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«Nothing but the Commonest Tunes»

The Early Reception of Verdi's Operas in London, 1845-1848

Massimo Zicari



«In England, the strenuous, fiery composer, whose music flamed along in such an unmeasured manner, met with strong opposition; in some cases with downright abuse.» This excerpt from an extensive article published in *The Musical Times* on 1 March 1901 provides us with a first concise account of the overall quality of the critical attitude towards Giuseppe Verdi in England in the 19th century. According to its author, Joseph Bennett, during the 1840s British critics had expressed words of open hostility towards the most discussed representative of Italian opera, only to mitigate their tones in the years to come, as Verdi's operas received an increasingly higher degree of appreciation all over Europe.¹ Bennett quoted and commented on a couple of passages concerning the reactions provoked by Verdi's first operas performed in England. *Ernani* was premiered at La Fenice in Venice on 9 March 1844, and its first English production at Her Majesty's Theatre in London followed on 8 March 1845; *Nabucco* was first produced at Her Majesty's Theatre under the title *Nino*, on 3 March 1846:

«*Ernani* led us to suspect and *Nabucco* has certified our suspicion, that of all the modern Italian composers, Verdi is the most thoroughly insignificant. We listen, vainly, as the work proceeds, for the resemblance of a melody. There is positively nothing, not even a feeling of rhythm — but rather, indeed, a very unpleasant disregard for that important element of musical art. The choruses are nothing but the commonest tunes, arranged almost invariably in unison — perhaps because the composer knows not how to write in parts. The concerted music is patchy, rambling and unconnected. The *cantables* are always unrhythmical — and the absence of design is everywhere observable. The harmonies are either the tristest common-places, or something peculiarly odd and unpleasant. Nothing can be more feeble than the orchestration. The employment of the wind instruments

is remarkably infelicitous, and all the experiments are failures. The overture is the poorest stuff imaginable, and yet the only glimpses of tune in the opera are comprised within its limits — and these are subsequently employed throughout the work *ad nauseam*. Serious criticism would be thrown away upon such a work. Either «young Verdi» must be a very clever man of business, or he must come into the world with a silver spoon in his mouth. His popularity in Italy signifies nothing — but the reputation he elsewhere maintains is an enigma. We might overlook his ignorance of all the rules of art, were there in him any indication of natural feeling, or the shadow of inventive power, but — alas, no — all is a dead flat, a dreary waste of barren emptiness!»²

This contribution aims at investigating the early reception of Verdi's operas in London, in order to assess whether the kind of harsh criticism I have just quoted was widespread, and, more generally, to consider the critical terms in which Verdi's art was first conceptualized in the London press from *Ernani* (1845) to *Attila* (1848). In order to do this, 30 articles have been examined, which were published in the columns of *The Times*, *The Athenaeum* and *The Musical World* during the chosen time span. These texts overtly address issues concerning the quality of Verdi's music, as well as the progress of his compositional technique.

As Bennett clarified, strong dramatic feeling, energy, passion and exuberant conception were the qualities recognized, although only late and, no doubt, reluctantly, by most of the English critics. However, negative reactions and unsympathetic comments were far more frequent, referring to a repertoire of faults and shortcomings repeated over and over again, and opposing Verdi to the classical model represented by Rossini. In his *Richard Wagner and the Music of the Future* (1874), Francis Hueffer, the scholar who would be asked to prepare the English version of Verdi's *Otello*, included an

extensive account of the past development of Italian opera that incorporated a large paragraph on Rossini and his music.

