eternal
embrace! . . . Ah you are the
daughter of my enemies. But
But I love you o prisoner!
Scena III
Detto ed Amneris

1 Amn. fissando lo sguardo su Radamès
Qual luce splende negli occhi vostri! Qual fierezza sul vostro viso! -- Sarebbe ben felice Colei, la cui presenza mettesse nel vostro sguardo questa fiamma, e questa gioja sul viso . . .

2 Rad. La Dea ha designato il guerriero per combattere

Scene III
The same and Amneris

1 Amn. fixing a look on Radamès
What light shines in your eyes! What vigor on your face! -- She would be very fortunate, she whose presence puts in your glance this flame, and this joy on your face . . .

2 Rad. The Goddess has named the warrior to combat
il nemico d'Egitto. Oh foss'io quel guerriero! questo pensiero [Illegible crossed-out word] fà tremare la mia mano, e battere il mio core ______

3 Amn. E non avvi al mondo felicità maggiore che la gioja della vittoria; o destino più felice che quello del soldato nei campi? Non hai tu in Memfi un desiderio, una speranza! . . .

[p. 3]
the enemy of Egypt. Oh that I were that warrior! this thought [Illegible crossed-out word] makes my hand tremble, my heart beat ______

3 Amm. And in the world is there not greater happiness than the joy of victory; or destiny happier than that of the soldier in the fields? Do you not have in Memphis a desire, a hope! . . .
Rad. fra sé (Leggerebbe Ella nel mio cuore?
ed avrebbe scoperto il mio amore per la sua schiava?)

Insieme

5 Amn. fra sé (E non comprende l'amor mio? . . . questa freddezza, quest'indifferenza mi dicono che v'ha un segreto!)

Scena [IV]

Aida e detti:

4 Rad. to himself (Could She have read in my heart?
and could She have discovered my love for her slave?)

Together

5 Amn. to herself (And does he not understand my love? . . . this coldness, this indifference they tell me that he has a secret!)

Scene [IV]

Aida and the former:
Aida vedente Rad—si turba.

Rad. con gioja Dessa!' Lirico

Amn. fra sé (Qual sguardo!
qual turbamento! Cielo! . . .
fosse Lei . . . Aida mia rivale! . . . )

dopo un momento di silenzio si volge ad Aida con bontà

E che? Tu. Tu mia schiava
[p. 4]
prediletta, che proteggo, e che amo quest'a me sorella,
È forse un po' freddo

Aida seeing Rad—is upset.

Rad. with joy She!' Lyric

Amm. to herself (What a glance!
what an upset! Heaven! . . .
could it be she . . . Aida my rival! . . . )

after a moment of silence she turns to Aida with kindness

And what? You. You, my favorite
[p. 4]
slave, whom I protect, and this woman whom I love as my sister,
It is perhaps a little cold
perché queste lagrime che
piovono tuo malgrado da tuoi
bagni occhi?

7 Aida Ohimè! la guerra, stà
per scoppiare fra la mia terra
questo paese ove son prigio-
niera. Come posso ritenere
soffocare il
le lagrime ed [illegible crossed-out word]
mio dolore?

8 Amn. Nè altra cosa ti turba?

9 Aida abbassa gli occhi

why these tears that
in spite of yourself rain down from your
beautiful eyes?

7 Aida Alas! the war is on the point of
breaking out between my land
and this country where I am priso-
nner. How can I hold back
control
the tears and [illegible crossed-out word]
my sadness?

8 Amn. No other thing disturbs you?

9 Aida lowers her eyes
10 Amn. fra sé (Oh gelosia atroce che mi lancina il cuore! Se-questo-dubbio Si scopra il vero; e' Ella l'ama [Illegible word] l'indegna schiava.)

11 Aida fra sé (Gli Dei me per-donano. I mali della mia patria non occupano solo il mio cuore. Alla sua vista /Radamès/ mi sento tremare, ed il turbamento mio, non si legge in volto.)

10 Amn. to herself (Oh atrocious jealousy that pierces my heart! If-this-doubt May the truth be revealed; and She loves him [Illegible word] the unworthy slave.)

11 Aida to herself (The Gods forgive me. The misfortunes of my homeland do not occupy only my heart. At the sight of /Radamès/ I feel myself tremble, and my agitation, does not show on my face.)
Radames fra sé (Oh quanto è bella! e come si nobile e fiera sotto i suoi abiti de schiava! Chi non sarebbe felice d'asciugare le sue lagrime?)

[p. 5]

Scena [V]

1 Il Re [preceduto] dalle sue guardie e seguito da Ramfis, dai ministri etc. . . . etc.

12 Radames to himself (Oh how beautiful she is! and how very noble and proud under her slave's dress! Who would not be happy to dry her tears?)

[p. 5]

Scene [V]

1 The King [preceded] by his guards and followed by Ramfis, by ministers, etc. . . . etc.

3 The ms. is difficult to read at this point. We supply the word preceduto (preceded), which is given in the same context in Verdi's translation of Mariette's Scenario. See Humbert, "À propos," 13; Scenario, p. 4, line 13.
Un uffiziale di palazzo . . . Il Re.

2 Il Re Qu vi radunai, miei fedeli, per udire un messaggero qui giunto dai confini che ne dividono dall'Etiopia. Gravi novelle ei reca . . . ad un uffiziale S'avanzi!

3 Entra il messaggero
Mes: I neri Etiopi hanno violato la frontiera egiziana devastate le campagne e

An official of the palace . . . The King

2 The King Here I assembled you, my faithful, to hear a messenger arrived here from the borders that divide us from Ethiopia. He brings grave news . . . to an official Let him come forward!

3 The messenger enters
Mes: The black Ethiopians have violated the Egyptian frontier devastated the countryside and
fieri del loro successo osano
marciare su Tebe . . .

4 Tutti Ed osan tanto?

5 Mes. Un guerriero invincibile
e alla loro testa: A'monasro!

6 Tutti Il Re stesso?

7 Aida fra sé Mio padre!

8 Mes: Tebe *demanda-seccorse*
ad ad un tuo cenno à pronta
ad irrompere dalle cento

fired by their success they dare
march on Thebes . . .

4 All And they dare so much?

5 Mes. An invincible warrior
is at their head: A'monasro!

6 All The King himself?

7 Aida to herself My father!

8 Mes: Thebes asks-help
at at your testure is ready
to burst from its hundred
sue porte sul feroce invasore.

9 Il Re E Tebe non attenderà a lungo [pei]\(^4\) nostro grido di guerra.

10 **Tutti** Guerra, guerra!

11 **Il Re** Sì: guerra terrificale è pronta! ... Gli Dei
[p. 6]
hanno già designato il Duce

_ gates on the fierce invader._

9 **The King** And Thebes will not wait long [for]\(^4\) our shout of war.

10 **All** War, war!

11 **The King** Yes: terrible war is near! ... The Gods
[p. 6]
have already named the Supreme

\(^4\) An ink blot obscures the text at this point. A number of ink blots are found at various places in the ms.
Supremo del nostro esercito...
Eccolo! indicando Radames

12 Tutti Radames!

13 Rad. Oh gioja [.]

14 Aida—Amneris Sommi Dei!

15a Il Re Va ora al tempio d'Vulcano, e secondo i riti prescritti indossa le armi sacre...

15b Rammentate tutti la Leader of our army...
Here he is! indicating Radames

12 All Radames!

13 Rad. Oh joy [.]

14 Aida—Amneris Greatest Gods!

15a The King Go now to the temple of Vulcan, and following the prescribed rites put on the sacred weapons...

15b Remember all the
gloria di questi Faraoni
che hanno portato il nome
d'Egitto fino all'estremità
della terra ____________

16 Ramfis ____________ E rammentate
che queste armate furono
sempre vittoriose perché
gli Dei di Tebe e di
Memfis hanno steso su
loro da tanti secoli le loro
mani protettrici.
__________

glory of these Pharaohs
who have carried the name
of Egypt as far as the extremities
of the earth ____________

16 Ramfis ____________ And remember
that these armies were
always victorious because
the Gods of Thebes and of
Memphis have extended over
them for so many centuries their
protective hands.
17 Tutti Sien grazie agli Dei e gloria eterna a questi Faraoni che hanno portato il nome d'Egitto fino all'estremità della terra.

18 Rad. Sommi Dei! Voi riempite il mio cuore [p. 7] d'una gioja inesprimibile!

19 Aida ed Amn. Ohimè!

17 All Thanks be to the Gods and eternal glory to these Pharaohs who have carried the name of Egypt to the extremities of the earth.


19 Aida and Amn. Alas!
Egli parte! ... Egli va forse ad incontrar la morte!

20 Il Re Va--Radamès!
Ritorna vincitore

21 Amneris Ritorna vincitore!

22 Tutti Ritorna vincitore!

23 Ramfis parte con Radamès
e sacerdoti et ... Il Re rientra con Amneris e seguito nell'inter[no] del palazzo

He departs! ... He goes perhaps to encounter death!

20 The King Go--Radamès!
Return victorious

21 Amneris Return victorious!

22 All Return victorious!

23 Ramfis exits with Radamès and priests etc ... The King re-enters with Amneris and suit into the interior of the palace
Scena [VI].

1a Ritorna vincitore!—Oh quale bestemmia osò profferire il mio labbro . . . Che! Ritorna vincitore di mio padre, che non ha riaccesa la guerra che per venire a riprendere la figlia sua di cui qui tutti ignorano l'illustre origine!! Ritorna vincitore della mia patria, coperta del sangue

24 Aída resta sola

Rec. ed Aria

24 Aída remains alone

Scene [VI]

1a Return victorious!—Oh what blasphemy my lips dared to pronounce . . . What! Return victorious over my father, who has not rekindled the war but for coming to retake his daughter of whom all here ignore her illustrious origin!! Return victorious over my homeland, covered with the blood
dei miei, trascinando mio padre
legato dietro il tuo carro

lb trionfale!!—Dei immortali
sperdete quest'armata funesta!!
Date la vittoria al padre mio . . .

lc al mio paese . . . [Illegible crossed-out word] che dico, Reci[tativo]
[p. 8]
infelice! . . . Radamès, che
amo più della vita . . . vinto . . .
ferito . . . trainato nel

of my people dragging my father
chained behind your triumphal chariot!!—Immortal Gods
disperse this deadly army!!
Give the victory to my father . . .

to my country . . . [Illegible crossed-out word] what do I say, Reci[tative]
[p. 8]
unhappy! . . . Radamès, who
I love more than life . . . defeated . . .
wounded . . . dragged to the

5 It is difficult to distinguish the handwriting for this and the next two instructions. These may well be in Ghislanzoni's hand. See pp. 288-89 of the present study for an explanation of the circumstances by which Ghislanzoni came to study the ms.
fondo d'un carcere . . . e
forse morto! . . .

1d. Dei prendetevi questa
vita . . . Liberate colla morte
l'infelice Aida da suoi
tormenti e da suoi dolori.
Io non posso far voti nè
pel padre nè per l'amante.
Per me è delitto il piangere
ed il pregare! . . . __________

[Scena VII]

1  Interno del tempio di Vulcano a Memfi. Il

______________________________
depths of prison . . . and
perhaps dead! . . .

1d  Gods take this
life . . . Liberate with death
unhappy Aida from her
torments and from her pains.
I am unable to make prayers neither
for my father nor for my beloved.
For me the tears and the prayers
are a crime! . . . __________

[Scene VII]

1  Interior of the temple of Vulcan at Memphis. The
teatro è rischiarato da una luce misteriosa che viene dall'alto. Lunghe colonnate sovrapposte le une sopra le altre si perdono nell'oscurità.

Qui e là le statue di divinità. Nel mezzo della scena, sovra un palco coperto di un tappeto s'innalza l'altare sormontato da emblemi sacri. L'incenso abbrucia sui trepiedi d'oro.

2 I sacerdoti sono vicinati. Ramfis, in gran costume è diretto a piedi dei gradini dell'altare.

3 Coro religioso

Corale alla Palestrina

stage is barely illuminated by a mysterious light that comes from above. Long colonnades superimposed one upon the other fade into the darkness. Here and there the statues of divinities. In the center of the stage, above a platform covered by a carpet rises the altar surmounted by sacred emblems. Incense is burning upon tripods of gold.

2 The priests are gathered. Ramfis, in sumptuous dress is directed toward the steps of the altar.

3 Religious chorus

Church music in the style of Palestrina

6 The use of the double "p" is probably a French influence.
One hears from the distance the sound of the harps mixed with the sound of the priestesses.

Religious chorus of the priest--

Other chorus idem.
S'introduce Radamès. È senz'armi. Mentre s'incammina all'altare, le sacerdotesse eseguiscono al suon del Timpano la Danza Sacra [.]
Si stende un velo d'argento sulla testa di Radamès.

Ramfis.--Dio che tutto vedi, che disponi a piacer tuo delle sorti degli imperi, dona al cuore di Radamès il valore, e la vittoria al suo braccio.

Radamès si alza--Dei che

Radamès is brought in. He is unarmed. While he approaches the altar, the priestesses perform to the sound of the Drum, the Sacred Dance [.]
A silver veil is placed on the head of Radamès.

Ramfis.--God you who see all, you who determine, as pleases you, the fate of the empires, grant to th heart of Radamès the valor, and victory to his arm.

Radamès rises--Gods you who
made Egypt the queen
of nations give to my
heart force and valor,
and make it that I be the exterminator
of the enemies.

9 The religious chants resume. The
harps resound under the dark vaults.

10 All—Reprise—general
11 to the end [.] Ramfis girds Radamès in the
battle armor

The curtain falls.
[p. 10] Acto II

1 Una sala nell'appartamento d'Amneris.
Amneris è con le sue schiave che abbigliano per la
coppia che si prepara. — Si abbruciano incensi a suoi
piedi. Si agita l'aria attorno a lei con
grandi ventagli di piume di struzzo.

2 Coro
Giorno di gioja, giorno
di festa. I figli d'Egitto
han vinto! Il giovine vincitore
ritorna a noi bello di gloria.

[p. 10] Act II

1 A room in the apartment of Amneris.
Amneris is with her slaves who dress for the
celebration that is being prepared. -- They burn perfume at her
feet. The air around her is agitated by
grand fans of ostrich plumes.

2 Chorus
Day of joy, day
of festivity. The sons of Egypt
have won! The young victor
returns to us handsome with glory.

Perhaps this chorus would
need to be lengthened
. . . [Illegible word]
thing of grace
Egli disperse il nero Etiope  
come il vento del deserto disperde  
e semina da lungi la sabbia.

3 Aida mesta portando la corona della principessa.

4 Amneris Silenzio! Aida  
s'avanza. Essa appartiene alla nazione vinta. Rispettate il suo dolore.—Accoglie Aida con gran bontà e fa un cenno alle schiave che partono. Intanto

[Illegible word] to the princess.

He dispersed the black Ethiopian  
as the wind of the desert scatters  
and strews the sand far away.

3 Aida, sad, carrying the crown of the princess.

4 Amneris Silence! Aida  
is coming. She belongs to the conquered nation. Respect her sadness welcomes Aida with great kindness and makes a sign to the slaves who depart. Meanwhile

7 The first "v" is cancelled in the ms.
dice fra sé . . .

[Illegible crossed-out line]

6a (Al vederla l'atroce sospetto rinasce!
Suo sarebbe l'amor di Radamès!
Al tempo di scoprire il vero) ad Aida con bontà affettata

6b La sorte dell'armi fù
contraria al tuo popolo,
ma, non temere, tu sei

[p. 11]
l'amica mia, e tu vivrai sempre
felice presso di me!

7 Aida Felice! E poss'io

_____________________
says to herself . . .

[Illegible crossed-out line]

6 (Upon seeing her the atrocious suspicion revives!
Would Radamès's love be hers!
At the moment of unveiling the truth) to Aida with affected kindness

6b The fate of the campaign was
against your people,
but, do not fear, you are

[p. 11]

my friend, and you shall always live
happily near to me!

7 Aida Happy! And can I
dimenticare la terra ove
nacqui, e mio padre, ed i
miei . . .

8 Amn. Ti compiango . . . ma il
tempo sanerà i dolori e forse un Dio più possente
più del tempo [Illegible crossed-out clause]
e forte in l'amore.

9 Aida fra sé (Ah amore! La sua

cara immagine sempre mi
batte in cuore . . . Ed egli è

forget the land where
I was born, and my father, and
mine . . .

8 Amn. I pity you . . . but
time will cure the sorrows and perhaps a God more powerful
more than time [Illegible crossed-out clause]
and powerful to love.

9 Aida to herself (Ah love! His
beloved image is always
disturbing the heart . . . And he is
il [vinci]tore della mia patria.)

10 Amn. fra sé (Essa agita ... tace! ... oh saprò ben io strappare il suo segreto! ...)

11 Amn. Ebbene ... tu arrossisci?
Un figlio d'Egitto avrebbe forse conquistato il tuo cuore?
Parla ... non son io l'amica tua? Forse un giovin guerriero ... un di quelli che

the [conque]ror of my homeland.)

10 Amn. to herself (She is agitated ... silent! ... Oh I shall know well how to tear at her secret! ...)

11 Amn. Well then ... you blush?
Has a son of Egypt perhaps taken your heart?
Speak ... am I not your friend? Perhaps a young warrior ... one of those who

8 The first five letters are obscured by an ink blot in the ms.
ritornano dopo la vittoria? . . .
Ah! a tutti non è dato il
destino fatale toccato al loro
Duce glorioso, che la morte ha
colto nella calma del trionfo . . .

12a Aida . . . Ah che dici? . . .

12b Amn. Radamès . . . è morto!

12c Aida Infelice!

13 Amn. E piangi tu l'eroe fatale

 returned after the victory? . . .
Ah! to all was not given the
fatal destiny that touched their
Glorious Leader, whom death has
seized in the calm of the triumph . . .

12a Aida . . . Ah what do you say? . . .

12b Amn. Radamès . . . is dead!

12c Aida Misfortune!

13 Amn. And do you weep for the hero fatal
alla tua patria?

14 Aida Io piango quegli che amo,
e tutto quello che amavo
me l'han rapito i Dei! . . .

15 Amn. Gli Dei t'han vendicata!

16 Aida Oh gli Dei son senza
pietà per me . . .

17 Amn. Ah tremal! t'ho letto
in core . . . Tu ami Radamès.

[p. 12]
to your native land?

14 Aida I weep for that man whom I love,
and all those that I loved,
the Gods have seized them from me! . . .

15 Amn. The Gods have avenged you!

16 Aida Oh the Gods are without
pity for me . . .

17 Amn. Ah tremble! I have read
your heart . . . You love Radamès.
18 Aida confusa ... Io! ...

19 Amn. Non mentire. Con
una sol parola strapperò il
tuo segreto. ______ Guardami ... 
Io t'ho ingannata! Radamès
vive ... 

20 Aida cedendo in ginocchio. Vive!
______ Dei clementi!

21 Amn. Osi tu negarlo ancora? ... 
Sì tu l'ami ... ma l'amo

18 Aida confused ... I! ...

19 Amn. Do not lie. With
a single word I shall snatch
your secret. ______ Look at me ... 
I have tricked you! Radamès
lives ...

20 Aida sinking to her knees. He lives!
______ Merciful Gods!

21 Amn. Do you still dare to deny it? ... 
Yes you love him ... but I love him
anch'io, intendi? La figlia
de'Faraoni è tua rivale!

22 Aida s'alza con fierezza . . . Mia
rivale!! . E sia anch'io
son figlia . . . s'arresta improvvisamente

[Illegible crossed-out line]

Aida si rimette e supplichevole dice
Perdono al mio turbamento . . .
Al mio . . . dolore . . non so quel'
che mi dica . . . Perdona . .
Amneris . . . è vero . . . io

also I, do you understand? The daughter
of the Pharaohs is your rival!

22 Aida rises with savagery . . . My
rival!! And so be it also
I am daughter . . . she stops herself suddenly

[Illegible crossed-out line]

Aida renews herself and pleadingly says
Forgiveness to my confusion . . .
To my . . . sorrow . . I don't know
what I am saying . . . Forgiveness . .
Amneris . . . it is true . . . I
l'amo . . .

[p. 13]

23a Amn. Spezza il tuo cuore
o schiava e trema!

Squillare trombe al di fuori

23b Vieni con me. Che il
vincitore d'Etiopia [blot] ti
vegga presso di me umile e
tremante quand'Egli entrerà
in Tebe e riceverà dalle
miei mani la corona trionfale.

love him . . .

[p. 13]

23a Amn. Break your heart
o slave and tremble!

Trumpets blast from without

23b Come with me. That the
victor of Ethiopia [blot]
sees you near to me humble and
trembling when He enters.
Thebes and receives from
my hands the triumphal crown.
24 Aida Pietà pietà! Ah
lascia che io nasconda nel
fondo del palazzo il mio dolore
e la mia onta. Tu che
sei felice e potente
abbi pietà della povera schiava.
Sortono

Scena

1 Uno degli ingressi della città di Tebe. Nel fondo i
piloni e gli obelischi del tempio d'Ammone. A
diritta una porta trionfale: a sinistra un trono

24 Aida Pity pity! Ah
allow that I hide in the
depths of the palace my sorrow
and my dishonor. You who
are happy and powerful
have pity on the poor slave.
They exit

Scene

1 One of the entrances to the city of Thebes. In the back the
pylons and obelisks of the temple of Ammon. To
the right a triumphal portal: to the left a throne
sormontato da un baldacchino di porpora----

Il Re è assiso in trono--Amneris al suo fianco.

Ramfis e la Gran Sacerdotessa le sono dappresso.

Al basso Aida e le schiave, Popolo, Guardie, Sacerdoti.
et et et et . . .

2 Coro

Gloria al potente Re che
Iside protegge. Gloria al l'
Egitto caro ad Ammone.

[p. 14]

Il nostro Re stringe nelle

surmounted by a purple canopy----

The King is sitting on the throne--Amneris at his side.

Ramfis and the High Priestess are near them.

Below Aida and the slaves, Populace, Guards, Priests.
etc etc etc . . .

2 Chorus

Glory to the powerful King whom
Isis protects. Glory to
Egypt beloved of Ammon.

[p. 14]

Our King unites in
sue mani [Illegible crossed-out phrase] e il palme d'Egitto ed Loto del Delta'. Gloria al figlio di Ramses [Isis ed amone] /Ramses II/

3 Un Araldo

Ti piaccia o Rè accogliere nella sacra città di Tebe i Soldati che ritornano dalla vittoria, per deporre a tuoi piedi le spoglie dei

the his hands [Illegible crossed-out phrase] and the palms of Egypt and Lotus of the Delta'. Glory to the son of Ramses [Isis and amon] /Ramses II/

3 A Herald

May it please you o King to receive in the sacred city of Thebes the Soldiers who return from the victory, to lay down at your feet the spoils of the

9 The ms. is very difficult to read at this point.
nemici distrutti.

(L'entrata comincia. Musici alla testa delle truppe. Truppe a piedi. I carri di guerra--Le insegne--I vasi sacri--Le statue degli Dei--I tesori dei vinti portansi dalle danzitrici che misceliano i loro passi davanti il trono del Re. Radamès sopra un carro trionfale alla sua vista il Re discende dal trono gli apre le braccia . . . . )

annihilated enemies.

(The parade begins. Musicians at the head of the troops. Foot soldiers: The chariots of war--The emblems--The sacred vases--The statues of the Gods--The treasures of the defeated carried by the girl dancers who mingle their steps in front of the throne of the King. Radamès on a triumphal chariot at his sight the King descends from the throne opens his arms to him . . . )
5 The King I salute you saviour of the homeland. Come and receive from my beloved daughter
the crown of triumph . . . . Amneris executes [this] throwing a glance of challenge at Aída

6 And now speak. That which you will ask will be given to you:
I swear it by my crown and the sacred veil of Isis.
[ p. 15 ]

8 Rad. Permit before that [Blot] advance the valiants who
sul campo di battaglia, e caddero prigionieri di guerra.

Dietro un cenno del Re [,] sfilano i prigionieri
Etiopi fra catene. L'ultimo di loro è Amonasro
vestito da ufficiale delle sue truppe [.]

Aida vedendo Amonasro grida
Ciel! che veggo! mio
padre! . . .

Aida È Lui . . . Lui . . . vorrebbe parlare ma

[Blot] [Illegible word] in vain death
on the field of battle, and fell prisoners of war.

After a sign of the King [,] the Ethiopian prisoners
march past in chains. The last of them is Amonasro
dressed as an officer of his troops [.]

Aida seeing him cries
Heaven! what do I see! my
father! . . .

All Her father! . .

Aida It is He . . . He . . . she would like to speak but
l'emozione la soffoca

13a Amonasro interrompendola
Sì . . . son suo padre
e [illegible crossed-out word] difesi la mia patria
14 ed il mio Re. Θ Fui tra
e
suoi fidi, [Blot] combattei con
molti altri al suo fianco
finché ei trafitto da mille
colpi eroicamente cadde.
Un monte di cadaveri fù

the emotion suffocates her

13a Amonasro interrupting her
Yes . . . I am her father
and [illegible crossed-out word] I defended my homeland
14 and my King. Θ I was among
and
his trusted, [Blot] I fought with
many others at his side
until he heroically fell mortally
wounded from a thousand blows.
A mountain of corpses was

14 Θ Aida (Ciel! che sento!)
Solo d'Am[onasro]

10 The sign Θ indicates the position of Aida's interjection (Ciel! che sento!) [(Heaven! what do I hear!)], the text of which is placed to the right of item 13 for Amonasro. Aida's interjection is clearly an afterthought on Verdi's part.

13b Gli Dei ci han colpiti [p. 16]
nella loro collera: possono colpir voi domani. Insegnate agli Dei la pietà, e nella gioja del trionfo, salvate degli infelici cui la sorte fu tanto funesta.

his tomb . . . Yours know it . . . Not one of us fled. We all remained prisoners, or dead . . . Pause.

13b The Gods have hit us [p. 16]
in their anger: they can strike you tomorrow. Teach the Gods mercy, and in the joy of the triumph, save these unfortunate ones for whom fate was so lamentable.
15 Aida (E per salvarlo, io
[Illegible crossed-out line]
*salvarlo* quasi lo perdeva.)

16 Am. piano ad Aida (Non
mi scoprire ... Io vivo
alla vendetta.)

17 Ramfis e Sacerdoti
Nessuna pietà pei
nemici. Gli Dei vogliono
la loro morte.

15 Aída (And to save him, I
[Illegible crossed-out line]
*to-save-him* almost lost him.)

16 Am. softly to Aída (Do not
give me away ... I live
for revenge.)

17 Ramfis and Priests
No mercy for the
enemies. The Gods want
their death.
18 Popolo Calmate, Sacerdoti, la vostra collera. E tu, gran Re, apri il core alla pietà.

19 Il Re Nei giorni di prosperità il core è inclinato alla pietà. A la clemenza è la virtù dei Re.

20 Aida—Amonasro ed i Prigionieri Gli Dei ci han colpiti nella loro collera. Possono

18 All Calm, Priests, your anger. And you, great King, open your heart to mercy.

19 The King In the days of prosperity the heart was disposed to mercy. Clemency is the virtue of Kings.

20 Aida—Amonasro and the Prisoners The Gods have hit us in their anger. They can strike you tomorrow. Teach
agli Dei la pietà, e,  
nella gioja del trionfo,  
salvate degli infelici, cui  
la sorte fù tanto funesta.

21 Rad. fissando Aida. Oh come  
dolore!  
è bella nella sua pietà!  
Io gli renderò la libertà  
e mia sarà allora per  
sempre---

the Gods mercy, and,  
in the joy of the triumph,  
save these unfortunates, for whom  
fate was so deadly.

21 Rad. looking at Aida. Oh how  
sadness!  
beautiful she is in her mercy!  
I shall return freedom to him  
and then she will be mine for  
ever---
22 Amn. fissando Radamès
E sempre fissi stanno
i suoi sguardi su Lei?!
Perisca l'indegna schiava
e con Lei tutta l'empia
sua razza.

23 Radamès al Re
Voi
giuraste sul sacro
velo di Iside d'accordarmi
la prima preghiera ...

22 Amn. looking at Radamès
And his looks are always
fixed on Her?!
May she die the unworthy slave
and with Her all her impious
race.

23 Radamès to the King
You
swore on the sacred
veil of Isis to grant me
the first prayer ...
24 Il Re Lo giurai [.

25 Rad. Ebbene: Date a
tutti prigionieri Etiopi
la libertà e la vita.

26 Am[n.] sorpresa A tutti!

27 Sacerdoti No! Morte ai nemici.

28 Popolo Pietà, pietà.

[p. 18]

29 Ramfis al Re M'ascolta
o Re a Radamès -- e tu

[p. 18]

24 The King I swore it [.]

25 Rad. Well then: Give to
all the Ethiopian prisoners
 liberty and life.

26 Am[n.] surprised To all!

27 Priests No! Death to the enemies.

28 People Mercy, mercy.

[p. 18]

29 Ramfis to the King Listen to me
o King to Radamès -- and you
giovine eroe non sdegnare
i consigli della prudenza.
Quei prigionieri son prodi,
tu il dicesti . . . Se dai loro
libertà, riprenderanno
le armi contro di noi [.]

30 Rad. No. Morto Amonasro
l'indomabil guerriero, agli
Etiopi sconfitti non resta
speranza di riscossa.

31 Ramfis Almeno questo
young hero do not disdain
the advice of the prudent.
Those prisoners are valiants,
you said it . . . If you give them
freedom, they will again take up
their weapons against us [.]

30 Rad. No. With the death of Amonasro
the untamable warrior, to the
defeated Ethiopians hope of
insurrection does not remain.

31 Ramfis At least this
valoroso /indicando Amonasro/
con sua figlia Aida,
ed altri molti prodi ci
restino arra di pace.
Date, poichè il domando,
libertà al resto.

32 Il Re E sia come tu
dici! . . . ma arra maggior
di pace sarà il guerriero
protetto dagli Dei che a
Voi destino. Radamès:

valorous one /indicating Amonasro/
with his daughter Aida,
and other very valiants may
they remain as a pledge of peace for us.
Give, because of my request,
freedom to the rest.

32 The King And so be it as you
say' . . . . but the greatest pledge
of peace will be the warrior
favored by the Gods whose fate
I put in your hands. Radamès:
a te, Salvatore della patria,
sia premio la mano di
[p. 19]
mia figlia, e dopo di
me, regna con Lei sull'
Egitto. — Trascorso appena
il tempo, or destinato alle
feste d'Iside, si celebri
le nozze—

33 Sacerdoti e popolo
Gloria al Re. Gloria
a Radamès. Tal premio

---------

to you, Saviour of the homeland,
let the hand of
[p. 19]
my daughter be the reward and after
me, you will reign with Her over
Egypt. -- In due time,
dedicated to the
festivities of Isis, let the wedding
take place.

33 Priests and People
Glory to the King. Glory
to Radamès. Such was the prize

---------

Type of
Hymn

[Illegible line]
era dovuto al guerriero protetto dagli Dei, al Salvatore della patria.

34 Il Re Tale è il premio dovuto al guerriero etc. etc.

35 Rad. Cielo! Il fulmine scoppia sul capo mio! —
Oh giammai giammai Amneris sarà mia sposa!

owed to the warrior favored by the Gods, to the Saviour of the homeland.

34 The King Such is the prize owed to the warrior etc. etc.

35 Rad. Heaven! The thunderbolt explodes on my head! —
Oh never never will Amneris be my wife!

11 These instructions could be in Ghislauzon's hand.
Amn. Venga ora la schiava a disputarmi il core del mio guerriero.

Aida  Destino [disperato!  Che a me serbavi quest'ultimo colpo . . . oh s'io lo perdo, vivere più non potrei.

[p. 20]

Am. Coraggio Aida . . . la sorte ne arride . . . I nostri son liberi . . . Ritorneranno a vendicarci

Amn. Let the slave come now to dispute with me the heart of my warrior.

Aida  Desperate destiny!  That saved up this final blow for me . . . oh if I loose him, I shall be able to live no more.

[p. 20]

Am. Courage Aida . . . Ours are free . . . They will return to revenge us
Cala il sipario.

[p. 21]  

Atto III


[Scena I]

2 Coro in lontano del tempio

Iside. Vergine e madre insieme. Iside madre della

The curtain falls.

[p. 21]  

Act III

1 It is night. On the banks of the Nile. Granite rocks between which some palms grow. High on the rocks a little temple half hidden among the leaves and outlined against the sky in the firmament [illegible words] resplendent in the moonlight.

[Scene I]

2 Chorus of the temple in the distance

Isis. Virgin and mother together. Isis mother of
natura: Iside favorevole all’
amori, ascolta i nostri voti,
e [Blot] li esaudisci. Tu, per
cui tutto nasce, e si rinnova [.
madre
Sposa e [illegible crossed-out word] d’Osiride,
sii favorevole alle nostre preci.

3 Una barca appare sul Nilo, [discendono]¹²
Amneris, Ramfis, Sacerdoti ed alcune donne
dal suo seguito, che portan [illegible words]

nature: Isis benevolent to
lovers, listen to our prayers,
and [Blot] grant them. You, by
whom all is born, and is renewed [.
mother
Wife and [illegible crossed-out word] of Osiris,
be benevolent toward our prayers.

3 A boat appears on the Nile, Amneris
Ramfis, Priests [step out] and some women
of their followers, who carry [illegible words]

¹² This word is illegible in the ms. We supply discendono (they step out) since Ghislanzoni uses this word in the same context in the versified libretto. See Ghislanzoni ms. p. 47, Appendix IV, p. 762.
4 Ram. Alla vigilia del giorno
delle tue nozze [illegible crossed-out words] implo-
rare i consigli d'Iside. Iside
che legge nel cuor degli uomini
e per la quale i loro destini
non hanno misteri.

5 Amn. Io l'implorerò onde
Radames m'abbandoni
intero il suo cuore, come io
gli abbandono il mio.

6 Ram. [Illegible crossed-out words] e fino all'

4 Ram. To the vigil of the day
of your wedding [illegible crossed-out words] implo-
re the wisdom of Isis. Isis
who reads in the heart of humanity
and for her their destinies
have no mysteries.

5 Amn. I shall ask her so that
Radames gives me
all his heart, as I
give mine to him.

6 Ram. [Illegible crossed-out words] and pray
alba prega. Io pre-
[p. 22]

7 gherò teco ... Entrano nel tempio
intanto si ripete il

8 Coro
Iside vergine madre etc. ... 

Scena II
Aida sola
1 Ombre della notte nascon-
detemi. Astro che splende
senza velo nell'azzurro dei

until dawn. I shall pray
[p. 22]

7 with you ... They enter the temple
at the same time repeat the

8 Chorus
Isis virgin and mother etc. ... 

Scene II
Aida alone
1 Shades of the night hide
me. Star that shines
without veil in the blue of the
Cieli, storna da me i tuoi sguardi. ... Qui verrà Radamès [ ... ]

che vorrà dirmi? ... Ahimè è mia rivale

io tremo. ... Amneris, è

ed è la

figlia dei Faraoni! è-mia

[Illegible crossed-out words] ... Anch'io son figlia
d'un Re! Ohimè che dissi? ... a tutti sia celato
di-Regi. ... ah-che-ai [illegible crossed-out words]

[Illegible crossed-out words] ... tradirei mio padre ...

2

Me infelice! Ho perduto

la patria, la madre; son

la schiava della mia rivale

Skies, turn away from me your
glances. ... Radamès will come here [ ... ]

what can he want to say to me? ... Alas is my rival

I tremble. ... Amneris, the

and she is the
daughter of the Pharaohs! she-is-my

[Illegible crossed-out words] ... Alas what did I say? ... to all let be hidden

ef-Kings ... ah-that-te-the [illegible crossed-out words]

[Illegible crossed-out words] ... I could betray my father ...

Unhappy me! I have lost

the homeland, my mother; I am

the slave of my rival
and perhaps I lose the love of Radamès! Ah if you come to bid me eternal farewell, I shall sleep tomorrow cold and mute, under the deep whirlpools of the Nile.

[Scene III]
The same and Amonasro

1 Am. Aida!

2 Ai. Ciel! mio padre!

3 Am. She-who-comes-to-await Grave things I must say to you
Ma gravi cose devo dirti [.] Nulla sfugge al mio sguardo
Nulla sfugge al mio sguardo
Tu-qui-attend-di-Radamè... . .

e so tu l'ami Radamès [,]
e tu qui l'attendi
Ch'egli t'ama. ____ Possente
rivale minaccia [illegible word]
la figlia de'Faraoni. Razza
maledetta fatale a noi
sempre! Ghe-a-me-teglieva
il-trono,-a-te-forse-l'amante--

4 Ai. Ed io . . . figlia d'Amonasro
son sua-schiava nelle sue mani.

But grave things I must say to you [.] Nothing escapes my glance
Nothing escapes my glance
You-wait-for-Radamès-here . . .

and I know you him love Radamès [,]
and you await him here
That he loves you. ____ Powerful
rival threatens [illegible word]
the daugher of the Pharaohs. Accursed
race always fatal
to us! That-took-from-me
the-throne,-and-from-you-perhaps-the-lover--

4 Ai. And I . . . daughter of Amonasro
am her-slove in her hands.
Nelle sue mani! ... Tu puoi salvare patria, trono, e l'amor tuo.

Potrà E libera potrai rivedere le nostre belle foreste imbalsamate, i nostri templi, i nostri palazzi risplendenti di gemine e d'oro ... con [illegible word]

Aida interrompendo Io potrei rivedere le nostre belle foreste, i nostri templi [,] i nostri palazzi? ... 

In her hands! ... You can save homeland, throne, and your love.

And free you can see again our beautiful fragrant forests, our temples, our palaces resplendent with gems and with gold ... with [illegible word]

Aida interrupting I would be able to see again our beautiful forests, our temples [,] our palaces? ...
7 Am. E viver forse lieto
e glorioso, coll'uomo che
tu ami.

8 Aida Oh un giorno, un sol
giorno di questa vita, e
morire dopo, se abbisogna!
[p. 24]

9 Am. Pure non hai dimenticato
le nostre città distrutte,
le tombe degli avi profanate [,]
le vergini rapite, or uccise!

7 Am. And to live perhaps happy
and glorious, with the man whom
you love.

8 Aida Oh one day, one single
day of this life, and
to die after, if needs be!
[p. 24]

9 Am. Even you have not forgotten
our destroyed cities,
the tombs of our ancestors profaned [,]
The virgins kidnapped, now killed!
10 Aida Oh lo rammento!

11 Am. Il nostro popolo rialza
la testa, e vuole vendetta.
Tutto è preparato; solo
mi resta conoscere qual
cammino percorrerà
L'armata Egizia nella
imminente
[Illegible crossed-out word] lotta . . .

12 Aida E chi lo potrebbe?

13 Am. Chi? . . . Tu!

10 Aida Oh I remember it!

11 Am. Our people regains
courage, and wants vengeance.
All is ready; for me
it only remains to know by what
road will run
The Egyptian army in the
imminent
[Illegible crossed-out word] struggle . . .

12 Aida And who would do it?

13 Am. Who? . . . You!
14 Aída Io?


16 Aída Che mi consigli tu? . . . Orrore, orrore! No! . . . giammai, giammai! --

17 Am. Su, dunque, Egizzi

14 Aída I?

15 Am. Radamès will soon come here . . . Radamès loves you . . . Radamès is . . . supreme leader . . . do you understand me? . . . .

16 Aída What are you suggesting to me? Horror, horror! No! . . . never, never! --

17 Am. On, then, Egyptians
atterrate
profanate di nuovo i nostri
profanate
temp[1]i, le tombe degli avi [,]

nè il pianto disperato delle

vergini v'arresti nella

[p. 25]
vostra opera di distruzione! . . .

18 Aida supplichevole Oh padre mio! . . .

19 Amon. Figlia snaturata d'una

patria infelice . . . Non vedi

là monti di cadaveri che

throw down
profane again our
profane
temples, the tombs of the ancestors [,]

Let not even the desperate cry of the

virgins stop you in

[p. 25]
your task of destruction! . . .

