

Italian Politics & Society

The Review of the Conference Group on Italian Politics and Society

No. 55

<http://www.arts.mcgill.ca/congrips/>

Spring 2002

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Acknowledgements

This issue of Italian Politics and Society has been published with the support of CONGRIPS.

Deadlines and Forms

This newsletter is distributed twice a year, usually in the spring and autumn. Articles, research notes, summaries of conference proceedings, as well as commentaries and announcements meant for inclusion in the Autumn number should be sent before September 1. Those intended for the spring number should be sent before March 15. All contributions should be submitted in a commonly used word processing format on a diskette. Citations and references should follow the American Political Science Association Style Manual. The booklet *Style Manual for Political Science* can be requested from APSA at 1527 New Hampshire Avenue, Washington, D.C., 20036, USA.

Back issues

Back-issues can be obtained for five dollars each or ten dollars for any three issues. A complete set of the newsletter since January 1977 would cost \$120, including postage. Send your requests to: vdsala@ccs.carleton.ca

Queries

Re: membership or dues: Richard.Katz@jhu.edu

Re: contributions: vdsala@ccs.carleton.ca

ABOUT THIS ISSUE

Readers will find that there are a number of changes in this letter and in CONGRIPS. I want to take the opportunity to welcome Filippo Sabetti as the new president, and Richard Katz as the new treasurer and executive secretary. I also want to welcome Osvaldo Croci as the new book review editor for the newsletter. I think you will find that the book review section of this issue lives up to the high quality of work that Osvaldo provided when he was the Newsletter editor. I want to thank Filippo, Richard, Osvaldo, and other members of the executive who have been extremely helpful in the preparation of this issue

The issue also includes a new feature that profiles a prominent scholar who has produced important research on Italy. Members are probably familiar with the work of Raymond Grew, and will enjoy reading about the career of one of the most important historians of modern Italy. The member profile section of the newsletter is part of an attempt to provide more information about the community of scholars that works on Italy. In this respect, this issue also has more information about conferences and internet resources. If you have any information you would like other members to know about, please do not hesitate to send it along to the editor for inclusion in future issues. Other members also may want to know about your current research so future numbers will include a research notes section that will have brief (1000-2000 words) descriptions of your work. This is a very good opportunity to let others know what you are working on, as well as to introduce graduate students to our community.

Finally, CONGRIPS will be organising a panel at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association in Boston (see the conference section for details). Simona Piattoni has put together an interesting panel so you should try to make it as well as the business meeting that will follow. The annual panel at the APSA is a great opportunity to let others know about research on Italy and about CONGRIPS. So, please try to let others know, especially graduate students.

Finally, I would like to once again make a call for more graduate student participation. We all have attended conferences where we have come across interesting work being done on Italy by a new generation of scholars. Please try to encourage them to submit a brief description of their research and interests, as well as book reviews, to Congrips.

CONGRIPS***Questionnaire***

Members may remember that in the early years of the association, a regular feature was a list of all members and their co-ordinates. This made it easier to find out who was who and how to find them. We would like to gather this information about CONGRIPS members once again. Please take the time to answer the questions below and send them to the editor by regular post. If you would like an electronic copy of the questionnaire, please send a message to: vdsala@ccs.carleton.ca.

Name & Title:

Affiliation:

Mailing Address:

(Street Address)

(City, State, Zip/Postal Code, Country)

E-Mail: _____

Publications: Please list some of your most recent books or articles.

Projects: What projects of research and writing do you have in progress?

Dissertations: Please list any doctoral dissertations you are directing, giving the name of the student and the topic.

Appointments and Promotions: List any recent promotions, changes in rank or position, appointments, etc.

Fellowships and Honours:

Please give any information that you think may interest our members.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

CONGRIPS at the American Political Science Association Meeting

The annual meeting of the APSA will be held in Boston on 29 August – 1 September, and Congrips has an interesting panel. Members in the Boston area who may not be members of the APSA may want to attend the panels as well as the business meeting. Please consult the APSA website (www.apsanet.org/mtgs/index.cfm) for the official time and place.

Simona Piattoni has organised the following CONGRIPS panel:

“Italy Between Europeanization and Federalization”

Chair: Simona Piattoni, University of Trento, Italy.

Discussant: John Costantelos, Grand Valley State University, USA

Papers:

“A European Social Security Policy? Some Implications for Italian Regions”

Rosa Mulé, University of Warwick, UK

The paper looks at the possible implications of an EU social security policy for the regional divide in Italy. It argues that unless endogenous activity is encouraged in southern Italy, an EU social security policy may enhance rather than mitigate the gap between rich and poor regions. The paper examines the development of EU social security policy in the postwar period using multilevel governance and realist approaches. It draws on data from the European

Commission and from the Inquiry Commission on Poverty in Italy.

“Elites, Change Agents and the Local Political Economy. Italian Blueprints for European Accession Countries?”

Bruno Grancelli, University of Trento, Italy

The debate on Europeanization revolves around the way in which national elites (and masses) adapt to laws, procedures and “cognitive frames” emanating from European institutions. Normally the emphasis is on the formulation of policies rather than on their implementation, and the focus is on larger countries supposedly capable of “imposing” their practices onto smaller countries. Yet crucially important is to understand how the “receiver” countries adopt and adapt these practices to their particular needs, sometimes combining “muddling through” with “window-dressing”. This paper explores whether practices in use in the “third Italy” might not constitute a useful blueprint for the organization of accession countries’ local political economy. The paper assesses the role of both domestic elites and “change agents” (particularly private and public managers) in exporting such practices to accession countries.

“Federalizing Italy: Two Steps in Different Directions”

Ugo Amoretti, University of Genova, Italy

This paper examines the current process of decentralization of the Italian State. Despite a long history of economic, social, and cultural fragmentation along territorial lines, Italy has had a largely centralized government since the formation of the

Italian State in 1861. However, from the late 1980s on, pressure for a federal reform of the State has increasingly grown. First introduced in the Italian political agenda by the electorally uprising Northern League, during the 1990s federalism rapidly became quite popular also among voters. As a consequence, a first step on the road towards federalism has been made through the constitutional reform passed by the Italian Parliament on March 2001 and approved by Italians the following October 7 by means of a popular referendum. This reform, sponsored by the center-left parties and passed just a few days before the end of their 1996-2001 governing spell, has however fallen short of satisfying the more ambitious expectations of their center-right rivals and the Northern League, as widely pointed out during their electoral campaign preceding the May 2001 general elections. The new federal reform sponsored by the Berlusconi government further decentralizes the Italian state though, as of now, it suffers from shortcomings that make it far from completing Italy's federal evolution. Whether Italy becomes a federal state depends on several factors, among which public support for federalism is probably the most important. Even if the center-left and the center-right reforms are both incomplete from a federal perspective, they interestingly reveal the existence of two different views on how the Italian State should transform.

“The Europeanization of Italy: A Window of Opportunity and What Came Through It”

Sergio Fabbrini and Simona Piattoni, University of Trento, Italy.

In the “Europeanization” debate, Italy normally represents a case of uneasy

adaptation to norms, practices and laws decided largely without her input or with only a weak contribution in the ascending phase of policy-making. Not surprisingly, Italy encounters difficulties in the descending phase as well. Also in this new field of inquiry, then, Italy constitutes an “exceptional case”. Building on evidence from several policy areas, this paper proposes an interpretation of the process of Europeanization of Italy which puts in due relief the intertwining of different dynamics in this “critical juncture” of Italian history.

Journal of Modern Italian Studies

Congrips members are reminded that you are entitled to reduced rate for individual subscriptions to the *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*. The JMIS is published three times annually, and carries articles on Italian politics, history, culture, and society, along with many review articles on the state of various fields of Italian studies and about 20 individual book reviews per issue. The Journal web page,

http://www.brown.edu/Research/Journal_Modern_Italian_Studies/

Congratulations

Filippo Sabetti's, *The Search for Good Government: Understanding the Paradox of Italian Democracy* (Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000) has been designated by INFOGRAPHY as one of the six superlative sources on Italian politics to appear in the past thirty years. Further to that, the book was shortlisted for the Harold Adams Innis Prize for the best social science book in the fall of 2001. A

paperback edition will be available in the fall of 2002.

Accommodation

Most of us have faced the problem of trying to find accommodation while on sabbatical or on research leave. As a service to members, it would be useful if

anyone who has a flat to let or knows of accommodation send this information to the editor. We will include any accommodation information we can gather in the newsletter. In addition, if you would like to post an ad for a sabbatical exchange, please send it along to the editor.

Internet Resources

A new feature of the newsletter will be to identify websites and Internet resources that may be helpful to members. Do not hesitate to send to the editor any suggestions you may have that may be of interest to other members.

Health care in Italy

WHO Report on the Italian Health Care System (English)

<http://www.who.dk/country/ita01.pdf>

Overview of health & welfare (English)

http://www.pitt.edu/~heinisch/ca_ital.html

Sistema sanitario & salute della popolazione (ISTAT)

<http://www.istat.it/Primpag/sociosan2001/>

Ministero della salute

<http://www.sanita.it/>

H-Mediterranean

The aim of H-Mediterranean is to provide researchers with information on publications and congresses regarding the history of the Mediterranean. The discussion list aims at becoming a space for debate between researchers coming from different academic fields. Instead of only promoting discussions about each single country, or only discussing the concept of Mediterranean history, the aim is to facilitate circulation and confrontation of ideas, methods, and theories. The other purpose of H-Mediterranean is to present book reviews on Mediterranean history and bibliography, in order to promote a trans-Mediterranean circulation of information. Focus is put on recent bibliography in English, French, Italian, Arabic, Turk, Spanish and Greek about the history of the Mediterranean and Mediterranean countries. H-Mediterranean aims at promoting academic discussion between scholars of various parts of the region as a scientific method. The site consists of reviews, a discussion list,

information pages about publications, calls for papers, and conferences, as well as links with the major academic institutions in the Mediterranean region.

To join H-MEDITERRANEAN, please send a message from the account where you wish to receive mail, to:

listserv@h-net.msu.edu

(with no signatures or styled text, word wrap off for long lines) and only this text:

sub h-mediterranean firstname lastname,
institution

Example: sub h-mediterranean Leslie
Jones, Pacific State U

Follow the instructions you receive by return mail. If you have questions or experience difficulties in attempting to subscribe, please send a message to:

help@h-net.msu.edu

Italy in North America

There are many useful sites that are aimed at Italians living abroad which contain information and links that may be helpful for members.

For instance, in the Midwest of the United States:

<http://www.italystl.com>

In Canada:

www.canadese.org

Addressing Italians throughout the world:

<http://www.fondazione-agnelli.it/altreitalie/>

Early Modern Italy

www.EarlyModernItaly.com

The comprehensive bibliography of works in English and French on Early Modern Italy is being launched in its fourth edition. With just over 6,000 titles on almost 250 pages of small print, the work has been substantially augmented from the previous edition. In particular, the fourth edition includes many available doctoral dissertations on Italian history, literature, music and art history from American, British and French universities.

The work has been expanded to 10 rubrics: general studies and historiography - travel and historical geography - politics and administration - economy and demography - behaviour and social stratification - religion - philosophy, literature and erudition - music and spectacle - art and architecture - science and technology.

For specialists of history, art history, literature, music and science, the bibliography permits scholars to distinguish between well-trod paths and new directions, by including obscurely published and forgotten studies. It eliminates the need for extensive searching

and facilitates the elaboration of collection strategies and preparation of course reading materials. For students, the bibliography places almost the entire English and French-language literature at

their fingertips. By enabling them to determine what is available locally, it greatly facilitates the collection of information.

Conferences

CFP - Frontlines: Gender, Identity and War

School of Historical Studies, Monash University, Melbourne, Australia, 12th - 13th July 2002

Keynote Speakers: Joanna Bourke and Joy Damousi

'Frontlines: Gender, Identity and War' is a multi-disciplinary conference that will bring together researchers with an interest in the social and cultural aspects of war. It will invite particularly an exploration of the ways that national, cultural and personal identities intersect at times of major upheaval. Discussions of migrant and indigenous experiences of war will be encouraged as will papers that take a comparative approach to the social and cultural aspects of conflicts across time.

Organisers invite papers from all disciplines including the Humanities, Law, Science, Medicine and Nursing. We welcome papers from graduate students who wish to present their research in an international forum.

Sessions will include, but will not be restricted to, the following areas:

- * Literary representations of war
- * War in film
- * Indigenous experiences of war
- * Outsiders at home: migrants and the war experience
- * Women and War
- * War and Masculinity
- * Shifting Boundaries - War, peace treaties and enforced national identity
- * Clinical War - contagious diseases, army hospitals, psychoanalysis and war neuroses
- * War as Metaphor

All papers will be published on the web with the intention to publish a selection of

papers in an edited volume. Speakers will be expected to give papers of 20 minutes with 10 minutes question time. Abstracts of no more than 200 words should be sent by 15th February 2002 to:

The Organising Committee, Frontlines: Gender, Identity and War School of Historical Studies, Monash University, Clayton 3800, Victoria, Australia

Or by email to:
genidwar@arts.monash.edu.au

ASMI Conference on Italian Colonialism and Post-Colonial Legacies

Abstract details of the papers presented at the Annual Conference of the Association for the Study of Modern Italy (ASMI) in London 30th Nov and 1st Dec 2001, on 'Italian Colonialism and Post-Colonial Legacies' can be found at the conference web-site:

<http://www.bris.ac.uk/Depts/Italian/itconference.html>

Anti-Fascism and Construction of National Identity in Europe

Istituto Nazionale "Ferruccio Parri" - I.N.S.M.L.I.

30-31 maggio e 1° giugno 2002
Aula Magna Facoltà di Scienze politiche

Università degli studi
Via del Conservatorio, 7, Milano

The research conference we propose is meant to reconstruct the long-run history of anti-Fascism on the European scale. Such idea/ideal/ideology went through the whole of the Twentieth century. Between the two World Wars it contributed to mould the complex field of political forces and cultural movements committed to the struggle against Fascist totalitarianism, while during the Second World War represented the Pole Star for the armed resistance active in several European countries. But the history of anti-Fascism does not end with the fall of its antagonist; it continues throughout the postwar period with a changed sign and rather different meaning. In almost all the countries on both sides of the continent split by the cold war, anti-Fascism took up the connotations of an identity symbol and means of legitimation for the opposite political systems born out of the ruins of the war - were they either of a liberal-democratic or of a popular-totalitarian kind. To this common feature one may add the basic component of the set of values typical of the mass parties on which those political systems were being largely founded.

This conference is to be regarded as the beginning of a broader research project engaging a group of eight or nine young researchers for a two-year period, with the precise goal of deepening the analysis of Italian anti-Fascism in the above outlined prospect.

Panels included in the conference are:

L'antifascismo e gli Istituti storici della Resistenza: identità culturale e ricerca storica

La costruzione dell'antifascismo nella lotta contro il fascismo

L'antifascismo nella costruzione dei sistemi politici del dopoguerra

L'antifascismo tra politica e memoria nell'Europa contemporanea

Resistenza e antifascismo nella storia d'Italia: appartenenze politiche, identità locali, memorie divise.

Call for Papers:

"Gender and the 'Private Sphere' in Italy: Home, Family and Sexuality"

Association for the Study of Modern Italy
Annual Conference 2002
Italian Cultural Institute, Belgrave Square,
London
22-23 November 2002.

Conference website address:
<http://www.selc.ed.ac.uk/italian/gender/>

This interdisciplinary conference aims to be a forum for debate on the role of gender in the private sphere in 19th, 20th and 21st century Italy, with a particular focus on the family and sexuality. Whilst scholars from a number of disciplines have written in variety of ways about the Italian family, an institution which has often been

depicted as particularly important in this national context, the question of sexuality has been relatively neglected.

Proposals are invited on any aspect of the role and development of the Italian family, on changing notions of 'home' as a cultural, social and architectural concept and on legislative, social and cultural ideas about sexuality. Offers of papers are invited from historians (C19th and C20th), anthropologists, political scientists, sociologists and cultural/film/media studies specialists. Those engaged in new and innovative research are particularly encouraged to submit proposals.

Abstracts of proposals plus a short CV should be sent to Dr Perry Willson (Dept. of SELC-Italian, University of Edinburgh, Scotland - P.R.Willson@ed.ac.uk) or Dr Paola Filippucci (Dept of Social Anthropology, University of Cambridge, England - pf107@hermes.cam.ac.uk). Abstracts should be about 250 words in length, sent as an email attachment, listing name, organisation, contact address, telephone and e-mail address and should include the title of the proposed paper. Although the conference focuses on Italy, all abstracts must be in English. All papers will be given in English.

The deadline for the submission of proposals is 6th May 2002.

Member Profile

My Explorations in Italian History

by Raymond Grew

A generous curiosity had produced it, but the invitation arrived Janus-faced. Asking me to write about my work as an historian of modern Italy is simultaneously a temptation to nostalgic self-indulgence and a call for sober self-evaluation of the sort that healthy academic psyches usually avoid right up to the mortuary door. The topic's potential interest lies, I think, in the relative scarcity of North Americans who study modern Italy and in the changes that have taken place in what interests them. There is in any case a kind of solidarity among students of modern Italy, for they share the experience of explaining to other *italianisti* why they do not study the Renaissance or middle ages (assumed to indicate weak Latin) and to other Europeanists why they were attracted to a state best known for its inadequacies (presumed to indicate a penchant for the *dolce vita* of food, sunshine, and beauty). Since World War II, however, the issues that engage scholars of modern Italy (and to a lesser extent the methods used) have shifted, reflecting altered perceptions of Italy and differing currents in the social sciences; and those changes offer some intellectual interest in their own right.

