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Connecting the peninsula and beyond: Italian intellectual networks of the early modern and modern period
An introduction*

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According to the Steirische Völkertafel, an eighteenth-century oil painting by an unknown artist from the Steiermark region in present-day Austria, the Italians were known for their 'astute minds'. Even though the essence of their inward was also described as 'opportunistic', 'voluptuous' and 'underhand' (clearly the opposite of their honourable appearance and their country's pleasant sights), their intellect stood out, especially compared to some of their European counterparts. Whereas Polish intelligence was seen as 'disdainful' and the Hungarian as 'even more so', the Russians lacked intelligence altogether, while the Turks 'or Greeks' were simply rejected as 'dumb'. According to the Völkertafel, while the donkey was obviously the animal that exemplified the Russians, the Italians were represented by the lynx, an animal as mysterious as difficult to catch that was moreover believed to be capable of seeing even through solid objects. When, almost a century before, in 1603, the Italian scientist Federico Angelo Cesi had founded the Accademia dei Lincei, he had also been inspired by the illustration of a lynx on the cover of *Magia Naturalis*, a work of popular science by Giambattista della Porta, which was first published in Naples in 1558 and in its preface contained the words: 'with lynx-like eyes, examining those things which manifest themselves, so that having observed them, he may zealously use them'.

Maybe these early-modern scholars were also attracted to the lynx's way of life. It might have been quite similar to theirs, as it preferred to live on its own, but occasionally chose a small group for travelling and hunting. Similarly, some Renaissance Italian scholars were well aware that to make their scholarly lives flourish they also depended on others, and therefore on their networks. As Simone Testa has so brilliantly exposed in his monograph on early-modern Italian academies, Della Porta and Cesi were certainly not the only scholars to use the metaphor of an animal to describe their intellectual activities. The Sienese humanist Scipione Bargagli (1540-1612), for instance, indicated the importance of scholarly collaboration by comparing

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the members of learned academies to bees.[1] Even if these early-modern intellectuals were obviously not familiar with terms like networks and networking they seem to have been well aware of their importance.

Maybe spurred by the historical representation of Italy as a country of lynx-like people with astute minds, but certainly also by its unique (heritage of) intellectual life and culture, in the last few decades scholars have begun to unveil the manifold manifestations and effects of intellectual networks in Italy. They have analysed their role and functioning during the medieval period,[2] the Renaissance,[3] and the Enlightenment,[4] as well as their role in Italy's modern history, including its unification,[5] the liberal period,[6] the fascist era,[7] and the post-war years.[8]

This theme issue presents some new research that illustrates this recent interest in Italian intellectual networks. Before delving deeper into the three words that make up the title of this publication and before summarising its content to clarify what this issue sets out to do, let me ensure what it does *not*. Even though the articles collected here focus on a variety of periods and study networks that relate to various regions of the Italian peninsula, together they can obviously not present an exhaustive diachronic account of the history of Italian intellectual networks. They *do*, however, address some

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[1] S. Testa, *Italian Academies and Their Networks, 1525-1700. From Local to Global*, London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2015, p. 23.

[2] For instance: S. Steckel, N. Gaul & M. Grünbart (eds.), *Networks of Learning. Perspectives on Scholars in Byzantine East and Latin West, c. 1000-1200*, Berlin, Lit Verlag, 2014; G. Seche, *Libro e società in Sardegna tra Medioevo e prima età moderna*, Firenze, L.S. Olschki, 2018.

[3] For instance: Testa, *Italian Academies*, cit.; J. Everson, D. Reidy & L. Sampson (eds.), *The Italian Academies, 1525-1700. Networks of Culture, Innovation and Dissent*, Abingdon-New York, Legenda, 2016; E. Goudriaan, *Florentine Patricians and their Networks: Structures behind the Cultural Success and the Political Representation of the Medici Court (1600-1660)*, Leiden, Brill, 2018; C. Celenza, *The Intellectual World of the Italian Renaissance: Language, Philosophy, and the Search for Meaning*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2015; G. Fragnito & A. Tallon (eds.), *Hétérodoxies croisées et controverses doctrinales entre France et Italie, XVIe-XVIIe siècles*, Rome, École Française de Rome, 2015; M. Goldish, 'Rabbi Abraham Rovigo's Home as a Center for Traveling Scholars', in: F. Bregoli, C. Ferrara degli Uberti & G. Schwarz (eds.), *Italian Jewish Networks from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century. Bridging Europe and the Mediterranean,* Cham, Palgrave Macmillan, 2018, pp. 25-38.

[4] For instance: J. Boutier, B. Marin & A. Romano (eds.), *Naples, Rome, Florence. Une histoire comparée des milieux intellectuels italiens (XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles)*, Rome, Publications de l'École Française de Rome, 2005.

[5] For example: M. Isabella, *Risorgimento in Exile. Italian Émigrés and the Liberal International in the Post-Napoleonic Era*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2009; N. Urbinati, 'Intellectuals', in: E. Jones & G. Pasquino (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Italian Politics*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2015, pp. 594-608; E. Noether, 'The Intellectual Dimension of Italian Nationalism: An Overview', in: *History of European Ideas*, 16, 4-6 (1993), pp. 779-784.

[6] For instance: P. Allagrezza, *L'élite incompiuta. La classe dirigente politico-amministrativa negli anni della destra storica (1861-1876)*, Milano, A. Giuffrè, 2007; M. Gervasoni, *L'intellettuale come eroe: Piero Gobetti e le culture del Novecento*, Milano, La Nuova Italia, 2000; A. Banti, *Storia della borghesia Italiana. L'età liberale*, Roma, Donzelli Editore, 1996; M. Spinella & A. Arensi (eds.), *Gli intellettuali nella storia dell'Italia unita*, Milano, Nicola Tetie Editore, 1987.

[7] For example: Urbinati, 'Intellectuals', cit.; G. Bonsaver, 'Culture and Intellectuals', in: R.J.B. Bosworth (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Fascism*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2010, pp. 109-126; D. La Penna, 'Habitus and Embeddedness in the Florentine Literary Field: The Case of Alberto Carocci (1926-1939)', in: *Italian Studies*, 73, 2 (2018), pp. 126-141; G. Sedita, *Gli intellettuali di Mussolini. La cultura finanziata dal fascismo*, Firenze, Le Lettere, 2010; A. Gregor, *Mussolini's Intellectuals: Fascist Social and Political Thought*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2005; S. Pugliese, *Fascism, Anti-fascism, and the Resistance in Italy, 1919 to Present*, Lanham, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2004.

[8] For example: M. Milani, '*Impegno, national and transnational identities in* Il Politecnico *and* Sud *(1945-1947)*', in: *Modern Italy*, 21, 2 (2016) (special issue: *National Dialogues and Transnational Exchanges across Italian Periodical Culture*, 1940-1960), pp. 157-170; F. Guidali, *Uomini di cultura e associazioni intellettuali nel dopoguerra tra Francia, Italia e Germania occidentale (1945-1946)*, dissertation Freie Universität Berlin & Università degli Studi di Milano, 8 November 2013.

important questions that have not yet been answered, and from a variety of perspectives suggest new directions that lead us to interesting answers.

Networks

Studying social networks is hardly revolutionary. Already in the 1930s social network analysis emerged as an important tool for the analysis of the connections between systems and the spreading of ideas within larger groups of people.[9] As David Easley and Jon Kleinberg have argued, social network analysis as a methodological framework was an amalgam of approaches from a variety of disciplines:

> From computer science and applied mathematics has come a framework for reasoning about how complexity arises, often unexpectedly, in systems that we design; from economics has come a perspective on how people's behaviour is affected by incentives and by their expectations about the behaviour of others; and from sociology and the social sciences have come insights into the characteristic structures and interactions that arise within groups and populations. The resulting synthesis of ideas suggests the beginnings of a new area of study, focusing on the phenomena that take place within complex social, economic, and technological systems.[10]

In the 1930s the psychosociologist Jacob Moreno was the first to create a sociogram, visualising social relationships between people with dots and lines. Based on the Hungarian mathematician Dénes Kőnig's graph theory, Frank Harary, R.Z. Norman and Dorwin Cartwright then published ground-breaking research on the potential positive and negative effects of network structures on human relationships. The 1940s and 1950s also saw a group of Harvard researchers including A.R. Radcliffe-Brown and Émile Durkheim giving new direction to the analysis of social relations by researching the formation of cliques: 'an informal association of people among whom there is a degree of group feeling and intimacy'.[11] Publications on exchange theory and elite theory followed. At the same time anthropologists created a new model that pointed out the major impact of conflict and change in both social life of tribes and villages. Among them, John Barnes was the first to use the term 'social network' (as well as 'web') by which he meant 'the whole of social life' as opposed to 'partial networks', all interhuman contact in the informal sphere.[12] His colleague J. Clyde Mitchell introduced the notion of 'ego-centric' networks, consisting of social contact not related to institutional structures, network 'density' (the extent to which all possible relations are actually present) and 'reachability' (how easy it is for people to contact one another through a limited number of steps).[13]

During the 70s, Mark Granovetter, an American sociologist, published 'The Strength of Weak Ties', a theory by which he aimed to explain the spread of information in social networks. Studying the connections between networks, his conclusion was that many networks are connected by weak ties (indicating casual acquaintances), and that human beings with many weak ties are best suited to spread information.[14] During the same period, the Dutch anthropologist Jeremy Bossevain in

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[9] I have here summarized parts of Baird's overview of the history of social network analysis: I. Baird, 'Introduction. Social Networks in the Long Eighteenth Century: The Public Sphere Revisited', in: eadem (ed.), *Social Networks in the Long Eighteenth Century: Clubs, Literary Salons, Textual Coteries*, Newcastle upon Tyne, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014, pp. 1-30.

[10] See also: D. Easley & J. Kleinberg, *Networks, Crowds and Markets. Reasoning about a Highly Connected World*, New York-Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010, p. XI.

[11] Baird, 'Introduction', cit., p. 7.

[12] *Ivi*, p. 8.

[13] J. Smith, *Social Network Analysis. A Handbook*, London, Sage Publications, 2000 (second edition), p. 32.

[14] M. Granovetter, 'The Strength of Weak Ties', in: *American Journal of Sociology*, 78, 6 (1973), pp. 1360-1380; see also: Baird, 'Introduction', cit., p. 9.

his work further explained the complex ways in which interhuman relationships are forged and structured, but also the ways that individuals try to manipulate these to attain goals, by shaping and influencing the dynamics of coalitions. Rethinking the concept of 'primary groups' that had been coined already in 1909 by the American sociologist Charles Cooley,[15] Bossevain distinguished between primary social networks of personal relations, and secondary, comprising more formalised relations with representatives of institutions.[16] Bossevain regarded individuals as social entrepreneurs with their own agency, being able to use existing relationships in many ways but also to activate old out-of-date connections, and to forge new.[17] Bossevain was particulary interested in studying those who had become 'highly expert networking specialists', whom he called brokers: 'a broker is a professional manipulator of people and information who brings about communication for profit', here obviously not (only) to be understood in terms of money.[18] Moreover he termed the messages sent between individuals 'social transactions', and all things exchanged with social value, including information or help, 'transactional content'. And while according to Bossevain most exchange is reciprocal, he also revealed examples of serious imbalances, leaving some indebted to others.[19]

As we will see in some of the articles collected here, both Granovetter's and Bossevain's ideas still hold ground, even though there have been some major additions. Since the turn of the twentieth century, for instance, two major ground-breaking concepts have been coined by the Hungarian-American physicist Albert-László Barabási: 'preferential attachment' (the tendency of nodes to link themselves to hubs that have the most connections) and 'fitness' (fitter nodes attract more links at the expense of less fit nodes).[20]

In 2004, overseeing the tradition that social network analysis had become, the American structuralist sociologist Linton Freeman concluded that a great variety of scholars were now using it, including sociologists, anthropologists, economists, political scientists, psychologists, communication scientists, organizational behaviour and market specialists, and physicists.[21] While, according to Freeman, most of them focus on networks that connect individual human beings, some of them prefer studying the networks that link institutions or groups. In any case, thinking about applying a social network approach one should realise that it 'is grounded in the intuitive notion that patterning of social ties have important consequences for those actors. Network analysts, then, seek to uncover various kinds of patterns, and they try to determine the conditions under which those patterns arise, and to discover their consequences'.[22]

In recent decades various scholars have also shown interest in the *history* of social networks and in the analysis of *historical* social networks. This has most certainly been the result of the aforementioned establishment of the study of social contact and exchange as an important topic in the social sciences.[23] Historians of knowledge, for instance, who for a long time had been tracing the 'origins, decay and renewal of

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[15] C. Cooley, *Social Organization*, New York, Charles Scribner's sons, 1909, pp. 23-31.
[16] J. Bossevain, *Friends of Friends. Networks, Manipulators and Coalitions*, New York, St. Martin's Press, 1974, p. 148.
[17] For the contribution of Bossevain to the field of social network analysis see: C. Kadushin, *Understanding Social Networks. Theories, Concepts, and Findings*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012, p. 57.
[18] *Ibidem*.
[19] Cfr. Goudriaan, *Florentine Patricians*, cit., p. 229.
[20] Baird, 'Introduction', cit., pp. 9-10.
[21] L. Freeman, *The Development of Social Network Analysis. A Study on the Sociology of Science*, Vancouver, Empirical Press, 2004, p. 5.
[22] *Ivi*, p. 2.
[23] C. Reijen & M. Rensen, 'Introduction', in: idem (eds.), *European Encounters: Intellectual Exchange and the Rethinking of Europe (1914-1945)*, Amsterdam-New York, Rodopi, 2014, pp. 13-32.

institutions, or weighed the work of individuals against long-range traditions', became interested in studying learning as a social practice, which inevitably meant revealing the interconnectedness between, and the agencies of individuals, social groups and institutions. Networks became an omnipresent concept in their work, as it helped them to visualise the mutual connections between individual scholars and institutionalized intellectual as well as non-intellectual structures.[24]

The network as a metaphor for interhuman relationships was also introduced to the field of cultural transfer studies. While in many of their seminal texts from the late 1980s Michel Espagne and Michael Werner studied (historical) processes of transfer between nations in terms of sender/receiver,[25] more recently scholars have been revealing the complexity of and reciprocity in processes of transfer in both peripherical and border regions.[26] In 2002 Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann presented *histoire croisée*,[27] a new method that 'bundles existing historical approaches which stress the perspective of the contemporaries, interwoven human relations and their balances of power and self-reflexivity'.[28] While many recent publications in the fields of cultural transfer, some of them by applying *histoire croisée*, reveal the cultural mediator 'active across linguistic, artistic and geocultural borders' as 'the central carrier of cultural transfer', many also indicate that (their) (intellectual) networks were pivotal in this process.[29]

The method of analysing historical networks has moreover changed quite drastically with the burgeoning of the Digital Humanities. An ambitious and important example has been the large Stanford-based 'Mapping the Republic of Letters' project,[30] which includes subprojects on the Grand Tour, that analyses the routes, people and places that made up the Grand Tour of Europe and Italy in particular;[31] as well as on salons, which charts the intellectual and social geography of European salons between 1700-1914.[32] Another wonderful initiative has been a four-year project on The Italian Academies, 1525-1700, which resulted in an online catalogue with data of some 500 academies from across the Italian peninsula.[33]

This overview of the history of (historical) network analysis shows that we are dealing with a vibrant and active interdisciplinary field. It has, however, not yet provided us with a clear definition of the term network. Although there are many possible answers, most scholars would agree with the one provided by the British

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[24] S. Steckel, 'Networks of Learning in Byzantine East and Latin West: Methodological Considerations and Starting Points for Further Work', in: Steckel, Gaul & Grünbart (eds.), *Networks of Learning*, cit., p. 191.
[25] For instance: M. Espagne & M. Werner, 'Deutsch-französischer Kulturtransfer im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert. Zu einem neuen interdisziplinären Forschungsprogramm des C.N.R.S.', in: *Francia: Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte*, 13, 1 (1985), pp. 502-510; M. Espagne & M. Werner, 'La construction d'une référence culturelle allemande en France: genèse et histoire (1750-1914)', in: *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 42, 4 (1987), pp. 969-992.
[26] Reijen & Rensen, 'Introduction', cit., p. 21.
[27] M. Werner & B. Zimmermann, 'Vergleich, Transfer, Verflechtung. Der Ansatz der histoire croisée und die Herausforderung des Transnationalen', in: *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 28 (2002), pp. 606-636; M. Werner & B. Zimmermann (eds.), *De la comparaison à l'histoire croisée*, Paris, Éditions du Seuil, 2004.
[28] P. van Dam, 'Vervlochten geschiedenis: hoe "histoire croisée" de natiestaat bedwingt', in: *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, 125, 1 (2012), p. 96.
[29] R. Meylaerts, L. D'hulst & T. Verschaffel (eds.), *Cultural Mediation in Europe, 1800-1950*, Leuven, Leuven University Press, 2017, p. 7.
[30] http://republicofletters.stanford.edu (13 January 2019). For some of its outcomes: M. Comsa, M. Conroy, D. Edelstein, C. Summers Edmondson & C. Willan, 'The French Enlightenment Network', in: *The Journal of Modern History*, 88 (2016), pp. 495-534.
[31] https://classics.stanford.edu/projects/grand-tour-project (13 January 2019).
[32] http://blogs.memphis.edu/salonsproject/ (13 January 2019). For some of its outcomes: F. Meens, 'How to Approach Salons? A Fin-de-siècle Italian Case Study', in: *Cultural and Social History*, 15 (2018), pp. 1-84, https://doi.org/10.1080/14780038.2018.1427356.
[33] http://italianacademies.org (13 January 2019).

sociologist John Scott: 'the term network refers to individuals (or more rarely collectivities and roles) who are linked together by one or more social relationships, thus forming a social network. Examples of relationship links include kinship, communication, friendship, authority and sexual contact'.[34]

Intellectual networks

Now we know more about the definition and the academic tradition of studying (historical) social networks, it is time to determine what should count as an *intellectual* network. Let us therefore analyse and dissect the epithet. The philosopher and historian of political thought Norberto Bobbio, who as a public intellectual played a major role in Italian political life himself, reminds us that even this questioning what essentially is an intellectual, turns ourselves into one:

> [È] naturale che [gli intellettuali] scrivano su se stessi. Se non fossero loro ad occuparsi di se stessi, chi lo farebbe? E se altri scrivesse di loro non diventerebbe, per il solo fatto di scrivere, un intellettuale? Diventa un intellettuale anche se si mette a scrivere sugli intellettuali per dirne tutto il male possibile […]. È un destino cui non si sfugge, non appena ci si pone il problema di che cosa sono gli intellettuali. Chi si pone questo problema diventa, per il solo fatto di porselo, un intellettuale, cioè uno che non fa cose ma riflette sulle cose, non maneggia oggetti ma simboli, i cui strumenti di lavoro non sono macchine ma idee.[35]

Etymologically the term "intellectual" has its roots in the Latin word *intellectus* (discernment, understanding), a noun-use of the past participle of the verb *intelligere* (to discern, understand). The Old French *intellectuel*, dating from the thirteenth century, referred to someone 'grasped by the understanding (rather than by the senses)'. The English synonym *intellectual* was first used during the fourteenth century.[36]

Both French and English synonyms were, however, hardly practiced until the nineteenth century. During the early modern period other terms were used far more often to describe intellectual life, its main actors and their qualities. Most of them had, however, another meaning than nowadays. Maria Stuiber has demonstrated the *Begriffsgeschichte* of both German and Italian vocabulary commonly used to indicate intellectual culture by analysing dictionaries. The word *erudite*, for instance, had no entry of its own in the 1612 first edition of the *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca*, the first dictionary which aimed to establish a foundation and norm for the use of Italian. The verb *erudire* was only used in Latin to offer explanations of other Italian words. The first time the Italian verb was part of the Crusca's vocabulary was during the eighteenth century, but only very briefly (as *erudirsi*, to get learned), especially in contrast to *letterario* and related notions including *letterato* and *letteratore*. During that time *lettere* and *letteratura* were synonyms for knowledge and erudition, while *letterato* was defined as 'scienziato, che ha lettere'. In sum, in early-modern Italy *erudito*, *letterato*, and *scienziato* all referred to those who were learned. Moreover, the present-day difference between the natural sciences (*scientia*) and the humanities (*eruditio*) was lacking altogether.[37] But Stuiber also notices that the eighteenth century saw the upcoming of the ideal of *Bildung* and its Italian equivalent

[34] J. Scott, *A Dictionary of Sociology*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2014, pp. 511-512.
[35] N. Bobbio, *Il dubbio e la scelta, Intellettuali* e *potere nella società contemporanea*, Roma, Carocci, 1993, pp. 113-114. I warmly thank my colleague Tamara van Kessel for suggesting this quote.
[36] Online Etymology Dictionary, https://www.etymonline.com/word/intellectual (13 January 2019).
[37] M. Stuiber, *Zwischen Rom und dem Erdkreis. Die gelehrte Korrespondenz des Kardinals Stefano Borgia (1731-1804)*, Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 2012, pp. 13-22.

coltura as a new kind of learnedness in between 'Fachgelehrsamkeit' and 'Schriftlosigkeit', which was not depended on formal, institutionalized education.[38]

It was only during the later stages of the nineteenth century that the term "intellectual" became fashionable. Christophe Charle in his landmark publication *Naissance des intellectuels, 1880-1900* studied the conditions that led to the appearance of the French notion of 'intellectuels'. According to Charle we must see this neologism as the answer to the late nineteenth century disbalance in literary and intellectual professions between the growing number of candidates and the shortage of positions. The increasing number of individuals who, as a result of the fierce competition, were being rejected created not only a buoyant cultural expansion, but also a crisis in the representations (including *le savant*, *l'homme des lettres*) of the world they had been eager to but failed to enter. As Charle argues '[t]his crisis expressed the flattering social image of the liberal and intellectual professions and the social depreciation brought about by the influx of newcomers whom this social image only victimized'.[39] The neologism *intellectuel* was then coined by those who saw themselves as different and sometimes even as the only representatives of the real elite, to denote their ideal and to strengthen their professional intellectual positions even more, as well as to provide a collective identity for social engagement.[40]

By and large the term "intellectual" not only became a notion of individuals and groups that were eager to distinguish themselves from others, it also became a sociological typology. As Richard Bellamy has pointed out in his study on Italian intellectuals and politics:

> Intellectuals appear in different guises in different times and places. Scholars have attempted numerous typologies: priests and jesters, insiders and outsiders, interpreters and legislators, pure and revolutionary, mandarins and *samurai*, populists and Olympians, expert advisers and rebellious gadflies, to mention only a few […]. Each is revealing though none appears wholly satisfactory. The factors determining an intellectual's stance are manifold, often highly contingent, and can interact in so many diverse ways that generalizations rarely illuminate more than the particular cases from which they were derived. Ideology, epistemology, individual temperament, the form of government and type of society within which the intellectual operates and his or her position within them, political circumstances, popular reactions − to differing degrees these and other elements can all play a part. Neither profession nor social class unites intellectuals as a group: they have been philosophers, novelists, poets, scientists, academics, journalists and clerics, well-educated aristocrats and self-taught labourers. Though they share a vocation to speak intelligently about matters of public concern, the claims they make for knowledge and its power have varied greatly.[41]

The articles assembled here all use the word intellectual in its broader sociological sense, and use it to indicate all the above forms of learnedness. Moreover, the phrase intellectual network will be used to describe both networks *of* intellectuals, as well as networks of intellectual *exchange*. We will thus witness scholarly debates on a variety of topics. Moreover we will encounter old and young, left and right, avant-garde as well as well-established scientists, artists, poets, novelists, journalists, politicians and *salonnières*, most of them belonging to the comparatively small educated classes.[42]

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[38] *Ivi*, pp. 17-18.
[39] C. Charle, *Birth of the Intellectuals, 1880-1900*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 2015, p. 146.
[40] C. Charle, *Naissance des intellectuels*, Paris, Les Éditions de Minuit, 1990, pp. 38-65; see also: G. Eyal & L. Buchholz, 'From the Sociology of Intellectuals to the Sociology of Interventions', in: *Annual Review of Sociology*, 36 (2010), p. 125.
[41] R. Bellamy, 'From *philosophes* to pundits: Italian intellectuals and politics from Vico to Eco', in: *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 6, 2 (2001), p. 151. See also: J. Jennings & A. Kemp-Welch, *Intellectuals in Politics. From the Dreyfus Affair to Salman Rushdie*, London-New York, Routledge, 1997.
[42] Charle, *Birth of the Intellectuals,* cit., p. 4.

Inspired by the work of Gisèle Sapiro, we understand their intellectual world 'non comme un espace désincarné qui ne se déploierait que dans le ciel des idées mais comme un univers social formé d'agents, individus et institutions, lesquels constituent autant de médiations justiciables d'une analyse sociohistorique'.[43] All the articles therefore reveal these networks as an essential part of the social conditions of intellectual life, and, to refer to the work of Pierre Bourdieu, especially as carriers of intellectual import and export.[44] They reveal how Italian intellectual networks were forged, how this involved processes of social inclusion and exclusion, how these networks worked, what they did, if and how they conformed to an intellectual ethos,[45] and if and how its historical actors reflected on these aspects, for instance by naming their networks.

Italian intellectual networks

The final question is obviously what we consider to be an *Italian* intellectual network. There are four, sometimes overlapping criteria. First there are networks whose actors refer to it as Italian. Contrary to claims of anachronistic reasoning, this was true already before the Italian peninsula was politically unified. As John Brewer shows in his article the geologists and mineralogists he analyses 'were resolutely local. But this did not preclude a strong sense that what the savants were producing was "Italian" science.' Brewer cites Giacinto Carena (1778-1859), whose ideal was to create 'a free and easy scientific and literary communication among the diverse parts of our Italy'.

Obviously not all representatives of the networks studied here used the word "Italy" to describe their intellectual pursuits. The second criterion is therefore more obvious: most of the network analysed in the articles manifested itself on the Italian peninsula, even though some of their members and activities lead us to Poland (Tamara van Kessel), Germany (Floris Meens) and Mexico (Matthijs Jonker).

Then there are networks whose actors preferred Italian as their main communicative language. During the early modern period there was a strong relationship between the academies that sprouted all over the Italian peninsula and the use of the Italian language. In the sixteenth century members of several learned bodies in Tuscany worked hard to make their own dialect into a language shared by all Italians. The fact that they debated a lot about the need for a common language had everything to do with the problems they faced trying to disseminate their ideas in the linguistically divided peninsula.[46] Indeed, other academies, including those related to the Church in Rome, fostered the use of Latin.[47] During the seventeenth and eighteenth century many foreigners were attracted to Italy, many of them visiting the country as part of their Grand Tour. Some of them were or at least thought of themselves as learned and became part of Italy's academies and their networks.[48] Many of them used French as their main academic language, partly the result of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the consequent diaspora of the Huguenots, partly also of the

[43] G. Sapiro, 'Introduction', in: eadem (ed.), *L'espace intellectuel en Europe. De la formation des États-nations à la mondialisation XIXe-XXIe siècle*, Paris, La Découverte, 2009, p. 10.
[44] P. Bourdieu, 'Les conditions sociales de la circulation internationale des idées', in: Sapiro (ed.), *L'espace intellectuel en Europe*, cit., pp. 27-39.
[45] Sapiro, 'Introduction', cit., p. 25.
[46] M. Sherberg, 'The Accademia Fiorentina and the Question of the Language: The Politics of Theory in Ducal Florence', in: *Renaissance Quarterly*, 56, 1 (2003), pp. 26-55.
[47] M.P. Donato, 'Accademie e accademismi in una capitale particolare', in: *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Italie et Méditerranée*, 111, 1 (1999), pp. 415-430. For the development and early-modern use of Latin, see: S. Knight & S. Tilg (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Neo-Latin*, Oxford-New York, Oxford University Press, 2015; J. Bloemendal, *Latijn. Cultuurgeschiedenis van een wereldtaal*, Amsterdam, Athenaeum-Polak & Van Gennep, 2016.
[48] J. Black, *Italy and the Grand Tour*, New Haven-London, Yale University Press, 2003.

adaptation of French as the most important diplomatic language (instead of Latin) from the Treaty of Rastatt (1714) onwards.[49] Just like elsewhere in Europe, French thus became an important means of intellectual communication on the Italian peninsula.[50] The importance of French gained momentum when Napoleon was crowned Italian king in 1805. It remained strong in the wake of his defeat, because the Italian unification was accomplished only in the later stages of the nineteenth century. This also meant that the Church could still effectively promote the use of Latin. Moreover, the attractiveness that Italy and Rome in particular still possessed to foreigners made their languages (and especially German given the high amount of German archaeologists working in Italy) a force to reckon with as well.[51] While during the Fin de siècle Italian was used by many who worked on the Italian peninsula, it still faced fierce competition from other languages. And the major changes in European academia that came with the First World War also affected Italy. German, which had risen in importance from 1870 onwards and even would be the only language to beat English in terms of numbers of publications between 1880 and 2015, lost its position due to the course of the war and the rise of Nazism.[52] English became the unthreatened academic lingua franca. While many Italian intellectuals for long held on to their own mother language as well as to the use of German and French, even for them English eventually became inevitable.[53]

A fourth and final criterium to call an intellectual network Italian is if it was initiated by or had strong ties to the Italian nation state. During the early-modern period intellectual culture was of course essentially *inter*national. As Victor Karady has argued, up until the Reformation, Western European scholars were united as the result of the Catholic Church's domination over universities. And even if during the early-modern period science by and large became a political tool that could manifest royal power, the cultures of Humanism and Enlightenment, and especially the Republic of Letters, were as internationally oriented as had been the premodern universities.[54] Indeed, Karady's point is confirmed in the articles presented here by Matthijs Jonker, Martijn van Beek and John Brewer.

For more recent times, however, Bourdieu reminds us that:

> [o]n croit souvent que la vie intellectuelle est spontanément internationale. Rien n'est plus faux. La vie intellectuelle est un lieu, comme tous les autres espaces sociaux, de nationalismes et d'impérialismes et les intellectuels véhiculent, presque autant que les autres, des préjugés, des stéréotypes, des idées reçues, des représentations très sommaires, très élémentaires, qui se nourrissent des accidents de la vie quotidienne, des incompréhensions, des malentendus, des blessures (celles par exemple que peut infliger au narcissisme le fait d'être inconnu dans un pays étranger).[55]

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[49] M. Gordin, *Scientific Babel: How Science Was Done Before and After Global English,* Chicago, Chicago University Press, 2015, p. 31; M. Fumaroli, *When the World Spoke French,* New York, New York Review Books, 2001, p. XVIII;

[50] P. Musitelli, 'Artisti e letterati stranieri a Roma nell'Ottocento. Strutture, pratiche e descrizioni della sociabilità', in: *Memorie e Ricerca*, 46 (2014), pp. 27-44.

[51] F. Meens, 'De wetenschapstaal van de Eeuwige Stad', in: *Ex Tempore*, 36, 2 (2017), pp. 116-130.

[52] Gordin, *Scientific Babel*, cit., p. 7.

[53] M. Pallottino, 'Introduzione. Un centro mondiale di cultura umanistica: l'Unione Internazionale degli Istituti di Archeologia, Storia e Storia dell'arte in Roma', in: P. Vian (ed.), *Speculum Mundi. Roma centro internazionale di ricerche umanistiche*, Roma, Unione Internazionale degli Istituti di Archeologia, Storia e Storia dell'Arte, 1993, pp. 9-15.

[54] V. Karady, 'L'émergence d'un espace européen des connaissances sur l'homme en société : cadres institutionnels et démographiques', in: Sapiro (ed.), *L'espace intellectuel en Europe*, cit., pp. 43-68.

[55] Bourdieu, 'Les conditions sociales de la circulation internationale des idées', cit., p. 28.

Indeed, during the nineteenth century tensions rose between academia's internationalistic and nationalistic tendencies. This was of course the age of the nation states, but also of the differentiation of science into various fields and the professionalization of the intellectual professions. These fields of study were not identical in all countries, and the process of nationalising academic life strongly influenced the features of all fields in different nation-states. Indeed, culture and science in particular were key elements in the formation of the nation state. Its new political order gained authority, meaning and prestige not only by claiming the monopoly over the rightful employment of violence, but also by taking over control over intellectual production.[56] Nationalism did, however, not exclude international intellectual culture. On the contrary; one only has to think of the many conferences, colloquiums, shared projects, academic journals, and the ever-increasing (both unforced and forced) mobility of scholars.[57] Universities were instrumental in showing the high qualities of national culture. Even the increasing intellectual globalization that characterized academic life during this period, including student and staff exchange, became a proof to the nation's excellence, making internationalisation part or even a strategy of 'high nationalisation'.[58]

Thus, as Christophe Charle, Jürgen Schriewer and Peter Wagner have argued, higher education and research became characterized by 'persistent contradiction between localizing and universalizing influences',[59] to which intellectuals needed to relate. Some of them reacted strongly against the internationalisation 'for the sake of cultural identity and self-assertion',[60] and became the prophets of the modern political order, including its fierce competition with foreign nations.[61] Others defended internationalism as a 'higher form of knowledge', to open up intellectual debates, to gain prestige and strengthen one's position within the national field, and/or to break with and to present itself as an antagonism of what they saw as 'national parochialism'.[62]

After the First World War some regarded cooperation even as the best way to prevent more bloodshed, which resulted in the foundation of the important International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (1924). But in many countries, including Italy, the influence of nationalist cultural politics was still strongly felt in academic life. And indeed, especially since and because of the fascist takeover, philosophers as well as scholars of political thought have debated the relationship between the (Italian) nation-state and intellectuals, thereby also contesting the role of their networks.[63] Some of the articles presented here will further elaborate on these issues (Brewer's for the beginning of the Risorgimento, Meens's for the post-Risorgimento liberal phase, and both de Haan's and van Kessel's for the fascist period).

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[56] P. Wagner, 'Introduction to Part I', in: C. Charle, J. Schriewer, & P. Wagner (eds.), *Transnational Intellectual Networks. Forms of Academic Knowledge and the Search for Cultural Identities*, Frankfurt-New York, Campus, 2004, pp. 17-25.
[57] Sapiro, 'Introduction', cit., pp. 5-25.
[58] C. Charle, J. Schriewer & P. Wagner, 'Editors Preface', in: idem (eds.), *Transnational Intellectual Networks*, cit., p. 12.
[59] *Ibidem*; Cfr. Sapiro, 'Introduction', cit., p. 15.
[60] *Ivi*, p. 13; Cfr. Wagner, 'Introduction to Part I', cit., p. 17.
[61] Sapiro, 'Introduction', cit., pp. 5-25.
[62] *Ivi*, p. 13; Wagner, 'Introduction to Part I', cit., p. 17.
[63] Bonsaver, 'Culture and Intellectuals', cit.; Sedita, *Gli intellettuali*, cit.; Gregor, *Mussolini's Intellectuals*, cit.; Pugliese, *Fascism, Anti-fascism, and the Resistance*, cit.; Urbinati, 'Intellectuals', cit. But also: R. Bellamy, *Croce, Gramsci, Bobbio and the Italian Political Tradition*, Colchester, Ecpr Press, 2014.

Italian intellectual networks: a diachronic perspective

It has become clear that combining the terms into Italian intellectual networks allows us to get a better understanding of an important part of the history of Italian intellectual life. Let me conclude this introduction by presenting an overview of the articles and by sketching a few of their main questions and some directions of thought.

The articles assembled here deconstruct a large variety of intellectual networks, ranging from those related to individual actors to those linked with institutions. There has been an academic tendency to especially investigate the networks of well-known great figures (mostly male) as well as their role in the networks of others. Even if most of the networks discussed here also centre around men (with the exception of those analysed by Meens and van Kessel),[64] many of these protagonists nowadays are not that well-known anymore. Obviously, moreover, the authors bring into relief the many outcomes of these networks, including the dissemination (as well as reshaping) of ideas, knowledge and beliefs; the circulation of goods including books, works of art, and gifts (Jonker, van Beek and Brewer in particular); and especially the underlying processes of the ratification or contestation of political, cultural, intellectual and socio-economic hegemonies.

Even more important than their outcomes, however, is how these networks *worked* in a variety of political, social and economic contexts. How were they built, shaped and maintained? What did one have to do in order to become a member? What was the role of markers of identity, including gender, age, class, wealth, belief, etc. in the development of these networks? What were the individual or group-specific motives for taking part? What modes of communication were used, and which institutions involved? How important were specific kinds of (private, semi-private or public) sociability and social settings, including salons, academies, clubs, libraries, conferences, etc.? How large or small was the agency of the individuals? Did they always play according to codes of a shared intellectual ethos, or did they counter these? How much space did they have to manipulate and manoeuvre? In a way, answering these questions also contributes to the demystification of intellectual networks. Building and maintaining them was not easy, and many things could and did go wrong. Delving deeper into the counteractive forces, rivalries, contestations, failures and unintended consequences might provide new insight into their functioning and will enable us to further historicize the complex and ambiguous process of intellectual networking.

The essays collected here tackle these issues from a variety of perspectives and by using a variety of methods. They are written by art historians, ancient historians, literary scholars, as well as specialists of the early modern and modern periods. While most of them use qualitative approaches to the study of intellectual networks, a more quantitative perspective is provided as well (Meens). This issue offers a diachronic outlook on the history of Italian intellectual networks, starting in the Renaissance and ending in the Fascist period.

In the opening article Matthijs Jonker focuses on Rome's aforementioned famous Accademia dei Lincei as a network and cultural broker in the publication of the *Tesoro messicano*, the first collective natural history project in Europe carried out on

[64] It is encouraging to see the number of publications on intellectual networks of women steadily grow. See, for instance: V. Cox, 'Members, Muses, Mascots. Women and the Italian Academies', in: Everson, Reidy & Sampson, *The Italian Academies 1525-1700,* cit., pp. 132-167; N.M. Filipini (eds.), *Donne sulla scena pubblica. Societa e politica in Veneto tra Sette e Ottocento*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2006; M. Betri & E. Brambilla (eds.), *Salotti e ruolo femminile in Italia tra fine Seicento e primo Novecento*, Venezia, Marsilio, 2004; L. Rischbieter, *Henriette Hertz. Mäzenin und Gründerin der Biblioteca Hertziana in Rom*, Stuttgart, Steiner, 2004; S. Dyson, *Eugénie Sellers Strong: Portrait of an Archaeologist,* London, Duckworth, 2004.

encyclopedic scale. The material was gathered by the Spanish physician, Francisco Hernández (ca. 1515-1587), during a scientific expedition in Mexico between 1571-1577. After his return to Spain, his manuscripts were edited and abridged by another royal physician, the Italian Nardo Antonio Recchi (ca. 1540-1594). He brought his compendium, together with hundreds of color images that had been copied from Hernández's originals, to his fatherland in 1589 on his appointment as first physician of the kingdom of Naples. After obtaining the compendium the Lincei began to prepare its publication immediately. It still took forty years until a definitive version of the *Tesoro* was published in 1651. Jonker analyses this project as a prime example of the collective nature of the Lincean scientific pursuits. He demonstrates that the publication of a scientific treatise depended on the contribution and collaboration (and thus on a well-functioning network) of various scholars, and especially studies their relevance in the patronage, knowledge, artistic and publication practices that were essential for the compilation and publication of this specific work of science.

In his contribution Martijn van Beek addresses the functioning of the network of the Order of Saint Benedict on the Italian peninsula at the end of the seventeenth century. By analysing six drawings of the Madonna by Juan Ricci de Guevara (1600-1681), van Beek demonstrates that both in theory and practice Benedictine intellectual scholarly activity was always combined with practicing faith. This combination becomes manifest in the art and writings of Ricci de Guevara, a visual artist, eminent scholar and a fanatic traveller. As van Beek shows, Ricci's drawings are manifestations of his critical stance towards Aquinas' remarks concerning devotion to Mary. For him the popular devotion to Mary outweighed the intellectual theological restrictions. A recurring argument in Ricci's criticism was the divine experience by devote artists while creating an image of Mary. Ricci re-enacted this practice in his drawings that were based on popular images of the Madonna that he came across during his travels in Italy. His merge of devotion and scholarship led Ricci to the conclusion that in the creation of these images it was possible to worship Mary's divinity. Thus van Beek reads Ricci's drawings as a visual manifestation of the Benedictine intellectual network in which scholarly activity and practicing faith were naturally combined.

John Brewer in his article focusses on the network of the volcanologist Teodoro Monticelli (1759-1845), who, although hardly mentioned in the histories of science, was a powerful figure in his day. Brewer demonstrates that Monticelli was both part of local knowledge traditions as well as the larger academic community. Using three overlapping but distinct (inter)national networks, reaching from Naples to London, Monticelli aimed to realize his clear views on the future of Naples. This included the establishment of constitutional regimes with an educated and enfranchised public, and sometimes even the unification of the entire peninsula, as well as the promotion of his hometown as a modern scientific centre. Monticelli knew that his passion for mineralogy, geology and volcanism (and especially his love for, and knowledge and collections of the Vesuvius) could serve him well. Focusing on Monticelli's dependency on his networks, Brewer analyses how they worked. Apart from the exchange of books, periodicals and proceedings of local academies, Monticelli was in correspondence with like-minded amateur and professional scholars. He also welcomed them in Naples, making them part of its academic culture by showing them around on the Vesuvius, informing them through accounts of its activity and exhibiting samples. Then there was intellectual and gift exchange. For a man that probably never travelled outside the Italian peninsula himself, Monticelli was responsible for a quite impressive number of itineraries of travelling specimen dispatched to and from all different parts of Europe and even beyond. Brewer concludes that in all of these strategies, Vesuvius was indispensable, as it offered Monticelli the social and cultural resources to pursue his cause, as well as that it protected him during the many regime changes.

In the fourth contribution Floris Meens traces the genesis as well as the development of the salon of the Roman countess and archaeologist Ersilia Caetani-Lovatelli (1840-1925). Continuing the tradition of her father, the politician, artist and scholar Michelangelo Caetani, Ersilia began welcoming her scholarly friends during the late 1860s. Many of them became involved in the politics of the young Italian nation-state because they were appointed senator for life. During the 1870s Caetani-Lovatelli's intellectual gatherings not only became regular, they also became a crucial hotspot of Rome's and Italy's political life. Meens's analysis of this salon is twofold. On the one hand, by using a quantitative approach as well as by analysing its practicalities and ethos, he discloses the countess's networking politics. By focusing on the salon's political conversation on the other, and especially its debates on the young Italian nation-state and its political state of affairs, he reveals its political meaning and influence on liberal Italy.

The theme of politics has a strong presence in the two final articles as well. As the article by Meens already indicates, intellectuals and their networks played an important role in the initiatives, both from within the Italian government as well as from outside, to shape Italy into a modern nation state and to culturally unite its population. Questioning the role of the "foreign" in this process, Tamara van Kessel in her article demonstrates how networks engaged intellectuals from Italy as well as abroad in the construction of "Italy". She delves into the history of the Dante Alighieri Society, founded in 1899 to promote the Italian language and culture in other countries via a complex network of local committees within and outside the Italian peninsula. The Dante functioned as a public platform for intellectuals to question how Italy was to be shaped and represented. Focusing on the Fascist period, but bearing in mind its roots in the liberal period and remarking that the transition from intellectuals serving to build Italy as a new nation-state and those promoting Fascism was not always unambiguous, van Kessel studies the case of the Dante Alighieri Society's committee in Warsaw. Referring to Mario Isnenghi's concept of the 'intellectual functionary' she uncovers the main goals of the Warsaw Dante Committee members as well as how they related to the Fascist government and ideology. Analysing the connections of the Warsaw Dante committee to other examples of internationalism in the interwar period that offered a platform for nationalist ideas and agendas, van Kessel not only clarifies the role of foreign Italian intellectual networks in the creation of an image of Italy, but also the ways in which the Fascists implemented international cultural policy to strengthen their position.

In the final article Nathalie de Haan traces the rich life and manifold activities of Umberto Zanotti-Bianco (1889-1963), an Italian social activist, antifascist, self-made archaeologist and *senatore a vita*. As a networker *pur sang*, Zanotti was able to successfully employ a great variety of activities with the help of influential and/or rich persons. Zanotti's ultimate objective was the regeneration of the South, and education, culture, history, and heritage were all instrumental to that. Focusing on the period 1907-1941, the year of his imprisonment in Rome followed by prolonged periods of internal exile, de Haan traces Zanotti's involvement in both the National Association for the Interests of the Mezzogiorno in Italy as well as the Società Magna Grecia. As becomes clear in de Haan's analysis of how Zanotti built, managed and used his partly overlapping and constantly changing networks, he was well aware of their potential. Despite his strong anti-fascist position, he collaborated with persons within fascist institutions (despite the fact that his real intimates were opponents of Mussolini's regime and that he cut off some of the contacts that did not provide any help), and these contacts provided him with some room to operate. Even if sometimes the authorities severely obstructed his activities, de Haan agrees with van Kessel in arguing that the fascist regime was never a monolithic block and did not always react

in a coherent way. Zanotti knew well how to use this room for ‘wheeling and dealing’. But in the end his networks could not prevent his imprisonment in 1941, a proof of the regime’s repression reaching its peak. De Haan interprets the various internal exiles imposed on Zanotti as attempts to isolate him, by which the Italian authorities themselves implicitly emphasised the great influence of intellectual networks.

Keywords
Networks, intellectuals, Italy, cultural exchange, transfer

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The Accademia dei Lincei's network and practices in the publication of the *Tesoro messicano*[*]

Matthijs Jonker

On 10 October 1636, the geographer Johannes de Laet (1581-1649) sent a letter from Leiden to the philologist Lucas Holstein (1596-1661) in Rome, in which he eagerly inquired about the upcoming publication of a certain book:

> For many years we have been awaiting the compendium of this great work, compiled by this most learned man Nardus Antonius Reccus (as I learned from Fabio Colonna). Its printing was begun a long time ago in Rome, and we have seen the printed title page here [i.e. in Leiden] some years ago. Last year I asked a member of our Elzevier family to inquire in Rome about the prospects of that book: I understand the work has been paused or even aborted, for a similar book has been edited by a certain Nieremberg in Belgium.[1]

The 'compendium' referred to in the letter is an encyclopedia of the flora and fauna of Mexico. As director of the Dutch West India Company and editor of scientific books on the natural history of Latin America, De Laet was obviously interested in such a work. His request for information to Holstein was a logical one: not only was Holstein the Barberini librarian, and thus at the center of the Roman book market and publishing scene, but more importantly, he had been a member of the Accademia dei Lincei since 1626. This academy was preparing the publication of this scientific encyclopedia, which would finally be published in 1651 under the title *Rerum*

[*] Most of the research for this article was carried out during a three-month stay at the Royal Netherlands Institute in Rome in the Fall of 2018, made possible thanks to a postdoc scholarship (Ted Meijer Prize) from the institute. I would like to thank the staff of the institute and the other scholarship holders for their constructive criticism on my research during this time. Special thanks goes to Ellinoor Bergvelt for her helpful comments on an earlier version of this article and to Leanne Jansen for helping me with the Latin and providing me with a copy of De Laet's letter. I also want to thank Emma Grootveld and the two anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments on an earlier version of this article.

[1] Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS BPL 1830: 'Plurimi iam sunt anni quibus expectavimus compendium magni illius operis concinnatum a doctissmo viro Nardo Antonio Reccho, (uti e Fabio Columna didici) et Romae excudi iamdudum coeptum, cuius et titulum excusum ante aliquot annos hic vidimus; dederam superiori anno cognato Elzeviriorum nostrorum in mandatis ut Romae inquireret; quid porro spei esset de illo libro; sed [strikethrough: quia] intelligo operam intermissam aut etiam omissam, quia similis liber a quodam Nuerenbergio in Belgio erat editus.' This is a passage from a copy of a letter in the Vatican Library (Barb. Lat. 2182), transcribed in G. Gabrieli, *Il carteggio linceo*, Roma, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1996, no. 1038, p. 1243. See for translations of the passage – here amended with the help of Leanne Jansen – R. Chabrán & S. Varey, 'The Hernández Texts', in: S. Varey (ed.), *The Mexican Treasury: The Writings of Dr. Francisco Hernandez*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2000, p. 17 and I. Baldriga, 'The influence of Clusius in Italy: Federico Cesi and the Accademia dei Lincei', in: F. Egmond, P. Hoftijzer & R.P.W. Visser (eds.), *Carolus Clusius: Towards a cultural history of a Renaissance naturalist*, Amsterdam, KNAW, 2007, p. 261.

medicarum Novae Hispaniae thesaurus ('Treasury of the Medical Matters of New Spain'), better known as the *Tesoro messicano* ('Mexican Treasury').[2]

The Accademia dei Lincei was founded in 1603 by the young Umbrian-Roman aristocrat Federico Cesi (1585-1630) together with three friends: two other Italian aristocrats, Francesco Stelluti (1577-1652) from Fabriano and Anastasio de Filiis (1577-1608) from Terni; and one Catholic exile from the Low Countries, the physician Johannes van Heeck (Heckius) (b. 1579) from Deventer, who was a graduate from the University of Padua. From 1610 onward, the academy recruited new members. The first to join the four founders was the polymath Giambattista della Porta (1535-1615), who was made head of the Neapolitan branch of the academy.[3] In 1611, the Linceans recruited their most famous and important member, the astronomer and mathematician Galileo Galilei (1564-1642).

However, in the context of this article the entry of Johannes Schreck (alias Terrentius) (1576-1630) and Johannes Schmidt (alias Faber) (1574-1629) − the former a physician and mathematician from Konstanz and the latter a professor of medicine at the University of Rome ('La Sapienza') and Keeper of the Vatican gardens from Bamberg − in the same year is more relevant. It has been argued that their admission to the academy was directly related to a manuscript about the natural history of Mexico that Cesi obtained from the jurist and bibliophile Marco Antonio Petilio (ca. 1566-1640) around 1610.[4] It is this manuscript that formed the basis for the *Tesoro*.

The publication of the *Tesoro* would become the Lincei's largest, longest, and most complex project. The book also is the best example of the *collective* nature of the Lincean scientific enterprise, as it contains contributions by Cesi, Terrentius, Faber, and Colonna, while additional research and data collection was carried out by Cassiano dal Pozzo (1588-1657), Cardinal Francesco Barberini (1597-1679), Francesco Stelluti, and Justus Ryckius (1587-1627).[5] The *Tesoro* was the first collective natural history project in Europe that was carried out on an encyclopedic scale. Other features

[2] The full official title of the work is *Rerum medicarum Novae Hispaniae thesaurus, seu, Plantarum animalium mineralium Mexicanorum historia*. Whereas the title page only mentions Francisco Hernández, Nardo Antonio Recchi, and Johannes Terrentius as authors and editors, the names of Johannes Faber, Fabio Colonna, and Federico Cesi are clearly indicated on the first pages of the parts they composed. The book exists in various editions, with different frontispieces, dedications, indices, and appendices − evidence of its long and complicated compilation process and its different moments of printing. For this reason it has been said that there are no two copies exactly the same. A. Ubrizsy Savoia, 'Federico Cesi (1585-1630) and the Correspondence Network of his Accademia dei Lincei', in: *Studium*, 4, 4 (2011), pp. 202-203. The main body of the work, however, consisting of descriptions and illustrations of the Mexican plants, animals, and minerals, is identical in all versions. Unless indicated otherwise, in this article references to the *Tesoro messicano* are to the copy in the Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Consiniana: Arch. Linc. 31. An anagraphic reprint of this copy was published in 1992 by the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei and the Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato, Roma, 1992, with a separate introductory essay by G.B. Marini Bettòlo, 'Guida alla lettura del Tesoro messicano: Rerum medicarum Novae Hispaniae Thesaurus'. A scan of the same copy can also be found online at the website of the World Digital Library: https://www.wdl.org/en/item/19340/view/1/1/.

[3] Auxiliary branches in other European cities and even in other continents were conceived, but never realized.

[4] Baldriga, 'The Influence of Clusius in Italy', cit., p. 260 and D. Freedberg, *The Eye of the Lynx: Galileo, his friends, and the beginnings of modern natural history*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2002, p. 257. Neither the date nor the precise circumstances under which Cesi obtained the manuscript is known. The earliest reference to the Mexican material in the remaining documents of the Linceans concerns a reference in one of Van Heeck's letters (2 June 1608), in which he recounts to Cesi about having seen the images in the library of the Escorial in Madrid. M. Guardo, 'Nell'officina del Tesoro messicano. Il ruolo misconosciuto di Marco Antonio Petilio nel sodalizio linceo', in: M.E. Cadeddu & M. Guardo (eds.), *Il "Tesoro Messicano": Libri e saperi tra Europa e Nuovo Mondo*, Firenze, Leo Olschki, 2013, pp. 70-71.

[5] See for a discussion of the members and their contributions to the *Tesoro* Marini Bettòlo, 'Guida alla lettura del Tesoro messicano', cit.

that make it an important work in the history of science are the systematic coupling of the descriptions and images, and the fact that it was based on material that was collected and produced in Mexico, partly by indigenous 'scientists' and 'artists' with knowledge of botany and medicine.[6]

The material for the *Tesoro* was gathered by the Spanish royal physician, Francisco Hernández (ca. 1515-1587), during a scientific expedition in Mexico between 1571-1577. Philip II of Spain had sent Hernández to Latin America in order to collect information on the medicinal properties of the local flora and fauna. After Hernández's return to Spain, his manuscripts were edited and abridged by another royal physician, the Italian Nardo Antonio Recchi (ca. 1540-1594), mentioned by De Laet in his letter. Recchi brought his compendium, together with hundreds of color images that had been copied from Hernández's originals, to his fatherland in 1589 on his appointment as *archiatra* (first physician) of the kingdom of Naples.[7] When the Lincei obtained the compendium from Recchi's nephew and heir, Marco Antonio Petilio, they immediately commenced preparations for its publication.

After a promising start, in which the Lincei received a papal printing privilege for the city of Rome (1612),[8] annotated and updated the botanical part of the Hernández-Recchi manuscript, and had a substantial number of woodcuts made for the illustrations, the book's publication seemed imminent. However, doubts about the quality and accuracy of the annotations and illustrations, the desire to include all available information and most recent scientific insights, and the priority of other projects prompted the academicians to keep reworking and revising their annotations, commentary, comparisons, illustrations, and discursive style for the next four decades until a definitive version of the *Tesoro* was finally published in 1651 – more than forty years after the start of the project, and more than twenty years after Cesi's death, which had resulted in the suspension of most of the academy's activities. The final product bears the scars of this long and difficult birth as the comments on the descriptions of the plants and animals are of uneven length and quality, and the book lacks a clear overall structure. In the meantime, other authors had published parts of either Hernández's manuscript or Recchi's abridgment thereof, including the Jesuit Juan Eusebio Nieremberg (1595-1658) who worked in Madrid and who is mentioned by De Laet in his letter, but none of these publications were as comprehensive or had the wealth of visual material as the Lincean edition.[9]

Publishing a scientific treatise like the *Tesoro* in seventeenth-century Rome required a vast network. In the first place, with regard to the textual content of the book, the Lincei depended on colleagues and friends, both within Rome and the Republic of Letters, for help with the descriptions and analyses – i.e. annotating, checking, updating, and comparing the plants and animals with European species.[10]

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[6] Freedberg, *The Eye of the Lynx*, cit., pp. 246-271; L. Guerrini, 'The "Accademia dei Lincei" and the New World', *Max Planck Institute for the History of Science*, https://pure.mpg.de/rest/items/item_2274289/component/file_2274287/content, preprint 2008, pp. 8-9 (23 November 2008).

[7] Guardo, 'Nell'officina del *Tesoro messicano*', cit., p. 69. Hernández's original manuscript, which he had sent to Philip II in the 1570s, was lost when in 1671 a fire destroyed the library of the Escorial. Hernández's own copy of his work, divided over two archives, is housed in Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional, MSS 22,436-22,439 and Ministerio de Hacienda, MSS 931, 932. J. Bustamante, 'The Natural History of New Spain', in: S. Varey (ed.), *The Mexican Treasury: The Writings of Dr. Francisco Hernandez*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2000, pp. 26-39.

[8] S. Brevaglieri, 'Il Cantiere del *Tesoro Messicano* tra Roma e l'Europa. Pratiche di comunicazione e strategie editoriali nell'orizzonte dell'Accademia dei Lincei (1610-1630)', in: S. Brevaglieri, L. Guerrini & F. Solinas (eds.), *Sul Tesoro Messicano & su alcuni disegni del Museo Cartaceo di Cassiano dal Pozzo*, Roma, Edizione dell'Elefante, 2007, pp. 47-48.

[9] See for an overview of these publications Chabrán & Varey, 'The Hernández Texts', cit.

[10] Ubrizsy Savoia, 'Federico Cesi', cit., p. 206.

Second, access to artistic circles and a basic knowledge of artistic production (e.g. drawing and woodcutting) was necessary for the realization of the graphic material of the treatise, which amounted to almost 800 illustrations. Third, the printing and publishing entailed obtaining printing privileges, negotiating censorship, devising marketing strategies, and finding access to adequate printers and binders.

In the last two decades several articles have been published that have substantially advanced our understanding of the compilation and publication process of the *Tesoro* by relating it to the network of the Accademia dei Lincei.[11] The authors of these studies have done so by borrowing concepts from the social sciences such as "practice", "cultural broker", "materiality", and, indeed, "network". However, concepts of this kind are seldom applied with methodological rigor or linked to a larger theoretical framework in these studies. What is more, the use of concepts from the social sciences notwithstanding, the interpretations of the publication of the *Tesoro* tend to be written from an individual perspective, as the authors focus on the role of certain Lincei or their patrons. As a result they have provided only partial views, and it remains unclear how the manifold aspects and functions of the Lincei's network mutually interacted in the enterprise of the *Tesoro*.[12]

The aim of this article is to provide a more integral account of the compilation and publication process of the *Tesoro* with the help of a theoretical framework in which the concept of "practice" is clearly defined. In this framework social life is conceived of as an overlapping web of practices. The term cultural or social "practice" refers to a "unit of bodily doings and sayings" that are linked together in three ways: by expressing hierarchically ordered goals, by explicit rules, and by practical skills or "know how". This means that practices can be reconstructed by identifying what goals were pursued by, which skills were required from, and which rules were observed (or transgressed) by their practitioners. In addition, the material culture, including images, treatises, and works of art play an integral role in the functioning of a practice.[13]

From this perspective, at least four practices relevant to the Lincean's compilation and publication of the *Tesoro* can be reconstructed and analysed: patronage, scientific, artistic, and publication practices, whereby the first type functions on a different level as it is dispersed in the other three types of practices. By distinguishing these practices and showing how they overlapped with and diverged from each other, it is possible to provide a more comprehensive view of the relative success and failure of the Lincean project, a view that lies beyond the standard interpretation in terms of the ideas and efforts of individual actors.

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[11] S. de Renzi, 'Writing and Talking of Exotic Animals', in: M. Frasca-Spada & N. Jardin (eds.), *Books and the Sciences in History*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp. 151-167; Brevaglieri, 'Il Cantiere del *Tesoro Messicano* tra Roma e l'Europa', cit.; S. Brevaglieri, 'Science, Books and Censorship in the Academy of the Lincei: Johannes Faber as Cultural Mediator', in: *Conflicting Duties*, Warburg Institute Colloquia 15 (2009); Ubrizsy Savoia, 'Federico Cesi', cit.; E. Antetomaso, 'Il censimento degli esemplari del Tesoro messicano: nuovi esiti di un'indagine bibliologica', in: M.E. Cadeddu & M. Guardo (eds.), *Il 'Tesoro Messicano': Libri e saperi tra Europa e Nuovo Mondo,* cit., pp. 95-113.

[12] The aforementioned publications focus either on the function of the Lincei's network in securing publication privileges (Brevaglieri and Antetomaso) or in obtaining additional information on the species described by Hernández (De Renzi), but not on both or in relation to each other. Moreover, the artistic aspect of the project of the *Tesoro* remains obscure altogether.

[13] See, for an elaboration and justification of this methodological perspective, which is based primarily on the social theoretical insights of Theodore Schatzki and Pierre Bourdieu, M. Jonker, 'The Academization of Art: A Practice Approach to the Early Histories of the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca', PhD diss., University of Amsterdam, 2017. See for an art historical application of this framework in this journal M. Jonker, 'Practices and Art Historical Meaning: The multiple meanings of Guido Reni's *Abduction of Helen* in its early years', in: *Incontri*, 25, 2 (2010), pp. 149-162.

Patronage practices: forging a network

One of the main goals of seventeenth-century patronage practices was the construction and maintenance of networks, consisting of individuals of various social standings for the sake of exchanging favors when necessary. The Accademia dei Lincei can itself be seen as a patronage network.

The first and foremost patron of the Accademia dei Lincei was, of course, Federico Cesi. Elected as *principe perpetuo* by the co-founders of the academy in 1603, he was the center of the academy's activities, composing its statutes, sponsoring its scientific projects and publications, as well as offering facilities – library, meeting room, laboratory – in his palaces in Rome and Acquasparta. The main source of Cesi's wealth was his family's connection to the Church, most importantly the fact that several of his relatives were cardinals. However, Cesi's financial means were insufficient to realize all the Lincean scientific projects on his own.[14] Other patrons were necessary to provide funds, access to foreign markets and entry into relevant scientific circles, or to negotiate with censors. The election of Maffeo Barberini (1568-1644) to Pope Urban VIII in 1623 proved fundamental in this respect. Both Maffeo and his nephew, Cardinal Francesco Barberini, were supporters of the sciences (and arts). The entrance of the latter into the Accademia dei Lincei in 1623 meant that the academy now had a protector in the highest echelons of power in seventeenth-century Rome.

Two Linceans had a particularly important role in the establishment and maintenance of an ecclesiastical patronage network, because of their proximity to the papal court. As Keeper of the Vatican gardens, Johannes Faber was especially important for the connections between the transalpine world and the Roman cultural, political, and ecclesiastical elite.[15] He also functioned as broker between German noblemen and ecclesiastics and the Accademia dei Lincei, such as the banker and astronomer Marcus Welser (1558-1614), who himself joined the academy in 1612 and corresponded with his colleagues from Augsburg. Moreover, Faber procured the protection of Cardinal Eitel Friedrich von Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen (1582-1625) for the academy.[16] The co-optation of Faber's correspondence network was probably one of the main reasons for recruiting him for the academy in the first place – in addition to his botanical and medicinal knowledge, which Cesi deemed crucial for carrying out the project of the *Tesoro*. Faber's death in 1629 diminished the academy's chances of successfully marketing and publishing the book in northern Europe.[17]

As secretary of *cardinal-nipote* Francesco Barberini, Cassiano dal Pozzo was another crucial cultural broker for the Accademia dei Lincei in the context of the *Tesoro*. Dal Pozzo was born into a noble family from Turin, educated at the University of Pisa under Medici protection, entered the household of Cardinal Francesco Maria del Monte (1549-1627) in 1612, became a member of the Accademia dei Lincei in 1622, and joined Barberini's household in the following year. His background and social position allowed him to amass important art, antique, and natural history collections, as well as graphic reproductions of the objects and artifacts in the collections of others – i.e. his famous *Museo cartaceo* ('Paper Museum') – and also to mediate between artists, scientists, and potential patrons.[18] Knowing how and when to deploy the

[14] See for Cesi's financial problems in the 1620s F. Giurleo, *I Cesi: Storia e cronistoria di una famiglia nobile di Acquasparta*, Viterbo, ArcheoAres, 2016, pp. 145-150.

[15] Brevaglieri, 'Science, Books and Censorship', cit., p. 134. See for Faber's role as a political and cultural broker between Rome and Bavaria also S. De Renzi, 'Medical competence, anatomy and the polity in seventeenth-century Rome', in: *Renaissance Studies*, 21, 4 (2007), pp. 551-567.

[16] Brevaglieri, 'Science, Books and Censorship', cit., pp. 134 and 137-139.

[17] Brevaglieri, 'Il Cantiere del *Tesoro Messicano* tra Roma e l'Europa', cit., pp. 3 and 5.

