Of Censorship, Plagiarism, and Backshadowing;
or how political were Verdi's operas?

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1

> From three in the afternoon until eleven at night one could admire the strength of the lungs and the resonance of the throats of this populace. Each one seemed to have been born for the Opéra. People say tenors are rare. False: the impresario of La Scala could easily have found one in this crowd. As for basses, they abounded. The noise was deafening, but at least it was not cacophonic. The simple fact that such scenes could occur under the eyes of the governors and could be prolonged for eight hours, without being forcibly terminated, proves how precarious is the current state of affairs.

Not only are Italians innately, inescapably operatic; even their revolutions devolve into operatic spectacle. So suggests this biting account from the diary of Count Joseph Alexander Hübner, an Austrian diplomat sent to Milan as an emissary during the revolution of 1848. Hübner found his trove of tenors and basses in the Piazza San Fedele, behind the Teatro alla Scala, where protesters were singing, shouting, and quite possibly hurling invective at each other. Elsewhere in his journal for that year, Hübner describes bourgeoisie on the barricades who kitted themselves out with cockaded "chapeaux Ernani" to infuse their otherwise tentative revolutionary acts with a theatrical intensity, and at a meeting with the provisional goverment finds the décor of their headquarters

reminiscent of "an evening at La Scala, during a performance of [Verdi's] *Ernani* or [Donizetti's] *Dom Sébastien*."[1]

Hübner's persistent return to the rhetoric of opera as he punctures the pretensions of the revolutionaries is a mirror image of the many anecdotes that celebrate opera as a means of political expression under conditions of censorship and foreign domination. Where Hübner figures the operatic as self-important posturing and empty vocalizing, more sympathetic accounts invest it with an almost mystical power to trancend the verbal, to say things through music that could not be said in words. And although musical transcendence is a recurrent trope in these discussions, the fact is that nearly all the occasions when music was used to make statements about Austrian domination or Italian Unification centered on the meaning of sung words, rather than on musical expression. Most are connected with the election of Pope Pius IX, who was at first hailed as a potential champion of the national cause. From his election in mid-1846 through 1848, we know of eight occasions on which Verdi's music--most often the chorus "O sommo Carlo" from the third act of *Ernani*--was sung to new words to express support for the new Pope and his vision for a newly autonomous Italy.[2]

The significance of these and other blatantly public uses of operatic music has been endlessly contested. Writing in 1990 about one of the choral paeans to Pio IX, Philip Gossett leapt to conclude that "By 1844 [the year *Ernani* was composed], Verdi had no need to render problematic his choruses: the public readily understood their political subtext."[3] In other words, Verdi no longer needed to advertise his own convictions or incite audiences with incendiary references to "breaking the chains" or "the reign of liberty." Audiences simply *expected* such messages from each new Verdi

opera, regardless of what the words actually said. Drawing on a different archive, however, Roger Parker has come to an almost opposite conclusion: that opera-goers in the 1840s were impatient with the dreamy, metaphorical language of Verdi's operas. During times of heightened political engagement, Verdi was ignored in favor of popular choruses that employed a more immediate language and whose accessible style allowed for participation by untrained singers.[4]

This assumption that wide dissemination and popular participation are constitutive of the music's political currency sets Verdi music apart from the music of the preceding decades. With the earlier operatic repertoire, political meaning often depended on secrecy and concealment, the assumption being that what was most important about these works and the conversations they inspired was missing from their public faces and had to be read between the lines. The ludic connections between Bellini's *I puritani* and the poetry penned by Carlo Pepoli for the salon songs of Rossini and Mercadante suggested a surreptitious mode of communication among initiates, perhaps analogous to the rituals of the Young Italy movement and other secret societies. Similarly, the Neapolitan vogue for operas about Queen Elizabeth I and Mary Stuart gave prominent play to the fear, gossip, and secrecy that Italian spectators imagined as governing the Tudor court. Even the appeal of Salvatore Viganò's ballets can be traced to their esoteric quality, the imperative they issued for critics and fans to speculate about what their bizarre concatenation of symbols and events might mean. Within this historical mentality, contemporary journalism is seen as interesting most of all for what it refuses to say, does not dare to say, or simply leaves unsaid.

The situation around Verdi is quite different. Hidden meanings continue to play a role, not least informing the methods of modern musicological interpreters. But Verdi's music was immediately released into a wide public arena, extending from the stage out into the street, the rhetoric flamboyant, and the sheer volume often very loud. Verdi's declarative, extroverted music arrived on the Milanese stage just as voices in support of "Italy" became blunter and more vigorous, and as the Austrian government began to recognize that it was opportune to permit more open discussion of progress and of the national question in the press.[5] Antonio Ghislanzoni, who would much later write the libretto for Verdi's *Aida*, may have been noticing the very beginning of this shift when he wrote in his sketch of Milanese life in the 1840s:

> Men who thought of Italy, who trembled under the yoke of foreign domination, who hated Austria, were few and far between…. Some among them, trembling, dared to declare the warlike verses of Berchet, within narrow circles of cognoscenti. Such declarations began around the year 1842.[6]

Ghislanzoni and other contemporary chroniclers provide rich--if less than perfectly reliable--testimony of feelings and attitudes expressed in cafés, salons, and piazzas; in the world they describe both private opinion and the possibilities for expressing that opinion changed almost day by day. Such delicate shadings have been notably absent from discussions of musical culture in Risorgimento Italy. If the secrecy and obliqueness that governed the interplay between musical culture and political conversation around 1835 gradually gave way to overt display by 1848, how was this transition managed and what role di Verdi play? Some answers are suggested by the traffic between private sociability and theatrical display that shaped Verdi's second big success at La Scala, *I Lombardi alla*

prima crociata (1843), and by the opacity of the opera's critical reception. Before turning to this sprawling artefact of the late Restoration, however, we should touch on more familiar territory, to rehearse a brief history of the pairing of Verdi and Risorgimento politics.

