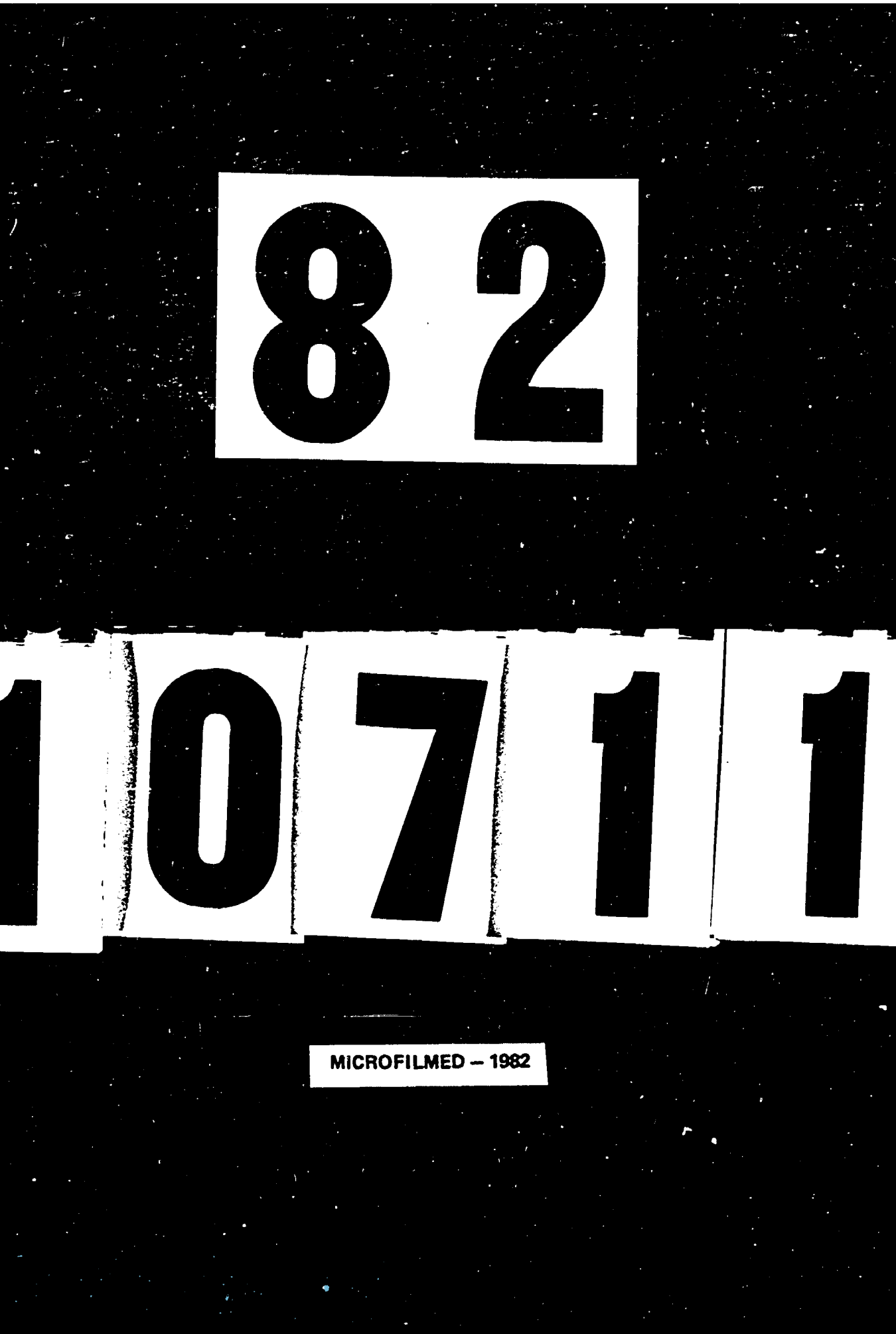

INFORMATION TO USERS

This reproduction was made from a copy of a document sent to us for microfilming. While the most advanced technology has been used to photograph and reproduce this document, the quality of the reproduction is heavily dependent upon the quality of the material submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help clarify markings or notations which may appear on this reproduction.

1. The sign or "target" for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is "Missing Page(s)". If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting through an image and duplicating adjacent pages to assure complete continuity.

2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a round black mark, it is an indication of either blurred copy because of movement during exposure, duplicate copy, or copyrighted materials that should not have been filmed. For blurred pages, a good image of the page can be found in the adjacent frame. If copyrighted materials were deleted, a target note will appear listing the pages in the adjacent frame.

3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., is part of the material being photographed, a definite method of "sectioning" the material has been followed. It is customary to begin filming at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. If necessary, sectioning is continued again—beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.

4. For illustrations that cannot be satisfactorily reproduced by xerographic means, photographic prints can be purchased at additional cost and inserted into your xerographic copy. These prints are available upon request from the Dissertations Customer Services Department.

5. Some pages in any document may have indistinct print. In all cases the best available copy has been filmed.

University
Microfilms
International

300 N. Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, MI 48106

Springer, Carolyn Elisabeth

THE MARBLE WILDERNESS: ARCHAEOLOGICAL REPRESENTATIONS IN ITALIAN LITERATURE, 1800-1848

Yale University PH.D. 1981

The Marble Wilderness: Archaeological Representations in Italian Literature, 1800-1848

A Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School

of

Yale University

in Candidacy for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

by

Carolyn Elisabeth Springer

December 1981

ABSTRACT

The Marble Wilderness: Archaeological Representations in Italian Literature, 1800-1848

Carolyn Elisabeth Springer

Yale University

1981

The following study attempts to document the pervasive presence of the archaeological metaphor in Italian discourse of the early nineteenth century. More specifically it suggests a typology of archaeological representations of Rome, both in literature and the visual arts, which would oppose to the "elegiac" mode evoked by Byron's image of the "marble wilderness" (and associated with the poetry of Keats and Shelley, Piranesi's Roman vedute, and the idealizing classical landscape tradition inspired by Claude Lorraine) an "encomiastic" mode (represented by the "monumental" discourse of the Vatican) and an "exhortatory" mode (adopted by both Gioberti and Mazzini in their conflicting proposals for a national Risorgimento).

Chapter I considers Foscolo's role in establishing an exhortatory discourse of the democratic opposition, through his polemical revision in "Dei Sepolcri" (1807) of the genre of sepulchral poetry typified by Gray's "Elegy written in a Country Churchyard". By challenging an elegiac tradition of representation and investing its object with

direct patriotic significance ("A egregie cose il forte animo accendono / l'urne de' forti"), Foscolo establishes a literary precedent of "politicizing" the monuments of Italy which will be remembered throughout the Risorgimento.

Chapter II focuses instead on Papal archaeology and the rhetorical strategies which traditionally adapted the celebration of classical antiquity and of archaeological investigation to the service of the Church. It attempts to illustrate, through a series of representative texts ranging from Monti's "Prosopopea di Pericle" (1799) to Angelo Mai's 1837 address to the Accademia Pontificia dell'Archeologia, the Church's sustained attention to archaeology and its exploitation of the retrieval of pre-Christian artifacts, in an apology of the temporal power, as an emblem of the providential continuity between classical and Christian Rome.

Chapter III returns to Risorgimento uses of archaeology and specifically to the role of archaeological imagery in the discourse of Gioberti and Mazzini. Where Gioberti grounds his proposal for a neoguelph federation of Italian states in the appeal for a return to national origins and recovery of a lost primato (Del primato morale e civile degli italiani, 1843), Mazzini calls for the abolition of the temporal power and the excavation of more distant republican ideals long suppressed by the Church. His hallucinatory projection of a "Terza Roma", a "Roma del Popolo" to succeed the city of the Caesars and the Popes, like the neoguelph fantasy of Gioberti serves to focus national aspirations on the repossession of Rome and dramatizes the need to rebuild a city from a marble wilderness.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is with pleasure and relief that I turn to thank my advisor, Paolo Valesio, for his lively interest in this dissertation and his unfailing support and guidance to me throughout my years at Yale. Quite simply, my debt to him is incalculable.

Of the many professors with whom I studied in graduate school, I thank Peter Brooks for his provocative course on Romantic melodrama and Umberto Eco for his spirited presentation of popular Italian narrative of the nineteenth century.

I am grateful to both Peter Brooks and Alfonso Procaccini for their helpful comments and careful attention to my work in progress.

Special thanks are due to Emily Procaccini for a superb job in typing this dissertation.

Finally I would like to thank my uncle, A.W. Allen, for many memorable explorations of "classic ground;" and my father, for instilling in me those sympathies out of which this study evolved.

New Haven

August 1981

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

> The Niobe of Nations! there she stands,
> Childless and crownless, in her voiceless woe;
> An empty urn within her wither'd hands,
> Whose holy dust was scattered long ago:
> The Scipios' tomb contains no ashes now;
> The very sepulchres lie tenantless
> Of their heroic dwellers; -- dost thou flow,
> Old Tiber, through a marble wilderness?
> Rise, with thy yellow waves, and mantle her distress!
>
> (Byron, Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, IV, 703-711)

The Fourth Canto of Byron's Childe Harold presents a series of eloquent images of Italian cities in decay. The metaphor of Rome's "marble wilderness" is particularly arresting: as in Piranesi's vedute we see the forest of fallen columns choked with marble and masonry, watch nature gather in the broken monuments of man -- and we see it all, inevitably, with a slight thrill of Schadenfreude: as Henry James would later admit in his own reflections on Italy, "To delight in the aspects of sentient ruin might appear a heartless pastime, and the pleasure, I confess, shows a note of perversity."[1]

Whatever Byron's declared commitment to the cause of Italian nationalism,[2] it is richly undermined by the movements of this text. Having abandoned the persona of the pilgrim, in this final canto the poet Byron ranges among the principal sites and antiquities of the Italian peninsula ("Visto ho Toscana, Lombardia,

Romagna, / Quel Monte che divide, e quel che serra / Italia, e un mare e l'altro, che la bagna"),[3] weaving an impressionistic reverie on the decay of Italian civilization and irreversible erosion of its monumental past.

That Byron should have dedicated this canto to the English antiquary John Hobhouse, and encouraged him to publish the Historical Illustrations as a companion volume to Childe Harold,[4] hardly implies an "antiquarian" stance on the part of the poet. On the contrary, Byron's concern to maintain a hierarchical distinction between his own imaginative journey through Italy's "labyrinth of external objects"[5] and the scholarly documentation supplied by Hobhouse, is implicit throughout the poem and surfaces with painful clarity in his later disavowal of the Illustrations; as noted by E.R. Vincent in his study of their collaboration, "although at the time they must often have discussed the Illustrations Byron took cruel pleasure later in informing others that he had never read them."[6]

If Byron throughout the canto seems to uphold the view later shared by Keats and Leopardi, that what is gained for erudition is lost to the imagination,[7] this is nowhere more evident than in his description of the Roman Forum. "Tully was not so eloquent as thou, / Thou nameless column with the buried base!" he declares,[8] but the Column of Phocas was not "nameless" in Byron's time; its base had

in fact been cleared and its inscription revealed in 1813, during the excavations ordered by Napoleon.[9] The effortless discovery of this scarcely buried inscription, clearly identifying a long-disputed monument, exposed generations of Roman archaeologists to derision; Andrieux cites one of many pasquinate composed for the occasion,[10] and Hobhouse himself transcribes the entire epitaph in the Illustrations, adding in an ironic note, "It must appear strange that the simple expedient of digging to the base to look for an inscription, was delayed until 1813, on purpose, as it were, to give scope to further conjecture."[11]

Surely Byron himself was not unaware of the identity of the monument; and he must easily have anticipated the reader's confusion upon comparing his text with Hobhouse's footnote. Yet a "nameless" column is more "eloquent", for Byron's purposes, than one with a clearly legible inscription: and the following lines render this strategy explicit, as he continues, in a sweeping interrogation of the crazed landscape of the Forum, "Whose arch or pillar meets me in the face, / Titus' or Trajan's? No -- 'tis that of time: / Triumph, arch, pillar, all he doth displace / Scoffing..." (lines 986-89).

By inscribing the names of Titus and Trajan -- among the few "sure" points of reference in Roman topography -- only to erase them, Byron subverts the very notion of archaeological attribution. At such moments we glimpse the peculiar tension

between poet and commentator of Childe Harold -- the one intent on mystifying, suppressing, and obscuring the dimension of archaeological detail which the other seeks to elucidate.

"Chaos of ruins! who shall trace the void, / O'er the dim fragments cast a lunar light, / And say, 'here was, or is, ' where all is doubly night?" the poet declaims (lines 718-20), surveying the treacherous field of Roman ruins: "The ocean hath his chart, the stars their map,/ And knowledge spreads them on her ample lap; / But Rome is as the desert, where we steer / Stumbling over recollections..." (lines 724-27). The poet Byron embraces his "archaeological" ignorance even as he embraced the voluptuous image of the Venus de' Medici in the Uffizi of Florence: "Away! -- there need no words nor terms precise, / The paltry jargon of the marble mart / Where Pedantry gulls Folly -- we have eyes..." (lines 447-49); let antiquarians and connoisseurs "describe the indescribable: / I would not their vile breath should crisp the stream / Wherein that image shall forever dwell -- / The unruffled mirror of the loveliest dream / That ever left the sky on the deep soul to beam" (lines 472-77).

Byron's Italy is above all a gallery of private images and hallucinatory reflections -- a landscape overgrown and "fantastically tangled" where the soul may freely "meditate

amongst decay... a ruin amidst ruins..." (lines 218-19). Its sublime and singular beauty lies in the spectacle of its ruined grandeur: "Thy very weeds are beautiful, thy waste / More rich than other climes' fertility; / Thy wreck a glory, and they ruin graced / With an immaculate charm..." (lines 231-34).

Byron's Coliseum, significantly, "will not bear the brightness of the day" (lines 1285); it comes to life only with the rising of the moon, "when the stars twinkle through the loops of time" and the owl and cypress complete the "azure gloom of an Italian night," shadowing forth the private phantoms of the solitary visitant. Byron finds "a power / and magic in the ruin'd battlement" unrivalled by the "palace of the present hour;" in a passage reminiscent of Shelley's early impressions of Rome, recorded in the same year,[12] he describes the Palatine:

> Cypress and ivy, weed and wallflower grown
> Matted and mass'd together, hillocks heap'd
> On what were chambers, arch crush'd, column strown
> In fragments, choked up vaults, and frescos steep'd
> In subterranean damps where the owl peep'd,
> Deeming it midnight...
>
> (lines 955-62)

If for a generation of English Romantics the fascination with a morbid and nocturnal Italian landscape approached

the status of a cultural necrophilia, Lamartine's "Dernier chant du Pélérinage d'Harold," written in 1825 as a satirical sequel to Byron's poem, reveals a sharp disdain for the "terre des morts" and the poetry which it had engendered:[13]

> O terre du passé, que faire en tes collines?
> Quand on a mesuré tes arcs et tes ruines,
> Et fouillé quelques noms dans l'urne de la mort,
> On se retourne en vain vers les vivants; tout dort,
> . . . . . .
> Monument écroulé, que l'écho seul habite!
> Poussière du passé, qu'un vent stérile agite!
> Terre, où les fils n'ont plus le sang de leurs aïeux,
> Où sur le sol vieilli les hommes naissent vieux,
> . . . . . .
> Je vais chercher ailleurs (pardonne, ombre romaine!)
> Des hommes, et non pas de la poussière humaine!

Lamartine's invective suggests a lover's disenchantment with a woman discovered to be human; his return to Naples in 1820 as secretary of the French embassy had in fact shattered an adolescent myth of Italy as an enchanted ground, a picturesque refuge from politics: "Naples n'est plus Naples," he had written indignantly. "Entendez-vous faire des motions au pied du sacré tombeau de Virgile! Et voyez-vous des clubs de carbonari dans les temples de Baïa et de Pouzzoles!"[14]

His disillusionment might be said to mark the decline of an idolatrous love for Italy which had been shared by a generation of European Romantics. Yet this dissertation addresses a rather different problem. I do not pretend in

the following pages to offer an account of the rise and fall of Romantic Ruinenstimmung or even a reading of Byron's Childe Harold. My interest in Byron's text arose quite simply from its central image of the "marble wilderness" -- which now appears, better than any other, to illustrate a certain "poetry of ruins" which reached its climax during the first decades of the nineteenth century and found in Italy its privileged setting.[15] Byron's Fourth Canto seems then to exemplify a prevailing Romantic mode of "archaeological representation" which I will describe as elegiac -- for it portrays Italy as an object lesson in decay, and represents her ruins as the sign of an absence -- the vanishing monument of a glorious but irretrievable past.

