

Identity, memory and *la diarchia di bronzo* Commemorating Vittorio Emanuele II and Giuseppe Garibaldi in post-Risorgimento Venice

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Following Italy's creation as a nation-state in 1861, the Italian government recognised the need to foster a stronger sense of *italianità* across the traditionally disparate peninsula. Constructing a national identity which could encompass those of the *cento città* and their municipal variations following Italy's 'rebirth' would become the principal concern of the new nation. The fragility of post-Risorgimento Italy was recognised by Piedmontese moderate Massimo d'Azeglio, to whom the famous phrase 'Fatta l'Italia, bisogna fare gli italiani' is attributed, a pre-occupation which would continue well into the twentieth century.¹ The story of Italy's national revival became a foundation myth for the new state, which functioned as 'the centrepiece of an official cult of memory designed to give Italians the sense of a common past and present identity.'²

To transmit this effectively, urban space became re-defined for the political realities of the late nineteenth century. Public commemorations became widespread, especially through the erection of monuments and plaques, and the re-naming of streets. Their inauguration ceremonies encouraged the collective participation in the spectacle of the 'imagined' nation.³ Personality cults which glorified national figures such as King Vittorio Emanuele II and Giuseppe Garibaldi were perceived as important tools in the nation-building process. Following the death of Vittorio Emanuele II, a concerted effort was made to re-define the first monarch of the new Italian state as

1 For a discussion of the origins of this phrase see *Fare gli Italiani: Scuola e cultura nell'Italia contemporanea*, a cura di S. Soldani e G. Turi, Bologna, Il Mulino, 1993, Vol. 1, p. 17. And C. Gigante in this journal issue.

2 A. Körner and L. Riall, 'Introduction: the new history of Risorgimento nationalism' in: *Nations and Nationalism*, 15, 3 (2009), pp. 396-401, p. 396.

3 B. Tobia, *Una patria per gli italiani: Spazi, itinerari, monumenti nell'Italia unita 1870-1900*, Roma, Laterza, 1991; *L'altare della patria*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 1998 and 'Urban space and monuments in the "Nationalisation of the masses": The Italian case' in: S. Woolf (ed.), *Nationalism in Europe: 1815 to the present - a reader*, London, Routledge, 1996, pp. 171-191; I. Porciani, *La festa della nazione: Rappresentazione dello stato e spazi sociali nell'Italia unita*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 1997.

a symbolic representation of the nation.⁴ His tomb in the Pantheon in Rome became a site of national pilgrimage, and the monument erected in the nation's capital in his honour, *Il Vittoriano*, was intended to function as the *altare della patria*, which commemorated the sovereign 'as the only institution capable of representing the unity of the *patria*'.⁵ At the same time, Giuseppe Garibaldi's 'hero' status was also used to spread nationalist myth both in Italy and abroad.⁶ In the words of Mario Isnenghi, this represents 'la diarchia di bronzo' ('the bronze diarchy') between the two protagonists of Italian unification, designed to 'visualizzare ed esaltare il felice accordo fra Monarchia e Popolo e fra Patria e Rivoluzione'⁷ despite their often differing political associations.

In this context, the aim of this contribution here is to examine how the city of Venice engaged with the new Italian state through the memorialisation of Vittorio Emanuele II and Giuseppe Garibaldi. Given the perceived lack of national cohesion, it stands to reason that municipal commemorations which celebrated national glory within a locally-recognisable, visual language could have more successfully 'made' Italians than more centralised initiatives, as Axel Körner has demonstrated in his study of Bologna.⁸ As such, this research focuses on the ways in which more national narratives were blended with visual references to Venice's history through the commemoration process, and assesses how successful the creation of a shared Italian past was achieved in *la città lagunare*.