2

Both the popular myth and the academic debate about the political status of Verdi's operas have centered on his opera *Nabucco*, whose centrality is guaranteed in equal but opposite part by the embrace of its chorus "Va, pensiero" by successive patriotic and demagogic movements--most recently the Lega Nord--and by the ruthless demolition of the myth of the political Verdi by musicologist Roger Parker. While preparing a critical edition of *Nabucco* in the 1980s, Parker discovered that the anecdotes that had long served to link "Va, pensiero" with public expressions of patriotism were fabrications. Parker scanned Milanese newspapers through the 1840s, turning up no evidence that spectators perceived revolutionary content buried in Verdi's operas, nor that Verdi's music played much of a role in 1848.[7] His stark conclusion was that "in all the mass of critical receptions occasioned by some hundred revivals of *Nabucco* [between 1843 and 1848] throughout the peninsula, the number of occasions on which "Va pensiero" is singled out for particular praise (or mentioned because of the notable enthusiasm it aroused) is remarkably small."[8]

It might seem that the only sensible response to Parker's research would be to relinquish the dyad "Verdi and the Risorgimento" altogether, perhaps to focus attention instead on finding out how the myth of the composer's political significance was created or on those martial choruses that were apparently so much more popular than his operas.

The question's staying power may have something to do with the force of sentiment that compels even historians to desperately *want* to find affirmative evidence; and it may flow also from musicology's compulsion to render music relevant, not just beautiful or enjoyable. There are also more rational reasons for pursuing the question, including knowledge that opera was key to Italian sociability and selfhood, and the realization--gaining strength, as more research is undertaken--that Parker examined only a narrow swathe of contemporary documentation.[9]

This last issue is complicated by the fact that, in a milieu governed by censorship, the "right" kind of evidence may simply not exist. Writing in 1846, under the double cover of anonymity and publication abroad, the patriot Luigi Torelli characterize Lombard censorship as truly draconian:

> Any writing, therefore, that even remotely tries to depict the unhappy state of a certain class of person, or town, or region, is prohibited or mutilated, because there must be no suffering under the Austrian government, at any cost. Any writing that recalls, in colors at all vivid, the actions of a people who liberate their country from a foreign yoke, is prohibited and mutilated, because it could inflame the souls by example and disturb the peace of the most contented people on the face of the earth. Any writing that, even at arm's length, points towards the absurdity or flaws in a law, or any other abuse by the magistrates, is prohibited or mutilated, because one must not in any way suggest that the government can create a bad law or an imperfect one, or appoint a inept or dishonest functionary.[10]

Of course remarks critical of the regime did slip through the censors' filters and into print; and Torelli may well have exaggerrated for rhetorical effect. But the coincidence of

censorship with the nascent state of Italian music criticism means that the critical vocabulary and the range of issues addressed is thin. This can leave historians with the conundrum of trying to construct a affirmative argument from material recorded in a time and place in which affirmative statements about meaning--especially political meaning--were either forbidden or considered irrelevant. At times it can seem that both scholars who dismiss claims for Verdi's political importance and those who argue for his centrality to the articulation of national identity do so largely on the basis of a lack of evidence.

And yet dogged recursion to Google books, and to actual brick-and-mortar libraries, turns up a handful of alluring contemporary references to Verdi and "la patria." As early as 1846, the editor of the musical journal *La fama,* Benedetto Bermani, published a pamphlet on Verdi's career to date, in which he annointed Verdi as the "operatic voice our epoch has longed for," an interpreter who combines the light and the serious aspects of life to create dramas that strike a balance between the four constitutive elements of serious opera: nation, love, religion, and suffering.[11] Perhaps betraying allegiance to the purpose-driven art criticism of Giuseppe Mazzini, Bermani heralds Verdi's role in transforming opera from mere entertainment or "pleasant illusion" to an art worthy of sustained attention and analysis. "The errant, libertine, careless artistic spirit no longer holds any seductive appeal for us," writes Bermani; artists now see the imperative to create works that stand up to sustained critical analysis, and recognize that music must "step down from her isolated throne, to fraternize with the sister arts" to create something more rational, more satisfying to the laws of taste.[12]

By 1855 the confrontations between warring peoples and the wistful evocations of distant homelands in Verdi's early operas had been subsumed into an explicitly national discourse. Writing in the *Rivista contemporanea*, published in the freer air of Piedmont, the polymath Marco Marcelliano Marcello wrote in surprisingly explicit terms about the sub-rosa meanings he perceived behind Verdi's early operas, which he called latent expressions of "the hatred of foreign domination, the love of liberty, the ache of [Italy's] impotence, regret for the memory of her great past…"[13] With this essay Verdi enters the pantheon, or the "Risorgimental canon," to use Alberto Banti's term. Marcello's article rubs shoulders in the *Rivista contemporanea* with contributions on such staples of the Dante and the philosophy of Antonio Rosmini (both by Niccolo Tommaseo), and on political thought in France (by Terenzio Mamiani), and his discussion of Verdi strikes all the high notes of what would become the myth of Verdi as "bard of the Risorgimento." Marcello hears Verdi's choruses as "the true expression of universal desires… their unisons were perfectly suited to depict the unanimity of the plans that were incubating in so many souls."[14] He gestures towards the topical relevance of the depictions of tyrrannical oppression and longing for the homeland in *Nabucco, I Lombardi alla prima crociata*, and *Ernani,* and even invokes the trope of the masses singing opera in the streets:

> I remember with what marvelous avidity the populace of our Italian cities was seized by these broad and clear melodies, and with what agreement they walked singing, along the squalid streets, confronting the grave reality of the present with aspirations for the future.[15]

In a way the existence of texts like this only compound the difficulty of understanding what people may have heard in Verdi. The enthusiasm and clarity of Marcello's language, together with the article's early date (before Unification) and sheer volume of print material published after 1848, makes it impossible to dismiss the idea of the political Verdi. But it is equally impossible to take such views as indicative of sentiments a decade earlier. One approach is to put aside journalistic reception altogether, to consider Verdi's early operas from different vantage points, before turning back to the blank, unyielding surfaces of the reviews from the 1840s.