If we have come to regard this elegiac mode as quintessentially "Romantic," it has obscured our awareness of alternative modes of archaeological representation in Italian texts of the same period. Readers of Byron, Shelley, and Keats -- and later of Hawthorne and James -- may need to be reminded that Rome was both more and less than a Piazza di Spagna, Palatine, and moonlit Coliseum; far from an hortus conclusus and a refuge from history, it was a landscape profoundly transformed by the political upheavals of the nineteenth century and a society which sought radical redefinition throught the struggles of the Risorgimento.

It is my contention then that during the formative years of the Italian Risorgimento there evolved, under the growing pressure toward unification, an explicitly political iconography of ruins which may be usefully contrasted with the elegiac mode of representation which we have come to recognize as "Romantic". More specifically, the ruins of Rome came to represent for diverse factions in Italy the image of an authentic historical and cultural tradition which it was now necessary to repossess. If the strategy of the Church, opposed to unification and reform, was essentially encomiastic -- devoted to the apology of power and the celebration of a providential continuity between classical and Christian civilization only briefly interrupted by the Napoleonic occupation -- the mood of the "democratic" opposition from Foscolo to Mazzini was exhortatory, demanding a search for Italy's authentic republican traditions beneath the rubble of throne and altar, and the excavation of civic and national ideals long suppressed by the Church.

Instead of focusing on the pathos of absence implicit in the ruined landscapes of Rome, both the Church and its democratic opposition celebrate antiquity as a palpable presence, daily restored through the agency of archaeology. Thus they concur, despite dramatic ideological differences, in invoking archaeology as a figure of political rehabilitation.

By recovering Italy's monuments, the shards and scattered fragments of its history, as emblems of survival rather than

decay, both factions implicitly reverse the valence of Romantic Ruinenstimmung. To the nostalgic evocation of an irretrievable past they substitute, respectively, the pious idealization of the present and the apocalyptic projection of a democratic future.

It is clear that the ideological duplicity of archaeological imagery is that of neoclassicism in general, which has been seen to range from a highly conservative cult of Academic authority (and of the political and cultural institutions which embody it) to the self-styled "revolutionary classicism" of David and other artists of late eighteenth-century France.[16] In this dissertation I propose to explore the ways in which the metaphor of archaeology informs contrasting modes of discourse during the formative years of the Risorgimento, and proves itself equally adaptable to the reinforcement and subversion of prevailing symbols of political authority.

The category of "archaeological representations" has served me well, allowing me to range from literal thematizations of archaeological artifacts and discoveries (such as Monti's "Prosopopea di Pericle," commemorating the discovery of a herm of Pericles and its collocation in the Vatican Museum) to texts more generally archaeological in inspiration and scope (including Gioberti's Del primato morale e civile degli italiani, a broadly "archaeological" appeal for a return to national origins). Only in the first chapter

do I discuss in any detail a "major" literary text canonized by the Italian critical tradition (Foscolo's "Dei Sepolcri"); instead I have tried to assemble an instructive sequence of minor texts which will initially be unfamiliar to most readers. This explains the need for copious quotation, for which I must here ask the reader's patience.

In extending the notion of "archaeological representations" to include these "trivial" texts and, occasionally, visual as well as verbal complexes of signs, I have profited from the insights not only of semiotics but of archaeology itself -- which learned to constitute itself as an independent discipline only by shifting its attention from the primary trophies of antiquity to the myriad, apparently insignificant objects lodged in forgotten crevasses -- indeed, from the removable material yield of its excavations to the network of relationships to be reconstructed from simple traces left in the soil.

I have largely restricted my discussion to the period of 1800-1848 because it appears to be the historical field in which the three conflicting modes of archaeological representation -- elegiac, encomiastic, and exhortatory -- first converge. In order to provide sufficient background for my discussion of papal classicism I found it necessary, however, to include the papacy of Pius VI (1775-99).

My periodization is designed to encompass both the neoguelph phase of the mid-Risorgimento, inspired by Gioberti's manifesto of 1843, and the democratic enthusiasms leading to the declaration of the Roman Republic in 1849. Finally, it is meant to designate a particularly productive phase in the history of archaeology -- roughly speaking, the interval between Winckelmann and Schliemann -- when in the wake of the spectacular discoveries of Herculaneum (1705) and Pompeii (1743), and with the alternating sponsorship of Napoleon and the Popes, excavation in Rome proceeded with renewed enthusiasm and growing technological sophistication.

My first chapter considers Foscolo's role in establishing an exhortatory discourse of the democratic opposition through his polemical revision in "Dei Sepolcri" (1807) of the genre of sepulchral poetry typified by Gray's "Elegy written in a Country Churchyard." By challenging an elegiac tradition of representation and investing its object with direct patriotic significance ("A egregie cose il forte animo accendono / l'urne de' forti"), Foscolo establishes a literary precedent of "politicizing" the monuments of Italy which will be remembered throughout the Risorgimento.

In response to a recent Napoleonic edict prohibiting burial within cities and restricting the practice of marking individual gravesites, Foscolo insists that the tombs of distinguished Italian

poets, statesmen and patriots (such as the group in Santa Croce) must be safeguarded and maintained because they concretely represent an illustrious genealogy of the Italian nation and can teach the present generation to emulate acts of filial service to the patria which would be discouraged by the forces opposed to unification.

In a provocative essay on Foscolo's "Dei Sepolcri" Eugenio Donato has noted that the Risorgimento "created the critical concepts by which it is commonly described when, in a self-reflective motion, it viewed itself...as a movement capable of generating a man-willed history."[17] By choosing for itself such ancestors as Dante and Machiavelli, the Risorgimento attempted to "assume its own historical paternity, doing away with ordinary historical genealogical principles."

Foscolo's adoption of Dante and Machiavelli would be reenacted a generation later by Mazzini's own adoption of Foscolo as a spiritual father. Throughout the Risorgimento the search for the authentic ancestor and self-creation in the image of an idealized origin prove to be recurrent themes.[18] The emphasis on successful genealogical projection and reunion of father and son implicitly contests the conventional personification of Italy as the "Niobe of Nations" deprived by the gods of her children -- an image exploited not only by Byron but also by Madame de Staël (whose

Corinne, fated to die childless despite her love for the English Count Nelvil, spends her last desolate days in Florence brooding before the statue of Niobe in the Uffizi.)[19]

If the image most readily associated with a "poetry of ruins" is the figure of the poet himself, seated upon a fallen column to "meditate amongst decay" (a posture increasingly conventionalized, after Tischbein's famous portrait of "Goethe in the Roman Campagna" /1787/, with the rise of photography -- where it becomes quite literally a pose and the antique column a studio prop), [20] Foscolo's stance may be said to be antithetical. Not accidentally it instead recalls the figure described by Thomas Greene, from the frontispiece of a Renaissance pamphlet on Roman antiquities, of a "nude geometer standing among the shattered stones holding aloft a sphere, the symbol of perfect form."[21]

Foscolo's humanism in "Dei Sepolcri" in fact resembles that of the Renaissance in its irrepressible "will to form." If, as Greene argues, during the Renaissance a formalizing architectural conjecture, a desire to reconstruct an original plan, became a "constitutive function of the perception" of ruins ("it is as though the encounter with the fragmentary and the formless automatically produced an answering movement toward form")[22] Foscolo's text represents an analogous response to the moral and political fragmentation of Italy in 1807. Into the

disordered field of history the poet introduces not one but many idealized figures, the monumental phallic projections of his sepolcri.

My second chapter turns from the focus on a single text to an account of broader patterns of papal patronage of archaeology in the early Ottocento. Here I try to reconstruct from the debris of its official literature -- the volumes of its proceedings, addresses, addenda, anecdotes and marginalia -- an image of the archaeological "profession" in papal Rome and an appreciation of the basic strategies of its encomiastic discourse.

I begin by discussing a prototypical text of this genre, Monti's "Prosopopea di Pericle" of 1779. A brief account of the growth of the Pio-Clementine collections at the Vatican, the vicissitudes of the Napoleonic era, and the "archaeological" rhetoric of the restored Papacy (as exemplified by two monumental orations, Canova's "Prolusione" of 1816 and Angelo Mai's "Ragionamento" of 1837) complete this chapter, along with a discussion of a series of Belli's sonnets in dialect which satirize the archaeologist from the view-point of the popolano.

My third chapter also attempts to marshal a group of disparate texts, although it focuses primarily on the figures of Gioberti and Mazzini for their role in shaping the two schools of Risorgimento thought most important at mid-century.

Although each directs national aspirations toward the repossession of Rome, Gioberti does so by proposing a federation of Italian states under the leadership of the Pope, while Mazzini calls for the abolition of the temporal power and the excavation of more distant republican origins and ideals long buried by the Church.

Ancillary texts in this chapter include Charles Didier's novel, Rome souterraine (1841) and Garibaldi's Clelia: Il governo del monaco (1870), both of which develop the metaphor of excavation as political subversion and through their strategic topographical focus on specific landmarks of the ancient city contribute to an Italian re-vision of the possibilities of Rome.

Mazzini's exhortation to the Italians to reclaim custody of a cultural patrimony usurped by the Church or dispersed in private collections (especially abroad), invites me to mention here the figurative tradition of Roman capricci or ruin-fantasies in which Piranesi and Pannini excelled. If the genre of the idealized classical landscape must be traced beyond them to Claude Lorraine -- who composed his pastoral views with an eye to "interest" rather than archaeological accuracy and "did not hesitate," as Starobinski notes, "to erect the Arch of Constantine on the banks of a river"[23] -- the arbitrary re-arrangement of Roman monuments approaches dizzying new proportions in the Italian painters.

Particularly in a work such as Pannini's "Capriccio of Roman

Ruins and Sculpture with Figures" (Yale Art Gallery), the distortion of actual perspectives and grouping of distant monuments together on a single canvas seems designed to meet the needs of the élite tourist industry of the late eighteenth century. Like the "gallery" paintings equally popular during the period (depicting private collections of painting and sculpture in a domestic interior), these open-air museum views played to a fantasy of possession and manipulation on the part of the collector.

The wealthy English tourist could easily acquire a variety of classical artifacts during the course of a Grand Tour -- broken bas-reliefs, capitals and cornices, perhaps even a decent statue -- but the buildings themselves were only in rare cases removable. Reproductions such as Pannini's "Capriccio," far from offending the antiquarian sensibilities of the patron by their bold inaccuracies, appeared to gratify instead an irreverent instinct of possession. The skewed panoramas -- each unique in its chosen distortion of a familiar Roman view -- offered the ancient city, as it were, to a series of private viewings. These vedute represented a playground of the collector's desire; like the immensely popular landscape gardens of the same period, they assembled a tiny empire of architectural images within an illusionistic frame.

This metaphorical appropriation of Italian artifacts was of course less alarming than the actual depredation of its archaeological sites to which Mazzini called the nation's attention. Throughout

Europe the controversy over the Elgin Marbles raised the moral question of the ownership of ancient works of art; in "The Curse of Minerva" and in Canto II of Childe Harold (stanzas x-xv), Byron scourged Elgin for appropriating from a prostrate people the treasures of its "mouldering shrines."[24]

. . . . . .

In conclusion I should note that my chapters make no attempt at symmetry. Chapter I, as I have explained, deals at close range with a single text, while Chapter II projects against a distant screen (crowded with the images of obscure papal antiquaries and philologists) a broader narrative of cultural history. Chapter III, balancing the claims of Gioberti and Mazzini, has perhaps the least rewarding task of all. Yet the shifting rhythms are in part deliberate. Following the example of Robert Rosenblum, I have tried to do justice to a complex historical period by freely shifting both voice and vantage-point, hoping to "undermine the ostensible clarity of the usual historical presentation of the period by offering, so to speak, a Cubist view."[25]

The danger of such an approach is that of dispersion — but it is a risk preferable to the illusory rewards of a "single-point" perspective. I realize that much of my work here could be extended and developed: this seems fortunate, for had I exhausted my subject within these pages it would in retrospect have seemed small indeed. If I manage instead to suggest a need to move

beyond the limits of time and space presented by this thesis, I will be satisfied; for I will have constituted my theme as an object of inquiry and prepared a site to be developed in future study.

Chapter I. "L'urne de' forti:" Archaeology in Foscolo's "Dei Sepolcri"

One might easily question the immediate relevance of a text like "Dei Sepolcri" to the concerns of this thesis. After all, to be painfully literal, Foscolo's poem deals with tombs and with their nature and function in society, rather than with specifically archaeological objects or sites. The historical occasion given as pretext for the poem ("Pur nuova legge...,"[1] referring to the 1806 Napoleonic edict of Saint Cloud, prohibiting burial within cities and at least limiting the possibility of marking individual gravesites), was a fresh political development, a fatto di cronaca. The reference to Milan's failure to honor Parini's gravesite ("A lui non ombre pose / tra le sue mura la città lasciva / d'evirati cantori allettatrice, / non pietra, non parola..," 72-75),[2] was also relatively recent, and equally polemical. Foscolo's concern is with the immediate moral and political prospects for a society deprived of the right to bury and honor its dead. The question of classical archaeology would appear quite remote.

Yet in this chapter I hope to show the relevance of Foscolo's poem to my archaeological theme on at least two levels. First, by challenging an elegiac tradition of representation (here, the English sepulchral poetry of Hervey, Young, and Gray) and investing

its object with a new political significance, Foscolo establishes the precedent of "politicizing" the monument. The effects of this precedent in the literature of the Risorgimento may be expected to extend well beyond the class of objects literally thematized in the poem. If Foscolo proposes the tomb of Machiavelli as a national shrine and urges Italians to honor it and to emulate the virtues which it commemorates ("A egregie cose il forte animo accendono / l'urne de' forti," 151-52), this can easily encourage a similar re-appraisal of other objects and sites representing different aspects, phases, and personalities in Italian history. Foscolo's tombs and the ruins of Rome potentially serve an analogous function as icons of the Risorgimento movement -- symbolic "props" and images to aid the rediscovery of a national identity without which political unity would be meaningless.

But even at an immediate textual level Foscolo's poem deals with the theme of archaeology -- a point which deserves clarification. The issue arises in the second half of the poem, and in fact sufficiently confuses the "plot" to provoke complaints of "obscurity" from a variety, and perhaps a majority, of critics.[3]

In his reply to one unfavorable review, the Lettera a Monsieur Guill... su la sua incompetenza a giudicare i poeti italiani,[4] Foscolo explains the function of the archaeological imagery

within the text, and claims that rather than a show of useless erudition it is a major source of the poem's power. Furthermore, he locates the poem's climax and single most "sublime" effect in the freshly unearthed tomb of Ilus, where the imagery of tombs and of archaeology are — like the layers of history themselves, in any vertical section of soil — dramatically superimposed. By comparing the arguments of Foscolo and Guillon and by systematically tracing the theme of archaeology through the poem, I hope to raise many of the issues which will concern me throughout this thesis.

I will first consider the relationship of Foscolo's text to the sepulchral tradition which precedes it. The most famous description of this relationship is found in Foscolo's note # 17 to the Lettera a Monsieur Guill...; but before turning to any such explicit statements of the author's poetic and ideological intent I prefer to discuss the direct evidence in the text.

Of the major eighteenth-century English poems which had popularized the thematic of tombs, Thomas Gray's "Elegy written in a Country Churchyard"[5] is the one most explicitly recalled by Foscolo's poem. That "Dei Sepolcri" results from a conscious polemical engagement with Gray's text, is implied by the intertextual references which frame the first section of Foscolo's poem (lines 1-50).

"All'ombra de' cipressi e dentro l'urne / confortate di pianto è forse il sonno / della morte men duro?" Foscolo begins. The metonymic use of "urna" to signify "grave" or "tomb" -- which was in fact frequent in the Latin elegiac poets,[6] long before being canonized by the eighteenth-century sepulchral tradition -- nonetheless intensifies the sense of an echo from the "elegy," where a similar question is posed: "Can storied urn or animated bust / Back to its mansion call the fleeting breath?" (41-42).