18 Aida pleading Oh my father! . . .

19 Amon. Unnatural daughter of an

unhappy homeland . . . Do you not see

there mountains of corpses that
alzan da terra il capo, e
segnandoti a dito gridano [:]
"La patria muore per te!!"

Aida Padre mio, tacete! . . .

Amo. . . . e fra loro uno
spettro [,] alte le braccia e
scarne, terribile s'avanza
e minaccioso! . . . È tua madre
trudicata che ti maledice.

Aida Padre mio, pietà [,] pietà.

Amo. Va, non sei mia figlia---
raise their heads from the ground, and
pointing to you with a finger shout [:]
"The homeland dies for you!!"

Aida My father, be silent! . . .

Amo. . . . and between them a
spectre, arms high and
threatening! . . . It is your murdered
mother who curses you.

Aida My father, mercy [,] mercy.

Amo. Go, you are not my daughter---
Sei la schiava dei Faraoni.

Aida atterrìa non può quasi parlare
Padre . . . e tue parole . . .
m'uccidono! . . . L'ira tua . . .
m'è più grave . . . di morte.---
Non son . . . la schiava . . . dei
Faraoni . . . son tua figlia . . .
Sarò degna . . . di te . . . della patria . . .

Amo. Da te dipende la
sorte d'un popolo. Per te
risorgerà o cadrà per sempre . . .

You are the slave of the Pharaohs.

Aída terrified as if unable to speak
Father . . . your words . . .
kill me! . . . Your rage . . .
is harder on me . . . than death.---
I am not . . . the slave . . . of the
Pharaohs . . . I am your daughter . . .
I shall be worthy . . . of you . . . of the homeland . . .

Amo. On you depends the
fate of a people. Through you
it will rise again or fall forever . . .
Che il pensiero della patria
ti dia forza e coraggio . . .

26 Aida Oh patria mia quanto
mi costi!

27 Amo. Ei viene . . . colà
m'ascondo . . . coraggio!---si nasconde dietro le palme/
[p. 26]
Radamès e Aida

Scena [IV]

1 Radamès con trasporto Aida,

Let the thought of the homeland
give you strength and courage . . .

26 Aida Oh my homeland how much
you cost me!

27 Amo. He comes . . . there

28 I shall hide myself . . . Courage!'---he hides himself behind the palms/
[p. 26]
Radamès and Aida

Scene [IV]

1 Radamès with transport Aida,
mia bella Aida, alfine
ti rivedo . . .

2 Aída fredda  T'arresta . . .
altri nodi t'attendono---

3 Rad. No: io non amo.
Amneris; nè mai sarò
suo sposo—Iside possente
io ascolto . . . Lo giuro! --

4 Aída Non giurare! T'ho amato prode benché nemico
conosciuto—predo, non

my beautiful Aida, at last
I see you again . . .

2 Aída coldly  Stop . . .
other ties await you---

3 Rad. No: I do not love
Amneris; nor will I ever be
her husband—To powerful Isis
I listen . . . I swear it! --

4 Aída Do not swear it! I have loved you as a brave man although enemy

known—you—as—a—brave—man, I would not
t'amerei spergiuro.

5 Rad. Tu dubiti di me? 
6 Aida  E come potrai sottrarti

7 Ascolta +. I tuoi, cui 
7 diedi vita e libertà, infestano 
7 ancora le nostre campagne.
Gli 
[Io parto] Egizii già mossero 
loro incontro. Io parto
a raggiungerli. La vittoria 
è certa. Ritornerò carico
di nuovi allori e svelerò

love you if you swear falsely.

5 Rad. You doubt me? 
6 Aida  And how will you be able to withdraw

7 Listen +. Yours, to whom 
7 I gave life and liberty, ravage 
7 again our countryside.
The 
[I depart] Egyptians have already moved 
toward them. I depart
to overtake them. Victory 
is certain. I shall return laden
with new glories and I shall reveal

13 In the ms., the text of Aida's item 6 is written in the right-hand half of the page, beside item 5. The signs ⊗ and + indicate the position of the speech.
tutto al Re. Ei nulla
potrà negarmi.

8 Aida Incauto! Se tu rinunci
ad Amneris la morte cade
[p. 27]
su me, sul padre mio---

9 Rad. Io vi diffenderò. ¹⁴

10 Aida Invano! Uno
scampo v'ha solo . . .

all to the King. He will be able
to deny me nothing.

8 Aida Rash! If you renounce
Amneris, death falls
[p. 27]
on me, on my father---

9 Rad. I shall defend you.

10 Aida In vain! You have
one escape only . . .

¹⁴ The first "f" is cancelled in the ms. Similar cancellations of
other double consonants appear throughout the Verdi libretto.
11  Rad. Quale?

12  Aida Fuggire.

13  Rad. Fuggire!!

14  Aida—Si: vieni nella bella patria mia, lontane da questi deserti desolati da queste rive abbruciate da un sole implacabile: nelle nostre fresche foreste, a piedi de nostri

11  Rad. Which?

12  Aida To flee.

13  Rad. To flee!!

14  Aida—Yes: come to my beautiful homeland, far from these desolate deserts from these shores seared by an implacable sun: in our cool forests, at the feet of our
monti verdeggianti che
la neve corona. Là
vivremo e ci ameremo!
Ma tu taci?—tremi?
No! ... tu non m'ami [.]

15 Rad. Io non t'amò!---
Giammai amare più
ardente è penetrato in
cuore umano ... ma
fuggire questi luoghi
ove nacqui, ove vissi

verdant mountains which
the snow crowns. There
we shall live and there we shall love!
But you are silent?—you tremble?
No! ... you do not love me [.]

15 Rad. I do not love you!---
Never has a love so
ardent entered a
human heart ... but
to flee these places
where I was born, where I lived as
fanciullo, ove gustai la
voluttà della gloria . . .
abbandonare i miei
Dei . . . la mia patria! . . .

[p. 28]

16 Aida I miei Dei saranno
i tuoi----La patria è
dove si ama.

17 Rad. con ansia . . . O mia
Aida . . . m'ascolta . . . pietà----

18 Aida, fieramente Va----

a child, where I enjoyed the
pleasure of glory . . .
to abandon my
Gods . . . my homeland! . . .

[p. 28]

16 Aida My Gods will be
yours----The homeland is
where one loves.

17 Rad. with eagerness . . . O my
Aida . . . listen to me . . . mercy----

18 Aida, fiery Go----
Amneris t'attende agli altari!

19  Rad. con un grido  Giammai!

20  Aida  Allora piombi la
    scure sul padre mio, e
    su me . . .

21  Rad.  Ah fuggiamo, fuggiamo
    da queste rive desolate
    finche un'antro ne accolga
    nel deserto sterminato,
    [Illegible crossed-out line]

Amneris awaits you at the altars!

19  Rad. with a shout  Never!

20  Aida  Then let the ax
    fall on my father, and
    on me . . .

21  Rad.  Ah let us flee, flee
    from these desolate shores
    until both of us find shelter
    in the immense desert,
    [Illegible crossed-out line]
Là nello spazio infinito,
nella profondità delle notti,
anche
il ruggito del Leone sarà
la nostra canzon d'amore!----

22 **Aida** No: vieni nella bella
patria lungi da questi deserti
e etc., etc., ripete . . .
La vivremo e ci ameremo . . .

23 **Insieme** Vieni fuggiamo!
Qui non v'ha felicità per noi--
Vieni fuggiamo!

There in the infinite space,
in the depths of the nights,
even
the roar of the Lion will be
our song of love!----

22 **Aida** No: come to the beautiful
homeland far from these deserts
e etc., etc., repeat . . .
There we shall live and there we shall love . . .

23 **Together** Come let us flee!
Here there is no joy for us--
Come let us flee!
Qui per noi vi è morte!

[p. 29]

[Four illegible crossed-out lines]\n
24 Parton rapidamente ma ad un tratto Aida s'arresta

25 Ai. Ma dimmi ... come
eviteremo le armate
rivali [ ... ]

26 R. A sorprendere il nemico

[Illegible, blotted line]

Here there is death for us!

[p. 29]

[Four illegible crossed-out lines]\n
24 They depart quickly but suddenly Aida stops

25 Ai. But tell me ... how
will we avoid the rival
armies [ ... ]

26 R. To surprise the enemy

[Illegible, blotted line]

15 P. 29 of the ms. is in a great state of disarray. See pp. 243-45 of the present study for an explanation of the problems Verdi encountered at this point in the action.
io [illegible, blotted words]
dì ai nostri una via
Via Qui?-via che fino
a domani è deserta . . .
noi la percorreremo prima . . .

27 Ai. E quella via?
[Illegible crossed-out words]

28 R. In Le gole di Napata . . .

[Scena V]

1 Amonasro che avrà ascoltato quest'ultima scena
proromperà . . .

I [illegible, blotted words]
ef for ours a road
Read Here*-read that until
tomorrow is deserted . . .
we shall traverse there before . . .

27 Ai. And that road?
[Illegible crossed-out words]

28 R. In The gorges of Napata . . .

[Scene V]

1 Amonasro who will have heard this last scene
will burst out . . .
Dei possenti! Vi ringrazio.

2 Rad. Chi ci ascolta? . . .

3 Amo. Io! . . Amonasro . . .
Il Re d'Etiopia . . . il padre d'Aida . . .

4 Rad. agitatissimo Tu . . . Amonasro . . .
Ohimè . . . ma che dissi [ . . . ]
or [illegible word] . . . hanno . . . non è vero.

5 Am. Fra le gole di Napata

Powerful gods! I thank you.

2 Rad. Who listens to us?

3 Amo. Io! . . Amonasro . . .
The King of Ethiopia . . . the father of Aida . . .

4 Rad. very agitatedly You . . . Amonasro . . .
Alas . . . but what have I said [ . . . ]
now [illegible word] . . . they have . . . it is not true.

5 Am. In the gorges of Napata
passeranno domani i tuoi [.
I miei guerrieri li attenderanno . . .

6 R. fuori di sé Orrore!
Ma, no . . . non è possibile [.

7 Aida Ti calma [.

8 Ra. Questo è un sogno . . . Un
delirio . . .

9 Aida Mio Radamès ti
calma . . .

yours will pass tomorrow [.
My warriors will await them . . .

6 R. beside himself Horror!
But, no . . . it is not possible [.

7 Aida Calm yourself [.

8 Ra. This is a dream . . . A
nightmare . . .

9 Aida My Radamès calm
yourself . . .
10 **Rad.** Wretched! For
you I have betrayed the homeland!

11 **Amo.** It was destiny that
betrayed you! . . . Now nothing
remains for you but to flee with
us--On the Nile faithful
friends await us.
Under another sky you will find
another glory and the hand
of a King's daughter
whom you love, and who adores
you . . .
[Scena ultima]

1 Amneris sulla porta del tempio
   Traditor!

2 Aida Amneris!

3 Amo. Incauta! Tu vieni
   a distruggere l'opra
   mia . . . s'avventa Muori!
   [p. 31]

4 Rad. si frappone Barbaro!
   che fai?

[Final scene]

1 Amneris at the door of the temple
   Traitor!

2 Aida Amneris!

3 Amo. Rash! you come
   to destroy my work
   hurls himself Die!
   [p. 31]

4 Rad. interposing himself Wild man!
   what are you doing?
Am. con rabbia Oh maledizione!

Ramfis che [illegible word] sarà espanso grido
Sacerdoti! Guardie!

Rad. a Amonasro Fuggite
finchê n'è tempo!

Amonasro fuggendo trascina Aida

Ramfis Oh-mi [illegible crossed-out words] Inseguite i fuggitivi essi! . . .

Rad. Sacerdote . . . io ti

Am. with rage Oh cursed!

Ramfis by whom [illegible word] a shout will be emitted
Priests! Guards!

Rad. to Amonasro Flee
while there is time!

Amonasro fleeing drags Aida

Ramfis Oh-me [illegible crossed-out words] Follow the fleeing ones them! . . .

Rad. Priest . . . I remain
The curtain falls

The stage represents a room in the palace of the King. To the right, a low door leads into the room of the trials. In the rear, a stand to which one ascends by a double stair. In front of the stand, on two granite pedestals

16 This version of Act IV is the second of two complete versions found in the ms. See pp. 252-53 of the present study for an explanation of the inversion of the ms. at this point.

17 These and other numbers given in the fourth act portion of the ms. are page numbers for the verso sides of separate sheets.
stanno in piedi due statue di bronzo, una rappresenta la Giustizia, l'altra la Verità.

[Scena I]

Amneris sola

2 Amnezre Il padre solo
è stato preso nella fuga.

Aida, la mia rivale, m'è sfuggita . . . Intanto Radames nelle mani dei Sacerdoti aspetta la punizione dei traditori! . . . No! Ei non è traditore! . . . (pausa)

stand two bronze statues, one representing Justice, the other Truth.

[Scene I]

Amneris alone

2 Amnezre The father only
has been taken in the flight.

Aida, my rival, has escaped me . . . Meanwhile Radames in the hands of the Priests awaits the punishment of traitors! . . . No! He is not a traitor! . . . (pause)
Eppure [r]ivelava al-nemīee
un'alto segreto . . . e fuggiva
con lei . . . Traditori tutti!
A morte [,] a morte!! . . .
Ah che dico! . . . Vo[glio] che Ei
viva . . . Io l'amò sempre,
desperatamente l'amò . . .
E come salvarlo? . . . Tentiamo (Pensa un'istante)
A me venga Radamès.

Scena II

Radamès e detta

1 Am. Fra poco i Sacerdoti

Although he [r]evealed te-the-enemy
a high secret . . . and he fled
with her . . . All are traitors!
To death [,] to death!! . . .
Ah what do I say! . . . I want that He
lives . . . I love him always,
desperately I love him . . .
And how can I save him? . . . Let us try (She thinks for a moment)
Let Radamès come to me.

Scene II

Radamès and the former

1 Am. Soon the Priests
qui saranno radunati per
giudicarti. Grave su te pesa
l'accusa: grave sarà la pena.
Pur se davanti ai Giudici
[p. 34]
tu vuoi abjurare il tuo
delitto, io tenterò intenerire
pel cuor del Re, ed ottenere il
tuo perdono. Ma tu rinun-
cierai ad Aida, e giurami

will assemble here to
judge you. Heavy on you weighs
the accusation: heavy will be the punishment.
But if before the Judges
[p. 34]
you wish to renounce your
crime, I shall attempt to soften
the heart of the King, and to obtain
your pardon. But you must renounce
Aida, and swear to me

18 The instruction is in Ghislanzoni's hand. The cancellations were probably made by Verdi. See the composer's letter to Ghislanzoni dated Monday (probably 17 October 1870) in which Verdi provides the poet with yet another prose libretto for scene ii. In the comments written beside the speeches, Verdi refers to the Norma libretto. The letter is reproduced in Busch, pp. 79-81.
che non la vedrai mai più . . .

2 Rad. Non desidero nè spero perdono. I miei dolori, le mie speranze svanite, il rimorso che mi lacera l'anima mi rendono odiosa la vita. A me non resta che una speranza, un desiderio, morire [!]

3 Am. Morire! . . Ma io voglio che tu viva; intendi! . . . Tu

that you will never see her again . . .

2 Rad. I do not desire nor do I hope for pardon. My sorrows, my hopes vanished, the remorse that tears the soul from me renders life insupportable to me. To me nothing remains but a hope, a desire, to die [!]

3 Am. To die! . . But I wish that you live; do you understand! . . . You
non comprendi l'immensità
del mio amore. Per te rinun-
cierei al trono, abbandonerei
il Padre, rinnegherei gli Dei ... 

4 Rad. Ed io nel delirio del
mio amore per Lei non ho
tradito il dovere, gli Dei, il
mio Re, la patria?

5 Amn. Non parlami di Lei ... 

do not comprehend the immensity
of my love. For you I would re-
nounce the throne, would abandon
my Father, repudiate the Gods ... 

4 Rad. And I in the rapture of
my love for Her have I not
betrayed my duty, the Gods, my
King, my homeland?

5 Amn. Do not speak to me of Her ... 

19 Ghislanzoni's advice about the omission is discussed on p. 268 of
the present study.
6 Rad. Perdonate ad un demente . . .
Si: io son un'ingrato . . . ma
io amo Aida . . . amo Lei . . .
e Lei soltanto . . .

7 Am. Ah taci! . . .

8 Rad. . . . Se avessi tesori, troni, mondi interi . . .
tutto darei per vederla un'istante . . . per bearmi un'istante

Rad. Forgive a demented one . . .
Yes: I am an ungrateful one . . . but I love Aida . . . I love Her . . . and Her only . . .

Am. Ah be silent! . . .

Rad. . . . If I had treasures, thrones, entire worlds . . . all would I give to see her one moment . . . to rejoice one moment

---

The instruction is in Ghislanzoni's hand.
nei suoi sguardi ... e morrei felice dopo.

9 Amn. Insensato! Tu non sai che quanto immenso è l'amore, altrettanto terribile è il mio furore; che una mia parola ti salva; che una mia parola t'uccide? E non tremi?

10 Rad. No: non tremo. Vendicarei.

11 Amn. Anco una volta:

[p. 35]
in her sight ... and I would die happy thereafter.

9 Amn. Crazy one! You do not know that as immense as is my love, my fury is just as terrible; that one word of mine saves you; that one word of mine kills you? And you do not tremble?

10 Rad. No: I do not tremble. I would take revenge.

11 Amn. Once more:
Rinuncia ad Aida [.]

12 Rad. Non posso [.]

13 Am. Rinuncia ad Aida o morrai!

14 Rad. Morró!

15 Amn. Ebbene! Che gli Dei si plachino, e la giustizia abbia il suo corso. Guardie! . . .

16 Rad. con esaltar Grata mi

Renounce Aida [.]

12 Rad. I cannot [.]

13 Am. Renounce Aida or you will die!

14 Rad. I shall die!

15 Amn. Well then! Let the Gods be placated, and let justice take its course. Guards! . . .

16 Rad. with exaltation Death will be
sara la morte se
morirei per lei./ parte fra le guardie

[Scena III]²¹

1 Amneris sola

 ingrato! . . . ohimè! . . .

2 mi sento morire! . / In questo momento interdete al suono
di marcia religiosa sfilano in fondo i Sacerdoti alla cui
testa è Ramfis, e spariscono dalla porta bassa situata alla
destra dello spettatore.

3 Ah eccoli! . . . I sacerdoti

welcome if
I die for her./ he departs between the guards

[Scene III]²¹

1 Amneris alone

Ungrateful! . . . alas! . . .

2 I feel I am dying! . / At this moment introduced to the sound
of a religious march the Priests at whose head is Ramfis
file by from the back, and disappear through the low door
situated at the right of the spectator.

3 Ah here they are! . . . The fatal

²¹ We add [Scene III] to show the commencement of the so-called "Judgement Scene", owing to the fact that Ghislanzoni made such a division in his versified libretto at this point in the action. See pp. 253-54 of the present study for a discussion of the divisions of Act IV, tableau 1 in the Verdi libretto and Ghislanzoni's versified libretto.
fatali ... inesorabili! ... Ch'io non veda quelle bianche larve!

4 Si copre il volto colle mani e dopo qualche silenzio esclama [:]

[Illegible superscription over the crossed-out clause]

5 Ed io! ... Io-stessa-fui ehe-à-tore-il-consegnaì /silenzio/

[p. 36]

Oh atroce gelosia che sarai la causa della sua morte e della mia eterna

Priests ... inexorable! ... Let me not see those white spectres!

4 She covers her face with her hands and after some silence exclaims [:]

[Illegible superscription over the crossed-out clause]

5 And I! ... I-myself-was the-one-who-gave-them-charge-of-him /silence/

[p. 36]

Oh atrocious jealousy that will be the cause of his death and of my eternal

22 The instruction is in Verdi's hand.
disperazione./ Intanto i Sacerdoti saranno scomparsi
si sentirà un mormorio profondo di voci.
È il Coro dei Sacerdoti nel sotterraneo [:]
Dei scendete sopra
di noi. Voi ci illuminate [.]
Voi ci guidate, onde
giustizia sia resa pronta
e sicura.

Amneris scoppia in un diretto pianto gridando [:]
Dei possenti abbiate
pietà di Lui!

Amneris explodes in a torrent of tears crying [:]
Powerful Gods have
mercy on Him!

The instruction is in Ghislanzoni's hand.
La voce di Ramfis nel sotterraneo

Radamès! Radamès! Radamès!  
Io t'accuso d'aver venduto l'onor tuo al nemico della patria! ... Defenditi ... Tu taci!!

Tutti Traditore!

Ramfis come sopra  
Tu volesti consegnare l'armata nostra fra le gole di Napata nelle mani del nemico!

Traditore!

The voice of Ramfis in the subterranean chamber

Radamès! Radamès! Radamès!  
I accuse you of having sold your honour to the enemy of the homeland! ... Defend yourself ... You are silent!!

Traitor!

All Traitor!

Ramfis as above  
You wanted to consign our army into the hands of the enemy between the gorges of Napata!

I accuse you of having abandoned our army at the vigil of the battle.
12 Diffenditi . . . Tu taci!!
Traidore!

13 Tutti Traditore!

14 Ramfis come sop.--Tu tradisti i tuoi giuri, il Re, la patria. Tu morrai della morte degli infami.

14b Tutti Tu morrai della morte degli infami.

12 Defend yourself . . . You are silent!!
Traitor!

13 All Traitor!

14 Ramfis as above--You betrayed your oaths, the King, the homeland. You will die the death of the infamous.

14b All You will die the death of the infamous.

24 The instruction is in Ghislanzoni's hand.
14c **Ramfis** You will be buried
alive in the subterranean chambers of the temple

14d of Vulcan. **The chorus repeats** [.]

15 **Amn. desperate** Ah no!
stop! ... Buried alive!

16 **Horror!** The voices disperse repeating
Traitor!
Traitor [!]

17 **Silence!**

[Amneris]
Tutto tace! ... Sepolto vivo!! Nè io ... Io, la figlia onnipossente dei Faraoni potrò salvarlo!
Nè il disperato amor mio potrà strapparlo dalle unghie di questi sacerdoti di sangue! ... A che servi dunque scanno dorato, che chiamano

Recitative\textsuperscript{25}

Recitative\textsuperscript{25}

Più caldo e forse poco (rapido)\textsuperscript{26}

Warmer and perhaps less (fast)\textsuperscript{26}

All is silent! ... Buried alive!! Not even I ... I, the omnipotent daughter of the Pharaohs can save him!
Nor can my desperate love tear him away from the claws of these priests of blood! ... To what service then golden chair, that they call

\textsuperscript{25} The instruction is in Verdi's hand.

\textsuperscript{26} The instruction is in Ghislanzoni's hand.
trono, se non vali a
salvare colui che amo
sopra ogni cosa in terra! 1)

Scena III
1 Entra il Re
2 Am. Oh padre mio! salvatelo!
3 Re. È-dunque-vero!—tu-l'ami. E tanto tu l'ami?
4 Am. Disperatamente io l'amo.
Salvatelo.

throne, if it cannot
save him whom I love
above every other thing on earth! 1)

Scene III
1 The King enters
2 Am. Oh my father! save him!
3 King. It-is-true-then,-you-love-him. And you love him so much?
4 Am. Desperately I love him.

27 The observation is in Ghislanzoni's hand. See Verdi's remarks in the letter dated 4 November 1870, which is reproduced in Busch, pp. 92-94.
5 Re. Tu preghi invano. È condannato: morrà . . .

6 Am. Getta un grido e cade. Il Re chiama le ancelle che la trasportano etc.

[p. 38]

Scena IV /2 Etages/²⁸

1 Il sotterraneo. Lunghe file d'arcate si perdono nell' oscurità del fondo. Al diritta ed a sinistra appena si distingue l'entrata della galleria. Statue colossali d'Osiri colle mani incrociate sono addossate ai King. You beg in vain. He is condemned: he will die . . .

6 Am. Emits a cry and falls. The King calls the maids who carry her off etc.

[p. 38]

Scene IV /2 Levels/²⁸

1 The subterranean chamber. Long rows of arcades fade into the darkness of the rear of the stage. To the right and to the left, one barely distinguishes the entrance of the gallery. Colossal statues of Osiris with hands crossed are leaning against the

²⁸ The reminder about the two-level set for Act IV, Scena ultima appears to be in Giuseppina Strepponi's hand. The set description, which follows the reminder, does not indicate the two-level stage. See Appendix VI, p. 980 for a set description of the divided stage.
pilastri che sostengono la volta.

2 Radamès è solo sui gradini per cui è disposto [.]  
   Si sentono ancora gli ultimi colpi che inchiodano la pietra del sotterraneo [.]

3 La pietra fatale è chiusa  
   sopra di me! Per sempre è chiusa! In questa eterna notte son condannato a morire di fame! Più non vedrò il dì! . . . Più non

pillars that support the vault.

2 Radamès is alone on the steps by which he was disposed [.]  
   One still hears the final blows that seal the stone of the subterranean chamber [.]

3 The fatal stone is closed  
   above me! In this eternal night I am condemned to die of hunger! No more shall I see the day! . . . No more

29 The instruction is in Verdi's hand.
vedrò Aida!! .. Oh Aida mia ove sei tu? Possa tu almeno essere felice, ed ignorare per sempre la mia morte crudele! .. Ma .. qual vago rumore! .. Qualcuno! .. È [una] visione! Ah .. è forma umana! .. Cielo! .. Aída Aída ..

4 Aída Son io ..

5 Rad. Ma tu qui? ma come?

shall I see Aida!! .. Oh my Aida where are you? May you at least be happy, and ignore forever my cruel death! .. But .. 'what strange noise! .. Somebody! .. It is a vision! Ah .. it is a human shape! .. Heaven! .. Aída Aída ..

4 Aída It is I ..

5 Rad. But you here? but how?
6 Aida Presentii la tua
potei nascondermi
condanna e mi-nasceesi
fra queste tenebre. Da
quattro giorni t'aspetto per
morire con te, lungi da ogni
[p. 39]
sguardo umano.

7 Rad. Oh mia Aida! Ma tu morire!
Tu innocente, tu così giovine
sì bella! . . . maledizione!
Nè io salvar ti posso!

6 Aida I anticipated your
was able to hide myself
sentence and hid-myself
amidst this darkness. For
four days I awaited you to
die with you, far from every
[p. 39]
human glance.

7 Rad. Oh my Aida! But you to die!
You innocent, you so young
so beautiful . . . curses!
Nor can I save you!
Aida Calmati. A noi non resta che morire. Vedi! l'angiol dell'amore svolazza sopra di noi colle sue ali d'oro, e ci attende per trasportarci in un mondo migliore. I Cieli s'aprono: i dolori finiscono: un'eternità di beatitudine incomincia per noi.

Rad. Tu deliri Aida . . . ascoltami.
Ah vivi, vivi ancora, e

Aida Calm yourself. To us nothing remains but death. Do you see! the angel of love flutters above us with wings of gold, and awaits us to take us to a better world. The heavens open: the sorrows end: an eternity of blessedness begins for us.

Rad. You are delirious Aida . . . listen to me.
Ah live, go on living, and
godiamo di un'istante di
felicità che fra poco sparirà

10 per sempre. /In questo momento si sente confusamente
l'invocazione dei Sacerdoti, il suono delle arpe
e la danza delle Sacerdotesse

11 Rad. Il tripudio dei Sacerdoti!

12 Aida Il nostro inno di morte!

13 Rad. con des= ... E queste mie forti
braccia non potranno smuovere
questa pietra fatale!

let us enjoy a moment of
happiness that soon will vanish

10 forever. /In this moment one hears confusedly
the invocation of the Priests, the sound of the harps
and the dances of the Priestesses

11 Rad. The exaltation of the Priests!

12 Aida Our hymn of death!

13 Rad. with desp[eration] ... And these strong arms
of mine will not be able to remove
this fatal stone!
14 Aida Io manco ... Io ti precedo .

15 Rad. Attendimi. Io non voglio viver
un'istante senza di te.

16 Aida Sulla soglia del cielo ...
là mi vedrai ... t'aspetterò ...
non saremo allora divisi
mai più ...

17 Rad. Ah mia Aida ... attendimi!

18 Aida Ah ti precedo ... addio! ... muore

14 Aida I faint ... I go before you .

15 Rad. Await me. I do not want to live
a moment without you.

16 Aida On the threshold of heaven ...
there you will see me ... I shall await you ...
then we shall never be parted
again ...

17 Rad. Ah my Aida ... await me!

18 Aida Ah I go before you ... Farewell! ... she dies
19 Rad. Aida! ... 

Cala il sipario

[pp. 40-42: Blank pages]

[p. 43] Atto Quarto

1 Il teatro rappresenta una sala nel palazzo del

Re. A destra una porta bassa dà nella camera delle

sentenze. In fondo un palco al quale si sale da una doppia

scala. Dinnanzi al palco sopra due piedestalli di granito

stanno in piedi due statue di bronzo, una rappresentante la

Giustizia l'altra la Verità.

19 Rad. Aida! ... 

The curtain falls

[pp. 40-42: Blank pages]

[p. 43] Fourth Act

1 The stage represents a room in the palace of the

King. To the right, a low door leads into the room of the

trials. In the rear, a stand to which one ascends by a double

stair. In front of the stand on two granite pedestals

stand two bronze statues, one representing

Justice, the other Truth.

30 This is the first version of the fourth act in Verdi’s libretto.
Amneris sola, triste, abbattuta

Scena I

2 Am. Ogni pericolo è cessato.
Morto Amonasro, agli Etiopi sconfitti non resta speranza
di riscossa--E Aida? . . . fuggita
col padre, di Lei non si rinvenne
traccia . . . La mia rivale m'è
sfuggita!--(Silenzio)! E Radamès?
Aspetta nei ferri la punizione
de' traditori! Egli . . . traditore!

Amneris alone, sad, discouraged

Scene I

2 Am. Every danger has ceased.
With the death of Amonasro, to the defeated
Ethiopians no hope of insurrection
remains--And Aida? . . . fled
with her father, no trace of Her came
back . . . My rival has slipped
away from me!--(Silence)! And Radamès?
He awaits the punishment of traitors
in chains! He . . . traitor!
Pure l'amor mio non è per
Lui scemato! Un turbamento
ignoto m'agita sempre il
core! Me infelice! io l'amo . . .
e troppo io l'amo! . . . Ah
se potessi salvarlo! . . . Tentiamo . . .
Fà un cenno alle guardie
Venga Radamès . . . le guardie
eseguiscono

Scena II
Radamès e detta

Nonetheless, my love for Him is
not reduced! A mysterious
pain, always agitates my
heart! Unhappy me! I love him . . .
and I love him too much! . . . Ah
if I could save him! . . . Let us try . . .
She makes a sign to the guards
Let Radamès come . . . the guards
execute it

Scene II
Radamès and the former
Am. Fra poco i Sacerdoti saranno qui radunati per giudicarti. Grave su te pesa l'accusa: grave sarà la pena. Pur se davanti ai giudici tu vuoi abjurare il tuo delitto, io tenterò intenerire il cuor de[l] Re, ed ottenere il tuo perdono. Ma tu rinuncierai ad Aida, e mi giura che non la vedrai mai più.

Am. Soon the Priests will assemble here to judge you. Heavily on you weighs the accusation: heavy will be the punishment. But if before the judges you wish to renounce your crime, I shall attempt to soften the heart of the King, and to obtain your pardon. But you will renounce Aida, and swear to me that you will never again see her.
2 Rad. [Two illegible crossed-out lines]
Non domandate perdono per me.
[Illlegible crossed-out line]
I miei dolori, le mie speranze
deluse svanite, il rimorso
atroce che mi lacera l'anima
mi rendono insopportabile
la questa vita. A me non resta
che una speranza, un desiderio:
morire!

3 Amn. Morire!! con esaltar

2 Rad. [Two illegible crossed-out lines]
Do not ask pardon for me.
[Illlegible crossed-out line]
My sorrows, my hopes
deluded vanished, the atrocious
remorse that tears the soul from me
render this life insupportable
to me. To me nothing remains
but a hope, a desire:
to die!

3 Amn. To die!! with exaltation
ma io voglio che tu viva!—
intendi?—Tu non comprendi
l'immensità del mio ardente
amore. Per te rinunzierei
al trono, abbandonerei il padre,
rinnegherei gli Dei, e tradirei
financo la patria.

4 Rad. Ed io nel delirio
del mio amore per lei
non ho tradito il dovere,
il mio re, la patria? . . .

but I wish that you live!—
do you understand?—You do not comprehend
the immensity of my ardent
love. For you I would renounce
the throne, would abandon my father,
would repudiate the Gods, and I would
even betray the homeland.

4 Rad. And I in the rapture
of my love for her
have I not betrayed my duty,
my King, my homeland? . . .
5 Amn. Ah non parlarmi
di Lei!...
[p. 45]

6 Rad. Perdonate ad un
demente. Sì.. io sono un
ingrato!... Ma io amo Aida.
Amo lei... e lei soltanto.

7 Amn. Ah taci!

8 Rad. Se avessi tesori,
troni, mondi interi:
tutto darei per vederla

---

5 Amn. Ah do not speak to me
of Her!...
[p. 45]

6 Rad. Forgive a demented
one. Yes.. I am an
ungrateful one!... But I love Aida.
I love her... and her only.

7 Amn. Ah be silent!

8 Rad. If I had treasures,
thrones, entire worlds:
all would I give to see her
un istante, per bearmi
un istante nei suoi sguardi
Morrei felice dopo.

9 Amn. Ah tací insensato
e treme del mio furor.

9 Amn. Ah be silent, crazy one
and tremble to my fury.

Insensato, tu non sai che
quanto immenso è l'amore [,]
altrettanto terribile è il mio
furore: che una mia parola
ti salva: una mia parola t'uccide.

10 Rad. fiero Golpita!
Vendicarei!
Trema. Rad. attendo colpite.

10 Rad. fiery Strike!
I would take revenge!

11 Amn. Anco una volta, Rinuncia
ad Aida.

11 Amn. Once more, Renounce
Aida.

one moment, to rejoice
one moment in her sight
I would die happy thereafter.

Crazy one, you do not know that
as immense as is my love [,]
my fury is just as
terrible: that one word of mine
saves you: one word of mine kills you.
12 Rad. Non posso.

13 Amn. più fieramente Rinuncia ad Aida, o morrai!

14 Rad. Morrò!

15 Amn. Ebbene! Che gli Dei si plachino, e la giustizia abbia il suo corso. Guardie! . . . entrano

16 Rad. Principessa! Perdonate Grata mi fia ad un morente—non morte se morirei

12 Rad. I cannot.

13 Amn. very haughtily Renounce Aida, or you will die!

14 Rad. I shall die!

15 Amn. Well then! Let the Gods be placated, and let justice take its course. Guards! . . . they enter

16 Rad. Princess! Pardon Death is to one who is to die—I did welcome to me if I die
accetta la vostra pietà, ma grato morrò bene-
dicendo vostro nome!

parte fra le guardie/

[Scena III]

Amneris sola

1 Quali accenti! ... Ohimè
[Illegible word]

Il cor mi manca!

2 In questo momento al suono di marcia religiosa sfilano in

not accept your mercy, for Her [blank spaces for two words]
but I shall die grateful bles-
sing your name!

he leaves between the guards/

[Scene III]

Amneris alone

1 What accents! ... Alas
[Illegible word]

My heart fails me!

2 At this moment to the sound of the religious march the Priests

31 See p. 630, fn. 21 of this Appendix for an explanation of the addition of [Scena III] at this point in the action.
fondo i Sacerdoti alla cui testa è Ramfis. Si spariscono
dalla porta bassa situata alla
destra degli spettatori [...]

3  Ah eccoli! . . . I sacerdoti
fatali . . . inesorabili!—
Terribile istante!—

4  Ahimè! . . . Si copre il volto
   colle mani e dopo
   brevi istanti esclama
   Ah! ah! io non veda
   le bianche larve!—
   Ed io! io . . . fui quella

5  Ed io! . . . Te-stessa-fui Io fui quella . . .
che a loro il consegnai!
(Silenzio)

__________________________

at whose head is Ramfis file by the rear of the stage. They disappear
through the low door situated to the
right of the spectators [...]

3  Ah here they are! . . . The fatal
priests . . . inexorable!—
Terrible moment!—

4  Alas! . . . She covers her face
   with her hands and after
   a brief moment exclaims
   Ah! ah! let me not
   see the white spectres!—
   And I! I . . . was the woman

5  And I! . . . I-myself-was I was the one . . .
who gave them charge of him!
(Silence)
E-l'amé? . . . Oh atroce
gelosia che fosti la causa
della sua morte, e della
mia eterna disperazione! . . .

Intanto i Sacerdoti saranno scomparsi e si sentirà al
disotto un mormorio profondo di voci. È il coro dei sacerdoti
che invocano gli Dei [:]
Dei scendete sopra
di noi. **Illuminatesi**
Voi ci illuminate
**onde-la-giustizia-sia**
voi ci guidate, onde giustizia **sia-fatta**
sia resa
pronta e sicura.

And-I-love-him? . . . Oh atrocious
jealousy that was the cause
of his death, and of
my eternal despair! . . .

Meanwhile the priests will have disappeared and one hears from
below a profound murmur of voices. It is the chorus of priests
who invoke the Gods [:]
Gods descend upon
us. **Illuminate-us**
You illuminate us
**wherefore-let-justice-be**
you guide us, wherefore justice **be-made**
be delivered
promptly and securely.
Amneris nel massimo abbattimento

Dei possenti [,] abbiate
pietà di lui!

La voce

Ramfis di Ramfis nel sotterraneo

Radamès! Io t'accuso
d'aver venduto l'onor
tuo al nemico della patria! Diffenditi.

Silenzio. Tu taci!! . . .
Sei traditore!

Amneris in the greatest discouragement

Almighty Gods [,] have
pity on him!

The voice

Ramfis of Ramfis in the subterranean chamber

Radamès! I accuse you
of having sold your honor
to the enemy of the homeland! Defend yourself.

Silence. You are silent! . . .
You are a traitor!

Chorus You are a traitor!
[p. 47]:

11 [Ramf]is Tu volesti
[con]durre l'armata nostra
[al]le gole di Napata nelle
[ma]ni del nemico . . . silenzio

12 [Tu] taci?—Sei traditore!

13 [Co]ro Sei traditore!

14 [Ram]fis Tu tradisti i tuoi
giuri, il Re, la patria . . .
Tu morrai della morte
degli infami. Tu sarai

[p. 47]

11 [Ramf]is You wanted
[to] deliver our army
[at] the gorges of Napata into the
[ha]nds of the enemy . . . silence

12 [You] are silent?—You are a traitor!

13 [Cho]rus You are a traitor!

14 [Ram]fis You betrayed your
oaths, the King, the homeland . . .
You will die the death
of the infamous. You will be
sepoltto vivo nei sotterranei del tempio di Vulcano!

15 Amn. disperata Ah no!
fermate! fermate!
Sepolto vivo! Orrore!

16 Le voci si disperdono sempre più ripetendo
Sei traditore!
Sei traditore!

17 [Amneris]
Tutto tace! ... tutto è
finito! Sepolto vivo!

buried alive in the subterranean chambers of the temple of Vulcan!

15 Amn. desperate Ah no!
stop! stop!
Buried alive! Horror!

16 The voices fade away gradually while repeating
You are a traitor!
You are a traitor!

17 [Amneris]
All is silent! ... all is finished! Buried alive!
Nè io . . . io Amneris, la figlia onnipossente dei Faraoni potrò salvarlo!
Nè il disperato amor mio potrà strapparlo dalle unghie di questi Sacerdoti di sangue!! Oh gelosia atroce causa della sua morte e della mia

Ah che servi dunque scanno dorato che chiamano[ö] trono, se non vali a salvare colui che amo sovra ogni cosa in terra.

Nor I . . . I Amneris, the powerful daughter of the Pharaohs shall be able to save him!
Nor will my desperate love be able to tear him from the claws of these Priests of blood!! Oh atrocious jealousy cause of his death and of my
eterna disperazione [...]

Scena III

1 Entra il Re

2 Am. Ah padre mio!

padre mio salvatelo!

3 Re È dunque vero!

Tu l'ami?