[18] P. Findlen, 'Cassiano dal Pozzo: A Roman virtuoso in search of nature', in: H. McBurney, P. Findlen, C. Napoleone & I. Rolfe (eds.), *Birds, Other Animals and Natural Curiosities, Volume 1* (The Paper

relevant features of one's background – i.e. social, national, religious, political proximity to potential patrons – counted as a relevant skill within these patronage practices. In the context of the *Tesoro*, Faber used his German background and Dal Pozzo his noble birth to establish and maintain a patronage network.[19]

The production of highly specialized cultural artifacts, such as artworks or scientific treatises, was a secondary goal of patronage practices in the sense that, as gifts, these products were used to establish and maintain patron-client relations. The Lincei produced two of such products that were directly related to the compilation and publication of the *Tesoro*.[20] The first was a small booklet with woodcuts of Mexican plants – *Libellus e Mexicanarum plantarum imaginibus* – that the Lincei donated to the bishop of Bamberg, Johann Gottfried von Aschhausen (1575-1622) during his diplomatic visit to Paul V in Rome on behalf of Emperor Matthias II in the fall and winter of 1612-1613. In Rome, Aschhausen met Cesi and the other academicians on several occasions. Apparently, the Lincei were impressed by the bishop's erudition: not only did Faber still praise him fifteen years later in his part of the *Tesoro* on the Mexican animals,[21] but they also offered him several of their publications, including the *Libellus e Mexicanarum plantarum imaginibus*, which they had prepared specifically for the occasion.[22] This gift was not simply a token of friendship or appreciation, but also served to establish a patronage relation with someone in close proximity to the Holy Roman Emperor.[23]

The *Libellus* can be seen as a prepublication, teaser, or demonstration of what the academy could deliver and what the reader could expect concerning the woodcuts of the *Tesoro*. It contained 80 images of the 'most beautiful of the Mexican plants', which were preceded by dedicatory verses to the bishop by Faber (in Latin) and Luca Valerio (in Greek).[24] It is known that several other copies of the booklet were printed. The only extant example known today is conserved in the Vatican Library and probably also had representational and network functions.[25] The binding is decorated with the cardinalitial seal of the Barberini (a cardinal's hat with three bees underneath it), which means that it probably was a gift to Maffeo Barberini, future Pope Urban VIII, who, around the time of the printing of the booklet was corresponding with Galileo and owned several of his works.[26] This booklet contains only 68 woodcuts, and does

Museum of Cassiano dal Pozzo Series B: Natural History - Parts IV/V), 2 vols., London, Brepols, 2017, pp. 18-42.

[19] I. Fosi, 'Johannes Faber: prudente mediatore o "esterno persecutore dei protestanti"', in: *I primi Lincei e il Sant'Uffizio: Questioni di scienza e di fede*, Atti dei convegni Lincei 215, Roma, Bardi, 2003, pp. 198-199.

[20] Antetomaso, 'Il censimento degli esemplari del Tesoro messicano', cit.

[21] *Tesoro*, p. 779.

[22] In the minutes of the academic meeting of 13 January 1613 – attended by Faber, Luca Valerio and Angelo de Filiis – Faber writes that the gifts had been presented to the bishop by Cesi. I. Baldriga, *L'Occhio delle lince: I Primi Lincei tra Arte, Scienza e Collezionismo (1603-1630)*, Roma, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 2002, p. 248. In a letter to Galileo of 18 January 1613, Cesi also contemplates donating a telescope to Aschhausen, as this would bring them honour in Germany as well as the acquisition of a good friend. Gabrieli, *Il carteggio linceo*, cit., no. 207, p. 316.

[23] See for Faber's role as cultural and political mediator between Rome and the Holy Roman Empire Fosi, 'Johannes Faber', cit. See for studies on the complex (political) interconnections between the papacy and the Holy Roman Empire I. Fosi & A. Koller (eds.), *Papato e Impero nel pontificato di Urbano VIII (1623-1644)*, Città del Vaticano, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, 2013.

[24] Gabrieli, *Il carteggio linceo*, cit., no. 224, pp. 331-333 (letter from Cesi to Galileo, 2 March 1613): 'Per dilettarsi de' semplici particolarmente, le habbiamo anco dato un libretto di figure, al numero d'80, delle più belle delle piante Indiane, e n'includo l'scritioncella e versi in fretta postovi'.

[25] Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV), Barberini N.VI 175.

[26] Antetomaso, 'Il censimento degli esemplari del Tesoro messicano', cit., p. 97. The Vatican copy could also have been a gift for Cardinal Francesco (or Antonio *junior*) Barberini, if the binding dates from the 1620s, instead of the moment of the printing of the booklet itself.

not have any text besides the dedications – so, no descriptions or even the names of the plants depicted.[27] A cursory comparison between the woodcuts in the *Libellus* and those in the *Tesoro* suggests that the same woodblocks were used, as the size and appearance are identical.

The second product directly related to the *Tesoro* and used by the Lincei to establish and maintain a patronage network was Faber's *Animalia mexicana* (1628), an extensive – almost 400-page – commentary on Hernández's descriptions of the Mexican animals that includes many digressions on the Roman intellectual scene in the 1620s, which are interesting precisely for reconstructing the Lincean network and their methods for verifying Hernandez's descriptions.[28] In fact, the *Animalia mexicana* is an extract of the completed version of the *Tesoro*, as the page numbers start on 459. However, it is not exactly the same as the published versions of the *Tesoro*, as the dedicatee changed from Urban VIII in 1625 to Cesi in the late 1640s. Cesi was by then long dead, but apparently seen as a more suitable patron than a pope who was not liked by his successor, Innocent X.[29]

Ten copies of the *Animalia mexicana* are either described in auction catalogues or can be found in European – mostly Roman – archives and libraries.[30] At least five of these have the same, sumptuous parchment binding and are decorated with gilded decorative motives and seals. Four of the seals represent cardinalitial coats of arms, including that of the Barberini twice. These copies were probably destined to Cardinal Francesco and Cardinal Antonio *junior* (1605-1671), who had been made cardinal by his uncle a year before the printing of the *Animalia mexicana*. The other two copies belonged to Cardinal Carlo Emanuele Pio di Savoia (1585-1641) and a member of the Colonna family – probably Girolamo (1604-1666), who also received his cardinal's hat from Urban VIII, and whose selection was announced on the same day as that of Antonio Barberini *junior*, 7 February 1628.[31] It seems that even more than in the case of the *Libellus*, the Lincei donated the *Animalia mexicana* as a presentation copy to individuals with prestigious positions in the Church in order to cultivate and expand their existing patronage network.[32]

An important rule within early modern patronage practices was letting the right amount of time pass between giving a gift and (indirectly) asking for a counter-gift (e.g. a favor). The laborious process of annotating the *Tesoro* made it difficult for the Accademia dei Lincei to comply with this rule, not least because some of the initial recipients had died in the meantime (e.g. Bishop Aschhausen and Pope Urban VIII).

Scientific practices: between tradition and innovation

The patronage network established by the Lincei through epistolary correspondence, gift-giving, and the recruitment of new members (cooptation of existing patronage networks) was subsequently deployed in other practices related to the publication of the *Tesoro*. The ultimate goal of the scientific practices in which the Lincei were

[27] It is not known whether the copy for Aschhausen had text beside the dedication.

[28] Brevaglieri, 'Il Cantiere del *Tesoro Messicano* tra Roma e l'Europa', cit., p. 3 and De Renzi, 'Writing and Talking', cit.

[29] Cfr. for instance the *Animalia Mexicana* and the *Tesoro* in the Biblioteca Casanatense in Rome, O V 9 and O V 2, respectively.

[30] Antetomaso, ''Il censimento degli esemplari del Tesoro messicano', cit., pp. 104-113.

[31] *Ivi*, pp. 112-113. Antetomaso has identified the binding as that of the Soresini, a family of binders connected to the Vatican.

[32] In the Lincean context presentation copies of scientific treatises were also handed out to potential and actual patrons on other occasions. For instance, Dal Pozzo printed separate editions of his *Uccelliera* (1622) with augmented and hand-colored plates of birds. H. McBurney, '"So Many Celestial Animals so Vividly Drawn": The Drawings of Birds in the Paper Museum', in: H. McBurney; P. Findlen, C. Napoleone & I. Rolfe (eds.), *Birds, Other Animals and Natural Curiosities*, cit., pp. 66-67.

engaged was to come to a systematic classification of the natural world.[33] In order to achieve it, the Lincei verified and checked as much as possible the descriptions contained in Recchi's compendium, indicating medicinal virtues of the species described. In this process they not only relied on traditional methods, such as comparison with established ancient and modern authorities – e.g. Theophrastus, Galen, Dioscorides, Pliny, and Clusius – but also made use of modern approaches, such as personal and direct observation of the plants, animals, and minerals that had been brought from the New World to European zoological and botanical gardens, cabinets of curiosities, and collections.

Their patronage and correspondence network played an important role in both instances. Whereas standard works like Pliny's *Natural History* and Dioscorides's *Materia medica* (in one of Pietro Andrea Mattioli's editions, with commentary and illustrations) were present in Lincean libraries,[34] some modern treatises were more difficult to acquire, and especially those produced outside of Rome. In those instances, the Lincei could deploy their network in order to acquire or borrow books from other scientists. Faber's northern European connections provided the Lincei with relevant publications, dispatched from Augsburg and accompanied by episcopal letters declaring that their content was non-heretic.[35] Moreover, for his commentary on the Mexican animals, Faber borrowed the seven books of the *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* of José de Acosta (Seville, 1590) from Cardinal Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen.[36]

With the help of their correspondence network the Lincei were able to verify and check some of the descriptions in Recchi's compendium. Through the exchange of letters they engaged in discussions at a distance, which both replaced and continued direct conversations with other scholars.[37] In his part on the Mexican animals, Faber repeatedly includes letters from other scientists. For instance, in his commentary on the *American Civet*, he reproduced two letters from his Neapolitan fellow-Lincean Colonna on the *European Civet*, as well as woodcut illustrations of this animal, by way of comparison.[38]

Furthermore, epistolary contact among botanists in this period included the exchange of dried specimens, images, bulbs, and seeds, as well as directions for watering and growing plants.[39] This means that the Lincei could analyse some of the specimens described by Hernández and Recchi *ad vivum* in their own gardens or in those of colleagues. An interesting figure in this context was the Dutch apothecary and humanist Hendrik de Raef, Italianized as Enrico Corvino (d. 1639), who had lived in Rome since 1591 and owned a well-known botanical garden in the city.[40] Although not a member of the academy himself, he seems to have been a close friend of the Lincei

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[33] Guerrini, 'The "Accademia dei Lincei"', cit., pp. 8-9.
[34] See for example Gabrieli, *Il carteggio linceo*, cit., no. 913, pp. 1114-1115, on the hand-colored edition of Mattioli owned by the Dal Pozzo brothers.
[35] Fosi, 'Johannes Faber', cit., p. 196.
[36] Faber repeatedly refers to this book in the *Tesoro*, for instance in his commentary on the *Picus Americanus* (p. 704). Brevaglieri, 'Il Cantiere del *Tesoro Messicano* tra Roma e l'Europa', cit., p. 14; Brevaglieri, 'Science, Books, and Censorship', cit., pp. 138-139; Ubrizsy Savoia, 'Federico Cesi', cit., p. 205. Gabrieli, *Il carteggio linceo*, cit., no. 710, p. 839 (Faber to Cesi, 27 January 1624). It was Cardinal Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen who loaned Faber the book on the natural and moral history of the West-Indies. He was among the first thirteen members of the Propaganda Fide, the jurisdictional organization of the Roman Curia which was founded in 1622 to oversee the Catholic Church's missionary activities. See G. Pizzorusso, 'Cardinals and the Congregation of the Propaganda Fide 1622-1750', in: M. Hollingsworth, M. Pattenden & A. Witte (eds.), *The Companion to the Early Modern Cardinal*, Leiden, Brill (forthcoming).
[37] Ubrizsy Savoia, 'Federico Cesi', cit., p. 209.
[38] De Renzi, 'Writing and Talking', cit., p. 160. *Tesoro*, pp. 580-581.
[39] Baldriga, 'The Influence of Clusius in Italy', cit., pp. 249-250.
[40] M.B. Guerrieri Borsoi, *Gli Strozzi a Roma: Mecenati e collezionisti nel Sei e Settecento*, Roma, Fondazione Marco Besso / Colombo, 2004, pp. 121-140.

and accompanied them on botanical field trips in the hills outside of Rome.[41] Corvino's garden is mentioned on several occasions by Terrentius in his annotations of the plants in the *Tesoro*. For instance, the presence of the *Ololiuhqui* in Corvino's garden made it possible for Terrentius to classify this species in a European taxonomic system, i.e. as a member of the *Convolvulaceae* family.[42]

Other specimens from the New World could be analysed in real life by the Lincei through their connections with botanists, physicians, and apothecaries in the Vatican and Naples. However, only a small percentage of the species described by Recchi were available in Europe in the first half of the seventeenth century. This meant that the Linceans also had to rely on the accounts of people with experience in the New World, e.g. soldiers, merchants, and missionaries.[43] Especially the last category plays an important role in Faber's description of the animals.

Both in his letters and in the *Tesoro*, Faber mentions that he was aided by five missionaries, who had spent many years in America. Three of these friars are named in the *Tesoro*: the Franciscan Gregorio de Bolivar and the Dominicans Pietro de Aloaysa and Bartolomeo de la Ygarza. Bolivar plays the most important part in Faber's narrative and he is the only missionary retraceable in other sources. The Franciscan friar helped Faber, for instance, with the descriptions of the *American Civet*, the *Mexican Bull*, and the *Mexican Boar*.[44]

The skills needed by the Lincei to successfully participate in scientific practices included, thus, the traditional scholastic reading and writing of commentaries, but also the observation of plants and animals in botanical and zoological gardens (i.e. know what were relevant and what secondary features), knowing how to grow plants, and how to conduct scientific interviews with missionaries.

As far as rules are concerned, the fact that they founded their own institution means that they were not bound to the same rules as the universities. Indeed, Cesi worked for many years on the *Lynceographum*, the "rule-book" for his academy, which included laws prohibiting all political, religious, and even marital affiliations of the Lincei, because these things would hinder the freedom of philosophizing.[45] However, the participation in other practices made it necessary to break these rules on occasion. For instance, the need for a powerful patron made it possible for Cardinal Barberini to become a member of the academy; and because of Cesi's dynastic responsibilities he married (twice) and transgressed the rule of celibacy.

Artistic practices: epistemic images and academic circles

The production of luxury artifacts was one of the central goals of contemporary artistic practices. The iconography and style of these products depended on the functions and meanings they were supposed to have, e.g. religious, secular propagandistic, or decorative. That is to say, they depended on the other practices in which the artifacts were supposed to function.

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[41] For example, in October 1611, Corvino accompanied Cesi, Molitor, Faber, and Terrentius on a scientific excursion on Monte Gennaro. *Tesoro*, p. 503. Gabrieli, *Il carteggio linceo*, cit., no. 78, p. 175 (Cesi to Galileo, 21 October 1611). Baldriga, *L'Occhio delle lince*, cit., p. 1.

[42] *Tesoro*, p. 145. The *Ololuihqui* or *Coaxihuitl* ('snake plant') is a large, woody vine used by Aztec healers in treatments for syphilis, flatulence, and broken bones, but also by priests to make contact with spirits and demons, as it had hallucinogenic effects.

[43] Freedberg, *The Eye of the Lynx*, cit., p. 260.

[44] *Tesoro*, pp. 539-540, 590-594, and 648-649. Cfr. G. Gabrieli, 'Un contributo dei missionari cattolici alla prima conoscenza naturalistica del Messico: nel "Tesoro Messicano" edito dalla prima Accademia dei Lincei (Roma 1651)', in: *Contributi alla storia dell'Accademia dei Lincei*, 2 vols., Roma, Bardi, 1989, 2, pp. 1567-1576.

[45] A. Nicolò (ed.), *Lynceographum quo norma studiosae vitae lynceorum philosophorum exponitur*, Roma, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 2001.

Images played a fundamental role in the scientific projects of the Lincei from the start. Their books and manuscripts contain thousands of drawings and prints. This enormous graphic production attests to their profound conviction that the description, analysis, and understanding of the natural world – as well as the subsequent divulgation of the knowledge so acquired – should be carried out through a combination of text and image. This is connected to Cesi's notion of *pittura filosofica* ('philosophical painting'), which expresses the idea that art should (and could) be used as an instrument for understanding nature.[46] Although Cesi, Van Heeck, Stelluti, and Colonna were able amateur draftsmen themselves, they commissioned professional artists to produce the illustrations for their publications.[47]

In the case of the *Tesoro*, the illustrations consist of the frontispiece – existing in various editions by Matthäus Greuter and his son Federico – and the almost 800 woodcut prints of the plants – some of which were already published in 1613 for the gift for Bishop Aschhausen – and animals. The identity of two of the artists who produced the woodcuts has been disclosed by Giovanni Baglioni in his *Vite* (1642). Baglione writes that Isabella Parasoli and Giorgio Nuvolostella produced 'engravings for the book of the herbs' ('intagli nel Libro dell'herbe') for Federico Cesi.[48]

The 'book of the herbs' referred to by Baglione must be the *Tesoro*. Although nothing more of Parasoli is known in this context, the archive of the Accademia dei Lincei contains the draft of a contract between Cesi and Nuvolostella from October 1619 for the production of the woodcuts for the *Tesoro*. The contract specifies that the artist had to complete eight figures per month; in return he was paid 7 *scudi* and 25 *baiocchi*. In addition he received a daily 'share' ('parte') of bread and wine, which was taken away if one week passed without handing in a figure.[49]

The large quantity of woodcut illustrations in the *Tesoro* and the speed by which they were produced in the 1610s means that the Lincei must have employed other artists besides Parasoli and Nuvolostella. However, their letters and other documents in the archive of the Accademia dei Lincei do not disclose the identities of these artists. It is also impossible to attribute the images to individual artists on stylistic grounds. Far from being mere decorations, the woodcuts fulfilled specific epistemic functions by complementing the textual descriptions of the plants and animals, and facilitating analysis and comparison.[50] Such a project required stylistic uniformity in the

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[46] *Indicatio philosophicorum operum* in Cesi's 'Zibaldone', Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, Ms XII.E.4, 24v. Cf. Baldriga, *L'Occhio delle lince*, cit., pp. 13-15 and 259.

[47] Gabrieli, *Il carteggio linceo*, cit., no. 24, pp. 67-68, n. 1; F. Tognoni, 'Nature Described: Fabio Colonna and Natural History Illustration', in: *Nuncius*, 20, 2 (2005), pp. 347-370; F. Solinas, 'Cassiano dal Pozzo Linceo e alcuni fogli del Museo cartaceo', in: S. Brevaglieri, L. Guerrini & F. Solinas (eds.), *Sul Tesoro Messicano & su alcuni disegni del Museo Cartaceo di Cassiano dal Pozzo*, Roma, Edizione dell'Elefante, 2007, p. 126; F. Solinas, 'Osservazione della Natura e "Pittura filosofica" nella Roma dei primi Lincei', in: *Il cannocchiale e il pennello: Nuova scienza e nuova arte nell'età di Galileo* (exh. cat. Pisa, Palazzo Blu, May 9-July 19, 2009), Firenze, Giunti, pp. 231-232.

[48] G. Baglione, *Le vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti: dal pontificato di Gregorio XIII del 1572. In fino a' tempi di Papa Urbano Ottavo nel 1642*, Jacob Hess & Herwarth Röttgen (eds.), Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1995, p. 395: 'Come anche sono opera di sua [Isabella's] mano gl'intagli nel Libro dell'herbe del Principe Cesi d'Acquasparta, letteratissimo Signore. Fece altro cose per particolari. Et alli lavori, a quali mancò Isabella, supplì Gio. Giorgio Nuvolstella con le fatiche del suo intaglio.' See also Baldriga, *L'Occhio delle lince*, cit., pp. 257-258.

[49] Arch. Linc. 4, 372r-v. The previous sheet (Arch. Linc. 4, 371r) also concerns Nuvolostella's work for Cesi. It contains various entries, the first of which is similar to the contract on the following page, only much shorter. It states that the artist arrived in Acquasparta on July 20, 1618 to make the woodcuts for the figures of the animals for the 'Mexican book'.

[50] See for the distinction between generic illustrations and epistemic images in early modern scientific treatises S. Kusukawa, 'Illustrating Nature', in: M. Frasca-Spada & N. Jardin (eds.), *Books and the Sciences in History*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp. 99-100.

illustrations and precluded indulging in aesthetic considerations or the expression of artistic individuality.[51]

Furthermore, the limited resources available for such a large graphic production determined the choice of both the medium and the artists who produced them. Woodcuts were cheaper than, for instance, copper engravings, but also made for cruder and less detailed images. For this reason scholars have judged the illustrations in the *Tesoro* to be somewhat disappointing.[52] From an artistic point of view, they are right. However, in the early modern period the woodcut technique was often preferred in botanical and natural historical treatises, precisely because it forced the artist to represent only the essential and universalized features of a species and to refrain from producing faithful copies of individual specimens with all their details and defects, which would hinder rather than aid identification and classification.[53]

The artists involved were obviously able professionals, but probably no accomplished masters, who had carried out large, public commissions. This is shown not only by the illustrations themselves but also to by Nuvolostella's contract, mentioned above. The artist was paid a fixed price for each woodcut he completed. Although contemporaries would have conceived this as better, in terms of social standing, than being paid per day (as journeymen), it was not what most ambitious artists were looking for, namely a fixed court salary, in addition to payments for their works.

The Lincean graphic production for the *Tesoro* required access to artistic circles and familiarity with artistic practices. In other words, it required a network that included visual artists. In seventeenth-century Italy, such a patronage network could be forged and cultivated in literary and art academies, as well as in the palaces of high prelates. The Accademia di San Luca and Cardinal Francesco Maria del Monte's Palazzo Madama were important sites for the Lincei in this respect. The Accademia di San Luca was the Roman art academy, which was sanctioned by Gregory XIII and Sixtus V in 1577 and 1588, respectively, but it started its educational activities around 1593. It was the successor to the guild and confraternity of the artists in Rome and it continued to carry out corporative and assistential functions, e.g. the protection and control of the profession through a system of rules concerning workshops, appraisals, and the art market.[54]

Different types of artists and artisans were involved in the Accademia di San Luca. Moreover, the academic meetings and drawing sessions were also open to gentlemen and amateurs, which enabled the artists to come into contact with potential patrons.[55] Relevant in this context is that documents in the archive of the art academy show that in 1627 and 1629 Cassiano dal Pozzo attended meetings in which the candidates for the presidency of the institution were discussed. Dal Pozzo was there as representative of Cardinal Francesco Barberini, who at that time was the protector of both the Accademia dei Lincei and the Accademia di San Luca.[56]

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[51] Freedberg, *The Eye of the Lynx*, cit., p. 257.

[52] *Ivi*, pp. 257 and 271. See also J.M. López Piñero & J. Pardo-Tomás, *Nuevos materiales y noticias sobre la historia de las plantas de nueva España de Francisco Hernández*, Cuadernos Valencianos de historia de la medicina y de la ciencia XLIV, Serie A (Monografías), Valencia, Instituto de estudios documentales e históricos sobre la ciencia Universitat de Valencia-C.S.I.C., 1994, p. 85.

[53] L. Daston, 'Observation', in: S. Dackerman (ed.), *Prints and the Pursuit of Knowledge in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge (MA), Harvard Art Museums / New Haven-London, Yale University Press, 2011, p. 128; S. Kusukawa, 'Drawing as an Instrument of Knowledge', in: A. Payne (ed.), *Vision and Its Instruments: art, science, and technology in early modern Europe*, University Park, Pennsylvania University Press, 2015, pp. 36-48.

[54] Jonker, 'The Academization of Art', cit., pp. 207-236.

[55] *Ivi*, pp. 407-416.

[56] Archivio di Stato di Roma (ASR), TNC, uff. 15, 1627, pt. IV, vol. 114, fols. 257r-v, 272r and ASR, TNC, uff. 15, 1629, pt. 4, vol. 122, fols. 835r-v. During the latter meeting Dal Pozzo voiced Barberini's desire

Between 1595-1626 the position of cardinal protector of the Accademia di San Luca had been fulfilled by Cardinal Del Monte. This overlaps with the period that Dal Pozzo was part of Del Monte's household and also with his entry in the Accademia dei Lincei. Thus, Dal Pozzo would not only have had the opportunity to meet artists for the Lincean projects (as well as for his own) in the Accademia di San Luca, but also in Del Monte's house, Palazzo Madama, where its owner had created an extensive library, collections of antiquities, prints and drawings, galleries of paintings, and cabinets of curiosities. It also contained lodgings and studios for practicing artists such as Caravaggio. The open character of the palace made it a site where scholars, scientists, writers, and visual artists met and conversed with potential patrons.[57] Cesi and Faber were among the naturalists who frequented Palazzo Madama.[58]

Publishing practices: privilege and *imprimatur*

The main goal of publication practices was the publication of books, pamphlets, treatises, etc. As with works of art, the content and appearance of these products depended on the other practices in which they were supposed to function, e.g. scientific, leisure, religious. Publishing in seventeenth-century Europe meant navigating a manifold of administrative offices, negotiating with ecclesiastical censors, assessing foreign markets, and obtaining a privilege for each of these markets.

The *privilegio* ('privilege') was a protection against plagiarism and theft, granted by the government, i.e. a kind of copyright protection. As mentioned, the Lincei obtained a papal privilege from Paul V as early as 1612. They managed to do so through Faber's and Terrentius's friendship with the Secretary of the Apostolic Briefs, Cardinal Scipione Cobelluzzi (1564-1626), with whom they shared naturalistic interests.[59] The legal validity of the privilege had to be guaranteed by the *imprimatur*, i.e. an official declaration by a Church authority, placed at the beginning of a printed book, stating that it might be published.[60]

In Rome, obtaining an *imprimatur* meant that it had been approved by the censor or *revisore* of the Master of the Sacred Palace, who had to verify whether the content of a book was conform the tenets of the Catholic faith and morality.[61] Unlike what is commonly assumed, this was a relatively informal practice, in which laymen and Church officials negotiated directly − albeit often implicitly − with one another about the publication of books. Often they had the same interests and could even reverse positions in this process, as university professors were frequently asked to function as censor when there were no ecclesiastic censors available with the relevant expertise, and prelates also had to pass the censor in order to get their books published.[62] For instance, Faber regularly functioned as reviser.[63]

Another case in point are Faber's negotiations with the Polish Dominican reviser of the Sacred Palace Abramo Bzovio. At the time when the Lincei were trying to obtain the *imprimatur* for the *Animalia mexicana* in 1628, Bzovio was looking for a patron for his book on Silvester II (r. 999-1003). According to Bzovio, Cesi was the perfect

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that Gian Lorenzo Bernini be the president of the academy in the following year, instead of Domenichino. The academicians, indeed, complied with their patron's wish.

[57] Z. Waźbiński, *Il cardinal Francesco Maria del Monte, 1549-1626. Mecenate di artisti, consigliere di politici e di sovrani*, 2 vols., Firenze, Leo Olschki, 1994. See also Findlen, 'Cassiano dal Pozzo', cit., pp. 24-25.

[58] De Renzi, 'Medical competence', cit., p. 558.

[59] Brevaglieri, 'Il Cantiere del *Tesoro Messicano* tra Roma e l'Europa', cit., p. 49

[60] *Ivi*, p. 51.

[61] *Ivi*, pp. 44-46; C.L.C.E. Witcombe, *Copyright in the Renaissance: Prints and the Privilegio in Sixteenth-Century Venice and Rome*, Leiden, Brill, 2004.

[62] Brevaglieri, 'Science, Books and Censorship', cit., pp. 140-143.

[63] *Ivi*, p. 155.

candidate to fulfill this function because his family was allegedly related to this pope. With the help of Faber's brokerage Bzovio, indeed, obtained Cesi's patronage and the book was printed in 1629. In return, the reviser not only approved of the *Animalia mexicana*, but also praised the book for its originality and medicinal usefulness in the *imprimatur*. According to Faber, this favorable judgment from the reviser made the book more marketable ('vendibile').[64]

The printing privileges included in the copy of the *Tesoro* in the archive of the Lincei also emphasize the medicinal value of the book.[65] This copy contains four printing privileges dating from 1623-1627. The first is a privilege from Emperor Ferdinand II in 1623 that was obtained with the help of Faber's network in northern Europe, especially with the help of Cardinal Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen.[66] The privilege from the French king, Louis XIII, in 1626 was secured by Dal Pozzo whilst participating in Francesco Barberini's diplomatic mission in 1625.[67] Third, the privilege from the grand duke of Tuscany, Ferdinando II, from 1627, was obtained by Dal Pozzo through his Medici background.

Finally, in 1627 the Lincei also obtained a papal privilege from Urban VIII. Cardinal nephew Francesco Barberini's role − halfway between a member and a patron of the academy − must have been most important in this respect, but also Cesi, Dal Pozzo, and Faber stood in close contact with the relevant authorities for obtaining this privilege. The presentation copies of the *Libellus* for Maffeo Barberini and Bishop Aschhausen in 1613 and the *Animalia mexicana* for several high prelates from 1628 should be understood in the light of securing these privileges.

Publication at last: converging and diverging practices

On 20 February 1649, Dal Pozzo wrote a letter to his friend Nicholas Heinsius in Leiden with good news. Together with Stelluti he had managed to find a new patron for the *Tesoro* in Alfonso de las Torres, a Spanish nobleman and commercial agent for King Philip IV in Rome. De las Torres bought the 1400 remaining copies that had been printed in the 1620s by Mascardi in Rome and awaited publication ever since. He had paid for their binding, a new frontispiece, and the printing of the *Liber unicus*.[68] In his letter Dal Pozzo asked Heinsius to inform Johannes de Laet about the upcoming publication, which would satisfy the latter's desire expressed thirteen years earlier in his letter to Holstein.[69] Between 1649 and 1651 slightly different editions of the *Tesoro* were, indeed, finally brought on the market.

With the help of the practice approach adopted in this article it has been possible to simultaneously arrive at a more comprehensive and a more detailed understanding of the compilation and publication process of the *Tesoro* by the Accademia dei Lincei than has hitherto been given. It is more comprehensive, because it discusses four relevant practices instead of only one or two; it is more detailed because it shows how these practices were interrelated, i.e. how they overlapped or conflicted with each other. From this perspective, social life is conceived of as an overlapping web of

[64] *Ivi*, p. 142.
[65] Freedberg, *The Eye of the Lynx*, cit., p. 271.
[66] Brevaglieri, 'Il Cantiere del *Tesoro Messicano* tra Roma e l'Europa', cit., pp. 48-49.
[67] Findlen, 'Cassiano dal Pozzo', cit., p. 32.
[68] The *Liber unicus* is a transcription of one of the parts about the animals and minerals from Hernández's manuscript that had not been included by Recchi in his compendium. It is appended to some of the copies of the *Tesoro* with a separate pagination, attesting to its later date of printing. Marini Bettòlo, 'Guida alla lettura del Tesoro messicano', cit., pp. 25, 29 and 45; Guerrini, 'The "Accademia dei Lincei"', cit., p. 2; Findlen, 'Cassiano dal Pozzo', cit., pp. 34-35.
[69] Gabrieli, *Il carteggio linceo*, cit., no. 1042, p. 1248 (Dal Pozzo to Heinsius, 20 February 1649): 'Del libro delle cose del Messico, del quale mandai il titolo, perchè V.S. lo desse al Sig. Giov. Laet'; cfr. Freedberg, *The Eye of the Lynx*, cit., pp. 267-268.

practices that can be identified and distinguished from each other by focusing on the goals, skills, and rules that interconnect the doings and sayings within each practice. The convergence and divergence of the goals, skills and rules of the four practices discussed deepens our understanding of the *Tesoro's* relative failure (delays, lack of overall structure in the book) and success (final publication, wealth of visual and textual knowledge of plants and animals from the New World). Moreover, it does so from a perspective beyond the traditional model that ultimately reduces social or cultural life to (features of) individuals.[70] In other words, the overlaps and conflicts are not reduced to desires and ideas of individual actors but, conversely, these personal features are to be understood from the perspective of the cultural practices in which the actors participated.

With regard to the overlap of the practices discussed, the production of highly specialized cultural artifacts was a central goal in all four practices, albeit for slightly different reasons (e.g. in order to establish a patronage network in patronage practices, or in order to make a living in artistic and publication practices). As far as skills were concerned, the ability to negotiate was important in both patronage and publication practices; knowing how to use the printing press in both artistic and publication practices; and making graphic representations of plants and animals in both artistic and scientific practices. The overlaps were conducive to the realization of the project, as the Lincei could participate in different practices at once (e.g. Faber in the deployment of his negotiation skills).

Although the skills required from the artists employed by the Lincei overlapped with those required from other artists, they were not identical, which shows that they participated in different practices. For instance, like other artists they had to know how to draw, make woodcuts, and observe nature. However, they had less freedom than in most other practices – and they might, therefore, be seen as artisans rather than artists. In producing the images for the *Tesoro* they had to represent the specimens in front of them simultaneously very accurately and in an abstracted fashion. In this way they would produce a universalized representation of a species, rather than an exact copy of an individual specimen. Since most artists would probably not have had enough experience with plants (and animals) to distinguish the essential from the accidental features, the Lincei closely scrutinized them. For this reason, the production of the hundreds of woodcut images for the *Tesoro* was a laborious and time-consuming process. The goals of the practice also determined the type of artist employed by the Lincei: a capable but uninventive master, as is suggested by Nuvolostella's contract.

The divergences between the practices discussed were also related to the goals pursued by the participants, e.g. the acquisition and dissemination of knowledge in scientific practices versus the production of luxury artifacts to establish and maintain a network in patronage practices. Although not completely antithetical to the work on the *Tesoro*, the printing of the *Libellus* and *Animalia mexicana* as separate editions was time-consuming – it required for example the selection and production of different bindings for different patrons – and, thus, distracted the Lincei from their scientific work.

This last example shows that the goals of cultural practices are organized hierarchically and also that in different practices the hierarchies can be reversed. For instance, one of the main goals of the scientific practices in which the Lincei were involved was the acquisition of knowledge, whereas the production of (artistic) images and the maintenance of a patronage network were secondary goals, insofar as these

[70] The practice approach taken in this article not only moves beyond this traditional model that focuses on individual agency, but also on the model that is usually opposed to it, i.e. the one that highlights supra-individual structures (structuralism).

were pursued in order to achieve the main goal. From the point of view of artistic, publication and patronage practices, however, the acquisition of knowledge was a secondary goal, insofar as it functioned as "content" to realize the main goal, i.e. the production of images and books, and the maintenance of a network, respectively.

From a methodological point of view, the adoption of this practice approach to the case of the network and practices of the Lincei can be seen as a next step in developments in the historiography of culture that have been underway for several decades. The specific focus on goals, skills, and rules as constituting elements of cultural practices allows for more systematic and detailed interpretations of historical culture than the loose application of terms as "practice" and "network", e.g. by showing how similar skills could belong to different practices.

However, the practice approach advocated here also poses challenges. In the first place, the interpretation in this article has focused more on the goals and skills of the practices than on the rules involved.[71] This attests to the fact that, generally, rules made explicit only when participants disagree with each other about the future of the practice or in the training of neophytes. This means that in historiographical research – i.e. where participants can no longer be directly questioned – there will probably be more to say about the goals and skills that organize the practices.

Furthermore, the intrinsically fluent and overlapping nature of social life makes the demarcation of practices an empirical and contestable undertaking. For instance, scholars could disagree on whether the convergence of goals and skills means that we are dealing with a single practice rather than partially overlapping ones. This is complicated even further by the development of practices themselves: the goals, skills and rules do not remain the same over time, as the developments in the sciences in the early modern period make clear.

A related issue has to do with the question of completeness. Often, in the explanation of complex phenomena and events many practices were involved. In the case at hand, religious practices could be an additional context from which to understand the *Tesoro*. For instance, the Lincei had to be aware of the rules of Christian faith and morality for obtaining the *imprimatur*, at least enough in order to know how to bend them.

Besides the addition of other practices, future research on the *Tesoro* from a practice theoretical perspective could focus more on the material aspects of the compilation process. How did the material features of the sites in which the book was produced – Cesi's palaces in Rome and Acquasparta (which included two botanical gardens and a laboratory),[72] the library of the Neapolitan branch of the academy, and Corvino's garden – and the objects and artifacts within them, contribute to (or hinder) the compilation of the *Tesoro*? This implies a shift in focus from solely analyzing the social aspects of the compilation and publishing process (network analysis) to also including the material aspects in the analysis (practice approach).[73]

The gardens and hospitals in Mexico, where Hernández carried out his research and analysed his material with the help of native 'scientists' and 'artists', should also be included among the sites to be studied. This opens a more critical research line than has hitherto been adopted. Philip II's motives for sponsoring an expensive scientific expedition to Mexico included demographic and work force control, since

[71] The rules discussed are those of gift-giving in patronage practices, the guild rules of the Accademia di San Luca, those prescribed for the Accademia dei Lincei by Cesi in his *Lynceographum*, and the tenets of Christian faith and morality in publication practices.
[72] Giurleo, *I Cesi*, cit., p. 132.
[73] See for this distinction, D. W. Chambers & R. Gillespie, 'Locality in the History of Science: Colonial Science, Technoscience, and Indigenous Knowledge', in: *Osiris*, 15, *Nature and Empire: Science and the Colonial Enterprise* (2000), pp. 221-240.

having a healthy population was imperative for a successful colonial enterprise.[74] This is a consideration that deserves more exploration, not only with respect to the Spanish king and the colonial administration, but also concerning the motives for, and consequences of the publication of the *Tesoro* by the Lincei. For instance, in his commentary on the *Picus Americanus* Faber implicitly justifies the evangelization of the New World, arguing that the devil has migrated there after he was banned from Europe due to the victory of the true religion.[75] How did the *Tesoro* contribute to the Europeanization of indigenous knowledge and the legitimation of the colonial enterprise? The answers to these questions should include more attention for colonial power structures in the circulation and transformation of knowledge in transatlantic networks.

Key words
Accademia dei Lincei, patronage, networks, *Tesoro messicano*, cultural practices

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[74] J. Pardo Tomás, '¿Viajes de ida o de vuelta? La circulation de la obra de Francisco Hernández en México (1576-1672)', in: M.E. Cadeddu & M. Guardo (eds.), *Il "Tesoro Messicano": Libri e saperi tra Europa e Nuovo Mondo,* cit., p. 66.
[75] *Tesoro*, p. 704. De Renzi, 'Writing and Talking', cit., p. 158.

RIASSUNTO

Reti e pratiche dell'Accademia dei Lincei nella pubblicazione del *Tesoro messicano*

L'Accademia dei Lincei fu una delle prime istituzioni scientifiche moderne. Il progetto più ambizioso dell'accademia fu la pubblicazione del *Tesoro messicano*, un esteso compendio sulla storia naturale del Messico, sul quale i Lincei lavorarono tra il 1611 e il 1651 basandosi sui manoscritti del medico del re di Spagna, Francisco Hernández. La pubblicazione di un trattato scientifico come il *Tesoro* nel Seicento a Roma richiedeva la mobilizzazione di un ampio *network*. Questo articolo si concentra sulle quattro principali "pratiche culturali" con le quali i Lincei realizzarono questo libro – pratiche di patronato, scienza, arte e pubblicazione, mostrando in quale misura queste pratiche fossero collegate.

I Lincei plasmavano e coltivavano un *network* di patronato attraverso la donazione a diversi prelati di libri contenenti immagini delle piante descritte nel *Tesoro* e con un estratto relativo agli animali messicani. Successivamente essi utilizzavano lo stesso network di patronato per verificare le descrizioni dei manoscritti, per entrare in contatto con gli artisti che avrebbero dovuto creare le illustrazioni e per ottenere i privilegi e l'*imprematur*, necessari per la pubblicazione del *Tesoro* a Roma. La ricostruzione di queste pratiche dovrà portare a una conoscenza più completa sia del progetto del *Tesoro* che dei motivi per il ritardo della pubblicazione.

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Ora et labora
Devotion and scholarship in the Italian drawings of the Madonna by Juan Ricci de Guevara

Martijn van Beek

This contribution addresses how the art of drawing enabled the expression of personal and singular views, centralizing drawings made in the context of the Order of Saint Benedict in Italy at the end of the seventeenth century. At that moment, the Order of Saint Benedict was an international religious network connecting people, places, and scholarship. The Benedictine order is a scholarly monastic order, because reading is a fundamental principle in its constituting Rule, written by Saint Benedict in Montecassino towards the middle of the sixth century. It describes how many times per day and in what way monks have to pray together publicly (*ora*), and how much time per day has to be spent on reading Scripture (*Lectio Divina*) and manual labor (*labora*). The Rule thus states that intellectual work goes hand in hand with the religious task. Since monks were expected to study and disseminate their knowledge, the monasteries had libraries and scriptoria to produce manuscripts. These scriptoria remained functioning far into the age of printing and enabled the spread of knowledge both inside and outside the Benedictine network.

The combination of intellectual and religious work is present in the art and writings by Juan Andrés Ricci de Guevara (1600-1681). Born in Madrid, Ricci became a member of the Benedictine congregation of Valladolid in 1627. He spent the final 19 years (November 1662-1681) of his life in Rome and the Kingdom of Naples, in those years part of the Spanish Empire, where he continued his life as a visual artist, eminent scholar and a fanatic traveller.[1] In this period Ricci visited several Benedictine monasteries, and paid special attention to the devotion to Mary, one of his dearest religious themes. Ricci passed away in the abbey of Montecassino, which belonged to the Cassinese congregation of the Order of Saint Benedict. Early biographies of Ricci appeared in Benedictine chronicles in both Spain and the Kingdom of Naples and showed how the differences between Benedictine congregations reflected on his reputation and inheritance. For instance, a Spanish biography published in 1677 stated that since his departure from the geographical area of the congregation of Valladolid

[1] For the Italian part of Ricci's biography, cfr. S. Salort Pons, 'Fray Juan Rizi en Italia', in: *Archivo Español de Arte*, 285 (1999), pp. 1-24; D. García López, 'La Pintura Sabia y los manuscritos italianos de fray Juan Ricci. A vueltas con lo salomónico', in: *Goya*, 286 (2002), pp. 27-38; S. Salort Pons, 'El viaje de Fray Juan Rizi a Italia: las obras y un documento nuevo', in: I. Gil-Díez Usandizaga (ed.), *El Pintor Fray Juan Andrés Rizi (1600-1681). Las órdenes religiosas y el arte en La Rioja. VII Jornadas de arte y patrimonio regional (2000)*, Logroño, Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2002, pp. 93-118; M. van Beek, 'The apocalypse of Juan Ricci de Guevara. Literary and iconographical artistry as mystico-theological argument for Mary's Immaculate Conception in *Immaculatae Conceptionis Conclusio* (1663)', in: *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte*, 22 (2010), pp. 209-224.

for Rome, nothing had been heard from Ricci and that he might even had passed away already, while he had not.[2] On the Italian peninsula on the other hand, Ricci kept stressing his membership of the Spanish congregation of Valladolid in his writings, causing him to be known as a 'spagnolo' for the rest of his life.[3] The two congregations also had different approaches to devotional matters, as will become clear in the analysis of Ricci's drawings.

Ricci had a lifelong devotion to the Virgin Mary, which had a theological academic, as well as an affective side. The former was nourished by the study of relevant literature in the Benedictine colleges and library collections, the latter was expressed during his meditation on portraits of Mary, particularly while he was drawing them. We can assume Ricci knew many depictions of Mary, since he made six drawings modelled on different Madonna's. These can be regarded as his personal commentaries on the devotion of Mary as suggested by Saint Thomas Aquinas. The first five are quite large and meticulously detailed, which suggests that he did not make the drawings *in situ*, but behind a desk in a library or private study room, with a print or a sketch in front of him. The sixth drawing is smaller, and has a more schematic design. All drawings were made in the Papal States or the Kingdom of Naples between 1663 and 1671 and are now kept in the manuscript archive of the Abbey of Montecassino. Ricci replicated the original paintings and sculptures or their reproductions, and created new visual compositions for these portraits, regularly combining the new compositions with written invocations and prayers. We can deduct from Ricci's illustrated manuscripts that for him, painting and drawing equalled practicing theology.[4] As such, his six Italian drawings of the Madonna are a visual manifestation of the Rule of Saint Benedict, according to which scholarly activity is combined with practicing faith. The central question is how the drawings functioned in the development of Ricci's particular ideas about the proper devotion to Mary.[5] This devotional aspect of the drawings, which becomes evident from the comparison with their models, has not yet been studied.

The three pillars of Ricci's Mariology

Ricci's devotion to Mary was based on three pillars. In the first place, he was formed early in his life by a local culture in Madrid in which a devotion to Mary was common. Secondly, his scholarly theological approach was developed by his academic education in (among other subjects) theology and philosophy at the Benedictine colleges in Irache and Salamanca in Spain. Thirdly, mirroring his education as an artist, Ricci developed an interest in the specific devotion to drawn, painted and sculpted portraits of Mary, with special attention for the ones connected to the legend of Saint Luke painting the Madonna. All of this resulted in an extraordinary practice of Mariology that he described in more general terms as 'teologia mystica', which can be defined as a more speculative kind of theology in which the artistic process has a central place.[6]

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[2] G. de Argaiz, *La Perla de Cataluña. Historia de Nuestra Señora de Monserrate*, Madrid, G. de Leon, 1677, p. 271. De Argaiz even mistakes Ricci's first name for Francisco.

[3] M. Armellini, *Bibliotheca Benedictino-Casinensis sive Scriptorum Cassinensis Congregationis*, Assisi, Campitelli, 1732, p. 18.

[4] E. Prokop, *Fray Juan Ricci's Theologia Mystica*, unpublished lecture 'Sacred and Profane in the Early Modern Hispanic World', Indianapolis Museum of Art, 16 October 2009.

[5] An important contribution surveying the connection between Ricci's drawings and his theological scholarly work is: F. Pereda, 'Pictura est Lingua Angelorum. Fray Juan Andrés Ricci, una teoría teológica del Arte', in: F. Marías & F. Pereda (eds.), *La pintura sabia (1659) / Fray Juan Andrés Ricci*, Toledo, Antonio Pareja, 2002, pp. 42-87. Pereda published reproductions of the first five drawings that will be discussed.

[6] Prokop, *Fray Juan Ricci's Theologia Mystica*, cit.

Ricci's juvenile devotion to Mary was connected to the local statue of the Virgen del Buen Suceso in Madrid, placed in the church of the Hospital Real of the court, close to his home. The small statue was brought to Madrid by Gabriel de Fontanet in 1607 and was placed in the aforementioned church in 1611. The statue generated many miracles, the first one of which is commemorated by Ricci in a personal remark in his writings. It concerned the Virgen del Buen Suceso saving the life of a colt by increasing the number of nipples of a mule in order to feed it.[7]

Ricci's devotion gained an academic embedding when he was selected as one of the Benedictine 'colegiales' who were deemed suitable for an exclusive education at university level.[8] The curriculum followed by Ricci was informed by the habits of the congregation of Valladolid. For example at the Colegio de Santa María la Real in Irache, time was reserved in the daily schedule for prayers to the Virgin.[9] Later, at the Colegio de San Vicente in Salamanca, Ricci became aware of the Benedictine theological debate in defence of the Immaculacy of the Virgin, a subject that had already caught his attention at a young age.[10] For Ricci personally, Mary's immaculacy was unquestionable, but this was no Catholic dogma and therefore subject of debate.

Two publications that characterize the theological mentality in which Ricci was educated during his studies are relevant for an analysis of the six drawings. The first one is Saint Thomas Aquinas's *Summa Theologiae*, which was the most significant study book in Salamanca since 1561.[11] The second one is written by the abbot of the Colegio de San Vicente and professor of Theology, José de la Cerda, entitled *Maria Effigies*, and published in 1651 and 1662.[12] Although the book was published after Ricci's stay in Salamanca, we can assume that De la Cerda's theological approach to Mary was already part of his lectures. Aquinas's and De la Cerda's publications influenced Ricci's ideas about devotion.

According to Aquinas, the devotion to Mary was connected to the debate about her divinity. Aquinas explained this in comparison to the adoration of Christ. When it comes to Christ, two options are possible. His graceful and perfect *humanity* should be adored by means of a certain reverence which is described as *dulia*. This type of reverence may also be paid to the saints. Yet Christ's *divinity* should be adored through *latria*, a rather internal form of worship, which is reserved exclusively for the divine.[13] *Latria*, Aquinas explained, can be projected onto an image of Christ, as long as one worships that image not for its material aspects, but as symbolic representation of what is imagined, which is Christ himself.[14] In this matter Aquinas specifically referred to the image of Christ in Rome called *Uronica*, which legend attributes to Saint Luke. The question how Mary should be worshipped comes down to the question of whether she is divine or not. This theological matter was frequently debated at the time and lies at the centre of the larger debate about Mary's immaculacy. Aquinas described a specific kind of adoration for Mary. Since she is the Mother of God, he argued, she should not be adored by *dulia*. Instead, because her divinity is debatable, she should be adored through a specific kind of worship, described as *hyperdulia*.[15] Although Aquinas discussed the image of Christ as an object for the adoration of Christ, he did not elaborate on the use of images of Mary. This omission was Ricci's point of

[7] D. García López, *Arte y pensamiento en el barroco: Fray Juan Andrés Ricci de Guevara (1600-1681)*, Madrid, Fundación Universitaria Española, 2010, p. 55.
[8] *Ivi*, pp. 67-84.
[9] *Ivi*, p. 92.
[10] *Ivi*, p. 113.
[11] *Ivi*, pp. 106, 113-114.
[12] *Ivi*, p. 104.
[13] T. Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, part III, question 25, article 2.
[14] *Ivi*, III.25.3.
[15] *Ivi*, III.25.5.

departure. He inverted Aquinas's argumentation that the level of veneration determines the use of images, by speculating whether the image can determine the veneration. If Ricci could create an image of Mary that should be adored through *latria*, this could serve as an argument for her divinity.

During his stay in Rome, Ricci commented extensively on Aquinas's supposition that Mary should be worshipped through *hyperdulia*. He compared Aquinas's theological and intellectual expertise to his own knowledge of the contemporary practice in Spain.[16] Ricci searched for a connection between the scholarly and the popular approach to Mary's status and thus also the way in which she could be venerated.[17] In his commentary to Aquinas's *Summa Theologiae*, Ricci quoted lines from religious sources and Scripture that alluded to Mary's divine status. He agreed with Aquinas that a strong tradition existed of adoring the image of Christ because it is made by Saint Luke, and referred to an image of Christ that appeared on the wall of the old Lateran Basilica.[18] New, however, was the popular argument in which Ricci shifted Aquinas's focus on the image of Christ to Mary's. Ricci added that in Spain, many images of the Madonna existed, also believed to be made by Saint Luke or the sculptor Nicodemus, drawing attention to sculpture. He concluded that the problem whether Mary should be worshipped by *latria* or *hyperdulia* was an intellectual discussion amongst 'doctores' that was not mirrored by the people, and that the 'doctores' should not make guidelines for devotion and instruct these to the people, but instead should take the existing practice of devotion as a starting point for their argumentation.[19] Ultimately, this could lead to the conclusion that Mary is divine.

Ricci's observation of Aquinas's omission to discuss the role of the image of Mary in her devotion, his promotion of popular devotional practice, and his indirect criticism of Aquinas's conclusion to worship Mary's divinity by *hyperdulia* instead of *latria*, opened the way to make drawings in which Mary's divinity proper came forward and the adoration by *latria* was legitimized. This was a consequence of the fact that next to an image of Christ, which could be an object of veneration according to Aquinas, there was also one of Mary. This is visible in the first three drawings, where the original icon of the Madonna is combined with an image of Christ.

The third pillar of Ricci's approach to Mariology was connected to his practice as an artist. An important source for Ricci to understand the creation of, status of, and devotion to images of Christ and Mary from the perspective of the artist was Vincenzo Carducho's *Dialogos de la pintura* (1633). In the first place, Carducho mentioned several images of Christ and Mary that, according to legend, had been created miraculously. With the right devotion to these images, Carducho argued, one could experience God performing miracles through them.[20] Carducho described three of these images. The first one was the *Annunciation* in Santissima Annunziata in Florence. In 1252, the devout artist of this icon experienced a supernatural assistance in painting the face of the angel. When he wanted to start painting the divine face of Mary, he fell asleep, the church filled with light, and Mary's face was completed without the artist's doing.[21] Secondly, Carducho described the *acheiropoieton* ('made without hands') *Uronica*, painted by Saint Luke, and according to legend perfected by an angel.[22] The third example was the miraculous appearance of the face of Christ on the

[16] Archive of the Abbey of Montecassino (hereafter: AAM), cod. 537, pp. 771-772. This is Ricci's commentary to III.25.5 of Aquinas's *Summa*.
[17] AAM cod. 537, p. 771.
[18] *Ivi*, p. 770.
[19] According to Ricci the problem concerning Mary's devotion 'est error doctorum, et non plebis' ('the misunderstanding is created by the academics, not by the people'). *Ivi*, p. 772.
[20] V. Carducho, *Dialogos de la pintura*, Madrid, Martinez, 1633, p. 124v.
[21] *Ivi*, p. 7v.
[22] *Ivi*, p. 126v.

wall of the old Lateran Basilica, which according to a medieval legend took place on the day its high altar was consecrated by Pope Sylvester.[23]

In the second place, Carducho described what happened to Saint Luke when he devoutly painted the 'holy images', namely that an allegorical internal 'painting' of the Holy Trinity and the Virgin took place in his soul, triggering contemplation and a desire to imitate Mary's virtues.[24] Five specific works attributed to Saint Luke were shortly named: in Santa Maria Maggiore and Santa Maria del Popolo in Rome, in Santa Maria del Carmine Maggiore in Naples, in Trapani and Calatayud.[25] As such, Carducho specifically described the devotion by artists who followed the footsteps of Saint Luke. The internal devotion to the Holy Trinity which is triggered if one paints in the tradition of Saint Luke is extensively discussed in De la Cerda's publication *Maria Effigies* (1651 and 1662), which is a vast Benedictine theological excursus with theological arguments for Mary's hierarchical status and the extent of her devotion.[26] These publications made it possible for Ricci to argue that the suggestion of the triggering of an inner devotion to the Holy Trinity and the Virgin, legitimized the highest devotion to Mary through her portraits, especially those made by devout artists following the footsteps of Saint Luke.

The legend of Saint Luke

Aquinas, Carducho and Ricci all referred to the miraculous images of Christ and Mary that are attributed to Saint Luke, while their ideas concerning the devotional approach to images of the Madonna and its side-effects differed. Aquinas wrote that *hyperdulia* was the devotion to the Mother of God, which was a separate category to differ from the devotion by *latria*, which was exclusive for the divine. Carducho asserted that devout artists particularly could reach a certain state of contemplation because of the internal 'painting' of the Virgin in their soul. Ricci, who had already propagated his personal belief in Mary's divinity for years, argued that the discussion conducted among scholars had become too intellectual, while the popular belief in Mary's divinity was undisputed, thus implying that Mary could be adored by *latria*.[27] Since Aquinas had not discussed the role of images of Mary during her veneration, Ricci found a new authority in this matter in the legend of Saint Luke painting her portrait, and also in the objects that were thought to be these portraits.

The idea that the portrait of Mary was painted by Saint Luke relies on a legend that dates back at least to the beginning of the eighth century.[28] One of the consequences of this legend was the attribution of various surviving icons to Saint Luke, and subsequently their veneration. For seventeenth-century artists Saint Luke had become the ideal model for a devout practice of painting.[29] This was partly because Saint Luke's painting was believed to have been completed through divine

[23] *Ivi*, pp. 126v-127r. K. Noreen, 'Shaping the Sacred. Icons, Processions, and the Presence of the Holy', in: N. Denysenko (ed.), *Icons and the Liturgy, East and West. History, Theology, and Culture*, Notre Dame, University of Notre Dame Press, 2017, pp. 88-89.

[24] 'Imitemosle en la vida, y en el modo de pintar devoto: en lo exterior, y interior, que es sin ninguna duda, que assi como traia en su compañia aquellas santas imagenes pintadas, tambien tenia dentro del alma retratada toda la Santissima Trinidad, contemplando sus soberanos atributos, a quien procurava copiar; y a la purissima Reina de los Angeles, pro curando imitar sus santissimas virtudes'. Carducho, *Dialogos de la pintura*, cit., p. 128r.

[25] *Ivi*, p. 127v.

[26] See for instance the first part 'Mariae attributa in revelationem Trinitatis'. J. de la Cerda, *Maria Effigies*, Lugdunum, Anisson, 1662, pp. 1-35.

[27] See footnote 19.

[28] R. Raynor, 'The Shaping of an Icon: St Luke, the Artist', in: *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies,* 39, 2 (2015), p. 161.

[29] Carducho, *Dialogos*, cit., p. 128r.; D. García López, 'La teoría artística de Fray Juan Ricci', in: Gil-Díez Usandizaga (ed.), *El Pintor Fray Juan Andrés Rizi,* cit., p. 71.

intervention, thus being a divine miracle.[30] Saint Luke thus served as an example for human beings to reach knowledge of the divine. Ricci's fascination for the image of Mary comes to the fore in the drawings that will be discussed shortly.

In *Imagen, o espejo de las obras de Dios*, a manuscript that Ricci compiled in Spain shortly before he travelled to Rome, he wrote about the existence of physical heritage attributed to Saint Luke. Ricci mentioned two Italian examples, namely the icon of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome and the Madonna of Loreto, icons which would eventually become subject to his creativity.[31] During his time in Italy, he also showed an interest in other local models of the Madonna, both painted − referencing Saint Luke − as well as sculpted − referencing Nicodemus.

Ricci's appropriation of the famous Madonna-icons in his drawings showed his appreciation of their formal composition. In keeping the original composition recognisable, the new drawings preserved the various popular values that were attached to their models. However, in his recontextualisation of the composition, whether in regard to composition as in the first three examples, or more textual in the final three, their significance was not necessarily changed but amplified. Ricci preserved the popular devotional values of the models, but reframed their role as arguments in a theological debate concerning the devotion to Mary.

Analysis of the drawings

Below, Ricci's six drawings of the Madonna are analysed from the perspective of their devotional function. Exactly because of the central role for the creative process in the devotion to the images, as described by Carducho, they will be considered rather detached from the main text of the manuscripts by Ricci, unless their iconography legitimises such a reference. The first five drawings were executed in a more modern style than their models. The high-leveled cross-hatching adds depth to the image, the bodies appear more naturalistic in proportion, and the flesh and hairdo more real and alive. The first three drawings form a set, as do the fourth and fifth drawing.

The first drawing depicting *Christ and the Madonna* is modelled on the icon now known as the *Salus Populi Romani*, kept in the Cappella Paolina of the Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome (Fig. 1).[32] Ricci already knew this icon from the description in Carducho's publication and he had written about it himself in Spain in *Imagen*. Because he spent some time at the basilica Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome for study and writing in the final months of 1663, he must have seen the icon with his own eyes.[33] The drawing can be dated in the second half of the year 1663, just like the next two drawings, since these three form a set. The original icon measures 117x79 cm and legend attributes it to Saint Luke, although a seventeenth-century source suggested it was only sketched by Saint Luke and miraculously completed by angels (Fig. 2).[34] Depicted is Mary as Mother of God, holding the Christ child. The infant makes a gesture of blessing and holds a book. In 1613, the icon was removed from a ciborium in the nave of Santa Maria Maggiore and fixed to its current position in the altar tabernacle in the Cappella Paolina, which was commissioned in 1611 by pope Paul V.[35] The

[30] C. Boeckl, 'The Legend of St. Luke the Painter. Eastern and Western Iconography', in: *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 54 (2005), pp. 10-12.
[31] García López, *Arte y pensamiento en el barroco*, cit., p. 227.
[32] AAM cod. 469, p. 67. The identification was already made in: Salort Pons, 'Fray Juan Rizi en Italia', cit., p. 18. The icon received its current title in the nineteenth century.
[33] AAM cod. 590, pp. 39.1, 46.6 & 371.
[34] S.F. Ostrow, *Art and Spirituality in Counter-Reformation Rome. The Sistine and Pauline Chapels in S. Maria Maggiore*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996, p. 120. For the dating of the icon, cfr. G. Wolf, *Salus Populi Romani. Die Geschichte römischer Kultbilder im Mittelalter*, Weinheim, VCH, 1990, pp. 26-28.
[35] Wolf, *Salus Populi Romani*, cit., pp. 223-227.

surrounding gilded bronze sculptures of angels, the marble decorations, and the lapis lazuli background are all part of the same design project for the altar tabernacle.[36]

In his drawing, Ricci added a *globus cruciger*, a Christian symbol of authority, beneath Mary's feet. The cross represents Christ's dominion over the orb of the world as Salvator Mundi. The globe is placed in a larger sphere that is drawn before a multilayered curve, representing the universe, on which the Madonna is placed in the centre.[37] On her right side a seated Christ is depicted wearing only a cloth and revealing the stigmata, while he celebrates mass by holding a host and chalice. Above the heads of the three figures the triregnum is depicted, sometimes associated with threefold authority or regarded as symbol of the Trinity. This iconography shows the cosmic and worldly authority equally divided among the depicted figures.

Figure 1

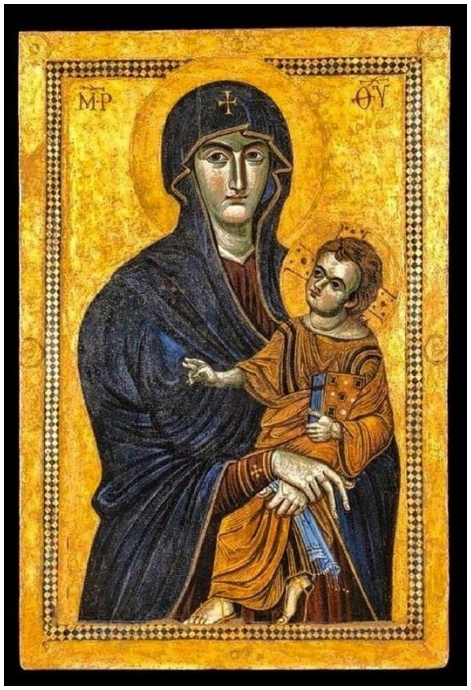

Figure 2

The rather particular motif in which Christ appears twice is very rare.[38] It appears in the first three drawings, in which Ricci added the figure of Christ to an existing model of the Madonna, while he crowned all three figures with similar crowns. Ricci introduced this motif as a visual pendant of his textual argumentation in his mission to provide valid and convincing theological proof necessary to raise the status of the mystery of Mary's immaculacy to Catholic dogma. His reasoning consisted of two main arguments.

The first argument was connected to the Eucharist and explained why the figures are depicted during the celebration of mass. Ricci referred to the transubstantiation that takes place during the sacrament of the Eucharist, in which wine and bread turn into the blood and body of Christ, and the manifestation of the purity of Christ takes place. Ricci extended this purity to Mary. In his illustrated manuscript *Immaculatae*

[36] Ostrow, *Art and Spirituality in Counter-Reformation Rome. The Sistine and Pauline Chapels in S. Maria Maggiore*, cit., pp. 142-151.
[37] García López, 'La Pintura Sabia y los manuscritos italianos de fray Juan Ricci. A vueltas con lo salomónico', cit., p. 38, note 24.
[38] Van Beek, 'The Apocalypse of Juan Ricci de Guevara', cit., passim.

Conceptionis Conclusio (1663), he argued that the main evidence for Mary's immaculacy was the 'fact' that Christ's body and blood are Mary's body and blood, since they are mother and son. This is presented as an argument to consider Mary and Christ as equivalent in the devotional hierarchy. Ricci continued by arguing that if Christ was not free from original sin, neither was Mary.[39]

The second argument was the visual motif of Mary with the child in her arms, which is an iconographic reference to Mary's divinity. The motif of the Madonna appearing in a celestial environment is reminiscent of a scene in the twelfth book of the Apocalypse of John, in which a woman appeared in heaven who gave birth to a male child 'who was to rule all nations'. Since the Middle Ages, the woman of the Apocalypse has been associated with Mary in her immaculate state.[40] In order to depict Mary in her most divine form, she is depicted with the characteristics of John's divine vision. This visual representation of her purity and divinity was used by Ricci as an argument in the discussion about Mary's immaculacy. Ricci repeated this iconographic approach in the next two drawings, despite the contemporary debate concerning its problematic visual result. The Spanish artist Francisco Pacheco (1564-1644), for instance, had recommended to omit the child in the depiction of *Maria Immacolata* to avoid confusion.[41] Since Ricci did not add any text to this drawing, it is the prime example of his iconographic creativity in all of these six drawings.