This reference to Gray has long been acknowledged and is part of the standard critical apparatus of "Dei Sepolcri." In addition to Gray's lines, editors frequently quote Cesarotti's 1772 translation: "...Ah l'animato busto / o l'urna effigiata al primo albergo / può richiamar lo spirito fugace?"[7] This reference (unless provided for the convenience of Italian readers) is not strictly necessary; though the existence of such a prestigious contemporary translation testifies to Gray's reputation in Italy, there is no need to prove the availability of that translation to Foscolo, who at the time of writing "Dei Sepolcri" was himself an accomplished translator of Sterne.[8]

In any discursive context, the question echoed from Gray would seem inevitably "rhetorical." It is a truism that no monument, epitaph, or ritual can literally restore life to the dead. That both poems resist this logic by defending the right

of the dead to representation and commemoration in poetry (Foscolo's Ciceronian epigraph, "Deorum manium iura sancta sunto," could have served equally to Gray, who "mindful of the unhonored dead, / Dost in these lines their artless tale relate"), indicates a deeper philosophical affinity between the two texts than would appear from their explicit ideological differences. Perhaps that affinity could be described most simply as the faith in the mediating value of poetry, which is implicit in every poetic act.

Yet in the context of this thesis it is important to measure the distance which separates "Dei Sepolcri" from the sepulchral tradition out of which it arises, and to characterize the "difference" with which Gray's echo resonates through Foscolo's text.

The rhetorical function of the question ("Can storied urn...?") in the "Elegy" is to assert the legitimacy of a poetry devoted to a humble milieu ("the short and simple annals of the poor"), by denying the privileged status of an heroic idiom serving the wealthy and powerful:

> The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,
> And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,

Await alike the inevitable hour.
The paths of glory lead but to the grave.

Nor you, ye Proud, impute to these the fault,
If memory o'er their tomb no trophies raise,
When through the long-drawn aisle and fretted vault
The pealing anthem swells the note of praise. (33-40)

In this lofty Gothic cathedral, rejected by Gray as both a figure and setting for his poetry, the reader recognizes Foscolo's Santa Croce, celebrated at the center of "Dei Sepolcri" and traversed there in solemn procession; as each station of a civic via crucis is revisited, the "pealing anthem" of Foscolo's Latinate and erudite verse "swells the note of praise."

In "Dei Sepolcri," then, the question ("All'ombra de' cipressi e dentro l'urne / confortate di pianto è forse il sonno / della morte men duro?") serves an entirely different rhetorical function from that in Gray's text. By introducing a discussion of the objective futility of tombs (which passes from the double interrogative of lines 1-3 and 3-15, to the declarative "conclusion" of lines 16-22), it generates a radically pessimistic proposition ("Vero è ben, Pindemonte! anche la Speme, / ultima Dea, fugge i sepolcri..."), which it becomes the business of the poem to refute. The heroic scale of the poet's eventual

claims for the subjective value of tomb-worship to the community is dialectically implicit in the apparently ineluctable pessimism of its premise. In both poems, then, the question is part of a complex argumentative strategy; but the "Elegy" argues in praise of obscurity, while "Dei Sepolcri" defends the praise of famous men.

Thematically, of course, neither of these arguments is new. In fact, the "Elegy" and "Dei Sepolcri" might be said to represent two ancient and perenially opposed literary genres: the pastoral "retirement poem" and the militant poema civile (which is in turn a structural descendant of the "deliberative" or exhortatory classical oration). Idealization of the secluded rural life, "far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife," is a topos of the pastoral tradition -- as are the praise of a life close to nature and conforming to its rhythms (lines 16-20)[9], description of the joys of family life (21-24)[10], and the praise of manual labor (25-28)[11].

The regret for talents undiscovered (45-48)[12] and beauties unrevealed (53-56)[13] is compensated by gratitude for the freedom from corruption in a community both deprived and protected

by its "destiny obscure" (65-69).[14] The communal ideal of the aurea mediocritas is substituted for the cult of individual distinction; and fear of the corruption inherent in public, political life leads the poet to idealize a sheltering prospect of anonymity ("Along the cool sequestered vale of life / They kept the noiseless tenor of their way, 75-76).

Foscolo's challenge to this ideological position is immediately clear. The sepolcri thematized in his poem are those of famous men, who have made unique contributions to literature (Dante, Petrarch, Alfieri), science (Galileo), art (Michelangelo), political theory (Machiavelli), and war (the Greeks at the Battle of Marathon; Achilles; Ajax; Hector). Hence the importance in his text of proper names, which occur in Gray's poem only to signify an absence, a destiny unfulfilled: "Some mute inglorious Milton here may rest, / Some Cromwell guiltless of his country's blood," 59-60).

"Me ad evocar gli eroi chiamin le Muse" (228), writes Foscolo, urged on by his own poetic ambition, his "desio d'onore." Furthermore, the function of the sepolcri themselves is to generate emulation of those heroic acts which they commemorate ("A egregie cose il forte animo accendono / l'urne de' forti... e bella / e santa fanno al peregrin la terra / che le ricetta..." 151-54), just as the contemplation of one tomb

(for example, that of Michelangelo, "che nuovo Olimpo / alzò in Roma a' Celesti") seems within the text to generate analogically the vision of another (that of Galileo, "chi vide / sotto l'etereo padiglion rotarsi / più mondi, e il sole irradiarli immoto") and still another ("onde all'Anglo che tanta ala vi stese / sgombrò primo le vie del firmamento," i.e., Newton, born in the year of Galileo's death).

Foscolo's appeal to individual heroism is motivated by an immediate political concern ("Pur nuova legge impone oggi i sepolcri / fuor de' guardi pietosi, e il nome a' morti / contende," 51-52). To those who might respond to his exhortation he implies the reward of posthumous fame (A' generosi / giusta di glorie dispensiera è Morte," 220-21). All these themes place "Dei Sepolcri" squarely in the tradition of the Italian poesia civile most conspicuously inaugurated by Petrarch's Canzone 128, "Italia mia." Foscolo's text represents a concrete attempt to emulate Petrarch's achievement -- to inaugurate a modern school of political poetry ("A noi / morte apparecchi riposato albergo / ove una volta la fortuna cessi / dalle vendette, e l'amistà raccolga / non di tesori eredità, ma caldi / sensi e di liberal carme l'esempio," 145-50, emphasis mine), by uniting Petrarch's own legacy with a modern tradition polemically revised.

Foscolo rejects Gray's characterization of the role of the poet in society as well as the symbolic valence of the central image of his text (Foscolo's sepolcri are portrayed as continually generating life rather than elegiac meditations on death). For the figure of the poet in the "Elegy" stands in an ambivalent and curiously passive relationship to the society which he portrays; he is a sympathetic observer but necessarily, and somewhat complacently, apart. Foscolo too characterizes himself as an exile (a "fuggitivo," forced to lead a "vita raminga"); this is a major autobiographical theme in all his writings. But at the time of writing "Dei Sepolcri" he considers his exile a rational political choice, which will enable him to represent the Italian people more effectively and which will therefore be compensated by posthumous fame -- and an epitaph clearly writ in marble.

Gray's poet however, in fantasizing his own death and final, peaceful absorption into the community which he has described (with the actual moment of his death gracefully elided and observed by no one), reveals that a vital "difference" remains -- both in the perceptions of the "hoary-headed swain" who tells his story to the passerby, and in the words of his own epitaph: "And Melancholy marked him for her own."

The implication is that the poet can never be fully integrated into the community, in life or in death. He leads a marginal, strange, and solitary life, "muttering his wayward fancies" on his "customed hill."

Such lengthy comparison of these two poems would hardly be justified by the single intertextual reference given so far in this chapter. Actually the Italian poem's most explicit reference to the "Elegy" occurs in lines 49-50 ("Nè passeggier solingo oda il sospiro /sic/ / che dal tumulo a noi manda Natura;" cf. Gray, "Ev'n from the tomb the voice of Nature cries," 91). This citation itself has a complicated genealogy within Foscolo's earlier work. As editors point out, an Italian version of the phrase appears in the Ultime lettere di Jacopo Ortis ("Geme la Natura perfin nella tomba...")[15]. A Latin version, taken from Costa's translation of the "Elegy", enjoys the strategic position of epigraph in that text: "Naturae clamat ab ipso / vox tumulo."

What especially interests me in the various metamorphoses of Gray's phrase is its slight alteration in lines 49-50 of "Dei Sepolcri," where "sospiro" is substituted for the English "cries," the Italian verb "gemere," and the Latin verb "clamare."

Whatever Foscolo's intention, the effect is slightly ironic. As he prepares to move from the general philosophical meditation

of the first section (lines 1-50) -- which deals mainly with the private, subjective needs of individuals and does not yet substantially question Gray's orientation -- to the body of his political argument, introduced by the issue of the "nuova legge," Foscolo takes leave of Gray's text with one slightly sentimental look back (cf. Gray's own "lingering look behind" of line 88). His "sospiro" attenuates the one truly fervent moment in the "Elegy" ("Ev'n in our ashes live their wonted fires"!), and reserves for his own poetic climax of line 283 the expressive violence of the verb "gemere": "Gemeranno gli antri / secreti, e tutta narrerà la tomba." Not the voice of an unspecified "Nature" interests Foscolo, but the historical narrative of a fallen nation which has again been found.

All this textual analysis has perhaps earned me the right to turn to Foscolo's own statement of his poetic and ideological intentions in "Dei Sepolcri," which I have held as strictly classified evidence up to this point. As I mentioned before, the most famous statement of this sort is found in note #17 to Foscolo's Lettera a Monsieur Guill... . Since this note will not make a great deal of sense out of context, I will first quote in its entirety the specific charge to which Foscolo's note responds. Guillon, halfway through his paraphrase of the poem, is discussing

lines 151-end. With its abrupt transitions and rapid changes of scene, this section lends itself particularly to Guillon's characteristic tone of mock dismay. The poet's journey from Santa Croce to the plains of Troy is passed over in almost antic review:

> Ed eccolo in quella chiesa fiorentina ove sono i mausolei di N. Macchiavelli, di Michel-Angelo, di Galileo, ec. E l'urna d'Alfieri riceve i suoi più teneri e rispettosi omaggi. Quindi ad un tratto ritrocede fino ai sepolcri degli Ateniesi nel campo di Maratona, ove aggiungendo le proprie finzioni alle favolose tradizioni che ci lasciò Pausania su questo Ceramico, ei vi ode non solo i nitriti dei cavalli, ma ancora delle Parche il canto. Questa è forse la prima volta che si sono intese cantar le Parche. Ritrocedendo sempre rapidamente, ei s'inoltra nei tempi favolosi della Grecia. Egli è alla tomba d'Achille e di Patroclo; quindi passa a quella d'Ajace al promontorio Reteo, poi nella Troade al sepolcro d'Ilo, antico Dardanide. Young, Hervey, Gray non fecer tanti viaggi; essi si contentarono di meditar sui sepolcri, che essi medesimi ed i loro compatriotti avean sotto gli occhi; e disser cose più commoventi, e molto più consolanti, perocchè tutti i loro canti sono rallegrati della speranza della futura risurrezione, della quale il signor F. non dice cosa alcuna. (p. 507)

This playful passage come to rest on a highly serious point -- the accusation of paganism. This was of course a standard topos of the ongoing polemic against literary classicisms; but it betrays particular anxiety here, since the critic correctly perceives that the only "resurrection" in which Foscolo has faith, is the political resurrection of Italy.

Hence the "voyage" metaphor, derived from the literal voyage

mapped out in the text (an itinerary which is in fact difficult even for sympathetic readers to follow). For Guillon the "voyage" signifies poetic and ideological deviance; it is literally a departure from acceptable precedent and a violation of the boundaries clearly set up by a Christian and elegiac tradition. Guillon's repeated complaints about useless "erudition" and complicated itineraries through the Aegean mask a real fear of Foscolo's ideological trespass.

Though his critique purports to be largely stylistic, this greater concern is everywhere transparent. In censoring the macabre image of the decapitated thief, perhaps thrown with Parini into a common grave (lines 75-77), Guillon appeals alternately to poetic precedent (through citations of Virgil, Hervey, and Horace, taken out of context and, according to Foscolo, totally misunderstood) and philosophical decorum:

> L'immagine poi della testa insanguinata di un ladro giustiziato, è troppo stentata, troppo ispida, e di gusto troppo cattivo, per poter scusarla col quidlibet audendi d'Orazio. Essa ripugna, principalmente in un poema che non deve respirar altro che una dolce, religiosa e consolante malinconia. Non c'è alcuno fra i poeti, che hanno parlato di sepolcri, che abbia usato un'immagine sì disgustosa. La loro sensibilità era sempre accompagnata dalla sana e verace filosofia.

Similarly, his crude appraisal of the poem's structure seems

motivated by fear of Foscolo's "voyage." Having completed his paraphrase of the plot -- among whose many inaccuracies I would point out the misreading of the final section, which he attributes to the voice of the poet rather than that of the character, Cassandra -- Guillon summarizes:

> Sembraci che sia questo un fine ben brusco in un'opera di sentimento. Si direbbe che un simil soggetto avesse troppo stancato la lira del poeta, per poter avanzar di più. L'andamento del suo poema era già diventato penoso quando la sensibilità non animava più la sua musa; e dessa aveva già cessato di spargere le sue bellezze nei di lui versi, allorchè egli dai sepolcri presenti si era trasportato a quelli dei tempi eroici della Grecia. Questa transizione l'ha condotto a dei dettagli d'erudizione; ora l'erudizione inaridisce il sentimento; e quindi ne viene che questa seconda parte della sua elegia, che ha una certa disparità colla prima, interessa molto meno la nostra anima, e convien molto meno a quella dolce voluttà ch'essa trova ad intenerirsi sulle ceneri dei nostri simili. (p. 508, emphasis mine)

Foscolo's letter of rebuttal works at many levels; but I am most interested here, as I promised, in the footnote which specifically refutes the charge first quoted. Foscolo writes:

> Per censurare i mezzi d'un libro bisogna saperne lo scopo. Young ed Hervey meditarono sui sepolcri da cristiani: i loro libri hanno per iscopo la rassegnazione alla morte e il conforto d'un'altra vita: ed a' predicatori protestanti bastavano le tombe de' protestanti. Gray scrisse da filosofo; la sua elegia ha per iscopo di persuadere l'oscurità della vita e la tranquillità della morte; quindi gli basta un cimitero campestre. L'autore considera i

> sepolcri politicamente; ed ha per iscopo di animare l'emulazione politica degli italiani con gli esempi delle nazione che onorano la memoria e i sepolcri degli uomini grandi: però dovea viaggiare più di Young, d'Hervey e di Gray, e predicare non la resurrezione de' corpi, ma delle virtù. (p. 518, emphasis in original)

Clearly the poet's italics are significant.[16] Foscolo's strategy here is that of the décadent who defiantly adopts the language of his critics, converting a term of opprobrium into a positive metaphor of his own activity.[17] For Guillon the "voyage" had signified moral digression, aberration, error, and trespass; it compromised the poem's unity; it was a departure from acceptable precedent, a wandering away from the center.

Yet in the act of clarifying the political intent of the poem -- surely the crux of his defense of "Dei Sepolcri" -- Foscolo meets and accepts the metaphor of the "voyage," not as an image of evasion or digression but as necessary exile and search for a political poetry adequate to Italy's historical circumstances. The new law literally made obsolete the privileged, central spaces in which communities had honored their dead and preserved continuity with the past -- spaces out of which a poeta civile might speak. Neither the village camposanto nor the cathedral, its urban equivalent, was to be allowed to retain its function as civil shrine and burial-

ground. With this decree it seemed that Italy's humiliation was complete. The dispersion of bodies in unmarked communal graves reflected Italy's own geographic and political dismemberment, its loss of an identity and a name. A writer could not longer afford to remain at home: he must risk a voyage, ranging far in search of exemplary historical and mythical sites long consecrated to a community and guarded with the filial pietas which Italy had forgotten.

It is thus that Foscolo's search for sepolcri becomes archaeological. In imaginative response to the real constraints of contemporary Italy, the "fugitive" poet reaches back into a heroic and mythical past hoping to demonstrate its essential truth. If the setting of the poem shifts rapidly, it is because the moral basis on which Italy rests is itself continually shifting,and the poet must look farther to find a stable and secure ground for his poem — a plot of "pious earth" once designated as sacred, long "cultivated" as a shrine, and now perhaps overgrown.

Commentators generally note that Foscolo's account of the origin and function of tombs as a social institution ("Dal dì che nozze e tribunali ed are...," lines 91-103) is derived from Vico's Scienza nuova. The reader is reminded of Vico's theory of corsi

e ricorsi in human history by Foscolo's suggestion of the periodic rediscovery of "lost" civilizations -- which is in part inevitable and wholly fortuitous, predestined yet disbelieved (as illustrated by the archaeological fantasy of Homer's discovery of Troy, which Foscolo not accidentally attributes in the poem to Cassandra), and in part a measure of human perspicacity rather than blindness -- a reward for deliberate exploration and research.