4 Am. Disperatamente !

io l'amo. Salvatelo.

5 Re Tu preghi invano!

eternal desperation [...]

Scene III

1 The King enters

2 Am. Ah my father!

my father save him!

3 King It is true then!

You love him?

4 Am. Desperately !

I love him. Save him.

5 King You beg in vain!
È condannato: morrà!

6 Amn. Getta un grido e cade. Ad un cenno dal Re entrano alcune ancelle che la trasportano.

Scena ultima

La scena rappresenta un sotterraneo. Lunghe [volte] si perdono nell'oscurità del fondo. A diritta ed a sinistra, appena si distingue l'entrata della galleria. Statue colossali d'Osiri, colle mani incrociate sul petto sono addossate ai pilastri en che

He is condemned: he will die!

6 Amn. Gives a cry and falls down. At a sign from the King some maids enter who take her away.

Final scene

The stage represents a subterranean chamber. Long [vaults] disappear into the darkness of the back. To the right and to the left, one barely distinguishes the entrance of the galleries. Colossal statues of Osiris, with hands crossed on the chest are leaning against the pillars that
2 Radamès è solo in gradini per cui è disposto sulla-scala.
   gli ultimi Si sentono ancora [illegible crossed-out word] colpi
   che inchiodano la pietra del sotterraneo———

3 La pietra fatale è chiusa
   sopra di me! Nen-è-ia

2 Radamès is alone on the steps by which he was disposed on-the-steps
   the final One still hears [illegible crossed-out word] blows
   that seal the stone of the subterranean chamber———

3 The fatal stone is closed
   above me! It-is-not-the

Although the preceding set description (Scena ultima, item 1) contains no mention of a two-level set, this rough sketch could well be a preliminary drawing of the proposed design. See pp. 151-55 of the present study for a discussion of the development of the set.
qui fra queste tenebre, in questa eterna notte son io condannato a morire di fame.

Più non vedrò il di . . . Più non vedrò Aida! . . . Oh Aida mia ove sei tu? . . . felice Possa tu almeno esser felice ed ignorare per sempre la mia morte crudele! (Silenzio)

for here in this darkness, in this eternal night I am condemned to die of hunger.

No more shall I see the day . . . No more shall I see Aida! . . . Oh my Aida where are you? . . . happy May you at least be happy and ignore forever my cruel death! (Silence)
Ma!—ahimè!—[Illegible-word]—veder
Ma qual vago rumore!
Qualcuno!... è visione!...
Ah no! è forma umana!...
Cielo!... Aida! Aida!

Aida  Son io... abbracciami!

Rad.  Mia Aida! tu qui! ma come?

Aida  Presentii la tua
condanna e mi nascosi
fra queste tenebre.

But!—alas!—[Illegible-word]—to-see
But what strange noise!
Somebody!... it is a vision!...
Ah no! it is a human shape!...
Heaven!... Aida! Aida!

Aida  It is I... embrace me!

Rad.  My Aida! you here! but how?

Aida  I anticipated your
sentence and hid myself
in this darkness.
Da quattro giorni t'aspetto
per morire con te, lungi
da ogni sguardo umano.

7 [R]ad. Oh mia Aida: ma
tu morire! . . . Tu innocente [,]
tu cosi giovine, sì bella! . . .
Ah maledizione! . . . Nè
io salvar ti posso!! . . .

8 [A]ida Calmati. A noi
non resta che morire!
Vieni . . . abbracciami!

For four days I awaited you
to die with you, far
from every human eye.

7 [R]ad. Oh my Aïda: but
you to die! . . . You innocent [,]
you so young, so beautiful! . . .
Ah curses! . . . Nor
can I save you!! . . .

8 [A]ïda Calm yourself. To us
nothing remains but death!
Come . . . embrace me!
Vedi? l'angiol dell'
amore svolazza sopra
[p. 50]
Di noi colle ali d'oro, e ci attende per
trasportarci in un mondo
migliore . . . I cieli s'aprono:
i dolori finiscono: un'eternità
di beatitudine incomincia
per noi.

9 Rad. Tu deliri Aida . . .
ascoltami . . . ah vivi,

Do you see? the angel of
love flutters above
[p. 50]
Us with wings of gold, and awaits us to
take us to a better
world . . . The heavens open:
the sorrows end: an eternity
of blessedness begins
for us.

9 Rad. You are delirious Aida . . .
listen to me . . . ah live,
vivi ancora e godiamo
di un istante di felicità
che già poco sparirà
per sempre. In questo
momento si sente
confusamente l'invocazione
di Sacerdoti, il suono delle arpe
e la danza delle sacerdotesse.

Rad. Il tripudio de Sacerdoti!

Aida Il nostro inno di morte!

go on living and let us enjoy
a moment of happiness
that soon will vanish
forever. In this
moment one hears
confusedly the invocation
of Priests, the sound of harps
and the dance of the priestesses.

Rad. The exaltation of the Priests!

Aida Our hymn of death!
13 Rad. con disperazione  E queste
mie forti braccia non
potranno smuovere questa
pietra fatale!

14 Aida  Io manco . . . ti precedo.

15 Rad. Attendimi. Io non
voglio vivere un'istante
senza di te.

16 Aida  Sulla soglia del

13 Rad. with desperation  And these
strong arms of mine will
not be able to remove this
fatal stone!

14 Aida  I faint . . . I go before you.

15 Rad. Await me. I do not
want to live a moment
without you.

16 Aida  On the threshold of
Cielo . . . là mi vedrai [ . . . ]

T'aspetterò . . . non
saremo allora divisi
mai più! . . .

17 Rad. Attendimi [,] attendimi [ . . . ]

18 Aida Ah! ti precedo . . . addio . . . muore.

19 Rad. Aida!!

Cala il sipario

[p. 51]

Heaven . . . there you will see me [ . . . ]

I shall await you . . . then
we shall never be parted
again . . .

17 Rad. Await me [,] await me [ . . . ]

18 Aida Ah! I go before you . . . farewell . . . She dies.

19 Rad. Aida!!

The curtain falls
B. FOUR VERSIONS OF ACT IV, SCENE II

[p. 52]

[Act IV, Scena ii] 33

5 [Amneris] Non parlarmi di lei [!]

U [Radamès] E che? Voi volete ch'io viva? e voi
degli [Illegible word] dell'onta mia [?]
sola ed [Illegible word] cagione della vita
e della sua morte [. . .]

[p. 52]

[Act IV, Scene ii] 33

5 [Amneris] Do not speak to me of her [!]

U [Radamès] And what? You wish that I live? and you
of the [Illegible word] of my dishonour
alone and [Illegible word] cause of my life
and her death [. . .]

33 The Verdi libretto ms., pp. 52-59, contains one incomplete and three complete versions of Act IV, scene ii in the composer's hand. The chronology of the four versions is explained on p. 269 of the present study. Ms. p. 57 comprises the first version, which is incomplete.
V Am[neris] Essa vive!

W [Radamès] Voi [Illegible crossed-out word] cagione d'ogni mia sventure . . . Della [Illegible word] e forse della sua morte------

X Ra[damès] Essa-vive No! . . . Essa vive!34

Y Am[neris] Sua [Illegible word] vive!
Ma s'io ti salvo giura me
ma-ei-ic-tie-siwe [Illegible crossed-out word] giura me
Che la vedrai non più [.]

V Am[neris] She lives!

W [Radamès] You [Illegible crossed-out word] cause of all my misfortune . . . Of the [Illegible word] and perhpas of her death------

X Ra[damès] She-lives No! . . . She lives!34

Y Am[neris] Her [Illegible word] lives!
But if I save you swear to me
but-if-i-save-you [Illegible crossed-out word] swear to me
That you will see her no more [.]

34 Item X is incorrectly assigned to Radamès in the Verdi libretto ms.
[Radamès] Non posso [ . . . ]

[Amneris] Anco una volta Rinuncia ad Aída [ . ]

[Radamès] Non posso [ . . . ]

[Amneris] Rinuncia ad Aida o morrai [--]

[Radamès] Morró . . .

[Amneris] Insensato! Tu non sai che quanto
quante immenso è l'amore altrettanto
terribile è il mio furore--Or chi [ti]
salva ora! Va: si placino gli Dei
e la giustizia abbia il suo corso-----

[Radamès] I cannot [ . . . ]

[Amneris] Once more Renounce Aida [ . ]

[Radamès] I cannot [ . . . ]

[Amneris] Renounce Aida or you will die [--]

[Radamès] I shall die . . .

[Amneris] Crazy one! You do not know that as
eas immense as my love is just as
terrible is my fury--Now who
will save you! Go: let the Gods be placated
and let justice have its course------
1 Am. Fra poco i Sacerdoti
qui saranno radunati
per giudicarti--Grave per
te pesa l'accusa; grave
sarà la pena--Pur se
davanti ai Giudici tu vuoi
abjurare il tuo delitto,
io tenterò d'intenerire

Verdi libretto ms., pp. 55-56 comprise the second version of Act IV, scene ii.
il cor del Re ed ottenere
il tuo perdono.

2 Rad. Non desidero nè
spero perdono. I miei
dolori, le mie speranze
svanite, il rimorso che mi
lacera l'anima mi rendono
odiosa la vita. A me non
resta che una speranza, un
deriderio . . . morire?

3 Am. Morire! ma io

the heart of the King and to obtain
your pardon.

2 Rad. I do not desire nor
hope for pardon. My
sorrows, my vanished
hopes, the remorse that
tears the soul from me render
life odious to me. To me nothing
remains but a hope, a
desire . . . to die?

3 Am. To die! but I
voglio che tu viva, intendi?
Tu non comprendi l'immen-
sità del mio amore [.] Per te
rinuncierei al trono, abban-
donerei il padre, rinnegherei
gli Dei---

4 Ra. Ed io nel delirio del
mio amore per lei, non
ho tradito il dovere, gli Dei [,]
il mio re, la patria?

5 Am. Non parlar mi di lei!--

---

wish that you live, do you understand?
You do not comprehend the immen-
sity of my love [.] For you
I would renounce the throne, aban-
don my father, repudiate
the Gods---

4 Rad. And I in the rapture of
my love for her, have I
not betrayed my duty, the Gods [,]
my king, my homeland?

5 Am. Do not speak to me of her!--
Aida sua morte! . . .

X  Am. No! . . . Essa vive!

X  Rad. Gran Dio! Vive

Y  Am. + Ma, s'io ti salvo, A. Rinune-Aida

---

Aida's death! . . .

X  Am. No! . . . She lives!

X  Rad. Great God! She lives

Y  Am. + But, if I save you A. Rinune-Aida
giurami che non lei 
vedrai mai più [.] [Two illegible lines]

Z Ra. Non posso [ . . . ] 
In + Nel lottar tra--½ quella 
Θ Lotta essa il padre solo fia

11 Amn. Anco una volta: 
rinuncia ad Aida [.] 
Θ Lotta essa colto ed ucciso 
nella lotta. Essa 

12 Rad. Non posso [ . . . ] 
si--[Illegible crossed-out word] sfuggiva 
nè vostri nè [Illegible crossed-out word]

13 Am. Rinuncia ad Aida 
o morrai. 
[Illegible line] [Illegible word] con essa! Θ

14 Rad. Morrò . . .

swear to me that you 
will see her no more [ . . . ] [Two illegible lines]

Z Ra. I cannot [ . . . ] 
In + In the struggle between--½ that 
Θ Struggle she the father only be 

11 Amn. Once more: 
renounce Aida [ . . . ] 
Θ taken caught and killed 
in the struggle. She 

12 Rad. I cannot [ . . . ] 
herself [Illegible crossed-out word] fled 
neither your nor [Illegible-crossed out word]

13 Am. Renounce Aida 
or you will die. 
[Illegible line] [Illegible word] with her! Θ

14 Rad. I shall die . . .
9 Am. Insensato! tu non sai che quanto immenso è l'amore, altrettanto terribile il mio furore! Ma s'io ti salvo giurami che non lei Chi ti salva ora?

15 Và! ... Si plachino gli Dei, e la giustizia abbia il suo corso.

16 Rad. [Illegible line]
Grata mi sarà la morte se morirò per Lei . . . .

9 Am. Crazy one! you do not know that as immense as is my love, my fury But if I save you is just as terrible! swear to me that not her Who can save you now?

15 Go! ... Let the Gods be placated, and let justice take its course.

16 Rad. [Illegible line]
Death will be welcome to me if I die for Her . . . .
[p. 53]

[Act IV] Scena II

1 Am. Fra poco i Sacerdoti
qui saranno radunati
per giudicarti--Grave
per te pesa l'accusa,
grave sarà la pena--
Pur se davanti ai
Giudici tu vuoi abjurarare il tuo delitto,

[p. 53]

[Act IV] Scene II

1 Am. Soon the Priests
will gather here
to judge you--Heavy
for you weighs the accusation,
heavy will be the punishment--
However, if before the
Judges you wish to
renounce your crime,

36 Verdi libretto ms., pp. 53-54 comprise the third version of Act IV, scene II.
I shall attempt to soften
the heart of the King and to obtain
your pardon.

2 Rad. I do not desire, nor
hope for pardon. My
sorrows, my hopes
vanished, the remorse that
speaked the heart is pure

No: my judges will not
hear a word from me [Illegible word]
That XXXX You know it
That I am innocent

Che io sono innocente
Che XXXX Ne voi sapete
Che er una parola

I-o tenterò d'intenerire
il cor del Re ed ottenere
io tuo perdono.

2 Rad. Non desidero, nè spero perdono. I-miei dolori, le mie speranze svanite, il rimorso che ha parlato il cuore è puro
Am. Morire! Ma io voglio che tu viva . . . intendi? Ah tu non comprendi l'immensità del mio amore. Per te rinuncierei al trono, abbandonerei il padre, rinnegherei gli Dei--

Rad. Ed io, nel delirio [p. 54]

del mio amore per lei
non ho tradito il dovere

Non tu sai quanto più immenso l'amore mio è per te. Tu non sai quanti
[Three illegible crossed-out lines] gloria senza fine che io posso
[Illegible word] a te. Per te
rinuncerei al trono, abbandonerei il padre, rinnegherei gli Dei [.]

3 Am. To die! But I wish that you live . . . do you understand? Ah you do not comprehend the immensity of my love. For you I would renounce the throne, abandon my father, repudiate the Gods--

4 Rad. And I, in the rapture [p. 54]
of my love for her have I not betrayed my duty

You do not know how very immense my love is for you. You do not know how much
[Three illegible crossed-out lines] glory without end that I can [Illegible word] to you. For you I would renounce the throne, abandon my father, repudiate the Gods [.]
mi lacera l'anima [,] mi
rendono odiosa la vita [.]
A me non resta che
una speranza, un
desiderio . . . morire?

tears the soul from me [,]
render life odious to me [.]
To me nothing remains but
a hope, a
desire . . . to die?

I-miei-giudici non udranno
Eppure la patria fu
tradita, Le mie speranze
svanite. Il rimorso che mi
lacera l'anima le mie
speranze svanite [Illegible word]
mi rende odiosa la vita . . .
Ora a me non resta che
una speranza . . . un desiderio
morire!

My-judges-will-not-hear
Nevertheless the homeland was
betrayed, My hopes
vanished. The remorse that
tears the soul from me my
hopes vanished [Illegible word]
render life odious to me . . .
Now nothing remains to me but
a hope . . . a desire
to die!
agli Dei, il mio Re, la patria?

Y Am. Ma, s'io ti salvo,
giurami che tu non
la vedrai mai più [.]

+ Rad. estremamente sorpreso
Ch'io non la vegga più?!?!—
ma dunque vive!

++ Am. Sì... vive!

+++ Rad. Possenti Dei!... Esse vive!

11 Amn. Anco una volta:

to the Gods, my King, my homeland?

Y Am. But, if I save you,
swear to me that you will
see her no more [.]

+ Rad. extremely surprised
That I see her no more?!?!—
but she lives then?...

++ Am. Yes... she lives!

+++ Rad. Powerful Gods!... She Lives!

11 Amn. Once more:
Rinuncia ad Aida [

12  Rad. Non posso [ . . . ]

13  Am. Rinuncia ad Aida
    o morrai--

14  Rad. Morrò.--

9  Am. Insensato! Tu non
    sai che quanto immenso
    è l'amore, altrettanto
    terribile è il mio furore! . . .
    Chi può salvarti ora?

----------------------------------

Renounce Aida [,]

12  Rad. I cannot [ . . . ].

13  Am. Renounce Aida
    or you will die--

14  Rad. I shall die.--

9  Am. Crazy one! You do not
    know that as immense
    as is my love, my fury
    is just as terrible! . . .
    Who can save you now?
15 Va... Si placino
gli Dei, e la giustizia
abbia il suo corso—

16 Rad. Grata mi sarà
la morte se morirò
per lei---------

[p. 57]
[Atto IV] Scena II

1 Am. Fra poco i Sacerdoti qui

15 Go... Let the Gods
be placated, and let justice
take its course—

16 Rad. Death will be
welcome to me if I die
for her---------

[p. 57]
[Act IV] Scene II

1 Am. Soon the Priests will

37 Verdi libretto ms., pp. 57-58 comprise the fourth version of Act IV, scene ii.
saranno radunati per giudicarti--Grave su te pesa l'accusa, e grave sarà la pena. Pure se davanti ai Giudici tu vuoi abjurare il tuo delitto, io tenterò a intenerire il cuor del Re ed ottenere il suo perdono.

2 Rad. No: i miei giudici non udranno da me parola

2 Rad. No: my judges will not hear a word of defence

38 This text and all subsequent texts with the exception of the last are in Giuseppina Strepponi's hand.
di difesa. Voi tutti ben
sapete che io sono innocente,
che se il labbro ha parlato
è vero . . .
il cuor è puro . . . Pur tradii
la patria. Il rimorso che
mi lacera l'anima, le
mie speranze svanite, mi
rendono odiosa la vita . . . Ora
a me non resta che una
speranza . . . un desiderio . . .
morire!—

from me. All of you know well
that I am innocent,
that if my lip[s] spoke
it is true . . .
my heart is pure . . . Yet I betrayed
the homeland. The remorse that
tears at my soul, my
hopes vanished, to me
they render life odious . . . Now
nothing remains to me but a
hope . . . a desire . . .
to die!—
Am. Morire! Ma io voglio che tu viva ... intendi tu?

Ah tu non sai quanto di qual immenso amor
immenso sia l'amor mio! io t'ami
Tu non conosci le mie voglie [,]
angosciose i miei giorni che
non han fine!! Per te
rinuncierei al trono, abbandonerei il padre, rinun-
gherei gli Dei.
[p. 58]

Rad. Ed io nel delirio

Am. To die! But I wish
that you live ... do you understand?

Ah you do not know how by which immense love
immense is my love! I love you
You do not know my agonized
wishes my days that
have no end!! For you
I would renounce the throne, aban-
don my father, repu-
diate the Gods.
[p. 58]

Rad. And I in the rapture
del mio amore per lei
che ho tradito il dovere [,]
il mio Re, la patria?

5 Am. con ira Non parlar mi
di lei! . . .

U/W Rad. E che? Voi volete
ch'iò viva?--Voi
la cagione di ogni mia
sventura . . . e forse
della sua morte? . . .

* Amn. con fuoco Non

of my love for her
who betrayed my duty [,]
my King, the homeland?

5 Am. with rage Do not speak to me
of her! . . .

U/W Rad. And what? You wish
that I live?--You
the cause of all my
misfortune . . . and perhaps
of her death? . . .

* Amn. with fire Do not
m'accusa di questa!

** Rad. Che dite? . . .

X Am. Essa . . . vive! . . .

x Rad. Vive?!

*** Am. In guerra nostra
il padre solo fù preso
e nella lotta ucciso.
Essa si sffugiva, nè
ci [Illegible word] rinvenirla . . .

accuse me of this!

** Rad. What do you say? . . .

X Am. She . . . lives! . . .

x Rad. She lives?!

*** Am. In our war
only the father was taken
and killed in the battle.
She fled, nor
to us [Illegible word] came back of her . . .
**** Rad. a parte (Ah fate, o Dei ch'essa
raggiunga i suoi lidi...

viva felice, e scordi l'amor mio e le mie sventure [.] [Illegible words] le mie
sventure)

Y Am. Ma [,] s'io ti salvo [,]
almeno
giurami che non la
vedrai mai più!

[p. 59]
Rad. [Illegible line]

y Rad. ripetendo col massimo

**** Rad. aside (Ah allow, o Gods that she
reaches her shores . . .
lives happily, and forgets my love and my misfortunes [.] [Illegible words] my
misfortunes)

Y Am. But [,] if I save you [,]
at least
swear to me that you will not
see her again!

[p. 59]
Rad. [Illegible line]

y Rad. repeating with the greatest
calore le-frase-d'Amneris

S'io son salvo ch'io =
Giuri di non vederla più?

11a Am. Rinuncia ad Aida.

Z Rad. Non posso.

11 Amn. Anco una volta: non provocar il mio furore [.]
Rinuncia ad Aida
o morrai.

12 Rad. Non posso.

13 AM. Rinuncia ad Aida o morrai.

intensity the-sentences-of-Amneris

If I am saved that I =
I swear not to see her again?

11a Am. Renounce Aida.

Z Rad. I cannot.

11 Amn. Once again: do not provoke my fury [.]
Renounce Aida
or you will die.

12 Rad. I cannot.

13 AM. Renounce Aida or you will die.
Am. fieramante Insensato!
Tu non sai che quanto immenso è l'amore, altrettanto terribile è il mio furore!
Chi ti salva ora? ...
che la giustizia va! ... se-placino-gli abbia il suo corso Dei-e-la-giustizia tua morte placino Gli Dei. abbia-il-su-e-eurse.

Rad. con entusiasmo

Rad. I shall die ... That-you-provoc-e-my-fury [...]

Am. fiery Crazy one!
You do not know that as immense as is my love, my fury is just as terrible!
Now who will save you? ... let justice take its course
Go! ... let-the-Gods be-piase-ted-and-justice let the Gods placate your death:

Rad. with enthusiasm
Grata mi sarà la [Illegible word] Piombi pure
morte, se morrò sul capo mio tutta l'ira tua .
per lei Grata mi sarà la morte
per lei.

Death will be welcome [Illegible word] Explode then
to me, if I die on my head your rage .
for her Death will be welcome to me
for her if I die for her.

39 These four lines are in Verdi's hand.
APPENDIX IV

THE GHISLANZONI MANUSCRIPT

A. FIRST DRAFTS

[p. 1]

Aida

Atto Primo

1 Cortile nel palazzo del Re a Memfi--Alberi--
a destra un portico.

Scena I

Radamès-Ramfis

[p. 1]

Aida

Act One

1 A courtyard in the palace of the King at Memphis--Trees--
to the right a porch.

Scene I

Radamès-Ramfis
2 Ramfis Sì: corre voce che l'Etiope insano\textsuperscript{1}
   Anco una volta diffidarci ardisca,
   E del Nilo la valle
   E Tebe minacciar—Fra breve un Messo
   Qui giunger deve, e tutto il ver fia noto.

3 Radamès La sacra Iside ancora
   Non consultasti?

4 Ramfis Ella già diè il responso,

\textsuperscript{1} With the exception of the first five words of the first line, the complete fourth line and the first word of the eighth line, the entire text of the first draft of Act I, scene i was crossed out in the ms. by Verdi. The composer substituted the revised text by Ghislanzoni, which is given on p. 82 of the ms., writing this above all but the third and last two lines. See Appendix IV B, pp. 814-15 for the revision. See also pp. 292-93 of the present study for an explanation of Verdi's method of creating a final text.
E il guerrier desegnò cui della guerra
Si affidino le sorti.

5 Radamès (da sé) Oh foss'io quello! . . .

[p. 2]

6 Ramfis Il decreto del Nume
Io reco al Re—vado a nomargli il prode,
Il giovane guerrier che alla vittoria
Guiderà l'armi nostre. (Esce)

Scena II

Radamès solo

And the warrior designated to whom the fate
Of the war is entrusted.

5 Radamès (to himself) Oh that I were that fellow! . . .

[p. 2]

6 Ramfis The decree of the God
I dispatch to the King—I go to name the brave man to him,
The young warrior who will guide
Our army to victory. (He exits)

Scene II

Radamès alone
Oh! perché il cuore

Mi palpita così? . . . Che il sogno mio

Si avverasse . . . ! Un esercito di prodi

Da me guidato! . . . e la vittoria! . . . e il plauso

Di Menfi tutta . . . ! E a te, mia dolce Aida,

Tornar di lauri cinto . . .

Dirti: per te ho pugnato e per te ho vinto!

[Illegible crossed-out line]

Oh! why does my heart

Beat here? . . . That my dream

Came true . . . ! An army of brave men

Led by me! . . . and the victory! . . . And the cheers

Of all Memphis . . . ! And to you, my sweet Aida,

To return crowned with laurels . . .

To tell you: for you I fought and for you I won!

[Illegible crossed-out line]

2 The first and second lines of this text are crossed out in the ms. Two lines of revised text by Ghislanzoni are written above the cancelled lines in Verdi's hand. The source of the revision in p. 82 of the ms.
2 Quanti ha il mattino raggi e splendori,
Quanti hanno vezzi le perle e i fiori,
Tutto in te adunasi, forma divina,
Astro di vita, astro d'amor.
Qui sei straniera--sei prigioniera--
Pur la regina sei del mio cor.

Sulle mie braccia chè non poss'io
Recarti, o bella, nel suol natio?
Tornarti all'estasi dei dì felici . . .

[p. 5]

2 As many rays and splendors as has the morning,
As many charms as have pearls and flowers,
All unite in you, divine form,
Star of life, star of love.
Here you are stranger--you are a prisoner--
Still you are queen of my heart.

Why cannot I return you
In my arms, o beautiful one, to your native land?
Return you to the ecstasies of the happy days . . .

3 Both strophes of this "romanza" are crossed out in the ms. Revised versions of the romanza were interpolated into the ms. as pp. 4 and 5. See Appendix IV B, pp. 816-19 for the revisions.
Di lunghi ammessi bearmi il cor!
A tu sei figlia de'miei nemici,
Ma pure io t'amo d'immenso amor! . . .

Scena III

Amneris e detto

1 Amneris Quale insolita fiamma
Nel tuo sguardo! Di quale
[p. 6]
Nobil fierezza ti balena il volto!
Degna d'invidia oh quanto
Saria la donna il cui bramato aspetto

To please my heart in long embraces!
Ah you are the daughter of my enemies,
But still I love you with an immense love! . . .

Scene III
Amneris and the same

1 Amneris What curious flame
In your gaze! What
[p. 6]
Noble vigor flashes over your countenance!
Oh how worthy of envy
Would be the woman whose longed-for appearance
Tanta luce di gaudio in te destasse!

2 Radamès  O figlia del mio Re, di un lieto sogno
Me [sic] perdea la mente—Oggi la Diva
Profferse il nome del guerrier che al campo
Le schiere egizie condurrà . . . S'io fossi
Alla impresa proscelto . . .

3 Amneris  Armi e battaglie
Stragi e vittorie . . . Nè un altro sogno mai
Più mite . . . più gentile

Wakened so much light of joy in you!

2 Radamès  O daughter of my King, my mind was lost
To a happy dream—Today the Goddess
Uttered the name of the warrior who will lead
The Egyptian troops to the field . . . If I were
Chosen for the undertaking . . .

3 Amneris  Armies and battles
Massacres and victories . . . Has not another dream
Milder . . . more gentle

4 Ms., p. 6, item 2, lines 1, 2 (first half), 5, and item 3, lines 1–2 are crossed out. Ghislanzoni's revision, ms., p. 79 is written above the cancelled lines in Verdi's hand.
Al cuore ti parlò? Non hai tu in Menfi
Desiderii ... speranze ... ?

4 Radamès
Io? ... Quale inchiesta? ...
(da sé) Forse ... l'arcano amore
Scoprì che mi arde in core ... 5
[p. 64]
Della sua schiava il nome 2
Mi lesse nel pensier ...

5 Amneris

Spoken to your heart? Do you not have desires
In Memphis ... hopes ... ?

4 Radamès
I? ... What questioning? ...
(to himself) Perhaps ... she discovered
The secret love that inflames my heart ... 

[p. 64]
The name of her slave 2
She read in my thoughts ... 

5 Amneris

5 The continuity of the Ghislanzoni ms. is broken at this point by the placement of a "fair" copy of Acts I through III, ms. pp. 7-63. The third line of Radamès's strophe (item 4) is found at the outset of ms. p. 64. The numeral "2", placed at the end of this line, is probably a reminder introduced by the composer.
(da sé) Oh! guai se un altro amore

Ardesse a lui nel core! . . .

Guai se il mio sguardo penetra

Questo fatal mister!

Scena IV

1 Aida e detti

2 (Aida, vedendo Radamès, si arresta turbata)

3 Rad. (con gioja) Dessa! . . .

(to herself) Oh! woe if another love

Should inflame his heart! . . .

Woe if my gaze should penetrate

This fatal mister!

Scene IV

1 Aida and the former

2 (Aida, seeing Radamès, stops upset)

3 Rad. (with joy) She! . . .
Amneris (da sé)  Ei si turba . . . e quale
Sguardo rivolse a lei . . . !
Aida! a me rivale
Forse . . . saria costei . . . !

(dopo breve silenzio, volgendosi ad Aida
con dolcezza)

Vieni, o diletta, appressati . . .
[p. 65]
Schiava non sei nè ancella
Qui dove in dolce fascino
Io ti chiamai sorella . . .

Amneris (to herself)  He is upset . . . and what a
Look he gave to her . . . !
Aida! rival to me
Perhaps . . . could it be she . . . !

(after a brief silence, turning to Aida
with sweetness)

Come, o beloved girl, approach . . .
[p. 65]
You are neither slave nor handmaiden
Here where in your sweet spell
I called you sister . . .
Piangi? Delle tue lacrime
Svela il segreto a me.

7 Aida Ohimè! di guerra fremere
L'atroce grido io sento . . .
Per l'infelice patria,
Per me . . . per voi pavento . . .

8 Amneris Favelli il ver? . . . Nè s'agita
Più grave cura in te? . . .

9 (Aida abbassa gli occhi e cerca dissimulare
il proprio turbamento)
You weep? Reveal to me
The secret of your tears.

7 Aida Alas! I hear the atrocious
Cry of the raging war . . .
I fear for the unhappy homeland,
For myself . . . for you . . .

8 Amneris Are you telling the truth? . . . Is no deeper
Care upsetting you? . . .

9 (Aida lowers her eyes and tries to hide
her actual turmoil)
10 Amneris (da sé, con ira repressa)

Di furor geloso in petto

Io ruggir la voce ascolto—

Trema, o schiava, che il sospetto

[p. 66]

In certezza un dì sia volto;

Qual da folgore precossa

Tu cadresti innanzi a me.

11 Aida (da sé) Della patria il suo soltanto

10 Amneris (to herself, with repressed rage)

I hear the roaring voice

Of furious jealousy in my breast—

Tremble, o slave, that the suspicion

[p. 66]

May be changed one day into certainty;

You would fall before me

As if struck by a thunderbolt.

11 Aida (to herself) Not only does the wish for the homeland

---

6 Verdi wrote four lines of comment about items 10-12 on the left-hand half of p. 65. This text, only partially legible, refers to the content of the three strophes which conclude the scene. The three strophes are enclosed by a bracket on the left-hand side of the page, which would seem to be connected with the meaning of Verdi's comments.
Non favella al mio core,
V'ha una gioja in questo pianto
Poichè è il pianto dell'amore . . .

(fissando Radamès)
Qual d'un Nume alla presenza
Tremo e avvampo innanzi a te.

12 Radamès (da sé) Quell'accento desolato
Un tumulto in cor mi desta,
Lui felice a cui fia dato
Serenar la fronte mesta!—
Dico le: schiava, or sei regina,
Io mi prostro innanzi a te!

Speak to my heart,
There is a joy in this lament
Since it is the lament of love . . .

(looking at Radamès)
As in the presence of a God
I tremble and blaze before you.

12 Radamès (to himself) That desolate accent
Awakens a tumult in my heart,
Happy is he to whom be given
The soothing of the furrowed brow!—
I say to her: slave, now you are a queen
I prostrate myself before you!
Scena V

1 Il Re preceduto dalle sue guardie e seguito da Ramfis, dai ministri, ecc. ecc.

Un ufficiale di palazzo, indi un messaggero.

[p. 67]

2 Il Re Alta cagion vi aduna,
O fidi Egizii, al vostro Re d'intorno.
Dai confin d'Etiopia un Messaggero
Dinanzi giungea—Gravi novelle ei reca . . .
Vi piaccia udirlo . . .
(ad un uffiziale) Il messagger s'avanza [!]

Scene V

1 The King preceded by his guards and followed by Ramfis, ministers, etc. etc.

An official of the palace, then a messenger.

[p. 67]

2 The King A lofty occasion gathers you,
O faithful Egyptians, around your King.
From the borders of Ethiopia a messenger
Came before us—He brings grave news . . .
May it please you to hear him . . .

(to an official) Let the messenger come forward [!]
Il sacro suolo dell'Egitto è invaso
Dai barbari Etiopi--i nostri campi
Fur devastati . . . arse le messi . . . e baldì
Della facil vittoria i predatori
Già marciano su Tebe . . .

Ed osan tanto!

Un guerriero indomabile . . . feroce . . .
Li conduce--Amonasro!

All The King!

Mio padre!

The sacred soil of Egypt is invaded
By the barbarous Ethiopians--our fields
Have been destroyed . . . the harvests burned . . . and emboldened
By the easy victory the predators
Are already marching on Thebes . . .

And they dare so much!

An unconquerable warrior . . . fierce . . .
Leads them--Amonasro!

The King!

My father!
8 **Messaggiero**  Già Tebe è in armi e da sue cento porte

[p. 68]

Sul barbaro invasore

Proromperà, guerra recando e morte.

9 **Il Re**  Sì: guerra e morte il nostro grido sia!

10 **Tutti**  Guerra! guerra!

11 **Il Re**  Tremenda . . . inesorata!

(accostandosi a Radamès)

Iside venerata

Di nostre invitte schiere

---

8 **Messenger**  Already Thebes is at battle and from its hundred gates

[p. 68]

On the barbarous invader

Will break forth, bringing war and death.

9 **The King**  Yes: let war and death be our cry.

10 **All**  War! war!

11 **The King**  Terrible . . . merciless!

(approaching Radamès)

Venerable Isis

Has already designated the supreme leader
Cià designava il condottier supremo . . .
Radamès.

12 **Tutti** Radamès!

13 **Radamès** Sien grazie ai Numi!
Son paghi i voti miei—
Immensa e la mia gioja.

14a **Amneris** E d'Egitto gli eroi perde alla guerra--
14b **Aida** Questo popol l'eroi perde alla guerra [ . . . ]

Of our undefeated troops . . .
Radamès.

12 **All** Radamès!

13 **Radamès** Thanks be to the Gods!
Answered are my prayers--
My joy is immense.

14a **Amneris** And Egypt is losing its heroes to the war--
14b **Aida** This people loses its heroes to the war [ . . . ]

---

7 The ms. is very difficult to read throughout the last half of p. 68 owing to the numerous cancellations and additions in Verdi's hand.
15a Il Re Or di Vulcano al tempio il sacro [Illegible word] rite

(A Radamès)

[p. 69]

15b Or di Vulcano--nel tempio muovi--

Cigni la spada de'Re possenti
Per cui temuto suono alle genti

The ms. is extremely confused at this point and shows every sign of having been thoroughly revised by Verdi. The text of item 15a was probably copied from p. 69 of the ms. as a reminder for the composer.

The first line of each quatrain, items 15b, 16 and 17 is crossed out in the ms. Verdi added the line Nelle battaglie ciascun rammenti (In the battles let each one remember) above each of the three crossed-out lines. The new line is a paraphrased version of a line used for the same strophes in Verdi's libretto ms., pp. 11-12.
D'Egitto il nome per lunga età.  

16 **Ramfis** Gli Dei si invochino che nelle pugne  
   Il braccio ressero dei Faraoni;  
   I nostri prodi saran leoni,  
   La nostra insegna folgor sarà.  

17 **Coro** Un sacro ardore, possenti Numi,  
   Spirate in petto dei nostri eroi;  
   E la vittoria sarà con noi,  
   La nostra insegna folgor sarà.  

The name of Egypt for a long time.  

16 **Ramfis** Let us invoke the Gods who in the battles  
   Supported the arm of the Pharaohs;  
   Our braves will be lions,  
   Our flag will flash.  

17 **Chorus** A sacred ardor, powerful Gods,  
   Breathe into the breasts of our heroes;  
   And the victory will be with us,  
   Our flag will flash.  

10 Ghislanzoni ms., p. 69 is completely cancelled.
18 Radamès Numi immortali, compieste alfine
L'ardente voto di questo core;
Desio di gloria, desio d'amore [,]
Onnipotente me renderà.

[p. 70]

19a Aida Mentre ei combatte la patria mia
Del suo periglio tremo soltanto . . .
Col core oppresso si strugge pianto
Per lui, i fratelli mi ucciderà! . . .

18 Radamès Immortal Gods, you fulfilled at last
The ardent wish of this heart;
Desire of glory, desire of love [,]
Will make me all powerful.

[p. 70]

19a Aida While he combats my homeland
I only tremble for his danger . . .
With the oppressed heart tears are wept
For him, he will kill my brothers! . . .

11 Verdi wrote "queste parte un inno di guerra" (these parts a war hymn) to the left of item 18.

12 Ghislanzoni ms., p. 70 is completely cancelled.
19b Amneris  
Nel fiero anelito delle battaglie
Bello ei rifulge siccome un Dio;
Tremendo, indomito è l'amor mio,
E niun contendermi quel cor potrà.

20 Il Re Va, Radamès . . .

X Ramfis Al tempio!

Y Il Re Ti arrida la vittoria!

19b Amneris In the fiery panting of the battles
Handsome he shines like a God;
Terrible, untamable is my love,
And no one will be able to contest that heart from me.

20 The King Go, Radamès . . .

X Ramfis To the temple!

Y The King May victory smile on you!

13 Verdi wrote a rather detailed comment to the left of this strophe in the ms: [Illegible line] prendere queste/ all'inno di/ guerra e trovare/ un pretesto di/ un movimento/ di scena (Illegible line) make these [strophes]/ into a war/ hymn and find/ a pretext for/ a stage/ action). See Verdi's letter to Ghislanzoni dated 12 August 1870, Busch pp. 44-45, where the "pretext" is elucidated.

14 Verdi added three new lines to this item in the ms: Guerra, guerra! Sterminar all'invasor (War, war! Destruction to the invader); a Radamès Ritorna vincitor! (to Radamès Return victorious); and, Guerra, guerra (War, war). No source for these revisions is found in the correspondence.
Z Radamès Sul calle della gloria
    Mi sponerà l'amor!

22 Tutti I Numi ti proteggano!
    Ritorna vincitor!

23 (Ramfis parte con Radamès--Il Re con Amneris
    e il suo seguito corteggio rientra nel palazzo)
    [p. 71]
    Scena VI

Aida sola

1a Ritorna vincitore

Z Radamès On the path of glory
    Love will spur me!

22 All May the Gods protect you!
    Return victorious!

23 (Ramfis leaves with Radamès--The King with Amneris
    and his retinue cortège reenter the palace)
    [p. 71]
    Scene VI

Aida alone

1a Return victorious
E dal mio labbro

Uscì l'empia parola!—Vincitore

Del padre mio . . . di lui che impugna l'armi

Per me . . . per ridonarmi

Una patria, una reggia e il nome illustre

Che qui celar m'è forza!—Vincitore

De'miei fratelli . . . Ond'io lo vegga, tinto

Del sangue amato, trionfar nel plauso

Dell'Egizie coorti! . . . E dietro il carro,

Un Re . . . mio padre . . . di catene avvinto! . . .

Ohimè! . . . tremo d'orrore . . .

And from my lips

Came the wicked word!—Victor

Of my father of he who takes up arms

For me . . . to give me again

A homeland, a court and the illustrious name

That I am forced to conceal here!—Victor

Over my brothers . . . Wherefore I see him, stained

With the beloved blood, triumphant in the cheers

Of the Egyptian cohorts! And behind the chariot,

A King . . . my father . . . bound in chains! . . .

