# COMPOSER-LEGISLATORS IN FASCIST ITALY: DISTINGUISHING THE PERSONAL AND LEGISLATIVE VOICES OF ADRIANO LUALDI

by

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## ABSTRACT

During Italy's fascist period, the government appointed Adriano Lualdi to the Chamber of Deputies. The once prominent composer, author, and music critic represented the Fascist Union of Musicians in the chamber and had roles in the administration of government-subsidized festivals. Although little is written about the composer-legislator, what is available depicts him as opportunistic and self-serving. Previous scholarship claims that he used his position in the fascist bureaucracy to his own advantage by pushing his aesthetic philosophy through legislation. These claims are substantiated by Lualdi's private communications and published works which detail his opinions on musical aesthetics. Comparing Lualdi's political records to his publications shows that his personal opinions on aesthetics did not interfere with legislation to the degree that past scholarship suggests. I argue that previous scholarship conflates Lualdi's legislative voice with his personal voice, offering a distorted, and therefore incomplete version of Adriano Lualdi as a historical figure.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

ACS… ARCHIVIO CENTRALE DELLO STATO[1]

CDDPS…CAMERA DEI DEPUTATI PORTALE STORICO[2]

SPD … SEGRETERIA PARTICOLARE DEL DUCE[3]

ORD…CARTEGGIO ORDINARIO[4]

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[1] Translation: *Central Archive of the State.*
[2] Translation: *Chamber of Deputies Historical Portal.*
[3] Translation: *Special Secretariat of the Duce.*
[4] Translation: *Ordinary Correspondence.*

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I dedicate this thesis to my family members who are no longer with us.

# CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

> Italians of our time, with a War won–the first of our modern national unity–with an ongoing revolution that once again reveals the immortality of the Italian genius and presides [over] and gives value [to] all our virtues, we feel the beauty of the time in which we live and we want to sing it in its tragic moments as well as in its inflamed days of glory. The Romanticism of yesterday, which […] is life in action, in joy and in pain, will also be the Romanticism of tomorrow, if it is true that history consequentially develops its own paths and it does not lose its way and it does not mark [its] pace with the myth of Sisyphus.[1]
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> – Alceo Toni, et al., "Travagli spirituali del nostro tempo: un manifesto di musicisti italiani per la tradizione dell'arte romantica dell'800"

Ironically, by comparing the work of modernist Italian composers to the fate of Sisyphus, the traditionalist signatories of a 1932 musical manifesto were embarking on an uphill battle that would ultimately fail. The manifesto, published in three major Italian newspapers on December 17th, 1932, aggressively posited the anti-modernist philosophies of its signatories.[2] Prominent composers, directors of conservatories, legislators, and music critics publicly endorsed the document by affixing their names to the end of the manifesto. The ten signatories of the manifesto include Ottorino Respighi, Giuseppe Mulè, Ildebrando Pizzetti, Riccardo Zandonai, Alberto Gasco, Alceo Toni, Ricardo Pick-Mangiagalli, Guido Guerrini, Gennaro Napoli, and Guido Zuffellato.[3]

Noticeably absent from the list of signatories in the 1932 manifesto, is Adriano Lualdi. At the time of the manifesto's release, Lualdi was a prominent composer and was

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[1]Alceo Toni, et al., "Travagli spirituali del nostro tempo: un manifesto di musicisti italiani per la tradizione dell'arte romantica dell'800," *La stampa*, December 17, 1932, 3. See **Appendix A** for the manifesto in full along with a facing English translation.

[2] *Il Popolo d'Italia* (Rome), *Il Corriere della Sera* (Milan), and *La Stampa* (Turin) published the manifesto on December 17th, 1932. Mussolini both founded and worked as editor and contributor of *Il Popolo d'Italia*, beginning in 1914. By 1932 *Il Popolo d'Italia* was considered a state-endorsed newspaper.

[3] Toni, et al., "Manifesto di musicisti italiani," 3.

part of the musically conservative circle of musicians that signed the document. Like his colleagues Giuseppe Mulè and Alceo Toni, Lualdi was involved in the Italian music community both as a composer and as a government official. Described as a "composer of decidedly conservative stamp," whose musical output suggests an aesthetic in line with the traditionalism argued for in the 1932 manifesto, it is initially surprising that Lualdi did not take part in or sign his name to the document.[4]

Little is written about Lualdi, but what is available depicts him as opportunistic and self-serving. Harvey Sachs describes the composer as "meddlesome," and that he "used the [fascist] party's increasingly xenophobic political line to support his own provincial aesthetic philosophies."[5] Lualdi's absence from the 1932 manifesto suggests a more complex narrative than is acknowledged in previous scholarship, meriting further study in the way the composer-legislator navigated his roles in the fascist bureaucracy. Although he is a problematic figure, in this thesis I argue that previous scholarship conflates Lualdi's legislative voice with his personal voice, offering a distorted and therefore incomplete, version of Adriano Lualdi as a historical figure.

In this opening chapter, I introduce Adriano Lualdi through his musical and written output and provide biographical information relevant to the composer-legislator's career in the fascist Chamber of Deputies. Following the discussion of Lualdi, I examine the 1932 manifesto, consider the reaction to its release, and highlight the significance of Lualdi's absence from the list of signatories. Next, I review the current state of

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[4] Harvey Sachs, *Music in Fascist Italy* (New York; London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1988), 21.
[5] Ibid.

scholarship on Lualdi, and I reflect on some issues surrounding these sources. Following an explanation of the methodology and sources used in this thesis, I provide a chapter layout. Finally, I consider how studies of this kind can help nuance our understanding of misrepresented historical figures such as Lualdi, often found in problematic periods like fascist-era Italy.

**Lualdi**

Born in Larino, Italy, in 1885, Adriano Lualdi was a member of the *generazione dell'Ottanta.*[6] As a young composer, Lualdi received a traditional musical education at the Liceo Musicale di S. Cecilia in Rome, before completing his studies in 1907 under the tutelage of Ermanno Wolf-Ferrari in Venice.[7] Between 1908 and 1928, he worked as a composer, conductor, music critic, and author. These years are the composer's most active in terms of music production and publishing.

Lualdi's musical output consists of symphonic poems, operas, and a handful of orchestral suites, including the problematic colonial rhapsody, *Africa*.[8] Far from prolific, Lualdi's output centres around operatic works, as was the case for many composers of his generation.[9] Three of Lualdi's earlier operatic works appear to have been well received

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[6] The term *generazione dell'Ottanta* is the name given to prominent Italian composers born between 1880 and 1890.
[7] Virgilio Bernadoni, "Lualdi, Adriano," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, Vol. 66 (Rome: Istituto dell'encyclopedia italiana, 2006).
[8] Lualdi's *Africa: rapsodia coloniale per orchestra* is an example of Italian artists capitalizing on the fascist regime's appeal to reassert Italy as an empire.
[9]See Fiamma Nicolodi, *Musica italiana del primo Novecento: la generazione dell'80* (Florence: Olschki), 1981.

by the public: *Le furie di arlecchino* (1915)[10], *La figlia del re* (1922)[11], and *Il diavolo nel campanile* (1925)[12], two of which received a second production in later years.[13] Besides his earlier operatic works, Lualdi received acclaim for his two most notable orchestral pieces, *Suite adriatica* (1932)[14] and *Africa: rapsodia coloniale per orchestra* (1936).[15]

Stylistically, Lualdi fits in with his more successful musical contemporaries; specifically, composers of the *generazione dell'Ottanta*. Prioritizing melody above all else, set atop sonorities that are typical of post-romantic tonality, Lualdi's musical language is a continuation of the *verismo* style, known best through the likes of Ruggero Leoncavallo (1857 – 1919), Giacomo Puccini (1858 – 1924), and Pietro Mascagni (1863 – 1945).[16] As an inheritor of the *verismo* style, Lualdi almost exclusively produced operatic works, even as public opinion was drifting toward orchestral music. In *Italy from the First World War to the Second*, J.C.G. Waterhouse notes that, although sentiment toward operatic genres was on the decline in the first decades of the twentieth century, the concert-going public of Italy still had a large appetite for operatic works.[17] Firmly

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[10] Adriano Lualdi, *Le furie di arlecchino* (*The Fury of the Harlequin*), Libretto by L. Orsini, (Milan: Sonzogno, 1915).
[11] Adriano Lualdi, *La figlia del re* (*The Daughter of the King*), (Milan: G. Ricordi & C, 1922).
[12] Adriano Lualdi, *Il diavolo nel campanile* (*The Devil in the Belfry*), (Milan: Sonzogno,1925).
[13] *Le furie di arlecchino* (1925 in Buenos Aires) and *Il diavolo nel campanile* (1954 in Florence).
[14] Adriano Lualdi, *Suite adriatica* (*Adriatic Suite*), (Milan: G. Ricordi & C, 1932).
[15] Adriano Lualdi, *Africa: rapsodia coloniale per orchestra* (*Africa: Colonial Rhapsody for Orchestra*), (Milan: G. Ricordi & C, 1936).
[16]See Allan Mallach, *The Autumn of Italian Opera: From Verismo to Modernism, 1890-1915* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2007).
[17] J.C.G. Waterhouse, "Italy from the First World War to the Second," in *Modern Times: From World War I to the Present*, ed. Robert P. Morgan, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1993), 111.

entrenched in an environment with opera as the status quo, and with a track record of moderate success in the operatic field, Lualdi understandably had an aversion to a changing musical vocabulary.

Other composers of Lualdi's generation such as Ildebrando Pizzetti (1880 – 1968), Ottorino Respighi (1879 – 1936), and Gian Francesco Malipiero (1882 – 1973) were more inclined to write orchestral music as tastes shifted away from opera. Regarding the emergence of orchestral music, Waterhouse writes:

> […] a new generation of musicians, increasingly aware both of innovatory developments abroad and of the much greater versatility of Italy's own music in the remoter past, were rebelling–in varying degrees and ways–against the opera-dominated status quo, thus preparing the ground for the very different Italian musical world of the inter-war period.[18]

However minor a rebellion, these composers successfully distinguished themselves in Italy by producing substantial orchestral works as an alternative to the dominant operatic genres.[19] Although Lualdi did not take part in the outpouring of orchestral music like his contemporaries, he shared a musical language with composers of his generation, including a general aversion to modernist trends, such as polytonality and atonality.

In 1929, Lualdi began his career in the fascist Chamber of Deputies as a representative of the Fascist Union of Musicians (*Syndacato Fascista dei Musicisti)*.[20] Undoubtedly, this new career path hindered the composer's musical output, as he shifted much of his time and effort to his responsibilities within the fascist bureaucracy. As a member of the chamber, Lualdi's activities included the arrangement of music festivals,

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[18] Ibid, 112.
[19] See works such as Respighi's *Fontane di Roma* (1918) and *Pini di Roma* (1924).
[20] Sachs, *Music in Fascist Italy,* 21.

the organization of national and international music tours, research and development of government subsidies for music institutions, fiscal duties of the Fascist Union of Musicians, and the dissemination of funds for theatres and concert halls.[21]

As a legislator, the composer was highly mobile, often travelling extensively both inside and outside of Italy. As an administrator of important musical organizations that were active all over the country, Lualdi spent time in Milan, Rome, Naples, and Venice, as well as in *capoluoghi di provincia* (provincial capitals) that housed important music institutions. Prior to his entering the Chamber of Deputies in 1929, Lualdi gained familiarity with music institutions and organizations all over Italy, writing extensively about his travels along the way.[22] Lualdi's familiarity with the musical landscape did not stop with his travels within Italy. In the years leading up to his deputyship, the composer frequently travelled across western Europe on musical tours and holiday visits, again writing extensively about his experiences abroad.[23]

In addition to his roles as a composer and legislator, Lualdi directed the Naples conservatory (Conservatorio di musica San Pietro a Majella) from 1936 to 1944.[24] Lualdi also directed the conservatory of Florence (Conservatorio Luigi Cherubini) from 1947 to 1956.[25] Although little is written about Lualdi's time as the director of either conservatory, it seems his roles were mostly administrative in scope; however, he did benefit personally from his access to the conservatories. The composer had his works

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[21] Ibid, 21.
[22] Adriano Lualdi, *Viaggio musicale in Italia* (Milan: Alpes, 1927).
[23] Adriano Lualdi, *Viaggio musicale in Europa* (Milan: Alpes, 1929).
[24] Sachs, *Music in Fascist Italy,* 21.
[25] Virgilio Bernadoni, "Lualdi, Adriano," in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 66, (Rome: Istituto dell'encyclopedia italiana, 2006).

performed by student orchestras, and he occasionally occupied the role of conductor, even having some works recorded by conservatory orchestras, himself wielding the baton.

**The 1932 Manifesto**

Alceo Toni, a music critic for the fascist state newspaper *Il popolo d'Italia,* wrote the 1932 manifesto as a "demonstration of collective faith," positioning himself and the traditionalist signatories against modernist composers whose music "infiltrated the spirits of young musicians" with "atonal and polytonal honking."[26] The signatories of the document saw themselves as the progenitors of an Italian musical tradition that was left to them by Palestrina, Monteverdi, Scarlatti, Verdi, and Puccini (among others), whom they named as their predecessors. Verbose yet nebulous, the manifesto argues for a musical return to the aesthetic ideals of the 19th century, vaguely identifying its addressees as the audiences and the youths of Italy:

> […]it is needed that the audience free itself from the state of intellectual subjection that paralyzes its free emotive impulses. It is needed that the youth is freed from the error they live in: to give them the sense of artistic discipline, legitimizing each free lyric expansion or all the vehemence of dramatic force. To them, in particular, this manifesto is addressed [...].[27]

Although the manifesto was not specifically addressed to modernists, composers that were challenging the aesthetic values of the traditionalist signatories were the indirect targets of the document.

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[26] Toni, et al., "Manifesto di musicisti italiani," 3.
[27] Ibid.

Animosity toward modernist composers had been quietly growing in musically conservative circles of Italy; however, until the publication of the 1932 manifesto, this animosity was mostly relegated to the arena of music criticism. Unsurprisingly, publishing the document in three widely read newspapers caused a stir in the Italian music community, in part because such well-known and respected composers as Respighi, Zandonai, and Pizzetti endorsed its message.[28]

The publication of (and reaction to) the manifesto firmly entrenched the sides of the aesthetic divide into romantic-traditionalists and modernists. In her 1984 book, *Musica e musicisti nel Ventennio Fascista*, Fiamma Nicolodi summarizes the reactionary divisions that the publication of the document caused:

> The fear (or the smug hope) that this manifesto, as well as the expression of the Union, reflected the cultural directives that fascism, after the initial ambiguities, assigned to music, suddenly provoked competitive forces, ready to take firm sides on the two respective fronts.[29]

Once released, the manifesto enflamed ongoing aesthetic debates in the Italian music community. Critics and music journalists from either side of the aesthetic divide reacted to it in the press, as well as in music periodicals.[30] Composers, both for and against the claims made in the document, made their opinions public by issuing open letters.

In his biographical work, *Ottorino Respighi: His Life and Times*, Michael Webb discusses the 1932 manifesto, noting that the "[…] main targets of the criticism (though

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[28] Sachs, *Music in Fascist Italy*, 25.
[29] Fiamma Nicolodi, *Musica e musicisti nel Ventennio Fascista* (Florence: Discanto, 1984), 143.
[30] Before and after the publication of the manifesto, articles delving into issues of aesthetic differences between modernists and traditionalists appear in periodicals and newspapers such as *Musica d'Oggi, Musica e Scena, La Critica Musicale, Il Pianoforte, La Stampa, Il Popolo d'Italia,* and many others.

not mentioned explicitly) appear to have been Casella and Malipiero, who until recently had been seen as Italy's leading exponents of contemporary music."[31] Gian Francesco Malipiero, a modernist composer who was well known to the public, did in fact feel personally attacked by the document and promptly issued an open letter to Respighi.[32]

An example of the stir caused in the critical community is seen in the January, 1933 edition of the music periodical, *Musica d'oggi*, where, after a discussion of the manifesto, Malipiero's open letter is quoted: "[…] the most characteristic and personal comment is the one made by G. F. Malipiero in an open letter to S. E. Respighi […] asserting that those who read the document admitted that it tended to hit 'him and his followers' above all […]."[33] Although far from sympathetic to modernists, articles and periodicals that discuss the manifesto are remarkably fair in terms of representing both sides of the debate. This equity is all the more impressive considering that, by 1933, the fascist government had been censoring the press for years.[34]

The manifesto elicited rather bombastic reactions from American journalists. A *New York Times* article published in January of 1933 states that the document "has thrown musical Italy into an uproar."[35] Raymond Hall, an American journalist covering Italian music, wrote of the reaction to the manifesto:

> [a] lively stir, such as not seen here in a long time, has been aroused in the cultured music spheres of Italy by the recent publication of a manifesto signed by ten

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[31] Michael Webb, *Ottorini Respighi: His Life and Times* (Kibworth: Matador, 2019), 187.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Unsigned, "Un manifesto musicale," *Musica d'oggi*, no.1 (January, 1933): 23.
[34] For more information on the fascist regime's systematic censorship of Italian media, see: Frank Rosengarten, *The Italian Anti-Fascist Press 1919-1945* (Cleveland: The Press of Case Western Reserve University, 1968).
[35] Unsigned (Raymond Hall?), "Italians Denounce Revolt in Music," *The New York Times*, January 7, 1933, 11.

> prominent musicians of this country […] The declaration is of decidedly aggressive tenor, and, being wholly unexpected, fell like a bombshell. The explosion, besides creating the inevitable fuss among the critical and musicological fraternity, has divided the bulk of Italy's cultured musicians into two camps […].[36]

Later in the same article, Hall aptly observes that "the first practical result of these articles of faith was the exact opposite of that intended; it created opposing camps previously non-existent or ill-defined."[37] Hall's descriptions of the divisive effect of the manifesto were indicative of larger currents of division manifesting in fascist Italy.