Troy surfaces significantly in the poem as the primary archaeological scene, continually and ritually rediscovered: "E oggi nella Troade inseminata / eterno splende a' peregrin un loco"(235-36). The reference, as Foscolo's own notes show, is to Lechevalier's recent expedition to Troy.[18] Foscolo not only credits Lechevalier's claim to have identified the ruins of the tomb of Ilus, legendary ancestor of the Trojans, but celebrates this discovery with great ceremony in his poem -- finally staging his own rhetorical climax on that same multi-layered and historically "overdetermined" site.

As the final Homeric fantasy shows, if Troy is the primary scene of archaeology, it is at the same time the primary scene of poetry itself;[19] and specifically, of the heroic, political poetry which Foscolo would like to write. The metaphor of archaeology provides access to heroic argument unavailable in a

contemporary context; at the same time it concretely represents the search for that political content, distant, submerged and hidden from public view.

The metaphors of the "voyage" and of archaeology appear to me then to be interdependent and necessary chiavi di lettura for the second half of "Dei Sepolcri." I will try to show this by systematically plotting the poet's journey from Santa Croce to the site of Troy.

"A egregie cose il forte animo accendono / l'urne de' forti, o Pindemonte, e bella / e santa fanno al peregrin la terra / che le ricetta." In turning away from the images and icons of Napoleonic Italy to those of Santa Croce at precisely the center of his poem, Foscolo acquires the perspective of the "peregrin," in search of specific, chosen symbols in a landscape. The visual language of the "bello italo regno" is deceptive; signs of life and death are reversed in ironic contrapposto (military decorations in life denote a "sepoltura già vivo," while sepulchral monuments are not uplifting but sinister -- "inaugurate immagini dell'Orco"). The pomp of this society's outward forms -- its ceremony, statuary, funerary architecture -- can not, for Foscolo, mask its moral corruption.

In contrast, Santa Croce is a welcome and sanctified enclosure. It preserves the tombs of Italian heroes -- Machiavelli,

Michelangelo, Galileo, Alfieri -- from violation by the invaders who have despoiled Italy of all but its memories:

> Ma piu` beata /Firenze/ che in un tempio accolte
> serbi l'itale glorie, uniche forse,
> dacchè le mal vietate Alpi e l'alterna
> onnipotenza delle umane sorti
> armi e sostanze t'invadeano ed are
> e patria e, tranne la memoria, tutto. (180-85)

A fantasy of the ultimate violation of the sepulchres themselves appears in Ortis (1802), in a famous passage that begins as a topographical "prospect" sketch from a vantage point among the "mal vietate Alpi" themselves:

> Alfine eccomi in pace! -- Che pace? stanchezza, sopore di sepoltura. Ho vagato per queste montagne. Non v'è albero, non tugurio, non erba. Tutto è bronchi, aspri e lividi macigni; e qua e là molte croci che segnano il sito de' viandanti assassinati. -- Là giù è il Roja, un torrente che quando si disfanno i ghiacci precipita dalle viscere delle Alpi, e per gran tratto ha spaccato in due questa immensa montagna. V'è un ponte presso alla marina che ricongiunge il sentiero. Mi sono fermato su quel ponte, e ho spinto gli occhi sin dove può giungere la vista; e percorrendo due argini di altissime rupi e di burroni cavernosi, appena si vedono imposte su le cervici dell'Alpi altre Alpi di neve che s'immergono nel Cielo e tutto biancheggia e si confonde -- da quelle spalancate Alpi cala e passeggia ondeggiando la tramontana, e per quelle fauci invade il Mediterraneo. La Natura siede qui solitaria e minacciosa, e caccia da questo suo regno tutti i viventi.
> I tuoi confini, o Italia, son questi! ma sono tutto dì sormontati d'ogni parte dalla pertinace avarizia delle nazioni. Ove sono dunque i tuoi figli? Nulla ti manca se non la forza della concordia. Allora io

> spenderei gloriosamente la mia vita infelice per te: ma che può fare il solo mio braccio e le nuda mia voce? — Ov'è l'antico terrore della tua gloria? Miseri! noi andiamo ogni dì memorando la libertà e la gloria degli avi, le quali quanto più splendono tanto più scoprono la nostra abbietta schiavitù. Mentre invochiamo quelle ombre magnanime, i nostri nemici calpestano i loro sepolcri. E verrà giorno che noi perdendo e le sostanze, e l'intelletto, e la voce, sarem fatti simili agli schiavi domestici degli antichi, o trafficati come i miseri Negri, e vedremo i nostri padroni schiudere le tombe e disseppellire, e disperdere al vento le ceneri di que' Grandi per annientarne le ignude memorie: poichè oggi i nostri fasti ci sono cagione di superbia, ma non eccitamento dall'antico letargo. (pp. 160-161, emphasis mine)

This passage interests me not only for its direct thematic connection to "Dei Sepolcri," but as an illustration of the continued importance of the Alps as a political symbol in the Petrarchan tradition of poesia civile. In the canzone "Italia mia" Petrarch had grounded Italy's geographic identity in its clearly delineated northern border: "Ben provide Natura al nostro stato, / quando de l'Alpi schermo / pose fra noi et la tedesca rabbia."[20] This became a topos of the Petrarchan tradition; Gavazzeni cites the sonnet of the sixteenth-century poet Galeazzo di Tarsia, "Già corsi l'Alpi gelide e canute," and notes that it was anthologized by Foscolo in his Vestigi della storia del sonetto italiano.[21]

When discussing the topography of "Dei Sepolcri," particularly in the context of European Romantic poetry -- for which the Alps become the prototypical symbol of the sublime -- it is important to

remember that for Foscolo the political connotations of this landscape are never lost. His oleographic description (à la Salvator Rosa) of the desolate mountain pass, complete with crashing waterfall, cliffs, caverns, and the crosses of "viandanti assassinati," in turn generates a political meditation. The sensuous enjoyment of landscape, the visual exploration of a terrain, appear a stimulus to Jacopo's political eloquence.

Having already digressed this far, I may as well note that the "eloquence" of this speech inspired Leopardi's own canzone "All'Italia," according to the Zibaldone.[22] Along with the fragment from Simonides' poem on the defense of Thermopylae (from Diodorus's Latin translation), "La vostra tomba è un'ara" (Leopardi, line 125), Foscolo's phrase, "Dove sono i tuoi figli?" helped to generate Leopardi's text and like a fossil is now found stranded there (line 41).

To return to "Dei Sepolcri": If Florence is the true center — geographic, political, linguistic, cultural — of Italy (and its privileged centrality is celebrated in the poem through the topos of the locus amoenus, lines 165-172), Santa Croce, temple of the "itale glorie," is the true center of Florence. The focus on the cathedral as a symbolic expression of a nation's history reminds us inevitably, in a nineteenth-century context, of Hugo's Notre-Dame de Paris of 1831. In that novel Hugo describes the cathedral as

a "chronicle in stone," a concrete, collective representation of a nation's history to be "read" in three dimensions, along the slow axes of its construction and gradual interment by the rising tide of the city's pavement. He compares the great cathedrals to organic, geological formations: "le dépôt que laisse une nation; les entassements que font les siècles; le résidu des évaporations successives de la société humaine... Chaque flot du temps superpose son alluvion, chaque race dépose sa couche sur le monument, chaque individu apporte sa pierre."[23]

In Hugo the sense of a "living" architecture is much stronger than in Foscolo -- the cathedral of Notre Dame is almost perversely animated through the swarm of descriptive detail (all archaeologically authenticated through Hugo's consultation with experts in Paris); and the hunchback Quasimodo, ranging freely over the façade and through the city, seems a gargoyle detached from that structure. Foscolo's Santa Croce is schematic by comparison, and his own "bird's-eye view" of surrounding Florence obviously more modest than Hugo's famed reconstruction of fifteenth-century Paris from the towers of Notre Dame. But if Foscolo does not share Hugo's penetrating eye for architecture and urban landscape, he is equally concerned with the issue of restoration -- the need for preserving the integrity of the monument. And the image of Santa Croce, last temple of the "itale glorie" left standing in a land despoiled by

the enemy, provides a dramatic visual focus in the text comparable in function to Hugo's Notre Dame.

In "Dei Sepolcri" Santa Croce is the symbol of a cultural edifice and collective identity which must be preserved. Each of its tombs commemorates an individual whose contribution is an inalienable part of Italy's heritage. These tombs personalize the concept of history and make it accessible to the common man who comes to the cathedral to worship, just as its frescoes traditionally taught Biblical stories to the illiterate. None of the niches provided in the cathedral must be left empty. Hence Foscolo's anger at Parini's anonymous burial in Milan, and his approval of Alfieri's prompt burial in Santa Croce, with full ceremony and the promise of a tomb sculpted by Antonio Canova.[24] These measures assured that his memory would be honored and his effigy installed in its proper place among the marmi where he himself had often sought inspiration.

Yet the image of Alfieri's death-mask -- its features frozen between hope and certain knowledge of death, as if an emblem of the oxymoron informing the entire text -- leads to the poem's rapid dislocation:

> qui posava l'austero; e avea sul volto
> il pallor della morte e la speranza.

Con questi grandi abita eterno: e l'ossa
fremono amor di patria. Ah sì! da quella
religiosa pace un Nume parla:
e nutria contro a' Persi in Maratona
ove Atene sacrò tombe a' suoi prodi,
la virtù greca e l'ira. (194-201)

We are transported in mid-line from the interior of Santa Croce to a phantom re-enactment of the Battle of Marathon. This is one of the abrupt transitions which prompted Guillon's charges of obscurity, and in fact caused difficulty for many readers. Foscolo's Lettera acknowledged the problem: "...le transizioni sono ardue sempre a chi scrive, e sovente a chi legge; specialmente in una poesia lirica, e d'un autore che, non so se per virtù o per vizio, transvolat in medio posita, ed afferrando le idee cardinali, lascia a' lettori la compiacenza e la noia di desumere le intermedie" (p. 508). His solution was to offer a prose paraphrase to guide the reader safely through the text. I will refer to this estratto at intervals myself as, encouraged by his example, I proceed in my own paraphrase of the poet's route to Troy.

Foscolo's transition implies that Santa Croce is a necessary but not a sufficient center for a modern political poetry. The poet's departure from this scene concretely marks the beginning of his search for an alternative "plot" in which to ground his text. Turning from the death-mask of his precursors, as if to demonstrate

the risks inherent in any emulation of the "forti" he embarks on his own poetic journey.

We discover by the reference to the navigante (line 201) that it is a voyage by sea. The tombs described along the way are like the points along a coast which aid a navigator to orient himself. But the waters are basically familiar, both to the poet and to the intended recipient of his poem, Ippolito Pindemonte — both Hellenists and translators, Foscolo of the Iliad (his "Esperimente di traduzione della Iliade di Omero" was printed contemporaneously with "Dei Sepolcri" by Bettoni in Brescia),[25] and Pindemonte of the Odyssey. Foscolo's knowledge of Homeric topography provides a map upon which to trace his poetry of exile.

"Veleggiando quel mar sotto L'Eubea," the first tomb sighted — and the first episode in this nineteenth-century odyssey — is that of the Greek soldiers who died in the Battle of Marathon in 490 B.C. From the aisles and chapels of Santa Croce, with their catalogue of individual tombs to Italian cultural heroes, we have moved to one massive memorial of war (a mound of earth built fifty feet high, filled with weapons and relics which were retrieved during its excavation, which began in 1890). This tomb quite literally preserves a collective memory of its dead by promoting the shared hallucination of the nightly re-enactment of that battle (the popular

legend of such a "son-et-lumière" spectacle at Marathon was reported by Pausanias in his Viaggio nell'Attica.)

From this tumultuous vision the poet maneuvers, via the invocation of Pindemonte, into the Aegean and toward the sites of the Trojan war:

> Felice te che il regno ampio de' venti,
> Ippolito, a' tuoi verdi anni correvi!
> E se il piloto ti drizzò l'antenna
> oltre l'isole Egee, d'antichi fatti
> certo udisti suonar dell'Ellesponto
> i liti, e la marea mugghiar portando
> alle prode Retee l'armi d'Achille
> sovra l'ossa d'Aiace: a' generosi
> giusta di glorie dispensiera è morte;
> nè senno astuto nè favor di regi
> all'Itaco le spoglie ardue serbava,
> chè alla poppa raminga le ritolse
> l'onda incitata dagl'inferni Dei. (213-25)

The tribute to Pindemonte is highly ambiguous. First, Pindemonte's own literal "odyssey" -- actually a leisured eighteenth-century European tour -- is set up in potential opposition to Foscolo's own political exile and pilgrimage ("E me che i tempi ed il desio d'onore / fan per diversa gente ir fuggitivo..," 226 ff.). More deviously, Pindemonte's chosen Homeric protagonist, Ulysses, is portrayed in the moment of losing Achilles' armor to Ajax, who would become the hero of Foscolo's 1811 tragedy. "A' generosi / giusta di glorie dispensiera è Morte..." If it is at all legitimate to read

in this episode an allusion to the rivalry between Foscolo and Pindemonte for the "spoglie ardue" of literary success, we can not expect the gift of "Dei Sepolcri" to have much assuaged the previous affronts to Pindemonte, to which Foscolo refers in a letter to Isabella Teotochi Albrizzi (Milano, 6 September 1806): "Io...intitolo /"Dei Sepolcri"/ al Cavaliere /Pindemonte/ ricordandomi de' suoi lamenti e de' vostri; e per fare emmenda del mio sdegno un po' troppo politico."[26]

The fact that the two poets shared an interest in the theme of sepolcri, and that Foscolo's text actually displaced Pindemonte's own intended treatment of that theme, increases the probability of the allusions which I have just suggested. To consider all the implications of the rivalry between Foscolo and Pindemonte would lead me too far from Foscolo's text to be useful here; it is more important now to complete my paraphrase.

The tomb of Achilles and Patroclus on the shores of the Hellespont does not appear directly in the poem, as Foscolo explains with some irritation to Guillon, "bensì in una nota per incidenza."[27] In the text it is present only through the aural suggestion (which follows the visual hallucination of the Battle of Marathon) of lines 216-18 ("d'antichi fatti / certo udisti suonar dell'Ellesponto / i liti"). This "suonar" is analogically related

to the "mugghiar" of the "marea" which restores the arms of Achilles to the "ossa d'Ajace" (a periphrasis which is "archaeologically" accurate since, according to Homer, Ajax as a suicide was denied cremation). This passage has led us through some rough waters ("l'onda incitata dagl'inferni Dei"!), but with the tide that washes the trophy ashore the poet too steps onto solid ground and invokes the Muses:

> E me che i tempi ed il desio d'onore
> fan per diversa gente ir fuggitivo,
> me ad evocar gli eroi chiamin le Muse
> del mortale pensiero animatrici.
> Siedon custodi de' sepolcri, e quando
> il tempo con sue fredde ale vi spazza
> fin le rovine, le Pimplee fan lieti
> di lor canto i deserti, e l'armonia
> vince di mille secoli il silenzio. (226-234)

Foscolo's own explication of this passage in the Lettera emphasizes its portrayal of the complicity between archaeology and poetry, which arises from their shared responsibility to preserve a nation's memories. "Le muse...siedon custodi de' sepolcri;" they continue to guard the monument throughout the phases of its physical decay, perpetuating the memory of a sacred place eventually lost to view...until "l'amor delle lettere" leads to its rediscovery as in the case of the recent expedition to Troy. To cite Foscolo's estratto:

> Anche i luoghi ov'erano le tombe de' grandi, sebbene non vi rimanga vestigio, infiammano la mente de' generosi. Quantunque gli uomini di egregia virtù sieno perseguitati vivendo, e il tempo distrugga i lor monumenti, la memoria delle virtù e de' monumenti vive immortale negli scrittori, e si rianima negl'ingegni che coltivano le muse. Testimonio il sepolcro d'Ilo, scoperto dopo tante età da' viaggiatori che l'amor delle lettere trasse a peregrinar alla Troade; sepolcro privilegiato da' fati perchè protesse il corpo d'Elettra da cui nacquero i Dardanidi autori dell'origine di Roma, e della prosapia de' Cesari signori del mondo. L'autore chiude con un episodio sopra questo sepolcro...(pp. 510-511)

Here Foscolo quotes, and paraphrases in impassioned detail, the last forty-one lines of the poem. He argues that far from representing a digression, a falling off from the best interest of the poem, these lines release its greatest power, carefully reserved for this climax ("a me... pare, non che 'il soggetto abbia stancata la lira del poeta,' ma ch'egli abbia sin da principio temperate le forze per valersene pienamente in questo luogo").