3

Where *Nabucco* is usually seen as an ingenuous creation by an untested composer from the Emilian countryside, *I Lombardi alla prima crociata* is more urban and more knowing--designed to replicate *Nabucco*'s success, and reflecting the tastes and aesthetic interests of the new acquaintances Verdi acquired when he became the toast of Milan. One door that *Nabucco* opened for Verdi led to the salon of the Countess Clara Maffei, where he came into contact with many of Milan's leading artists and intellectuals. The Maffei salon was to evolve into the leading social venue for conversation and cultural activity of a Mazzinian bent, especially after Clara's divorce and her new liaison with the progressive journalist Carlo Tenca. In the early 1840s the tenor of the proceedings was more moderate--pro-Italian, but not overtly anti-Austrian, and not oriented towards revolution.[16]

One of Verdi's debts to the Maffei circle was probably the plot of *I Lombardi*, which was drawn from Tommaso Grossi's 1826 epic poem of the same name. Grossi was

such an intimate in the Maffei salon that it was he, in his professional capacity as notary, who drew up the legal papers when Clara and her husband Andrea divorced in 1846. But Grossi's sprawling re-telling of Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata* in fifteen leisurely cantos had enjoyed one of the largest print runs of any Italian literary work, so Verdi and his librettist Temistocle Solera would hardly have had to be initiates of the Maffei circle to have known of it.[17] The poem's action is spread over several decades and locales, presenting an exceptional challenge for operatic adaptation. The heart of both poem and opera is a love interest between the Christian Giselda, daughter of one of the leaders of the Lombard contingent in the First Crusade, and Saladin, son of the leader of the Muslim forces at Antioch. In taking up the crusades as a subject, Grossi may have been capitalizing on the enormous success of Sophie Cottin's 1805 novel *Mathilde et Malek-Adel*, set during the Third Crusade and also centered on the love between a Christian woman and a Muslim man.[18] By transposing the proscribed love to the time of the First Crusade and focusing on its Lombard contingent, Grossi italianized the story. He also added a complicated back story concerning the courtship of Giselda's mother, the rivalry between two brothers for her hand, and the lasting feud between those brothers that may have further enhanced the poem's appeal for patriotic readers, who found both metaphors for Italy's fragmentation and hope for change in tales of fraternal enmity and reconciliation.[19]

With *I Lombardi* Grossi was clearly promoting the new nationalist project of recuperating events from Italian history as models for forming a new nation. But the poem also participates in a pan-European vogue for the crusades sparked by the publication of Cottin's novel and Joseph Michaud's *Histoire des croisades* (1817-22), a

fad whose cultural stakes were far from monolithic.[20] Early nineteenth-century representations of the crusades were surprisingly free of orientalist oppositions between home and away, European civilizer and pagan threat. Cottin's novel offered a sympathetic and even admiring portrait of the Muslim side, as well as a critique of the crusaders' cruelty that would be echoed in both Grossi's poem and Verdi's opera.

Cottin's *Mathilde et Malek-Adel* became a popular source for operatic adaptation, inspiring at least six Italian libretti between between 1825 and 1841. Each of these takes a slightly different angle on the literary source, and the ways the conventions of romantic opera intersect with the characters and situations of Cottin's story gives a vivid sense both of the variety of stances that existed towards the crusades and of the few questions on which Italians seemed to be unanimous. One thing all the libretti agree on is that the Muslim leader Malek-Adel (brother of Saladin) is to be cast as the romantic hero, and the crusader Guido di Lusignano as villain.[21] In Giovanni Pacini's *I crociati a Tolemaide* (Turin, 1830), Malek-Adel is sung by a trousered contralto and first seen singing from a boat, apostrophizing nature, imitating the tenor heroes of several popular Rossini operas. Pacini's opera also emphasizes religious reconciliation. Matilde and Malek-Adel each embrace the other's faith, and when they marry in the opera's second act, it is without any public ceremony or participation by their communities; but they manage to have the union blessed by a bishop who happens to be nearby. Pacini also prefigures Verdi and Solera by showing the heroine at her first entrance weeping over her impossible love for the pagan man, with whom she has fallen in love while a prisoner.

A setting by political exile Carlo Pepoli and composer Michael Costa for Théâtre-Italien (Paris, 1837) seems designed to capitalize on the massive success of Pepoli's

libretto for *I puritani*, giving the material a unique Gothic spin. Scenes are played out against backdrops of ruined buildings and misty landscapes; Lusignano and Richard the Lionhearted sing a cabaletta that is also an oath of brotherhood; the chorus sings often from off-stage; and Mathilde has a mad vision of being pursued by a bloody ghost--all elements prominent in *I puritani*.[22] Pepoli's *Malek-Adel* lacks the clarity of perspective of the other Malek-Adel settings. It is hard to glean a clear message about Christianity or crusades, and as in his earlier libretto, Pepoli blurs the distinctions between sympathetic and villainous characters.

If Cottin's novel and the clutch of Italian *Malek-Adel* operas are relevant intertexts for Verdi's opera and useful aids for reading its messages about the near east and about Italy, an equally influential precursor is the crusade-themed paintings exhibited by Francesco Hayez in the mid-1830s. Another intimate of the Maffeis, Hayez provided engravings to illustrate the first edition of Grossi's poem, and exhibited three paintings drawn from Grossi at the salon of the Accademia Brera.[23] By far the most successful painter of the period, Hayez made a project of representing scenes from Italian history and literature, many of which were later taken up in an explicitly nationalist discourse. Although his work was reviewed in essentially the same censored press that has long been blamed for preventing critics from saying what they "really" thought about Verdi's operas, Hayez evoked a much more engaged, indeed almost martial, response from critics. Perhaps the most flamboyant among several reviews that allude to the political resonances of the canvases is an excitable commentary on the painting "Pope Urban launches the First Crusade in the piazza at Clermont," exhibited at the Brera salon of 1835 (see Figure 1). The anonymous critic for the *Annotatore piemontese* places the

painting against the backdrop of the seething tensions and inequalities of feudal Europe, all of which resolved into a joyous unity when the Pope launched the crusade:

> If feudalism in Europe sufficed to defend societies against foreign powers, it was not capable of securing domestic peace… The population enslaved. The nobles unrestrained. Eternal wars. Arts and sciences censored. Literature ignored…
>
> The Cross is the symbol of European brotherhood; Pope Urban displays it in person to the populace.
>
> Oh, epoch of hopes and expectations! All fires were extinguished except rage against the enemies of Christ. All dissent among foot soldiers was calmed by this holy cause, among those who were united by this universal love.
>
> The surging crowd is animated by unanimity. What spaces! what waves! each action, each movement is the expression of an identical conviction, the expansion of the same enthusiasm.
>
> Listen to the groupings closest to the foreground. Oh, the powerful energy of the patriotic word that calls sons to the sacred oath of the religion to which they were born.[24]

In the article's final paragraphs, the writer zeroes in on the composition of the painting in detail, to wax enthusiastic about the way Hayez groups the characters to convey distinct personalities who are at the same time melded into a united crowd. Read in juxtaposition with the writing on opera of the same period, this essay is remarkable for its willingness to connect the art-work to historical forces, to power, and to collective feeling. The author's interest in the depiction of a powerful collective entity from a group of disparate individuals also resonates uncannily with the prescriptions that Giuseppe