The second drawing, *Christ celebrating mass and the Madonna*, is modelled on the *Madonna of Loreto* (Fig. 3).[42] The original sculpture was made of black wood and stood in the basilica of the Santa Casa in Loreto from c. 1380 onwards. It was a popular iconographic prototype of the Madonna, in which Mary and Child are depicted frontally and Christ holds a *globus cruciger* and makes a blessing gesture. The characteristic frontal depiction has been connected to their future almighty reign.[43] According to legend, the house in which Mary lived was flown from Jerusalem to Loreto by angels, where a church was built around it.[44] Ricci's remark in *Imagen* that the Madonna of Loreto was believed to be made by Saint Luke, stood in a long tradition.[45]

The specific crowns and dress in this drawing by Ricci do not directly connect the drawing to the sculpture, but rather to a painting of it by Cavaliere d'Arpino from 1600 (Fig. 4).[46] The dalmatic and the triregnums are copied from the painting in detail, including gems, pearls, pendants and decoration. The chains and necklaces, some with crosses hanging from them, probably refer to the custom of hanging chains as votive gifts on the dalmatic, which was in fact a construction placed in front of the statue.[47] The upper cross on the drawing refers to a red cross bottony, while the one below refers to a white cross cercelée. They appear below a small silver putto. The dalmatic of gilded silver, imitating gold brocade, and its ornamentation as they appear on the

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[39] AAM cod. 590, p. 40.
[40] An important source for this is St. Bernard of Clairvaux' *Sermo in Dominica infra Octavam Assumptionis B.V. Mariae*. García López, 'La Pintura Sabia y los manuscritos italianos de fray Juan Ricci. A vueltas con lo salomónico', cit., p. 31.
[41] Pereda, 'Pictura est Lingua Angelorum. Fray Juan Andrés Ricci, una teoría teológica del Arte', cit., p. 58, note 73; S. Stratton, *The Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994, p. 96.
[42] AAM cod. 469, p. 69.
[43] F. Grimaldi & K. Sordi (eds.), *L'iconografia della Vergine di Loreto nell'Arte*, Loreto, Carilo, 1995, p. 15.
[44] *Ivi*, pp. 24-25.
[45] *Ivi*, p. 36. There is however confusion if this is related to the sculpture or to an icon.
[46] Of this painting two more versions are known. One is attributed to Avanzino Nucci or Vincenzo Conti, and one is now kept in Ficulle. *Ivi*, pp. 126-128; H. Röttgen, *Perizia*, 2015 (unpublished), s.p.; M.C. Terzaghi, *Madonna di Loreto*, 2015 (unpublished), s.p.; many thanks to these two colleagues for kindly sharing their findings with me.
[47] Grimaldi & Sordi (eds.), *L'iconografia della Vergine di Loreto nell'Arte*, cit., p. 19.

paintings were a votive gift by cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini.[48] The context of this specific personal cause for devotion, however, has not been copied by Ricci in his drawing.

In Ricci's drawing, the reference to Aldobrandini's devotion to the Lauretan Madonna is substituted by a humble devotion by two kneeling and praying seraphim. With three pairs of wings they hold the highest position in the angelic hierarchy. As caretakers of God's throne, they safeguard divine principles and order.[49] They kneel before an altar at which Christ is celebrating mass, holding a chalice and host. The patriarchal cross is placed on the altar. The three figures wear the same crowns as a sign of their equal status.

Again, Ricci did not add text to this drawing. The Madonna of Loreto is, however, connected to her own litany. In the litany of Loreto, approved by pope Sixtus V in 1587, the Madonna is alluded to metaphorically as 'Mater purissima', serving as a reference to her immaculacy.[50] While the text of the litany is absent in the drawing, the icon is directly connected to a context of recited or sung devotion by the people. Just like in the previous drawing, Ricci referred to an icon that is an object of popular devotion, and reframed it in the context of devotional hierarchy.

Figure 3

Figure 4

The third drawing, *Christ celebrating mass and the Madonna*, is modelled on the *Virgin of Carmel*, also called La Bruna (Fig. 5).[51] This icon was also mentioned by Carducho in the *Dialogos*. It is kept in Naples in the Basilica Santuario di Santa Maria del Carmine Maggiore. According to legend, Saint Luke painted this icon, which was

[48] Röttgen, *Perizia*, cit., s.p.; Terzaghi, *Madonna di Loreto*, cit., s.p. Terzaghi refers to the payments to goldsmith Pietro Spagna. Her source is: X. Salomon, 'The Goldsmith Pietro Spagna (1561-1627): "Argentiere" to Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini (1571-1621)', in: *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 74 (2006), pp. 345-346.

[49] Dionysius the Areopagite, *Celestial Hierarchy*, chapter 7.

[50] 'Purest Mother'. Grimaldi & Sordi (eds.), *L'iconografia della Vergine di Loreto nell'Arte*, cit., p. 32.

[51] AAM cod. 469, p. 71. This type of Luke-icon is important, because Ricci had drawn it before, in *Imagen de Dios i de sus Obras (La Pintura Sabia)*, prominently right after the title page.

venerated several centuries on Mount Carmel in present-day Israel before it arrived in Naples.[52] The icon is suggested to date from c. 1280 (Fig. 6).[53] It is an icon of the Eleusa (merciful) type, which shows Christ pressing his cheek to his mother's, and stresses Mary's tenderness.[54] One of the miracles attributed to La Bruna is the instantaneous healing of a poor cripple in the Holy Year 1500, when he called out to her while the icon was carried by.[55]

Figure 5

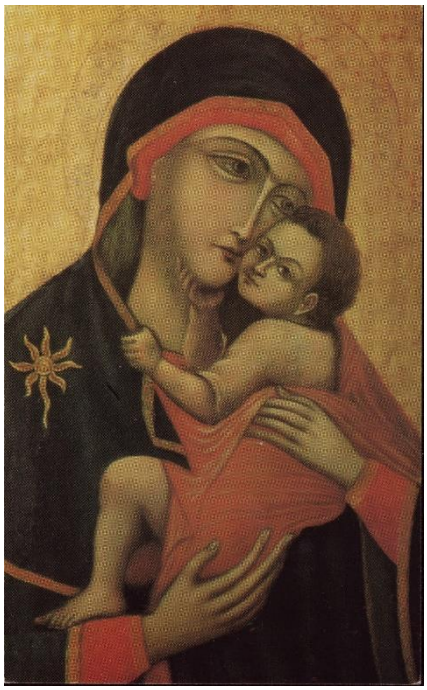

Figure 6

The drawing strongly resembles the preceding one, since the figure of Christ celebrating mass, holding a chalice and host, is depicted next to the Madonna behind an altar on which the patriarchal cross is placed. The three figures are being crowned with similar crowns. Again, two worshipping seraphim are depicted, but this time their highest hierarchical position is stressed by an explanatory comment by Ricci, and by the sketchy depiction of nine choirs of angels in the background.

Because the drawing can be found on the page right after the page with the drawing based on the Madonna of Loreto, it is likely that the preferable connotation of this drawing is the litany of Our Lady of Mount Carmel. This is said to be the oldest litany in the Church, in which the words 'Sancta Maria' are repeated at the beginning

[52] E. Wise, 'From Marketplace to Mount Carmel: Eastern Pageantry and the Spectacle of Folk Religion on the Bay of Naples', in: H. du Toit (ed.), *Pageants & Processions. Image and Idiom as Spectacle*, Newcastle upon Tyne, Cambridge Scholars, 2009, p. 44.

[53] S. d'Ovidio, 'The Making of an Icon: The "Madonna Bruna del Carmine" in Naples (13th-17th centuries)', in: S. Cardarelli & L. Fenelli (eds.), *Saints, Miracles and the Image. Healing Saints and Miraculous Images in the Renaissance*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2017, p. 233.

[54] E. Prokop, 'Painting from Memory: a Pietà by Fray Juan Ricci', in: S. Schroth (ed.), *Art in Spain and the Hispanic World: Essays in Honor of Jonathan Brown*, London, Holberton, 2010, p. 110; M. Watté, *Lexicon van Moeder-Godsikonen 'Theotókos'*, Balen, Studium Generale, 2001, pp. 76-77.

[55] Wise, 'From Marketplace to Mount Carmel: Eastern Pageantry and the Spectacle of Folk Religion on the Bay of Naples', cit., p. 46; D'Ovidio, 'The Making of an Icon: The "Madonna Bruna del Carmine" in Naples (13th-17th centuries)', cit., pp. 238-244.

of each invocation.[56] Ricci's new composition tentatively raises the question of the relation between God and all creatures of the Creation, and Mary's place in the divine order if she is adored equally as Christ.

Shortly after the completion of the first three drawings Mary's official celebratory status changed. In December 1664 pope Alexander VII granted Spain the right to celebrate the service of the Immaculate Conception as a cult. In 1665 this right was extended to the Spanish territory of the kingdom of Naples.[57] In L'Aquila and Montecassino Ricci would thus experience this new right, and the next three drawings are made under those new circumstances.

The fourth drawing depicts the statue of the *Madonna della Croce* in Poggio di Roio near L'Aquila (Fig. 7).[58] It is possible to date this drawing and the next one around the period of November 1668 to April 1669, when Ricci was in L'Aquila.[59] Ricci appears to have diligently copied the decorated frame of the niche in which the statue was placed, which was part of the rather recent completion of the marble altar wall (1643-1656) in the sanctuary (Fig. 8).[60] In this drawing, as in the fifth and sixth drawing, Ricci followed the original composition closely, while he had taken the liberty to make adjustments in the first three drawings.

Figure 7

Figure 8

[56] Wise, 'From Marketplace to Mount Carmel: Eastern Pageantry and the Spectacle of Folk Religion on the Bay of Naples', cit., pp. 46-47.
[57] S. Schütze, 'The Politics of Counter-Reformation Iconography and a Quest for the Spanishness of Neapolitan Art', in: T.J. Dandelet & J.A. Marino, *Spain in Italy. Politics, Society, and Religion 1500-1700*, Leiden/Boston, Brill, 2007, p. 559.
[58] AAM cod. 537, p. 5. The drawing is copied mirrored on the back of the sheet, where the persons however wear different crowns. Thanks to Yvonne Bleyerveld for suggesting the sculptural origin of the model for this drawing.
[59] AAM cod. 537, pp. 11 & 21.
[60] U. Rosso & E. Tiboni (eds.), *L'Abruzzo. Dall'umanesimo all'età barocca*, Pescara, Ediars 2002, p. 227.

According to legend, the statue had been found by a shepherd. He had lost part of his flock and prayed to the Virgin to avoid the punishment of his masters. Suddenly a vision of a woman with a child in her arms appeared who pointed out to the shepherd where he could bring his flock together. At the location of the apparition, other shepherds later found a statue resembling the woman from the vision. When they carried the statue on the back of a mule towards Roio, the mule suddenly knelt near a cross. Because the mule refused to go on, the shepherds carried the statue further. The next day the statue miraculously surfaced in the church of San Leonardo in the place where now the Santuario of Poggio di Roio stands.[61]

This drawing is remarkable, as is the next one (and to a certain extent also the drawing that is modelled on the Madonna of Loreto), because it shows Ricci's interest in a sculptural model instead of a two-dimensional one. This recalls Ricci's remarks about the fact that this attention for sculpture in the line of Nicodemus references a more Spanish tradition in relation to the tradition described by Aquinas. In the case of Ricci, it is hard to not mention in this matter the famous miraculous sculpture of the Moreneta in Montserrat, a black Madonna of which Ricci had made a painting, and which must have played a role in his personal devotion, as it is kept in the church where Ricci had entered the Order of Saint Benedict in 1627.[62] The reference to Nicodemus lies in the fact that he was a sculptor, present at Christ's crucifixion. He is remembered for the carving of the 'volto santo', which was believed to have been completed by angelic intervention and thus also an *acheiropoieton*. This crucifix is believed to contain Christ's blood and parts of the crown of thorns and is kept in the cathedral of Lucca.[63]

The page on which the drawing is made is full of written allusions to Mary's important status, mainly on the basis of quotes from Scripture, in order to promote her divinity. Exemplary in Ricci's writings above the drawing is the phrase 'Liber generationis Jesu Christi. Liberque generationis Mariae. Maria de qua natus est Jesus, qui vocatur Christus'.[64] In the margin of the page, he wrote that this phrase is a famous canticle in the church, referring to a specific section of the breviary.[65] The prominent reference here to the sung devotion by the people was once again a sign of Ricci's attention for popular devotional practice.

The fifth drawing is based on a model that has not been identified (Fig. 9).[66] A clue for the model can be found in Ricci's own description: 'Ecce imago in lapide naturale depicta, secundum [me] licet dicere supernaturale; quae ab initio ordinata est, ut cuncta cum Deo componeret'.[67] The drawing suggests a sculpture of a nursing Virgo Lactans as the model, most probably present in the Abruzzo region surrounding L'Aquila, where this affective iconography had been a popular model c. 1200-1400.[68]

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[61] A. Signorini, *La diocesi di Aquila descritta ed illustrata*, vol. 1, Aquila, Grossi, 1868, pp. 314-315.
[62] D. Angulo Iñiguez & A.E. Pérez Sánchez, *Historia de la pintura española. Escuela madrileña del segundo tercio del siglo XVII*, Madrid, Instituto Diego Velázquez, 1983, p. 303.
[63] L. Goosen, *Van Andreas tot Zacheüs. Thema's uit het Nieuwe Testament en de apocriefe literatuur in religie en kunsten*, Nijmegen, SUN, 1992, p. 230.
[64] 'Book of the generation of Jesus Christ. And the book of the generation of Mary. Mary of whom Jesus is born, who is called Christ'. This is a variation of Matthew 1:1 and 16 in which Ricci stresses that the family tree of Jesus equals the family tree of Mary.
[65] 'est Ecclesia cantica nota'.
[66] AAM cod. 537, p. 7. The drawing is copied mirrored on the back of the sheet.
[67] 'Here is the image depicted in natural stone, according to me it is allowed to say supernatural, which was established from the beginning, just like everything because it is created by God'.
[68] W. Maraschio, *La Madonna del Latte in Abruzzo*, Lanciano, Carabba, 2011, pp. 9-11. For an analysis of the regional variations of the Virgo Lactans iconography in the Abruzzo region, cfr. M. Vittorini, 'Le effigi della Madonna con il Bambino: iconografia e devozione', in: L. Arbace (ed.), *La Sapienza risplende. Madonne d'Abruzzo tra Medioevo e Rinascimento*, exhib. cat. Musei Comunali Rimini, Torino, Allemandi, 2011, pp. 30-40.

Despite the fact that the original model is unknown, the reference to its materiality is of importance. As Ricci wrote, the substance could be regarded as supernatural instead of natural, since the sculpture was a direct creation by God because it was made from an unprocessed natural material. In this line of thought, the supernatural materiality of the original model counted as a supportive argument for the supernatural original status of who is depicted. This specific argument, forming a base for a new approach to prove Mary's immaculacy, ignored Aquinas's instruction for the devotional use of images. Aquinas specifically mentioned that in the adoration through images, their materiality should not be considered, but only that what was represented.[69] Ricci showed he clearly opposed this, since the aspect of materiality served his argument. His competence as an artist gave him the opportunity to deflect from the guidelines by Aquinas, resulting in a less rigid approach to devotional theory.

The text accompanying the drawing consists of textual fragments from specific sources, mentioned in the margin, that can be connected to Mary's immaculacy. Exemplary is this phrase on the verso side of the page: 'Maria virgo immunis est ab omni peccato, originali, veniali et mortali'.[70]

Figure 9

The sixth drawing is a sketch of the *Madonna della Purità* (c. 1550) in the Basilica di San Paolo Maggiore in Naples (Fig. 10).[71] The sketch is drawn on a small sheet besides a personal prayer, to which Ricci added his name and the date of 17 May 1671. This date and the sketchy character legitimise the suggestion that the drawing was made *in situ*. The original panel is painted by the Spanish artist Luis de Morales (c. 1509-1586, Fig. 11). The sobriquet El Divino was explained by Antonio Palomino as a

[69] T. Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, part III, question 25, article 3. Aquinas refers to Aristotle in this matter.
[70] 'The Virgin Mary is free from all original, venial and mortal sin'. AAM cod. 537, p. 8.
[71] *Ivi*, p. 23bis. This is a loose sheet that was recently discovered in the archive of the abbey of Montecassino by archivist Don Mariano Dell'Omo. It was added to codex 537 on this specific location on 1 September 2018.

reference to the religious subjects and the naturalism of De Morales's paintings.[72] The Christ child holds an apple as a symbol of human redemption.[73] The Spanish priest don Diego de Barnaudo y Mendoza had donated the painting in 1641 to the Theatine church in Naples. Until then, it was kept in the abbey of San Martino delle Scale near Palermo.[74] The painting was named Madonna della Purità 'for its admirable and pure qualities' which was a direct way to connect the panel to the immaculacy of the Virgin.[75]

Figure 10

Figure 11

The painting soon became subject of popular devotion in various circles. The image was copied many times in order to be similarly devoted in other churches, which makes it difficult to say where Ricci made the drawing.[76] The church of Montecassino itself however had a chapel devoted to the Madonna della Purità including a copy of De Morales's painting.[77] In Naples, it became a local prime object for devotion to Mary.[78] But also, and this must have been the main reason for Ricci's fascination for the painting, as a general symbol of the Immaculacy, because the Purità-Madonna

[72] F. Pereda, 'Luis de Morales, Divine Painter', in: L. Ruiz Gómez (ed.), *The Divine Morales*, exhib. cat. Madrid/Bilbao/Barcelona, 2015, p. 45, note 2.
[73] V. Pacelli, 'La Madonna e la Cappella della Purità in San Paolo Maggiore. Un evento "mediatico" teatino tra arte e devozione nella capitale del viceregno spagnolo', in: D.A. D'Alessandro (ed.), *Sant'Andrea Avellino e i Teatini nella Napoli del Viceregno Spagnolo. Arte, Religione, Società*, vol. II, Napoli, D'Auria, 2011-2012, p. 431.
[74] This origin is mentioned by Ricci himself: 'Ecclesiae et coenobii Panonae'. AAM cod. 537, p. 23bis. Panona refers to Panormus, the Latin name for Palermo.
[75] Pacelli, 'La Madonna e la Cappella della Purità in San Paolo Maggiore', cit., p. 428.
[76] *Ivi*, p. 429.
[77] A. Pantoni, 'Descrizioni di Montecassino attraverso i secoli', in: *Benedictina*, 2, 19 (1972), p. 554. The copy has survived.
[78] L. Ruiz Gómez, 'Luis de Morales: Divine and Human', in: Ruiz Gómez (ed.), *The Divine Morales*, cit., p. 27.

became the Theatine version of the Immacolata.[79] This is stressed by an inscription on the painting, alluding to the idea that Mary was free from original sin.[80]

Its devotion was at its peak in the second half of the seventeenth century and Ricci made the drawing shortly before the popular devotion of the image received papal recognition. On 20 August 1671, pope Clement X issued a bull in order to allow the feast of the Madonna della Purità to be celebrated each year on 2 February.[81] Ricci understood that, with the right framing, this could be considered as a papal gesture towards the desired declaration of the dogma of the immaculacy of the Virgin.

The model has been copied only very sketchily on a small sheet, but with a reference to the eight small heads at the border of the image, which is a feature that appears on the painted frame of the painting.[82] There is a vague indication of the addition of two crowns. Most space on the sheet is reserved for a prayer. That prayer is the exemplary epitome and written proof of Ricci's devotion to the Virgin. The personal section is written in his native Castilian Spanish. He writes: 'If my powers suffice, I hope for the intercession of Your Sacrosanct Majesty, Mother of the Holiest God, and the Purest, [...] and my devotion will reach your Sacrosanct Majesty, […] as I have done always with pleasure, peacefully, quietly, and with sincere uniformity'.[83] Ricci continued the prayer in Latin, asking God to project the purity of Mary on the body and mind of pious human beings. He finished with a direct reference to the immaculacy: 'Praised be the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, and the Immaculate Conception of the Empress of the Universe, the Virgin Mary, without original sin. Amen'.[84]

As such, the sheet shows exactly what the function of the image is in Ricci's devotion. Ricci meditated on the specific image and its local devotion, and while sketching the icon and stressing his personal devotion in written prayer, he asked for intercession by praising Mary in her divine state, which is her immaculacy, that makes her devotion equal to that to Christ. It is the devout act of drawing the Madonna, in the footsteps of the devout Saint Luke and the divine completion of his icon, mirrored by an inner 'painting' of the Holy Trinity, that made this an example of *latria* rather than of *hyperdulia* towards Mary, and subsequently proof of Mary's divinity.

Conclusion

Ricci's theological ideas that come forward from these drawings were of a highly scholarly character, but deviated from generally accepted Benedictine thinking, and more specifically from the considerations by Aquinas. His six drawings based on models of Madonna's from the Italian peninsula show an affective approach to Mariology. His attention for popular devotion, in addition to the intellectual Benedictine scholarship, led him to the images and statues of the Madonna, especially those with a miraculous history, and mainly those that were attributed to Saint Luke.

Ricci collected various arguments in order to connect Aquinas's intellectual stance on the devotion of Mary with her popular devotion. He started his argumentation in the devout practice of the creation of images of the Madonna in a

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[79] Pacelli, 'La Madonna e la Cappella della Purità in San Paolo Maggiore', cit., p. 430.

[80] Ruiz Gómez, 'Luis de Morales: Divine and Human', cit., pp. 27-28. The inscription reads: DVM VNVM FIT ET ALIVT NON AMICTITVR LOISIVS MORALES [sic].

[81] J. Hernandez Perera, 'La "Madonna della Purità" y Luis de Morales', in: *Regnum Dei. Collectanea Theatina*, 14, 53 (1958), p. 7.

[82] Pacelli, 'La Madonna e la Cappella della Purità in San Paolo Maggiore', cit., pp. 441-446.

[83] AAM cod. 537, p. 23bis: 'enquanto mis fuerzas alcanzan, espero en la intercession del Vostra Sacrosanta Magestad, Madre de Dios Santissima, y Purissima, […] y devocion mia, alcanzara Vuestra Sacrosanta Magestad, […] como à todos el hazer siempre con gusto, paz, y quietud, y verdadera uniformidad'.

[84] *Ibidem*. 'Alabado sea el Santísimo Sacramento del Altar, y la Inmaculada Concepcion de la Emperatriz del Universo, Virgen Maria, sin peccato original. Amen'.

new and erudite iconography, as can be seen in the first three drawings. A change is visible in the final three drawings, when Ricci stopped changing the iconography, and coincidentally paid more attention to the argument of popular devotion, taking more and more distance from Aquinas's intellectual approach. The final drawing shows that Ricci had completely internalised this devotion to the Virgin into a personal affection.

Yet what is clear in all six examples is that the creative act of drawing the Madonna, following the example of Saint Luke, is the devotional practice that brings humans the closest to the divine. For Ricci, because he was an artist, Saint Luke could replace Aquinas as an authority in devotional matters concerning Mary. It is clear that Ricci knew Carducho's and De la Cerda's descriptions of the idea that an artist's external devotion to Mary was mirrored by an internal 'painting' of the Holy Trinity and the Virgin. This comes forward in Ricci's rather consequent practice of crowning his Madonna's, preferably with the Trinitarian symbol of the triregnum, and it results in Ricci's adoration of Mary by *latria*.

Although the Order of Saint Benedict is a religious network that follows one Rule, a contrasting practice concerning the veneration of sacred images can be seen in the two congregations in this period, which culminates in Ricci's drawings of the Madonna's. Ricci's commentary on Aquinas's guidelines for image worship is an example of a clash of ideas between Spain and the Papal States. The position taken by the Holy Office in Spain in the theoretical debate on images and image worship, as published posthumously by its member Francesco Pacheco, differed from the one agreed upon at the Council of Trent, and also the position described by Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti in the *Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre e profane*, published in 1582.[85] *Latria*, the highest form of veneration, reserved by Aquinas for the divine, was reserved by Paleotti for the Eucharist exclusively. As a consequence, according to Paleotti it was impossible to sacralise images, and merely 'honor their memorial quality and the "intention" with which they were made'.[86] Pacheco however opposed to Paleotti's ideas on worship of holy images and objects. For Pacheco, *latria* was appropriate for objects and images of Christ because they replaced the 'divine person' himself.[87] Ricci held a unique position in this debate, since he stretched Pacheco's image theory and ideas on image worship to the veneration of images of the Madonna, extended *latria* to these sacred images, and introduced that level of image worship as an argument for Mary's divinity. For Ricci, sacred image theory did not direct the worship of images, but vice versa.

Because of the specific and individual nature of his theological practice, Ricci called it mystic theology instead of scholastic theology. His criticism of the guidelines by Aquinas and his personal emphasis on the Spanish and popular adoration of the Madonna did not reach further than his personal manuscripts, where he could develop his ideas about this issue. His prayer and theological scholarship went hand in hand, and crossed the realm of the verbal world into that of the image. Ricci's merge of *ora* and *labora* culminated during the creation of the drawings and materialised on the paper that he used for his theological artistry.

Keywords
Order of Saint Benedict, Saint Thomas Aquinas, art theory, Immaculate Conception, devotion to Mary

[85] F. Pereda, *Crime and Illusion. The Art of Truth in the Spanish Golden Age*, London, Harvey Miller, 2018, p. 74.
[86] *Ibidem*.
[87] *Ivi*, pp. 75-76.

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RIASSUNTO

Ora et labora

La devozione e l'erudizione nei disegni italiani della Madonna di Juan Ricci de Guevara

Nella vita intellettuale benedettina l'attività scientifica si sposa alla pratica della fede. Il modo in cui tali pilastri si influenzarono a vicenda nel XVII secolo si palesa nell'analisi di sei disegni italiani della Madonna di Juan Ricci de Guevara, i quali sono manifestazioni della posizione critica di Ricci nei confronti della riflessione di Tommaso d'Aquino sulla devozione a Maria; per Ricci la devozione popolare a Maria ha maggior peso rispetto alle restrizioni intellettuali e teologiche. Un argomento ricorrente nella critica di Ricci è l'esperienza divina degli artisti devoti nel creare immagini di Maria, la quale risale alla leggenda di San Luca. Ricci rievoca questa pratica nei suoi disegni basati su immagini popolari della Madonna. Visto che varie icone attribuite a San Luca erano oggetti di devozione popolare nel XVII secolo, Ricci sostituisce Tommaso d'Aquino a San Luca come autorità in materia di devozione a Maria. Nei disegni di Ricci si manifesta la fusione tra devozione e studio: attraverso la creazione dell'immagine è possibile adorare la divinità di Maria.

Figures:

1

Juan Ricci de Guevara (1600-1681), *Christ and the Madonna, modelled on the icon of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome*, c. 1663. Ink on paper, 36 x 27 cm, AAM cod. 469, p. 67. Photo by author. Kind permission for reproduction by the Archivio dell'Abbazia di Montecassino.

2

Anon., Icon known as the *Salus Populi Romani* (after the restoration of 2017), date unknown. Tempera on cedar panel, 117 x 79 cm, Rome, Basilica Santa Maria Maggiore, Cappella Paolina. (Wikimedia Commons, CC BY-SA 4.0)

3

Juan Ricci de Guevara (1600-1681), *Christ celebrating mass and the Madonna, modelled on the Madonna of Loreto*, c. 1663. Ink on paper, 36 x 27 cm, AAM cod. 469, p. 69. Photo by author. Kind permission for reproduction by the Archivio dell'Abbazia di Montecassino.

4

Cavaliere d'Arpino (attr.) (1568-1640), *Madonna of Loreto*, 1600. Oil on canvas, 175 x 118 cm, private collection. Kind permission for reproduction by Galleria Porcini, Naples.

5

Juan Ricci de Guevara (1600-1681), *Christ celebrating mass and the Madonna, modelled on the Virgin of Carmel*, c. 1663. Ink on paper, 36 x 27 cm, AAM cod. 469, p. 71. Photo by author. Kind permission for reproduction by the Archivio dell'Abbazia di Montecassino.

6

Anon., *Virgin of Carmel (La Bruna)* (after the restoration of 1975), c. 1280. Tempera on wood, 100 x 80 cm, Naples, Basilica santuario di Santa Maria del Carmine Maggiore.

7

Juan Ricci de Guevara (1600-1681), *Madonna della Croce*, c. 1668-9. Ink on paper, 32 x 22 cm, AAM cod. 537, p. 5. Photo by author. Kind permission for reproduction by the Archivio dell'Abbazia di Montecassino.

8

Anon., *Madonna della Croce*, fifteenth century. Gilded and painted cedar wood, Poggio di Roio, Santuario della Madonna della Croce.

9

Juan Ricci de Guevara (1600-1681), *Virgo Lactans*, c. 1668-9. Ink on paper, 32 x 22 cm, AAM cod. 537, p. 7. Photo by author. Kind permission for reproduction by the Archivio dell'Abbazia di Montecassino.

10

Juan Ricci de Guevara (1600-1681), *Memorial a la Gran Madre de Dios Virgen Maria Santissima de la Pureza*, 17 May 1671. Ink on paper, 15 x 11 cm, AAM cod. 537, p. 23bis. Photo by author. Kind permission for reproduction by the Archivio dell'Abbazia di Montecassino.

11

Luis de Morales (c. 1509-1586), *Madonna della Purità*, c. 1550. Mixed technique on wood, 92 x 92 cm, Naples, Basilica di San Paolo Maggiore, Cappella della Purità. Kind permission for reproduction by the Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio per il Comune di Napoli. The artwork is owned by the Fondo Edifici di Culto, which is part of the Ministero dell'Interno. It is currently not on view and awaiting restoration [March 2019].

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Scientific networks, Vesuvius and politics
The case of Teodoro Monticelli in Naples, 1790-1845

John Brewer

In the Spring of 1820 the British chemist Humphry Davy wrote from Rome to thank his friend the Abate and Cavaliere Teodoro Monticelli for his hospitality during a recent sojourn in Naples, concluding his letter by remarking that 'the things that you have done for me, and the things we did together I will never forget'.[1] Davy and Monticelli had been working for some months on the slopes of Vesuvius, in 'votre grande et belle laboratoire'[2] as Davy put it, and in Monticelli's house, investigating the chemical properties of the mephitic gases and crystals produced by the volcano. Davy's presence in Naples was officially linked to the task, given him by the Prince Regent, of finding a way to unroll the carbonized scrolls from Herculaneum which scholars hoped would reveal unknown works of classical literature. But he was far happier − and more successful − in exploring the volcano with his friend.

Humphry Davy is hardly unknown in the annals of science, but few, even among those who study the history of geology or volcanology, will have heard of Teodoro Monticelli. Yet Monticelli was a powerful figure in his day as well as typical of the many Italian savants, mineralogists and geologists whose work and focus was as much local as international, or perhaps more accurately, who used the international to further local ends. Like many such figures he stood at the intersection of a large body of local knowledge and the greater scientific community, and, like some of his colleagues, he used the promotion of such connections to further a much larger political project, one that looked towards the establishment of constitutional regimes with an educated and enfranchised public, and even on occasion towards an entire peninsula united in a single nation. Monticelli belonged to three different but overlapping networks. One connected Italian savants of mineralogy and geology in Sicily, Naples, Rome, the Tuscan cities, and the towns of northern Italy and the Veneto: Milan, Turin, Bologna, Pavia, Padua. Like-minded, similarly positioned savants were connected through correspondence, exchange of specimens and shared international visitors. Their relations with the travellers was one way in which they were part of a second network that made up a larger scientific community whose centres were, above all, Paris, but also Berlin and London, and which was sustained by correspondence, travel and intellectual and gift exchange. A third, related but rather different in character, consisted of a generation of Italian administrators and functionaries, nurtured first on French revolutionary ideals and then on the views of the French ideologues and Napoleonic functionaries, who were united in a desire for comprehensive reform in which the sciences − not just "natural", but medical, social and political − would

[1] Humphry Davy to Teodoro Monticelli, Rome, 7 March 1820, Davy Letters Project (Hereafter DLP), Royal Institution, www.davy-letters.org.uk (accessed 20 June 2018).
[2] DLP, Davy to Monticelli, 21 February 1816.

achieve a universal salubriousness. Monticelli used the prestige acquired as a vital intermediary in the first two networks not only for self-advancement (and protection) but to promote the aims of the third network for scientific reform. Vesuvius was vital to this, providing him with the social and cultural capital to pursue his cause.

The volcano and the Bay of Naples gave Monticelli certain advantages. No site was so spectacular − so sublime − and yet so accessible to the savant and the tourist. In Sicily, the Gemmellaro family presided over Etna, a far more impressive mountain, but it was both more inaccessible and much harder to climb. Savants from throughout Italy and in much of Europe and North America constantly solicited lavas, minerals and fossils from the volcano, and pressed Monticelli to send them accounts of Vesuvius and its eruptions; it is clear that they believed that such articles would increase the visibility of their journals. The savants of the other Italian cities had nothing comparable to offer − no regular eruptions, no vast trove of brilliant crystals and rocks, and (with the exception of Rome) no archaeological remains comparable to those of the buried cities. He was *primus inter pares*.

Monticelli's correspondence was voluminous and survives in the National Library in Naples. Its richness enables us to reconstruct the formation and activities of Italian and European networks of savants, geologists and mineralogists. Much distinguished writing on Italian science in general, and on earth sciences in particular, has focused either on the achievements of particular individuals or the formation of institutional arrangements − notably the national meetings of Italian scientists begun in 1839 in Pisa.[3] The approach adopted here is different. Though my focus is on Monticelli and Neapolitan science, I reconstruct his networks in order to understand how the study of the earth worked as a set of practices and activities in the first half of the nineteenth century. In doing so I deliberately neglect the whiggish question, that has preoccupied many scholars, about the position of Italian science in relation to the scientific achievements of other countries (one cannot, of course, say nations.) The focus is on how savants worked rather than on what they achieved.

But let me begin with Monticelli himself. Teodoro Monticelli was born in 1759, the younger son of minor nobility from Brindisi, who, like many a younger son who did not go into the military, entered the church. In Brindisi, Lecce, Naples and Rome he was educated in philosophy and mathematics, and was taught by the followers of Antonio Genovesi, who held the first chair in Political Economy in Europe, established in Naples in 1754. He became a radical Jacobin and freemason in the 1790s, a member of the Società patriottica napoletana, linked to the private studio of the defrocked priest, Carlo Lauberg, who taught applied mathematics and chemistry for revolutionary ends. Arrested in 1794, he was then released − it was clear he was an ardent Jacobin, but not that he was an active conspirator − but then re-arrested in 1795, when he was offered a bishopric if he would betray his fellow radicals. Refusing to do so, he spent the next six years first in the Castel Sant'Elmo high above the city (and in a windowless cell) and then as a prisoner on the remote island of Favignana off the north-west coast of Sicily, where he had been sentenced to ten years of confinement. His incarceration probably saved his life: he was not able to be a part of the brief government of the Neapolitan republic set up by the French in 1799, and radically purged by the Bourbons and Horatio Nelson. Freed in 1801 as part of the amnesty negotiated at the Treaty of Florence, he returned to study and work first in Rome (where he first became

[3] See for example L. Cerruti, 'Dante's Bones: geography and history of Italian science, 1748-1870', in K. Gavroglu (ed.), *Sciences in the European Periphery during the Enlightenment*, Dordrecht, Kluwer, 1999, pp. 95-178; G.B. Vai, 'Light and Shadow: the status of Italian geology around 1807', in: *Geological Society, London, Special Publications*, 317 (2009), pp. 179-202. A contemporary overview can be found in L. Pilla, 'Sui progressi della Orittognosia e della Geognosia in Italia', in: *Il Progresso delle Scienze, delle Lettere, e delle Arti*, 2 (1832), pp. 37-81, 3 (1832), pp. 165-234.

interested in geology), and then returned to Naples as Professor of Ethics in 1806. With the (second) French occupation of Naples his fortunes flourished, and in 1807 he was made head of the Collegio del Salvatore and a member of the Ministry of Education. In the following year he became permanent Secretary of the Academy of Sciences, was given the title of Cavaliere, and was appointed to the Internal Commission of general Statistics for the Kingdom, responsible for agriculture.[4]

Monticelli's early work had been on husbandry − he had written a catechism for small-holding farmers, a treatise on bee-keeping while on Favignana, and an environmental study, *Sull'economia delle acque da ristabilirsi nel regno di Napoli* ('On the restoration/recuperation of the economy of water in the Kingdom of Naples') which some modern scholars see as an early work of Italian environmentalism. As we will see, Monticelli never lost interest in these questions, but from 1808 onwards he published a succession of geological works, including an innovative account of the massive 1822 eruption of Vesuvius, and with a chemist, Nicola Covelli, the *Prodromo di Vesuvio*, a comprehensive analysis of its rocks and minerals. In these papers he and his colleague measured the fallout of pyroclastic deposits, developed an historical classification of volcanic types, and disagreed with the likes of Alexander von Humboldt and von Buch over whether volcanoes were the product of processes of elevation rather than eruption. Described by the Duke of Buckingham when in Naples as 'the great naturalist here', and by Alexander von Humboldt as 'the learned and zealous observer of the Volcano', his achievements as a vulcanist were compared by Humphry Davy to those of Horace Benedict de Saussure as a scholar of the Alps.[5] Praise from such savants helped Monticelli establish himself as a key figure in the scholarly and public reception of Vesuvius.

Indeed it may well have been for this reason that Monticelli was able to keep his position, despite the change of regimes. The volcano and his association with it protected him. The intervention of the Austrians had prevented the Bourbons from purging the Muratist administration to which he belonged in 1815, but after the failure of the 1820 constitutionalist revolt in Naples Monticelli avoided the fate of many of his long-standing friends who were dismissed or forced into exile. The ardent Jacobin had turned into a pragmatist, willing to accept the Restored dynasty because his positions gave him influence and power. For the last thirty years of his life he was Secretary both of the Società Reale Borbonica, and secretary of one of the three academies that made up that body, L'Accademia delle scienze. His offices made him the public face of both institutions, the chief correspondent with other academies, libraries and museums both within the Italian peninsula and in Europe and the Americas. In 1845, on the last day of the meeting of Italian scientists held at the newly opened Observatory on the slopes of Vesuvius (a project he had ardently promoted but whose inauguration he had been too ill to attend) Monticelli died in his eighty-sixth year. His funeral in Naples was attended by many of the congress's participants. Posthumous panegyrics are rarely reliable, but they seem to have agreed on his 'serene affability', and his 'aura of modesty'.[6]

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[4] On Monticelli's life see F.P. De Ceglia, 'Monticelli, Teodoro', *Dizionario Biografico degli italiani*, 76 (2012), http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/teodoro-monticelli_Dizionario-Biografico) (accessed 1 June 2018); A. Nazzaro & A. di Gregorio, 'The Contribution of the Neapolitan Geologist, Teodoro Monticelli (1759-1845) to the development of Geology', in: N. Morello (ed.), *Volcanoes and History, Proceedings of the 20th INHIGEO Symposium, 19-25 September 1995*, Genoa, Brigati, 1998, pp. 415-433; G. Foscari, *Teodoro Monticelli e l'Economia delle acque nel Mezzogiorno moderno*, Salerno, Edisud Salerno, 2009, pp. 59-88.

[5] *The Private Diary of Richard, Duke of Buckingham and Chandos*, London, Hurst and Blackett, 1862, vol. I, p. 314; DLP, Davy to Monticelli, Rome, 8 April 1820.

[6] Mazzarella, 'Della Vita e delle Opere di Teodoro Monticelli', *Giornale Euganeo di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, 2, 3 (1846), p. 495.

Though Monticelli became an assiduous volcanologist, his horizon was bounded by the Kingdom of Naples, and was largely confined to Vesuvius and the Campi Phlegrei. He seems never to have travelled outside the Italian peninsula. Unlike most of the important geologists of his generation, he never crossed the Mediterranean into Greece, the Holy Land and Egypt, nor did he make it northwards over the Alps to France and Germany. His concerns were local and his observations were not theoretical but resolutely empirical. As he and Covelli wrote about the eruption of 1822:

> We consulted the ancient and modern writers about our volcanoes and the papers of foreign people on the same topics, as well as the most famous authors of Geology and Mineralogy; however having found that geologists are divided into two tendencies, one of which ascribed most external and internal terrestrial phenomena only to waters, and the other one only to fire, we simply tried to study their doctrines, without embracing any one of them; we only intended to give exact reports of things observed by us.[7]

To a certain extent this was a characteristic gesture of many geologists of the 1820s who wished to privilege empirical observation over speculative theory. But it is also probable that Monticelli took this position because his prime concern was less to adjudicate between Neptunists and Plutonists than to ensure that, whatever the larger geological narrative, Vesuvius and the Neapolitan kingdoms would feature within it. For, passionate as Monticelli was about mineralogy, geology and volcanism, his first commitment was to realizing a particular vision of Naples.

Monticelli was determined to insert Vesuvius (both materially and intellectually) into the international geological narrative, because he saw international interest in the volcano as a means to promote Naples as part of a modern, scientific world. He wanted this perception to be both local and international. This involved several interconnected stratagems: acting as a fixer between the volcano, the local scientific community and foreign visitors to Naples; bringing Vesuvius to the attention of a local and international public through the display of collections, accounts of Vesuvius's activity, and the international circulation of specimens; and finally, protecting and ensuring the status of Vesuvius as a scientific object in the face of criticism and hostility from the local Church and other conservative forces.

Let's look at Monticelli's stratagems. Almost every important geologist and major public figure who came to Naples between 1808 and 1840 met Monticelli, who frequently accompanied them on an ascent of Vesuvius. His surviving correspondence is littered with letters of introduction from geologists like Alexander von Humboldt and Humphry Davy recommending savants from Britain, Germany, France, Scandinavia and the New World. In his dealings with this international clientele, Monticelli was a master of the small significant gesture: at Christmas 1814 he entertained Sir William Gell, who became the greatest English-language expert on Pompeii, at his country house at Bosco Tre Case on the southern slopes of Vesuvius, and took the Englishman on his very first visit to the ruins;[8] he helped Davy on his first visit to Vesuvius in 1814-1815, sent him compounds to Rome for his experiments en route to Naples in 1819, and managed all his affairs during the eruption of 1819-1820;[9] when an ill-equipped Humboldt arrived in Naples in 1822, from a diplomatic mission in Verona, Monticelli lent him instruments and log tables to pursue his work.[10] When Charles Lyell arrived in 1828, two years before the publication of his path-breaking *Principles of Geology*, he was unable to observe all of Vesuvius, because of its eruptive state, so Monticelli provided him with

[7] Quoted in Nazzaro & di Gregorio, 'The Contribution of the Neapolitan Geologist', cit., pp. 426-427.
[8] W. Gell, 'Journal 9 August 1814-31 May 1815', Beinecke Library, Yale University, Osborn d293 f.83.
[9] LHD Davy to Monticelli, n.d.; 19 November, 15 December 1818; 21 March, 4 April, 17, 24 October 1819.
[10] Biblioteca Nazionale (hereafter B.N.), Naples, Monticelli Mss, Humboldt to Monticelli, 1822 H.62.

drawings of the parts of the volcano he could not see.[11] He made travel arrangements for William Buckland and his wife in 1826, and made a life-long friend of the Danish archaeologist Charles Jurgensen-Thomsen, by providing him with accommodation during his visit to Naples in the 1820s.[12]

Monticelli helped not just geologists, but scientists of every stripe, agronomists, botanists, physicists and chemists, doctors and philosophers, cartographers and geographers, mathematicians and statisticians, and the many amateurs and polymaths who were typical of the scientific culture of the period. When the Duke of Buckingham, an ardent amateur geologist, arrived in Naples in the spring of 1828, Monticelli offered the services of his secretary as a guide to the volcanic islands that the Duke was eager to visit in his custom-built (and unpaid for) yacht. Buckingham was delighted with Emmanuele Donati's services – Donati found and identified specimens, supervised an archaeological dig, and, whether on Capri or in Corsica, worked tirelessly on the Duke's behalf. When the two men parted in Genoa, Buckingham gave Donati ten pounds for travel expenses and a gold snuff box, and arranged to pay him fifty pounds. 'He is sorry to go', the Duke wrote, 'and I am equally sorry to lose him, as he has been a very active, quiet, unassuming companion, and has been of great use to me'.[13]

Monticelli also drew visitors into the scholarly life of Naples. He persuaded Charles Babbage, in Italy to recuperate from the loss of his father, wife and son, to sit on a commission – to which the Catalan geologist, Carlos de Gimbernat also contributed – into the curative powers of the waters of Ischia.[14] He had the chemist and botanist, Charles Daubeny, author of *A Description of Active and Extinct Volcanoes* (1826), speak about his researches to the Royal Academy of Science. He even persuaded a rather nervous Christian, Crown Prince of Denmark, an amateur obsessed with geology, to present his findings about Vesuvius to a special session of the Academy. Brokering such events gave the academy greater kudos in the eyes of the court, even as it enhanced its reputation among the foreign visitors and dignitaries who were drawn into its affairs.

A central feature of Monticelli's hospitality was a visit to his collection of Vesuvian lavas and minerals. On 25 January 1820, for example, Christian, Crown Prince of Denmark, visited Monticelli's collection with Humphry Davy, describing it as 'unique' for 'objets volcaniques'; he was also struck by its collection of fossils from Northern Europe which he thought much richer than was usually found in Italy. Originally housed in Monticelli's home, the Museum moved to the Palazzo Penne in the centre of Naples in 1825, and at his death contained 6600 specimens from Vesuvius and a further 1400 minerals from other volcanoes in the Azores, Sardinia and Iceland. This was an entirely separate collection from the royal cabinet of minerals, which had its own curator. Like many others, Christian was fascinated by the collection, which included many volcanic substances that he could not recognize or name. As was often the case, this visit prompted a request that Monticelli put together a collection of 'the most interesting specimens' for the visitor.[15] As the Duke of Buckingham, another passionate aristocratic collector, commented, 'the collection of Vesuvian minerals is

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[11] C. Lyell, *Principles of Geology; or the modern changes of the earth and its inhabitants*, New York, Appleton and Co, 1853, p. 379.

[12] B.N., Naples, Monticelli Mss. B.108 Buckland to Monticelli, n.d.; LHD Davy to Monticelli, 20 February 1826; B.N. Monticelli Mss, T. 07, Charles Jurgensen-Thomsen, 13 September 1824.

[13] *Private Diary of the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos*, II, p. 31, 38, 49, 236.

[14] C. Babbage, *Passages from the Life of a Philosopher*, Martin-Campbell-Kelly (ed.), New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1994, p. 165.

[15] A. Fabritius, F. Friis & E. Kornerup (eds.), *Kong Christian VIII's dagbøger og Optegnelser. I halvbind 1815-1821*, Copenhagen, Udgivet af Det kongelige danske Selskab for Fædrelandets Historie, 1973, 25 January 1820, pp. 204-205.

immense and beautiful, and supplies all of Europe'.[16]

So one way to ensure Vesuvius's place in the grand narrative of geology was through a process of dispersal: to distribute samples of the volcano to schools, cabinets, academies, universities and laboratories. Monticelli was big in the rock business. Visitors to his collection were given samples, but Monticelli, either for a fee or as part of a system of gift exchange, also distributed larger collections of minerals all over the world. Quite often he was solicited for samples, often in return for election to an academy or in response to a gift of samples from other geological sites. Thus Charles Frederic Bachmann, the Director of the Jena Mineralogy Society, accompanied news that they had awarded Monticelli with a diploma with a request for specimens of Vesuvian rocks.[17] Monticelli received minerals from Northern Europe: Copenhagen, Stockholm, Norway, southern England, the lower Rhine, Bohemia and Geneva. Others sent materials from the Mediterranean – Marseilles, Trieste, Udine, Catania, and Malta – and from the new world – Mexico, New England and Baltimore. Monticelli himself supplied minerals not just to London, Paris and Copenhagen, but to Jena, Dresden, Marseilles, Turin, Philadelphia, Middlebury Vermont, Washington and Rio de Janeiro, as well as to many Italian museums and collections.

The circulation of these material objects worked through a network of exchange and information (letters, offprints and books) that included more than one hundred and fifty correspondents in Germany (Berlin, Jena, Gottingen, Freiburg, Dresden, Heidelberg and Bonn), London (the British Museum, the Royal Society and the Geological Society), Paris (the Académie des Sciences, the Jardin des Plantes, École des Mines, Musée d'histoire naturelle, and the Institut Historique), Scandinavia (Copenhagen, Helsingfors, Uppsala, Stockholm), Russia (St. Petersburg), as well as in the New World in Vermont, New York, Washington (the National Institute for the Promotion of Science), Buenos Aires, Rio di Janeiro, and Mexico City.

Some of these transactions were at the behest of rulers, diplomats and government officials, others were often facilitated by diplomatic staff who arranged to shepherd valuable specimens through ports and customs. Some were simple commercial transactions with mineral and rock dealers in London, Freiberg, Gottingen, Heidelberg and Vienna. But most of Monticelli's transactions were either with Academies and Museums, or, on a much smaller scale, with private individuals, often in response to gifts – as small as a single rock – or to direct requests for a few specimens. Many grew out of contacts first made in Naples.

The entire range of such exchanges, small and large, personal and official, can be followed in the on-going development of the relationship between Humphry Davy and Monticelli. In February 1816 Davy sent some Cornish minerals to the Abate because, as he wrote to his mother, when he had been in Naples, Monticelli had been 'excessively civil' to me and 'gave me a very fine collection of minerals from Vesuvius'.[18] Three years later, when Davy returned to Naples, Monticelli gave him 'a list of substances wanting for his collection', and Davy wrote to Faraday in London asking him to arrange a reciprocal gift, which he would pay for.[19] Monticelli had already put together another 'magnificent collection' for Davy, which the Cornishman asked the Abate 'to send to the Royal Institution', suggesting that if they had any duplicates that were on Monticelli's wish list they should give him them in exchange.[20] Back in London in the autumn of 1820, and newly appointed as the President of the Royal Society, Davy received from Naples two cases of minerals, samples of sea salt, and

[16] *Private Diary of the Duke of Buckingham,* II, p. 38.
[17] Monticelli Mss B.03 Charles Frederic Bachmann to M, n.d. 1832.
[18] LHD Humphry Davy to Grace Davy, 14 September 1814.
[19] LHD Humphry Davy to Michael Faraday, 3 April 1819.
[20] *Ibidem*.

several bottles of wine. Davy, on his part, told Monticelli that he was waiting for a means of safe passage before sending him a number of precious stones from Ceylon, which were later brought to Naples by William Hamilton, the British envoy.[21]

The scale of these exchanges changed radically in June 1821 when Davy first proposed that the British Museum buy Monticelli's entire Vesuvian collection.[22] As he made clear from the outset, they were only interested in his volcanic specimens, not in his collection as a whole. By the following spring Davy had Treasury approval to pay £500 for the collection − he had consulted Henry Fitton Secretary of the Geological Society and Lord Compton on the fairness of the price − and designated Compton, who was then resident in Rome, to ensure that the right rocks reached London.[23] (Back in the summer of 1819 Compton, then in England, had received a shipment of minerals from Monticelli, and had reciprocated with a gift of British specimens).[24] After some negotiation − Monticelli persuaded the British government to pay for the packing and shipping − the deal went through, and the collection arrived in London some time in 1823.

Monticelli was an exceptionally amenable and hospitable colleague, who went out of his way to help the many foreign visitors who came through Italy in pursuit of learning, aiding, as we have seen, not just geologists and mineralogists, but those interested in archeology and antiquity, agriculture and economics, literature and art. In this respect he was little different from the many savants within Italy, all of whom were Monticelli's correspondents and who acted as hosts to an itinerant army of international savants: Scipione Breislak (1750-1826) and Giovanni Battista Brocchi (1772-1826) in Milan; Stefano Borson (1758-1832) in Turin; Niccolo Da Rio (1765-1845) in Padua; Camillo Ranzani (1775-1841) in Bologna; Fillipo Nesti (1780-1849) in Florence; Luigi Canali (1759-1841) in Perugia; Marco Antonio Fabroni (1782-1845) in Arezzo; Ranieri Gerbi (1763-1839) and Paolo Savi (1798-1871) in Pisa; Carlo Giuseppe Gismondi (1769-1824) and his assistant Pietro Carpi (1792-1861) in Rome; the brothers Mario (1773-1839) and Carlo Gemmellaro (1787-1845) in Catania; and Franceso Ferrara (1767-1850) first in Catania and then in Palermo − all of them shared many of the qualities and characteristics of Monticelli. Most of them combined a university professorship with the custody and nurturing of local natural history collections. Borson became professor of the Sardinian mining school at Moutier after teaching mineralogy at the University of Turin. His massive catalogue of the Turin collections, almost entirely his own work, included 9866 specimens: 6027 minerals, 1486 rocks, 748 marbles and *pietre dure*, and 1605 fossils. Nesti taught and curated the zoological and mineralogical collections in the Museo di fisica e storia naturale in Florence, which he proudly showed Georges Cuvier when the latter visited in 1809. Similarly, Paolo Savi was professor of Geology, Canali Professor of Physics and Chemistry and Gismondi Professor of Mineralogy; all three presided over important local collections. Gismondi oversaw two in Rome, one at the university, the other at the Collegio Nazzarino. Nearly all of these savants were polymaths: Carlo Gemmellaro was a literary figure and an expert on coins and archaeology; Ferrara was a Professor of Physics, who wrote extensively about archaeology, history, natural history and antiquities. Canali in Perugia collected meteorological observations and built an observatory; Gerbi studied astronomy, physics, insect life, hydraulic systems and published poetry. He was President at the first general meeting of Italian scientists held in Pisa in 1839.

[21] LHD Humphry Davy to Monticelli, 22 October 1820.
[22] *Ivi*, 20 June 1821.
[23] *Ivi*, 23 April 1822; Davy to Lord Compton, November 1822.
[24] Monticelli Mss C148. Compton to Monticelli n.d; Monticelli Mss D200, 201, 203 Margaret Douglas Maclean Clephane to Monticelli, 19 June 1818; 17 June 1819; 10 August 1821.

This network developed in the first three decades of the nineteenth century. Gismondi who had been Monticelli's teacher in Rome at the turn of the century had first inspired the Abate's interest in minerals and geology, and remained a close friend until his death in 1824. He even moved to Naples for a year in 1816 to help reorganize Monticelli's collections. Canali in Perugia first contacted Monticelli in 1817, after he had read about him in a periodical article; similarly Fabroni in Arezzo wrote to Monticelli in 1823 requesting Vesuvian minerals after reading a paper in a French journal by the famous chemist Joseph Louis Gay-Lussac that praised the Neapolitan's work.[25] The savants set up mineral exchanges with Monticelli, sending him samples of rocks that he had requested from all over Italy in return for Vesuvian minerals, crystals and lavas. The exchange with Nesti in Florence began in 1811, with Ranzani in Bologna in 1820, Fabroni in Arezzo and Da Rio in Padua in 1824, and with the Gemmellaros in Catania in 1825.[26] The links in the network were consolidated not just by an exchange of local specimens, but by the mutual distribution of books, pamphlets and periodicals and the proceedings of the various local academies. There was an economy of prestige in which savants in the different cities arranged for the election of their counterparts to be corresponding members of their institutions, which also entitled them to copies of the academies' proceedings.

In certain respects these geologists and mineralogists were resolutely local. The ambit of their researches and publications was largely confined to their immediate surroundings (the major exceptions were Breislak and Brocchi). Gismondi was a figure of enormous stature but only ever published a single article, on the subject of minerals in the vicinity of Rome. Borson travelled extensively in France, but limited his publications to studies of Piedmont. Even a well-travelled savant, like Carlo Gemmellaro, who served as a surgeon in the British army and navy and who attended Humphry Davy's lectures on geology at the Royal Institution in London, focused his attentions on Sicily and Catania. As Pietro Corsi has pointed out, the object of such studies was to feed local information − observations and collections − into some of the larger scientific issues, while retaining a strong sense of place.[27]

But this did not preclude a strong sense that what the savants were producing was "Italian" science. When Luigi Canali wrote to Monticelli from Perugia asking for Vesuvian materials, he justified his request by arguing that he needed 'le cose italiane' to teach his students 'Italian' science. After reading in a foreign journal about a new discovery of Monticelli's collaborator, Nicola Covelli, Nicola Da Rio complained '[w]hat a disappointing thing that one must discover from a French journal what is happening in Italy'.[28] Pietro Carpi and the famous Professor of Medicine from Pavia, Antonio Scarpa, praised Covelli and Monticelli's *Prodromo di Vesuvio* as a triumph for Italian science.[29] Giacinto Cavena, a member of the Academy of Sciences in Turin wanted to procure 'a free and easy scientific and literary communication among the diverse parts of our Italy'.[30] This was the only means by which the larger picture of Italian geology could be constructed. A number of the group's savants, notably Savi and Gerbi, were important advocates for the first national meeting of Italian scientists, which 421 scholars attended in Pisa in 1839.

This sense of "Italy" was both political and experiential. The generation of savants born between the 1750s and 1770s were well travelled within the Italian

[25] Monticelli Mss C.10 Luigi Canali to M 1 August 1817; F01 Antonio Fabroni to M, 4 November 1823.
[26] Monticelli Mss N.04 Filippo Nesti to M, 14 August 1811; D.01, Niccolo Da Rio to M, 16 May 1823.
[27] P. Corsi, 'Gemellaro, Carlo', *Dizionario Biografico degli italiani*, 53 (2000), http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/carlo-gemmellaro_(Dizionario-Biografico) (accessed 1 July 2018).
[28] Monticelli Mss D07. Nicola Da Rio to M, 17 May 1820.
[29] Monticelli Mss C49 Pietro Carpi to M, 1 October 1825.
[30] Monticelli Mss A28. Giacinto Cavana to M, 16 December 1829.

peninsula and had lived under a variety of regimes, many of which aspired, under French rule, to a sort of Italian nationhood. Take the geologist of that generation with the highest international profile, Scipione Breislak. Breislak began his studies in Rome, moved to Nola and Naples where, as an expert in mining and nitre, he was attached to the royal military academy, carrying out extensive researches throughout the Kingdom of Naples. Though a royal employee, his politics were republican and in 1798 he moved back to his native city to serve as the Roman Republic's Minister of Finance. With the collapse of the Republic in 1799 he was forced into political exile, fleeing to Paris, where he worked with such savants as George Cuvier and Alexandre Brongniart. In 1802 he returned to Milan where he was appointed by the government of the Italian Republic as the inspector of the manufacture of powders and saltpetre, a position that enabled him to continue his geological researches. He published works on the lithography and geology of the Campania, Rome, and the province of Milan, and his work was translated into French and German.[31] He persistently urged Monticelli to publish his work in journals that were available outside Italy in order to promote Italian geological science.[32] Figures like Breislak demonstrate how often the network of geologists and the network of promoters of Italian political reform overlapped.

Of course Breislak had exceptionally good connections outside Italy, especially in Paris. But the most important figures in making international connections for the Italian savants were two outsiders with loose ties to the network, namely the young Irishman Joseph Barclay Pentland (1797-1873), who for many years was Cuvier's intermediary in his dealings with both Britain and Italy, and the Genevan watch manufacturer, amateur botanist and geologist Moise-Etienne Stefano Moricand (1779-1854).[33] Their range of contacts among the savants was greater than that of the Italians, and they were far more assiduous in getting the group to work together. Pentland, though he held no official position and had no salary, worked for Cuvier in the Jardin des Plantes, collaborating closely with Buckland in Oxford,[34] with London's Royal Society, and with many savants on the Italian peninsula. He was an exceptionally energetic and ebullient character, who bombarded the much more phlegmatic Monticelli with schemes and ideas. After a first Italian trip in early 1822 (before the major eruption of Vesuvius in October-November 1822) Pentland set up an exchange between Cuvier and Monticelli, giving the latter detailed instructions about what Paris needed. He encouraged links with Nesti in Florence and an exchange between Monticelli and Vitaliano Borromeo Arese, a Milanese who had acquired Breislak's geological collection. He got Monticelli to coordinate a southern Italian search for specimens of sea turtles and medusa that Cuvier wanted for his researches (Gemmellaro was able to provide the turtles), as well as to organize a hunt for porpoise fossils. In return he bombarded Monticelli with gifts − French fossils and minerals, copies of works by Alexander von Humboldt and Cuvier, proceedings of the French academies, and a series of models of fossils, approved by Cuvier, which were intended to help Italian researchers identify the materials that they found. He even arranged with a French and a London dealer in scientific instruments that Monticelli could purchase equipment he needed in exchange for supplying them with Vesuvian lavas and crystals. At the same time he urged Monticelli to broaden the scope of his work −

[31] L. Gennari, 'Breislak, Scipione', *Dizionario Biografico degli italiani*, 14 (1972), http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/scipione-breislak_(Dizionario-Biografico) (accessed 29 June 2018).
[32] Monticelli Mss B.67 Scipione Breislak to M, 29 April 1819.
[33] For the importance of loose ties in making networks see the classic article, M.S. Granovetter, 'The strength of weak ties', in: *American Journal of Sociology*, 78 (1973), pp. 1360-1380.
[34] For which see W.A.S. Sarjeant & J.B. Delair, 'An Irish Naturalist in Cuvier's laboratory: the letters of Joseph Pentland, 1820-1822', in: *Bulletin of the British Museum (Natural History)* (historical series), 6 (1980), pp. 245-319.

to extend it beyond Vesuvius to cover the whole of the Neapolitan kingdom and to focus on geology rather than mineralogy.[35]

The Swiss Moise-Etienne Stefano Moricand, born in Geneva, had spent the years of his youth in Italy in the watch and clock trade.[36] As a young man he had become fascinated with gems and crystals, and when he returned to Geneva he began to study them, and to support the natural history museum that was established in 1818. He continued to make frequent trips to Italy (he visited Monticelli in 1815 and 1819), and was a good friend of Breislak, Gismondi, and Brocchi, writing gossipy letters about their researches and travels. Between 1816 and 1819 he published three short papers on lavas and crystals in the *Bibliothèque Universelle*, the widely-read Genevan periodical edited by Marc-Auguste Pictet, which were heavily indebted to Monticelli. But, though concerned to establish his scholarly credentials (about which he was always anxious), and though an enthusiastic mineralogist and botanist, Moricand was also an important dealer who sold minerals and offered his services to savants. He had contacts in Germany, Russia and the New World as well as France. In 1817 he introduced Ernst Odeleben, the German dealer who sold minerals to Goethe, to Monticelli, who also bought specimens from him. He plied Monticelli with information about the prices of crystals in different parts of Europe, sent him boxes of minerals from northern Italy and journals and books from Geneva. In return he solicited specimens for the Geneva museum and strontium sulfate crystals, which he especially valued as their beauty and rarity made them powerful bargaining chips in trading for other minerals.[37]

Pentland linked the Italian geologists to Paris, reinforcing a connection that in some cases went back to the era when the universities of northern and central Italy had been under French control. (Several of the savants knew Cuvier from the time he spent in Italy as Inspector General of the Imperial University in 1809-1810 and 1813.) After Ranzani met Cuvier in Bologna in 1810, he spent fourteen months working in Paris. Moricand, as Breislak knew, was a vital link to the major mineral dealers in northern Europe, while he and his colleagues in Geneva − often referred to as 'the Athens' of Europe − helped propagate Italian science north of the Alps, notably through the journal *Bibliothèque Britannique* or *Bibliothèque Universelle*, as it became known after 1815. The first contacts of these outsiders and many other foreign savants with Italian geologists were as travellers, visitors and collectors; their contribution to sciences within Italy were vital as they helped bind the Italians even more closely together and cemented their connections with the scientific community throughout Europe. As Dorinda Outram reminds us, '[i]n natural history, perhaps more than in any other scientific discipline, the exchange of tangible objects or information about them, in the shape of specimens, casts, drawings and verbal descriptions, was of crucial importance in research'.[38]

But maintaining connections, furthering the cause of mineralogy and geology, was not an easy task. Though it had been somewhat easier under the French

[35] Monticelli Mss P.26, 27, 30, 32, 34, 35, 37, 38, 40, 42, 48, 49, Pentland to M., 22 August, 3 October 1822, n.d., 24 August, 22 November 1823, 23 February, 24 June, 24 July, 22 October 1824, 26 September 1829, 15 October 1841, 22 May 1843.