My interest in modern Italy evolved out of my interest in history, and that was in part the by-product of indirection. As an undergraduate I became a history major primarily because the study of history seemed to legitimate learning about literature, the arts, and science as well politics and

economics. There was never any doubt that modern Europe would be my historical focus, for that seemed to me where modernity originated and where the ideas, institutions, habits, and problems generated were most exciting. In fact, surrounded by talk of Freud and Marx, the atomic bomb, modern art, communism and the rebuilding of Europe (at the end of my freshman year I heard George Marshall announce his plan for accomplishing that), much of what mattered most centered on Europe.

I encountered Italy in some of my history courses, and admiration for Myron Gilmore and Stuart Hughes was an important element in my adding graduate school as an option to consider on graduation (along with journalism, as a foreign correspondent of course, and the State Department). I applied in all those directions omitting only law school, despite my grandfather's hopes, received an offer from the State Department (which began impressively by telegram but came to sound awfully bureaucratic), from the Associated Press (where I had done some summer work; they even promised to wait a year if I insisted on a master's degree but warned they would have no interest in someone with a Ph.D., which made that degree seem a courageous step), and was—just barely—admitted to graduate school. My senior thesis (on diplomacy toward Spain) had turned out well, and I entered graduate school confident that I wanted to be an historian (although not that I could succeed) and having decided to focus on French history.

At the end of my first year, after a seminar in French history with Donald McKay, he told me he had decided to take up Italian history and invited me to join him. He pointed out that Harvard's library was especially strong in modern Italian history, that Gaetano Salvemini's presence had left a legacy not to be neglected (Hughes, who had left for Stanford, would return later), and that modern Italian history was rich in subjects to be investigated. Although enormously flattered, I declined, citing my affection for France. McKay kindly replied that such decisions were a matter of taste, adding that he was about to spend some months in Italy, meeting leading historians, learning about Italian archives, and filling any gaps in Harvard's library. I offered to help by checking Harvard's holdings against lists he sent of collections that might be purchased, and that began my encounter with Italian history. It started at a pretty low level. When McKay wrote to ask if Harvard had a run of the issues of *Giustizia e Libertà* published in Parigi, I spent a couple of days with atlases trying to find out where in Italy Parigi might be.

Still, the exposure took. I soon decided to add modern Italian history as a field in the General Examination and began to read on Italy in English while teaching myself Italian by means of an ancient grammar that listed French, Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian in parallel columns. I still regret not having learned Portuguese, but knowing some French and Spanish helped, and before long I had mastered the past tense sufficiently to read Italian historians, however limpingly. By the time I took Generals, I had decided to write a dissertation in Italian history; and my often-dated reading led me to select the

Italian National Society as my topic. The classic literature in English (G.M. Trevelyan, Bolton King, William Roscoe Thayer) offered a Whiggish picture in which discredited obscurantism and tyranny gave way before a combination of enlightened aristocrats, a rising middle class, increased national awareness, and brilliant leadership coalescing in the good sense of liberalism and moderation—with the National Society a principal instrument of this process. Despite tantalizing details about secret messages, smuggled propaganda, and spreading influence, these accounts remained vague about how the Society had actually functioned. The Italian literature I had encountered fell into two camps. More recent works were distinctly Crocean. Better grounded and often intellectually impressive, they attended especially to the conflict of ideas. These accounts, too, saw the Society as central but prompted unanswered questions about how deeply the ideas of moderate nationalism had spread or their practical effect. The great body of the Italian literature, however, was frankly patriotic and even hagiographic. An American easily recognized the tradition of Parson Weems in tales of how men of sturdy character rose to decisive heroism in times of crisis. Paradoxically, over time I would find the literature in this tradition the most valuable of all. Historians eager to enroll local heroes in the national pantheon faithfully published even minor correspondence as patriotic relics. Those documents exposed conflicts, uncertainties, and shifting sides that whetted the historical appetite and opened issues to explore.

I think this reading affected my approach to the Risorgimento in several ways. I had, of course, been drawn to the

dramatic story, although skeptical from the first of the claims made and the uncritical assumptions about nationalism. Collectively, the gaps in the secondary literature (as compared to the historiography of France, Britain, and the United States) raised questions that challenged a narrowly political focus, leading me to think more about the role of ideas and of social tensions in the Risorgimento. There had been, it now seems to me, remarkably little concern for theory or method in my training. Balance, fairness, and accuracy were stressed, almost as if enough in themselves. I had absorbed the point that a historian should make a consistent and significant argument but also the impression that historians simply accomplished that on their own. The fact that modern Italian history held small place in the consciousness of North American historians reinforced recognition that uncovering some facts was not enough and that a monograph on Italy had to justify itself in some larger sense—a risky advantage shared, I think, by most less-studied fields of history. This encouraged carving out one's own set of concerns, problems, and generalizations somewhat independent of the established literature, which would be unknown to most readers of English. That feeling of autonomy, partly illusory, was reinforced by the absence of larger theoretical models. We were all aware of Marx and Marxism, and that awareness certainly influenced my own rather uncomplicated attention to social class, but I did not problematize or probe the categories as one would have been likely to do a decade later and as an increasing number of Italian historians had begun to do. Similarly, I was remarkably free of preoccupation with Fascism. The Crocean conception

of Fascism as an interstices in Italy's political history, so satisfactory to Italians recovering from the war, was equally satisfactory for a student of the Risorgimento, for it had the great advantage of preventing the teleological preoccupation that later came to color many interpretations. Thus naiveté and ignorance also encouraged setting out on one's own.

It remained unclear, however, that enough evidence existed to sustain an effective analysis of the National Society or its historical role. As I tried to make the case for such a possibility, McKay wondered if the topic had not already been fully explored or, if in fact it had not, whether that meant that little further evidence could be found. He therefore wrote to several of the Italian historians he had recently met. Their replies, save one, were generally cautious: It was a good topic, maybe worth a try, but one for which there was little documentation. Salvemini's reply was slightly more encouraging. Welcoming such a study, he added in his only specific comment that I needed to be warned: Giuseppe La Farina (universally described as the "anima" of the Society) was "a terrible liar." At the time, that seemed like an invitation; and I decided that even without great nuggets of neglected evidence (a somewhat heretical thought in the 1950s), an analysis even of what was already known about the Society could make some contribution.

So I spent a year (my third in graduate school) digging through the Harvard library's amazing riches. Among all the false leads, I found pamphlets and proclamations published by the National Society and learned that it had been electorally active into the 1860s, something not mentioned in

general accounts and an element that cast a different light on the fears and ambitions underlying its activities. Then in the rare books library I found extensive if not complete runs for several years of the National Society's weekly newspaper, *Il Piccolo Corriere* (without realizing that no library or archive in Italy had as much). While taking extensive (indeed, excessive) notes, I also made lists of the members mentioned. I did so with chagrin, believing those names already well known to better-informed historians but realizing that I needed to learn who these people were. Later in that year, Dennis Mack Smith visited Harvard. Thoroughly encouraging, even while he told of his difficulties in obtaining documents on Cavour (his book on *Cavour and Garibaldi* was in press), he was also inspiring. I felt admitted to a small circle of dedicated scholars.

At the end of the summer, 1954, my wife and I excitedly left for Italy. Her having taken an evening course in Italian proved particularly helpful; my spoken Italian tended to slip into the past tense. All Fulbrighters were bundled off for a valuable month in Perugia; and our cohort included Dante Germino, David Herlihy, Marion Miller, and Richard Webster, friends from whom I continued to learn for years. The Fulbright Commission was understandably skeptical of my plan to move across the peninsula from archive to archive but gradually relented. Although I was armed with an impressive stack of letters of introduction, in practice I tended to use them only when access to documents was at stake. Otherwise, I was embarrassed to ask some distinguished scholar to interrupt his work to entertain a callow foreign student. I still regret never having met Salvemini. Those

whom I did approach were almost unfailingly kind and generous. No one asked what I thought I could accomplish or what sort of interpretation I was headed toward, although Adolfo Omodeo discussed views of the Risorgimento as if I were a learned colleague. I benefited not only from kindness but a general good feeling toward Americans, considerable confusion about my own academic status, and (I now realize) some relief that my topic must imply respect for Risorgimento heroes. All that was nicely summed up by the hearty archivist who introduced me to his staff as "a distinguished *professore*" all the way from America, spent most of day showing me around, and then explained, "You see, professore, Italy has not always been just one nation...."

We went first to Turin. Somewhat disappointed to be assured even there that neither libraries nor archives had anything on the National Society, sheer necessity led me to pull out my list of names. I then discovered many letters and documents written by members of the Society. Soon I had a neat pile of folders before me; and when he saw that, Luigi Bulferetti ordered that my table be moved next to the room's one radiator. Day after day, I happily plowed through this material, some of it quite revealing. More important, even the many documents not directly relevant provided an invaluable sense of context. I also learned something of how the Society operated and much more about conspiratorial ambitions and discouraging realities. Working from misinformation and odd combinations of hope and distrust, often highly personal, the Society's correspondents revealed a great deal about their underlying concerns. By the time I had made it

through several hundred letters and a few more pamphlets found in the Biblioteca Civica, I had acquired a new understanding of the movement as well as some practical details. Some of the few people who regularly frequented the same archives and libraries showed polite interest in what I believed I was finding, but it was less my ideas than my public assiduity that earned an occasional tip about other sources.

After four months, we moved on to Rome, where I climbed every day to the top of the Vittoriano to enter the eerie presided over by Alberto Maria Ghisalberti and Emilia Morelli. Reassured by my youth and innocence, they did all they could to ease my labors. They shared intimate knowledge of their extraordinary collection, suggesting *fonti* that might prove useful and warning against “false” impressions, without in any way infringing on my independence. They introduced us to a number of other historians, shared professional gossip, and included us in occasional elegant soirées. They were even forgiving when a note written by Mazzini disintegrated in my hands. Once again, the lists of names, now growing at an alarming pace, was the most useful key; and it led to hundreds of relevant documents, there, at the Senate library, and in the state archives. We spent more than three months in Rome. Among other stops, I uncovered a considerable trove only in Bologna, although there were some tidbits in Genoa, Naples and Palermo and quite a bit more in Florence in both the state archive and the Museo del Risorgimento. (Starting in Turin and Rome had been fortunate serendipity).

In Bologna, Giovanni Maioli, who had published a number of articles on the National Society in the Romagna, actually went through the archives with

me, shelf by shelf, and adopted a practice so generous that it still staggers me. As I read a cluster of letters, he would inquire as to which ones I would turn to next; then, while I read, he opened the folders to follow, rearranging their contents by author and date in order to facilitate my work. That kind of touching engagement was manifest also in a number of local Società di Storia Patria, where the results there were usually skimpy and less time went into actual research than in learning when they were open and in reassuring the person in charge that limited discoveries were not a tragedy. Milan was disappointing, not only because I failed to find the material I had hoped for but because there I encountered the only insistence of substantial resistance to my efforts. Milan’s Museo del Risorgimento, it turned out, held the only copy anywhere of the last year of the Society’s newspaper. To be sure, the paper by then had changed its name and the Society was dying, but the Director told me the paper no longer existed and only an inadvertent remark from an assistant led me to it. We had to leave in three days. Museo officials said they could not microfilm it nor allow it sent out for microfilming elsewhere. By pleading (and proposing to garner support from every Italian historian I had met in the year), I won the right to hire a photographer to come to the Museo and photograph, provided he used only natural light. Our last day in Milan was spent searching for someone who would undertake the task. Finally, an indigent student and beginning photographer agreed to do it, and six months later the postal service brought a microfilm, most of which was legible.

Although we departed from Italy on a sour note, playing the part of an

insistent American spreading money around, it had been a wonderful year. The two of us had lived on the stipend of a single Fulbright, learned a great deal about Italian society, seen a high proportion of Italy's famous sights (we were grateful that so many repositories had awkward hours, leaving us free to tour), and, like so many others, fallen in love with the country. A small travel grant from Harvard made it possible to visit Paris and England on the way home, and a few useful items were found in libraries on those stops, too. It was the era before Xerox and still an age of transatlantic ships, and we benefited from both. We lived on the ship by writing bad checks, which I relied on my family to cover when we landed. Without Xeroxed documents, it was impossible to postpone analysis by creating a portable archive to be read later; and so I had had to rethink the project constantly as I took notes. Having done so, I thought that the writing would proceed rapidly.

Of course it did not; and when I submitted an already fairly lengthy dissertation, it covered only the period through 1859 and the Society's official dissolution. Even so, I had worked through the material with excessive fondness (slowed, too, by now knowing how to find a good deal more in the Harvard library). On reading the dissertation, Crane Brinton gently remarked that he found the first chapters "rather Proustian." As I went off to my first job, I knew that I had to condense what I had as well as continue on with the part unwritten. I soon learned, too, how little time preparing new courses left for writing.

By then I realized, of course, that my views would be controversial (requiring considerable evidence and

detail for Italian scholars) and that an American audience unaware of such controversies would be impatient with information overkill. The potential resistance to my interpretations was brought home by the fate of my first publication on Italian history, which was also the first historical piece published under my own name. (For a fee of \$200 I had been commissioned a year before to write an encyclopedia article on the eighteenth century. It was published but under the name of a distinguished German scholar whose earlier draft of that article had been accepted; he liked mine well enough to adopt it). After I returned to the States, the director of the State archive in Florence, who had been very helpful, invited me to write an article on the National Society in Tuscany for a new journal on Tuscan history that he edited. Thrilled, I set to work and produced the essay in Italian (with considerable help and barely suppressed laughter from a graduate student in Italian).¹ The editor wrote me that it was fine and would be published soon. Inexperienced enough to be surprised at how much time passed before it appeared, I was more surprised to discover that he had used the delay to print an article of his own contradicting mine. By conflating two movements that were in fact fiercely opposed, he painted a far rosier picture of Tuscan moderates and radicals joined in Cavourian patriotism.

As I thought about reshaping and extending my dissertation to make an effective book, I realized that a crucial element was not really a part of my study at all. The National Society had dissolved on the outbreak of war in

¹ "Societa Nazionale Italiana in Toscana," *Rassegna Storica Toscana* II (1956), 77-102.

1859, and its purpose was fundamentally different when it started up again in 1860. An agency of propaganda and some conspiracy that sought to mobilize local leaders in support of Piedmont before the war, it was far more partisan and more closely tied to the Piedmontese government in its reincarnation after the war. While attempting in central Italy and the south to imitate its earlier success in the north, its primary aim in the early months of 1860 was to assure that plebiscites and elections in the north worked in Cavour's favor. That led to a shrill break with more militant and more democratic nationalists, including figures like Garibaldi and Crispi and a movement that imitated the National Society led by Agostino Bertani. This shift opened some questions I needed to resolve. Perhaps the Society was never more than Cavour's agent (a view held by its opponents and fostered by considerable myth-making on the part of La Farina). I thought I had sufficient evidence to disprove that.

A more interesting and more complicated question, however, rested on the role of the Society's members in the critical period after the end of the war and before Garibaldi's expedition to Sicily. Many traditional accounts presented the Society as the agent of the uprisings that replaced departed Dukes and papal officials and established interim governments in Tuscany, the Duchies, and the Romagna. It was these governments that wrote new constitutions and arranged rapid annexation to Piedmont, the fait accompli that tied the hands of Napoleon III and European diplomacy. There were extensive studies of these revolts, and I had no reason to add to them. In a formal sense, the events of that interim period did not really belong in a study of the

National Society. Yet, especially given the change in the National Society, I felt I had to ponder that transformation in light of the drama of unification in the north and that doing so could add to understanding not only of the National Society but also of the unfolding of the Risorgimento itself.

An invitation to present a paper at a meeting of the American Historical Association provided a perfect occasion (it may say something not altogether flattering about how much of my work through the years has been occasioned by someone else's commission). So I set about rethinking the history of those interim regimes (in which former members of the National Society had been prominent), using secondary sources and correspondence, much of it published, and studying those interim constitutions that sought so earnestly to adopt Piedmontese law and procedure, while adding sometimes significant local touches. The paper ultimately developed into an article published in the *Journal of Modern History*². It fared much better than the first, and it helped me identify my own position on some of the larger issues the book would address.

While I agreed with most of the criticisms of the Risorgimento then coming into fashion, I was not convinced by explanations that made the Cavourian triumph largely a matter of Machiavellian maneuver. And while I agreed that the Risorgimento was not a popular revolution, that seemed to me unsurprising. The significance of limited

² "How Success Spoiled the Risorgimento," *The Journal of Modern History* XXXIV (1962), 239-53, and subsequently reprinted in the Bobbs-Merrill reprint series (1964); in Charles Delzel, ed., *Unification of Italy* (1967); Eugene C. Black, ed., *European Liberalism* (1969); and A. William Salomone, ed., *Italian History* (1971).

popular engagement in the Risorgimento tended, I felt, to be exaggerated because the earlier historiography had tended to obscure that fact and because of the ideological and interpretive power in lamenting a “failed” revolution. To me, the standards implied for a “real” revolution were unrealistically high in light of European history more generally. The National Society had garnered some cross-class support, at least in urban areas, and it had done so with a program more progressively liberal than the cautious, narrow practice that developed in the 1860s. Still, the compromises in the last months of 1859 struck me as more readily and widely accepted—in short, more deeply rooted—than could be explained simply in terms of moderate nationalists’ fearful realism. The problem thus became one of explaining the shift, and I settled for a two-pronged explanation, combining the contingencies of a critical moment, discussed in the article, with the history of the National Society, including not only its shifts in policy and membership but also the malleability of ideas analyzed in the book, especially in the chapter called “The Ideology That Evolved.”

With the book finished³, at last, and while it was in press, we had our first chance for another year in Europe, in 1962-63, this time with two small children. We learned while abroad that the manuscript of the book had been given the *Unità d’Italia Prize*. In another piece of luck, I had finished just as the Italian government chose to commemorate the centennial of Italian unification by offering a prize for a relevant work. That brought a handsome

gold medal (which I have never known what to do with) and an award (which became the down payment on our first house). It also gave the government the rights to an Italian translation, which was authorized (and I think completed) years later—shortly before the publisher went out of business. Luck works both ways, and in Italy, *A Sterner Plan*, remains sometimes cited but rarely really read.