Alas! . . . I tremble in horror . . .

15 Lines 11-13 are cancelled in the ms. See pp. 291-92 of the present study for an explanation of the omission of the remainder of the scene from the microfilm.
E al voto orrendo si ribella il core.

1b L'insana parola

O Numì sperdete!

[p. 74]

Aida /Atto I°/ Scena VII

1 Interior del Tempio di Vulcano a Menfi.

Il tempio è rischiarato da una luce misteriosa che scende dall'alto. Una lunga fila di colonne, l'una all'altra addossate, si perde nelle tenebre.

Statue ed emblemi sacri. Nel mezzo della scena, sovra un palco coperto di ricchi tappeti, si inalza l'altare. Dai tripodi

And to the horrible prayer [vow] my heart rebels.

1b The insane word

O Gods obliterate!

[p. 74]

Aida /Act I/ Scene VII

1 Interior of the temple of Vulcan at Memphis.

The temple is barely illuminated by a mysterious light that descends from above. A long row of columns, superimposed one upon the other, fades into the darkness.

Statues and sacred emblems. In the middle of the stage, above a platform covered by rich carpets, rises the altar. From tripods
d'oro si sviluppa il fumo degli incensi.

2 I sacerdoti sono avanti. Ramfis, che indossa la splendida vesta pontificale, sta ritto ai piedi dell'altare—A suo tempo, viene introdotto Radamès.

3 Ramfis e Coro Spirto del Nume scendi su noi! Svela ai veggenti Gli oscuri eventi Dell'avvenir! La fede avviva de nostri eroi! Raccendi l'ira,

of gold the fumes of the incense uncoil.

2 The priests are in front [of it]. Ramfis, who puts on the splendid pontifical vestment, stands erect at the foot of the altar—In his time, Radamès is introduced.

3 Ramfis and Chorus Spirit of the God descend on us! Unveil to the prophets The dark events Of the future! Renew the faith of our heroes! Rekindle their rage,
Nei petti spira
Forza ed ardir' . . .

[p. 75]

6 (Radamès, introdotto da alcuni sacerdoti [,]
si prostra davanti all'altare--Sulla sua
testa vien steso un velo d'argento.)

7 Coro. Ramfis  Ai preghi nostri si senta il Nume!
L'armi fatate
Da lui temprate
Cangi o guerrier! . . .
Correte ai margini del sacro fiume!

Breathe into their breasts
Force and daring! . . .

[p. 75]

6 (Radamès, introduced by some priests [,]
prostrates himself before the altar--On his
head a silver veil is placed.)

7 Chorus. Ramfis  To our prayers the God listens!
The enchanted weapons
Tempered by him
Gird on o warrior! . . .
Run to the limits of the sacred river!
On the bank resound
The terrible shout:
Be off, foreigner!

Y Ramfis God who governs people and empires,
Into his heart
Breathe valor
Breathe faith.
Like the dust in the wind, the wicked bandits
Of the foreigners
Be scattered
Before you!

Tuoni sul lido
Terribil grido:
Via lo stranier!

Y Ramfis Nume che i popoli reggi e gli imperi,
A lui nel core
Spira il valore
Spira la fè.
Qual polve al vento, degli stranieri
La rea masnada
Dispersa vada
Dinanzi a te!'
Radames  Nume custode di nostra gloria,

[p. 76]

A me nel core
Spira il valore
Spira la fè.
Arbitro e duce della vittoria
Dal ciel discendi,
Con me difendi
La patria e il Re!

Ramfis  Impugna il brando invitto!
• Cingi la sacra maglia!

Radames  God guardian of our glory,

[p. 76]

Into my heart
Breathe valor
Breathe faith.
Arbiter and leader of victory
Descend from heaven,
Defend with me
The homeland and the King!

Ramfis  Take up the unconquerable sword!
• Gird on the sacred armor!
Le sorti dell'Egitto
Il Nume a te fidò.

10  **Tutti**  Per cento trombe squilli
L'inno della battaglia;
Vittoria il Dio promette
E il Dio fallir non può!

11  **Radamès, cinto della sacra armatura**
per mano dei sacerdoti, esce dal tempio
raddiante di entusiasmo.

    Cala il sipario

    The fate of Egypt
    The God entrusted to you.

10  **All**  Blast with a hundred trumpets
    The hymn of the battle;
    The God promises victory
    And the God cannot fail!

11  **Radamès, dressed in the sacred armor**
by the hands of the priests, exits from the temple
radiant with enthusiasm.

    The curtain falls

16  The double "d" is an obsolete form.
Atto secondo

Scena I

1 Sala negli appartamenti d'Amneris.

Amneris, circondata dalle sue schiave,
sta adornandosi per la solennità trionfale
che si prepara. Le schiave ardono degli
aromi e vanno agitando i ventagli di
piume.

2 Coro Di popol festante riboccan le vie,

Second Act

Scene I

1 Room in the apartments of Amneris.

Amneris, surrounded by her slaves,
is being adorned for the triumphal solemnity
that is being prepared. The slaves burn some
incense and are waving fans of
plumes.

2 Chorus The roadways overflow with joyous people,
Eccheggian per l'aura festive armonie;
Qual arida sabbia sospinta dal vento
Fu l'orda dispersa del vile invasor.
Amneris leggiadra, di gemme ti adorna;
Il duce dei forti già in Tebe ritorna,
Un dolce sorriso che il labbro ti infiorì
A lui fia compenso d'ogni altro maggior.

[p. 84]

Figlia dei vinti, il suo dolore è sacro,
Rispettarlo dobbiamo . . .

5 (dietro un cenno d'Amneris, le

Festive harmonies echo through the breeze;
The horde of the vile invader was dispersed
Like dry sand pushed by the wind.
Graceful Amneris, be adorned with gems;
The leader of the braves now returns to Thebes,
Let a sweet smile that flowers your lip
Be payment greater than any other to him.

[p. 84]

4 [Amneris] Silence! . . . Aida is coming toward us . . .
Daughter of the vanquished, her grief is sacred,
We must respect it . . .

5 (after a sign by Amneris, the
schiave si allontanano)

6a In rivederla,

Dell'atrocio sospetto
Sento le furie ridestarsi in petto . . .
Di Radamès l'amore
Contesto a me . . . da questa schiava! È tempo
Che il fatale mistero
Si squarci alfin . . . che tutto io sappia il vero.

Scena II

Aida--Amneris

slaves go off)

6a In seeing her again,

I feel the fury of the horrible suspicion
Arouse itself in my breast . . .
The love of Radamès
Contested from me . . . by this slave! It is time
That the fatal secret
Be rent at last . . . that I know the truth.

Scene II

Aida--Amneris
Amneris (with feigned pity)

The fate of the battle was dire for your people,
Poor Aida! The grief
That weighs on your heart I share with you

And I love you more than ever--from my love
You will have great comfort,
And you will see a happy day rise again.

Aida Can I be happy

Far from my native land . . .
From my father . . . from mine whom I love so much?
E schiava io sono . . . e la mia patria è in pianto!

8 Amneris Ben ti compiango . . . Pure hanno un confine
I mali di quaggiù—Sanerà il tempo
Le angoscie del tuo cuore . . .
E più che il tempo . . . forse . . .
Un Dio d'ogni altro più possente—amore!

9 Aida (da sé) Ah! lottare invano io tento
Col fatal possente Iddio—
Fremo d'onta . . . e amar degg'io
Di mia patria l'oppressor!

And I am a slave . . . and my homeland is weeping!

8 Amneris I pity you greatly . . . Even they have an end
The ills of the world—Time will heal
The anguish of your heart . . .
And more than time . . . perhaps . . .
A God more potent than any other—love!

9 Aida (to herself) Ah! In vain I attempt to struggle
With the fatal powerful God—
I shiver with shame . . . and I must love
The oppressor of my native land!
10 Amneris (da sé, fissando Aida) Quel dolor . . . quel turbamento
[p. 86]
L'ansie sveli dell'amante . . .
Nel pallor del suo sembiante
Leggo i fremiti del cor.

11 (ad Aida, con simulata amorevolezza)
Ebben: qual nuovo fremito
T'assal, gentil Aída?
I tuoi segreti svelami
All'amor mio t'affida . . .
Tra i forti che pugnarono

---

10 Amneris (to herself, gazing at Aida) That sadness . . . that turmoil
[p. 86]
May unveil the anxieties of the lover . . .
In the pallor of her semblance
I read the shivers of her heart.

11 (to Aida with feigned affection)
Well then: what new shiver
Assails you, gentle Aída?
Reveal your secrets to me
Trust in my love . . .
Among the warriors who fought
Della tua patria al danno...
Qualcuno... un dolce affanno...
Forse... a te in cor destò?

12a **Aida (confusa)** Che dirle?

12b **Amneris (come sopra)** A tutti barbaro
Non si mostrò la sorte...
Se in campo il duce impavido
Cadde trafitto a morte...

[p. 87]

12c **Aida (vivamente)**

---

To the loss of your homeland...
Someone... a gentle longing
Perhaps... awoke in your heart?

12a **Aida (confused)** What shall I say to her?

12b **Amneris (as before)** To all fate
Was not cruel...
Even if in the field the intrepid leader
Fell mortally wounded...

[p. 87]

12c **Aida (lively)**

17 The numeral "3" is given in the upper right-hand portion of p. 87. This was probably another reminder added by the composer.
Trafitto a morte! ... o misera! ... 

13 Amneris Sì: Radamès da'tuoi
Fu spento—E pianger puoi? ... 

14 Aida (col massimo dolore)
Eterno duol ne avro'! ... 

15 Amneris Gli Dei ti vendicarono ... 

16 Aida (con disperazione) Avversi a me son dessi!

17 Amneris (prorompendo)
Trema, o rea schiava, trema!

Fatally wounded! ... Oh misery! ... 

13 Amneris Yes: Radamès by your people
Was killed--And can you weep? ... 

14 Aida (with greatest sadness)
I shall have eternal sadness! ... 

15 Amneris The Gods have avenged you ... 

16 Aida (with desperation) They are against me!

17 Amneris (bursting out)
Tremble, o guilty slave, tremble!
Nel tuo pensiero io lessi! . . .
In volto gli occhi affissami

19 E menti ancor, se l'osi . . .
Radamès vive . . .

20 **Aida (cadendo al ginocchio, a mani giunte)**
Grazie
A voi, Numi pietosi! . . .

X **Amneris** Alfin dal reo tuo core
[p. 88]
Svelasi il mister fêtal! . . .
Per Radamès d'amore

In your thought I read! . . .
Look into my face with your eyes
19 And still lie, if you dare . . .
Radamès lives . . .

20 **Aida (falling to her knees, her hands clasped)**
Thanks
To you, merciful Gods! . . .

X **Amneris** Finally from your wicked heart
[p. 88]
I have plucked the fatal mystery! . . .
For the love of Radamès
Ardi . . . e mi sei rival' . . .

Y Aida Che? voi l'amate . . . !

Amneris Io l'amo . . .

E figlia io son d'un Re' . . .

(rialzandosi) E figlia anch'io mi chiamo . . .

(reprimendosi, e cadendo di nuovo al ginocchio)
di Amneris) Numi! . . . pietà di me . . .

ti

Pietà ed prenda del mio dolore . . .

È vero . . . io l'amo d'immenso amore . . .

Farmi più misera non può il destin' . . .

You burn . . . and you are rival to me! . . .

Y Aida What? you love him . . . !

Amneris I love him . . .

And I am daughter of a King! . . .

Aida (standing up) And I also call myself daughter . . .

(checking herself, and falling again before the knees)
of Amneris) Gods! . . . mercy on me . . .
you

Pity and take on my grief . . .

It is true . . . I love him with immense love . . .

Destiny cannot make me more miserable! . . .
23a **Amneris** Perfida schiava—Spezza il tuo core . . .
    Segnar tua morte può questo amore . . .
    Trema! io son l'arbitra del tuo destin'

23b (equillo di trombe)
[p. 89]
Alla pompa che s'appresta--
    Vieni--entrambi assisteremo!
    Tu prostrata nella polve,
    Io sul trono brillerò.
    Fra le schiave, in umil vesta
    Ti vedrà l'eroe guerriero,
    Mentre il lauro al crine altero

23a **Amneris** Perfidious slave--Break your heart . . .
    This love can mean your death . . .
    Tremble! I am the arbiter of your destiny!

23b (blast of trumpets)
[p. 89]
To the triumph that is being prepared--
    Come--together we will assist!
    You, prostrate in the dust,
    I shall shine on the throne.
    Among the slaves, in humble dress
    The hero warrior will see you,
    While with my hand I shall crown
Di mia mano io cingerò.

24 Aida Nel mio cuor d'angoscia affranto

Aprir vuoi nuova ferita?
Questo amore che ti irrita
Di scordare io tenterò.
M'hanno i Numi a eterno pianto
Sulla terra condannata,
Pure, oppressa e sventurata,
Per te i Numi io pregherò.

The supreme brow with laurels.

24 Aida In my heart broken by anguish

You want to open a new wound?
This love that annoys you
I shall attempt to forget.
The Gods have condemned me
To eternal weeping on the earth,
However, oppressed and unfortunate,
I shall pray to the Gods for you.
Scena II

Uno degli ingressi della città di Tebe.

Nel fondo della scena, colonne d'obelischi del tempio di Ammone. A destra una...
Porta trionfale—A sinistra, un trono
sormontato da un baldacchino di porpora.
Il Re è assiso sul trono--Amneris siede
a lato del Re--Più in là, Aïda, le
Schiave, Popolo, Guardie; Ramfis,
Sacerdoti e Sacerdotesse a poco distanza
del trono.

2
Coro

Gloria all'Egitto e ad Iside
Che il sacro suol protegge!

Triumphant gate—To the left, a throne
covered by a purple canopy.
The King is on the throne--Amneris sits
by the side of the King--Further on, Aïda
Slaves, People, Guards; Ramfis,
Priests and Priestesses a little apart
from the throne.

2
Chorus

Glory to Egypt and to Isis
Who protects the sacred soil!

21 Lines 6-9 of the text for item 2a are cancelled in the ms. Verdi added two copies of revisions forwarded to him by Ghislanzoni in the poet's letter dated 11 September [1870]. One copy is added above the cancelled lines, the other copy is written to the left of the original text.
Gloria al gran Re che il mistico Delta in sua man sorregge!
Eterna al par del sole
[L'legible crossed-out line]
Luce di immensa gloria
Sull'orbe spanderà.

[p. 33]^{22}

3 Araldo (avanzandosi presso il trono del Re)
Ti piaccia, o Re, di accogliere

-------------------
Glory to the great King who holds
The mystic Delta in his hand!
Eternal as the sun
[L'legible crossed-out line]
Light of immense glory
Will spill on the sphere.

[p. 33]

3 Herald (coming near to the throne of the King)
Be you pleased, o King, to receive

^{22} The top portion of ms. p. 33 appears to be an addition pasted over the original text. The new texts, which are written in Verdi's hand, include two eight-line choral strophes: one for the Women (Donne) the other for the Priests (Sacerdoti). Both revised texts were taken from Ghislanzoni's letter dated 11 September [1870].
In (questa-saera Tebe) i vincitori
Che riedono dal campo--Essi a tuoi piedi
Degl'inimici deporran le spoglie.

(Ad un cenno del Re il corteo trionfale si avanza)

Scena IV

Le truppe Egizie, precedute dalle fanfari,
sfilano dinanzi al Re--Seguono i carri
di guerra, le insegne, i vasi sacri, le

In (this-sacred Thebes) the victors
Who return from the field--They at your feet
Will put down the spoils of the enemy.

(At a sign from the King the triumphal cortège advances)

Scene IV

The Egyptian troops, preceded by fanfares,
parade past the King--The chariots
of war, the standards, the sacred vases, the

---

23 Item 3 and the first line of item 4 are cancelled in the ms. An illegible note at the right-hand side of item 3 appears to advise omission of the Herald's part.
statue degli Dei—Un drappello di danzatrici recano i tesori dei vinti. Da ultimo, sopra un carro trionfale, Radamès.

5 Il Re (che scende dal trono per abbracciare Radamès)
Salvator della patria, io ti saluto.
Vieni, e mia figlia di sua man ti porga
Il serto trionfale.

6 (Radamès s'inchina davanti Amneris che gli porge la corona.)

statues of the Gods follow them—A troop of dancing girls carries the treasures of the vanquished. Finally, on a triumphal chariot, Radamès.

5 The King (who descends from the throne to embrace Radamès)
Saviour of the homeland, I salute you.
Come, and let my daughter give you by her hand
The triumphal garland.

6 (Radamès bows before Amneris who gives him the crown.)

24 The last line of the stage direction is crossed out in the ms. The new line Radamès sotto un baldacchino portato da dodici dei suoi ufficiali (Radamès under a canopy carried by twelve of his officers) is added above the cancelled line in Giuseppina Strepponi's hand.
Il Re (a Radamès)

Ora, a me chiedi
Quanto più brami. Nulla a te negato
Sarà in tal di ... lo giuro
Per la corona mia, pei sacri Numi.
[p. 35]

Radamès Concedi in prìa che innanzi a te sìen tratti
I prigionier ... .

Scene V

The King (to Radamès)

Now, ask of me
What you want most. Nothing will be denied
To you on such a day ... . I swear it
By my crown, by the sacred Gods.
[p. 35]

Radamès First permit that the prisoners be brought
before you ...

Scene V

The Ethiopian Prisoners--Amonasro

Giuseppina Strepponi added Entrano fra le guardie (They enter between the guards) above I Prigionieri Etiopi (The Ethiopian Prisoners),
Aida (correndo verso Amonasro)

Che veggo! . . . O padre mio . . .

Tutti Suo padre!

Amonasro (sottovoce ad Aida)

Taci . . . a vendicarmi io vivo . . .

Aida (running toward Amonasro)

What do I see! . . . O my father . . .

All Her father!

Amonasro (in an undertone to Aida)

Be silent . . . I live to revenge myself . . .

and circondati dalle guardie (surrounded by the guards) above Amonasro. The second addition was cancelled and replaced by fra queste (among these) above Amonasro.

26 The phrase O padre mio (O my father) is cancelled in the ms. Below this Verdi added Egli! . . . lo salva O Re . . . lo salva . . . è il mio padre [Tutti] Suo padre! (He! . . . save him . . . O King . . . Save him . . . he is my father [All] Her father!). See Verdi's letters dated 12 September and 28 December 1870, and 13 January 1871 to Ghislanzoni for discussion of this portion of the scene.

27 Suo padre! (Her father) is cancelled in the ms.

28 Item 16 is cancelled in the ms.
15 **Aida** (reprimendosi)

Cielo! ed io . . .

13a **Amonasro** (ai circostanti)

Anch'io pugnai . . .

Sì . . . suo padre! . . . hanno pugnate

E di morir sul campo . . . invan sperai.

di vesto (accenando alla divisia che lo veste)

E di morir sul campo . . . invan sperai.

Questa assisa dei [prodi] vi dica

Che il mio Re, la mia patria ho difeso ;

Fu la sorte a nostri armi nemica . . .

15 **Aida** (checking herself)

Heaven! and I . . .

13a **Amonasro** (to those who stand near)

I also fought . . .

Yes . . . her father! . . . they fought

And in vain I hoped . . . to die on the field.

And in vain I hoped . . . to die on the field.

Let this uniform of the [courageous] tell you

That I defended my King, my homeland ;

Fate was hostile to our arms . . .

---

29 Item 15 is cancelled in the ms. and replaced by Grazia a lui . . .

Grazia a lui (Thanks to him . . . Thanks to him) in Giuseppina Strepponi's hand.

30 This line is cancelled in the ms. Verdi added Vinti noi fummo . . .

e morte invan cercai (We were defeated . . . and death I sought in vain).

No source for this line is found in the Ghislanzoni ms. or in the correspondence.
Tornò vano de'forti l'ardir.
Al mio pie nella polve disteso
Giacque il Re da più colpi trafitto;
Se l'amor della patria è delitto
Siam rei tutti, siam pronti a morir!
(volgendosi al Re con accento supplichevole)

Ma tu, degli Egizii signore possente [,]
Ai vinti perdona, ti mostri clemente . . .

The courage of the strong was useless.
At my feet spread out in the dust
Lay the King, wounded by many blows;
If the love of the homeland be a crime
We are all guilty, we are ready to die!
(Turning to the King with an entreaty tone)

But you, powerful lord of the Egyptians [,]
Pardon the conquered, show yourself merciful . . .

31 The phrase degli Egizii (of the Egyptians) is cancelled in the ms. Verdi added O Re, tu (O King, you ) above the cancelled words. The addition was taken from Ghislanzoni's letter dated 12 September 1870.

32 The last three lines of the quatrain are cancelled in the ms. Above these lines, Verdi copied Ghislanzoni's revision given in the poet's letter dated 12 September 1870. In the fourth line Verdi rearranged the first two words—Doman voi became Voi doman—but apparently changed his mind, and indicated the original order in the ms.
Mutabile, incerta dell'armi è la sorte . . .
Soccombe anche il forte dei Numi al poter.

[Three illegible lines]
Più nulla dai vinti ti resta a temer. 33

17 Ramfis. Sacerdoti. 34
O Re non ti muova la perfida gente!
Fatale alla patria può l'esser clemente . . .

Changeable, uncertain is the fate of armies . . .
The strong also perish by the power of the Gods.

[Three illegible lines]
Nothing more remains to be feared from the vanquished by you.

17 Ramfis. Priests.
O King do not let the perfidious people move you!
To be merciful to them could be fatal to the homeland . . .

33 The legible last line of the quatrain is the same as that given for the analogous quatrain on p. 100 of the ms.

34 The original texts for items 17, 18, 21, 22 and 19 are all cancelled in the ms. Verdi added revised texts taken from Ghislanzoni's letter dated 12 September 1870.
Profferono i Numi decreti di morte--
Si ascolti, si compia dei Numi il voler.

18 Popolo Ministri dei Numi, gli sdegni placate,
Da questi infelici la prece ascoltate,
E tu, o Re, possente, tu grande, tu forte,
A miti consigli dischiudi il pensier.

21 Radamès (fissando Aida)
In lei della patria l'angoscia favella . . .
Oh! come il dolore la rende più bella!
Vederti, adorarti, divider tua sorte,

The Gods proffer decrees of death--
Listen, complete the will of the Gods.

18 People Ministers of the Gods, placate your wrath,
Listen to the prayer of these unhappy ones,
And you, o King, powerful, you great one, you strong one,
Open your thoughts to mild advice!

21 Radamès (looking at Aida)
Within her the anguish of her homeland is speaking . . .
Oh! how the grief makes her more beautiful!
Seeing you, adoring you, sharing your fate,
È gaudio, è speranza che inebria il pensier.

22 Amneris Qual tenero sguardo sovr'essa ha rivolto,
La fiamma d'amore balena in quel volto ;
Di me questa schiava sia dunque più forte? . . .
D'atroci vendette mi freme il pensier.

19 Il Re Se lieti alla patria sorridon gli eventi,
Sì ascolta la voce dei Numi clementi ;
Già troppo a costoro fu avversa la sorte,
[p. 38]
Son vinti, son domi, che resta a temer? 35

It is joy, it is hope that intoxicates my thought.

22 Amneris What a tender glance he turned over her!
The flame of love flashes in that look ;
Be then this slave stronger than me? . . .
The thought of dreadful revenge rages in me.

19 The King If the glad events smile on the homeland,
One listens to the voice of the merciful Gods
Fate was already too harsh to them,
[p. 38]
They are vanquished, they are tamed, what remains to be feared?

35 Ms. p. 38 is in a great state of disorder and appears to comprise pages pasted over the original text.
23 **Radamès (al Re)**

O Re: pei sacri Numi

Per lo splendor della tua corona,

Compier giurasti il voto mio . . .

24 **Il Re**

Giurai. te pei

25 **Radamès**

Ebbene: a-ti-de' prigionieri Etiopi

Vita domando e libertà.

26 **Amneris (da sé)**

Per tutti!

27 **Sacerdoti**

Morte ai nemici della patria!

23 **Radamès (to the King)**

O King: By the sacred Gods

By the splendor of your crown,

You swore to grant my wish . . .

24 **The King**

I swore.

you for the

25 **Radamès**

Well then: of you-ef-the Ethiopian prisoners

I ask life and liberty.

26 **Amneris (to herself)**

For all!

27 **Priests**

Death to the enemies of the homeland!
28 Popolo
Grazia
Per gli infelici!

29 [Ramfis] Ascolta o Re--Tu pure
[p. 103]

29 Ramfis
Ascolta o Re--tu pure

Giovane eroe, non disdegnar la voce
Della saggezza--Prodi sono costoro,
Son, tu lo dicesti--

28 People
Pardon
For the unhappy ones!

29 [Ramfis] Listen o King--You also
[p. 103]

29 Ramfis Listen o King--you also
Young hero, do not doubt the voice
Of wisdom--Valiants they are they,
Are, you said it--

36 The remainder of the text given on ms. p. 38 comprises revised versions of items 29-30, which are in Verdi's hand.

37 Ms. p. 39 is a continuation of revised texts given in Verdi's and Ghislanzoni's hands. Ms. p. 103 appears to be part of Ghislanzoni's first draft.

38 The repetition of the first line of the text was probably a reminder of the relationship between pp. 38 and 103.
Tu-io-disesti—Dell'Egitto a danno
L'armi riprenderanno . . .

30 Radamès Spento Amonasro il Re guerrier, qual resta
Speranza ai vinti d'Etiopia?

31 Ramfis (additando Amonasro) Almeno, di pace
Arra di-pace e securità, rimanersi

Yeau-said-it—to the loss of Egypt
The armies will retake . . .

30 Radamès With Amonasro the warrior King dead, what hope
Remains for the defeated Ethiopians?

31 Ramfis (indicating Amonasro) At least, of peace
As a pledge of-pace and security, let remain

39 A note in Verdi's hand, illegible in the greater part, is given to
the right of the text. The two legible words, più corte (shorter), and
the numerous cancelled lines in the text proper, suggest the composer was
struggling to reduce a rather prolix first draft.

40 Ghislanzoni misspelled Amonasro; the correction is in Verdi's hand.

41 All but the first two words of this item are cancelled in the ms.
A shorter version is written above the cancelled lines in Verdi's hand:
il re guerrier non resta/ Speranza ai vinti (the warrior king [,] hope/
Does not remain for the vanquished).

42 The greatest part of items 31 and 32 are cancelled in the ms.
Questo padre fra noi . . . sua figlia Aida
Con pochi eroi la sorte sua divida [. . .]
Gli altri sien sciolti . . .

32 **Il Re**
E sia come tu brami
Di securità, di pace un miglior pegno
All'Egitto sarà pegno [illegible cancelled words]
Il Re guerriero e degli Dei protette
Che io al destino--Radames, la patria
[p. 40]
Tutto a te deve. Delle tue vittorie
Al premio sia la mano

This father with us . . . his daughter Aida
Let her share her destiny with a few braves [. . .]
Let the others be free . . .

32 **The King**
Let it be as you wish
Of security, of peace a better pledge
To Egypt will be a pledge [illegible cancelled words]
The warrior King is favouréd by the Gods
Who I to destiny--Radamès, the homeland
[p. 40]
Owes all to you. For your victories
Let the reward be the hand
D'Amneris mia; e sull'Egitto un giorno
Al di lei fianco regnerai sovrano. (2)\textsuperscript{43}

33/34 \textbf{Il Re—Coro}

Gloria al protetto d'Iside\textsuperscript{44}

Gloria al guerrier temuto!

A lui d'Egitto víndice

Tal premio era dovuto [.

S'intrecci il mirto al lauro

Of my Amneris; and over Egypt one day
At her side you will rule as soveign. (2)

33/34 \textbf{The King—Chorus}

Glory to the favorite of Isis

Glory to the fearsome warrior!

To him avenger of Egypt

Such a prize was owed [.

Let the myrtle be entwined with the laurel

\textsuperscript{43} The bracketed numeral "2" probably served as a reminder to indicate the portion of a revision.

\textsuperscript{44} Four lines of illegible text are given to the left of this double strophe. The illegible lines are followed by a revised text for the \textit{Prigionieri} (Prisoners) in Verdi's hand. No source for this text exists in the ms. or the correspondence: \textit{Gloria al clemente Egizio/ Che i nostri ceppi ha sciolto/ Che ci ridona ai liberi/ Solchi del patrio suol.} (Glory to the clement Egyptian/ Who has broken our bonds/ Who restores us to the free/ Furrows of our native land.)
Sui-erin-del-vincitor,
Gli inni di gloria alternansi
Cogli inni dell'amor!

35 Radamès
Dessa . . . mia sposa! il folgore
Cade sul capo mio . . .
Tacî [Illegible words] demone
Tu non mai tenti il cor [.]
Aida amar degg'io
Alla vita è quest'amor. 45

In-the-hair-of-the-vieter,
The hymns of glory alternate
With the hymns of love!

35 Radamès
She . . . my betrothed! the thunderbolt
Falls on my head . . .
Be silent [Illegible words] demon
You will never tempt my heart [.]
Aida I must love
For this love is life.

45 All the lines of Radamès's sestina are cancelled in the ms. A revised text, taken from Ghislanzoni's letter dated 12 September 1870, is added in Verdi's hand.
36  Amneris

Dall'inatteso giubilo

[p. 41]

Inebriata io sono--
All'amor mio contendere
Chi mai potria quel cor!
Qual altra affida piu un trono
A passo dell'amor [.

37  Aida

__________________________

36  Amneris

From the unexpected joy

[p. 41]

I am intoxicated--
Who could ever dispute
That heart to my love!
What other woman can offer a throne
Together with love [.

37  Aida

46 Lines 3 through 6 are cancelled in the ms. A revised text, taken from Ghislanzoni's letter dated 12 September 1870, is added in Verdi's hand.
D'un Nume avverso il folgore
Piombi sul capo mio;
Schiava su terra straniera
Solo io vivo d'amor.
Tutto a me è tolto,
Misera' ed io vivo ancor!

Amneris (sottovoce ad Aida)
(Amonasro)
Fa cor, della tua patria

The thunderbolt of an adverse God
May explode on my head;
Slave in a foreign land
I live only for love.
All from me is taken,
Misery! and I still live!

Amneris (in an undertone to Aida)
(Amonasro).
Take heart, await the [Illegible word] events

47 Lines 1, 4, 5 and 6 are cancelled in the ms. A new text, the source of which is not found in the ms. or the correspondence, is added in Verdi's hand.

48 Ghislanzoni inadvertently assigned this item to Amneris. The correction is in Verdi's hand.
[Illegible word] eventi aspetta [;]

Salvi noi siamo e liberi [ . . . ]

Pronto alla pugna ancor [ . . . ]

Per noi della vendetta

Già prossimo è l'albor.

Fine dell'atto secondo.

[p. 45]

Aida. Atto terzo

1 Le rive del Nilo—Roccie di granito

Of your homeland [;]

We are safe and free [ . . . ]

Still ready for the fight [ . . . ]

For us the dawn of revenge

Is already near.

End of the second act.

[p. 45]

Aida. Third act

1 The banks of the Nile--Granite rocks

49 Lines 3 and 4 are cancelled in the ms.
fra cui crescono dei palmizi--Sul vertice delle roccie, un piccolo tempio,
per metà nascosto tra le frondi--
È notte--Splendore di luna.

Scena I

2a Coro--nel tempio

I

O tu che dalle tenebre

Del nulla hai tratto il mondo,

between which some palms grow--On the top of the rocks, a little temple,
half-hidden among the fronds--
It is night--Splendor of moonlight.

Scene I

2a Chorus--in the temple

I

O thou who from the darkness

Of the void hath drawn the world,

50 The words un piccolo (a little) are cancelled in the ms., and d'Iside (of Isis) is added in Giuseppina Strepponi's hand.
Luce divina, etéreo
Spirto d'amor fecondo;
Su noi preganti e supplici
Distendi il tuo favor.

II
O tu che sei d'Osiride
Madre immortale e sposa,
Moto supremo ed anima
D'ogni creata cosa,
Su noi preganti e supplici

Divine light, ethereal
Spirit of fruitful love;
On us who are praying and beseeching
Spread thy favour.

II
O thou who art immortal mother
And betrothed of Osiris,
Supreme mover and soul
Of everything created,
On us who are praying and beseeching
Distendi il tuo favor!51

Altro coro = piu breve.
O tu che sei d'Osiride
   Madre immortale e sposa;
   Luce divina, etereo
   Spirito fecondator;
   Moto supremo ed anima
   D'ogni creata cosa,

Spread they favour!

Another chorus = shorter.
O thou who art immortal mother
   And betrothed of Osiris;
   Divine light, ethereal
   Fruitful spirit;
   Supreme mover and soul
   Of everything created,

51 The pair of sestine are cancelled in the ms.
Su noi preganti e supplici
Distendi il tuo favor!  

2c  Altro coro = più breve.
O tu che sei d'Osiride
Madre immortale e sposa,
D'ogni creato cosa
Spirito fecondator—
Su noi pregarti e supplici
Distendi il tuo favor.  

On us who are praying and beseeching
Spread thy favour!

2c  Another chorus = shorter.
O thou who art immortal mother
And betrothed of Osiris,
Of everything created
Fruitful spirit—
On us who are praying and beseeching
Spread thy favour.

52  The double quatrain is cancelled in the ms.
53  The last four lines of this sestina are cancelled in the ms.
[p. 47]

3 Da una barca che approda alla riva discendono
Amneris, Ramfis sacerdote alcune donne
coperte da fitto velo e [illegible crossed-out word] guardie.

4 Ramfis (ad Amneris)
Vieni d'Iside al tempio--Alla vigilia
Delle tue nozze, implora
Della Diva il favore--Isis legge
Dei mortali nel cuore--Ogni mistero
Degli umani [illegible crossed-out word] a lei è noto.

[p. 47]

3 From a boat that draws up to the shore,
Amneris, Ramfis priests some women
heavily veiled and [illegible crossed-out word] guards step out.

4 Ramfis (to Amneris)
Come to the temple of Isis--to the vigil
Of your wedding, implore
The favour of the Goddess--Isis reads
In the hearts of mortals--Every mystery
Of humanity [illegible crossed-out word] is known to her.

revised text is added in Verdi's hand. No source for the revision is found in the ms. or in the correspondence.
Amneris

Sì, pregherò che Radamès mi doni
Tutto il suo cor, come il mio core a lui
Sacro è per sempre . . .

Ramfis

Entriamo!

Pregherai fino all'alba—io sarò teco.

(Entrano nel tempio—Il Coro ripete il
Canto sacro.)

Scena II

Amneris

Yes, I shall pray that Radamès gives me
All his heart, as my heart is consecrated
To him forever . . .

Ramfis

Let us enter!

You will pray until dawn—I shall be with you.

(They enter the temple--The Chorus repeats the
sacred chant.)

Scene II
Aida (enters cautiously, covered by a veil)

Stars of the azure heavens

Cover yourselves with a veil . . . Envelop me, o night;

In your doleful mantle,

Hide from all, my sadness . . . hide my tears.

[ p. 48 ]

--Here Radamès will come . . . what can he want to say to me?

I tremble . . . My rival Amneris . . . is daughter

---

54 The stage direction is given in Giuseppina Strepponi's hand.

55 The first four lines of recitative were removed from the score on Verdi's order at the beginning of September 1871. See Verdi's letter to Giulio Ricordi dated 7 September 1871. These lines, however, are reproduced in the libretto printed for the Cairo première.

56 The text is crossed out in the ms. from the word Amneris to the word la morte. The final text, taken from the third of five revisions given on pp. 104-05 of the ms., is added above the cancelled lines in Verdi's hand.
Dei Faraoni . . . Eppur di regi [Illegible crossed-out word]
Discendo anch'io . . . Che dissi! Avversa sorte . . .
Il segreto fatal si chiuda in core.
Io seguirei del padre mio la morte!

2 Schiava, deserta ed orfana

Delle materne cure,
Tutto l'amaro calice
Vuotai delle sventure.
La vita mia redimere,
Solo potrà l'amor.

Of the Pharaohs . . . Nevertheless from Kings [Illegible crossed-out word]
I am also descended . . . What did I say? Adverse fate . . .
Shuts the fatal secret in my heart.
I shall follow to death my father!

2 Slave, deserted and orphaned

From the maternal cares,
I emptied the bitter chalice
Of all my misfortunes.
Love only will be able
To redeem my life.

57 The entire text of the romanza is cancelled in the ms. See Verdi's remarks to Ghislanzoni in the letter dated 16 October 1870.
Se a voi quest'ora infausta
Segnò l'eterno addio,
Del Nilo ai cupi vortici
Io chiederò l'oblio . . .
Là . . . in quella tomba gelida . . .
Forse avrà pace il cuor! . . .

Scena III

Amonasro -- e detta

If this inauspicious hour indicated
To you the eternal farewell,
In the deep whirlpools of the Nile
I shall seek oblivion . . .
There . . . in that frozen tomb . . .
My heart will perhaps have peace! . . .

Scene III

Amonasro and the former

58 Aïda's name is added in Giuseppina Strepponi's hand.
Amonasro  Aida [!] 59

Aida  Cielo!  Il padre mio! . . . 60

Amonasro

Presso a te mi conduce 61 . . . Io del tuo core
Tutti leggo i misteri--D'amor ti struggi
Per Radamès . . . ei t'ama . . . e qui lo attendi.

The exclamation Aida! is cancelled in the ms. See Verdi's remarks to Ghislanzoni in the letter dated 7 October [1870].

Il mio padre! is cancelled in the ms. Verdi substituted mio padre above this.

The original subject of this sentence appears to have been eradicated during the process of revision. This line and the next half line are cancelled in the ms. Revised texts, taken from p. 105 of the ms., are added in Verdi's hand.
Dei Faraon la figlia è tua rivale...
Razza infame, abborrita e a noi fatale!

4 Aida E in suo potere io sto! ... Io d'Amonasro
Figlia' ... 

5 Amonasro In poter di lei! ... No! se tu62 lo brami
La possente rival tu vincerai,
E patria, e trono, e amor, tutto tu avrai.
Rivedrai le foreste imbalsamate'...
Le fresche valli, i nostri templi d'ôr'... 

The daughter of the Pharaohs is your rival...
Infamous, detested race and fatal to us!

4 Aida And I stand in its power' ... I daughter
Of Amonasro'...

5 Amonasro In her power' ... No! if you wish it
You will defeat your powerful rival,
And homeland, and throne, and love, you will have them all.
You will see again the perfumed forests,
The cool valleys, our golden temples'...

62 The word tu (you) is crossed out and replaced by io (it) in Verdi's hand.
Aida (con trasporto)

Rivedrò la foreste imbalsamate . . .

Le fresche valli . . . i nostri templi d'ôr!

Amonasro

Sposa felice a lui che amasti tanto,

Tripudii immensi ivi potrai gioir . . .

Aida

Un giorno solo di sì dolce incanto . . .

Un'ora di tal gaudio, e poi morir!

Amonasro Pur rammenti che a noi l'Egizio immite

Aida (with transport)

I shall see again the perfumed forests! . . .

The cool valleys . . . our golden temples!

Amonasro

The happy bride to he whom you loved so much,

There you will enjoy immense bliss . . .

Aida

A single day of such sweet enchantment . . .

[p. 50]

An hour of such joy, and then to die!

Amonasro Then remember that the cruel Egyptian
Le case, i templi e l'are profanò . . .
Trasse in ceppi le vergini rapite . . .
Madri, vecchi e fanciulli ei trucidò.

10 Θ Aida Ah! lo rammento . . . !

11 Amonasro In armi ora sì desta
Il popol nostro—tutto è pronto già . . .
Vittoria avrem . . . Solo a saper mi resta
Qual sentier il nemico seguirà . . .

Profaned our houses, temples and altars . . .
Dragged off in chains the kidnapped virgins . . .
He killed mothers, old ones and children.

10 Θ Aīda Ah! I remember it . . . !

11 Amonasro Our people now
Rises in arms—now everything is ready . . .
We shall have victory . . . I have only to know
Which road the enemy will follow . . .