To the concert-going public, modernist composers were lesser known than their more firmly established, traditionalist counterparts. Although modernists such as Alfredo Casella and Gian Francesco Malipiero were attracting the attention of audiences and critics, their works solicited only minor attention when compared to Respighi, Zandonai, and Pizzetti, who often garnered international attention. In his 1984 book, *Music in Fascist Italy,* Harvey Sachs raises an appropriate yet definitively unanswerable question:

> […] what possible interest could Respighi and Zandonai, whose works were played all over the world, or Pizzetti, whose success within Italy was at least as great as that of any of his contemporaries, have had in breaking lances on their colleagues' heads?[38]

Rhetorical questions aside, Sachs mentions that the seven remaining signatories of the manifesto had at least as much difficulty in having their works performed as modernists, and that these composers may have signed the manifesto out of jealousy of their modernist rivals.[39]

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[36] Raymond Hall, "Zandonai's 'Una Partita' in Milan," *The New York Times,* February 5, 1933, 6.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Sachs, *Music in Fascist Italy*, 25.
[39] Ibid.

Despite being a manifesto, the 1932 document does not present a list of demands, a clear call to action, or mention progressive composers by name. Instead it displays an exhibition of faith in 19th-century musical ideals while disparaging competing aesthetic values. Intended as such or not, the document gives the impression of firmly established traditionalists giving a paternalistic scolding to modernists. The manifesto describes musical progress reaching a point of exhaustion, claiming that attempts to subvert the musical canon have only resulted in chaos.[40] By proclaiming that all avenues of musical exploration have been sufficiently explored, that enough "credit of trust and of expectation" had been given to modernists in their attempts at musical revolution, the signatories of the document publicly chastised what they saw as a threat to their artistic values.[41] The 1932 manifesto is a display of opportunism and dominance: ten musical traditionalists framing themselves as a unified, musically authoritative voice, attempting to put an end to something that they simply had enough of.

**Lualdi's Absence**

As an author, Lualdi published numerous books that trace his steps through musical encounters in Italy and abroad. In *Viaggio musicale in Italia* (1927), the composer documents his travels to cities all over the Italian peninsula, writing with both praise and torment over the musical climate of Italy. In *Viaggio musicale in Europa* (1929), Lualdi similarly documented his musical encounters all over Europe, writing pages of vitriolic exposition on the currents of modernism that he found abroad.

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[40] Toni, et al., "Manifesto di musicisti italiani," 3.
[41] Ibid.

Likewise, in *Viaggio musicale nell'U.R.S.S.* (1941) and *Viaggio musicale nel Sud-America* (1934), Lualdi chronicled his visits to Soviet Russia and South America.[42]

In addition to the publications documenting his journeys abroad, Lualdi wrote a preface for a 70th anniversary edition of Giuseppe Mazzini's *Filosofia della musica*.[43] In the preface (which dwarfs the size of the original book), the composer reflects on Mazzini's approach to expression and artistic progress and outlines the relevance and importance of Mazzinian philosophy to the arts. Lualdi praises the work, even going as far as to say that he abides by the philosophies of the famous Risorgimento figure.[44]

Given his compositional aesthetic, his musical philosophy, his position of power in the Chamber of Deputies, and considering his disdain of modernist trends in European music, it is puzzling as to why Lualdi did not take part in the 1932 manifesto. Further complicating the matter is the fact that many of the manifesto's signatories were colleagues of Lualdi's, holding similar positions both inside and outside of the fascist bureaucracy. The two signatories Alceo Toni and Giuseppe Mulè were, like Lualdi, members of the Chamber of Deputies. Both Toni and Mulè also published music criticism and directed conservatories in addition to their roles in government.[45] Based on Mulè's and Toni's endorsement of the document, and respectively, the continuation of

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[42] Adriano Lualdi, *Viaggio musicale nell'U.R.S.S.* (Milan; Rome: rizzoli, 1941) ; Adriano Lualdi, *Viaggio musicale nel Sud-America* (Milan: istituto editoriale nazionale, 1934).
[43]Adriano Lualdi, "Introduzione," in *Filosofia della musica: introduzione e alcune note di Adriano Lualdi*, Giuseppe Mazzini (Milan: Fratelli Brocca, 1943).
[44] Ibid.
[45] Giuseppe Mulè directed the conservatory of Palermo from 1922-1925, and the Santa Cecilia Conservatory in Rome, from 1925-1943. He was the National Secretary of the Fascist Union of Musicians from 1929 onward and held important positions in the Ministry of National Education.

their roles, it appears that Lualdi's absence on the manifesto was not due to a conflict of interests.

Laureto Rodoni discusses the 1932 manifesto in an essay exploring the relationship between Lualdi and Malipiero. He notes that previous scholarship has not explored Lualdi's absence as a signatory and dedicates a paragraph to the curious topic.[46] Given what is known about Lualdi, Rodoni states that the composer's name "should have appeared at the top of the list," going as far as to say that one could mistake the document for Lualdi's writing.[47] However, Rodoni dismisses the idea that Lualdi wrote the document and instead highlights the "narrow opportunism" of the other signatories.[48] Furthermore, Rodoni indirectly places Lualdi in a position that, at the very least, implies that he would have known about the manifesto prior to its publication. While exploring Casella's commentary on the release of the document, Rodoni brings to light the fact that "continuous and mysterious conversations between Toni and the other 'conspirators' during the last Venetian Festival" led to the collection of signatures for the manifesto.[49] Lualdi's position as an administrator of this festival, his close ties with the signatories, and the fact that Casella knew about the manifesto before its release, suggests that Lualdi would have at least been aware of the document and abstained from signing it, if not outright refusing to sign it.

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[46]Laureto Rodoni, "'Caro Lualdi…'. I rapporti d'arte e d'amicizia tra G.F. Malipiero e A. Lualdi alla luce di alcune lettere inedite," in *Italian Music During the Fascist Period*, ed. Roberto Illiano (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 507.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Ibid, 506.

Certainly, with such renowned composers as Pizzetti, Zandonai, and Respighi on the list of signatories, the addition of Lualdi's name alongside his bureaucratic colleagues would have lent the manifesto greater weight. Yet, Lualdi, the opportunistic composer-legislator who viewed transgressive music with such contempt that he committed to posterity his dismissive thoughts on modernism in multiple volumes of published books, did not endorse the 1932 manifesto. While it is impossible to determine precisely why Lualdi did not take part in the manifesto, the inconsistencies that his absence represents point toward a knowledge gap in existing scholarship.

**State of Scholarship and Issues in Secondary Literature**

Scholarship on music during Italy's fascist period is highly variable in scope. There is a large corpus of composer-specific studies that explore the lives and music of artists whose works have survived the test of time. Equally large is the body of works that explore the polemics of taste and censorship during this period. While scholarship of this kind is essential to this thesis, studies that explore the lives and music of artists turned fascist bureaucrats are relatively few. Scholarship that focuses on Adriano Lualdi specifically is practically non-existent; as a result, this thesis depends heavily on primary sources. There are, however, studies that survey the musical landscape of fascist Italy in detail. Studies of this type provide a wealth of information on the intricacies of fascist cultural policies, music institutions, and the way in which composers and musicians navigated the artistic bureaucracy imposed on them by the fascist government. These survey studies, while referring to Lualdi's activities only tangentially, remain the greatest repositories of information that deal with the under-studied composer-legislator. For this

reason, this thesis focuses primarily on the work of Fiamma Nicolodi and Harvey Sachs in addition to primary sources.

Scholarship exploring music during the fascist period is firmly placed in a political context; however, none goes as far in the exploration of the fascist artistic bureaucracy as Nicolodi's *Musica e musicisti nel Ventennio Fascista* and Sachs's *Music in Fascist Italy*. Both Sachs and Nicolodi examine similar topics in their exhaustive efforts to create an accurate survey of the musical and political environment during the fascist period. Although the work of these scholars is similar in subject matter, they are crucially different in approach. While Sachs provides detailed descriptions and analyses of fascist cultural policies, institutions, and discussions of composers' roles in the bureaucracy, he does not explore the music itself in detail. Nicolodi, on the other hand, investigates the musical output of fascist Italy in more depth in addition to her examination of the fascist cultural institutions and political climate.

While neither Sachs nor Nicolodi dedicate significant time to the composer, the work of both scholars represents the two most complete accounts of Lualdi's activities during his time as an author, music critic, composer, and as a member of the Chamber of Deputies during the fascist period. Although Sachs and Nicolodi engage with similar material using mainly primary sources, there are inconsistencies in the portrayal of Lualdi when the work of both scholars is taken into consideration. For example, Sachs portrays Lualdi as "xenophobic," claiming that the composer-legislator took advantage of his bureaucratic roles in order to promote his own aesthetic values, values which Sachs

claims "[l]agged a generation behind those of [his] more original contemporaries."[50] While not entirely unsubstantiated, Sachs's characterization of Lualdi differs from Nicolodi's, who writes: "[f]or Lualdi - composer, as well as a zealous politician - who had a more selective conception of music, it was […] necessary to strengthen the presence of modern authors."[51] As such, the conflicting portrayals of Lualdi by the two foremost scholars of music in fascist Italy presents a discrepancy in scholarship that this thesis explores in detail.

**Methodology and Primary Source Review**

In order to distinguish the personal voice from the legislative voice of Adriano Lualdi, this thesis: [1] examines portrayals of Lualdi as represented in scholarly literature; [2] identifies inconsistencies in the literature; and [3] reconciles inconsistencies with accounts from primary sources. In doing so, I aim to clarify ambiguities in the composer-legislator's role in the fascist cultural order that permeate scholarship in the area. The inconsistencies found in scholarship point toward gray areas in the representation of:

1. Lualdi's views on modernism in music and his general aesthetic philosophy;
2. Lualdi's interactions with modernist composers as a government official; and
3. Lualdi's use of political influence to push his own musical aesthetic.

While the gray areas identified above are invariably part of the same problem, with each category informing the other, I separate these issues and consider evidence that speaks to

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[50] Sachs, *Music in Fascist Italy,* 21-22.
[51] Nicolodi, *Musica e musicisti nel Ventennio Fascista*, 19.

one category at a time. After discussing the evidence as it relates to each of the three categories, I consider how it can be taken while addressing all three problems. Finally, by distinguishing his legislative voice from his personal voice, I challenge contemporary portrayals of Lualdi to benefit our understanding of both the composer and the complexities of musical culture in fascist Italy.

This study focuses on primary sources that Lualdi either wrote himself, such as his publications discussed above, or on archival documents from the fascist Chamber of Deputies.[52] The intent is to provide a portrayal of the composer-legislator's personal voice through his own words, in addition to a distinct portrayal of his legislative voice, through his actions as a government official. Although the analysis of these documents in subsequent chapters intermittently refers to items not mentioned in this source review, I focus primarily on documents written by Lualdi himself, in addition to transcriptions of speeches and records of his involvement in government. As such, the conclusions drawn from these sources are rooted in the supposition that they are true to their words, even though they almost certainly underwent scrutiny by a censorship office before authorization to publish was given.[53]

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[52] This study uses publicly available political documents from the Italian Chamber of Deputies Online Archival Portal (Camera dei Deputati Portale Storico), accessible via the link: https://storia.camera.it/#nav.

[53] In the earlier years of fascist rule, music and art-related publications were not taken as seriously in censorship offices as politically subversive material was. See: Frank Rosengarten, *The Italian Anti-Fascist Press, 1919-1945* (Cleveland: The Press of Case Western Reserve University, 1968).

**Primary Sources**

This study focuses primarily on government records and publications that document Lualdi's travels abroad. It is therefore necessary to consider the composer's entire written and legislative output. **Figure 1** in **Appendix B** to this study provides a list of Lualdi's publications. Although some primary sources listed in **Figure 1** are not presented in subsequent chapters in terms of evidence, they are used for context, framing the evidence found elsewhere. **Figure 2** of **Appendix B** displays the archival records from the fascist Chamber of Deputies used in this thesis. Once more, although this thesis relies on evidence from political documents containing transcriptions of Lualdi's speeches, other political documents are used for context. **Figure 3** shows Lualdi's communications from the archives of Mussolini's Private Office, such as telegrams and letters. Fiamma Nicolodi collected and preserved these communications in the appendix of her book, *Musica e musicisti nel Ventennio Fascista.*[54] In order to contextualize Lualdi's communications with Mussolini, I consider similar documents from other composers such as Alfredo Casella and Gian Francesco Malipiero.

**Chapter Layout**

This thesis contains five chapters. While all chapters draw evidence from the same primary and secondary sources, I organize them based on what the evidence tells us about Lualdi in terms of his distinct political and personal voices. Chapter two provides

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[54] Fiamma Nicolodi, "Documenti, testimonianze, carteggi dagli archivi storici del regime," in *Musica e musicisti nel Ventennio Fascista* (Fiesole: Discanto, 1984), 306-472.

an examination of Lualdi's portrayal in Harvey Sachs's *Music in Fascist Italy* and in Fiamma Nicolodi's *Musica e musicisti nel Ventennio Fascista*. Essentially an expanded literature review, this chapter highlights specific inconsistencies in scholarship that deal with Lualdi. Furthermore, this chapter reflects on tangential scholarship that relies on an inconsistent portrayal of Lualdi, further problematizing the historical record of the composer-legislator.

Chapter three establishes Lualdi's personal voice, using evidence found in the composer's publications. Through his own words, this chapter assembles a portrayal of Lualdi's personal character by exploring his views on modernism in music and his general aesthetic philosophy. This chapter also compares findings to the inconsistencies highlighted in the previous chapter, clarifying the ambiguities found in the historical record.

Chapter four establishes Lualdi's political voice, using evidence gathered from archival government documents that detail the composer-legislator's time in the fascist Chamber of Deputies. This chapter focuses on Lualdi's speeches to the chamber in addition to the actions and initiatives of the composer, as per his duties as a government official. As well, this chapter provides clarity to the historical record of the composer-legislator by comparing the findings to the inconsistencies of previous scholarship.

Chapter five, the conclusionary chapter to this thesis, considers evidence presented in previous chapters, together. Along with a brief summary of findings, this chapter summarizes the case for distinguishing between the personal voice and the legislative voice of Adriano Lualdi. This final chapter reflects on issues in scholarship that conflate Lualdi's personal and political voices, leading to a misrepresentation of the

composer-legislator as a historical figure. As well, this chapter concludes with a discussion of broader issues in the study of misrepresented historical figures and how the issues explored in this thesis are symptomatic of a larger trend.

**Importance to Scholarship and Concluding Remarks**

Adriano Lualdi, an important figure in the musical bureaucracy of fascist-era Italy, is severely under-studied. To my knowledge, there is no scholarship that focuses specifically on Lualdi; most scholarly encounters with him are purely tangential. Surveys of the musical bureaucracy in fascist Italy mention Lualdi and, while thorough otherwise, they do not dedicate significant attention to the composer-legislator. The gap in scholarship has led to a caricature-esque portrayal of Lualdi that is often dismissive, lacking a more nuanced narrative.

Lualdi's absence from the 1932 musical manifesto signals that the opportunistic, self-serving, and musically xenophobic version of Lualdi that is often encountered in secondary sources does not fully represent Lualdi as a historical figure. Additionally, Lualdi's absence from the document calls into question his willingness to use political power to push his own aesthetic ideals. Scholarship that encounters Lualdi tends to summarize his aesthetic values as backward-looking, citing Lualdi's commentary on modernism. Although not entirely unfounded, this conception of the composer-legislator's artistic philosophy lacks nuance.

This thesis examines the legislative and written output of Adriano Lualdi in order to distinguish his legislative voice from his personal voice. Previous scholarship conflates these distinct voices, leading to inconsistencies and a distorted portrayal of the composer-legislator in the historical record. By establishing these voices as distinct through the

examination of Lualdi's personal and political records, I hope to bring greater nuance and accuracy to scholarship in this field of study. Furthermore, I posit this thesis as a case study to warn of a musicological bias toward transgressive or progressive music and artists.

## CHAPTER II: EXPANDED LITERATURE REVIEW

> This is neither a history of fascist Italy nor a history of Italian music during the second quarter of the twentieth century […] [t]his is a study of how certain musical institutions changed and of how certain musicians fared and acted during the more than twenty years of fascist rule.[1]
>
> – Harvey Sachs, *Music in Fascist Italy*

Harvey Sachs prefaces his book by highlighting that its focus is on musical institutions rather than on music itself. While this work is perhaps not best called a *history of music*, it would not be an overstatement to say that Sachs's work is essential to the study of music from the fascist period. Sachs engages in the critical examination of mainly primary sources to establish the environment in which narratives, such as Lualdi's, exist. Sachs's detailed scholarship provides historical context to the narrative-based histories of Italian music in the early twentieth century, allowing for a more complete understanding of the period.

Despite Sachs's exhaustive study of the musical environment in fascist Italy, his portrayal of Lualdi is problematic, demonizing Lualdi for his perceived aesthetic views, his actions as a government official, and his opportunism.[2] Although not entirely unsubstantiated, the rhetoric Sachs uses to deliver facts about the composer-legislator is questionable and some of these facts do not hold up to the scrutiny of primary sources. While Sachs only dedicates a brief introductory portion of his study to Lualdi, this section, in addition to the odd reference to the composer in later chapters, caricatures Lualdi as an opportunistic, backward-looking figure.[3]

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[1] Sachs, *Music in Fascist Italy*, 3.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Harvey Sachs, "The Terrain," in *Music in Fascist Italy*, 5-32.

In *Musica e musicisti nel Ventennio Fascista*, Fiamma Nicolodi is more diplomatic in her portrayal of Lualdi. Although there is no extended introduction of the composer-legislator, Nicolodi presents Lualdi as a composer with a "more selective conception of music."[4] Nicolodi elaborates on Lualdi by including his works in various tables which document the amount of times a work was played in festivals. Beyond a few mentions of Lualdi, he receives little attention in Nicolodi's work.[5] While she does not refer to Lualdi as often as Sachs, Nicolodi's presentation of Lualdi is rooted in the composer-legislator's roles in festivals and other government duties, in addition to descriptions of his musical prominence.