The trip’s purpose was the start of another project. Several factors influenced my choice. Determined to maintain my involvement with French history, I chose not simply to extend my previous work on the Risorgimento. That may not have been wise (I had thought of undertaking a study of Bertani’s activities on behalf of Garibaldi and a more democratic vision). I had also been increasingly drawn to the possibilities of comparative history, about which I knew little. My friends were encouraging, although many of my Princeton colleagues reasonably considered it a loose, risky, and unnecessary path to take. Most of all, I was influenced by a passing comment Stanley Pierson had made to me years before on the steps of Widener Library. In answer to a question, I had spoken of an interest in France, Spain, and Italy; and he replied that I would certainly have to deal with the Catholic Church. Oddly, I had never seriously weighed that obvious need, even though I was proud of a seminar paper I had written on the separation of Church and State in France. Over the years, his comment echoed in my mind; and I realized that from my faintly Protestant background I knew next to nothing about Catholicism. So I chose a project that could rectify that, engage my interest in Latin Europe, teach me something about Catholicism,

³ *A Sterner Plan for Italian Unity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963).

experiment with comparison, and develop my growing interest in social history. All of this (except religion) of course reflected, more than I realized, growing trends in the social sciences.

I had no wish, however, to replicate the extensive work on Catholic politics and conflicts between Church and State. Nor did I want to write about social Catholicism on which there was already much good work. My reasoning was rather that I could use the available literature to address a different question. If, I reasoned, the social changes accompanying industrialization affected all of society throughout the nineteenth century, and if it was also true that Catholicism penetrated all of French, Italian, and Spanish society, then Catholicism and change must have intersected in identifiable and probably surprising ways. In this I was influenced by that seminar paper, which had argued that Catholics, some of them deliberately and most inadvertently, had in fact helped propel France's separation of Church and State. The year abroad was spent in reading secondary sources and scouting sources in all three countries.⁴ The results were mixed. Except for some well-known works and local histories, the secondary sources then available were less helpful than I had hoped; local histories contained many nuggets, usually well buried in treatment of other issues. Obsessed with procedures and politics, the official leavings in state archives seemed only sporadically to have relevant information not already known through published studies. Diocesan materials were much more promising, although usually less well

⁴ I spent fruitful time in Paris, Strasbourg, Lyon, and Bordeaux; Madrid and Barcelona, and Rome.

organized. Overall, the chances of getting at what I needed were the best in France and worst in Spain. Still, what I had seen indicated that with some trimming and refocusing the topic had potential.

In time, the project narrowed. I decided to give up independent work on Spain, hoping that a comparison of the Church's social role in France and Italy might conclude with brief analytic comparison of Catholics in Spain and other countries, and I concentrated on the period from 1815 to 1870 as the decisive phase. A fellowship enabled me to work in Paris and Rome in 1968-69, and I did more research in those cities in 1973-74 (now with three children, who greatly enriched our experience and taught me a lot about aspects of those societies I would not otherwise have experienced). What I learned about the diverse roles of the Church has been valuable in itself and has contributed to a number of papers and articles.⁵ Focusing on Catholic participation in social processes is, I believe, a particularly fruitful angle of vision. Nevertheless, the initial project has never been completed, although there remains in my mind a book on the role of the Church in social

⁵ Particularly: "Catholicism in a Changing Italy," in E.R. Tannenbaum and E.P. Noether, *Modern Italy. A Topical History* (New York, New York University Press, 1974), 254-73; "Catholicism and the Risorgimento," in Frank J. Coppa, ed., *Studies in Modern Italian History*, (New York:, 1986), 39-55; "Liberty and the Catholic Church in Nineteenth-Century Europe," Richard Helmstadter, ed., *Freedom and Religion in the Nineteenth Century* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 196-232; and "Suspended Bridges to Democracy: The Uncertain Origins of Christian Democracy in France and Italy," Thomas Kselman, ed., forthcoming from the University of Notre Dame Press..

change in France that I still hope to write. Without consciously abandoning the topic, I kept turning to other things. Fading pride and pressing shame make me want to explain further. Part of the explanation, such as the time and energy absorbed by academic organizations, both national and local, is familiar to all academics and not really relevant here. Part of it has to do with comparison itself and part relates to ever-widening interests, which I shall allude to; and part says something about the realities of research on Italy.

After moving to the University of Michigan, I became involved in the quarterly journal, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, later serving as editor (from 1973 to 1997). I came to believe (and to write in a number of articles) that historical comparison seeking to discover something, to raise new questions, or to sustain an effective argument needs to be focused on specific historical problems. In that light, my comparative study of the Church and change in Italy and France was ill conceived. By its very nature, Catholicism is so thoroughly imbricated in all aspects of society that the comparison I had started with would in effect be a comparison of Italy and France. Such broad comparison makes a lively basis for an undergraduate course, one I enjoyed teaching, but so broad a swath invites judgments already familiar (if not outright clichés) more than fresh insights. *CSSH* also brought me in touch with current work in anthropology and sociology; and in addition I was able on occasion to teach a graduate course with Kenneth Organski and Roy Pierce. This growing connection with the social sciences affected my own work. I experimented, for example, with using comparison to reassess *trasformismo*,

using Walpole's England and Guizot's France to argue that *trasformismo* could be seen as a stage in the development of parliamentary systems where suffrage was limited and coalitions were built more on patronage than party discipline.⁶

Given these developing interests, I welcomed the chance to work with the Comparative Politics Committee of the Social Science Research Council, leading a project (significantly, perhaps, their last) that gathered a cluster of historians to test the applicability of the Committee's conception of a sequences of political "crises" against the history of individual nations. To our surprise, that project went on nearly nine years before a book resulted.⁷ Skeptical historians remained doubtful that the Committee's schema could define the path to democracy, but I think all of us found the exercise a stimulating way to rethink national histories. The individual essays offer worthwhile interpretations, and I found the Committee's categories helpful for understanding Italian state making by underscoring the long-term problem of legitimacy (more telling, it seems to me, than problems of identity, which are given greater attention) and by drawing attention to peculiarly Italian responses to issues of participation. No schema, however, can compensate for authorial short-sightedness. My essay greatly slighted the significance of

⁶ "Il *Trasformismo*: Ultimo stadio del Risorgimento," in Vittono Frosini, ed., *Il Risorgimento e l'Europa* (Catania, 1970), 151-63, a collection of essays in honor of Ghisalberti.

⁷ *Crises and Sequences of Political Development in Europe and the United States* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1978); I wrote a general first chapter, the chapter on Italy and, with David D. Bien, co-authored the chapter on France.

Fascism, and I would handle that very differently now.

My attention was turning elsewhere, however. Active in the newly founded Council for European Studies (where Donald Blackmer and I served as its first co-chairs), secretary of the Modern European History Section of the American Historical Association, Director of the Center for Western European Studies at Michigan, and engaged as one of the authors of a textbook on European history, I needed to think on a European scale. Doing so, pointed up a benefit of studying Italy that I wish Europeanists more readily recognized: Italy provides a remarkable platform from which to view European developments. The intellectual, political, social, and economic history of modern Italy shares in all the major trends of European history; and Italians have tended to be keenly aware of developments elsewhere in all these areas. Less isolated than Spain or Eastern Europe, less self-absorbed than the dominant European powers, Italy can serve as a kind of laboratory for insight into the major issues of modern society. From textbook⁸ to essays on the liberal state and on theories of modernization and to brief comments on nationalism,⁹

⁸ *The Western Experience*, with Mortimer Chambers, David Herlihy, Theodore K. Rabb, Isser Wolloch, (Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1974); Eighth edition, 2002 (Barbara Hanawalt replaced Herlihy in the last two editions)..

⁹ "The Nineteenth-Century European State," in *Statemaking and Social Movements: Essays in History and Theory*, Charles Bright and Susan Harding, eds. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1984), 83-120; "Modernization and Its Discontents," *American Behavioral Scientist*, 21:2 (November/December, 1977), 289-312; "More on Modernization," *Journal of Social History*, 14:2 (October, 1980), 763-78; "Comments on the Nationality Problem in the

my understanding of Italy has been a consistent influence.

There are also practical hurdles for an American student of Italy: less funding and fewer exchanges to help in getting there and, at home, fewer students to sustain the field. For me, France, attractive as always, was also more accessible. Wanting to explore quantitative methods, I found the opportunity in a large and expensive joint project between the Institute for Social Research at Michigan and the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales in Paris. The goal was to put the extraordinary resources of the Statistique Générale de la France into machine readable form, and that project led to a number of articles and a book written with Patrick Harrigan. An exchange between the history department at Michigan and the Ecole enabled me to teach there a number of times. Maintaining contact with Italy and Italian affairs, from current events to current scholarship, required a different kind of effort. The Society for Italian Historical Studies has been a great source of intellectual and collegial support. As a graduate student, I was taken to what I believe was its founding meeting, where Shephard Clough, Kent Roberts Greenfield, Howard Marraro, and Donald McKay welcomed young and old, established scholars and the newly interested, a tradition that has been maintained ever since. The meetings of the Society have meant a lot to me, and I have even enjoyed every office I have held in that organization (something I could not say with the same

Habsburg Monarchy," *Austrian Yearbook*, 1967, III, pt. 2, 484-90, 527-31; "The Construction of National Identity," in Peter Boerner, ed., *Concepts of National Identity, An Interdisciplinary Dialogue* (Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1986), 31-43.

enthusiasm for most similar chores), despite limited success in my efforts to increase the funding available for graduate students. The Columbia University Faculty Seminar on Modern Italy has been a continuing center of intellectual energy. For a time in the palmier days of the 70s, Columbia even contributed to my travel expenses, so that for six years I could attend some of its sessions. The opportunity to hear (and deliver) papers was invaluable; and beyond that circle, everyone in the field has benefited from the discussions, papers, and conferences that emerged from this concentration of Italian specialists.

In Ann Arbor I enjoyed the stimulus at various times of some wonderful colleagues who knew a great deal about Italy. I learned from Samuel Barnes, Kenneth Organski, Robert Putnam, Louise Tilley, and Eric Wolf among many others. And I did find ways to get to Italy, although in circumstances that did not allow for much research. In 1970 the conference of Italian Rectors arranged for reciprocal visits with a few American scholars whose campuses they visited. A formidable collection of confident figures, the Rectors arrived in Ann Arbor during a strike of the Black Action Movement, which was demanding an increase in the enrollment of African Americans. When dealing with the crisis the strike created kept the University's president from meeting with them at length as planned, the Rectors—to my surprise—wrote him a letter favoring the BAM demands. They faced a comparable problem, they said, in the growing needs of students from southern Italy, added that they intended to learn from Michigan's experience. The return visit to Italy by a group of Americans was very different. We were

transported to a half dozen Italian universities, where at magnificent banquets in elegant surroundings we were presented with medals and treated to speeches about Italy's humanistic traditions, all of which contrasted strikingly both with what we had been able to offer them and with the limited facilities their universities provided students. Rectors spoke of legal reforms and the cooperation of politicians and bishops during student agitation; our eyes fell on slogans spray painted on the brocaded walls of official quarters.

My principal access to Italy came, however, through Michigan's teaching programs there. When Charles Trinkaus joined the faculty early in the 70s, he continued to direct Sarah Lawrence's summer program in Florence. At the time, I was directing the Western European Center, and we were able to arrange for the two universities to run the program jointly. Later, it became wholly Michigan's and then eventually a year-round program. Teaching in and directing the Florence program quite frequently put me in better touch with Italian society and politics and with Italian and English scholars in Florence, while increasing my knowledge of Renaissance art and literature and of Italian police regulations and labor laws. Best of all, the Florence program fostered concentrated teaching on modern Italy to engaged students, something more difficult to accomplish or justify in the States.

Despite discouraging prospects for the future of Italian studies in North America (universities are unlikely to expand their faculties studying western Europe in general, let alone Italy in particular), there have been important recent gains. The internet lessens the difficulty of keeping up on Italian

affairs, and the *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* makes a wonderful, interdisciplinary contribution to the field, continuing, thanks to John Davis, the University of Connecticut's role, long sustained by Norman Kogan and Emiliana Noether, as a center of scholarship on Italy. These opportunities along with public lectures, freely-given advice, and stimulating students have enabled me to feel like an Italianist, even while my main energies were directed elsewhere and helped me to sustain interest in and commitment to Italian studies without a great deal to show for it. There have been some opportunities for modest excursions into aspects of Italian social history¹⁰ and for thinking about modern Italian history in comparative terms.¹¹ I have also begun a more substantial project on what I see as patterns recurring over several centuries in the use of cultural resources in Italian political behavior.¹² While these patterns

have an important element of continuity, their different application in different regimes reveals their distinctive aims and appeal. This project will soon become, I want to believe, my next major scholarly commitment, although old habits and nomadic interests (which have now spread to global history) remain a threat. I hope completing this investigation it will not require another lifetime.

¹⁰ "Garibaldi come soggetto di storia sociale," in Aldo A. Illola, ed., *Garibaldi Generale della Liberta* (Rome, 1984), 551-68; "Carnival at Rome," in *Homage à Emanuel LeRoy Ladurie* (Paris, 1997), 364-78..

¹¹ "One Nation Barely Visible: The United States as Seen by Nineteenth-Century Italy's Liberal Leaders," in Emiliana P. Noether, ed., *The American Constitution as Symbol and Reality for Italy* (Lewiston, N.Y.: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1989), 119-34; the last section of "Comparing Modern Japan: Are There More Comparisons to Make?," forthcoming from the Deutsches Institut für Japanstudien in Tokyo outlines possible comparisons with Italy..

¹² Relevant essays are "The Paradoxes of Italy's Nineteenth-Century Political Culture," in Isser Wolloch, ed., *Revolutions and the Meanings of Freedom in the Nineteenth Century* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 212-45; "Finding Social Capital: The French Revolution in Italy," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, XXIX:3 (Winter, 1999), 407-33; reprinted in

Robert I. Rotberg, ed., *Patterns of Social Capital* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 69-95; and "Culture and Society," in *Italy in the Nineteenth Century*, John A. Davis, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 204-32.

Book Reviews

Karen-edis Barzman, *The Florentine Academy and the Early Modern State: The Discipline of Disegno*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000, 384 pp., \$80.

The conceptual aim of *The Florentine Academy* is grand, and Karen-edis Barzman goes far toward achieving it. This study is an institutional history of the *Accademia del Disegno*, the first formal academy of art. The primary intent is to document how the academy functioned within a broader political context, or, specifically, how it served as an agent of Medicean state policy.

Part I (of the book's two) is a chronological history of the institution itself (rather than of the accomplishments of its individual members) from its incorporation in 1563 under Grand Duke Cosimo I to the end of the Medicean regime. The chapters, divided according to periods of ducal rule, trace the initiation of the academy from existing but disparate guilds and fraternities into a new umbrella organization uniting members of the various arts and show how it emerged to serve as an organ of politics. Established as a true school and professional society, it also reflected Medicean goals. Though the academy operated without state financial support, it enjoyed ducal chartering and was directed by lieutenants of the dukes. This ensured that the academy's activities furthered the aims of the state. Examples of civic purposes included the academy's lead in public celebrations such as the annual Candlemas or the irregularly held "Forty Hours" devotions. Above all, the academy served as the conduit for Medicean advancement of culture and

education, including provisions for maximizing the prestige of Florentine artists and artistic treasures for the sake of enhancing the state.

Barzman documents how the academy operated to achieve such political ends. She also reveals other intriguing aspects of the *Accademia*, such as the waning of its use by subsequent Medici, the evolving inclusion of, and even domination by, wealthy and more socially prestigious dilettante/collectors (vs. the practicing artists), its eventual use by less socially prominent aristocratic families to enhance their own public status, and its administration by members who wished it to become more independent, following Giangastone's death in 1737 and until its reorganization by Pietro Leopoldo in 1784 as the *Accademia delle Belle Arti*.

Part II focuses on the internal operation of the academy. The first chapter explicates the richness of the concept of *disegno* and its intellectual foundations. Barzman details the extent of academic instruction, especially in anatomy and mathematics, and traces such practical features of the academy's operations as the hiring of live models and even the scheduling of dissections (in winter). The organization also enhanced development of connoisseurship among its amateur members. The final chapter concerns the social role of the academy, showing how it served as a traditional confraternity as well as guild, one that ensured basic contractual protections for commissioned works and appropriate funereal observances for its individual members, for instance. She thus documents the institution's administrative structure.

Barzman relies extensively on the academy's archival records, conserved in Florence's *Archivio di stato*. She does a truly remarkable job of excavating the life of the institution, illuminating the specifics of its many and widely varied practical affairs. This is not a work of only theoretical presumptions; it persists in demonstrating the validity of its assertions through reference to particular actions, commissions, events, or other material affairs, which can only be achieved through such careful, close reading of the archives. An "Appendix of Supporting Documents" will prove valuable as a printed source for other scholars. This collection of eleven documents (spanning over fifty pages of text) includes, for example, the academy's founding statutes and the Grand Ducal decrees limiting the export of Florentine art.

Despite the very bright luster of the work, there are a few important points with which some readers may take issue. Historians and political scientists interested in how the academy related to its broader context (vs. art historians interested in the academy itself) will find less comprehensive contextual analysis (vs. focus) concerning the "Early Modern State" (*per* the second pillar of the title) than they may desire. Barzman's perspective tends to be modern looking back to the early modern, interpreting the academy as a precedent for later shifts in society. This, naturally, is always a legitimate aim for historians, but to have focused on features of the academy in light of the academy's own predecessors would have provided even greater context and, as this reviewer would anticipate, in a way that would reinforce her argument about the political designs of the academy. For

example, exploitation of the academy for political propagandistic purposes fits into a well-established pattern of Medicean 'image building' that had so masterfully been initiated by Lorenzo the Magnificent a century before Cosimo I's incorporation. Also, despite Barzman's excellent use of the academy's archival records, the limitation of those documents is that they demonstrate essentially how the institution was set up to function and how it did operate in certain cases. To prove a broader, deliberate integration of the academy into Medicean civic policy would necessitate an expanded reliance upon the period's general political archival records as well and would entail examination of how use of the academy coincided (or not) with Medicean use of other state instruments. The book's conclusion might well thus be reinforced, or the actual use of the academy might be revealed to be less than what perspective from the academy's own records intimate.