«Italy, the old cradle of the divine art, was to recover once more her position at the head of musical Europe. Rossini, the most gifted and most spoiled of her sons, sallied forth with an innumerable army of bacchantic melodies to conquer the world, the Messiah of joy, the breaker of thought and sorrow. Europe by this time had got tired of the pompous seriousness of French declamation. It lent but too willing an ear to the new gospel, and eagerly quaffed the intoxicating potion which Rossini poured out in inexhaustible streams.»³

As Hueffer put it, the main feature and most peculiar characteristic of Rossini's music was melodiousness, a trait that was considered typical of the whole population of the peninsula, although distinctive of a musical culture dangerously inclined towards the trivial:

«What he [Rossini] could do and did admirably well was to open the rich mines of melodious beauty with which nature had endowed him, and which it is so easy to augment and develop in a country whose very language is music, and where the *gondolieri* chant the *stanzas* of Tasso to self-invented tunes. This principle of absolute melodiousness, as Rossini carried it out to its extreme, combined with the charming freshness of his good-natured humour, was well adapted to silence the objection of graver criticism in the universal uproar of popular applause.»⁴

As already mentioned, when Verdi made his first appearance in England, the reactions provoked by his works with regard both to their librettos and to the lyrical treatment were, more often than not, negative: the extreme dramatic power and the passionate musical impulse that were almost unknown to Rossini and his contemporaries were present in him to such an extent as to shock opera-goers and critics alike. In fact, as *Ernani* was first produced at Her Majesty's Theatre in 1845, Rossini's presence was still influential enough to lead the critic of *The Illustrated London News* to express himself as follows: «The meretricious sentimental style of the modern school to which, of late years, we have become so accustomed was a bad preparation for the full appreciation of such a work as this [*Ernani*].»⁵ In other words, Verdi's early operas sounded strange and even startling to a generation of English audiences nourished on the dramatic genius of Rossini.⁶

A first critical account of Verdi's recent success in Europe had already appeared in the columns of *The Athenaeum* in 1844 by Henry Fothergill Chorley: «Recent occurrences and appearances having called the attention of our English public to the modern style, or rather no-style, of Italian singing.» Since the name of Verdi had begun to circulate widely as the maestro most likely to become popular, Chorley availed himself the opportunity to offer a word or two concerning his operas,

as selections of them had been published and were already available in London:

«For new melody we have searched in vain; nor have we even found any varieties of form, indicating an original fancy at work as characteristically as in one of Pacini's, or Mercadante's, or Donizetti's [sic!] better *cavatinas*. All seems worn and hackneyed and unmeaning. [...] Sig. Verdi's concerted music strikes us as a shade worthier and more individual than his songs.»⁷

Chorley's final verdict implied a clearly appreciative attitude towards the traditional notion of melody and the consequent negative impression caused by Verdi's unmelodious first dramatic achievements:

«We cannot conclude these brief remarks — incomplete for obvious reasons, as a judgment — without saying that flimsy as we fancy Sig. Verdi's science, and devoid as he seems to be of that fresh and sweet melody, which we shall never cease to relish and welcome, there is a certain aspiration in his works which deserves recognition, and may lead him to produce compositions which will command respect.»⁸

On 10 March 1845, two days after *Ernani* was premiered at Her Majesty's Theatre, *The Times* announced that the new «star» of southern music was Giuseppe Verdi, as anyone who would trouble to turn over the «Italian musical intelligence of the past year» could have seen. It was also pointed out that some even talked of a new Italian school having been founded, totally different from that which had been handed down by Donizetti. Furthermore, among the representatives of the new school, Verdi had been spoken of as the only one able to create a new epoch. Nevertheless, after a first more accurate scrutiny of the new opera, the critic was in the position to deny the existence of a new school whatsoever: *Ernani* belonged as much to the ordinary modern Italian school as any other work that had been produced within the previous decade, even though Verdi showed himself superior to his contemporaries in many regards. As for that much prized feature, the critic maintained that:

«his melodies are pleasing, but neither very original nor very striking, and the work is certainly more effective as an *ensemble* than on account of isolated portions. It is by the quality of their melody that the Italian composers must chiefly be judged.»⁹

A few months later, in drawing a concluding remark concerning the entire opera season, the critic of *The Times* commented on the way *Ernani* had neither struck the audience nor produced a lasting effect:

«The success of *Ernani* in this country was fair, but not extraordinary; the new school, of which Italian journalists had prated so much, proved a mere fiction; and while the

skill of the composer was quietly commended, the want of that melody which has contributed so much to the success of all Italian *maestri*, was enough to prevent it from becoming a great favourite.»¹⁰

The «modern Italian school» proved a term devoid of concrete significance, as its representatives continued to produce operas of little value and even less innovative content, which continued to serve as a canvas for the singers to fill up. Verdi himself, who was brought to England as the greatest and most original of them, did not produce a significant effect with his *Ernani* and, as a consequence, opera-goers were glad to return to the works they had grown accustomed to. Again, it was melody that people continued to seek and, with the single exception of Donizetti, there was no composer able to make a stand in Italy and provide an operatic novelty that could be considered a genuine artistic success.