The strength of this section lies, according to Foscolo, in the unifying image of the tomb of Ilus ("un monumento che superò l'ingiurie di tanti secoli"), which as mausoleum of the Trojan princes is particularly suited to achieve effects of the sublime because of its multiple literary and historical associations. By superimposing in rapid succession on the original image ("Ivi posò Erittonio...

ivi l'Iliache donne... Ivi Cassandra...") the diverse characters and narratives associated with the site, Foscolo was building a deliberate rhetorical climax: ("le troiane che pregano... la vergine Cassandra... la preghiera alle palme e a' cipressi... gli spettri... Omero... tanti personaggi, tante passioni, tanti atteggiamenti e tutti raccolti intorno a un solo sepolcro sembrano a lei senz'anima e senz'invenzione?" p. 512)

Defending with equal vehemence the logic of his conclusion, Foscolo explains that he chose to end the poem with the words of Cassandra because she, like the Trojan tombsite from which she speaks, is at the same time a locus of many conflicting emotions -- sorrow, pride, solicitude, despair. I might add that as a virgin prophetess she embodies the fundamental contradiction between innocence and experience. Her relationship to the question of genealogies, central to this multiple tombsite and to Foscolo's entire poem, is highly ambiguous and her role as counselor to the young ("e guidava i nepoti, e l'amoroso / apprendeva lamento a' giovinetti") on their filial duties to their ancestors is particularly poignant.

The condensation of so many contradictory figures and affects, Foscolo concludes, is appropriate to effects

of the sublime, and redeems the apparent obscurity of the poem: "Ove l'autore avesse mirato al patetico avrebbe amplificati questi affetti; mirava invece al sublime, e li ha concentrati; e credendo a Longino, non tentò più melodia ne' suoi versi. Se non che forse ei non ha conseguito se non se la severità e l'oscurità, compagne talor del sublime."

To this eloquent defense I would only add a few remarks further clarifying the logic of the final section of the poem (lines 235-295). I have mentioned the importance of genealogies in reference to Cassandra. Actually the issue first explicitly arises in lines 235-40, where the poet proclaims his arrival (to resume the metaphor of the "voyage,") at the "eterno loco," Troy, by the ritual recitation of the genealogy of the Giulia gente, descended from Electra:

> Ed oggi nella Troade inseminata
> eterno splende a' peregrini un loco
> eterno per la Ninfa a cui fu sposo
> Giove, ed a Giove die' Dardano figlio
> onde fur Troia e Assaraco e i cinquanta
> talami e il regno della Giulia gente. (235-40)

The elaborate genealogical periphrasis serves to identify the nymph who lies buried at this "eterno loco"

(who is then named in the next line). More importantly, it proleptically clarifies the significance of the site to Italian readers. From the union of Electra and Jupiter can be traced the legendary ancestry of the Italians themselves, through Dardanus, Erichthonius, Tros, Assaracus, Capys, Anchises, and Aeneas. The pathos of the poem's final focus on Hector, last adult survivor of Ilus's branch of the House of Troy (Hector's son Astyanax, according to the Iliad, was thrown by the victorious Greeks from the walls of the city) is mitigated by this proleptic vision of survival, pointing directly toward the Italian race.

From this dramatically foreshortened view the poet retreats to an orderly narrative of the death of Electra and Jupiter's consecration of the site ("E fe' sacro quel corpo e la sua tomba," line 253). The rapid passage of time is conveyed spatially now, as the layers of history rise to bury the spot, and it is transformed by new human action:

> Ivi posò Erittonio, e dorme il giusto
> cenere d'Ilo; ivi l'Iliache donne
> scioglìean le chiome, indarno ahi! deprecando
> da' loro mariti l'imminente fato;
> Ivi Cassandra, allor che il Nume in petto
> le fea parlar di Troia il dì mortale,
> venne; e all'ombre cantò carme amoroso...(254-60)

Cassandra's prophecy elides the day of Troy's destruction,

pointing instead toward the survivors' eventual return from slavery in Greece to find the city of their childhood gone:

> ... "Oh, se mai d'Argo,
> ove al Tidide e di Laerte al figlio
> pascerete i cavalli, a voi permetta
> ritorno il cielo, invan la patria vostra
> cercherete! Le mura opra di Febo
> sotto le lor reliquie fumeranno..." (263-68)

But this dark image is redeemed by the final archaeological fantasy of Homer's rediscovery of Troy and the depths of its legend:

> ... Un dì vedrete
> mendico un cieco errar sotto le vostre
> antichissime ombre, e brancolando
> penetrar negli avelli, e abbracciar l'urne,
> e interrogarle. Gemeranno gli antri
> secreti, e tutta narrerà le tomba
> Ilio raso due volte e due risorto
> splendidamente su le mute vie
> per far più bello l'ultimo trofeo
> ai fatati Pelidi... (279-88)

Troy's history of survival enhances its value to the Greeks as a military trophy. And like Achilles' armor, the memory of Troy outlasts all historical vicissitudes to which it is exposed; preserved underground and inarticulate in the images of the Penates, it surfaces again to be cast in permanent literary form by Homer:

> ... Il sacro vate,
> placando quelle afflitte alme col canto,
> i Prenci Argivi eternerà per quante
> abbraccia terre il gran padre Oceano.
> E tu onore di pianti, Ettore, avrai
> ove fia santo e lagrimato il sangue
> per la patria versato, e finchè il Sole
> risplenderà su le sciagure umane. (288-95)

The labyrinth of classical allusions ends here. Retrospectively it is not at all easy to orient oneself. With the funeral honors granted to Hector ("E tu onore di pianti, Ettore, avrai"), we have reached the end of the Iliad; but it is the end of an odyssey too, for the figure of the poet in "Dei Sepolcri." One is left in any case with a lasting sense of the inviolability of the icon, which is archaeology's own most dramatic claim.

With this note I inevitably conclude an odyssey of my own, as writer of this dissertation. In the following chapters I will resume the thread of that broader narrative of "archaeological representations" promised in my introduction, putting aside this discussion of Foscolo until his name may naturally reemerge in the mature context of the "scuola democratica."

Chapter II. The Ideology of Papal Classicism: Archaeological Texts and Pretexts

If Foscolo was the first major Italian writer to enlist the archaeological metaphor in the service of a progressive Risorgimento discourse, for centuries the Church had been using that same metaphor for its own conservative end: to reinforce its own prestige and exclusive claim to the temporal power in South-Central Italy.

Lousteau's advice to Lucien notwithstanding ("Les écrivains royalistes sont romantiques, les Libéraux sont classiques,")[1] in Italy neither neoclassicism nor Romanticism could safely be identified with any single political orientation. Perhaps the clearest proof of this is found in the career of Monti, who remained consistently "neoclassical" in his art despite a dizzying round of diverse political allegiances; textbooks in fact label the phases of his career as "papal," "revolutionary," "Napoleonic," and "Restoration" neoclassicisms.[2]

But apart from the extreme case of Monti, Alfieri's Bruto 1, Pius VI's Sacrestia Nuova,[3] David's Oath of the Horatii (painted and publicly unveiled in Rome),[4] and Appiani's Trionfi di Napoleone[5] only begin to show the ideological range of the neoclassical esthetic in Italy.

Clearly, the ambivalence of classicism extends to the archaeological metaphor to which it is so closely linked. By the early Ottocento, "archaeological representations" are exploited equally by the right and left, to serve the apologia of the present as well as the projection of an Italian national future. In this chapter I will examine, through a series of representative texts, the rhetorical strategies which traditionally adapted the celebration of classical antiquity and of archaeological investigation to the service of the Church.

If for Foscolo and later writers of the "scuola democratica" excavation came to represent the search for national origins and civic ideals long buried and repressed by the Church, Papal archaeologists pointed to their recovery of Roman artifacts as further proof of the providential continuity between le due Rome, classical and Christian. Just as the early popes had protected the city from destruction by the barbarians, the Popes of the Renaissance and again of that tardo Settecento which recreated itself in the image of the Renaissance, arose to protect the endangered cultural patrimony of the city, by sponsoring archaeological research.

The dedication of Ennio Quirino Visconti's catalogue

of the Pio-Clementine Museum makes this parallel abundantly clear.[6] Only Pius VI's aggressive policy of acquiring marbles for his museum both by funding massive excavations and buying out the priyate collections of fallen nobility, saved Rome (says Visconti) from being totally despoiled by the "new barbarians" — the Italians trafficking in artworks and the "dilettanti esteri" willing to pay for any scrap of antiquity a "prezzo d'inglesi."[7]

Each archaeological retrieval of a Roman artifact by the Church symbolically renewed its conquest and confirmed its possession of Rome. The prestige of the Church grew throughout Europe as it recovered and proclaimed custody of so many ancient sculptures which had become since Winkelmann the universal object of emulation and desire (how literal this desire might be, will become clear later in this chapter from the example of Napoleon).[8]

The Pio-Clementine museum was clearly conceived as an international showpiece of archaeological patronage, a visual representation of the renewed power of the Papacy. Even Allessandro Verri's Cicero, after a tour of Papal Rome and through inspection of the Vatican museums,[9] is forced to credit the Papacy not only with the material preservation of Rome but with its redoubled prestige among nations:

> Ma certo se alcuna parte del mondo dee esser lieta per quella autorità, ella è la Italia, la quale

> è debitrice a Lei delle sue difese in tempi calamitosi, della sua conservazione nelle estreme vicissitudini, e del suo splendore, per cui sendo in quella il seggio pontificale, ella pur è illustre e riverita parte della Europa e del mondo. Senza che quand'anche fosse tutto lo imperio di un solo monarca, ella sempre sarebbe meno amplo e poderoso della Iberia, della Alemagna, delle Gallie e di tanti altri più di lei vasti e temuti. Dove ora ella per quella maravigliosa podestà sorge regina e riverita, e stende lo imperio suo di pace nelle più remote spiagge della terra... per la qual cosa io esulto veggendo pur questa patria surgere eterna, quasi mezzo perpetuo col quale prepara e compie la provvidenza del cielo i principali rivolgimenti della terra.[10]

Papal archaeology of the late Settecento and early Ottocento was traditionally then both conservatore and conservativo. Organized excavation, which among the exiled and dispossessed would become a convenient image of political subversion, to the Vatican represented the chance to reclaim publicly the rich legacy of Rome and exhibit the signs of its temporal birthright. The galleries of priceless statues testified to the vigor, prosperity, and wealth of the Church. With the mounting threat of revolution in France, the collection continued to grow, crowding even its new Vatican quarters -- and the bankrupt monarchy in France could look with envy at the seemingly inexhaustible cultural resources of Rome. In the words of one French historian, "Les fouilles semblaient remplacer au centuple les statues émigrées; le sol de Rome était inépuisable."[11]

After the fall of the Bastille, the politics of papal conservation became even more transparently conservative. As artists and archaeologists continued to embellish the Vatican, Italy's own colossal monument to the Ancien Régime, visitors flocked to the Pio-Clementine galleries — later remembered by Tischbein as "die grösste Schule der Welt"[12] — to learn the lesson of the Pope's awesome and apparently inalienable inheritance — the assembled icons of ancient Rome.

It may be worth noting that the Papacy had not always shown such concern for the preservation of the ancient city. "Quod non fecerunt barbari, fecerunt Barberini," commented the popular oracle Pasquino (itself a mutilated stone, salvaged from the rubble of a patrician villa), when the Pantheon was stripped of its bronze for Bernini's baldacchino. Even to the humanist popes who professed greatest love for the antique, archaeological pietas of the Pio-Clementine variety was unknown. Not curatorship but active emulation, construction (with all its attendant destruction of existing edifices) was the characteristic response of the Renaissance to the view of classical ruins.[13] Sixtus V — though he retrieved and resurrected Egyptian obelisks and Roman columns at enormous expense[14] — did not hesitate to demolish entire sections of the old city to build his new monumental quarter northwest of the Colosseum. It was this less edifying tradition that Pius VI renewed when he ordered the destruction of Innocent VIII's

chapel, with its Mantegna frescoes, to make way for the new wing of his own museum.[15]

Having come this far I should specify that this chapter does not pretend to provide a chronicle of papal patronage of archaeology in the early Ottocento. Even less does it offer an account of the rise of neoclassicism in Rome,[16] or a history of classical and antiquarian studies in the period.[17] I apologize if this disclaimer is overdue. My goal in the following pages is simply to reconstruct from the debris of its official literature -- the volumes of proceedings, addresses, addenda, anecdotes and marginalia -- an image of the archaeological "profession" in papal Rome and an appreciation of the basic strategies of its encomiastic discourse. Finally, to situate papal classicism within a broader social context and add a contemporary perspective which refreshingly deflates its edifying claims, I will discuss a series of Belli sonnets in dialect satirizing the figure of the archaeologist from the point of view of the popolano.

Although my primary focus throughout this chapter will be on literary (and paraliterary) texts, I will try intermittently to sketch their historical context by evoking the changing visual landscape of Rome itself -- its

monuments, galleries, and piazzas, its shifting public and private spaces.

I am prepared to meet the charge of dealing with minori; precisely because these texts are of marginal literary importance they are transparently, and instructively, ideological. If my first chapter focused on a single major text, here I introduce a large and revolving cast of characters who will become increasingly familiar as they recur (at least implicitly) in different roles with the presentation of each new text. Angelo Mai is both the Vatican philologist to whom Leopardi dedicated his 1820 canzone and the author of an address read to the Accademia Pontificia dell'Archeologia on the anniversary of the foundation of Rome, in 1837. Canova recurs as author of an 1816 prolusione to the reopening of that Academy, the sculptor of Alfieri, two popes, and the emperor Napoleon, and the figure to whom Foscolo would dedicate Le grazie. Ennio Quirino Visconti, child prodigy turned papal antiquary and author of the seven-volume Museo Pio-Clementino, is also the one to suggest to Monti the theme of the "Prosopopea;" later he will be lured to Napoleon's Paris to oversee the collection newly confiscated from Italy, and will be called with Gavin Hamilton to arbitrate in the case of the Elgin marbles.

Carlo Fea who as commissario delle antichità throughout the period publishes a vast corpus of antiquarian miscellanea and several polemical ragionamenti including a defense of the historicity of Romulus, is also the Italian translator of Winckelmann's Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums (evoking in turn the ghost of Fuseli, Winckelmann's English translator) and the "Avocatuccio /sic/piccinino" of Belli's sonnets: in "Er caval de bronzo," he is the uomiciattolo astride the horse of Marcus Aurelius, declaring the necessity of its restoration to an imaginary interlocutor whom we can identify as Thorwaldsen -- the "Cavaliere Alberto" whose bust of Pio VI caused such scandal to the Vatican...

It may seem a small world. That in fact was the complaint of Leopardi, disappointed to find papal Rome even more stultifyingly provincial than his own Recanati. In a letter to his father Monaldo written only a month after his arrival in Rome, Leopardi gives his impressions of the Roman "intelligentsia":

> Quanto ai letterati, de' quali Ella mi domanda, io n'ho veramente conosciuto pochi, e questi pochi m'hanno tolto la voglia di conoscerne altri...Secondo loro, il sommo della sapienza umana, anzi la sola e vera scienza dell'uomo è l'Antiquaria. Non ho ancora potuto conoscere un letterato Romano che intenda sotto il nome di Letteratura altro che l'Archeologia. Filosofia, morale, politica, scienza del cuore umano, eloquenza, poesia, filologia, tutto

> ciò è straniero in Roma, e par un gioco da fanciulli, a paragonare del trovare se quel pezzo di rame appartenne a Marcantonio o a Marcagrippa.[18]

Leopardi was not alone in ridiculing the mania antiquaria of Restoration Rome. D'Azeglio specifically pointed out its political expediency to a reactionary regime: "L'antiquaria era ed è uno de' pochi studi possibili sotto il governo de' preti. Ci vorrebbe un bel talento a scoprirvi tendenze sovversive."[19]

D'Azeglio's own professed indifference to the monuments of ancient Rome and to the degraded intellectual debate of the "antiquarians" is presented as a measure of his own modernity: "Debbo però confessare che quelle venerande reliquie, dalle quali venne fecondata la mente di Gibbon e di Goethe, non produssero sul mio povero cervellino nessuna forte impressione... Amavo le novità in quel tempo e non le antichità..."