63 Item 10 is crossed out in the ms. The sign Θ, given beside Aida's name at the outset of the item, probably indicates the position of a new strophe for Aida (item 10) and a new first line for Amonasro (item 11). Neither of these texts is found in the ms. or the correspondence.
12 **Aida** Chi scoprirlo potria? Chi mai?  
13 **Amonasro** Tu stessa!  
14 **Aida** Io?  
15 **Amonasro** Radamès qui verrà tosto . . . Ei t'ama [ . . . ]  
   Ei conduce gli Egizii . . . Intendi? . . .  
16 **Aida** Orrore!  
   Che mi consigli tu? No! No! Giammai!  
17 **Amonasro** *(con impeto selvaggio)*  
   Su, dunque, sorgete,  
   
12 **Aida** Who could discover it? Who ever?  
13 **Amonasro** You yourself!  
14 **Aida** I?  
15 **Amonasro** Radamès will soon come here . . . He loves you [ . . . ]  
   He leads the Egyptians . . . Do you understand? . . .  
16 **Aida** Horror!  
   What are you suggesting to me? No! No! Never!  
17 **Amonasro** *(with savage vehemence)*  
   On, then, arise
Egizie coorti!
Col fuoco struggete
Le nostre città!

[p. 51]

Spargete il terrore
Le stragi, le morti . . .
Al vostro furore
Più freno non v'ha!

18  **Aída**  Ah! padre . . . !

19a  **Amonasro (respingendola)**  Mia figlia
Ti chiami? . . .

---

Egyptian cohorts!
With fire destroy
Our cities!

[p. 51]

Sow terror
Slaughter, death . . .
To your fury
You have no further obstacle!

18  **Aída**  Ah! father . . . !

19a  **Amonasro (thrusting her away)**  You call yourself
My daughter? . . .
W  Aida (atterrita e supplichevole) Pietà!

19b  Amonasro  Flutti di sangue scorrono
      Sulle città dei vinti . . .
      Vedi? . . . dai negri vortici
      Si levano gli estinti . . .
      Ti additan essi e gridano:
      Per te la patria muor!

20  Aida  Pietà!

21  Amonasro  Una larva orribile
      Fra l'ombre a noi s'affaccia . . .

W  Aida (terrified and pleading) Mercy!

19b  Amonasro  Rivers of blood flow
      On the cities of the defeated . . .
      Do you see? . . . from the black whirlpools
      Rise the dead . . .
      They point to you and shout:
      Because of you, the homeland dies!

20  Aida  Mercy!

21  Amonasro  A horrible form
      Comes toward us from the shadows . . .
Tremble! . . . its wasted arms
Are raised toward your head . . .
It is your mother . . . recognize her . . .
She curses you . . .

Aida (in the greatest terror) Ah no!
[p. 52]
Father . . .

Amonasro (rejecting her)
You to my eyes

Items 22-25 are cancelled in the ms. New texts for these items, which were added in Verdi's hand, are taken from the revisions found in the ms: item 23 from pp. 108-09; item 24 from p. 107; item 25 from p. 106.
Dei Farao ni qui sei
La schiava . . .

24 Aída Ah tacì! ascoltami . . .
Tua figlia ancor sarò . . .
Della patria il sacro amore
Pel tuo labbro mi ha parlato;
A immalinco è pronto il core . . .
Ah fia legge il tuo voler.

25 Amonasro Se d'un popolo la sorte
A te i Numi han confidato . . .
La sua vita e la sua morte,

Are here the slave
Of the Pharaohs . . .

24 Aída Ah be silent! listen to me . . .
I shall yet be your daughter . . .
The sacred love of the homeland
Spoke to me through your lips;
My heart is ready for sadness . . .
Let your will be law.

25 Amonasro If the fate of a people
The Gods have confided in you . . .
Its life and its death,
Stanno, o figlia, in tuo poter.
Ei giunge . . .

X  Aida  Al sacro [illegible word]65
Pronta son io . . .

Y  Amonasro  Fa cor . . .
La tua virtù soccorrano
Gli Dei . . .

Z  Aida  Me [offri] amor!

The ms. is very difficult to read at this point. Items X, Y and Z are cancelled in the ms. These three items were not given in Verdi's libretto.
Radamès—Aida

1 Radamès Pur ti riveggo . . . mia dolce Aida . . .

2 Aïda T'arresta, vanne . . . che sperì ancor?

3a Radamès A te dappresso l'amor mi guida.

3b Aïda Te i riti attendono d'un altro amor.

D'Amneris sposo . . .

28 (Amonasro si nasconde fra i palmizi)

Atto 3° Scena IV

Radamès--Aïda

1 Radamès I really see you again . . . my sweet Aïda . . .

2 Aïda Stop, go away . . . what can you hope for still?

3a Radamès Love leads me near to you.

3b Aïda The rites of another love await you.

Betrothed to Amneris . . .

28 (Amonasro hides himself among the palms)

Act 3 Scene IV

Radamès--Aïda
3c Radamès  Che parli mai? . . .
Te sola, Aida, te deggio amar . . .
Gli Dei m'ascoltano, tu mia sarai.

4 Aida  D'uno spergiuro non ti macchiar!
Benchè nemico, prode t'ho amato . . . 66
Non mentir dunque . . .

5 Radamès  Nè hai fede in me? 67
Aida!

66 The second and third lines of item 4 are cancelled in the ms. A new text, taken from pp. 109-10 of the ms., is added in Verdi's hand.

67 This item is crossed out in the ms. The new text in Verdi's hand is taken from p. 110 of the ms.
6a  Aida  È vano lottar col fato . . .

6b  Radames  Lottare e vincere sapro per te!

6c  Aida  Di tutto un popolo son sacri i voti,

[p. 54]
È inesorabile del Re il voler . . .
L'ira implacabile dei sacerdoti . . .

7  Radames  Io tutto sfondo l'uman poter . . .

6a  Aida  It is useless to struggle with fate . . .

6b  Radames  I shall know how to fight and to win for you!

6c  Aida  The oaths of an entire people are sacred,

[p. 54]
The will of the King is inexorable . . .
The implacable rage of the priests . . .

7  Radames  I will overcome all human power . . .

68  The ms. is very difficult to read at this point. Items 6a, b and c are crossed out in the ms. New texts from items 6a and b, taken from p. 110 of the ms., are added in Verdi's hand.

69  The first line and portions of the second and third lines are cancelled in the ms. The new text, given in Verdi's hand, is taken from p. 110 of the ms.
Aida . . . ascoltami . . . nuova guerra
Fra noi [la guerra] si ridesto . . .
I tuoi già invadono la nostra terra . . .
Io degli Egizii duce sarò . . .
Fra il suon, fra i plausi della vittoria,
Al Re me prostro, gli svelo il cor . . .
Sarai tu il serto della mia gloria,
Vivrem beati d'eterno amor.

8 Aida Nè d'Amneris l'odio fatal sarìa . . . 70

Aida . . . listen to me . . . a new war
Between us [the war] aroused itself . . .
Your people are already invading our land . . .
I shall be leader of the Egyptians . . .
In the din, in the cheers of the victory,
I shall prostrate myself before the King, open to him my heart . . .
You will be the garland of my glory,
We shall live blessed by eternal love.

8 Aida Will not the hatred of Amneris be fatal . . .

70 The two lines of item 8 are crossed out in the ms. after the words Nè d'Amneris (Nor of Amneris). A new four-line text, taken from p. 114 of the ms., is added in Verdi's hand.
Insiem col padre dovrei morir . . .

9  Radamès  Io vi difendo'.  

10  Aida  Solo una via
    Di scampo restaci . . .

11  Radamès  Quale?

12  Aida  Fuggir.

13  (Radamès rimane colpito perplesso, Aida
    prosegue colla più viva espansione)

I would be obliged to die together with my father . . .

9  Radamès  I will defend you both!' 

10  Aida  Only one way
    Of escape remains to us . . .

11  Radamès  Which?

12  Aida  To flee.

13  (Radamès remains struck with perplexity, Aida
    proceeds with the liveliest enlargement)

---

71 Items 9-12 and the first line of item 13 are crossed out in the ms. A new version of this portion of the scene, taken from p. 115 of the ms., is added in Verdi's hand.
[p. 55]

14 Let us flee the unfriendly heat

Of these barren plains--
A new homeland
Opens to our love . . .

There . . . among virgin forests,
Perfumed with flowers,
In heedless ecstasy
We shall forget the earth.

72 The remainder of the page appears to have been obliterated by a page pasted over the original page. The new text, given in Verdi's hand, contains items 13-15, 12b, 13b, 16-18 and 19a. This sequence of items corresponds more closely to the model given in Verdi's libretto. See Verdi's comments to Ghislanzoni in the composer's letter dated 30 September 1870, and the discussion on pp. 425-26 of the present study.
Radamès (with impassioned resolution)

Yes, let us flee from these walls,

Let us flee together into the desert;

Here only misfortune reigns,

There a heaven of love opens.

The boundless deserts

Will be a nuptial bed to us,

The stars will shine down on us

With an unaccustomed sparkle.
Aida Nella terra avventurata

De'miei padri, il ciel ne attende . . .

Ivi l'aura è imbalsamata,
Ivi il suolo è aromi e fior.
Fresche valli e verdi prati
A noi talamo saranno,
Su noi gli astri brilleranno
Di più limpido folgor.

--a 2 voci--
Vieni meco--[Illegible, crossed-out word] fuggiamo

Aida In the promised land

Of my fathers, heaven awaits us . . .

There the air is perfumed,
There the earth is aromas and flowers.
Cool valleys and green meadows
Will be a nuptial bed to us,
The stars will shine down on us
With a clearer sparkle.

--by 2 voices--
Come with me--[Illegible, crossed-out word] let us flee

Giuseppina Strepponi added the word insiem (together) above the illegible crossed-out word in the ms.
Questa terra di dolor.
Vieni meco--io t'amò, io t'amò!
A noi duce fia l'amor' . . .

24 (partono rapidamente)

[p. 61]

26 Radamès (arrestandosi)

This land of grief.
Come with me—I love you, I love you!
Be love to us a guide! . . .

24 (they depart quickly)

[p. 61]

26 Radamès (stopping himself)

---

74 Giuseppina Strepponi crossed out the word partono (they depart) and replaced it with the more elaborate synonym si allontanano (they distance themselves). The change allows Radamès and Aida to participate in scene v.

75 P. 57 of the ms. contains a complete text for the final versions of the remainder of scene iv, scenes v and vi. This text is given in Verdi's hand with the exception of seven stage directions, which are given in Giuseppina Strepponi's hand. The revised and final text is a composite of many different speeches taken from a variety of Ghislanzoni's revisions. Verdi's selection appears to have been so wide-ranging that he could not utilize the pages of the first draft as the basis of the final version. See pp. 292-94 of the present study for a discussion of Verdi's composite texts.
La via da miei prescelta
A piombar sul nemico ed ancor deserta . . .
[Doman nol sarà più]76 . . . Vieni . . . !

27 Aida Qual via?

28 Radamès Le gole di Napata . . .

Scena V

Amonasro e detti

1 Amonasro Grazie o Numi

The road selected by mine
To fall on the enemy and still deserted . . .
[Will not be so tomorrow] . . . Come . . . !

27 Aida What road?

28 Radamès The gorges of Napata . . .

Scene V

Amonasro and the former

1 Amonasro Thanks o Gods

76 The ms. is very difficult to read in this place.
Certà ed omni la vittoria . . .

2 Radamès Chi ci ascolta? . . .
D'Aida il padre!

3 Amonasro Degli Etiopi il Re.

4 Radamès Tu . . . Amonasro . . . tu il Re! Che dissi or mai!

9 Aida Tremi! ti arresti . . . ed esiti?

W Amonasro Fuggiamo!

10 Radamès (prorompendo)77 Ahi! sciagurata!

Certain and total the victory . . .

2 Radamès Who listens to us? . . .
Aida's father!

3 Amonasro The King of the Ethiopians.

4 Radamès You . . . Amonasro . . . you the King! What ever have I said now!

9 Aida You tremble! you stop . . . and hesitate?

W Amonasro Let us flee!

10 Radamès (bursting out) Ahi! wretched!

---

77 The deletion of the misspelling is part of the text given in the ms.
Per te tradii la patria!

11a  Amonasro  Era voler del fato . . .

[p. 62]

11b  Aida  Una novella patria

A te dischiussa è già!

11c  Amonasro  Vieni: oltre il Nilo ne attendono

I prodi a noi devoti;
Per te d'amor, di gloria
Tutti sien paghi i voti . . .
Vieni: d'un Re la figlia
Conforto a te sarà.

For you I have betrayed the homeland!

11a  Amonasro  It was the will of fate . . .

[p. 62]

11b  Aida  A new homeland

Has already opened to you!

11c  Amonasro  Come: beyond the Nile await

The braves devoted to us;
For you may all your promises
Of love and glory be fulfilled . . .
Come: the daughter of a King
Will be comfort for you.
Aida Te non di morte orribile
   Qui il negro vel si stende . . .
   Vieni: ove amor ti attende . . .
   L'amor ti salverà.

Radamès Tradii per te la patria
   E amor ti ancor proff'io!
   L'onta del nome mio
   Chi cancellar potrà?

(Radamès si lascia correre da Amonasro
e da Aida e muove con essi verso il
Nilo)

Aida For you the black veil of horrible death
   Does not spread out here . . .
   Come: where love awaits you . . .
   Love will save you.

Radamès I betrayed the homeland for you
   And I still offer love to you!
   Who will be able to remove
   The dishonor of my name?

(Radamès runs toward Amonasro
and toward Aída and he moves with them toward the
Nile)
Scena VI

Amneris—Ramfis—Sacerdoti—Guardie
[p. 63]

1 Amneris (sulla soglia del tempio)
   Traditor!

2 [Aida] La mia rivale!

3 Amonasro Sciagurata! a strugger vieni
   L'opra mia! pel mio pugnale
   Muori . . .

---

Scene VI.

Amneris—Ramfis—Priests—Guards
[p. 63]

1 Amneris (on the threshold of the temple)
   Traitor!

2 [Aida] My rival!

3 Amonasro Wretched! you come to destroy
   My work! by my dagger
   Die . . .

78 Aida's name is omitted in the ms.
(si avventa ad Amneris col pugnale)

4 Radamès (interponendosi) Arrestati!

5 Amonasro O furor!

6 Ramfis Guardie . . . olà!

7 Radamès (ad Aida e ad Amonasro) Presto! fuggite!
   Di salvarvi è tempo anch' . . .

8 Amonasro (trascinando Aida nella barca)
   Vieni, o figlia . . .

9 Ramfis (alle guardie) Li inseguite . . .

_________________________________________

(he hurls himself at Amneris with the dagger)

4 Radamès (interposing himself) Stop!

5 Amonasro O fury!

6 Ramfis Guards . . . look out!

7 Radamès (to Aida and to Amonasro) Quick! flee!
   There is still time to save yourselves . . .

8 Amonasro (dragging Aida to the boat)
   Come, o daughter . . .

9 Ramfis (to the guards) Follow them . . .
Z Amneris Arrestate i traditori!

10 Ramfis (a Ramfis) Io qui resto—su me scenda (Ramfis = Radamès)

Il tuo vindice furor.

Fine dell'atto III

[p. 123]

Aida Atto Quarto

Scena I

Z Amneris Stop the traitors!

10 Ramfis (to Ramfis) I remain here—on me bring down (Ramfis = Radamès)

Your vindictive fury.

End of Act III

[p. 123]

Aida Fourth Act

Scene I

79 Ghislanzoni meant Radamès (a Ramfis). The correction is shown at the conclusion of the line.

80 The description of the stage setting for the first tableau of Act IV is not given in the Ghislanzoni ms. The omission may have been brought about by the fact that the setting was to be considerably altered by Verdi owing to a new concept of the staging of the Judgement Scene.
Amneris sola

2 Raggiunto il padre . . . ed essa
L'abborrita rivale a me sfuggia . . . !
Dai sacerdoti Radamès attende
Dei traditori la pena—Traidore
Egli non è . . . Pur rivelò di guerra
L'alto segreto . . . Egli fuggir volea . . .
Con lei fuggire . . . Traidore tutti!
A morte! a morte! . . . Oh che mai parlo!
Io l'amo sempre . . . disperato, insano

Amneris alone

2 The father overtaken . . . and she
My detested rival escaped me . . . !
Radamès awaits from the priests
The punishment of traitors—Traitor
He is not . . . Yet he revealed
The high secret of war . . . He wanted to flee
To flee with her . . . Traitors all!
To death! to death! . . . Oh what do I say!
I love him always . . . desperate, insane

81 The words sempre . . . disperato, insano (always . . . desperate, insane) are cancelled in the ms. The same words, without the ellipsis and comma, are written above the cancelled line in Ghislanzoni's hand.
È quest'amor—[Illegible crossed-out phrase]
Salvarlo . . . E come? Oh! s'ei potesse amarmi! . . .
Si tentì, Guardie, a me venga Radamès si tentia."82

Scene II

Amneris—Radamès
[p. 124]

1 Amneris Arbitri di tua vita i sacerdoti
Si aduneran fra poco.
Grave su te pende l'accusa e grave

Is this love—[Illegible crossed-out phrase]
To save him . . . And how? Oh! if he could love me! . . .
Let me try, Guards, let Radamès come to me let me try!

Scene II

Amneris—Radamès
[p. 124]

1 Amneris Arbiters of your life, the priests
Will assemble soon.
The grave accusation hangs over you, and serious

82 The cancellation of the portions of lines 10-12 make the ms. difficult to read at this point. The following additions appear to be in Ghislanzoni's hand: above the second half of line 10: che la mia vita strugge (that destroys my life); below the first half of line 11: Vorrei
Ti minaccia la pena—A te sia lieve
Discolparti, se il vuoi... colle mie preci
M'aprirò il varco del paterno core
E perdonato tu sarai...

2  Radamès  No: non udranno un sol accento mai
Di discolpa i miei giudici--Innocente
Dinanzi ai Numi ed a me stesso io sono;...
Incauti detti profferì il mio labbro,
Ma il tradimento nel mio cor non era.
Pure, giusta è l'accusa--Eterno lutto

| Punishment threatens you--May your self-defence |
| Be easy, if you wish... with my prayers |
| I myself shall open the pass to the paternal heart |
| And you will be pardoned... |

2  Radamès  No: my judges will never hear a single word
Of self-defence--I am innocent
Before the Gods and to myself, ...
My lips revealed rash words,
But betrayal was not in my heart.
Still, just is the accusation--Eternal grief

salvarlo... E come? (I want to save him... And how?); above the last half of line 12: Radamès qui venga (Have Radamès come here).
Rimorso eterno io porterò nell'alma . . .
Svaniti i sogni della gloria, estinta
Ogni speranza in terra, odio la vita; . . .
Ma sol verso mi resta omai, morire!

[p. 125]

3 Amneris Morir! che parli? Ah misera!
Viver per me tu dei . . .
All'amor mio dei vivere . . .
Te spento, anch'io morrei . . .
Come t'ho sempre amato
Oggi ancor t'amo, ingrato!
E patria, e trono, e vita,

Eternal remorse I shall carry in my soul . . .
Being vanished the dreams of glory, extinct
Every hope on earth, I hate life; . . .
But now, the only fate that remains for me, to die!

[p. 125]

3 Amneris To die! what are you saying? Ah misery!
You must live for me . . .
You must live for my love . . .
If you die, I shall also die . . .
How I have always loved you
Today I still love you, ungrateful!
And homeland, and throne, and life,
Tutto darei per te.

4 Radamès Per essa anch'io la patria
E l'onor mio tradìa . . .

5 Amneris Di lei non più . . .

6 Radamès L'infamia
M'attende e vuoi ch'io viva?
Misero appien mi festi,
Aida a me togliesti,
Spenta l'hai forse . . . e in dono
Offri la vita a me?

All would I give for you.

4 Radamès For her I also betrayed
The homeland and my honor . . .

5 Amneris No more of her . . .

6 Radamès Dishonor
Awaits me and you want me to live?
You made me completely wretched,
Aida you took from me,
Perhaps you have killed her . . . and as a gift
You offer life to me?
7 Amneris Io ... di sua morte originé!
[p. 126]
No! vive Aída!

8 Radamès Vive!

9a Amneris Nei disperati aneliti
Dell'orde fuggitive
Sol cadde il padre . . .

9b Radamès Ed ella?

9c Amneris Sparve, nè più novella
S'ebbe . . .

7 Amneris I ... cause of her death!
[p. 126]
No! Aida lives!

8 Radamès Lives!

9a Amneris In the desperate race
Of the fleeing hordes
Only her father fell . . .

9b Radamès And she?

9c Amneris She vanished, nor was there more news
Of her . . .
10 Radamès Gli Dei l'adducano
    May the Gods lead her
    Salva alle patrie mura,
    Safely to her native walls,
    E ignorì la sventura
    And may she never know the misfortune
    Di chi per lei morrà'
    Of him who will die for her!

11 Amneris Or ... s'io ti salvo ... giurami
    Now ... if I save you ... swear to me
    Che più non la vedrai ...
    That you will not see her again ...

12 Radamès Nol posso! ...
    I cannot! ...

13 Amneris A lei rinunzia.
    Renounce her.

14 Radamès Io l'amo ...
    I love her ...
Amneris
Ohimè! morir mi sento . . . !

(al suono di funebre marcia sfilano nel fondo della scena i Sacerdoti preceduti)

Amneris
Well then . . . you will die!

Radamès
I shall die.

(Verdi makes mention in his letter dated Tuesday [probably 25 October 1870] to Ghislanzoni of a cabaletta in versi settenari (seven-syllable lines). This text appears to have been lost, for the only cabaletta for this scene, found on p. 130 of the ms., is set in versi ottonari (eight-syllable lines).)
da Radamès e spariscono per la porta bassa, alla destra dello spettatore)

3 Ecco i fatali . . .
Gli inesorati ministri di morte . . .
Oh! ch'io non vegga quelle bianche larve!

4 (si copre il volto colle mani;
poi, dopo breve silenzio:)

5 E in poter di costoro
Io stessa lo gettai! . . . Ti maledico
Atroce gelosia, che la sua morte

by Radamès and they disappear through the low
door, to the right of the spectator)

3 Here are the fatal . . .
The inexorable ministers of death . . .
Oh! let me not see those white ghosts!

4 (she covers her face with her hands;
then, after a brief silence:)

5 And in their power
I myself cast him! . . . I curse you
Atrocious jealousy, that marked his death
Col lutto eterno del mio cor segnasti!

6 **Coro interno** Su noi discendete--o Numi possenti!

   La luce del vero--chiarisca le menti;
   E l'alma si investa--di sacro rigor.

   [p. 136]

7 **Amneris (Scoppia di dirotto pianto, esclamando)**

   Per esso vi imploro, o Numi clementi!
   D'un core straziato rimuova il dolor!

8 **Voice of Ram=f**

   fis (dal sotterraneo) Radamès: tu della patria
   I segreti rivelasti.

   With the eternal grief of my heart!

6 **Internal Chorus** Unto us descend--o powerful Gods!

   By the light of the truth--let the minds be cleared;
   And invest the soul--with sacred rigor.

   [p. 136]

7 **Amneris (Explodes in torrents of tears, exclaiming)**

   For him I implore thee, o merciful Gods!
   Let the grief be removed from a tormented heart!

8 **Voice of Ram=f**

   fis (from the subterranean chamber) Radamès: you revealed
   The secrets of the homeland.
Di perfidia ti macchiasti . . .
Tacì?

9 Coro Tacì?

10 Ramfis-Coro Traditor!

11 Ramfis Tu nel dì della battaglia
   Le bandiere hai disertato.
   Di viltà tu sei macchiato . . .
Tacì? . . .

12 Coro Tacì? . . .

With perfidy you stained yourself . . .
You are silent?

9 Chorus You are silent?

10 Ramfis--Chorus Traitor!

11 Ramfis On the day of the battle
   You deserted the flags.
   You are stained with vileness . . .
You are silent?

12 Chorus You are silent?
13 Ramfis—poi il Coro Traditor!

14a Ramfis Alla patria, al Re spergiuro,
    Tu da infame morirai.
[p. 137]
    Tu vivente scenderai
    Nella tomba, o Traditor!

14b Coro Di Vulcan nel sacro tempio
    Avrai tomba, o traditor!

15 Amneris Ah! pietà . . . Sepolto vivo!
    No! fermate . . . quale orror!

13 Ramfis—then the Chorus Traitor!

14a Ramfis False to the homeland, to the King,
    You will die [the death] of the infamous.
[p. 137]
    Alive you will descend
    Into the tomb, o traitor!

14b Chorus In the sacred temple of Vulcan
    You will have burial, o traitor!

15 Amneris Ah! pity . . . Buried alive!
    No! stop . . . what horror!
16 (Le voci si allontanano ripetendo: traditore!)

17 Amneris  Tutto tace . . . Sepolto . . .
Vivo . . . ei dunque sarà! . . . Dei sacerdoti
Non può sottrarlo al vendicato furor
Il mio possente e disperato amore?
A che me giovi, seggio dorato?
Perché mi chiamo figlia di Re! . . .
Morire ei veggo chi tanto ho amato . . .
Nè di salvarlo sia dato a me! . . .

16 (The voices fade away repeating: traitor!)

17 Amneris  All is silent . . . buried . . .
Alive . . . so he will be! . . . Cannot
My powerful and desperate love rescue him
From the vindictive fury of the priests?
Of what use are you to me, golden throne?
Because I call myself daughter of a King! . . .
I see him whom I love so much die . . .
Nor can his salvation be given to me! . . .
Scena IV

1 Il Re--Amneris

2 Amneris (correndo [Illegible word] al Re)  
[p. 138]  
Salvalo, o Padre!

3 Il Re  
Tu l'ami tanto? . . .

4 Amneris   
Morrò s'ei muore . . . pietà! pietà!--  
Son disperata . . .

5 Il Re  
Tu preghi invano . . .

Scene IV

1 The King--Amneris

2 Amneris (running [Illegible word] to the King)  
[p. 138]  
Save him, o Father!

3 The King  
You love him so much? . . .

4 Amneris   
I shall die if he dies . . . pity! pity!--  
I am desperate . . .

5 The King  
You beg in vain . . .
È condannato ... colui morrà.

6 (Amneris vacilla e cade nelle braccia delle ancelle)

[p. 146]
Scena ultima

1 Sotterraneo. Lungo ordine di arcate che si perdono nella oscurità. A destra ed a sinistra si distinguono le entrate del sotterraneo. Statue colossali di Osiride,

He is condemned ... he will die.

6 (Amneris sways and falls into the arms of the serving maids)

[p. 146]
Final Scene

1 Subterranean chamber. Long rows of arches that fade into the darkness. To the right and to the left the entrances of the subterranean chamber are distinguished. Colossal statues of Osiris,
addossate ai pilastri che sostengono la volta.

3 Radamès Ecco la tomba mia; la fatal pietra
Me dai viventi separerà per sempre!
In questa eterna notte
La morte attenderò--Del dì la luce
Al guardo mio non splenderà più mai . . .
Più Aida non vedrò . . . Mia dolce Aida,
Ove ti aggiri tu! . . . Possa tu almeno
Viver felice e la mia sorte orrenda
Ignorar sempre! Un gemito mi parve

standing against the pillars that support the vault.

3 Radamès Here is my tomb; the fatal stone
Forever separated me from the living!
In this eternal night
I shall await death--The light of the day
Will never more shine on my face . . .
I shall never again see Aida . . . My sweet Aida,
Where do you wander? . . . May you at least
Live happily and forever ignore
My terrible fate! It seemed to me that I heard
Udir (volgendosi) Qualcuno . . .! un'ombra!

Una vision! No! forma umana è questa . . .

Cielo! Aida!

4 Aida (avanzandosi) Son io . . .

5 Radamès: Tu qui! . . . ma come . . .?

[p. 147]

6 Aida Presago il core della tua condanna,

Qui da tre dì ti attendo . . .

E qui . . . lontana da ogni umano sguardo

Io morró teco . . .

A moan (turning himself) Someone . . .! a shade!

A vision! No! this is a human shape . . .

Heaven! Aida!

4 Aida (coming forward) It is I . . .

5 Radamès You here! . . . but how . . .?

[p. 147]

6 Aida The heart foretelling your sentence,

Here for three days I have awaited you

And here . . . far from every human glance

I shall die with you . . .
7 Radamès  Tu . . . morire . . . Aida!
   Tu innocente . . . e sì bella . . . ! e giovan tanto!
   Nè salvarti poss'io!

8 Aida  Chi lo potrebbe!
   Qual speme a noi furochè il morir più resta?
      Vedi? di morte l'angelo
      Radiante a noi s'appressa,
      Ne adduce a eterni gaudii
      Sovra i suoi vanni d'ôr.
   Già veggo il ciel dischiudersi . . .
      Ivi ogni affanno cessa . . .

7 Radamès  You . . . to die . . . Aida!
   You innocent . . . and so beautiful . . . ! and so young!
   Nor can I save you!

8 Aída  Who could do it!
   What hope remains for us except death?
      Do you see? the angel of death
      Radiant to us approaches,
      He leads us to eternal joys
      On his wings of gold.
   Already I see heaven opening . . .
      There all pain ceases . . .
Ivi comincia l'estasi
D'un immortale amor . . .

9 Radamès No! . . . tu deliri . . . ascoltami . . .

[84]

[p. 148]

10 (si odono i canti dei Sacerdoti ecc. ecc.)

11 Radamès Il tripudio

There begins the ecstasy
Of an immortal love.

9 Radamès No! . . . you are delirious . . . listen to me . . .

[p. 148]

10 (they hear the chants of the Priests etc. etc.)

11 Radamès The exaltation

84 The three dotted lines indicate Ghislanzoni's omission of the main part of item 9 as given in Verdi's prose libretto, p. 39. The poet explained his dislike of Verdi's model item in the letter dated 31 October 1870.

85 Ghislanzoni questioned Verdi about the content of the backstage chorus of priests in the letter dated 31 October 1870.
Dei Sacerdoti . . . !

12 Aida Il nostro inno di morte!

13 Radamès Nè le mie forti braccia
Smuovere ti potranno, o fatal pietra!

14a Aida Io manco . . .

14b Radamès Aida!

14c Aida Io ti precedo . . .

15 Radamès Attendimi! . . .
Solo un istante vivere

Of the Priests . . . !

12 Aida Our hymn of death!

13 Radamès Nor can my strong arms
Move you, o fatal stone!

14a Aida I faint . . .

14b Radamès Aida!

14c Aida I precede you . . .

15 Radamès Listen to me! . . .
Can I only live an instant
Senza di te poss'io?

16 Aida Là . . . nell'eterna patria
    Ci rivedremo . . . Addio!
Odi dell'arpe pronube
   E l'immortal concento
Rivivere mi sento
   Nel cielo dell'amor! (muore)

17 Radamès Aida! ah! parla . . . ! guardami!
   È morta . . . e vivo ancor!

________________________________________

Without you?

16 Aida There . . . in the eternal homeland
   We shall see each other again . . . Farewell!
Hear the nuptial harps
   And the immortal harmony
I feel myself living again
   In the heaven of love! (She dies)

17 Radamès Aida! ah! speak . . . ! look at me!
   She is dead . . . and I still live!
B. REVISIONS

[p. 82]

No I  [Atto I] Scena I

2 Ramfis Sì: corre voce che l'Etiope ardisca
Di sfidarcì ancora e del Nilo la valle
E Tebe minacciar. Fra breve un Messo
Recherà il ver.

3 Radamès La sacra
'Iside consultasti?

[p. 82]

No I  [Act I] Scene I

2 Ramfis Yes: it is rumored that the Ethiopian dares
To challenge us again and to threaten the valley of the Nile
And Thebes. Soon a messenger
Will bring the truth.

3 Radamès Did you consult
Holy Isis?
4 Ramfis Ella ha nomato
[Illegible crossed-out passage]
Dell'Egizie falangi
Il condottier supremo . . .

5 Radamès (da sè) Avventurato! . . .

6 Ramfis (con intenzione)
Giovane e prode è desso . . .
Ora del Nume
Reco i decreti al Re. (esce)

4 Ramfis She has named
[Illegible crossed-out passage]
For the Egyptian troops
The supreme commander . . .

5 Radamès (to himself) Fortunate! . . .

6 Ramfis (with meaning)
Young and brave is he . . .
Now I take the decree
Of the Goddess to the King. (He exits)
[Scena II]

1 Radamès Se quel guerrier

Io fossi! Se il mio sogno
Si avverasse! ... Un esercito di prodi ecc. ecc.

[Scena II]

[p. 3]

2a Romanza tenore =

Celeste Aida, forma divina

Mistico serto di luce e fior--
Del mio pensiero tu sei regina
Tu di mia vita sei lo splendor.

[Scene II]

1 Radamès If I were

That warrior! If my dream
Came true . . . An army of brave men etc. etc.

[Scene II]

[p. 3]

2a Tenor romance =

Heavenly Aida, divine form

Mystic garland of light and flowers--
Of my thoughts you are queen
Of my life you are the radiance.
Il tuo bel cielo vorrei ridarti,
Le dolce brezze del patrio suol—
Un regal serto sul crin posarti
Ergerti un trono vicino al sol,-----
(e si potrebbe ripetere la
strofa precedente)
(Altra)¹

2b Rosa di cielo, eterea
  Forma di luce e fiori,
  Astro in cui tutti splendono

I would like to give you back your beautiful sky,
  The sweet breezes of your native land—
  To set a royal crown on your brow
  To raise for you a throne near the sun.—
  (and one could repeat the
  preceding strophe)
  (Alternate)¹

2b Rose of heaven, ethereal
  Form of light and flowers,
  Star in whom all the colors

¹ The entire text of the alternate romanza (item 2b) is crossed out in the ms.
Dell'iride i colori.
Io t'amo, Aída, io t'amo,
O prigioniera bella--
Meta dei passi e stella
Tu sei del mio destin.
[p. 4]
Della perduta patria
Vorre i ridarti i cieli,
Le valli, i sogli liberi
A cui piangendo aneli.
Qui di tripudii immensi
Godrei nel tuo sorriso,

_____________

Of the rainbow shine.
I love you, Aída, I love you,
O beautiful prisoner--
You are [the] goal of my steps
And [the] star of my destiny.
[p. 4]
I would like to give you back
The skies of the lost homeland,
The valleys, the open thresholds
For which you long for in tears.
Here in immense jubilation
I would rejoice in your smile,
Nel contemplarti il viso,
Nel carezzarti il crin.

[p. 79]
N. 2 Scena III

1 Amneris Quale insolita fiamma
Nel tuo sguardo!—Di quale
Nobil fierezza ti balena il volto!
Degna d'invidia oh quanto
Saria la donna il cui bramato aspetto
Tanta luce di gaudio in te destasse!

In the admiration of your face,
In the caress of your hair.

[p. 79]
N. 2 Scene III

1 Amneris What curious flame
In your gaze!—What
Noble vigor flashes over your face!
Oh how worthy of envy
Would be the woman whose longed-for appearance
Wakened so much light of joy in you!
Radamès  D'un sogno avventuroso
Si beava il mio cuore. Oggi la Diva
Profferse il nome del guerrier che al campo
Le schiere egizie condurrà . . . S'io fossi
A tale onor prescelto . . .

Amneris  Nè un altro sogno mai
Più gentil . . . più soave . . .
Al core ti parlò?---Non hai tu in Menfi
Desiderii . . . speranze?
(poi, come sta)

Radamès  In a dream of adventure
My heart was basking. Today the Goddess
Proffered the name of the warrior who in the field
Will lead the Egyptian troops . . . If I were
Chosen for such honor . . .

Amneris  Has not another dream
More gentle . . . sweeter . . .
Spoken to your heart?--
Do you not have in Memphis
Desires . . . hopes?
(then, as before)
N. 3° Terzetto [Scena IV]

1 Radamès--Amneris--Aida.

3 Radamès Dessa!...

4 Amneris [da sé] Ei si turba ... e quale Sguardo rivolse a lei! Aida! a me rivale Forse saria costei ... Ella! ... una indegna schiava! E figlia io son d'un Re!...

[p. 72]

No. 3 Trio [Scene IV]

1 Radamès--Amneris--Aida.

3 Radamès She!...

4 Amneris [to herself] He is upset ... and what a Look he gave her! Aida! to me rival Perhaps it could be she! ... She! ... an unworthy slave! And I am daughter of a King! ...
Radames (da sé) D'ira quegli occhi avvampano [!]

6a Amneris (con calma simulata)
Ti appressa, Aida, a me . . .
Tu tremi e piangi? . . .

T Aida Indomata
Cura mi strugge il cuore . . .

6b Amneris A te straniera ed esule
Sorella io fui d'amore . . .
Tutti del cor gli affanni
A me fidar puoi tu.

Radames (to himself) Those eyes blaze with rage [!]

6a Amneris (with false calm)
Come near, Aida, to me . . .
You tremble and weep? . . .

T Aïda Unsubdued
Anxiety consumes my heart . . .

6b Amneris To you stranger and in exile
I was the loving sister . . .
All the sufferings of the heart
You can confide in me.
7 Aida Di guerra intorno tremare
L'atroce grido io sento . . .
Per me d'eterne lacrime
Un avvenir pavento;
Ah! la mia bella patria
Non rivedrò mai più! . . .

8 Amneris Nè d'altra angoscia, o misera [,]
Turbato è il tuo pensiero? . . .

9 Aida (colla massima commozione)

Forse . . .

[p. 73]

7 Aida Of the war quivering around us
I hear the atrocious shout . . .
I fear a future
Of eternal tears;
Ah! my beautiful homeland
I shall never see it again!

8 Amneris Does not another agony, o unhappy one [,]
Disturb your thoughts? . . .

9 Aida (with the greatest emotion)

Perhaps . . .
U Amneris (animandosi) Equal dunque! [sic] . . .
V Radamès (da sé) Incauta!
W Aïda Rispetta il mio mistero . . .
X Amneris (con forza) Schiava . . . io potrei . . .
Y Radamès Placatevi . . . !
Z Amneris E la difendi . . . tu? . . .
(poi, le strofe come stanno)

U Amneris (animating herself) Equal then! [sic] . . .
V Radamès (to himself) Rash!
W Aïda Respect my secret . . .
X Amneris (with force) Slave . . . I could . . .
Y Radamès Pacify yourselves . . . !
Z Amneris And you defend her . . . you? . . .
(then, the strophes as they were)
N. 4 Finale concertato [Scena V]

Il Re Iside venerata
Delle Egizie legioni
Già designava il condottier supremo . . .
Radamès . . .

Tutti Radamès . . .!

Radamès Sien grazie ai Numi!
Immensa è la mia gioja! . . .

Amneris Ei duce! . . .

N. 4 Concerted finale [Scene V]

The King Venerable Isis
Has already named
The supreme leader of the Egyptian legions . . .
Radamès . . .

All Radamès . . .!

Radamès Let the Gods be thanked!
Immense is my joy! . . .

Amneris He, leader! . . .
15a  **Il Re** (a Radamès)  

To the temple

Of Vulcan, now betake yourself; there the force

There the faith of the sacred rite nourish

And gird on the sword of the Egyptian heroes! . . .

[Illegible crossed-out line]


15b  Nelle battaglie ciascun rammenti

Dei Faraoni l'ardore invitto,

L'eroiche gesta per cui l'Egitto


2 The phrase "Al tempio (To the temple)" is crossed out in the ms. and replaced with the words "Io tremo (I tremble)". The added words are not assigned to a character on this page of the ms., but on ms., p. 14 these words are assigned to Aida.

3 The directive "mutando parole (changing words)" is written above the illegible crossed-out line in Verdi's hand.
Eterna fama nel mondo avrà

Sacerdoti Nelle battaglie ciascun rammenti
Che in man dei Numi sta la vittoria;
Se i Numi assentono, di nuova gloria
La vostra insegna sfollerà.

Popolo Nelle battaglie ciascun rammenti
Che il suol d'Egitto polve è d'eroi;
E la vittoria sarà con noi,
La nostra insegna folgor sarà.