Likewise, the guild activities of the academy deserve elaboration through close comparison with other guilds operating within Florence during the same period. Other Florentine societies unrelated to art - such as the scientific *Accademia del Cimento* (mentioned but not developed) - could also serve as points of comparison. The Medici were indeed proficient in appropriating organizations, and explication of the academy's political role *vis-à-vis* other organizations that may have fulfilled similar objectives could have helped to strengthen the book's general thesis.

These points are raised not as wishes for a 'different book' but as ones that some readers of this conference group may realistically expect. Those readers will

nonetheless do well to rely on Barzman as a source for their own further comparative research. In sum, Barzman has provided an excellently organized and written, highly-illuminating study of the Florentine *Accademia di Disegno* - one that both details the fullness of its internal organization and reveals, within some limits, how it actually functioned in early modern Florentine society.

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Mirka Beneš and Dianne Harris (eds.), *Villas and Gardens in Early Modern Italy and France*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, xx, 428 pages, \$85.

The stimulating articles in this elegant volume all analyze gardens and villages as crucial venues for the interactions of early modern French and Italian elites between roughly 1550 and 1800. A collaborative project that grew out of a core of conference papers delivered at Dumbarton Oaks in 1995, the volume is a clear demonstration of the degree to which the history of cultural landscapes has moved beyond the disciplinary boundaries of art history and architectural history. It also provides a useful introduction to past and current scholarship on the representation and practice of the landed power of the early modern aristocracy. The editors' introduction to the volume traces the historiography of the field, highlighting especially the ways in which critical-theoretical trends in the humanities over

the past twenty-five years have informed the scholarship (concepts linked to Michel Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu—'the gaze' and 'symbolic capital'—abound in the articles themselves). The book is organized into two main parts, the first dealing with Italian villas and gardens and the second dealing with their French counterparts. There are one hundred sixty-seven black and white illustrations, and over ninety pages of rich endnotes following three hundred twenty-six pages of text. There is also a short index helping locate proper names in specific articles, but it neither refers to the endnotes nor includes key concepts ('symbolic capital' for example is absent from the index). There is no bibliography.

The section on Italian gardens opens with Claudia Lazzaro's piece on the history of the representation of Italy as a garden, beginning in classical antiquity and carrying through to the early modern period. Next, Butters analyzes Pratolino, constructed by Grand Duke Francesco de' Medici between 1568 and 1575. Pratolino was characterized by the commandeering of peasant labour for its construction. Butters shows how this domination figured into the garden's overall design and decoration, connecting it to the alchemical theme of transforming base matter into noble matter. There are two articles on seventeenth-century Roman estates, the first by Beneš on 'estate-villas': a new kind of garden (typified by the Villas Pamphilj and Borghese) in the Roman suburbs. Beneš argues that the new papal families who constructed these sprawling gardens constructed them with reference to a specific Roman spatial mentality. This mentality created connections between pastoral elements in the garden (and the

pastoral scenes painted by the likes of Claude Lorrain that adorned the walls of the villas) and the huge tracts of land owned by these families in the Roman Campagna, thus legitimating these new families with respect to the old Roman barons. Tracy Ehrlich's article on the Borghese family villa at Mondragone pushes these themes further, reading the Borghese's celebration of explicitly agricultural landscapes (including stands of parasol pines) as an effort to appropriate classical themes of the noble nature of agrarian production. Elisabeth Blair MacDougall's article on Charles Emanuel II of Savoy's Venaria Reale was first published in 1994 and attempts to show that the duke's hunting palace and gardens were both an imitation of its contemporary, Versailles, and a showcase of specifically Savoyard decorative themes. Harris' contribution is a fascinating examination of the scenographically-inspired distortions included in Marc'Antonio Dal Re's series of eighteenth-century prints of Lombard villas. Harris shows that while Dal Re's vistas flattered the villa owners in various ways, they were not always physically accurate.

Sheila ffolliott's (she does spell her last name with a small 'f') essay on Catherine de' Medici's regency and its representation in literary and visual sources leads off the second part of the book. ffolliott makes sense of a surprising visual reference to Diane de Poitiers in a print celebrating Catherine as the mythological regent Artemisa, by drawing upon the history of court politics and iconography. The articles by Elizabeth Hyde and by Chandra Mukerji both take elements of material culture - flowers in the former case and "embroidered" garden

beds and patterned textiles in the latter - and analyze them as royal tools of domination over gender, court, territory, and international fashion. Hilary Ballon documents the construction and architectural strategies employed at Vaux-le-Vicomte, showing that this estate complex was less singular than scholarship has suggested. Finally, David Hays portrays Louis de Carmontelle's irregular garden at Monceau as an example of "bold nationalism" holding its own against the influence of English-style natural gardens in late eighteenth-century France.

All of the essays in this volume fit into the recent historiography of early modern political culture in which princely representations of power and the strategies of privileged groups to distinguish themselves and replicate social distinction over time are recurring themes (Louis Marin's *Portrait du Roi*, 1981, is frequently cited). Unfortunately, this historiography tends to deny political agency to non-elite groups, and while the essays in this volume generally bear this tendency out, this is perhaps unavoidable, given the volume's specific topic. However, some of the essays (Lazzaro, Butters) do also point to ways in which the lives and interests of common people were also features of the early modern cultural landscape.

Another older historiographic trend reinforced by this volume is its nation-centred approach. The editors admit that the essays could have been grouped according to a variety of possible thematic categories. They opted, however, for 'The Italian States' and 'The French Court', a division which they found to be a "simpler structure afforded by geographical sorting, instead of forcing these multifaceted

studies into discrete categories whose boundaries were often too confining and whose divisions appeared too contrived” (19). The editors apparently assume that ‘Italy’ and ‘France’ are objective categories permitting minimal editorial distortion. Assumptions such as this limit the ability of the volume to contribute to an emerging trans-national historiography of early modern Europe seeking to place political structures and boundaries in historical context. For example, MacDougall’s essay refers to “the French origins of [Piedmont’s] ruling family, the Savoy,” and the “French seat” of that family, Chambéry. Her claim that Charles Emanuel II designed his Venaria Reale palace in imitation of Versailles seems to rely on *a priori* assumptions about the grandeur of France and the weakness of post-Renaissance Italian states: she herself provides [apparently mistranslated] evidence (from the Savoyard ambassador in France) of French appropriation of Savoyard landscape ideas.

These, however, are very small shortcomings to a nicely presented, extremely interesting set of essays. I have already incorporated ideas from them into my teaching of early modern history.

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John Dickie, *Darkest Italy: The Nation and Stereotypes of the Mezzogiorno, 1860-1900*, New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1999, 209 pp, \$45.

In a social interaction, how does an actor “know” the other person with whom he/she is interacting: “know” his/her dialogue partner? An actor cannot take a blood sample or put a stethoscope up to the ear of his/her dialogue partner in order to “know” that person. In a social interaction an actor can only know a dialogue partner in terms of the image - the mental construction - that the actor can put together from whatever overt signals the dialogue partner emits. The actor’s construction, then, becomes the guide for the actor’s actions relative to his/her dialogue partner. The actor takes action relative to his/her dialogue partner on the basis of the actor’s personal construction of that dialogue partner. Using that construction, an actor builds an anticipatory narrative to guide ensuing interaction. Those anticipatory narratives delineate an expectation for outcomes. Depending on whether the narrative’s anticipated outcome has (or has not) been achieved, the actor may then judge that his/her construction of the dialogue partner may be taken as valid.

One can claim that revolutions fail because the revolutionary - as actor - fails to assemble a useful construction of the people who are affected by the revolutionary’s actions. A revolutionary, for example, might proclaim to the peasant workers, “We shall relieve you of the exploitation to which you are subjected by the power holders.” The revolutionary actor has built a mental construction of the peasant worker as a person who regards his/her self as a victim of the baron’s exploitation. Using that construction he builds the narrative about the ways in which the implementation of his reforms will result in equitable distribution of

resources. The peasant worker, however, views the baron as the representative of the god-chosen monarch. Thus, when the revolutionary attempts to diminish the power of the baron, the peasant worker resists the effort of the revolutionary, and responds to the revolutionary's slogans by disconfirming the expectations of his "saviour." The revolutionary must then alter his mental construction of the peasant actor whom he is attempting to influence. The interaction is further complicated if the dialogue partner does not have the psychological system that allows him/her to assemble a self role definition that will allow him/her to respond in ways that the revolutionary expects the dialogue partner to respond.

An analysis of this complex social psychological process undergirds John Dickie's book about the ways in which stereotypes had been used as the constructions of the leading actor's in the revolutionary political upheaval created by the activists who brought about the unification of the many separate political entities which had been incorporated into the nation of Italy. After Italy's final unification, in 1870, large blocks of the people who had been the subjects of the Bourbon Kingdom of The Two Sicilies did not express their predicted gratitude for having been relieved of their subjugation to that putatively backward regime. They resisted, for many different reasons, the invitation to regard themselves as citizens of a new nation whose leaders intended to demonstrate to the world that Italy could be an equal partner to the nations of Western Europe.

Dickie draws on facets of Italy's social and political history to demonstrate that the purposes of the leaders of the new

Italy were served by promotion and promulgation of stereotypes that could be used to "know" the "typical" Southern Italian and Sicilian. The inability of the Southern Italians to embrace the plans for progress, as outlined by the elites of the new nation, could be understood if one were willing to ascribe a particular set of features to those reluctant subjects. Southern Italian could be regarded as Norman/Arabic types, rather than as Western Europeans. By applying the racist theories in vogue during the last half of the 19th Century, an observer could then assume that Southern Italians embodied unique sets of biological and psychological essences. They could be ascribed the basic features of 'over-emotionality', 'violent', 'cruel', and 'morally unprincipled'. When these "essential features" were not immediately put into overt action, observers could assume the Southern Italians behave in ways that allowed one to ascribe to them the features 'pleasure seeking', 'picturesque', 'impressionable', and 'self-centred'.

Dickie advances his analysis beyond demonstrating the incessant dissemination of this stereotype as an explanation of the reluctance of the Southern Italian to fall into step with the putative march toward modernity. He builds on another assumption about human cognitive functioning; namely, a cognitively effective mental construction becomes more effective if a contrast construction can be elaborated simultaneously. From this assumption Dickie advances the claim that the prevailing stereotypes of the post-unification Southern Italian served as a contrast construction for the ideal, patriotic Italian. The ideal Italian would behave in ways that would allow one to ascribe to him/her the

attributes 'intelligent', 'patriotic', 'socially oriented', 'modern', and 'brave'. By establishing the utility of the stereotype of the Southern Italian as primitively passionate and morally unprincipled the image of the ideal Italian as modern and morally principled would become more clearly defined.

Dickie has written a series of essays in which he illustrates the ways in which the stereotype of the Southern Italian and Sicilian were developed, disseminated and used, during the period 1860 to 1890. In a lead essay Dickie describes the use of stereotypes during the new Italian army's "war" against the brigands who operated in the former Kingdom of The Two Sicilies. The war provided a backdrop against which the thought leaders of the new Italian state could frame the contrast between "The New Italian" and the benighted Southern Italian. The image of the brigand as a passionate primitive had been well established through folklore as well as through the numerous texts that purported to report on systemic lawlessness in Italy's South. The thought leaders of the new state could present the members of the army as the contrast stereotype: the ideal Italian citizen. The press regularly reported the atrocious behaviour of the brigands. The general public could justify the repression and counter terror of the army. At the same time, the orders issued to members of the army tried to convince the soldiers that they should act "honourably" toward the targets of their campaign. Dickie describes the issuance of strict regulations about how a brigand was to be executed. Among other procedures, he was to be shot in the back as a means of emphasizing his derogated position. Officials, working from the stereotype, assumed that such ritual would

be especially effective in South Italy because the people, according to the stereotype, shared the attribute of 'impressionability.' Dickie concludes his discussion of stereotypes developed during the "war" on brigandage: "For the patriotic classes, banditry was a powerful stereotype of the South because its combination of romanticism and brutality, of exoticism and squalor, encapsulated the Mezzogiorno's own ambivalent position between the Italian national space and the badlands beyond" (p. 51).

In separate essay, Dickie adduces evidence to show that well-educated writers readily adopted the stereotype as they conducted their research and put forth explications of "The Southern Question." As social scientists, many of the analysts attempted to apply cultural relativist positions. Explanations of the origin of the stereotype were frequently grounded on identification of poverty and powerlessness as conditions that bred violence and social amorality. Nevertheless, analyses implicitly abandoned cultural relativism by adhering to the position that the establishment of the new Italian state would move the society toward achievement of universally positive social organizations. In an intellectual atmosphere in which ideological confusions could be overlooked, the stereotype could live on as a means of explaining why Southern Italians were impervious to such "progress." Additionally, by accepting Lamarckian concepts, which allowed for social alteration of inherited characteristics, analysts could hold out hope that the educational and political institutions would bring about changes that could be passed on through genetic transmission.

In a third essay, Dickie documents the ways in which a popular publication, *Illustrazione Italiana*, consistently published articles that elaborated and maintained the stereotype. The writings in this magazine, Dickie shows, regularly portrayed the people of Southern Italy as picturesque, impressionable, but basically fearsome. At times, the use of the stereotype's attributes would serve to bring the Southern Italian into close proximity to the patriot. When Naples was racked by a disastrous cholera epidemic, in 1884, King Umberto visited and stayed in the city for some time. *Illustrazione Italiana* carried a picture of the king on the cover and devoted a double page spread to a report of that visit. The illustration showed a sample of the people of Naples in poses of adulation and supplication. The king, obviously, could do little to relieve the suffering of the people. The "impressionable" Neapolitans are shown, nevertheless, as adoring, patriotic subjects. In other editions of the magazine, writers frequently lay out the attributes of the stereotype of the people of the exotic orient: concentrated wildness, latent ferocity, haughtiness, filthy, and ostentatious. Readers could readily process the direct references and allusions to the historical and contemporary connections between Sicily and the Muslims of Africa. When the Sicilian peasants and sulphur miners joined the *fasci* rebellions, during the 1890s, it could be claimed they did not do so on the basis of their brains, but on the basis of their stomachs, such that their imaginations prompted them to overheated, impassioned responses. In the end, notes Dickie, "The *Illustrazione Italiana* had a double anxiety. "It wanted to turn all it encountered into a testament

to the unity of the nation. Yet it had also perpetually to assert the superiority of the national culture whose virtues it proclaimed over the darkly different culture of the masses and the provinces" (p. 119). The masses invalidated the authenticity of the nationalistic stories that the publishers of the journal desired to compose and affirm. The propensity of the masses to provide that invalidation could be explained by a simple cognitive device. As exemplars of the stereotype they were people whose essential attributes prevented them from appreciating and acquiring the attributes of patriotic Italians!

By special analyses of one of the prominent leaders of the new nation the thought leaders could nourish hope that the attributes of exemplars of the Southern Italian stereotype could be turned toward fortifying the stereotype of the patriotic Italian. Francesco Crispi, born in Sicily, frequently offered autobiographical sketches in which he asserted that he embodied the attributes of the stereotypical Sicilian, but that he had brought those attributes under control and had turned them toward achieving the goals of the new Italy. Following Crispi's own example, enemies and friends could chose to launch either encomiums or diatribes by lacing descriptions of Crispi with attributes that coalesced to the descriptions of the stereotypes. On the one hand, for example, his ardour propelled him into an adventurous life. On the other hand, Crispi was described as being like almost all his fellow islanders in that he was impetuous and tenacious. Cartoonists and columnists readily availed themselves of the cognitive connections between Crispi, the Arab orient, and Sicily. One cartoonist blatantly portrayed Crispi, in Arab headdress, riding

a great horse over the prostate bodies of his admirers. The stereotype could serve many purposes!

Whether or not one believes that Dickie has provided sufficient evidence to support his overall propositions about the development and uses of the stereotype of the Southern Italian, his documentation should leave a reader convinced that the stereotype had a wide circulation and had been accepted as a construction that one might readily apply to the “typical” Southerner. Dickie leaves little doubt about the way that use of the stereotype could explain the perceived failures and shortcomings of the new nation.

Dickie’s text raises, but gives little hint about, other matters that relate to the explanatory power of the stereotype. How did the use of the stereotype spread outside the boundaries of Italy to other parts of the world? Did non-Italians find it useful to extend the use of the stereotype to cover Northern as well as Southern Italians? Do observers continue to regard the stereotype as valid?

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Catherine Edwards (ed.), *Roman Presences: Receptions of Rome in European Culture, 1789-1945*, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999. xii, 279 pp. ISBN 052159197 X hardback.

Since the end of the Second World War the ancient world’s authority on

Western culture seems to have disappeared. This is especially true of the Roman heritage and none more so than in Italy, where Mussolini’s overblown rhetoric of *Romanità* ensured that Italian politicians would not evoke the Age of Augustus again. There are those who claim, however, that the significance of Roman culture and history ended long before this, with the French Revolution and the ensuing age of modernity. The end of the Napoleonic Age ushered in an era of Hellenophilia, which rejected ancient Rome and turned to Greece for its model. These essays, the fruits of a series of seminars given by the Department of Classics at the University of Bristol in the early 1990’s, sets out to question this claim. In her introduction to the book, Catherine Edwards points out that Ancient Rome continued to influence such diverse groups as historians, poets, and British Imperialists throughout the nineteenth century.