Not the ancient and phlegmatic Filippo Aurelio Visconti -- in his dress and manner almost a caricature of the Old Regime ("un vecchio in capelli bianchi, in calzoni corti, tutto vestito di nero, con un gran cappello a tre punte che pareva un edifizio") - but the young and spirited painter Malvotti is apparently the appropriate cicerone for a man of D'Azeglio's

disposition. D'Azeglio contrasts the lively intellect of the artist with the pedantry of the papal antiquary, and regrets that the latter's thoroughly competent inventory of objects was not animated by the slightest interest in contemporary developments in classical scholarship:

> La storia romana era allora accetta da tutti come ce l'avevan tramandata gli antichi, senza cercar più in là. I bei lavori moderni di Niebuhr e di altri Tedeschi, di Thierry, d'Ampère, del Micali e molt'altri sulle origini italiche, non avevano ancora, non dico trovato il vero, ma dimostrato almeno con quanta riserva sia da ammettersi l'antico complesso di quelle istorie. Dagli insegnamenti del signor Visconti non s'ebbe quindi se non la conferma de' fatti da noi già conosciuti... Si passò, dico, tutto intero quell'inventario delle antichità senza lasciar indietro un mattone, ed accettando Romolo e Clelia, e Scevola, ed Orazio al Ponte Sublicio, ecc. ecc., tutto insomma l'antico personale di quel gran dramma con una fede da musulmani. (emphasis mine)

The Vatican's resistance to the "bei moderni lavori" of Niebuhr et al. was of course deliberate, and would intensify as the century progressed. Carlo Fea as papal commissario delle antichità was particularly hostile to Niebuhr's deconstruction of the Roman myths which had been adapted to the service of the Church. His address to the Accademia dei Sabini in 1832, was a vehement defense of the historicity of Romulus, the "nuovo Mosè".[20]

Hostility to Niebuhr in Rome was widespread and crossed ideological boundaries; Leopardi himself, in the famous "patriotic" stanzas of the Paralipomeni della Batracomiomachia, heaped fresh insults on the grave of the "tedesco filologo" who by virtue of his "molti e belli ragionamenti" and "bel diploma" had presumed to rewrite the history of Rome, despoiling it of its "verde".[21] Nevertheless the motives of the Church are clear: ecclesiastical archaeology was intended as custodial rather than critical, and was dedicated to the apology of power through the preservation and reinforcement of an established hermeneutic tradition -- the "conferma de' fatti da noi già conosciuti." This tradition of the providential continuity between classical and Christian Rome had symbolically rehabilitated the pagan city by consecrating it to the service of the Church: and the cicerone Visconti with his patient litany of erudite misinformation, was more properly a sacrestan shuffling through the streets and scavi of Rome, revealing its treasures upon request.

I have already mentioned the importance of the Pio-Clementine museum as a symbol of Settecento classicism. The seven-volume folio catalogue prepared by Ennio Quirino Visconti gives an appropriately sumptuous introduction to that collection.[22] Stendhal claimed to know the book; in his Promenades dans Rome he advised:

> M. Quirino Visconti a fort bien décrit les statues du musée Pio-Clémentin. Ce savant n'admet dans son livre que les mensonges absolument indispensables. Son ouvrage est la source de toute bonne érudition sur les statues. Rappelez-vous toujours que l'auteur était pauvre et salarié par le pape.[23]

To put Stendhal's irony into perspective, it may help to remember that his own Promenades was a strictly commercial venture, written from a room in Paris under a pressing publisher's deadline. In any case Visconti does not disguise his debt to Pius VI, but displays with due magnificence on his first-volume frontispiece the emblems of the Braschi patronage: the family arms, surmounted by the papal tiara and keys, rest on a pair of cornucopias, one spilling coins and the other ripe fruit. At the left are a painter's palette and brushes and broken bas-relief; at the right a pair of books, a compass and quadrant, a set of floor plans clearly legible as those of the museum itself, and the marble bust of Pericles whose discovery at Tivoli prompted Monti's "Prosopopea" -- a text so typical of the antiquarian encomiastic genre as to constitute almost inevitably a primary focus of this chapter.[24]

It is logical that Visconti, who recognized the pope's Periclean ambitions (or delusions) and in fact was the one to suggest to Monti the theme of the poem, should have in-

cluded the bust so prominently among the assembled trophies of his patron. (On a sentimental note, the frontispiece of Volume II will feature in a complementary position the bust of Aspasia, Pericles' supposed consort, which was displayed next to that of Pericles in the museum and is mentioned by Monti in the poem -- lines 68-84).

Recited at the Accademia dell'Arcadia in celebration of the voti quinquennali of Pius VI, the "Prosopopea di Pericle" celebrates both the recovery of the Pope from a recent illness and the recovery of the Pericles statue from the ruins of Tivoli. The zeugma is deliberately precious and in keeping with the spirit of the Arcadia. In Monti's own career the text is of passing importance, and documents an ideological position soon superata; but in the literature of papal classicism it is itself a classic and renews the thematic of the "ruins of Rome" which Alessandro Guidi had popularized in the early years of the Arcadia.

Instead of painting a generic panorama of ruins, Monti's text focuses on a specific artifact -- using a device whose formal rhetorical description has ironically been degraded in modern Italian to signify, according to Devoto-Oli's Dizionario della lingua italiana, "atteggiamento improntato ad una presuntuosa

e talvolta ridicola gravità".

Perhaps we can already see the potential for this degradation in Monti's text, in the contrast between the declamatory diction of an "heroic" Pericles and the playful, even trivializing canzonetta form. In any case, through what could be regarded as a dramatic version of ecphrasis, Monti represents the artifact not by external description but by lending it a fictionalized voice. The mask of Pericles assumes the first person, as if to literalize the archaeologists' claim of "making the mute stones speak."

But the most significant novelty of Monti's text is not technical but thematic. Although like Guidi he implicitly celebrates the continuity between classical and Christian Rome (referring in an inevitable paronomasia to the "augusto nome" of the present pope, line 44) he uses the Greek artifact as a pretext for extending the encomiastic genealogy of his patron to include Pericles himself, patron of fifth-century Athens.

Moreover, the same archaeological pretext allows Monti to claim Pericles not only as the heroic precursor of the Braschi papacy, but as its humble beneficiary. In his last incarnation as sculptural mask, Pericles the former protagonist of political events is reduced to his representa-

tion in stone, and dependent upon the piety of the present age for his retrieval, restoration, and honorary appointment at the Vatican. Hence the fiction of his poetic homage to this far greater golden age: "Tardi nepoti e secoli, / che dopo Pio verrete, / quando lo sguardo attonito / indietro volgerete, / oh come fia che ignobile / allor vi sembri e mesta / la bella età di Pericle / al paragon di questa!" (lines 89-96).

The public recitation of the "Prosopopea" celebrates the consecration of a pagan idol and its incorporation into a formalized Christian space. The gleaming galleries of the Vatican -- in particular the Sala delle Muse with its rows of "mille volti argolici" (the images of the seven sages and nine Muses of Greece, all recently unearthed at Tivoli) constitute an "archaeological representation" which clearly proclaims papal mastery of antiquity. The scenography is impressive: even "Pericles" is amazed: "Dunque spiranti e lucide / mi scorgerò dintorno / di tanti eroi le immagini / che furo Elleni un giorno?" (lines 85-88).

It is interesting that the Pope ordered a copy of Monti's poem to be permanently enshrined next to the Pericles bust, in the first vestibule of the Sala delle Muse. This gesture reenacts for each visitor the Church's

univocal reading and sacramental appropriation of the pagan image, first solemnized at the Arcadia recitation.

Apart from the dimensions of signification to be sought in the modes of performance and display of the text, its argument clearly illustrates basic themes and strategies of papal classicism. Perhaps most interesting in the context of neoclassical and didactic poetry is the topos of the "progress of civilizations," which Foscolo would renew (however unsuccessfully) in Le grazie.

Pericles -- whose immense rhetorical authority has been clear throughout the poem from his first two stanzas of self-nomination (note the stiff genealogical periphrasis of the first stanza, "io de' forti Cecropidi / nell'inclita famiglia / d'Atene un dì non ultimo / splendor e maraviglia," culminating in that syncopated apposition of the fifth line, "a riveder io Pericle / ritorno il ciel latino"), to the extended account of his own artistic patronage in Athens in lines 97-124 -- offers this explanation of the decline of Greece and subsequent rise of Rome:

> ...Dimentici
> della mia patria i Numi,
> di Roma alfin prescelsero
> gli altari ed i costumi.
> Grecia fu vinta, e videsi
> di Grecia la ruina

render superba e splendida
la povertà latina.
   Pianser deserte e squallide
allor le spiagge achive,
e le bell'Arti corsero
del Tebro su le rive.
   Qui poser franche e libere
il fuggitivo piede,
e accolte si compiacquero
della cangiata sede. (lines 125-40)

The passage of political and cultural hegemony from Greece to Rome is predestined by the Gods. Athens is despoiled, its temples dismantled and its icons carried off as trophies of war; but Rome revives the arts and they continue to flourish in the "cangiata sede" until the first Gothic invasions (cf. third stanza). They are fully restored and redeemed only by the efforts of Pius VI:

Ed or fastose obbliano
l'onta del goto orrore,
or che il gran Pio le vendica
del vilipeso onore. (lines 141-44)

Most significant in this agile synopsis is the omission of the Italian Renaissance, grudgingly credited with the revival of antiquity even in the progress poems of Augustan England (for example, in James Thomson's Liberty[25]). The Braschi pope displaces all his precursors; Julius II (della Rovere) may have discovered the Laocoon and Paolo III (Farnese) the Hercules, but to Pio VI is reserved the prize talisman of

antiquity.[26]

To anyone familiar with the heroic personification of Renaissance Sculpture in Thomson's Liberty,[27] triumphantly excavating her masterpieces from the "tyrant's garden" of Renaissance Rome (and Thomson lists all the favorites: the Farnese Hercules, Vatican Meleager, two Gladiators, Apollo Belvedere, Flora, Medici Venus and Laocoon) -- Monti's irony is clear when in the "Prosopopea" he transforms her into a Magdalene figure, despairing of the resurrection of the Pericles image: "Carca d'alto rammarico / sen dolse l'infelice / del marmo freddo e ruvido/ bell'arte animatrice; / e d'Adriano e Cassio, / sparsa le belle chiome, / fra gl'insepolti ruderi / m'andò chiamando a nome," (lines 21-28).

By deferring the allegorical triumph of Sculpture to the Settecento Monti not only indulges his patron's fantasy of surpassing his Renaissance precursors, but subverts the panoramic premise of the Augustan progress poems -- the theory of Albion's "manifest destiny" to displace a decadent Rome as Rome had once displaced Greece. His thematic focus on an artifact admired and sought after by the Renaissance but not discovered until the Settecento, dramatizes the claim that the Roman Renaissance is only beginning. Papal Rome is not the "tomb

of Empire" deplored by Thomson ("Need I the contrast mark? / Unjoyous view! / A land in all, in government and arts, / In virtue, genius, earth and heaven, reversed," I, 107-09), but a thriving capital — secure in its custody of the icons of Greece already coveted by England.

The "Prosopopea" opposes then to the political moralizing of the Augustan "poetry of ruins" a triumphal celebration of a specific archaeological occasion. The journals and academies of papal Rome document the rise of a vast marginal literature dedicated to this theme.[28]

It is ironic that Leopardi, in an early patriotic canzone quite inappropriately addressed to one of the most submissive members of the papal establishment, should have so transformed the genre of archaeological encomium. Just a glance at the poem — which is radically secular in spirit and apart from its pretext would have no place in this chapter -- should help sharpen my reading of the "Prosopopea" by showing an alternative treatment of a similarly transparent archaeological pretext.[29]

Rather than confirming the continuity of present and past, Mai's discovery of the Ciceronian text underneath the Vatican palimpsest represents for Leopardi a phenomenon of rupture. He accosts Angelo Mai -- the philologist from Bergamo who had

recently accepted the post of Vatican librarian under Pio VI -- as "Italo ardito," strategist of miraculous risorgimenti (the word had not yet assumed the specific political denotation which later readers would impute to it almost inevitably).

Leopardi's very naming of the individual archaeologist sets him apart from the world of the "Prosopopea," where all individual accomplishments were subsumed under the "augusto nome" of the Pope. His use of the first person (lines 34-38) reminds us that the only subjectivity introduced in Monti's poem was the fictive one of a statua parlante.

Using the archaeological occasion to dramatize not the parallel but the antithesis between past and present, Leopardi projects Mai in heroic profile against a "secol morto" -- along with a chronological catalogue of tragically isolated Italian poets, culminating in Alfieri. He attributes to classical philology a revolutionary potential -- however vague -- by which Mai himself would have been greatly alarmed. For the scholar whom Leopardi associated with the opposition was a high-ranking officer in the papal establishment, protective of his own privileged access to the archives of power. Still he was made famous by Leopardi's canzone, and the poet's idealistic misprision of his motives was passed on to a generation of Italian patriots

long after Leopardi realized and regretted his own error.[30]

With Leopardi I have moved into the context of Restoration Italy, passing over a republic, a pope's death in exile, and most of the eventful reign of Pius VII (which spanned the Napoleonic occupation, the pope's detention in Fontainebleau, and his restoration to Rome). Without describing any of the developments in detail, I will stop to mention those which most directly affected the papal literature of archaeology which I have been discussing.

I have spoken at length of Pius VI's campaign to consolidate the prestige of the Papacy by assembling in his new Museo Pio-Clementino the most prized trophies of ancient sculpture. Where he was unsuccessful in buying out the private collections of noble families, they often retaliated by redoubling their own rate of acquisitions and creating independent art galleries to vie with the Vatican. Just a year after Visconti's first catalogue volume appeared, Scipione Borghese hired the architect Asprucci to convert his own palazzo at Porta Pia into a museum of ancient sculpture. The grounds too were extensive and no expense was spared. For some of Borghese's favorite pieces (e.g., the statue of Aesculapius), Asprucci even created an artificial ruin setting, in the fashion of the day.[31]

Cardinal Albani was another connoisseur of the antique, competing in the private sector; he promoted both excavation

and neoclassical emulation, and commissioned for example the famous Mengs Parnassus for his Villa near the Porta Pia.

As a result of the "fièvre des fouilles" both public and private, Rome reclaimed hundreds of buried artworks; during the papacy of Pius VI, over three hundred marbles were added to the Vatican alone.[32] News of these discoveries spread throughout Europe in journals and travelers' correspondence. Reproductions circulated not only in the "authoritative" folio versions of Visconti, Cavaceppi, and Francesco Piranesi (modeled on the senior Piranesi's Vedute, Winckelmann's Monumenti antichi inediti, and similar publications), but in the less exalted forms familiar to us today as inevitably accessory to the tourist industry. The studio founded by the Fratelli Pisani at Florence in 1780 employed over a hundred workers and was, according to Hautecoeur, a "véritable usine de réproductions;"[33] in an advertising brochure it offers along with the standard "bustes d'empereurs, des philosophes, des femmes illustres" and "statues en marbre copiés de l'antique de toute sorte de grandeur..," a variety of paperweights, inkwells, vases, lamps, and other ornamental objects ingeniously fashioned to "répreśenter les ruines," and all available by mail order.

But this plethora of reproductions only reinforced the appetite for the images whose originals still resided in Rome;

so that in 1785 Visconti could remark with satisfaction, "les antiquités découvertes demeurent encore pour la majeure partie à Rome... Ces admirables restes des arts de la Grèce sont devenus l'école des arts modernes et font de Rome l'unique emporium du beau e le temple du bon goût ... les nations se pressent autour de la mère commune des doctrines saines et des beaux arts."[34]

It is not surprising then that Napoleon considered the confiscation of the artworks essential to his conquest of Italy. Cecil Gould speculates that Napoleon's policy of plunder may have been inspired in part by a schoolbook memory -- Plutarch's account of Sulla's return to Rome with the treasures of Athens[35] -- but however self-consious his emulation of antiquity, Napoleon was equally a man of the eighteenth century in the strategic importance which he attributed specifically to the Vatican collections. Their transfer to Paris, demanded by the Treaty of Tolentino (February 1797), was intended to symbolize the transfer of the center of the civilized world from Rome to Paris.