Venice and Vittorio Emanuele II

The ceremonial visit of Vittorio Emanuele II to Venice on 7 November, 1866 cemented the political reality that the city was now part of a unified Italy. His week-long sojourn effectively symbolised Venice's freedom from Austrian rule; Venice was now a city 'risvegliata da un sonno decennale dai suoi liberatori'.⁹ Venetians, coming to terms with their new political situation, looked back to both the revolution of 1848-1849 and their city's glorious republican past. On 11 November, the city's flag was decorated with gold medals in honour of those who played a part in Venice's revolutionary experience. Hosted in Palazzo Ducale and in the presence of the King, its suggestive location provided a symbolic continuation between the revolution and *La Serenissima*. *The Times* observed that 'in electing Victor Emmanuel to be their King, the whole people of Venetia have but chosen a Doge from their own nobles'.¹⁰ Associations and references to Venice's republican past were therefore strongly emphasised in the festivities following the King's arrival in the city. A visit to La

4 U. Levra, *Fare gli italiani: memoria e celebrazione del Risorgimento*, Torino, Comitato di Torino dell'Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento, 1992; 'Vittorio Emanuele II' in: M. Isnenghi (ed.), *I luoghi della memoria: personaggi e date dell'Italia unita*, Roma, Laterza, 1997, pp. 49-64.

5 B. Tobia, 'Urban space and monuments', cit., p. 179.

6 L. Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*, London, Yale University Press, 2008.

7 M. Isnenghi, *Le guerre degli italiani: parole, immagini, ricordi 1848-1945*, Milano, Mondadori, 1989, p. 329.

8 A. Körner, *Politics of Culture in Liberal Italy: From Unification to Fascism*, London, Routledge, 2009.

9 E. Cecchinato, *La Rivoluzione Restaurata: Il 1848-1849 a Venezia fra memoria e oblio*, Padova, Il Poligrafo, 2005, p. 28.

10 *The Times*, 14 November 1866.

Fenice theatre, a regatta, night illuminations and a masked ball further signalled that events would proceed in 'old Venetian fashion'.¹¹

Vittorio Emanuele II's stay in Venice continued to resonate, and on 11 February 1867 the city's *consiglio comunale* voted unanimously to erect a series of plaques commemorating the King's entrance into Venice, the arrival of Italian troops, and honouring those Venetians who died striving for Italian unity.¹² The plaques were intended to be erected in Palazzo Ducale, 'negli spazi murati fra le colonne che hanno a sinistra della Porta della Carità lungo il portico che mette alla Scala dei Giganti'.¹³ By 1873 it was decided that only one plaque would be erected, recalling simultaneously the arrival of Italian troops in Venice and the 1866 visit by Vittorio Emanuele II.¹⁴ Work on the plaque eventually began in 1874, which is now located in Palazzo Ducale.¹⁵ Next to it, a bronze tablet, inaugurated in 1881, commemorates the patriotism of Daniele Manin's government to resist 'ad ogni costo' Austrian forces advancing during the revolution of 1848-1849.¹⁶ This arguably reflects the determination of Venice's *classe dirigente* to demonstrate their participation in the Risorgimento, by combining memories of the revolution and Daniele Manin with the national symbology associated with a united Italy's first King and the military.

The memorialisation of Vittorio Emanuele II

Vittorio Emanuele II had died on 9 January 1878. He was moderately popular during his lifetime, but this popularity was nothing compared to the hero status he was given posthumously.¹⁷ It was recognised that the invention of a new public image of Vittorio Emanuele II would be essential to the construction of a strong, collective national identity across the disparate peninsula. What in effect was once the royal family of Piedmont underwent 'an accelerated process of Italianisation' in the post-Risorgimento period, beginning with united Italy's first monarch.¹⁸ The erection of monuments across the peninsula would begin to facilitate this effectively.

It is not surprising, then, that in the weeks following the death of the King, plans were immediately put in place to begin erecting a monument to Vittorio Emanuele II in Venice. By 28 January, a *comitato* had been established to organise the fiscal contributions already being made towards the construction of Venice's commemoration to Vittorio Emanuele II, which were published in the *Gazzetta di*

11 *The Times*, cit.

12 Archivio Municipale di Venezia (A.M.V.) 1870-1874, IX, 7/24 'Lapidi Commemorative: Ingresso del Re e delle truppe nazionali in Venezia'.

13 A.M.V. cit.

14 A.M.V. cit.

15 A.M.V. cit. Its inscription reads '27 Ottobre 1866 / Plebiscito / Di Venezia delle provincie venete / E di Mantova / Sulla Unione al Regno d'Italia / Sotto il governo / Monarchico Costituzionale / Di / Re Vittorio Emanuele II / e suoi successori / Pel si voti 641758 / Pel no voti 69 / Nulli voti 278.'

