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'Si ridesti [il Leon di Castiglia] la fiamma sopita': Ricordi's Censored Libretto of Ernani and Some Vicissitudes of the Conspiracy Scene

Keywords

Giuseppe Verdi, Ernani, censorship

'Si ridesti il Leon di Castiglia la fiamma sopita': Ricordi's Censored Libretto of *Ernani* and Some Vicissitudes of the Conspiracy Scene¹

David B. Rosen

As Claudio Gallico noted in the introduction to his critical edition of *Ernani*, "Later [after its 1844 premiere and productions in Milan and Parma], *Ernani* occasionally underwent further changes in its title, the setting of the action, the names of the characters, and the literary text. These modified libretti are beyond the scope of a critical edition of the opera, but their titles should nevertheless be mentioned," and he proceeds to mention four: *Elvira d'Aragona*, *Le proscrit ou le Corsaire de Venise*, *Il corsaro di Venezia*, and *Il proscritto ossia il Corsaro di Venezia*.² The most important and widely distributed "alternate" libretto, however, kept the original title: this is the libretto Ricordi prepared for the Papal States and points south. Let's call it the "Roman libretto," although "southern libretto" might be more appropriate. There is no evidence that Verdi ever saw this libretto, but he must have known that Ricordi was renting the score and selling libretti with a censored text. As the version of the opera that many audiences read and heard, often with enthusiasm, it merits some attention.

This version of the libretto was first used for a production of the opera in Rome's Teatro Argentina in the "Primavera del 1844," with the first performance on 29 May 1844.³ Presumably a libretto had been submitted to the Roman censors and Ricordi's libretto incorporated the changes they demanded; it is possible, however, that Ricordi prepared a pre-emptively censored

¹ This essay began with a few days spent examining libretti in the Fondo Rolandi at the Fondazione Cini (Venice), during a wonderful month's residence at the Centro studi ligure per le arti e le lettere (Bogliasco); my thanks to the Fondazione Cini and the Fondazione Bogliasco. I also want to thank Linda Fairtile, Francesco Izzo, and Kent Underwood for facilitating my examination of the microfilmed libretti collected by the American Institute for Verdi Studies and housed at the Bobst Library at New York University. Finally, I am grateful to Andreas Giger, Roger Parker, and the anonymous reader for their comments on an early draft of the article, and to Francesca Seller for valuable information about the Neapolitan theaters.

² *The Works of Giuseppe Verdi* (Chicago and London; Milan: University of Chicago Press; Ricordi, 1985), Series I, volume 5, xlvi (original Italian), xxii (Philip Gossett's translation, cited here). Henceforth, *WGV tout court* will refer to this edition. Citations of the critical notes or Critical Commentary refer to the Critical Commentary volume issued in English.

³ On the libretto: the copy in the Biblioteca nazionale braidense is available at the following URL: http://www.braidense.it/cataloghi/catalogo_rd.php (consulted 31 October 2010). It bears the plate number 14025 on the title page, on the first page of text (fifth unnumbered page), and on p. 25 (Parte seconda, scena xiv). The plate numbers for Ricordi libretti of *Ernani*—14024 or 14025—are not a reliable guide for distinguishing between the "standard" text (that corresponding to the libretto used for the Venetian premiere and in northern Italy) and the "Roman" text, for they do not map neatly onto the two versions of the text. For example, a Ricordi libretto with the censored Roman text for Bologna's Teatro Comunitativo in autumn 1844 has 14024 on the title page and another page (one with text specific to the Roman libretto), and 14025 on the first page of text and another page. Curiously, the Ricordi 1857 *Catalogo in ordine numerico* assigns the plate number 14024 to the libretto of *Ernani*, but 14025 to the libretto of Donizetti's *Don Sebastiano*. The first part of the catalogue is reprinted in Agostina Zecca Laterza, ed., *Il Catalogo numerico Ricordi 1857 con date e indici*; preface by Philip Gossett, (Rome: Nuovo istituto editoriale italiano, 1984). The *libroni* (Ricordi's manuscript register of publications) offer no useful additional information (see Luke Jensen, *Giuseppe Verdi & Giovanni Ricordi with Notes on Francesco Lucca: From "Oberto" to "La Traviata"* [New York and London: Garland, 1989], 287).

On the performance: Mario Rinaldi cited a review in the 30 May 1844 issue of *La rivista* that refers to the "coro—si ridesti la fiamma sopita," the censored text of "Si ridesti il Leon di Castiglia." Mario Rinaldi, *Due secoli di musica al Teatro Argentina*, 3 vols. (Florence: Olschki, 1978), III: 778.

libretto, based on expectations of the censors' reactions.⁴ This libretto was used in various productions in the Papal States and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, and also served as the basis for some of the versions of the opera that underwent even more stringent censorship, including some with changed names. I will first discuss various aspects of this libretto, ending with the "Congiura"—n. 11 in Verdi's autograph score, Act III, scenes 3 and 4—and then turn to some further vicissitudes of that scene in Naples, including the *Inno nazionale a Ferdinando II*.

Ricordi's Roman Libretto of "Ernani"

As any libretto to be used in Rome and the Papal States must do, Ricordi's libretto avoids religious expressions. Some of these changes are completely standard substitutions that could almost be executed by the "find and replace" function in word-processing software. For example, the exclamations "Dio" and "Iddio" are routinely replaced by "cielo" or "oh cielo" (II, 13; III, 2; IV, 6), "inferno" by "averno" (II, 13). Here are most of the other examples (the substituted text appears in square brackets).⁵

Dell'esilio, nel dolore / Angiol [Genio] fia consolator (I, 2)
(In the sadness of exile she will be my consoling angel [spirit])

Un Eden [fonte] di delizia / Saran quegli antri a me. (I, 3)
(Those caves will be an Eden [font] of delight for me.)

Tolga Iddio! [Non poss'io!] (I, 7)
(God forbid! [I cannot!])

Nel tuo dritto confida, o signore, / È d'ogni altro più santo, più giusto. [Ti dia
forza l'onesto ed il giusto.] (I, 10)
(Have faith in your right, O Sire, it is more holy and just than any other's. [May that
which is honest and just give you strength.])

Preverrebbe questo amplesso / La celeste voluttà [La comune fedeltà]. (II, 4)
(This embrace would anticipate celestial happiness [mutual fidelity].)

⁴ Because of the way that sources have been transmitted and preserved, that correspondence between Ricordi and the Roman censors has not yet come to light does not constitute evidence that it never existed. There must have been documentation of the censors' deliberations about *I due Foscari*, premiered in Rome in 1844, but that has not been found (my thanks to Andreas Giger for this point). For information about the workings of the Roman censorship, see Andreas Giger, "Social Control and the Censorship of Giuseppe Verdi's Operas in Rome (1844-1859)," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 11 (1999): 233-265; *Idem*, "Behind the Police Chief's Closed Doors: The Unofficial Censors of Verdi in Rome," *Nineteenth-Century Music Review* 7/2 (2010): 63-99; and, of course, the oft-cited article of Luigia Rivelli, "G. Gioacchino Belli 'Censore' e il suo spirito liberale," *Rassegna storica del risorgimento* 10 (1923): 318-393.