It would be interesting to follow Cecil Gould's account of the growth of the Musée Napoléon in the context of my discussion of the growth of the Pio-Clementine collections. Certainly the taste for pageantry is the same, as shown by Benjamin Zix's contemporary illustration of the marriage pro-

cession of Napoleon and Marie-Louise through the Grande Galérie, flanked by Roman portrait busts, Da Vincis and Raphaels that we are accustomed to seeing elsewhere...[36] Equally eerie is the image of the triumphal entry of the caravans of Italian artworks into Paris, with a parade featuring live ostriches, camels, gazelles, vultures, a military band, and the bronze horses of San Marco, specially unpacked for the occasion.[37]

The literature on the Napleonic plunder of Italy is vast and would lead me (like the canvases and marbles themselves) too far from Rome to be useful here.[38] What concerns me instead is the impact of Napoleon's pillage on the archaeological policies of papal Rome. Documents of the early years of Pius VII's papacy show that the decimation of the Vatican collection was an incentive to fresh excavation and renewed vigilance over the destruction and exportation of antiquities. The memo of October first, 1802, to Cardinal Giuseppe Doria Pamphili, announcing Canova's appointment for life as "Ispettore Generale delle Belle Arti," amounts to a clear policy statement in this regard:

> Nel vortice delle passate vicende, immensi sono stati li danni, che questa Nostra dilettissima Città ha sofferti nella perdita dei più rari monumenti, e delle più illustri opere dell'Antichità. Lungi però dall'illanguidirsi per questo, si è anzi maggiormente impegnata la Paterna Nostra sollecitudine a procurare tutti i mezzi, sia per impedire che alle perdite sofferte nuove se ne aggiungano, sia per riparare con

> il discuoprimento di nuovi Monumenti alla mancanza di quelli, che sonsi perduti. Sono state queste le riflessioni, che dappresso all'illustre esempio che la S. M. di Leone X, diede nella persona del gran Raffaello d'Urbino ci hanno recentemente determinati ad eleggere l'incomparabile scultore Canova... in Ispettore Generale di tutte le Belle Arti...[39]

The specific provisions cited by La Padula[40] document the revival of a previously ineffective form of archaeological "representation" initiated by the Renaissance -- the "representation" afforded by the ornate and belabored language of the law (to be so satirized by Manzoni):

> ...rinnovando la costituzione della S. M. di Pio II cum almam Nostram Urbem del 1462 proibiamo sotto le stesse pene a chiunque di demolire o in tutto, o in parte qualche avanzo di antichi edifici o dentro, o fuori di Roma, ancorchè esistenti nei predi urbani o rustici, di privata sua o altra proprietà...

If Napoleon's predations indirectly favored the progress of archaeological research, they also provided an incentive for modern Italian sculptors to help repopulate the museums. Canova's contribution to this administration was central not only for his official role in the papal bureaucracy but for his work as a sculptor. His Perseus, commissioned by Pius VII for the now empty Octagonal Courtyard of the Belvedere, was inaugurated in 1800 and soon followed by the Creugante and Demosseno.[41] Though the neoclassical aesthetic

had always been grounded in the imitation of antique models, it had seldom sought so literally to replace them.

With Ennio Quirino Visconti established in Paris as curator of the Louvre's Roman collection -- along with many other Roman artists and antiquaries (including the Piranesi) whom Napoleon had managed to attract to his capital -- Paris' displacement of Rome seemed a fait accompli: "La France crut de bon que Paris allait remplacer Rome. Les copies d'antiques ornaient les appartements décorés par Percier et Fontaine, et les originaux embellissaient maintenant le Louvre."[42]

Nonetheless Pius VII, having chosen Carlo Fea as "Commissario delle Antichità" in 1801,[43] with the help of his secretary of state Cardinal Consalvi ordered a vast program of excavations in the area of the Forum. He began work on Trajan's Column and the arches of Constantine and Septimius Severus; he buttressed the Coliseum and uncovered the third-century Umbilicus Romae. These scavi were far from scientific; they were mainly an organized treasure hunt -- from which the Pope clearly expected spectacular results if in 1804 he commissioned the architect Raffaele Stern to design a new wing (now known as the Braccio Nuovo, Museo Chiaramonti, and Galleria Lapidaria), to extend the

already depleted Pio-Clementine galleries.

These impressive plans were interrupted by the Napoleonic occupation of Rome and the Pope's removal to France. Yet Napoleon's administration was quick to resume the excavations begun by Pius VII, and in fact proclaimed archaeology as an important and progressive feature of its own politica culturale. Article 3 of the institution of the Consulta Straordinaria (May 17, 1809) specified: "I monumenti della grandezza di Roma saranno custoditi e mantenuti a spese del nostro Tesoro;"[44] and already on June 21, 1809, the Consulta appointed a special commission to fulfill this function.[45]

Without attempting a detailed account of Napoleonic excavations in Rome between 1809-1814 (best provided by Napoleon's own Prefect Camille de Tournon, in the final chapter of his Etudes statistiques sur Rome et la partie occidentale des Etats Romains[46]), I find it interesting to note that the French maintained most papal appointees in the new administration -- not only the architects Valadier and Camporesi, Filippo Aurelio Visconti, Fea, and the painter Camuccini but Canova himself, who in addition to retaining his papal role of "Ispettore Generale delle Arti" demanded the title of "Princeps" of the newly reconstituted Accademia di San Luca[47].

Without losing any of Chiaramonti's talented personnel,

the Consulta managed to reorient his archaeological operations in a manner explicitly designed to exploit the imperial symbolism of ancient Rome. The parallel with Mussolini is inevitable; and though I am not prepared to defend it here at length, I would claim that Napoleonic and Fascist modes of city planning and exploitation of archaeology were remarkably similar.

In order to make Rome worthy of its new title of "Seconde Ville de l'Empire" and to prepare for the anticipated visit of the Imperial Couple (which never took place; Napoleon in fact would never set foot in Rome), like Mussolini Tournon turned the Forum into an immense cantiere,[48] hiring over two thousand workers to clear the rubble from the monuments of Imperial Rome.[49] Hoping to stage a triumphal procession through the Arches of Titus and Septimius Severus, he revealed the original stones of the Via Sacra (an event much acclaimed in the Journal du Capitole and in the Parisian press[50]), and began the long work of its excavation; not to be outdone, Mussolini, would cut his own parade route from the Coliseum to the Capitoline through the Imperial Fora.[51] Both Tournon and Mussolini shared the mania for "isolating" the existing monuments in vast rhetorical spaces; we can be grateful that neither succeeded in his plan of opening up the Piazzas of the Pantheon and Trevi fountain.[52]

But Napoleon's most ambitious plan for transforming Rome exceeded even those of Mussolini. The French historian Madelin describes his project for a colossal imperial palace to extend from the Piazza Colonna to the Coliseum; the Palazzo Venezia was to have been its administrative wing, the Ara Coeli its chapel, and the Forum its inner courtyard.[53]

Although this architectural folly, actually commissioned to Perosini, was quickly abandoned in favor of a more realistic renovation of the Quirinal (entrusted to Raffaele Stern), the image of the palazzone mancato survives as an hallucinatory emblem of Napoleonic classicism. The enclosure of the Roman Forum as a private courtyard would have constituted an "archaeological representation" of unsurpassed eloquence in a totalitarian state.

Madelin notes the irony of the Pope's repossession of the Quirinal Palace -- newly redecorated at Napoleon's expense -- upon his return to the city in 1814. Along with the Sèvres porcelain, Gobelins tapestries, and freshly painted allegorical frescoes intended to celebrate the triumphs of Napoleon, Pius VII inherited a city substantially improved and embellished during his five-year absence.

Certain of the Imperial spaces he appropriated with

pleasure; he approved Valadier's sistemazione of the Pincio (enjoying the "commanding" view prepared for Napoleon), and in an archetypal assertion of papal ascendancy planted his own obelisk along its main axis,[54] unaware that Mazzini would one day seed the same ground with the busts of Italian patriots.[55]

Pius VII was occasionally more critical of Tournon's archaeological initiatives. Intransigent in one case toward a regime which had persecuted the Church, he reclaimed the Coliseum as a strictly religious symbol, filling in the steps, vomitoria and corridors cleared by Tournon and restoring the Stations of the Cross first placed there by Benedict XIV.[56]

It is significant however that the Pope directed Valadier to proceed with the restoration of the Arch of Titus -- a symbol particularly offensive to the Jews, whom he sent back to the Ghetto even as he reinstated the Jesuit order and the Inquisition.[57]

The moment perhaps most symbolic of the Papal Restoration was the return of the artworks to Rome. Not only in Italy but throughout Europe this was a palpable triumph of the Ancien Régime, celebrated in countless texts both verbal and visual.[58] Gould, describing the various negotiations in some detail, points out that a surprising number

of valuable pieces finally remained at the Louvre. For my purposes it is sufficient to note that the emissary sent from Rome to reclaim both the statues and the papal archives (perhaps equally essential to the resumption of the Chiaramonti administration), was Canova.

There is a curious thematic parallel between Monti's "Prosopopea" and Canova's 1816 "Prolusione alla nuova apertura dell'Accademia /Romana di Archeologia/ " which illustrates the changing strategies of archaeological encomium under the Restoration. Where Monti had celebrated the restoration of a single emblematic artifact in order to trace a fantastic "linea aurea" between fifth-century Athens and Settecento Rome, Canova commemorates the restoration of a public institution itself dedicated to archaeological inquiry and allegedly dependent for its survival on the continuity of the pax cristiana. As if archaeological activity had been suspended during the Napoleonic regime -- rather than promoted and personally conducted by many of the members of this audience -- Canova portrays the reorganization of the Academy and the return to peaceful and productive research as one of the most urgent political concerns of the Pope:

> Una istituzione così utile e luminosa non dovea dunque sfuggire le paterne sollecitudini del

> nostro adorato Pontefice e perciò ha formato uno de' suoi primi pensieri. Il perchè appena la Provvidenza con inauditi prodigj, ha riordinato il regno ad esso affidato, Egli con suo benigno assenso degnossi approvare il ristabilimento di questo interessantissimo Istituto, sotto il nome di Accademia Archeologica.[59]

It could be argued that papal propaganda of the Restoration resembles that of the Counter-Reformation in its dramatization of the dangers of heresy and of the precarious nature of the pax cristiana. Hence the antithetical images of ruins and reconstruction are central. In Canova's address the Napoleonic interlude is implicitly compared to the Barbarian invasions. The restored Chiaramonti papacy represents the era of rebuilding; hence the strategic emphasis on Pius VII's projected extension of the Vatican, all the more courageous in view of the recent depredations: "E per verità, chiunque rammenti con lagrime di consolazione e di gratitudine l'epoca travagliata del suo principato, non potrà a meno di ammirare insieme l'animo liberale, che arrichì il Museo di un braccio sì esteso, e pieno di monumenti...[60]

Pius VII's additions to the Vatican link him not only to his immediate predecessors but to the great "architect" popes of the Renaissance, Julius II and Leo X, who "concorsero con

bella gara a superarsi in splendidezza nel dedicare in Vaticano alle Arti stesse il tempio più augusto, che mai fosse lor consacrato" (p. 32). In addition, his reorganization of the Accademia Romana di Archeologica, "quella detta Romana per eccellenza nata già fino dal 1400," relates him to another prestigious precursor -- Benedict XIV, who had revived this body in the mid-Settecento, widely promoted antiquarian studies, and founded the Museo del Conservatori on the Capitoline.

Commending Pius VII's insatiable desire to distinguish himself as patron of the arts and rebuilder of Rome, Canova writes:

> Il glorioso nostro Pontefice Pio VII non pago di esser commendato presso la posterità più lontana per l'esimie virtù sue pubbliche, e private, e pei disastrosi, e prosperi volgimenti della fortuna, che hanno agitato e illustrato il suo pontificale impero, volle, che anche per questo rapporto passasse il suo nome ai tempi avvenire altamente benedetto, e memorando. (p. 32)

Although Pius VII has been criticized for excessively advertising his own accomplishments (e.g., in the hagiographic fresco cycle of episodes from his own life which he immodestly commissioned in vita from Domenico de Angelis for the Galleria Clementina,)[61] clearly in Canova's official view this was justified by the historical necessity of erasing all memories of the Napoleonic occupation.

Just as the visual narrative of the Pope's career promoted a consoling illusion of continuity not only through its thematic development but in relation to its architectural setting (the series spanned a long gallery built by and named after Clement XIV, and later divided into five sections by Pius VI -- whose name, inscribed over the doorway, is clearly legible in one fresco scene set in the same gallery where the viewer must stand), Canova's verbal representation of the Chiaramonti papacy consistently stressed the continuity of its cultural achievements despite "disastrosi...volgimenti della fortuna." In a formulaic praeteritio he proceeds to list these achievements:

> Lascio la insigne Accademia di S. Luca dotata con regale munificenza, i Professori innalzati all'onore che meritano le nostre Arti, le escavazioni degli Archi di Costantino, e di Settimio, l'ingente Muro, onde si sono riparate le ruine del magno Anfiteatro, e tante altre illustri sue imprese, che sono già compiute, e che si vanno compiendo... (pp. 32-33, emphasis mine)

This final distinction was not rhetorically useful to maintain; in fact, as I have shown in an earlier note (60), Canova had proclaimed the completion of the Braccio Nuovo in the year when its construction was to begin.

But Canova's most broadly successful strategy is to represent each instance of archaeological restoration (the

arches, the Coliseum buttress) as symbolic of a universal restoration of archaeology, central to the cultural politics of the Chiaramonti papacy. The formal reinstatement of the Academy enables the antiquarians to organize and approach a sense of professional identity. Although Canova does not yet use the term "archeologo" (settling instead for "antiquario" or even "erudito artistico"), he does attempt to define archaeology as a science:

> Ma le Arti, o Signori, come hanno una scienza di esecuzione, così s'adornano di una scienza di abbellimento... Tuttociò che ha rapporto alle varie maniere di antico, ai processi diversi dei lavori, agli esimj fautori, e cultori delle arti, alla storia delle loro vicende, alla illustrazione degli oggetti ch'esistono, e che si vanno tutto giorno scoprendo, forma una scienza collegata essenzialmente coll'Arte, e cogli Artisti. (p.33)

However vague the definition, it leads Canova to a rhetorically effective conclusion. Since archaeology involves the retrieval and description of finite material objects, its center can only be in Rome, where the majority of those objects are once again located:

> E destino delle opere della mano il rimaner circoscritte in luogo determinato. Ne' tutto il mondo può essere da tutti trascorso, e la più parte resteria pure inutilmente desiderosa se provvidamente non vi accorresse l'erudito

> artistico a darne un compenso colle sue analisi, co' suoi confronti, colle sue storie. Un tale studio, s'è conveniente in qualunque bene ordinato governo, che ambisca illustrarsi col presidio delle Lettere e delle Arti, diviene poi necessarissimo in Roma, in questo immenso deposito delle opere de' più grandi Artisti, in questa sede della grandezza dell'umano ingegno. Ogni pietra, per così dire, di questa capitale richiama lo sguardo, le cure, la penna del letterato, e dell'antiquario.
>
> Sua mercè si esaminano gli infiniti oggetti sottoposti alle di lui ricerche, e noi siamo per mezzo suo trasportati nelle antiche età, ne vediamo i costumi, ne passeggiamo le strade, ne ammiriamo i templi, diventiamo cittadini de' Secoli. (pp. 33-34)

I have quoted this passage at such length in order to clarify the politically conservative function assigned to the "science" here honored by the Pope's protection. It is in the name of a generic humanism ("cittadini de' Secoli") and cautious curatorship of the ecclesiastical landscape that the scholars are invited to resume their inspection of Rome's "every stone."

In 1822 Canova died, leaving unfinished the colossal kneeling figure of Pius VI, to be placed in the sunken Confessio under the main papal altar of Saint Peter's. It is fitting that Canova's last work should have symbolically restored to the Vatican a pope who died in exile, and that this statue should have marked the spot later to become the

focus of unprecedented archaeological scrutiny throughout the Second World War -- when the Roman Church, finally reconciled to the loss of the temporal power by Mussolini's Concordat of 1929, in imitation of lay archaeology undertook to identify beneath the Confessio and crypt the site of its own objective origins -- the actual tomb and remains of Saint Peter.[62]

Thus Canova's monumental representation of Pius VI presides over the site claimed most precious to Christianity -- encircled by ninety-five gilded lamps perpetually burning and canopied by Bernini's baldacchino and the Michelangelo dome with its revolving inscription of the words with which Christ is said to have instituted the Church: "TU ES PETRUS ET SUPER HANC PETRAM AEDIFICABO ECCLESIAM MEAM ET TIBI DABO CLAVES REGNI CAEOLORUM." No more spectacularly overdetermined setting could have been desired by any pope for his tomb; and the official twentieth-century archaeological sanction of the site would particularly gratify a pope who had himself skillfully manipulated archaeological imagery for rhetorical effect.