The essays are diverse, ranging from history to psychology to narratology. Holding this disparate collection together are three broad themes mentioned by Edwards in her introductory chapter. The first is that the example of Rome could suit any political movement in post-revolutionary Europe. The British, for example, have identified both with the Empire and with the Empire’s enemies, Carthage. Some have looked to Republican Rome for inspiration while others, like Mussolini, Hitler and Napoleon preferred the Imperial model. Even the Imperial model, however, could be used for varying purposes. As Marla Stone points out in her essay on Fascism and the Roman Empire, evocation of Augustus’ Rome was used at different times to justify policy shifts such

as the conquest of Ethiopia and the anti-Semitic laws of 1938. Stephen Benn's essay on Edward Gibbon and Francois-Marius Granet argues persuasively that these men used images of Rome to advance two antithetical ideas of history. For Gibbon, the past was present in the ruins of the Capitol even though it was now used by bare-footed friars. Conversely, French painter Granet depicted monasteries and churches to show how the past was absent in Napoleonic Rome. Even in Nazi Germany, evocation of Roman history produced debate. Volker Loseman's contribution to the collection argues that Germanists inspired by Alfred Rosenberg saw the Roman Empire as a negative symbol of racial pollution and decadence, while the Fuhrer himself viewed it as a model for his own empire - especially in matters of architecture.

A second theme present in several of the essays concerns the new visions of history embodied in that most characteristic aspect of Roman topography: the palimpsest. The famous quotation by Sigmund Freud in *Civilization and its Discontents* equating Rome with the human psyche crops up frequently in this volume. In Rome, an archaeological vision of the past predominates which has inspired new ways of conceiving that past. In his essay "A sense of place", Duncan Kennedy quotes Wolfgang's Goethe's famous dictum that, in Rome "one reads history quite differently" (p. 20). The result is a conflation of past, present, future uniquely found in Rome's topography. According to Stephen Benn, Gibbon used "catechresis", a rhetorical device which lumps together inappropriately matched terms in order to construct an ironic view of the past. Charles Martindale's article on

the presence of the past in T.S. Eliot's *Wasteland*, the world's most famous modernist poem, argues that one finds the palimpsest in Eliot's verses. History in the *Wasteland* is archaeological, not linear.

A third theme is that of the anxiety provoked by the contemplation of Roman ruins. Edwards tells us that Lord Byron had found Rome appealing because of its mysteries such as those associated with the Tomb of Cecilia Matella on the Appian Way. In Chloe Chard's essay, Roman ruins are frequently equated in Anglo-American travel literature with the feminine because of their ambiguities and the power they have to disrupt. According to Chard, ancient sites have the ability to provoke disturbing personal memories in those who contemplate them. In another essay, John Lyon describes how the young Henry James was profoundly shamed when confronted with the majesty of Rome's past because he did not possess the erudition to comprehend it when he first visited the city in 1869. For James, Roman sights were not to be analyzed but appreciated as "moments of direct visual experience" (p. 145).

Hopefully, Edwards' volume will encourage scholars to investigate the presence of the Roman tradition in our culture more fully. Readers of this journal will be disappointed that only two articles deal with Italy. Maria Wyke's "Screening Ancient Rome in the New Italy" shows that the early film industry in Italy produced many epics centred on Ancient Rome, which formed the background to Italy's conquest of Libya in 1911. Even though these films - the most famous example being *Cabiria* - used complex plots and ambiguous meanings, they justified Italian colonialism by displaying a

Roman/Italian Africa. The only other article pertaining to Italy is Marla Stone's aforementioned essay on the centrality of the Augustean bi-millenary celebrations in 1937 in Fascism's self-representation. Still, Italianists will be intrigued to discover how a legacy created on the Italian peninsula is still "present" in our cultural and political makeup.

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Andrew Hopkins, *Santa Maria della Salute: Architecture and Ceremony in Baroque Venice*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, xiii, 271 pp., \$90.

Santa Maria della Salute was one of the four most important churches built in Italy during the 1630s and was the masterpiece of the Venetian architect Baldassare Longhena. The most compelling argument of this book for readers more interested in early modern Italian politics than in the intricacies of architectural history is that Longhena designed the Salute church with specific ceremonial purposes in mind, in order to satisfy the church's patron - the Venetian Senate. Longhena's "primary consideration," according to Hopkins, was to build a church "to suitably accommodate visitors on the annual feast day" (156-57) associated with the Salute: 21 November, which was both the day on which the Senate declared the 1629-31 plague officially over, and the Feast of the Presentation of the Virgin.

Hopkins divides his text into four chapters, followed by over one hundred pages of appendices, notes, bibliographies, and index. The first chapter describes the decision to build the church, the design competition, and the site selection process. On 22 October 1630, the Senate responded to the plague then ravaging northern Italy by resolving to build a new church dedicated to the Virgin, one of the city's two patron saints (along with Saint Mark). In Venice, Mary's lunar associations took on an explicitly maritime character, and during the sixteenth-century state devotion to the Virgin had increased. An important Marian icon, the Madonna Nikopeia, had been brought to Venice from Constantinople in 1204 and bolstered the city's claim to be heir of the Byzantine Empire. The Salute church, however, was the first "permanent state monument to the Virgin" (7). The site chosen for the church on the Dorsoduro next to the Somascan church and seminary of the Holy Trinity placed it in the centre of a visually-linked network of other churches that all played important roles in the Senate's annual ceremonial cycle. The Somascans - a Venetian order without ties to Rome - were officiating at the Salute church by 1636. In the competition for the design, Longhena, an established architect, offered a plan that was boldly innovative and grandiose and a reputation that assured the senators of his ability to complete the project. He was awarded the contract on 13 June 1631. One of Hopkins' chief contributions in this book is his discovery that Longhena revised his original plan for the church during the winter of 1631-32, in order to accommodate better the feast-day ceremonies for which the church was commissioned. He widened the

ambulatory, redesigned the sanctuary, and increased the number of flights of stairs leading up to the façade from three to five.

Chapter two examines the architectural features of the church in detail. Hopkins divides the interior of the church into nine spatial units and describes the arrangement of each, judging which elements are architecturally successful and which create “inconsistencies” and “discord.” He provides a construction history of the church based on expense accounts required by the Senate, noting for example that 1.2 million wooden piles were driven into the ground for the foundation between March and November 1633. As the dome of the Salute was being constructed in 1656, a decree of the Senate reaffirmed the status of the church as “united, and incorporated, by the authority of the most Excellent Senate, with the church of San Marco, so that it would become a member of her” (p. 61). The unity of the altars in the church was due to its commissioning by the state and the ability of the architect to design them at the same time. These altars, according to Hopkins, constituted a pantheon of Venetian religious figures; one honoured St Anthony, an increasingly important Venetian saint, and the church itself reminded visitors of the coincidence between the Feast of the Annunciation (March 25) and the traditional date of the city's foundation. The sculptural program focused on the Virgin, including, among the sculptures on the drum of the church, the female characters of the Old Testament who prefigured Mary.

The third chapter analyzes the influences behind Longhena's design, beginning with the use of the rotunda form as a *conchetto* referring to the Virgin's

crown and to the rosary. Hopkins looks at the impact of the Pantheon on other centralized circular churches in northern Italy in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, emphasizing the inclusion at the Salute both of an ambulatory for processional purposes and a sanctuary permitting the comfortable seating of dignitaries. Longhena's production is also situated with respect to the work of the Venetian architects Sansovino, Sanmicheli, and Palladio. Longhena was aware of how Palladio had designed the Redentore church (1577-92, also constructed in response to a plague) so that on feast days the host could be carried around the church through side altars, without passing through the crowded central space of the church, and so the Salute church incorporated this feature. On the other hand, while the façade of the Redentore created a magnificent aspect when approached from the front, the Istrian stonework did not continue to the sides of the church, views of which were consequently less spectacular. Longhena built the Salute so that its glorious effect could be observed from every angle, including from the perspective of ceremonial processions crossing the Bacino.

The last chapter of the book looks in more detail at the church's place in the ceremonial life of the Republic. The Salute, which had become “an extension of the ducal chapel of S. Marco” (p. 134), was one of the thirty-six annual ducal visitation destinations in the city. Longhena's construction permitted these visitations to be made with suitable decorum: the Signoria and Senators could enter the church and be seated without having to disrupt the order of the

procession, there was a retro-choir for the Somascans behind the high altar, and the side doors and ambulatory permitted the five thousand members of the Scuole who processed in and out of the church following the low mass heard by the dignitaries to do so smoothly.

The book is wonderfully illustrated with thirteen colour plates, thirty-six black and white plates, and over one hundred twenty other illustrations. The first appendix is a register of the ninety most important documents relating to the church's construction, the second is a catalogue of seventeenth-century images of the church, the third is an excursus on the original sanctuary design, and the fourth is a comment on Venetian ceremonial books. In addition to the notes, index, and selected bibliography, there is a critical bibliography of works by architectural historians relating to the Salute church.

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MacGregor Knox, *Common Destiny: Dictatorship, Foreign Policy, and War in Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, 262 pp. ISBN 0-521-58208-3, \$28.00

MacGregor Knox, *Hitler's Italian Allies: Royal Armed Forces, Fascist Regime, and the War of 1940-1943*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, 207 pp. ISBN 0-521-79047-6, \$25.00

In 1982, MacGregor Knox published *Mussolini Unleashed, 1939-1941: Politics and Strategy in Italy's Last War*. In that work, Knox (Stevenson Professor of International History at the London School of Economics and Political Science) challenged the 'Italiani brava gente' stereotype that helped console Italians and others after World War II. Now, nearly twenty years later, he returns to fascist Italy's foreign policy and wars.

Common Destiny is a work of comparative history and analysis. Knox has thus rendered a signal contribution as comparative analysis of this type is sorely lacking in the Italian historiography (an essay on this curious omission would be most welcome.) Knox's familiarity with the archives in Germany, Italy and the United States is extensive and his command of the materials is impressive. Why, he asks, did the Italian military effort fail on all fronts while the Germans fought "to the last cartridge"? The answer, he concludes, has to do less with "failed generic concepts such as 'fascism'" than with a diabolical and "unique synthesis of Prussian-German military tradition and Nazi revolution." In fact, Knox goes all the way back to the French Revolution to explain fascism and national-socialism as expressions of "mass politics." Curiously though, ideology is often missing from his analysis. Here the focus is on traditional foreign policy and military doctrine.

Three of the essays (chapters 2-4) appeared previously in historical journals and have been extensively revised. Contrary to some recent work by a handful of revisionist historians and political scientists, Knox argues that war was inevitable not just from Nazi Germany but Fascist Italy as well. War was the only

way to complete the fascist revolution. But war, as Knox amply demonstrates, whether in Ethiopia, Spain or the rest of Europe, failed to change Italians into fascists.

Although published separately in 2000, *Hitler's Italian Allies* originally was planned as a chapter in *Common Destiny*. If *Common Destiny* argues that war was inevitable, *Hitler's Italian Allies* argues, from its first sentence, that "defeat was inescapable." This defeat was embedded in a failure, not of ideology, but of military culture and institutions. Indeed, *Hitler's Italian Allies* is a long essay that minutely details the myriad failures of the Italian military establishment. Although Knox does not say so explicitly, the reader is left to infer that even if Italy has not been under a fascist regime for twenty years, its military successes in the Second World War would have been few and far between. The larger reason rests with the country's failure to accept the rationalization and systematization associated with modernity. Added to this was a severe lack of natural resources. The failures of the military were complete: conceptual, organizational, and technological. To give one absurd example: Knox shows that Italian warplanes were often more dangerous to the Italian pilots and crews than to the enemy. To this litany of failure, one could add a failure of imagination and creative thinking. In a society that rewarded conformity, seniority, and complacency, radical or innovative thinking was rare, especially in military circles. The contrast with Nazi Germany could hardly be greater. Not much of this is debatable; but Knox does offer a new interpretation: the failures of the Italian military in the Second World War were not due to the fascist 'ventennio' but can be traced back

to a general failure of military culture found during the First World War (p. 174).

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Luciano Cheles and Lucio Sponza (eds.), *The Art of Persuasion. Political Communication in Italy from 1945 to the 1990s*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001 ISBN 0-7190-4170-8, \$30.

This collection of 18 essays explores a broad variety of communication tools that, since the *Risorgimento*, have been used in Italy as means of persuasion. The essays are concise, very informative, and well written. They present excellent analyses of both 'traditional' aspects of political communication such as political ads and posters, and less explored ones such as music, fashion, and satire. All the essays help understand how the 'art of persuasion' (e.g. political communication) can be seen as an attempt to influence the creation of an Italian identity.

The editors open the volume with a concise and useful introductory chapter, in which they walk the reader through the most significant moments of modern Italian history. They argue that since the years of *Risorgimento* Italy has been a country unified in territory but not in identity. Although also the liberal regime made efforts to forge a strong identity, it was during the Fascist era that political communication was used to persuade millions of Italians in the strength of their country and their identity. After the collapse of the Fascist regime a search for

a new identity began. Attempts to forge such identity in a country that had been both morally and physically destroyed by the war came from actors inside and outside the country. Ellwood's essay, for example, highlights the influence that the U.S. had on the economic reconstruction process through the Marshall Plan. A big component of the plan implementation strategy was to rely on a large-scale communication campaign, which through films and documentaries aimed at persuading Italians to embrace the American economic model and refuse the Soviet one. In so doing, the persuasion campaign became a full-scale effort to gear public opinion in support of the Christian Democrats and against the Communist party.

Other actors such as the Catholic Church played an active role in support of the Italian government and its conservative values. In Great Britain throughout the 1960s, the Church promoted and conducted an intense campaign for the thousands of Italians that had emigrated there in the 40s and 50s. The goal of such campaign was to form a strong identification between the 'patria' and the Catholic faith. This way, not only any Communist influence would be limited, but also contacts with the 'foreign' society were largely minimised. On the merits of such campaign, Sponza concludes that distant from a country that they understood only through the eyes of the Catholic Church, these immigrants "remained almost as if in a time capsule ... and ... suffered a double dislocation": from their own country and from their host country as well (p. 72).

On the domestic front, the fear of Communism was so widespread among

conservatives that the Christian Democratic government sponsored a powerful propaganda campaign (examined in an essay by Fabrotta). Films and documentaries celebrated the government's successes at economic and social level in order to gain public consensus and promote an 'Italian identity' around conservative values. However, the campaign was a general failure since, by not depicting the real world, it failed to reach the people and communicate with them in an effective way. In general, political parties and other political actors in the post-war period played on the fears and insecurities of the Italian people. This was evident during the first parliamentary elections in 1948, which were fought on the grounds of what meant to be "real" Italians. Political parties of both the Left and the Right focused on such theme in their campaigns, as Cheles shows in his essay on political posters. Religious themes were widely present in the first parliamentary elections and contrasting views of the world became the object of persuasion in political posters of the following elections.

During the Cold War two political subcultures (a conservative and a leftist one) polarized Italian politics. The emergence and persistence of such subcultures in Italy is the key to understanding the political impasse that dominated Italy from the 1950s until the early 1990s. A few essays in this volume seem to suggest that the two subcultures became, for many Italians, the answer to their search for an identity. For example, political identity was reinforced through the use of *politichese*, which, as McCarthy shows, was a convoluted and abstract lexicon used by politicians of the First

Republic to communicate with their followers. Likewise, Pratt highlights the presence of political “codes” in conversations with citizens of the small town of Montepulciano in the 1970s. Both essays demonstrate that everyday life in Italy was characterized by a strong identification with one of the two subcultures. Party identification was also reflected through what Giorgetti defines “dress-codes.” Especially for left-wing supporters, specific clothes were used to make political statements and show their support for their party and the values that it represented.

The reinforcement of political identities was the main goal of the press. From party newspapers to political satire, written communication has, in general, reinforced political identities rather than providing “independent” information. Isnenghi points out that most newspapers in Italy have been traditionally conservative and, generally, politically skewed. This largely explains why newspaper readership has never been high in Italy, compared to other European countries. Moreover, the reading of newspapers reflected more the need of readers to show their political affiliation than their desire to be informed. On a similar note, political satire in Italy has traditionally targeted governing parties. Through an analysis of the periodical *Cuore*, Lumley argues that its satire provided a mean for its largely left-wing readers to identify with the culture of the Left. Whereas the culture of the Left was provocative and revolutionary, the one of the Right was largely traditional, and hence it used communication tools to reinforce the *status quo*. This was evident for example in music, where shows like

San Remo represented the triumph of nostalgic songs whose texts celebrated the past rather than promoting change. The dominance of this “middle ground” music, as Portelli defines it, remained untouched until the 1970s, when some alternative music genres emerged from intellectuals and politically involved singers.

The end of the Cold War put an end to four decades of politics that used political communication as a tool to create patronage and political impasse. In the early 1990s, as the political referents of the two subcultures disappeared, the search for a new “Italian identity” started again. Now, old tools of political communication took new forms. As Italian voters became more volatile and less partisan, the political lexicon, as McCarthy reminds us, became more direct and simple but also less meaningful. Gestures and “*il look*” have become important components of political communication as well. Pozzato points out the increased importance given to clothes and physical appearance. This change was primarily due to the emergence of television as a medium of political communication. Giorgetti also suggests that as political activism started to weaken, “the craving for normality was experienced at all levels of society ... for politicians and people alike, the impelling preoccupation came to be the projection, through the medium of clothing, of a particular image, namely *il look*” (p. 284).

That “change” had become the key word of the Second Italian Republic was clear at many levels of political communication. Cheles shows that during the early 1990s political posters - the most traditional campaign communication tool in Italy - started to focus on the good looks and physical traits of politicians rather than

on political issues as in the past. Other means of campaign communication, such as television ads, also drastically changed in the early 1990s. Pezzini argues that whereas ads used to focus on issues and party image, more recently they have stressed the image and character of political leaders. The new emphasis on images, looks, and gestures emphasises the candidate-centred nature of recent Italian campaigns.