⁵ Throughout this essay, the translations from the original libretto are based upon William Weaver's translation in the 1968 RCA Victor recording with Leontyne Price and Carlo Bergonzi, conducted by Thomas Schippers (RCA LSC-6183).

Ed ospitalità chiese per Dio [tremando]. (II, 8)
(And he asked for hospitality in God's name [trembling]).

Sarò, lo giuro—a te ed a Dio [sull'onor mio] (III, 6)
(I shall be—I swear to you and to God [on my honor])

Tu, re clemente,—somiali a Dio [tu giusto e pio] (III, 6)
(You, merciful king, —resemble God [you, just and pious])

Acquista insolito – divin folgor [nuovo folgor] (III, 6)
(Acquires unusual, divine brilliance [new brilliance])

Maledizion di Dio!! [Qual tremito improvviso!!] (IV, 4)
(God's curse!! [What sudden trembling!!])

Non vedi, Elvira, un infernal sogghigno [dell'Erinni il riso] (IV, 4)
(Can't you see, Elvira, an infernal grin [the furies' laughter])

In the description of the scenery at the beginning of Part III, the “catacombe,” evoking the hiding places of early Christians, are replaced with the neutral “sotterranei” (underground chambers). In the final scene, “Un giuramento orribile” (“a horrible oath”) becomes “Una promessa orribile” (“a horrible promise”), a change perhaps related to religious concerns (one does take sacred, not secular, oaths, after all)? But the word “giuramento,” presented with positive connotations, is allowed to stand: “Noi fratelli in tal momento / Stringa un patto, un giuramento” (“Let a pact, an oath bind us as brothers at such a moment”—III, 4). Let this serve as a reminder of the difficulty in identifying the censors' motives and placing them in this or that pigeonhole (e.g., religion, morality, politics).⁶

When Silva appears to claim his prey in the final act, Ernani explains that his life had been a cup of sorrows (“D'affanni amaro un calice”)—at least let him drink from the “cup of love” (“tazza dell'amor”). Offering him a choice between poison and a dagger, Silva brusquely replies, “Here is the cup” (“Ecco la tazza”), setting up a triple parallelism. But although the censored libretto keeps the second and third references to the cup—overlooking the sexual connotations of the “tazza dell'amor”—it eliminates the first reference to drinking from a cup, for it uses the word “calice” (chalice), which has religious significance.⁷

D'affanni amaro un calice / Tutto ingoiar dovei. [D'affanni amaro il vortice /
Tutto passar dovei.] (IV,6)
(I had to drain a whole bitter cup of sorrows. [I had to endure a bitter vortex of sorrows.]

⁶ The point has been made before, see, for example, Francesco Izzo's, “Verdi, the Virgin, and the Censor: The Politics of the Cult of Mary in *I Lombardi alla prima crociata* and *Giovanna d'Arco*,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 60 (2007): 557-598, at 559-560 and *passim*; David Rosen, “A Tale of Five Cities: The Peregrinations of Somma's and Verdi's *Gustavo III* (and *Una vendetta in dominò* and *Un ballo in maschera*) at the Hands of the Neapolitan and Roman Censorship,” in *Verdi Forum* 26-27 (1999-2000): 60.

⁷ Similarly, in the libretto of *Violetta (La traviata)* for the Teatro Apollo in Rome, Carnevale 1854-1855, the opening line of Alfredo's *brindisi*, “Libiamo ne' lieti calici” (“Let us drink from the happy goblets”), is changed to “Libiam tra lieti cantici” (“Let us drink among happy songs”).

Despite the replacement of words with religious connotations, one more important element surprisingly remained unchanged: Ernani's suicide. As is well known, in the Rome premiere of *Il trovatore* Leonora does not commit suicide by drinking poison but simply dies. Cammarano, the librettist of *Il trovatore*, had been informed by the Roman impresario Vincenzo Jacovacci, "Leonora must not allow the audience to witness her taking poison, since suicides are forbidden [by the Roman censors]."⁸ I have not found any libretto of *Ernani* that eliminates the suicide, for example, by having Silva say, "Well, if you're not going to fulfill your oath, I'll do it for you! (*lo trafigge – he stabs him*)."

And of course, political concerns are also in evidence. References to rebellion are suppressed: "di ribellione [rio disordin] l'idra" ("the hydra-monster of rebellion [wicked disorder]") and "de' ribelli" [degli audaci] ("of the rebels [of the audacious ones]"—both II, 8). But the censors sometimes overlooked instances of words or concepts elsewhere forbidden: two instances of "ribello" remained unchanged in the Roman libretto.⁹ Predictably, "liberi" was also *verboten*: "Salvi ne vedi, e liberi [intrepidi]" ("You see us safe and free [fearless]"—(II, 14).

Although the breakdown of the "Cori" on the page with the cast includes "Personaggi della Lega" (Members of the League), mentions of the League conspiring against Carlo are removed from the text.

Riccardo: Qui s'aduna la Lega [coloro].

Carlo: Che contro me cospira [Cui mal talento incende] (III, 1)

(*Riccardo*: Here the league meets [those people meet]. / *Carlo*: Which conspires against me [Whose hatred burns"])

In the next two examples both the League and religious terms are excised:

Per la Lega santo ardor; [Per la gloria vivo ardor,] (III, 3)

(For the league holy ardor; [For glory intense ardor,])

Per la Lega...[gloria...] / Santa [Bella] e giusta. (III, 4)

(For the league, [glory] Holy [Beautiful] and right.)

Curiously, the heavily censored libretto for the Teatro Fondo (Naples) performance (as *Il proscritto, ossia Il corsaro di Venezia*), which seems to have been based on the "standard," "northern" version of the text (see note 27), allowed the original reading to stand. Apparently the "Lega" held no terrors for the Neapolitan censors.

There was relatively little in *Ernani* to worry the censors on moral grounds. One example is that in the censored libretto Silva sees "Due traditori" ("Two traitors") rather than "Due seduttori" ("Two seducers") (I, 9). Another possible example is Silva's solo in the Act I Finale. In the autograph score Verdi wrote "Infelice! e tu credevi / sì bel giglio immacolato! / Del tuo crine sulle nevi / Piomba invece il disonor" ("Unhappy man! and you believed such a beautiful

⁸ The quotation is from Jacovacci's 18 October 1851 letter to Cammarano; see Carlo Matteo Mossa's essay, "The Genesis of the Libretto," embedded in the Introduction to David Lawton's critical edition of *Il trovatore*, *WGV*, series 1, volume 18A, xxii for the translation cited here, 1 for the original Italian.