In what little scholarship there is that explores Lualdi, there are discrepancies. This chapter highlights these inconsistencies, focusing primarily on Harvey Sachs's and Fiamma Nicolodi's work on Lualdi's tours abroad, his work on music festivals, and his communications with Mussolini's private office. While examining inconsistencies in the portrayals of Lualdi by Nicolodi and Sachs, this chapter introduces primary sources that counter the claims made in previous scholarship. Finally, this chapter concludes with a summary of the findings and a brief discussion of scholarship that cites Lualdi's caricature-esque portrayal.

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[4] Nicolodi, *Musica e musicisti nel Ventennio Fascista*, 19.
[5] Although Nicolodi does not focus on Lualdi in her work, she includes all of his known communications with Mussolini's Private Office in her appendix.

**Festivals**

Sachs introduces Lualdi while discussing the sub-ministerial roles of the fascist bureaucracy that were occupied by musicians. After detailing the roles occupied by Lualdi as a member of the fascist Chamber of Deputies, Sachs writes of the composer:

> These high-ranking political positions gave him a great deal of clout in the Italian musical world: he founded and organized government-subsidized festivals, and participated–or interfered–in the administration of many important cultural organizations and enterprises.[6]

Without providing any specific examples of interference in the administration of musical events, Sachs portrays Lualdi as an obtuse figure. However, Lualdi's characterization as an opportunistic anti-modernist implies that the composer interfered with the musical programing of important festivals in one of two ways: either to push his own aesthetic values, or to have his own works performed.

As a founder of the Venetian *Festival Internazionale di Musica* (1930) and the inaugural director of the Florentine *Maggio Musicale Fiorentino* (1935), Lualdi had considerable input on the administration of these events. Although Lualdi's works were performed, they received only seven performances between 1935 and 1943 in the *Maggio* festival.[7] For comparison, the modernist Gian Francesco Malipiero's works received five performances in the same span, leaving both composers trailing behind their modernist contemporary Alfredo Casella, whose works were performed eleven times in the same period.[8]

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[6] Sachs, *Music in Fascist Italy,* 21.
[7] Nicolodi, *Musica e musicisti nel Ventennio Fascista*, 22-23.
[8] Ibid.

Lualdi and Casella organized the 1930 *Festival internazionale di musica*, held in Venice as a musical counterpart to the famous *Biennale* festival. That the two composers worked together is interesting enough, given the characterization of Lualdi as an anti-modernist. However, more interesting details emerge from the programme of the inaugural event, in addition to those of later iterations of the festival. The first programme of the festival featured many of the most recognized Italian musicians of the time, such as Respighi, Zandonai, and Pizzetti. More interesting, though, is the eclecticism of traditionalist and modernist composers, both domestic and foreign. Works performed included compositions by Bartók, Kodály, Castelnuovo-Tedesco, Casella, Milhaud, Hindemith, Malipiero, Stravinsky, Alfano, and Prokofiev.[9] Lualdi's works received performance as well; however, it is difficult to see how the composer-legislator used his influence to promote his aesthetic philosophy while presenting such eclectic festival programmes.

Later incarnations of the festival would see Lualdi conduct performances of works by Poulenc, Roussell, Hindemeth, and Gershwin, in addition to fulfilling his administrative roles.[10] As well, in the 1934 *Festival internazionale di musica*, Alban Berg's *Der Wein* received performance, as did his *Violin Concerto* in 1937. J.C.G. Waterhouse notes that Schoenberg, an artist detested by Lualdi, was included in the 1937 edition of the festival, with the Italian premiere of his *Dodecaphonic Suite* op.29, although, by this time Casella oversaw the administration of the event.[11]

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[9] Sachs, *Music in Fascist Italy,* 89.
[10] Ibid, 89-91.
[11] Waterhouse, "Italy from the First World War to the Second," 121.

While it is impossible to definitively say how much Lualdi interfered with the festivals he founded and organized, based on the programming of the two major festivals he worked on, it is clear that he did not successfully push his aesthetic philosophy. Lualdi's works did receive performance in these festivals; however, the number of performances is on par with his contemporaries, both traditionalists and modernists. Moreover, Casella, the modernist composer that Lualdi collaborated with, received more performances of his works than Lualdi throughout their time as administrators of these festivals.

**Tours Abroad**

Sachs demonizes Lualdi by presenting historical facts with language that emphasizes damning information surrounding the composer. Below is an example of Sachs's description of Lualdi's involvement in foreign affairs as an ambassador of Italian culture:

> As Italy's representative to the First Congress (1934) of the Corporation of German Composers, presided over by Richard Strauss in Hitler's Berlin, [Lualdi] made a speech about 'the work achieved by the fascist regime on behalf of music, of which Benito Mussolini is a great connoisseur and to which he is a great friend'.[12]

The extent to which Lualdi was involved in the proceedings of the event is not discussed; what is important here is the rhetorical aims of placing Lualdi in "Hitler's Berlin," delivering speeches in support of the fascist regime.[13] Sachs ends his discussion of Lualdi's participation in the congress rather ominously, stating that "[t]here were to be

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[12] Sachs, *Music in Fascist* Italy, 21.
[13] Ibid.

more serious examples of [Lualdi's] meddlesomeness."[14] By the end of the second paragraph discussing Lualdi, the rhetoric that Sachs employs offers a discouraging portrayal of the composer-legislator, leaving at best, a sour taste in the mouths of his readers.

Lualdi was highly mobile before, after, and during his tenure in the Chamber of Deputies. In *Musica e musicisti nel Ventennio Fascista*, Nicolodi does not discuss the composer's travels abroad in much detail.[15] However, after recounting Lualdi's role as the director of the Conservatory of Naples, Sachs writes that Lualdi "[…] arranged important national and foreign tours for himself and managed to have his works performed by the most important ensembles in the country."[16] Without substantiation, Sachs presents Lualdi as an opportunistic and intrusive figure in his first paragraph on the composer. While Lualdi's works did receive performances by renowned orchestras, the composer's own chronicles of his tours suggest a more nuanced account of his actions abroad, which merit further discussion.

In *Viaggio musicale nell'U.R.S.S.*, Lualdi provides interesting discourse on the music, musicians, townsfolk, and institutions he encountered during his 1932–1933 musical tour of Soviet Russia. The text provides fascinating insight into the personal thoughts on the Soviet State, from the perspective of a convinced fascist. Lualdi's position as an official of the fascist regime undoubtedly contributed to the organization of this tour to Russia; however, the music he toured highlights an eclectic cross-section of

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[14] Ibid.
[15] Nicolodi, *Musica e musicisti nel Ventennio Fascista*.
[16] Sachs, *Music in Fascist Italy,* 21.

Italian music, from past masterworks to contemporary traditionalist and modernist works. Lualdi describes the music he is touring as a beacon of light for what he describes as the destitute peoples of the communist State.[17]

After recounting difficulties in a Russian customs office regarding the transport of his luggage, Lualdi claims that his 85 kg package of musical scores was given permission to enter the country. The composer then provides a sample of the works he was touring, which, in addition to his own *Suite adriatica* and various works by Italian composers, includes Casella's *La giara (suite)* and Malipiero's *Variazioni senza tema*.[18] Lualdi toured these works in Krakow, Kiev, Moscow, and Leningrad, making stops in smaller cities along the way. While there is no precise number of performances indicated for the works that Lualdi conducted throughout his Russian tour, the fact that the composer-legislator toured the works of his modernist contemporaries is significant.

In *Viaggio musicale in Europa*, Lualdi documents his travels to Zurich, Frankfurt, Vienna, Prague, Berlin, Amsterdam, Brussels, London, and Paris. Although the chronicle was published in 1929, the first year of Lualdi's deputyship, the book describes Lualdi's trips abroad from 1926 to 1928. Recounting his musical journeys, both on tour and on holiday, Lualdi provides detailed descriptions of musical institutions, orchestras, and his thoughts on the musical output of these cities. Lauldi's tours throughout Italy and the rest of Europe included, in addition to the composer's own material, works from his

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[17] How much of the rhetoric in this text is purely anti-communist propaganda is unknown; however, the level of detail Lualdi provides is striking.
[18] Lualdi, *Viaggio musicale nell'U.R.S.S.*, 9.

modernist contemporaries; namely, Alfredo Casella and Gian Francesco Malipiero, the modernist composers to whom Toni's 1932 manifesto was indirectly addressed.[19]

While attending a music festival in Zurich in June of 1926, Lualdi praises Casella's work, contrasting the Italian modernist's output to other currents of modernism found abroad.[20] On Casella's *Partita per piano ed orchestra*, Lualdi writes:

> […] Casella's *Partit*[a] deserves to be counted among the most remarkable and most musical things that was heard in this festival; and for the frankness with which it is exposed, and for its second half which, especially in the first pages, is very beautiful and heartfelt […] it was listened to yesterday with a real sense of relief […].[21]

While in Frankfurt, Lualdi laments the fact that the "beautiful and robust" work of Castelnuovo-Tedesco and the instrumental works of Malipiero were not included in the programming of the 1927 *Festival Internazionale di Musica Contemporanea*.[22] The composer claims that the programme gave more space to "bad music of a single trend in a [f]estival that should be open to all modern trends."[23] Lualdi further explains that, while some Italian works received performance, the festival's bias toward atonal orchestral works meant that submissions of music by Italian modernists were "rejected immediately, with the pretext of the use of choral masses."[24] Although he does not provide evidence of this (beyond claiming that the performances of atonal works outnumbered those of tonal works), Lualdi goes on to praise Castelnuovo-Tedesco and Malipiero, whose non-choral works were part of the programme.

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[19] Toni, et al., "Manifesto di musicisti italiani," 3.
[20] Lualdi, *Viaggio musicale in Europa*, 53-57.
[21] Ibid, 55.
[22] Ibid, 157-158.
[23] Ibid, 157.
[24] Ibid.

The praise of Italian modernists could be a display of Lualdi's nationalistic attitude, one of 'trusting the devil you know'. However, the composer highlights the works of foreign composers as well. Despite his misgivings about polytonality and atonality, Lualdi compliments the work of Paul Hindemeth and Bela Bartòk. Upon hearing the music of Bartòk, Lualdi writes:

> […] the Hungarian Bela Bartòk who - even though sacrificing abundantly to the polytonal fashions, manages to remain musical […] he has very fine orchestral moments and […] shows the hand of a master who knows what he wants, even if what he wants is not something that deserves a lot of study [, there] is a lot of ingenuity.[25]

Although his remarks toward Bartòk's music are dismissive of his use of polytonality, Lualdi labels Bartòk a master, complimenting the works he heard in the festival.

Lualdi's commentary on modern music is certainly influenced by his nationalistic attitude; however, the composer seems to focus more on the music than the nationality of its composer in his musical judgment. Further to this point, Lualdi condemns the nationalistic tendencies of Mediterranean music critics. While recounting his 1927 journey to Paris, Lualdi writes:

> […] 'Latin genius' is a pretentious and empty formula; and one must beware of the temptation to close in on any formula for the musical genius of this or that nation. An idea, a concept, an abstract thing can be defined; but not a living being (like music), in constant evolution, and full of every possibility.[26]

In a rare moment of self-critique and reflection, Lualdi criticizes the nationalistic tendencies of music journalists, critics, and authors of music periodicals. These kinds of reflections, although rare, are never discussed in scholarship dealing with Lualdi.

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[25] Ibid, 159.
[26] Ibid, 454.

**Nicolodi's Portrayal of Lualdi**

Nicolodi abstains from demonizing Lualdi's character, and instead highlights his personal opinions and professional activities. Although she does not go into as much detail on the composer as does Sachs, Nicolodi's characterization of Lualdi is important to consider, as her work explores similar material to that of Sachs. Through matter-of-fact descriptions of Lualdi's roles in the founding of festivals and other government duties, Nicolodi depicts the composer-legislator simply as an opinionated bureaucrat. Nicolodi also incorporates Lualdi into her illuminating tables and charts which detail the number of times a work was performed in a festival. Nicolodi's work only encounters Lualdi briefly, and, while more diplomatic than Sachs, she does not explicitly consider Lualdi's legislative voice as distinct from his personal voice.

Nicolodi introduces Lualdi as a "zealous politician" with a "more selective conception of music."[27] Although she notes that Lualdi wished to "strengthen the presence of modern authors," Nicolodi also states that the composer wanted to eliminate the institutionalised mediocrity of music establishments in Italy, no doubt drawing on Lualdi's publications.[28] While elaborating on Lualdi's activities as a government official, Nicolodi emphasizes that in 1937, Lualdi helped form an institution for modern artists and "brand new works" at the Teatro delle Nuove in Bergamo.[29] Nicolodi states that Lualdi was in favour of "relegating younger [composers] to experimental theatres," such as the Teatro delle Nuove, implying that Lualdi intended to separate modernist

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[27] Nicolodi, *Musica e musicisti nel Ventennio Fascista*, 19.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Ibid.

composers from traditionalists and canonic material.[30] Beyond the conflation of his personal and legislative voices in this short introduction to the composer-legislator, Nicolodi does not expand her commentary on Lualdi's character.

While discussing Lualdi's professional activities, Nicolodi highlights Lualdi's criticism of the fascist government's inability to effect change and renewal in the musical world. Citing his letters and publications on the government's mishandling of theatres and opera houses, she portrays Lualdi as a concerned composer who was forward with his opinions.[31] Nicolodi claims that Lualdi could "boast particular merits of political order," alongside his compositional activities in music and in criticism.[32]

Nicolodi mentions that Lualdi was one of ten composers that the Ministry of Popular Culture commissioned works from; however, she does not go as far as to say that his role in government lead to these commissions, as does Sachs.[33] Furthermore, in contrast to Sachs, Nicolodi does not state that Lualdi's involvement in festival administration was a direct result of his involvement in the fascist bureaucracy. Nicolodi instead emphasizes that Lualdi was integral to the foundation of these exhibitions of modern Italian music, recounting the composer's meetings with Mussolini prior to his deputyship.[34] Additionally, on Lualdi's roles in festivals, Nicolodi states that the

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[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid, 293.
[33] Ibid, 20. Between 1935 and 1943, the Ministry of Popular Culture commisioned works from Franco Alfano, Alfredo Casella, Giorgio Federico Ghedini, Adriano Lualdi, Gian Francesco Malipiero, Giuseppe Mulè, Riccardo Pick-Mangiagalli, Lodovico Rocca, Ermano Wolf-Ferrari, and Riccardo Zandonai.
[34] Ibid, 163.

International Festival of Contemporary Music was "always eclectic," and that it "aimed above all for quality," even while Lualdi was the lead organizer of the event.[35]

Beyond mentioning his admiration for the compositions of his former mentor, Ermano Wolf-Ferrari, Nicolodi does not go into much detail on Lualdi's personal opinions.[36] However, in one instance, Nicolodi discusses Lualdi's opinions on jazz music in Italy, concluding that Lualdi felt jazz was a "snobbish and decadent distortion of African musical primitivism, made by westerners."[37] While she is not wrong and cites Lualdi directly, Nicolodi neglects a passage in this same publication in which Lualdi contemplates the merits of jazz. In *Viaggio musicale in Italia*, Lualdi describes his thoughts after reading a book on jazz and deciding "to dedicate an hour of the afternoon to [listen to] the most beautiful jazz in the capital."[38] He claims that, in Milan, "ten minutes of saxophonic asthma can be unbearable," but that "in Rome it can succeed […] who knows? Quite pleasant."[39] Lualdi then elaborates on the music itself, often with demeaning and frankly racist language. Despite his degrading opinions on jazz, the composer states that in "Rome, city of all beauties, fountain of all poems, zither of all music, some jazz is needed: to bring us back to earth […] so as to not dream too much," illuminating more about Western attitudes toward jazz than about jazz itself.[40] Upon his reflection of Italian music in contrast to jazz, Lualdi states that the quality of Italian

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[35] Ibid, 261.
[36] Ibid, 285.
[37] Ibid, 90.
[38] Lualdi, *Viaggio musicale in Italia*, 243.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Ibid, 245.

music "was enough for me to […] completely forget jazz, the book, the good authors, and the beautiful things I had learned."[41]

**Temperament and Ingratiation**

While introducing Giuseppe Mulè and Alceo Toni, Lualdi's colleagues in the Chamber of Deputies, Sachs makes a point of comparing their temperaments and musical aesthetics to Lualdi's. Introducing Giuseppe Mulè, Sachs writes: "the career of Giuseppe Mulè in many respects paralleled Lualdi's […] both were composers whose tastes lagged a generation behind those of their more original contemporaries […]."[42] Sachs also compares Alceo Toni's temperament to Lualdi's, stating that Toni was "less full of hot air than Lualdi."[43] While contrasting Mulè's character to Lualdi's, Sachs claims that "[b]y all accounts, Mulè was a gentler soul than Lualdi, less eager to trounce musicians whose aesthetic points of view differed from his own."[44] Ironically, after further demonizing Lualdi by contrasting his character to those of his colleagues, Sachs goes on to discuss the 1932 manifesto, which was written and signed by Toni, endorsed by Mulè, but importantly, not signed by Lualdi.

The disparaging portrayal of Lualdi continues in Sachs's discussion of letters and telegrams from musicians found in the files of Mussolini's private office. Here too, Lualdi is singled out amongst the plethora of artists who wrote to Mussolini. Of the telegrams and letters, Sachs writes: "[t]hese documents make for sad reading, and none of

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[41] Ibid, 245.
[42] Sachs, *Music in Fascist Italy,* 22.
[43] Ibid, 23.
[44] Ibid.

them more so than Lualdi's communications, which are replete with grotesque flattery and grovelling."[45] Sachs then provides an extended quote from one such communication, along with samples of telegrams that Lualdi sent to Mussolini. The private files of Mussolini contain a multitude of notes, telegrams, and letters from artists of many disciplines, most of which share attributes of Lualdi's communications to Mussolini.[46] That Lualdi is singled out by Sachs as an example of these communications, is another instance of disparaging rhetoric toward the composer.