A qualifier to this general remark was to be added by the critic of *The Athenaeum* in a later article published in the columns of the «foreign correspondence». The commentator held that not only was Verdi's music devoid of melody, but the sort of declamation which he seemed so keen on strained the human voice to an intolerable degree:

«The grand opera of the French must no longer be grumbled at by the Southerners as an arena where fine voices are butchered to make a Paris holiday! Signor Verdi being the most desperate tearer and taxer of his singers who has yet appeared. I think the characteristics of his music are easily mastered; amounting to a certain largeness of outline and *brío* in his slow concerted music, a picturesque feeling for instrumentation, and a curious absence of fresh melody.»¹¹

The following year, before *Nabucco* was produced at Her Majesty's Theatre, under the management of Benjamin Lumley, Henry Fothergill Chorley contributed an article to the columns of *The Athenaeum* in which he addressed the recent explosion of a «Verdi-Mania.» The critic was forced to pay more attention to the composer than his merits demanded: his operas knew a growing popularity, and the critic of stage music, however select and sober in his personal tastes, was in danger of not being qualified for his office if he did not recognize a success, or at least an event worthy of examination, ahead of the public.¹² In so doing, Chorley acknowledged the increasingly popular success achieved by Verdi while insisting on the difference between those conditions of triumph that embraced effect to a degree that would be «a degrading concession in music appealing to a more severe and select audience,» and that higher order of intelligence that any rigorous critic should have sought after in musical dramatic art.

Nabucco, as *Nino*, opened Her Majesty's Theatre opera season on 3 March 1846 and was welcomed by *The Times* in moderately positive terms:

«The concerted pieces, on which the opera depends more than on the solos, went off remarkably well, and the work

was received with a stronger feeling of approbation than has been displayed on the production of any new Italian opera for a long time. The melodies are not remarkable, but the rich instrumentation, and the effective massing of the voices, do not fail to produce their impression, and a «run» for some time may be confidently predicted.»¹³

The critic also highlighted that the success depended, to more than a slight degree, on the «admirable manner» in which the opera was staged. On the other side, the more hostile Chorley maintained that, even with his sympathy for the new master and his style, his first hearing of *Nino* had done nothing to change his first judgement of the limited nature of Verdi's resources. He had shown no power as a melodist, but rather seemed to be possessed of a gift for declamatory music and exceedingly noisy orchestral effects.¹⁴ A few months later, on 13 May 1846, *The Times* welcomed *I Lombardi* as the most promising of Verdi's works, as it not only relied upon that effective dramatic colouring, that contrasting management of choruses and skilful use of orchestra on which the composer's fame rested, but, surprisingly enough, also on much more striking melodies than most of the previous compositions. More generally, it was almost as much a spectacle as an opera¹⁵ and when it was repeated a couple of days later, the judgement was almost confirmed: although Verdi's melodies were not noticed for their originality (he often imitated himself in his airs), he displayed a great deal of dramatic perception and managed to produce striking effects with the choruses.

The controversial critical attitude that accompanied the reception of both *Nino* and *I Lombardi* was not overlooked by Benjamin Lumley, the manager of the lyrical establishment, in his *Reminiscences*. In his account of *I Lombardi*, Lumley reported that the opera was a «great and noisy success — but yet a doubtful one», in opposition to the «comparative unanimity with which *Nabucco* had been received.» The two stances had confronted each other on the basis of arguments that were similar in content but opposite in value:

«Whilst, by the Anti-Verdians, *I Lombardi* was declared to be flimsy, trashy, worthless; the Verdi party, and the adherents of the modern school, pronounced it to be full of power, vigour and originality. The one portion asserted that it was utterly devoid of melody — the other, that it was replete with melody of the most charming kind; the one again insisted that it was the worst work of the aspirant — the other, that it was the young composer's chef-d'œuvre.»¹⁶

In the midst of this conflict, Lumley added, the public seemed undecided and wavering, hesitating between novelty and tradition.