⁹ "...del ribello / Nulla traccia si scopri" ["...no trace of the rebel was discovered"] (II, 10); "E scoprirò i ribelli" ["And I will discover the rebels"] (III, 1).

lily to be immaculate! Instead dishonor falls suddenly on your white head”), and this reading is found in the two preliminary Venetian libretti preceding the third and definitive version—VE⁴⁴, to use the *WGV* siglum.¹⁰ In VE⁴⁴, however, the first line was changed to “Infelice! e tuo credevi ...” (“Unhappy man! and you believed such a beautiful, immaculate lily [to be] *yours!*”). *WGV* finds both readings acceptable, though with the original “tu” reading more appropriate: “Silva is dishonored, after all, not because Elvira is not his but because she is not immaculate. The possibility cannot be excluded that the censors found this version unacceptable.” *WGV* accepts the reading of the autograph, “tu”.¹¹ In the censored Ricordi libretto, however, the first two lines read: “Infelice!... e tu credevi / Solo a te quel cor serbato!... (“Unhappy man! and you believed that heart to be reserved only for you!”). This unambiguously chooses the second meaning, that of the later libretti, even though it adopts “tu” rather than “tuo”. One might argue that Silva’s dishonor stems from his presumptuousness in believing that Elvira was his. In any case, I suspect that the main purpose of the change in the Roman libretto was to avoid the word “immacolata” with its religious associations—as in immaculate conception.

A few miscellaneous examples are more difficult to explain. Most if not all passages discussed so far changed a few words, rarely with implications for other lines. More extensive changes were made in the *stretta* of the Act II Finale (II, 14). I cite here the lines of Ernani and Silva (those of the chorus are slightly different):

“Standard” libretto
 In arcione, in arcion, cavalieri,
 Armi, sangue, vendetta, vendetta,
 Silva stesso vi guida, v’affretta,
 Premio degno egli darvi saprà.

Roman libretto
 In arcione, in arcion, cavalieri,
 Se del forte la voce si onora,
 Silva stesso vi guida, v’incuora,
 Premio degno egli darvi saprà.

(*“Standard”*: In the saddle, knights—arms, blood, revenge. Silva himself leads you, urges you on, knows what worthy reward to give you. [*Roman*: In the saddle, knights—arms, blood, revenge. If one honors the voice of the strong man, Silva himself leads you, gives you courage, etc.])

“Standard” libretto
 Questi brandi, di morte forieri,
 D’ogni cor troveranno la strada,
 Chi resister s’attenti, pria cada,
 Sia¹² delitto il sentire pietà.

Roman libretto
 Questi brandi, di morte forieri,
 D’ogni cor troveranno la via,
 Chi resister s’attenti, non fia,
 O sul campo trafitto cadrà.

(*“Standard”*: These swords, portents of death, will find the path to each heart. Let he who attempts to resist fall first; let feeling pity be a crime. [*Roman*: These swords, portents of death, will find the way to each heart. Let anyone who attempts to resist fail, or he will fall on the battlefield, run through.])

The rather bloodthirsty second line of the first stanza has been neutralized (and the following line adjusted to provide a rhyme). The word “vendetta” tended to trouble censors unless placed in a

¹⁰ For a discussion of the libretti, see *WGV*, xxiv-xxv (English translation), xlviii-xlix; Critical Commentary 16-19.

¹¹ *WGV*, Critical Notes, 49; the passage is discussed also in the sections cited in note 10.

¹² VE⁴⁴ has “sia” for Ernani and Silva, “fia” for the chorus. Verdi’s autograph uses “fia” for all parts. See *WGV*, Critical Commentary, N. 9, mm. 189-196, pp. 77-78.

clearly negative context (e.g., “stolta vendetta” [“stupid vendetta”]).¹³ But the situation is more complicated than that, for Silva uses the word obsessively, including his final lines in the opera: “Della vendetta il demone / Qui venga ad esultar!” (“Let the demon of revenge come here to exult”).¹⁴ Silva *must* say the word—it is the key to his character. Perhaps this suffices to impart a negative context. But other characters say it too, and not merely referring to Silva’s vendetta. Carlo warns Silva, who is concealing his “guest” Ernani, we shall see whether you can challenge “la vendetta del tuo re” (“your king’s vengeance”—II, 9). Ernani twice says that he wanted to be the “vendicatore” of his father, who had been killed by Carlo’s father (I, 10 and III, 6); in II, 13, he tells Silva that he wants to take part in Silva’s vendetta against Carlos. Elvira is alone in having no vendettas to pursue—she uses the word only twice, referring to those of other characters.¹⁵

In the second stanza, it is probably the “un-Christian” sentiment in the last line that triggered the other changes, and here too the injunction not to feel pity might or not be acceptable for Silva, but by hypothesis would not have been so for Ernani. There was nothing intrinsically wrong with “pria cada,” replaced with the weak “non fia,” but that would have anticipated the new final line. Put another way, the revised passage takes the entire final line and part of the preceding line to say what Piave had said in two words: “pria cada.”

In the Roman libretto Ernani offers Silva “La vita mia” (“My life”) instead of “Il capo mio” (“My head”) as a wedding gift. Might the image of a severed head have been found offensive? Perhaps, but in two other instances “capo” is not removed: when Carlos tells Silva “Il capo tuo, o quel d’Ernani io voglio” (“I want your head or Ernani’s”—II, 8) and when Ernani reveals himself to be a noble and therefore eligible for execution rather than prison: “Questo capo... il tronca, o re” (“This head... cut it off, o king”—III, 6).

The Case of “Si ridesti il Leon di Castiglia”

Before we consider the Rome libretto’s version of the Congiura scene, with the celebrated chorus “Si ridesti il Leon di Castiglia,” we should review the genesis of the scene, drawing on research by Bruno Cagli, Claudio Gallico, and Philip Gossett.¹⁶

On 13 November 1843, Piave wrote a long letter to Giacomo Ferretti, a friend and fellow librettist, in which he reported on, *inter alia*, his Ernani contract. Piave sent the text of the “Si ridesti il Leon di Castiglia” chorus, noting, “Ti mando un coro di congiurati Spagnuoli, che

¹³ See Rosen, “A Tale of Five Cities,” 66 (n. 48).

¹⁴ Verdi wrote, then cancelled, text in which Silva showed remorse, as he does in Hugo’s play, where he commits suicide. (See *WGV*, Critical Commentary, N. 14, mm. 271-273, p. 99.) For other uses of the word (or related words) by Silva, see I, 9; I, 10; II, 5; II, 7; II, 11; III, 4; and III, 6.