Finally, Sachs concludes his discussion of Lualdi with a persuasive statement on the nature of the fascist regime, and, while it is a point well-made, it further vilifies the composer-legislator:

> The tenor of these communications would seem so silly, so Little-Jack-Horner-like, as to make them unworthy of attention. But Mussolini's government nourished itself almost entirely on Lualdi-style protestations of fidelity. Although the amount of damage that could be done by even the most powerful musician was relatively small, Italy as a whole was nearly destroyed by people who shared Lualdi's opportunistic attitude.[47]

Sachs uses Lualdi's communications to Mussolini as fodder for his charges of opportunism against the populistic fascist regime, which he blames for the near destruction of Italy. Although the sentiment behind this statement is not unfounded, Sachs's use of Lualdi's communications as an exemplar, is problematic.

In the appendix to *Musica e musicisti nel Ventennio Fascista*, Fiamma Nicolodi includes transcriptions of letters, telegrams, and notes that musicians sent to Mussolini's

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[45] Sachs, *Music in Fascist Italy*, 22.
[46] For examples, see Nicolodi, "Documenti, testimonianze, carteggi dagli archivi storici del regime," 306-472.
[47] Ibid.

private office.[48] While it is outside of the scope of this thesis to fully explore these letters, it is interesting to consider the number of artists who sent communications to Mussolini's private office. Significantly, Nicolodi records 326 communications from 34 musicians. Of these communications, 14 are from Lualdi, 4 are from Casella, and 57 are from Malipiero.[49] While these documents vary in subject-matter, most include varying degrees of either flattery toward Mussolini, or ingratiation to the fascist regime.

**Concluding Remarks**

Throughout tangential references in secondary sources, Lualdi is presented as a caricature of the opportunistic composer navigating the fascist cultural order. Inconsistencies in what little scholarship that focuses on the composer-legislator are often overlooked, leading scholars to opt for Sachs's portrayal of Lualdi. However, by presenting Lualdi through disparaging rhetoric as a meddlesome, self-serving, and non-progressive composer who used his position in government to push his own aesthetic values, Sachs's portrayal of Lualdi lacks nuance.

Lualdi's foundational roles in the organization of music festivals ensured that the composer-legislator worked alongside the modernist, Casella. Upon reviewing the programmes of the Florentine *Maggio musicale* festival and the Venetian *Festival internazionale di musica*, it appears that Lualdi did not take advantage of his administrative roles: Lualdi's works were not performed any more than Casella's. Furthermore, the eclectic programmes of the festivals featured composers such as Bartók,

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[48] Nicolodi, "Documenti, testimonianze, carteggi dagli archivi storici del regime," 306-472.
[49] Ibid.

Castelnuovo-Tedesco, Milhaud, Malipiero, Stravinsky, Prokofiev, Hindemeth, Berg, and Gershwin, suggesting that Lualdi's supposedly xenophobic aesthetic philosophies did not successfully interfere in the programming of the festivals.

Lualdi's written works show that the composer was not as opposed to modernist trends in music as the secondary literature suggests. In his memoirs of musical tours abroad, Lualdi praises Italian modernists such as Casella and Malipiero, writing that he toured their works abroad in later years. Additionally, in these same documents, Lualdi praises the work of non-Italian modernists such as Bartòk and Hindemith. While Lualdi certainly had pessimistic views on atonal and polytonal music, it is clear that the composer was not a strict anti-modernist.

By using Lauldi's communications with Mussolini's private office as an example of opportunism and ingratiation, secondary sources overlook the fact that these documents represent only a small portion of communications between musicians and the fascist regime. Although Lualdi's letters, telegrams, and notes may well make for a dismal read, they are not unlike those from other composers. Nicolodi's appendix shows that modernists and traditionalists, card-carrying fascists and wavering anti-fascists, and those in between, all ingratiated themselves to the regime in varying ways and degrees.

Harvey Sachs is cited throughout scholarship that deals with the music of fascist Italy. Although Sachs's detailed work is essential to the understanding of the musical landscape of fascist-era Italy, his problematic portrayal of Adriano Lualdi has taken root in secondary literature. While much scholarship only refers to the composer-legislator tangentially, it is nevertheless important to note that Sachs's characterization of Lualdi is

taken as the status-quo amongst scholars that encounter the figure, despite inconsistencies between his and Nicolodi's work, and the written output of the composer himself.

## CHAPTER III: THE PERSONAL VOICE OF ADRIANO LUALDI

Describing the artistic philosophy of any individual poses challenges. To determine the aesthetic philosophy of a musician, the most obvious place to start is in their musical output. Lualdi's case, however, is problematic: as a legislator whose personal aesthetic philosophy is argued to have influenced his decision-making, it is instead necessary to consider evidence that is beyond the composer's own musical language. Important questions to consider are less about the composer's music, and more about his opinions on the music of others. What did Lualdi think of modern music? And of canonical western music? Did Lualdi have a guiding artistic philosophy, in broader terms? Fortunately, Lualdi's written output allows for the exploration of such questions.

As the previous chapter elaborates upon, the caricature-esque portrayal of Lualdi simply as 'anti-modernist' does not hold up to the scrutiny of primary sources. However, Lualdi's characterization as a musical xenophobe is not entirely unfounded. In many ways, this caricature of the figure is rooted in reality; however, this portrayal lacks nuance. To more fully understand Lualdi's personal voice, it is necessary to explore the composer's convictions and aesthetic philosophies in detail. This chapter examines Lualdi's written output in order to nuance our understanding of the composer-legislator's aesthetic philosophy.

By exploring the written word of Lualdi through accounts of his travels abroad, in addition to his extensive preface to a re-issue of Giuseppe Mazzini's *Filosofia della musica*, this chapter investigates Lualdi's Mazzinian views on music and his belief in

spiritual, moral, and societal elevation through art.[1] In addition to Italian nationalism in the composer-legislator's written works, this chapter highlights Lualdi's distaste for atonality and institutionalised amateurism. While it is impossible to both fully and accurately establish the composer-legislator's artistic philosophy, this chapter adds nuance to the characterization of Lualdi's personal voice through his own words.

**Nationalism**

Lualdi's nationalistic attitude toward the primacy of Italy frames much of his writing on artistic and musical topics. While writing about the decadence and triviality of a group that he vaguely refers to as the *International*, Lualdi's nationalistic tendencies are highly visible.[2] Although Lualdi never refers to members of this internationalist group by name, he does mention that these "legislators of the new aesthetic" aim to remove the national identity in the musical output of each nation.[3] This group is often identified by the composer as he writes on the music of France, Belgium, and places, as Lualdi often puts it, that are "beyond the Alps."[4] The opening essay to Lualdi's *Viaggio musicale in Europa* contains the most forthright description of the international consortium of which Lualdi often wrote:

> Following the example of the German and Austrian heads of schools, a true International of art was formed among some Belgian, French, Russian, Dutch, English, [and] Swiss composers, which seems to be inspired by ideals of ugliness, unpleasantness and rudeness that has no examples in the past; and which, in the present, are reflected only in certain painters (also belonging to an International:

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[1] Lualdi; Mazzini, *Filosofia della musica*.
[2] Lualdi often references this ill-defined group as the *International*, the *snobs*, the *artistic International*, and the *musical International*.
[3] Lualdi, *Viaggio musicale in Europa*, 17.
[4] Adriano Lualdi, *Per il primato spirituale di Roma*, (Rome: Stab. Tip. Ramo Editoriale degli agricoltori, 1942), 54.

> so much so, [that] it is impossible, from their paintings, to recognize Dutch from Russian, French, German, Italian) […].[5]

While almost certainly referencing trends of atonality in these countries, it is interesting to note that what seems most disturbing to Lualdi is that the aesthetic of the so-called *International* somehow removes national identity from the art it produces.

While referencing the *International*, Lualdi defends what he views as the musical identity of Italy. Although the language he uses is always vague, the composer considers Italy to be a musical educator of nations.[6] To Lualdi, Italy is a nation that draws on centuries of experience in defining beauty, determining trends, and importantly, exporting these aesthetic trends. The composer uses Italy's reputation of artistic glory from times past to suggest an inherent musical and national identity, one that protects against the alleged goal of the *International*.[7] While defending Italy's national identity, Lualdi writes that the nation's "innate sense" of artistic beauty and "instinctive resistance to the abstractions" of foreign philosophy protects the country from "contagious diseases and from snobbery and extremism beyond the Alps."[8] The "innate" musical sensibilities that the composer views as integral to Italy's national identity are often used to claim that

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[5] Lualdi, *Viaggio musicale in Europa*, 21-22.
[6] Throughout his written output, Lualdi comments on the history of Italian art, its influence on other nations, and how the nation has deviated from its once artistically triumphant past.
[7] Perhaps fascist Italy's most widely visible principle amongst artists, was the regime's *actualization* of ancient Rome. Lualdi extends this ideal to the more recent past and suggests that Italy's national identity is synonymous with its history as an exporter of the arts.
[8] Adriano Lualdi, *Per il primato spirituale di Roma*, (Rome: Stab. Tip. Ramo Editoriale degli Agricoltori, 1942), 54.

Italy is defying trends, and in doing so, continuing the country's role as an educator of nations.[9]

Lualdi also uses Italy's historical position as an artistic powerhouse to differentiate its national identity from those of the *International.* While discussing a Milanese public forum on atonal music, the composer, offended by a presenter's comparison of Arnold Schoenberg to Leonardo DaVinci, wrote:

> It is no more than four years ago that an international group (including some Italians) of panegyrists and impresarios of the system, presenting an essay of such [atonal] music in Milan, dared to compare its inventor to ... Leonardo da Vinci.[10]

Presenting Italy's national artistic identity as an educator of nations reveals both Lualdi's nationalistic attitudes toward foreign music and a thinly veiled belief in the primacy of Italian cultural output.

Despite Lualdi's nationalistic tendencies, the composer did not hesitate to call attention to problems in the musical landscape of Italy. Writing in October 1928, Lualdi highlights a crisis in Italian music, claiming that opera's decline was due to a lack of attention by government officials.[11] In this published criticism of the fascist government, Lualdi describes a meeting in which remedies to the opera crisis were discussed. The composer notes that the National Director of the Fascist Union of Musicians, the head of the government body with expertise on the subject, was excluded from these talks.[12] Lualdi states that, with "[t]his being the case, having observed the symptom, having ascertained that the National Directory has for the moment a purely Platonic function, [it

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[9] Ibid.
[10] Lualdi, *Viaggio musicale in Europa*, 19.
[11] Lualdi, *Viaggio musicale in Europa*, 11-12.
[12] Lualdi later became the director of this branch of government.

is] therefore useless […]."[13] Lualdi concludes his criticism of the government's inaction and incompetence on the opera crisis, stating that "[m]usical Italy is deeply attached to its glorious traditions. Even the opera crisis is now part of its traditions."[14] Pessimistically, he closes by claiming that, because of the government's inaction, he will not be put out by the opera crisis: he jests about changing the dates of his critical articles and republishing them to make a living, since nothing will change.[15]

In addition to the opera crisis, Lualdi felt that government policies led to both the increasingly international character of Italian music and the persistence of programming canonical works, effectively leaving modern Italian composers behind. While discussing the general state of music in Italy, Lualdi writes that the government neglects new music and that canonic repertoire "is now so exhausted that nothing can lift it anymore." [16] Furthermore, Lualdi insists that an "aversion to new art and new artists" and "a few decades of anti-national artistic policy" are to blame for Italy's impoverished musical appetite.[17] Reflections on the state of Italian music such as this, however vague, provide insight into Lualdi's views on nationalism, internationalism, and the role of government. As well, prior to his role in the Chamber of Deputies, reflections of this type provide context for the work carried out by the composer in later years.

Although Lualdi's criticisms of the fascist government were pessimistic, the composer did make appeals for an intervention by Mussolini. Lualdi felt that the only

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[13] Lualdi, *Viaggio musicale in Europa*, 12.
[14] Ibid, 13.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid, 10-11.
[17] Ibid.

person capable of rectifying the issues outlined in his critiques was *il Duce* himself. Contradicting his pessimism with his optimistic faith in Mussolini, Lualdi states that, under fascism, "many dormant national energies reawaken," and that art will flourish "under the prod of that superb animator and restorer who is Benito Mussolini." [18] He claims that of the arts, music was the "most needy of all," and that Mussolini "hopes and waits for" music to be "put back on the right pedestal."[19] Lualdi's faith in Mussolini's ability to fix incompetent branches of government that dealt with the arts, was uncompromising. He claimed that until Mussolini personally intervened with these supposedly inept branches of government, Italian artists would have no tangible government support.

Lualdi's repeated calls to action from Mussolini are descriptive of the environment that spurred on the composer's opportunistic attitude: "until Benito Mussolini does not intervene personally with one of his gestures that awaken even the most willing sleepers–each one will do well to take care of his own personal affairs."[20] To some degree, Lualdi's opportunism is rooted in his reluctance to trust the branches of government that he felt were inept. While this does not dispel Harvey Sachs's insistence of "Lualdi's opportunistic attitude," it does contextualize the composer's actions.[21] Additionally, it is significant that Lualdi encouraged the opportunism of other contemporary artists, for the sake of their own self-preservation.

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[18] Lualdi, *Viaggio musicale in Italia*, 11.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Lualdi, *Viaggio musicale in Europa*, 12.
[21] Sachs, *Music in Fascist Italy*, 22.

Lualdi's criticisms of the government and his appeals to Mussolini resonated with the artistic community at large. Likewise, the composer's flattery of the government's increasingly nationalistic artistic policies echoed praise from other contemporary artists. For example, he praised new legislation that required theatres to program contemporary music, stating that "this medium will be used to obtain the rejuvenation of our repertoire."[22] Obviously, imposing such demands on theatres would be positive for living composers of all aesthetic stripes. While his approval of this legislation reflects Nicolodi's portrayal of Lualdi as a composer who wished to "strengthen the presence of modern authors," it is somewhat antithetical to Sachs's characterization.[23] Lualdi's praise displays the composer's acknowledgment of the fascist regime's policies that, in his view, protected and promulgated what he considered to be Italy's *actualized* national artistic identity.

**Atonality, Snobbery, and Amateurism**

Lualdi's caricature-esque portrayal in secondary scholarship as an anti-modernist stems mostly from the composer-legislator's thoughts on atonality and the disdain with which he regarded the controversial second Viennese school. Lualdi's vitriolic rants on atonality are often accompanied by the terms *snobbery* and *amateurism*. While the composer uses these terms somewhat interchangeably, it is useful to consider his language carefully when discussing his aesthetic views.

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[22] Lualdi, *Viaggio musicale in Italia*, 16.
[23] Nicolodi, *Musica e musicisti nel Ventennio Fascista*, 19.

Lualdi's remorseful accounts of amateurism do not point toward a distaste of amateur musicians and composers, but to the audiences and critics that, to Lualdi, seemed to lower the bar of professional musicianship. As such, the composer laments on the state of musical amateurism in Italy and abroad in his volumes chronicling his musical travels. He states that amateurism has "allowed many–without taste and inventive talent, preparation and imagination–to write music." [24] Lualdi claims that amateurism instigated the current "state of anarchy and confusion," which "made the shapeless whims of any moron suspect genius."[25] Specifically addressing music critics, he states that "the lack of taste, sensitivity and above all, courage in criticism, have led to a perversion lasting a few years that should have disappeared immediately."[26] Although the language is often vague, and never specifies the amateurish institutions, musicians, composers, and critics by name, Lualdi considers the exaltation of amateurism in music to be an affront to the dignity of the trade. Further, he considers musical amateurism to be the largest obstacle to musical progress. Interestingly, for a composer who displays a prejudice toward atonality throughout his written works, the composer wrote that "the greatest enemy of progress is prejudice," later stating that "the biggest prejudice in our art, is amateurism."[27]

While Lualdi's thoughts on amateurism tend to be vague references to pedestrian musical efforts coming from ill-defined groups, the composer identifies conservatories and concert halls as the main culprits. In a rambling testimony, he claims that "music as

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[24] Lualdi, *Viaggio musicale in Europa*, 154.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Lualdi, *Viaggio musicale nell'U.R.S.S.*, 85.

art" is absent from Italian galleries, theatres, and concert halls. [28] Furthermore, Lualdi claims that in addition to poor acoustic architecture, the large conservatories and theatres had the "disgrace and disdain of often hosting amateurs among performers and muted sleepers among listeners."[29] Explicitly calling out amateurism in conservatories and concert halls, Lualdi asserts that in these institutions, "we witness real profanations."[30] Although he criticizes the musical establishment for hosting amateurs, later, Lualdi states that what is missing in the musical establishment "lives in some homes of intelligent and well-educated amateurs, lives in the homes of some artists, […] or in others who have barely emerged from the darkness or are not known at all, or the very young […]."[31] He goes on to clarify the contradiction of simultaneously detesting institutionalised amateurism while praising amateurs. Mirroring sentiments from his later publication, *Per il primato spirituale di Roma*, Lualdi writes: "great talents or modest talents: this does not matter: wherever there is a true love, a complete dedication, and a sincere purity of ideals, there is music."[32]

Lualdi's negative views on what he calls *amateurism* is not a hatred of non-professional music and musicians, but of the alleged institutionalization of amateurism as the norm, in concert halls and conservatories. Although unsubstantiated, Lualdi claims that artists which he considers to be worthy of institutional attention, are left out of the programmes in conservatories and concert halls and, more broadly, the musical

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[28] Lualdi, *Viaggio musicale in Italia*, 37-38.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid, 40.
[32] Ibid, 41.

establishment. Lessening Nicolodi's charge of Lualdi institutionally separating modernist composers from traditionalist and canonic works in theatres, it appears that Lualdi's objective was to de-institutionalize what he considered to be amateurism.[33]

**Atonality**

Lualdi's widely publicized views on atonality as a trendy disease in modern European music is the material from which his characterization in secondary scholarship is cast. The composer's constant referral to atonality and polytonality as the work of decadent extremists certainly gives the impression of a composer whose idea of musical progress is antithetical to finding new modes of musical expression. While Lualdi's distaste for atonality is problematic, careful consideration of his commentary is necessary to fully explore his personal aesthetic views. Although Lualdi viewed atonality as a step in the wrong direction aesthetically, the composer felt that it was necessary to explore the aesthetic in order to learn from it and move on to other modes of musical expression. As such, this section explores Lualdi's negative commentary on atonal music and contrasts this commentary with the composer's thoughts on the necessity of musical exploration.

