

Gian Francesco Malipiero, *Esalazioni epurative*

Paola Cossu

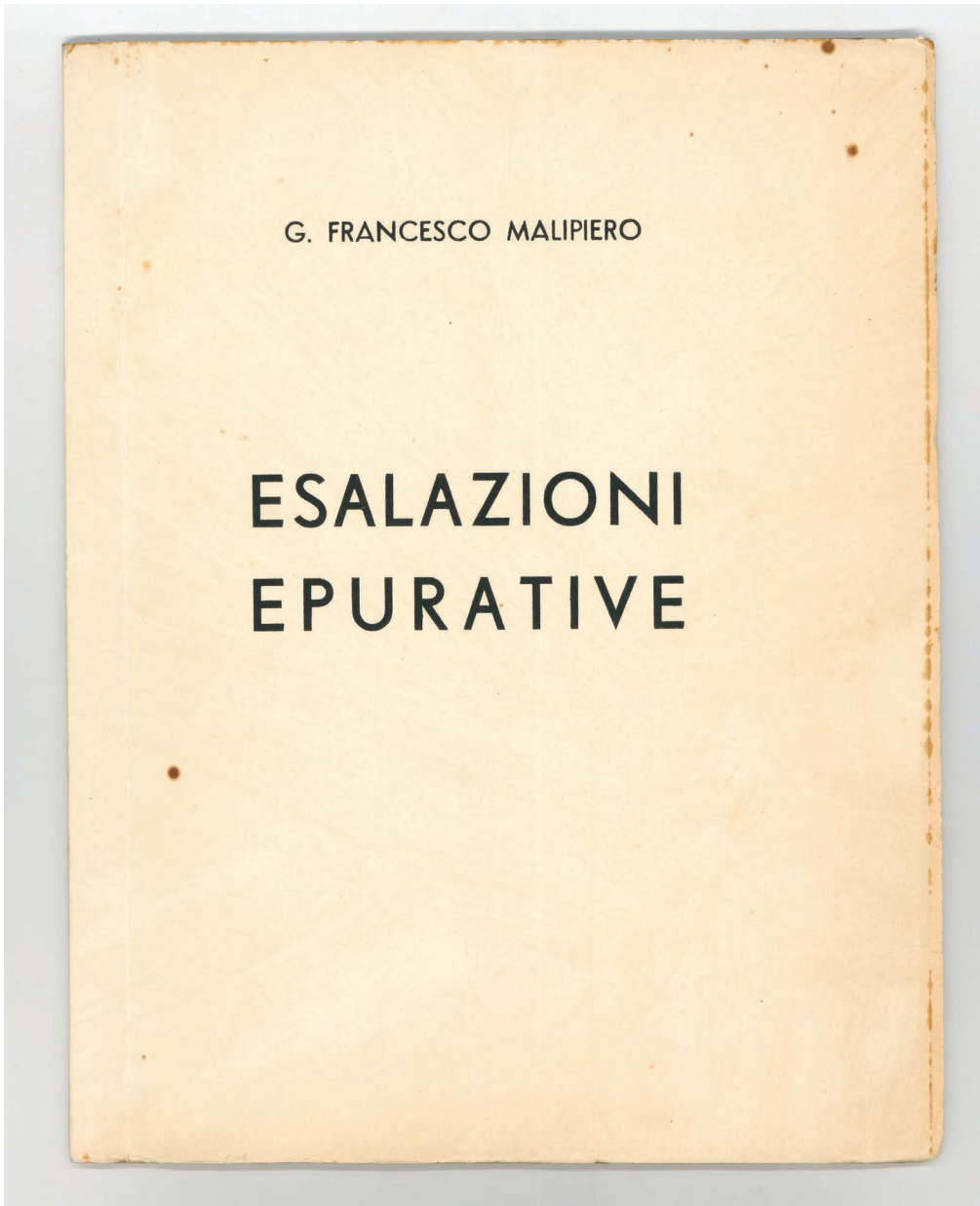
Università degli Studi di Cagliari

On 21 September 1945 Gian Francesco Malipiero received a registered letter from the Province of Venice's National Liberation Committee [Comitato di Liberazione Nazionale], after which charges were filed against him at the Venetian Provincial Antifascist Commission. He was accused of having written musical works that were not only an apology of fascism, but also backed and funded by this regime. In reply, the composer writes a memoir in his own defence entitled *Esalazioni epurative* [*Purging Breath*] in which, documentary evidence to hand, he refutes the 'crimes' imputed to him, point by point.

Whenever we start to analyse any of Malipiero's writings, it is worth remembering Gianfranco Folenà's words at the conference held in Malipiero's honour in Venice in 1972.¹ On that occasion, the critic defines the 'pages of Malipiero's memoirs [pagine di memoria di Malipiero]' as 'epigrammatic [and] anecdotal [epigrammatiche [e] aneddotiche]' and he affirms the marked elliptical nature of the musician's musical and literary style. Such adjectives also well describe the writing we are going to consider here, which mirrors the character of the Venetian composer.

The *Esalazioni epurative* held in the Fondo Gian Francesco Malipiero at the Fondazione Giorgio Cini in Venice (henceforth FGFM) is a typewritten document of fifty-four numbered pages (FIGURE 1).²

FIGURE 1. Cover of the typewritten manuscript *Esalazioni epurative*. Fondazione Giorgio Cini (Venezia), Fondo Gian Francesco Malipiero



At first glance, the text appears to be ordered and schematic, with well-divided sections and lists. However, a closer reading shows it to be epigrammatic, erratic, elliptical and profusely anecdotal, in keeping with the spirit of the writer, but also perhaps with the mood of that moment.

The memoir could be summarised as follows:

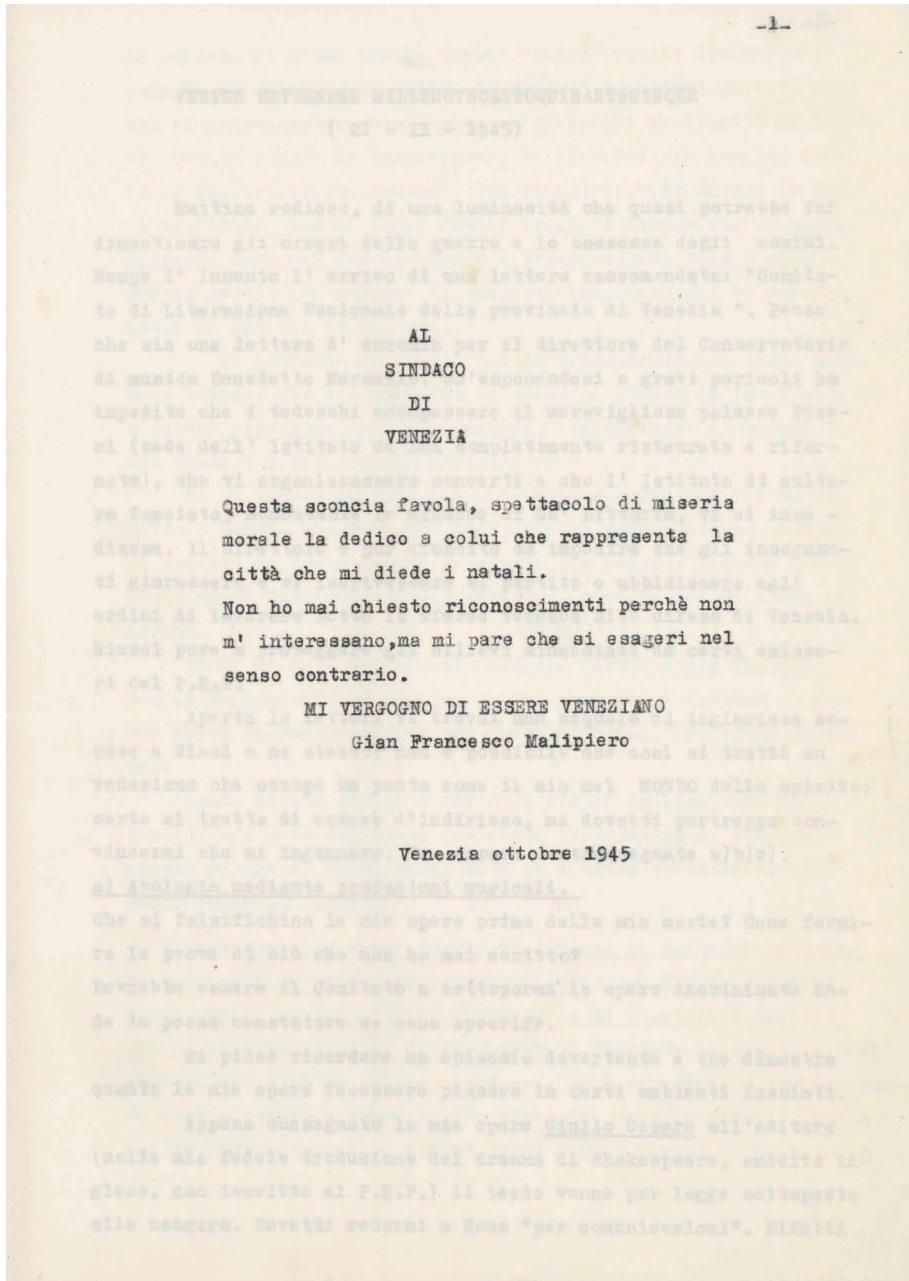
- I. Dedication to the Mayor of Venice [Dedica al sindaco di Venezia]
- II. [Introduction] [Introduzione]
- III. Letter from Malpiero to the National Liberation Committee [Lettera di Malipiero al Comitato di Liberazione Nazionale]
- IV. Copy of the text of the indictment [Copia dei testi d'accusa]
 1. filed by Giovanni Tonetti
 2. filed by Guido Zuffelato
 3. filed by Avv. Alessio Mozzetti Monterumici
 4. filed by Ezio Bianchini
- V. Summary [Sintesi]
- VI. Documents replying to the ill-informed 'informants' [Documentazione in risposta ai mal informati 'delatori']
 - n. 1 against Monterumici [contro Monterumici]
 - n. 2 against Zuffellato [contro Zuffellato]
 - n. 3 against Bianchini [contro Bianchini]
 - n. 4 against Tonetti [contro Tonetti]
- VII. [Final Considerations] [Considerazioni finali]
- VIII. Appendix [Appendice]
 - Declarations [Dichiarazioni]
 - Report [...] on life at the Conservatory between 8 September and Liberation [Rapporto [...] riguardante la vita del Conservatorio tra l'8 settembre e la Liberazione]
- IX. Attachments [Allegati]

The dossier contains nine sections, which for ease of reference are indicated here with Roman numerals, with Malipiero's words shown in quotation marks. What follows is a summary of and an initial comment on each section.

I. The typewritten manuscript opens with a dedication to the then Mayor of Venice, Giovanni Ponti.³ It is unusual to find a dedication in a defence document, but its inclusion is typically Malipierian. The composer points out how he has been betrayed as a Venetian. He defines the story as a 'dismal tale [sconcia favola]'

and ends the dedication with a scathing statement: 'I am ashamed to be Venetian [mi vergogno di essere veneziano]' (FIGURE 2).

FIGURE 2. Dedication page from *Esalazioni epurative* (p. 1). Fondazione Giorgio Cini (Venezia), Fondo Gian Francesco Malipiero



II. He presents the charges in the Introduction:

- a) Apology via musical production [...]
- b) Malpractice: for having made use of hierarchical restrictions regarding criticism of his person and his works; for having also enjoyed the financial support of Fascists and Nazis for the performance of his works [...]
- c) Collaboration: for his pro-nazi fascist attitude.⁴

III. The composer presents his reply to the registered letter in which he sets forth his defence and explains that he has ‘a huge amount of documentation [enorme documentazione]’ to prove his innocence. He claims that the current accusers ‘are the same as in the fascist period [sono gli stessi del tempo fascista]’ and maintains that the political attacks are just an excuse. The real goal was to relegate him to the margins of the musical world in which he had gained his place not because of his powerful connections but on his own merits (FIGURE 3).

IV. These are the documents filed at the Court. Malipiero copies the accusatory statements by first noting: ‘each one of these outdoes the others in terms of language, style and as manifestations of the human spirit [sono uno più bello dell’altro, come lingua, come stile e come espressioni dell’animo umano]’ (FIGURE 4).

FIGURE 3. Letter written by Malipiero in *Esalazioni epurative* (p. 7). Fondazione Giorgio Cini (Venezia), Fondo Gian Francesco Malipiero

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Dal Volume " I MORTI NON PARLANO" di prossima pubblicazione presso la Casa Editrice " Il Balcone " di Milano.

Accompagnai quanto scritto con la seguente lettera:

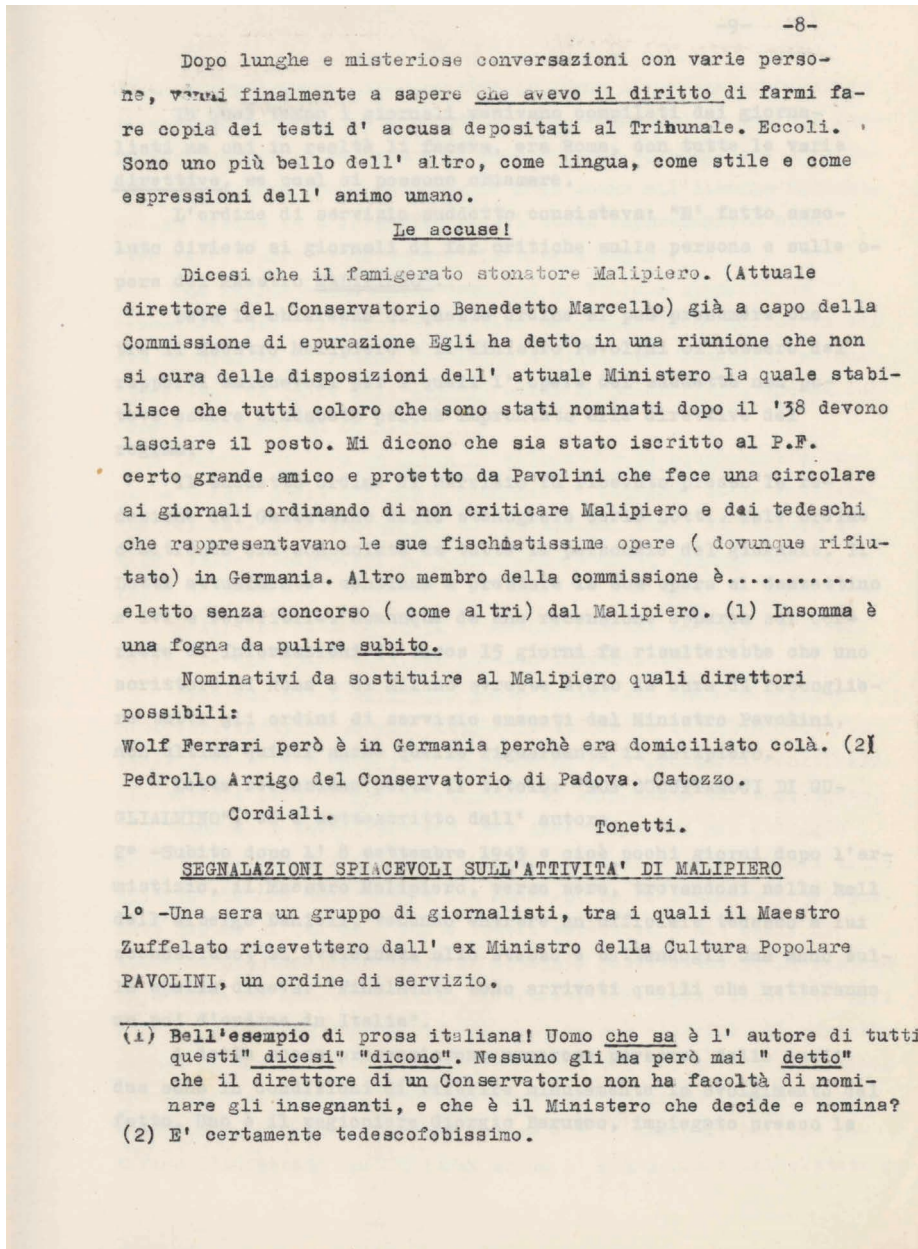
Al Comitato di Liberazione Nazionale della
 Provincia di Venezia
 Commissione Provinciale di epurazione
VENEZIA

Per deferenza verso il Comitato di epurazione invio alcune pagine di un mio diario che possono servirmi di presentazione giacchè è evidente che non si sa ch'io mi sia. E perchè non lo si sa? Perchè durante i ventitre anni di fascismo si è fatta la congiura del silenzio intorno a me e male mi colse quando si rompeva il silenzio, chè era solo per mettermi in cattiva luce dinanzi al pubblico italiano.

Di che cosa si preoccupavano i gerarchi musicisti fascisti? Della mia posizione in tutto il mondo civile, posizione che essi non potevano conquistare attraverso il potere gerarchico. La lettera che m'invidiano è dunque uno strascico dell'era fascista. Ogni parola del mio diario corrisponde a verità, e molti documenti non li cito nemmeno perchè non voglio annoiare il lettore. Questa enorme documentazione che rappresenta centinaia e centinaia di esecuzioni in tutto il mondo (qui sta il segreto della questione) la metto a loro disposizione come metto a loro disposizione ciò che ho fatto nel Conservatorio e che non posso mandare a Rialto. Io potrei far loro i nomi dei miei accusatori perchè sono gli stessi del tempo fascista e fra questi, gente ch'aspirava a posti senza concorso (sistema fascista) pure essendo sprovvisti di titoli didattici. Sono nato a Venezia (mia madre era una Balbi da volta de Canal) e sempre quando si parlò di me nel mondo si disse: Gianfrancesco Malipiero veneziano. Come potrei fare per non esserlo più? Prego di aiutarmi almeno in questo, perciò ringrazio e saluto molto cordialmente.

G.FRANCESCO MALIPIERO
 Venezia, 21 IX 1945

FIGURE 4. From the typewritten manuscript *Esalazioni epurative* (p. 8). Fondazione Giorgio Cini (Venezia), Fondo Gian Francesco Malipiero



1. The first documents in question bear the signature of Giovanni Tonetti, a socialist and partisan member of parliament who suggests that Malipiero should be replaced as director of Venice's "Benedetto Marcello" Conservatory, a role he had held since 1938. He proposes leading figures in Venetian musical culture such as Ermanno Wolf-Ferrari, Arrigo Pedrollo or Nino Cattozzo as contenders for the position. He further accuses Malipiero of being a great friend of Alessandro Pavolini, the Secretary of the Republican Fascist Party and former Minister of Popular Culture.⁵

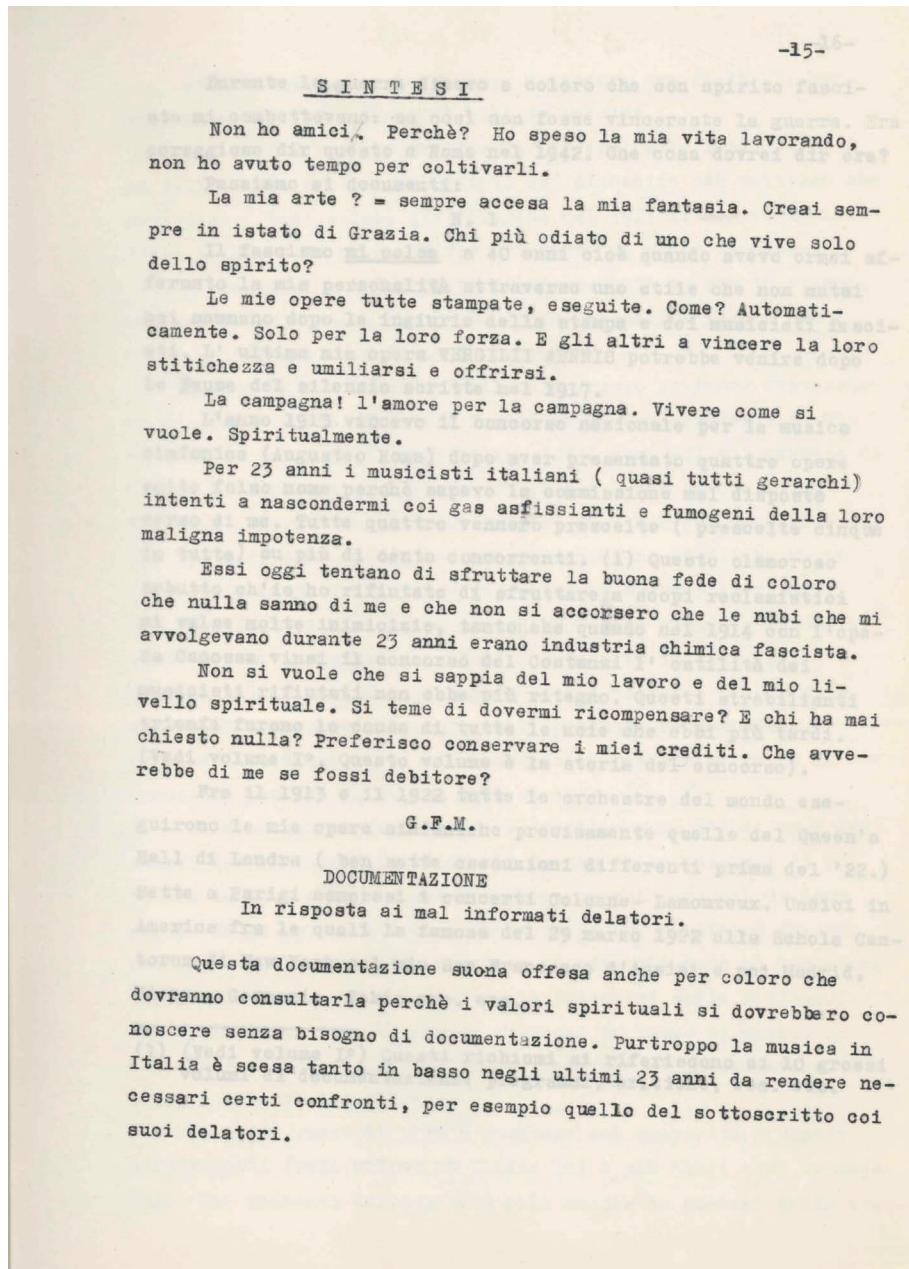
2. The 'reported concerns about Malipiero's activity [...] raised by Maestro Zuffellato, the Gazzettino's musical critic [segnalazioni spiacevoli sull'attività di Malipiero [...] ricavate dal maestro Zuffellato, critico musicale del Gazzettino]' refer to three episodes in particular: an administrative order sent to some journalists by the former Minister of Popular Culture (MinCulPop) Pavolini, which vetoed any criticism of Malipiero or his works;⁶ an episode that occurred at the Hotel Danieli in Venice after 8 September 1943, when the composer had apparently expressed his satisfaction at the arrival of 'those who bring some order to Italy [quelli che metteranno un po' ordine in Italia]' and, finally, the Venetian performance of his *La vita è sogno*.⁷