Mazzini made for the reform of operatic chorus in his contemporaneous essay on the *Filosofia della musica*. Mazzini too would use the crusades to nationalist political ends: in "The Duties of Man" (1860), he appropriates of the famous crusaders' cry as part of a bid to appropriate the crusades as a blueprint for revolutionary action: "The cry which rang out in all the great revolutions--the cry of the Crusades, *God wills it! God wills it!*--alone can arouse the inert to action, give courage to the faithful, enthusiasm of self-sacrifice to the calculating, faith to those who distrust all merely human ideas."[25]

The stark differences between the tone of opera criticism and these responses to Hayez may have something to do with changes in censorship restrictions in the eight years between the Hayez exhibition and the première of *I Lombardi.* They do not seem to derive from local differences in censorship or journalistic norms, since very similar reviews of Hayez appeared in the Milanese journal *L'Eco*.[26] It seems much more likely that critics' willingness to connect Hayez to politicized ideas such as the individual and the collective stems from differences in the status of painting and opera--perhaps with the performative and simultaneous nature of operatic experience, as compared to the more leisurely and contemplative act of viewing a painting. It may also be relevant that opera played to much larger and more socially mixed audiences than did art exhibitions, so that even published reviews of the artistic salons would partake more of the freer language of the salon than of frankly public space.

4

Besides posing yet more thorny questions about the nature of political and journalistic expression in the1840s, these reviews of Hayez demonstrate that depictions of the crusades were perceived at least by some as politicized, as bearing messages about

contemporary Italy. It would be perfectly reasonable to assume that Verdi's and Solera's *I Lombardi* participated in the same discourse about Italy's relation to other cultures, to colonial domination, and to religious orthodoxy. Musicologists have not hesitated to read it this way, with special emphasis on the opera's enodrsement of what is sometimes called a "neo-Guelph" strain of Romantic history, which held that Italy's best chance for autonomy and unification lay in the embrace of the Church with the Pope as head of state.[27] Such an agenda would help to account for the fiercely anti-clerical Verdi's interest in setting a subject that gives such a central role to religious confession; but the scenes depicting the crusaders and their encounters with the Muslim forces do not come across as an endorsement of religious warfare or the forced spread of the Catholic faith, particularly when one takes into account the strident, blood-curdling music Verdi composed for the chorus of Crusaders at several points. In fact, the words and music of *I Lombardi* send complex and shifting messages about where spectators should place their sympathies, so that even an interpreter willing to overlook the absence of any contemporary critical commentary on the opera's political or religious resonances might have a hard time advancing a convincing and coherent reading of the opera as "risorgimental."

The opera's action hinges on two rivalrous brothers, Arvino and Pagano, who love the same woman. Arvino marries her, they have a daughter, and he is named leader of the Lombard forces in the First Crusade. As the opera begins, the violent black sheep Pagano returns from exile, tries to murder his brother, but mistakenly kills their father under the cover of darkness. This deed provokes Pagano retreat to the desert, where he hopes to expiate his guilt by living as a hermit; at the same time Arvino's daughter

Giselda begins a pilgrimage to the Holy Land to give thanks that her father was not murdered, but is promptly captured by infidels, one of whom she falls in love with. Before embarking on her pilgrimage, Giselda sings a prayer to words very similar to those of the Catholic Hail Mary, an explicit use of ecclesiastical language unique in opera of this period. In the second act the two brothers are reunited when the Lombard crusaders arrive in Antioch and ask for the hermit's help in liberating Giselda. From this point on Pagano performs a series of virtuous and helpful acts for his brother and niece, showing that he has been shriven; but Arvino does not recognize the hermit as his brother until the final few minutes of the opera. The concluding scene of rapprochement between the warring brothers is easily decoded as a metaphor of the fragmented Italy: distinct regions and local cultures as siblings at odds with each other, who must leave their home soil and unite against a common enemy before they can acknowledge their familial bond.[28] The celestial tones that dominate the opera's last two acts, including Giselda's baptism of her fatally-wounded lover Oronte (the Saladin of Grossi's poem renamed), strengthen the hypothesis that the opera might have been conceived--and received?--as a form of Catholic-liberal manifesto clothed in lyric form.

Along with these recognizable tropes of nationalist thought, however, a purely internalist reading of the opera would also need to account for the hideous music Verdi composes for the crusaders in the scenes of martial engagement in Acts 2 and 3 (although his music for the Muslim forces is no more likeable) and the hatred Giselda expresses towards the crusades. Giselda is crucial to the multiple reconciliations in the opera's final act: she draws together Christian and Muslim by baptizing Oronte just before he expires from a wound inflicted in battle with the Crusaders; she is the only character explicitly to

reject the violence of the Crusade ("Dio *nol* vuole," she insists in the cabaletta of her Act II aria); and it is she who first draws the estranged brothers together. Throughout her commitment is to a middle path that privileges humanity over rigid belief, and in an interesting duet that replays a stock scene from the *Malek-Adel* operas of the 1830s she explicitly (but with regret) dismisses any allegiance to land, soil, or family in favor of a pure communion with her beloved. During this scene from the third act, in which Giselda and Oronte decide to flee together, the libretto makes a fetish of deracination. Oronte declares that his "talamo" (marriage bed) lies in the arid desert, and the lovers repeat together, over and over, the line: "Ah si! tu sei patria, vita, e ciel per me!" (Ah! you are country, life, and heaven for me!)