¹⁵ When Silva discovers Ernani and Elvira in each other’s arms, he wants vengeance, and Ernani and Elvira echo his words “La vendetta più tremenda” (“The most terrible vengeance”), each urging him to carry out his vengeance on him or her, but being merciful to the other (II, 7). After the capture of the conspirators, she pleads with Carlo to let scorn, rather than violence, be his vendetta (III, 6).

¹⁶ Bruno Cagli, “...Questo povero poeta esordiente’: Piave a Roma, un carteggio con Ferretti, la genesi di *Ernani*,” *Ernani ieri e oggi: Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Modena, Teatro San Carlo, 9-10 dicembre 1984*, published as *Verdi: Bollettino dell’Istituto di Studi Verdiani* (Parma: Istituto di Studi Verdiani, 1987), 1-18, at 14-16; Claudio Gallico, Introduction to *WGV Ernani* volume, xli (original Italian) and xvii (Philip Gossett’s English translation); Gossett’s “Afterword” reporting the discovery of two new sources, unnumbered pages between lxiii and lxxv in *WGV*; Gossett, “Becoming a Citizen: The Chorus in *Risorgimento* Opera,” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 2 (1990): 41-64, at 56-58.

peraltro non so se la Polizia vorrà passarmi” (“I send you a chorus of Spanish conspirators, which, however, I don’t know whether the Police will want to allow”). Verdi altered the text of both the third and fourth quatrains when he set them to music. Except for the word “libertà,” an instance of self-censorship (see below), it is not clear whether the censors had initiated the changes, or whether Verdi and/or Piave acted independently to forestall trouble.

The text Piave initially provided for the third and fourth quatrains was as follows:

Morte colga o n’arrida vittoria
 Pugneremo; e col sangue de’ spenti
 Scriveranno i figliuoli viventi:
 Qui regnare sol dee libertà!
 Qui s’assida in suo trono di gloria,
 S’incoroni d’ulivo la chioma,
 E se Grachi, se Bruti ebbe Roma,
 Grachi e Bruti anco Iberia darà!¹⁷

(Let death take us, or let victory smile upon us, we will fight; and with the blood of the dead the living sons will write: “Here only liberty must reign!”
 Let him be seated on its throne of glory, let him be crowned with an olive wreath; and if Rome had the Gracchus [brothers], the Brutus [family], Spain will also produce Grachi and Bruti!)

The final line of the third stanza was guaranteed to raise the censors’ hackles, and indeed, the word “libertà” has been changed to “verità” (“truth”) in Verdi’s working libretto now in the Morgan Library. The image of writing messages in blood might also have been found excessively violent or gory.¹⁸ And, of course, the censors would not allow the evocation of the revolutionary figures of ancient Rome, the Gracchus and Brutus families.

Here then is the text that Verdi actually set to music, with variant readings in VE⁴⁴ cited in notes:¹⁹

Si ridesti il Leon di Castiglia,
 E d’Iberia ogni monte, ogni lito
 Eco formi al tremendo ruggito,
 Come un dì contro i Mori oppressor.
 Siamo tutti una sola famiglia,
 Pugnerem colle braccia, co’ petti;
 Schiavi inulti più a lungo e negletti
 Non saremo finché vita abbia il cor.
 Morte colga, o n’arrida vittoria,²⁰

¹⁷ Text quoted from Cagli, “...‘Questo povero poeta esordiente’,” 15. This is the text given in Piave’s letter of 13 November 1843 to Ferretti. According to Gallico, this text “corresponds to the one in the autograph of *L’onore castigliano*, a preliminary version of the libretto.” *WGV*, xvii (English), xli (Italian).

¹⁸ On the censors’ aversion to “excessive violence” and horror, see Rosen, “A Tale of Five Cities,” 57, 59-60, 63.

¹⁹ Text (including punctuation) from the musical text of *WGV* (however, I’ve capitalized the beginning of each line, following the libretto).

Pugnerem, ed il sangue de' spenti²¹
Nuovo ardire ai figliuoli viventi,
Forze nuove al pugnare darà.
Sorga alfine radiante di gloria,
Sorga un giorno a brillare su noi . . .
Sarà Iberia feconda d'eroi,
Dal servaggio redenta sarà . . .

(Let the Lion of Castille reawaken, let every mountain, every region of Iberia form an echo to its terrible roar, as they did one day against Moor oppressors. We are all a single family, we will fight with our arms, our breasts; we will be unavenged slaves and neglected no longer while the heart has life. Whether death takes us, or victory smiles on us, we will fight, and the blood of the dead will give new courage to the living sons, new strength to the fighting. Let the day break at last, radiant with glory, let the day break to shine upon us; Iberia will be fertile with heroes; she will be redeemed from servitude.)

And here is the revised text of the chorus, as presented in Ricordi's libretti for consumption in the South:

Si ridesti la fiamma sopita,
Dell'onor si risvegli la voce
Guerra e morte non teme il feroce;
Lo spavento gli piombi sul cuor.
Sorga in noi nuova speme di vita,
Arderemo d'impavidi affetti;
Sol l'onore ci parli ne' petti;
Sia deluso de' tristi il furor.
Sia che morte ne aspetti, o vittoria,
Correremo da prodi ai cimenti;
Ed il sangue ed il nome dei spenti
Nuovo ardore nei cuor desterà.
Sorga alfine l'aurora di gloria,
Sorga un giorno a brillar su di noi
Dall'ardir, dal valor degli Eroi
Ogni affanno sgombrato sarà.

(Let the sleeping flame be revived, the voice of honor be reawakened, the fierce man does not fear war and death, [but *now*] may fear strike his heart.²²)

²⁰ VE⁴⁴: "Sia che morte ne aspetti, o vittoria"; the Roman libretto preserves this line from VE⁴⁴, here following it rather than Verdi's score. But the compilers of the Roman libretto had access to both sources, for in another instance, the Roman libretto adopts a reading from the score that is not in VE⁴⁴: "Mille guerrier m'inseguono, / Siccome belva i cani..." ["A thousand warriors pursue me, like dogs a wild beast"] (II, 3), much better than the second line in VE⁴⁴: "M'incalzano, inumani..." ["Like beasts at my heels"].

²¹ VE⁴⁴: "Pugneremo, ed il sangue de' spenti"

²² The bracketed addition seems to be the only interpretation that makes any sense of this strange couplet.

May a new hope of life rise up in us, we will burn with fearless emotions; let honor alone speak to our hearts; let the furor of the evil ones be disappointed.

Whether death awaits us, or victory, we will run as heroes to the tasks; and the blood and the names of the dead will arouse new ardor in our hearts.

Let the dawn of glory finally rise up, Let the day break to shine upon us through the ardor, through the valor of the heroes every trouble will be swept away.)