Will have eternal fame in the world

Priests In the battles let all remember
That victory lies in the hands of the Gods;
If the Gods agree, your flag
Will disperse the crowd with new glory.

People In the battles let all remember
That the soil of Egypt is the dust of heroes;
And the victory will be with us,
Our flag will be a thunderbolt.
Sacerdotessa
Possente Phta, del mondo
Spirito creator,

18 Radamès Immortal Gods, you fulfilled at last
The ardent wish of this heart . . .
Soon the garland of the victor
Will shine brightly on my brow.

(The others stay as they are)

[Act I Scene VII]
[p. 77]
3a Priestesses
Mighty Phta, life-giving
Spirit of the world,
Noi ti invochiamo!

Di quest possente figlio
Spirito fecondator,
	Noi ti invochiamo!

Fuoco increato, eterno,
Onde ebbe vita il sol,
	Noi ti invochiamo!

3b Sacerdoti
Dio che dal nulla hai tratto
L'onde, la terra, il ciel,
	Noi ti invochiamo!

We invoke thee!

Seed-giving spirit
Of this powerful son,
	We invoke thee!

Uncreated, eternal fire,
From whence the sun had life,
	We invoke thee!

3b Priests
God who from the void drew
The waves, the earth, the sky,
	We invoke thee!
Nume che del tuo spirito,
Sei figlio e genitor,
    Noi ti invochiamo!
Luce dell'universo,
Mito di eterno amor,
    Noi ti invochiamo!

[p. 78]

8a Ramfis Mortal, diletto ai Numi--a te fidate,
    Son d'Egitto le sorti--Il sacro brando
    Dal Dio temprato, Per tua mano diventi

God who of thy spirit,
Art son and father,
    We invoke thee!
Light of the universe,
Myth of eternal love,
    We invoke thee!

[p. 78]

8a Ramfis Mortal, beloved of the Gods--entrusted to you,
    Are the fates of Egypt--May the holy sword
    Tempered by the God, Become in your hand
"Dei (Of the)" is given in the ms. The "D" appears to be covered with the letter "A".

Ghislanzoni ms., pp. 90-93 comprise the first revision of Act II, scenes i and ii. A reasoned chronology of this and all other revisions found in the ms. is given in Chapter VII of the present study.
2a Chi mai, fra gli inni e i plausi,
Erge alla gloria il vol,
Al par d'un Dio terribile,
Fulgente al par del sol?
Vieni: sul crin ti piovano
Contesti ai lauri i fior;
Suonin di gloria i cantici
Coi cantici d'amor.

2b Amneris Vieni, amor mio, m'inebria . . .
Fammi beato il cor!

2a Coro Or, dove son le barbari

2a Who ever, amid the hymns and the cheers,
Takes flight toward glory,
Terrible as a God,
Radiant as the sun?
Come: let flowers rain on your hair.
Competing with the laurels;
Let the songs of glory sound
With the songs of love.

2b Amneris Come, my love, intoxicate me . . .
Make my heart blissful!

2a Chorus Now, where are the barbarian
Orde dello stranier?
Siccome nebbia sparvero
Al soffio del guerrier'
Vieni: di gloria il premio
Raccogli, o vincitor;
T'arrise la vittoria,
T'arriderà l'amor.

[p. 91]

2b [Amneris] Vieni, amor mio, rinvivami
D'un caro accento ancor--

Hordes of the foreigner?
Like mist they disappeared
At the breath of the warrior!
Come: receive the prize
Of victory, o conqueror;
Victory smiled on you,
Love will smile on you.

[p. 91]

2b [Amneris] Come my love, restore me
With a cherished word again--
Scena e duetto  Atto secondo

Dopo le parole di Amneris

11 Qualcuno ... un dolce affanno
Forse a te in cor destò? ... 
Non a tutti fatal tornò la guerra
Siccome al duce glorioso ... a lui
Che vincendo ... perdè ...

12a Aida  Che parli' ...

12b Amneris  Morto
È Radamès sul campo ...

Scene and duet  Second Act

After the words of Amneris

11 Somebody ... a gentle longing
Perhaps awoke in your heart? ... 
The war was not fatal to all
Inasmuch as to the glorious leader ... to him
Who vanquishing ... lost ...

12a Aida  What do you say' ...

12b Amneris  Dead
Is Radamès on the field ...
Aida
Oh! me infelice!

Amneris
Piangi l'eroe che i tuoi fratelli uccise?

Aida
Quello che amavo io piango . . .

Amneris
Vendicata
Fosti dai Numi . . .

Aida
Avversi e crudi meco
[p. 92]
Sono gli Dei . . .

Amneris
Trema! nel cor ti lessi . . .
Radamès . . . ami . . .

Aida
Oh! unhappy me!

Amneris
Do you weep for the hero who killed your brothers?

Aida
I weep for that which I loved . . .

Amneris
You were
Avenged by the Gods . . .

Aida
Adverse and harsh with me
[p. 92]
Are the Gods . . .

Amneris
Tremble! I have read in your heart . . .
Radamès . . . you love . . .
18 Aida                Io! . . .

19 Amneris              Sì: mentire è vano . . .
Con un sol detto strapperò il segreto
Dal tuo perfido cuor--Fissami in volto . . .
Io ti ingannai . . . Radamès vive . . .

20 Aida (con grazia)    Ei vive!
Grazie a voi, Numi!

21 Amneris              E ancor negar potessi?
Sì [:] tu l'amì . . . ed io pur . . . saperlo\(^6\) . . . io l'amo [ . . . ]

\(^6\) The double "p", which is given in the ms., is probably an error in spelling.
[p. 93]

Trema! io son l'arbitra del suo destin!

23b  (Squillo di trombe)

Amneris  Vieni! . . . fra poco mi vedrai beata
Cingere il serto al duce vincitor . . .
Io fra le schiave ti vedrò prostrata
Squallida in volto e disperata in cor!

24  Aida  Perché mai sì crudele e inesorata? . . .
Invan lottai contro il fatale amor . . .
Di morire per lui sarò beata . . .

[p. 93]

Tremble! I am arbiter of your destiny!

23b  (Blast of trumpets)

Amneris  Come! . . . soon you will see me blessed
Girding the garland on the victorious leader . . .
I shall see you prostrate among the slaves
Desolate in look and desperate in heart!

24  Aida  Why ever so cruel and implacable? . . .
In vain I struggled against the fatal love . . .
Dying for him I shall be blessed . . .
Do you understand? . . . You are my rival . . . Rival
To you is the daughter of the Pharaohs . . .

Aida (with savagery) And so be it . . .!
Also I am the daughter . . .
(restraining herself and falling to her knees)
Gods! whatever have I said now! pity! pardon!
Have pity on my grief [ . . . ]
It is true, I love him with an immense love [ . . . ]
Destiny is unable to make me more miserable.

Amneris Tremble, o vile slave--Break your heart--
This love can mean your death.
E l'amero dentro la tomba ancor.

Recitativo e Duetto = [Atto II, Scena I, Scena II]

4 Amneris (alle ancelle)
Silenzio! . . . A da verso noi si avanza . . .
Figlia dei vinti . . . il suo dolor mi è sacro . . .
Rispettarlo dobbiamo . . .

5 (ad un cenno di Amneris, le ancelle si allontanano)

And I shall love him still inside the tomb.

Recitative and Duet = [Act II, Scene I, Scene II]

4 Amneris (to the maidens)
Silence! . . . Aida is coming towards us . . .
Daughter of the vanquished . . . her grief is sacred to me . . .
We are obliged to respect it . . .

5 (at a sign from Amneris, the maidens go off)

Ghislanzoni ms., pp. 94-98 comprises the second revision of Act II, scenes i and ii.
6a In rivederla,
L'atroce dubbio mi ribolle in cuore . . .
Di Radamès l'amore
Contesto a me da questa schiava! È tempo,
Che il vel si squarci del fatal mistero.

Scena II
Aida Amneris

6b Amneris Fu la sorte dell'armi a tuoi funesta,
Povera Aida . . .! Il lutto
Che ti pesa sul cuor teco io divido . . .
Dall'amor mio conforti immensi avrai,
E di felice rispuntar vedrai.

6a In seeing her again,
The horrible suspicion churns in my heart . . .
The love of Radamès
Contested from me by this slave! It is time
That the veil of the fatal mystery be rent.

Scene II
Aida Amneris

6b Amneris The fate of the battle was dire for your people,
Poor Aida . . .! The grief
That weighs on your heart I share with you . . .
From my love you will have great comfort,
And you will see the happy day grow again.
7  **Aida**  Felice esser poss'io

[p. 95]

Lungi dal suol natio che amo pur tanto?
E schiava io sono . . . e la mia patria è in pianto!

8  **Amneris**  Ben ti compiango!—Pure hanno un confine

I mali di quaggiù . . . Sanerà il tempo
Le angoscie del tuo core,
E più che il tempo, un Dio possente . . . amore.

9  **Aida** (da sé)  Ah! lottare invano io tento

---

7  **Aida**  Can I be happy

[p. 95]

Far from the native land that I love so much?
And I am a slave . . . and my homeland is weeping!

8  **Amneris**  I pity you greatly . . . Even they have an end

The ills of the world . . . Time will heal
The anguish of your heart,
And more than time, a powerful God . . . love.

9  **Aida** (to herself)  Ah! In vain I attempt to struggle

---

8  This quatrain for Aida and the following quatrain for Amneris (items 9 and 10) are crossed out in the ms.
With the fatal, powerful God . . .
I shiver with shame and I must love
The oppressor of my native land!

10 Amneris (to herself) That sadness . . . that turmoil [ . . . ]
Unveils the anxieties of the lover . . .
In the pallor of her semblance
I read the shivers of her heart.

11 (drawing near to Aida and speaking to her with feigned affection)
Well then: what new shiver
Assails you, gentle Aida?
Reveal your secrets to me,
Trust in my love . . .

[p. 96]
Among the warriors who fought
To the loss of your homeland . . .
Someone . . . a gentle longing . . .
Perhaps . . . awoke in your heart?

Aida
What do you say?

To all fate
Was not cruel . . .
If in the field the intrepid leader
Cadde trafitto a morte . . .

12c. **Aida** Che mai dicesti? Ahi misera!

13 **Amneris** Sì . . . Radamès da'tuoì

Fu spento . . . E pianger puoi? . . .

14 **Aida** Per sempre io piangerò!

Io sulla terra perdei!

15 **Amneris** T'han vendicata gli Dei . . .

16 **Aida** Gli Dei

Crudeli . . . esultano del mio soffrir!

Fell mortally wounded . . .

12c **Aida** What ever did you say? Ah misery!

13 **Amneris** Yes . . . Radamès by your people

Was killed . . . And can you weep? . . .

14 **Aida** I shall weep forever!

I was defeated on earth!

15 **Amneris** The Gods have avenged you . . .

16 **Aida** The cruel

Gods . . . they exult in my suffering!
17 Amneris (prorompendo) Ah! trema, o schiava... ti lessi in core... Radamès... ami...

18 Aida Io!...
[p. 97]

19 Amneris Sì: l'amore
Ti avanza in volto--vano è il mentir!
Guardami...! guardami...! io t'ho ingannata...
Radamès vive...

20 Aida Me avventurata!
Sien grazie ai Numi!

21 Amneris (con gioja feroce) Tu sveli... alfin!...

17 Amneris (bursting out) Ah! tremble, o slave... I read in your heart...
Radamès... you love...

18 Aida I!...
[p. 97]

19 Amneris Yes: love
Shines from your face--to lie is useless!
Look at me...! look at me...! I have lied to you...
Radamès lives...

20 Aida Fortunate me!
Thanks be to ghe Gods!

21 Amneris (with fierce joy) You show it... at last!...
Ma se tu l'ami--sappialo! . . . invano  
Lottar tu sperì coll'amor mio . . .  
Per lui mi struggo--Son tua rivale . . .  
Dei Faraoni son figlia . . .  

22 Aida (rilevandosi con orogolio) E anch'io . . .  
Figlia mi vanto . . .  
(trattenendosi) Che parlo? . . . Numi!  
A te mi proffro--grazia! pietà!  
Da orrende angoscie straziato ho il core . . .  
È vero . . . io l'amò di immenso amore [ . . . ]  
Pietà ti prenda del mio destín!  

But if you love him--know it! . . . in vain  
You hope to struggle with my love . . .  
I am consumed by him--I am your rival . . .  
I am the daughter of the Pharaohs . . .  

22 Aída (rising up with pride) And I also . . .  
Boast to be daughter . . .  
(restraining herself) What am I saying? . . . Gods!  
To thee I offer myself--pardon! mercy!  
My heart is torn with horrible agony . . .  
It is true . . . I love him with an immense love [ . . . ]  
Take pity on my destiny!
23a Amneris Perfidious slave, break your heart . . .
   This love can mean your death . . .
   Tremble! I am arbiter of your destiny!

23b (Blast of trumpets)

To the triumph that is being prepared
   With me, o slave, you will attend;
   You prostrate in the dust,
   I on the throne, beside the King.
Come, follow me, you will learn
   If you can compete with me.
Aida  Qual speranza a me più resta?

Un deserto è la mia vita . . .

Vivi e regna, il tuo furore

Io fra breve plancherò.

Quest'amore che t'irrita

Nella tomba porterò.

[p. 43]

Recitativo [Atto II, Scena I, Scena II]⁹

---

Aida  What further hope remains to me?

My life is a desert . . .

Live and reign, your fury

I shall soon placate.

This love that annoys you

I shall carry to the tomb.

[p. 43]

Recitative [Act II, Scene I, Scene II]⁹

⁹ Ghislanzoni ms., p. 43 and p. 99 comprise the third revision of Act II, scenes i and ii. The separation of the two pages is explained on p. 303 of the present study.
6b [Amneris] Fu la sorte dell',

4 Silenzio! Aida verso noi si avanza . . .

Figlia dei vinti, il suo dolor mi è sacro . . .

6a Nel rivederla, il dubbio

Atroce in me si desta . . .

Il mistero fatal si squarci alfine.

6b Amneris Fu la sorte dell'armi a' tuoi funesta,

Povera Aida—il lutto

Che ti pesa sul cor teco divido [ . . . ]

6b [Amneris] It was the fate of the

4 Silence! Aida is coming toward us . . .

Daughter of the vanquished, her grief is sacred to me [ . . . ]

6a Upon seeing her again, the horrible

Doubt is awakened in me . . .

Let the fatal mystery be rent at last.

6b Amneris The fate of the battle was dire to your people,

Poor Aida--the grief

That weighs on your heart I share with you [ . . . ]

The line "Fu la sorte dell' (It was the fate of the) is crossed out in the ms.
Io son l'amica tua--A me vivrai
Meco sarai felice.

7  Aida  Felice esser poss'io
Lungi dal suol natio
Disgiunta . . . dai cari miei disgiunta?  

8  Amneris  Ben ti compiango! . . . Pure hanno un confine
I mali di quaggiù . . . Sanerà il tempo

The enjambed sentence "A me vivrai/Meco sarai felice (By me you will live/With me you will be happy)" is crossed out in the ms. The sentence "Tutto da me tu avrai, vivrai felice (You will have all from me, you will live happily)" is added above the last line of the speech (item 6b) in Verdi's hand.

12 The ms. is difficult to read at this point. Verdi appears to have cancelled the third line of item 7 and replaced it with "[Del] padre mio dei fratelli ignora ([Of] my father of my brothers disregarded)". The word "Del" is written above "Dis", the remainder of the new line is written above the cancelled line.
Le angoscie del tuo cuore [ . . . ]
E più che il tempo, un Dio possente . . . amore.

15 Amneris. Gli Dei t'han vendicata . . .

16 Aida
Avversi sempre
Mi sono i Numi . . .

17 Amneris
Ah! trema . . ! in cor ti lessi
Tu l'ami . . !

18 Aida
Io . . !

19 Amneris
Non mentire! . . .

The agonies of your heart [ . . . ]
And more than time, a powerful God . . . love.

15 Amneris The Gods have avenged you . . .

16 Aida
The Gods are
Against me always . . .

17 Amneris
Ah! tremble . . ! I read in your heart
You love him . . !

18 Aida
I . . !

19 Amneris
Do not lie! . . .
Un detto ancora e il vero
Saprò . . . fissami in volto--
Io ti ingannai . . . Radamès vive--

20 Aida Ei vive!--
Sien grazie ai Numi [!]

21 Amneris E mentir speri ancora? . . .
Si: tu l'ami . . . ma l'amo
Anch'io . . . intendi tu? . . . son tua rivale . . .

Another word and I shall know
The truth . . . look into my face . . .
I have deceived you . . . Radamès lives--

20 Aida He lives!--
Thanks be to the Gods [!]

21 Amneris And do you still hope to lie? . . .
Yes: you love him . . . but I love him
I also . . . do you understand? . . . I am your rival . . .

13 The clause "mentir speri ancora? (do you still hope to lie?)" is crossed out in the ms. and replaced with a rearranged version of the same words: "ancor mentir tu sperì?" The cancellation and addition are in Ghislanzoni's hand.
Son tua rivale . . .
Figlia dei Faraoni . . .

22 Aida Ebbene . . . io pure
Son tal . . . Che dissi mai? . . . pietà . . . perdono!

2a [Coro] \textsuperscript{14} [Atto II scena i]
Chi è costui che sfolgorante
Guida a Tebe i suoi guerrier?
Splende il Dio nel suo sembiante,

I am your rival . . .
Daughter of the Pharaohs . . .

22 Aida Well then . . . I even
Am such . . . What ever have I said? . . . pity . . . pardon!

2a [Chorus] \textsuperscript{14} [Act II scene i]
Who is that flashing fellow who
Guides his warriors to Thebes?
The God shines in his semblance,

\textsuperscript{14} The pair of double quatrains for the women's chorus and the two concluding distichs for Amneris are not given in the Ghislanzoni ms. Rather, they are found in an unpublished letter, Ghislanzoni to Verdi dated 31 August 1870. The letter is found in Microfilm 56, Archive of the American Institute for Verdi Studies.
Viva fiamma è il suo cimier.

O fanciulle, i fior versate
Sul cammin del vincitor!
E coll'inni di vittoria
Suona il canto dell'amor!

2b Amneris Vieni! al raggio di tua gloria
Può si accender in me l'amor—

2a Coro Dov'è mai . . . dov'è il feroce
Che sfidarcì un giorno ardì? . . .
Ei del forte udì la voce

His helmet is a lively flame.

O maidens, strew the flowers
In the path of the victor!
And with hymns of victory
Sound the song of love!

2b Amneris Come! by the ray of your glory
Love can be kindled in me—

2a Chorus Where ever is . . . where is the fierce one
Who dared to defy us one day? . . .
He heard the voice of the strong one
E qual nebbia (al sol sparì)--(ovvero: disparì).\textsuperscript{15}

O fanciulle, un inno alzate,
Perucotete l'arpe d'ôr,
E coi lauri i fior versate
Sul cammin del vincitor.

2b \textit{Amneris} Vieni--e in estasi beate
Tu mi inebria il guardo e il cor!

\textit{Coro}\textsuperscript{16} Sorgiam tutti! all'armi all'armi!

And like mist (vanished in the sun)--(or: vanished).\textsuperscript{15}

O maidens, raise a hymn,
Pluck the harps of gold, = strike
And with the laurels the flowers strew
In the path of the victor.

2b \textit{Amneris} Come--and in blessed ecstasies
Intoxicate my gaze and my heart!

\textit{Chorus}\textsuperscript{16} Let all rise up! to arms! to arms!

\textsuperscript{15} The alternate word is in Ghislanzoni's hand.

\textsuperscript{16} The seven-line chorus follows the alternate romanza for Radamès "Rosa di cielo, eterea (Rose of heaven, ethereal)", Act I, scene ii, Ghislanzoni ms., p. 4. The content shows, however, it to be the basis of the backstage chorus for the Aïda-Amneris duet cabaletta, Act II, scene ii.
Dell'Egitto il sacro lido

On the sacred shore of Egypt

Non eccheggi che un sol grido

May not any other cry echo but

Guerra e morte allo stranier!

War and death to the foreigner!

Di vittoria il Dio\(^\text{17}\) [Illegible crossed-out word]

The God of victory\(^\text{17}\) [Illegible crossed-out word]

Via d'Egitto gli stranieri

Away with the strangers in Egypt

ai i

to the

Morte ai barbari invasori!

Death to the barbarous invaders!

\(^\text{17}\) The phrase "Di vittoria il Dio (The God of victory)" is crossed out in the ms.

\(^\text{18}\) The revisions for Act II, tableau 2, contained in the Ghislanzoni ms. are few in number. The greatest part of the revisions for this tableau are found in Ghislanzoni's letters to Verdi dated 11 September [1870] and probably dated 12 September 1870, which are reproduced in Busch, pp. 63-66.
2b Donne\(^{19}\) Cogli inni di vittoria

Inni d'amore alziamo!

Del vincitor sul tramite

I serti e i fior versiamo.

Fumin d'incenso l'are,

Tutte, dal Nilo al mare

Inni festosi innalzano

D'Egitto le città—

\[\text{---}\]

2b Women\(^{19}\) We raise hymns of love

With hymns of victory!

We scatter garlands and flowers

On the path of the victor.

May the altars fume with incense,

All, the cities of Egypt

From the Nile to the sea

Raise festive hymns—

\(^{19}\) The chorus for Donne (Women), which is found on the final page of the Ghislanzoni ms., is on a piece of paper much smaller than the other pages of the ms. It is probable this page was part of one of Ghislanzoni's letters to Verdi.
Atto II  Scena III

Amonasro

13a Che il mio Re . . . la mia patria . . . ho difesso . . .

Fù la sorte a nostri armi nemica . . .

[Pur nessuno pur deve [Illegible crossed-out words]

Tornò vano la fede per forti l'ardir 20

Al mio piè, nella polve disteso

Act II  Scene III

Amonasro

13a That my King . . . my homeland . . . I defended . . .

Fate was hostile to our arms . . .

[Illegible crossed-out line]

However nobody however must [Illegible crossed-out words]

The faith and the courage of the strong were useless 20

At my feet, in the dust lay

20 The phrase "per forti l'ardir (of the strong the courage)" is crossed out in the ms. An added phrase "e l'ardir (and the courage)" is added in Ghislanzoni's hand.
Cadde, il Re da più colpi trafitto . . .
Se l'amor della patria è delitto
Siam rei tutti, siamo pronti a morir.
(Volgendosi al Re con accento supplichevole)

13b Ma tu, degli Egizzi signore possente . . .
A questi infelici ti mostra clemente . . .
Ti arrida la sorte--sei grande, sei forte,
Più nulla dai vinti ti resta a temer!

Fell, the King wounded many times . . .
If the love of the homeland is a crime
We are all guilty, we are ready to die.
(Turning to the King with an entreating accent)

13b But you, powerful leader of the Egyptians . . .
Show your clemency to these unfortunates . . .
May fate smile on you--you are great, you are strong,
No more are the vanquished to be feared by you!

21 The word "Cadde (Fell)" is crossed out in the ms. The word "Giacque (Dead)" is added above the cancelled word in Verdi's hand.

22 The stage direction "accennando ai soldati Etiopi (indicating the Ethiopian soldiers)" is added in the left-hand margin in Verdi's hand.

Gli Dei ci han percosso—signore possente,

Ai pianti, alle preci ti mostra clemente;

Ti arrida la sorte—sei grande, sei forte—

Più nulla dai vinti ti resta a temer.

[p. 101]

Ramfis—Sacerdoti

O Re, non ti muova la perfida gente!

Fatale alla patria può esser clemente . . .

Profferono i Numi decreto di morte,

Si ascolti, si compia dei Numi il voler!


The Gods struck us—powerful lord,

To our tears, to the prayers show your clemency;

May fate smile on you—you are great, you are strong—

No more are the vanquished to be feared by you.

[p. 101]

Ramfis—Priests

O King, do not be moved by the perfidious people!

To be merciful to them could be fatal to the homeland . . .

The Gods pronounce the decree of death,

Listen, complete the will of the Gods!
Ministri dei Numi, gli sdegni placate,
Di questi infelici la prece ascoltate;
E tu, Re possente, tu grande, tu forte,
A miti consigli dischiudi il pensier!

In lei della patria l'angoscia favella . . .
Oh come il dolore la rende più bella!
Vederti, adorarti, divider tua sorte,
È gaudio, è speranza che inebria il pensier.

Ministers of the Gods, allay your scorn,
Listen to the prayer of these unfortunates;
And you, powerful King, you great one, you strong one,
Open your thought to mild advice!

In her, agony for the homeland speaks . . .
Oh how the grief makes her more beautiful!
To see you, to adore you, to share your fate,
It is joy, it is hope that intoxicates my thought.
22 Amneris (fissando Radamès)
Qual tenero sguardo sovr'essa ha rivolto!
La fiamma d'amore balena quel volto . . .

[p. 102]
Di me questa schiava fia dunque piú forte? . . .
Di atroci vendette mi freme il pensier.

19 Il Re
Se lieti alla patria sorridon gli eventi,
Si ascolta la voce dei Numi clementi,
Gia troppo a costoro fu avversa la sorte,
Son vinti, son domi--che resta a temer?

22 Amneris (looking at Radamès)
What a tender glance he directs to her!
The flame of love flashes in that look . . .

[p. 102]
Be then this slave stronger than me? . . .
The thought of dreadful revenge rages in me.

19 The King
If the glad events smile on the homeland,
One listens to the voice of the merciful Gods,
Fate was already too adverse to them,
They are conquered, they are tamed--what remains to be feared?
23 Radamès (al Re)
O Re, pei sacri Numi
Per lo splendore della tua corona,
Compier giurasti il voto mio . . .

24 Il Re
Giurai.

25 Radamès Ebbene: a te pei prigionieri Etiopi
Vita domando e libertà.

26 Amneris (da sé) Per tutti!

27 Sacerdoti Morte ai nemici della patria!

23 Radamès (to the King)
O King, by the sacred Gods
By the splendor of your crown,
You swore to grant my wish . . .

24 The King
I swore.

25 Radamès Well then: I ask of you
Life and liberty for the Ethiopian prisoners.

26 Amneris (to herself) For all!

27 Priests Death for the enemies of the homeland.
28 Popolo
Per gli infelici!...
[p. 39]^{23}

31 Ramfis
Almeno,
Arra di pace e sicurezza, fra noi
Resti col padre Aida--
Gli altri sien scioltì.

32 Il Re
Al tuo consiglio io cedo.
Di sicurezza, di pace un meglio pegno

28 People
For the unhappy!...
[p. 39]^{23}

31 Ramfis
At least,
As a pledge of peace and security, let
Aïda with her father remain with us--
Let the others be free.

32 The King
To your advice I bow.
Now I want to give you a better pledge

---

^{23} Ghislanzoni ms., p. 103 appears to comprise the first draft of items 24-32. See appendix IV A for this text. Ghislanzoni ms., p. 39 comprises revisions for four items in Ghislanzoni's hand. This page was probably inserted by Verdi into the composite copy of Act II, tableau 2.
Or io vo'darvi—Radamès, la patria
Tutto a te deve—D'Amneris la mano
Premio ti sia. Sovra l'Egitto un giorno
Con essal regnare . . .

36 Amneris (da sé)
Venga or la schiava, 24
Venga a rapirmi l'amor mio s'il può. 26

Of security and peace—Radamès, the homeland
Owes all to you—Let the hand of Amneris
Be reward to you. Over Egypt one day
You will rule with her . . .

36 Amneris (to herself)
Let the slave now come, 24
Come, 25 if she is able, 26 to steal my love from me.

24 The handwriting is difficult to identify at this point of the ms. "Venga or la (Come now the)" may be in Verdi's hand.

25 "Venga a (Come to)" is an addition in Verdi's hand. The original text is difficult to read but may have read "Venir rapirmi (Come to steal from me)".

26 The clause "s'il può (if she is able)" is crossed out in the ms; "Se l'osa (if she dares)" is added above the cancellation in Verdi's hand.
34 Il Re

Gloria al protetto d'Iside,
Gloria al guerrier temuto!
Tal premio era dovuto
O grande, al tuo valor!
Si intrecci il mirto al lauro
Sul crin del vincitor.

34 The King

Glory to the favorite of Isis,
Glory to the fearsome warrior!
Such a prize was owed
O great one, to your valor!
Let the myrtle be entwined with the laurel
In the hair of the victor.

27 The directive "Coro infine (Chorus at the conclusion)" is added in Giuseppina Strepponi's hand.

28 The first four lines of the King's sestet are crossed out in the ms. A revision of lines 1 and 2, taken from Ghislanzoni's letter to Verdi dated by Busch as 12 September 1870, is copied above the cancelled lines in Verdi's hand.
Recitativo Aida [Atto III, Scene II]

1 Astri dei cieli azzurri
Copritevi d'un vel . . . M'avvolgi, o notte,
Nel lugubre tuo manto,
Cela a tutti il mio duol, cela il mio pianto.
Qui Radamès verrà . . . Quale speranza
Ormai rimane a me? L'ultimo addio
Spegnerà il nostro amore . . .
E tu, doman, nei vortici del Nilo

Recitativo Aida [Act III, Scene II]

1 Stars of the azure heavens
Cover yourselves with a veil . . . Envelop me, o night,
In your doleful mantle,
Hide from all, my sadness, hide my tears.
Here Radamès will come . . . What hope
By now remains for me? The final farewell
Will quench our love . . .
And you, tomorrow, in the whirlpools of the Nile

29 Ghislanzoni's ms., pp. 104-05 comprise the only revisions for Aida's recitative, Act III, scene ii.
Will perhaps have peace, o my poor heart!

Or Here Radamès will come . . . What can he want to say to me?

I tremble . . . Ah! if you come
To bid me, o cruel, the final farewell,
The deep whirlpools of the Nile
Will give me a tomb, and perhaps peace and oblivion.
ovvero Qui Radamès verrà . . . L'ultimo addio

Raccoglierò da lui . . . Del Nilo i gorghi
Poi tomba a me saranno . . .
E in quel gelido avello
Tregua i miei mali e i miei sospiri avranno.

ovvero Qui Radamès verrà . . . L'addio supremo

Forse a recarmi . . . e tutto fra brev'ora
Sarà finito . . . Là, nei cupi abissi
Del Nilo io giacerò . . . priva\(^\text{30}\) [della vita], avrà tregua

or Here Radamès will come . . . The last farewell

I shall receive from him . . . The whirlpools of the Nile
Will then be tomb for me . . .
And in that frozen tomb
My wrongs and my sighs will have a truce.

or Here Radamès will come . . . Perhaps to bring me

The final farewell . . . and everything will soon
Be finished . . . There, in the gloomy abysses
Of the Nile I shall lie dead . . . deprived\(^\text{30}\) [of life], the desperate love

\(^{30}\) The ms. is very difficult to read at this point. We add "della vita (of life)" to enhance the sense of the line.
Il disperato amore . . .
E in quel gelido avel [,] pace avrà il core--

[p. 108]
(Seconda parte del Duetto = Aïda, Amonasro.) [Atto III, Scena III]

19b Amonasro
Flutti di sangue scorrono
Sulle città dei vinti . . .
Vedi? . . . dai negri vortici
Si levano gli estinti . . .

Will have a truce . . .
And in that frozen tomb [,] the heart will have peace--

[p. 108]
(Second part of the Duet = Aïda, Amonasro.) [Act III, Scene III]

19b Amonasro
Rivers of blood flow
Over the cities of the defeated . . .
Do you see? . . . from the black whirlpools
Rise the dead . . .

Ti additan essi e gridano:
Per te la patria muor!

20  Aida  Pietà! . . .

21  [Amonasro]  Una larva pallida
Da lungi a noi s'affaccia
Trema! le scarni braccia
Sul capo tuo levò . . .
Tua madre ell'è ravvisala . . .
Ti maledice . . . !

22  Aida  Ah! . . . no! . . .
Padre!

They point to you and shout:
Through you the homeland dies!

20  Aida  Mercy! . . .

21  [Amonasro]  A pallid form
Comes toward us from afar
Tremble! the wasted arms
Are raised toward your head . . .
It is your mother recognize her . . .
She curses you . . . !

22  Aida  Ah! . . . no! . . .
Father! . . .
23 Amonasro Va, indegna, non sei mia prole!.
[p. 109]
Dei Faraoni tu sei la schiava!

24 Aída Padre! mi uccidono le tue parole...
Cessa! deh cessa! ... la morte ho in cor!
Sarò tua figlia ...

25 Amonasro Tu eletta fosti
Dai Numi ad arbitra del nostro fato...
Pensa che un popolo, vinto e straziato,
Per te alla vita risorger può ...

---

23 Amonasro Go, unworthy one, you are not my offspring!
[p. 109]
You are the slave of the Pharaohs!

24 Aída Father! your words kill me ...
Stop! ah stop! ... I have death in my heart!
I shall be your daughter ...

25 Amonasro You were chosen
By the Gods as arbiter of our fate ...
Think that a people conquered and ruined,
Can rise again to life only through you ...
26 Aida Oh patria! oh patria! . . .

Quanto mi costi!

27 Amonasro Coraggio! ei giunge . . .

28 Là tutto udro . . . (si nasconde dietro

i palmizi)

[p. 105]

Duetto Aida Amonasro 32 [Atto III, Scena III]

2 Aida Cielo! mio padre! . . .

-------------------------------------------------------------

26 Aida Oh homeland! oh homeland . . .

How much you cost me!

27 Amonasro Courage! he comes . . .

28 There I shall hear all . . . (he hides behind

the palms)

[p. 105]

Duet Aida Amonasro 32 [Act III, Scene III]

2 Aida Heaven! my father! . . .

32 Ghislanzoni ms., pp. 105-07 comprise the only revision of Act III, scene iii, items 1-3 and the second revision of items 22-24.
3 **Amonasro** A te grave cagion

M'adduce, Aida—Nulla sfugge al mio

Sguardo—ti lessi in cor—d'amor ti struggi

Per Radamès, ei t'ama . . . e qui lo attendi—

3 **ovvero** Nulla sfugge al mio

Sguardo . . . D'amor ti struggi ecc. . . ecc. . . .

________________________

[p. 106]

(Dopo il cantabile)

22 **Aida** Padre!

________________________

3 **Amonasro** A serious matter

Brings me to you, Aida—Nothing escapes my

Glance—I read in your heart—you are consumed with love

For Radamès, he loves you . . . and you wait for him here—

3 **or** Nothing escapes my

Glance . . . You are consumed with love etc. . . etc. . . .

________________________

[p. 106]

(After the cantabile)

22 **Aida** Father!
23 **Amonasro** Ti scosta! ... Non sei mia prole
Dei Faraoni tu sei la schiava ...

24 **Aida** Ah, no! ... mi ascolta! io pur la esecro
Questa vil razza da te abborrita ...
Per la mia patria darò la vita ...
D'esserti figlia non scorderò ...

25 **Amonasro** Pensa che un popolo vinto, straziato,
Per te soltanto risorger può.

26 **Aida** O patria! o patria ... quanto mi costi!

27 **Amonasro** Coraggio ... ei giunge ... là tutto udrò ...

---

23 **Amonasro** Go away! ... You are not my daughter
You are the slave of the Pharaohs ...

24 **Aida** Ah, no! ... listen to me! I also detest it
This vile race abhorred by you ...
I shall give my life for my homeland ...
I shall not forget that I am your daughter ...

25 **Amonasro** Think that a conquered people, ruined,
Can rise again only through you.

26 **Aida** O homeland! o homeland ... how much you cost me!

27 **Amonasro** Courage ... he comes ... there I shall hear all ...
24 **Ovvero**

Aida Padre! mi uccidono le tue parole . . .
Schiava a costoro non fui giama
di . . .
D'esserti figlia non scorderò . . .
Col sacrificio 'colpa [espierò].

[p. 107]

**Ovvero**

24 Padre . . . a costoro schiava io non sono . . .
Non maledirmi . . . non imprecarmi . . .
Tua figlia ancor potrai chiamarmi . . .

24 **Or**

Aida Father! your words kill me . . .
I have never been their slave . . .
I will not forget that I am your daughter . . .
With the sacrifice [I will pay] for my guilt.

[p. 107]

**Or**

Father . . . I am not their slave . . .
Do not curse me . . . do not revile me . . .
You can still call me your daughter . . .

33 The ms. is very difficult to read at this point.
Della mia patria degna sarò.

25  Amonasro (come sopra)

[p. 109]

Scena III [Atto III, Scena IV] 34

Radamès—Aida

1  Radamès  Mia dolce Aida . . . ti riveggo alfine . . .

2  Aida  Arrestati! . . . Altri nodi

I shall be worthy of my homeland.

25  Amonasro (as above)

[p. 109]

Scene III [Act III, Scene IV] 34

Radamès—Aida

1  Radamès  My sweet Aida . . . At last I see you again . . .

2  Aida  Stop! . . . Other ties

Ti attendono.

3c Radamès  Te sola amo... mia sposa
Amneris non fia mai...
Lo giuro ai Numi!

4 Aida  Non giurar!... Ti amai
[p. 110]
Prode, benchè nemico,
Non ti amerei spergiuro...

5 Radamès  Dell'amor mio dubiti, Aida?

6 Aida  E come

Await you...

3c Radamès  I love only you... Never shall
Amneris be my wife...
I swear it by the Gods!

4 Aida  Do not swear it!... I loved you
[p. 110]
Brave man, although enemy,
I would not love you in perjury...

5 Radamès  Do you doubt my love, Aida?

6 Aida  And how
Speri sottrarti d'Amneris ai vezzi . . .
Del Re al voler, del tuo popolo ai voti,
Dei Sacerdoti all'ira?

7 Radamès
Odîmi, Aida.

Nel fiero anelito di nuova guerra
Il suolo Etopie sì ridestò . . .
I tuoi già invadono la nostra terra,
Io degli Egizii duce sarò.
Fra il suon, fra i plausi della vittoria,
Al Re fidente svelerò il cor . . .
Sarai tu il serto di mia vittoria . . .

Do you hope to elude the charms of Amneris . . .
The will of the King, the desires of your people,
The wrath of the Priests?

7 Radamès
Hear me, Aida.

In the savage panting of the new war
The Ethiopian homeland has reawakened . . .
Your people are already invading our land,
I shall be leader of the Egyptians.
In the din, in the cheers of the victory,
Confiding in the King I shall open my heart . . .
You will be the garland of my victory . . .
Vivrem beati d'eterno amor!

8 Aida D'Amneris l'odio a noi fatal sarei ... [Se] uccidi padre mio [me] vedrai morir. ... 35

9 Radamès Io vi difendo ... 

10 Aida No ... solo una via

[p. 111]

Di scampo resta a noi ... 

11 Radamès Quale?

We shall live in the bliss of eternal love!

8 Aida The hatred of Amneris would be fatal to us ... [If] you kill my father you will see [me] die ... 35

9 Radamès I will defend you both ... 

10 Aida No ... only one way

[p. 111]

Of escape remains for us ... 

11 Radamès Which?

35 This line is difficult to read in the ms. We add "Se" and "me" to give the line better sense and the appropriate number of syllables.
Aida

Fuggir.

Fuggiam gli ardori inospiti
Di queste lande ignude--
Una novella patria
Al nostro amor si schiude . . .
 Là . . . tra foreste vergini,
Di fiori profumate,
In estasi ignorati
La terra scorderem.

Radamès

Sovra una terra estrania
Teco fuggir dovrei!
Abbandonar la patria,

12 Aida

To flee.

14 Aida

Let us flee the unfriendly heat
Of these barren plains--
A new homeland
Opens itself to our love . . .
There . . . among the virgin forests,
Perfumed with flowers,
In ecstasies unheeded
We shall forget the earth.

15 Radamès

Into a foreign land
I shall flee with you!
Abandon the homeland,
L'are de' nostri Dei!
Restiam' nel dolce vincolo
Che sposa mia ti chiama,
Aida, se tu mi ami,
Qui un paradiso avrem.

18 Aida Esiti e tremi? Va! ti attende all'ara
[p. 117]
Amneris.

19 Radamès No! giama! io te sol amo . . .

20 Aida Allor piombi la scure

The altar of our Gods!
Let us remain' in the sweet' bond
Which calls you my wife.
Aida, if you love me,
Here we shall have a paradise.