In his written output, Lualdi considers atonal music to be a snobbish trend: a contagious disease whose patient zero is found in the musical circles of Austria and Germany. While it seems that Lualdi felt that their efforts were admirable, to some degree at least, the aesthetic result of atonality is what most concerned the composer:

> The fashionable theory between the snobs of Vienna, Berlin and Paris, chilled by what cerebral inexorability, I do not know, makes, of many modernist musicians, the worthy cousins of the British suffragettes of good memory: even those, champions in their own way of an 'absolute' of purity, solitude, [and]

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[33] Nicolodi, *Musica e musicisti nel Ventennio Fascista*, 19.

> independence. But all ugly and unpleasant, all bisbetic and sterile, pedantic and bespectacled […] [is the] disease, which has its home of infection in Vienna, […] that of atonality taken as a mania.[34]

Lualdi's use of demeaning rhetoric toward atonality often overshadows a cryptic admiration for the artists that are exploring the aesthetic. The composer hints at this while speaking to his view of atonality being the result of respectable principles taken too far. For example, while discussing atonal music in France, Lualdi states: "[t]he disease of fashion that causes more damage to music across the border, […] is represented by some trends which, not at all reprehensible as principles, driven to exasperation and not controlled, have greatly depleted and spoiled [music]."[35] While it is typically accompanied by problematic rhetoric, Lualdi's disparaging commentary on atonality often suggests an appreciation for the effort of finding new modes of expression.

Lualdi documents his aesthetic displeasure with atonality at length; however, this displeasure is rooted in the composer's belief that "pure music" or "art for art's sake" is devoid of expression.[36] The composer's thoughts on objective music displays, at the very least, an interaction with and general understanding of motives behind "pure" or "objective" art:

> 'Pure' music, atonality, polytonality, quarter tones, […] is therefore, more than anything else, phenomena of aestheticism (unsightly) and intellectualism driven to the most extreme consequences (and comparable to those of cubism and derivatives that until a few years ago raged in painting), which have as their first motive, the will to react against 19th-century art […] and as a corollary, the search for new means of expression, […] a search for a new type of melos.[37]

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[34] Lualdi, *Viaggio musicale in Europa*, 18-19.
[35] Ibid, 17.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Ibid, 20.

Despite problematic rhetoric, Lualdi acknowledges musical objectivism as a reaction to 19th-century art and highlights the search for a new means of expression. Although Lualdi does not forthrightly display personal admiration for the search for this new melos through objectivism, while discussing it, his disparaging rhetoric disappears, replacing the language with matter-of-fact description.

André Coeuroy's infamous 1929 article, *The Esthetics of Contemporary Music*, provoked Lualdi to reflect on issues of musical expression.[38] While quoting the French music critic's article, Lualdi bluntly states his opinion on objective music:

> So many cells, they say, for how many the arts are: and in each cell the work of art, and its own end in itself. 'Poetry eliminates speech; painting eliminates the subject; music eliminates expression'. Music that 'eliminates expression': here is the blasphemy that, for us Latins, does not need to be demonstrated.[39]

Lualdi was well versed in contemporary discourse on music that he found aesthetically displeasing. While it appears that the composer had a cryptic appreciation for the search of new modes of expression, the resulting atonality of this search offended the composer's musical sensibilities. Lualdi's aesthetic philosophy was rooted in his belief that music devoid of expression was not an expression of music; rather, to Lualdi, it was an admirable exploration of a failed aesthetic. Admired or not, Lualdi's extremely disparaging commentary and his aesthetic misgivings about atonality highlight the side of the composer that is well known in the historical record, particularly through Sachs's portrayal of Lualdi as a musically xenophobic figure.[40]

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[38] André Coeuroy, "The Esthetics of Contemporary Music," *The Musical Quarterly*, 15, no.2 (April 1929): 246-247.
[39] Lualdi, *Viaggio musicale in Europa*, 17.
[40] Sachs, *Music in Fascist Italy*, 21-22.

**Mazzinian Philosophy**

Giuseppe Mazzini, a Genoese politician and philosopher of the Risorgimento, had a great impact on Lualdi's aesthetic philosophy. Mazzini is mostly known for his revolutionary activism on behalf of democratic republicanism in the 19th century and for his brief role as part of the triumvirate that ruled the Roman Republic in 1849.[41] Mazzini, also an adept artistic thinker, wrote his *Filosofia della musica* in 1836. The ideas presented in this 19th-century text frames much of Lualdi's aesthetic philosophy; so much so, that in addition to referencing Mazzini in most of his written output, Lualdi wrote a preface to a re-issue of the work that exceeds the length of the original text. In addition to outlining Mazzini's work, the 101-page preface includes important remarks from Lualdi that help to clarify the composer-legislator's aesthetic values. Although far from a grand unifying theory of Lualdi's personal philosophy, exploring his Mazzinian values helps to nuance our understanding of the figure and contextualizes much of his written output. As such, this section examines Lualdi's Mazzinian approach to religiosity in music, art for social elevation, and aesthetic principles.

**Musical Religiosity and Spiritualism**

Throughout Lualdi's written output, there is often a spiritual or religious sub-text while speaking of musical culture. In the composer's preface to Mazzini's *Filosofia della musica*, these religious undertones are less cryptic. For example, while explaining Mazzini's significance to artistic thought, Lualdi states that Mazzini "felt invested by

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[41] For more on Giuseppe Mazzini, see Denis Mack Smith, *Mazzini* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1994).

such a beautiful and holy mission," and that he would "sacrifice all joys" and "reduce himself to misery" to complete his burdensome task. [42] The composer underscores Mazzini's significance even further, claiming that "this apostle of kindness, of sacrifice […] tried to […] give new strength to his preaching, to find new arguments for his work of belief."[43] Lualdi often refers to Mazzini as one would a spiritual or religious leader, a preacher whose "judgment is of a rare clairvoyance."[44] Likewise, Lualdi elevates the importance of Mazzini by referring to the *Filosofia della musica* as a "golden pamphlet" or a "hymn of art".[45] Further adding to the mystification of Mazzini, Lualdi highlights the Risorgimento figure's storied life, inflecting his narrative with religious language. While describing how Mazzini took refuge in music during his struggles as a political exile, Lualdi writes: "[…] the hero, in the act of rising again in the light of the spiritual balance, recognizes in music 'the image of beauty and eternal harmony'."[46] Lualdi's near beatification of Mazzini and his work suggests how important the Risorgimento figure was to the composer-legislator.

Significantly, in addition to sanctifying Mazzini and his artistic philosophy through spiritual rhetoric, Lualdi speaks of music, musicians, and composers with equal religious language and zeal. While describing Mazzini's optimistic view for the future of music, he praises Mazzini's refusal to cast blame or doubt on artists of his time.[47] In spite of his own pessimism toward the current state of art, Lualdi looked to Mazzini as an

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[42] Adriano Lualdi; Giuseppe Mazzini, *Filosofia della musica*, 11.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid, 61.
[45] Ibid, 13, 46.
[46] Ibid, 33-34.
[47] Ibid, 46.

inspiration. Ironically, the composer-legislator did not mince words when it came to his opinions on contemporary artists, amateurism, and atonality.

While summarizing Mazzini's work, Lualdi highlights the importance of treating music as a religious or spiritual experience: one with "far higher goals" than most artistic disciplines.[48] In fact, Lualdi rather bluntly states that Mazzini's prime directive was to cultivate spirituality in music. The composer-legislator summarizes this aspect of Mazzinian thought, by stating that "[t]his is one of the concepts Mazzini insists on the most. In the 'Philosophy of Music', music must be spiritualized; […] you need to immerse yourself […]."[49]

Further beatifying music, musicians, and composers, Lualdi reiterates that Mazzinian philosophy places musical art and its practitioners in a highly spiritual position in society. Illustrating this point, Lualdi regularly reminds his musical readers, that "[t]he art you deal with is holy and you must be saints […] if you want to be priests of it."[50] Additionally, he specifically addresses Mazzini's philosophy as a religion in its own right. Claiming that Mazzinian thought is a synthesis of many philosophies, Lualdi states that Mazzini "was not a follower of anyone and rather merged and harmonized elements and principles removed from different systems to build his own Philosophy and its own Religion."[51] Lualdi's religious appreciation of Mazzinian philosophy displays the prescriptive nature of the composer-legislator's artistic convictions.

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[48] Ibid, 92.
[49] Ibid, 71.
[50] Ibid, 34.
[51] Ibid, 22.

**Principles of Social Elevation and Aesthetics**

Mazzini's musical philosophy is rooted in Platonic and Aristotelian thought: the idea that music influences the ethos. Although Mazzini's work does not dwell on ancient philosophy, Lualdi notes the connection, and that the role of music in society is, to Mazzini, essential for societal elevation: "The Mazzinian idea of attributing a social and civil office to music is linked to […] the Greek philosophers who studied and affirmed the existence of relationships between the laws of the universe, the human soul, and the laws of music […]."[52] Lualdi elaborates on the importance of music to social, moral, and political issues, often eliding Mazzinian thought with rhetoric that is typical of fascist propaganda:

> 'Unique and holy art is art for social improvement'. [Mazzini] enlarges and ennobles the raison d'etre of individuals: life is not contemplation; it is duty, it is mission; man must not live in solitude, but must unite his own will with that of other men and, with them, contribute to the progress of humanity.[53]

While Lualdi often cites the relevance of Mazzinian thought on music and society to his own time, he also likens Mazzini to major Italian historical figures. Reminiscent of fascist propaganda, Lualdi links fascist social ideals and nostalgia to Mazzinian thought, by stating that "Giuseppe Mazzini, like Dante, therefore invoked and advocated the union of all living forces of humanity to carry out a great work of social regeneration."[54] Throughout this preface, Lualdi maintains that music must be nourished by the state in order to achieve the important social office it deserves, as presented in Mazzinian philosophy.

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[52] Ibid, 17.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid, 25.

Lualdi's religious fascination with Mazzinian thought is deeply tied with his belief that the fascist regime could elevate the state of music, and therefore, elevate humanity. Lualdi is transparent about this throughout his writing: "[…] it is up to the modern world to mark the triumph of humanity. This is the constant idea that governs, inspires,[and] guides all manifestations of Mazzinian thought, whether they concern literature, politics or the arts."[55] Lualdi, an ardent believer in the fascist movement from its earliest days, no doubt saw in the fascist regime the potential for music to achieve the important societal roles that Mazzini proposed eighty-five years prior.

Throughout his written output, Lualdi cites Mazzini's thoughts on musical aesthetics, expression, and artistic progress. In the preface to Mazzini's *Filosofia della musica,* the composer explores these ideas more thoroughly.[56] Lualdi felt that many of the musical questions Mazzini raised were relevant to the early 20th century. For example, Lualdi explains that, of music contemporary to his own time, Mazzini "cannot help but wonder: 'Where is the new element? Where a foundation for a new school? Where a unique concept, dominator of all his art, which harmonizes the series of his compositions in an epic way?'"[57] Lualdi claims that Mazzini's words "are worth today as much and more than yesterday; and the same question[s] could be addressed to almost all modern music and theater composers."[58]

Lualdi states that many of the musical problems identified by Mazzini in 1836 were present in twentieth-century Italy. Lualdi identifies some of these problems and although

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[55] Ibid, 16.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Ibid, 71.
[58] Ibid.

they are vague, they show how the composer applied Mazzinian thought to the music of his own time. Lualdi, like Mazzini, deplores amateurism and applauds "those who see [music] as more than a sterile combination of sounds without intent," further claiming that without intent, music is "without unity, without moral concept […]."[59] Lualdi explains that Mazzini criticizes music "which seems to him too empty of content, too absurd in form, too superficial in the intentions it proposes and in the effects it achieves […]," stating that he would rather have art "which puts the moral value of music before any consideration of beauty […]."[60] While it is unclear if Lualdi deemed moral values in music more important than aesthetic values, it is significant that the philosophy he subscribed to did.

For Lualdi, the most influential aspect of Mazzini's artistic philosophy was the Risorgimento figure's thoughts on musical progress and expression. Lualdi's spiritualization of music lead the composer to believe that music reflects what the mind cannot; that music is an expression of the spirit. This Mazzinian belief also lead Lualdi to make bold statements on musical expression. For example, Lualdi answers a timeless artistic question when he claims that "[t]his is in fact the secret of expression: it begins where the intellect ends."[61] Heavily influenced by Mazzinian thought, Lualdi's commitment to this idea provides great insight into his aversion to objective music, atonality, and music that otherwise seemed too cerebral.

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[59] Ibid, 13.
[60] Ibid, 45, 19.
[61] Ibid, 85.

Lualdi's thoughts on musical progress also show Mazzinian influence. The composer felt that artistic and human progress were reflections of each other, and that for art to progress, so must humanity. Lualdi explores this Mazzinian belief in his preface, and, while explaining his views on progression, the composer states that "the progress and evolution of humanity must be the supreme ends of artistic expression." [62] Later, to the same point, Lualdi states that Mazzini "wants musical drama to be enriched with a philosophical or ethical content that ties it in some way and makes it somehow a part of social life and the progressive movement of civilization […]."[63] How Lualdi attempts to accomplish this is unclear; however, the composer's involvement in politics and his ardent belief in the fascist movement may be a manifestation of this Mazzinian belief.

Lualdi felt that social and artistic progress hinged on the evolution of a previously dominant style. This is another important example of Mazzinian philosophy that Lualdi adheres to and explores in his preface:

> Mazzini speaks of 'progress', of 'higher concept' of art compared to the previous ones; but here he means 'evolution'. Evolution […] of the technical means, of the taste, of the spiritual and social atmosphere of which art is a presentiment or reflection […].[64]

Lualdi explains that Mazzini "looks at the art of his time, and even if he sees it fallen, his first thought is to proclaim its immortality in the land of Italy, and to blame the tyrants for the decay."[65] Similarly, Lualdi's nationalistic outlook for the future of Italian art calls out

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[62] Ibid, 91.
[63] Ibid, 94.
[64] Ibid, 47.
[65] Ibid, 35.

those he deems tyrannical toward music while highlighting his belief in the supremacy of Italy as an artistic educator of nations.

Lualdi explores this Mazzinian belief further, stating that, by "preaching emancipation from the dominant taste [and] the tyranny of conventions and tradition," Mazzini "addresses young generations of his time" to spur on social and artistic evolution.[66] After praising his wisdom and forethought for the future of Italian music, Lualdi claims that what Mazzini identified as problems holding back musical progress in the 19th century are present in the 20th century. Lamenting on this, Lualdi states that "the evils, aberrations and mediocrity of intent which [Mazzini] deplored still last" and that "it must not happen that [Mazzini's] high words remain a dead letter that he preaches to the desert even in these years […]."[67] Perhaps most indicative of Lualdi's Mazzinian views on artistic progress, is a passage from his preface that includes an extended quote from Mazzini:

> '[…] as long as the young composers persist in working on the old, as long as the inspiration does not descend above them from another unexplored sky so far, the music will remain disinherited of the power it creates, the schools will contend without end and without victory, the artists will drag on wandering, uncertain for different systems, between different trends, without intention and deliberate purpose, without hope of betterment, always imitators, and crowned with the wreath that men give to imitators, vivid of beautiful colors, but caducous and withered in a day. We will have method improvements, ornaments and refinements of execution, not an increase in the creative faculty. We will have style changes, not new ideas; flashes of music, not music; enthusiasts enthusiastic about fashion, passionate if they wanted; non-believers, not faith.'[68]

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[66] Ibid, 91.
[67] Ibid, 99.
[68] Ibid, 49-50.

After presenting this passage, Lualdi remarks: "[w]onderful words and incontrovertible truths, which need not be [repeated] as they are current and worthy of meditation even today […]."[69] Much of Lualdi's written output echoes sentiments described in this passage. The composer's thoughts on objective music, atonality and amateurism, to his criticism of the conservatories and concert halls, and even, to some degree, his Italian nationalism, derive from his Mazzinian beliefs. Near the end of his preface to Mazzini's work, Lualdi unabashedly subscribes to the Mazzinian artistic philosophy:

> I myself had the first contact with these pages just thirty years ago, through a popular edition that I jealously keep, and I found in this precious work so much clarifying nourishment to my ideals, so much comfort to my faith, and such a serious and solid support to my will and my convictions, that in this I chose […] my artistic Creed.[70]

**Concluding Remarks**

It is unsurprising that a composer born in the 1880s, who witnessed the rise and fall of fascism in Italy, displays nationalistic tendencies in his writing. What is interesting, however, is Lualdi's conceptualization of Italy's national identity as a trend-setting educator of nations. His criticism of the government's ineptitude toward defending Italy's musical national identity signals, to some extent, possible motives for the composer's opportunism and subsequent entrance into politics. Moreover, it is interesting that the composer's uncompromising faith in the fascist regime's ability to preserve Italy's national identity did not extend to many branches of government below Mussolini himself. Perhaps steeped in propaganda that conflated Italy's nostalgia for past

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[69] Ibid, 50.
[70] Ibid, 98.

glory with the promise of future progress, Lualdi saw in Mussolini, a man capable of returning Italy to the artistic powerhouse that it once was, while simultaneously stoking innovation.

Lualdi's publicized distaste toward atonality and objective music includes many vitriolic rants on aesthetics which he felt were devoid of expression. Lualdi maintained that a departure from the dominant aesthetic was necessary for music to progress; however, he felt that overly cerebral aesthetics that eschew national identity and expression were failed attempts to discover a new melos. Although he notes that the exploration of such aesthetics were fundamental to the evolution of artistic progress, Lualdi did not feel that atonality or objective music would lead to the progress he wished to see. Likewise, his antipathy toward amateurs was a manifestation of his Mazzinian philosophy: to Lualdi, the institutionalization of amateurism was an obstacle to artistic progress.