[36] For his life see B. Breure & E. Tardy, 'From the shadows of the past: Moricand senior and junior, two 19th century naturalists from Geneva, their newly described taxa and molluscan types', in: *Revue Suisse de zoologie*, 123, 1 (2016), pp. 113-138; 'Moricand, Moïse Etienne (Stefano) (1779-1854)', *Global Plants*, https://plants.jstor.org/stable/10.5555/al.ap.person.bm000005815 (accessed 29 June 2018).

[37] Monticelli Mss M. 249-251, 253, 257-8, 260, 262, 266, 268-9, 274-5, Moise-Etienne Stefano Moricand to M, 24 December 1814, 22 September, 22 November 1815; 28 January, 12 May, 14 July, 1816; 3 January, 22 June, 27 July 1817; 8 February, 5 June, 17 July 1818; 14 May, 2 June 1820.

[38] D. Outram, *Georges Cuvier. Vocation, science and authority in post-revolutionary France*, Manchester, Manchester UP, 1984, p. 84.

occupation, after 1815 it was difficult to generate and spread scientific knowledge through the Italian peninsula and beyond in an autocratic and divided world where censorship, suspicious customs officials, multiple postal systems, spies and poor communications meant that books, specimens and journals were constantly destroyed, damaged, impounded, suppressed or simply lost. In short, communication was expensive and hazardous. In such a situation the traveller, who could carry books, letters and boxes of specimens was vital to the health and strength of intellectual inquiry. Operating with a system of exchange in which the traveller was given letters of recommendation, but was expected in return to perform favours that linked the author and the recipient, Italian savants passed travellers on to one another as they made their way down and back up the peninsula. Nesti in Florence, for example, wrote letters of introduction to Monticelli for Ashurst Majendie, an English member of the geological society, Mr. Saybrot, a naturalist from Philadelphia, Mr. Fowler, an American educated at the École des Mines in Paris who eventually donated his mineral collection to Princeton University, Herr Dietz of Vienna, and Hermann Abish, a geological professor from Estonia.[39] Monticelli, in turn, was a vital source of letters for savants like Brocchi, Davy, Charles Daubeny, William Buckland and William Frederick Herschel, who wanted to visit and meet geologists and astronomers in Messina, Palermo and Catania.[40]

Many of these travellers, armed with letters of recommendation, were asked to convey parcels and packages. During his tour in Europe in 1819-1820 the New York mineralogist and politician, Stephen Van Rensselaer (1764-1838) brought Monticelli two books on crystals from Paris, that he had been given by their author, Brochant de Villiers, a geologist at the Écoles des Mines.[41] A year later the Swedish mining engineer, Eric Thomas Svedenstierna, who had a sideline in selling minerals, had a young army officer posted to Naples bring Monticelli twenty specimens of Swedish and Russian rocks from Stockholm.[42] When Moricant first approached Monticelli he sent a small deposit of rare lava via Joseph Liboschitz, the Lithuanian doctor, composer and naturalist, who was Czar Alexander I's personal physician.[43] Liboschitz had journeyed from St. Petersburg, via Geneva to Naples. Camillo Ranzani in Bologna persuaded the pharmacist and botanist Antonio Orsini from Ascoli to carry a volume of scientific pamphlets and two volumes of his small elementary work on zoology to Naples.[44] Just as erudite travellers brought him books, rocks and crystals, so Monticelli used his visitors to convey books and pamphlets. The English astronomer John William Frederick Herschel took copies of Monticelli's *Prodromo di Vesuvio* to his friends in Catania.[45] Scipione Breislak received materials in Milan through a Milanese aristocrat, Count Porro, who had been visiting Naples, and via the Crown Prince of Denmark, who was eager to meet him after his visit to Vesuvius in 1820.[46] There were, of course, other means by which scientific knowledge circulated, but most, as the savants often found to their cost, were deeply uncertain. Friends, beholden and sympathetic made the best couriers; only a diplomat, who enjoyed immunity from inspection and search, was better.

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[39] Monticelli Mss N.06, 08, 09, 11, 12, Nesti to M, 25 September 1818, 18 October 1819, 9 September 1827, 30 April 1833, 18 September 1833.
[40] Monticelli Mss. B.85 Brocchi to M, 2 May 1819; B.108 William Buckland to M.,n.d.; F.18, 20, Francesco Ferrara to M, 26 July 1824, 1 June 1826; G. 23, Mario Gemmellaro to Monticelli 20 June 1824.
[41] Monticelli Mss. V14 Stephen Van Rensselaer to M, n.d. 1819.
[42] Monticelli Mss S.161 Eric Thomas Svedenstierna to M, 1 June 1820.
[43] Monticelli Mss M.249 Moricand to M. 24 December 1814
[44] Monticelli Mss R.03 Camillo Ranzani to M, 7 May 1820.
[45] Monticelli Mss M.40 Carmelo Maramigna to M, 4 July 1824.
[46] Monticelli Mss B.63, 71, Scipione Breislak to M, 26 February 1817, 16 June 1821.

Though there was a strong ethos of collaboration between the travellers and the Italian savants, we should not be too panglossian about these relationships. As he travelled through Italy in 1828-1829, the Duke of Buckingham was often critical of the collections he visited and the savants he talked to. After dining with Professor Borelli, a mineralogist at the University of Turin who worked closely with Borson, Buckingham expostulated, '[i]t is extraordinary how ignorant these philosophers are of everything out of the immediate range of their pursuits. Many of the most interesting localities Borelli did not even know by name'. Similarly he was dissatisfied with the mineral collection 'arranged after the system of Brongniart, by Mr Borson', complaining that '[i]ts collection of volcanic materials is paltry, and not separated from the rest'.[47] (After Buckingham's departure Borson promptly wrote to Monticelli, asking him for specimens from Vesuvius).[48] At Naples Buckingham's complaints also focused on the local nature of the collections. After praising Monticelli's Vesuvian collection, he grumbled that '[h]is general collection is meager and bad'.[49] Local strength was parsed by Buckingham as a general weakness.

Conversely, the Italian savants, though they desperately wanted foreign visitors to draw on their local expertise, often felt a certain superiority towards them, because their guests were bound to be less knowledgeable of local conditions. In Catania Gemmellaro used his local knowledge to jealously guard his intellectual independence. In the 1820s a number of Neapolitan intellectuals mounted a campaign to dispel what they saw as the often superficial and frequently misinformed foreign misapprehensions about both the volcano and the kingdom that surrounded it. Someone like Leopoldo Pilla, a protégé of Monticelli's (though they were to fall out later), who became Professor of Geology at Pisa, and who died on the battlefield fighting for the revolution in 1848, started a series of publications, *Le Spettatore del Vesuvio,* designed to reveal the scientific value of Vesuvius to foreigners, whose visits, he argued, were too brief, too superficial, and too dependent on other accounts to be properly informed. He was particularly disparaging of the very successful guide written by the Canadian geologist and alpinist John Auldjo, the *Sketches of Vesuvius*, published in Naples and London in both English and French.[50] In 1827 Gabriele Quattromani produced the *Itinerario delle due Sicilie* (also published in a French edition), as the first 'Mappa Statistica' of the Two Kingdoms with the overt object of rebutting most foreign accounts which he dismissed as 'romanzi' ('novels').[51] Much of the data the *Itinerario* contained came from reports of commissions on the Neapolitan infrastructure to which Monticelli had contributed. This concern with the outsider's point of view was persistent: the argument for the publication of Monticelli's various papers into two volumes of collected works in 1844 was that it would increase their visibility among foreigners.

This was all the more important after 1815 because of the delicate position that science and new knowledge occupied in the world of Restoration absolutism. Under the French, Neapolitan savants like Monticelli had assumed positions of power, quite often taken administrative office and promoted legal and educational reform (though with mixed success). The revival of the Royal Academies, including that of science, the establishment of new chairs in the University, the foundation of the Academia Pontaniana, a body of the great and the good, and the promotion of the Istituto d'Incoraggiamento, which had as its explicit purpose the application of the sciences of mathematics, physics, chemistry, and economics to government administration and to

[47] *Private Diary of the Duke of Buckingham*, II, pp. 264-265.
[48] Monticelli Mss B.61 Stefano Borson to M., n.d.
[49] *Private Diary of the Duke of Buckingham,* II, p. 38.
[50] J. Auldjo, *Le Spettatore del Vesuvio e de' Campi Flegrei. Giornale compilato dai Sigg. F Cassola & E.L. Pilla*, Napoli, Torchi del Tramater, 1832-1833, pp. 4, 34.
[51] G. Quattromani, *Itinerario delle due Sicilie*, Napoli, Dalla Stamperia Francese, 1827, p. 219.

the economy, especially agriculture: all this helped shape a reformist agenda that drew in Neapolitans, even when they were unhappy about French interference, and about the terrible economic burden placed on the Kingdom by its obligations to pay for French armies. These institutions also helped shape an elite in the French manner, a body of administrators, technocrats and scientists, of which Monticelli was an important member. In particular there was a large overlap between the membership of the Academy of Sciences, the Academia Pontaniana, and the Istituto d'Incoraggiamento.[52] Monticelli, Vincenzo Cuoco, and Melchiorre Delfico were members of all three.

But this positive, reformist environment and its proponents, though it survived the Restoration, came under suspicion from the Crown and the Church. Neapolitan monarchs, like their counterparts elsewhere in Europe, were eager to win the international prestige that came with the support and development of science and technological innovation. Certainly, the Bourbons were not hostile to new technologies. Naples, after all, had the first steamship service and the first railway in Italy. (It also had some state of the art panopticon prisons). But the rulers wanted, like the panopticon, to exercise surveillance and control; they were terrified of unleashing the forces of reform and of liberalism, especially those that might produce political change. The position of Italian savants − and not just those in Naples − remained fragile. A great many, though not all, were in favour of political reform, some were ardent revolutionaries; all saw the necessity of exchanging and circulating knowledge and information if the sciences of the earth were to develop and grow, and were mindful of the many obstacles they faced in the politically fractured but broadly reactionary regimes of the peninsula. The stratagem of building connections, of creating networks was something that was not confined to Italian nineteenth-century scholars and scientists; it was a general scientific practice. But the particular circumstances of Italy before Unification made the networking doubly valuable, as a refuge for the like-minded as well as a vehicle for the dissemination of knowledge.

Keywords
Geology, Networks, Naples, Vesuvius, Monticelli

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[52] For these institutions see A. Lepore, 'Il dibattito economico negli atti dell'Accademia delle scienze, sezione della Società Reale Borbonica (1817-1861)'; L. Alessandro, 'L'Accademia Pontanina di Napoli nell'Ottocento'; and F. Di Battista, 'Origini e involuzione dell'Istituto di Incoraggiamento di Napoli', in: M.M. Augello & M.E.L. Guidi (eds.), *Associazionismo economico e diffusione dell'economia politica nell'Italia dell'Ottocento : dalle società economico-agrarie alle associazioni di economisti*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2000, pp. 201-232, 233-260, 261-274.

RIASSUNTO

Reti scientifiche, il Vesuvio e la politica: il caso di Teodoro Monticelli a Napoli, 1790-1845

Questo articolo indaga le attività e l'uso di reti di studiosi da parte di Teodoro Monticelli, il geologo, funzionario e segretario dell'Accademia scientifica di Napoli all'inizio del XIX secolo. L'autore pone in evidenza come Monticelli costruì una rete di connessioni con i suoi colleghi studiosi e geologi in tutta la penisola italiana, che, allo stesso tempo, era collegata a una rete internazionale di studiosi, centrata principalmente su Parigi, ma che si estendeva alla Russia e al Nuovo Mondo. Tali reti venivano sostenute attraverso lo scambio di informazioni per corrispondenza e la condivisione di pubblicazioni, e attraverso il dono, il baratto, lo scambio e la vendita di esemplari geologici. Grazie alla mediazione di viaggiatori, alcuni italiani, più spesso stranieri, ostacoli come le cattive comunicazioni e la censura furono superati: la loro funzione era di trasportare lettere, pubblicazioni ed esemplari geologici tra i diversi centri in cambio di raccomandazioni che consentivono loro accesso a studiosi, collezioni, università e accademie. In particolare, la rete all'interno della penisola italiana cercò consapevolmente di sviluppare una scienza "italiana". A Napoli Monticelli usò il fascino scientifico del Vesuvio e il suo speciale ruolo di principale esperto locale per promuovere le riforme all'interno del Regno delle Due Sicilie e per realizzare la sua visione di Napoli come centro di indagine scientifica.

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'Un'aiuola fioritissima, i cui mirabili e svariati fiori si alternano e si succedono senza interruzione' Ersilia Caetani-Lovatelli's fin de siècle (intellectual) networking and (its) politics

Floris Meens

In December 1925 the salonnière and archaeologist Ersilia Caetani-Lovatelli died at the age of 85. National and international newspapers reported on her death extensively. The French newspaper *La Croix*, for example, reported that the savants and writers of all nations had entered Caetani-Lovatelli's salons.[1] Similar reports were published in academic journals. The archaeologist Giulio Emanuele Rizzo in the *Rivista di filologia e d'istruzione classica* commemorated that

> Ersilia Caetani mirava ad esser l'erede dello spirito del mondo antico, e perciò i suoi studi eran vari ed eran condotti con rigoroso metodo di ricerca scientifica. Ma era anche una scrittrice, e perciò *Thánatos* si legge ancora con diletto. […] La ricerca è sempre profonda e completa, il coordinamento del grandissimo materiale raccolto – e da osservazioni personali e da libri antichi e nuovi – è opera di mente lucida e equilibrata. […] come e quanto diversa nella sua conversazione originale, arguta e spesso anche – per chi non avesse spirito preparato e pronto o più pronta cultura – un poco imbarazzante. Chè non di archeologia soltanto essa amava intrattenersi, ma d'arte e di letteratura, mai di politica. Ascoltava con pazienza, quasi con rassegnazione, qualche ospite, […], ma poi – come stanca di ascoltare certi non infrequenti sermoni, […] – interrompeva con una domanda volutamente frivola o anche assurda, e smontava, così, il seccatore.[2]

Other intellectuals who had been welcomed by Rome's most influential salonnière remembered her strong distaste of conversations on politics. Even though their writings did not completely deny her political influence nor the politics of her networking, they were used by later historians who simply concluded that these receptions had been insignificant in terms of power.[3] In general the focus on official politics that dominated Italian historiography for a long time did not serve Caetani-Lovatelli and other salonnières well.[4]

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[1] J. Guiraud, 'La comtesse Caetani-Lovatelli', in: *La Croix*, 28 February 1926.
[2] G.E. Rizzo, 'Ersilia Caetani-Lovatelli commemorata da G.E. Rizzo', in: *Rivista di filologia e d'istruzione classica*, 55 (1927), pp. 276-278.
[3] A. Audollent, 'Hommage à Ersilie Lovatelli', in: *Revue Archéologique*, 83 (1927), pp. 220-223. Cfr. L. Lemme, *Il salotto di cultura a Roma tra 800 e 900*, Roma, M.T. Cicerone, 1995, pp. 24-29; F. Bartoccini, *Roma nell'Ottocento. Il tramonto della 'città santa', nascita di una capitale*, Bologna, Cappelli,1985, pp. 453, 561-562.
[4] K. Mitchell & H. Sanson, 'Introduction', in: idem (eds.), *Women and Gender in Post-Unification Italy. Between Private and Public Spheres*, Bern, Peter Lang, 2013, pp. 1-10; M.T. Mori, A. Pescarolo & A.

The last decennia historians have begun to analyse the role of semi- and unofficial organisations that were part of the national cultural and intellectual infrastructure of post-Risorgimento Italy, including newspapers, journals, as well as salons.[5] Influenced by the burgeoning of women and gender studies, they have revealed the influence of women authors, journalists, artists, scholars, feminists, and, indeed, salonnières.[6] Maria Iolanda Palazzolo and Maria Teresa Mori have, for instance, demonstrated that salons were vital for the communication between the elites in Milan, Turin and Naples.[7] Their hypothesis that Rome had lacked a salon culture because of the Papal regime's control, however, dominated until quite recently.

Even if historians now recognize that Rome did have its own salons, we still know little about their politics as well as their political significance. In this article I aim to fill this gap by analysing Ersilia Caetani-Lovatelli's receptions. Her salon has been studied before by Paula Ghione,[8] but continuing a dominant historiographical omission, she neither mapped nor studied the salon's complete network, making it hard to judge its political meaning or functioning. I shall concentrate on how Caetani-Lovatelli succeeded in building a network that was truly intellectual, had its own politics, and eventually deeply affected Rome's and Italy's political life.

Building, housing and maintaining a network

Ersilia was born into two noble families that shared a profound interest in politics, culture and arts. In the early nineteenth century many intellectuals, artists, scientists and politicians visited her grandparental palaces in Vienna and Rome. Ersilia's mother, Calista Rzewuska (1810-1842), was a Polish countess and a gifted composer. In the late 1830s, she met her future husband in Rome, where she lived the rest of her short life. In 1842 she died after giving birth to Ersilia's brother Onorato (1842-1917). Ersilia's father, Michelangelo (1804-1882), took care of and strongly influenced the development of his two children.[9]

Caetani's wide interests in arts, sciences and politics brought him into contact with almost the entire Roman, Italian and European elites. In fact, from the late 1830s onwards, the duke hosted a unique salon celebrated for its free exchanges of thought. Between the late 1830s and 1870, Caetani invited various politicians, including the Italians Massimo D'Azeglio, Marco Minghetti and Giuseppe Garibaldi, but also the Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar, Karl Alexander, and the British King Edward VII. He also welcomed writers, including Sir Walter Scott, Nikolaj Gogol, François-René de Chateaubriand, Stendhal, Honoré de Balzac, Alexandre Dumas and Henri Longfellow; painters such as Frederic Leighton and William Stanley Haseltine; and the composer Franz Liszt. They discussed politics, science, literature, music and, above all, Rome, its history and cultural heritage.[10]

Scattigno, 'Le italiane sulla scena pubblica: una chiave di lettura', in: idem (eds.), *Di generazioni in generazioni. Le italiane dall'Unità a oggi*, Roma, Viella, 2014, pp. 9-26.

[5] For instance: G. Ragone, *Un secolo di libri. Storia dell'editoria in Italia dall'Unità al postmoderno*, Torino, Einaudi, 1999; F. Colombo, *La cultura sottile. Media e industria culturale in Italia dall'Ottocento agli anni Novanta*, Milano, Bompiani, 1999; A. Hallamore Caesar, G. Romani & J. Burns (eds.), *The Printed Media in Fin-de-siècle Italy. Publishers, Writers, and Readers*, London, Legenda, 2011; S. Soper, *Building a Civil Society: Associations, Public Life and the Origins of Modern Italy*, Toronto, Toronto University Press, 2013.

[6] Mitchell & Sanson, 'Introduction', cit., pp. 1-10.

[7] M. Palazzolo, *I salotti di cultura nell'Italia dell'Ottocento: scene e modelli*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 1985; M.T. Mori, *Salotti. La sociabilità delle élite nell'Italia dell'Ottocento*, Roma, Carocci, 2000.

[8] P. Ghione, 'Il salotto di Ersilia Caetani Lovatelli a Roma', in: M.L. Betri & E. Brambilla (eds.), *Salotti e ruolo femminile. Tra fine Seicento e primo Novecento*, Venezia, Marsilio, 2004, pp. 487-508.

[9] F. Meens, *Archeologe en muze. Ersilia Caetani-Lovatelli en het culturele leven in Rome tijdens het Fin de siècle*, proefschrift Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen, 2017, pp. 34-42.

[10] *Ivi*, pp. 84-94.

From a very young age, his daughter Ersilia shared this interest in the history of her city of birth. In that time, however, her wish of studying Rome's past was something quite hard to achieve for Italian women. Most of them were brought up to be good mothers and wives, and only received a basic education.[11] Michelangelo was generous, however, allowing both of his children comprehensive learning. Ersilia studied several modern European languages, as well as Latin and Greek. She also benefited from the cultural receptions of her father that she attended from a young age.[12] Under the guidance of some members of Michelangelo's intellectual network, including Luigi Maria Rezzi (1785-1857) and Giovanni Battista de Rossi (1822-1894) Ersilia learned the basic principles of ancient history and archaeology. Because of her special interest in epigraphy, she also studied Sanskrit under Ignazio Guidi (1844-1935), an exceptional achievement for a woman in the nineteenth century.[13]

Michelangelo's network also helped Ersilia to get introduced within several learned societies. In 1864 she was offered a membership of the Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica. This was a turning point in her career. She had yet to publish her first article, even if she had studied many topics and had formulated some interesting and original ideas in her letters. Even though the world of science was still dominated by men, she had the help of fellow members of the Instituto who encouraged her to write down her insights on epigraphy. In 1878 this led to her first publication. She was then asked to participate in several excavations and published many more articles as well as monographs.[14] She became a member of several of the famous learned bodies of Rome and Italy. Her membership of the Accademia dei Lincei – probably Italy's most prestigious national academy – had special significance, as she was the first woman to join. Her reputation in the rest of Europe grew, gaining her access to institutions, two of which awarded her an honorary doctorate.

Ersilia continued her scholarly activities after she had got married to the count Giacomo Lovatelli (1832-1879). And when only a couple of years later Giacomo unexpectedly died, Ersilia not only took care of their six children, but dedicated even more time to her studies in her library in Palazzo Lovatelli that contained well over 6000 works, including French, German and British encyclopedias, as well as philological, archaeological, iconographical and epigraphical monographs and the most important academic journals.[15]

This library soon also became the heart of Caetani-Lovatelli's receptions. In the late 1860s Ersilia had begun inviting a small group of friends, including her father's habitués and colleague scientists. The number of people grew quickly, leaving the countess no choice than making her receptions regular, on every Thursday and Sunday.[16] Gaining access to Palazzo Lovatelli was not easy. There were no official invitations, though one could get one of Ersilia's typical small cards, written in her small, regular handwriting, often decorated with Latin and Greek quotations.[17] The

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[11] M. Casalena, *Scritti storici di donne Italiane. Bibliografia 1800-1945*, Firenze, L.S. Olschki, 2003, pp. XXVII-XXXII; E. Malantrucco, 'Formazione e cultura in alcune famiglie della nobiltà romana (1870-1915)', in: S. Casmirri (ed.), *Le élites italiane prima e dopo l'Unità: formazione e vita civile*, Marina di Minturno, Caramanica, 2000, pp. 202-207.

[12] Meens, 'Archeologe en muze', cit., pp. 99-104.

[13] G. Marchetti Ferrante, 'Ersilia Caetani-Lovatelli e il suo tempo', in: *Nuova antologia di lettere, arti e scienze*, 7 (1926), pp. 220-221; Audollent, 'Hommage' à Ersilie Lovatelli', cit., p. 223.

[14] For an analysis of these: F. Meens, 'The Elegant Science of Antiquity', in: *Literature, Interpretation, Theory*, 27, 2 (2016), pp. 111-129.

[15] G. Gabrieli, 'La libreria d'una gran dama', in: *Il Giornale d'Italia*, 17 March 1926; O. Pinto, *Storia della Biblioteca Corsiniana e della Biblioteca dell'Accademia dei Lincei*, Firenze, L.S. Olschki, 1956, p. 53.

[16] E. Amadei, 'Un inedito carteggio di Ersilia Caetani Lovatelli', in: *Capitolium*, 37 (1962), pp. 474-478.

[17] For an example, see the correspondence between Giovanni Battista De Rossi and Louis Duchesne, P. Saint-Roch, *Correspondance de Giovanni Battista De Rossi et de Louis Duchesne (1873-1894)*, Rome, École française de Rome, 1995, p. 165.

alternative was an introduction by one of Ersilia's habitués.[18] But only those with enough intellectual, cultural, political, or religious capital (or with the potential to gain it) had a chance.[19]

The lucky few who entered Palazzo Lovatelli did so in the heart of Rome, at the crossing of Piazza Lovatelli and Piazza di Campitelli. The building nowadays hardly resembles its heydays. In his diaries the French novelist Émile Zola described the interior of the palace in detail:

> Un petit hôtel, avec deux entrées. La voiture entre, passée par la cour, et ressort. Un vestibule à droite, fermé d'un vitrage, évidemment ajouté. Elle [Ersilia] demeure au second. L'escalier large, avec plafond en voûte, avec marches basses et larges. Au second, une vieille porte, surmontée d'une sculpture, ouvrant sur une immense antichambre vide, peinte, représentant des draperies rouges et or. On entre dans un salon rouge, je crois. A gauche, la bibliothèque, vaste pièce pleine de livres, spéciale à la comtesse, une savante. A droite, deux salons, puis la salle à manger. Tout cela grand seulement. Un des salons est tendu de brocatelle jaune, Louis XIV. Les rideaux et les portières de même étoffe. Les plafonds à caissons dorés, ou peints. Pas de tableaux, deux seulement. Comme mobilier, très disparate. Des consoles surtout, immenses, dorées, avec de beaux marbres; les consoles qu'on nous vende à Paris. Les mobiliers Louis XIV surtout. Et beaucoup de choses hétéroclites qui traînent, des photographies, des bibelots de bazar. Pas d'objets d'art vraiment intéressants.[20]

Ersilia welcomed her guests in three rooms; the *sala gialla*, where novices were introduced.[21] The regular guests walked straight into the *salotto rosso*. The real intimates also knew the library, where they held their – often improvised – lectures.[22] Caetani-Lovatelli provided her guests with a *pranzo*, a word that during the nineteenth century indicated late afternoon refreshments.[23] Sometimes the guests were served 'ordinaire cuisine d'Italie'.[24] Alcohol was strictly forbidden since it could harm the intellectual spirit, although Ersilia made an exception for the poet and Nobel laureate Giosuè Carducci.[25] Although she tried to prevent any gossiping in her rooms, in her correspondences she herself sometimes was not very flattering about her guests. She once wrote to her nephew Leone Caetani about the politician and mathematician Francesco Brioschi (1824-1897), also the chairman of the Accademia dei Lincei, who had told her that he preferred speaking French instead of Italian: 'L'Italiano non lo conosce affatto, e il Francese lo parla come una vacca Spagnola!'.[26]

Ersilia allowed her guests to behave according to their own needs. The lack of a clear dress code left Zola in shock.[27] The Bavarian ambassador Tucher, his Swiss colleague Carlin and the Swede Bildt, who were not familiar with the absence of fixed

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[18] Amadei, 'Un inedito carteggio', cit., p. 475. Cfr. the undated letter of Ferdinand Gregorovius to Ersilia, in which he introduced to her the historian and poet Adolf Friedrich von Schack: 'Mein Freund ist nicht Professor; er war zuerst in der Diplomatie thätig und lebt jetzt als sehr reicher Signore in München, wo er ein schönes Haus mit einer Gemäldegalerie besitzt', in: S. Münz, *Ferdinand Gregorovius und seine Briefe an Donna Ersilia Caetani Lovatelli*, Berlin, Paetel, 1896, p. 82.

[19] Audollent, 'Homage à Ersilie Lovatelli', cit., p. 223.

[20] E. Zola, *Mes voyages. Lourdes, Rome. Journaux inédits présentés et annotés par René Ternois*, Paris, Frasquelle, 1958, pp. 219-220.

[21] E. Von Kupffer, *Aus einem wahrhaften Leben*, Minusio-Locarno, Sanctuarium Artis Elisarion, 1943, p. 241.

[22] E. Mancini, 'La biblioteca ed il salotto della contessa Lovatelli', in: *L'Illustrazione Italiana*, 54 (1927), p. 12.

[23] P. Lemme, *Salotti Romani dell'Ottocento,* Torino, Allemandi, 1990, p. 27.

[24] Zola, *Mes voyages,* cit., p. 220.

[25] Marchetti Ferrante, 'Ersilia Caetani Lovatelli', cit., p. 230; Amadei, 'Un inedito carteggio', cit., p. 475.

[26] Ersilia Caetani-Lovatelli to Leone Caetani, 23 September 1896, Accademia dei Lincei, Rome, Archivio Leone Caetani (hereafter ALC), cart. 482 (1).

[27] Lemme, *Il salotto di cultura,* cit., p. 25. Cfr. Sfinge, 'Ersilia Caetani Lovatelli (Ritratto)', in: *La Romagna*, 24 (1928), pp. 241-259.

seating, kept walking around the table.[28] Later on, the neat French cardinal François-Désiré Mathieu ended up next to Carducci, who kept drinking wine. Ersilia had a good sense of humour.[29] She used it to conduct the conversation, teasing good friends with caustic remarks and interrupting serious exchanges with comical interventions. She as well knew the importance of small entertainment. According to the art historian Antonio Muñoz (1884-1960)

> nel salotto di donna Ersilia non si parlava solo di archeologia, ma uno sciame di belle signore lo allietava con cicaleccio gentile, discutendo di mode, di avventure, di amori… A Capodanno e a Carnevale qualche volta un'allegra mascherata ideata dalla padrona di casa, metteva una nota rumorosa nel salotto.[30]

To make sure that all her guests felt at ease, Ersilia adjusted the subject and level of the conversation. The Baltic-German poet and philosopher Elisàr von Kupffer remarked that she 'verstand es, jedem ein höfliches Wort zu sagen, damit er sich behaglich fühlte. Ihre Gelehrsamkeit hielt sie dabei mehr verborgen'.[31]

Since they were accessible to all persons who had proven their intellectual, cultural or political value regardless of their background and views, Ersilia's receptions did not serve a clear-cut program. Often there were strong polemics. To prevent the Italian, French and German archaeologists from going at each other's throats, for instance, she invited a lady to sit in between.[32] She also used the beauty of her female guests to persuade others to come over.[33] A more in-depth analysis of the salon's network and its conversations reveals, however, that most of Caetani-Lovatelli's visitors were male, and their exchanges serious.

A network of scholars and politicians

The Austro-Czech archaeologist and art dealer Ludwig Pollak in his memoirs characterized Ersilia's network: 'Die Gesellschaft, in der sehr wenige Damen waren, war immer interessant, man traf dort außer Gelehrten große Künstler, Diplomaten, (…), einige Parlamentarier, Minister und Journalisten'.[34] My quantitative analysis based on a study of all available sources, confirms this classification.[35] 91% of Ersilia's guests were male, the consequence of her strict selecting policy. Her own politics of access thus mirrored and confirmed the small number of women in Italian intellectual, cultural and political life. It could well be that many of Ersilia's male visitors brought their female partners when they visited Caetani-Lovatelli, but they are hardly referred to in the sources. Also, their role in the discussions seems to have been small.[36]

Ersilia's network was clearly international, although most guests were European. 63% of them were Italian, but the Germans (15%) and French (14%) were quite dominant as well. 49% of the individuals worked in academia; hardly surprising given Ersilia's own occupation, most of them were philologists, philosophers, historians and archaeologists.[37] Indeed during the 1870s, the salonnière predominantly invited colleagues whom she had met in one of the academies. She welcomed the likes of

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[28] Marchetti Ferrante, 'Ersilia Caetani Lovatelli', cit., p. 229.
[29] E. Perodi, *Cento dame romane. Profili*, Roma, Bontempelli, 1895, p. 91.
[30] A. Muñoz, *Figure romane*, Roma, Staderini, 1944, pp. 183-184.
[31] Von Kupffer, *Aus einem wahrhaften Leben,* cit., p. 241.
[32] Muñoz, *Figure*, cit., p. 181.
[33] Amadei, 'Un inedito carteggio', cit., p. 479.
[34] L. Pollak, *Römische* Memoiren, Rom, L'Erma di Bretschneider,1994, p. 92.
[35] F. Meens, 'How to Approach Salons? A Fin-de-siècle Italian Case Study', in: *Cultural and Social History*, 2018, pp. 1-84, https://doi.org/10.1080/14780038.2018.1427356.
[36] R. Rolland, 'Retour au palais Farnèse. Choix de lettres de Romain Rolland à sa mère 1890-1891', in: *Cahiers Romain Rolland,* 8 (1956), Paris, Albin Michel, pp. 143-154.
[37] Meens, 'The Elegant Science of Antiquity', cit., pp. 111-129.

Theodor Mommsen (1817-1903), Ferdinand Gregorovius (1821-1891), Hippolyte Taine (1828-1893), Ernest Renan (1823-1892), Wolfgang Helbig (1839-1915), Giovanni Battista de Rossi (1822-1894), Rodolfo Lanciani (1845-1929), Christian Hülsen (1858-1935), Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1848-1931) and Georg Karo (1872-1963). Some of them called themselves 'Ersiliasti', as if their group formed a real academy too. For them, Ersilia organised excursions that she called 'pranzi archeologici'.[38] Twice a year, Ersilia planned a *soirée archéologique* to welcome new members to this select group.[39] The countess referred to her palace as *domus Lovatellia* in which she welcomed 'un'aiuola fioritissima, i cui mirabili e svariati fiori [her guests] si alternano e si succedono senza interruzione'.[40] Showing her great sense of humor as well as her mastery of Latin she compared her guests to imaginary flowers and plants, Latinising their names:

> Più belli di tutti s'innalzano gloriosi e vegetano alla luce delle lampade elettriche, la *Rosa Mystica Pietromarchienses* [presumably the topographer Pietro Rosa] e il *Cactus Nuger Culbaciarius* [presumably the philologist and politician Costantino Nigra], e il *Clementillus Cucurbitaceus* [perhaps the archaeologist Gherardo Ghirardini]. Del resto la buona damigella Molter [Giuseppina, the German teacher of her children], è divenuta una *cucuzza-zucca-patata* talmente grande, da coprire con la sua vegetazione, non che la *domus Lovatellia*, ma altresì tutta Roma.[41]

By and large, Ersilia also opened her doors to national and international writers, artists and composers. At first, these included those who had been close to her father, like Franz Liszt (1811-1886) and Angelo de Gubernatis (1840-1913); but swiftly she extended this part of her network, inviting the likes of Giosuè Carducci (1835-1907), Gabriele D'Annunzio (1863-1938), Grazia Deledda (1871-1936), Émile Zola (1840-1902), Paul Bourget (1852-1935) and Ernest Hébert (1817-1908).

Nobody doubted that this *domus* housed a European network of intellectuals. In 1896 the German author Sigmund Münz concluded that '[d]ie Empfangsräume des Palazzo Lovatelli […] bietet nicht selten ein Bild, als ob sich daselbst die Akademie oder die Stoa versammelt hätte'.[42] His colleague Johannes Rumbauer concluded that Ersilia

> bildet den verehrten und hochvornehmen Mittelpunkt der intellektuellen Gesellschaft, die Verkörperung einer Tradition edelster Geselligkeit und feinster Bildung des Geistes und Herzens. […] So verkehrt bei ihr noch heute die Crême all dessen, was Geist und Wissen nach Rom zusammenführt, ohne Unterschied der Anschauung, Richtung und Nationalität − eine Republik, in welcher allein die Liebenswürdigkeit und Geistesanmut der Herrin des Hauses herrscht, einer ebenbürtigen Gleichen unter Gleichen.[43]

By 1899, however, the salon's character had changed quite radically. According to a report in *Il Fanfulla*:

> L'ospitalità della contessa Lovatelli è ben a ragione celebrata e desiderata per la sua cordialità. Ricevendo gli amici, la padrona di casa non è più l'accademica dei Lincei: ella sa scendere

[38] L. Pollak, *Tagebücher*, Band XII, 19 & 25 November 1901, Museo Barracco Roma, Archivio Ludwig Pollak.
[39] Amadei, 'Un inedito carteggio', cit., p. 475; L. Nicotra, *Archeologia al femminile. Il cammino delle donne nella disciplina archeologica attraverso le figure di otto archeologhe classiche vissute dalla metà dell'Ottocento ad oggi,* Roma, L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2004, pp. 29-46.
[40] Ghione, 'Il salotto di Ersilia Caetani Lovatelli', cit., p. 490.
[41] Ersilia Caetani-Lovatelli to Leone Caetani, 15 April 1894, ALC, cart. 482 (1); also cited in: Ghione, 'Il salotto di Ersilia Caetani Lovatelli', cit., p. 490.
[42] Münz, *Ferdinand Gregorovius,* cit., pp. 56-57.
[43] J. Rumbauer, 'Ersilia Lovatelli', in: *Hochland*, 7 (1910), pp. 203-204.

dall'Olimpo della sapienza con una grazia ed uno spirito che è in lei una delle più belle qualità ereditate da casa Caetani. Il salone di donna Ersilia Caetani era ed è sempre il cenacolo dell'intelligenza, ma la corrente mondana ha invaso in questi ultimi anni i saloni tranquilli del palazzo di Piazza Campitelli sotto forma di un gruppo brillante di giovani signori e di giovani brillanti reclutati della diplomazia e nei circoli dell'eleganza romana.[44]

Indeed, slowly but surely Caetani-Lovatelli had begun welcoming individuals from outside academia and the arts, and especially politicians and higher officials. They accounted for 29% of all guests. Among them, however, were those who had been appointed *senatore a vita* because of their academic or artistic qualities. The number of politicians without an academic or artistic career was much lower (14%).[45] But all were able to participate in the process of political decision making. Therefore, the politician and journalist Ferdinando Martini rightly classified Ersilia's drawing rooms as an appendix to the Italian parliament.[46]

Many of Caetani-Lovatelli's guests enjoyed significant political influence. This was true for her relatives. Her father Michelangelo, a regular guest in his final years, was a former minister. Her brother Onorato became a member of parliament, as well as mayor of Rome. Both his sons Leone (1869-1935) – a member of parliament – and Livio (1873-1915) who served as a diplomat, were habitués. Then there were Francesco Crispi (1818-1901), the old revolutionary who served as prime minister twice; Maggiorino Ferraris (1856-1929), Guido Baccelli (1830-1916), Domenico Berti (1820-1897), Quintino Sella (1827-1884), Ruggiero Bonghi (1826-1895), Emilio Visconti-Venosta (1829-1914), Ferdinando Martini and Gaspare Finali, who all became minister various times; Emanuele Ruspoli (1837-1899) and Ernesto Nathan (1848-1921), both mayor of Rome; and Giuseppe Pasolini (1815-1876), member of parliament and minister, but from 1874 onwards also chairman of the Senate. They all attracted foreign colleagues, including Emilio Castelar y Ripoll (1832-1899), one of the first presidents of the Spanish Republic, and Émile Ollivier (1825-1913), who during his reign as prime minister of France declared war to Prussia. The presence of these (inter)national authority figures drew diplomats to Palazzo Lovatelli: the Belgian top diplomat Albéric Charles Grenier (1865-1920), the British consul Montgomery Carmichael (1857-1936); ambassadors including Gaston Carlin (1859-1922) of Switzerland, Carl von Bildt of Sweden (1850-1931), George von Lengerke Meyer (1858-1918) from the United States, Heinrich Tucher von Simmelsdorf (1853-1925) of Bavaria, and Marius Pasetti-Angeli von Friedenburg (1841-1913) of Austria-Hungaria.

A clear political ideology affected Caetani-Lovatelli's selection policy little. She also kept clear of explicating her own views, but we can deduce from her private writings that she was a liberal royalist who had little sympathy for anarchists and Marxists whom she called *spauracchi*.[47] She also deplored the growing support of republicanism among her fellow scholars. At the same time, however, she invited the likes of Antonio Labriola (1843-1904), a professor of Philosophy known for his Marxist's views, as well as Felice Cavallotti (1842-1898), the influential leader of the radical left wing in parliament. Inevitably, Ersilia's choice of welcoming this diverse political company led to interesting and often fierce discussions.

[44] 'Note mondane. Al Palazzo Lovatelli', in: *Il Fanfulla*, 18 September 1899.
[45] Meens, 'How to Approach Salons?', cit., p. 73.
[46] F. Martini, 'Donne, salotti e costumi', in C. Lumbroso, A. Mosso, A.G. Barrili & V. Fiorini (eds.), *La vita italiana, durante la Rivoluzione francese e l'Impero: conferenze tenute a Firenze del 1896*, Milano, Fratelli Treves, 1896, pp. 337-363.
[47] Ersilia Caetani-Lovatelli to Onorato Caetani, 17 April 1898, ALC, cart. 482 (1).

A network talking and doing politics

The time was ripe for strong debates anyway. Soon after 1870 the optimism of the Risorgimento had disappeared into searching for solutions to some of the major problems that Italy now faced, including its regional differences, the *campanilismo*, and the lack of development, especially in the South.[48] There was no linguistic unity and literacy rates were extremely low. The Italian government had stripped off the Church its traditional role in education, but there had hardly been any decision making with regard to a new educational structure and its content.[49] Economic prospects were bad, not only due to a series of poor harvests, but also because the left-wing governments of Agostino Depretis had spent large amounts of money. The result was a financial crisis that left many traces. The ideals of the leftist leaders, including democratisation, decentralisation, the opening up of education and a progressive tax system, came under increasing pressure.[50] Moreover Depretis' flirtations with the conservatives of Minghetti – who he even gave a majority in his cabinet in 1883 – harmed his and Italian politics' reputation. Even so, Depretis' successor, Francesco Crispi, representative of the *Sinistra Storica*, continued this tactic that was now called *trasformismo*, and governed with support of the right.[51] To make everything worse, both government and parliament were known for corruption and nepotism. It was thus hardly surprising that uprisings arose and that already in 1878 the anarchists committed an attack on the King.

In Ersilia's salon there was a fierce battle between Crispi and Cavallotti, who were each other's biggest rivals. Cavallotti, who was known for his rhetorical talents, argued that nothing of this third Rome was in line with the ideals of his hero Mazzini. He argued that he and his fellow politicians were part of a weak and corrupt Byzantine system. According to him the only solution was the expansion of voting rights.[52] Crispi, on the other hand, argued that Italy, being divided to the bone, could not be governed in any other way, and that changing the electoral system would only cause more problems.[53] Cavallotti's attitude ultimately proved costly. In 1898, on his way to Ersilia's palace, he was killed in a duel by a furious Ferruccio Macola (1861-1910), editor of the conservative *Gazzetta di Venezia*.[54]

Apart from personal political battles, members of Ersilia's network tried to analyse the deeper causes of Italy's deplorable state of affairs. Even Giosuè Carducci, who was known to be a fervent nationalist and opponent of the Catholic Church, was worried. Like many he blamed Italian politics.[55] Especially after his appointment as senator for life he regularly visited Caetani-Lovatelli to talk about the many scandals.

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[48] S. Cavazza, 'Regionalism in Italy: a critique', in: J. Augusteijn & E. Storm (eds.), *Region and State in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, pp. 69-92; C. Duggan, *The force of Destiny: A History of Italy since 1876*, London, Penguin, 2007; A. Körner, *Politics of Culture in Liberal Italy*, London-New York, Routledge, 2009; D. Beales & E. Biagini, *The Risorgimento and the Unification of Italy*, Harlow, Longman, 2002, pp. 150-162; C. Duggan, 'Politics in the era of Depretis and Crispi, 1870-1896', in: J. Davis (ed.), *Italy in the Nineteenth Century*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000, pp. 155-180.

[49] Beales & Biagini, *The Risorgimento*, cit., pp. 79-80.

[50] D. Smith, *Modern Italy: A Political History*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1997, pp. 95-140; M. Clark, *Modern Italy, 1871-1995*, London-New York, Longman, 1996, pp. 12-36.

[51] A. Cento Bull, 'Social and political cultures in Italy from 1860 to the present day', in: Z. Barański & R. West (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Modern Italian Culture*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp. 35-63.

[52] R. Colapietra, *Felice Cavallotti e la democrazia radicale in Italia*, Brescia, Morcelliana, 1966, p. 83.

[53] T. Palamenghi, *L'Italia coloniale e Francesco Crispi*, Milano, Treves, 1928, pp. 184-186; Cfr. Ersilia Caetani-Lovatelli to Christian Hülsen, undated, Biblioteca dell'Accademia dei Lincei, Archivio Lovatelli, coll. 156.

[54] P. Spezi, 'Nel salotto della contessa Lovatelli. Emilio Zola', in: *L'Urbe*, 6 (1952), pp. 20-22.

[55] L. Brani, *'Ditemi, o Pietre! Parlatemi, eccelsi palagi!'. La rappresentazione di Roma nella lirica Italiana tra Otto e Novecento: Carducci, D'Annunzio, Pascoli*, Pisa, ETS, 2012, pp. 81-83.

In his letters to the Countess, but probably also in her palace, he expressed his views on the functioning of Rome's city council and national parliament: 'Il potere legislativo invade, intralcia e guasta la macchina dell'esecutivo. Le "piovre" dei cinquecento deputati coi cinquecentomila figliuoli, nipoti, mogli, amanti della moglie, mantenute, amici delle mantenute, ruffiani ed elettori, succhiano tutto, empiono tutto, imbrattano tutto'.[56]

To provide explanations some guests turned to Social Darwinism, which at that time was popular throughout Europe. In his major work *Les origines de la France contemporaine* (1875-1894) the French philosopher Hippolyte Taine, one of Ersilia's friends, had analysed the French system by using Darwin's insights. He argued that if countries, like animals, were the product of slow evolution, why should then a political system that did not fit well with the character of its people be forced upon them? Taine's contention was that the French revolution had spurned a liberal doctrine in a country whose history did not favor it. Taine thus saw a dangerous imbalance between the French nation on the one hand and its political institutions on the other. His influence reached far, and certainly included Italy.[57] In 1884 Ruggiero Bonghi, who had been minister of education but thereafter mainly functioned as a critic of the political system, in his article 'Una questione grossa. La decadenza del regime parlamentare' denounced Italian democracy, including its shamefully incompetent parliament. Bonghi was clearly inspired by Taine's explanations, but, even though they were both regular guests, it remains unclear whether the two men actually met in Ersilia's salons.

In Palazzo Lovatelli Bonghi did encounter Émile Zola, whom he informed about the political and social life of contemporary Rome. The Frenchman would use these conversations to write his novel *Rome*.[58] Zola himself held quite explicit views about Italy:

> Pour lui [Bonghi] le malheur de l'Italie, c'est de n'avoir aucune force intellectuelle et morale, neuve, décisive. Je lui ai fait remarquer que cela vient de ce que, en Italie, il n'y avait pas comme chez nous un peuple (paysans et ouvriers), qui est la réserve de la nation, d'où tous nos hommes nouveaux sortent. Notre vitalité vient depuis cent cinquante ans de l'ascension du people, du mouvement des individualités à travers le corps social. En Italie l'aristocratie a croulé, la bourgeoisie reste neutre et sans force, et le peuple reste enfant: de là la déchéance irrémédiable. Il faudrait prendre le problème par le bas, donner au peuple l'instruction, la force du travail, créer une démocratie vivante et ascendante.[59]

But most of Caetani-Lovatelli's guests identified the lack of national unity as the biggest cause of all Italy's troubles. Already in 1872, the German historian Ferdinand Gregorovius, one of the habitués, noted that:

> [v]on namhaften Italienern sah ich mehrere bei Donna Ersilia […], wie Sella, Minghetti, Bonghi, Guerrieri Gonzaga, Terenzio Mamiani […]. Wenn Selbstkritik ein Symptom der Erneuerung des Volksgeistes ist, so sind die Italiener heute am gutem Wege. Sie üben diese bis zum Zynismus an sich aus; sie decken schonungslos die *Pudenda* ihrer Nation auf. Übereinstimmend erkennen sie, dass der moralische Zustand des Volks im Widerspruch zu den politischen Erfolgen steht. Sie haben eine nationale Form wie über Nacht erhalten, und diese Form ist ohne Inhalt. Bis zur Selbstverzweiflung sprechen sie das aus: so urteile selbst Mamiani, so Lignana. Der Satz ist

[56] Giosuè Carducci to Ersilia Caetani-Lovatelli, 2 August 1893, cited in: M. Biagini, *Giosuè Carducci. Poeta della terza Italia*, Milano, Mursia, 1976, p. 679.
[57] Duggan, 'Politics in the era of Depretis and Crispi', cit., p. 167.
[58] Zola, *Mes voyages*, cit., p. 220.
[59] *Ivi*, pp. 250-251.

richtig, dass eine politische Revolution fruchtlos bleibt ohne die sie begleitende moralische. Für diese fehlt es den Italienern an Gewissen und sittlicher Energie.[60]

How could this young nation-state forge its people into a real community? Some argued that the Italians should follow the example of Germany, a state as young as Italy, but much more successful in terms of (cultural) politics. In an 1877 letter to Ersilia the German historian Theodor Mommsen who himself advised his Italian colleagues on the development of a new academic and educational model, expressed his hopes that the Italians would not copy Germany's rather aggressive politics.[61] Likewise Gregorovius argued that the Germans had a better developed national culture, but scored much lower than the Italians in terms of happiness. He had to admit, however, that the spiritual life in his beloved Italy was disappearing rather quickly and he advised his young protégé Sigmund Münz not to stay there for more than two years, '[d]enn das junge Italien werden Sie noch sehr schwach finden, noch in beständigem Experimentiren, mit viel Geist und weniger Charakter und dem wenigsten Wissen ausgestattet'.[62] He added that in Italy 'die politischen Thatsachen den inneren moralischen Prozess überholt haben'.[63]

Apart from lamenting the current state of affairs and discussing its causes, Ersilia's guests also critically evaluated the solutions, including Italy's colonial politics, especially of Crispi's cabinets.[64] In his view, Italy could only ever become a Great Power if it possessed colonies. He also saw a connection between war, masculinity, and citizenship.[65] In 1895 Crispi ordered Italian soldiers to occupy Ethiopia, thinking that propaganda would convert the anticolonial sentiments into fierce nationalism.[66] In 1896, however, resistance in Palazzo Lovatelli as well as in the rest of Italy grew as the Italian army suffered a defeat against Ethiopian troops for the third time. The 5000 Italian soldiers had been poorly prepared and equipped for the battle of Adua (1896), so that for the first time in history an African people successfully defeated a colonizer. The Ethiopians also took a large number of Italian prisoners, including Ersilia's son Giovanni. Immediately the countess in her salon formed a group consisting of clergymen as well as spouses of influential political opponents of Crispi, with whom she tried to provide the Italian soldiers with material and spiritual relief. Moreover, she wanted to speed up their release through negotiations and financial support. In 1896 a delegation departed with 50,000 lire, presumably donated by the Pope.[67]

Crispi detested what he saw as a female and ecclesiastical interference in times of war.[68] He tried to persuade Caetani-Lovatelli by writing her:

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[60] H.-W. Kruft & M. Völkel (eds.), *Ferdinand Gregorovius. Römische Tagebücher 1852-1889*, München, C.H. Beck, 1991, p. 317.
[61] Theodor Mommsen to Ersilia Caetani-Lovatelli, 13 March 1877, cited in: L. Wickert, *Theodor Mommsen. Eine Biographie. Band II: Wanderjahre. Frankreich und Italien,* Frankfurt am Main, Vittorio Klostermann, 1964, p. 69.
[62] Münz, *Ferdinand Gregorovius,* cit., p. 12.
[63] *Ivi,* p. 48.
[64] For Crispi and his politics: C. Duggan, *Francesco Crispi, 1818-1901: From Nation to Nationalism,* Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2002.
[65] L. Riall, 'Men at War: Masculinity and Military Ideals in the Risorgimento', in: S. Patriarca & L. Riall (eds.), *The Risorgimento Revisited. Nationalism and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Italy,* Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, pp. 152-171.
[66] G. Finaldi, *Italian National Identity in the Scramble for Africa*, Bern, Peter Lang, 2009; Palamenghi, *L'Italia coloniale,* cit., pp. 184-186.
[67] D. Farini, *Diario di fine secolo*, vol. II, Rome, Bardi Editore, 1962, p. 937; R. Colapietra, *L'incidenza di Pietro Chimienti nella politica italiana,* Brindisi, Ed. Amici della "A. de Leo", 1993, p. 21. See also the Dutch newspaper *Het nieuws van de dag: kleine courant,* 21 May 1896, and more specifically 'Buitenlandsch nieuws'.
[68] M. Choate, *Emigrant Nation. The Making of Italy Abroad*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2008, pp. 21-56, more precisely pp. 37-39.

Cara signora contessa. Trovo il di lei nome in un comitato di signore, il quale fa appello alla carità pubblica per nostri poveri prigionieri in Africa. Il pensiero è gentile, ma può essere pratico? Quando l'Italia era spezzata in sette stati, e *I barbareschi* esercitavano la tratta anche sulle nostre spiagge, i nostri padri, costretti dalla loro impotenza, costituirono la società per la redenzione degli schiavi. Oggi siamo una nazione di 32 milioni di uomini e ben altro è il metodo da seguire per esplicare i nostri doveri e per farci rispettare. I nostri fratelli, fatti captivi ad Abba Garima [alternative designation of Adua], aspettano ansiosi un esercito liberatore, e le donne italiane, come al 1848 e al 1860, dovrebbero ispirare il coraggio per organizzare la vittoria. La pietà è santa, ma nell'animo dell'Abissino oggi sarebbe interpretata paura e debolezza; del resto neanche potrebbe essere esercitata, perché tra noi e il nemico è il muro della barbarie, che impedisce arrivino ai sofferenti i soccorsi che si vorrebbero loro inviare. Scrivo a Lei, che so avere animo virile, affinché consigli alle gentili sue compagne a mutare scopo al comitato.[69]

It is remarkable that to break the women's initiative, Crispi appealed to Ersilia's alleged male soul. Ultimately, however, the prisoners of war were indeed released through a diplomatic solution, which was partly initiated from Palazzo Lovatelli.[70]

Crispi resigned and Ersilia's brother became minister of foreign affairs. Onorato tried to neutralise the colonial politics of his predecessors. In his sister's salon, while he defended Italy's 1882 Triple Alliance with Germany and Austria-Hungaria, he also spoke about the importance of restoring good relations with France and the United Kingdom.[71] In 1911, however, Giovanni Giolitti became Italy's prime minister for the fourth time, and, in a new attempt to turn Italy into a Great Power, unleashed war against the Ottoman Empire.[72] Ersilia's nephew Leone, who disliked colonial politics even more than his father, was one of Giolitti's vicious opponents. Having previously helped him to secure a victory in the parliamentary elections of 1909, Ersilia now offered Leone an arena to proclaim his opinions.[73]

Others, however, defended Italy's colonial policy against Leone Caetani's fierce attacks, including his own friend Ferdinando Martini, the founder of the *Fanfulla della domenica,* one of the journals in which Caetani-Lovatelli published many articles. He had been a member of parliament since 1876 and had twice served as the minister of the colonies. In Palazzo Lovatelli Martini was introduced to Giacomo Agnesa, Ersilia's son in law who worked as a diplomat. After their meeting Agnesa became secretary of the Ufficio coloniale, founded in 1895 to coordinate the Italian property in Africa. Spurred by Ersilia Martini also supported Agnesa's appointment as director general of the Ministry of Colonial Affairs. The countess herself intervened even more directly to make Agnesa a member of the board of the Società geografica italiana, just after Onorato Caetani had ended his presidium in 1887. As a result, the Società became an important instrument in Italian colonial policy.[74]

A final political theme discussed in Palazzo Lovatelli was the transformation of the city of Rome from 1871 onwards. Even though, or precisely because Rome to many still was the *caput mundi*, the city had to become the centre of the new Italian nation-

[69] Francesco Crispi to Ersilia Caetani-Lovatelli, 1896, cited in Palamenghi, *L'Italia coloniale,* cit., pp. 185-186

[70] Choate, *Emigrant Nation,* cit., pp. 37-39.

[71] L. Curtius, *Deutsche und antike Welt: Lebenserinnerungen,* Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1950, p. 389.

[72] C. Stephenson, *A Box of Sand. The Italo-Ottoman War 1911-1912,* Ticehurst, Tattered Flag Press, 2014, especially pp. 11-29 and 41-58.

[73] Ersilia Caetani-Lovatelli to Leone Caetani in a couple of undated letters, ALC, cart. 482 (3).

[74] M.A. Mulas, 'Un funzionario del Ministero degli esteri nello Stato liberale: G. Agnesa', in: C. Ghezzi (ed.), *Fonti e problemi della politica coloniale italiana*, Roma, Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali, Ufficio Centrale per i Beni Archivistici, 1996, vol. II, pp. 914-940.

state. Also Rome seemed to be the only city that evoked memories that potentially could unite the various Italian regions.[75] At the same time the Eternal City should also be able to compete with other modern European capitals including Paris, Vienna and Berlin.[76] After 1871 large construction projects were thus initiated by the national authorities, often contradicting the wishes of the city and Church authorities. They planned a new railway station, government buildings, grand boulevards and completely new neighbourhoods to house the new citizens.[77]

Most of Ersilia's acquaintances criticised this new, Third Rome. Gregorovius wrote to the salonnière lamenting that

> Die gewaltsame Transformation Roms macht mir wenig Freude − die Stadt gleicht einem alten Prachtteppich, welcher ausgeklopft wird und darüber unter einer Wolke von Staub in Fetzen auseinanderfällt. Die Wege meiner Vergangenheit hier sind verschüttet, umgewühlt und überbaut, und an die Stelle der majestätischen Ruhe ist der widerwärtige Lärm des modernen Lebens getreten.[78]

The 'Ersiliasti' dreamed of the eternal glory of a tangible but idealised past. They refused to acknowledge that their dream was not shared by many, and certainly not by most Italian politicians in charge, who, according to them, turned the city into a 'banales Versuchsfeld für Bauspekulanten'.[79] The countess herself expressed her fear that only in name would Rome survive.[80] And in his travel diaries Zola noted:

> La rêve de Rome capitale dès 1860. Et tout sacrifié à cette idée patriotique, nécessaire, fatale. La lutte contre la nature elle-même, la ville qu'on veut ressusciter quand même, malgré les obstacles physiques. Le poids de plomb de l'antiquité. *L'Urbs dell'antica e dell'età futura.* Et le coup d'enthousiasme dans l'orgueil de la conception. La griserie, puis la débâcle fatale, lorsque les choses apparaissent: une ville énorme, bâtie pour une population qui n'existe pas, la capitale moderne rêvée échouante contre la ville réelle avec son manque de communications, la ceinture mortelle de terrain stérile, son fleuve mort. L'orgueil a rêvé ce que la réalité ne peut réaliser. Quel cas étonnant et intéressant, quelle page de l'histoire naturelle d'une ville.[81]

And while Zola incorporated these observations in his novel *Rome*, Ersilia denounced Rome's metamorphoses in several of her scholarly publications,[82] as well as in her conversations with queen Margherita, whom she knew well.[83] Also she encouraged Gregorovius, who was honorary citizen of Rome, to write a letter of protest to

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[75] P. Scoppola (ed.), *I discorsi di Cavour per Roma Capitale,* Roma, Istituto di Studi Romani, 1971.
[76] C. Brice, 'La Rome des Savoie après l'unité', in: C. Charle & D. Roche (eds.), *Capitales culturelles, capitales symboliques: Paris et les expériences européennes,* Paris, Publications de la Sorbonne, 2002, pp. 133-148.
[77] V. Vidotto, 'Political Public Space in Rome from 1870 to 2011', in: G. Smith & J. Gadeyne (eds.), *Perspectives on Public Space in Rome, from Antiquity to the Present Day,* Farnham, Ashgate, 2013, pp. 251-276; L. Cardilli & A. Cambedda Napolitano (eds.), *La capitale a Roma. Città e arredo urbano 1870-1945,* Roma, Edizioni Carte segrete, 1991; M. Sanfilippo, *La costruzione di una capitale: Roma 1870-1911,* Cinisello Balsamo, Silvana, 1992.
[78] Münz, *Ferdinand Gregorovius,* cit., p. 15.
[79] *Ivi*, p. 61.
[80] *Ibidem.*
[81] Zola, *Mes voyages*, cit., p. 186.
[82] See, for instance, E. Caetani-Lovatelli, 'A.S. Maria de Spazolaria', in: *Nuova Antologia di Lettere, Scienza ed Arti*, 1 July 1909, pp. 3-10. Cfr. A. Englen (ed.), *Caelius I. Santa Maria in Domnica, San Tommaso in Formis e il Clivus Scauri*, Roma, L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2003, p. 22.
[83] Münz, *Ferdinand Gregorovius*, cit., pp. 152-153; 'Prinses Marguérite', in: *De Tijd*, 26 April 1872; 'Italy', in: *Morning Post*, 4 december 1871. Cfr. G. D'Annunzio, 'Giornate romane. I "regali" regali', in: *La Tribuna*, 28 December 1884; A. Hare, *The Story of My Life,* vol. III, London, G. Allen, 1901, p. 525.

Francesco Azzurri (1827-1901), who presided the Accademia di San Luca; and to publish this letter in German newspapers, in order to gain international support. On March 21 1886, Gregorovius in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* rhetorically asked how it was possible that citizens of the world did not revolt, for example against the sale of Villa Ludovisi to the Società Generale Immobiliare. How could one allow the sculptures to be removed, the park to be parcelled, and the buildings, with the exception of the Casino dell'Aurora, to be destroyed? And how was it possible that it was decided to design a street, the Via Veneto, through the heart of the old gardens and over the remains of the buildings? These could only be the decisions of barbarians.

In a reaction the Grand Duke of Saxony-Weimar persuaded King Umberto I to save the city from deconstruction; the Italian monarch, however, did not respond.[84] But Ruggiero Bonghi did. He had always been an advocate of a strong cultural policy, but discussions in Ersilia's salon had convinced him that the urban destruction of Rome had gone too far. In an open letter in *Opinione* he argued for the maintenance of the Eternal City's tangible past in order to show the Italians, as well as other peoples, their glorious history and identity.[85]

Thus, a prominent part of Ersilia's intellectual network was united in their wish to change the national and local heritage policies. In 1890 to streamline their initiatives Caetani-Lovatelli became a founding member of the Associazione artistica fra i cultori di architettura, which, chaired by her good friend the architect Gustavo Giovannoni (1873-1947), had the objective of preserving classical heritage.[86]

In her palace, Caetani-Lovatelli emphasised the aims of the *Associazione*, for instance by talking to her brother Onorato. Between 1890-1892 as the mayor of Rome he was confronted with the urban renewal, and, above all, with the enormous financial crisis which, due to the often irresponsible construction expenses in the 1880s, was strongly felt in the capital. Onorato agreed with the objectives of the *Associazione*, but he knew that the fragmented and unstable political landscape was a major obstacle to finding solutions.[87] Many local politicians understood the need for substantial cutbacks, but stopping urban renewal was simply not an option to them. Most of them feared that in that case the national politicians would shut down money supply to the capital completely. Onorato, however, was an experienced and agile politician.[88] Despite his moderate liberal conviction he maintained strong ties with socialists and the Church, for instance in his sister's palace, hoping that they would support his attempt to put the city's finances in order. Although he did not succeed in permanently ending the building projects − after the turn of the century they were largely reopened −, by lobbying he did manage to pass a parliamentary law which allowed him to limit construction spending, without any consequences to the city's income. In 1892 moreover, he reached agreement with the national government about the repayment of municipal debts and seized control of the construction projects.[89]

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[84] Gregorovius to Ersilia, 17 June 1888, in: Münz, *Ferdinand Gregorovius*, cit., pp. 169-171, more specifically p. 170.
[85] *Ivi*, pp. 152-153.
[86] P. Spagnesi, 'Cronologia dell'attività dell'AACAR', in: L. Barelli, M. Centofanti, G. Cifani, L. Finocchi Ghersi, M. Moretti, B.M. Ortu, G. Rivetti, P. Spagnesi (eds.), *Catalogo dei disegni di architettura,* Roma, Centro di studi per la storia dell'architettura, Casa dei Crescenzi, 1987, pp. 13-25; G. Zucconi, *La Città contesa. Dagli ingegneri sanitari agli urbanisti 1885-1942,* Milano, Jaca Book, 1989, pp. 114-128.
[87] Ersilia Caetani-Lovatelli to Onorato Caetani, undated, ALC, cart. 482 (1).
[88] For the relationship between urban and national governments in late-nineteenth century Rome see: S. Rebecchini, 'Il Comune di Roma da Michelangelo Caetani a Filippo Doria Pamphilj', in: *Studi romani*, 10 (1962), pp. 278-298.
[89] U. Gentiloni Silveri, 'Onorato Caetani e la società di fine Ottocento', in: *Bonifacio VIII, I Caetani e la storia del Lazio. Atti del Convegno di studi storici,* Roma, L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2004, pp. 259-272.