Instead of harking back to the history of Crusades or enthusing about collective religious fervour, the early reviews of *I Lombardi* tend to focus on trying to pinpoint what is special about Verdi's style, in light of the recent (and ongoing) performances of his *Nabucco*. One senses that, with two successful operas at hand to compare, the critics are beginning to assess what the Verdi phenomenon is all about. They all agree that these operas give a much greater role to the chorus than ever before--and they acknowledge the special appeal of the Act IV chorus "O signore dal tetto natio," as well as recognizing its family resemblance with "Va, pensiero."[29] At the same time, though, the critics concur that the most successful pieces in the opera were arias or small ensembles: what they call the "polacca" for Giselda (which must be the cabaletta of her Act II aria), her Act III duet with Oronte, and the baptism trio, all of which lie on the traditional end of the spectrum of styles assayed in this eclectic opera. The word "filosofico" and its synonyms echo through the reviews, as critics strive to identify what makes Verdi stand out from the

operatic surroundings. These passages resound with a slightly puritanical contempt for the old Rossinian "leggerezza" that is easy to read in national terms: Verdi is seen as a restrained, syllabic, dramatic, "philosophic" composer, who differentiates characters with distinctive motives, and as weightier and more balanced than his predecessors.[30]

Perhaps betraying a slight regret for the flow of unfettered melody lost with the advent of the purposeful Verdi, the same critic who announced the obsolescence of "lightness" let himself express a twinge of disapproval that the composer interrupted the vocal phrases of the "O Signore" chorus with "chirping flutes":

> It is a thoroughly attractive piece: beautiful the melody, beautiful the instrumentation, which inspires the audience to orgasm, so that they are not content to hear it just once. It is one of the most beautiful sections of an opera that would be above criticism, if it were not that the continual chirping by the flutes that rises to accompany the voice when the "fresch'aure volanti" are mentioned lends, some think, too cheerful a color to a sorrowful invocation of people who remember and sigh for their native skies.[31]

Vitali's verdict here clearly reflects the widespread distaste for blatant mimetic effects; but when read together with a handful of other complaints about orchestral intrusions into the vocal numbers in *Lombardi*, it hints at more. The loudest comes from Abramo Basevi, in his book on Verdi published fifteen years later. Although he appears to have been the first to discuss the opera explicitly in relation to Catholic political theology, Basevi was at best ambivalent about the frequent intrusions of celestial orchestration. Writing about Giselda's "Salve Maria" prayer, Basevi complained that the first two vocal phrases lack cohesion, sounding as merely a string of notes, lacking a

"concetto musicale." The problem, for Basevi, lies in the "gothic" ornamental "ritornelli" for flute and clarinet that are interposed between the vocal phrases, which he says continue the less-than-memorable motives sung by the voice, "lifting them out of her mouth, as if they want to give her time to blow her nose or to take a chew of tobacco." *We might read* these remarks as nostalgia for a simpler, more predictable relationship between voice and orchestra, but perhaps also as critical about the celestial flourishes that form part of the opera's *tinta*.

5

> In time I learned to think ahead and arrange my thoughts in thematic cycles… The letters, in fact, are endless spirals in which I've tried to enclose something. Very early on, I realized that comprehensible letters wouldn't get through, which is why the letters are full of long, compound sentences and complicated ways of saying things. Instead of writing "regime," for instance, I would obviously have had to write "the socially apparent focus on the non-I," or some such nonsense.[32]

But for the Heideggerian jargon of its final sentence, this could almost pass as a description of what it was like to be a poet or a journalist in Restoration Milan. The circumlocutions Vaclav Havel was forced into when writing from prison capture something essential about the style of Italian theatrical journalism in the 1840s. Coded references to the regime seem to be rare in this literature,[33] to the enduring regret of opera scholars; but as we have seen in the passages quoted above, Havel's "long, compound sentences," and "endless spirals" are everywhere. Criticism of the period is made up of a tracery of ornate verbiage, quasi-philosophical pontification, recursion to century-old aesthetic debates, and minute technical critique, all of which may be designed to stymy

the censors or turn attention from political matters, but may simply be an effect of ossified belle-lettristic conventions.

With sustained attention, it might be possible to read through these spirals--to penetrate the carapace of aesthetics to get at issues of expression at the heart of these discussions, and to correlate the rapid changes in critical vocabulary with the mercurial evolution of press censorship at the time. Marcelliano Marcello's exultation of the allegorical meanings of Verdi's early operas and his memories of the masses singing his choruses in the streets shows how much things had changed by 1855. In his history of censorship during the Restoration, John A. Davis traced a gradual loosening of Austrian restrictions through the early 1840s. One watershed moment was the publication in 1843 of Gioberti's *Primato morale*, which explicitly called for Unification; but in parallel with these isolated influential publications was a slow increase in the amount of attention to aspects of progress and public improvement such railroads and industrial efficiency, topics which had earlier been taboo.[34] As Davis explains it, the Austrians gradually began to see that it would further their aims of governance better to foster progress in the Lombardy-Veneto, rather than to maintain the region in an infantilized state of economic dependence. The journalistic assessments of Verdi's style as an advance of dramatic honesty and musical energy perhaps form another strand of a subtle endorsement of progress in all its forms as a national goal.

This association between Verdi and technological progress emerges clearly, at least, in an article on the "Institutions and Projects" of Milan that appeared in *L'Eco di Milano* in March of 1843, just a few pages before that journal's review of the première of *I Lombardi*. Writing partly for "foreigners"--people from other regions of Italy--who

might want to visit Milan and would appreciate pointers about what to see and do, one G.B. Baruffi remarks that he has recently noticed many visitors to the city using the new rail line connecting Milan with Brescia and Padova to come and see the avenues of Milan and to "bathe their ears in the novel sounds of Verdi's *Nabucco*," which they have managed to enjoy despite its reuse of passages from Rossini's *Mosè in Egitto*.[35] Baruffi continues "frequent moral contact renders a population more cultivated, more civil, and more social, just as an abrasive substance cleanses the body. And we can thus see that today nations that possess the largest and more convenient means of transportation and communication are also the most civilized, just as we find the best cucumbers in locations where clear and fresh water flows fastest and most copiously."[36]

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I cannot conclude without mentioning one last, bizarre strand of the opera's initial reception, even if its significance is even more elusive. About a month after the opera's première, an article appeared in the *Gazzetta privilegiata di Milano* that accused Solera of having plagiarized several passages of the *Lombardi* libretti from existing libretti by Cammarano, Felice Romani, and a certain Giovanni Pullè. The matter was debated over a series of six articles in various periodicals, coming to a close only when Solera himself published a response in which he essentially admitted the plagiarism and trumpeted that "the author [Pullè] should consider himself honored to be found worthy of having his ugly verses placed in such a beautiful libretto."[37] Here the matter apparently came to rest until it was reanimated by Pullè's son in an 1899 memoir. The ironies of this little scandal are dizzying to contemplate.

Among the more distinctive of the seven or eight "plagiarized" passages referred to in these articles is a passage from the Act 3 duet for Giselda and Oronte, that scene in which the lovers decide to run off together, leaving behind both homeland and family. In the duet's lyrical slow movement, Oronte embraces the fate he imagine awaits him if he flees with Giselda:

Infelice!... È un voto orrendo.