In the following year another occasion was offered to the two opposite fringes, the classicists and the modernists, to confront each other on the difficult field of Italian opera. As a consequence of the «secession» that had occasioned the institution of a second Italian opera season at Covent Garden,

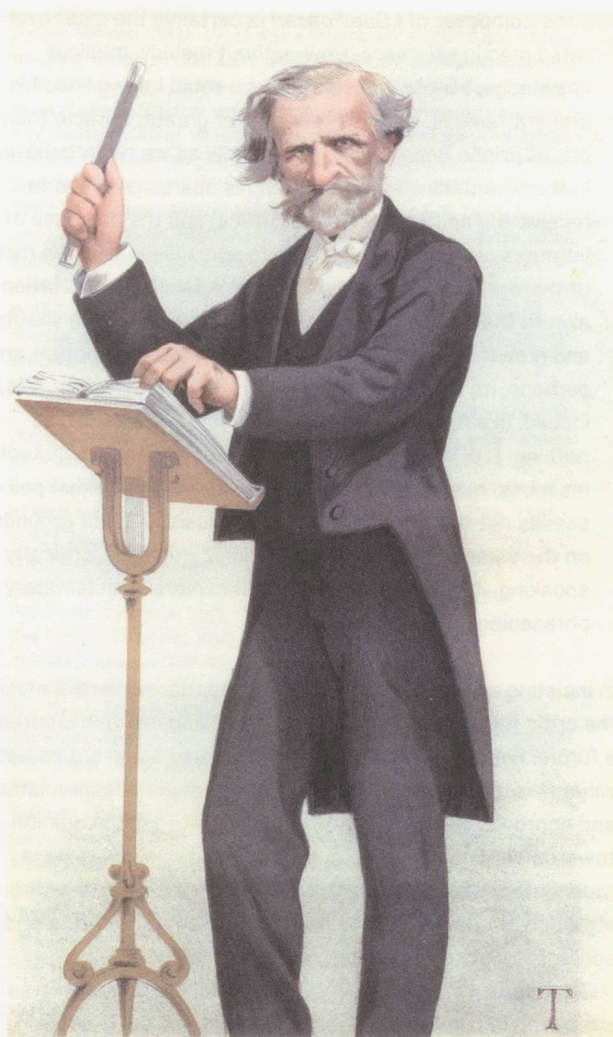
I Due Foscari was produced twice, once by each of the two lyrical establishments. Tuesday, 6 April, was advertised for the opening performance at Covent Garden, to consist of *Semiramide* and the ballet entitled *L'Odalisque*; ¹⁷ four days later, on 10 April, *I Due Foscari* opened Her Majesty's Theatre season, featuring Antonietta Montenegro, Filippo Coletti and Gaetano Fraschini in the main roles:

«We believe we shall express the opinion of the crowded audience of Saturday in saying that this is the most pleasing of Verdi's operas. It has less massiveness in its structure than *Nino*, and less prominence is given to the choruses, which, according to Verdi's manner — we may say, mannerism — are marked by the almost ceaseless employment of the unison. [...] Of a flow of melody — of soft airs, followed by agreeable *cabalettas* — in a word, of what are called tunes, there is no lack, and these are generally introduced with a great regard to dramatic effect. For originality they certainly are not remarkable, but they are pleasing throughout, and the manner in which the chorus is frequently brought in, taking up the melody of the principals, is worthy of a composer whose chief object, it is said, is dramatic illustration. On the continent, we believe, *I Due Foscari* is esteemed the weakest of all of Verdi's operas. This may be the case, and it may have fewer features that would prominently stand out than either *Nino* or *Ernani*, but we must question whether it will not be more popular than the former of those works, and have no doubt whatever that it will be more popular than the latter.» ¹⁸