While it is impossible to fully describe Lualdi's artistic values, exploring the influence of Mazzinian philosophy on the composer-legislator reveals his romantically inclined ideals. The religiosity with which Lualdi wrote on the topics of musical progress, aesthetics, and social elevation through art suggests that his Mazzinian principles heavily influenced the way he navigated musical culture. Understanding Lualdi's Mazzinian beliefs neither excuses his vitriolic discourse on atonality, nor does it provide a grand unifying theory of his aesthetic philosophy; however, it does help to contextualize much of the composer-legislator's written works.

Secondary literature caricaturizes Lualdi as an opportunistic, backward-looking figure. Although this portrayal is rooted in reality, it lacks the nuance and context that is

necessary to more fully understand the composer-legislator's navigation of the fascist cultural establishment. This chapter displays the personal voice of Adriano Lualdi, using the composer's own words. Lualdi's written output suggests a personal voice that was romantically bent, nationalistic, dogmatic, and embittered by trends of atonality and objective music. Significantly, this exploration of Lualdi's personal voice further problematizes his absence on the 1932 manifesto: the composer's personal voice suggests that his values are very much in line with those displayed in the manifesto.[71] However, it also suggests that his personal voice was distinct from his political and legislative voice.

[71] Toni, et al., "Manifesto di musicisti italiani," 3.

## CHAPTER IV: THE LEGISLATIVE VOICE OF ADRIANO LUALDI

> […] for the livelihood and the renewal of art, it will not be enough to give money; it will also be necessary to regulate the activity and politics of all subsidized theaters and [c]oncert institutions with precise standards, that are not only concerned with the present, but also of the future: that they are not content to exploit to the maximum limit the old capitals of art and artists who, sooner or later, will be exhausted, but to think of promoting and supporting the formation of a new repertoire and new artists: that is, of new capitals.[1]
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> – Adriano Lualdi, "Italian Parliamentary Acts, Chamber of Deputies, Legislature 28, Session 1"

Lualdi's career in the fascist Chamber of Deputies spans the years 1929 to 1943, and, although his deputyship lasted fourteen years, there are only nine documented instances of his legislative actions in the chamber.[2] This small figure is perhaps due to the composer-legislator's extensive travel and the relatively low priority of his musical portfolio. Despite minimal appearances in the historical archives of the Chamber of Deputies, Lualdi's speeches during discussion periods provide insight into the legislative voice of the composer. These speeches to the chamber display a markedly sympathetic tone toward modernists, demonstrating that Lualdi's legislative voice was both distinct and at times, contrary to his personal voice.

This chapter considers three of Lualdi's speeches to the fascist Chamber of Deputies: [1] Lualdi's first speech to the chamber, in which he introduces himself and

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[1] Italian Parliamentary Acts, Chamber of Deputies, Legislature 28, Session 1, Discussions, "Seguito della discussione del disegno di legge: stato di previsione della spesa del Ministero dell'Istruzione Pubblica per l'esercizio finanziario dal 1° Luglio 1929 al 30 giugno 1930." May 29, 1929, Rome, pp. 469.

[2] See **Figure 2** in **Appendix B** to this thesis for a complete list of documented instances of Lualdi's activities within the Chamber of Deputies.

outlines his goals as a deputy (May 29th 1929)[3], [2] a discussion of Italy's radio broadcasting system (November 16th 1931)[4], [3] a discussion of subsidies and the distribution of funds in musical establishments (March 28th 1935).[5] In each of these speeches, Lualdi defends modern music, insisting that canonic repertoire is exhausted and that living composers are denied entry into the musical establishment because of its reliance on canonic works. Although the composer-legislator's defence of modern music is primarily a defence of living artists, which invariably means that to some degree Lualdi was defending himself, he did not go as far as to limit his defence of modern artists by aesthetic. Rather, Lualdi promotes and defends the music of all modern composers. This examination of Lualdi's legislative speeches highlights significant deviations from his publications. As such, I posit that Lualdi's legislative voice was distinct from his personal voice, suggesting that the composer-legislator was more sympathetic to modernism than previous scholarship suggests.

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[3] Italian Parliamentary Acts, Chamber of Deputies, Legislature 28, Session 1, Discussions, "Stato di previsione della spesa del Ministero dell'Istruzione Pubblica per l'esercizio finanziario," May 29, 1929, Rome. 451-498.

[4] Italian Parliamentary Acts, Chamber of Deputies, Legislature 28, Session 1, Discussions, "Discussione del disegno di legge: conversione in legge del Regio Decreto-legge 17 aprile 1931, n. 589, Recante disposizioni aggiuntive alle Norme per il Miglioramento e lo sviluppo del servizio della radiodiffusione," November 16, 1931, Rome. 5265-5310.

[5] Italian Parliamentary Acts, Chamber of Deputies, Legislature 29, Session 1, Discussions, "Seguito della discussione del disegno di legge: stato di previsione della spesa del Ministero delle Corporazioni per l'esercizio finanziario dal 1° luglio 1935 al 30 giugno 1936," March 28, 1935, Rome. 1231-1274.

**Lualdi in the Chamber of Deputies: May 29th, 1929**

In his first speech to the fascist Chamber of Deputies in 1929, Lualdi outlined what he saw as the largest problems facing musical Italy. The composer-legislator's highest concern was that the "Italian musical world still look[ed] like […] the post-war years, up to the March on Rome."[6] From Lualdi's perspective, music had not been effected by the advent of fascism, as had other aspects of life, and he felt that musical institutions needed the aid of a government body to fully benefit from the fascist order. Lualdi states that there is a "general whining around the condition of our music, about the decay, impoverishment, and annihilation of the beautiful Italian genius."[7] In an almost exact reprise of a statement from his most recent publication, Lualdi concludes his thoughts on the state of music:

> It is denied that music has any necessity, on the grounds that it is now so exhausted, that nothing can lift her up; new art is denied, new artists are denied […] due to some twenty years of anti-national artistic policy and [an] aversion to new art and artists.[8]

Throughout this speech, Lualdi calls for the "restoration and reconstruction" of Italian musical life, through government initiatives.[9] What these initiatives might look like, Lualdi does not fully explain; however, he states that a revolutionary "divorce between [the] Ministry of Public Education and fine arts" is necessary in order for art to progress under fascism.[10] Further to this point, Lualdi recommends the organization of a

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[6] Italian Parliamentary Acts, Chamber of Deputies, Legislature 28, Session 1, Discussions, "Stato di previsione della spesa del Ministero dell'Istruzione Pubblica per l'esercizio finanziario," May 29, 1929, Rome. pp.466.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid, 468.

government body to ensure "the best possible defense of ancient art" and to grant "as much possible assistance to contemporary art."[11] Interestingly, Lualdi proposes that the ideals of fascist propaganda be put into action: calling for an artistic policy which highlights the nostalgia of times past, while promoting contemporary musical production.

In this speech, Lualdi identifies some factors that he felt lead to the decay of Italian music. After asserting how much restoration and good will the government gave to non-artistic ventures, the composer-legislator states that "music and theatres are still almost entirely in the hands of the old and discredited," claiming that these institutions "sail badly according to ancient navigation charts."[12] Although Lualdi does not directly implicate musical traditionalists here, his rhetoric implies as much. Moreover, because these musical institutions allegedly held antiquated ideals, Lualdi laments on the fact that "many beautiful and promising youths" were fading, and that these artists were disappointed and embittered by the lack of a platform for contemporary music.[13]

In addition to defending the interests of modern artists, Lualdi defended the industry of the lyric opera, which he claims was in a state of decline. The composer-legislator highlights the importance of opera in terms of centuries of cultural exchange and in the monetary value of opera as a cultural export.[14] It is necessary to remember that Lualdi, prior to and during his tenure as a Deputy, was primarily a composer of operatic works. In his defence of the lyric opera houses, possibly motivated by self-interest, Lualdi states to the chamber:

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[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid, 466.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid, 469.

> It should therefore be possible to ensure a decent life to the opera house, which is great art and very rich industry together; art and industry the most glorious, the safest, the richest, the oldest, [and] most ours: all ours.[15]

Importantly, this statement is a defence of the industry that encompassed Lualdi's aesthetic interests; however, it is equally important to note that Lualdi addresses his operatic concerns in tandem with his defence of other modern music. Lualdi also states that protecting the lyric opera houses and their productions of "safe" music would allow the capital earned by theatres to be invested into promoting new repertoire.[16]

**Mazzinian Philosophy in the Chamber of Deputies**

In his first speech to the Chamber of Deputies, Lualdi had no qualms about displaying his Mazzinian views. Rather, Lualdi is blunt about the "higher directives" of music and states that a "musical rebirth" of Italian art needs a Mazzinian approach to policy.[17] In this speech, Lualdi explains that a government that wishes to "do something profoundly new," must have the "spiritual ability and technique of studying" music institutions, and not just "the power to impose [policy] on them."[18]

Lualdi argues that the proposed government body that would deal with fine arts outside of the Ministry of Education, would end the "rivalry" of aesthetic provincialism in Italy, "bringing theatres and concert institutions onto the field of collaboration."[19] The collaboration that Lualdi seeks here is rooted in his Mazzinian belief that, if granted a high social office and a unified focus, musical progress would soon unfold. This is

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[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid, 468.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid, 469.

perhaps why he felt that "theatres must have the precise obligation to collaborate with a single, very high social and national purpose."[20] To Lualdi, the problems of musical Italy were matters "not only of money, but of order, of organization, honesty, open-minded[ness], [and] of concern for tomorrow."[21] Informed by Mazzinian values of musical progress, Lualdi was determined to create the fertile ground from which the next era of musical production could grow: regaining Italy's national identity as an artistic powerhouse and educator of nations.

Besides Lualdi's Mazzinian values of musical progress, his view of musical amateurism as an "intrusive and domineering […] plague of art" is present in this inaugural speech to the Chamber of Deputies.[22] Lualdi states that, with the creation of a branch of government dealing with fine arts alone, a higher level of musical discipline in conservatories and other musical institutions could be possible. He claims that the new government body would "mark the end, in our field, of that famous cult of incompetence, against which much is spoken […] but much remains to be done."[23] Additionally, Lualdi calls for the "amateurism of unscrupulous traffickers and old degenerate academies" that provide music criticism, to have a more disciplined profession.[24]

As far as the future of Italian music was concerned, Lualdi's first speech to the chamber was more optimistic than his publications. In this speech, Lualdi states that for music, "being a spiritual domain, it is a question of climate, of atmosphere, of a little

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[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Ibid, 467.
[23] Ibid, 468.
[24] Ibid.

love, concern, and sun […] that warms and cheers up souls, and allows the arts to flourish."[25] Furthering this optimism, near the end of his speech, the composer-legislator summarizes major tenets of Mazzinian philosophy:

> Mazzini looks at the art of his time and […] denounces the flaws and errors of music; but he observes evil with pain and goodness, and seeks remedy, and proposes it. He does not depress spirits, accusing them of inability, but tries to animate their faith and imposes on them a very high mission.[26]

To which, Lualdi states:

> We too […] see the defects and errors of so much music of our time; but we must also research [this music] and recognize distant causes and neighbors of today's evil; and observe this hurt with pain and goodness, and seek remedies, and propose them, and possibly implement them.[27]

Lualdi's first speech to the Chamber of Deputies presents an optimistic view of Italy's artistic future; a departure from the generally pessimistic tone of his publications. The composer-legislator defends the livelihoods of modern composers, proposing that the musical establishment needs to create room for more contemporary artists. Although he bluntly frames his objectives within his Mazzinian philosophy, Lualdi indicates that his motives as a deputy centre around musical progress, collaboration, and giving assistance to contemporary artists. While this speech does not explicitly devalue or valorize one aesthetic over another, it does refer to musical errors, systemic problems, and the possibility of finding their remedies. Despite his vague reference to evils in music, which may be a reference to atonality, Lualdi defends the need for musical exploration and research in order for music to progress. Finally, his assertion that canonic repertoire is

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[25] Ibid, 467.
[26] Ibid, 470.
[27] Ibid.

exhausted suggests that Lualdi was a forward-thinking legislator who was willing to give a platform to contemporary music.

**Lualdi in the Chamber of Deputies: November 16th, 1931**

On November 16th, 1931, Lualdi gave a speech to the fascist Chamber of Deputies, outlining Italy's poor performance in the field of radio.[28] Lualdi claimed that, to Italy's detriment, the country was falling behind the likes of France, England, Germany, and Denmark in terms of radio subscription numbers.[29] The composer-legislator lamented the fact that Italy, the nation that gave the world Guglielmo Marconi, which "enjoys a reputation for going crazy for music," was not on the forefront of radio-based musical exploration.[30] This speech, which preceded the enactment of a bill that expanded the nation's radio-broadcasting networks, proposed a change in musical programming for radio. To boost the number of subscriptions to Italy's radio networks, Lualdi suggests that a "completely autonomous" and "radiogenic" musical art be established and supported in Italy.[31] This art, Lualdi claimed, would not only give modern composers a new platform for their work, it would also "attract the public" and "excite their interests."[32]

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[28] Italian Parliamentary Acts, Chamber of Deputies, Legislature 28, Session 1, Discussions, "Conversione in legge del Regio Decreto-legge 17 aprile 1931, n. 589, recante disposizioni aggiuntive alle norme per il miglioramento e lo sviluppo del servizio della radiodiffusione," November 16, 1931, Rome. 5286-8.
[29] Ibid, 5286.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid, 5287.
[32] Ibid, 5286-7.

Looking to the means of musical expression that German artists were already exploring, Lualdi saw in the radio, an exciting avenue for artistic progress. In this speech, Lualdi states that "[r]adio, as it is in fact, a new tool [with] particular characteristics," should be explored for its artistic capabilities.[33] The composer-legislator felt that, considering the unique quality of radio transmission, artists must take advantage of the new means of phonic expression. Lualdi claims that artists were "inspired […] to speak, by new means, new words."[34] Although he does not specify which musical vocabulary could or should be utilized, Lualdi felt that the use of the radio as an instrument through which a new musical language could speak, was worth exploring.

Lualdi's pursuit of establishing Italy as a nation on the cutting edge of musical progress was no doubt enflamed by the thought of fusing technology with music. In his explanation of radiogenic music, Lualdi highlights the validity of this new means of musical expression, citing the need for science and music to work in tandem to achieve musical progress.[35] The composer claims that "the prevailing trend is to adapt music to the possibilities of transmission" and that "in Italy we prefer to ask the machines to adapt to the needs of music."[36] The proposition of furthering radiogenic music in Italy was, to Lualdi, a matter of national importance. As well, the composer felt that this new aesthetic aligned with fascist ideals, stating that pursuing radiogenic music would create "a

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[33] Ibid, 5287.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Ibid.

religious respect for the reasons of art and […] a beautiful and bold spirit of conquest as far as progress is concerned."[37]

Lualdi's familiar issues with canonic music also enters this address to the Chamber of Deputies. The composer-legislator states that, while music of the 19th century should be on the airwaves, "Italian radio must not repeat the mistake already made" by opera houses, and that radio "must not squeeze this glorious repertoire to the last drop."[38] Lualdi emboldens this argument, claiming that the great authors of the past do not translate well through radio transmission. Providing examples of poor audio compression, the composer describes the experience of canonic music in radio transmissions:

> […] sounds knead, the air no longer circulates between note and note, between part and part. The most beautiful and agile trill […] is often dragged into the deep whirlpools of misty and opaque sound with the weight of a double bass or by the roll of a timpani. In reverse, […] a whole orchestra may be dominated by the pianissimo of a soloist.[39]

Lualdi then cites the failure of radio to properly transmit the music of "Beethoven, Wagner, Debussy, Ravel, the Impressionists and colorists in general," emphasising the importance of developing and promoting music that "succeeds through the microphone."[40]

According to Lualdi, the work of modern composers would benefit the most from radio. To consider "radio as a simple vehicle intended to propagate existing works and forms of art," would be a wasted opportunity for Italy to be at the forefront of progressive

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[37] Ibid.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Ibid.

music.[41] In this speech, Lualdi claims that most music intended for theatres is meant to be observed by the eyes, ears, and in the proper venue.[42] Broadcasting canonic music that was "created with other ends, born and consecrated for other environments, by other means, in other times" was, to Lualdi, not a step toward musical progress.[43]

Lualdi insisted that modern music would also best exploit the potential of radio. He claimed that modern music and art that was "special and exclusive to [r]adio," would "freshen up programs with more life and generous currents of fresh air."[44] To Lualdi, it would be a mutually beneficial arrangement to promote modern artists through radio, while these same artists took advantage of a unique opportunity to explore a new aesthetic. Lualdi noted that giving more space to modern music on the airwaves would "raise the artistic importance [of modern music] that [is] already much higher than it once was."[45] Placing modern music on the airwaves would mean a new level of credibility and significance would come to modern composers. The composer emphasised this point, by stating:

> [Radio is] not only the new means of transmitting old or pre-existing music, but also the special instrument necessary for the dissemination of new special music, and a very powerful aid to knowledge, propaganda, and to the affirmation of modern art and artists.[46]

Contrary to his publications, in this speech Lualdi praises the work of artists from "beyond the Alps" that were exploring radiogenic music.[47] The composer-legislator

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[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid, 5288.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid, 5287.

displays his admiration for the institutionalisation of radiogenic music in Berlin, noting that Germans were on the cutting edge of this new aesthetic pursuit. Lualdi commends the "articles in technical journals and brochures," in which "praiseworthy writers" have "[v]ery high doctrines, in which art is almost identified with science."[48] This admiration for such systematic order in a musical pursuit is indicative of what Lualdi felt Italy lacked, and is possibly the antithesis to the amateurism that he condemned. Lualdi notes that in the Klindworth-Scharwenka Conservatory in Berlin, there is a "chair of studies for the [r]adio which includes seven courses, officially recognized and controlled by the [g]overnment."[49] Moreover, Lualdi expresses the importance of the German model of radio studies, claiming that the high number of compositions from Germany's "best modern musicians" is a direct result of the "methodical and orderly" conduct of music institutions.[50]

Once again inflecting his speech with the religious vocabulary of Mazzinian philosophy, Lualdi states that Italy lags behind other nations in terms of radiogenic music. The composer-legislator states that, due to Berlin's institutionalisation of radiogenic music, Germans "already have [in] their universities beyond the Alps, their teachers, their disciples and lovers" of this new musical aesthetic.[51] Specifically, Lualdi highlights the work of Max Butting, a German modernist composer and explorer of radiogenic music. Butting, the "high priest of these theories and of this practice," to use Lualdi's words, "preaches […] that the needs of the microphone impose[s] a new style on

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[48] Ibid.
[49] Ibid, 5288.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Ibid, 5287.

musicians."[52] Lualdi claims that Butting, who had been studying radiogenic music for years, developed a following and began to successfully implement his studies in German conservatories. The admiration for, and the encouragement of musical and methodological approaches akin to Butting's work in Italy, is contrary to commentary in the composer-legislator's publications. Lualdi's praise of Butting, whose music was highly chromatic, often polytonal or atonal, and which sometimes even employed Schoenbergian technique, is significant.[53]

**Lualdi in the Chamber of Deputies: March 28th, 1935**

On March 28th, 1935, Lualdi gave a speech to the fascist Chamber of Deputies that tested the patience of the chamber.[54] The discussion period deviated from its intended discourse on financial issues, mostly because of Lualdi's provocative speech in defence of modern music. According to the transcript, it was a lively affair: loud and interruptive jeers, interjections from other deputies, and outbursts of laughter throughout the speech left Lualdi waiting, on numerous occasions, for the President of the chamber to silence his audience before continuing. In this speech, Lualdi claims that major theatres were becoming museums devoted to another time, and that the state of music in Italy did not reflect the revolutionary air of fascist Italy. Additionally, Lualdi proposes

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[52] Ibid, 5287.
[53] For more on Max Butting's life, music, and his explorations of radiogenic production, see: Dietrich Brennecke; Max Butting, *Das Lebenswerk Max Buttings* (Leipzig: Dt. Verl. F. Musik, 1973).
[54] Italian Parliamentary Acts, Chamber of Deputies, Legislature 29, Session 1, Discussions, "Stato di previsione della spesa del Ministero delle Corporazioni per l'esercizio finanziario dal 1° luglio 1935 al 30 giugno 1936," March 28, 1935, Rome. 1251-5.

that modern art should be supported by major theatres, and, in a defence of modernism, he explains how contemporary music better reflects the revolutionary spirit of fascism.