Maledetto è il mio cammino.

Per dirupi e per foreste

Come belva errante io movo:

Giuoco ai venti e alle tempeste

Spesso albergo ho an antro, un covo!

[Unhappy one!... It is a terrible vow. / My path is cursed. / Through thickets and forests / I move like a wandering beast: / tossed buy the winds and storms / I often have but a cave or burrow for my shelter.]

Oronte's vocabulary here is strikingly reminiscent of opera's many outcasts and exiles--Arturo of *I puritani* who wanders through the English countryside after being branded as a royalist sympathizer by Cromwell's forces, or the bandit Ernani from Verdi's opera of the following year, who incessantly figures himself as alone and unwanted.

And indeed, it was from Pullè's libretto for an unstaged treatment of *Hernani* (with music by Costantino Quaranta, Brescia 1840) that Solera was accused of lifting his lyrics. The parallel between the two dramatic situations is interesting, in that the medieval Muslim Oronte's plaint could easily emanate from the lips of a Carbonaro revolutionary

of the generation of exiles of 1831. Yet Solera's text here is still reliant enough on the stock libretto lexicon to stretch the meaning of the term "plagiarism." It seems ironic as well that Solera, who in November of 1843 would write a vitriolic attack *in verse* on French dramatic style ("L'arte melodrammatica"), might borrow from a setting of Hugo's *Hernani*. But the real relevance of this anecdote might be as a caution against heralding *I Lombardi* as historical drama, when swathes of its libretto are revealed as interchangeable with *Hernani* or *Pia de' Tolomei* or *Parisina*. It seems a pleasing poetic justice that not long after this Solera relocated to Spain, and when he returned to Italy set up in Florence as a merchant of antiquities, retailing vestiges of the pasts (of all nations) to newly unified Italians.

[1] Joseph Alexander, Comte de Hübner, *Une année de ma vie, 1848-1849* (Paris: Hachette, 1891), diary entries for 13 May and 21 March, respectively; 95-8 and 185.
[2] These musical demonstrations for Pio IX are described in newspapers, journals, and memoirs of the period. They are listed and discussed in Peter Stamatov, "Interpretive Activism and the Political Uses of Verdi's Operas in the 1840s," *American Sociological Review*, 67/3 (2002), 345-66. The simplest alteration to the sung text involved substituting the name "Pio" for "Carlo" (the sixteenth-century Spanish king in *Ernani*), as in "O sommo Pio" and (later in the chorus) "a Pio Nono onore." On a few occasions, the chorus "O signore dal tetto natio" from *I Lombardi* was used in similar ways, its allusion to a "pio" ("pious one," or hermit) reinterpreted to refer to the new pope. Recently Douglas Ipson has found several accounts from 1847 and 1848 that describe audiences wildly applauding numbers from Verdi's *Attila* that contained verbal references to freedom, or to the idea of a unified Italy. Ipson, "*Attila* takes Rome: The Reception of Verdi's Opera on the Eve of Revolution," *Cambridge Oepra Journal* 21/3 (2010), 249-56. Ipson cites an 1847 article by Margaret Fuller in the *New York Herald Tribune* in which Fuller reports that in Rome the line "Non vedrò l'amata terra svener lenta e farri a brano") from Ezio's aria was wildly applauded and "the music …was not the reason" (254), as well an 1848 report from Naples in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* noting that 'every passage in the pruned [censored] libretto that smacked of freedom was applauded" (256).
[3] Gossett, "Becoming a Citizen: The Chorus in Risorgimento Opera," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 2/1 (1990), 41-64, here 57; the occasion Gossett refers to is an 1846 performance in Bologna, described by Verdi's student Emanuele Muzio. specifcally the censored phrases were "qui regnar dee sol libertà" (*Ernani*) and "i ceppi ha franto" (*Nabucco*), both from early versions. The phrases "breaking the chains" and "the reign of liberty" were pre-emptively censored by the composer and the poet from the libretti for *Ernani* and *Nabucco*, respectively.
[4] Parker, '*Arpa d'or dei fatidici vati': The Verdian patriotic chorus in the 1840s* (Parma: Instituto di studi verdiani, 1997).
[5] See John Rosselli, *The Opera Industry in Italy from Cimarosa to Verdi: The Role of the Impresario* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); John A. Davis, "Italy," in Robert Justin Goldstein, *The War for the Public Mind: Political Censorship in 19thC Europe* (Westport, CN: Prager, 2000), 81-124; and Davis, "Italy," in Goldstein *The Frightful Stage: Political Censorship of the Theater in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 2009),190-227.
[6] Ghislanzoni, "Storia di Milano di 1836 al 1848," in his *In chiave del bairtono* (Milan: Brigola, 1882).
[7] The story--still retold in many biographies and Verid biopics--was that the audience at the first performance of *Nabucco* had become so enthused by "Va, pensiero" that they demanded its immediate repetition, defying the Austrian ban on encores. Parker discovered that it was a completely different chorus that was encored. The story of the "Va, pensiero" encore could be traced back no further than an 1959 biography by Franco Abbiati; and when Parker turned to Abbiati's sources, he found that the biographer had

more or less invented the passage, cobbling together bits from two different reviews.

Almost as influential in the construction of *Nabucco* as patriotic icon is the testimony of an "Autobiographical Sketch"--actually written by a French journalist, but approved by the aging Verdi in 1881--that links the genesis of *Nabucco* to Verdi's despair after the death of his young wife and the failure of his first two operas. Verdi had resolved to give up composing until, while listlessly perusing a libretto that had been sent to him, his eye fell on the words for the chorus of the Hebrew slaves, "Va pensiero," and an irresistible pressure towards musical expression built up in the composer's imagination, until he was impelled to set to music the entire libretto. For level-headed evaluation of both these narratives, see Parker, *Arpa d'or*; his *Leonora's Last Act: Essays in Verdi Discourse* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 20-41; and "Historical Introduction," *Verdi: Nabucco* in the Works of Giuseppe Verdi (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 00-00.