3. Here we find the charges brought by the lawyer Alessio Mozzetti Monterumici. Malipiero is defined as 'extremely purgeable [,] the prototype of the creatures invented, raised and made successful by fascism [epurabilissimo [,] il prototipo delle creature inventate, cresciute ed arrivate a mezzo del fascismo]'. The lawyer also declares that the composer was a personal friend of Giuseppe Bottai, and proof was the performance of Malipiero's *Orfeide* during the 1936 Venetian edition of the fascist cultural series called *Littoriali della musica*. He also mentions the performance of *La vita è sogno* and quotes an article entitled 'Bravo Maestro Malipiero' that appeared on the pages of *Italia Nuova*, the weekly magazine published by Venice's Republican Fascist Federation. He goes on to claim that Malipiero had been on intimate terms with some Germans. He even maintains that he is 'a personal friend of Goebbels [amico personale di Goebbels]' and Hans Koester, the German consul in Venice. The accusation then continues with a discussion of Malipiero's doings as director of the Venice Conservatory: the composer is charged with having obtained funding for the never-completed restoration of Palazzo Pisani and of having appointed several unqualified teachers including Raffaele Cumar, Romeo Olivieri and Giulietta Olivieri.

4. The last document instead is 'hearsay' evidence from Ezio Bianchini, pianist and teacher at the Venice Conservatory. Bianchini claims that his colleague Margherita Cicognari, the harp teacher,⁸ had told him that Malipiero had hidden 'a German [...] for many days after the uprising [un tedesco [...] per molti giorni dopo l'insurrezione]'

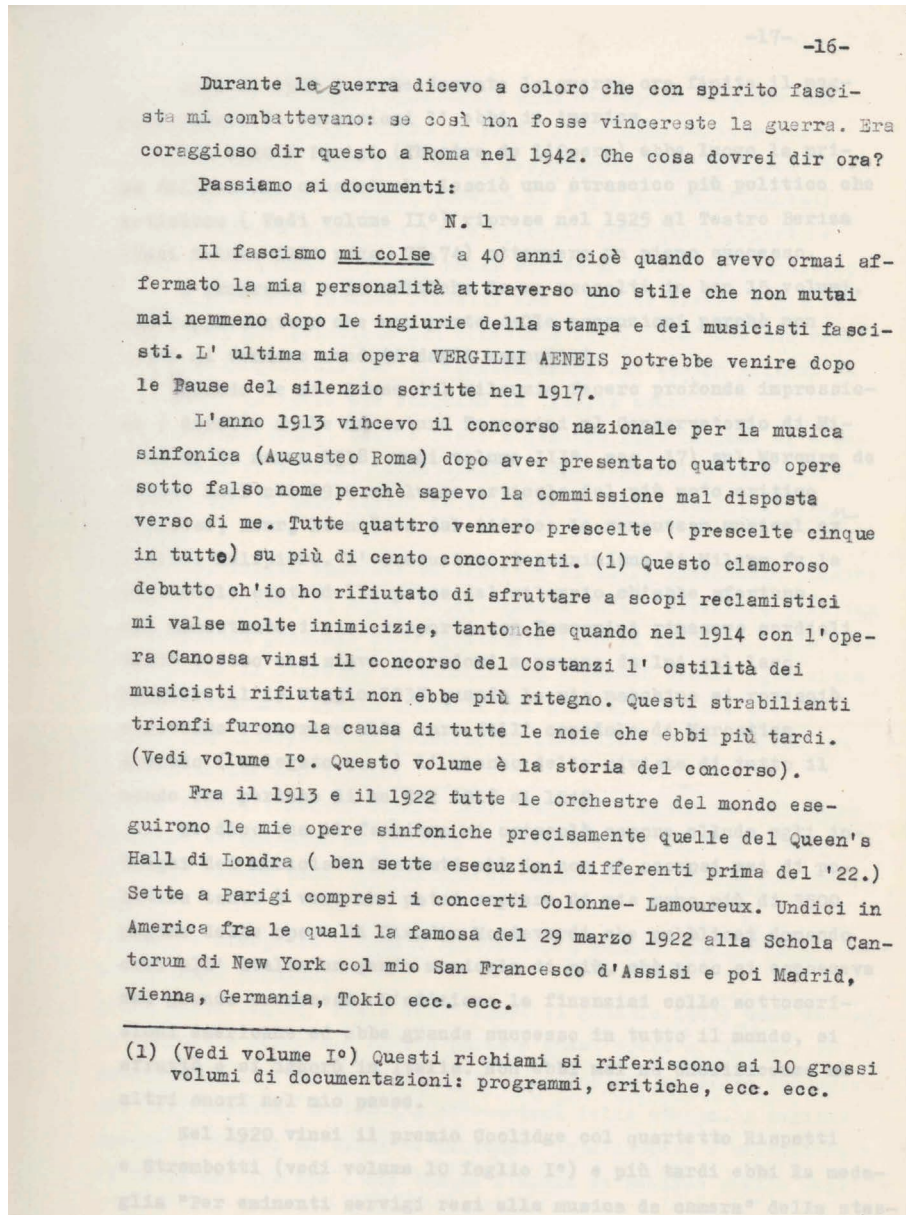
V. In the 'Summary' the composer gives full vent to his anger about the whole incident. This is the most 'spontaneous', the least logical and least-structured part of the text. It is full of rhetorical questions that open and close the section (FIGURE 5).