This text has some of the “standard” Risorgimento words (and “onore” twice and derivatives of “ardore” three times), but the “pugnare” of the original is de-emphasized, and the nature of the “cimenti” to which “correremo da prodi” remains unsatisfactorily vague. References to their present state of slavery (“schiavi” and “servaggio”) are removed—indeed, there is nothing to describe the present state of affairs as less than satisfactory. All references to Iberia are gone. Referring to a similar excision in the libretto for the 1844 La Scala performances, *WGV* notes, “One must assume the Milanese editor of the libretto sought to remove the direct mention of Iberia as a land of political reawakening.”²³ Such a concern would have weighed even more heavily on Ricordi, preparing a libretto for use not only in the Papal States but also in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, ruled by Ferdinando II of the Spanish Bourbon dynasty. The minor stylistic changes in the first two lines of the fourth stanza remind us that not every change can be explained as a reaction to “objectionable” phrases or concepts. Some of these censors thought of themselves as poets, and indeed, some, like G. Gioacchino Belli, actually were.²⁴

* * *

I now move my attention southward to Naples and present here a series of snapshots of some of the libretti I consulted at the Fondazione Cini and in the microfilms collected by the American Institute of Verdi Studies and housed at the Bobst Library at New York University. To the best of my knowledge, the first publication of the libretto in Naples was in 1845, by the publisher Girard.²⁵ Its text is that of Ricordi's Roman libretto. The Girard libretto has no cast and was apparently not intended for a particular performance. It carried a notice that the orchestral score and parts were in the firm's archives, and it lists for sale the *opera completa* as well as *pezzi staccati*, including the “Gran coro della congiura.”

Our next snapshot is the production of *Il proscritto, ossia il corsaro di Venezia* at the Teatro del Fondo in 1847, the first or second production in Naples (see note 25).²⁶ The names

²³ The last two lines of the chorus in the Milanese libretto read: “E immortal fra i più splendidi eroi, / Col lor nome anche il nostro sarà . . .” [“And along with the name of the most splendid heroes, ours shall be immortal as well”]. See *WGV*, Critical Notes, N. 11, mm, 133-139, p. 85. It should be added that the references to the “Leon di Castiglia” and to “Iberia” in the first stanza remained intact.

²⁴ See Rivelli, “G. Gioacchino Belli ‘Censore’ e il suo spirito liberale,” *Rassegna storica del risorgimento* 10 (1923): 318-393.

²⁵ Marcello Conati lists only one production in Naples in the period 1844-1846, at the Teatro S. Ferdinando in July 1846. However, there is a question mark after the “VII” (July), and, unlike almost all of the other entries in his list, no cast is given. If the production actually happened—I have seen no other reference to it—apparently no libretto for it has come to light. See Marcello Conati, “*Ernani* di Verdi: le critiche del tempo. Alcune considerazioni,” in ‘*Ernani*’ ieri e oggi (see note 16), 207-272, at 269.

²⁶ According to Francesca Seller (personal communication), based on her examination of the *Giornale del Regno delle due Sicilie*, the official state newspaper, the opera was performed at both the Teatro del Fondo and the

have been changed (e.g., we hear “Oldrado, Oldrado, involami”), and the text seems to have been redacted from the standard libretto, not from the Ricordi Roman version.²⁷ Both the drawing of lots to determine the assassin of Carlo (here Andrea Ritti) and the chorus were cut.²⁸ That is, after the lines corresponding to Silva’s “Dunque svelisi il mistero / Carlo aspira al sacro impero” (here “Già d’Andrea la man funesta / A Venezia danni appresta” [“Already Andrea’s funereal hand threatens dangers”—text rather reminiscent of Rodolfo’s “Al secol gran danno minaccia . . . / è Roma in periglio!” . . . in *La bohème*])—the rest of scene 4 is suppressed. The censors’ objections to the drawing of lots is not surprising: ten years later both Neapolitan and Roman censors would raise objections to the corresponding scene in the opera that would eventually become *Un ballo in maschera*.²⁹ But why was the chorus suppressed as well? The censors could easily have devised yet another text, but perhaps the issue was the music itself: that is, a male chorus singing such music in a conspiracy situation—whatever the text—would surely be taken as provocative. But perhaps this is wishful thinking on my part, the *déformation professionnelle* of a musicologist who privileges explanations based upon the music. After all, the chorus was not eliminated from other Neapolitan productions.

Ernani was popular in Naples, and there were frequent productions at the San Carlo—I have not located libretti for all of them. The libretto for the October 1848 production corresponds closely to the Roman libretto without further changes. Four years later, just as Ferdinando’s reign had become more repressive,³⁰ the censorship became much fiercer, as it had all over Italy in the wake of 1848.

The libretto for the December 1852 San Carlo production of *Ernani* takes the Ricordi Roman libretto as a starting point, but with additional changes. The final scene in Act II, with the Ernani/Silva duet “In arcione, in arcion, cavalieri” is missing. The Congiura scene retains the “Si

Teatro San Carlo in the same seasons, a not infrequent occurrence as both theaters had the same impresario and both were designated as “Reali Teatri” (royal theaters). There were a total of twenty-four or twenty-five performances over the year, but at least thirteen of them omitted one act or more (Act II was invariably cut in these truncated performances; Act IV never was). The first of these performances was at the Teatro del Fondo on 1 May 1847. After that performance there were others at the San Carlo through June 26, then more performances at both the San Carlo and the Fondo from August 24 through December 15. Two other sources mistakenly assign the Neapolitan premiere to the Teatro San Carlo on 13 May 1847: Thomas Kaufman, *Verdi and his Major Contemporaries: A Selected Chronology of Performances with Casts* (New York: Garland, 1990), 298; and Carlo Marinelli Roscioni, ed., *Il Teatro di San Carlo: La cronologia 1737-1987*, 2nd ed. (Naples: Guida, 1988), 294.

²⁷ For example, it presents the standard text of the Ernani/Silva duet “In arcione, in arcion, cavalieri” (though with the names changed, of course) and, as already noted, preserves the text “Per la Lega. / Santa e giusta.” I have not yet been able to compare this libretto with that of *Il proscritto* first performed at the Théâtre Italien on 6 January 1846, but Paul Smith’s review in the *Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris* (11 January 1846) shows that the altered names (e.g., Oldrado) correspond to those in the Fondo libretto (see Conati, “*Ernani* di Verdi,” 254-256). The Théâtre Italien libretto may prove to be the source of those used at the Teatro del Fondo and at Messina (see note 28).

²⁸ The libretto for the 1847 Messina production at the Real Teatro La Munizione adopts the same solution. However, censors are unpredictable: the libretti for the 1844-45 (as *Elvira d’Aragona*) and 1850-51 (as *Il proscritto, ossia Il corsaro di Venezia*) productions at Palermo’s Real Teatro Carolino preserve the drawing of lots and the chorus (with censored text).

²⁹ See Rosen, “A Tale of Five Cities,” *passim*.