[8] Parker, *Arpa d'or*, 84. Reports in the *Gazzetta musicale di Milano* show that following the *Cinque giornate*, when La Scala closed for several months, opera was replaced by concerts of newly-composed patriotic hymns and military music. Verdi's name is nowhere to be found on these concert programs. The *libroni* of the music publisher Ricordi tell the same story: during this period the presses were dedicated almost entirely to engraving patriotic anthems, but Verdi's name is missing from these lists too. Even more surprising, the *libroni* lack entries for any reprints of "Va pensiero" as an independent piece, inexplicable if it had really been receiving such frequent popular performances.

[9] Among those who have not heeded Parker's implied warning to abandon hope, are Francesco Izzo, "Verdi, the Virgin, and the Censor: The Politics of the Cult of Mary in *I Lombardi alla prima crociata* and *Giovanni d'Arco," Journal of the American Musicological Society* 60/3 (2007), 557-98; Andreas Giger, "Social Control and the Censorship of Verdi's Operas in Rome, 1844-59," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 11/3 (1999), 233-66; Carlotta Sorba, *Teatri: l'Italia del melodramma nell'età del Risorgimento* (Bologna: Mulino, 2001); Philip Gossett, "Edizioni distrutte and the Significance of operatic choruses during the Risorgimento," in Victoria Johnson, Jane Fulcher, and Thomas Ertman, eds., *Opera and Society in Italy and France rom Monteverdi to Bourdieu* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 181-242; and Simonetta Chiappini, "La voce della martire. Dagli 'evirati cantori' all'eroina romantica," in Alberto M. Banti and Paul Ginsborgs, eds., *Il Risorgimento*, Annali 22 (Torino: Einaudi, 2007), 289-328.

[10] [Luigi Torelli], *Pensieri sull'Italia di un aninomo lombardo* (Paris, 1846), 274; cited in Franco della Peruta, *Milano nel Risorgimento: Dall'età napoleonica alle Cinque giornate* (Milano: Edizioni comune di Milano, 1998), 68.

[11] "L'opera seria, al cui varietà è costituita dal diverso agglomeramento di quattro grande elementi patria, amore, religione e dolore trovò dunque nel Verdi un interprete, quale lo può desiderare quest'epoca, che trasportò forse tutta la leggerezza nella parte seria della esistenza, e tutta la serietà nella parte che un giorno era forse giudicata leggera." Bermani, *Schizzi sulla vita e sulle opere del maestro Giuseppe Verdi* (Milan: Ricordi, 1846), 36. Bermani's remarks were originally published in Ricordi's *Gazetta musicale di Milano*, as noted on the book's title page.

[12] Bermani, 36.

[13] M. [Marco Marcelliano] Marcello, "Rassegna musicale: Di Verdi e delle sue opere, e specialmente della *Traviata*," *Rivista contemporanea* IV/3 (Torino: Tipografia subaplina, 1855), 659-77, here 667. Marcello (1820-56) studied composition with Saverio Mercadante, founded the Torinese music journal *Il trovatore*, and wrote several libretti, incluing those for Mercadante's *Il bravo* and Carlo Pedrotti's *Tutti in maschera*.

[14] Marcello, 667.

[15] Marcello, 667.

[16] The best source for information about the Maffei salon is Arturo di Ascoli, ed., *Qurtetto milanese ottocentesco: lettere di Giuseppe Verdi, Giuseppina Strepponi, Clara Maffei, Carlo Tenca e di altri personaggi del mondo politico e artistico dell'epoca* (Rome: Archivi, 1974). See also Raffaello Barbiera, *Il salotto della Contessa Maffei e la società milanese, 1834-1886* (Milan: Treves, 1895). The salon became far more engaged with the question of Italian autonomy after Clara met Carlo Tenca in 1844.

[17] The poem's publication also launched a remarkable pamphlet war. A review of the first five cantos by Felice Romani, under the pseudonym "Don Libero," prompted ten or fifteen responses and imitations within a few months. [Romani], *Sui primi cinque canti deI Lombardi alla prima crociata, di Tommaso Grossi, ragionamento di Don Libero, professor d'umanità, tenuto a mente, e pubblicato di Don Sincero, a lui discepolo (*Milan: Felice Rusconi, 1826).

[18] In Solera's libretto for Verdi, Saladin is renamed Oronte, possibly to avoid confusion with the historical Saladin, a leader in the Third Crusade and a principal character in Cottin's novel. On Cottin's novel, see Margaret Cohen, *The Sentimental Education of the Novel* (Princeton, 2002), 00-00.

[19] Banti, *La nazione del Risorgimento : parentela, santità e onore alle origini dell'Italia unita* (Turin: Einaudi, 2006).

[20] Elizabeth Siberry (*The New Crusaders Images of the Crusades in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* [Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000]) has shown that the castigation of the crusades by Enlightenment writers such as Hume and Gibbon was replaced in the nineteenth century by widespread identification with the crusaders, and with crusading itself as a reenactment of the past and a metaphor of the future. Michaud's history of the crusaes was published in a revised edition in 1831, and was in its sixth edition by 1841. See Munholland, "Michaud's History of the Crusades and the French Crusade in Algeria under Louis-Philippe," in Petra ten-Doesschate Chu and Gabriel P. Weissberg's *The Popularization of Images: Visual Culture under the July Monarchy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994); and James Watt, "Scott, the Scottish Enlightenment, and Romantic Orientalism," in *Scotland and the Borders of Romanticism,* Ian Duncan, Leith Davis, Janet Sorenson, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 94-112.

[21] The libretti I have found are: Giuseppe Nicolini and Gaetano Rossi, *Malek-Adel* (Milan, Teatro Carcano, 1830); Giovanni Pacini and Calisto Bassi, *I crociati a Tolemaide, ossia Malek-Adel* (Torino, 1830); Michael Costa and Carlo Pepoli, *Malek-Adel* (Paris, Théâtre-Italian, 1837); Andrea de Simone and Leopoldo Tarantini, *Matilda d'Inghilterra (*Naples, Teatro Nuovo, 1841).

[22] The libretto's dreamy style and structure vividly recall *I puritani.* The comparison is interesting not only because it draws attention to the pre-fabricated construction of libretti

from stiock elements and because it casts light on Pepoli's literary style, but also because the dreaminess of *I puritani* has usually been attributed more to the composer Bellini than to Pepoli.