16 A.M.V. 1880-1884, IX, 7/5 'Tavola in bronzo. Commemorativa il voto dell'assemblea Veneta 1849 di resistere all'austriaco ad ogni costo'.

17 D. Mack Smith, *Victor Emanuel, Cavour, and the Risorgimento*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1971, p. 38.

18 C. Brice, 'The King was Pale: Italy's National-Popular Monarchy and the Construction of Disasters, 1882-1885' in: J. Dickie and J. Foot (eds.), *Disastro! Disasters in Italy since 1860: Culture, Politics, Society*, London, Palgrave, 2002, pp. 61-79, p. 65.

Venezia.¹⁹ Even at this early stage, the *Gazzetta* reported that the monument would possibly be erected in the Piazzetta dei Leoni, in St. Mark's Square situated on the left-hand side of the Basilica,²⁰ and later confirmed it would take the form of an equestrian statue.²¹ Subsequent projects and ideas were published in the press. One letter to the *Gazzetta* suggested housing the monument in the Loggetta of the Campanile in St. Mark's Square, which was in need of restoration according to its author.²² The concept of restoring a part of one of the most important symbols of the Republic of Venice alongside commemorating Vittorio Emanuele II is an interesting one, and once again alludes to the desire of Venice's *classe dirigente* to combine the city's own history with that of the Risorgimento. A further project incorporated the equestrian statue of Vittorio Emanuele II with the Quadriga of St. Mark, the four horses from Constantinople then located in an elevated position at the front of St. Mark's Basilica, representing 'il più glorioso trofeo delle vittorie veneziane'.²³ The choice of location for the monument continued to ignite public debate, with St. Mark's Square itself, the Molo (which faced the Island of San Giorgio Maggiore), Campo San Stefano and the Riva degli Schiavoni touted as possibilities.²⁴

More than a year passed before an official programme detailing the particulars of the design competition for the monument was released. In this document, the *comitato* stipulated that the King must be presented on horseback in the form of a bronze statue, and secondly that the monument would be located in Piazza dei Leoni, where the lion sculptures could potentially be moved to accommodate Vittorio Emanuele II's memorial.²⁵ In March 1880, the proposed exhibition of *bozzetti* took place, in the library of Palazzo Reale in St. Mark's Square, which remained open to the public every day for the duration of the month.²⁶ By 1880, the sculptor Ettore Ferrari's project, which became known as *Kamir*, had been chosen by the *comitato*.²⁷ But, it was not until 1886 that the construction of the monument was significantly underway, and its progress was discussed by Venice's *consiglio comunale* in March. The acts revealed further information concerning more visual aspects of the monument's design. Two 'grandiose' statues representing Venice in 1848-1849 and in 1866 were already fused in bronze; complimentary base-reliefs, also in bronze, representing the battle of Palestro and the arrival of Vittorio Emanuele II in the city in 1866 were shortly to be completed.²⁸ The session also reported that a *simulacro* had been completed. This photomontage technique experimented with a reproduction of the monument situated in various locations, including La Piazzetta di San Marco, the Molo, and the Riva degli Schiavoni. The more

19 *Gazzetta di Venezia*, 28 January 1878.

20 *Gazzetta di Venezia*, 11 January 1878.

21 *Gazzetta di Venezia*, 29 January 1878.

22 *Gazzetta di Venezia*, cit.

23 *Gazzetta di Venezia*, cit.

24 L. Alban, 'Venezia italiana mette in campo l'epopea del 1848-1849' in: G. Romanelli, M. Gottardi, F. Lugato and C. Tonini (eds.), *Venezia Quarantotto: episodi, luoghi e protagonisti di una rivoluzione 1848-1849*, Venezia, Museo Correr, 1998, pp. 76-83, p. 81.