FIGURE 5. 'Summary' of the typewritten manuscript *Esalazioni epurative* (p. 15). Fondazione Giorgio Cini (Venezia), Fondo Gian Francesco Malipiero



VI. Recalling the previously illustrated accusations and referring to the attachments at the end of the document, the memoir finally comes to the 'Documents replying to the ill-informed informants [Documentazione in risposta ai mal informati delatori]'. The documents are preceded by a short biographical profile and a list of his main compositions (FIGURE 6).⁹

FIGURE 6. From the typewritten manuscript *Esalazioni epurative* (p. 16). Fondazione Giorgio Cini (Venezia), Fondo Gian Francesco Malipiero



1. 'Against Monterumici [Contro Monterumici]'. Malipiero explains that he met Giuseppe Bottai in 1919 at the *Ronda's* editorial offices. As regards this, he refers to the attachment in the appendix: the letter appointing him to teach composition at the Parma Conservatory dated 1921. He returns to the accusations concerning *Orfeide*, claiming to have given up his copyright and that the work was performed at the 1935 Littoriali at the request of his students. In fact, he writes: 'youngsters as dear to me as Francesco Pasinetti who was the director, Nino Sanzogno, the conductor, came to Asolo to ask me for the *Orfeide* that they wanted to perform for the Littoriali as a tribute from young Venetians to the musician Gianfrancesco [*sic*] Malipiero, regrettably Venetian [giovani a me carissimi come Francesco Pasinetti che fu il regista, Nino Sanzogno, direttore d'orchestra, vennero ad Asolo per chiedermi l'*Orfeide* che volevano eseguire in occasione dei littoriali quale omaggio dei giovani veneziani al musicista Gianfrancesco [*sic*] Malipiero, purtroppo veneziano]'. As far as the charges against *La vita è sogno* are concerned, he attaches two letters (one signed by Mario Corti) proving he had relinquished compensation and royalties for the composition. Finally, he affirms that the 1944 article 'Bravo Maestro Malipiero' was written with tongue in cheek precisely to show that he was anti-fascist. The lawyer Mozzetti Monterumici had supported his accusation of Malipiero keeping company with the Germans by noting that precisely 'on the evening of 23 April 1944, at 20:30 [la sera del 23 aprile 1944, alle ore 20:30]' Malipiero had invited 'Captain Huebner [il capitano Huebner]' to dinner. Malipiero confirms this but states that the captain was however a 'partisan (they must be aware of this at the N.L.C.) [partigiano (lo devono sapere al C.L.N.)]'. He goes on to say that Captain Huebner had helped him get passes for his teachers to exonerate them from working to defend the town 'until the day great danger struck [fino al giorno del grande pericolo]'.¹⁰ To disprove the alleged incomplete restoration work of Palazzo Pisani, Malipiero presents a letter signed by the Superintendent Ferdinando Forlati, demonstrating that such work had been carried out.

2. 'Against Zuffellato [Contro Zuffellato]'. The composer starts by calling to mind that his accuser had been one of the signatories of the famous 1932 manifesto against himself and Casella, drawn up by the then 'anti-modernists' like Alceo Toni. He declares that he knew nothing about the administrative order sent to journalists and denies ever having been its instigator. In his defence against what had allegedly happened at the Danieli, Malipiero provides a letter signed by the Commander of the Carabinieri Bixio Bersanetti. The latter states that he had been the one to ask Malipiero to get in touch with some German politicians and military representatives and to provide him with information about their plans. He claims that he had asked Malipiero precisely because he knew that he could speak German (FIGURE 7).

FIGURE 7. From the typewritten manuscript *Esalazioni epurative* (p. 25). Fondazione Giorgio Cini (Venezia), Fondo Gian Francesco Malipiero

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cui gerarchi fascisti musicisti amicissimi dello Zuffellato e stampa fascista tramavano qualche scandalo che non si voleva avesse ripercussione all' estero come il manifesto che molto seccò Mussolini perchè riprodotto dalla stampa d' altre alpe fece fare una balorda figura alla spiritualità italiana del tempo. Se il denunziante è capace di stabilire la data si vedrà che in uno dei miei dieci volumi nei quali sono raccolti tutti i documenti comprovanti la mia attività nel mondo si ritrova la causa che ha provocato il non da me richiesto ordine di servizio. Non testimonianze ma documenti ci vogliono in questo caso.

Il N° 2 delle segnalazioni Zuffellatiane si riferisce al nobile episodio del Danieli a cui ho già risposto.

Il N° 3 credo che qualche ufficio stampa abbia realmente pubblicato sul Gazzettino qualche cosa riguardante il successo della Vita è sogno in Germania (sulle rappresentazioni delle mie opere in Germania negli ultimi tempi ho già riferito nel mio diario) ma la cosa non mi riguarda, escludo però che sia stato l'Istituto germanico almeno che non avesse una sezione di propaganda culturale. In quanto alla miserabile chiusa delle segnalazioni del segnalante rinvio il lettore di queste tristi note alle pagine 1,2,3,4, di questo scritto.

(3)

La denuncia del Bianchini informato dalla insegnante d'arpa sul tedesco da me ospitato in Conservatorio, accludo (allegati n° 10, 11) le dichiarazioni dei miei uscieri fra i quali uno partigiano a me molto devoto perchè ha visto quello che ho fatto per i partigiani. Tengo aggiungere che nei giorni dell'insurrezione insieme ai partigiani abbiamo visitato persino le soffitte del Conservatorio per paura che attraverso i tetti qualcuno avesse potuto nascondersi. E per finire:

(4)

Una lettera firmata Tonetti. Incomincia con le accuse contro il sovrintendente della Fenice del quale non si propone il

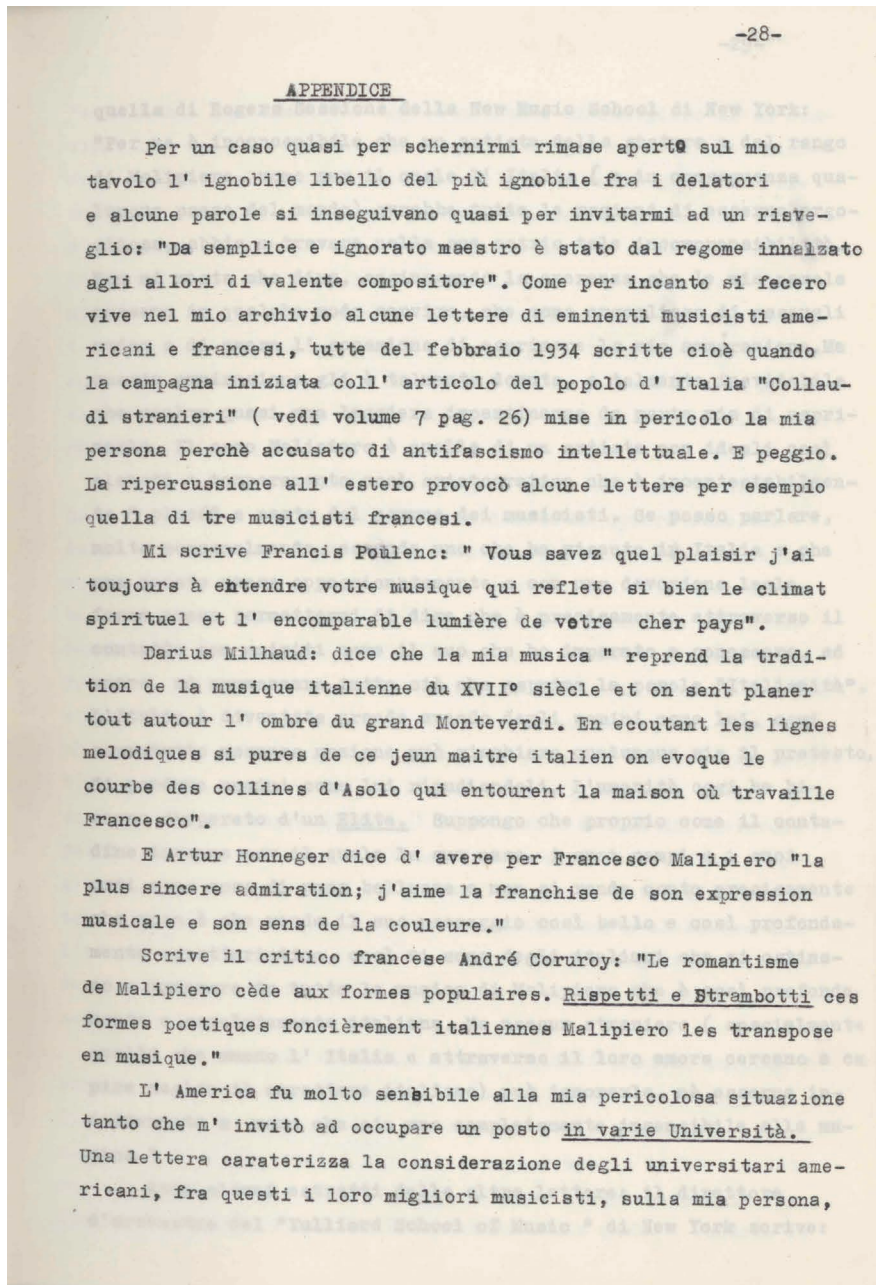
3. 'Against Bianchini [Contro Bianchini]'. In reply to the charge of having hidden German soldiers in Palazzo Pisani, Malipiero provides two letters signed by the two caretakers of the Conservatory, Vittorio Scasso and Arturo Molin, who both deny any such happening.