³⁰ See George Martin, *The Red Shirt and the Cross of Savoy: The Story of Italy’s Risorgimento (1748-1871)* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1969), 397-401. Martin quotes Harold Acton, who “suggested that the director of police had ‘gained a sinister influence over the King by keeping his dread of conspiracy alive’.”

ridesti la fiamma sopita” chorus (with one small change³¹), but omits the drawing of lots. In both the standard libretto and the Roman libretto stage directions indicate that each conspirator inscribes his name on a small tablet with his dagger and tosses it into an open tomb.³² Silva draws out a tablet, the conspirators ask “Qual si noma?” (“Who is named?”), and Silva replies, “Ernani.” In the 1852 libretto the stage directions are suppressed, so it seems that Silva has freely selected Ernani as the lucky assassin, which makes no sense. I suspect that in the actual performance lots were drawn, even if the libretto submitted to and approved by the censors had removed the stage direction.

Let us consider some of the minor changes in the 1852 San Carlo libretto before turning to the final vicissitude of the “Si ridesti il Leon di Castiglia” chorus.

The word “tiranno” (“tyrant”), is removed, even when it lacks a political meaning. In the Act I Finale (I, 10), Ernani tells Elvira, “Ma resisti al tuo tiranno, Serba a Ernani la tua fé” (“But resist your tyrant, keep your trust in Ernani”). The phrase “al tuo tiranno” is replaced with “ad ogni inganno” (“every deceptive trick”). But the tyrant in question is not a political figure, but her uncle, Silva. Elvira replies, “Tua per sempre... o questo ferro / Può salvarmi dai tiranni!...” (“Yours forever, or this dagger can save me from the tyrants!”). “Dai tiranni” is changed to “in tanti danni” (“from so much harm”).

Ricordi's Roman libretto had removed two references to “ribelli” and “ribellione,” but Carlo's line “E scoprirò i ribelli” (“And I will discover the rebels”—III, I) remained. In the doubly censored 1852 libretto “i ribelli” is changed to “que' felli” (“those villains”).³³ In the same scene “assassini” is softened to “inimici” (“enemies”). The idea of political assassination was kept at bay, or at least softened, where possible.

“Cielo! costor sui sepolcrali marmi / Affilano il pugnol per trucidarmi!...” (“Heaven! They, on these sepulchral marbles sharpen the dagger to slaughter me”—III, 2) becomes “Cielo! costor verran fra questi marmi / Ad ordir come deggian contrastarmi...” (“Heaven! They come among these marbles to scheme how they should oppose me”). Here the censors' objections were probably to the sharpened daggers; six years later Roman censors, examining the libretto that would become *Un ballo in maschera*, would object to “aver snudato i coltelli arrotati dove un patto cruento li unì” (“to have unsheathed the sharpened knives where a cruel pact united them”).³⁴

Another example from the Congiura scene: in both the “standard” and Roman libretti the conspirators, extinguishing their torches:

Spento pria qual face cada.
Dell'Iberica contrada
Franse i dritti... s'armerà

³¹ The third line “Guerra e morte non teme il feroce” becomes “Nostri giuri non teme il feroce” (“The fierce man does not fear our oaths”).

³² To be sure, it strains verisimilitude to imagine that the conspirators all brought to the meeting tablets on which to carve their names, but in Hugo's play “Tous les conjurés écrivent leurs noms sur leurs tablettes,” and then tear out and crumple the sheet of paper. But write with what?—pencils had not yet been invented, so we would need to suppose that each conspirator brought pen and ink to the gathering.

³³ One instance remains even in the 1852 libretto, however: “ribello” in II, 10. See n. 9.

³⁴ Antonio Vasselli's 31 June 1858 letter to Verdi; see Rosen, “A Tale of Five Cities,” 57 (English translation) and 65, n. 27. On the genesis of *Un ballo in maschera*, see also Philip Gossett, “The Skeleton Score of Verdi's *Una vendetta in domino*: Two Surviving Fragments,” *Notes* 64 (2008): 417-434.

Ogni destra che qui sta.

(Let him first fall, like a spent torch. He crushed the rights of Iberian lands; every arm that is here will be armed – III, 4).

This is replaced with the following:

Co' suffragi non vi vada
Dell'Iberica contrada
D'un rifiuto... s'armerà
Ogni destra che qui sta.

I won't even attempt a translation of the first lines, which are what linguists call “word salad”—perhaps the text has been corrupted—but it is clear that the censors wanted to avoid the image of the ruler's life being snuffed out like a torch and to the rights that had been crushed.

In two passages the verb “ferir” (to strike or wound) is suppressed. The chorus of conspirators declares, “È ognun pronto in ogni evento / A ferire od esser spento” (“Each is ready for any event—to wound or to be killed”—III, 4). In the 1852 libretto “ferire” is nonsensically replaced by “parlare” (to speak). And when Silva shows Ernani the horn and tells him that he could call upon him to commit suicide then and there (“Potrei / Ora astringerti a morir”), Ernani replies “No...vorrei prima ferir...” (“No, I would like first to strike”), but in the 1852 libretto this becomes “No...vorrei prima gioir...” (“No, I would like first to rejoice”)!

At this point we move from one kind of distortion of a text—the issue of censorship—to another.

In Praise of a Bourbon Despot

The final vicissitude of “Si ridesti il Leon di Castiglia” is “La Patria – Inno nazionale a Ferdinando II,” a simplified arrangement of its thematic material with a new text lavishing praise upon the Bourbon despot, King Ferdinando II of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. The composition was advertised in the 4 February 1848 issue of *Il lume a gas, Giornale della sera*:

GIRARD e C. EDITORI DI MUSICA – Toledo 211[:] LA PATRIA, Inno Nazionale a Ferdinando II, parole di Michele Cuciniello [*recte* Cucciniello],—Musica di Giuseppe VERDI—Prezzo grana 15.³⁵

(The advertisement, not previously discussed in the literature, will prove to be important.) The composition was also distributed to the readers of the *Galleria letteraria*, a Neapolitan periodical that offered musical supplements.³⁶

³⁵ This advertisement had not previously been known. The issue of the periodical is found on the following link: http://books.google.com/books?id=LcoYAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA280&lpg=PA280&dq=verdi+%22La+Patria:+inno+nazionale+%22&source=bl&ots=1dGZZFbj1K&sig=kMmf7Ix1SVr6hvxsmsIXZOYuas8&hl=en&sa=X&oi=book_result&resnum=7&ct=result#v=onepage&q=verdi%20%22La%20Patria%3A%20inno%20nazionale%20%22&f=false. I am enormously grateful to Evan Baker for providing me with this link.

³⁶ According to Gaetano della Noce, “Un Inno per Ferdinando II,” –see the discussion below and note 41.