Lualdi begins his address to the chamber by asking, on behalf of contemporary musicians, for the chamber's good will toward contemporary artists: "[…] I want to claim to the musical art and to the Italian musicians […] of all arts, professions and trades, the right that musical art and artists have your affection and your defense."[55] By confirming the support of the chamber, Lualdi was establishing the hypocrisy of the government, in that their support was in words alone. The composer-legislator points out that this hypocrisy was more prevalent in music, claiming that the veneration of old art over the new was a problem of national importance:

> If I speak to you today, it is to tell you that efforts […] that the fascist government has made and does in favor of national artistic life, if [they] have been full of results for painting, sculpture and architecture, [they] have remained completely sterile as regards music.[56]

Lualdi notes that art exhibitions of all kinds "bear no signatures of living artists," and that more room must be made for contemporary art; however, he signals that music was suffering the most.[57]

Lualdi provokes the chamber, bluntly stating that Italy must move on from the artistic status-quo of canonic repertoire. The first interruptions of Lualdi's speech occur after he claims that, in the larger theatres, "there is no fresh air of renewal" and that "the air feels heavy and firm [like that] of the museum."[58] Further to this point, Lualdi states

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[55] Ibid, 1251.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid, 1252.

that the audiences in these large theatres are disinterested, and that "[s]teering committees are sitting in their boxes, and quietly cradle the placid dozing of the audience."[59] After some interruptions from the chamber, Lualdi continues: "Even conductors, when they shake on their podium, they pretend to stand, but in reality they are spiritually sitting, because for fifty years [the conductor] always directs the same music."[60] Lualdi's provocative statement against canonic music lead to an extended break in the speech, with the commentary of the other deputies only halting after the President of the chamber ordered them to be silent.

Lualdi continues his speech, insisting that the major Italian venues "mechanically repeat" the repertoire of the 19th century, and that the worst culprits of this phenomenon are the large, state-subsidized theatres.[61] Although he does not provide evidence, Lualdi claims that the larger the subsidy received from the government, the less contemporary works are featured in the programming of major venues. Amid interruptions, the composer-legislator provides statistics on the financial inequities experienced by contemporary musicians, claiming that between 95 and 98 percent of theatre income "serves to represent works of the old repertoire."[62] Lualdi furthers this argument, suggesting that theatres use subsidy money "to perform useless exhumations, useless attempts to revive melodramas of the last century, which cost much more than […] new works," and that they "do not add any glory to their already glorious authors."[63] This

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[59] Ibid.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Ibid, 1253.
[63] Ibid.

enflamed rhetoric against canonic repertoire in the Chamber of Deputies signals a thread of continuity from Lualdi's first appearance in the chamber.

Advancing his case from an economic standpoint, Lualdi argues that subsidies ought to be utilized to the benefit of modern music. The composer-legislator voices his concerns over the millions of dollars given to theatres "for the sole purpose of making them expensive museums," claiming that modern composers are excluded from the public consciousness because of this.[64] Rather than using subsidies to exploit canonic repertoire, Lualdi instead proposed that the "most worthy motivation[s]" of these subsidies "are those of helping, [and] of provoking affirmation of the new repertoire […]."[65] Lualdi emphasizes the need for policy that encourages theatres to "abandon the museum," stating that with such a policy:

> [s]ubsidized theatres would have an obligation, not only to encourage, but to try new production [and] to create […] new repertoire, instead of fossilizing in the sterile contemplation of the ancient.[66]

In another thread of continuity for Lualdi's career in the chamber of deputies, the composer felt the need to express more vividly in this speech, the ways in which fascism had not been reflected in music. Lualdi states that if one were to "walk on the new roads" in the newly built cities of "reclaimed lands" that the fascist regime developed, one would see "new architecture, the architecture of our time."[67] Continuing over the commentary of the chamber, Lualdi reiterates his point before further interruptions: "the spirit of the constructions […] born with our century; founded, supported, [and] wanted

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[64] Ibid.
[65] Ibid.
[66] Ibid, 1253-4.
[67] Ibid, 1251.

by the architects of the generation of Mussolini…(Interruptions)."[68] Why the chamber was so reactionary to the idea that Lualdi wanted music to reflect the fascist spirit of rebirth, it is impossible to know; however, it was perhaps this hesitation that prompted Lualdi to promote contemporary music more vivaciously in this speech.

Lualdi tried to convince his colleagues of the validity of modern art by attacking the chamber's faith in the fascist regime. Using rhetoric that was no doubt designed to make hesitant deputies appear less ardent, Lualdi claimed that, like "the generation that in the squares and in the factories [Mussolini] made the revolution," musicians wished to express the "Spirit of Revolution."[69] Upon this remark, there was an interruption of inaudible commentary that led to an exchange of words between Deputies Sock-Bini and Mori. After this exchange, the President of the chamber ordered silence and demanded that these deputies remain seated. Lualdi continued, explaining that if modern art was not "always triumphant," that it was "still always and everywhere an impressive affirmation of an era," and that this art expressed "the meaning of […] the renewed soul of the nation."[70] Despite further interruptions from the chamber, Lualdi made what seems like an off-the-cuff remark to conclude this segment of his speech: "Enter now into one of our opera theatres or concert halls, major or minor, subsidized or not. Goodbye, atmosphere of renewal, farewell, heroic spirits […]."[71] To this remark, the President of the chamber noted: "Mr. Lualdi, you provoke the art of colleagues!"[72]

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[68] Ibid.
[69] Ibid, 1252.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Ibid.

In his defense of modern music, Lualdi tried to convince the Chamber of Deputies that the most serious problem facing musical Italy was the failure to implement a "renewal of repertoire."[73] Lualdi used hypothetical situations to illustrate this point, and in doing so, specifically defends the avant-garde. In one such example in this speech, Lualdi asks the chamber to imagine themselves in an art exhibition, and says:

> looking at the avant-garde picture or sculpture: If this man dares so much, it's because an anxiety stings him […] And you can argue [about] the artist, but do not deny him his boldness and his quality as a living and active man […].[74]

Lualdi acknowledges the general prejudice of opinions toward modern art; however, despite his own animosity toward modernism, the composer-legislator defends the artistic pursuit of modernists, even justifying their artistic logic. Still within the realm of a hypothetical art exhibition, Lualdi states: "[…] in front of a more serene and collected work, […] you will recognize the signs of an outdated storm, of a balance reached."[75] This comment simultaneously imparts Lualdi's bias, while also implying that a hypothetically perfected art stagnates, leaving something to be desired as far as artistic progress is concerned. This remark led to interjections from chamber members, once again forcing the composer-legislator to pause his speech. During the commotion, Lualdi made what appears to be another off-script comment, leading to further disruption: "It is easy to speak ill of modern art without knowing it."[76]

Lualdi begins to conclude this speech by reiterating the importance of supporting modern artists. Highlighting the impact that subsidized theatres could have in the

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[73] Ibid, 1254.
[74] Ibid, 1251.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Ibid.

dissemination of modern music, the composer-legislator states that the public needs "to know and appreciate the important new Italian repertoire […]."[77] Further, Lualdi claims that it will one day be necessary to replace the old repertoire with a new one in order for music to progress; effectively, handing the torch to the next generation of composers.[78] Lualdi finally concludes his address to the Chamber of Deputies, undeterred by the outbursts and commentary of his colleagues:

> [T]heaters, concert halls, various institutions, [are] still far from being affected by the reviving afflatus of the Fascist Revolution. I therefore ask that this spirit finally enter triumphant even in the too closed precincts of the musical world; that even in the world of music [it] can be said soon, […] that [musicians] under the Littorio emblem have fought and won their beautiful, beautiful battle - Incipit vita nova![79]

**Concluding Remarks**

Like his personal voice, Lualdi's legislative voice is undoubtedly influenced by his Mazzinian values and his belief in a Darwinian-like evolution of musical progress. Contrary to his personal misgivings about atonality, as a legislator, Lualdi defended all modes of musical exploration. While he did not explicitly support any one aesthetic over another in parliament, Lualdi pushed for an increase in music created by living composers to rival the established canonic repertoire. Lualdi felt that if all modern music was given the opportunity, a new, reinvigorated aesthetic would emerge: one that would dominate musical taste and reflect the revolutionary air of fascist Italy.

This examination of Lualdi's speeches to the fascist Chamber of Deputies establishes that Lualdi's legislative voice was distinct from his personal voice. Perhaps so

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[77] Ibid, 1253.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Ibid, 1255.

confident that atonality and objective music were temporary trends, and convinced of the superiority of his own aesthetic, Lualdi was self-assured that legislation in defense of all modern music would simultaneously protect his aesthetic, while a natural selection of aesthetics eliminated the music he deplored.

# CHAPTER V: CONCLUSION

This thesis aimed to distinguish the personal and legislative voices of Adriano Lualdi by examining and comparing his publications and political records. Through this comparative analysis, it is clear that Lualdi's conduct in the fascist Chamber of Deputies did not always reflect the opinions found in his publications, and that his legislative voice was often antithetical to his personal voice. Previous scholarship conflates these distinct voices, leaving secondary literature to depend on an ill-nuanced and distorted characterization of Lualdi as a historical figure. Although most scholarship only refers to Lualdi tangentially, it is nevertheless important to consider that references to his political activities are often confused with his personal opinions.

## Summary

In the first chapter to this thesis, I provide the context necessary to understand the aesthetic debates, major musical figures, and the general musical climate of fascist-era Italy. As well, I discuss the anti-modernist manifesto of 1932 and the state of scholarship on Lualdi. Given what is known about the composer-legislator, I posit that his absence from the document is curious, and that it represents a discontinuity in our present understanding of Lualdi as a historical figure.

Chapter two of this thesis is an expanded literature review. Because Lualdi's absence on the 1932 manifesto does not fit with contemporary knowledge of the composer-legislator, it is necessary to scrutinize secondary sources. Fiamma Nicolodi and Harvey Sachs, the two foremost scholars on music during Italy's fascist period, do not discuss Lualdi in detail. However, their work makes up the majority of scholarship on the figure, and while thorough otherwise, their portrayals of Lualdi are inconsistent.

Incongruent descriptions of Lualdi's views on modernism, his aesthetic philosophy, and his interactions with modernist composers arise when comparing Sachs's and Nicolodi's work. Additionally, Sachs's insistence on Lualdi's use of political power to push his own musical aesthetic is not found in Nicolodi's work. Tangential scholarship ignores these inconsistencies, and scholars often opt for Sachs's demonizing caricature of Lualdi. Chapter two concludes by highlighting the impact of these over-looked gray areas, and how the conflation of Lualdi's legislative and personal voices problematizes the historical record.

In chapter three I explore Lualdi's personal voice. Through his publications I attempt to piece together a cohesive portrayal of his opinions on atonality and subjective music, the state of Italian art, and modernism more generally. As well, I explore Lualdi's views on musical progress by examining his Mazzinian philosophy and the Italian nationalism that is strewn throughout his publications. While it is impossible to fully and accurately present his opinions and artistic philosophy, this third chapter adds nuance to our understanding of Lualdi by letting the composer-legislator's own words speak for themselves. The personal voice of the composer is well-known to scholarship, and it is this voice that is often used to represent Lualdi's behaviour as a politician. Although his personal voice is familiar to scholars, this chapter nuances the caricature-esque version of Lualdi that is generally accepted in secondary literature. Examination of this voice reveals that Lualdi's opportunism and entry into politics was at least partially fuelled by his reluctance to trust government bodies with musical endeavours. Additionally, this examination of Lualdi's personal voice suggests that the he was a romantically inclined, nationalistic, and embittered composer, who was dogmatic in his personal beliefs. This

nuanced version of Lualdi's personal voice is not entirely surprising; however, it does align his values more closely with those of the 1932 manifesto, making his absence on the document all the more remarkable.

The fourth chapter of this thesis discusses Lualdi's speeches to the Chamber of Deputies and in doing so, presents a side of the composer that is overlooked in secondary literature. By looking at Lualdi's speeches given during discussion periods, we see that the composer's legislative voice was often antithetical to his personal voice. Lualdi used his legislative voice to defend the art and livelihoods of all contemporary musicians, and, while this invariably included himself, he makes a point to defend modernists rather bluntly. The composer-legislator's criticism of canonic repertoire and his insistence on supporting modern artists is not a manifestation of self-preservation. Lualdi felt that music needed the rejuvenation that fascism gave rise to in other aspects of Italian life, and that providing the arts with the opportunity to progress would ensure fascist Italy's impact on artistic progress. Musical progress was, to Lualdi, the ultimate goal. Perhaps Lualdi was so confident in the supremacy of his own aesthetic beliefs that he felt giving platforms to all modern music would simultaneously protect his aesthetic, while a natural selection eliminated inferior aesthetics. Informed by his Mazzinian values, Lualdi used his political voice to provide platforms such as music festivals, specialized radio programming, and subsidized venues to modernists to spur on what he felt was an incipient musical evolution–an evolution born in Italy and fostered by fascism.

**Limitations**

Because the speeches considered in this thesis are part of the fascist Chamber of Deputies discussion periods and not part of the legislation itself, it is difficult to follow up on the impact of Lualdi's claims and proposals. These discussions were either included in the preamble before a financial bill's conversion into law, or after, as a discussion of the bill's potential. Additionally, Lualdi's scarce attendance in the chamber poses challenges to study the impact of his speeches. While further research may well ascertain the impact of Lualdi's discussion period speeches on future legislation, it is outside the scope of this study. That said, this thesis provides clarity on the nature of Lualdi's presence in the Chamber of Deputies and distinguishes his legislative voice from his personal voice.

**Significance to Scholarship**

Music scholars that focus on the fascist period in Italy inevitably encounter Lualdi. While these encounters are usually no more than a brief mention, they often note that the composer-legislator used his political power to push his own aesthetic values on musical Italy. This assumption is generated through a conflation of Lualdi's personal voice and his legislative voice. Although this conflation is understandable–Lualdi's publications are more easily accessible than his political records–it is important to consider that secondary scholarship that conflates these voices permeates and concretizes a flawed portrayal of Lualdi as a historical figure.

Considering his presumed knowledge of the meetings held to discuss and sign the 1932 manifesto, Lualdi either abstained or refused to sign the document. It is possible that Lualdi, as an administrator of the festival where the meetings occurred, was simply too busy to sign it. It is equally possible that his administrative partnership with Casella

put the pair on friendly enough terms for Lualdi to abstain from signing the manifesto, for he may have known that it was indirectly targeting Casella. Based on the evidence presented in this thesis, it is also possible that Lualdi's absence was a deliberate, political choice. His distinct legislative and personal voices may have been the result of an attempt to keep his personal opinions and political actions separate. If he consciously abstained or refused to inject his political speeches with his personal opinions, it is reasonable to assume that he did not want to affix his name to the 1932 manifesto, again separating his personal opinions from his political actions.

Beyond clarifying our understanding of a once prominent composer-legislator in fascist Italy, I posit this thesis as a case study which warns of the danger of scholastic bias toward transgressive art and artists. The historiographical representation of precarious figures such as Lualdi contains musicological bias toward transgressive and progressive music and artists. Perhaps indicative of an intermediary step away from the canon of great men and works, the bias toward transgressive art is nevertheless a continuation of the romantic cult of genius that musicologists have been trying to distance themselves from. However normalized, scholarship becomes exceedingly problematic when evidence of a composer's precariousness is examined, while evidence to the contrary is ignored.

**Concluding Remarks**

Adriano Lualdi embodies the ambiguity, ambivalence, and discontent with the status quo that was inherent in the fascist regime. To study a figure like Lualdi is to also study the search for cultural substance under a regime which revelled in the lack thereof. Lualdi's attempts to imprint a fascist cultural stamp on music, his desire to rejuvenate

music with fascist order, and his hope to restore Italy as an artistic powerhouse, is indicative of the emptiness of fascist culture. To study the friction between the composer's personal voice and legislative voice, is to study a microcosm of fascist musical culture, or rather, the pursuit of it.