Conclusions

Using her intellectual network Ersilia Caetani-Lovatelli was able to create one of Rome's fin de siècle political hotspots. Her salon provided those belonging to the academic, cultural and political elite a place to debate the current state of affairs, to influence policy, to get into new alliances and to take substantial steps in their careers. While it benefitted many − Caetani-Lovatelli's salon network counted well over 275 individuals − Ersilia always took care to gain profit for herself and her family. Her networking had its own politics. It is telling that the nobility accounted for only 15% of all visitors, while the upper middle classes were far better represented, especially after 1880. Ersilia understood that her own social class could only maintain its position in the new political reality of liberal Italy if it would fuse with other cultural-intellectual, political and social-economical elites that now gained momentum. Caetani-Lovatelli was able to consolidate her own position and that of her family members precisely by building and maintaining a network of individuals of various social backgrounds, and in particular members of the new bourgeoisie. Inspired by Verena von der Heyden-Rynsch one might call this outcome of Ersilia's networking politics the 'bourgeoisification of the nobility', while it simultaneously caused a 'nobilitysification of the bourgeoisie'.[90]

The fact that her intellectual network became intertwined with official politics shows us that Ersilia's private sociability only existed by virtue of visitors who were interested in various topics, were active in various cultural fields, and were representatives of a society in which the specialisation of knowledge was not yet too far developed.[91] Obviously this versatility of the members of her network offered Caetani-Lovatelli new prospects. Her salon and its network gained her access to worlds normally restricted to men, including academia. And even though the number of female visitors was quite low, Ersilia supported their entrance in these worlds as well, bringing the likes of Rina Faccio (1876-1960), Dora Melegari (1849-1924) and Grazia Deledda into contact with publishers, editors and literary critics that she already knew. She also used her wide network to support feminism,[92] and encouraged other women, including Melegari and Nadine Helbig (1847-1922), Henriette Hertz (1846-1913) and Eugénie Sellers-Strong (1860-1943) to host salons of their own.[93] An important question remaining is how these colleagues used their own salons and networks to gain political influence, and if and how they collaborated in that process.[94] For all support she had offered to all, however, in 1915 Ersilia herself withdrew from public life, being ill for ten more years to come. Her networking politics and the political influence she had thereby earned had left their mark on liberal Italy.

Keywords

Salons, Ersilia Caetani-Lovatelli (1840-1925), intellectual exchange, political networks, Liberal Italy

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[90] V. von der Heyden-Rynsch, *Europäische Salons. Höhepunkte einer versunken weiblichen Kultur*, München, Artemis & Winkler, 1992, p. 19.

[91] R. Simanowski, 'Einleitung: Der Salon als dreifache Vermittlungsinstanz', in: R. Simanowski, H. Turk & T. Schmidt (eds.), *Europa − ein Salon? Beiträge zur Internationalität des literarischen Salons*, Göttingen, Wallstein Verlag, 1999, pp. 8-39.

[92] Meens, 'How to approach salons?', cit., p. 68.

[93] S. Dyson, *Eugénie Sellers Strong: Portrait of an Archaeologist*, London, Duckworth, 2004, pp. 56-61.

[94] The connections between salonnières in general during the first decades of the 20th century have been pointed at by H. Brown & G. Dow, 'Introduction', in: idem (eds.), *Readers, Writers, Salonnières. Female Networks in Europe, 1700-1900*, Bern, Peter Lang, 2011, pp. 1-9.

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RIASSUNTO

'Un'aiuola fioritissima, i cui mirabili e svariati fiori si alternano e si succedono senza interruzione'

Politiche di networking (intellettuale) del salone fin de siècle di Ersilia Caetani-Lovatelli

Questo articolo ripercorre la genesi e lo sviluppo del salotto romano della contessa e archeologa Ersilia Caetani-Lovatelli (1840-1925). Verso la fine degli anni '60 dell'Ottocento la contessa cominciò a invitare amici intellettuali e altri personaggi di spicco nella Roma coeva, continuando in questo modo una tradizione inaugurata dal padre Michelangelo Caetani. Negli anni Settanta gli incontri intellettuali organizzati dalla Caetani-Lovatelli si fecero più regolari e il suo salotto divenne un punto di riferimento per la vita politica romana e italiana. Tra i frequentatori del salotto furono in molti a ricoprire cariche politiche all'interno delle istituzioni del giovane Stato nazionale italiano. L'analisi presentata in questa sede è infatti incentrata sul ruolo politico del salotto e sviluppa due linee di ricerca principali. In primo luogo, un approccio quantitativo e un'analisi della prassi discorsiva devono far luce sulle politiche sociali e sull'accessibilità del network della contessa. In secondo luogo si indaga il significato politico del salotto nell'Italia liberale, mettendo a fuoco le conversazioni politiche sostenutevi, e in particolare i dibattiti sulle questioni politiche che animavano il giovane Stato nazionale italiano.

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The Dante Alighieri Society in Warsaw
From aristocratic sociability to Fascism's intellectual showcasing (1924-1934)

Tamara van Kessel

Italian Fascism, intellectuals and nation-building abroad

Italian post-war historiography has witnessed an extensive debate on whether there was a consistent core to Fascist ideology and culture, and if so, what role intellectuals played in creating this.[1] What makes the latter a perennially difficult issue to reckon with is its connection to that other fundamental question: namely, whether Italian intellectuals are in part to blame for the longer-term failure to establish a truly unified, stable and flourishing Italian nation-state. The Italian nation-state as eventually formed in 1871 was in many respects the result of a lofty idea imagined by romantic nationalist writers and artists. Determining how to engage the larger population in the Italian project remained subject of debate throughout the twentieth century, whether on the left or on the right of the political spectrum. With it came the search for an effective function that intellectuals could have in this process. This was apparent not only in the role intellectuals were given during the Fascist years in the creation of a "renewed" national culture but also in how they were utilised in the promotion of Italy abroad. The latter has so far remained relatively understudied.

Currently, there is considerable agreement on a number of aspects of the cultural context during the Fascist *ventennio*: that cultural policy was not guided by a well-delineated ideological framework but by pragmatic and opportunist engagement of different cultural forms and styles, depending on the circumstances; and that even favouring certain styles censorship did not have all-encompassing impact, for in fact neither high nor low culture was ever entirely 'Fascist', the producers having remained to some extent autonomous.[2] While equally discarding the idea of a monolithic Fascist culture having ever existed, Ruth Ben-Ghiat has written compellingly about the consensus-creating role culture played during this period, especially from the mid-1930s onwards, in creating a set of shared values and a concept of Fascist modernity. Although stylistically diverse, precisely through a strategy of leaving artists and intellectuals in constant rivalry for recognition, there was exertion of control and self-censorship at play. However, as she points out:

[1] See for recent examples: A. d'Orsi, *Intellettuali nel Novecento italiano*, Torino, Einaudi, 2001; G. Belardelli, *Il Ventennio degli intellettuali. Cultura, politica, ideologia nell'Italia fascista*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2005; A. Ventura, *Intellettuali. Cultura e politica tra fascismo e antifascismo*, Roma, Donzelli editore, 2017.
[2] N. Carter, *Modern Italy in Historical Perspective*, London-New York, Bloomsbury Academic, 2010, p. 164; G. Bonsaver, 'Culture and Intellectuals', in: R.J.B. Bosworth (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Fascism*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2010.

While studies of fascism have traditionally focussed on the regime's use of culture for purposes of internal consensus-building, […] the desire to expand Italian influence abroad also shaped the evolution of cultural policy and cultural production under Mussolini. If national cultures are constructions that serve agendas of internal order, they also operate in a larger context, as producers that compete for audiences on an international scale.[3]

This call for attention to the interplay between cultural policy, and state and non-state cultural actors, within the country but also emphatically in interaction with forces abroad, is reiterated more recently by David Forgacs and Stephen Gundle. They argue that the early phase of Italy's modernisation − meaning the development of modern mass culture and cultural consumption in conjunction with modern centralised bureaucracies, capitalist modes of production and consumption, and the shaping of a popular Italian national identity to legitimise the nation-state − began in the period from 1936 to 1954, and not after the establishment of the Republic in 1946.[4] Forgacs and Gundle argue that Fascist cultural policies were working alongside other, more socio-economic forces related to modernisation, thereby influenced also by the interaction between Italy and other countries.[5]

Already during the Italian unification, the nation was forged both within and beyond its state borders, with as case in point the intellectuals in exile, ranging from Dante to Mazzini, who as wandering souls expounded the virtues of a unified Italian state.[6] But during Mussolini's regime a different type of intellectual was envisaged than in the liberal era; a shift that seems not only related to the ideological construction of the regime but also to the above-mentioned modernisation processes. Although there was and there remained an anti-intellectual strand in Italian Fascism, it was during the regime that the term "intellettuale" in Italy lost its ironic if not negative connotation and intellectuals were mobilised to lead the societal change envisioned by the regime, in accordance with a nationalist and instrumental view on culture.[7] This function most of them took on willingly. As has been pointed out, the regime's cultural policy provided much-needed opportunities for the growing group of people trained for intellectual work but until then facing a shortage of actual employment opportunities that matched their aspirations.[8] What needs further investigation is how a different, more bureaucratised showcasing of the intellectual evolved. In this article, we will do so by ascertaining to what extent this change becomes apparent in Italy's international cultural policy.

To explore how intellectuals were envisaged in the promotion of Italy during the Fascist period, and especially the 1930s, we will analyse the case of the Dante Alighieri Society. Shortly after unification, it was this irredentist cultural society that began to institutionalise the shaping of the nation in interaction with the "foreign". It was a non-governmental organisation established in 1889 to promote the Italian language and culture abroad, operating via an extensive network of local committees within and

[3] R. Ben-Ghiat, *Fascist Modernities: Italy, 1922-1945*, Berkeley-Los Angeles, University of California Press, 2001, pp. 11-12. Here she is also referring to the competition with an ever more popular American mass culture.
[4] D. Forgacs & S. Gundle, *Mass Culture and Italian Society from Fascism to the Cold War*, Bloomington-Indianapolis, Indiana University Press, 2007, pp. 4-5, 19.
[5] *Ivi*, p. 4.
[6] M. Choate, *Emigrant Nation. The Making of Italy Abroad*, Cambridge (MA)-London, Harvard University Press, 2008, p. 5; M. Isabella, 'Exile and Nationalism: The Case of the Risorgimento', in: *The European History Quarterly*, 36 (2006), pp. 493-520.
[7] Belardelli, *Il Ventennio degli intellettuali*, cit., pp. 11-13, 24; L. Medici, *Dalla propaganda alla cooperazione. La diplomazia culturale italiana nel secondo dopoguerra (1944-1950)*, Milano, CEDAM, 2009, p. 47.
[8] S. Cavazza, 'Twisted Roots. Intellectuals, Mass Culture and Political Culture in Italy', in: *Journal of Modern European History*, 10, 2 (2012), pp. 226-228.

outside Italy. Intellectuals as ideologues of the Italian nation served the Dante in their role of "apostles of *italianità*". In this article, we shall zoom in on the Dante Society's Committee in Warsaw. Romantic cultural nationalism was key to the formation of both the Polish and the Italian nation-state. Hence, when the Warsaw Committee was created in 1924, its feeding ground was still a tenacious rhetoric of literary writers, artists and scholars as the abstract custodians of the national soul. However, in the late 1920s and 1930s a change took place in Italy's cultural strategy in Poland, culminating in the Warsaw Committee's disbandment once one of the regime's most active and influential diplomats, Giuseppe Bastianini, was posted in Warsaw (1931-1936). New media, the professed modernity and socio-economic benefits of Fascism, and the promise of youth figured more prominently, together with the ambition to promote Italy in international academic networks, reacting to what was perceived as the outdated and provincial intellectualism of before. The change in attitude will be traced not in the official policy documents but in the correspondence, which gives more veracious insight into dynamics of and mentality behind foreign cultural policy.

The Dante Alighieri Society challenged by new conceptions of foreign cultural policy

The Dante Alighieri Society, named after the thirteenth-century poet who was embraced in nineteenth century as a proto-patriot,[9] in first instance had as prime scope to maintain ties with the so-called *terre irredente*: the areas still in the hands of the Austro-Hungarian Empire that the Italian government wished to eventually annex to its own territory. The Dante did so by funding and organising Italian libraries, publications and cultural events, as well as Italian schools. Its involvement in schools continued even after the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1902 created a Directorate General for Schools Abroad.[10] There was also a general desire to increase Italy's cultural prestige abroad and to stimulate the consumption of Italian products. Hence, there were branches in European cities such as The Hague and Copenhagen where local committees consisted mainly of non-Italian members, but also in major cities of Tunisia and Egypt, where Italian communities were key to maintaining commercial ties and influence. Considering the massive emigration of Italians around the turn of the century, it is no surprise that in due time the Dante Alighieri Society also devoted attention to these far-away compatriots, making sure that they were imbibed with Italian language and culture. This shift in focus was initially regarded by some within the Dante as a dubious opening up to the masses.[11]

In terms of membership, there were ties with the Italian Freemasonry and the strong presence of a recently established upper middle class that had benefitted from the unified Italian nation: politicians, lawyers and civil servants, the latter including primary and especially secondary school teachers, as well as academics (often former secondary school teachers). Mere sociability was undoubtedly an important part of the organisation's appeal, its lectures and concerts being tailored for amateur consumption. As was the case with other emerging bourgeois national associations, such as the Touring Club Italiano and the Società Geografica, members of the Dante were driven by the ideal of a unified Italy and seeking intellectual stimuli. This does not mean that all of them were intellectuals, in the sense of savants critically engaged with society. However, at the turn of the century, Italy still had remarkably low literacy rates and a very low production of Italian-language publications. An

[9] Isabella, 'Exile and Nationalism', cit., pp. 497-498; R. de Rooy, 'Dante all'insegna dell'Unità', in: *Incontri. Rivista europea di studi italiani*, 26, 2 (2011), pp. 64-72.
[10] T. van Kessel, *Foreign Cultural Policy in the Interbellum. The Dante Alighieri Society and the British Council Contesting the Mediterranean*, Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 2016, pp. 36-37.
[11] *Ivi*, p. 39.

association such as the Dante was hence an alternative "public sphere" wherein the higher educated could to some extent engage with the moral question how Italy was to be shaped and represented, internally and externally.

The Dante for a long time tried to cling on to its independent position *vis à vis* the regime. It could do so thanks to its prestige as a venerable institution associated with the Risorgimento and its function in legitimising the narrative of Fascism as crowning phase of the unification process. During the 1930s, however, diminishing financial resources, the growing influence of a younger generation of members and other changed circumstances led to the Dante being absorbed by the regime.[12] As a pioneer in a domain that was to be increasingly taken over by the state − in this case foreign cultural policy − it found itself challenged by a growing number of governmental Istituti di Cultura Italiana. In 1938, the Directorate General of Italians Abroad notified all diplomatic envoys that henceforth in towns where both an Istituto di Cultura and a Dante Committee existed, the latter should be closed down; so too if there was such a centre in the capital city. The Dante Committees were expected to work closely with the diplomatic corps, to rejuvenate themselves and to report regularly to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In places where there was a Dante Committee and no Istituto di Cultura, diplomatic authorities were meant to assist these committees: 'All manifestations of pseudo-intellectual and verbose provincialism are to be banished […]'.[13] This unequivocally disparaging remark about the activities of the Dante as run so far is emblematic for the manner in which the regime sought to redefine the intellectual scope of the organisation and of Italian foreign cultural policy in general.

The Dante in Warsaw: Italian culture as aristocratic pastime

The Dante Alighieri Committee in Warsaw was created in 1924. In the 1920s, frequent reference was made to the special friendship between the Italians and the Polish, said to date back to their shared struggle for independence, the friendship between Giuseppe Mazzini and the Polish national poet Adam Mickiewicz, and the common battle fought against the Austro-Hungarian Empire.[14] Italy was the first country to recognize Poland as an independent state after the First World War. Furthermore, Poland was regarded as beacon of Western civilisation and of Catholicism there where Byzantine, Teutonic Lutheran and Bolshevik influences could have prevailed. In recalling the Latin roots of Polish culture and describing the country as 'antemurale della romanità', it was this image of Poland as frontier of Europe that was being evoked. Poland was spiritually connected to the Latin character and this had prevented it from becoming Slavic or Germanic, or so it was argued in many Polish and Italian publications at that time.[15]

Despite the much-lauded Italo-Polish friendship ties, the Dante Committee in Warsaw started off very modestly. Besides running a library, it organised lectures and offered an Italian language course to about fifteen students. Furthermore, it arranged frequent meetings of the city's Italophiles, gatherings known as the 'Italian hour'. As the language teacher Gemma Schiesari, one of the few Italian members, was keen to point out, the Committee was doing what it could to compensate for the lack of a

[12] *Ivi*, pp. 71-85. Medici, *Dalla propaganda alla cooperazione*, cit., pp. 49-50.
[13] Van Kessel, *Foreign Cultural Policy*, cit., p. 83.
[14] S. Santoro, *L'Italia e l'Europa orientale. Diplomazia culturale e propaganda, 1918-1943*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2005, p. 151. Many Polish soldiers fought with the Piedmontese in the First Italian War of Independence and others joined Garibaldi's "Mille" in 1860.
[15] *Ivi*, pp. 153 and 155.

lectorate or teacher of Italian financed by the Italian government.[16] There was only sporadic cooperation with the Italian Legation. The Committee gained momentum when in 1927 Schiesari was replaced as teacher and secretary by Alina Wolff, a member of Warsaw's high society.[17] As of April 1928, the new management board with at its head Prince Vladimir Czetwertynski, consisted of other members of the aristocracy and civil servants.[18] Indicative for the ambiance in which the Dante in Warsaw operated is the reception at Wolff's mother's residence for Dante members described in *Le Messager Polonais* of 28 December 1927, in the section 'Mondanités'.[19] Gathered here were Polish aristocrats and academics, some members of Warsaw's Italian community, the Minister Plenipotentiary of Italy, Cesare Majoni, and his staff. In this phase sociability was a key component of the local Dante's purpose.

In the activity report of 1927-1928 sent to the Dante's Central Office in Rome, the Warsaw Committee's management board eagerly underlined what was being done to improve the finances of the Committee as well as the propaganda effort. 'Propaganda' is the word they themselves used, thereby not referring specifically to Fascist propaganda but rather to the spreading of a general exaltation of Italy. Besides the usual lectures for about twenty-five to thirty persons, the ongoing 'Italian hour' with some fifteen to twenty participants, and the running of a small library of some fifty books, they had now also organised a few lectures attended by a few hundred people. Financially, things were improving, enabling the repayment of debts owed to Schiesari and the former treasurer.[20]

A new aspect of the Committee's strategy was the use of film and the trigger for this came from Italy. Plans were made for the projection in Warsaw and other Polish cities of the film *Il Duce*, distributed by the Istituto Luce, which would help the Committee financially and at the same time serve to promote Italy in Poland. In 1927, the Committee asked the Istituto Luce permission to screen this film and to receive the actual film reel, thereby also requesting support from the Dante headquarters in Rome to speed up the delivery. Wolff herself had taken up this initiative after having seen this film at a students' congress in Rome of the Conféderation internationale des étudiants, about which more will be said.[21] It is worth mentioning that the Istituto Luce's sales department chose for the more lucrative option of distributing to Polish cinemas via a commercial company in Warsaw, reminding us that pragmatism and economic interest often went hand in hand with or overlay ideological-propagandistic considerations.[22]

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[16] Archivio Storico della Società Dante Alighieri (ASDA), Fasc. 627, Varsavia (Polonia) 16/10/1926-28/02/1948 (henceforth abbreviated in the footnotes of this article as ASDA.f627.Var), Gemma Schiesari, Warsaw, to Giuseppe Zaccagnini, Secretary General of the Dante Alighieri Society, 19 November 1926; idem, Scheda sul Comitato di Varsavia [s.d., probably 1927].

[17] In Polish, her name is Halina Wolffowna. See: ASDA.f627.Var, Emilio Rewera Rotkel and Alina Wolff on behalf of Jan Zamorski to the Director of the Dante Alighieri Society, 23 March 1928, nr. 233.

[18] ASDA.f627.Var, Czetwertynski and Wolff to the Dante Alighieri Society in Rome, 17 April 1928.

[19] ASDA.f627.Var, newspaper clipping, 'Réception', *Le Messager Polonais*, 28 December 1927.

[20] ASDA.f627.Var, Emilio Rewera Rotkel and Alina Wolff on behalf of Jan Zamorski to Libero Fracassetti, the Director General of the Dante Alighieri Society, 23 March 1928, prot. nr. 233; Activity report of the year 1927-1928, 23/03/1928, prot. nr. 234.

[21] ASDA.f627.Var, Emilio Rewera Rotkel on behalf of Jan Zamorski to the Dante Alighieri Society in Rome, 17/12/1927; Emilio Rewera Rotkel on behalf of Jan Zamorski to the Director General, Libero Fracassetti, Dante Alighieri Society in Rome, 27/02/1928 and attached copy of the letter from the Director General, Istituto L.U.C.E. Per la Propaganda e la Cultura a mezzo della Cinematografia, to Alina Wolff, Secretary of the Dante Alighieri Society in Warsaw, 30 November 1927, Prot. 21779.

[22] ASDA.f627.Var, Director General of the Istituto Luce to Libero Fracassetti, Director General of the Dante Alighieri Society, 18/02/1928, Prot. 25026. For more on the economic interests at play in the regime, see A. De Grand, 'Mussolini's Follies: Fascism in its Imperial and Racist Phase, 1935-1940', in: *Contemporary European History*, 35, 2 (2004), pp. 127-147, in particular pp. 133-134.

The activities realised in 1927-1928 appear by and large devoid of any overt appraisal of Italian Fascism. In fact, a lecturer fleeing from surveillance in Rome, Giuseppe Leti, found refuge giving talks entitled 'Italy and Poland' and 'Upon the centenary of Ugo Foscolo's death'.[23] The film *La vita di San Francesco d'Assisi* and a concert of Italian music were in the pipeline. At a congress of military medicine held in Warsaw in the summer of 1927, Committee members accompanied the Italian delegation attending and Wolff hosted a reception for them in her salon.[24] Furthermore, Evel Gasparini,[25] a lecturer of Italian language at the University of Warsaw, spoke about Petrarch and a lecturer from a local polytechnic discussed 'The Italian Figurative Renaissance', events that were reportedly attended by about three hundred listeners at a time. Nelly Nucci, a lecturer of Italian language at the University of Cracow, came to speak about Goffredo Mameli, who in 1847 wrote the lyrics of the Italian patriotic song *Il Canto degli Italiani*.[26] Upon the invitation of the Dante Committee together with the Carnegie Foundation, the marquis Piero Misciatelli, a scholar of Sienese mysticism, gave a cycle of six Dante conferences in the Aula Magna of the University of Warsaw. All five had been for free and in French, this language still making it more likely to attract a larger audience.

Travel as cultural persuasion tool and the role of youth

A short-lived new initiative of the Committee was the organisation of tours for its members to Italy's renown cities. Here we see how during the interbellum tourism and international cultural relations began to intertwine. In mid-May 1929, a train journey of about a month brought thirty-five Polish Dante members to Rome for a week, then on to Sicily (Palermo and Taormina), Naples (including Pompei), Florence and Venice, ending with a day in Riva del Garda.[27] The Central Office of the Dante in Rome had been asked to help obtain free visas, discounted railway tickets and free or discounted access to museums.[28] A thank you letter from Czetwertynski to Mussolini took the form of a eulogy for modern Italy and in particular Rome, where Mussolini had received the group for an audience. Rome was described as now uniting the immortal memories of its past with the new energy, greatness and power of its present and future, words that echo in many respects Mussolini's own propagandistic rhetoric.[29] As usual, a parallel was drawn between what Poland and Italy had suffered for their

[23] The lawyer Giuseppe Leti (1867-1939) was a republican amateur historian and an active Freemason, already under government surveillance during the liberal epoch (G. Monsagrati, 'Leti, Giuseppe', *Dizionario Biografico degli italiani*, 64 (2005), http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giuseppe-leti_(Dizionario-Biografico) (18 August 2018)).

[24] ASDA.f627.Var, Emilio Rewera Rotkel and Alina Wolff on behalf of Jan Zamorski to Libero Fracassetti, the Director General of the Dante Alighieri Society, 23/03/1928, prot. nr. 233; Activity report of the year 1927-1928, 23/03/1928, prot. nr. 234.

[25] Evel Gasparini (1900-1982) was one of Italy's most prominent slavicists. He was both lecturer at the University of Warsaw and press attaché of the Italian Embassy (1927-1933). Eventually, he joined the resistance movement Partito d'Azione. See: R. Faccani, 'Evel Gasparini. Dalla letteratura russa all'etnologia slava', in: *Studia Mythologica Slavica*, 10 (2007), pp. 119-136; Santoro, *L'Italia e l'Europa orientale*, cit., p. 297; E. Sgambati, 'Gasparini, Evelino (Evel)', *Dizionario Biografico degli italiani*, 52 (1999), http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/evelino-gasparini_(Dizionario-Biografico) (18 August 2018).

[26] It is now the national anthem. One of the verses mentions the Poles as people who like the Italians had to combat the Austrians for their own national independence.

[27] ASDA.f627.Var, Programme of the excursion to Italy in 1929 and an activity report of 1929, dated 31/12/1929.

[28] ASDA.f627.Var, Czetwertynski and Alina Wolff to the Dante Alighieri Society, 17/04/1928, N. 280. See also: ASDA.f627.Var, Wolff to the Dante Alighieri Society, 27/04/1928.

[29] ASDA.f627.Var, undated draft letter or copy written in pencil on Warsaw Committee paper, with in ink 'Per Fracassetti'.

independence. Poland's Dante Committees – now amounting to a total of seven[30] – were said to be aflame with Italo-Polish friendship and effective as instruments to spread the Italian genius across the country.

Similar jubilation is noticeable in the Warsaw Committee's growing engagement with Polish youth. Jan Balinski-Jundzill, a Polish student who wrote to Mussolini in his capacity of Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs to ask for more support for the Warsaw Committee, did so on behalf of the Polish participants of the congress of the Conféderation internationale des étudiants held in Rome (1928), under the patronage of that same Ministry. He raved about his impressions of the new Italy which he saw launched by Mussolini and by the Fascist movement, thereby reproducing many of the tropes of Fascist propaganda.[31] It remains unclear whether the plans made in 1929 to invite a number of Italian youngsters for a month of holiday in Poland, and if possible send some Polish youngsters to Italy, ever came to fruition.[32] Quite certainly none took place after Wolff left the Dante Alighieri Society in April 1931. However, as we shall see, the Committee's engagement with students continued to grow.

The 1930s: The Embassy intervenes

Despite all appearances of success, there is a palpable sense of frustration in the letter that Wolff wrote on 10 January 1930, addressed to as it seems Mussolini in his capacity as Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior. She complained about Antonio Menotti Corvi, commercial attaché of the Italian Legation, refusing to give a lecture about Fascism because of lack of permission from Rome to do so. In addition, she recounted how, when presenting the activities of 1928 to Ambassador Majoni, he had remarked about the lectures on Italian art and literature: 'these are such boring things for he who speaks, and for those who are listening' ('queste cose sono tanto noiose per quello che parla, e per quelli che ascoltano'). Furthermore, he had discouraged her from asking Italian lecturers residing in other Polish cities. The Dante Committee consisted mainly of Poles and to Wolff's distress the Italians of the Embassy (no longer a mere Legation), of the Italian colony in Warsaw and of the local *Fascio* did not show up at events they were invited to, making her draw the conclusion that the Dante in Warsaw was not being at all supported. Financially, she also felt insufficiently aided by the Italian authorities. Wolff was obliged to run the secretariat of the Dante from her home and the library of by now about three hundred books was housed in the dark corridor of a secondary school. Exasperated, her energy to make Italy loved in Poland was coming to an end because of the obstacles posed by the Italians themselves.[33]

The explanation for this letter that the president of the Dante in Rome gave to the Ministry of Interior was devoid of any alarmism. Wolff's 'sensitive female soul' had in his view made her exaggerate the situation. He was certain that Majoni had always helped the Committee and had reason to believe that the relations with the *Fascio* were also excellent, the Dante members from Warsaw visiting Italy having been

[30] We know from the activity report of 1927-1928 dated 14/02/1929 that in addition to the Committee in Warsaw, Krakow, Poznan and Lodz, there was a request to create two others: from the director of the local office of the insurance company of the Assicurazione Adriatica wishing to create a Dante Committee in Lviv to gather Fascists and Polish friends of Italy, and from colonel Aleksandrowicz, commander of the Polish regiment that was created in Italy in 1918, intending to create a centre for Italian propaganda in Torun.

[31] ASDA.f627.Var, copy of the letter from Jan Balinski-Jundzill, Telespresso No. 213792/197, 16/03/1929, referring to the telespresso 206371/101 of this ministry dated 05/02/1929, sent by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Dante office in Rome, regarding Poland (49-2) and in particular the Dante in Warsaw.

[32] ASDA.f627.Var, copy of the activity report dated 14/02/1929, sent with Telespresso No. 213792/197, 16/03/1929, by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Dante Alighieri Society in Rome.

[33] ASDA.f627.Var, copy of Alina Wolff, Warsaw, to the Minister of Interior, Rome, 10/01/1930, sent with a letter from the Cabinet, Ministry of Interior.

cordially received by the Secretariat of the Fasci all'Estero. As for the headquarters, when the Committee had presented a concrete opportunity for which ten thousand lire was needed, the Dante's Central Council had hastily made five thousand lire available and Majoni had collected the other five thousand. There was now in fact a sum higher than that requested being kept by the current ambassador in Warsaw and at their disposal for a suitable accommodation. How Boselli responded to Wolff's main complaint – the indifference of the Italian community – is most revealing. This indifference, he claimed, was unfortunately not a new or a local phenomenon. In fact, Boselli recognized:

> maggiore e migliore propaganda si potrebbe fare se tra i nostri connazionali si trovasse dovunque subito e sempre quel caldo fervore che riusciamo a suscitare tra stranieri e specialmente tra gli studiosi che non [sic] pure coltivano la nostra lingua e amano l'arte[,] la letteratura e le bellezze italiane, ma anche seguono con attenta curiosità e con manifesta simpatia il vigoroso impulso che alla rinnovata vita italiana ha impresso il Fascismo.[34]

Subsequently, in March 1930, a new council of the Warsaw Committee was elected, whereby the new ambassador, Count Alberto Martin Franklin, and his wife were made members of the honorary council. There were seemingly no significant changes, Czetwertynski remaining the president and Wolff the secretary.[35] Yet, in the eyes of Foreign Affairs in Rome something had apparently changed for the better: the Directorate General of Italians Abroad and Schools now decided to give the Committee the previously requested subsidy of 5,000 lire for the school years 1928-1929 and 1929-1930.[36] Did this have something to do with the report on the Dante in Warsaw written by Ambassador Martin Franklin for the Ministry in March 1930?

This report confirmed that the Committee consisted of some 250 members, all Polish, but the lack of Italian members was explained as being simply due to the fact that there were few Italians in Warsaw and that they generally had a very modest economic and cultural background. Martin Franklin believed that the Committee's promising activities and further development were impeded by structural financial problems. Looking into the embassy files, he could see that the Ministry had given a subsidy of 2,500 lire for the school-year 1927-1928; a subsidy which for no apparent reason was suspended in 1928-1929, despite the request put forward by this Embassy. However, the financial difficulties and the accommodation were not the only problems the Dante had run into. The president of the Committee, Czetwertynski, had been accused of indolence. But, as Martin Franklin added, he was an influential man with many excellent connections, and truly a friend of Italy. Wolff, the secretary, had in Martin Franklin's words a modest cultural knowledge, but given her substantial fortune and devotion to the Dante Committee, he thought it advisable to keep her involved.

Martin Franklin's strategy was to meet repeatedly with Czetwertynski and Wolff, as well as with vice-president Władysław Günther-Schwarzburg, head of the Directorate General for Southern Europe of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to discuss how the Committee could be revived. A first improvement was achieved by obtaining rooms for the Dante at the Italo-Polish Chamber of Commerce. According to Martin Franklin, the Poles generally appreciated Italy and the pre-existing cultural ties made Poland a fertile ground on which to work. He was therefore in the meantime

[34] ASDA.f627.Var, Paolo Boselli to Leandro Arpinati, Under-Secretary at the Ministry of the Interior, 23 January 1930.
[35] ASDA.f627.Var, Note stating the composition of the Council of the Warsaw Dante Alighieri from 07 March 1930.
[36] ASDA.f627.Var, P. Parini, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Directorate General for Italians Abroad and Schools, Section III (Schools) to Comm. Fracassetti, Director General of the Dante Alighieri Society, 10 April 1930, Prot. 3828/5.

studying the possibility of creating an Istituto di Cultura Italiana, but first of all he thought it important to improve the existing Committee's efficacy. He asked Foreign Minister Dino Grandi to grant it two subsidies of 2,500 lire each for the school-years 1928-1929 and 1929-1930, and to ensure that this subsidy was considered permanent.[37] Martin Franklin was well aware of the beneficial role cultural diplomacy could play in economic relations. In the 1920s, as Italian minister plenipotentiary in Romania, he had helped to create an Italian chamber of commerce and industry in Bucharest as well as an Italian-Romanian committee to intensify the cultural and economic exchanges. However, Martin Franklin had but a short time to inspire the Polish Dante: in the summer of 1931 he left his post in Warsaw.[38] The ambassador was not the only one to leave the Warsaw Committee. At the beginning of April, Wolff announced that her imminent marriage meant she would be spending the rest of her life in the countryside.[39] Shortly afterwards, following a brief interlude during which Count Luigi Vannutelli Rey was Ambassador (1931-1932), Giuseppe Bastianini was appointed to this post. He had been a key figure in promoting the Italian *Fasci* abroad and previously ambassador in Athens, where he had set up an Istituto di Cultura. Bastianini's arrival meant a further boost to the Italian government's cultural promotion in Poland.[40]

The activities in 1933 were reported on with confidence, concluding that thanks to the proper headquarters, the new board and council of the Committee, and a more direct interest on the part of the Italian Embassy in Poland as of 1932, a far better situation had been attained.[41] The library expanded[42] and between January and end December 1933 the activities comprised of fourteen lectures, five social events either in the Dante headquarters or elsewhere, the projection of two films in city cinemas[43] and the performance of a comedy.[44] Ten of the lectures were given in Italian, one in Polish and three in French. During the summer, Dante members invited Italian historians participating in the Warsaw congress of the Comité international des sciences historiques (CISH) to a reception jointly organized with other Polish-foreign cultural societies for all congress participants. Like the CIE, the CISH is a telling example of interwar cultural and scientific internationalism intermeshing with various national agendas.[45]

Italian lessons also flourished. In the academic year of 1932-1933, twelve courses were taught for a total of 68 participants, at beginners and intermediate level, with lessons running twice a week in the early evening hours.[46] In 1933, special free

[37] ASDA.f627.Var, copy of the report on the Dante Alighieri Society Committee in Warsaw by Alberto Martin Franklin to Dino Grandi, Minister of Foreign Affairs, 12/03/1930.
[38] ASDA.f627.Var, copy of Boselli's letter to Martin Franklin, 09/051931.
[39] ASDA.f627.Var, Wolff to Boselli, 04/04/1931. As of 1932, the secretary was Ladislava Chotkowska. She had lived in Italy (1902-1920) for her singing career and studied Italian language and literature at the University of Perugia and at the Università Popolare of Rome. (Activity report from 15/10/1932 to 27/02/1933; Wladyslawa Chotowska, Warsaw, to the Commissario Straordinario of the Dante Alighieri Society, Rome, 04/07/1933).
[40] Santoro, *L'Italia e l'Europa orientale*, cit., p. 300.
[41] ASDA.f627.Var, activity report of 1933, dated 31 January 1934, sent by Czetwertynski and Chotkowska to Felicioni with an accompanying letter and a financial report of 1933, 14 February 1934, N. 275/34.
[42] ASDA.f627.Var, list dated 15/02/1933, sent with Czetwertynski to Gigi Maino, 07 February 1933. A further request for books made in April 1934 mentions a preference for modern novels, but also non-fiction publications unambiguously focussed on the functioning of the Fascist (corporatist) state. (Czetwertynski and Chotowska, Warsaw, to Felice Felicioni, 10 April 1934, n. 286/34).
[43] ASDA.f627.Var, activity report from 15 October 1932 to 27/02/1933.
[44] *L'uomo dal fiore in bocca* (1922) by Luigi Pirandello, the maverick playwright nevertheless accepted by the Fascist regime.
[45] G. Sluga, *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013.
[46] For more about the teaching method, see: ASDA.f627.Var, copy of Czetwertynski to Bastianini, 25 July 1933, prot. nr. 152/33.

language classes were launched for which more than thirty students of the University of Warsaw registered.[47] The focus on youth increased. A so-called Circle of Friends of Italy "Dante Alighieri", attracting some forty students, taking on the task of liaising with the Gioventù Universitaria Italiana.[48] Furthermore, the Dante now also hosted a Warsaw Italo-Polish Circle of Students of High Schools in Warsaw, made up of 150 Polish youngsters. For fifteen of the Italian children of Warsaw, the Dante now offered the Italian Fascist Party's local *Fascio* space for a *doposcuola* (after school child-care).[49]

Besides greater attention for music, performed by Polish musicians and remaining mostly in the classical repertoire of Italian seventeenth- and eighteenth-century music, there was also a marked interest in Italy's modernity and the workings of the new Fascist state. This coincides with what has been generally observed in Italy's cultural activities in central-eastern Europe in this period, namely that while still appealing to the *latinità* that historically tied Italy to this region, a greater emphasis was put on the country's socio-economic achievements.[50] In 1934, the lectures included a series in Polish, with Polish experts speaking on contemporary Italian life, ranging from the director of the Italo-Polish Chamber of Commerce in Warsaw presenting the corporative reform in Italy to a student of the Polytechnic of Warsaw showing the latest achievements in Polish and Italian aviation.[51] New Italian music, Italian cities, sports in Italy, the Italian constitution and archaeological excavations were among the topics that the rest of the series covered.[52]

Veering unequivocally towards Fascist propaganda

With the arrival of Bastianini as Italian Ambassador, the Dante in Warsaw turned a decisive corner, reflecting somewhat the fate that the central Dante organisation in Rome itself was undergoing in the 1930s. The board of the Warsaw Committee conceded that it owed much to the help and encouragement received from Bastianini – present at every event that they had organised – and the other civil servants at the Embassy. Writing to the Dante Alighieri Society in Rome, Czetwertynski and Chotowska made clear that the Ambassador had enabled the Warsaw Committee to envision a more ambitious programme, and expressed the hope that the Dante headquarters would from now on offer more financial support.[53] This closer monitoring on behalf of Bastianini can be qualified as further "Fascistisation". Evidence of this are the intensified Fascist government interference, the involvement of the local *Fascio*, the themes of the lectures and the strategic targeting of youth. Simultaneously, it was also a "professionalisation" or "bureaucratisation", noticeable in the protocol numbers now used by Chotowska for the correspondence and the more detailed financial reports: activities in the domain of cultural consumption being further harnessed in a modern state system. The involvement of commercial partners became more evident, reminiscent of the public-private partnerships that the Mussolini regime was eager to

[47] ASDA.f627.Var, Czetwertynski and Chotowska to Gigi Maino, Secretary General of the Dante Alighieri Society, Rome, 24/02/1934, prot.nr. 248/34. These courses were not subsidised from Rome and required extra investment in teaching staff salaries. Financial report of 1933, dated 31/01/1934, sent by Czetwertysnski and Chotkowska to Felicioni with an accompanying letter and activity report of 1933, 14/02/1934, N. 275/34).

[48] ASDA.f627.Var, Czetwertynski to Gigi Maino, Secretary General of the Dante Alighieri Society, Rome, 10/07/1932.

[49] ASDA.f627. Var, activity report from 15 October 1932 to 27 February 1933.

[50] Medici, *Dalla propaganda alla cooperazione*, cit., pp. 40-44.

[51] ASDA.f627.Var, Czetwertynski and Chotkowska to Felicioni, report on the latest events, 19/05/1934, N. 316/34.

[52] ASDA.f627.Var, Czetwertynski and Chotkowska to Felicioni, report on the latest events of the first trimester of 1934, 05 April 1934, N. 284/34.

[53] ASDA.f627.Var, financial report of 1933, dated 31/01/1934, sent by Czetwertysnski and Chotkowska to Felicioni with an accompanying letter and activity report of 1933, 14 February 1934, N. 275/34.

encourage. The financial report of 1933 shows that sponsoring came from a number of Italian and Polish companies: the Milanese engineering company Società Anonima Puricelli Strade e Cave, insurance companies (Riunione Adriatica di Sicurtà, and Assicurazioni Generali), the shipping company Italia-Cosulich Lloyd Triestino, the Warsaw-based Handlowy Bank, the car manufacturer Polski Fiat S.A., and the Warsaw firm Dom Handlowy Meyer.[54]

Considering the international shift in alliances, it is no surprise that in 1933 the Dante Committee in Warsaw appears to have received such an impulse on the part of the regime. In July that year, Italy, France, Great Britain and Germany signed a Four-Power Pact, proposed by Mussolini, which would have allowed a gradual revision of the 1919 Peace Treaties. Worried about the effects this could have on their territorial claims, the countries of the Small Entente and Poland mobilised against this Pact. Although it was eventually not ratified, the negotiations around this Four-Power Pact permanently damaged the Franco-Polish relations. Henri de Jouvenal, the French ambassador present at these negotiations, had accepted the idea of transferring the "Polish corridor" to Germany. Taking this as a signal that Poland could no longer rely on France's protection, the Polish government sought to establish ties with Germany instead. This diplomatic turning point was concretised in the bilateral pact of non-aggression, signed by representatives of Poland and the Third Reich on 26 January 1934. What further worsened the Franco-Polish relations was the Franco-Soviet Pact of Mutual Assistance of 2 May 1935. This gave Italian efforts to gain ground in the field of cultural diplomacy greater scope. Bastianini made good use of this momentum. In his former position of director of the Italian *Fasci* abroad, he had been a strong advocate of Fascist propaganda among foreign political and cultural elites. He was the right man at the right moment, who intended to capitalise on the Polish positive sentiment towards all things Italian and especially Warsaw intellectuals' strong interest in Italy's political, cultural and artistic affairs.[55] This meant that in no time an Istituto di Cultura Italiana was created.

In a letter of February 1935 to the Dante President in Rome, Felice Felicioni, Czetwerynski announced that at the last general assembly of the Warsaw Committee the members had unanimously decided to transform the Dante Alighieri of Warsaw into a 'Poland-Italy Committee'. The recently inaugurated Istituto di Cultura Italiana (12 November 1934) had absorbed and concentrated all those cultural activities that had until then been taken care of by the Dante there, creating a new situation. The Poland-Italy Committee would focus mainly on events meant to celebrate friendship between the two countries. Given that the letterhead paper already brandished the name "Comitato Polonia-Italia / Komitet Polonia-Italia", the decision was clearly final.[56] Evidence shows that Czetwertynski was steered by Bastianini, rather than Felicioni.[57]

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[54] The income in 1933 was reported as being: membership fees 4855 złoty, Italian courses 2755 złoty, Polski Fiat S.A. 1600 złoty, Assicurazioni Generali 1500 złoty, Riunione Adriatica di Sicurtà 1500 złoty, Bank Handlowy 1000 złoty, Italia-Cosulich Lloyd Triestino 1000 złoty, Soc. An. Puricelli 1000 złoty, Dom Handlowy Meyer 500 złoty and a fundraising evening 528 złoty. The income had been 19771,11 złoty and the expenditure 19449,63 złoty. For 1934 they were counting on the same sponsors and were hoping to receive 3000 złoty from the Dante in Rome. The expenditure they then proposed was rent and housing 7000 złoty, administrative costs 3000 złoty, mailings and printed matter 1000 złoty, events 4000 złoty, salaries of teachers 3500 złoty and library 500 złoty. (ASDA.f627.Var, financial report of 1933, dated 31/01/1934, sent by Czetwertysnski and Chotkowska to Felicioni with an accompanying letter and activity report of 1933, 14/02/1934, N. 275/34.)

[55] ASDA.f627.Var, Bastianini to Foreign Affairs, Warsaw, 25 May 1934, ACS, MCP, DGP, b. 182, f. *Propaganda in Italia a favore della Polonia*, as quoted in Santoro, *L'Italia e l'Europa orientale*, cit., p. 300.

[56] ASDA.f627.Var, Czetwertynski a Felicioni, 20 February 1935, N. 110.

[57] ASDA.f627.Var, Felicioni to Czerwertysnki, 15 March 1935. See also Santoro, *L'Italia e l'Europa orientale*, cit., pp. 300-301.

The Dante was superseded by the growing ambition on the part of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the latter half of the 1930s to make use of cultural foreign policy to promote Fascist ideals and the principles of Italian corporatism abroad. By the time the Italian-Ethiopian War broke out in November 1935, damaging Mussolini's popularity abroad and triggering intensified propaganda efforts to batter the League of Nation's sanctions, Italy's international cultural promotion was more often than not entangled with the political propaganda of the regime.

Intellectuals and their function in Polish-Italian relations: some tentative conclusions issuing from this small case-study

In this interwar history of the Dante Committee in Warsaw, a few aspects stand out that seem to point towards broader developments. To begin with, there is clear evidence of the role assigned to and taken on by students in cultural foreign policy. Bastianini remarked in 1936 that students were the most suitable targets for Fascist propaganda in Poland.[58] There were obvious political motives in his particular interest for the student community, which however does not automatically imply that all students involved in the Dante in Warsaw were conscious Fascists. It is in this respect striking that the Confédération internationale des étudiants (CIE) is mentioned in the correspondence as an important experience for some of the presumably younger members of the Dante Committee in Warsaw. The CIE was itself a product not of Italian but of French international cultural policy, created in Strasbourg in 1919 as an emphatically apolitical organisation bringing together national student organisations. However, it was decidedly anti-German (German students were banned until 1929), embracing students of the First World War's allied countries only and in fact accused of rallying Francophile countries such as a Poland.[59] As Daniel Laqua has pointed out in his study of the CIE, here was one of the many manifestations of internationalism in the interwar period that in practice offered a platform for nationalist ideas and agendas. As Laqua observed, 'the active role that Italian students played in the CIE mirrored Fascist Italy's support for other forms of cultural internationalism as a form of foreign policy'.[60] The impression the 1927 CIE congress in Rome made on Dante members such as Wolff and Baliński-Jundziłł suggests that indeed the CIE was effectively used by Italian organisations to promote a positive image of Mussolini's regime. There remains more to be explored with regard to how student exchange in this period affected the political consciousness of the younger generations in a phase in which both the political ideologies involved and the students' frames of mind were crystallising.

The case of the Dante in Warsaw confirms what has been said more generally about Italian cultural policy in Central Eastern Europe, both with regard to the involvement as sponsors of the same companies across the region (e.g. the Riunione adriatica di sicurtà and Lloyd Triestino) and the Italian government's ever more strategic use of intellectual networks, mainly through the creation – as of 1926 – of an Istituto di Cultura Italiana.[61] In the 1920s this process was still haphazard: 'innovative expansion alternated with disorganisation and poor financial support' and

[58] J. W. Borejsza, *Polonia, Italia, Germania. Alla vigilia della seconda guerra mondiale*, Conference held at the Polish Academy of Science's Library and Research Centre in Rome, 18 November 1977, Wrocław/ Warsaw/Krakow/Gdansk, Ossolineum, 1981, p. 23.

[59] D. Laqua, 'Activism in the "Students' League of Nations": International Student Politics and the Confédération Internationale des Étudiants, 1919-1939', in: *English Historical Review*, 132, 556 (2017), pp. 605-637.

[60] *Ivi*, p. 618.

[61] S. Santoro, 'The cultural penetration of Fascist Italy abroad and in eastern Europe', in: *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 8, 1 (2003), pp. 36-66; Medici, *Dalla propaganda alla cooperazione*, cit., pp. 14-15, 18-21, 27.

effectiveness still depended on 'the good will of individuals or groups with no governmental coordination'.[62] Even in the more regimented 1930s, not only concerted policy but yet again key individuals made the difference. As shown above: Martin Franklin and later Bastianini were set on establishing a more closely state-controlled, coordinated and ambitious cultural presence in Warsaw, more explicitly promoting Italy as shaped by Fascism. Given the conscious recruitment on their part of functionaries of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs as vice-presidents of the Warsaw Dante, one can almost speak of a parallel diplomacy taking shape. However, the fact that some of the most popular Dante lectures in Warsaw were held in French reminds us that despite all efforts to enhance the effectiveness of Italian cultural promotion, the results were promising but altogether limited.[63]

The Italian ambitions could only be realised with the support of Polish Dante Alighieri members who were eager to be inspired by Italy's history and especially its present. A prosopography and research based on Polish sources would be needed to further identify what their motives were. However, paying attention to gender helps to trace a transition from the more salon-like sociability that set the tone in the period that Wolff was secretary, to a broader, arguably more professional intellectual association as the Dante in Warsaw drew closer to the Italian diplomatic representation. Gender also accentuates the tension between the Dante as a volunteer organisation and the professionalisation envisioned by the exclusively male Italian functionaries, female administrative and intellectual labour being more often qualified – also by themselves – as charitable in nature. Further research is needed to understand whether these Polish members' reactions to the Dante network may reveal something about the changing role of Polish intellectuals in their country's transition from a 'libertarian civic nationalism of the liberal-minded intellectuals' to populistic forms of nationalism based on ethnolinguistic unity.[64]

In the context of Italy's expanding cultural policy in Central Eastern Europe in the 1920s and 1930s, the historian Santoro refers to Mario Isnenghi's concept of the 'intellectual functionary': academics and intellectuals at different levels who, even while not necessarily being avid supporters of Fascism, were nevertheless content to serve within the diplomatic or propaganda institutions.[65] They were lured by outspoken ambition on the part of the regime to reinvigorate the role of the intellectual, a concern which needs to be seen in a much broader context of redefining their place in society as Italy underwent processes of modernisation. Bobbio once wrote about Gaetano Salvemini, the *fuoriuscito* anti-Fascist intellectual:

> he cast himself in the role of someone who had come to combat the misty abstractions of intellectually inclined politicians, the passion of the petty-bourgeois intellectual for fine theoretical discourses that cannot chase a toad out of a hole, the exquisitely Italic vocation inherent in a provincial, rhetorical, spiritually inclined culture uprooted from reality for being content with castles in the air and, in practice, content with leaving things as they are.[66]

These 'misty abstractions' strangely echo what a Fascist functionary like Bastianini also believed to be combatting.

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[62] Santoro, 'The cultural penetration of Fascist Italy abroad', cit., p. 48.
[63] On the preponderance of French culture, see: Santoro, *L'Italia e l'Europa orientale*, cit., pp. 156-160.
[64] A. Walicki, 'Intellectual Elites and the Vicissitudes of "Imagined Nation" in Poland', in: R. G. Suny & M. D. Kennedy (eds.), *Intellectuals and the Articulation of the Nation*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 2001, pp. 259-287, 281.
[65] Santoro, *L'Italia e l'Europa orientale*, cit., p. 26, referring to M. Isnenghi, *Intellettuali militanti e intellettuali funzionari: appunti sulla cultura fascista*, Torino, Einaudi, 1979.
[66] N. Bobbio, *Ideological Profile of Twentieth-Century Italy*, translated by L. Cochrane, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1995, p. 88.

Keywords
Italian foreign cultural policy, Warsaw, interwar period, intellectuals, Fascism

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RIASSUNTO

La Società Dante Alighieri come circolo intellettuale: il caso di Varsavia

Il ruolo degli intellettuali nella creazione sia dell'Italia come nazione che dello stato fascista è una questione ricorrente nella storiografia italiana. Un aspetto che merita ulteriore attenzione è il modo in cui gli intellettuali siano stati coinvolti nel propagare la cultura italiana all'estero. È possibile sostenere che la Società Dante Alighieri, ovvero la più importante organizzazione per diffondere la cultura italiana oltre i confini, operasse come un circolo intellettuale? Cambia la funzione di questi intellettuali durante il regime mussoliniano? Questo articolo prende in esame il caso illustrativo del comitato della Dante a Varsavia dal 1924 al 1935, in un paese paragonabilmente prodotto dal nazionalismo romantico dell'Ottocento che all'epoca attraversava le tensioni ideologiche e i cambiamenti sociali della modernità. Questo comitato della Dante dimostra come una piccola parte delle élite polacche fu attratta dalle nuove ambizioni culturali del fascismo italiano e dalle possibilità che ciò sembrava dare alle loro aspirazioni intellettuali. Ricostruendo il crescente coinvolgimento dei funzionari italiani nelle attività della Dante, fino al superamento della Dante dovuto alla creazione di un Istituto di cultura italiana, esaminiamo il ruolo strategico degli studenti, il richiamo all'amicizia storica italo-polacca, gli interessi economici, ma anche il tentativo di riconfigurare la figura dell'intellettuale nell'insieme di una politica culturale più burocratizzata.

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Wheeling and dealing
The multiple networks of Umberto Zanotti-Bianco (1889-1963), social activist and dissident archaeologist in fascist Italy*

Nathalie de Haan

The rich life and manifold activities of Umberto Zanotti-Bianco (1889-1963), an Italian social activist, anti-fascist, archaeologist and *senatore a vita*, offer an interesting insight into the cultural and political worlds of Italy and beyond in the twentieth century.[1] With Zanotti-Bianco as our prism, it is possible to shed more light on the dynamics of various circles within Italian society that consisted of aristocrats, philanthropists, politicians, writers, journalists, publishers and scholars. Many of them were leading figures in their respective fields and played prominent roles in Italian society. As will become clear, their webs of relationships were never static but changed constantly, even if a nucleus of persons would remain. They partially overlapped and were sometimes part of larger Italian or international networks. Moreover, the different responses of people to World War I and its aftermath, to the rise of fascism and to the totalitarian regime (1922-1943) could differ dramatically, causing transformations, even ruptures, within longstanding networks, but also fostered the establishment of new networks.

As a result of the amount and multifaceted character of Zanotti's activities the number of people he knew and worked with, for shorter or longer periods of his life, is enormous. Hence, an extensive overview of his networks and contacts cannot be given within the limits of this contribution, and listing hundreds of names would make hardly sense without any further qualifications. Instead, I will focus on the period 1907-

* The research presented here is part of a larger project dedicated to Umberto Zanotti-Bianco. I warmly thank my colleague Floris Meens for organising the inspiring symposium and for useful comments on the first draft.

[1] On Zanotti-Bianco in general see *Umberto Zanotti Bianco (1889-1963)*, Roma, Associazione per il Mezzogiorno, 1980; A. Jannazzo, *Mezzogiorno e liberalismo nell'azione di Zanotti Bianco*, Roma, Gruppo Editoriale Internazionale, 2002[2] (first edition 1992); S. Settis, 'Archeologia, tutela, sviluppo. La lezione di Umberto Zanotti Bianco', in: S. Settis & M.C. Parra (eds.), *Magna Graecia. L'archeologia di un sapere*, Milano, Electa, 2005, pp. 322-328; N. de Haan, 'Umberto Zanotti Bianco and the Archaeology of Magna Graecia during the Fascist Era', in: N. de Haan, M. Eickhoff & M. Schwegman (eds.), *Archaeology and National Identity in Italy and Europe 1800-1950. Proceedings of the International Round Table at the Royal Netherlands Institute, Rome, 21-22 February 2007* (*Fragmenta. Journal of the Royal Netherlands Institute in Rome*, 2), Turnhout, Brepols, pp. 233-249; S. Zoppi, *Umberto Zanotti-Bianco. Patriota, educatore, meridionalista: il suo progetto e il nostro tempo*, Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino, 2009; N. de Haan, 'Umberto Zanotti-Bianco (1889-1963)', in: Gunnar Brands & Martin Maischberger (eds.), *Lebensbilder. Klassische Archäologen und der Nazionalsozialismus*, Rahden-Westf., Leidorf, 2016, pp. 251-268. For Zanotti's years as senator: S. Zoppi, *Un singolare senatore a vita. Umberto Zanotti-Bianco (1952-1963)*, Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino, 2013.

1941, the year of his imprisonment in Rome (February) followed by prolonged periods of internal exile (*confino*) to the malarial region of Paestum.

Thousands of letters from and to over a thousand of correspondents are the tangible remains of Zanotti's extended networks. Moreover, the agendas and diaries that he kept during parts of his life (although, alas, not in a consequent manner) testify his active social life, that was always interconnected with his social and cultural activities.[2] Despite the wide variety of his projects and activities, it is not difficult to bring them to a few common denominators: education (as a prerequisite for development and social justice), democratic rights and the protection of minorities and refugees, and the value of archaeological research, history, and the protection of heritage, including the preservation of natural landscapes. Yet another pattern becomes clear as well: his deep love for literature and music, often intertwined with other activities and one of the reasons for his many contacts with Italian and foreign writers, such as Antonio Fogazzaro, Sibilla Aleramo, Hrand Nazariantz, Romain Rolland, Maxim Gorky, Corrado Alvaro and Giorgio Bassani.

The questions I would like to address here are how Zanotti-Bianco built, managed and used his networks to reach his goals and to what extent his networks and contacts provided him with some room to operate, despite the obstruction of the authorities during the *ventennio fascista*. Analysing the role of his networks, we will see how these often overlapped and how they inspired, fostered, and sometimes even protected the numerous social and cultural initiatives taken by Zanotti-Bianco. Moreover, their international composition had a strong impact. Still, because of his anti-fascist position, his personal and professional life became increasingly complicated. And as for his networks: with a number of people he shared his liberal, democratic views, but certainly not all these persons were openly anti-fascist. Other persons, with whom he had worked for years before and shortly after the First World War, chose another path, supporting the regime. As a result, Zanotti-Bianco's own anti-fascist stance created new bonds of working relations and friendships, but would also distance him from some old friends. This not only reflects the dichotomy within Italian society in the 1920s and 1930s, but reveals the complexity and some paradoxes as well. As for Zanotti-Bianco: from 1928 until his imprisonment and his last internal exile in Italy (*confino*) in 1941 he was shadowed day and night by the military police.[3]

Family background

A short overview of his background and life is indispensable for a better understanding of the paths in life he chose and the role of his networks for the many initiatives and activities unfolded during the course of his life.[4] Umberto Zanotti-Bianco was born in Chania on the island of Crete in 1889 as the third child of an Italian father, count Gustavo Zanotti-Bianco, a diplomat, and a Scottish-Swedish mother, Henriette (Enrichetta) Tulin. His father and two brothers (Mario and Massimo) were diplomats, a

[2] Most of Zanotti-Bianco's correspondence, his diaries, agendas and photographs are kept in the archives of ANIMI in Rome, other documents in the archive of the Senato della Repubblica, the Biblioteca Comunale "Pietro Nava" di Reggio Calabria and the Archivio Centrale dello Stato in Rome (EUR). I warmly thank all colleagues of these valuable research institutions for help, first and foremost dott.ssa Cinza Cassani (ANIMI) and dott. Fabrizio Vistoli (ANIMI/Società Magna Grecia). Parts of Zanotti-Bianco's correspondence have been published: V. Carincini (ed.), *Umberto Zanotti-Bianco. Carteggio 1906-1918*, Rome-Bari, Editori Laterza, 1987 and V. Carinci & A. Jannazzo (eds.), *Umberto Zanotti-Bianco. Carteggio 1919-1928*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1989. Part of his correspondence and personal notes were lost in a fire in London during the Second World War, after Zanotti had sent these in the 1930s to relatives for safety reasons, fearing house-searches.

[3] His dossier is kept in the Archivio Centrale di Stato in Rome, Casellario Politico Centrale. Pubblica Sicurezza.

[4] For more details cfr. de Haan, 'Umberto Zanotti Bianco and the Archaeology of Magna Graecia', cit.; Zoppi, *Umberto Zanotti-Bianco*, cit.; de Haan, 'Umberto Zanotti-Bianco (1889-1963)', cit.

third brother (Ermanno) died at a young age on the battlefield in 1917. The bond with his older sister Hilda was a strong one. Umberto's mother died when he was only fourteen years old, after years of illness.

At that time he was a pupil of a prestigious private boarding school near Turin, the Reale Collegio Carlo Alberto at Moncalieri. Piedmont was the home region of his paternal family. The Reale Collegio had been founded in 1837 by Carlo Alberto di Savoia, with the explicit aim to have the sons of blue-blooded Piedmontese families raised in loyalty to the crown.[5] Indeed many sons of aristocratic birth received their education in Moncalieri; during Umberto's schooldays, 22% of his peers stemmed from noble families, just like himself.[6] Umberto di Savoia-Aosta (1889-1918), who was a member of the royal family, was one of Zanotti-Bianco's schoolmates.[7] The school was run by the Barnabite order and offered a solid education, especially in the humanities. Umberto was a serious student: he won the prize for the year's best pupil ('*principe degli studi*') in 1906, his penultimate schoolyear. He studied law in Turin (1907-1911) with good results but apparently with little enthusiasm; he only makes some mentions of exams passed in his letters, but never refers to any course he took or subjects he studied.

Young Umberto seems to have been much more interested in Italian and Eastern European literature and religion. These interests came together in the deep appreciation for the novels written by Antonio Fogazzaro. He started writing letters to the venerated writer in April 1906, expressing his gratitude and admiration for *Il Santo*, a novel that had been put on the Index shortly before.[8] As a matter of fact, Fogazzaro belonged to the circles of critical Catholics adhering to the modernist movement of the early twentieth century, pleading for the reconciliation of Christian belief and modernity. Soon after the start of their correspondence, Zanotti-Bianco was introduced in the circle around Fogazzaro in the writer's home in Vicenza and met Tommaso Gallarati Scotti and Giovanni Malvezzi who both would become close friends. Gallarati Scotti, stemming from a wealthy Milanese noble family, was a writer himself and one of the founding editors of the modernist periodical *Il Rinnovamento*, soon suppressed by the Church (1909).[9] Giovanni Malvezzi was a student of law at that time and worked for *Il Rinnovamento* as well.

Calabria and the founding of ANIMI

It was Fogazzaro who encouraged Gallarati Scotti, Malvezzi and Zanotti-Bianco to head south in January 1909, as members of the Vicenza committee for help and support after the devastating earthquake that had struck large parts of Eastern Sicily and Calabria on December 28, 1908.[10] Zanotti-Bianco had not been in the South before and this first stay in the utterly poor region made a deep impression. Moreover, in hindsight

[5] Cfr. A.L. Cardoza, *Aristocrats in Bourgeois Italy: The Piedmontese Nobility, 1861-1930*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002; C. Bertolotto (ed.), *Il Real Collegio e i Barnabiti a Moncalieri. Educazione e custodia delle memorie*, Torino, Celid Edizioni, 2002[2].

[6] Cardoza, *Aristocrats in Bourgeois Italy*, cit., p. 145 table 4.3.

[7] Umberto di Savoia, Duke of Salemi, was the youngest son of Amedeo I Duke of Aosta and grandson of Vittorio Emanuele II, the first king of Italy after the country's unification. He went to the front as a volunteer in 1915, fought on the Monte Grappa and Carso (Karst Plateau in today's Slovenia) but died as a victim of the Spanish Fever in October 1918 on the Monte Grappa.

[8] Undated letter of April 1906, published in Carincini, *Carteggio 1906-1918*, cit., pp. 3-4. Cfr. M. Isnardi Parente, 'Carteggio Fogazzaro-Zanotti Bianco (1906-1911)', in: *Umberto Zanotti Bianco (1889-1963)*, cit., pp. 131-153.

[9] For Gallarati Scotti see G. Spadolini, *L'Italia dei laici. Lotta politica e cultura dal 1925 al 1980*, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1980, pp. 135-165. The first issue of *Il Rinnovamento* was published in January 1907, the last in December 1909.