Political change has also required new symbols, songs, and rituals. Kertzer analyses the reform process carried out by the Communist party and National Alliance in the early 1990s. Both parties introduced new symbols in order to legitimize their change in the eyes of both disenchanted voters and loyal supporters. Kertzer concludes that, especially at times of political change, rituals are powerful tools for communicating with voters and followers. Their use or lack of thereof can promote or hinder a smooth transition. Giglioli comes to a similar conclusion by analysing the Cusani trial as a degradation ritual that helped Italians to judge their politicians and legitimized political change at a very critical time of transition.

The remaining essays show the importance of political communication as art of persuasion. It is the case of Eco's essay on the language of meetings, the piece by Argentieri on the PCI's propaganda campaign in the 1950s, and Moss's analysis of terror texts in the 1970s and 1980s.

By presenting such a diverse and insightful account of political communication in Italy, this volume represents an exceptional tool for those interested in studying Italian history, politics, and society. The quest for identity

in a country that has been historically so diverse in traditions, food, dialects, and history is a very hard one. The Second Republic has not fulfilled this quest. On the contrary, it has shown how Italians are vulnerable to "persuasion." Many forms of communication that proved to be effective in the past are not powerful any longer. Whereas some old forms of persuasion have changed, new ones have been introduced which different results. The broad time span covered in the volume gives the reader a good understanding of the political and social reasons behind political communication in Italy. Studies on this subject have been traditionally scarce, have mostly focused on single aspects of political communication, and often had a limited longitudinal scope. More recently, changes in the Italian political system and the presence of Berlusconi in national politics, have drawn wide attention to the nature of communication in Italy. In the last 10 years, much scholarly work has been produced on this subject. However, by simply focusing on political campaigns (mainly national elections), those studies have been limited in scope and nature. As this volume has demonstrated, political communication in Italy touches many aspects of everyday life. Persuasion via conversations, images, clothes, music, and newspapers, can be obvious but also subtle. Especially in Italy, where the search for an identity is still pressing, people can be subject to persuasion through many different tools. This study has indicated the many possible avenues that persuasion can take and therefore it represents an important guide for future studies on the subject of political communication. Finally, the volume presents an impressive

and very detailed chronology of facts and events about politics, economics, social and cultural life and the media of the last fifty years in Italy as well as a very extensive bibliography divided by subject.

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Bull, Anna Cento, *Social Identities and Political Cultures in Italy: Catholic, Communist and 'Leghist' Communities between Civicness and Localism*, New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2000, 272 pp., \$60.

Until the collapse of the Italian party system in the early 1990s, the country's political development had been considered an anomaly in Western Europe. The 'pre-modern' features of its institutions - immobilism, institutionalized corruption and personalistic patron-client networks - coexisted with the hallmarks of socio-economic modernity - large-scale industrialization, secularization, liberalization, and apparently waning attachments to sub-national affiliations. The end of the Cold War and the collapse of traditional ideologies, however, exposed the resilience of territorial sub-cultures, localism, small-scale industrialisation, and strong kinship ties. In this analysis of social identities and political culture in two areas of northern Italy, Cento Bull challenges convergence assumptions that modernization must proceed along a linear and uniform path. Italy's modernization was not distorted, as its critics would allege, but congruent with its history of

strong communal allegiances and family ties. Contrary to the views of social capital theorists, she argues that familism, Catholicism, and localist sentiments are compatible with civic values and 'normal' politics.

The analysis is based on a non-random survey conducted in 1994 of workers at large factories in Sesto San Giovanni (Milan), and of artisans, small entrepreneurs and blue and white-collar workers in Erba (Como). The selection of these towns for the fieldwork was premised upon their capacity to represent the solidarist, Communist and inter-classist, Catholic political subcultures, respectively. Sesto, renowned for its large-scale industry, trade union militancy, and leftist political character, had recently experienced a period of de-industrialization and social change. The Christian Democratic Party had been dominant in Erba, until the Northern League and Forza Italia usurped its position in the early 1990s.

In the first section, Cento Bull challenges the views of Banfield, Almond and Verba, Putnam, Ginsborg and Sapelli, who have depicted familism and particularism as phenomena largely restricted to pre-modern societies in the South. The survey results show that northern Italy can be both civic, yet 'unmodernised' in the sense that family and friendship ties, Catholic values, and localism persist. Her analysis of the social identities of 888 respondents reveals that kinship, friendship and social networks remain strong in both communities, that people who enjoyed these ties were more, and not less likely to join horizontal associations, and that they were as likely to hold solidarist as familist values. Disputing

Putnam's conflation of horizontal associationism with civic-mindedness, Cento Bull concludes that Catholics are no less civic than lay individuals. Some inter-community differences were noted, as Catholics in Erba were more likely to participate in apolitical associations and to read the local press, while lay individuals in Sesto were more likely to join political associations and to read the national press. Both Toqueville and Putnam have pointed to newspaper readership as an indicator of civic vitality. Yet, in both areas, Catholics were more avid readers of the local press which suggests that Catholics can be both 'civic' and localist. Ginsborg's assertion that familist values hinder horizontal associationism was partially confirmed. Familists were less prone than individualists or solidarists to join apolitical associations, but were more likely to participate in political associations than people with individualist values.

The local sub-cultures were explored through an analysis of the respondents' geographic mobility, territorial and institutional allegiances, and opinions about extra-EU immigration and the integration of immigrants from Southern Italy. While there were strong affinities for the nation-state in both areas, they were rivalled by a more rapid growth in allegiances to the commune, Europe and the world. Most national institutions, including political parties, the government and Parliament were assigned negative ratings. The data also reveal that associationism and civic-mindedness coexist with anxieties about immigrants in Sesto, and about southern Italians in Erba. The author observes that while localism is compatible with civicness, the civic

community does not preclude the cultivation of 'uncivic' attitudes about 'outsiders'. An interesting, but troubling pattern emerges in that individuals under the age of 30 were more inclined to support the repatriation of extra-EU immigrants and to oppose helping immigrants find work and housing than their older cohorts.

The second section shifts to an examination of social networks, political attitudes, and party allegiances. In both areas, kinship and friendship networks influenced political opinions and electoral behaviour. Contrary to the expectations of convergence theorists, subcultural traditions did not impede an openness to change since respondents supported the European project and institutional reforms granting more regional autonomy. Modernization theories regarding the incongruity between Catholic ideals and economic reform were also discounted as the author found that Catholics in both localities favoured privatisation initiatives.

Self-reports of actual and intended voting behaviour in administrative and national elections held between 1987 and 1994 paint a picture of partisan alignment in Sesto, where a majority of respondents continued to support the parties of the left. However, leftist parties did suffer electoral losses throughout that period, a phenomenon which Cento Bull attributes to a shrinking industrial constituency and to defections of female and younger respondents to new parties (i.e. the Northern League, the Greens or the National Alliance). In Erba, a process of partisan dealignment and realignment appeared to be underway between 1987 and 1994. Support for the Socialist Party and the parties of the Catholic centre

plummeted, with defections flowing to the Northern League, and later, to Forza Italia. The empirical analysis concludes with the presentation of an identikit of PDS (Democratic Party of the Left) and DC/PPI (Christian Democrat/Italian Popular Party) and Northern League voters, in which their respective supporters are depicted as embedded in their local subcultures, but distinguished by their varying levels of attachment to solidarist, familist and individualist values.

The book concludes with a reassessment of the linkage between social capital and democratic institutions, and ongoing proposals for federal institutional reforms. When social capital is linked to localism, it can exacerbate exclusionary attitudes, as is evidenced by the growth of the Northern League in that period. Cento Bull also questions the wisdom of importing models of institutional reform that are insensitive to country-specific conditions, suggesting that political and fiscal federalism must be supplemented by a solidarity pact to protect less developed regions (readers might note the similarities with Canadian and German federalism).

This work is an interesting and intelligent contribution to the extensive literature on the persistence of local subcultures, and the compatibility of localist sentiments with economic restructuring and the civic community. Since these trends have been empirically verified elsewhere, Cento Bull's conclusions on this count remain on solid ground. However, claims about the inappropriateness of applying Anglo-Saxon inspired social capital theories to the Italian context are less defensible, especially when they are founded upon a cross-sectional analysis of non-random

survey data drawn from just two localities in one region. While the author acknowledges the limitations of the research methodology, readers are asked to overlook this and accept that familism and Catholicism are compatible with civic engagement. They probably are, but the research strategy lacks the same persuasiveness as Putnam's more rigorous examination of these same questions in *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*.

Brief comparisons of survey data drawn from two small manufacturing towns - Erba and Annonay, France, and two industrial suburbs (Sesto and Vénissieux in Lyon) found that region-specific cultures prevailed over cross-national similarities, despite the socio-economic comparability of towns. This was interpreted as evidence supporting divergence perspectives on modernization processes. Unfortunately, the low response rates in France made it problematic to draw too much from these intriguing findings.

The author uncovers fascinating evidence about the electoral volatility of females in both localities, raising questions about whether similar patterns are occurring in the Catholic northeast and in the South. The interpretation of the data is sound, but the same cannot be said for its presentation. The raw SPSS data output should have been transformed into more attractive tables. I would also quibble with the inexplicably unbalanced response categories for the questions about immigration (three categories correspond with varying levels of agreement and one corresponds with disagreement).

I recommend this work as an accessible and thoughtful supplement to analyses of large-scale voter surveys, and

as a promising, but not persuasive, challenge to those who cling to outdated conceptions that modernization must involve the eradication of territorial sub-cultures, and that individualist and secular values can only be associated with civic engagement.

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Albert Russel Ascoli and Krystyna Von Henneberg (eds.), *Making and Remaking Italy: the Cultivation of National Identity around the Risorgimento*, Oxford-New York, Berg, 2001, 332 pp., \$22.50.

Il tema dell'identità nazionale, di recente, sembra essere tornato a ricoprire un ruolo centrale nel dibattito storiografico sull'Italia contemporanea. In particolare l'attenzione degli storici si è progressivamente spostata dal processo di 'State building', peraltro ampiamente studiato, al tema del 'Nation building' parzialmente ancora tutto da verificare. Questa rinnovata sensibilità verso il tema della nazione, del resto, è comune tanto alla storiografia italiana che a quella straniera attenta al caso italiano. La raccolta di saggi a cura di A. Ascoli e di K. Von Henneberg, infatti, conferma a pieno titolo tale tendenza, contribuendo in modo originale al dibattito in corso. In particolare i saggi raccolti nel libro *Making and remaking Italy* si ripropongono di affrontare il tema dell'identità nazionale partendo da una prospettiva parzialmente nuova. In primo luogo la ricerca è impostata in una dimensione interdisciplinare che affianca ed integra i temi ed i metodi propri della storiografia tradizionale. In secondo luogo, per quanto indirettamente, la ricerca si apre in una prospettiva comparata, tentando di inserire il tema della nazione italiana in un più

generale contesto relativo al concetto di nazione stesso ed al suo affermarsi storicamente nel mondo.

La storia d'Italia, quindi, da un punto di vista dell'esistenza di una specifica identità nazionale, viene riletta ed analizzata a partire dalla cultura espressa nel corso di due secoli di storia. Meglio ancora la cultura diviene un osservatorio privilegiato da cui osservare l'intero processo di costruzione dello stato unitario, privilegiando l'aspetto di 'nation building' rispetto a quello più propriamente politico-amministrativo, per quanto, entrambi legati a doppio filo. L'analisi delle maggiori forme espressive che hanno contraddistinto la storia d'Italia nel corso del processo unitario, infatti, vengono utilizzate per analizzare i modi, i tempi, e le motivazioni che stavano dietro alla volontà di creare una comune identità italiana a supporto del processo unitario avviatosi in età risorgimentale. In particolare i vari saggi del libro, in una dimensione diacronica che ripercorre gli ultimi due secoli, mettono a fuoco le differenze esistenti in seno alla cultura italiana nell'interpretare e nel raffigurare il mito della nazione. Una eterogeneità di fondo, tuttavia, che, contrariamente a quanto sostenuto in passato dalla storiografia, non sembrerebbe avvalorare il concetto di eccezionalità del caso italiano riguardo al tema della nazione, ma piuttosto una sua peculiarità, capace, proprio per questo, di ricondurlo e di ricollegarlo a pieno titolo con la tradizione europea. L'analisi del tema dell'identità nazionale affrontata a partire dalla capacità di produrre cultura, inevitabilmente sposta l'attenzione verso la società civile. In questo caso i vari saggi mettono in luce come all'interno delle élites culturali, nel corso dei decenni, la

raffigurazione e l'interpretazione del mito della nazione e delle sue origini, fosse più sfumato ed ambiguo di quanto non sia riscontrabile a livello di élites politiche-amministrative. Per certi versi, quindi, sembrerebbe riconfermato lo iato esistente tra stato e società civile, da cui sarebbe scaturita l'incapacità di creare un forte canale di collegamento, di cui l'identità nazionale doveva essere espressione.

In Italia, infatti, secondo gli autori, il mito della nazione avrebbe conosciuto una serie di radicali e talora antitetiche interpretazioni, scontratesi e succedutesi nel tempo, espressione delle diverse élites culturali, a loro volta legate a profonde spaccature politico-sociali ed economiche. Tuttavia, questa debolezza di fondo, lungi dall'essere un limite, rappresenterebbe e testimonierebbe della vitalità dell'identità nazionale sempre pronta a rimettersi in discussione ed ad accompagnare i cambiamenti inevitabilmente collegati con il processo di modernizzazione. In altre parole, il pluralismo di fondo, inteso non come anomalia deviante, ma come risorsa peculiare rappresenterebbe il vero punto di forza dell'Italia. Al di là dei vettori di forza tra politica e cultura, quindi, l'eterogeneità e la frammentazione della società civile da vincolo finiscono per trasformarsi in risorsa, rimediando e temperando i dualismi e le fratture ideologiche profonde esistenti a livello di sistema politico.

Proprio su questo terreno, al contrario, mi sembra che ci sia ancora molto da lavorare per cercare di definire meglio e di dettagliare quella sottile zona di confine tra politica e società civile, spesso ambigua ed indefinita. In particolare la peculiarità del caso italiano finisce per essere testimoniata dall'esistenza di una serie di identità

collettive e non da una sola tradizione nazionale per quanto diversamente interpretata, spesso in antitesi tra loro. Allo stesso tempo le relazioni esistenti tra società civile e stato, come sua giuridica organizzazione, per quanto filtrate attraverso il dispiegarsi del tema della nazione, analizzata in chiave culturale andrebbero ricomprese in un più ampio contesto attento proprio ai modi di essere del binomio Stato-Nazione. Nel corso dei secoli, infatti, troppo spesso ampie fasce della popolazione non sono state in grado di riconoscersi nell'idea di stato nazionale ufficiale, proponendone, al contrario, interpretazioni diverse ed antitetiche, frutto di una dissimile identità culturale, sociale e politico-ideologica. Inoltre riemerge collegato al tema dello Stato-antiStato il dilemma della primarietà della nazione rispetto a quest'ultimo o viceversa. In altre parole si può parlare di nazione senza stato, oppure di stato senza nazione, puntando rispettivamente, sebbene in modo sintetico e riduttivo, la responsabilità per l'anomalia italiana sulla politica o piuttosto sulla società civile, in entrambe i casi confondendo. Solo riconoscendo la peculiarità del caso italiano, sebbene in paragone ad un modello predefinito di riferimento, si può analizzare la storia del processo unitario, non come semplificazione, ma al contrario, proprio come riconoscimento dell'eterogeneità esistente, vincolo e risorsa allo stesso tempo. Il libro in questione sembra muovere in questa direzione, sebbene, come del resto gli stessi autori premettono, non in modo esaustivo, ma come inizio di una ulteriore ricerca in tal senso. Anomalia e peculiarità del caso italiano, quindi, si inseriscono in un contesto in cui il ruolo delle diverse identità collettive esistenti nel

corso della storia preunitaria e unitaria risultano imprescindibili per una esatta interpretazione del processo di 'Nation and State building' in Italia.

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Mark Gilbert and Gianfranco Pasquino (eds.), **Italian Politics: The Faltering Transition**, New York: Berghahn, 2000, xi + 276 pp.

This volume, the latest in the invaluable Istituto Cattaneo annual series, covers the year 1999. In terms of quality and informative content, it is a very good example of the series. The articles provide the summaries of events and significant details that students of Italian politics need; even in the age of the Internet, they are necessary guides to the quantity of material available on Italian politics and policy. The topics covered reflect a judicious selection of major events of the year. Five articles deal with elections, referenda, and the general political situation (Philip Daniels on the European elections, Mark Donovan on the referendum on the electoral system, Gianfranco Baldini and Guido Legnante on the municipal elections, Gianfranco Pasquino on the presidential election; and the editors' introduction on the year in politics). One article (by Véronique Pujas) traces legislation on party funding and political advertising. Jean-Louis Briquet assesses the acquittal of Giulio Andreotti in his two major trials, and Osvaldo Croci discusses Italy's involvement in NATO's bombing of Serbia. Finally, three

contributions address the economy and economic policy: Dwayne Woods on Olivetti's takeover of Telecom Italia, Michael Contarino on the *Patto di Natale* (1998) for development and employment, and Vincent Della Sala on regional policy for the South. While articles on the different parties are missing this time, this ground will undoubtedly be covered in future volumes. One might also have expected something on overall economic policy in the first year of the euro, but the editors may have judged this topic somewhat anti-climactic.