When thinking of distinctly fascist concert music, what comes to mind? You would not be alone in thinking to yourself, "almost none." While there were interesting modernist composers at work, Italy's fascination with its musical past overwhelmingly dominated in the opera houses and concert halls. Fascism's attempt to recreate a definitive musical culture, one that reflected the revolutionary air of its political order, failed. However, this was not for a lack of trying; specifically, from the efforts of Adriano Lualdi's legislative voice.

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# APPENDIX A

*Full Text and Facing English Translation of the 1932 Manifesto*[i]

Travagli spirituali del nostro tempo
Un manifesto di musicisti italiani
per la tradizione dell'arte romantica
dell'800

*Spiritual Travails of Our Time*
*A Manifesto of Italian Musicians*
*For the Tradition of Romantic Art of the 19th Century*

Con le dichiarzioni che seguono, i musicisti che le sottoscrivono non presumono nè pretendono di assumere pose gladiatorie o atteggiamenti di sedizione. È vero che atti di tal sorta sono sempre riusciti a questo o a questo hanno mirato. Non c'è oggi però in Italia ragione alcuna e clima adeguato per tentativi siffatti. D'altra parte non è del loro costume crear chiesuole o congreghe per questa o quella finalità estetica o costituire cooperative artistiche di mutuo incensamento, e muoversi poi in piccoli plotoni cosidetti d'avanguardia verso supposte o reali trincee da espugnare.

*With the declarations that follow, the musicians who subscribe to them do not presume nor insist to assume gladiatorial poses or attitudes of sedition. It is true that such acts have always succeeded in this or this they have aimed for. However, today in Italy there is no reason at all, nor the adequate climate for such attempts. On the other hand, it is not their custom to create parishes or congregations for this or for that aesthetic purpose or to constitute artistic co-operatives of reciprocal celebration, and then move into small so-called avant-garde platoons toward supposed or real trenches to be stormed.*

Tuttavia, un punto di contatto reale e di comune interesse ci deve essere e c'è veramente fra uomini di buona volontà e di buona fede al quali non siano indifferenti le sorti artistiche del loro paese. Ammettendolo, salva ogni e piú ampia libertà personale in fatto di particolari direttive o concezioni artistiche, non si poteva tardare ad accordarsi per una dimostrazione di fede collettiva. Attendere che il tempo renda giustizia e si giunga automaticamente all'esaltazione della verità contro l'aborrito errore è pacificarsi in una passività musulmana non consentita dall'epoca nostra.

*However, a point of real contact and of common interest must be there and it actually exists among men of good will and good faith who are not indifferent to the artistic sorts of their country. Admitting it, provided that there is any great personal freedom in matters of particular directives or artistic conceptions, making an agreement for a demonstration of collective faith could not be delayed. To wait for time to render justice and to automatically reach the exaltation of the truth against the abhorred error, is to pacify oneself in a Muslim passivity not permitted by our epoch.*

Il chiasso apologetico sui varii specifici artisti che guarirebbero i mali musicali nostri, è oramai troppo o da troppi

*The apologetic din on the various specific artists who would heal our musical ills is now too much and too well*

alimentato. Siamo giunti ad un punto che a non intromettersi per far finire questa gazzarra attesterebbe che non c'è piú carità di patria e sentimento virile.

*fueled, by many. We have come to a point that not to intrude to end this racket would attest that there is no more patriotic charity, nor virile sentiment.*

Non è da dire che non si sia fatto credito molto, di fiducia e di attesa, a tutti i piú audaci tentativi di rivoluzione artistica. Tutti i credi estetici, che dovevano sovvertire i canoni tradizionali, sono stati esposti e praticati.

*It is not to say that not much credit, of trust and of expectation has been done, to all of the most audacious attempts of artistic revolution. All aesthetic beliefs, which were to subvert traditional canons, have been exposed and practiced.*

Il nostro mondo è stato investito, si può dire, da tutte le raffiche dei più avventati concetti avveniristici. La parola d'ordine mirava veramente, infuriando, alla distruzione d'ogni vecchia ed antica idealità artistica. L'arte vagheggiata doveva apparire ed essere in perfetta contradizione con l'arte sino a ieri sentita e onorata. Qualunque tentativo di rinnovazione era accettato purché inedito, non importa so ragionevole e logico, se affiorato dall'istinto o divinato dalla mente. Tutto era buono pur che fosse impensato ed impensabile.

*Our world has been invested, one can say, by all the gusts of the most reckless innovative concepts. The password was really aimed, infuriatingly, at the destruction of any old and ancient artistic idealism. The yearned art was to appear and be in perfect contradiction with the art which was, until yesterday, felt and honored. Any attempt at renewal was accepted as long as unheard of, whether or not it was reasonable and logical, if sprung by instinct, or divined by the mind. Everything was good as far as it was unthought and unthinkable.*

Cosa ne abbiamo ricavato? Delle strombazzature atonali e pluritonali: dell'oggettivismo e dall'espressionismo che se n'è fatto, cosa è rimasto?

*What did we get out of it? Atonal and polytonal honking; of the objectivism and the expressionism that was made of it, what is left?*

Nel campo musicale, più che altrove, c'è davvero la biblica confusione Babelica. Da vent'anni s'accozzano le tendenze più diverse e più disparate in una continua caotica rivoluzione. Siamo ancora alle « tendenze » o agli « esperimenti », e non si sa a quali affermazioni definitive e a quali vie sicure possano condurre.

*In the musical field, more than elsewhere, there is indeed the biblical Babelic confusion. For twenty years, the most diverse and disparate tendencies collide in a continuous, chaotic revolution. We are still at the "trends" or the "experiments" and it is not known to which definitive statements or to which safe pathways they may lead.*

Il pubblico, frastornato dal clamore di tante mirabolanti apologie, intimidito da tanti, profondissimi e sapientissimi programmi di riforma estetica, non sa più

*The public, dazed by the clamor of so many farcical apologies, intimidated by many very profound and very erudite programs of aesthetic reform, no longer*

qual voce ascoltare nè qual via seguire, spesso non riesce bene a intendere nè a vedere quanto più bramerebbero il suo orecchio o il suo occhio.

*knows which voice to hear or which way to follow, [and it] often cannot discern or see that which its ear or its eye would covet.*

D'altra parte, s'è infiltrato nello spirito dei giovani musicisti un senso di comoda ribellione ai canoni secolari e fondamentali dell'arte, e non è fatto men pregiudizievole. La scuola per essi non può dare e non dà nessuna norma che faccia testo artistico. Non ci sono maestri a cui inchinarsi, specie gli ultimi che trionfarono su tutte le platee del mondo.

*On the other hand, a sense of comfortable rebellion against the centuries-old canons and the fundamentals of art has infiltrated the spirits of young musicians, and this fact is no less prejudicial. For them, the school cannot give and does not give any norm that makes artistic text valid. There are no masters to bow to, especially the last ones who triumphed over all the stages of the world.*

L'avvenire della musica italiana non par sicuro se non alla coda di tutte le musiche straniere. Al massimo, seguendo anche qui una moda forestiera che fa dell'umanesimo musicale in mancanza di una tradizione da seguire, qualcuno pensa a ruminazioni di nostri lontani secoli musicali. Sopra tutto però, si avversa e si combatte il romanticismo del secolo scorso. Il gran nemico è questo. L'inciampo ove si incappa il passo dei nuovi musicisti verrebbe dalle sue fortune. I capolavori di questo secolo rappresenterebbero la zavorra di cui le fantasie musicali del nostro popolo sono cariche e l'impedimento quindi, per innalzarsi nei grandi spazi azzurri scoperti dai modernissimi esploratori.

*The future of Italian music seems uncertain if not at the coda of all foreign musics. At most, following here too foreign a fashion that makes musical humanism in lack of a tradition to follow, someone thinks about ruminations of the distant musical centuries of ours. Above all, however, the romanticism of the last century is opposed and fought. This is the great enemy. The trap where the pace of the new musicians stumbles would come from its fortunes. The masterpieces of this century would represent the ballast of which our people's musical fantasies are loaded and therefore the impediment, to rise up in the great blue spaces discovered by the most modern explorers.*

Ebbene, bisogna che il pubblico si liberi dallo stato di soggezione intellettuale che paralizza i suoi liberi impulsi emotivi. Bisogna affrancare i giovani dall'errore in cui vivono: donar loro il senso della disciplina artistica legittimando ogni libera espansione lirica o tutte le veemenze dalla drammaticità.

*Well, it is needed that the audience free itself from the state of intellectual subjection that paralyzes its free emotive impulses. It is needed that the youth is freed from the error they live in: to give them the sense of artistic discipline, legitimizing each free lyric expansion or all the vehemences of dramatic force.*

Ad essi, in ispecial modo, è indirizzato questo manifesto e non per suscitare grette reazioni ed avversioni misoneiste. Noi sappiamo che il ritmo della vita è un moto in continua propulsione che non s'arresta, quello dell'arte, e che il divenire, quindi, di questa e di quella è perennemente in atto. Le conquiste dell'una e dell'altra non avvengono a sbalzi: non sono improvvisazioni e creazioni *ab imis fundamentis*. Una catena ideale lega il passato all'avvenire.

*To them, in particular, this manifesto is addressed and not to arouse petty reactions and misoneistic aversions. We know that the rhythm of life is a motion in continual propulsion that does not stop, that of art, and the becoming therefore, of this [art] and that [art] is perpetually in action [in a state of being actualized]. The achievements of the one and the other do not happen in leaps: they are not improvisations and creations ab imis fundamentis [completely from scratch]. An ideal chain links the past to the future.*

Per questo, nulla del nostro passato ci sentiamo di dover rinnegare e rinneghiamo. Nulla di esso è indegno dello spirito artistico della nostra razza, nulla è fuori di esso. I Gabrielli e i Monteverdi; i Palestrina e i Frescobaldi, i Corelli, gli Scarlatti, i Paisiello, i Cimarosa, i Rossini, i Verdi e i Puccini son fronde varie e diverse di uno stesso albero: sono la smagliante fioritura polivoca della musicalità Italiana.

*For this [reason], nothing of our past we feel we must deny or [now] deny. Nothing of it is undeserving of the artistic spirit of our race, nothing is excluded. The Gabriellis and the Monteverdis; the Palestrinas and the Frescobaldis, the Corellis, the Scarlattis, the Paisiellos, the Cimarosas, the Rossinis, the Verdis and the Puccinis are various and diverse branches of a same tree: they are the shining polyvocal flowering of Italian musicality.*

Sissignori. Anche di Verdi e di Puccini amiamo crederci e desideriamo di essere diretta progenie.

*Yes, gentlemen. Also of Verdi and of Puccini we love to believe and desire to be direct progeny.*

L'opera loro è fuor dal solco, forse, della tradizione nostra? E questa si conclude davvero con essi, e dopo di essi tutto è da rifare?

*Is their work out of line, perhaps, with our tradition? And does this really end with them, and after them everything is to be redone?*

Non ci spaventa la taccia di retorici e di enfatici che certi estetisimi buttan loro contro. Retorica per retorica, preferiamo quella del sentimento a quella culturale.

*We are not afraid of the reputation of rhetoric and emphatics that certain aestheticists throw against them. Rhetoric for rhetoric, we prefer that of sentimental to that of the cultural.*

Siamo contro alla cosidetta musica oggettiva che come talo non rappresenterebbe che il suono preso a sé, senza l'espressione viva del soffio animatore che lo crea. Siamo contro a

*We are against the so-called objective music which, as such, would only represent the sound taken to itself, without the living expression of the animator's breath which creates it. We*

quest'arte che non dovrebbe avere e non ha nessun contenuto umano, che non vuole esser e non è che gioco meccanico e arzigogolo cerebrale.

*are against this art that should not and does not have any human content, which does not want to be, and which is nothing but a mechanical game and a cerebral elaboration.*

Italiani del nostro tempo, con una Guerra vinta - la prima della nostra unità nazionale moderna - con una rivoluzione in atto che rivela ancora una volta l'immortalità del genio Italiano e presidia ed avvalora ogni nostra virtù, sentiamo la bellezza del tempo in cui viviamo e vogliamo cantario nei suoi momenti tragici come nelle sue infiammate giornate di gloria.

*Italians of our time, with a War won– the first of our modern national unity– with an ongoing revolution that once again reveals the immortality of the Italian genius and presides [over] and gives value [to] all our virtues, we feel the beauty of the time in which we live and we want to sing it in its tragic moments as in its inflamed days of glory.*

Il romanticismo di ieri, che fu del resto di tutti i grandi nostri, ed è vita in atto, in gioia e in dolore, sarà anche il romanticismo di domani, se è vero che la storia svolge consequenzialmente le proprie fila e non si smarrisce e non segna il passo col mito di Sisifo.

*The Romanticism of yesterday, which by the way, was of all the great ones of ours, and which is life in action, in joy and in pain, will also be the Romanticism of tomorrow, if it is true that history consequentially develops its own rows and it does not lose its way and it does not mark [its] pace with the myth of Sisyphus.*

Ottorino Respighi
Giuseppe Mulé
Ildebrando Pizzetti
Riccardo Zandonai
Alberto Gasco
Alceo Toni
Riccardo Pick-Mangiagalli
Guido Guerrini
Gennaro Napoli
Guido Zuffellato

*Ottorino Respighi*
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*Riccardo Zandonai*
*Alberto Gasco*
*Alceo Toni*
*Riccardo Pick-Mangiagalli*
*Guido Guerrini*
*Gennaro Napoli*
*Guido Zuffellato*

## APPENDIX B

**Figure 1** *Lualdi's written works*[ii]

| Title | Date | Notes |
|---|---|---|
| *Viaggio sentimentale nella Liburnia* | 1921 | Early Travels |
| *Viaggio musicale in Italia* | 1927 | Travels, 1921-7 |
| *Viaggio musicale in Europa* | 1929 | Travels, 1926-8 |
| *Serate musicale* | 1929 | Pamphlet Essay |
| *Arte e regime* | 1929 | Pref., G. Bottai |
| *Il rinnovamento musicale Italiano* | 1932 | Pamphlet Essay |
| *Viaggio musicale nel Sud-America* | 1934 | Travels, 1931 |
| *L'arte di dirigere l'orchestra* | 1940 | Instructive Text |
| *Viaggio musicale nell'U.R.S.S.* | 1933; 1941 | Travels, 1932-3 |
| *Oggi non domani* | 1942 | Open Letter |
| *Per il primato spirituale di Roma* | 1942 | Pamphlet Essay |
| *La filosofia della musica di G. Mazzini* | 1836; 1943 | Pref., Lualdi |

**Figure 2** *Archival documents from the fascist Chamber of Deputies*[iii]

| Description | Date | Location |
|---|---|---|
| *Legislature XXVIII, session I, Discussions* | 29/05/1929 | CDDPS – Online Portal |
| *Legislature XXVIII, session I, Discussions* | 27/11/1930 | CDDPS – Online Portal |
| *Legislature XXVIII, session I, Discussions* | 10/12/1930 | CDDPS – Online Portal |
| *Legislature XXVIII, session I, Discussions* | 12/02/1931 | CDDPS – Online Portal |
| *Legislature XXVIII, session I, Discussions* | 13/02/1931 | CDDPS – Online Portal |
| *Legislature XXVIII, session I, Discussions* | 16/11/1931 | CDDPS – Online Portal |
| *Legislature XXVIII, session I, Discussions* | 29/04/1933 | CDDPS – Online Portal |
| *Legislature XXIX, session I, Discussions* | 11/12/1934 | CDDPS – Online Portal |
| *Legislature XXIX, session I, Discussions* | 28/03/1935 | CDDPS – Online Portal |

**Figure 3** *Lualdi's communications with Mussolini's private office*[iv]

| Description | Date | Location |
|---|---|---|
| *Letter from Lualdi to Mussolini* | 04/09/1930 | ACS SPD ORD 509378 |
| *Telegram from Lualdi to Mussolini* | 04/21/1932 | ACS SPD ORD 509378 |
| *Telegram from Lualdi to Mussolini* | 17/12/1932 | ACS SPD ORD 509378 |
| *Letter from Lualdi to Mussolini* | 11/12/1933 | ACS SPD ORD 509378 |
| *Note to Ministry of Press and Propaganda* | 30/11/1936 | ACS SPD ORD 509378 |
| *Letter from Lualdi to Mussolini* | 26/12/1936 | ACS SPD ORD 509378 |
| *Letter from Lualdi to Mussolini* | 18/01/1937 | ACS SPD ORD 509378 |
| *Letter from Lualdi to Mussolini* | 21/12/1937 | ACS SPD ORD 509378 |
| *Letter from Lualdi to Mussolini* | 22/12/1938 | ACS SPD ORD 509378 |
| *Letter from Lualdi to Mussolini* | 23/10/1939 | ACS SPD ORD 516625 |
| *Note of dedication* | 1940 | ACS SPD ORD 509378 |
| *Note of dedication* | 1941 | ACS SPD ORD 509378 |
| *Letter from Lualdi to De Cesare* | 01/05/1942 | ACS SPD ORD 532752 |
| *Note of dedication* | 1942 | ACS SPD ORD 509378 |

[i] Italian text from: Alceo Toni, et al., "Travagli spirituali del nostro tempo: un manifesto di musicisti italiani per la tradizione dell'arte romantica dell'800," *La Stampa*, December 17, 1932. Translation by Kevin Robb, 2019.

[ii] Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

[iii] **Figure 2** documents accessed online via: https://storia.camera.it/lavori/regno-d-italia/leg-regno-XXVIII/1929/29-maggio#1929.

[iv] **Figure 3** represents all instances of communication involving Lualdi as found in archival material from Mussolini's Private Office. These documents were meticulously copied and preserved, along with many others, in the Appendix of Fiamma Nicolodi's *Musica e musicisti nel Ventennio Fascista*. See: Fiamma Nicolodi, "Documenti, testimonianze, carteggi dagli archivi storici del regime," in *Musica e musicisti nel Ventennio Fascista* (Fiesole: Discanto, 1984), 306-472.