Later on, in June, the Covent Garden presented the very same opera, but with a different cast and, apparently, more convincing results: whereas the first production of *I Due Foscari* at Her Majesty's Theatre had not been recorded as a triumph, the manager of the recently founded Royal Italian Opera had produced it with the most complete success, a success that, as far as outward demonstrations went, «must have gratified in no small degree the manager as well as the composer».¹⁹ The Covent Garden production featured the three representatives of the old guard: Giorgio Ronconi and Giovanni Mario were the two Foscari — the old Doge and his son Jacopo — and Giulia Grisi was Lucrezia. The public showed signs of profound appreciation, as well testified by the critic of *The Musical World*: not only had Ronconi proved himself great, «but his whole assumption was complete and masterly, and evidenced the subtlest skill combined with real genius»; Grisi's Lucrezia was a masterpiece of acting and singing and created as great a furore as her Norma; finally, Signor Mario exhibited to perfection the intense beauty of his voice and method. More generally, as the critic put it, the success of the artists, and not of the opera, was immense: every act a re-call, every morceau an encore.²⁰

The critic of *The Times* made a similar comment:

«On Saturday Verdi's *I Due Foscari* was represented, for the first time at this establishment, with Grisi as Lucrezia,



«Italian Music», in «Vanity Fair», 15 February 1879. © Pro Litteris

Mario as Jacopo, and Ronconi as the Doge. Our opinion of the music of this opera has already been given, and the present cast, powerful as it is, has not induced us to alter it. The success of *I Due Foscari* on Saturday night must, then, be entirely laid to the merits of the three great artists whose names we have mentioned above, whose genius supplied the grace and feeling that was wanting in the music, and out of a veritable chaos made a world of harmony and truth.» ²¹

Quite similarly, despite that the opera was a popular success, the critic of *The Musical World* did not appear to appreciate Verdi's compositional efforts: to his mind, his operas all had one grand aim, the development of the higher passions, which made of Verdi «the very antipodes of Mozart and Rossini». But to have his name mentioned, even in contrast, with those of Mozart and Rossini was a great compliment paid to a composer lacking in melodic inventiveness as well as in other essential compositional abilities:

«The composer of *I Due Foscari* is certainly the most over-rated man in existence. How, without melody, musical knowledge, variety, or even tune, he could have gained his present fame is, to our thinking, a far greater miracle than any of Prince Hoenlowe's — especially as we never believed in them; and the means by which his operas continue to receive the approbation of the critics, and the applause of listeners, we can only attribute to some disease in the mind of the age, an epidemic, a monomania [sic!], or a visitation akin to that of the potatoes caries, that eats up the vitality and growth of thought. One cause of Verdi's celebrity — and, perhaps, its main cause — is the novelty of his music. It is, indeed, like nothing we ever heard — or it is, indeed, like nothing. [...] This is the principal secret of Verdi's popularity; his music has nothing in common with other music; it possesses not the ingredients of other music; it is not grounded on the same principles as other music — in brief, critically speaking, it is not music at all; or it is merely declamatory phraseology.»²²

In insisting on the shortcomings and «faults» of Verdi's music, the critic had to acknowledge that the composer had created a furore: not only the general public but also some critics had valued his music and shown unequivocal signs of appreciation and approval. More generally, by 1847 the common opinion towards Verdi was two-fold: his compositional skills were rudimentary and his melodies not even worth remembering, although, on the other side, his highly dramatic effects and concerted pieces were not entirely contemptible.