Contributors to a volume such as this face a dilemma stemming from the short space (12 to 17 pages of text) allocated to each article: they can concentrate on the broad context - theoretical, comparative, or historical - or they can place the emphasis on the details of the events. While a felicitous combination of the two is the ideal, this may not be possible in so few pages. Given the unique and important function of the *Review*, it would seem that where necessary the dilemma should be resolved in favour of a factual account of significant developments, albeit informed by an overall perspective. This is what most of the contributors to this volume have done, and the reader is thankful for it. For instance, Véronique Pujas eschews a general discussion of the problem of conflict of interest in favour of a lucid presentation of the evolution of legislation on party financing and the debate on the *par condicio*. Baldini and Legnante follow the same course, providing valuable background on the reasons for the left's defeat in the Bologna municipal election. Osvaldo Croci achieves a happy marriage of detailed analysis and broader focus,

arguing that Italy's participation in the NATO bombing campaign was not an(other) instance of subservience to the United States.

In a few cases, however, the reader would have liked to have a little more background. Dwayne Woods' excellent discussion of Olivetti's takeover of Telecom goes into some of the context, such as the troubled privatization of Telecom, but does not mention the break between Mediobanca and Fiat, nor does he name or discuss the major shareholders of Olivetti other than Roberto Colaninno himself. However, his intuition that the takeover did not signal an unqualified triumph of the "new," Anglo-Saxon, shareholder-dominated capitalism has been borne out by subsequent events. On the other hand, Michael Contarino's forecast that the *Patto di Natale* augured well for the future of concertation under the auspices of the centre-left has not fared so well. In this case, perhaps a more detailed analysis of the meaning of the Pact itself would have been in order, in addition to the framework of a comparison with the Rhenish model of capitalism. Jean-Louis Briquet writes persuasively that the judges' legal reasoning in the Andreotti trials was different from that of political scientists, in spite of the fact that each profession uses material produced by the other. Here also more details on the DC-Mafia relationship would have been welcome, although the length of the article again places definite limits on what the author can do. These small matters of emphasis do not detract, however, from what are, in the whole, excellent articles.

A few contributions (e.g. on the presidential election and the referendum) are informed by the framework implicit in

the sub-title - the view that Italy is evolving (or should be) from the consociational, proportionalist political system of the First Republic towards the Westminster model of alternating stable majority governments, backed up by a majoritarian electoral system. In part, this is simply a useful framing device to unify the contributions to the volume. However, this teleological conception bears an uncomfortable resemblance to the broad consensus in the economics profession around various neo-liberal "reforms." Indeed, economists like Alesina have argued that stable majority governments are the most conducive to the implementation of these reforms. It is somewhat ironic that a drive towards the Westminster system is under way in Italy at the same time as it is being diluted and subjected to increasing criticism in its home. Arend Lijphart illustrated in his first version of *Democracies* how Britain had already departed from the Westminster model in several respects (interestingly, his example of the "pure" Westminster system, New Zealand, has since opted for PR, partly because its system was indeed too pure, and because it had facilitated a very wrenching neo-liberal experiment). Subsequently, the U.K. Parliament has adopted PR for the Scottish and Welsh assemblies, and the Jenkins Report has recommended it for Westminster as well. In his second version, moreover, Lijphart's *Patterns of Democracy* presents evidence of the superior performance of consensual as opposed to majoritarian democracies.

Of course, few would follow La Palombara's *Democracy: Italian Style* in defending the *malcostume* and immobilism of the DC regime. Perhaps the real problem with many critiques of the First

Republic is concentration on constitutional engineering and the habits of the *classe politica* as opposed to the substantive political problems that divide and weaken both the left and the right. For the left, this is finding a distinctive response to economic globalization; for the right, achieving unity in the face of the same issues. No one knows whether, if the energy and political ingenuity that were expended on the *Bicamerale* had been spent on preventing the fall of the Prodi government, the result would have been any different, but with the benefit of hindsight it seems that this would have been a more effective contribution to the future of democratic government in Italy. On the other hand, in this concentration on institutional questions political scientists are, in the manner of good interpretivist anthropologists, reflecting the mind-set of the politicians they study, as Gianfranco Pasquino demonstrates in his study of the presidential election. But it is clear from the failure of most of the voters to turn out for the 1999 referendum on the electoral system that for them the major issue facing the country is not institutional reform.

Even though the framework of the "transition" is open to debate, this volume offers beginning students and seasoned scholars both necessary information and ample food for thought about the current phase of Italy's political development, and is a must for both university and private libraries.

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Emily Braun, **Mario Sironi and Italian Modernism: Art and Politics under Fascism.** Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. xv+316 pp., 145 illustrations, 16 colour plates.

Emily Braun has written an informative and compelling study of the most famous of Fascist artists, Mario Sironi. Through a perceptive analysis of Sironi's artistic *oeuvre* and writings, she details both his personal biography and his artistic development and reveals his critical role in creating a Fascist "religion of state" through art. As Braun sees it, Sironi's body of work from the end of World War I through the fall of Mussolini demonstrates his central role in fabricating the myths central to the Fascist state and in providing the visual vocabulary of fascist aesthetics and cultural life. Indeed, Sironi's work exemplifies how the Fascist regime used the Italian avant-garde and aesthetic modernism to advance its authoritarian politics.

Born in 1885 in Sassari, Sironi was raised in Rome. His father died soon after his birth, but Braun notes that his well-educated mother opened the family home open to prominent young artists and writers, including Filippo Tommaso Marinetti. Although Sironi attempted to follow his father's engineering career, he quickly abandoned university to study painting and drawing with a number of prominent Roman artists, including Giacomo Balla and Duilio Cambellotti. They helped forge Sironi's early Socialist political sympathies and his belief that art should have a "social purpose" (p. 21).

Braun notes that in the years before World War I, Sironi was keenly interested in the works of Nietzsche and Wagner and

clearly drawn to the anti-Positivism and ardent nationalism of *La Voce*. She maintains that Sironi's near mental collapse and difficult personality attracted him to these strands of thought. Not surprisingly, Sironi quickly gravitated to Futurism and moved to Milan in 1915. Braun argues he was not a "classic" Futurist, however, because he joined the movement after 1914 and was ultimately most interested in the nationalist and anti-bourgeois ideology of Futurism. Like the other Futurists, however, he advocated intervention and joined them in the war effort, first as a member of the short-lived Lombard Battalion of Volunteer Cyclists and later as an officer in the Veneto.

Sironi and the other Futurists were radicalized by the war and quickly drawn to the Fascist movement. Braun shows that even though he was not a "fascist of the first hour," he certainly emerged early on as a key supporter of the new movement. By 1921, he became the "official political caricaturist" for *Il Popolo d'Italia*. Braun demonstrates that Sironi's role in developing a Fascist aesthetic began almost immediately after he embraced the movement. Seeing no contradiction between his early and later work, Braun devotes considerable analysis to Sironi's stark urban landscapes of specific working-class neighbourhoods in Milan. Painted in the early 1920s when Sironi still had ties to Futurism, they teemed "with a sense of suppressed violence" (p. 62) that seemed to announce the impending Fascist revolution. Braun argues that the occasional trucks that appear in these monumental landscapes resemble the Fiat 18BL model truck used by the 'squadristi' and that they "serve as potent symbols of civil disorder" (p. 63).

Sironi left Futurism for Fascism in the early 1920s. After a brief examination of Sironi's *Melancholy* as "an allegory of the modern condition" (p. 68), Braun discusses Sironi's links to the Novecento. Founded in October 1922, the Novecento emerged as the Fascist presumptive reincarnation of the Quattrocento. Sironi and Margherita Sarfatti, the key members of the group, sought "to launch a cultural renaissance and evolve a new style of visual expression for Fascist Italy" (p. 91). Braun argues that Sironi's goal to link modernism and nationalism was evident in a series of portraits he painted after 1922.

Sironi also played a key role in creating Fascist propaganda. As caricaturist and illustrator for *Il Popolo d'Italia*, he played a critical role in depicting the myth of the Fascist revolution and in developing the key elements of Fascist iconography. Braun shows that many of the images he created in exhibitions and public art in the 1930s were first developed for *Il Popolo d'Italia* in the 1920s. The cartoons, for example, are masculine, severe, and blunt and filled with "ultranationalist" content. With the emergence of the cult of the Duce in 1926, Sironi also created covers for *La Rivista Illustrata del Popolo d'Italia* that portrayed Mussolini as a monumental leader ready to build a new Italy. This iconography was then carried over into official exhibitions, most notably the *Mostra della Rivoluzione Fascista* of 1932, that Sironi himself believed to be "the first realization of Fascist art" (p. 146).

Ultimately, though, Sironi was not content with political cartoons or temporary exhibitions. He believed that a true fascist style had to be embedded in imposing and permanent spaces of public

buildings. Mural art fulfilled Sironi's vision of a political and mythical art that "could speak to the masses" (p. 159). Compositions like Sironi's *Charter of Labour*, a monumental stained-glass window for the Ministry of Corporations, reveal how he employed and balanced Expressionism and classicism, as well as the Italian past and future to achieve this objective. Later works in the 1930s, including the mosaic *Fascist Work* and his own essays in *La Rivista Illustrata del Popolo d'Italia*, demonstrate Sironi's uncompromising support of mural art in the fashioning of the Fascist myth. Even though his work became the target of anti-modernist art critics and others, he continued to receive key commissions in the 1930s.

As Braun points out, Sironi has been interpreted in a variety of ways since his death in 1961. The overall trend has been sympathetic and downplayed his association with Fascism. Braun has conclusively demonstrated, however, his unwavering support of Fascism and shown that his art and career are inextricably tied to the movement and the regime.

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Harry Hearder, *Italy: A Short History*, 2nd edition, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, 294 pp.

Questo libro dello scomparso Hearder tratteggia i primi due millenni della storia d'Italia in modo chiaro, sintetico ed accessibile al vasto pubblico.

Si tratta, come si può ben immaginare dalle modeste dimensioni dell'opera e dalla lunga e complessa storia che l'autore si è apprestato a raccontare, di un lavoro di divulgazione non indirizzato al pubblico specializzato. Ciò non toglie però che, per chiunque voglia avvicinarsi alla storia d'Italia e conoscerne i suoi personaggi chiave all'interno dello spaccato economico e sociale in cui si sono mossi, il libro rappresenta un utile veicolo e di piacevole lettura.

A muovere l'autore alla stesura di questo libro è stata l'idea di raccontare, come è spiegato nella prefazione, una "storia positiva" che si discostasse da una certa tradizione storiografica britannica sempre un pò "patronizzante" nei confronti dell'Italia. Non c'è altra nazione europea, riconosce Herder, dove il processo di civilizzazione si sia svolto con tanta continuità come in Italia. Un grado di civiltà certo inframmezzato da "ripiegamenti" ma pur sempre caratterizzato da un ritorno a "picchi di eccellenza"(p. 1).

È con lo scopo di mostrare questa continuità che "tanto colpisce lo straniero" che discende il taglio che viene dato al libro. Il primo capitolo introduce il lettore al periodo classico dove si va dall'Italia preistorica all'Impero Romano. Qui si riconosce ai Romani il merito di avere unificato l'Italia sia politicamente che culturalmente. È con la Repubblica Romana che viene introdotto in Italia il concetto di sovranità popolare, ed è sotto la dominazione Romana che il latino diventa la lingua dominante. Non solo, ma la Roma repubblicana e Imperiale offrirono al resto dell'Europa un modello di civilizzazione per gli anni a venire, per l'influenza del latino e della sua letteratura,

per il suo modello sociale, per il suo eccellere nell'arte militare, nell'architettura e nell'ingegneria.

Si prosegue poi, nei successivi due capitoli, ad analizzare il Medio Evo. Così se il basso medio evo con le dominazioni barbariche vede un'Italia ripiegata su se stessa, l'alto medio evo invece, con la nascita delle città stato e la vasta produzione artistica di personaggi come Giotto, Cimabue, Dante Alighieri, Petrarca e Boccaccio, ben rappresenta il passaggio dal Medio Evo al Rinascimento (pp. 82-89). A questo periodo della storia d'Italia è dedicato il quarto capitolo: quello del Rinascimento è il secolo che assembla crescita economica e una sofisticata finanza creando le basi per il "capitalismo moderno" (p. 102), è quello in cui Cristoforo Colombo "scopre" l'America facendo sì che il baricentro del mondo si sposti dal Mediterraneo, è quello dell'Umanesimo cui, la produzione su larga scala del libro (sempre a Venezia, primo esempio di produzione di massa) dà un'enorme divulgazione.

I secoli sedicesimo e diciassettesimo sono quelli delle invasioni straniere e della Controriforma, e sebbene sottolinea l'autore, "sia stata in voga l'idea di negare che l'Italia abbia sofferto di un'eclissi culturale" la verità è che nel diciassettesimo secolo "la capitale culturale d'Europa si spostava dall'Italia alla Francia" (p. 136). Ed è con il diciottesimo secolo, con la dominazione austriaca, che l'Italia torna ad essere esposta alle correnti culturali europee e il maggiore aspetto positivo della storia italiana di questo secolo "rimane il suo contributo all'Illuminismo" (p. 145).

Si arriva così al Risorgimento dove il posto di maggior rilievo è riservato a

Mazzini “il primo a perseguire nell’ambito di un movimento l’indipendenza degli italiani dallo straniero, l’unità politica della penisola e la libertà individuale” (p. 165). Ma l’unità procede sotto il segno della Monarchia e tra gli uomini dell’Italia unita un ruolo speciale viene riservato a Giolitti “per il suo programma radicale di riforme sociali ed istituzionali che diedero all’Italia una coscienza democratica e sociale” (p. 211).

È con l’avvento del Fascismo che il cammino dell’Italia verso la democrazia si blocca bruscamente. Ricalcando le orme della più classica interpretazione che va da Croce a Bobbio, da Mack Smith a De Grand, il Fascismo è qui interpretato come movimento “reazionario” privo di sua “ideologia positiva” (p. 224). Anche per Hearder il Fascismo arrivò al potere grazie agli errori delle altre forze politiche, al raggio, all’ingenuità di chi lo seguì, e il consenso in assenza di un’ideologia fu guadagnato con la violenza e la propaganda. Questo modo di guardare al Ventennio, porta così l’autore ad affrontare la nascita della Repubblica e della democrazia in Italia secondo un modello che vede nell’anti-Fascismo e nel mito della Resistenza il fondamento dell’identità democratica del tempo presente. Le vicissitudini dell’Italia della prima e della seconda Repubblica (queste ultime esaminate da Jonathan Morris) sono così affrontate dando quasi per scontato che il Fascismo con il suo collasso non lasciò un vuoto ideologico e che la storia più recente si possa raccontare a prescindere dalla “parentesi Fascista”.

I limiti di questa interpretazione sono stati largamente sottolineati negli ultimi venti anni da una storiografia spesso tacciata di revisionismo, ma è proprio

grazie al dibattito introdotto da questi studiosi (pensiamo a R. De Felice, E. Gentile, P.G. Zunino, N. Zapponi) che oggi è cresciuta una maggiore consapevolezza che l’identità italiana non può ammettere una storia che accantoni “ciò che ci appare buono da ciò che ci appare meno buono: che è una premessa impossibile per una qualunque identità condivisa” (E. Galli della Loggia, *L’identità italiana*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 1998, p. 164). Se questo libro ha dunque il merito di trasportare il lettore in una storia avvincente e densa di figure mitiche per la civiltà occidentale ha dall’altro il limite di reiterare quell’incomprensione verso l’Italia del tempo presente già ampiamente diffusa nell’immaginario dello straniero.

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Joanna Cannon - Beth Williamson (ed.), *Art, politics, and civic religion in central Italy, 1261-1352*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000, 317 pp.

Il volume costituisce il primo numero dei Courtauld Research Papers, collezione di saggi scritti da ricercatori del Courtauld Institute of Art di Londra. Come premesso dai due curatori, i contributi sono frutto di ricerche di diversa natura (MA dissertations, tesi di dottorato, courseworks), ma contraddistinte da una grande originalità che colma gli eventuali limiti connessi alla loro tipologia. I sette saggi promuovono nuove interpretazioni di alcuni manufatti artistici prodotti tra il 1261 e il 1352 (rispettivamente anno di realizzazione della Madonna del Bordone,

presso la Chiesa di Santa Maria dei Servi a Siena, e dell'affresco di Guidoriccio nel Palazzo Pubblico della stessa città), prevalentemente nella Toscana medievale.

Il saggio di De Wesselow offre una rilettura complessiva della decorazione della Sala del Mappamondo presso il Palazzo Pubblico di Siena, interpretata come “an integrated schema in both visual and thematic terms” (p. 19) che, a partire dalla costruzione dell'edificio (avvenuta nel 1330), celebra la grandezza del comune senese e la fama di Guidoriccio, suo signore. Rispetto alle spiegazioni tradizionali, De Wesselow considera elemento portante dell'intero programma artistico la grande ruota del mappamondo che un tempo girava al centro della parete ovest della sala: attorno ad essa si sarebbero sviluppati dipinti e pannelli raffiguranti la progressiva espansione territoriale cittadina e la sottomissione a Siena dei castelli circostanti. L'autore legge il grande affresco di Guiricchio a cavallo, che domina la scena e che sovrastava la ruota, come prosecuzione della mappa simbolica Siena-mondo e come culmine del significato patriottico e secolare della decorazione. L'aggiunta in essa, nel XV secolo, dei dipinti laterali di san Vittorio e san Ansano, patroni della città e simboli della giustizia e della religione, modificò la valenza complessiva dell'insieme, affiancando l'elemento religioso a quello civico e offrendo una nuova chiave interpretativa della parete. L'intento celebrativo della decorazione non venne sminuito dalle modifiche apportate nel tempo, ma piuttosto rafforzato dall'introduzione di nuovi elementi e simboli relativi alla sfera cittadina.