18 Aida. You hesitate and tremble? Go! Amneris awaits you
[p. 117]
At the altar.

19 Radamès No! never! I love you only . . .

20 Aida Then let the ax fall
Su me . . . sul padre mio . . .

21 Radamès  No! No! fuggiamo!

Sì: fuggiam da queste mura ecc. ecc.

Dopo il Duetto

25 Aida  Ma dimmi: per qual via

Eviterem le schiere

Degli armati? . . .

26 Radamès  Il sentier scelto dai nostri

A piombar sul nemico fia deserto

Fino a domani.

On me . . . on my father . . .

21 Radamès  No! No! let us flee!

Yes: let us flee from these walls etc. etc.

After the Duet

25 Aida  But tell me: by what way

Can we avoid the hosts

Of soldiers? . . .

26 Radamès  The road chosen by ours

To fall on the enemy will be deserted

Until tomorrow.
Aida E qual sentier?

Radamès Le gole
Di Nàpata . . .

[p. 118]
[Scena V]36 Amonasro e detti

Amonasro Le gole di Nàpata!
A voi sien grazie, o Numi!

Radamès Oh! chi ci ascolta?
D'Aida il padre . . .

---

And which road?

Radamès The gorges
Of Nàpata . . .

[p. 118]
[Scene V]36 Amonasro and the former

Amonasro The gorges of Nàpata!
Thanks be to you, o Gods!

Radamès Oh! who listens to us?
Aida's father . . .

36 Ghislanzoni omits the scene heading in the ms.
Amonasro

Degli Etiopi il Re.

Radames

Tu Amonasro . . . tu il Re! . . . Numi! che dissi?

W

Amonasro

Si fugga!

Radames

Ah no! sogno . . . delirio è questo . . . !

Aida

Vieni . . . ti calma . . . ascoltami . . .

* Amonasro

Mi segui . . .

Radames (ad Aida)

Sciagurata!

Per te tradii la patria . . .

____________________

Amonasro

The King of the Ethiopians.

Radames

You Amonasro . . . you the King . . . Gods! what did I say?

W

Amonasro

Let us flee!

Radames

Ah no! a dream . . . nightmare is this . . . !

Aida

Come . . . calm yourself . . . listen to me . . .

* Amonasro

Follow me . . .

Radames (to Aida)

Wretched!

For you I betrayed the homeland . . .
11a  Amonasro  Era voler del fato . . .

11b  Aida  Vieni alla nuova patria
    Che amor ci schiuderà!
    _______________
    ecc.
    _______________

[p. 122]
--Scena ultima--
Amneris dal tempio--Ramfis--Guardie--
Sacerdoti e detti

11a  Amonasro  It was the will of fate . . .

11b  Aida  Come to the new homeland
    That love will open to us!
    _______________
    etc.
    _______________

[p. 122]
--Last scene--
Amneris from the temple--Ramfis--Guards--
Priests and the former

37 Ghislanzoni ms., p. 122 comprises the first revision of Act III, last scene.
1  Amneris (sulla soglia del tempio)
    Traditor!

2  Aida  Amneris! . . .

3  Amonasro (avventandosi ad Amneris col pugnale)
    Muori!

4  Radamès (arrestando Amonasro)
    Ferma, insano! . . .

5  Amonasro  Oh mio furor!

6  Ramfis  Guardie, olà! . . .

1  Amneris (from the threshold of the temple)
    Traitor!

2  Aida  Amneris! . . .

3  Amonasro (hurling himself at Amneris with his dagger)
    Die!

4  Radamès (stopping Amonasro)
    Stop, madman! . . .

5  Amonasro  Oh my fury!

6  Ramfis  Guards, look out! . . .
7 Radames (ad Aida e Amonasro)
   Presto! fuggite!

8a Amonasro Vieni, o figlia . . .

9 Ramfis (alle guardie) Li inseguite!

10 Radames Io qui restò, o sacerdote . . .
   Su me scenda il tuo furor.

8b (Amonasro e Aida fuggono sovra una barca ecc.)

7 Radames (to Aida and Amonasro)
   Quick! flee!

8a Amonasro Come, o daughter . . .

9 Ramfis (to the guards) Follow them!

10 Radames I remain here, o priest . . .
   Let your fury descend on me.

8b (Amonasro and Aida flee on a boat etc.)
Duetto—Aida Radamès [Atto III, Scena III]

[p. 112]

1 Radamès Pur ti riveggo, mia dolce Aida . . .

2 Aida Ti arresta . . . vanne . . . che speri ancor?

3a Radamès A te dappresso l'amor mi guida . . .

3b Aida Te i riti attendono d'un altro amor.
    D'Amneris sposo . . .

3c Radamès Che parli mai? . . .

Duet—Aida Radamès [Act III, Scene III]

[p. 112]

1 Radamès I really see you again, my sweet Aida . . .

2 Aida Stop . . . go away . . . what do you hope for still?

3a Radamès Love leads me near to you . . .

3b Aida The rites of another love await you.
    Betrothed of Amneris . . .

3c Radamès What ever are you saying? . . .

38 Ghislanzoni ms., pp. 112-16 comprise the second revisions of fragments of Act III, scenes iv and v.
Te sola Aida, te deggio amar . . .
Gli Dei mi ascoltino . . . tu mia sarai . . .

4 Aida D'uno spergiuro non ti macchiar . . . !
Prode t'amai non ti amerei spergiuro . . .

5 Radamès Dell'amor mio dubiti, Aída? . . .

6 Aída E come . . . ? ecc. ecc.

ovvero

1 Radamès Pur ti riveggo, mia dolce Aïda . . .

2 Aída Ti arresta . . . vanne . . . che sperì ancor?

Only you, Aïda, can I love . . .
May the Gods hear me . . . you will be mine . . .

4 Aída Do not stain yourself with a false oath . . . !
I loved you as a brave man; I would not love you in perjury . . .

5 Radamès Do you doubt my love, Aïda? . . .

6 Aída And how . . . ? etc. etc.

ovvero

1 Radamès I really see you again, my sweet Aïda . . .

2 Aída Stop . . . go away . . . what do you hope for still?
3a Radamès A te dappresso l'amor mi guida . . .

3b Aída Te i riti attendono d'un altro amor.
D'Amneris sposo . . .

3c Radamès Che parli mai? . . .
Amo te sola . . . tu mia sarai . . .
Ne attesto i Numi . . .

4 Aída No! non giurar!'
T'amai nemico e prode
Non t'amerei spergiuro . . .
5 Radames  Dell'amor mio dubiti, Aida? ecc. ecc.

ovvero

1 Radames  Pur ti riveggo mia dolce Aida . . .

2 Aida  Ti arresta . . . vanne . . . che sperì ancor?

3a Radames  A te dappresso l'amor mi guida . . .

3b Aida  Te i riti attendono d'un altro amor.

3c Radames  Della mia vita l'astro tu sei . . .
  Lo giuro ai Numi! . . .

5 Radames  Do you doubt my love, Aida? etc. etc.

or.

1 Radames  I really see you again my sweet Aida . . .

2 Aida  Stop . . . go away . . . what can you hope for still?

3a Radames  My love guides me near to you . . .

3b Aida  The rites of another love await you.

3c Radames  You are the star of my life . . .
  I swear it to the Gods! . . .
Aida

No! non giurar!

T'amai nemico, ma non potrei

Uno spergiuro del suol amar . . . 39

Radames

Dell'amor mio dubiti, Aida?

Aida

E come

Speri sottrarti d'Amneris ai vezzi?

Del Re al voler, del tuo popolo ai voti,

Dei Sacerdoti all'ira?

[p. 114]

Aida

No! do not swear it!

I loved you as an enemy, but I could not love

A traitor of his homeland . . . 39

Radames

Do you doubt my love, Aida?

Aida

And how.

Do you hope to elude the charms of Amneris . . .

The will of the King, the desires of your people,

The wrath of the Priests?

39 The ms. is difficult to read at this point.
Radames
Odòmi, Aida.

Nel fiero anelito di nuova guerra
   Il suolo Etiopie si redestò . . .
   I tuoi già invadano la nostra terra,
   Io degli Egizii duce sarò.
Fra il suon, fra i plausi della vittoria,
   Al Re fidente svelerò il cor;
   Sarai tu il serto della mia gloria,
   Vivrem beati d'eterno amor!

Aida
Ne d'Amneris paventi
Il vindice furor? La sua vendetta,

Radames
Hear me, Aida.

In the savage panting of the new war
   The Ethiopian homeland has reawakened . . .
   Your people are already invading our land,
   I shall be leader of the Egyptians.
In the din, in the cheers of the victory,
   Confiding in the King I shall open my heart . . .
   You will be the garland of my victory . . .
   We shall live in the bliss of eternal love!

Aida
Do you not fear the vindictive
   Fury of Amneris? Her vengeance,
Like a terrible thunderbolt,
Will fall on me, on my father, on everybody.

Radames I will defend you both . . .

In vain! You could not . . .
And yet . . . if you love me . . . still open to us
Is a way to safety . . .

Which?

To flee.
Ovvero

8 Aída Ne d'Amneris paventi
Il vindice furor? la sua vendetta
Tremenda come folgore cadrebbe
Su te . . . su me . . . sul padre mio . . . su tutti.

9 Radamès Io vi difendo . . .

10 Aída Invan! tu nol potresti . . .
Pur . . . se tu m'ami . . . ancor s'apre una via
Di scampo a noi . . .

Or

8 Aída Do you not fear the vindictive
Fury of Amneris? her terrible
Vengeance would fall like a thunderbolt
On you . . . on me . . . on my father . . . on everybody.

9 Radamès I will defend you both . . .

10 Aída In vain! you could not . . .
And yet . . . if you love me . . . a way of escape
Will still open to us . . .
11 Radamès Quale?

12 Aída Fuggir . . .

13 Radamès Fuggire!

14 Aída Fuggiam gli ardori inospiti
[p. 116]

25 Aída Ma . . . un persiero mi assal . . . Qual via terremo
Onde evitar le schiere
Degli armati . . . ?

26 Radamès Il cammin scelto dai nostri
A piombar sul nemico . . . fia deserto

11 Radamès Which?

12 Aída To flee . . .

13 Radamès Flee!

14 Aída Let us flee the unfriendly heat
[p. 116]

25 Aída But . . . a thought comes to me . . . What way will we take
In order to avoid the hosts
Of soldiers . . . ?

26 Radamès The road chosen by our army
To fall on the enemy . . . may be deserted
Fino a domani . . .

27 Aida E quel cammin si chiama? . . .

28 Radamès Le gole di Nāpata . . .

Scena V

Amonasro e detti

1 Amonasro Di Nāpata
Le gole! Grazie o Numi! . . .

2 Radamès Chi ci udia? . . .
D'Aida il padre . . .

Until tomorrow . . .

27 Aida And that road is called? . . .

28 Radamès The gorges of Nāpata . . .

Scene V

Amonasro and the former

1 Amonasro Of Nāpata
The gorges! Thanks be o Gods! . . .

2 Radamès Who heard us? . . .
The father of Aida . . .
Amonasro. Degli Etiopi il Re . . .

Radames. Tu! Amonasro . . . Tu il Re! Numi! che dissi!

[p. 119]

Dopo il Duetto Aida—Radames [Atto III, Scena IV] 40

Aida. Ma dimmi: come eviterem le schiere
Degli armati?

Radames. La via scelta dai nostri
A piombar sul nemico, fia deserta

3 Amonasro. The King of the Ethiopians . . .

4 Radames. You! Amonasro . . . You the King! Gods! what did I say!

[p. 119]

After the Duet Aida—Radames [Act III, Scene IV] 40

25 Aida. But tell me: how can we avoid the hosts
Of soldiers?

26 Radames. The way chosen by our soldiers
To fall on the enemy, may be deserted

40 Ghislanzoni ms., pp. 119-21 comprise the third revision of the conclusion of Act III, scene iv, items 25-28; scene vi; and the fourth revision of scene v.
Fino a domani . . .

27 Aida E quella via si chiama?

28 Radamès Le gole di Nàpata . . .

Amonasro e detti [Scena V]

1 Amonasro Grazie, o Numi!
Di Nàpata alle gole i miei saranno . . .

2 Radamès Qual voce! chi ci ascolta!
D'Aida il padre . . .

3 Amonasro Degli Etiopi il Re . . .

Amonasro and the former [Scene V]

1 Amonasro Thanks be, o Gods!
At the gorges of Nàpata my people will be . . .

2 Radamès That voice! who listens to us!
Aida's father . . .

3 Amonasro The King of the Ethiopians
4 Radames Tu Amonasro! tu ... il Re! che dissi?
8 No! non è ver ... sogno ... delirio è questo!
9 Aida Vieni ... ti calma ... ascoltami ...

10 Radames Che feci! Ahi! Sciagurato!

[p. 120]
Per te tradii la patria ...!

11a Amonasro Era voler del fato ...

** Radames (ad Aida) Per te esecrato e infame
Il nome mio sarà!

________________________

4 Radames You Amonasro! you ... the King! what did I say!
8 No! it is not true ... a dream ... a nightmare is this!
9 Aida Come ... calm yourself ... listen to me ...

10 Radames What did I do! Ahi! Wretched!

[p. 120]
For you I betrayed the homeland ...!

11a Amonasro It was the will of fate ...

** Radames (to Aida) Desecrated and defamed by you
My name will be!

41 The word "mio (my)" is added above the line in Giuseppina Strepponi's hand.
Amonasro Vieni; oltre il Nil ne attendono
I prodi a noi devoti,
Là del tuo core i voti
Amor coronerà.

Amneris dal tempio--Ramfis--Sacerdoti
Guardie e detti. [Scena ultima]

1 Amneris Traditor!

2 Aida La mia rivale!

3 Amonasro Vieni a strugger l'opra mia!

Amonasro Come; beyond the Nile the braves
Devoted to us are waiting,
There love will crown
The desires of your heart.

Amneris from the temple--Ramfis--Priests
Guards and the former. [Final scene]

1 Amneris Traitor!

2 Aida My rival!

3 Amonasro You come to destroy my work!
Muori!

4 Radamès Arresta!

5 Amonasro O mio furore!

6 Ramfis Guardie, olà!

7 Radamès (ad Aída e Amonasro) Presto! fuggite! . . .

8 Amonasro Vieni, o figlia . . .

9 Ramfis Li inseguite . . . !

10 Radamès Sacerdote, io resto a te.

__________________________

Die!

4 Radamès Stop!

5 Amonásro O my fury!

6 Ramfis Guards, look out!

7 Radamès (to Aída and Amonasro) Quick! flee! . . .

8 Amonasro Come, o daughter . . .

9 Ramfis Follow them . . . !

10 Radamès Priest, I remain with you.

__________________________
In the duet [Act III, Scene V]

9 Aida Come . . . calm yourself . . . listen to me . . .

10 Radamès (to Aida) Infamous and desecrated (1)
For you I betrayed the homeland--

11 Amonasro It was the will of fate . . .
Come beyond the Nile the braves
Devoted to us are waiting,

Ghislanzoni should have referred to this section of Act III, scene v as a trio.

Ghislanzoni's footnote refers to an alternate line, which is given at the conclusion of the fragment.
Là del tuo core i voti
Coronerà l'amor.

(1) Io son disonorato . . . !

[p. 127]
Amneris—Radames [Atto IV Scena II]

1a Amneris Già i sacerdoti adunansi
Segnata la tua sorte
Sarà fra poco . . .

There love will crown
The desires of your heart.

(1) I am dishonored . . . !

[p. 127]
Amneris—Radames [Act IV Scene II]

1a Amneris Already the priests are meeting
Your fate will be
Decided soon . . .

Ghislanzoni ms., pp. 127-30 comprise the first revision of Act IV, scene ii.
2a Radamès  Attendermi
Altro poss'io che morte?

1b Amneris  Lieve a te sia scolpari . . .

X Radamès  Non voglio . . .

1c Amneris  E s'io salvarti
Potessi . . . ?

Y Radamès  È vano, è vano!

1c Amneris  Nulla a me niega il Re . . .

2b Radamès  Lascia che il fato compiasi . . .

2a Radamès  What can I await
Other than death?

1b Amneris  May self-defence be easy for you . . .

X Radamès  I do not want . . .

1c Amneris  And if I were able
To save you . . . ?

Y Radamès  It is useless, it is useless!

1c Amneris  The King denies me nothing . . .

2b Radamès  Allow that fate to take its course . . .
Sol di morire io bramo.

3 Amneris Morire! ah! tu dei vivere ... 
Io te lo impegno ... io t'amo ...!

[p. 128]
Per te soffersi tanto ... 
Vissi per te nel pianto ... 
E Numi, e trono, e patria 
Tutto io darei per te!

4 Radamès Per essa anch'io la patria 
E l'onor mio tradiva ... 

I long only to die.

3 Amneris To die! Ah! you must live ... 
I order you to live ... I love you ...!

[p. 128]
I suffered so much for you ... 
For you I lived in tears ... 
And Gods, and throne, and homeland 
All would I give for you!

4 Radamès For her I also betrayed the homeland 
And my honor ... 

45 From "impegnare," to bind by promise or contract.
5 Amneris (con ira) Sempre a lei pensi! . . .

6 Radamès Attendemi
L'infamia . . . e vuoi ch'io viva?
Aida amai . . . tu origine
Sei d'ogni mio dolore . . .
Mentre per te ella muore
Viver dovrei per te!

7 Amneris No! vive . . . Aida . . .

8 Radamès E crederlo
Dovrò! Ella vive! . . .

5 Amneris (with rage) You always think of her! . . .

6 Radamès Dishonor
Awaits me . . . and you want that I live?
I loved Aida . . . you are the cause
Of all my grief . . .
While she dies through you
I shall be obliged to live for you!

7 Amneris No! she lives . . . Aida . . .

8 Radamès And I must
Believe it! She lives! . . .
9a  **Amneris**  Il padre

Sol fu raggiunto . . . Intrepido

Fra le pugnanti squadre

[p. 129]

Cadde trafitto . . .

9b  **Radames**  Ed ella? . . .

9c  **Amneris**  Sparve, nè più novella

S'ebbe di lei . . .

10  **Radames**  (da sé, con passione)  Rendetela,

Numi, alle patrie mura . . .

9a  **Amneris**  The father

Only was overtaken . . . Courageously

Among the fighting squads

[p. 129]

He fell wounded . . .

9b  **Radames**  And she? . . .

9c  **Amneris**  She vanished, nor was there

More news of her . . .

10  **Radames**  (to himself, with passion)  Surrender her,

Gods, to her native walls . . .
And may she never know the misfortune
Of him who will die for her!

Now . . . if I save you . . . swear to me
That you will not see her again . . .

I cannot!

Renounce her
Forever . . . And you will live!

I cannot!

Once again: . . .
A lei rinunzia . . .

16 Radamès È vano . . .

17a Amneris Morir vuoi dunque, insano?

Z Radamès Altro io non chieggo . . .

17b Amneris Va . . .

[p. 130]

Dalla sorte che t'aspetta
Ti abbandono o sciagurato,
In furore hai cangiato
Un amor che ugual non ha.

Renounce her . . .

16 Radamès It was useless . . .

17a Amneris You want to die then, madman?

Z Radamès I do not ask other . . .

17b Amneris Go . . .

[p. 130]

To the fate that awaits you
I abandon you o wretch,
Into fury you have changed
A love that has no equal.
De'miei pianti la vendetta
Or dal ciel si compirà.

18 Radamès È la morte un ben supremo
Se per lei morir m'è dato;
Nel subir l'estremo fato
Gaudì immensi il cor avrà.
L'ira umana io più non temo,
Temo sol la tua pietà.

The revenge for my tears
Will be taken now by heaven.

18 Radamès Death is a supreme boon
If for her death is given to me;
My heart will have immense joy
In submitting to the extreme fate.
I fear human rage no more,
I fear only your pity.
[p. 131]

Duetto Atto Quarto

Amneris—Radamès

1 Amneris Già i sacerdòti adunansi
   Arbitri del tuo fato;
   Dal capo tuo rimuovere
   L'accusa mia ti è dato;
   Ti scolpa! e la tua grazia
   Io pregherò dal trono;
   Ti scolpa, e col perdono

[p. 131]

Fourth Act Duet

Amneris—Radamès

1 Amneris Already the priests are meeting
   The arbiters of your fate;
   You are allowed to remove
   My accusation from your head;
   Defend yourself! and I shall plead for
   Your pardon from the throne;
   Defend yourself, and with the pardon

46 Ghislanzoni ms., pp. 131-34 comprises the second revision of Act IV, scene ii.
La vita a te darò!

2a Radamès Di mie discolpe i giudici

Mai non udran l'accento;

Dinanzi ai Numi, agli uomini

Nè vil, nè reo mi sento.

Profferse il labbro incauto

Fatal segreto, è vero,

Ma puro il mio pensiero

E l'onor mio restò.

[p. 132]

X Amneris Ten prego ancor, discolpati . . .

I shall give life to you!

2a Radamès The judges will never hear

A word of my self-defense;

Before the Gods, toward humanity

I feel neither vile nor guilty.

My rash lips revealed

A fatal secret, it is true,

But my thought

And my honor remained pure.

[p. 132]

X Amneris I beg you again, defend yourself . . .
Amneris To die! ... Ah! you must live! ... 
Yes, you will live for my love;
The horrible anguish of your death
Di morte io già provai . . .
T'amai . . . soffersi tanto . . .
Vegliai le notti in pianto . . .
E patria, e trono, e vita
Tutto darei, tutto darei per te.

4 Radamès Per essa anch'io la patria
E l'onor mio tradia . . .

5 Amneris Di lei non più . . .
[p. 133]

6 Radamès L'infamia
M'attende e vuoi ch'io viva? . . .

I have already experienced . . .
I loved you, I suffered so much . . .
I lay awake nights in tears . . .
And homeland, and throne, and life
All would I give for you.

4 Radamès For her I also betrayed my homeland
And my honor . . .

5 Amneris No more of her . . .
[p. 133]

6 Radamès Dishonor
Awaits me and you want me to live? . . .
Misero appien mi festi,
Aída a me togliesti,
Spenta l'hai forse . . . e in dono
Offri la vita a me?

7 Amneris   No! vive Aída . . .

8 Radamès   E crederlo
Degg'io? Ella vive! . . .

9a Amneris   Il padre
I nostri sol raggiunsero . . .
Tra le pugnanti squadre
Ei sol periva . . .

You make me look completely wretched,
You took Aida from me,
Perhaps you have killed her . . . and as a gift
You offer life to me?

7 Amneris   No! Aída lives . . .

8 Radamès   And can I
Believe it? She lives! . . .

9a Amneris   Only the father
Was overtaken by our people . . .
Between the fighting squads
Only he perished . . .
9b Radamès Ed ella?

9c Amneris Sparve, nè piu novella
S'ebbe di lei . . .

10 Radamès (da sé, con passione) Rendetela,
Numi, alle patrie mura . . .
E ignori la sventura
Dì chi per lei morrà.
[p. 134]

11 Amneris Or . . . s'io ti salvo . . . giurami
Che più non la vedrai . . .

9b Radamès And she?

9c Amneris Vanished, nor was there
More news of her . . .

10 Radamès (to himself, with passion) Surrender her,
Gods, to her native walls . . .
And may she never know the misfortune
Of him who will die for her.
[p. 134]

11 Amneris Now . . . if I save you . . . swear to me
That you will not see her again . . .
Radamès Nol posso! . . .

Amneris A lei rinunzia
Per sempre . . . E tu vivrai! . . .

Radamès Nol posso! . . .

Amneris Anco una volta
Ten prego . . .

Radamès È vano! è vano!

Amneris Và . . . muori dunque, o insano!
Nessun ti salverà.

Radamès I cannot! . . .

Amneris Renounce her
Forever . . . And you will live! . . .

Radamès I cannot! . . .

Amneris Once more
I beg you . . .

Radamès It is useless! it is useless!

Amneris Go . . . die then, o madman!
No one will save you.
Scena = Giudizio\textsuperscript{47} [Atto IV Scena III]

Amneris

Ohimè! morir mi sento . . . oh! chi lo salva?

Io l'amò . . . io l'amò sempre!—Ora, a te impreco

Atroce gelosia che la sua morte

E il lutto eterno del mio cor segnasti!

Che veggo? ecco i fatali . . .

Gli inesorati ministri di morte . . .

Oh! ch'io non vegga quelle bianche larve!

(sì copre il volto colle mani)

---

Amneris

Alas! I feel myself dying . . . Oh! who will save him?

I love him . . . I love him always!--Now, I curse you

Atrocious jealousy that determined

His death and the eternal grief of my heart!

What do I see? here are the fatal ones . . .

The inexorable ministers of death . . .

Oh! that I may not see those white spectres!

(she covers her face with her hands)

\textsuperscript{47} Ghislanzoni ms., pp. 139-41 comprises the only revision of Act IV, scene iii.
6 Coro interno

Spirito del Numi, sovra noi discendi!

Ne avviva al raggio dell'eterna luce;

Pel labbro nostro tua giustizia apprendi.

7 Amneris

Numi, pietà del mio straziato core!

5 Ed io stessa a costor lo consegnai . . . !

Di rimorso morrò . . . morrò d'amore.

Scena IV

2 Radamès che attraversa la scena tra
le guardie—Amneris al vederlo, mette
un grido.

6 Chorus inside

Spirit of the God, descend unto us!

Revive us with the ray of eternal light;

Express thy justice through our lips!

7 Amneris

Gods, pity on my tormented heart!

5 And I myself consigned him to them . . .

I shall die of remorse . . . I shall die of love.

Scene IV

2 Radamès who crosses the stage between
the guards—Amneris upon seeing him, emits
a shriek.
8 Ramfis (in the subterranean chamber)
Radamès! . . . Radamès: you revealed
The secrets of the homeland to the foreigner . . .

9a Chorus Defend yourself!

9b Ramfis He is silent!

10 Chorus Traitor!

11 Ramfis Radamès! . . . Radamès: you deserted
From the field the day that preceded the battle . . .

48 The original line "Ti discolpa (Defend yourself)" reads as "Ti discolpati (Yourself defend yourself)" in the ms. Ghislanzoni was probably experimenting with the sylabication of this line. See Verdi's letter to Ghislanzoni dated 4 November 1870 for a discussion of this passage.
12a **Coro**  Ti discolpa! . . .

12b **Ramfis**  Egli tace!

13 **Coro**  Traditor!


** **Coro**  Ti discolpa!

*** **Ramfis**  Egli tace!

**** **Coro**  Traditor!

---

12a **Chorus**  Defend yourself! . . .

12b **Ramfis**  He is silent!

13 **Chorus**  Traditor!

* **Ramfis**  Radamès! . . . Radamès: you violated your oath, False to the homeland, to the King, to your honour.

** **Chorus**  Defend yourself!

*** **Ramfis**  He is silent!

**** **Chorus**  Traditor!
14 Tutti
Radamès: è deciso il tuo fato;
Degli infami la morte tu avrai;
[p. 141]
Sotto l'ara del Nume sdegnato
A te vivo fia schiuso l'avel!

17 Amneris Nè di sangue son paghi giammai . . .
E si chiaman ministri del ciel!

W (volgendosi ai sacerdoti che escono dal
sotterraneo)

X Priest! you committed a crime

14 All
Radamès: your fate is decided;
You will have the death of the infamous;
[p. 141]
Below the altar of the outraged God
To you alive be opened the tomb!

17 Amneris Nor with blood are they ever sated . . .
And they call themselves ministers of heaven!

W (turning herself to the priests who exit from the
subterranean chamber)

X Priest! you committed a crime
Guai per te se quest'uomo perisce!
Chi lo amò . . . che ad amarlo sol visse
Perdonarti giammai non potrà!

16 Ramfis e Coro
È traditor! morrà!

Y Amneris Sacerdote! tu all'odio nascesti . . .
A te ignota ogni legge d'amore . . .
Questo sol ti rammenta: s'ei muore
Sul tuo capo il suo sangue cadrà!

16 R[amfis] Coro
È traditor! morrà.
(escono)

Woe to you if this man perish!
She who loved him . . . she who lived only to save him
Will never be able to pardon you!

16 Ramfis and Chorus
He is a traitor! he will die!

Y Amneris Priest! you were born to hatred . . .
Since every law of love be unknown to you . . .
Let only this be remembered by you: if he dies
On your head his blood will rest!

16 R[amfis] Chorus
He is a traitor! he will die.
(they exit)
Z  Amneris  Sacerdoti! . . . Nè spersa giammai  
L'empia razza dal mondo sarà! 

[p. 142]  
Scena ultima  

Radamès  La fatal pietra sovra me si chìuse . . . 
Ecco la tomba mia. Del dì la luce  
Più non vedrò--morto son io per tutti . . .  
--Aïda, ove sei tu? Possa tu almeno  

Z  Amneris  Priests! . . . Never will your wicked race  
Be scattered [lost] by the world! 

[p. 142]  
Final scene  

Radamès  The fatal stone has closed over me . . .  
Here is my tomb. Never again shall I see  
The light of day--I am dead to all! . . .  
--Aïda, where are you? May you at least  

49 Ghislanzoni ms., pp. 142-145 comprise the only revision of Act IV, final scene.  

50 The clause "morti son io per tutti (I am dead to all)" is crossed out in the ms; "non rivedrò più Aïda (I shall nevermore see Aïda)" is added above the cancellation in Verdi's hand.
Viver felice e la mia sorte orrenda
Sempre ignorar . . . ! Qual gemito! . . . Una larva
Una vision . . . No! forma umana è questa . . .
Ciel! . . . Aida!

4  Aida  Son io . . .

5  Radamès  Tu! qual sciagura!51

6  Aida  Presago il core della tua condanna,
     Qui da tre dì ti attendo

Live happily and never know my
Horrible fate . . . ! That moan! . . . A ghost
A vision . . . No! this is a human form . . .
Heaven! . . . Aida!

4  Aida  It is I . . .

5  Radamès  You! what a calamity!51

6  Aida  My heart foretelling your sentence,
     I awaited you here for three days

51 The phrase "qual sciagura! (what a calamity!)" is crossed out in the ms; "in questa tomba (in this tomb)" is added above the cancelled line in Verdi's or Giuseppina Streponi's hand.
E qui lontana da ogni umano sguardo
E a te [Illegible word] sul tuo cor morire,
Perdonata ed amata io morir teco.  

[p. 143]

7a Radamès Morir! sì pura e bella!
   Morir per me d'amore!
   Degli anni tuoi nel fiore,

And here far from every human glance
And by you [Illegible word] on your heart to die,
Pardoned and loved to die with you.  

[p. 143]

7a Radamès To die! so pure and beautiful!
   To die for love of me!
   At the dawn of your life,

52 The phrase "Nella tue braccia in (In your arms in)" is added above the illegible word in Giuseppina Strepponi's hand.

53 The complete fifth line is crossed-out in the ms; the sentence (one line) "Nelle tue braccia desiai morire (In your arms I desire to die)" is added below the cancelled line in Giuseppina Strepponi's hand.
Al sorriso, all'amore fosti creata . . .

Ed io t'uccido
Per aver ti amata!
No, non morrai!
Troppo t'amai!
Troppo sei bella!

Veda quest'altra

7b Morir! Sì bella e candida!

For smiling, for loving you were created . . .

And I kill you
For having loved you!
No, you will not die!
I loved you too much!
You are too beautiful!

Look at this other

7b To die! So beautiful and innocent!

54 Two lines are added to the right of the cancelled line in Giuseppina Strepponi's hand: "Fugir la vita (To flee from life)" and "T'aveva il cielo per l'amore creata (You were created by heaven for love)".
Degli anni al primo albole
Dovrai per questo estinguerti

Povero fiore!
Al sorriso, all'amore fosti creata . . .
Ed io t'uccido per aver ti amata.

Giovane e bella tanto
No, tu non puoi morir: 55

[p. 144]

8 Aida Vedi di morte l'angelo
Radiante a noi s'appressa . . .
Ne adduce a eterni gaudii

____________________

In the prime of your life!
For this you must wilt away

Poor flower!
For smiling, for loving you were created . . .
And I kill you for having loved you.

So young and so beautiful
No, you cannot die: 55

[p. 144]

8 Aida Do you see the angel of death
Radiant to us approaches . . .
He leads us to eternal joys

55 The alternate version is crossed out in the ms.
Sovra i suoi vanni d'òr.
Su noi già il ciel dischiudesi . . .
Ivi ogni affanno cessa . . .
Ivi comincia l'estasi
D'un immortale amor.

10 (canti interni)

Y Aïda Non odi tu? \(^{56}\)

11 Radamès Il tripudio
Dei Sacerdoti . . .

On his wings of gold.
Already heaven opens to us . . .
There all pain ceases
There begins the ecstasy
Of an immortal love.

10 (internal chants)

Y Aïda Do you not hear? \(^{56}\)

11 Radamès The exaltation
Of the priests . . .

\(^{56}\) The line is crossed out in the ms; the phrase "Triste canto! (Sad chant!)" is added above the cancellation in Giuseppina Strepponi's hand.
12  Aida Il nostro inno di morte . . .

13  Radamès (cerando di smuovere la pietra del sotterraneo)
Nè le mie forti braccia
Smuoverti potranno, o fatal pietra!

14a  Aida È vano . . . io manco . . .  

14b  [Radamès]
O Aida mia son teco . . .  

12  Aida Our hymn of death . . .

13  Radamès (trying to move the stone of the vault)
Nor can my strong arms
Move you, o fatal stone!

14a  Aida It is useless . . . I faint . . .  

14b  [Radamès]
Oh my Aida I am with you . . .  

57 The line is crossed out in the ms; the phrase "Invan . . . tutto è finito (In vain . . . all is over)" is added above the cancellation, and the continuation of the addition "Sulla terra per noi (On earth for us)" is added beside item 14b. Both additions are in Giuseppina Strepponi's hand.

58 The line is crossed out in the ms; the repeated exclamation "È vero, è vero (It is true, it is true)" is added above the cancellation in the ms. in Verdi's hand.
Addio terrà d'esiglio e di dolor,^59

Addio larva di ben che [Illegible word] fuggi . . .

Già s'apre il cielo . . . già sul nostro amor
terra

Splende la luce dell'eterno dì.

0 te addio addio addio valle di pianti

Sogno di gaudio che di dolor svanì

A noi si schiude il ciel l'alme erranti

Volano al raggio dell'eterno dì.

---

Farewell land of exile and of grief,^59

Farewell spectre of happiness that [Illegible word] fades away . . .

Already heaven opens . . . already upon our love
terra

Shines the light of the eternal day.

0 ea farewell farewell farewell vale of tears

Dream of joy that vanished in grief
terra

The heavens open to us, our wandering souls

Fly to the glow of the eternal day.

^59 Ghislanzoni ms., p. 145 appears to be a series of the poet's working sketches. This page is very difficult to read.
O terra addio, addio

Addio speranza

All'alme erranti già

L'alba già spunta

Già spunta l'alba
dell eterno di.

Addie-per-sempre

Addio di per pete pianti

0 terra addio, addio valle di pianti,

Sogno mendace che in dolo svanì

O earth farewell, farewell

Farewell hope

To the wandering souls already

Dawn already breaks

Already breaks the dawn

Farewell-forever

Farewell

0 earth farewell, farewell

Deceitful dream
Gìa-Gìa-sì-schi
T'accolga il cielo

Z
Ombra adorata Ombra pleeata adorata

Pace-tì-imploro.

Ombra-adorata Pace ti imploro
Eterne-il-pianto Martire santo
Perdene Del ciel Eterno il pianto
Per me sarà A-me placata Sarà per me.

6 [Aida] E qui lontana da ogni umano sguardo
Nelle tue braccia desiai morire.

Already-Already-epe
May heaven welcome you

Z
Adored shade Shade pleeated adored,
I-imploro-peace-for-you

Adored-shade I implore peace for you
The-eternal-tear Holy martyr
Perdenn Of heaven Eternal the tears
Will be for me. Te-me placate Will be for me.

6 [Aida] And here far from every human look
In your arms I desired to die.

60 Ghislanzoni ms., p. 149 comprises further revisions for Act IV, final scene, items 6, 7a, Y (the cabaletta of the Aida-Radamès duet) and Z (two versions of the strophe for Amneris, which is interspersed into the lines of the cabaletta).
7a [Radamès]. T'aveva il cielo per l'amor creata,
Ed io t'uccido per averla amata.

Y

[A Due]

O terra addio, addio valle di pianti,
   di gaudio
Sogno mendace che in dolor s'vanì
A noi si schiude il cielo
Già-si-schiudono-i-cielî e l'alme erranti
Volano al raggio dell'eterno dì.

Già si schiudono i cieli e l'alme erranti

7a [Radamès]. You were created by heaven for love,
And I kill you by having loved you.

Y

[Together]

0 earth farewell, farewell vale of tears,
[Dream] of joy
Deceitful dream that vanished in grief,
Heaven is opening to us
Already-the-heavens-open and our wandering spirits
Fly to the glow of the eternal day.

Already the heavens open and our wandering spirits
Posan nel raggio dell'eterno di—

Z [Amneris]
Pace t'imploro
   Spirito adorato,
   D'averti amato
   Perdona a me.

Pace t'imploro
   Martire santo,
   Eterno il pianto
   Sarà per me.

Bask in the glow of the eternal day--

Z [Amneris]
Peace I beseech you
   Adored spirit,
   For having loved you
   Forgive me.

Peace I beseech you
   Blessed martyr,
   Eternal will be
   Tears for me.
APPENDIX V

VERDI'S SELECTIONS OF GHISLANZONI'S VERSIFIED DRAFTS
FOR ACT II, TABLEAU 1; ACT III, SCENES III-VI

[p. 64]

[Atto II, scena i]2

4 [Amneris] Silenzio! Aida verso noi s'avanza [. . . ]
Figlia dei vinti il suo dolore m'è sacro [.]

[Illegible crossed-out words]

[p. 64]

[Act II, scene i]2

4 [Amneris] Silence! Aida is coming toward us [. . . ]
Daughter of the vanquished her grief is sacred to me [.]

[Illegible crossed-out words]

1 The Verdi libretto ms., pp. 64-70 contains one incomplete and one complete version of Act II, scenes i and ii, and a complete version of Act III, scene iv, items 25-28, scene v and scene vi. These texts, which are composite versions of Ghislanzoni's versified drafts, are written in Verdi's hand. See pp. 292-93 of the present study for an explanation of Verdi's composite texts.

2 The first and incomplete composite text for Act II, scenes i and ii in Verdi's hand is similar to Ghislanzoni's fourth draft. Verdi's version may have been prepared as a guide for the poet. See Appendix IV B for Ghislanzoni's fourth draft.
6a Nel rivederla l'atrocio dubbio in cuore
mi rivello
Al rivederla il dubbio
atroce in cor rinasce . . .
Squarei-alfine-il-mistere-fatal
Il mistero fatal si squarci [ . . . ]

[Scena ii]

6b Fù la sorte dell'armi a tuo funesto
Povera Aida! Il lutto
Che ti pesa sul cor teco divido . . .

6a In seeing her again the atrocious doubt returns
to my heart
In seeing her again the atrocious
doubt is reborn in my heart . . .
Let be rent at last the fatal mystery
Let the fatal mystery be rent [ . . . ]

[Scene ii]

6b The fate of the battle was dire for your people
Poor Aida! The grief
That weighs on your heart I share with you . . .
Io son l'amica tua
Tutte-da-me [Illegible crossed-out phrase] vivrai felice
Tutto da me sperar tu puoi [.]

7 [Aida] Felice esser poss'io
Lungi dal suol natio
Dal padre mio, da miei [?]

8 [Amneris] Ben t'compiango . . . Pure hanno un confine
I mali di quaggiù . . . Sanerà il tempo
Le angoscie del tuo core [ . . . ]
E più che i tempi [,] Un Dio possente . . . amore [.]

I am your friend
All-frem-me [Illegible crossed-out phrase] You will live happily
You can hope for all from me [.]

7 [Aida] Can I be happy
Far from my native land
From my father, from mine [?]