25 A.M.V. 1875-1879 IX, 7/20 'Monumento da erigersi in Venezia alla memoria di Vittorio Emanuele II'.

26 A.M.V. 1880-1884 IX, 7/4 'Monumento a Vittorio Emanuele II, erezione in Venezia'.

27 A.M.V. cit.

28 A.M.V. cit.

favourable results, according to the *consiglio comunale*, were obtained from the simulated position of the monument on the Riva degli Schiavoni. In its favour, the location afforded ‘una delle vie più cospicue e più note della città, sufficientemente spaziosa, con lo splendido orizzonte del bacino di San Marco’ and ‘una continuazione del centro di San Marco’.²⁹ The new location of the monument was subsequently approved, and the remaining months of 1886 were concerned with regulating the section of the Riva degli Schiavoni where it would be erected the following year, between the Ponte del Vin and the Ponte dei Greci.³⁰



1. The monument to Vittorio Emanuele II, Venice

29 A.M.V. cit.

30 A.M.V. 1885-1889 IX, 7/4 ‘Monumento a Vittorio Emanuele II, erezione’.

The monument to Vittorio Emanuele II was inaugurated on the Riva degli Schiavoni on 1 May 1887. Displayed next to it was the city's flag, decorated with military badges in honour of the veterans of 1848-1849.³¹ The inauguration coincided with the city hosting the *Esposizione Nazionale Artistica*, which provided a useful platform to publicise both the artistic merit and iconographical intricacies of the monument. For Camillo Boito, writing in *Venezia a Vittorio Emanuele II*, the 'grandiosa e vivace' equestrian statue of Vittorio Emanuele II represented the King as the sole protagonist of the Risorgimento, the *padre della patria* who had released Venice from the 'valle della schiavitù straniera'.³² This idea is certainly visually referred to within the monument, through the allegorical representations of Venice in female form. At the front of the monument, the Venice of 1866 has her left arm outstretched in a victorious pose, in her right hand she holds a sword. In front of her, the roaring Lion of St. Mark with wings raised tramples on a chained scroll marked with the year 1815, in a reference to the start of the *seconda dominazione austriaca*, and has a paw on an open book representing the results of the Venetian plebiscite vote to include Venetia in the Kingdom of Italy in 1866. In comparison, the Venice of 1849 at the rear of the monument has her head low in a submissive pose, her sword is broken and the flag she holds is behind her; the Lion of St. Mark is equally passive, and arguably symbolises the shame felt by the city following the return of Austrian rule.

The memorialisation of Giuseppe Garibaldi

In May 1867, a wooden sign was placed at the opening of the Strada Nuova dei Giardini, upon which was written 'Via Garibaldi'.³³ Garibaldi had visited Venice in February 1867, as a guest of the city for carnival, along with Duke Amedeo d'Aosta, son of Vittorio Emanuele II.³⁴ On *Giovedì grasso*, Garibaldi visited the Palazzo Ducale and participated in the festivities, in the same way that 'il doge assisteva agli spettacoli carnevaleschi', and attended an event at La Fenice theatre.³⁵ His visit clearly resonated. In one of the most densely populated areas of the city, the unofficial re-naming of the street following his visit can be viewed as 'un'iniziativa popolare' which was finally confirmed by Venice's *consiglio* two years later at the request of the Società Generale di Mutuo Soccorso tra Operai, when a stone plaque replaced the makeshift wooden one.³⁶ Garibaldi was to become the protagonist of the Risorgimento most admired by the popular classes, and thus the most apt figure to encourage the 'nationalisation of the masses'³⁷ in one of the most working-class areas of the city.

31 A.M.V. cit.

32 A.M.V. cit.

33 G. Sbordone, *Via Garibaldi*, Padova, Il Poligrafo, 2005, p. 19.

34 L. Urban Padoan, *1867: Giuseppe Garibaldi e Amedeo d'Aosta al carnevale di Venezia*, Venezia, Centro Internazionale della grafica di Venezia, 1988, p. 11.

35 Urban Padoan, *1867: Giuseppe Garibaldi*, cit., p. 13.

36 Sbordone, *Via Garibaldi*, cit., p. 19.

37 G. L. Mosse, *The Nationalization of the Masses: Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars through the Third Reich*, New York, H. Fertig, 1975.