Anche il saggio di Pelham offre un'interpretazione del programma complessivo della tomba-altare di Guido Tarlati, “warrior bishop and supreme political leader” (p. 76) di Arezzo. La sua realizzazione viene letta come frutto della stretta collaborazione tra artisti e committenti, e come segno del protagonismo di questi ultimi nelle scelte tematiche sottintese all'opera. Concepita come esemplificazione del ruolo spirituale e politico svolto da Tarlati in città, il complesso scultoreo diviene simbolo delle virtù di Guido e, al tempo stesso, del buon governo e della fusione sacro\profano da lui realizzata nell'amministrazione municipale. La celebrazione dell'uomo coincide con la celebrazione della città e delle sue istituzioni, mentre la statua equestre che Pelham ritiene si trovasse a completamento della struttura funeraria viene individuata quale elemento fondamentale e centrale dell'intera simbologia racchiusa nella tomba. L'importanza attribuita alla decodificazione di quest'ultima da parte dei cittadini spiegherebbe, per l'autore, anche la scelta di coniare le iscrizioni in vernacolare, in modo da essere facilmente comprese dai devoti in preghiera per l'anima del defunto e per il destino futuro della città.

La simbologia racchiusa nel Reliquario del Corpo Santo di Orvieto è analizzata da Freni che, dopo aver lungamente descritto i rimandi e le connessioni esistenti tra le scene del miracolo di Bolsena incise nella teca e le differenti versioni dell'episodio fornite da narrazioni e testi coevi, sottolinea la funzione primaria svolta dal reliquario nella processione del Corpus Cristi cittadina. Nucleo di una cerimonia in cui

“religious and civic spheres were inextricably interlocked” (p.134), l’adorazione del reliquario lungo le strade di Orvieto accompagnava la rappresentazione dell’organizzazione gerarchica della città: i rappresentanti del clero, insieme con quelli del comune e delle gilde, divenivano parte di una composizione razionale in cui nulla era lasciato al caso, mentre lo sfilare della processione per le vie cittadine imprimeva di sacro lo spazio urbano, quotidianamente segnato dalle attività economiche e mercantili. Il popolo era chiamato ad assistere a questa rappresentazione di potere e, al tempo stesso, a condividere la manifestazione di forza della città che visse l’esperienza del miracolo e che attorno al suo ricordo, e aldilà delle proprie divisioni interne, ogni anno si riuniva ad indicare la propria coesione ed armonia.

Il saggio di Richards esamina la creazione del mito di San Ranieri, patrono e simbolo della città di Pisa, celebrato nella struttura funeraria realizzata nella sua cattedrale e nel ciclo di affreschi del cimitero civico. Entrambe le opere costituiscono, per l’autrice, rappresentazioni visive delle numerose e diffuse narrazioni relative alla vita del santo: di esse, la tomba-altare privilegerebbe la valenza agiografica e devozionale, mentre gli affreschi sottolineerebbero gli ideali di penitenza e carità e le varie tappe della conversione del Ranieri mercante. Le fasi della sua esistenza finiscono in questo modo col divenire modello di vita da offrire alla cittadinanza e da porre ad exemplum della possibile armonizzazione di sacro e profano nell’esperienza di ogni individuo. Il culto di Ranieri, interpretato come “construction of Pisan society” (p.202),

diviene strumento per la trasmissione di valori e ideali a cui improntare il presente e il futuro della comunità urbana.

Mia offre nel suo scritto spunti originali per l’interpretazione della Madonna del Bordone, dipinto che la critica generalmente ritiene segno di gratitudine della città di Siena per la vittoria riportata a Montaperti contro Firenze, e qui invece proposto quale frutto della devozione dell’ordine dei Serviti nei confronti della Vergine. Questa nuova interpretazione, che rimanda ad una sfera strettamente religiosa, nasce dalla rilettura di elementi il cui significato era stato dato ormai per acquisito: il termine “bordone”, ad esempio, viene ricondotto dall’autrice non tanto ad un cognome o ad un tipo di stoffa, quanto piuttosto ad una specifica melodia intonata nella liturgia ecclesiastica, mentre l’aquila stilizzata sul velo della Vergine viene letta come simbolo religioso e d’appartenenza all’ordine, più che come riferimento alla fazione ghibellina cittadina. Smontata la tradizionale interpretazione politica del dipinto - anche mediante l’analisi della documentazione comunale relativa alla sua commissione e del contesto socio-politico in cui la corporazione operava-, Mina approda ad un suggestivo esame dell’opera, la quale incarnerebbe “not the shifting politics of the commune, but the eternal politics of the divine” (p.259).

Il breve saggio di Heal offre, infine, una rapida descrizione del contributo apportato dal culto della Vergine alla definizione dell’immaginario mariano senese: descrizione volta soprattutto ad evidenziare la funzione di promozione e valorizzazione svolta dalle comunità religiose nella produzione di manufatti, e nella successiva elaborazione e diffusione

delle pratiche rituali e culturali ad essi connesse.

I saggi contenuti nel volume offrono notevoli spunti e idee sul binomio arte/città in un'area specifica dell'Italia medievale. Il loro maggior pregio deriva dalla formulazione di ipotesi interpretative basate su fonti e documenti di diversa natura. Gli autori non si limitano ad un esame prettamente tecnico-artistico delle opere, ma ne ripercorrono le vicende dal momento della commissione a quello della fruizione, ricorrendo a materiale archivistico notevolmente differenziato. Grazie all'esame di libri contabili, ricevute di pagamento, corrispondenze pubbliche e private, essi suggeriscono nuove attribuzioni e periodizzazioni dei manufatti, illustrando le dinamiche socio-economiche che ne determinarono la produzione. Al tempo stesso, confrontando fonti visive e testuali - cronache, canti, preghiere - gli autori evidenziano i rimandi esistenti tra immagine e scrittura, consentendo una miglior definizione della valenza politico-religiosa implicita alle scelte tematiche intraprese dagli artisti. Grazie alla metodologia impiegata, i saggi provvedono chiaramente alla descrizione delle strategie comunicative usate nella diffusione di messaggi che legittimarono poteri facilmente identificabili.

Il libro, nel complesso, arricchisce di nuovi contenuti il tema dell'indistinto confine tra sacro e profano nell'arte medievale, e del rappresentarsi e sovrapporsi delle due dimensioni nello spazio urbano. I casi qui proposti risultano esemplari di questa convivenza, riferendosi essi a virtù civiche celebrate in luoghi sacri e a festività religiose vissute in ambiti secolari, nonché a cittadini (eroi\mercanti) santi, e a santità (Madonne\miracoli)

civiche. L'analisi del sovrapporsi di mondano e ultraterreno conduce, inoltre, a sondare la fusione delle appartenenze politiche e religiose che attraversarono la città medievale e che si rifletterono in personaggi chiave della vita e delle vicende comunali. Essa, infine, chiarisce la valenza identitaria svolta dal manufatto artistico, che in ogni tempo celebra e commemora poteri specifici, e offre ad essi la possibilità di auto-rappresentarsi all'interno e all'esterno della comunità cittadina.

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Trevor Dean, transl. and ed., *The Towns of Italy in the Later Middle Ages* Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000, pp. x+252, \$ 74.95 (cloth), \$ 29.95 (paper)

This volume, part of a series of collected thematic medieval sources, offers 108 documents (including some sets of short excerpts) that deal with the public life of northern Italian cities in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The editor does not discuss his criteria for choosing the collection's start and end dates, and the volume includes document from 1226 to 1422, but the great majority come from the period between 1280 and 1380. While the starting point coincides roughly with the increased availability of records, the end is somewhat more arbitrary, and presumably depends on Trevor Dean's conception of the meaning of "Middle Ages." In his short introduction, Dean also defends his choice

of focusing on northern and central Italy, by arguing that cities in the southern kingdoms were not as fully autonomous as the northern and central communes. In fact, the collection includes only two short excerpts on Brindisi, and one document each on Rome, Chieti, and Naples; hardly any of the documents deal with Piedmont or Friuli, or with anything south of Umbria (and the map is anachronistically labelled).

The sources are intended to address primarily the public life of cities. Thus, there is much here on economic life, public religion, social conflicts, institutional and political developments, and public policies and regulations on education, consumption, family life, and public spaces. There is considerably less, and in some cases hardly anything at all, on art (except for public projects), private religion, intellectual or cultural life, or sexuality, and there is relatively little on crime. Consistently with the choice of topics and of public life as the focus, most of the selected texts come from chronicles and statutes, and several from fiction or poetry, while there is very little from notarial or census records. The collection differs substantially, therefore, from older volumes, such as Gene Brucker's *Society of Renaissance Florence*.

The documents are arranged in five sections, dealing respectively with the urban environment and space, and urban social services; civic religion and the fight against heresy; the urban economy; social groups and conflicts, including laws and attitudes affecting women and Jews; and political structures and institutions. Each section is preceded by a helpful introduction, and each document is prefaced with a brief explanation of its origin and character. The texts (and all the

prefaces) read easily and smoothly, and are accompanied by bibliographical references to relevant secondary literature. The collection therefore should be quite useful and accessible for classroom use, which is presumably the main destination of the volume.

Dean's main framework for his overview of these texts comes from the works of Philip Jones, arguably the most influential historian of the late medieval Italian urban world. As with many similar collections, a slight "flattening" effect (as Dean himself calls it) results from the accumulation of documents from different places and times. Dean strives to minimize this, and he emphasizes three overarching elements of change or rupture: the increased concern with, and fight against, heresy beginning in the late thirteenth century; the effects of the plague on the economy and social tensions; and the decline of communes with the concurrent rise of despots and lords and the later consolidation of regional states. Overall, this is thus an intelligently conceived and presented collection.

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Ugo Spirito, *Memoirs of the Twentieth Century* (Translated from Italian and Edited by Anthony G. Costantini), Amsterdam/Atlanta: Rodopi, 2000, XV, 201 pages, ISBN 90-420-1242-0, Euros 34.

Ugo Spirito's *Memoirs of the Twentieth Century* might better have been

entitled *Memoirs of the Twentieth Century as Shaped by Me*. In a style largely autobiographical, it is divided into two sections: *Autobiography* and *Encounters and Clashes*. The first is an account of his life and work. The second is still largely autobiographical, but involves descriptions of his encounters with figures such as Benedetto Croce, Giovanni Gentile, and others. As a work of autobiography, these memoirs are self-serving and occasionally paranoid. Philosophically and historically they lack any discernible rigour; they make little or no attempt to prove that events happened as Spirito depicts them. As with the philosophical issues, he neither argues for nor justifies any claim that he makes. The memoirs are, as Professor Myra Moss acknowledges in the foreword, a 'somewhat' distorted and impressionistic view of Spirito's life and of Italian fascism. She maintains therefore that they need to be treated not as historically accurate descriptions of persons and events, but rather as an account of the feelings, moods, and reactions of an intellectual who played a role in the rise of fascism in Italy. Perhaps so, but I suggest that the impressionistic and distorted nature of the memoirs is a lot more serious than the introduction suggests, resulting in a number of problems.

First, there is a curious blindness to the violent nature of the movement that he supported. Spirito speaks glowingly of Mussolini's attempts to transform, discipline, and unify Italy. But he totally overlooks Mussolini's willingness to tolerate murder (e.g. the Matteotti affair) and to use his fascist thugs to intimidate and destroy the press and political opposition generally. Mussolini's recklessness in foreign policy prior to and

including the Second World War is also remarkably absent from any of Spirito's discussion. For someone who makes continued and varied reference to a multitude of purportedly incontrovertible facts, Spirito is strangely unwilling to allow the details of Mussolini's day-to-day politics to influence his thinking about the period. Spirito is of course not alone among intellectuals in allowing himself to forget the everyday violence of the twentieth century dictators. There was no shortage of left-wing intellectuals who viewed Stalin as a genuine socialist visionary (curiously, Spirito also believes this) and many German intellectuals like Martin Heidegger felt that Adolf Hitler would bring about the genuine revolution of German existence. The few times that Spirito does raise the question of violence, it is in relation to himself. For the most part, any violence discussed is that done to him, not to others. He sees himself as having been persecuted both by members of Mussolini's fascist government for his communist tendencies in adopting a Bolshevik, corporatist view of Fascism and then for fascist tendencies by the purge commissions of 1944-45. He was indeed censored by the fascist ideologues with whom he competed. But note that his 'persecution' was to be relocated to a university position in Sicily. He was not even prohibited from publishing. Furthermore the purge commissions of 1943-44 found him not guilty of the charge of promoting fascism and subsequently upheld this acquittal on appeal. To call either of these cases persecution is at the very least an exaggeration.

Second, the book is full of large, unjustified, and often vague, claims. Furthermore, Spirito has a habit of

ignoring criticisms of his philosophy uttered by his contemporaries. For example, on page 91 he remarks that Giovanni Gentile had referred to his book *La vita come ricerca* [life as a search] as fundamentally flawed and eventually provided a long explanation of this. But Spirito neglects to describe either the criticisms or his refutation of them. The closest he comes is to refer the reader of the memoirs to an article in which he explains his reasons for not answering Gentile. Other examples are legion, like the following: "Accordingly, positivism has been the true driving force behind this revolutionary century, well beyond its historical definition" (p. 19). This is a provocative claim, but it is merely asserted rather than supported. Or again "even so, certain seminal exigencies were kept alive or were rekindled through the assertion of fresh objectives" (p. 19). Which exigencies? What objectives? He never tells us, then or at any other point in the book. The book is full of sentences and claims such as these. It is not just difficult to judge their truth. It is often difficult to determine whether anything is being said at all. Spirito makes repeated reference to "the facts" and claims that these facts cannot be refuted. But he is never clear precisely what they are (see, for example, pp. 42 and 95). In any case, there is a confusion about facts, which is that if indeed there is such a thing as a fact, and if x is indeed a fact, then there is nothing to refute. Statements about facts can be refuted, i.e. we can deny someone's claim that x is a fact. But facts are whatever they are and are not what they are not (according to the old Anselmian saw). One does not necessarily have to commit oneself to an ontology of facts. But if you

do, then you have to speak more rigorously about them than Spirito does. In any case, accepting for the moment that there are such things as facts, nobody (including Spirito) is interested fundamentally with the facts alone anyway. What really counts is the way in which facts fit into systematic interpretations, and interpretations can always be contested. This problem in the conception of facts emerges most clearly in his treatment of letters. He treats texts as facts, as if their content is self-evident. In the chapter on Benedetto Croce, for example, he provides complete letters virtually without commentary as if their meanings were worn on their sleeves. This renders his already dubious association of Croce with fascism even more suspect, as he provides no interpretive schema, which might convince a reader.

Third, for an author who claims to have come to doubt the possibility of knowing it all, Spirito is surprisingly happy to speak of the essence of an entire century. He speaks of the century as a whole and allows his personal encounters with the century to shed light upon its essence. What he calls the state of unawareness seems to involve the impossibility of developing a universal, all-encompassing view of reality. The multiplicity of perspectives he claims obtain is so vast that no account of the universe is possible. We are unaware, if you like, of what really is. And yet he frequently talks about phenomenon in terms that seem universal and complete and therefore in some sense he is aware of them.

Finally, the book is extremely fatalistic. Spirito characterizes himself and human beings in general as being like marionettes dancing to the tune of an

invisible historical hand. Luck is the dominating feature of the story he tells. As Spirito would grant, luck is a capricious taskmaster. The problem here is that telling one's story in terms of luck also has a way of obviating issues of moral culpability. Yet this raises a curious kind of contradiction in the book. Individuals are unaware of the things they do, they are dominated by events beyond their control, and yet Spirito is almost willing to take credit for educating Mussolini as a revolutionary, describing Mussolini as having imbued his (Spirito's) philosophy and thereby functioning as a true revolutionary. By his account Spirito plays simultaneously no role and one of the most important roles in the events of his day. He can both take credit for fascism and deny responsibility in one breath. Now, the points about contingency and unpredictability are nothing new and have been echoed by some of the finest thinkers of the twentieth century. But granting them entails nothing about freedom of choice, culpability, and the like. His view of the intellectual is of someone simultaneously active and submissive, a view that is entirely intuitive and, as so often in the book, simply asserted to be true rather than demonstrated.

This is not to say that I think the book is wholly without interest. Historians and psychologists may find interesting things hidden within his claims and it may help to understand the mindset of some fascist intellectuals (at least minimally it will help us to understand him). However, the wild and arbitrary nature of the philosophical claims in the *Memoirs* entails that his work will be of little interest to most philosophers save perhaps those interested in the relations between

philosophy and politics and worried about some of the rather enormous failures of philosophers during the fascist period. It is here that the book has some interest for me.

Consider again the case of Martin Heidegger. It is fascinating and instructive to compare the two to determine which points, if any, they might share. Such commonalities might serve as clues to help us understand the ways in which philosophical positions might suggest or even entail totalitarianism. Although Spirito's memoirs lack the rigour of anything Heidegger wrote, there are at least superficially a great number of things in common. For example, both are committed to philosophies of openness, variability, indeterminacy, and difference. *Prima facie* one might be tempted to think that the commitment to such concepts is incompatible with fascism and totalitarianism because these ideologies are paradigmatically opposed to difference and tend to define political legitimacy in terms of single racial or economic norms, divergence from which constitutes a kind of moral and political sin. Yet both philosophers saw no such opposition and indeed claimed that their philosophies provided the background assumptions for their political activity. Heidegger saw in Hitler the opportunity for the re-establishment of an organic anti-individualistic agrarian German community. Spirito saw the opportunity for the overcoming of individualism in the fascism of Mussolini's Italy. I am not an expert in Spirito's philosophy, so it may well be the case that his other works display an intellectual rigour almost entirely absent from this series of memoirs. If this is the case, then the translator and

editor have not done Spirito's philosophy any favours in releasing this book rather than a more rigorously argued work. For this reason I believe the primary interest of the book to be historical, as long as we read it with the warning of the foreword kept firmly in our heads. It is highly impressionist and distorted, and each sentence needs to be taken with a grain of salt.

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