That same year, on 22 July 1847, Verdi's *I Masnadieri* was premiered in London and again was deemed a success, at least in popular terms:

«The opera was highly successful. The talented maestro, on appearing in the orchestra to conduct his clever work, was received with three rounds of applause. He was called before the curtain after the first and the third act, and at the conclusion of the opera amidst the most vehement applause.»²³

But the new opera, commissioned explicitly for Her Majesty's Theatre, did not seem to contribute to strengthen the composer's position in front of those critics whose attitude had been — and continued to be — the usual hostility and acrimony:

«*I Masnadieri* turned out a miserable failure, as it deserved to do, since it could but, at all events, as was rightly said, increased Signor Verdi's discredit with every one who had an ear, and was decidedly the worst opera that was ever given at Her Majesty's Theatre, the music being in every respect inferior even to that of *I Due Foscari*.»²⁴

In 1848, referring to the antagonism between Verdi's supporters and detractors, a reader of *The Musical World*, J. De Clerville, took a stand in defence of the Italian composer — and the school of which he was the most acclaimed representative —

from the «repeated maledictions» that appeared in its columns. In his letter entitled *Verdi and the two Operas* the writer was led to posit that the two operatic establishments — Her Majesty's Theatre and Covent Garden — were now complementary in providing the London public with operas that reflected two different and opposite attitudes.

«The Covent Garden people are the Conservatives of Music — they almost eschew the productions of the modern Italian school, and have principally directed their attention to the getting-up of operas already known, on a scale of perfection hitherto unattempted. [...] Her Majesty's Theatre, on the contrary, with a few rare exceptions, has turned its attention to the production of modern Italian operas, and in my opinion has thereby gained two objects most desirable in a lyrical establishment: viz. the production of novelty, and the consequent removal of one cause of complaint amongst the subscribers; and a saving of expenditure, in adopting a totally different line of conduct, by which all comparison with its rival is avoided or warded off — a comparison which it would have been impossible to sustain, considering the present state of the musical market.»²⁵

Even more interestingly, De Clerville pointed out an issue of extreme significance, concerning not only the degree of novelty attained by the composers belonging to the so-called new Italian school, but also the remarkable change in vocal technique accompanying it. According to De Clerville, Lumley had to recruit his principal singers among interpreters who were not at ease with the traditional repertoire; as a consequence, he had to turn his eye towards composers whose music was more suitable to the characteristics of the interpreters. Then, it was the artists recruited by Lumley who had brought with them their own repertoire — consisting of Verdi, Pacini and Mercadante — and not the other way around:

«Most of the new importations were entirely unknown in Paris and London; and Paisiello, Cimarosa, Mozart, Rossini, were to them a sealed book: they may have heard of such composers, but could not exactly swear as to the age in which they flourished. [...] The school of singing was entirely changed; the elegant, serene simplicity of Mozart was to them a dead letter, the charming vocalisation of Rossini beyond their means, an appoggiatura, a cadenza, a mordente, were discarded as superfluous; delicacy and refinement were abandoned for vigour and energy.»²⁶

Although the picture drawn by our writer appears controversial, it seems to be clear that a change had taken place, which concerned the development of vocal technique in relation to the renewal of the repertoire. The issue deserves further scrutiny: was it the repertoire that demanded a new vocal technique? Or was it the new, wider expressive potential presented by the singers that had stimulated a new compositional orientation? With respect to the reception of Verdi, De Clerville

articulated an analysis worthy of note, concerning the way his preference for strong effects and dramatic power impinged upon an attitude towards elegant vocalisation that was already perceived as old, surpassed and devoid of expressive strength.

«In my opinion, the tone of operatic music had already begun to show evident symptoms of decrepitude, and was degenerating from the florid to the mawkish and insipid: a more vigorous and healthy tone was desirable to give it due vitality; and if Verdi has done no better service, he has caused a reaction in this respect, and infused spirit and energy into serious dramatic music.»²⁷

De Clerville's defence appeared followed by a closing note by the editor, who reiterated his arguments and persisted in his opinion: Verdi was «the greatest impostor that ever took pen in hand to write rubbish.»

In conclusion, a first scrutiny of such periodicals as *The Times*, *The Athenaeum* and *The Musical World* allowed us to shed some light on the issue and highlight three fundamental aspects:

- the reason why Verdi first met with such an hostile attitude lay in the way his operas impinged upon the model represented by Rossini;
- Verdi's music was perceived as completely devoid of the most typical and distinctive feature of Italian music ever: melody;
- not only the traditional notion of melody was at stake, but also the vocal technique necessary to sustain it.