The *Inno nazionale* has not been analyzed—let us examine it briefly.³⁷ (See pp. 24-27.) Its source, “Si ridesti il Leon di Castiglia,” is more complex than the other two “patriotic” decasyllabic choruses, “Va pensiero, sull’ali dorate” (*Nabucco*) and “O, signor dal tetto natio” (*I Lombardi*), in that it postpones the return of the music of the first quatrain and the tonic key until the fourth and final quatrain of the text. The first quatrain (a a') is in I; the second (b b') in V; the third (c c/b') inflects ^bVI and vi as reharmonizations of $\hat{1}$ before sliding into the final two bars of b' and locking on V; the fourth is a climactic *fortissimo* reprise of the music of the first quatrain in I. The *Inno nazionale* is much simpler than any of the three authentic choruses. An instrumental introduction works the motive from the beginning of the third quatrain of “Si ridesti il Leon di Castiglia” in a rather crude sequence spelling out $\hat{3} - \hat{2} - \hat{1}$ in the tonic, B^b (transposed down a semitone from its model): *D*: I-V; *c*: i-V; *b*^b: i - V⁰⁷/V - V⁴⁻³. (We all give extra points for spelling out or “composing out” this or that, but here the effect sounds clumsy, especially as an opening gesture.) The *Inno* then presents the music of Verdi’s first quatrain (a a') and the first phrase of the second (b), though with an awkward alteration at the end, moving to V (rather than to Verdi’s V/V) to facilitate an immediate return of a' in I. (The alteration also removes two notes perhaps deemed high for amateur performers: what would have been an *e* (natural) and *f*. The *e* does not appear in the vocal part and the *f* is invariably given in both the upper and lower octave.) The scheme is therefore a a' b a', reducing the first half of Verdi’s complex structure to the simplest form of the so-called “lyric prototype.” There is no trace of the development-like harmonic intricacies of Verdi’s third quatrain and buildup to the fourth quatrain. After the unfolding of the a a' b a' setting of the first two quatrains, there are some acclamations “Viva il re, Viva il re, Viva il re,” then the process simply repeats, with a few extra bars at the end that recall a fanfare-like phrase from Figaro’s “Non più andrai.” (A subtle, subversive allusion accusing Ferdinando of disturbing the repose of the local beauties? No, of course not.) So its form has essentially been reduced to that of a strophic song, with each of the two strophes consisting of two quatrains in the most basic “lyric prototype.”

Of course, the very simplicity of the *Inno nazionale* makes it well suited for enthusiastic, full-throated performance by amateurs, certainly better suited in that regard than Verdi’s own *Inno popolare*, “Suona la tromba.”³⁸ However, it should be acknowledged that, although the vocal line is kept simple,³⁹ the accompaniment contains some harmonic complexities—but nothing to throw the singer(s) off. In addition to the Introduction already discussed, the acclamations “Viva il Re” are sung on a repeated $F(\hat{5})$, which is harmonized in six different ways including by augmented and diminished triads—yes, the technique adumbrates the celebrated passage in *Falstaff* in which the bells strike midnight, but it is not beyond the capabilities of an intermediate-level composition student.

The first mention of the piece seems to have been in an exhibition catalogue from Lecce in 1905.⁴⁰ The entry gives the basic bibliographical information, quotes the first two stanzas of

³⁷ I am grateful to the Istituto Nazionale di Studi Verdiani for making a copy of the score available to me.

³⁸ Just such a spirited amateur performance can be heard on the following site (caveat auditor): <http://www.ilportaledelsud.org/innoverdi.htm> (accessed 18 January 2011).

³⁹ The transposition of the original melody from B major to B^b major not only lowers the tessitura but also simplifies the notation (e.g., by eliminating the double sharps of the original).

⁴⁰ *Catalogo della Mostra storica salentina ordinata nell'Istituto tecnico in occasione dell'inaugurazione del monumento al duca Sigismondo Castromediano nel maggio 1905*, ed. Pietro Palumbo (Lecce: R. Tipografia

text, and notes, “La musica arieggia un brano degli [*sic*] *Ernani*” (“The music resembles a piece from *Ernani*”). This source is cited in a communication from Gaetano della Noce to the periodical *Musica* (Rome), dated 9 November 1913.⁴¹ Della Noce was aware of the source of the melody and rather coyly leaves the question of authorship open. Silence for sixty years, then the piece was “discovered” again. Cecil Hopkinson, shown a copy of the print by the then librarian of the Naples Conservatory, Anna Mondolfi, discussed it in the first volume of his *Bibliography of Giuseppe Verdi 1813-1901*. Hopkinson initially failed to note the source of the melody, however, and offered an explanation for Verdi’s puzzling support of the Bourbon despot: Ferdinand had granted a constitution (though under duress) and had later “sent troops to the North to assist in the struggle against the Austrians.”⁴² (Hopkinson, unaware of the February advertisement, dated the work “about April”; the earlier dating of the piece, however, invalidates his second point.) Five years after the initial publication of the volume, in the Addenda and Corrigenda in vol. 2 (p. 101) Hopkinson identified the melody but incredibly claimed that “[t]his discovery does not affect the gist of what was written under this piece [in the preceding volume].” The discovery leaves open the possibility that Verdi adapted his own composition to the new text, but, as will become clear, it also makes it far more probable that Verdi had nothing to do with the arrangement, other than supplying its thematic material.

About ten years ago, the piece was “discovered” yet again, this time by M.^o Roberto De Simone, and again the operatic origins of the music were identified only later and then declared irrelevant for the attribution. It has since been included in a recording of “Giuseppe Verdi: Complete Chamber Songs,” sung by Sergei Larin.⁴³ A more apt title might be “More Than Complete Chamber Songs.” The “discovery” predictably led to a controversy, including De Simone’s suggestion that “perhaps some people today dislike the idea that Verdi could have honored a Neapolitan as the future King of Italy. A political matter?”⁴⁴ (Readers interested in this re-discovery and the ensuing controversy can consult the sites mentioned in note 44, but at this point I want to return to the question with some new evidence.)

What are we to make of Girard’s attribution “Musica di Giuseppe VERDI?” Might it be a bare-faced lie—might the publisher have commissioned a local composer to set Cucciniello’s text and attributed the composition to Verdi to increase its sales and prestige? That seems a more likely hypothesis than the hypothesis that Verdi would compose *ex novo* a new piece honoring Ferdinando II (more of that later). But the discovery that the *Inno nazionale* is not a new piece, having been derived from a pre-existing composition of Verdi, refutes both of the rival

salentina ditta Frat[elli] Spacciante, 1906), 50. I’m grateful to the staff of Widener Library at Harvard University for scanning a copy of the relevant entry for me.

⁴¹ Della Noce’s letter, “Un Inno per Ferdinando II,” appeared in *Musica* 7/36 (13 November 1913), 8; reference cited in Roberta Montemorra Marvin, “Verdi’s Non-Operatic Works,” Scott L. Balthazar, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Verdi* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 299, n. 46.