4. 'Against Tonetti [Contro Tonetti]'. One can sense the composer's great annoyance especially as regards Tonetti's proposal to have him replaced as director of the Venetian Conservatory. In fact, Malipiero comments that one of the three replacements proposed by Tonetti, Ermanno Wolf-Ferrari – who, for that matter, was also tainted by nazifascism – is certainly not 'Anti-German [germanofobo]' but he even lives in Germany. As to the charges regarding the appointment of teachers at the Conservatory, he refers to the attached document signed by the Special Commissioner Arcangelo Vespignani who takes complete responsibility for hiring the teaching staff.

VII. The document ends on page 27 with the motto 'OMNIA/MUNDA MUNDIS/ IMMUNDA IMMUNDIS. Venezia 15.X.1945'.¹¹

VIII. The appendix has about four pages. The composer starts by citing some of the compliments he had received over the years from his fellow foreign composers including Francis Poulenc, Darius Milhaud and Arthur Honegger (FIGURE 8). He also includes four letters that prove his support for the Venetian partisans between Autumn 1943 and Spring 1945.

FIGURE 8. 'Appendix' to the typewritten manuscript *Esalazioni epurative* (p. 28). Fondazione Giorgio Cini (Venezia), Fondo Gian Francesco Malipiero



For example, Ferdinando Forlati, Superintendent of Medieval and Modern Monuments in Venice, states that he had personally asked Malipiero to host some fugitives and writes that ‘a communicating door was immediately opened between some of the rooms [venne subito aperta [...] una porta di comunicazione fra alcuni ambienti]’ in Palazzo Pisani ‘so as to facilitate any eventual escape [con lo scopo di facilitare un’eventuale fuga]’. The Superintendent goes on to write that one of the rooms in the Conservatory was used ‘as a meeting place for the N.L.C. and it was actually Maestro Malipiero who chose the password the members used to gain admittance to the Institute [quale luogo di riunione del C.L.N. per i componenti del quale venne anzi dal Maestro Malipiero fissata la parola d’ordine per l’ingresso all’Istituto]’. In addition, there are letters from other fugitives: the Commanders of the Volunteer Freedom Corps [Corpo Volontari della Libertà] and the G. Matteotti Assault Brigade [Brigata d’assalto G. Matteotti] Sigfrido Celeghin and Angelo Pasini and two other fugitives Giorgio Valgimigli¹² and Giuseppe Fiocco.¹³

The appendix closes with a report on life at the Conservatory between 8 September 1943 and the Liberation which recounts several anecdotes about this period of time. For example, Malipiero writes that he had ‘hidden access to a floor of the Conservatory, making it impossible to find for anyone unfamiliar with the building [nascosto l’accesso ad un piano del Conservatorio, rendendolo così introvabile per chi non conosceva il palazzo]’ and that he had protected the students from ‘insane individuals [who] wanted to deliver a lecture to the pupils [elementi insani [che] volevano tenere discorsi agli alunni]’. He also declares that on several occasions the Germans had asked to use the organ room for concerts¹⁴ and that he had had to invent more than one excuse to say no: once he had said that the heating was not working, whereas another time, ‘to stop the organ from working [he had removed] the general register [per impedire che l’organo funzionasse [tolse] il registro generale]’ thereby damaging the instrument. He also writes that many teachers from other Conservatories that had been demolished or closed were ‘supported [appoggiati]’ by the “Benedetto Marcello”; these ‘were paid almost all their salary without teaching any lessons, among these was Porrino Ennio who constantly put my person in danger denouncing me as an antifascist, and his outrageous manoeuvres were aimed at taking my place as director [riscossero quasi tutti lo stipendio senza impartire lezioni, fra questi Porrino Ennio che mise la mia persona costantemente in pericolo denunciandomi come antifascista, e le sue ignobili manovre miravano a prender il mio posto di direttore]’. Malipiero also had to safeguard the Conservatory Library from the Germans, ‘to whom he was forced to give permission to borrow the Conservatory’s music to stop them from taking it by force [ai quali dovette permettere di prendere a prestito la musica del Conservatorio pur di impedire che se la prendessero per forza]’. He claims to have

handed over two orchestral and two chamber music works to the Germans, but that he had managed to save all the rest. He also writes that, for almost a year, from 22 May 1944 to 13 April 1945, he repeatedly did away with, and never replied to the ministerial missives that imposed ‘the oath of loyalty to the Italian social republic [il giuramento di fedeltà alla repubblica sociale italiana]’ on the staff of the Conservatory. He ends:

I never left the Conservatory from 27 April to 2 May because I was aware of my responsibilities. The attics of the vast Pisani palace, with all their nooks and crannies and obsolete works, could provide a great hiding place for undesirable guests, moreover, having accepted to host hundreds of works of art, which in turn had protected the Conservatory, I considered it best not to abandon my post.¹⁵

IX. The final part is made up of thirteen attachments: Malipiero’s bibliography written by the composer himself; a letter dated 1921 appointing him to teach Composition at the Parma Conservatory; four written documents that prove he had forfeited all royalties for *Orfeide* and *La vita è sogno*; a letter from Ricordi; a document regarding the article ‘Bravo Maestro Malipiero’; a letter from the Superintendent of Medieval and Modern Monuments in Venice and two signed by the Conservatory’s caretakers; a letter from the Special Commissioner Arcangelo Vespignani; plus a final excerpt of an unsigned letter.