2. The 'Venice' of 1849

On hearing the news of Garibaldi's death on 2 June 1882, calls were made to erect a monument in his honour. Following a heavily attended meeting by the workers' societies of the city on 4 June, the newspaper *Il Tempo* reported that, amongst other things, the decision had been made to both contribute financially to the construction of a monument to Garibaldi in Rome, and to begin the process of commemorating him in Venice.³⁸ On 6 June, the authorities responded enthusiastically to the proposals and unanimously confirmed that a monument would be erected. By April 1883, a public competition opened to choose the artist to design the monument to Garibaldi, and three locations where the monument would stand were proposed: the

³⁸ *Il Tempo*, 5 June 1882, quoted in L. Alban, *La statuaria pubblica di Venezia italiana (1866-1898)*, tesi di laurea, Università di Venezia, 1993-1994, p. 170.

small square at the centre of Via Garibaldi, the square immediately inside the Giardini Pubblici, and Campo Santa Maria Formosa.³⁹ The projects received were exhibited to the public at the Accademia di Belle Arti.⁴⁰ For Pompeo Molmenti, writing in December 1883 after having viewed the projects, the work of the Venetian sculptor Augusto Benvenuti was far superior: ‘il bozzetto di Benvenuti mi parve bellissimo e nuovo [...] una vera ispirazione’.⁴¹ Benvenuti’s project located the monument in the Giardini area of the city, in close proximity to Via Garibaldi, and included two different designs for the monument itself. Both designs visually represented Garibaldi in bronze, accompanied by a smaller statue of a *garibaldino*, a cannon and a ‘leone vittorioso’; in one version the bronze monument would be placed on a pedestal and include bronze inscriptions; the second version placed Garibaldi on a large rock formation, intended to represent the island of Caprera, his home off the coast of Sardinia.⁴² For Lucy Riall, the mythology and iconography of Caprera was an important part of his fame.⁴³ Garibaldi’s simple life on Caprera tending to his farm captured the public imagination, and numerous images portray Garibaldi on the island. The suggestion to construct a monument around the iconography of the island most certainly propagates this myth. Furthermore, the inclusion of a lion would not only refer to Garibaldi’s nickname of *Il Leone di Caprera* but would helpfully recall the local Venetian mythology surrounding the Lion of St. Mark.

In January 1884, however, a satisfactory design had not been received according to the monument’s *comitato*. A distinct lack of enthusiasm for the exhibited designs was also reflected in the press.⁴⁴ It was thus decided by the committee that a special competition would be held between three Venetian sculptors: Augusto Benvenuti and Guglielmo Michieli re-submitted their designs, which were accompanied by two projects by Antonio Dal Zotto. Venice’s *sindaco* favoured Benvenuti’s work, but requested that the bronze monument to Garibaldi situated on a rock formation was modified; Benvenuti was asked to remove the cannon from his design, depict the lion in a stretched-out, seated position, and handle the rock formation in a more natural way.⁴⁵ Now that the design had been formalised, the committee turned its attention to the location of the monument. Benvenuti’s original design proposed its erection in the Giardini, and the nature of the project certainly rendered itself better to a less-urbanised area of the city. Although work began on the monument in the April of 1884, its location was finally confirmed in February 1887, a mere five months before its inauguration.⁴⁶

39 A.M.V. 1885-1889 IX, 7/5 ‘Monumento a Giuseppe Garibaldi, erezione’.

40 A.M.V. 1880-1884 IX, 7/21 ‘Giuseppe Garibaldi, erezione monumento’.

41 A.M.V. 1885-1889 IX, 7/5 ‘Monumento a Giuseppe Garibaldi, erezione’.

42 A.M.V. cit.

43 Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*, cit., p. 308.

44 Alban, *La statuaria pubblica*, cit., p. 179.

45 Ibidem.

46 Ibidem.



3. The monument to the Italian army, Venice

On Sunday July 24, 1887 Benvenuti's monument to Garibaldi was inaugurated. The celebrations began in the afternoon in the courtyard of Palazzo Ducale, where the workers' societies, musical bands, invited guests and the public gathered in order to process from St Mark's into the Castello district and towards the monument itself.