[10] On the earthquake that caused the death of possibly as many as a hundred thousand people see J. Dickie, *Una catastrofe patriottica. 1908: il terremoto di Messina*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2008.

this first visit meant a turning point in his life. First of all, working in Calabria provided him with objectives for his future life and put an end to the interior crisis he had suffered from in the years before, struggling with his faith, his opinions about the Church and the need for social justice.[11] Doing something (*azione*) to fight the widespread misery in the backwaters of the Mezzogiorno became his lifetime project. This was very much in line with the intellectual and political legacy of Giuseppe Mazzini, a man Zanotti greatly admired, and the Mazzinian motto '*Pensiero ed Azione*' ('Thinking and Action').[12] Moreover, he met various persons who would become of great importance to him in the years to come, because of their shared ideas and civic commitment.

Following the footsteps of *meridionalisti* such as Sidney Sonnino and Leopoldo Franchetti, who had carried out surveys in Sicily in the 1870s, Zanotti and Malvezzi went back to Calabria in September 1909 for a survey (*inchiesta*) in Aspromonte, Calabria. They interviewed people and collected data about the economic and social circumstances of the region, resulting in a detailed report on issues such as (the lack of) resources, housing, education, healthcare and hygiene.[13]

The weeks in January 1909 and the survey of the same year marked the start of his commitment to the South. In March 1910 Zanotti founded, together with Malvezzi and Gallarati Scotti, the National Association for the Interests of the Mezzogiorno in Italy (ANIMI).[14] The main focus of ANIMI was education. This was a logic strategy given the fact that at the start of the twentieth century nearly 80% of the population of Calabria was illiterate.[15]

In the first years of ANIMI's existence, Zanotti-Bianco spent most of his time in Reggio Calabria, where he directed the local office from 1912 onward. He worked with great passion, travelling to remote parts of Calabria, organising the first adult literacy campaigns, founding infant schools and providing small local libraries with books. Moreover, Zanotti-Bianco took the initiative for a number of lecture series since in his view cultural education was an important tool for the emancipation of the people.

In the same period, the early years of ANIMI, Zanotti became a prolific writer and editor. He took the initiative for a new book series, *La Giovine Europa* (named after Mazzini's movement *La Giovine Italia*, founded in 1831).[16] Most of Zanotti's

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[11] Carincini, *Carteggio 1906-1918*, cit., the letters to Attilio Begey in the years 1907-1908 in particular. With the much older Begey (1843-1928), a lawyer from Turin, Zanotti shared his interest in the modernist movement and the charismatic Polish mystic Andrzej Towiański (1799-1878).

[12] Giuseppe Mazzini remained an important source of inspiration throughout Zanotti's life. In 1926 he published a collection of letters by Mazzini: U. Zanotti-Bianco, *Mazzini (pagine tratte dell'epistolario)*, Milano, Istituto Italiano per il Libro del Popolo, 1926. As a senator, Zanotti-Bianco referred very often in his speeches to Mazzini, one of the founding fathers of modern Italy, and to his liberal and democratic ideals, cfr. Zoppi, *Un singolare senatore a vita*, cit., passim. After his appointment on 17 September 1952 Zanotti was member of the Gruppo Liberale in the Senate. In June 1953 he was elected as the leader (*presidente*) of the Gruppo Libero-Social-Repubblicani, until 1958, and *vice-presidente* of the Gruppo Misto until his death.

[13] These results were published a year later: G. Malvezzi & U. Zanotti-Bianco, *L'Aspromonte Occidentale*, Milano, Libreria Editrice Milanese, 1910.

[14] L'Associazione Nazionale per gli Interessi del Mezzogiorno d'Italia; based in Rome ANIMI still fosters cultural activities and research and houses an important library and archives. For the early years of ANIMI see U. Zanotti-Bianco, 'Storia dell'Associazione Nazionale per gli Interessi del Mezzogiorno nei suoi primi 50 anni di vita', in: *L'Associazione Nazionale per gli Interessi del Mezzogiorno nei suoi primi 50 anni di vita*, Roma, Collezione Meridionale Editrice, 1960, pp. 3-137; G. Pescosolido, 'ANIMI cento anni', in: idem (ed.), *Cento anni di attività dell'Associazione Nazionale per gli Interessi del Mezzogiorno d'Italia e la questione meridionale oggi*, Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino, 2011.

[15] Pescosolido, 'ANIMI cento anni', cit., p. 40.

[16] Cfr. Carincini, *Carteggio 1906-1918*, cit., pp. 263-265. The first volume, *La questione polacca*, was published in 1916 (Catania, Francesco Battiato). It was written by Zanotti-Bianco who used a pseudonym, Giorgio d'Acandia, an allusion to his place of birth, Crete, known as the Kingdom of Candia when the island was part of the Republic of Venice during the Middle Ages and Early Modern period. In the same

writings were indeed dedicated to the value of democracy and the rights of oppressed people.[17] He went as a volunteer to the front in 1916 and hardly survived: he got severely wounded, underwent a number of surgeries and was hospitalised for almost a year. On his sick-bed, however, he started working on new publishing projects, calling attention for the fate of the oppressed peoples in the Balkans and founding a new political magazine, *La Voce dei Popoli*.[18]

After recovering (more or less), he soon became the director of ANIMI, a more than full time job, but he was working on other projects as well. For example, he made a trip to Russia as a member of an Italian relief committee in 1922, he founded a village for Armenian refugees, Nor Arax near Bari (1925), and took part in international meetings of governmental and non-governmental organisations.[19] Last but not least, he founded together with the renowned archaeologist Paolo Orsi the Società Magna Grecia (1920), a society that collected private money in order to pay for archaeological research and the restoration of Greek and Byzantine monuments in Southern Italy.[20]

As an outspoken opponent of the fascist regime from the start, his work became more and more difficult. He decided to resign as director of ANIMI in order to protect the Association after signals that dissolution dreaded because of his political views.[21] From the late 1920s onward, Zanotti-Bianco, who always had been very interested in the history and archaeology of the South, now fully concentrated on excavations and publications and kept on doing so, despite major obstructions by the regime.

In 1941 he was put in jail, then sent to Campania (*confino* again), and turned back to Rome in 1943, organising help in the difficult period of war.[22] He was appointed president of the Italian Red Cross in 1944, and *senatore a vita* in 1952. Until his death in 1963 he was active for ANIMI again, and as a senator he worked hard to protect cultural and natural heritage. It was no coincidence that he responded positively to the request of becoming the first president of Italia Nostra, founded in 1955 for the protection of Italy's cultural and natural heritage.[23] He died at the age of 74 in a Roman hospital, on 28 August 1963.

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year the Armenian poet Hrand Nazariantz published another volume of the series, entitled *Armenia*, introduced by Zanotti (again using his penname Giorgio d'Acandia). A volume on Dalmatia, equally written by Zanotti, was blocked by the censors, cfr. a letter to Zanotti by his publisher Battiato of 2 May 1916, published in Carincini, *Carteggio 1906-1918*, cit., p. 502.

[17] E.g. 'La nuova Grecia', in: *L'Unità*, (9 November 1912); 'Polonia martire', in: *Nuova Antologia* (16 April 1915); Cfr. S. Santoro, *L'Italia e l'Europa orientale: diplomazia culturale e propaganda 1918-1943*, Milano, Franco Angeli, 2005, pp. 35-36 and 64-65; M. Grasso, *Costruire la democrazia. Umberto Zanotti Bianco tra meridionalismo ed europeismo*, Roma, Donzelli Editore, 2015; de Haan, *Umberto Zanotti-Bianco (1889-1963)*, cit., pp. 256-257.

[18] Twelve monthly issues were published in 1918-1919; among the contributors were a number of Italian journalists, writers and politicians (e.g. Giuseppe Prezzolini, Ugo Ojetti, Piero Gobetti, Francesco Ruffini, Andrea Caffi). All of them shared a democratic and anti-nationalistic mentality in the immediate post-war period.

[19] His friendship with Hrand Nazariantz (note 16), a political opponent of the Ottoman Empire who had fled to Bari himself in 1913, played an important role. For Nor Arax see Grasso, *Costruire la democrazia*, cit., pp. 73-84.

[20] On the Società Magna Grecia and the friendship between Paolo Orsi (1859-1935) see with more details de Haan, 'Umberto Zanotti Bianco and the Archaeology of Magna Graecia', cit.; N. de Haan, 'The "Società Magna Grecia" in Fascist Italy', in: *Anabases*, 9 (2009), pp. 113-125. The Società Magna Grecia was suppressed by the fascist regime in 1934, see N. de Haan, 'Archeologia Classica in Campania nel Ventennio fascista: un chiaroscuro continuo', in: *Quaderni di Storia*, 84 (2016), pp. 247-263.

[21] ANIMI Fondo UZB B.1.1 UA 9 Fasc. 2, Letter from Zanotti to Ferdinando Nunziante, President of ANIMI at that time: 'Il Ministro dell'Interno ha chiesto il mio allontanamento dal Consiglio dell'Associazione per il Mezzogiorno minacciando altrimenti di sovvertimento dell'Associazione stessa'. Cfr. de Haan, *Umberto Zanotti-Bianco (1889-1963)*, cit., pp. 257-260 with references.

[22] C. Cassani (ed.), *Umberto Zanotti-Bianco. La mia Roma. Diario 1943-1944*, Manduria-Bari-Roma, Piero Lacaita Editore, 1911.

[23] G. Ielardi (ed.), *Umberto Zanotti Bianco 1889-1963*, Roma, Italia Nostra, 1996 (reprinted in 2013).

A spider spinning the web: expanding networks

Zanotti-Bianco and his friends were far from the only persons to travel to the South in the aftermath of the devastating Messina earthquake of 28 December 1908. From all parts of Italy local and regional committees, at the initiative of both civilians and religious institutions, collected money and goods for support and relief and sent people for the distribution of these. Zanotti and his friends were representatives of the Vicenza committee. In Reggio Calabria they met many other volunteers, men and women, most of them from the North of the country. The earthquake and the chaotic, slow, and insufficient responses by the local and national authorities evoked first of all strong emotions among Italians: indignation and anger towards the government, incapable of organising the much needed assistance, and empathy for the victims. Moreover, the disaster was soon framed in both the Italian and foreign presses as a problem typical for the South of Italy.[24]

Zanotti met a couple of persons with whom he would work for many years, e.g. Giuseppina Le Maire.[25] Le Maire was a friend of Sofia Cammarota, an elderly lady who would nurse Zanotti-Bianco a few years later in a hospital in the North during the Great War.[26] Other important encounters include those with Giovanni Cena, the journalist and editor of *Nuova Antologia*, novelist and poetess Sibilla Aleramo, and the Russian writer Maxim Gorky, who came over from Capri where he lived in exile. Zanotti-Bianco, who had a great personal interest in Eastern European culture and Russian literature in particular, would meet him several times in the years to follow, until Gorky returned from exile to Russia in 1928.[27] Cena and Zanotti-Bianco would meet again in January 1915, when both went to the Marsica area (Abruzzo) in order to offer help after the region had been struck by a heavy earthquake.

Crucial, finally, was the meeting of Zanotti and Gaetano Salvemini, who was an historian and university professor in Messina at that time. He was a prominent socialist, and later on an outspoken anti-fascist who fled to the United States. Salvemini lived in Messina and had lost his wife, his five young children and his sister in the catastrophic earthquake that had struck the city in the early morning of December 28. The disaster had destroyed, as he would recall later on, 'in two minutes the happiness of eleven years'. Still, somehow Salvemini managed to survive and he became one of the driving forces in the formative years of ANIMI and a dear friend of Zanotti-Bianco. It was Salvemini with whom Zanotti discussed early in October 1909 the possible collaboration between the just founded Società fiorentina per la scuola popolare nel Mezzogiorno (June 1909) and the initiative taken by Zanotti, Malvezzi and Gallarati Scotti that would result in the founding of ANIMI some months later (1 March 1910).[28] Salvemini was active for this Florentine committee and carried out a survey as well,[29]

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[24] Dickie, *Una catastrofe patriottica*, cit., pp. 1-28 and 125-144.

[25] For Giuseppina Le Maire (1860-1937), stemming from a Piedmontese-French family, see P. Gabrielli, 'I luoghi e l'impegno sociale di un'educatrice. Giuseppina Le Maire tra Roma, Cosenza, Gorizia', in: *Storia e problemi contemporanei*, 31 (2002), pp. 75-102 and B. Serpe, 'Giuseppina Le Maire: passione civica, attivismo sociale, impegno educativo', in: *Studi sulla formazione*, 2 (2012), pp. 83-91.

[26] Sofia Cammarota Adorno, born Cornero (1850-1939) was one of the court ladies of queen-mother Margherita, providing a possibility of access to the court in the years to come. A short bibliographical note on her can be found in: Carincini, *Carteggio 1906-1918*, cit., p. 146 note 1.

[27] A. Tamborra, *Esuli russi in Italia dal 1905 al 1917. Riviera ligure, Capri, Messina*, Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino, 2002[2], pp. 109-126; F. Senatore, 'Umberto Zanotti Bianco e gli esuli russi di Capri', in: *Conoscere Capri. Studi e Materiali per la storia di Capri*, 4 (2006), pp. 109-115.

[28] The pertaining archival sources are kept in the archive of ANIMI: Fondo ANIMI A.10 and A.12 UA 1-2. A year later ANIMI became an 'Ente morale' by a royal decree of 5 March 1911.

[29] Published as 'I problemi della scuola popolare in provincia di Reggio Calabria. Relazione presentata a S.E. On. Francesco Guicciardini, presidente dell'Associazione fiorentina per l'istruzione popolare nel Mezzogiorno', in: *Nuova Antologia*, 45 (March 1910). Impressions of this trip were published by Cena early

but agreed a fusion of their activities given the fact that the objectives (education) were the same.[30] Some days later Zanotti-Bianco, Malvezzi and Gallarati Scotti met in Fogazzaro's villa in Oria di Valsolda near Como to plan further steps for the founding of ANIMI. It is obvious that Zanotti-Bianco, Malvezzi, and Gallarati Scotti, despite their young age, had great organisational abilities. All three of them were talented in mobilising others for their ideals and project. In the months October-December they spoke to a number of prominent men and key figures of the Italian society with the request to become *consigliere* and act as member of the board (*consiglio direttivo*). These persons were sometimes asked directly, sometimes indirectly via Salvemini, who kept his promise to collaborate with his three younger friends.[31] The well-known senator Leopoldo Franchetti, for example, was willing to act as president, while Pasquale Villari, another renowned politician and *meridionalista* acted as honorary president. Francesco Saverio Nitti, the future prime minister (1919) was involved as well, just as the renowned philosopher Benedetto Croce, who had become senator in 1910. These influential men opened doors in ministries in Rome and helped the Association to survive in the first difficult years of its existence − especially during the Great War. Deputy and senator Giustino Fortunati, who originated from Basilicata, was a personal friend of Salvemini and became member of the board as well. 'Dearest Fortunato', wrote Salvemini in a letter of December 1909, 'a group of young people and of elderly men are planning to found an Association […]. The influential men give direction, the young ones slog'.[32] Until his death in 1932 Giustino Fortunato would continue to be an important person in Zanotti's life, because of his authoritative advices and friendship.[33]

Moreover, the financial support of industrialists such as Ettore Ponti, bankers and businessmen from Milan (Ettore Rusconi, Giuseppe Toeplitz), Rome (Bonaldo Stringher, President of the Banca d'Italia), and Naples (Nicola Pavoncelli) was essential for the Association's survival and provided the possibility to expand its activities. Moreover, some of these persons were member of the Italian senate and therefore co-responsible for legislation. Furthermore, these authoritative men may have influenced decision-making in informal ways as well.

It is important to stress that from the start ANIMI worked with volunteers and people that actively supported its projects stemmed from both the North and the South. Moreover, it becomes clear from this small sample of names already that the networks of politics, finance, industry and culture in a broad sense were to a large extent overlapping. Most members of the executive board of ANIMI were also members of other committees, associations and institutions for social and cultural projects. Moreover, some of these early supporters of ANIMI would not shy away from gaining political influence whenever they could, for idealistic or more opportunistic reasons. Giuseppe (Jósef) Toeplitz offers a clear example: he supported ANIMI in the early 1920s with substantial amounts of money, but he also financed the rising fascist movement in those years and he was involved in financial matters connected to various ministries

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in 1910 ('La rinascita nei paesi devastati. Note e impressioni', in: *Nuova Antologia*, 45 (January 1910)). Cena, Aleramo and Le Maire, who had worked together in educational projects in the *agro romano*, had accompanied Salvemini.

[30] Carincini, *Carteggio 1906-1918*, cit., pp. 61-63, letters from Salvemini (6 October 1909) and Malvezzi (12 October) to Zanotti-Bianco.

[31] Cfr. Letters of Gallarati Scotti to Salvemini published in S. Bucchi, *Gaetano Salvemini. Carteggio 1907-1909*, Roma, Piero Lacaita Editore, 2001, pp. 373-375 about the involvement of Leopoldo Franchetti, Luigi Bodio, Bonaldo Stringher, Pasquale Villari, Giuseppe Lombardo-Radice, and Franceso Guicciardini.

[32] Bucchi, *Gaetano Salvemini. Carteggio 1907-1909*, cit., p. 390 (letter of 16 December 1909).

[33] The extensive correspondence between Fortunato and Zanotti (753 letters) has been published: E. Pontieri (ed.), *Carteggio tra Giustino Fortunato e Umberto Zanotti-Bianco*, Roma, Collezione Meridionale Editrice, 1972.

both legally and illegally, up to 1933, when he fell into disgrace and was removed from his position.

The diaries of Zanotti-Bianco reveal how he operated. As for Toeplitz, who had Polish roots, Zanotti-Bianco cultivated the contact with his wife, socialising and talking about Poland and the arts, hoping to get financial support from her husband's bank:

> Le pratiche per l'Associazione lente... lente... a disperarne! Ho veduto una quantità di gente: parole e parole: ma è forse la mia fretta che mi fa vedere tutto nero... e questo cielo senza sorriso. All'una vado a colazione dal Comm. Toeplitz. Ho già visto due volte la moglie con la quale ho parlato di Polonia e d'arte e per mezza di essa mi sono lavorato l'animo del marito.[34]

Two months later this strategy proved to have been successful: 'Ho ricevuto, o meglio abbiamo ricevuto 200.000 lire dalla Banca Commerciale: il mio Toeplitz!!'.[35]

It seems that Zanotti hardly ever hesitated to strategically employ his contacts for more than one of his projects. For example, in the difficult start-up phase of *La Giovine Europa*, he tried to convince Cena and Salvemini – both were editors of magazines – to make some publicity for the series.[36]

Various strategies were needed when Mussolini established his regime and attempts were made to turn ANIMI into a fascist organisation. In the early 1920s Zanotti-Bianco, who had become managing director of ANIMI by then, and members of his staff and board, were equally strategic in the choice for new board members. In January 1923, Giovanni Gentile, the philosopher of fascism, who would remain loyal to Mussolini till the very end, was chosen member of the board of ANIMI and would play an important role. In fact, his commitment to ANIMI prevented its dissolution in the late 1920s when tensions with the regime had increased. Zanotti's anti-fascist feelings were no secret. In 1924 already he published an article in an English journal, *The Contemporary Review*,[37] criticizing the common misconception in Europe that Mussolini and his black shirts had at least brought back law and order in Italy after social upheaval, protracted strikes and violence by both left wing and right wing extremist groups. But the *nuovo ordine* of fascism would not restore liberal pre-War society; on the contrary: it would destroy its very last remains, according to Zanotti-Bianco.

It took Zanotti-Bianco much effort to keep ANIMI out of the hands of the fascist regime and he was successful in doing so only until 1928. That year Zanotti-Bianco published the results of his survey in Africo, a distant village in Calabria.[38] The publication of this anonymous report was a public outcry about the enormous poverty he had seen there. For the regime this official ANIMI report was the last straw, after several critical reports on social circumstances in Southern Italy in the years before. Attempts to incorporate ANIMI in fascist organisations and programs had not been successful, particularly because of Zanotti-Bianco's objections. After the publication of *Africo* Zanotti-Bianco was shadowed day and night by the military police. Giovanni

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[34] Diary Umberto Zanotti-Bianco, Milan, February 7, 1921: Archive ANIMI Fondo Umberto Zanotti-Bianco. Sezione 2 Diari e Quaderni, UA 10 Diario 1918-1922.

[35] Diary Umberto Zanotti-Bianco, Rome, April 20, 1921. Archive ANIMI Fondo Umberto Zanotti-Bianco. Sezione 2 Diari e Quaderni, UA 10 Diario 1918-1922.

[36] Carincini, *Carteggio 1906-1918*, cit., p. 359: letter from Zanotti-Bianco to Eugenio Vaina de Pava, June 1914, in which he talks about sending letters to, among others, Cena (*Nuova Antologia*) and Salvemini (*L'Unità*) asking them explicitly to make some publicity for *La Giovine Europa*.

[37] U. Zanotti-Bianco, 'The Anti-Risorgimento: The Work of Fascismo in Italy', in: *The Contemporary Review*, 126 (1924), pp. 567-576.

[38] Without the author's name (but written by Zanotti-Bianco), 'Inchiesta sulle condizioni del comune di Africo (provincia di Reggio Calabria)', in: *Relazione sull'attività dell'ANIMI nel 2° semestre 1928*, Appendice B, pp. 50-60; Cfr. de Haan, 'Umberto Zanotti Bianco and the Archaeology of Magna Graecia', cit., p. 238 and Pescosolido 'ANIMI cento anni', cit., pp. 51-54.

Gentile tried to persuade the Minister of Internal Affairs, who was responsible, to stop this continuous surveillance by the police, but Zanotti's response was not exactly grateful. He wrote a letter to Gentile stating that he would prefer the dignity of an Italian jail to being forced to leave Italy.[39]

In June 1930, however, he stepped back as director of ANIMI and concentrated fully on archaeological research in Southern Italy, under the aegis of the Società Magna Grecia that he had founded with the renowned archaeologist Paolo Orsi back in 1920, and of which he had been the director from the start.[40] The work of the Società, funding archaeological research, depended financially on private parties. It is hardly surprising that the networks of ANIMI and the Società largely overlapped.

A brochure from 1925 used for fundraising, lists all names of the members of the founding committee (the *soci fondatori*).[41] Zanotti-Bianco and Paolo Orsi were the driving forces. The committee, however, was important because it showed the Society's broader basis and was instrumental in fundraising. All of these members held influential positions in Italian society, formally or informally. Politicians, government officials, scholars, and persons with close ties or careers in the cultural world took place in the committee, for example the famous actress Eleonora Duse. Aristocracy was well represented, for example duchess Aurelia Gallarati Scotti, wife of Tommaso, and countess Carolina Maraini, the spouse of an immensely rich factory owner and business man. All honorary members were scholars, working as archaeologists and classicists in Italian universities and antiquity services.

The name of the Società Magna Grecia revealed already its focus. To be studied was the Greek past of Southern Italy, a region called, from Antiquity onward, *Magna Graecia* (Greater Greece) because of the presence of Greek colonies from the eighth century BC onward. The Società was independent of ANIMI, even though it was housed in its offices in Palazzo Taverna in Rome. As the executive director Zanotti-Bianco acted as fundraiser and dealt with the archaeologists responsible for the various state run antiquity services (the *soprintendenze*) in Southern Italy. The money raised by the Società Magna Grecia from individuals, companies and institutions was spent by the *soprintendenze* in various excavation projects selected by the Società. The *soprintendenze* were responsible for the excavations carried out by their own archaeologists and workmen.

In the first ten years of its existence, the Società Magna Grecia paid for the projects of the *soprintendenze* of Naples, Calabria, Apulia and Sicily, at a dozen of Greek sites. Moreover, the restoration of several Byzantine churches was financed by the Società. Via Sofia Cammarota, the money was provided by the Queen Mother. Again, Zanotti-Bianco proved to be a skillful fundraiser using his own contacts and the acquaintances or relatives of people he knew. Private persons or institutions, for example libraries, could take a subscription to the publications published by the Società. Of vital importance were the *Atti e Memorie della Società Magna Grecia*, a scholarly journal with high standards. And it is important to stress that by selecting

[39] Letter to Giovanni Gentile, 19 December 1929, published in *Umberto Zanotti Bianco (1889-1963)*, cit., pp. 227-228. The statement can be found on p. 228: 'All'estero non mi stabilirei neppure forzato. Preferisco il carcere in Italia. Ha anche esso − in epoca di oppressione − la sua nobiltà e la sua luce'.

[40] Zanotti and Orsi had met in 1911. Paolo Orsi (1859-1935) was born in Rovereto but spent most of his life as superintendent of Sicily and Calabria. Despite their difference of age he became a close friend of Zanotti. It was Orsi who fostered Zanotti's growing interest in archaeology and the cultural heritage of Southern Italy. de Haan, 'Umberto Zanotti Bianco and the Archaeology of Magna Graecia', cit.; de Haan, 'Umberto-Zanotti-Bianco (1889-1963)', cit., pp. 255-256.

[41] For a more detailed analysis of the Società Magna Grecia and the networks behind it see de Haan, 'Umberto Zanotti Bianco and the Archaeology of Magna Graecia', cit., pp. 238-246 and de Haan, 'The "Società Magna Grecia" in Fascist Italy', cit.

projects the Società claimed an important role in the archaeological research agenda of Southern Italy.

A number of benefactors donated a large sum of money at once. The list of members of the year 1931 reveals the involvement of the royal family, of many aristocrats, of banking and financial institutions, of cultural institutions, scholars and cultivated individuals from both Italy and abroad. To give just a few examples: King Vittorio Emanuele III was *socio benemerito*, as were some banks, such as the Banca Commerciale Italiana (Toeplitz) and the Banca Monte de' Paschi di Siena. Among members were the Biblioteca Hertziana and various other foreign Schools and Academies in Rome, and renowned individual scholars, both Italians and foreigners. Even fascist trade organisations were involved: the Confederazione Nazionale Fascista del Commercio at Rome was member for life (*socio perpetuo*), just as a branch of it based in Naples. This seems a clear sign that Zanotti-Bianco was not averse to some pragmatism if it served his own objectives. Apparently, despite his public anti-fascist statements, he was able and willing to cooperate with individuals that were working for fascist organisations or state departments that were controlled by the regime.

In this period, the late 1920s and early 1930s, Zanotti-Bianco participated in several excavation seasons directed by archaeologists Pirro Marconi (Himera, Sicily) and Paolo Orsi (Sant'Angelo Muxara, Sicily), thus training himself as a field archaeologist. Furthermore, during a brief stay in Calabria in April-May 1932, he was able to locate the ancient site of the Greek city of Sybaris. Soon after, however, the prefect of Calabria forced him to leave the site: he was no longer allowed to stay in Calabria. The discovery was published in the same year by superintendent Edoardo Galli without, however, any mention of Zanotti's name.[42]

In April 1934 Zanotti-Bianco, together with Paola Zancani Montuoro, discovered an important sanctuary of Hera at the Sele River near Paestum. The campaign had been Zancani Montuoro's initiative. She had studied Classical Archaeology at the University of Naples, where she had graduated *magna cum laude*. She had been directing the Naples Section of the Società Magna Grecia. She came from a rich family as well and shared the anti-fascist ideas of Zanotti-Bianco.[43]

Despite the annoying obstruction of policemen, who had to follow Zanotti-Bianco, the two uncovered at Foce del Sele an ancient sanctuary, from the archaic period. It turned out to be a truly spectacular discovery, especially when archaic metopes, sculpted reliefs dating to the sixth century BC of outstanding quality, came to light. But soon after, in August 1934, the Società Magna Grecia was dissolved by decree of the Prefect of Rome. The principal motive given was that the financial resources provided by the State were sufficient for all archaeological activities. Of course, this was not the real reason. A year later high official Pietro Tricario would state in a note to the Minister of Education: 'This Società was dissolved for political reasons, because one of its main collaborators and supporters, Umberto Zanotti-Bianco, does not follow the orders of the regime'.[44] The discovery of the Heraion had

[42] On Zanotti and Sybaris cfr. P.G. Guzzo, 'Umberto Zanotti Bianco e l'esplorazione archeologica di Sibari', in: *Atti e Memorie della Società Magna Grecia*, 4, 6 (2014-2015), pp. 27-50.

[43] On the discovery of the Heraion and its impact see de Haan, 'Umberto Zanotti Bianco and the Archaeology of Magna Graecia', cit. Cfr. G. Greco, 'Storia delle Ricerche', in: J. de la Genière & G. Greco (eds.), *Il Santuario di Hera alla Foce del Sele. Indagini e studi. Atti e Memorie della Società Magna Grecia*, 4, 1 (2008-2010), pp. 3-34. For Paola Zancani Montuoro see F. Vistoli, 'Montuoro, Paola', in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 76, Roma, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2012, pp. 382-384.

[44] The documentation is kept in the Archivio Centrale dello Stato, ACS Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione. Dir. Gen. AA.BB.AA. Divisione II 1934/40. Busta 1 Affari Generali, Fasc. 5 'Scioglimento'. The same dossier also contains a confidential letter to Tricario of 2 September 1933, in which the 'Capo di Gabinetto' of the same ministry (Educazione Nazionale) explains that Zanotti 'has tenacious feelings opposing the Regime and has been subject to continuous surveillance by the Secret Services'. Cfr. de Haan,

rapidly been reported to a wide audience in various newspapers and Italian magazines. Zanotti knew many journalists and publishers personally and he successfully convinced them to write about the project. Because of the attention paid to the spectacular discoveries at Foce del Sele in Italy and abroad, the project became a threat to the large-scale excavations paid for by the regime in Pompeii, Herculaneum, Rome, and Ostia.

Moreover, in a letter (July 1934) sent by the superintendent of Campania, Amedeo Maiuri suggested to the Minister that it would be better to place the Foce del Sele project under the direct control and responsibility of his own *soprintendenza*.[45] Ten days later the decision to dissolve the Società was signed. But under a new name, the Società Paolo Orsi (founded a year later, in 1935), Zanotti-Bianco and Zancani Montuoro continued the Foce del Sele project until 1941. This shows that the regime was never a monolithic block and did not always react in a coherent way. In other words, there was some room for wheeling and dealing. Their excavation campaigns were paid for by the excavators themselves, and partly with the financial support of friends. Thanks to their networks, the contacts with aristocrats, even members of the royal family, they tenaciously continued their research as long as they could. Aerial photographs, for example, were provided through Prince Amedeo di Savoia, Duke of Aosta, who was a commander in the Royal Italian Air Force. Crown princess Marie José, who had become a personal friend of Zanotti-Bianco in the years before, gave her support as well. Moreover, at least to some extent, support of the authorities was necessary, for permits and for workmen that were hired via the *soprintendenza* of Campania. This demonstrates that competition or lack of communication between the various ministries and services sometimes created more room for individuals than the regime would have liked to admit. Anyhow, in 1941 Zanotti-Bianco was put in jail in Rome and the Foce del Sele project stopped because of the war. Zancani Montuoro and Zanotti-Bianco resumed working together only after the Second World War and published their results in the 1950s.[46]

Wheeling and dealing

As a networker *pur sang*, Zanotti was able to successfully employ a great variety of activities with the help of influential and/or rich persons. First of all, he was an indefatigable man with an iron will. Despite his rather poor health resulting from the war injuries that bothered him for the rest of his life, his drive for the accomplishment of his projects was enormous, even to the point of causing irritation among his relatives.[47] But his own hard work would often convince people to support his plans and activities. Moreover, his family background of Piedmontese nobility mixed with dedication to the still young kingdom of Italy, the fact that he was fluent in more languages and his solid education in Moncalieri provided him as a young man with opportunities to meet people that other persons would never be able to talk to. The

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'Archeologia Classica in Campania nel Ventennio fascista', cit., p. 259 with footnote 30: 'S'informa codesto Onorevole Ministero che il Signor Bianco Zanotti Umberto è di sentimenti irriducibilmente avversi al Regime ed è, da tempo, sottoposto ad ininterrotta vigilanza da parte dell'Autorità di P[ubblica] S[icurezza]'.

[45] *Ibidem*. Maiuri's letter (Prot.N. 4704) dates from 28 July 1934. For Amedeo Maiuri see P.G. Guzzo, 'Maiuri, Amedeo' in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 67, Roma, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2006, pp. 682-687; for Maiuri's role before and shortly after World War II see also de Haan, 'Umberto Zanotti-Bianco (1889-1963)', cit., pp. 263-267.

[46] P. Zancani Montuoro & U. Zanotti-Bianco, *Heraion alla foce del Sele* I, Roma, Libreria dello Stato, 1951; P. Zancani Montuoro & U. Zanotti-Bianco, *Heraion alla foce del Sele* II, Roma, Libreria dello Stato, 1954.

[47] Expressions of irritation, even anger, can be found, for example, in a letter of February 1923 by his younger brother Massimo, sent to Zanotti when the latter stayed in a sanatorium in Pineta di Sortenna for recovery; despite his serious health problems Zanotti kept on working too hard instead of taking the rest he needed so much. The letter can be found in Carincini & Jannazzo, *Carteggio 1919-1928*, cit., p. 307.

enormous amount of letters Zanotti wrote during his lifetime clearly shows that he spent a lot of time and energy in maintaining and expanding his networks. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, he had a sharp eye for opportunities and never hesitated to explore new possibilities. Moreover, since his manifold initiatives were all somehow interconnected, it was relatively easy to ask the same people to either support more of his projects or to mobilise their respective networks for Zanotti's new initiatives. Thus, the intellectual (scholarly), cultural and political networks partly overlapped, and developed in other cases as concentric circles that were ever expanding with the expansion of ANIMI's programs and the projects financed by the Società Magna Grecia. But whereas ANIMI was first and foremost an internal Italian affair, the Società Magna Grecia increased Zanotti's international network in the scholarly and cultural world dramatically. The city of Rome with its many libraries, foreign academies and research institutions was of course a focal point of international scholarship in the humanities. Zanotti's diaries of 1935 and 1936 show how much he cultivated his contacts with archaeologists, art-historians and journalists of European countries and the United States, as the many lunch meetings, visits and lectures unequivocally make clear.[48]

The same is true for the relatively short period (1918-1922) in which Zanotti was an activist for democratic rights in various Eastern European countries in the aftermath of the First World War and the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, even if his interest in this issue and his network with Yugoslavian, Romanian, Hungarian, and Czech activists and dissidents date to earlier years.[49]

As for archaeology it is important to stress that history and archaeology were in many ways just as instrumental for Zanotti-Bianco as they were instrumental for the fascist regime in the 1920s and 1930s. The regeneration of the South was his ultimate objective, and education, culture, history, and heritage were instrumental to that. The end justified the means and this explains the fact that Zanotti-Bianco collaborated with persons within fascist institutions as well. But there were limits and it is also important to underline the fact that his intimate friends and co-workers were opponents of Mussolini's regime just like himself. Moreover, with some of his old friends who expressed sympathy for fascism or who belonged to the fascist party the contact was cut off if they were not of indispensable help or use anymore. The journalist and art critic Ugo Ojetti is a case in point.

Zanotti's own dislike of the regime and its protagonists was clear enough, as was his response to archaeologist and Senator Antonio Taramelli in 1936, who had suggested him to write a letter to Mussolini in order to stress his patriotism. Of course, he would never take such a humiliating step:

> Mi consigliava di scrivere una lettera al Capo (!) – non per chiedere nulla, ma per affermare il mio patriottismo: egli sarebbe riuscito a farmi avere da lui una udienza. Rispondo che il mio patriottismo risultava dalle opere mie e che non avevo bisogno affatto di fare un gesto che sarebbe stato interpretato come una resa a Canossa. La mia concezione civica d'altro lato mi impedisce di abbassarmi verso un dittatore.[50]

But despite the obstruction of his activities by the regime it is my impression that his extensive Italian and international networks protected Zanotti for a long time, until his imprisonment in 1941, when due to the war in Europe repression by the regime reached its peak with less room for dissidents and opponents as a consequence. The various internal exiles imposed on him were first and foremost an attempt to isolate

[48] Cfr. 'Diario 1935-36', edited and introduced by M. Isnardi Parente, in: *Umberto Zanotti Bianco (1889-1963)*, cit., pp. 155-193.
[49] Cfr. Grasso, *Costruire la democrazia*, cit.
[50] Diary entry of 20 January 1936: M. Isnardi Parente (ed.), 'Diario 1935-36', cit., pp. 182-183.

him from his networks. The continuous surveillance to which he was subjected was intended to prevent him from fleeing from Italy (which he never considered himself, as we saw before), since the regime feared that he would efficiently organise the opposition from outside Italy.[51] His working relation with Giovanni Gentile, who acted as president of ANIMI until 1943, plus his contacts with a number of senators and members of the royal family (princess Marie José and Amedeo Duke of Aosta), probably protected him to a certain extent, but this is hard to prove since any documentation is lacking. But in this particular case, arguably, absence of evidence is not evidence for absence.

Keywords
Umberto Zanotti-Bianco (1889-1963), ANIMI, social activism, anti-fascism, Magna Grecia

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SAMENVATTING

Netwerken in het fascistische Italië

Umberto Zanotti-Bianco: sociaal activist en dissident archeoloog

Umberto Zanotti-Bianco (1889-1963) was een Italiaans sociaal activist, antifascist, *selfmade*-archeoloog, en van 1952 tot aan zijn dood *senatore a vita*. Vanaf jonge leeftijd was hij actief in Zuid-Italië, met verbetering van de leefomstandigheden en verheffing van zijn landgenoten aldaar als doel. Hij was de medeoprichter en drijvende kracht van ANIMI en van een archeologisch genootschap dat het Griekse verleden van de Mezzogiorno centraal stelde, de Società Magna Grecia. Rode draad in zijn vele activiteiten vormen het belang van onderwijs, democratie en zelfbeschikkingsrecht, en aandacht voor archeologie, geschiedenis en erfgoed. Zijn openlijke antifascisme bracht hem in de jaren 1920 en 1930 steeds meer in conflict met het regime van Mussolini, maar ondanks herhaalde periodes van ballingschap binnen Italië (*confino*), het feit dat hij constant werd gevolgd door de politie en actieve obstructie van zijn activiteiten, slaagde hij er toch in, mede dankzij zijn omvangrijke netwerken, om enige speelruimte voor zichzelf en zijn werk te behouden.

[51] His dossier of the secret services, kept in the Archivio Centrale di Stato (see footnote 3), contains many telegrams and instructions sent to local police offices and customs (1928-1941). Such documents and the detailed reports of policemen on his whereabouts corroborate this idea.

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Whore, thief and cuckold spy
Insults, gender and the politics of everyday life in early modern Bologna

Sanne Muurling

On Monday 6 September 1723, Maria, wife of Giovanni Berti, made her way to one of Bologna's criminal court notaries to record a complaint against her neighbour Angela Monti. According to Maria, Angela had been pestering her every single day with injurious words; bothersome encounters to which only a recent incarceration in a bishopric cell was able to bring relief from temporarily. However, immediately after being released Angela again sought out Maria and called her not only a 'puttana', but also accused her of having 'fatta la spia'.[1]

Verbal exchanges like these may appear trivial, but had a huge impact in honour-based societies where mere words could potentially disrupt one's standing in the community. For women to be called a whore directly tapped into stereotypical and gendered notions of honour and respectability. The predominance of sexualized forms of insults towards women are sometimes read as an indicator for their restricted public roles in early modern societies, or even for their confinement to the domestic arena. An interpretation such as this fits rather neatly into depictions in general discussions or syntheses of women's experiences in "the south" as defined by cultural constraint, seclusion and enclosure.[2] Yet such characterisations have been subject to substantial criticism from scholars of Italian history, not in the least place because they are predominantly based on normative sources. These indicate what women *should* not, rather than representing what they *could* or *did* not do. Scholars have furthermore contended that the relationship between women's social realities and the language of verbal affront often sexualised, – but not always – was more complex than commonly assumed.

Drawing on this criticism, this paper aims to re-examine the relationship between gender and the culture of verbal affront in early modern Italy. It seeks to do so through the lens of the denunciations to Bologna's early modern criminal court, the Tribunale del Torrone, between the mid-seventeenth and mid-eighteenth century.[3] These

[1] Archivio di stato di Bologna (hereafter ASBo), Tribunale del Torrone, Atti e processi, Busta 7869-1, folio 163.

[2] For a good overview of the interpretations of various sources that have led to these assumptions, see E.S. Cohen, 'To pray, to work, to hear, to speak: Women in Roman streets, c.1600', in: *Journal of early modern history*, 12 (2008), pp. 292-293. The broader debate about the position of 'the south' or 'the Mediterranean' in historical scholarship is discussed elaborately in P.P. Viazzo, 'What's so special about the Mediterranean? Thirty years of research on household and family in Italy', in: *Continuity and change*, 18, 1 (2003), pp. 111-137.

[3] For more information about the sources used, samples taken, or other crimes scrutinized alongside insults, see my PhD dissertation, S. Muurling, *Everyday crime, criminal justice and gender in early modern Bologna*, dissertation Leiden University, May 2019.

denunciations represent the initial complaint or report about a crime to a local official of the criminal court. They could be made free-of-charge, and drew in thousands of bolognesi of all social stripes on an annual basis in an attempt to find relief from an often long-term strenuous and volatile rapport with their community members. While the language of verbal affront was decidedly gendered, the insult cases reflected women's broad engagement in social and legal domains of everyday life as they manoeuvred between informal and formal methods of conflict resolution. The violent altercations described in the court records, this paper argues, reveal ordinary women not as constrained and secluded, but as violent protagonists and decisive litigants worth being studied.

Violence, women, and the criminal court

Compared to compelling accounts of murder or treason, complaints about verbal affront may at first glance appear rather inconsequential. Yet early modern magistracies heard numerous insult cases on a daily basis, revealing in the very least a contemporary sensitivity to vilification that rendered it worthy of legal recourse. The desire to discipline interpersonal violence, whether physical or verbal, was intrinsically tied up with ideas about honour. Both words and physical actions were believed to have the power to wound the victim physically or through the loss of reputation, could provoke further violence, damaged wider family networks, and required reparation. The statutes that many Italian communities published from the Middle Ages onwards therefore treated hostile words and physical assaults in a similar manner.[4] In Bologna's criminal bylaws they were discussed together in the same paragraphs and were subject to the same punishments, ranging from three pulls of the corda to a sentence to the galleys.[5]

Violence, in its broadest sense, was considered a regular feature of everyday life far into the early modern period. The well-known historian Robert Muchembled went so far as to state that 'like death, like the cemetery which is at the heart of the village, violence is at the heart of life in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries'.[6] In this narrative the south of Europe has taken a special place, as the "Mediterranean" culture is generally believed to have been especially violent.[7] For example, homicide rates – often used as an indicator for levels of violence in societies – remained high in the few early modern Italian towns and villages that have been researched until well in the nineteenth century. In many other European regions a sustained decline had set in centuries earlier.[8]

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[4] References to other statutes are mentioned in E. Horodowich, *Language and statecraft in early modern Venice*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008, pp. 93-96.

[5] Chapter XLVII 'On injuries and insults': *Bando generale della legazione di Bologna e suo contado, fatto pubblicare li 12. ottobre 1756 dall'eminentiss., e reverendiss. sig. cardinale Fabrizio Serbelloni, legato a latere di detta città,* Bologna, 1756, pp. 86-87.

[6] R. Muchembled, 'Anthropologie de la violence dans la France moderne (XVe-XVIIIe siècle)', in: *Revue de synthèse*, 108 (1987), p. 40.

[7] J. Davies, 'Introduction', in: idem (ed.), *Aspects of violence in Renaissance Europe,* Farnham, Ashgate, 2013, p. 1; S. Carroll, 'Revenge and reconciliation in early modern Italy', in: *Past and present*, 233 (2016), pp. 106-107; M. Calzolari, 'Delitti e castighi', in: idem, M. Di Sivo & E. Grantaliano (eds.) *Giustizia e criminalità nello stato pontificio,* Roma, Gangemi Editore, 2001, p. 55; O. Niccoli, 'Rinuncia, pace, perdono. Rituali di pacificazione della prima età moderna', in: *Studi storici,* 40, 1 (1999), p. 188; P. Blastenbrei, *Kriminalität in Rom 1560-1585*, Tübingen, Niemeyer, 1995, p. 284; M. Eisner, 'Long-term historical trends in violent crime', in: *Crime and justice*, 30 (2003), pp. 83-142; M. Eisner, 'Modernization, self-control and lethal violence. The long-term dynamics of European homicide rates in theoretical perspective', in: *British journal of criminology*, 41 (2001), pp. 618-638.

[8] Eisner, 'Long-term historical trends', cit., pp. 83-142; Eisner, 'Modernization, self-control and lethal violence', cit., pp. 618-638.

The roles of early modern Italian women in physical and verbal violence have remained largely uncharted. Some scholars have taken to this historiographical silence to contrast "southern" women's more restricted scope of action to that in a "freer" northern Europe.[9] The enduring importance of an honour culture has led scholars to assume that patriarchal norms were especially stringent and restrictive for women in Italian communities. One of the assumed outcomes of these relatively strict gender norms and the ethics of honour is that women − though this is increasingly contested − did not partake in the physical violence so very omnipresent in pre-modern Italy. Retributive violence was a culturally accepted and sometimes even demanded means to maintain one's honour for men, while this was not the case for women. In his work on criminal justice in late Renaissance Florence, John Brackett has argued that for women it was neither 'expected nor desirable' to engage in aggressive acts for any reason.[10] The ethics of honour prescribed passivity to women, submitting them to the control of men and relying on them to defend their honour.

In light of these gender norms another presumption is that women themselves would have had to rely on insults and defamatory slurs as the primary means of conducting the small politics of their daily lives.[11] Women, it is commonly argued, primarily assisted in violent scenes with their voices and gestures.[12] Scholars like Daniel Lesnick and Sharon Strocchia have argued that the ritualized vocabulary of vilification − aimed at influencing friends, neighbours or relatives in the community − was in fact a distinctly female form of crime that gave women of all social classes an informal but major means of influencing and shaping public opinion in a highly patriarchal society.[13] 'The language of slander', Laura Gowing asserts based on her research into seventeenth-century London, 'offered particular linguistic powers to women through which they asserted their verbal, physical, and legal agency to judge and condemn other women'.[14] As such, the ecclesiastical courts from which she and several other scholars have drawn their evidence reveal women's important roles in policing the social and sexual morality of their communities through gossip and insults.[15]

Examinations of different types of courts across early modern Europe paint dissonant pictures of the social landscape of aggression. Many types of crimes − especially those of women − are known to have been handled via lower criminal courts, ecclesiastical courts or by less formal methods of conflict resolution rather than by the high criminal courts.[16] In contrast to aforementioned ecclesiastical courts, which

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[9] For a discussion of the literature about assumptions made based on cultural precepts, see Cohen, 'To pray, to work, to hear, to speak', cit., pp. 291-295.

[10] J.K. Brackett, *Criminal justice and crime in late Renaissance Florence, 1537-1609,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1992, pp. 133-134.

[11] S.T. Strocchia, 'Gender and the rites of honour in Italian Renaissance cities', in: J.C. Brown & R.C. Davis (eds.), *Gender and society in Renaissance Italy*, London, Longman, 1998, pp. 52-54.

[12] E. Crouzet-Pavan, 'Crimine e giustizia', in G. Calvi (ed.), *Innesti. Donne e genere nella storia sociale,* Roma, Viella, 2004, p. 57.

[13] D.R. Lesnick, 'Insults and threats in medieval Todi', in: *Journal of medieval history*, 17 (1991), p. 76; Strocchia, 'Gender and the rites of honour', cit., p. 54;

[14] L. Gowing, *Domestic dangers. Women, words, and sex in early modern London*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1996, p. 109.

[15] *Ivi*, p. 101; U. Rublack, *The crimes of women in early modern Germany*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999, p. 220; S. Lipscomb, 'Crossing boundaries: Women's gossip, insults and violence in sixteenth-century France', in: *French history*, 25, 4 (2011), p. 411.

[16] G. Schwerhoff, *Köln im Kreuzverhör: Kriminalität, Herrschaft und Gesellschaft in einer frühneuzeitlichen Stadt*, Bonn, Bouvier, 1991; R. Shoemaker, *Prosecution and punishment. Petty crime and the law in London and rural Middlesex, c.1660-1725*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1991, p. 292; P. King, *Crime and law in England, 1750-1840,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006, pp. 202-210; D.D. Gray, *Crime, prosecutions and social relations. The summary courts of the city of London in the late eighteenth century*, Blasingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2009, pp. 9, 170-171; M. Dinges, 'The uses of justice as a form of social control in early modern Europe' in: H. Roodenburg & P. Spierenburg

predominantly dealt with women's transgressions, magistracies such as Venice's Avogaria di comun (Venetian state lawyers) hardly prosecuted any women as offenders of verbal aggression.[17] The brunt of this magistracy's rigour fell on verbal aggression up the social ladder: on male members of the underclasses hurling insults at nobles or state officials, disrupting civic peace. Records from other councils such as Venice's Signori di notte, which primarily shouldered the responsibility to control verbal injuries in early modern Venice, could have perhaps balanced the scale, had these records survived the passing of time.[18] Regardless, the premise that verbal affront can be characterized as a "typically female" or a "typically male" act is too simplistic.

An Italian court that allows us to more fully explore the relationship between gender and slander is Bologna's Tribunale del Torrone. This secular criminal court was established around the 1530s, some decades after the conquest of the city of Bologna by Pope Julius II, and operated until the French invasion in 1796. Especially when combined with its medieval predecessor, the Torrone is considered one of the most long-term, best-preserved and systematic criminal court archives both within and outside Italy.[19] Its value to the study of insult and gender is heightened by the survival of the large number of denunciations by men and women of all social stripes. Complaints of all kinds could be brought before this criminal court because it functioned as a forum for conflict resolution. In an attempt to expand the papal authority's hold over the community, it presented the Torrone as a free and reliable alternative to the capricious and now illegal feudal courts.[20] As a result, thousands of bolognesi flocked to the criminal court each year to complain about and settle predominantly petty disputes with their fellow community members. With the Torrone situated in the city centre of Bologna, city dwellers were able to bring their grievances to the criminal court in person, whereas villagers had to rely on local bailiffs to relay crimes they deemed worthy of further scrutiny. This direct, personal access to justice in the city affected what and whose crimes came under the Torrone's purview, as well as in what words. A considerably higher share of the denunciations dealt with women's grievances in the city than in Bologna's countryside. While still mediated through a biased notary's pen, urban denunciations were also richer in detail about the violence endured, including about the language of verbal affront. As such, the Bolognese denunciations provide biased yet unparalleled access to the words and deeds of Italian commoners that would have otherwise largely gone unrecorded.

The functioning of the Torrone as a forum for conflict resolution explains both why it was used by so many lower-class bolognesi and also why their complaints led to so few criminal trials. Neither the litigants bringing on complaints nor the Torrone's magistrates desired to prosecute the bulk of these petty offence cases in a full trial.[21]

(eds.), *Social control in Europe. Volume 1, 1500-1800*, Columbus, Ohio State University Press, 2004, pp. 159-175.

[17] Horodowich, *Language and statecraft*, cit., p. 101.

[18] *Ivi*, p. 98.

[19] G. Angelozzi & C. Casanova, *Donne criminali. Il genere nella storia della giustizia*, Bologna, Pàtron Editore, 2014, p. 54; S.R. Blanshei, 'Introduction', in: idem (ed.), *Violence and justice in Bologna 1250-1700*, Lanham, Lexington Books, 2018, p. xvi.

[20] C.S. Rose, *Homicide in North Italy: Bologna, 1600-1700*, dissertation University of Toronto, 2016, p. 61.

[21] For similar mechanisms elsewhere in early modern Europe see D.D. Gray, 'The regulation of violence in the metropolis; the prosecution of assault in the summary courts, c.1780-1820', in: *The London journal*, 32, 1 (2007), pp. 75-77; P. King, 'The summary courts and social relations in eighteenth-century England', in: *Past & Present*, 183 (2004), pp. 147-150. Interestingly, this use of the courts brings to light a more diverse notion of the historical development of the dealing with deviant words and deeds in early modern communities and blurs the lines between what is seen as the traditional system – in which shaming was an important means of controlling behaviour that broke the rules of community – and the 'more modern one' in which the repression was increasingly taken over by the state. See Burke, *The historical anthropology of early modern Italy*, cit., p. 103.

The statutes of the Torrone provide specific instructions to the judges not to pursue so-called "minor crimes" such as insults, threats and non-life threatening fights among the lower classes.[22] Similarly, litigants employed their denunciation to the criminal court as part of their own negotiation strategies. For scholars, these sources provide opportune windows into the everyday practices of insults and conflict resolution by ordinary men and women. The tensions between formal and informal mechanisms of social control – one felt by men and women alike – were incorporated within the language of affront and will be discussed in more detail later on.

The abundant denunciations in Bologna further nuance the notion of verbal affront as a "typically female crime". Firstly, Bolognese women in the seventeenth and eighteenth century by no means limited themselves to verbal aggression. While over four-fifths of the complaints made to the Torrone against female offenders concerned violence in its broadest sense of the word, only about one-fifth of these complaints concerned verbal aggression alone. The dockets suggest that women physically fought their neighbours, acquaintances, economic competitors, their customers and their employers – and played considerably larger roles as defendants before the criminal court than normative prescriptions would ever suggest.[23] Of course, the verbal assaults that were litigated in court only represent a small fraction of the conflicts arising at the most basic levels of everyday life. Many physical assaults also mention the exchange of injurious words, often setting in motion a chain of physical aggression around which the case would then centre. However, it is important to note that early modern women did not only rely on the sharpness of their tongues to settle their conflicts, an observation that is also confirmed by other recent studies on towns in Italy and elsewhere in Europe.[24]

Secondly, while it is undoubtedly true that defamatory speech was a powerful tool to negotiate power in women's everyday lives, these mechanisms were by no means a female preserve. In early modern Bologna, women constituted around one-fifth of the bolognesi accused of insults and threats between the mid-seventeenth and mid-eighteenth century.[25] This does not deny that defamatory speech was a powerful tool for women to negotiate power in their everyday lives, but instead suggests that these mechanisms were not exclusive to them. Indeed, in an honour-based culture one's honour was considered public property, measured and conferred by one's peers, and mere words could upset one's standing in the community.[26] The power of insults to mar reputations rendered them useful currency for both men and women.

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[22] G. Angelozzi & C. Casanova, *La giustizia criminale a Bologna nel XVIII secolo e le riforme di Benedetto XIV,* Bologna, CLUEB, 2010, p. 391.

[23] Up to one-third of the criminal complaints about petty violent crimes concerned female defendants in Bologna, a share that is comparable to those found in cities in early modern Holland, England and Scotland. For a more elaborate treatment of this topic, see Muurling, *Everyday crime, criminal justice and gender in early modern Bologna*, cit.

[24] C. Vasta, 'Per una topografia della violenza femminile (Roma, secoli XVI-XVII)', in: *Genesis*, 14, 2 (2015), pp. 59-81; Angelozzi & Casanova, *Donne criminali*, cit.; E.S. Cohen, 'Honor and gender in the streets of early modern Rome', in: *Journal of interdisciplinary history*, 22, 4 (1992), pp. 616, 623; S.K. Taylor, 'Women, honor, and violence in a Castilian town, 1600-1650', in: *The sixteenth century journal*, 35, 4 (2004), p. 1080; Lipscomb, 'Crossing boundaries', cit., p. 411; D. Roussel, 'La description des violences féminines dans les archives criminelles au XVIe siècle', in: *Tracés. Revue de Sciences humaines*, 19 (2010), p. 71; J. Hurl-Eamon, *Gender and petty violence in London, 1680-1720*, Columbus, Ohio State University Press, 2005; A.M. Kilday, *Women and violent crime in Enlightenment Scotland*, Woodbridge, Boydell Press, 2007; M. van der Heijden, *Women and crime in early modern Holland*, Leiden, Brill, 2016.

[25] In my sample, 53 out of 260 defendants accused of insults, defamation or threats were women.

[26] S. Carroll, 'Introduction', in: idem (ed.), *Cultures of violence. Interpersonal violence in historical perspective*, Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2007, pp. 23, 27; J.C. Wood, 'Conceptualizing cultures of violence and cultural change' in: Carroll (ed.), *Cultures of violence*, cit., p. 87.

Perhaps verbal aggression by men and women differed less in its function, than in the way that it was received. While the court records attest to women's ability and audacity in violently confronting their male and female adversaries for a wide range of socio-economic motives, the testimonies reveal that it was nonetheless considered 'unladylike' comportment that was explicitly frowned upon by contemporaries.[27] By acting aggressively, women disrupted order in a practical sense, as well as normatively by defying their prescribed gender roles. Nevertheless, the denunciations reveal this practice was far too common to be viewed as an anomaly.

The gendered vocabulary of insults

Scholarship has often discussed women's insults in relation to morality. This is part due to the form and type of verbal affronts. Peter Burke convincingly argued that while insults can be viewed as breaches of social and cultural codes of conduct, they did follow cultural rules and conventions 'as closely as a sonnet'.[28] Indeed, in early modern Italy the lexicon of insults drew from a 'stereotyped, gender-loaded stockpile of invectives which both women and men adapted according to the needs of the situation'.[29] Defamatory speech therefore followed gendered conventions and value systems.

Research on towns all over medieval and early modern Europe has distinguished a basic division between the insults directed at women and those directed at men.[30] Evidence both from secular and ecclesiastical courts suggests that the terms of insult against women were often sexual in form.[31] Research on medieval Todi and late-medieval Bologna suggest that insults to women were indeed overwhelmingly sexual, impugning her as some variant of a whore, adulteress or procuress.[32] Slurs for women in early modern Bologna also regularly referred to their sexual honour and, as Giancarlo Angelozzi and Cesarina Casanova remarked, often concerned a substantial subordination to the dominant masculine cultural model: 'puttana' (whore), 'buzzerona' (a woman dedicated to sodomite practices), 'sfondata' (worn out), 'porca' (sow), 'vacca' (cow) and 'ruffiana' (pimp) were the most common abuses used for women.[33]

A traditional understanding of these slanderous words is that they directly called into question the sexual reputation of their victim. Since a woman's moral value was bound up in her sexual status and role as a producer of legitimate heirs, defamers would consciously draw upon the specific, gendered meanings of words such as "whore" or "cuckold" to make their insults as effective as possible, exposing the private acts of their victims.[34] More recently, however, scholars working on early modern England, Germany and Spain have argued that sexualized insult was only obliquely related to women's actual sexual behaviours. Sexualized insults actually

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[27] Cohen, 'Honor and gender', cit., pp. 133-134.
[28] P. Burke, *The historical anthropology of early modern Italy*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1987, p. 96.
[29] Strocchia, 'Gender and the rites of honour', cit., p. 54.
[30] D. Garrioch, 'Verbal insults in eighteenth-century Paris', in: P. Burke & R. Porter (eds.), *The social history of language*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1987, pp. 104-119; J. Sharpe, *Defamation and sexual slander in early modern England: The church courts at York*, York, University of York, 1972, p. 15; Horodowich, *Language and statecraft*, cit., p. 99.
[31] Gowing, *Domestic dangers*, cit., pp. 59-138; Lipscomb, 'Crossing boundaries', cit., p. 417; Taylor, 'Women, honor and violence', cit., p. 1083.
[32] T. Dean, 'Gender and insult in an Italian city: Bologna in the later middle ages', in: *Social history*, 29, 2 (2004), pp. 219, 231; Lesnick, 'Insults and threats', cit., p. 71.
[33] Angelozzi & Casanova, *Donne criminali*, cit., p. 74.
[34] As for example argued by M.R. Greenshields, *An economy of violence in early modern France. Crime and justice in the Haute Auvergne, 1587-1664*, Oxford, British Library, 1986, p. 233.

represented concerns about a wide range of economic and social resources, such as financial extravagance or economic independence.[35]

Occasionally the slurs recorded in the Bolognese court records referred to the (surmised or imputed) sexual behaviours of the female recipients. In 1725 some of her neighbours shouted 'parole ingiuriose trattandomi da donna poco da bene' at Rosa, an unmarried daughter of Domenico Mazzoni. She had been standing in the doorway of her apartment building talking to a young man she describes as her friend and her neighbours had disapproved of the conversation and, implicitly, what it could lead to.[36] Conversely, sexual probity garnered the same result in a case from 1675. Anna Maria, wife of Angelo Michele Capelli, refused to have sexual intercourse with barber Giovanni Battista Bordani, explaining she was a 'donna honorata, e da bene'. Anna Maria declared that after this rejection, Giovanni Battista started calling her a 'puttana buzzarona e simile, e minaccio di darmi de pugni, perche non volevo acconsentire alle sue voglie'.[37]

More often than not, however, these insults pertained to a wide range of social and economic behaviours outside of the sphere of sexual behaviours. In 1653, Maria, wife of Giovanni Battista Chiarini, was called a 'buzzarona infame puttana et altre parole simile' by the son of a man who had an outstanding debt with her husband.[38] Similarly, a year earlier the carpenter Horatio Foglia called his direct neighbour Domenica, wife of Battista Secchandi, not only a 'ladra' but also 'una puttana' after accusing her of stealing wine from their shared cellar.[39] Aside from disputes over debts and possessions, another example from 1674 demonstrates how sexualised slurs were also used in the context of mundane neighbourhood enmities. The mother and sister of Anna Maria, wife of Antonio Caballi, were coming over to visit her apartment and knocked loudly on the door and windows. These loud noises vexed her neighbours Giorgio, Giovanna and Elena Bonetti to such an extent that they started shouting insults to Anna Maria and 'Giulia mia madre et Antonia Maria mia sorella, con dirci che siamo tutte puttane, e barone nonostante che detta mia sorella sia putta zitella honorata, e da bene'.[40] Rather than implying knowledge about actual sexual impurity, this case demonstrates how the sexualised rhetoric of honour and dishonour could be employed as a tool in the pursuit of a broader range of social and economic interests.

As a rule, insults against men were more varied. Men were also called 'bastardo' (bastard), 'becco' (cuckold) or 'becco fottuto' (fucking cuckold) in Bologna, but it is clear that these sexual insults were essentially female-centred, aiming to ridicule men's affiliation with women who did not adhere to the sexual mores.[41] Similar to what has been argued for insulted women, these verbal affronts did generally not infer actual sexual transgressions. Again, they consisted of stock insults suitable for a wide spectrum of circumstances, ranging from theft and outstanding debts to noise complaints. For example, in 1652 Sabattino Alterino caught sight of Anna and her son Pellegrino on the lawn behind his house. Commenting that they would crush his grass, they started calling Sabattino 'villanie, cioe razza di becco ladro, et simile, et che ho da figliole che sono puttane', which offended him 'per essere un huomo honorato'.[42]

Men often also received non-sexual insults, referring to their honesty or ability to carry out a profession. Men in medieval Todi were often called "liar", "thief" and

[35] Gowing, *Domestic dangers*, cit., pp. 115, 118; Taylor, 'Women, honor and violence', cit., pp. 1084-1085; Rublack, *The crimes of women*, cit., p. 26.
[36] ASBo, Tribunale del Torrone, Atti e processi, Busta 7869-1, folio 201.
[37] *Ivi*, Busta 7028, folio 178-179.
[38] *Ivi*, Busta 6653, folio 41.
[39] *Ivi*, Busta 6609, folio 254.
[40] *Ivi*, Busta 7028, folio 80-81.
[41] Strocchia, 'Gender and the rites of honour', cit., p. 54; Dean, 'Gender and insult', cit., p. 221.
[42] ASBo, Tribunale del Torrone, Atti e processi, Busta 6609, folio 209.

"crook", accusations that undermined their economic credibility and called into question their success and stature as a merchant, tradesman, artisan or labourer.[43] In early modern Bologna men were also commonly insulted with these "economic" aspects of their good or bad reputation: 'ladro' (thief), 'barone' (scoundrel), 'birichino' (rascal), 'poltrone' (good-for-nothing), 'guidone' (scumbag) and 'furbo' (crook). Vincenzo Tura was for example called a 'guidone, un fallito, et un traditore' by Nicolo Mini in 1705. He had failed to pay off the still outstanding amount of 30 lire for a house his father had purchased from him, making the references to his economic failure befitting.[44] In other cases, the connection between the direct meaning of the slur and the behaviour was less clear, suggesting that these verbal affronts could be used at random, and in a range of different combinations.