It is not clear who the recipients of the ‘memoir [memoriale]’ actually were but it is certain that he sent it to his friend Guido M. Gatti and to the publisher Paolo Giordani of the Suvini Zerboni publishing house.¹⁶ It is more than likely that Malipiero did not want the typescript to circulate excessively and, in fact, in some letters he calls it ‘secret document [documento segreto]’. On 14 October 1945 he wrote to his friend, the critic Guido M. Gatti:

you’ll receive a memoir from me. Also talk to Rossi-Doria. I know that Rome (the Ministry) is plotting against me. I would like my memoir to get to *Parri*. Do you have a way? *I’m documenting everything*. On 20 March 1945, I was in danger (you’ll see) on account of my political action. Informed on within the R.F.P. Porrino. Now this repugnant individual is here.¹⁷

The letters he sent to this friend allow us to first of all perceive the composer’s mixed feelings of resentment and concern for having been accused of such serious crimes: ‘I feel really awful and I’m broke as I have no foreign contacts. Enough. I am ashamed to be Venetian first of all and then Italian [Sto molto male e sono finanziariamente rovinato non avendo contatti con l’estero. Basta. Mi vergogno d’essere veneziano prima e italiano poi]’.¹⁸ The fear of losing his job as director of

the “Benedetto Marcello” is mentioned several times in the missives. In fact, on 25 October 1945 he writes: ‘It seems that a certain Maestro Fasano from Cagliari aspires to the position, [he’s] now a big shot in Rome [Pare che ci aspiri un certo M° Fasano di Cagliari, pezzo grosso a Roma ora]’; in the same letter he also expresses his indignation at how the event had unfolded:

After being tolerated and insulted for so many years it would be quite “ludicrous” that Mulé’s agents (Zuffellato for example) had succeeded in their game. In Rome, the harp teacher from Venice (*you know her*) spent 2 weeks working against me at the Ministry. She arrived in Venice 8 days ago and called me to ask whether I had been purged! It’s unbelievable.¹⁹

Gatti replied at the end of October saying that he was taking care of things and that he had ‘already talked with the lawyer Gualino, with Pizzetti and with Tommasini, who had promised to look into the matter [già parlato con l’Avv. Gualino, con Pizzetti e con Tommasini, che hanno promesso d’interessarsene]’.

We can therefore gather that Malipiero was trying to rally support among his Roman friends so that they could intercede with the Ministry to quash the charges against him. As so often emerges in Malipiero’s correspondence, here too, the composer complains about the scant attention Gatti had paid to the matter and describes how it had played out:

It seems to me that you have appeared rather indifferent to the outrageous attack that I wanted to tell you about by sending you my “esalazioni”. Anyway, you should know that everything is about to fizzle out. All those who were involved say: “how come” “we never imagined” “we didn’t know” etc. etc. Is it acceptable to harass [a person] in such a way for three long months? But I don’t want to bore you.²⁰

In actual fact, things didn’t just ‘fizzle out [finire in una bolla di sapone]’. On 22 December 1945 Malipiero was indeed acquitted of all the charges brought against him by the Provincial Commission for the Purging of Venice, only to be charged again by the Ministerial Commission. In fact, the correspondence regarding the Conservatory housed in the Fondo Gian Francesco Malipiero contains an undated, eight-page typewritten document sent by the composer to the ‘Rt. Hon. Minister for Education [Ill. mo Sig. Ministro della Pubblica Educazione]’ in which he outlines the rest of the story.

Esalazioni epurative is not the only writing to deal with these events and characters. In fact, not only do they feature in other documents in the Fondo Gian Francesco Malipiero, but the composer also discusses them in many of the writings he published shortly after these happenings. In 1946 Malipiero published *Cossì va lo mondo*, one of his many half-polemical, half-theoretical pamphlets.²¹ Here

the composer tells of having received a letter from a friend of his who was accused 'of having composed apologies of fascism [di aver composto apologie fasciste]' and he publishes a part of this letter. 'His friend [il suo amico]' is obviously Malipiero himself and the letter talks about the same indictments described in the typescript of 1945. In a half-ironic, half-provocative tone, Malipiero identifies and contextualises his accusers in a more precise way. Another clear reference to the events is found in a letter from Malipiero to the Prefect of Venice dated 26 April 1946.²² If we compare the two documents we learn some important facts about Malipiero's accusers. We read, for example, that Giovanni Tonetti was a member of the N.L.C. and that his brother-in-law was Eraldo Trentinaglia, who had been appointed Superintendent of the Teatro La Fenice after the Liberation, even though he did not remain in office for long. Instead, the lawyer Mozzetti Monterumici, 'a poor apology for a lawyer [*sic*] of little fame, who counts his own stupidity among his best clients [un povero avvocatuzzo [*sic*] di poca fama, e che conta fra le migliori clienti la sua stupidità]²³ was married to Ermanno Wolf-Ferrari's niece. Guido Zuffellato is identified as the critic of the *Gazzettino* and, according to Malipiero, 'knows as little about music as the other two [di musica non ne sa più degli altri due]'.

Esalazioni epurative tells us about some of the difficult moments in Malipiero's life, caught up in the atmosphere of post-war Italy when the settling of scores was the order of the day. Other records may perhaps allow us to learn more about the various stages of the proceedings and about the role played by the composer's self-defence. Malipiero's case should thus be addressed within research that focuses on the reorganisation of Italy in the passage from fascism to the Republican period. Such an approach is necessary because Malipiero's slant on events does not allow us a bias-free reading. Malipiero felt misunderstood and judged by those he felt should have respected him and thanked him for his valuable contribution to Italian music. He was probably convinced that he had been unjustly accused since he saw himself as simply a composer immersed in music in his Asolan hills. Let us close with this possible working hypothesis: it is quite legitimate to suspect that reasons other than his conduct during the fascist period and the war may have been behind this finger-pointing; it does not really matter who his accusers actually were, but the same cannot be said of the milieu of which they seem to have become spokesmen.²⁴