[23] In 1835 Clara Maffei commissioned Hayez's painting *Valenzia Gradenigo Before the Inquisitors* to hang in her public rooms. The three canvases based on Grossi are: *Pietro l'eremita predica la crociata* (1826/1829); *Papa Urbano II in piazza predica la prima crociata* (1835); and *La partenza di Saladino* (also 1835). Later Hayez painted *Sete dei crociati vicino a Gerusalemme* (1850). On Hayez and Grossi, see Adrian Lyttelton, "Creating a National Past: History, Myth, and Image in the Risorgimento," in Albert Ascoli and Krystyna von Henneberg, eds., *Making and Remaking Italy: The Cultivation of National Identity around the Risorgimento* (Oxford: Berg, 2001), 27-74.

[24] "Se il feudalismo in Europa bastava a difendere le società delle potenze straniere, non era esso valevole ad assicurare la tranquillità interiore… Il popolo schiavo. I nobili sfrenati. Le guerre eterne. Arte e scienze proscritte. Le lettere ignorate… La Croce è simbolo della fratellenza europea; Papa Urbano la dispensa personalmente alle genti.

Oh epoca di speranza e di salute! Tutte le ire si spengono che non sian ira pei nemici di Cristo. Cessano i dissidi fra i prodi di una causa sì santa, fra i congiunti di un amore così universo.

L'unanimità muove quella folla che accorre. Che distanza! che onda! ogni azione, ogni moto è l'espressione d'una stessa credenza; è l'espansione d'uno stesso entusiasmo.

Odi fra i ragruppamenti più prossimi. Oh la possente energia della parola paterna che invita i figli al giuramento della religione in cui nacquero!" *L'annotatore piemontese, ossia Giornale della lingua e letteratura italiana*, Vol 3 (Torino, 1836), 216.

[25] *The Duties of Man and Other Essays* (London: J.M. Dent, 1910), 29; cited in Jonathan Cheskin, "Catholic-Liberal Opera: Outline of a Hidden Italian Musical Romanticism," Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1999, 254.

[26] On this see my commentary "A Stroll in the Piazza," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 36/4 (2006), 621-7.

[27] This strain of nationalist thought was represented most prominently by Vincenzo Gioberti, who wanted to see the peninsula unified under the Pope, a plan he laid out in his hugely influential *Primato morale e civile degli italiani* (1843). Giobertian interpretations of *I Lombardi* have been advanced by Cheskin, "Catholic-Liberal Opera"; and Francesco Izzo, ""Verdi, the Virgin, and the Censor." Francesco de Sanctis situated Grossi within the Catholic-Liberal constellation in his "Tommaso Grossi e la maniera romantica," in *La scuola cattolico-liberale e il romanticismo a Napoli*, ed. Carlo Muscetta and Giorgio Candeloro (Turin: Einaudi, 1953), 15-45.

[28] and it is explicitly discussed in these terms by Alberto Banti…

[29] The review in *L'Eco di Milano* (March 1843, 350) observes that the basis of the entire opera is the chorus (as it already had been in *Nabucco*), and dubs "O Signore dal tetto natio" as a "magnifico confratello" of the popular one from *Nabucco*. Writing in *Gazzetta musicale di Milano* (26 February 1843, 35-6), Geremia Vitali praises "O Signore al tetto natio," but doesn't mention Nabucco. By 1846, the *Allgemeine Wiener Zeitung* accuses Verdi of reproducing same choral effects from opera to opera, like a salesman who must bring his goods to market. This same review (which is signed A.S.), offers an interesting assessment of the choruses in the opera. The critic complains that the crusaders's chorus

in Act 3 has no more than a superficial effect, like most of the choral numbers in the opera, because they all tend to rely on only a a single instrumental timbre or other gimmicky feature for effect, rather than really characterizing in depth. Yet A.S. notes, the but public liked the crusaders' chorus very well. *Allgemeine Wiener Zeitung* VI/65-66 (1846), 260-1.

[30] The references to Verdi "filosofica" appear in *L'Eco di Milano* and in Bermani, *Schizzi sulla vita e sulle opere del maestro Giuseppe Verdi*. Vitali takes up the same train of thought, writing that Verdi here abandons the "leggerrezza" that has for many years marked the Italian style of song, to "cleverly pair grandeur of harmony with fluidity and grace of melody; abandoning the false taste for ornament and fioriture, using art only to express the truth of drama" (*Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, 19 February, 32-5, and 26 February 1843, 35-6). This closely parallels the rhetoric Mazzini had adopted in his 1836 *Filosofia della musica*, although Mazzini's views on music were as yet little known in Italy.

[31] Vitali, *Gazzetta Musicale di Milano*, 26 February 1843.

[32] Havel, *Letters to Olga*; quoted in Annabel Patterson, *Censorship and Interpretation: The Conditions of Writing and Reading in Early Modern England* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984), 11.

[33] With this possibly unique exception: "The individualism of affect disappears in the face of this fervid imagination: and it has [duopo] sentiments much more vast, more collective, that agitates the masses, who embrace whatever contains the most sublime image of nation or of humanity. And it is precisely in the expression of a grand and complex thought, revealed by Verdi's creative power; it is the lament of an entire people who tremble as slaves in the banks of the Euphrates, and the religious aspirations of two nations, who become brothers, bonded by a single prayer; or it is the cry of war that sends the crusaders off to the conquest of Palestine, it is in the pained moan of those troops, afflicted by the desert drought. Even these expressive individuals, without whom dramaric action cannot exist, need to be reinvigorated by a higher or more generous idea; and for verdi love itself must connect to something more exalted that is more than vulgar complacency, as happens in Nabucco and in I Lombardi, where it is supported by religious exaltation." T. [Carlo Tenca?], *La fama* VIII (February 1843), 9; quoted in Chiara Marin, "La presenza delle arti figurative e sceniche nella stampa periodica lombardo-veneta (1800-1848)," doctoral thesis, Università di Padova, 2006, 187.

[34] John Davis, "Italy," in Robert Justin Goldstein, *The War for the Public Mind: Political Censorship in 19thC Europe* Westport, CN: Prager, 2000), 81-124. Gioberti's *Primato* was published in Brussels, but with approval of the Piedmontese authorities, and it circulated widely in Italy.

[35] "Istitutzioni ed Opere. Milano, Brescia, e Padova," *L'Eco di Milano* (fascicolo VI, March 1843), 366.

[36] Baruffi, 367.

[37] This wording translated from Domenico Giurati, *Il plagio* (Milan: Hoepli,1903). The entire story is recounted by Leopoldo Pullè in his *Penna e spada (*Milan: Hoepli, 1899).