Injurious words such as 'ladra', 'poltrona' or 'barona' were also hurled at women. However, both the late-medieval and early modern Bolognese court records suggest that this non-sexual form of slur was used less commonly for women than for men and, furthermore, that the vocabulary of affront was less varied and more repetitive when directed at women than the insults directed at men.[45] Alongside gendered differences in the repertoire of verbal affront, part of the reason for the 'semantic poverty' of insults towards women may be found in the magistrates' prosecutorial indifference.[46]

Insults and the state authorities

The criminal court records support the idea that the petty violent acts among the lower classes were generally not a priority to the authorities. Many of the court records merely mention the exchange of "injurious words" ('parole ingiuriose'), "dishonest words", "impolitenesses" ('villanie') or "insolent remarks" ('insolenze'), without specifying what words had been used exactly. When specific slurs were jotted down by the notaries, it was rather imprecise and summarily, with some examples of slurs followed by 'ed alter simile'. As discussed, the potential harm of verbal injuries to the honour and reputation of individuals and their families was widely recognized. The harsh sentences that the criminal bylaws prescribed bore witness to the fear of violent retaliation and vendetta that insults could bring forth as easily as physical affront could. But while the defamation of a social superior was generally taken very seriously by the authorities, verbal aggressions among commoners of roughly equal status was not.[47] It was exactly this group that made up the bulk of those appearing before the criminal court. That the majority of these affronts would not be prosecuted in an inquisitorial trial may have influenced how notaries documented the denunciations.

These mechanisms of disregard were likely exacerbated for women. Women's assumed "weaker nature" and judicial minority derived from Roman law may well have caused their violent behaviours to have been taken less seriously than men's.[48] In the Bolognese countryside, the village's local bailiffs (*massari*) are believed to have been reluctant to relay women's complaints to the criminal court, as their concerns were

[43] Lesnick, 'Insults and threats', cit., p. 71.
[44] ASBo, Tribunale del Torrone, Atti e processi, Busta 7608-1, folio 197-198.
[45] Dean, 'Gender and insult', cit., p. 226; Angelozzi & Casanova, *Donne criminali*, cit., p. 75.
[46] Dean, 'Gender and insult', cit., p. 226.
[47] Burke, *The historical anthropology of early modern Italy*, cit., p. 99. For the insults against nobles and state officials that were taken seriously and prosecuted by the state authorities, see Horodowich, *Language and statecraft*, cit., pp. 105-112.
[48] For more on women's legal position according to Renaissance jurists, see M. Graziosi, '"Fragilitas sexus". Alle origine della costruzione giuridica dell'inferiorità delle donne', in: N.M. Filippini, T. Plebani & A. Scattigno (eds.), *Corpi e storia. Donne e uomini dal mondo antico all'età contemporanea*, Roma, Viella, 2002, pp. 19-38.

more likely to be perceived as unimportant and unworthy of the time investment.[49] Similarly, the lack of female offenders prosecuted for verbal injury by Venice's Avogaria di comun probably also have had less to do with the hypothetical confinement of women to the domestic arena than with an administrative disregard.[50] It is not difficult to reconcile the notion of a magistracy seeking to protect civic order and the stability of the state with a judicial paternalism towards women probably widely shared among court magistrates.[51] At times this judicial paternalism resulted in less harsh sentencing, and other times in women not being prosecuted at all.

As mentioned before, most litigants did not seek out the criminal court to pursue their complaints about insults to a full criminal trial. Some scholars have argued that taking conflicts to the judicial authorities may have been particularly appealing to those with a marginal position in society. In her examination of sixteenth-century Rome, Elizabeth Cohen asserts that while established householders might resolve attacks to honour through other routes, prostitutes found in the criminal tribunal a 'public and socially sanctioned forum in which to air their grievances and, within the conventions of honour culture, to spread shame on their attackers'.[52] For early modern Bologna there is little evidence that those appealing to the criminal court belonged to a particularly disreputable segment of the urban lower classes. Yet the mechanism that Cohen identifies may be comparable. By bringing their grievances to the criminal court, Bologna's common labourers and small-time artisans hoped to gain additional leverage in often long-term conflicts with their social peers. What they expected from the law was not an intervention by the authorities per se, but an advancement of their extrajudicial settlement.

Strategies like these worked because aggressors did not consider a criminal complaint against them a triviality. The court records recount defendants pleading with plaintiffs to withdraw their complaints, sometimes even years after the fact, describing these complaints as a burden that weighed heavily on them.[53] Court testimonies furthermore report defendants physically chasing plaintiffs down the streets in anger after finding out that the plaintiffs had taken recourse to the criminal court.[54] Involving the law was clearly not taken lightly.

While recourse to the criminal court may have been a common strategy to enhance one's social bargaining power, it was also frowned upon on a broader social scale. Such sentiments were not only reflected in the aforementioned disgruntled responses by those incriminated in denunciations, but the political dimension was also in a tangible way incorporated into the vocabulary of verbal affront. There is evidence for early modern Bologna, Rome and Venice that the corpus of insults was complemented with invectives of "traitor" and, above all, "spy" ('spia').[55] 'Spia' was a serious insult because it conjured up associations with the inquisition and oppressive social control.[56] Locally, within the Papal States, the insult furthermore specifically alleged deceitful collusion with the foreign "operators of justice"; represented in Bologna by the Torrone and its *sbirri* (early modern lawmen). Of course, local officials

[49] Angelozzi & Casanova, *Donne criminali*, cit., pp. 70, 257.
[50] The cautious suggestion regarding women's confinement to the domestic arena was put forward in Horodowich, *Language and statecraft*, cit., p. 101.
[51] For the notion of judicial paternalism, see C. Casanova, 'Crimini di donne, giudici benevoli (Bologna XVI-XVIII secolo', in: *Historia et ius*, 9 (2016), p. 3.
[52] Cohen, 'Honor and gender', cit., p. 624.
[53] ASBo, Tribunale del Torrone, Busta 7606-1, fascicolo 278; fascicolo 81.
[54] *Ivi*, Busta 7028, fascicolo 254-255; Busta 7869-1, folio 96.
[55] E.S. Cohen & T.V. Cohen, *Words and deeds in Renaissance Rome trials before the papal magistrates*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1993, pp. 159-187; Angelozzi & Casanova, *Donne criminali*, cit., p. 76.
[56] Rose, *Homicide in North Italy*, cit., p. 214; Horodowich, *Language and statecraft*, cit., p. 100.

or others working directly for the authorities formed the most obvious target of these slurs. The denunciation by Stefano a Porta, a local bailiff of the Via Nuova in Bologna's inner-mural parish of San Giorgio, from the early 1650s is illustrative in this regard. While investigating a brawl that had taken place in his district, he encountered the day-labourer Giovanni Monti, who upon questioning started called him so much as a 'fucking cuckold spy and a thief who was a spy as his profession'.[57] People who performed duties for the court, like the aforementioned Domenico Antonio, were understandably similarly targeted with these kinds of slurs.

This particular kind of slander extended beyond these actual officials to the wide range of ordinary labourers (textile workers, cobblers, tanners and so on) who merely took recourse to the law. Although this specific form of verbal aggression was most prevalent among male recipients, there is ample evidence that the contempt for cooperating with the criminal court was shared equally by men and women of all social classes.[58] The example from the beginning of this article, in which Angela accused her neighbour Maria of having acted as a spy (*fare la spia*) after having her incarcerated for her previous misbehaviour is a good example of this.[59]

The contempt for taking recourse to the law can be attributed to a combination of cultural and political factors. Firstly, traditional understandings of honourable behaviour precluded the use of criminal courts. According to the *scienza cavalleresca*, i.e. the laws of honour which governed gentlemanly conduct first codified in the 1550s but still widely discussed in eighteenth-century Italy, a man of honour was required to punish offences without recourse to the law because a true gentleman demanded satisfaction for himself rather than punishment by a third party.[60] Even though these codes formally only pertained to the honour of gentlemen, there were broader social and political tensions that made both conceptions of honour and using the law a contested affair for men and women of all social standings.

Secondly, many of the new regimes that emerged in Italy during the first half of the sixteenth century lacked legitimacy and struggled to collaborate with local elites.[61] Bologna was governed by a 'governo misto' in which the papal Legate – a cardinal installed as a city governor by the Pope – worked in cooperation with the civic Bolognese Senate. Being ruled by priests was widely resented and in the eyes of parts of the population the Pope (and consequently the papal government) represented a foreign despot.[62] Because the Torrone was in the hands of the papal authorities, involving this "foreign" institution rather than resolving a conflict informally was regarded a deplorable "collaboration". Recourse to the law was thus both very efficient particularly because of this external leverage, but also, ultimately, morally reprehensible. While the continued use of 'spia' and 'fare la spia' as insults throughout the eighteenth century suggest that the contempt was deep-seated, the use of law courts by those seeking to resolve disputes over insults and other forms of petty aggression increased as well. The frequent occurrence of these particular types of slurs therefore ultimately reflected the Bolognese community's interaction with an expanding state.

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[57] ASBo, Tribunale del Torrone, Atti e processi, Busta 6609, fascicolo 142: '[...] et esso subito mi ha ingiuriato di parole dicendome spia becca fotuta, ladro, dicendome inoltre ch'io vada a fare la spia, ch'è mio mestiere'.
[58] Angelozzi & Casanova, *Donne criminali*, cit., p. 76.
[59] ASBo, Tribunale del Torrone, Atti e processi, Busta 7869-1, fascicolo 163.
[60] Carroll, 'Revenge and reconciliation', cit., pp. 102, 113.
[61] *Ivi*, p. 106.
[62] G. Angelozzi & C. Casanova, 'Il tribunale criminale di Bologna' in: M. Cavina (ed.), *La giustizia criminale nell'Italia moderna (XVI-XVIII sec.)*, Bologna, Pàtron Editore, 2012, pp. 252-253.

Conclusion

The seemingly simple insult from one woman to her neighbour in eighteenth-century Bologna at the start of this article is in many ways illustrative for the relationship between insults, gender, and the politics of everyday life in this papal city. Accused of verbal abuse, Angela Monti was one of the many women who violated the gender norms prescribing passivity in these kinds of everyday encounters. The realities of working women's lives did not permit the honourable enclosure prescribed in conduct books, religious texts and commentaries. The discrepancy between norms and practice is echoed in the denunciations to the Tribunale del Torrone, which detail the aggressive words and deeds that bolognesi deemed sufficiently bothersome to complain about. Making up approximately one-fifth of the defendants and litigants of recorded verbal affront, early modern Italian women are protagonists worth being studied.

When Angela called Maria names, she was able to draw on a lexicon of injurious words that closely followed gendered conventions and value systems. By referring to a married woman like Maria as a 'puttana', she made use of the gender-loaded stockpile of invectives that carried over from the patriarchal cultural norms that morally valued women all over premodern Europe by their sexual honour. Offenders like Angela most likely drew on this stereotypical and sexualised imagery not necessarily to criticise her opponent's actual sexual probity. Instead, the sexualised slurs were used as a tool, as a means to an end, to denote other types of behaviours such as financial extravagance or social or economic independence.

In assessing the relationship between gender and the culture of insults, it is important to look not only at the differences between men and women, but also to pay attention to the similarities that existed between them. After all, while the sexualised form of the bulk of insults to women appears to have been rather uniform throughout medieval and early modern Europe, particular insults had specific cultural and political connotations and histories. Bolognesi denounced transgressive words and deeds to the state-sanctioned criminal court to enhance their social leverage, even though this act in itself defied older community norms regarding conflict resolution. This culture, in which using the criminal court was both commonplace and despised, was shared among men and women. 'Fare la spia', of which Angela accused Maria, is an important example of how particularities of a local culture could impact the lexicon of insult in a similar way for men and women.

A larger comparative question – whether Italian women were less or more assertive in verbal affront than their northern counterparts – remains open. But, as has also been argued for women's use of the urban space, a more interesting inquiry does not necessarily only ask how much, but also who, in what context, and how.[63] While masculine and feminine forms of speech and behaviours are certainly present in early modern Italy, they should be explored alongside a broad spectrum of shared, similar behaviours.

[63] Cohen, 'To pray, to work, to hear, to speak', cit., p. 311.

Keywords
Women, gender, insults, crime, Bologna

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RIASSUNTO

Puttana, ladro e becco spia

Insulti, genere e politica della vita quotidiana nella Bologna della prima età moderna

Quest'articolo indaga il rapporto tra affronto verbale, genere e agentività legale nella Bologna della prima età moderna. Per molto tempo gli studiosi hanno trascurato di considerare l'impegno delle donne nell'attività criminale, o ne hanno sottolineato la distinzione. In tale contesto l'insulto è spesso stato caratterizzato una forma criminale tipicamente femminile e considerato in rapporto all'incapacità delle donne di agire in altri ambiti sociali, economici e politici della vita. Il presente studio intende sottoporre a meditazione critica tale assunto, esaminando il linguaggio e la pratica dell'affronto verbale quale discorso deviante attraverso il casellario giudiziario del Tribunale del Torrone, la corte penale di Bologna nella prima età moderna. Mentre tale fonte conferma l'esistenza di un lessico altamente sessista degli insulti, si sostiene che l'insulto maschile e femminile non vadano trattati distintamente, dal momento che i protagonisti maschili e quelle femminili attinsero a un ampio spettro di convenzioni e pratiche culturali condivise che vale la pena di esplorare.

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Dante and the beatitudes: moral transformation in *Purgatorio*

Anton ten Klooster

In Dante's *Purgatorio*, after a deadly sin has been purged, an angel proclaims one of the beatitudes, or sayings Jesus had given at the beginning of the Sermon on the Mount (Mt. 5, 3-9).[1] However, in the *Divina Commedia* it is not immediately clear what the interrelatedness of sin, virtue, grace and beatitudes is. This essay presents Dante's use of these so-called evangelical beatitudes as a key theological motive of *Purgatorio*. Through his formation in Florence Dante was familiar with the works of both Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventure. With them he shares a preoccupation with happiness as the final end or goal of human life. Dante's dependence on these theologians can explain the seemingly peculiar presence of the beatitudes in *Purgatorio*. In this essay we will first address how the beatitudes are a structural element of *Purgatorio*, and which theological sources may have inspired their use. This allows us to address the relation between each beatitude and the sin that has been purged. Together, these insights lead to the conclusion that in *Purgatorio* the beatitudes are markers of the process of moral transformation.

Dante as a student of theology

Dante Alighieri shared with the theologians of the thirteenth century a preoccupation with the quest for happiness as the ultimate end for human beings. His *Divina Commedia* can be considered a 'poem of ends', that is of the ends of human life: death, judgment, heaven and hell.[2] Human life is a journey, the famous 'cammin di nostra vita' of the first canto of the *Commedia*, and its end is the same as that of the comedy: the vision of God in paradise. *Purgatorio* resembles the journey of the human wayfarer. Both in hell and heaven respectively, the damned and blessed have already arrived at their final destination; the souls in purgatory, on the contrary, are still on their way toward it. They must cast off sin in order to eventually become 'pure and disposed to ascend to the stars' (*Pg.* 33, 145). The theologians of the thirteenth century also spoke of life as a journey to God. One of the most famous examples is Bonaventure's *Itinerarium mentis in Deum*. Thomas Aquinas, the other towering figure of medieval theology, abandoned the theological handbooks of his time to begin work in his *Summa Theologiae* which was intended to end with a discussion of the last things (death, judgment, heaven and hell), but his death prevented him from finishing it. Aquinas and Bonaventure are the first theologians to speak in the *Commedia* and this is no coincidence. After Beatrice's death, Dante sought consolation in philosophy by

[1] There is also a version of the beatitudes in Luke 6, 20-23. The medieval theologians followed Augustine in making the beatitudes in Matthew the cornerstone of their interpretation.
[2] A.N. Williams, 'The Theology of the *Comedy*', in: R. Jacoff (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Dante*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007 (second edition), p. 201.

going to the 'schools of the religious and the disputations of the philosophers', as he mentions in the *Convivio* (II, xxii, 7). He is referring to the schools of the Dominicans at Santa Maria Novella and the Franciscans at Santa Croce, where he familiarised himself with Bonaventure's *Itinerarium* and Aquinas' *Summa*.[3] Dante's studies at the schools provided him with the broad knowledge of Scripture, liturgy, theology and philosophy that we witness in the *Commedia*.[4]

This essay discusses how the beatitudes are used in the structure of *Purgatorio*. When we reflect on the theological use of the beatitudes by Aquinas in particular we can begin to understand why Dante used them in his work. Secondary literature on the *Commedia* does mention the beatitudes, but often only in passing. Introductions to the structure of *Purgatorio* present its rings, the vices and the penances performed for them, the virtues opposing the vices, but more often than not the beatitudes are excluded altogether from these reflections. It seems that the interpretation of Dante suffers from the same flaw as the study of medieval theology, namely that it considers the beatitudes as ornamental elements of a discourse whereas they are fundamental to understanding the theological or literary discussion of the journey of human life, in keeping with a long theological tradition that considers the Sermon on the Mount the ultimate standard of Christian morality.

Purgatorio is laden with citations from Scripture, more so than any other book of the *Commedia.* Scripture is after all the book of the wayfarer: the damned in hell are no longer able to benefit from it, while the blessed in heaven no longer require it in order to know and love God. Throughout *Purgatorio,* by contrast, the recurrence of the beatitudes is constant. This sermon is a sustained ethical reflection. The beatitudes function as a sort of prologue, with a repeated proclamation of 'blessed', aimed at different groups of people. Dante follows the theological custom of reading them as series of seven rather than counting Matthew 5, 10 as the eighth beatitude. For those who read the Bible in Latin, as Dante most likely did, the repeated use of *beati* triggers an association with the eternal *beatitudo* which is the end of human life. This is reinforced by the promise of heaven that concludes the first beatitude: 'blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven'. In *Purgatorio* these beatitudes are counterposed to the vices, resounding in each of the rings after Dante the traveller has passed through a particular domain of vice. Although it may be true that we should 'be cautious to attribute to Dante any sustained textual reflection on the Sermon on the Mount in and for itself', his repeated use of the beatitudes and the fact that he studied at Dominican and Franciscan houses begs the question how he saw the beatitudes.[5] Should they be interpreted as antidotes to sin and do they describe the *itinerarium* toward God, following Bonaventure?[6] Or should they be read in Thomist fashion as the right moral actions of the converted believer? Either way, medieval commentators were all familiar with Augustine's monumental commentary on the sermon introducing the notion of *gradus*, different steps along the way toward the perfection of the Christian life.[7] This is the notion Dante takes up when he incorporates the beatitudes in his literary construction of the seven rings of purgatory.

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[3] R.W.B. Lewis, *Dante Alighieri,* New York, Viking Penguin Group, 2001, p. 65.

[4] Cfr. V. Montemaggi, *Reading Dante's* Commedia *as Theology: Divinity Realized in Human Encounter*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2016, p. 105.

[5] D.L. Jeffrey, 'Dante and Chaucher', in: J.P. Greenman, T. Lars, & S.R. Spencer (eds.), *The Sermon on the Mount Through the Centuries: From the Early Church to John Paul II*, Grand Rapids, Brazos Press, 2007, p. 83.

[6] J.T. Schnapp, 'Introduction to *Purgatorio*', in: Jacoff (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Dante*, cit., p. 98; Jeffrey, 'Dante and Chaucher', cit., pp. 83-84.

[7] Lansing suggests a reliance on Hugh of St. Victor's *De Quinque Septenis*. Given the heavy influence of Franciscan and Dominican theology on Dante, and the relative lack of interest in Hugh by Bonaventure

The beatitudes in the structure of *Purgatorio*

Whenever a capital sin has been overcome in *Purgatorio* one of the beatitudes is proclaimed, beginning with 'blessed are the poor in spirit', quoted in Latin. Each beatitude marks a transition of one ring to the next as the travellers leave behind a particular domain of sin. We hear the first beatitude in *Purgatorio* 12, 109-111 after passing through the domain of the prideful: 'Noi volgendo ivi le nostre persone / *Beati pauperes spiritu!* Voci / cantaron sì, che nol diria sermone'. In the first two rings Dante only hears a voice, in the higher rings he begins to see and feel feathers and wings. It is only in the seventh ring that he explicitly speaks of 'an angel of God' (*Pg.* 27, 6): 'Fuor de la fiamma stava in su la riva, / e cantava *Beati mundo corde!* / in voce assi più che la nostra viva' (*Pg*. 27, 7-9). The beatitudes accompany his journey to paradise and are proclaimed by a heavenly messenger, whose identity becomes clear as the traveller is purged of his sins and comes closer to heaven.

There are some peculiarities in Dante's use of the beatitudes. He does not include all seven of them, in spite of there being seven rings in purgatory. Instead, he omits the beatitude of the meek and divides the beatitude of those who hunger and thirst for justice in two.[8] The poet also rearranges their order. Only the first beatitude is in its place in the Biblical order whereas all the others are placed throughout the rings. The key to Dante's arrangement of the beatitudes can be found by reading beyond the first part of each beatitude. The word 'blessed' stands at the beginning of each beatitude but they all end differently with the promise of a particular blessing. For example, the seventh beatitude calls the peacemakers 'blessed' and contains the promise that they shall be called 'children of God'. But Dante places the beatitude of the clean of heart at the highest place. He only quotes the opening words of the verse but any medieval reader will know the promises attached to it: 'they will see God'. This indeed is the end or purpose of the entire comedy and life itself, to attain the eternal bliss of seeing God. Even though Dante does not take up the Biblical and traditional order of the beatitudes, he does incorporate them in the *Commedia* as a motive of purification. Those who are purged of a particular sin are called *beati*, blessed. When reading these parts of *Purgatorio* in light of the insights of medieval theology we can see the relation between the sin that is purged and the beatitude chosen by the poet.

'Blessed are the poor in spirit' we hear when the sin of pride has been purged. Dante the traveller feels that he has cast off a burden and remarks to his guide Virgil that the journey is now less exhausting. The guide notes in response that the first of the seven 'P' written on Dante's forehead has been erased. Pride features in the first ring, since it is considered 'the root of all sin' following Ecclesiasticus 10, 15 in the Latin Vulgate.[9] It is the root of sin because it is the first of all sins. Adam and Eve were proud because they assumed they could be like God, many medieval commentators argued.[10] Humility and fear of God are the traits attributed by Augustine to the 'poor

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and Aquinas a reliance on that particular work would seem less likely. R. Lansing, 'Beatitudes', in: idem (ed.), *The Dante Encyclopedia*, London, Routledge, 2010, p. 89.

[8] Cfr. Jeffrey, 'Dante and Chaucer', cit., p. 87. I respectfully disagree with Jeffrey's estimation that this beatitude 'unambiguously has to do with this world rather than eternal reward'; there are several examples of a spiritual interpretation of "earth" in this particular context. Still, the association may be what led Dante to forego using this beatitude.

[9] C.S. Singleton, *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri: Translated, with a Commentary*, vol. 2.2, *Purgatorio* - Commentary, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1977, p. 266.

[10] See for instance: F.R. Larcher (translation), J. Mortensen & E. Alarcón (eds.), Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on the Letter of Saint Paul to the Romans*, Lander, Aquinas Institute for the Study of Sacred Doctrine, 2012, cap. 5, lectio 5, nr. 446, p. 151.

in spirit'.[11] It is therefore fitting that pride is the first sin purged and that it is aligned with this particular beatitude.

Envy is the capital sin purged in the second ring and it is aligned with the words 'blessed are the merciful' (*Pg.* 15, 38). Mercy is the opposite of envy. Thomas Aquinas takes up an earlier definition of mercy as having 'a miserable heart for the misery of others'.[12] To be merciful is to will the good *for* another whereas envy seeks to seize the goods *of* another. The sin of wrath is aligned with the beatitude of the peacemakers (*Pg.* 17, 68-69). Wrath disrupts the order of things by repaying evil with evil, but those who establish peace restore the tranquil order willed by the Creator. In the fourth ring the souls in purgatory must overcome *acedia*, or sloth. This is the middle part of the journey through purgatory. In light of the Christian ascetic tradition it is fitting to place *acedia* in the middle. Around noon monks would grow weary of their mortification and were tempted to fall asleep, the so-called 'noonday devil'.[13] Similarly, those in purgatory must continue their burdensome journey, in this particular instance of *contrapasso* through the penance of running. Before proceeding to the ring of the greedy the travellers hear the words 'blessed are they who mourn' (*Pg.* 19, 50). Augustine interprets this mourning as part of the process of conversion. Those who follow Christ leave behind the life of sin and everything attached to it, and this causes them to mourn for the life they leave behind.[14] This includes leaving behind spiritual sloth and following Christ with fervour. The sins of avarice and gluttony are connected to two parts of the beatitude 'blessed are they who hunger and thirst for justice'. Those who thirsted for possessions are called blessed when their desires have been purged: 'e quei c'hanno a giustizia lor disiro / detto n'avea beati, e le sue voci / con *sitiunt*, sanz'altro, ciò forniro' (*Pg.* 22, 4-6). With typical irony Dante speaks of righteous hunger for the gluttons: blessed are they who hunger not for food but for righteousness (*Pg.* 24, 154). This is the only instance where he does not quote the Vulgate but refers to the beatitudes in the vernacular, connecting them explicitly to the illuminating grace of God: 'Beati cui alluma tanto di grazia' (*Pg.* 24, 151-152). Finally, once the sin of lust has been overcome the angel sings '*Beati mundo corde*', blessed are the clean of heart (*Pg.* 27, 7-9). Dante follows major traditions of interpretation and takes this as a reference to chastity.

The moral transformation of the wayfarer

The beatitudes thus accompany the journey through purgatory. This in itself is noteworthy: the virtues in themselves are not sufficient to overcome vice. The reflection on virtues originates in philosophy and it is first of all a reflection on human efforts. But human efforts alone are not enough to reach paradise. Socrates, Plato and Aristotle were virtuous men but they are in limbo because they did not receive grace. Dante's use of the beatitudes emphasises that the journey of the human wayfarer needs to be informed by revelation as well. One could argue, as some interpreters do, that the beatitudes are antidotes to sin.[15] The fact that the first 'P' has disappeared after the first beatitude seems to support this. But each beatitude is proclaimed *after* a particular domain of sin, that is when that sin has become a thing of the past. This suggests that the beatitudes mark the life of the purified believer. In this

[11] A. Mutzenberger (ed.), Augustine, *De Sermone Domini in Monte Libros Duos*, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 35, Turnhout, Brepols, 1967, I, 1,3, p. 4.
[12] A.M. Ten Klooster, *Thomas Aquinas on the Beatitudes: Reading Matthew, Disputing Grace and Virtue, Preaching Happiness*, Leuven, Peeters, 2018, pp. 108, 284.
[13] For a succinct explanation see: K. Kennedy, 'Before Sloth Meant Laziness, It Was the Spiritual Sin of Acedia', *Atlas Obscura*, https://www.atlasobscura.com/articles/desert-fathers-sins-acedia-sloth (July 14 2017).
[14] Ten Klooster, *Thomas Aquinas on the Beatitudes*, cit., p. 105.
[15] Cfr. Schnapp, 'Introduction to *Purgatorio*', cit., p. 98.

interpretation the happiness of heaven gradually begins to take shape in purgatory. The aforementioned gradual revelation of an angel would follow the same logic. These things explain why one on the way to paradise is already called 'blessed' by a heavenly messenger. The heavenly reward is still beyond the vision of the wayfarer, but eternal bliss already presents itself a rudimentary state.

Our reading of *Purgatorio* takes us to a major disagreement between Bonaventure and Aquinas with regard to the beatitudes. Even though Dante did not study the Sermon on the Mount in great detail, he was aware of the importance of the beatitudes to the spirituality of the mendicants and the theological debates of the time. Bonaventure held that the beatitudes were habits, dispositions proper to the life of the Christian.[16] Aquinas on the other hand defined them as acts. Both of them follow the Aristotelian distinction between habit and act, that is between the disposition to act present within a person and the act itself. The underlying theological question is what leads a person to act virtuously. Aquinas holds that God infuses habits − virtues − in the human soul that allow that person to act accordingly. The beatitudes then help us to understand what actions are proper to the Christian life. Bonaventure believed that the beatitudes were the habits, and that they are dispositions to right action rather than actions themselves. To Aquinas the beatitudes describe the virtuous actions of the Christian who is transformed by the grace of God.[17] The question is whether the beatitudes help the believer in his struggle with sin, or if they describe the actions of a believer who has already overcome certain sins. Either way, there will be a struggle with sin, since even those predestined for heaven will suffer the effects of sin. In the theology of Thomas Aquinas the beatitudes describe actions that spring forth from grace, and in that sense they refer to a situation where sin has already lost at least some of its grip on a person. In this way the placement of the beatitudes mirrors that of the *exempla* given in purgatory, which also precede the overcoming of sins.[18] By placing the beatitudes at the transition from one ring to the next Dante seems to follow this interpretation. Both for the poet and the theologian the beatitudes designate progress on the way toward happiness. This progress is made possible by the grace of God, something Aquinas discusses extensively in his *Summa Theologiae* and that Dante mentions in *Purgatorio* 24: 'beati cui alluma tanto di grazia'. It is because the beatitudes describe features of the redeemed person that the seventh beatitude in canto 27 is followed shortly by Christ's invitation to the elect. From a radiant light this call resounds: '*Venite benedicti Patris mei,* / sonò dentro a un lume che lì era, / tal che mi vinse e guardar nol potei' (*Pg.* 27, 58-60).

Dante connects the beatitudes to vices and virtues. Rereading *Purgatorio* in light of significant theological interpretations of the beatitudes suggests that Dante's choice to incorporate them in the narrative structure of the work is an effort to place the human struggle with sin and weakness in light of its ultimate goal: happiness in God. Their use evokes the notion of God actively drawing the elect toward Him, something expressed most explicitly in the gospel of John: 'No one can come to me unless the Father who sent me draw him' (John 6, 44), a verse that features frequently in Aquinas' discussions of grace. Without seeking to impose Christian orthodoxy on Dante, this approach suggests new ways of reading the progress of Dante the traveller. This in turn helps us to think of new ways to speak of the moral transformation of the wayfarer on whose journey the poet reflects in *Purgatorio*.

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[16] For a summary of medieval theories on the beatitudes and the gifts and virtues related to them see: O. Lottin, 'Les Dons du Saint-Esprit chez les Théologiens depuis P. Lombard jusqu'à S. Thomas d'Aquin', in: *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale*, 1 (1929), pp. 41-61.

[17] Cfr. Ten Klooster, *Thomas Aquinas on the Beatitudes*, cit.

[18] This interpretation was a felicitous suggestion from an anonymous reviewer of this journal.

Keywords
Divina Commedia, medieval theology, beatitudes, Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventure

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RIASSUNTO

Dante e le beatitudini: trasformazione morale nel *Purgatorio*

Questo saggio presenta i riferimenti alle beatitudini evangeliche (Mt 5, 3-9) da parte di Dante come chiave di lettura per comprendere il motivo teologico del *Purgatorio*. Dopo la purgazione di un peccato mortale, un angelo proclama una beatitudine. Nella *Divina Commedia*, però, non è immediatamente chiaro quale sia la correlazione tra peccato, virtù, grazia e beatitudini. Dante conosceva le idee teologiche di Tommaso d'Aquino e di Bonaventura, e come loro esprimeva una preoccupazione per la felicità come fine ultimo dell'individuo umano. La sua dipendenza da questi teologi può spiegare la presenza delle beatitudini nel *Purgatorio*. In questo saggio si discutono le beatitudini come elemento strutturale per Dante, nonché le fonti teologiche a cui esse risalgono, al fine di capire meglio la relazione tra le beatitudini e i peccati purificati. Così, vediamo che le beatitudini preludono già, seppure in forma rudimentale, alla partecipazione alle cose celesti da parte dell'individuo umano.

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De Shit: een "naakte" ode aan de weerbaarheid

Monica Jansen

Op het toneel slechts een naakte jonge vrouw op een barkruk, die onder de spotlight en met een microfoon in haar hand vertelt over haar auditie voor een reclamespot. De monoloog *La Merda – De Shit* (in het Engels vertaald als *The Shit*)[1] van Cristian Ceresoli voor actrice Silvia Gallerano is, sinds de prijzen die het vergaarde op het Edinburgh Festival 2012, een internationale en nationale hit geworden (in februari 2020 zal het stuk nog te zien zijn in het Leonardo-theater in Milaan). Op 26 en 27 januari 2018 is het stuk ook opgevoerd in de Brusselse Koninklijke Vlaamse Schouwburg, en in een interview in *Bruzz* antwoordden Ceresoli en Gallerano toen het volgende op de vraag hoe dit enorme succes te verklaren valt. Volgens de actrice is het stuk succesvol door de opbouw ervan als een operalibretto dat in zijn drie akten steeds verder doordringt tot het personage. De dramaturg en tekstschrijver wijst daarentegen eerder op de actualiteit ervan, zoals blijkt uit de moeilijke politieke, artistieke en persoonlijke omstandigheden waarin het stuk ontstaan is, waarbij zelfs censuur werd toegepast.[2]

Het stuk gaat over de "shit" van het huidige Italië, waar artiesten bij gebrek aan structurele subsidies tot een onzeker bestaan gedwongen zijn, een "uitgeklede" conditie dus, die tegelijkertijd het artistieke weerwoord vormt op het neoliberale kapitalisme. Het idee ervoor is ontstaan tijdens de bezetting van het historische Teatro Valle te Rome van 2011 tot 2014 door een groep activisten uit de kunstenwereld, die het geprivatiseerde theater omvormden tot een *bene comune* oftewel een gemeengoed, en tot een open podium voor de gemeenschap.[3] Ceresoli leidde hier het schrijf- en toneellaboratorium "La rabbia" (de woede), dat de deelnemers uitdaagde om in verhaalvorm uiting te geven aan de beleving van hun precaire levensomstandigheden. De min of meer spontane uiting van tegenstrijdige emoties op het toneel als een politieke vorm van 'affectief realisme',[4] vormde de basis voor de monoloog *La Merda*, waarvan de titel schatplichtig is aan Pier Paolo Pasolini's postume roman *Petrolio*, die een gitzwart beeld schetst van het politiek gedegenereerde Italië.

[1] C. Ceresoli, *The Shit / La Merda. Dual English and Italian-language Edition*, London, Oberon Books, 2012. Voor de speellijst zie de website van Cristian Ceresoli en Frida Kahlo Productions op http://www.cristianceresoli.it/.

[2] M. Bellon, '"La Merda": a primal scream in the midst of all the shit', *Bruzz*, 25/1/2018, https://www.bruzz.be/en/podium/la-merda-primal-scream-midst-all-shit-2018-01-25.
De censuur waarvan Ceresoli spreekt vond met name plaats in Italië. Zie hierover L. Mariani, 'Il dramma dell'umiliazione. *La Merda* di Cristian Ceresoli e Silvia Gallerano, un successo internazionale (2010-2016)', in: *Mimesis Journal. Scritture della performance*, 2 (2016), www.mimesis.revues.org/1145.

[3] Zie over de actie 'Teatro Valle Occupato' A. Borchi, 'Teatro Valle Occupato: protesting, occupying and making art in contemporary Italy', in: *Research in Drama Education: The Journal of Applied Theatre and Performance*, 1 (2017), pp. 126-129.

[4] De term 'affective realism' wordt gebruikt door Lauren Berlant in *Cruel Optimism*, Duke, Duke UP, 2011.

Het stuk bestaat in feite uit de ongecontroleerde woordenstroom van een naakte jonge vrouw die een toekomst als sekssymbool ambieert. Het gaat hier om de getuigenis van een slachtoffer van allerlei vormen van projecties van anderen op haar lichaam als lustobject, maar haar zelfbewuste verklaring, in crescendo, verwoordt ook de bevrijding van datzelfde lichaam van alle shit die het in zijn nog korte levensloop tot zich heeft genomen. De performance gaat gepaard met het scanderen en zingen van flarden van het Italiaanse nationale volkslied, dat zo verbasterd wordt tot het episch bezingen van de heldhaftigheid van een subjectiviteit die met haar misvormde naaktheid en vrouwelijkheid in flagrante tegenspraak lijkt te zijn met het ideaalbeeld in de liedtekst van de 'helm van Scipio'.

Het stuk is opgedeeld in drie *tempi* en een *controtempo*, vertaald als drie bedrijven en een contretemps, waarbij de laatste term een muzikale verwijzing verraadt. Juist de muzikale dimensie maakt deze monoloog zo origineel, aangezien de stem als een 'masker' wordt opgevat en in de regieaanwijzingen speciale aandacht wordt geschonken aan de expressiviteit ervan. In de introductie wordt de theatertekst vergeleken met een 'partituur' waaruit 'vocale maskers' oprijzen die bezit nemen van de lichamelijke 'klankkast' van de actrice. Een van de hoogtepunten van Gallerano's interpretatie is haar virtuoze stemgebruik dat van meerdere personages tegelijk lijkt te komen.

Het hier vertaalde fragment van het begin van het stuk geeft een goede indruk van de continue wisseling in dramatiek en intensiteit, en van de ongrijpbaarheid van het karakter van een volwassen en door het leven beproefde vrouw die tegelijkertijd het dertienjarige meisje is dat nog net zo weerloos is als toen ze haar dijen met elektroden liet behandelen. De grenzeloze ambitie van het personage om een televisiester te worden, valt te lezen in het licht van het zogenaamde "postfeminisme" ten tijde van premier Berlusconi en dus als een symptoom van de immateriële logica van het late kapitalisme. De zelfmoord van haar vader daarentegen brengt een andere dimensie aan het licht, die van de materiële geschiedenis van het verzet van de 'dwergen' tegen de 'machtswellustelingen'. De strijd voor sociale rechtvaardigheid van de garibaldijnse 'roodhemden' tijdens de Eenwording van Italië vindt zijn continuïteit in het antifascistische verzet tijdens de Tweede Wereldoorlog. En misschien zal deze traditie, in de vorm van deze kleine vrouw met de te groot uitgevallen dijen, die in behandeling is geweest bij een rijpe vrouw die als zelfstandige haar eigen zaak runde en die haar vrouwelijkheid fier door het rode hemd liet schijnen, een derde, vrouwelijke?, fase van verzet gaan beleven.[5]

De uitkomst van de ongemakkelijke vertoning waaraan het publiek oftewel de 'mensheid' (nog een verwijzing naar Pasolini) 55 minuten lang met gemengde gevoelens van afgrijzen, medelijden en sympathie wordt blootgesteld, is dan ook uitermate dubbelzinnig. Kondigen de grimassen van de fel rood gestifte mond aan dat er geen verlossing is voor de tentoongestelde naakte lichaamsdelen, of is deze vocale akte van rebellie juist een vorm van naakte weerbaarheid? De 'mensheid' zal het zeggen.

[5] Zie voor een dergelijke duiding van het stuk ook M. Jansen, 'Precarity on Stage: the Creative and Political Dimensions of Affect in Ceresoli's Theatre Production *La Merda*', in: *Frame*, 30, 2 (2017), pp. 83-99.

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*De Shit**

Cristian Ceresoli

Vertaling: Natalie Dupré

Vijf heel sterke profielspots werpen smalle bundels van intens ijzig licht op het midden van het podium en geven een ongesatureerd beeld van de vrouw, perfect in de stijl van een reclamespot. De actrice is naakt en op het moment dat de mensheid (of het publiek) de zaal binnenkomt, zit ze al op een hoge circuskruk in dat scherpe en koude licht. Met de microfoon in haar hand neuriet ze het Italiaanse volkslied en laat ze haar gedachtestroom de vrije loop. Misschien vormen een heldere, ritmische lichtflits, een opgenomen lach of een applauseffect wel een tegenstem voor het relaas van de stem en haar brede, melodische en soms onmenselijke uitweidingen. Het kan zijn dat de mensheid zelf *uitgenodigd* wordt om foto's met flits te nemen, om te applaudisseren op bevel of om een lach te veinzen. Met de ernst van een woest dier jaagt het hoofdpersonage, een vrouw, haar doel na en ze is vastberaden om hierbij te doden. Uit de literaire partituur rijzen voortdurend vocale maskers (of personages) die *bezit* nemen van de stem van de actrice. Er wordt gelachen. Het is een tragedie in drie bedrijven: De Dijen, De Penis, De Roem en een contretemps: Italië.

Het vergt zeker moed, je staat daar, op het perron, je mag niet eens de gele lijn voorbij, en ondanks alles vind je de kracht om je op de sporen te gooien, en 't is niet gemakkelijk, want het is ook niet dat iemand daar in z'n handen staat te klappen en *kom, spring nu maar* naar je roept, nee, je staat daar, alleen, en je moet de moed zien te vinden om te springen en je te pletter te gooien op de sporen, en daar is lef voor nodig, en 't is ook niet dat er zomaar elke dag een trein voorbijkomt, nee, en weet dat het me niet om de roem of het geld te doen is, maar 't is meer zoiets van je leven in de eerste plaats zelf te leiden en niet zomaar toe te kijken vanaf de bank. Ik voel gewoon dat dit het juiste moment is. Ik heb zeker mijn best gedaan in 't leven, als kind, als m'n moeder me zei *het probleem zit hier, in je hoofd*, het resultaat is wel dat m'n moeder er een is die altijd maar op de bank hangt, terwijl ik moeite doe voor een auditie zoals nu, voor iets dat in het begin misschien maar een onbenullig baantje is, maar als 't mijn beurt is, sta ik recht en zeg ik *broeders van Italië, Italië is opgestaan, met de helm van Scipio het hoofd getooid, waar is de overwinning?* en oké, ik weet het wel, 't is niks bijzonders, maar je weet gewoon dat eens je binnen bent en je de juiste mensen kent, dat alles dan vanzelf gaat, en trouwens, als ze mij gebeld hebben, mij, met mijn probleem, dan hebben ze misschien ook al wel door hoe ik in mekaar zit en oké, ik ben maar een kleintje en ik heb dat ding aan mijn dijen, maar ik houd er wel de moed in, ik laat me zeker niet doen, en ook al ben ik klein uitgevallen, *ik gooi me er gewoon in*, en ik heb niemand nodig die me zegt *kom, durf nu springen*, ik kan het alleen, ook al ben ik klein, ik kan het gewoon, m'n vader zei me dat altijd, dat de helden die ons land groot gemaakt hebben allemaal ondervoede dwergen waren, van een meter zestig of zo, met die rode hemden van toen die nu een kind zouden

* Hier volgt de vertaling van het eerste bedrijf van *The Shit/La Merda* van Cristian Ceresoli, 2012, met vriendelijke toestemming van Oberon Books Ltd.

passen, zo klein waren die, en ik ook, ik ben ook klein, en in 't leven moet je je best doen en hard werken, en alleen zo kan je heel groot worden en vanuit de hoogte neerkijken op dat *laf gespuis en al die corrupte prostitués*, wel ja, op al die mensen die maar blijven knielen voor *die machtswellustelingen* en er een *bochel* aan overhouden, net zoals die *grauwe, obscurantistische klasse* die *ons ras* volgens m'n vader *klein, verwijfd, gebocheld, kruiperig en zwak* gemaakt heeft, terwijl een vrij mens het hoofd hoog moet houden, en dat heb ik altijd gedaan in 't leven, ik heb het hoofd altijd hoog gehouden, en ik zal dat ook altijd blijven doen, en als ik ooit ergens zal staan, is dat omdat ik ondanks mijn probleem geen bochel heb en ook niet zal hebben, want voor mijn dijen, voor hoe ik ben, nam ik al van jongs af aan de metro, alleen, toen ik dertien was, om elke dag naar die dame te gaan met haar wellness in de buurt van het stadion, en je nam daar altijd de trap, niet een keer de lift, dat is zeker, en naast de keuken was er een kamertje met een behandeltafel, en daar ging ik op liggen, en de vrouw deed dan een crème op mijn dijen en sloot er elektrodes op aan, en daar lag ik dan, veertig minuten lang, elke dag, met die geur van ontsmettingsmiddel en octopus in tomatensaus uit de Atlantische oceaan. Alles goed juffrouw? Nog een beetje geduld, juffrouw. En ik wist niet of ik zou gaan braken van die geur en in welke richting ik dan zou spuwen, en ik schaamde me en dan slikte ik alles door, terwijl de vrouw maar doorpraatte en me vertelde dat ze na tien jaar hard werken dit toestel had kunnen aanschaffen en door hard te werken en een hele reeks leningen aan te gaan, had ze op tien jaar tijd deze mooie zaak als zelfstandige uitgebouwd, zonder hulp van wie dan ook, want zij had nooit iets in de schoot geworpen gekregen en na al die jaren als bediende had ze deze mooie zaak uit de grond gestampt waardoor er geen baas meer was die haar doen en laten bepaalde of kon zeggen wanneer ze naar de wc of op vakantie mocht en haar bijdragen moest betalen, nee nu was *zij* de baas, en was ik het die daar met mijn dijen vol elektrodes naar haar lag te luisteren, en ik stelde me die mooie dame van net geen zestig voor met een rood, gescheurd hemd dat een stevige borst onbedekt liet, klaar om haar vrijheid en waardigheid als werkende vrouw op te eisen en te bouwen aan een nieuwe toekomst als een nieuwe vrouw die zelf zou beslissen over haar carrière, haar leven, haar toekomst, tot die veertig minuten afgelopen waren en de elektroden eruit gingen en ze me zei *goed zo juffrouw,* en dan gaf ze me een kus met haar lipstick en zei ze, vooruit, doe de groeten aan je papa, juffrouw, en in het begin wilde ik niet zeggen dat mijn papa al dood was, en dus zei ik maar ja, da's goed, hij doet u de groeten terug, en dacht ik, en dat heb ik altijd al gedacht en dat denk ik nu nog, dat mijn papa heel trots op mij zou geweest zijn, dat ik helemaal alleen naar die nieuwe vrouw ging, elke dag, en ik dacht, en dat denk ik nu nog, dat het spijtig is dat hij zo vroeg gestorven is, mijn papa, op een zondag, in plaats van naar een voetbalwedstrijd te gaan, heeft mijn papa zich te pletter gegooid op de sporen, helemaal alleen, met zijn krant en zijn zwartblauwe sjaal. En ik heb dat altijd vreemd gevonden, dat feit, want mijn papa, als hij naar een film op tv keek of zo, dan huilde hij, en ook het tv-journaal maakte altijd zo'n indruk op hem, dus was het heel moedig van hem om de gele lijn over te steken, en zich naar beneden te werpen, en 't is niet dat er daar iemand klaar stond en zei *spring maar papa, spring*, nee, hij is alleen gesprongen, en toen ze hem in zijn kist legden, zag ik dat het een heel kleine kist was en dat ook hij een van de kleinen der aarde was, helemaal zoals die ondervoede dwergen waarover hij het altijd had, en ik vond dat mijn moeder hem beter geen blauw vest had aangedaan, want ik ben er zeker van dat hij liever met een mooi rood hemd onder de grond gelegen zou hebben, en goed, gehuild heb ik niet maar na de begrafenis ben ik begonnen met dat dieet van een week, op basis van appels, niets dan appels mocht ik eten, groene of rode, maar wel altijd en alleen appels, en de eerste dag lukt het me, en de tweede dag eet ik er zeven rode en negen gele, maar de derde dag krijg ik honger en van de

honger bijt ik m'n nagels stuk en als die op zijn, begin ik aan de huid errond, en ik walg ervan, maar het went en de vijfde dag bijt ik door en voel ik me eindelijk een nieuw mens, alsof ik helemaal op eigen kracht een nieuw leven ben begonnen, tot ik tijdens de nacht van de zevende dag wakker lig met krampen van de honger en ik lig te woelen en te draaien in m'n bed en dan sta ik op en bedenk ik me dat een broodstengel misschien toch wel mag. Maar op dat moment zou die nieuwe vrouw die ik was geworden dankzij mijn doorzettingsvermogen, en na alles wat ik mezelf ontzegd had, te gronde gaan door de schuld van die ene *grissino*, en dus rest me niets anders meer dan uit wanhoop m'n vingertoppen af te zuigen, en terwijl ik daar alleen, in 't donker, op m'n vingers sta te sabbelen, voel ik plotseling de drang om een vingerkootje af te bijten, en 't is op dat moment dat ik niet alleen denk, maar ook weet, dat de *oplossing*, de ware *eindoplossing*, de stem verlaat het vocale masker, en dan in crescendo, als het ware vastbesloten om te doden, voor dit probleem, om het te halen is om ze *op te eten*, mijn dijen, en alleen op die manier, door ze op te eten en aan stukken te bijten, door ze voor altijd van mij af te rukken en ze nadien uit te kakken, zal ik me bevrijd voelen van mijn dijen, *vrij* om de vrouw te zijn die ik ben en duizenden handtekeningen uit te delen en bewonderd te worden en duizenden mensen te horen klappen in hun handen die m'n kont raken en dan ga ik naar feesten en loop ik de ene rode loper na de andere af en elke avond is er iemand die me opwacht met een taxi en dan geef ik interviews en denkt m'n moeder niet dat ik een probleem in m'n hoofd heb en in de supermarkt feliciteren ze haar met haar dochter, en ik word groot en er zijn geen problemen meer, alleen maar ministers die me meenemen op vakantie en die mijn rug kussen en me op de schoot houden zoals mijn papa en, stel, op een namiddag sta ik in de file op de autosnelweg en de mensen in de auto naast mij herkennen me en kloppen op de ruit, en zeggen me, maar kijk, ben jij niet die van, ja die ene daar, die ene die, en ik zeg ja, dat ben ik, ik ben het, ik, dat ben ik, ben ik, ik, ben ik, ben ik, ben ik, ik, iiiiiiiiik. Na de onmenselijke schreeuw: duisternis. Flits. Flits. Einde eerste bedrijf. Applaus. Tweede bedrijf.

*La Merda**

Cristian Ceresoli

Cinque potentissimi fari sagomatori puntati al centro, stretti, glaciali, restituiscono una visione desaturata della donna, in perfetto stile spot pubblicitario. L'interprete, nuda, e sotto quella luce stretta e fredda, sta già su di un piedistallo da circo all'entrare in sala dell'umanità (o pubblico). Ora, tenendo il microfono tra le mani, mugugna l'inno nazionale e poi dà sfogo al proprio flusso interiore. Forse un flash luminoso ritmico e reiterato, una risata registrata o un effetto applauso, fanno da controcanto al racconto della voce e alle sue escursioni melodiche, ampie, e a tratti inumane. Può essere che l'umanità stessa venga *invitata* a scattare fotografie con il flash, ad applaudire a comando o simulare risate. La protagonista, una femmina, insegue il suo obiettivo con seriosa ferocia da belva e lucida determinazione assassina. Spesso emergono dalla partitura letteraria delle maschere vocali (o personaggi) che prendono *possesso* della voce. Si deve ridere. È una tragedia in tre tempi: Le Cosce, Il Cazzo, La Fama e un controtempo: l'Italia.

Certo che ci vuole del coraggio, tu stai lì, sul marciapiede, che non puoi neanche oltrepassare la linea gialla e nonostante tutto trovi la forza di buttarti di sotto, e non è facile, perché non è che c'è qualcuno che sta lì e ti batte le mani e ti grida *buttati dài buttati*, no, tu sei lì, da solo, e devi trovare la forza di buttarti e di finire spiaccicato sui binari, e ci vuole del coraggio, e non è che tutti i giorni passa il treno, no, io ci tengo che si sappia che non è per questo fatto della fama o fare i soldi, ma è una cosa più di farla tu per primo la tua vita, e di non stare lì a guardarla sul divano. Io mi sento che stavolta è quella buona. Io l'impegno nella vita ce l'ho messo, da bambina, se mia madre mi diceva c'hai un problema nella testa, il risultato è che mia madre è solo una che si siede sul divano, mentre io, per un provino come questo, per un posto che all'inizio forse è solo un posticino, io mi metto lì, carina, e quando tocca a me mi alzo e dico, *fratelli d'Italia, l'Italia s'è desta, dell'elmo di Scipio s'è cinta la testa, dov'è la vittoria*, e va beh, lo so, non è che sia un granché, ma si sa che poi, una volta che sei dentro, e sei nel giro, ma dopo tutto va da solo, e poi, se mi hanno chiamata a me, col problema che ho io, forse hanno già visto come sono e che sono sì una piccola e ho sì questa cosa delle cosce, ma che comunque non mi abbatto, e non mi do per vinta, e anche se sono una piccola, io, *mi butto*, e non ho bisogno di qualcuno che mi dica *dài buttati buttati dài,* io, da sola, anche se sono una piccola, ce la posso fare, me lo diceva sempre il mio papà, che gli eroi che fecero il nostro paese erano tutti dei *tappi malnutriti*, tipo un metro e sessanta, tanto che quelle camicie rosse che avevano addosso, adesso, se le potrebbero mettere dei bambini, tanto che erano piccole, e io anch'io sono una piccola, e nella vita ci vuole l'impegno e il sacrificio, che solo così si può diventare molto alti e guardare dall'alto tutta questa *plebaglia di codardi e prostituti e prezzolati* quelli insomma che a forza d'inginocchiarsi davanti a *tutte le tirannidi* diventano dei *gobbi* tanto esattamente come questa *squallida stirpe oscurantista* che secondo mio padre *effeminò, rimpicciolì, curvò e rese rachitica e strisciante la nostra razza* mentre intanto l'uomo libero deve guardare al cielo e io questo me lo sono sempre ricordata, nella vita, e sempre ho guardato al cielo e io sempre guardo al cielo, e se un giorno sarò dove sono è perché nonostante il mio problema io non sarò e non sono una gobba, perché per le mie cosce, per come sono io, già da bambina prendevo la metro, da sola, a tredici anni, per andare tutti i giorni da una signora, che c'aveva questo centro del benessere dalle parti dello stadio, e tu salivi con le scale, e mai una volta l'ascensore, questo è chiaro, e di fianco alla cucina

* Cristian Ceresoli, *The Shit/La Merda. Edizione bilingue in italiano e inglese*, London, Oberon Books, 2012, pp. 6-12.

lei teneva una stanzetta col lettino, e io mi ci sdraiavo sopra, e la signora mi metteva una cremina sulle cosce, e mi infilzava degli elettrodi nelle cosce, e stavo lì, per quaranta minuti, tutti i giorni, con questo odore di disinfettante, e di polipetti al sugo dell'oceano atlantico. Tutto bene signorina? Un pochino di pazienza, signorina. E io non sapevo se mi sarebbe scappato da vomitare, per quell'odore, e da che parte avrei dovuto dirigere il getto, nel caso, e mi vergognavo, e allora ingoiavo, mentre intanto la signora mi parlava e mi diceva che in dieci anni di sacrifici era riuscita a comprarsi il macchinario e coi sacrifici e con l'impegno e colle rate, in dieci anni, aveva messo in piedi questa bella attività con la partita iva e senza mai chiedere niente a nessuno, perché lei, nella vita, non aveva mai avuto niente da nessuno e dopo tanti anni da impiegata aveva messo su questa sua bella attività per cui non c'era più nessun padrone a cui dire di sì o di no o quando andare al cesso o le ferie e i contributi, ma era *lei* che comandava, ed ero io, che mentre stavo lì, con le mie cosce con gli elettrodi infilzati nella carne, l'ascoltavo e immaginavo questa bella signora, all'alba dei suoi sessant'anni, con una camicia rossa strappata sul petto che le lasciava scoperto un solo seno, sodo, mentre avanzava alla conquista della sua libertà e della sua dignità come lavoratrice verso un futuro nuovo costruito da una donna nuova che decideva *lei* per la sua carriera e per la sua vita e per il suo futuro, fino a che i quaranta minuti non finivano e mi staccava gli elettrodi e mi diceva, molto bene signorina, e poi mi dava un bacio col rossetto e mi diceva, dài, salutami il tuo babbo, signorina, e io all'inizio non glielo volevo dire che il mio babbo era già morto, e allora le dicevo sì, va bene, la saluta anche lui, e pensavo, e ho sempre pensato e lo penso ancora, che il mio papà sarebbe stato molto fiero di me, che andavo da questa donna nuova, tutta sola, ogni giorno, e pensavo, e lo penso ancora, che era un peccato che era morto così presto, il mio papà, una domenica che invece di andare allo stadio si era andato a spiaccicare sui binari, lui, da solo, col suo giornale e la sua sciarpa nerazzurra. E io l'ho sempre trovato strano, questo fatto, perché mio papà, quando guardava i film della televisione, per esempio, lui piangeva, e anche il telegiornale gli faceva impressione, e invece deve averci avuto un bel coraggio a oltrepassare la linea gialla e a buttarsi di sotto, e non è che c'era qualcuno che gli *diceva dài buttati papà buttati*, ma si è buttato lui da solo, e allora quando l'hanno messo nella bara, ho visto che era una bara molto piccola, e che anche lui era un piccolo del mondo, proprio esattamente quanto lo erano stati quei tappi malnutriti di cui parlava sempre, e pensavo che mia madre aveva sbagliato a mettergli la giacca blu, perché io sono sicura che lui avrebbe preferito finire nella terra con una bella camicia rossa addosso, e allora io di piangere non ho pianto, ma quando sono tornata dal funerale ho cominciato questa dieta di una settimana, tutta a base di mele, che ogni giorno dovevo mangiare nient'altro che mele, e anche verdi o anche rosse, ma solo mele e sempre mele, e il primo giorno ce la faccio, e il secondo me ne mangio sette rosse e nove gialle, ma il terzo c'ho fame e dalla fame mi mangio le unghie e poi quando le unghie sono finite mi stacco la pelle tutta intorno, e mi fa schifo, ma io mi abituo, e il quinto giorno tengo duro e mi sento finalmente come nuova, come se adesso, con questa mia determinazione, avessi iniziata una nuova vita, fino a che la notte del settimo giorno non riesco a dormire e ho i crampi dalla fame e mi giro nel letto e poi mi alzo, e penso che, magari, anche un grissino può andare. Solo che a questo punto sarebbe come che tutta quella femmina nuova che ero diventata, grazie solo alle forze mie, del mio sacrificio, ecco che per questo grissino se ne andrebbe del tutto in malora, dalla disperazione non mi resta che succhiarmi i polpastrelli, e mentre sono lì, che me li succhio, da sola, nel buio, mi viene da staccarmi con i denti una falange, ed è proprio in quel momento che non già penso, ma so, che la *soluzione*, la vera *soluzione finale*, la voce abbandona la maschera vocale, e poi in crescendo, come determinata a uccidere, per questo, per farcela è quella di *mangiarmele* queste mie cosce, ed è solo così, mangiandomele e sbranandole a morsi,

togliendole da me per sempre, cacandole fuori dal culo una volta mangiate, queste mie cosce, mi lasceranno *libera*, libera di essere la donna che sono e di firmare mille autografi e di essere adorata e di sentire mille applausi che mi toccano il sedere e poi vado alle feste e cammino sui tappeti rossi e tutte le sere c'è qualcuno che mi aspetta con un taxi e poi concedo le interviste e mia madre non pensa che ho un problema nella testa ma quando va al supermercato le fanno i complimenti per sua figlia, e io divento alta e non c'è più nessun problema ma soltanto dei ministri che mi portano in vacanza e che mi baciano la schiena e che mi tengono sulle ginocchia come faceva il mio papà, e se poi metti un pomeriggio sono in coda, in autostrada, e quelli che stanno nell'auto di fianco mi riconoscono, e mi battono sui vetri, e mi dicono ma guarda ma tu non sei quella là del, sì insomma quella che, sì quella che fa, quella che sì, e io gli dico sì, che sono io, che sono proprio io, io, sono io, sono io, io, sono io, sono io, sono io, io, iooooooooo. Al grido disumano, buio. Flash. Fine primo tempo. Applausi. Secondo tempo.

Trefwoorden
The Shit/La Merda, Cristian Ceresoli, Silvia Gallerano

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RIASSUNTO

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A view to a kill
Renaissance paintings as living objects

Review of: Elsje van Kessel, *The Lives of Paintings. Presence, Agency and Likeness in Venetian Art of the Sixteenth Century* (Studien aus dem Warburg Haus, vol. 18), Berlin, De Gruyter, Leiden, Leiden University Press, 2017, 348 p., ISBN: 9783110495775, € 79,95.

Bram de Klerck

A painting imbued with healing power. A donor portrait in an altar piece that fell victim to acts of iconoclasm prompted by hatred towards its prototype. Two portraits of ladies, treated as living people. These are the protagonists of Dutch art historian Elsje van Kessel's study on 'the lives of paintings' in sixteenth-century Venice. As fascinating as their stories may be, they hardly come as a surprise. Did not, for instance, a painted crucified Christ speak to Saint Francis of Assisi in 1205? Did not, in 1495, a lady in Ferrara place a portrait of her absent dear friend, Marchioness Isabella d'Este, on a chair at her table to allow her to imagine the noblewoman herself present at dinner? Was (and is, for that matter), not the world full of images speaking and weeping, bleeding and healing, charming or provoking their audiences in one way or the other?

To expect the book under review to be a kind of inventory or suchlike instances in Renaissance painting, however, would be to underestimate its scope and ambitions. Indeed, Elsje van Kessel, now affiliated with the School of Art History of Saint Andrews University, succeeds in elevating the discussion of the social function of painting to a higher level. The book results from the author's doctoral dissertation defended at Leiden University in 2011, which itself had originated in the research programme 'Art, Agency, and Living Presence in Early Modern Italy'. Van Kessel extensively treats quite a small number of paintings from the perspective of their functioning as living objects within a specific social network, making use of the theory of art and agency, as it has been formulated by British social anthropologist Alfred Gell in his *Art and Agency. An Anthropological Theory* (1998). In his view, a work of art functions as a social agent embedded in a network consisting of the thing or person represented (the 'prototype'), the art object (the 'index'), the artist, and the recipient.

Keeping the research to the city and mainland of Venice during the sixteenth century, Van Kessel presents four case studies. The first deals with *Christ Carrying the Cross* (ca. 1510), a canvas attributed to Titian, originally in the church of San Rocco in Venice (now in the Scuola di San Rocco). This was known to be a miraculous painting with healing power already within ten years after its completion. As it turns out the painting fits well within the context of other miraculous images and relics in the church, and served as a fundraiser for the Scuola di San Rocco related to it. The

suggestion that one of the central members of this confraternity, Francesco di Zuan, may have considered the depicted cross-bearing figure *identical* to Christ, seems improbable. It is hardly conceivable that this devout man, involved as he was in the rigorously religious circle around the later Saint Gaetano Thiene, would ever have given in to such outright idolatrous opinions. A minor flaw is the confusion of the (in Van Kessel's argumentation not unimportant) feast day of the Crucifixion 1519 with that of the Annunciation (25 March), two Catholic holidays that may coincide, but not in that particular year.

Chapter two concentrates on the *Annunciation* Titian made to adorn the altar in canon Broccardo Malchiostro's private chapel in Treviso Cathedral, where it is still kept. This painting stands out for its unusual composition with the donor himself strikingly placed in a central position. From legal documents we know that already a few years after its completion, the painting was attacked and precisely the figure of Malchiostro was stained with 'pitch and other filthy stuff', while at the same time Malchiostro was mocked in a caricature drawn on the church wall. Taking these facts as a starting point, Van Kessel presents a series of insightful observations on, among other things, the provoking frontal pose of the portrayed donor, on the relation between the portrait and its not particularly well-liked prototype, and on iconoclasm and mockery in images being two sides of one and the same coin.

The third case study concerns a painted portrait of Venetian noblewoman Irene da Spilimbergo, begun in around 1555 by a certain Zuan Paolo Pace and possibly finished some time later by Titian (now in Washington DC, National Gallery). After the highly cultured lady had died at age 21 in 1559, a volume of 381 poems in Italian and Latin was compiled in her honour. Van Kessel meticulously reconstructs how the painted portrait served as a substitute for the deceased lady's persona, as well as the way in which the collection of poetry formed a portrait of her. The poems were clearly inspired on Petrarch's famous sonnets dedicated to his beloved Laura, not only in the sense that they present Irene as unreachable, but also because of the fact that, like their fourteenth-century example, each poem describes only one aspect of her appearance or character. One of the most fascinating aspects of this literary reception is a poem which blames a painting (not the one in Washington) for Irene da Spilimbergo's untimely death. The latter was a painter herself, and according to Neapolitan poetess Laura Terracina a self-portrait seen by Jupiter caused the supreme god to take her life in order for her to remain young and beautiful forever in her image: 'from a view to a kill', so to speak, as the nineteenth-century hunting song *D'ye ken John Peel* has it.