This procession continued along the Riva degli Schiavoni, passing the monument to Vittorio Emanuele II and the monument to the Italian army in Campo San Biasio. The latter had been erected in 1882, in a small square off the Riva degli Schiavoni, in close proximity to the Arsenale and the present-day Museo Storico Navale. A second successful design in the city by sculptor Augusto Benvenuti, it depicts a soldier, saving a woman and child, situated on a tall pedestal.⁴⁷ The lack of Italian military success in 1866 in particular meant that similar commemorative initiatives were undertaken in various cities across the peninsula to rehabilitate the symbolic image of the army. The procession, clearly intended to symbolically link Venice's new *lieux de mémoires* for the Risorgimento, finally reached Via Garibaldi and the entrance to the Giardini Pubblici in time for the monument's official inauguration at six o'clock.⁴⁸ The event contrasted greatly with the inauguration of Vittorio Emanuele II's monument, and was characterised by an atmosphere of intense popular participation. *L'Illustrazione Italiana* noted that it was difficult for the thousands of enthusiastic crowds and bands to maintain silence as the ceremony commenced. The 'popular' origins of the commemoration, and the people's participation in its inauguration, suggests that the monument offers - in Luisa Alban's words - 'una contro storia rispetto alla "storia ufficiale" di matrice sabauda'.⁴⁹ It is no coincidence that Garibaldi's monument was erected in a popular but marginal area of the city, particularly compared to the centrality of the monument to Vittorio Emanuele II and the *lieux de mémoire* of Venice's glorious republican past around St. Mark's Square. The urban elites ensured that Garibaldi's memory was subordinated, and the emphasis on the centrality of the House of Savoy was maintained.

An immensely significant value was attributed to the Italian monarchy as a symbol of national unity in the post-Risorgimento period.⁵⁰ An important figure in this propaganda machine to unite the House of Savoy with the Risorgimento was Sicilian statesman Francesco Crispi. But, as Crispi understood, the mass appeal of Giuseppe Garibaldi meant that he too became an important symbol of national unity, whose allegiance was forcibly bound to both Italy and the monarchy.⁵¹ In this context, it is essential to emphasise the subordination of Garibaldi in relation to the king; in particular,

the insistence on the warrior-like habits and military capacities of the king (in reality, very thin) was meant to adjust the balance of the relative weight of the two figures, precisely on the terrain most immediately favourable to the hero in red.⁵²

47 Ivi, pp. 118-128. The monument is now located in the Giardini Pubblici.

48 A.M.V. 'Inaugurazione monumento a Garibaldi, 1887'.

49 Alban, *La statuarìa pubblica*, cit., p. 184.

50 Tobia, 'Urban space and monuments', cit., p. 182.

51 C. Duggan, *Francesco Crispi, 1818-1901: from Nation to Nationalism*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2002, p. 437.

52 Tobia, 'Urban space and monuments', cit., p. 183.



4. The monument to Giuseppe Garibaldi, Venice

This is arguably reflected in the 'la diarchia di bronzo' of Vittorio Emanuele II and Giuseppe Garibaldi in the city of Venice. The most convincing deployment of *venezianità* and *italianità* can be found in the monument to united Italy's first King: the monument itself clearly presents the Savoyard vision of the Risorgimento and Venice's role within it, visualising in bronze the victory of 1848, Venice's shame

following the return of Austrian rule in 1849, the military prowess of Piedmont in 1859 and the 'liberation' of Venice in 1866. Garibaldi's monument was constructed in the periphery, away from the city's historic centre. However, this deliberate expulsion was viewed by the left as something to be proud of, having conquered a new area of the city at the heart of the people, free from the traditions associated with the *centro storico*.⁵³ Perhaps for this very reason, and like no other monument in Venice, Garibaldi's commemoration and the areas of Via Garibaldi and the Giardini continued to be used and appropriated as a place of memory for the left throughout the twentieth century.⁵⁴

Keywords

Commemorations, Risorgimento, Identity, Monuments, Venice

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RIASSUNTO

Identità, memoria e la diarchia di bronzo

Una commemorazione di Vittorio Emanuele II e Giuseppe Garibaldi nella Venezia postrisorgimentale

Questo saggio tratta della collocazione di due monumenti nella città di Venezia, nella seconda metà dell'Ottocento. Dopo l'unificazione della penisola, il nuovo governo ha capito chiaramente la necessità di costruire un'identità nazionale nella quale si potessero riconoscere le *cento città*. L'erezione di monumenti e l'organizzazione di varie commemorazioni - che hanno celebrato i protagonisti e gli eventi più importanti del Risorgimento - sono stati usati per 'fare gli italiani' nell'ambito postrisorgimentale. In questo contesto, l'articolo esplora la commemorazione di Vittorio Emanuele II e Giuseppe Garibaldi nella città lagunare, e analizza se la fusione tra mito risorgimentale e storia locale sia effettivamente realizzata.

⁵³ Sbordone, *Via Garibaldi*, cit., p. 33.

⁵⁴ For such events which took place in its vicinity, see *ivi*, pp. 22-40.