It appears that even when opera-goers began to show clear signs of appreciation in favour of Verdi's operas, some of the critics continued to object to their value and to ascribe their success to the singers' vocal and dramatic skills only, no matter whether they were members of the old guard or representatives of the newly appeared generation. With regard to the periodicals taken into account, it is possible to conclude that, even if *The Times* showed itself moderately positive towards Verdi if compared with the clearly more hostile *The Athenaeum* or *The Musical World*, a clear perception of the significant gap between what the public were used to at the opera before the mid 1840s, and the new dramaturgy proposed by Verdi was widely shared among the critics. What divided them into two different orientations was the possible cause. Whereas all seemed to recognize the symptoms, not everybody appeared to agree on the diagnosis: a complete lack of compositional skills for some, an innovative attitude that sacrificed traditional melodiousness to more dramatic effects for others.

- 1 Joseph Bennett (1831-1911) was a leading writer and music critic of the *Daily Telegraph* from 1870 to 1906, although he also collaborated quite extensively with *The Musical Times*, the *Pall Mall Gazette* and the *Musical World*. Together with Henry Fothergill Chorley (*Athenaeum*) and J.W. Davison (*Times*), he is arguably one of the most influential critics in Victorian England. Bennett also produced an extensive reportage on the premiere of *Falstaff* in Milan to the columns of *The Musical Times* in 1893. See Leanne Langley, *Notes*, Second Series 46/3, 1990, p. 583-592; and Massimo Zicari, *The Land of Song. La «Terra del belcanto» nella stampa londinese di fine Ottocento*, Berne: Peter Lang 2008, p. 175-197.
- 2 Joseph Bennett, *Giuseppe Verdi*, in: *The Musical Times*, 1 March 1901, p. 153.
- 3 Francis Hueffer, *Richard Wagner and the Music of the Future*, London: Chapman and Hall 1874, p. 37-38.
- 4 *Ibid.*, p. 39.
- 5 *The Illustrated London News*, 23 August 1845, quoted after Frederick James Crowest, *Verdi: Man and Musician. His Biography with Especial Reference to his English Experiences*, London: Milne 1897, p. 66.
- 6 See also Robert Bledsoe, *Henry Fothergill Chorley and the Reception of Verdi's Early Operas in England*, in: *Victorian Studies* 28/4, 1985, p. 631-655.
- 7 *The Athenaeum*, 31 August 1844, p. 797.
- 8 *Ibid.*
- 9 *The Times*, 10 March 1845.
- 10 *The Times*, 22 August 1845.
- 11 *The Athenaeum*, n. 939, 25 October 1845, p. 25.
- 12 *The Athenaeum*, n. 951, 17 January 1846, p. 73.
- 13 *The Times*, 4 March 1846.
- 14 *The Athenaeum*, n. 958, 7 March 1846, p. 250.
- 15 *The Times*, 13 May 1846.
- 16 Benjamin Lumley, *Reminiscences of the Opera*, London: Hurst and Blackett 1864, p. 148-149.
- 17 Henry Saxe Wyndham, *The Annals of Covent Garden Theatre, from 1732 to 1897*, London: Chatto 1906 (2 vol.), vol. 2, p. 184.
- 18 *The Times*, 12 April 1847.
- 19 *The Musical World*, 26 June 1847, p. 411-412. Surprisingly, the review refers to the composer also «present in the front of the house». The information seems to contradict what we know about Verdi, leaving London soon after the two performances at Her Majesty's Theatre in April.
- 20 *Ibid.*
- 21 *The Times*, 21 June 1847.
- 22 *The Musical World* (see footnote 19).
- 23 *The Illustrated London News*, 24 July 1847.
- 24 *The Athenaeum*, 24 July 1847, also cited in John Edmund Cox, *Musical Recollections of the Last Halfcentury*, London: Tinsley Brothers 1872 (2 vol.), vol. 2, p. 195.
- 25 J. De Clerville, *Verdi and the two Operas*, a letter to the editor, in: *The Musical World*, 29 April 1848, p. 276.
- 26 *Ibid.*
- 27 *Ibid.*