While the written sources for the first two chapters were already well-known in art historical literature, and also the poems in honour of Irene da Spilimbergo have been studied before, be it mainly in a literary context, the archival documents at the basis of the fourth case have hitherto remained unpublished. They concern the correspondence between a certain Francesco Bembo in Venice, and Grand Duchess Bianca Capello in Florence. The letters' content circles around her painted portrait in Bembo's possession, this time not by a Venetian, but by Scipione Pulzone, a Neapolitan artist active in Rome (the painting is now in Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum). Of the four cases, this is the one most instructive about a painting being treated as a living person. For instance, the image played a role in various social groups in Venice up to the Doge himself, it was prayed for when the sitter was ill, and it was adorned with an elaborate ebony frame to 'clothe' and protect it.

The introduction to the book underlines that it was not Van Kessel's intention to write about the life-likeness or aliveness of art works as such. Nor does she turn out to be very much interested in the effects of the visual appearance of an art work on the beholder. Although she looks for evidence in style (e.g. Pulzone's invisible

brushstroke), compositional characteristics (the life-sized, close up figure of Titian's cross-carrying Christ looking directly at the viewer), or iconographical conventions and anomalies (the Treviso *Annunciation*), Van Kessel pays more attention to context in historical, religious, biographical facts and circumstances, sometimes taking us rather far away from the paintings that stood at the beginning. At the same time, however, Elsje van Kessel makes clear the necessity of this procedure to come to an admirably thorough and well-documented reconstruction of the lives of paintings.

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The doctrine of the mean
Conversation in courtesy manuals from early modernity to the present

Review of: Giovanna Alfonzetti, *'Mi lasci dire'. La conversazione nei galatei*, Roma, Bulzoni, 2016, 250 p., ISBN: 9788868970628, € 21,00.

Allegra Baggio Corradi

Language is flexible and changing because it is as alive as man's attempt to establish a coherence between words and the world. The means through which language is tended, theorised and trained are important to understand how speakers think, act and interact, in reality as much as in fiction, at a given moment and in a particular context. The tacit and avowed rules of language prescribe not only that conversation be held in accordance to specific canons, but also that particular demeanours be adopted under certain circumstances in order to achieve specific aims. Linguistic etiquette and politeness are therefore inextricably embedded within political, literary and anthropological discourses, oscillating between nature and artifice. Scientific approaches to the study of linguistic etiquette, usually referred to as "second order politeness", are integrally bound to and dependent on the speakers' common sense perception of etiquette or "first order politeness". It is also true, however, that the discursive manifestation of politeness from the part of fictional speakers can emerge from art rather than from life, that is, from the mind of an author or theoretician rather than from living individuals. In the latter case, a study of the strategies adopted in a written conversation piece allows the contemporary reader to penetrate the mechanics of (un)politeness by assessing the continuities and disruptions between its own time and any past.

Giovanna Alfonzetti's *'Mi lasci dire'. La conversazione nei galatei* undertakes precisely this task. The author endorses the view that politeness is a prototypically cooperative communicative behaviour whose aims are realised through a series of face-enhancing actions. She analyses these actions – turn-alternation, non-verbal communication, courteous listening, choice of code, linguistic competence and conversation topic – through the lens of linguistic pragmatics, devoting a chapter to each and every one of them. Alfonzetti moves from what she considers to be the prototype of courtesy books, Giovanni della Casa's *Galateo* (1558), and then compares this with a large number of etiquette manuals dating from the early modern period (Baldassare Castiglione's *Cortegiano* (1528)); pre- and post-unification Italy (Melchiorre Gioia's *Nuovo Galateo* (1802), Giacinto Gallenga's *Codice delle persone oneste e civili: ossia galateo per ogni classe di cittadini* (1871), Costantino Rodella's *Enrichetto, ossia il galateo del fanciullo* (1873) and *Marina, ossia il galateo della fanciulla* (1873), and Matteo Gatta's *Galateo ad uso dei giovanetti* (1877)); Fascism (Castellino's *Libro della cortesia. Nuovo galateo per i giovinetti* (1920), Pierazzi's *Per*

essere felici. Il libro della cortesia (1922), Brelich Dall'Asta's *Il successo della vita. Galateo moderno* (1931)); and the post-war period (Piccini's *Il tesoro* (1951), Mosca's *Il nuovo Galateo. Come ci si doveva comportare ieri, come ci si deve comportare oggi* (1980), and Barbara Ronchi della Rocca's *Si fa non si fa. Le regole del galateo 2.0* (2013)).

Rather cunningly, Alfonzetti starts her analysis of polite conversation from the study of silence. The author considers the unavowed rules of conversational interruption in relation to their appropriateness and inadequacy in specific contexts and enhances the irreconcilability of second order politeness in this regard. In the second chapter, Alfonzetti assesses the socio-symbolic implications of prosodic and kinesic actions, that is, non-verbal forms of communication, such as facial expression, posture, gaze and invasion of personal space. In this respect, the author argues that the most substantial change from humanist to post-unitarian manuals is the progressively stronger emphasis placed on emotion and empathy. In the third chapter, Alfonzetti studies the role of the audience, focusing, in particular, on the growing importance placed on the listener from early modernity to the present times. In the fourth chapter, the author discusses the choice of linguistic code, with a particular emphasis on the appropriate use of dialects, foreign languages and other "in-group identity markers". In the fifth chapter, Alfonzetti addresses the issue of linguistic competence through the analysis of technicalities such as proper pronunciation, hyperarticulation, hypoarticulation, stress, politically-correct terminologies, jargon, neologisms, malapropisms and plastisms. In the sixth chapter, Alfonzetti amply discusses the choice of conversation topics. In this regard, she emphasises the importance for a speaker to avoid causing nuisance to the listener's disposition (*appetito*), imagination (*immaginazione*) and senses (*sensi*) and his ability to claim common ground by avoiding self-referential, sad, blasphemous or potentially controversial topics such as politics and religion.

In her sophisticated conclusion, Alfonzetti provides a thorough recapitulation of the previous chapters, convincingly arguing that despite the discrepancies between the individual texts analysed, all authors express their desire to write an updated conduct manual suitable for their times although they, either consciously or inadvertedly, reiterate the principles exposed by their predecessors. The major changes from humanist to modern conversation etiquette consist in the shifting views on gender; in the progressive transformation of courtesy books 'from manuals of proper living to manuals of surviving, in which the attention to the presentation and realisation of the self is ever greater' (p. 33); in the psychologisation of the listener at the turn of the twentieth-century together with the development of psychoanalysis; and in the evolving notion of "civilisation". The most important continuity Alfonzetti highlights is the doctrine of the mean (*giusto mezzo*), a claim to the avoidance of extremes in conversation, from not speaking too much about oneself to speaking too much all together.

Overall, although Alfonzetti, by no means slavishly, follows Andreas Jucker and Irma Taavitsainen's historical pragmatics, borrowing much also from Annick Paternoster's and Richard Watts's studies on the pragmatics of politeness, she is able to contribute significantly to scholarship through her sound, wide-ranging and cautious study. Her diachronic approach to the investigation of politeness is convincing and wisely articulated, certainly making the case for non-normative (un)politeness better than a chronological approach would be able to do. Her criticisms towards recent conduct manuals are justified and very elegantly articulated, a perfect example of polite *misura*, which counters the acrimony of much contemporary scholarship. For this, Alfonzetti should be praised and politely thanked.

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‘Fatevi portatori di storie’
Alessandro Perissinotto fra giallo e romanzo sociale

Recensione di: Angelo Castagnino, *‘Fatevi portatori di storie’. Alessandro Perissinotto fra giallo e romanzo sociale*, Ravenna, Giorgio Pozzi editore, 2018, 174 p., ISBN: 9788896117798, € 15,00.

Barbara Pezzotti

Scrittore, traduttore del giallista francese Jean-Christophe Grangé, docente universitario, Alessandro Perissinotto ha cominciato a pubblicare alla fine degli anni Novanta e, con il romanzo epistolare *Al mio giudice*, si è aggiudicato il Premio Grinzane Cavour nel 2005. Autore di una trilogia gialla contemporanea con protagonista la psicologa Anna Pavesi, dopo varie incursioni in altri generi – pubblicando, tra la saggistica, il volume *La società dell’indagine* (2008), Perissinotto è tornato ai romanzi polizieschi con una serie ambientata in Estonia e pubblicata con lo pseudonimo di Arno Saar che ha per protagonista il detective Marko Kurismaa: *Il treno per Tallinn* (2016) e *La neve sotto la neve* (2017). La cospicua produzione di Perissinotto ha attirato l’attenzione di alcuni critici come Barbara Meazzi, Matteo Milani, Andrea Raimondi e Barry Forshaw, ma il volume di Angelo Castagnino è la prima monografia dedicata allo scrittore piemontese.

Nell’introduzione Castagnino spiega i motivi per cui ha scelto di dedicare una monografia a Perissinotto, spiegando che l’autore piemontese coniuga l’interesse a tematiche sociali sia di interesse storico sia attuale a un’estrema attenzione alla forma del romanzo con un uso sofisticato di teorie letterarie e tecniche narrative. Nel primo capitolo Castagnino analizza la produzione iniziale di Perissinotto, confrontando i romanzi dell’autore con i gialli di Leonardo Sciascia, Carlo Lucarelli, Antonio Pennacchi e Giorgio Fontana. Lavorando in particolare sulla trilogia dei romanzi storici composta da *L’anno che uccisero Rosetta*, *La canzone di Colombano* e *Treno 8017* e sulla serie contemporanea con l’investigatrice-psicologa Anna Pavesi, Castagnino affronta temi quali la critica politica e sociale, la rappresentazione dell’“altro”, le conseguenze del fascismo per l’Italia contemporanea e il giallo come riflessione sulla giustizia nell’opera dell’autore torinese, scrutinata attraverso le lenti di teorici quali Georg Simmel e Jacques Derrida.

Il secondo capitolo è incentrato sulla rappresentazione della violenza e la centralità del crimine nel romanzo contemporaneo, con un focus particolare sul romanzo di Perissinotto intitolato *Per vendetta*.

Il terzo capitolo si concentra sul tema dell’identità, presente sin dall’inizio nell’opera di Perissinotto. Castagnino ricorda come già nei primi romanzi storici sia presente una riflessione sull’identità piemontese, in relazione al folclore regionale e all’ambientazione di paese, una riflessione che, a partire da *Semina il vento* diventa ‘un segnale d’allarme contro l’intolleranza razziale’ (p. 14). Successivamente,

attraverso l'uso del *doppelgänger* e dello spettro il tema dell'identità è scandagliato nei suoi aspetti psicopatologici, freudiani e junghiani.

Nel quarto capitolo Castagnino analizza il passaggio dell'opera dell'autore da una produzione prettamente giallistica a quella di 'romanzo sociale', sotto il cui ombrello Castagnino pone alcuni romanzi, quali *Coordinate d'Oriente* e *Quello che l'acqua nasconde*. In questi libri, Castagnino spiega, Perissinotto adotta una prospettiva 'situata a metà tra storia sociale, eventi privati realmente accaduti e finzione narrativa' (p. 15). L'analisi testuale dei romanzi è sofisticata, ma il capitolo avrebbe beneficiato da una più esplicita teorizzazione del termine 'romanzo sociale' e le sue differenze con la narrativa d'indagine, anche alla luce del recente volume di Marco Sangiorgi e Luca Telò *Il giallo italiano come nuovo romanzo sociale* (2004), che viene citato in altre parti della monografia.

Il quinto capitolo affronta nello specifico il tema dell'intertestualità e la comunicazione, diretta o indiretta, fra Perissinotto e la tradizione del romanzo occidentale negli aspetti strutturali e formali della narrativa. In questa sezione di grande raffinatezza interpretativa, Castagnino ricorda come l'uso dell'intertestualità è caratteristica di tutta la produzione dell'autore piemontese, con casi di riscrittura che diventano momenti autoriflessivi in cui 'la narrativa discute i suoi stessi meccanismi' (p. 16). In questa sezione si discute anche il ruolo del narratore in romanzi in cui la riflessione sul raccontare è costantemente presente.

Il volume si conclude con un'interessante intervista a Perissinotto durante la quale l'autore parla del processo creativo, lo *storytelling*, la funzione del narratore, la letteratura industriale e la narrativa d'indagine.

Il volume di Castagnino ovvia a un "vuoto" di critica sull'autore piemontese a cui finora erano stati dedicati solo alcuni articoli e capitoli in edizioni collettanee. Scritto in maniera colta, ma accessibile, il saggio copre l'intera produzione di Perissinotto e identifica alcune importanti chiavi di lettura della sua opera, in termini di analisi dell'identità e alterità e di discussione intorno a violenza e giustizia. Un maggiore dialogo con l'ampia critica sul giallo ormai a disposizione – che da alcuni anni evidenzia il valore sociale e politico nonché il confronto con la storia e la riflessione identitaria che la narrativa d'indagine contiene, avrebbe arricchito ulteriormente questo interessante volume. Un ulteriore sviluppo dello studio su Perissinotto potrebbe anche essere una maggiore contestualizzare della sua opera nella ricca produzione giallistica degli anni in cui l'autore ha operato e con cui ci sono chiare affinità, come per esempio nel caso dello scrittore Marcello Fois (sui temi identitari) o Massimo Carlotto (per l'ecocriticismo e per i romanzi ambientati all'estero) o, ancora, nella ricca tradizione di genere presente in Piemonte. In ogni caso, questa monografia interrompe il "silenzio" critico (con alcune rare eccezioni) su questo complesso autore e rappresenta un'essenziale lettura per chiunque voglia studiare Perissinotto e le intersezioni tra la letteratura di genere e la letteratura *tout court*.

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Il racconto del centro e della periferia
Uno studio comparato sull'impatto dei movimenti migratori nella narrativa italiana del *boom*

Recensione di: Anna Taglietti, *Scrivere il centro e le periferie. Gli spazi della migrazione in Bianciardi, Ottieri e Parise*, Roma, Aracne, 2018, 184 p., ISBN: 9788825516302, € 12,00.

Bianca Rita Cataldi

Lo scopo di questo saggio è analizzare l'impatto che il movimento migratorio ha avuto e ha ancora sulla narrativa italiana e, in particolare, sulla rappresentazione del centro, inteso come luogo di arrivo, e della periferia, inteso come luogo di partenza. Il *corpus* scelto per tale studio è formato prevalentemente dai testi di tre autori – Luciano Bianciardi, Ottiero Ottieri e Goffredo Parise – che negli stessi anni, ovvero gli anni Cinquanta-Sessanta del *boom* economico italiano, hanno condiviso l'esperienza della migrazione verso Milano, centro della vita industriale e del progresso. I principali, anche se non gli unici, testi analizzati sono quelli che costituiscono la cosiddetta "trilogia del miracolo" o "trilogia della rabbia" di Luciano Bianciardi (*Il lavoro culturale, L'integrazione, La vita agra*), *La linea gotica – Taccuino 1948-1958* di Ottiero Ottieri e *Il padrone* di Goffredo Parise.

Sostenuta da un apparato teorico che si basa prevalentemente sul capovolgimento del paradigma di Francesco Orlando, secondo il quale è possibile leggere del centro attraverso gli autori che scrivono di periferie, Anna Taglietti esplora quanto anche la periferia sia presente *in absentia* negli autori trattati e nel loro racconto del centro. Il saggio analizza tre temi in particolare, a cui corrispondono i tre capitoli del libro: il centro (in questi tre casi rappresentato dalla città di Milano), la periferia e il corpo.

Nell'ultimo capitolo del libro viene riservato uno spazio anche a due autori, Giuseppe Marotta e Francesco Bianconi, che scrivono rispettivamente prima e dopo gli anni del *boom*, nel tentativo riuscito di ampliare il campo di indagine e di dimostrare come l'influenza dell'atto migratorio cambi anche a seconda della sensibilità personale dell'autore e del tempo in cui vive. Ciò che risulta subito evidente nell'analisi dei testi di Bianciardi, Ottieri e Parise, è come l'arrivo nella città-centro (Milano) provochi un senso di spaesamento. Quando il centro è immaginato da lontano, è possibile chiamarlo per nome, stabilirne dei contorni; quando, invece, chi scrive si ritrova a viverci, non fa più il suo nome, il che evidenzia la mancanza di integrazione con l'ambiente. Mentre il vecchio, la periferia da cui ci si allontana, rappresenta la pietra miliare nella costruzione del sé, il nuovo, ovvero il centro verso cui si migra, equivale all'incomprensione e alla non integrazione. L'analisi di questi testi viene quindi affrontata attraverso la prospettiva spaziale, in termini di rapporto uomo-spazio.

Nel primo capitolo, le opere dei tre autori vengono comparate secondo tale prospettiva, sottolineando le diverse fasi del rapporto con il centro, dal desiderio di adattamento e appropriazione fino al tentativo di recuperare il rapporto umano avvicinandosi alle zone periferiche e proletarie. Sia nel caso di Bianciardi che di Ottieri, tale tentativo risulta fallimentare e i personaggi di queste opere si ritroveranno ancora più soli di quando erano appena arrivati in città. In Bianciardi in particolare, in tutte le opere ambientate a Milano, la voce narrante è sempre uno straniero, quasi un intruso, e Milano è un mostro tentacolare da detestare. Nel caso del *Padrone* di Parise, il protagonista si ritrova invece a essere completamente succube del signor Max, il "padrone" del titolo, fino al punto di permettergli di decidere non solo della sua vita lavorativa, ma anche di quella sentimentale. Se alla figura del padre (rimasto in periferia) viene attribuita una forza prevalentemente fisica, a quella del padrone corrisponde invece una forza persuasiva, mentale, capace di gestire ogni ambito della vita del suo sottoposto.

Il secondo capitolo si concentra sul racconto delle periferie che emerge in controluce dal racconto del centro. Quando evocata, 'la periferia funge da contraltare e da termine di paragone' (p. 43). Se, dunque, nella periferia tutto assumeva un senso all'interno di un definito ordine naturale delle cose, nella metropoli 'la ricerca della realtà porta alla delusione inesorabile delle aspettative' (p. 43). Nella dialettica morte-vita, che costituisce di per sé un *topos* della letteratura di ogni tempo, la città tende ad avvicinarsi inesorabilmente alla sfera mortifera, come è testimoniato anche dall'uso dello spettro cromatico che si tinge di grigio nella maggior parte delle opere di questi autori. L'eccezione è talvolta rappresentata dal quartiere di Brera, ma anche qui si tratta di una realtà positiva solamente a prima vista. Per Ottieri, Milano è sì un corpo estraneo ma, diversamente dalla Milano di Bianciardi, esercita anche un certo fascino sulla voce narrante che vi si avvicina, se ne allontana e poi la sente mancare. Il focus è dunque, per Ottieri, prevalentemente sull'idea dello sradicamento del lavoratore (il lavoratore intellettuale, in questo caso) che, pur di svolgere il proprio incarico, deve allontanarsi dal proprio spazio. In Parise, emergono soprattutto le conseguenze disumanizzanti di tale allontanamento, nonché del lavoro in sé.

Il terzo capitolo è infatti dedicato al rapporto tra spazio e corpo, a come la salute dell'individuo (fisica ma soprattutto mentale) reagisce alla migrazione dalla periferia verso il centro. Anche quando la malattia non è palesemente espressa, come avviene per la periferia, la si può leggere in filigrana, nella decadenza fisica, nel linguaggio del corpo e anche nel linguaggio scritto e parlato, che raggiunge talvolta dimensioni di totale straniamento, a cui corrisponde lo straniamento dell'individuo stesso. Infine, l'indagine si sposta su Marotta e Bianconi. Il primo, in *A Milano non fa freddo*, esorcizza il dolore dello sradicamento attraverso l'innamoramento nei confronti della città; il secondo, invece, in *Il regno animale*, racconta una Milano odiosa, già post-industriale e più grigia che mai, in cui è impossibile sentirsi a casa e in cui alla frammentazione dell'io corrisponde anche quella della struttura del testo.

In conclusione, l'ipotesi iniziale del ribaltamento del paradigma orlandiano risulta confermata non solo dal *corpus* scelto e analizzato con lucidità e con un denso supporto di riferimenti critici, ma anche da testi che precedono o seguono il periodo di riferimento. Tale ampliamento del campo di indagine dimostra come, seppur con diverse modalità, i movimenti migratori di un autore influenzino la sua produzione, e quanto sia possibile che la periferia, anche quando risulta assente nella narrazione, sia in realtà presente nel racconto stesso del centro, come in uno specchio rovesciato.

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Una panoramica dell'Italianistica iberica e latinoamericana

Recensione di: Alejandro Patat (a cura di), *La letteratura italiana nel mondo iberico e latinoamericano. Critica, traduzione, istituzioni*, Pisa, Pacini, 2018, 320 p., ISBN: 9788869954559, € 20,00.

Nicolás M. Sánchez Gasparini

Se messi a confronto con gli altri centri di studi italiani sparsi per il mondo, quelli presenti nell'America latina e nella penisola iberica risultano aver raggiunto una posizione notevole su numerosi fronti di ricerca che vanno al di là del comparativismo. Questo volume ne dà prova attraverso una selezione rappresentativa degli studi correnti in materia di ricezione, traduzione, critica e insegnamento. Composto soprattutto da contributi che sono stati presentati al congresso 'La letteratura italiana nel mondo iberico e latinoamericano. Poli culturali, traduzione e critica', tenuto presso l'Università per Stranieri di Siena il 19 e 20 gennaio 2017, questo volume costituisce una lettura utile per chi voglia informarsi sulla situazione attuale della disciplina in due realtà specifiche, vale a dire il mondo portoghese e quello ispanofono, i quali storicamente intrattengono rapporti stretti e proficui con la cultura italiana.

Il lavoro è diviso in tre sezioni: 'Critica', 'Traduzione' e 'Istituzioni', precedute da una prefazione e un'introduzione.

Nella prefazione Alejandro Patat riassume e soppesa criticamente il contenuto degli articoli ospitati nel volume e conclude sottolineando il bisogno di sviluppare l'interazione fra i centri di studi italiani. Segue l'introduzione di Marcello Ciccuto che espone un caso paradigmatico dell'italianistica latinoamericana: l'analisi di Borges della *Commedia*.

La prima sezione del volume, 'Critica', getta uno sguardo sulle linee di ricerca oggi seguite nei centri di studi nazionali e internazionali. Apre la sezione un articolo su come un gruppo di studiosi dell'Università Complutense di Madrid, sotto la guida di Juan Ignacio Varela-Portas de Orduña, abbia proposto di ritornare all'interpretazione allegorica di Dante, malgrado l'atteggiamento interpretativo antiallegorico che ha caratterizzato l'esegesi dantesca fin dall'Ottocento. Lorenzo Bartoli, a sua volta, commenta un progetto teatrale realizzato dagli attori-detenuti del braccio di Alta Sicurezza del carcere di Rebibbia a Roma, nel quale l'*Inferno* di Dante viene rappresentato attraverso le esperienze e i dialetti dei reclusi – inclusa una varietà dello spagnolo americano. Il suo contributo si chiude con una riflessione sulla potenza catartica della letteratura, in opposizione alla logica retributiva della giustizia. Il

lavoro di Marco Carmello, poi, indaga sul trattamento e sullo sviluppo dello spazio argentino nelle opere e nella poetica di Gadda. L'ipotesi soggiacente a tale contributo è che Gadda abbia compiuto un travestimento "alla sudamericana" dei luoghi della sua infanzia lombarda allo scopo di aprirsi uno spazio libero di scrittura. Almada Ordóñez, invece, commenta l'arrivo in Argentina dei futuristi Marinetti, Ungaretti e Puccini negli anni del post-futurismo. Facendo un uso cruciale dei nuovi documenti ottenuti nelle emeroteche argentine, Ordóñez aggiunge un nuovo tassello critico, interessato alla controversia politica e al proselitismo fascista assunto dai futuristi. Graciela Caram fa un'analisi dettagliata dell'influsso enorme dell'opera di Pavese sull'aggiornamento della letteratura argentina avvenuto negli anni Sessanta. Lo studioso giapponese Hideyuki Doi riporta i risultati della sua indagine concernente la figura imponente di Gherardo Marone, intellettuale italiano molto coinvolto nei circoli culturali napoletani tra gli anni Dieci e Venti, e fondatore degli studi d'Italianistica in Argentina. Il lavoro approfondito di Davide Toma, che chiude la sezione, mette a confronto le divergenti politiche linguistiche dell'italiano adottate in due paesi ispanofoni, la Spagna e l'Argentina.

La seconda sezione, 'Traduzione', si concentra sui problemi, vecchi e nuovi, che ruotano attorno al tema della traduzione della letteratura italiana. A capo di questa seconda sezione, Patricia Peterle, Andrea Santurbano e Lucia Wataghin presentano il loro vasto progetto di ricerca sulla traduzione della letteratura italiana in Brasile, ancora in corso. Il progetto, che rappresenta un punto di incontro tra traduzione letteraria e letteratura comparata, esplora le possibilità della traduzione come veicolo transculturale in un sistema letterario globale. Fernando Ibarra si concentra in modo simile sull'influenza esercitata dalla letteratura italiana sugli scrittori messicani nella prima metà dell'Ottocento, che avrebbero cercato di forgiare una nuova identità culturale fatta a misura di quella europea. Claudia Fernández Greco, dantista argentina, offre una sintesi della sua ricerca di dottorato percorrendo la storia della traduzione di Dante in Argentina, e giunge alla conclusione che la tradizione traduttiva della *Commedia* sia una pietra miliare della cultura argentina stessa. La laboriosa ricostruzione eseguita da Hernández González, invece, ci consegna i ritratti di Rafael Cansinos Assens e Ángel Crespo, scrittori-traduttori di letteratura italiana in Spagna. Questa ricostruzione ci invita a considerare, da un lato, quanto importante possa essere il ruolo del traduttore per la sorte dell'opera originale nel sistema culturale d'arrivo, e dall'altro, come la frequentazione degli autori tradotti agisca sull'opera stessa del traduttore. L'ultimo lavoro di questa sezione, firmato da Alejandro Patat, è dedicato alla discussione di vecchia data sulle differenze che oppongono la traduzione della letteratura italiana nello spagnolo peninsulare, a quella nelle lingue ispanoamericane, e si conclude con un approfondimento degli aspetti politici ed estetici della questione.

La terza sezione, 'Istituzioni', comprende una serie di interventi su istituti e figure particolarmente impegnati negli studi italiani in America latina e nella penisola iberica. Il lavoro di Carmen Blanco Valdés e Linda Garosi ci offre una panoramica dell'insegnamento della letteratura italiana nel sistema universitario spagnolo, e si conclude con una valutazione delle sue carenze. Gaspare Trapani, invece, descrive le carenze che caratterizzano l'insegnamento della letteratura italiana a Lisbona. Un rimedio a tali carenze potrebbe essere l'introduzione dell'italiano come lingua straniera nelle scuole portoghesi. Vicente González Martín, a sua volta, presenta un resoconto della tradizione storica che fa dell'ateneo di Salamanca uno dei più autorevoli centri di studi italiani. In aggiunta, Carlos Gatti e Jorge Wiesse espongono la storia della Cátedra de Lectura Dantis a Lima. La storia della Cattedra Straordinaria Italo Calvino presso l'Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México è riportata da Sabina Longhitano e Rodrigo Jardón, i quali presentano, inoltre, una panoramica della

traduzione della letteratura italiana in Messico, che oggi si trova in un periodo di grande sviluppo. Il libro si conclude con un apporto prezioso di Nora Sforza, che ci consegna le biografie di due figure preminenti dell'Italianistica a Buenos Aires.

Il volume, in sintesi, costituisce uno strumento di consultazione di approfondimento bibliografico per chi, allargando i confini dell'Italianistica, ha curiosità di sapere che cosa si studi nel vastissimo continente del mondo ispanofono e lusofono.

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Gramsci's dialectische beeldenfabriek

Bespreking van: Antonio Gramsci, *Alle mensen zijn intellectuelen: notities uit de gevangenis* (vertaald en toegelicht door Arthur Weststeijn), Nijmegen, Vantilt, 2019, 269 p., ISBN: 9789460044250, € 24,50.

Tim Christiaens

Zoals de geschiedenis ons leert, liggen in grote sociale omwentelingen kansen voor zowel repressie als emancipatie. Dit zijn gevaarlijke dagen voor eender wie zich waagt aan de roeping van Socrates, Bruno of Marx: de filosofie. Het Italiaanse schiereiland is in dat opzicht geen uitzondering. Menig filosoof is onder zulke omstandigheden veroordeeld geweest tot verbanning, de gevangenis, of erger. Boëthius schreef *De vertroosting van de filosofie* net voor zijn gruwelijke executie, Campanella bedacht een utopische *città del sole* in de gevangenis, Machiavelli formuleerde zijn raad aan *il principe* in ballingschap. Het bekendste filosofische slachtoffer van het 20ste-eeuwse fascisme is dan weer ongetwijfeld Antonio Gramsci. In 1926 werd de hoofdideoloog van de Italiaanse communistische partij gevangengezet tot vlak voor zijn dood in 1937. Door Gramsci's invloed op de Italiaanse politiek te beperken, trachtte Mussolini de overwinning van het fascisme te bestendigen. In de cel pende Gramsci echter duizenden pagina's losse notities bij elkaar die voorgoed de politieke filosofie zouden veranderen. Na de Tweede Wereldoorlog zijn deze *Quaderni del carcere* zorgvuldig uitgegeven onder het toeziend oog van Palmiro Togliatti, voorzitter van de communistische partij en jeugdvriend van Gramsci. Zij zouden de strategie van de partij bepalen doorheen de gloriejaren van het Italiaans communisme (de jaren '50 en '60).

De buitenlandse receptie van Gramsci's werk stamt vooral uit de jaren '70, de hoogdagen van het eurocommunisme, Stuart Halls *cultural studies* en het structuralistische marxisme van Louis Althusser en Nikos Poulantzas. De meeste studies en vertalingen van Gramsci hebben dus al best wat stof zitten vergaren in obscure hoekjes van universiteitsbibliotheken of in de boekenkasten van voormalige '68-ers. Toch is er vandaag een hernieuwde interesse in het werk van 'de gebochelde Sardijn met ongetwijfeld een goed stel hersens', zoals Mussolini hem ooit noemde. Nieuw rechts én links baseren zich expliciet op Gramsci's gedachtegoed. Voor wie deze hernieuwde interesse in het werk van Gramsci beter wil begrijpen, is de gedeeltelijke vertaling van Gramsci's gevangenisnotities door Arthur Weststeijn een must. In deze uitstekende nieuwe editie presenteert en vertaalt Weststeijn een selectie van relevante passages uit het oeuvre. Bovendien voegt hij daaraan een behulpzame inleiding toe en beknopte, hoofdstukgebonden toelichtingen om de onervaren lezer op weg te helpen met Gramsci's opzettelijk obscure en suggestieve schrijfstijl.

Wat Gramsci zo relevant maakt vandaag, laat zich moeilijk samenvatten in een korte recensie. Een vluchtige blik op Gramsci's centrale thema's biedt wel een

indicatie: de rol van cultuur in politiek, de opkomst van het fascisme, de vertrouwenscrisis tussen bestuurders en bestuurden, de rol van politieke partijen, enzovoort. Al deze onderwerpen komen overzichtelijk aan bod in de nieuwe uitgave, zonder af te doen aan Gramsci's fragmentarische stijl. Uiteraard is het belang van bepaalde thema's nog geen garantie voor hun hedendaagse relevantie. Zelfs al had hij een goed stel hersens, wat kan een gebochelde Sardijn uit een zwaarbewaakte gevangenis in de jaren '20 en '30 ons leren over hedendaags populisme, identiteitspolitiek of de neergang van traditionele partijpolitiek? Om deze vraag te beantwoorden kan Walter Benjamins concept van 'dialectische beelden' hulp bieden. Volgens Benjamin duiken er soms beelden op in het dagelijkse leven die ontsnappen aan de gebruikelijke, chronologische tijd. Net zoals je in een bijna-doodervaring je hele leven in een kortstondige flits aan je voorbij ziet gaan, zo dragen sommige objecten een verleden met zich mee dat in één oogopslag inslaat in het nu. Wat zich eigenlijk jaren, zo niet eeuwen geleden heeft afgespeeld, maakt dan plotseling deel uit van het leven van vandaag. Een platenspeler uit lang vervlogen tijden kan bijvoorbeeld weggerukt worden uit zijn naoorlogse context en een gloednieuw hebbedingetje worden voor verzamelaars. Het heden en het verleden vormen een constellatie die als het ware ontsnapt aan de gebruikelijke chronologie van de tijd.

Gramsci's gevangenisnotities zijn een dialectische beeldenfabriek voor de verzamelaar van politieke inzichten. Wat de Sardijnse denker beweerde over de Italiaanse context van de jaren '20 en '30 slaat als een flits in op de politieke gebeurtenissen van vandaag en doet de hedendaagse politiek plotseling in een nieuw licht verschijnen. Om een voorbeeld te geven: in een paragraaf over geschiedenisfilosofie schrijft Gramsci over het vooruitgangsgeloof: 'De crisis van het vooruitgangsidee is dus geen crisis van het idee zelf, maar een crisis van de dragers van het idee, die zelf een te beteugelen "natuur" zijn geworden'.[1] Gramsci doelde hiermee concreet op het vooruitgangsdenken van Hegelianen als Benedetto Croce, maar wie deze passage leest met de ideeën van Steven Pinker of Francis Fukuyama in het achterhoofd, merkt de pertinentie van Gramsci's opmerking. De winkels vandaag worden overspoeld door boeken die verdedigen dat het kapitalisme en het liberalisme ons nog nooit zo goed hebben gedaan. De economische productiviteit en de gemiddelde levensverwachting zijn nog nooit zo hoog geweest, de absolute armoede en het aantal burgerslachtoffers bij oorlogen nog nooit zo gering. De kapitalistische, liberale democratie wordt voortdurend als de beste van alle mogelijke werelden voorgesteld. Desondanks wijzen mensen, verkiezing na verkiezing, economische integratie en liberale vooruitgangsidealen af. Gramsci voelde toen al correct aan dat het niet om cijfers gaat. Weinigen geloven nog in een mooie toekomst, niet omdat onze levensstandaard zienderogen achteruitgaat − hoewel dit voor sommigen wel degelijk het geval is −, maar omdat het geloof kwijt is in de intellectuele elites die ons naar die toekomst zouden kunnen of moeten leiden. Wie werkelijk gelooft dat de stuurlui van het politieke en economische bestel corrupt zijn, is er rotsvast van overtuigd dat het schip op de klippen zal varen: welke vorm die klippen aannemen is dan niet van tel, verdrinken doen we toch.

Het is de schat aan boeiende suggesties, gevatte opmerkingen, nieuwe concepten en dialectische beelden die Gramsci's *Alle mensen zijn intellectuelen* ook vandaag tot relevante lectuur maken. Dat goede stel hersens uit Sardinië heeft vanuit de isolatie van zijn gevangeniscel een boek geschreven dat zijn eigen tijd overstijgt om te kunnen inslaan op andere, latere samenlevingen, wanneer de nood het hoogst is.

[1] A. Gramsci, *Alle mensen zijn intellectuelen: notities uit de gevangenis,* Nijmegen, Vantilt, 2019, p. 88.

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L'eterna sfida per dominare il contemporaneo
Il nuovo saggio di Carlo Tirinanzi De Medici

Recensione di: Carlo Tirinanzi De Medici, *Il romanzo italiano contemporaneo. Dalla fine degli anni Settanta a oggi*, Roma, Carocci, 2018, 317 p., ISBN: 9788843088737, € 23,00.

Carlo Baghetti

Il contemporaneo è un mare agitato, attraversato da flutti e da flussi di temperature diverse che sono difficilmente distinguibili se non a distanza di tempo. Perciò il compito che si è posto Carlo Tirinanzi De Medici, come già se l'erano posto altri critici prima di lui – penso, tra gli altri, a Raffaele Donnarumma di *Ipermodernità* (2014), ad Alberto Casadei di *Stile e tradizione nel romanzo contemporaneo* (2007), a Daniele Giglioli di *Senza trauma* (2011), a Guido Mazzoni di *Teoria del romanzo* (2011) o, più di recente, a Gianluigi Simonetti de *La letteratura circostante* (2018), è difficile e rischioso. Tirinanzi De Medici si assume il rischio e cerca di gestirlo nella maniera più assennata possibile: suddivisione cronologica per decadi (o quasi: uno sguardo agli anni Settanta – il punto di partenza, poi 1979-1990, 1992-2000, 2001-2012, più uno scarno paragrafo finale intitolato 'Coda: tra presente e il museo', che analizza le ultimissime evoluzioni del panorama preso in considerazione); partizione del 'campo letterario' (p. 11) in correnti che oggi sembrano stabilizzate; analisi di testi e autori a cui la critica accorda rilevanza (più qualche importante "recupero"); trattazione sistematica delle problematiche di maggior rilievo che coinvolgono la narrativa contemporanea.

Il rischio maggiore corso nel saggio, a metà strada tra sistematizzazione storico-critica ed enunciazioni di teorie particolari su autori o gruppi di scrittori, è quello della semplificazione. In un volume che, nonostante l'ampiezza del periodo studiato e il grande numero di testi presi in considerazione (la ricca bibliografia è una bussola molto precisa per orientarsi nella contemporaneità letteraria italiana), resta agile, si ritrovano talvolta analisi eccessivamente nette, che tendono a condensare le problematiche, a omogeneizzare più che a distinguere le sfumature: è il prezzo da pagare al *côté* manualistico, che però non incide più di tanto sul valore generale del testo, che resta valido sia per studenti (di livello avanzato), i quali potranno farsi un'idea precisa della narrativa italiana contemporanea, sia per studiosi, i quali invece avranno la possibilità di confrontarsi con alcune interpretazioni originali del critico.

Tirinanzi De Medici parte dalla constatazione che l''anomalia' (p. 18, citando Asor Rosa) del caso italiano è quella di non aver avuto, come ad esempio in Francia, una *koinè* letteraria stabile e duratura. Concentrandosi sul dato linguistico il critico evoca lo scontro delle due *koinè* dominanti tra gli anni Cinquanta e Settanta, quella 'sperimentale' e quella del '"romanzo medio"', e sottolinea come solo entrando in crisi entrambe, tra anni Ottanta e Novanta, sia emersa una *koinè* letteraria italiana stabile, che negli anni Duemila porta a un 'primato definitivo della forma-romanzo'

(p. 18). Primato raggiunto anche grazie all''implosione' (p. 22, citando stavolta Mazzoni), dopo sette secoli di dominio, del campo della poesia.

Tali sono le premesse per l'emersione del '*best seller all'italiana*' (p. 25), cioè un 'romanzo medio "di qualità"' (*ivi*), categoria – secondo Tirinanzi De Medici – adatta a tenere insieme le opere di Eco, Calvino, Morante, le quali presentano una

> ambientazione provinciale-borghese; [un] soggetto familiare, moderatamente corale; [un] piglio malinconico, più o meno rammemorante, che configura un romanzo intimista anche laddove si trattino i grandi eventi storici […]; [una certa dose di] lirismo […] – insomma quel 'romanticismo confezionato e razionalmente dosato [che] non contrappone al principio dell'aura un principio diverso, ma conserva l'aura, putrefatta, come alone fumogeno' dei prodotti midcult (*ivi*).

Nel leggere la produzione letteraria degli anni Ottanta e nel tentativo di spiegare l'esaurimento della componente sperimentale Tirinanzi De Medici evoca la caduta dell'*a priori* novecentesco (normalizzato da Adorno) che impediva agli scrittori di riprodurre il '"già detto"' (p. 31) (e il cui motto era *make it new!*). Questa è la chiave per comprendere il ritorno a un tipo di narrativa più piana e in cui una serie di dicotomie fondamentali (alto/basso, colto/popolare, fiction/non-fiction) sono venute meno.

A questo ritorno si lega il processo dell'affermazione progressiva dei generi letterari; dopo averne studiato la presenza in numerose opere pubblicate negli anni Ottanta, Tirinanzi De Medici giunge a chiedersi 'che forme *assuma* la narrativa italiana una volta immersa in un sistema in cui i generi hanno un ruolo centrale' (p. 86, corsivo mio). E a tal proposito il critico parla di 'tre diverse dominanti' (*ivi*), da una parte 'l'*adesione* a un ur-genere, con alterazioni *all'interno* delle regole generiche', come mostrano le analisi dei romanzi storici fatte nel paragrafo precedente; poi parla della '*commistione di* generi *letterari*', e fa l'esempio del romanzo fantastorico o delle opere di Tabucchi che tendono a mescolare diversi modelli letterari; e infine 'la *commistione tra* generi *discorsivi* (giornalismo, ricerca, saggio, indagine sociologica ecc.)' (p. 87). Un'indicazione preziosa, quest'ultima, soprattutto alla luce della letteratura successiva, degli anni Duemila, per la quale Tirinanzi De Medici utilizza la definizione di narrativa 'a bassa finzionalità'.

All'interno del capitolo dedicato agli anni Ottanta la novità maggiore è rappresentata dalla duplice definizione che il critico propone per parlare dell'utilizzo dei codici extraletterari 'visti come chiavi alternative per accedere a strutture di senso che possano descrivere la realtà' (p. 96): romanzi a 'corto raggio' e a 'lungo raggio'. Nel primo gruppo Tirinanzi De Medici include quelle opere che limitano tale ricorso a pochi codici, come il televisivo o il cinematografico, e nelle quali si riscontra un 'afflato narrativo rivolto all'interiorità, secondo la lezione del novel' (*ivi*); al secondo gruppo, invece, appartengono opere che moltiplicano i suddetti codici, tentando d'includerne il maggior numero possibile (dove il paradigma è rappresentato da *Il pendolo di Foucault*, definito 'romanzo-enciclopedia') e che appaiono 'dominate da un sistema narrativo improntato al romance' (*ivi*).

Nel terzo capitolo, dedicato agli anni Novanta, Tirinanzi De Medici rileva il 'desiderio di uno sguardo politico in senso lato' della narrativa (p. 113), messo in pratica attraverso strategie contrapposte: da una parte vi è la narrativa di genere, che procede verso l'iperfinzionalità; dall'altra, l'iperrealismo del documentario. Due tendenze 'apparentemente *antitetiche*' (p. 122, corsivo mio), ma che mostrano, nonostante remore e inquietudini, la fiducia nel 'mezzo narrativo e nelle sue capacità euristiche' (*ivi*). Seguono nel capitolo analisi approfondite sulla narrativa dei "cannibali", sulla narrativa di genere e in particolare quella "noir", sulla (poca)

narrativa che s'ispira alla poetica postmodernista e, infine, sulla *non-fiction*, il territorio in cui l'intersezione di codici si fa più evidente.

Il quarto capitolo, che analizza la narrativa degli anni Duemila e fino al 2012, prende in considerazione − ancora una volta − il problema del 'ritorno alla realtà'. Tale tendenza, dice Tirinanzi De Medici, è sintomatica di un rinnovato 'impegno politico' (p. 185) da parte degli scrittori, per i quali si prospettano due vie: una prevede l'intervento diretto (Benedetti, Moresco, Scarpa, Voltolini), l'altra invece propone di conservare il tipico distacco letterario dagli eventi, per non banalizzare e appiattire la figura dello scrittore (Mozzi, Raimo). Il critico però mette in guardia il lettore da interpretazioni semplicistiche del ritorno al realismo: non si ripercorrono le 'direttrici novecentesche, sartriane' (p. 192) dell'impegno intellettuale, ma piuttosto, mettendo a frutto la lezione del postmodernismo letterario, il 'realismo viene trattato come uno tra i molti codici disponibili, da mischiare spesso *ad* altri' (*ivi*, corsivo mio).

A queste definizioni, ridefinizioni e precisazioni del campo letterario seguono una cinquantina di pagine in cui il critico mette a fuoco le tecniche e i *topoi* della *koinè*, gli utilizzi e gli scopi, e le varie forme che assume il realismo contemporaneo. Da tale capitolo emergono i pregi e i difetti del saggio di Tirinanzi De Medici: l'ampia sistematizzazione, supportata da una bibliografia molto ricca e varia, si basa su categorie critiche che risultano a volte leggermente permeabili. Altro aspetto poco convincente, particolarmente evidente in quest'ultimo capitolo, è l'alternanza tra la riflessione ad ampio spettro sulla narrativa e le analisi delle singole opere: sebbene sia una pratica frequente, ne *Il romanzo contemporaneo* si registra una sproporzione tra questi due aspetti dell'argomentazione, con la presenza di veri e propri saggi su alcuni autori o opere (ad esempio su Celati, oppure su *Gomorra*, oppure i tre saggi che chiudono il quarto capitolo su *Resistere non serve a niente*, *L'ubicazione del bene* e *Piove all'insù*), che, per quanto precisi, solidi e talvolta necessari a riempire vuoti bibliografici, appaiono talvolta fuori contesto o eccessivi.

Nonostante i limiti ascrivibili a un'opera ambiziosa come quella di Tirinanzi De Medici, il saggio aggiunge un tassello non trascurabile al dibattito sulla contemporaneità. *Il romanzo italiano contemporaneo* va posto quindi nello stesso scaffale dei testi citati all'inizio di questa recensione, che tentano di leggere, tematizzare e periodizzare gli ultimi anni di narrativa italiana.

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SEGNALAZIONI - SIGNALEMENTEN - NOTES

Juryrapport voor de Onderzoeksprijs Werkgroep Italië Studies 2017

De onderzoeksprijs van de Werkgroep Italië Studies 2017 bekroont een wetenschappelijke, archeologische of kunsthistorische studie met betrekking tot Italië die in 2015, 2016 of 2017 is verschenen. Zowel monografieën, verzamelbundels als artikelen komen in aanmerking. Niet gepubliceerde dissertaties kunnen niet worden bekroond. Meer informatie betreffende het reglement en potentiële laureaten is te vinden op: http://www.italiestudies.nl/prijzen/onderzoeksprijs.

De jury voor de onderzoeksprijs 2017 was als volgt samengesteld: Maria Forcellino (voorzitter van de WIS), Jan de Jong (Rijksuniversiteit Groningen) & Hans Cools (KU Leuven).

Deze prijs bestrijkt een bijzonder breed domein. Zowel archeologen als kunstwetenschappers dingen er, als leefden wij nog in de tijd van Johann Winckelmann, naar mee. Die brede opzet vergemakkelijkte de taak van de jury niet. Bovendien heeft zij zich niet beperkt tot het beoordelen van de ingekomen stukken. Om een zo breed als mogelijk beeld van de betrokken disciplines in de Lage Landen te krijgen, is zij tevens actief op zoek gegaan naar aansprekende studies in de betrokken vakgebieden.

Van oudsher fungeren de drie Nederlandse en Belgische instituten in Italië als even zovele brandpunten voor archeologisch en kunstwetenschappelijk onderzoek. In Rome en Leiden leidden Jeremia Pelgrom en Tesse Stek een aansprekend project over de Romeinse kolonisatie van Centraal-Italië ten tijde van de late Republiek. Daarbij speurden zij middels *survey*-archeologie naar sporen in het landschap van die kolonisatie. Eén van de voornaamste uitkomsten van dit project is dat de Romeinse aanwezigheid in die kolonies sterker blijkt te zijn geweest dan eerder gedacht. Op 18 september jongstleden promoveerde in Leiden één van de uitvoerders van dit project, Anita Casarotto op *Spatial patterns in landscape archeology*. Voorafgaand aan die promotie stelde Anita Casarotto enkele van haar onderzoeksresultaten reeds voor in een reeks fraaie artikelen. Een KNIR-stipendium stelt haar nu in de gelegenheid haar proefschrift om te werken tot een handelseditie. De jury wil Anita Casarotto dan ook vooral aanmoedigen weerom naar een volgende editie van de prijs mee te dingen.

Eerdere juryrapporten van de WIS stipten reeds aan dat de Nederlandse oudheidkunde zich onderscheidt door haar grote aandacht voor receptiegeschiedenis. Zo verscheen in 2015 de magistrale studie van Eric Moormann *Pompei's Ashes*. Daarin gaat de Nijmeegse hoogleraar op zoek naar de sporen die de beroemde uitbarsting van de Vesuvius sinds de start van de opgravingen in Pompei in het midden van de achttiende eeuw in de Europese cultuur heeft nagelaten. Nog in 2015 rolde *Mietjes, monsters en barbaren* van de Leuvense classicus Toon Van Houdt van de persen. Het boek won de Homerusprijs van het Nederlands Klassiek Verbond. Een jaar later volgden Jan Bloemendals *Latijn, cultuurgeschiedenis van een wereldtaal* en David Reijsers opus magnum *Een telkens nieuwe oudheid*. De jury heeft deze stuk voor stuk indrukwekkende publicaties in overweging genomen, maar meende dat het hier veeleer om historische dan om archeologische publicaties ging.

Zeer gecharmeerd was de jury ook van het bij Yale University Press gepubliceerde *Rediscovering Architecture. Paestum in the eighteenth century*, een monografie van de Leidse architectuurhistorica Sigrid de Jong. Daarin beschrijft zij aan de hand van nauwgezet bronnenonderzoek minutieus hoe de opgraving van die drie beroemde archaïsche Dorische tempels ons beeld van de Griekse kolonisatie van Zuid-Italië, maar vooral ook van de klassieke architectuur voorgoed heeft veranderd. Jammer genoeg verscheen het boek van Sigrid de Jong volgens de officiële imprint reeds in 2014, al was het pas in het voorjaar van 2015 beschikbaar. Bijgevolg kon de jury, hoe graag zij dat ook had gewild, dit boek afgaand op het prijsreglement niet in overweging nemen.

Ook de beoefening van de academische kunstgeschiedenis in de Lage Landen bloeit. Maar de aandacht die daarbij in Nederland en Vlaanderen aan Italië wordt besteed, neemt af, zo constateert de jury enigszins zorgelijk. Wel zijn nog enkele mooie publicaties op komst. In 2015 en 2017 verdedigden respectievelijk Elisa Goudriaan en Klazina Botke, die beiden werden gevormd door de Groninger emeritus Henk van Veen, belangwekkende proefschriften over de wijze waarop Florentijnse patriciërs uit de zestiende en de zeventiende eeuw in hun kunstmecenaat omgingen met de greep naar de macht van de Medici. Van die eerste dissertatie verscheen dit jaar al een handelseditie bij Brill. De jury hoopt dan ook dat Elisa Goudriaan zal meedingen naar de volgende editie van de prijs. Zij wil tevens Klazina Botke aanmoedigen op haar beurt het manuscript van haar proefschrift tot een boek om te werken.

Verder heeft de jury met veel belangstelling kennis genomen van Joost Keizers eind 2017 bij de prestigieuze Britse uitgeverij Routledge verschenen monografie *The Realism of Piero della Francesca*. De jury heeft bewondering voor het theoretisch vernuft van Joost Keizer, maar zij meent tevens dat de auteur zich op deze manier vrijwel geheel loszingt van de objecten, waar het naar haar oordeel in de kunstwetenschap uiteindelijk om te doen is.

Van een geheel andere orde is de door Bram de Klerck geredigeerde en ook goeddeels door hem geschreven catalogus *In het hart van de Renaissance. Schilderkunst uit Noord-Italië, 1500-1600*. Die catalogus hoort bij een tentoonstelling die in het voorjaar van 2017 liep in het Rijksmuseum Twenthe en die eerder te zien was geweest in Warschau en Helsinki. Kern van deze reizende tentoonstelling waren drieëndertig schilderijen uit de destijds voor renovatie gesloten Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo in Brescia. De afbeeldingen in de catalogus zijn prachtig, de essays zijn in een overtuigende volgorde geplaatst, logisch opgebouwd en waar nodig goed vertaald. Bram de Klerk schrijft buitengewoon prettig en helder. Deze publicatie is in de beste betekenis van het woord een publieksboek, die velen een introductie zal hebben geboden in de Noord-Italiaanse schilderkunst van de renaissance.

Veel specialistischer van opzet is de catalogus van de beroemde Berensoncollectie in de Florentijnse villa I Tatti die Machtelt Brüggen-Israëls in 2015 samen met Carl Brandon Strehlke het licht liet zien. De notities van veel voor het eerst grondig beschreven schilderijen zijn toonbeelden van onovertroffen acribie en de reproducties zijn stuk voor stuk van hoge kwaliteit. De catalogus bevat ook een knap essay van Machtelt Israëls over de Sienese schilderijen in de Berensoncollectie. Daarin bouwt zij verder op haar grote expertise op dit terrein en haalt zij onder andere de eerder verwaarloosde rol van Mary Berenson bij de sturing van haar echtgenoots aankoopgedrag voor het voetlicht.

Een derde en laatste catalogus die de jury onder ogen kwam, combineert de eerdergenoemde sterke kanten van zowel De Klerck als Brüggen-Israëls. Het gaat om *De droom van keizer Constantijn. Kunstschatten uit de Eeuwige Stad*. Dit boek hoort bij de tentoonstelling die in het najaar van 2015 en het voorjaar van 2016 liep in de

Amsterdamse Nieuwe Kerk. Steunend op hun wereldwijd erkende expertise en op de contacten die zij in hun decennialange wetenschappelijke loopbanen hebben gelegd, slaagden beide curatoren erin kunstwerken die het Vaticaan en andere voorname Romeinse musea haast nooit verlaten, naar Nederland te halen. Deze bijna tachtig schatten koppelen zij in hun catalogus aan vijf korte, uiterst heldere essays. Daarin verhalen zij de jongste stand van de vaak door hen persoonlijk opgebouwde kennis over een reeks "moeilijke" onderwerpen aan het niet-specialistische publiek dat deze schitterende tentoonstelling in groten getale heeft bezocht. *De droom van keizer Constantijn* is dan ook een boek dat zich op het snijvlak van archeologie, kunstwetenschappen en oude geschiedenis bevindt en zeer velen in Nederland en daarbuiten op voortreffelijke wijze met deze disciplines laat kennis maken en hen introduceert in een van de belangwekkendste thema's van de Westerse cultuurgeschiedenis.

Bovendien brengt de Werkgroep Italië Studies op deze manier hulde aan twee van Nederlands meest vooraanstaande geesteswetenschappers. Beiden zetten zich al vele decennia lang in, eerst vanuit het Instituut in Rome en later vanuit Amsterdam en vooral Nijmegen, voor de bestudering en de verspreiding van de Italiaanse cultuur in de Lage Landen. Daarbij hebben zij onze kennis daarover aanzienlijk vergroot. Hun productie ligt hoog en is immer van grote kwaliteit; niet toevallig figureerde Eric Moormann al eerder in dit juryrapport. Wij zijn beide heren dus veel dank verschuldigd en daarom ook wil ik nu Eric Moormann naar voren uitnodigen om mede namens Sible de Blaauw de Onderzoeksprijs van de Werkgroep Italië Studies in ontvangst te nemen.

- Amsterdam, 5 oktober 2018

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Verbale della giuria dello *Scriptieprijs* **(Werkgroep Italië Studies 2017-2018)**
Il Werkgroep Italië Studies conta tra le sue attività quella di favorire gli studi nel campo dell'Italianistica: intesa qui nel suo significato più ampio di Studi umanistici che hanno come tema la cultura italiana. Assecondando questo proposito, ogni due anni viene assegnato lo *Scriptieprijs* che premia giovani studiosi che hanno concluso una laurea triennale (*bachelor*) o una laurea magistrale (*master*) con tesi pertinenti alla cultura italiana in una università dei Paesi Bassi e della Comunità Fiamminga del Belgio. L'edizione del 2017-2018 è stata bandita per premiare una ricerca difesa negli anni accademici 2016-2017 e 2017-2018 nell'ambito disciplinare della Storia dell'arte e dell'Archeologia.

Il WIS ha istituito una commissione *ad hoc* composta dal dott. Gandolfo Cascio (presidente), il dott. Claudio Di Felice e la dott.ssa Maria Forcellino che ha valutato le diverse candidature e in sessione di consiglio unanimemente ha decretato i seguenti giudizi:

Terzo classificato: Joery de Winter, MA

Van de politisering van kunst naar de esthetisering van politiek. De doorwerking van het Italiaans futurisme in het fascisme van Benito Mussolini
Universiteit van Amsterdam
Relatore: dr. Gregor Langfeld

Sinossi
La ricerca segue le due traiettorie storiografiche seguite dal Fascismo e dal Futurismo, da cui scaturì un discorso frammentato tra questi due movimenti italiani. Ha il merito di aver evidenziato le differenze, tra l'altro analizzando i presunti contributi dei futuristi al Fascismo, contestualizzando e chiarendo le loro intenzioni durante il Ventennio. Ne risulta descritta la storia di un'alleanza destinata a fallire, in cui i futuristi hanno contribuito solo occasionalmente e marginalmente al successo del Fascismo, perché indirettamente e soltanto prima dello scoppio della Seconda Guerra mondiale, quando combatterono il governo liberale e la democrazia parlamentare, avallando così l'idea di una politica violenta. Il candidato non manca di ricordare un dato storico noto: con l'uso dell'arte come propaganda di guerra, il Futurismo ha sostanzialmente contribuito a creare sostegno alla partecipazione dell'Italia alla guerra. In altre parole, il contributo maggiore dei futuristi all'ascesa del Fascismo è stato attraverso la politicizzazione dell'arte (visiva). Sebbene gli ideali futuristici quali l'attivismo, la tecnologia, la virilità, il culto della gioventù e dello sport, l'eroico ideale di avventura e la sacralizzazione della politica abbiano risuonato nel Fascismo maturo, il reale impatto del Futurismo sulla struttura del regime è stato di poco conto.

Le conclusioni a cui giunge la ricerca riportano che è stato giustamente riconosciuto da molto tempo il contributo del Futurismo alla promozione dell'arte moderna, ma sottolineano che il movimento ha anche abbracciato una politica che ha glorificato la guerra, ha contribuito alla scomparsa di un'Italia liberale, ha collaborato con il Fascismo e ha contribuito a costruire e sostenere la dittatura.

Giudizio della Commissione
Questa ricerca affronta un tema classico, sebbene abbia il merito di non limitarsi all'analisi delle prime fasi del Futurismo, ma affronta anche l'intreccio degli artisti rappresentativi del movimento con il regime. La tesi presenta dunque le caratteristiche proprie di un buon lavoro scientifico; tuttavia, l'indagine presenta alcuni limiti: il più rilevante è che non riesce ad andare oltre la scarsa letteratura selezionata. A ciò si aggiunge che non sono impiegate fonti primarie in lingua italiana, ma solo nella loro traduzione in inglese. Infine, accanto ad un tradizionale ordine cronologico dei contenuti, il linguaggio tende a essere astratto e poco coinvolgente.

Seconda classificata: Ida van Gelder, MA

> *Un censimento dei prestiti dal nederlandese all'italiano. Per una storia etimologica di anmarren, bakboord, pompelmoes, bolwerc e schets*
> Universiteit Leiden
> Relatore: dr. Claudio Di Felice

Sinossi
La ricerca riguarda un settore della lessicografia ancora inesplorato: i prestiti di ambito nederlandese e fiammingo nella lingua italiana. Il metodo è basato sullo spoglio elettronico del dizionario di Devoto-Oli e sullo spoglio manuale del *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana* di Salvatore Battaglia e sull'analisi dei lemmi raccolti da un punto di vista semantico e fono-morfologico. Si tratta di un totale di 361 prestiti, da cui sono stati estrapolati 5 lemmi, di cui si ripercorre la storia etimologica e il loro viaggio attraverso lingue ponte come il francese e il tedesco. Esse sono *anmarren,* da cui deriva *amarrare*, *bakboord* che ha dato *babordo*, *pompelmoes*/*pompelmo*, *bolwerc*/*baluardo*, e *schets*/*sketch*.

Giudizio della Commissione
La ricerca merita il secondo posto, considerata la quantità di lavoro svolta e la sua completa originalità. L'illustrazione del metodo è chiara ed estesa ben oltre i limiti richiesti solitamente per una tesi di laurea. L'interpretazione dei dati e la loro argomentazione critica sono convincenti, i risultati sono rilevanti, ma devono essere affinati e completati (manca difatti lo spoglio degli ultimi tre volumi del Battaglia).

Le domande di ricerca hanno ricevuto una risposta soddisfacente, ma devono essere portate a un livello di *master* per essere ampliate. I risultati sono comunque ragguardevoli, dato che il numero dei lemmi indicati nel Devoto-Oli sono stati più che triplicati e in molti casi retrodatati.

Primo classificato: Nick Pouls, MA

> *Last van stemmingswisselingen. De receptie van Claudius Ptolemaeus' Ἁρμονίαι (Harmonieën) in de muziektheoretische ontwikkeling van de middentoonstemming in het laat vijftiende- en zestiende-eeuwse Italië*
> Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen
> Relatore: prof. dr. Eric Moormann

Sinossi
Questa tesi di Master in Studi dell'antichità verte su un aspetto della storia della teoria musicale: il ruolo svolto dal trattato delle *Armonie* dell'astronomo Claudio Tolomeo sullo sviluppo teorico del tono medio alla fine del XV e nel XVI secolo in Italia. Le *Armonie* sono tornate sotto i riflettori nel Ventesimo secolo per via di un rinato

interesse nei confronti della teoria musicale antica, con una conseguente polemica tra i classicisti, che reclamavano il rispetto delle fonti storiche, e i pionieri della prassi esecutiva e creativa. Il tema è ancora di attualità: infatti idealmente questa tesi vuole collegarsi anche al dibattito scientifico sull'impiego di umori e temperamenti nella prassi esecutiva contemporanea.

La rilevanza di questa ricerca risiede in due diversi aspetti. Innanzitutto, intende diffondere la consapevolezza nei musicisti e negli ascoltatori di ogni genere di musica dello sviluppo storico degli stati d'animo, caratteristica fondamentale della composizione musicale. In secondo luogo, questa ricerca mette in luce le zone d'ombra della teoria musicale, in quanto soltanto i sostenitori della prassi esecutiva autentica sono consapevoli dei diversi stati d'animo impiegati nel XV e XVI secolo (si pensi al madrigale).

Lo studio offre:

1. una contestualizzazione storica delle *Armonie* tolomeiane anche in relazione alla loro ricezione nel Rinascimento
2. una ricostruzione dei rapporti con la matematica pitagorica
3. un quadro dell'influenza di Tolomeo sui primi teorici dell'umore dei mezzi toni e sulla separazione tra *musica teorica* e *musica practica*
4. un confronto con teorici del rinnovamento (Nicola Vicentino) e della continuità scolastica (Gioseffo Zarlino)
5. una direzione di studio verso posizioni teoriche diverse, come quella di Vincenzo Galilei, sostenitore della relazione tra espressione e musica

Giudizio della Commissione

Questa tesi è all'avanguardia della teoria musicale e della storia dell'accoglienza dell'antichità classica. L'argomento trattato dall'autore è specialistico, pertanto l'argomentazione non è sempre facile da seguire, ma è certamente logica nel suo sviluppo. Ciò che la commissione ha apprezzato è stata la possibilità di ripercorrere quella costante ricerca della perfezione matematica di altezze e intervalli da parte dei compositori del sedicesimo secolo.

Questa è una tesi molto originale, con una domanda ben formulata e un argomento convincente. Indubbie le capacità dell'autore, che ha studiato diverse fonti primarie e secondarie. Ma questo è precisamente il motivo per cui la ricerca può apparire elusiva agli occhi del lettore non specialista.

La commissione lamenta qualche trascuratezza formale, in particolare per quanto riguarda le citazioni non tradotte nella lingua del testo, l'olandese. Alquanto fuorviante la conclusione di per sé molto breve, ma essa si connota come un altro capitolo in cui si danno ulteriori informazioni sul dibattito quattro-cinquecentesco in cui la teoria tolomeiana fu protagonista.

La premiazione è avvenuta ad Amsterdam, nella sede dell'Istituto Italiano di Cultura per i Paesi Bassi il 4 ottobre 2018, alla presenza dei candidati e della commissione del WIS.

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