Translated from Italian by Sally Davies

Notes

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- 1 See Gianfranco Folena, 'La voce e la scrittura di Malipiero', in: *Omaggio a Malipiero*, a cura di Mario Messinis, Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1977, pp. 99–114.
- 2 The document is currently unpublished. The first three pages were published in an article entitled 'Né con il duce né contro il duce' that appeared in the *Sole24Ore* on 25 October 1992. The typewritten manuscript is also cited in 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. by Roberto Illiano, Turnhout: Brepols, 2004, pp. 447–449.
- 3 Giovanni Ponti (1896–1961) was Mayor of Venice between 1945 and 1946. An ex-partisan, of Christian Democratic leanings, he also held the role of Extraordinary Commissioner and President of the Venice Biennale.
- 4 'a) Apologia mediante produzioni musicali [...] b) Malcostume: per avere fruito di divieti di gerarchi in ordine alla critica della sua persona e delle sue opere; per aver goduto dell'appoggio anche finanziario di fascisti e nazisti per la rappresentazione di sue opere [...] c) Collaborazionismo: per il suo atteggiamento prono al nazifascismo'.
- 5 Alessandro Pavolini (1903–1945) was an Italian journalist, politician, writer and soldier. He was Minister of Popular Culture of the Kingdom of Italy and Secretary of the Republican Fascist Party.
- 6 See Nicola Tranfaglia, *La stampa del regime 1932–1943: le veline del Minculpop per orientare l'informazione*, Milano: Bompiani, 2005, p. 218.
- 7 The opera debuted in June 1943 in Bratislava. Its Italian *première* was staged at the Teatro La Fenice in Venice in April 1944 directed by Armando La Rosa Parodi. At the time Malipiero was a member of the Committee of the Autonomous Board of the Fenice Theater, but he resigned on 11 April 1945 after the Committee added *Omaggio a Vivaldi*, a composition by the selfsame La Rosa Parodi, to the bill.
- 8 On the relationship between Malipiero and Margherita Cicognari, see FGFM, correspondence, fasc. 'Conservatorio'. The documentation concerns a number of arguments between the then director of the Conservatory and the Harp teacher. It is interesting to note that, already in the early 1940s, relations between the parties singled out in this document had been strained for quite some time.
- 9 As can be seen in FIGURE 6, for the occasion Malipiero had prepared '10 large volumes of documents [10 grossi volumi di documentazioni]' to sustain his defence.
- 10 It is most likely that 'l'Huebner' mentioned here is Klaus H. Huebner, author of the book entitled *Long Walk through War*, Texas A&M, College Station: 1987. Despite his German origins, he was actually an American doctor, ally of the Italian partisans, who fought in the clashes on 30 April 1945 in Cornuda, a town close to Malipiero's Asolo.
- 11 'To the pure all things are pure but to the impure nothing is pure [Tutto è puro per i puri e tutto è impuro per gli impuri]'. A Pauline expression engraved on the inscription on the plaque outside the composer's house in Asolo.
- 12 Giorgio Valgimigli (1916–2005), son of the philologist and writer Manara Valgimigli (1884–1965). His father was an anti-fascist intellectual, imprisoned for his opposition to the regime.
- 13 Giuseppe Fiocco (1884–1971) became an important art historian. What is more, he was director of the Istituto di Storia dell'Arte of the Fondazione Giorgio Cini in Venice. He was arrested at the end of 1944 for having spoken against the Italian Social Republic.

- 14 Malipiero writes that the go-between between him and the Germans about the matter was Goffredo Giarda the teacher of theory and solfège who often requested the use of the organ room.
- 15 ‘dal 27 aprile al 2 maggio non sono uscito dal Conservatorio perché mi sono reso conto delle mie responsabilità. Le soffitte del vasto palazzo Pisani pieno anche di pertugi e di opere morte, poteva prestarsi come nascondiglio ad ospiti indesiderati, inoltre avendo io accettato di ospitare centinaia di opere d’arte, che a loro volta han protetto il Conservatorio, ho ritenuto opportuno di non abbandonare il mio posto’.
- 16 To date, the only proof that this document really circulated among his entourage lies in Malipiero’s correspondence with Guido M. Gatti. See *Gian Francesco Malipiero: il carteggio con Guido M. Gatti, 1914–1972*, a cura di Cecilia Palandri, Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1997, pp. 407–413. No evidence of this document’s circulation was found in Malipiero’s letters to Luigi Dallapiccola, Fedele d’Amico, Mario Labroca e Gastone Rossi-Doria consulted at the FGM.
- 17 ‘riceverai un mio memoriale. Parla anche con Rossi-Doria. So che a Roma (Ministero) si sta tramando contro di me. Vorrei che il mio memoriale pervenisse a Parri. Hai una via? *Io documento ogni cosa*. Il 20 marzo 1945, per la mia azione politica (vedrai) sono stato in pericolo. Soffiava in seno al P.F.R. Porrino. Ora questo turpe individuo è qui’. Letter from Malipiero to Gatti on 14 October 1945, in: *Gian Francesco Malipiero: il carteggio con Guido M. Gatti*, p. 408. The Parri in question is Ferruccio Parri, Italian politician and antifascist, who was the first President of the Council of Ministers at the end of the Second World War.
- 18 *Gian Francesco Malipiero: il carteggio con Guido M. Gatti*, p. 408.
- 19 ‘Dopo esser stato tollerato e ingiuriato per tanti anni sarebbe quasi “comico” che gli agenti di Mulé (Zuffellato per esempio) facessero con successo il loro giuoco. A Roma la insegnante di arpa di Venezia (*la conosco*) è stata 2 settimane per lavorare contro di me al Ministero. Giunse a Venezia 8 giorni fa e mi telefonò per chiedermi se ero stato epurato! Roba dell’altro mondo’. Letter from Malipiero to Gatti on 25 October 1945, in: *Gian Francesco Malipiero: il carteggio con Guido M. Gatti*, p. 409.
- 20 ‘Mi pare che tu sia rimasto un po’ freddo di fronte all’ignobile attentato ch’io ti ho voluto far conoscere mandandoti le mie “esalazioni”. Comunque sappi che tutto sta per finire in un bolla di sapone. Quelli che c’entrano dicono: “come mai” “non immaginavamo” “non lo conoscevamo” ecc. ecc. È permesso torturare per tre lunghi mesi in un simile modo? Ma non voglio tediarti’. Letter from Malipiero to Gatti on 18 December 1945, in: *Gian Francesco Malipiero: il carteggio con Guido M. Gatti*, p. 412.
- 21 Gian Francesco Malipiero, *Così va lo mondo*, Milano: Il Balcone, 1946. The publication is also mentioned on page 7 of the typewritten manuscript but with a working title: ‘Dal Volume “I MORTI NON PARLANO” di prossima pubblicazione presso la Casa Editrice “Il Balcone” di Milano’. See FIGURE 3.
- 22 The FGM, correspondence, fasc. ‘Conservatorio’, contains a folder that the composer himself entitled ‘noie da porci’. Here we find the letter to the Prefect dated 26 Aprile 1946 in which the composer relates the events dealt with in this memoir: ‘Who were the accusers? I) A member of the N.L.C. brother-in-law of a superintendent (who was appointed in a great hurry and immediately dismissed as superintendent of the Fenice theatre) and who proposed that I be replaced with Maestro Wolff-Ferrari [*sic*] resident in Germany! II A lawyer who married Maestro Wolff-Ferrari’s [*sic*] niece. I don’t know the former, the latter only by sight. III A critic linked to Wolff-Ferrari and whom I know to be the author of fascist pamphlets (or better not author, signatory) [circulating] against me since 1932 [Chi erano accusatori? I) Un membro del

C.N.L cognato di un soprintendente (che venne in fretta e in furia nominato e subito revocato soprintendente del teatro la Fenice) e che proponeva di sostituirmi col M° Wolff-Ferrari [*sic*] residente in Germania! II Un avvocato che ha sposato una nipote del M° Wolff-Ferrari [*sic*] Il I° non lo conosco, il II° di vista. III Un critico legato a Wolf-Ferrari e che io conoscevo come autore di libelli fascisti (cioè non autore, firmatario) contro di me fin dal 1932].’

23 Malipiero, *Così va lo mondo*, p. 37.

24 Several articles appearing in the local newspapers in the months between 1945 and 1947 bear witness to the fact that the Venetian music field was divided into two factions. See Guido Piamonte, ‘La vita musicale a Venezia’, *Il mondo*, 18, dicembre 1945, pp. 12–13; ‘Se i musicisti avessero il loro Montecitorio’, *Gazzetta Veneta*, 25 luglio 1946; ‘Cambio di guardia alla Fenice’, *Gazzetta Veneta*, 27 settembre 1946; ‘Wolf-Ferrari contro Malipiero’, *Gazzetta Veneta*, 4 giugno 1947.