⁴² 2 vols. (New York: Broude Brothers, 1973 and 1978), I: 65-66). In addition to the copy or copies in the Naples Conservatory, another, which belonged to one Cavaliere G. Marschiczek, was displayed in the Lecce exhibition catalogue mentioned above (item no. 217, p. 50); yet another is in the Milan Conservatory.

⁴³ Sung by Mariella Devia, Sergei Larin, Michele Pertusi, and the Parma Opera Ensemble; Stradivarius ASIN: B000050I23 (2000), ASIN: B000M05UQW (apparently a 2007 reissue); all of the works, even those written for voice and piano, are accompanied by a wind ensemble.

⁴⁴ (“Forse, [...] a qualcuno oggi dispiace pensare che Verdi abbia potuto salutare un napoletano come futuro re d’Italia. Una questione politica?”) The quotation appears in two sites, both of which present essentially the same article, though attributed to two different authors: http://www.eleaml.org/sud/arte/verdi_borbone.html and http://comitatiduesicilie.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=2866&Itemid=73.

hypotheses posed above. The question now becomes: did Verdi authorize the publication of the *Inno* and did he even make the arrangement himself? It also vindicates Girard's attribution: whether or not Verdi made the arrangement, the music—at least the thematic material—of the *Inno* was undeniably composed by Verdi.

If we were to believe that Verdi did authorize the publication, perhaps even making the arrangement himself, what might be a possible scenario? For the sake of the argument, I am hypothetically (and temporarily) accepting Hopkinson's view that the granting of the constitution was the immediate stimulus for Verdi's alleged acquiescence in the publication of the *Inno*. Ferdinando granted the constitution on 29 January 1848, which, incidentally, he soon abrogated. Let us suppose that Cucciniello immediately dashed off the laudatory verses and Girard sent them to Verdi in Paris either (a) asking him to adapt them to a less complex version of the *Ernani* chorus or (b) merely asking authorization to publish an adaptation prepared by someone else hired by Girard. (Of course, if Verdi merely authorized Girard to publish an adaptation of the new text to his chorus prepared by someone else, rather than undertaking the task himself, his expression of support for Ferdinando II would still be of immense biographical interest, but the end product could not be considered a composition of Verdi's, any more than could, say, Czerny's "Rom. e Rondoletto per Pfte. sulla Cav., *Come rugiada a cespite*, nell'ERNANI di Verdi").⁴⁵ And so, according to this hypothesis, casting aside his habitual disdain for occasional pieces, his (at least at that time) republican sympathies, and his artistic principles, Verdi agreed to allow his name to appear on a publication honoring the Bourbon despot. Assuming that Girard waited for Verdi's reply before placing his advertisement,⁴⁶ it took only six days for his message to reach Verdi, for Verdi to make the arrangement or at least to write a reply, for that reply to reach Naples, and for Girard to place the advertisement. But in a time before there were railroads linking the South to the North that would be impossible.

There is a simpler, tenable hypothesis: Girard published the adaptation without consulting Verdi, just as he (or Ricordi) might publish any arrangement. There is no reason to believe that Girard was attempting to deceive his customers about the origins of Verdi's chorus or to claim that Verdi had set Cucciniello's text to music. It was among the pieces that had been published by Girard separately (*pezzi staccati*) and as part of the complete opera as early as 1844.⁴⁷ The OPAC SBN (the "on-line public access catalogue"⁴⁸) currently includes "La patria: inno nazionale a Ferdinando 2. / parole di Michele Cucciniello; musica del M. Giuseppe Verdi" without any qualifying comments, and so it will probably be "discovered" again in another twenty or thirty years unless someone attaches post-it notes to the copies in the Naples Conservatory and Milan Conservatory libraries stating "Sono già stato scoperto, grazie" ("I have already been discovered, thank you") with a smiley face—☺—and an accompanying bibliography.

⁴⁵ The example is from Jensen, *Giuseppe Verdi & Giovanni Ricordi*, 303.

⁴⁶ This is an important and reasonable assumption for the argument: if we do not assume that Girard needed Verdi's authorization before printing the chorus, why should we assume that he consulted Verdi at all?

⁴⁷ Hopkinson reported that the complete score is listed in a Girard catalog of 1844, the complete score and *pezzi staccati* in the firm's 1847 catalogue (*Bibliography of Giuseppe Verdi*, II: 25). Had Neapolitan audiences heard "Si ridesti la fiamma sopita" [or "il Leon di Castiglia"] before February 1848? It is difficult to be sure, since there is uncertainty about the 1846 production cited by Conati (see note 25) and because we don't know whether the text of the Teatro del Fondo libretto discussed above was used throughout 1847 (i.e., in the performances of May through June as well as those of September through December).

⁴⁸ <http://opac.sbn.it/opacsbn/opac/iccu/informazioni.jsp>

ca



LA PATRIA

Sono nazionale

A

FERDINANDO II.

Parole di

Michele Cucciniello

MUSICA



del

M.^o GIUS. VERDI

NAPOLI

Girard-Credenza per strade reali - Str. Toledo 211.

LA PATRIA

INNO NAZIONALE

a

FERDINANDO II.

Parole di Michele Cucciniello

MUSICA DEL M^o

GIUSEPPE VERDI



1^a
Oh! qual suono dal Sielo nasce
Va d'Italia all'alpestre con fi-
E il gioir dell'estremo Appen-
Che i suoi ceppi esultante spezza.

2^a
Bella Patria, del sangue versato
Se fumanti rossoggan le impronte,
Non più spine ti strazian la fronte,
Il martirio la palma frutto.

3^a
All'ocraio al m' solo brando
Del pentro la potenza se intro,
Ma il solo del trono di Dio
Di questo no FERNANDO rende

4^a
Sorgi o Patria, di stelle ricinta,
Sorgi altera e disfida i perigli:
O sei madre di liberi figli,
Sei Regina, sei donna di te.

Moderato maestoso Gr. 15

PIANOFORTE

CANTO

Oh! qual suono dal Si eu - lo ma - - re va d'I-

ta - lia all'alpestre con fi - no: è il gioir dell'estremo Appen - ni - no, che i suoi

Napoli, Girard e C.

8952

ceppi esul tan te sprizzo. *dolce* Bella Patria, del sangue versa to se fu

man ti rosseggian le'impron te, non piu spine ti strazian la fronte; il mar

tirio la pal ma frutto. Viva il Re Viva il Re Viva il Re

All' in-canto d'un suolo be a - - to del pen

dim. *cres.* *ff*

sier la po-tenza se u- ni- o, minor solo del trono di Di o il su o

trono **FERNANDO** ren- de. Sor- gi, o Patria, di stelle ri- ein- ta, sor- gi al

dol.

te- ra e disfi- da i pe- ri- gli, or sei madre di libe- ri- figli; sei Re- gina sei don- na di

te. Viva il Re! Viva il Re! Viva il Re Viva il Re Viva il Re!

ff