8 [Amneris] I pity you greatly . . . Even they have an end
The ills of the world . . . Time will heal
The anguish of your heart [ . . . ]
And more than time [,] A powerful God . . . love [.]
14 [Aida] Per sempre io piangerò!

15 [Amneris] Gli Dei ti vendicano ??

16 [Aida] Avversi sempre

A me son gli Dei [!]  

17 [Amneris] Ah trema [!] In cor ti lessi

[p. 65]

Tu l'ami [ . . . ]

18 [Aida] Io?

19 [Amneris] Non mentire

14 [Aida] I shall weep forever!

15 [Amneris] The Gods have avenged you ??

16 [Aida] Against always  

Me are the Gods [!]  

17 [Amneris] Ah tremble [!] I have read in your heart

[p. 65]

You love him [ . . . ]

18 [Aida] I?

19 [Amneris] Do not lie
Una-parela
Un detto ancor, ed io il vero
disperate----Ebbene------Guardami
Saprè----Fissami-in-volte
Saprò [ ... ] Fissami in volto
Io t'ingannava . . . Radamès vive [ ... ]

20 [Aida] Ei vive [!]  

21 [Amneris] E ancora negar potesti?
Sì [:] tu l'ami . . . ma l'amo
Anch'io . . . comprendi tu? Lei-mia rivale
Io dei Faraoni figlia

One-word
Another word, and I the truth
desperate------Well-then------Look-at-me
I shall know------Look-into-my-face
I shall know [ . . . ] Look into my face
I have deceived you . . . Radamès lives [ . . . ]

20 [Aida] He lives [!]

21 [Amneris] And still you could lie?
Yes [:] you love him . . . but I love him
Also I . . . do you comprehend? You-my rival
I daughter of the Pharaohs
A me. Dei Faraoni figlia

E sia [!]

anch'io la-figlia sono [Illegible word] figlia

[p. 66]

[Atto II, scena i]

To me. Of the Pharaohs daughter

And so be it [!]

I also the-daughter am [Illegible word] daughter

[p. 66]

[Act II, scene i]

3 The lines above and below the words "la figlia (the daughter)" identify a weakness in the dramatic action. Aida's rank and relationship to Amonasro is not revealed to the Egyptians until Act III, scene v. The illegible word, which follows on the same line in the ms., was probably "Omettere (Omit)". See Appendix V, p. 951 for another directive about this omission.

4 The second and complete composite text for Act II, scenes i and ii in Verdi's hand is based on the first and incomplete composite text (Appendix V, pp. 938-43) and portions of Ghislanzoni's third draft. The sources of the latter are indicated at appropriate points in the present text.
Am. Silenzio! Aida verso noi s'avanza
Figlia dei vinti il suo dolore è sacro . . .

Diletto [Illegible words] suo cenno le ancelle
in-eere
Nel rivederla il dubbio areee-in-eere
mi si desta
atroce in cor rinasce . . .

Breve silenzio

Am. Il mistero fatal si squarci alfine . . .

Scena II

Aida Amneris

Am. Silence! Aida is-coming toward us
Daughter of the vanquished her grief is sacred . . .

Af[ter] [Illegible words] her sign the slaves
go off
In seeing her again the atrocious doubt in-my-heart
arouses itself in me
atrocious in my heart is reborn . . .

Brief silence

Am. The fatal mystery be rent at last . . .

Scene II

Aida Amneris

Items 4 through 8 are based on the analogous items in the first and incomplete draft in Verdi's hand. See Appendix V, pp. 938-40.
6b Am. Fù la sorte dell'armi a' tuo funesta
Fù la sorte dell'armi a' tuo funesta
povera Aida! Il lutto
che ti pesa sul cor teco Ìe divido [.]
Io son l'
Ìe-sea l'amica tua [ . . . ] [Illegible crossed-out words]
È-a-me-Mee [Illegible crossed-out words] sia
Tutto da me sperar tu-puei-vivrai-felice . . .
Meco sarai felice . . .

7 Aida Felice esser poss'io
Lungi dal suol natio [,]
È-la-sorte-ignorar-daì [Illegible crossed-out word] dei
Dal-padre-mie-da-miei . . . dai cari miei dai lontani

6b Am. The fate of the battle was dire for your people
The fate of the battle was dire for your people
poor Aida! The grief
That weighs on your heart I share with you [.]
I am You will live with me
Ì-am your friend [ . . . ] [Illegible crossed-out words]
And to me [Illegible crossed-out words] is
All from me you can hope . . . you will live happily . . .
With me you will be happy . . .

7 Aida Can I be happy
Can I be happy
Far from my native land [,]
And-ignore-the-fate-of [Illegible word] of the
Of-my-father-of-mine . . . from my distant beloved ones
Am. Ben ti compiango. Pure hanno un confine
I mali di guaggiù . . . Sanerà il tempo
Le [Illegible crossed-out word]
   angoscie del tuo core [. . . ]
E più che il tempo [,] un Dio possente [. . . ] amore.

[p. 67]

Aida Ah lottare invano io tento
Col fatal possente Iddio [. . . ]
Fremo d'onta e amor degg'io
Di mia patria l'opressor!

[p. 67]

Am. I pity you greatly. Even they have an end
The ills of the world . . . Time will heal
The [Illegible crossed-out word]
   anguish of your heart [. . . ]
And more than time [,] a powerful God [. . . ] love.

Aida Ah in vain I attempt to struggle
With the fatal powerful God [. . . ]
I shiver with shame and I must love
the oppressor of my native land!

---

6 Items 9 through 14 (first line) are taken from Ghislanzoni's third
draft. See Appendix IV B, pp. 841-44.
10 Am.  O quel dolor . . . quel turbamento [ . . . ]
L'ansia svela dell'amante [ . . . ]
Nel pallor del suo sembiante
Leggo i fremiti del cor . . .

11 s'appressa ad Aida e la parla
con dolcezza simulata
ammorevolezza
Ebben: qual nuovo fremito
Ti assal, gentile Aida?
I tuoi segreti svelami
All'amor mio t'affida.
Tra i forti che pugnarono

10 Am.  That sadness . . . that turmoil [ . . . ]
Unveils the anxieties of the lover [ . . . ]
In the pallor of her semblance
I read the shivers of her heart . . .

11 drawing near to Aida and speaking to her
with very sweet feigned
affection
Well then: what new shiver
Assails you, gentle Aida?
Reveal your secrets to me
Trust in my love.
Among the warriors who fought
Della tua patria al danno [. . .]
Qualcuno . . . un dolce affanno
Forse . . . a te in cor destò?

12a Aida Che parli? . . .

12b Am. A tutti barbari
Non si mostrò la sorte . . .
Se in campo il duce intrepido
Cadde trafitto a morte!
[p. 68]

12c Aida Che mai dicesti! Ah misera!

To the loss of your homeland [. . .]
Someone . . . a gentle longing
Perhaps . . . awoke in your heart?

12a Aida What do you say?

12b Am. To all fate
Was not cruel . . .
If in the field the intrepid leader
Fell mortally wounded!
[p. 68]

12c Aida What ever did you say! Ah misery!
13 Am. Sí: Radamès dai tuoi
Fù spento . . . E pianger puoi?

14 Aida Per sempre io piangerò! . . .
T'hán-vendicata-i-Numi Gli Dei t'han vendicata

t'hán-vendicata

15 Am. Gli-Dei-ti-vendicane

16 Aida Avversi sempre
Mi sono i Numi Sen-dessi . . .

13 Am. Yes: Radamès by your people
Was killed . . . And can you weep?

14 Aída I shall weep forever! . . .
The-Gods-have-avenged-you The Gods have avenged you

have-avenged-you

15 Am. The-Gods-avenged-you

16 Aida Always against
Me are the Gods Are-they . . .

7 The second and third crossed-out lines of item 14 are for Amneris.

8 Items 15 through 22 are based on the analogous items in the first and incomplete draft in Verdi's hand. See Appendix V, pp. 941-43.
17 **Am. prorompendo**  Ah trema! In cor ti lessi
   Tu l'ami!

18 **Aida**  Io?

19 **Am.**  Non mentire . . .
   Un detto ancora, ed io il vero
   Saprò . . . Fissami in volto . . .
   Io t'ingannai a . . . Radamès vive [ . . . ]

20 **Aida con estrema gioia**  Ei vive!
   Sien grazie, Numi!

21 **Amn.**  E ancor negar potressi?

17 **Am. bursting out**  Ah tremble! I read in your heart
   You love him!

18 **Aida**  I?

19 **Am.**  Do not lie . . .
   Another word, and I shall know
   The truth . . . Look into my face . . .
   I have deceived you to . . . Radamès lives [ . . . ]

20 **Aida with extreme joy**  He lives!
   Thanks be, Gods!

21 **Amn.**  And still you could lie?
Si: tu l'ami ... ma io l'amo

Anch'io ... comprendi tu? ... Son tua rivale

Dei

Io-dei-Faraoni-figlia Ebbene ... sia

22 Aida con fietezza Ebbene sia

Son tal ... +

Anch'io-la-figlia-sene

[Illegible crossed-out word]

Che dissi mai ... ? pietà ... perdono [ ... ]

[p. 69]

Pietà ti prenda del mio dolore [ ... ]

Yes: you love him ... but I love him

I also ... do you understand? ... I am your rival

Of the I also

I-daughter-of-the-Pharaoh Well then ... I-am

22 Aida with fierceness Well then I am

Am such ... +

I-also-am-the-daughter

[Illegible crossed-out word]

What ever have I said ... ? pity ... pardon [ ... ]

[p. 69]

Take pity on my sadness [ ... ]

9 The last three lines of item 22 and items 23a, 23b and 24 are taken from Ghislanzoni's third draft. See Appendix IV B, pp. 846-48.
È vero [. . .] io l'amo d'immenso amore [. . .]
Farmi più misera non può il destin [. . .]

23a Am. Trema o vile schiava [. . .] spezza il tuo core
Segnar tua morte può quest'amore [. . .]
Trema io son l'arbitra del suo destin [. . .]

Squillo di trombe

23b Alla pompa che si appresta
Meco [,] o schiava [,] assisterai [;]
Tu prostrata nella polve
Io sul trono accanto al Re [;]
Vien mi segui! e apprenderai

It is true [. . .] I love him with an immense love [. . .]
Destiny cannot make me more miserable [. . .]

23a Am. Tremble o vile slave [. . .] break your heart
This love can mean your death [. . .]
Tremble I am the arbiter of your destiny [. . .]

Blast of trumpets

23b To the triumph that is being prepared
With me [,] o slave [,] you will attend [;]
You prostrate in the dust
I on the throne beside the King [;]
Come follow me! and you will learn
Se lottar tu puoi con me [.]

24 Aida Quale speranza a me più resta?
Un deserto è la mia vita . . .
Vivi e regna, il tuo furore
Io fra breve plancherò.
Questo amore che t'irrita
Nella tomba porterò _______

[p. 70]
[Atto III, scena iv]¹⁰

If you can compete with me [.]

24 Aida What further hope remains to me?
My life is a desert . . .
Live and reign, your fury
I shall soon placate.
This love that annoys you
I shall carry to the tomb _______

[p. 70]
[Act III, scene iv]¹⁰

¹⁰ The text of Act III, scenes iv (items 25-28), v and vi in Verdi's hand is a composite version of several of Ghislanzoni's revised drafts.
25 Aida . . . Ma dimmi: per qual via
Eviterem ie schiere
Degli armati?

26 Rad[amës] Il sentier scelto dai nostri
A piombar su nemico fia deserto
Fino a domani [ . . . ]

27 Aida E quel sentier [?]

28 Rad[amës] Le gole

25 Aida . . . But tell me: by what road
Shall we avoid the hosts
Of soldiers?

26 Rad[amës] The road chosen by ours
To fall on the enemy may be deserted
Until tomorrow [ . . . ]

27 Aida And that road [?]

28 Rad[amës] The gorges

Verdi's sources are indicated at appropriate points in the present text.

11 Act III, scene iv, items 25-28 and scene v, items 1-3 are taken from Ghislanzoni's first revision. See Appendix IV B, pp. 883-85.
di Nāpata [...] 

[Scena v]

1 Am[onasro] Le gole di Nāpata [?]

A voi sien grazie i Numi!

2 Rad[amēs] Oh chi ci ascolta [!] 

3 [Amonasro] D'Aida il padre e degli Etiopi il Re [!]12

4 [Radamēs] Tu Amonasro! tu il Re ... Numi! che dissi13

of Nāpata [...] 

[Scene v]

1 Am[onasro] The gorges of Nāpata [?]

Thanks be to you Gods!

2 Rad[amēs] Oh who hears us [!] 

3 [Amonasro] Aida's father and the King of the Ethiopians [!]12

4 [Radamēs] You Amonasro! you the King ... Gods! what have I said13

12 The phrase "D'Aida il padre" is assigned to Radamēs in Ghislanzoni's first revision.

13 Scene v, items 4, 8 and 9 are taken from Ghislanzoni's third revision. See Appendix IV B, pp. 900-01.
8 No! ... non è ver--sogno [,] delirio è questo [ ... ]

9 Aida ... ti calma ... ascoltami [,] ¹⁴

10 [Radamès] Io son disonorato [!] ¹⁵

Per te tradii la patria [!]

11a [Amonasro] Era voler del fato [! ... ]

11c Vieni: oltre il Nil ne attendono

I prodi a noi devoti [,]

La del tuo core i voti

8 No! ... it is not true--a dream [,] this is a nightmare [ ... ]

9 Aida ... calm yourself ... listen to me [,] ¹⁴.

10 [Radamès] I am dishonoured [!] ¹⁵.

For you I betrayed the homeland [!]

11a [Amonasro] It was the will of fate [! ... ]

11c Come: beyond the Nile await us

The braves devoted to us [,]

There the desires of your heart

¹⁴ Ghislanzoni's first word for item 9 is "Vieni (Come)." This is restored in Ghislanzoni's third draft.

¹⁵ Scene v, items 10, 11a and 11c are taken from Ghislanzoni's fourth revision. See Appendix IV B, pp. 904-05.
Coronerà l'amor.

[Scena vi]

1 [Amneris] Traditor [!]

2 [Aida] La mia rivale [ . . . ]

3 [Amonasro] L'opra mia a strugger vieni [!]

4 Muori [ ! . . . ] [Radames] Arresta [!]

5 [Amonasro] Oh mio furor [!]

Love will crown.

[Scene vi]

1 [Amneris] Traitor [!]

2 [Aida] My rival [ . . . ]

3 [Amonasro] You come to destroy my work [!]

4 Die [ ! . . . ] [Radames] Stop [!]

5 [Amonasro] Oh my fury [!]

---

16 Scene vi is taken from Ghislanzoni's final draft. See Appendix IV B, pp. 902-03.

17 Ghislanzoni's line reads "Vieni a strugger l'opra mia!"
6  [Ramfis]  Guardie [,] o lâ [!]

7  [Radamès]  Presto [!] fuggite [ ! . . . ]

8  [Amonasro]  Vieni o figlia [!]

9  [Ramfis]  Gli inseguite [!]

10 [Radamès]  Sacerdote . . . io resto a te --------------

6  [Ramfis]  Guards [,] look out [!]

7  [Radamès]  Quick [!] flee [ ! . . . ]

8  [Amonasro]  Come o daughter [!]

9  [Ramfis]  Follow them [!]

10 [Radamès]  Priest--I remain with you --------------
APPENDIX VI

VERDI'S SELECTIONS AND ALTERATIONS OF GHISLANZONI'S REVISED DRAFTS OF ACT IV

[p. 71]

Atto Quarto

[p. 72]

Atto Quarto

Scena I

1 Sala nel Palazzo del Re. Alla sinistra [,] una

[p. 71]

Act Four

[p. 72]

Act Four

Scene I

1 Room in the Palace of the King. At the left [,] a

The Verdi libretto ms., pp. 71-81 contains a complete versified version of Act IV. This text is a composite version of items found in the various drafts in the Ghislanzoni ms., and some revised items. The latter were probably written by the poet at Sant'Agata under Verdi's supervision. The
gran porta che mette alla sala sotterranea
delle sentenze. Andito a destra che mette alla prigione
di Radamès.²

Amneris sele
(Mestamente atteggiata davanti la porta del sotterraneo.³)

2 Raggiunte il padre—r—r—ed-essa
L'abborrita rivale a me sfuggia!

The present text is written in Verdi's and Giuseppina Strepponi's hands. The sources of the items are indicated at appropriate points.

² The set description is in Giuseppina Strepponi's hand. Ghislanzoni's drafts for the first tableau of the fourth act do not contain set descriptions. The present text is new.

³ The stage direction is in Giuseppina Strepponi's hand.

⁴ Amneris's monologue, item 2, is taken from Ghislanzoni's first draft. See Appendix IV A, pp. 793-94.
Dai Sacerdoti Radamè attende
Dei traditori la pena—Traditore
Egli non è ... Pur rivelò di guerra
L'alto segreto ... egli fuggir volea
Con lei fuggire ... Traditori tutti!
A morte! a morte! Oh che mai parlo! Io l'amo,
Io l'amo sempre ... Disperato, insano
È quest'amor che la mia vita strugge. 5
Oh s'ei potesse amarmi!—
Vorrei salvarlo [ ... ] e come?

Radamès awaits from the Priests
The punishment of traitors--Traitore
He is not ... Yet he revealed
The high secret of war ... he wanted to flee
To flee with her ... Traitors all!
To death! to death! Oh what do I say! I love him,
I love him always ... Desperate, insane
Is this love that destroys my life. 5
Oh if he could love me!—
I would like to save him [ ... ] and how?

5 The last four lines of the present text are a revised version of Ghislanzoni's first draft.
Si tenti... Guardie: Radamès qui venga.

[p. 73]:

[Scena II]

[viene] condotto dalle guardie

Radamès—Amneris

1 Am. Già i Sacerdoti adunansi

Arbitri del tuo fato.

Pur dell'accusa orribile

Let me try, Guards: Let Radamès come here.

[p. 73]

[Scene II]

[is] brought in by the guards

Radamès—Amneris

1 Am. Already the Priests are meeting

The arbiters of your fate.

Yet to you is still given

6 The stage direction and names of the characters are in Giuseppina Strepponi's hand.

7 Scene ii, items 1 through 6 are taken from Ghislanzoni's third draft. See Appendix IV B, pp. 913-16.
Scolparti ancor t'è dato [;
Ti scolpa, e la tua grazia
Io pregherò dal trono,
E nunzia di perdone
Di vita a te sarò.

2a  Rad. Di mie discolpe i giudici
Mai non udran l'accento;
Diananzi ai Numi e gli uomini
Nè vil, nè reo mi sento—
Profferse il labbro incauto
Fatal segreto, è vero;

Self-defense against the horrible accusation [;
Defend yourself, and I shall plead for
Your pardon from the throne,
And I shall be ambassadress
Of pardon and of life to you.

2a  Rad. The judges will never hear
A word of my self-defense.
Before the Gods and humanity
I feel neither vile nor base—
My rash lips revealed
A fatal secret, it is true;
Ma puro il mio pensiero
E l'onor mio restò.

Salvati dunque

X Am. *ten-prege-amee* discolpati.

Y Ra. No.

Z Am. Tu morrai---

2b Ra. La vita 
Abborro; d'ogni gaudio

But my thought
And my honor remained pure.

Save yourself then

X Am. *I-beg-yoe-* again defend yourself.

Y Ra. No.

Z Am. You will die---

2b Ra. I loathe
Life; since every source of joy

---

The superscription "Salvate dunque (Save yourself then)" is new.

Items 2b and 3 are paraphrased versions of the second half of item 2 and item 3 found in Ghislanzoni's first draft. See Appendix IV A, pp. 795-97.
La fonte inaridita
Svanita ogni speranza
Sol bramo di morir!

Amn. Morire! Ah! tu dei vivere [! . . .]
Sì [:] All'amor mio vivrai [;]
Per te le angoscie orribili
Di morte io già provai [;]
T'amai . . . soffersi tanto [ . . .]

[p. 74]
Vegliai le notti in pianto [ . . .]
E patria, e trono, e vita

Has dried up
Since every hope has vanished
I long only to die!

Amn. To die! Ah! you must live [! . . .]
Yes [:] you will live for my love [;]
For you I have already experienced
The horrible anguish of death [;]
I loved you . . . I suffered so much [ . . .]

[p. 74]
I lay awake nights in tears [ . . .]
And homeland, and throne, and life
Tutto darei per te.

4 Rad. Per essa anch'io la patria
E l'onor mio tradia [...]

5 Am. Di lei non più!

6 Rad. L'infamia
Mi attende e vuoi ch'io viva?
Misero appien mi festi [,]
Aida a me togliesti [,]
Spenta l'hai forse, e in dono
Offri la vita a me?

All would I give for you.

4 Rad. For her I also betrayed my homeland
And my honor [...]

5 Am. No more of her!

6 Rad. Dishonor
Awaits me and you want me to live?
You make me look completely wretched [,]
You took Aida from me [,]
Perhaps you have killed her, and as a gift
You offer life to me?
7 Am. Io ... di sua morte origine?¹⁰  
No! ... vive Aida! ...  

8 Rad. Vive! ... ¹¹  

9a Am. Nei disperati aneliti  
Dell'orde fuggitive  
Sol cadde il padre ...  

9b Rad. Ed ella?  

9c Am. Sparve, nè più novella  

The first line of item 7 is a new line. The second line is taken from Ghislanzoni's third draft. See Appendix IV B, p. 917.  

¹¹ Items 8 through 12 are taken from Ghislanzoni's first draft. See Appendix IV A, pp. 798-99.
S'ebbe . . .!

10 _Rad._ Gli Dei l'adducano
Salva alle patrie mura [,]
E ignori la sventura
Di chi per lei morrà.
[p. 75]

11 _Am._ Or . . . s'io ti salvo . . . giurami
Che più non la vedrai . . .

12 _Rad._ Nol posso!

13 _Am._ A lei rinunzia

More news of her . . .!

10 _Rad._ May the Gods lead her
Safely to her native walls [,]
And may she never know the misfortune
Of him who will die for her.
[p. 75]

11 _Am._ Now . . . if I save you . . . swear to me
That you will not see her again . . .

12 _Rad._ I cannot!

13 _Am._ Renounce her

Items 13 through the first line of item 17b are taken from Ghislanzoni's second draft. See Appendix IV B, pp. 910-11.
Per sempre . . . e tu vivrai!

14 Rad. Noi posso!

15 Am. Anco una volta [:]

A lei rinunzia [. . .]

16 Rad. È vano [. . .]

17a Amn. Morir vuoi dunque insano?

Z Rad. Aiuto-è-non-chiégge

17b Amneris Vàt

_________________________

Forever . . . and you will live!

14 Rad. I cannot!

15 Am. Once more [:]

Renounce her [. . .]

16 Rad. It is useless [. . .]

17a Amn. You want to die then insane one?

Z Rad. i-de-net-ask-ether

17b Amneris Ge"
Pronto a morir son già.¹³

Am. Chi ti salva o sciagurato [,]
Dalla sorte che t'aspetta ?
In furore hai tu cangiato
Un amor che egual non ha .
De'miei pianti la vendetta
Or dal ciel si compirà .

18 Rad. È la morte un ben supremo
Se per lei morir m'è dato ;
Nel subir l'estremo fato

I am already prepared to die!¹³

Am. Who will save you o wretch [,]
From the fate that awaits you ?
Into fury you have changed
A love that has no equal .
The revenge for my tears
Will be taken now by heaven .

18 Rad. Death is a supreme boon
If for her [,] death is given to me ;
My heart will have immense joy

¹³ The strophes of items 17b and 18 are taken from Ghislanzoni's second draft. See Appendix IV B, pp. 911-12.
Gaudii immensi il cor avrà [.]  
L'ira umana più non temo [,]  
Temò sol la tuoi pietà---  
circondato dalle  
(Radamès parte-fra-le guardie)  

[p. 71]  
Scena III  
Amneris sola  
(Cade desolata su un sedile)  

1 Ohimè! morir mi sento ... Oh chi lo salva?  

In submitting to the extreme fate [. ]  
I fear human rage no more [,]  
I fear only our pity---  
surrounded by the  
(Radamès leaves-between-the guards)  

[p. 71]  
Scene III  
Amneris alone  
(Sinks desolately on a bench)  

1 Alas! I feel myself dying ... Oh who will save him?  

14 The stage direction is in Giuseppina Strepponi's hand.  
15 The stage direction is in Giuseppina Strepponi's hand.  
16 Scene iii, item 1 is taken from Ghislanzoni's second draft. See Appendix IV B, p. 920.
5 E in poter di costoro

E-in-peter-di-costere

Io stessa lo gettai

Io stessa lo gettai . . ora a te impreco [,]

Atroce gelosia che la sua morte

E il lutto eterno del mio cor segnasti!

2 Si volge e vede i Sacerdoti che

attraversano la scena ed entrano

nel sotterraneo

5 And in their power

And-in-their-power

I myself cast him

I-myself-cast-him . . now I curse you [,]

Atrocious jealousy that determined

His death and the eternal grief of my heart!

2 She turns and sees the Priests who

cross the stage and enter

the subterranean chamber

---

17 Item 5 is taken from Ghislanzoni's first draft. See Appendix IV A, pp. 801-02.

18 The text of the stage direction (item 2) is a revision of the analogous item in Ghislanzoni's first draft. See Appendix IV A, pp. 800-01.
3 Che veggo! Ecco i fatali [,]^{19}
Gli inesorati ministri di morte . . .
Oh! ch'io non vegga quelle bianche larve!
4 *si copre il volto colle mani*
5a Ed-in-peter-a-a-eeoste-ee-il-eeonesegna\textsuperscript{20}
6 **Coro interno**
Spirito del Nume sovra noi discendi,^{21}
Ne avviva al raggio dell'eterna luce [;]

---

3 What do I see! Here are the fatal ones [,]^{19}
The inexorable ministers of death . . .
Oh! that I may not see those white spectres!
4 *she covers her face with her hands*
5a And-in-the-power-of-those-men-I-eeonsigned-him\textsuperscript{20}
6 **Chorus backstage**
Spirit of the God descend unto us,^{21}
Revive us with the ray of eternal light [;]

\textsuperscript{19} Items 3 and 4 are taken from Ghislanzoni's second draft. See Appendix IV B, p. 920.

\textsuperscript{20} The cancelled line (item 5a) is a paraphrased version of the second line in the analogous item in Ghislanzoni's second draft. See Appendix IV B, p. 921.

\textsuperscript{21} Item 6 is taken from Ghislanzoni's second draft. See Appendix IV B, p. 921.
Pel labbro nostro tua giustizia apprendi!

7  Am. Numi, pietà del mio straziato core [ . . . ]
Egli è innocente!
Dai quegli tigri lo salvate, o Numi [!]

Disperato, tremendo è il mio dolore [!]

[p. 77]

Scena IV

E e discende nel sotterraneo
Radamès attraversa la scena fra
le guardie—Amneris, al vederlo,
mette un grido [.]

Express they justice through our lips!

7  Am. Gods, pity on my tormented heart [ . . . ]
He is innocent!
Save him from these tigers, o Gods [!]

Desperate, tremendous is my grief [!]

[p. 77]

Scene IV

and descends into the subterranean chamber
Radamès crosses the stage between
the guards—Amneris, upon seeing him,
gives a shout [.]

22 The first line of item 7 is taken from Ghislanzoni's second draft. See Appendix IV B., p. 921. The remainder of the present text is new.

23 The clause "e discende nel sotterraneo (and descends into the subterranean chamber)" is in Giuseppina Strepponi's hand. The stage direction itself is taken from Ghislanzoni's second draft. See Appendix IV B, pp. 921-22.
8 Ramphis nel sotterraneo

Ram Radamès Radamès: tu rivelasti
Della patria i segreti allo straniero . . .

9a Sacerdoti Ti Discolpati [!] ^25

9b Ramphis

Egli tace! . . .

10 Tutti: Traditor!

11 Ramphis Radamès Radamès: tu disertasti
Dal campo il dì che precedea la pugna . . .

24 Items 8 through 14 are taken from Ghislanzoni's second draft. See Appendix IV B, pp. 922-24.

25 Ghislanzoni's text in the second draft reads "Ti discolpa (Yourself defend)". The cancellation of "Ti" and its repositioning as a suffix appears to have been executed by Verdi.
12a Sacerdoti Ti Discolpati!

12b Ramf. Egli tace! . . .

13 Tutti Traditor!

* Ramphis Radamès Radamès--tua fe'violasti [,]
   Alla patria spergiuro, al Re, all'onor . . .

** Coro Ti Discolpati!

*** Ramphis Egli tace [ ! . . . ]

**** Tutti Traditor!

12a Priests Yourself Defend yourself!

12b Ramf. He is silent! . . .

13 All Traitor!

* Ramphis Radamès Radamès--you violated your oath [,]
   False to the homeland, to the King, to your honor . . .

** Chorus Yourself Defend yourself!

*** Ramphis He is silent [ ! . . . ]

**** All Traitor!
[p. 78]

14 Tutti

Radamès: è deciso il tuo fato [;]
Degli infami la morte tu avrai [;]
Sotto l'ara del Nume sdegnato
A te vivo fia schiuso l'avel [!]

17 Am. A lui vivo [... ] la tomba! ... oh gl'infami [!]²⁶

Nè-di-sangue-son-paghi-giammai
E sì chiaman ministri del ciel!

[p. 78]

14 All

Radamès: your fate is decided [;]
You will have the death of the infamous [;]
Below the altar of the outraged God
To you alive be opened the tomb!

17 Am. For him alive [...] the tomb! ... oh the infamous ones [!]²⁶

Nor-are-they-ever-sated-with-blood
And they call themselves ministers of heaven!

²⁶ The first line of item 17 is new. The remainder is taken from Ghislanzoni's second draft. See Appendix IV B, p. 924.
Investendo i che
W [Illegible word] ai sacerdoti [Illegible word] {\textsuperscript{27}}
escono dal sotterraneo:
compiste {\textsuperscript{28}}
X A-Ramfis Sacerdote! tu-èeempi un delitto [{\textsuperscript{1}]}{\textsuperscript{29}}
Tigri infami di sangue assetate [ . . . ]
Voi la terra ed i Numi oltraggiate [ . . . ]
Voi punite chi colpe non ha!

16a Sacerdoti È traditor! morrà. {\textsuperscript{30}}

Inveighing the who
W [Illegible word] to the priests [Illegible word] {\textsuperscript{27}}
leave the subterranean chamber: have committed {\textsuperscript{28}}
X Te-Ramfis Priests! tu-eemmit a crime [{\textsuperscript{1}]}{\textsuperscript{29}}
Infamous tigers you thirst for blood [ . . . ]
You outrage the earth and the Gods [ . . . ]
You punish him who has no guilt!

16a Priests He is a traitor! he will die! {\textsuperscript{30}}

{\textsuperscript{27}} The stage direction is taken from Ghislanzoni's second draft. See Appendix IV B, p. 924. The superscription "Investendo i (Inveighing the)" is in Giuseppina Strepponi's hand.

{\textsuperscript{28}} The superscription "compiste (have committed)" is in Giuseppina Strepponi's hand.

{\textsuperscript{29}} The first line of item X is taken from Ghislanzoni's second draft. See Appendix IV B, p. 924. The other three lines are new.

{\textsuperscript{30}} Items 16a and 16b are taken from Ghislanzoni's second draft. See Appendix IV B, p. 925.
(a Ramfis)

Y  Am.  Sacerdote! quest'uomo che uccidi [,

Tu lo sai, da me un giorno fù amato [. . . .]

L'anatema d'un core straziato

Col suo sangue su te ricadrà [!]

16b  Sacerdoti  È  traditor!  morrà [!]

(si allontanano lentamente)

Z  Amneris  Empia  razza!  Anatema  su  voi [!]

(to Ramfis)

Y  Am.  Priest!  this  man  whom  you  kill [,

You know it, was loved one day by me [. . . .]

The anathema of a tormented heart

Will fall again on you with his blood [!]

16b  Priests  He  is  a  traitor!  he  will  die [!]

(slowly  they  go  away)

Z  Amneris  Wicked  race!  A  curse  upon  you:

The superscription "a Ramfis (to Ramfis)" is in Giuseppina Strepponi's hand.

The text of item Y is new.

The stage direction is in Giuseppina Strepponi's hand.

The text of item Z is new.
La vendetta del ciel scenderà [!]

(esce disperata) 35

[p. 79]

Scena ultima

1 La scena è divisa in due piani—il piano superiore rappresenta l'interno del tempio di Vulcano, splendente d'oro e di luce—
Il piano inferiore rappresenta un ampio sotterraneo—Lunghe file d'arcate si perdono nell'oscurità. Statue colossali d'Osiri colle mani incrociate sostengono i pilastri della volta.

2 Radamès è-solo sui gradini per cui è disceso—Nel-piano

Vengeance will come down from heaven [!]

(she exits desparate) 35

[p. 79]

Final scene

1 The stage is divided in two levels—The upper level represents the interior of the temple of Vulcan, shining with gold and light—
The lower level represents an ample subterranean chamber—Long rows of arches disappear into the darkness. Colossal statues of Osiris with his hands crossed support the pillars of the vault.

2 Radamès is-alone on the steps by which he descended—On-the-level

35 The stage direction is in Giuseppina Streponi's hand.
due sacerdoti intenti a chiudere la pietra del sotterraneo.\textsuperscript{36}

3 Radamès

La fatal pietra sovra me si chiuse . . \textsuperscript{37}.
Ecco la tomba mia . . Del dì la luce
Più non vedrò--Non vedrò più Aida--
Aida ove sei tu? Possa tu almeno
Viver felice e la mia sorte orrenda
Sempre ignorar! Qual gemito! . . . Una larva . . .
Una vision . . . No! forma umana è questa . . .

two priests occupied in sealing the stone of the subterranean chamber.\textsuperscript{36}

3 Radamès

The fatal stone has closed over me . . \textsuperscript{37}
Here is my tomb . . . Never again shall I see
The light of day--I shall not see Aïda again--
Aïda where are you? May you at least
Live happily and never know
A vision . . . No! this is a human form . . .

\textsuperscript{36} The set description of the final scene is written in Giuseppina Strepponi's hand. The present text is the first to contain a description of the divided stage.

\textsuperscript{37} Items 3 and 4 are taken from Ghislanzoni's second draft. See Appendix IV B, pp. 926-27.
Cielo! . . . Aida.

4  Aida  Son io . . .

5  Rad.  Tu? in questa tomba.

6  Aida  Presago il core della tua condanna [,]\(^{39}\)
Qui da tre dì t'attendo\(^{40}\).
E qui lontana da ogni umano sguardo

Heaven! . . . Aida.

4  Aida  It is I . . .

5  Rad.  You? in this tomb!\(^{38}\)

6  Aida  My heart foretelling your sentence [,]\(^{39}\)
I awaited you here for three days\(^{40}\)
And here far from every human glance

\(^{38}\) The phrase "in questa tomba! (in this tomb!)" is new.

\(^{39}\) The first three lines of item 6 are found in Ghislanzoni's first and second draft. See Appendices IV A, p. 809 and IV B, pp. 927-28.

\(^{40}\) The words "da tre (for three)" are underlined owing to Ghislanzoni's remonstrance with Verdi that such a long wait without food would render Aïda to a weakened state. See the poet's letter to Verdi dated 31 October 1870, which is reproduced in Busch, p. 89. The line was excised in the final version of the libretto.
I desired to die in your arms.\textsuperscript{41}

[\textit{p. 89}]

7 \textit{Rada\^mes} To die! so pure and beautiful\textsuperscript{42}

To die for love of me \[. . . \]

In the bloom of your years [,]

To flee from life\textsuperscript{43}

Heaven created you for love [,]

No, you will not die!

\textsuperscript{41} The last line of item 6 is new.

\textsuperscript{42} Item 7 is partially taken from Ghislanzoni's second draft, the first of two versions given in this draft. See Appendix IV B, pp. 928-29 and p. 936.

\textsuperscript{43} The lines "Fuggir la vita! (To flee from life!), and "T'aveva il cielo per l'amor creata (Heaven created you for love)" are new.
Troppo io t'amai [!]
Troppo sei bella!

8 Aida (vaneggiando) Vedi? di morte l'angelo
Radiante a noi si appressa [ . . . ]
Ne adduce a eterni gaudii
Sovra i suoi vanni d'or.
Su noi già il ciel dischiudersi [,]
Ivi ogni affanno cessa [ . . . ]
Ivi comincia l'estasi

I loved you too much [!]
You are too beautiful!

8 Aida (raving) Do you see? the angel of death
Radiant to us approaches [ . . . ]
He leads us to eternal joys
On his wings of gold.
Already heaven opens to us [,]
There all pain ceases [ . . . ]
There begins the ecstasy

44 The stage direction is in Giuseppina Strepponi's hand.

45 Item 8 is taken from Ghislanzoni's second draft. See Appendix IV B, pp. 931-32.
D'un immortale amor [\ldots].

10 Canti e danze\textsuperscript{46}
delle sacerdotesse
templo
dal interno

Y Aida Triste canto!\textsuperscript{47}

11 Radamès Il tripudio\textsuperscript{48}
Dei Sacerdoti [\ldots]

Of an immortal love [\ldots].

10 Chants and dances\textsuperscript{46}
of the priestesses
the temple
from inside

Y Aida Sad chant!\textsuperscript{47}

11 Radamès The exaltation\textsuperscript{48}
Of the Priests [\ldots]

\textsuperscript{46} The stage direction for item 10, which is given in rather general terms in Ghislanzoni's two drafts, is specific in the present text owing to the fact that the upper half of the stage is described in the set description at the outset of the tableau.

\textsuperscript{47} Item Y is new.

\textsuperscript{48} Items 11, 12 and 13 are the same as the analogous items in Ghislanzoni's first and second drafts.
12 **Aida** Il nostro inno di morte . . .

[p. 81]  

13 **Radamès cercando di smuovere la pietra del sot[terraneo].**

Nè le mie forti braccia

Smuovere ti potranno [,] o fatal pietra!

14 **Aida** Invan! tutto è finito  

Sulla terra per noi! . . .

15 **Radamès (con desolata rassegnazione)** È vero . . . è vero [ ! . . . ]

[Illegible directive]

12 **Aida** Our hymn of death . . .

[p. 81]  

13 **Radamès trying to move the stone of the vault.**

Nor can my stron arms

Move you [,] o fatal stone!

14 **Aida** It is useless! all is finished  

On earth for us! . . .

15 **Radamès (with desolate resignation)** It is true . . . it is true[! . . . ]

[Illegible directive]

---

49 Items 14 and 15 are new.

50 The stage direction is in Giuseppina Streponi’s hand.
Y  O terra addio, addio valle di pianti [ . . . ]
Sogno di gaadie che il dolor svanì [ . . . ]
A noi si schiude il cielo, e l'alme erranti
Volano al raggio dell'eterno dì [ . . . ]

dolentemente

17 Aida cade fra le braccia
     di Radamès

18 Amneris in gran lutto apparece nel tempio
     che divide il
     ingineehiata sulla pietra del sotter[ran]eo [ , ]

Y  O earth farewell, farewell vale of tears [ . . . ]
Dream of jey that vanished in grief [ . . . ]
To us heaven opens, and our wandering spirits
Fly to the ray of the eternal day [ . . . ]

sadly

17 Aida falls into the arms
     of Radamès

18 Amneris in great mourning appears in the temple
     that divides the
     kneeling on the stone of the subterranean chamber [ , ]

51 Item Y is taken from the last lines of the analogous item in Ghislanzoni's second draft. See Appendix IV B, p. 933 and 936.

52 The stage direction "dolentemente (sadly)" is in Giuseppina Strepponi's hand.

53 The stage direction is new.
and prostrates herself [.]

Z I implore peace for you [,]

Eternal the tears
Will be for me . . .

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54 The stage direction of item 18 is new. The clauses "apparisce nel tempio (appears in the temple)", "che divida il (that divides the)", and "e va prostrarsi (and prostrates herself)" are in Giuseppina Strepponi's hand.

55 Amneris's quatrain is taken from Ghislanzoni's second draft. See Appendix IV B, p. 935 and 937.