Throughout the papacies of Leo XII (1823-29), Pius VIII (1829-30), and Gregory XVI (1831-46), against the growing threat of revolution throughout Europe, the Vatican continued to sponsor and regulate archaeological research in Rome, and to exploit archaeological imagery for the apology of power. Before turning

to Belli's sonnets I would like to discuss one final text representative of the mature phase of Restoration classicism, written by the Vatican philologist whom I have already had occasion to mention, Angelo Mai.

Although Mai's text, like Canova's, is a ceremonial address to the Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia,[63] rhetorically it is considerably more sophisticated. Mai begins by characterizing his discourse as an extended ecphrasis modeled on Virgil's famous description of the shield of Aeneas (itself an imitation of an Homeric motif):

> Eccitato dal vostro invito, o valorosi accademici, a ragionare delle glorie di Roma nel ricorrente anniversario del natale di lei, io volo col mio pensiero a quel solenne episodio del sommo epico, dico allo scudo di Enea, nel quale con sublime fantasia fu rappresentata la segnalatissima storia dell'eterna città. Però invece di ridire que' fatti, ammirandi invero e magnifici, ma già vieti e divolgatissimi, amo imitare, piùttosto che chiosare, l'eroico scudo: e giudico, che un ristretto quadro della nostra moderna Roma, delineato con veloce pennello, e posto a confronto di Roma antica, adempirà il desiderio vostro, o signori, e il dover mio, che sia in questo dì celebrata con giuste lodi la patria comune di tutti i popoli, la signora immortale dell'universo. (pp. 388-89)

Ecphrasis had traditionally served in epic poetry as a device permitting the proleptic narration of events outside

the time frame of the poem. But beyond its telescopic narrative function, the figure also encouraged close descriptive focus (from Aeneas' shield we remember not only the panoramic Battle of Actium but also the necklaces fastened about the"fair-skinned throats" of the invading Gauls). By thematizing the technical virtuosity of an artist in a plastic and visual medium (e.g., on Vulcan's shield, "Among these subjects extended a wide and swelling sea; / It was done in gold, yet it looked like the blue sea foaming with whitecaps")[64], the poet could conveniently display his own verbal artistry. Ecphrasis tended then to transcend its thematic function and stand alone as a rhetorical set-piece, a tour-de-force dramatizing the paradox of representation itself.

By invoking the figure of ecphrasis Mai not only implies an epic context for his discourse -- the ongoing epic of the Church militant -- but declares that he will demonstrate the superiority of Papal Rome to that of Augustus and Virgil, pictured on the "eroico scudo." He asks only for permission to substitute the symbolic language of the Church for that of the Roman Empire:

> Chiedo dunque di permutare Roma gentile nella cristiana: chiedo di sostituire san Pietro apostolo al troiano Enea, ed al lauro dei cesari il triregno pontificale: chiedo d'inalberare in luogo delle aquile capitoline il salutare vessillo della croce del Redentore:

> chiedo in fine di condurre alla conquista del mondo non più le consolari legioni, ma i drappelli evangelici delle missioni. (p. 389)

This premise granted, he claims, "potrò io dimostrare, che l'autorità della presente Roma non solamente non è inferiore, ma eccede quella di Roma antica, la quale meritò l'epopea nobilissima del gran Virgilio."

Once we accept Mai's fiction of the extended ecphrasis, it becomes clear that the "quadro" which he sets out to evoke is not (as one might expect to be the nineteenth-century counterpart of a shield, terrace, or tapestry) an heroic cycle of history painting. In fact the temporal dimension is almost completely absent from his representation of "magna Roma" -- it is a purely spatial model which he chooses, without depth, dimension, or overt incident -- it is the map, a favorite encomiastic image of the Church militant at least since Gregory XIII commissioned the Vatican's colossal Galleria delle Carte Geografiche in 1580.[65]

Mai's object is to illustrate the extent of the Papal dominion by mapping out its missionary conquests throughout the world. He echoes the geographer Pomponius Mela in warning at the outset: "Orbus situm dicere adgredior, impeditum opus, et facundiae minime capax; constat enim fere gentium locorumque nominibus."[66]

Yet there is a contrived eloquence precisely in the catalogue

of names which follows. Because he has resolved to omit, "per amore di brevità," the list of the orthodox Catholic nations in order to concentrate on the "paesi eterodossi o infedeli" at the periphery of the Empire, Mai is able to assemble an exotic geographical index with its own incantatory effect.

Like a general diagramming military strategy, placing a pennant at each new stronghold, Mai lists the seemingly endless outposts of the Catholic church, from the Adriatic through northern Europe to Greece and northwest Africa. Here in an unexpected maneuver he returns to the text of Virgil:

> Fu già la Mauritania confine estremo dell'impero dei cesari in Africa; ma non lo è certamente di quello dei nostri papi. "His ego" (dice Cristo e non Giove)
>
> His ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono;
> imperium sine fine dedi...
> ... iacet extra sidera tellus,
> extra anni solisque vias, ubi caelifer Atlas
> axem humero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum.[67]

Mai freely splices citations from the first and sixth books of the Aeneid, and from two different speakers and contexts (Jupiter's prophecy to Juno; Anchises' exhoration to Aeneas) to dramatize Virgil's territorial claims for the Roman Empire and his prophecy of its indefinite expansion. Since he believes the Church to have inherited Rome's imperial destiny -- of spiritual

rather than political conquest -- Angelo Mai, the retore and representative of the Propaganda Fide, presses tirelessly on ("Adunque passiamo oltre...") through inner Africa to the Cape of Good Hope, and north along the coast to the Red Sea and the Orient.

Again reaching an area described by Virgil (but with an encomiastic intent!) as one of the outer limits of the Empire of Augustus, Mai points out that the legions of the Church have penetrated still further:

> Già dissi che il pontificato romano eccede ogni limite dal poeta entusiasta prefisso all'impero cesareo, dove scrisse:
>
> ... super et garamantas et indos
> proferet imperium.
>
> Abbiamo infatti sull'Indo, dove non giunse Augusto, e dove arrestaronsi Bacco il mitico nume ed Alessandro il macedone; abbiamo dissi il pontificio vicario di Bombaino...

He goes on, with increasingly insistent anaphora, to list the papal emissaries at work in this land uncharted in Roman times:

> ... abbiamo l'altro in Verapoli nel Malabar; abbiamo il terzo in Taprobana ossia Ceylan, che pasce in quell'isola cento e ottantatrè mila cattolici. Eccovi il quarto prelato nella colonia francese di Pontischery; eccovi il quinto già decretato ai regni mediterranei del

> Madurè; ecco il sesto nella ricca Madras; il settimo nella popolosa Calcutta sul Gange; e finalmente l'ottavo presso il Tibet. (p. 393)

It would be unkind to quote much more of this. My main concern is to point out, beyond such rosters of papal personnel, the overall centrifugal impulse of the narrative -- the insistent movement outward from the center which will lead us as far as China, New Zealand, and even the Sandwich Islands.

"E dunque veramente cattolica, cioè universale, la romana chiesa; e l'universo, con tutte le sue terre, isole, e mari, rende ossequio al santissimo padre della nostra Roma..." (p. 396). By dramatizing the supranational and "universal" authority of the Church such rhetoric implicitly supresses the idea of an Italian nation. The roving aerial views systematically prevent such an image from coming into focus. By training our eye toward the ever-widening horizon of Catholic missionary activity, the author strategically blurs objects in the foreground; and by concentrating on a common enemy (the classic epithet of "infidel" now applying to Protestants as well as Moslems and Jews), he blurs any suggestion of dissension at home.

"Per amor della brevità" Mai had passed over the entire Italian peninsula at the outset. He will return to Rome only as from the circumference of a circle to its center -- to celebrate

the city's role as the base of Catholic missionary operations and seat of the Collegio de Propaganda Fide, which trains missionaries of all nationalities in the "arte romana delle conquiste" proclaimed by Virgil's Anchises:

> Ecco poi tra le mura di Roma un collegio e quasi un asilo... aperto ad ogni nazione per formarvi apostoli, cioè conquistatori di nuovi popoli e regni alla sede del Vaticano. Qua l'inglese, l'abernese, lo scoto, l'alemanno, il batavo, il greco, l'illirico, il trace, l'armeno, il siro, il persiano, l'egizio, l'abissino, l'americano, il cinese, vengono ad imparare l'arte romana delle conquiste. Perocchè all'eterna città fu detto:
>
> Tu regere imperio populos, romane, memento: hance tibi erunt artes. [68]

The claim that Rome's destiny transcends all local and national politics is sealed by the following peroration, which culminates in a final clip from Anchises' exhortation to Aeneas:

> Che se è così ben giusta ragione abbiamo, o illustri accademici, di festeggiare con ogni letizia questo dì anniversario del natale di Roma; il quale se fu sorgente di tanti beni; e se l'impero romano, invece di sminuirsi dopo la fine dei cesari, crebbe anzi a dismisura sotto i pontefici; chi non sarà meglio affetto verso il nuovo stato di cose, che verso l'antico? Chi non si mostrerà più lieto della pace cristiana, che delle sanguinose armi dell'impero? Chi non vorrà piùttosto l'aumento del regno della virtù, che di quello della politica? Chi finalmente con tutto il suo potere non aiterà questa impresa della dilatazione del santo impero pontificale?
>
> Et dubitamus adhuc virtutem extendere factis? [69]
>
> (emphasis mine)

Having confirmed Rome's privileged exemption from national politics, in part through this extraordinary Virgilian pastiche (three other quotes from the Georgics appear in the final pages), Mai finally presents in the form of a dénouement a vision of "Italia" as a whole. It is a pastoral landscape, an "hortus conclusus" in perpetual spring, free from conflict and change:

> Verdi pianure e delicati colli
> d'alberi ingombri e di vivaci erbette
> amenissime valli e prati molli,
> ove scherzan tra i fior soave aurette;
> e frutti mille d'ambrosia satolli,
> e bei cipressi, e olive pallidette;
> dove stagnan le fonti, ivi son laghi,
> lucidi specchi ed a vedersi vaghi.

In the "laghi" of the penultimate line one could maliciously find an emblem of papal encomiastic discourse itself, narcissistically contemplating its own image in the literature of Augustan Rome and in the stagnant pools of its Academies. Surely this irony did not occur to Angelo Mai as he concluded, "Salve dunque, o bel Lazio, dilettevol ricetto del misterioso Saturno e degli archeologi figli suoi!"

Again Rome is a "ricetto," a refuge from history --

as it had first been for Saturn, exiled by Jupiter from Mount Olympus. By exhuming the vestiges of his "golden age," the Vatican archaeologists symbolically restore the city to its most remote and archaic, legendary origins, fortifying it against the vicissitudes of human history. With this extravagant "Saturnian" genealogy and its veiled reference to that other Virgilian text most commonly invoked as a classical prophecy of the Christian era (Virgil's Fourth Eclogue: "Iam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna,/ iam nova progenies caelo dimittitur alto.), Angelo Mai concludes his own exercise in neo-Virgilian ecphrasis after the Aeneid.

It is a relief to move on to Belli after so much inflated academic discourse; but before making Belli a hero of the "opposition" it helps to remember that he himself joined the Accademia degli Elleni at the age of twenty (in 1811), and was active in the Tiberina throughout most of his life.[70] In 1814 Belli was one of many to recite octaves in lingua hailing the return of Pius VII;[71] and despite his sometimes ferocious caricatures of Gregory XIV in the dialect sonnets, he accepted in 1850 the office of papal censor and is known to have fulfilled it with relish.

But leaving aside the vexata quaestio of Belli's ambivalent

relationship with power (and particularly with the power of the Papacy), I would like to sketch here very briefly the satire of papal archaeology found in his series of sonnets in dialect thematizing "le antichità di Roma," written for the most part between 1831-33 and reprinted by Roberto Vighi under this rubric in his anthology, Roma del Belli.[72]

Behind Belli's sonnets lies of course a long literary tradition satirizing the figure of the antiquary. Thoroughly to trace this tradition, and to provide a historical typology of the figure, would be a fine topic for a different thesis. Larrabee points out that as early as 1628, with the post-Renaissance vogue of collecting, the antiquary appeared as a character in English satire in Earle's Micro-cosmografie.[73] Certainly with the discovery of Herculaneum and Pompeii and the ensuing mania antiquaria, the antiquary became a favorite target of Italian Settecento satire, conflating the traditional figures of charlatan, pedant, and buffoon. I can mention here only the obvious examples of Goldoni's La famiglia dell'antiquario[74] and Verri's "L'antiquario fanatico."[75] Belli himself reworked this stereotype in several of his sonnets in lingua.[76]

What sets the dialect sonnets apart from the tradition of Settecento satire is the representation of this figure from a novel perspective -- that of the Roman popolano. "Io ho deliberato

di lasciare un monumento di quello che oggi è la plebe di Roma," explains Belli in his introduction.[77] It is appropriate, incidentally, that the plebe repaid this service by later erecting to Belli a monument similarly "realistic" in spirit -- Belli is portrayed in frock coat and top hat -- rather than an idealized nude à la Canova.[78] For Belli's literary representation of the plebe is distinctly anti-heroic and resolutely fragmentary in nature. The 2279 sonnets succeed in random order; Er commedione presents neither development nor synthesis ("Ogni pagina è il principio del libro; ogni pagina è il fine," Belli declares, again in the introduction, p. 9).

Rather than a single monolithic image of the Roman popolano, Belli provides a shifting and kaleidoscopic view of the range of sentiments and sympathies characteristic of a population long repressed by papal rule, but instinctively protective of a status quo to which it had successfully adapted for centuries -- and deeply ambivalent toward the glimpses of social and political change afforded by the Napoleonic occupation.

Popular perceptions of archaeology are as varied and discordant as attitudes toward the Papacy itself. Where from a vulgar-marxist point of view we might expect a popular consensus of hostility toward papal archaeology -- for as Vighi

points out[79] and as we learned most brutally from Mussolini, the excavation of any urban area involves the demolition of existing dwellings and almost inevitably the physical displacement of the lower classes[80] -- there is instead confusion, fascination, and ambivalence.

Open resentment is most likely to emerge on those ceremonial occasions -- such as the anniversary of the foundation of Rome, discussed earlier in this chapter -- where private feast contrasts most blatantly with public famine. The speaker of "La nasscita de Roma" focuses bitterly on the economic reality veiled by the empty pageantry of the Sabini:

> Oh Farzacappa, oh Gàzzoli, oh Dandini,
> Vedéssivo li nostri Cardinali
> Come staveno attenti co l'occhiali
> A gguardà l'improvisi a li Sabbini?
>
> E cquanno inciafrujjorno scerti tali
> Quelli lòro ingergacci de latini,
> Li vedévio a ddà ssotto co l'inchini
> Pe nun fàsse conossce pe stivali?
>
> E cquanno quer povèta scarzacane
> strillava evviva Roma, eh? ccome allora
> S'ammazzaveno a sbàtteje le mane!
>
> Pe llòro infatti bbenedetta l'ora
> Ch'è nnata Roma a rrigalajje un pane
> Arrubbato a cchi ppena e a cchi llavora.[81]

Yet this speaker's disdain is not shared by Mattia, the

innkeeper whose conversation with an anonymous waiter is "transcribed" in the following sonnet -- written just two days earlier on the same occasion of the anniversary of Rome:

"Mattia! chi bestie ciài nell'osteria,
che se senteno urlà come li cani?"
"Ciò l'Arcàdichi e Argòlighi romani,
che un po' piàgneno e un po' fanno alegria."

"E che vo' di' Arzigòghili, Mattia?"
"Vo' di': gente che sa; boni cristiani,
che sull'arco dell'Arco-de-Pantani
te ce pònno stampà una libbraria."

"Ma qui che ce sta a fà tutta sta soma
de Cacàrdichi o d'antro che je dichi?"
"Fa una magnata, perch'è nata Roma".

"Aha', ho capito: so' li Santi-petti,
che tra loro se gràtteno, e l'antichi
li suffràgheno a furia de fiaschetti."[82]

The innkeeper's jovial view of the situation is easily explained by his evening's profits. For him the Vatican intellectuals are not parasites but paying customers -- however loud and boisterous, they have his full respect. "Fa una magnata, perch'è nata Roma," he explains serenely, as he counts his change. His interlocutor, though more cynical, is still broadly tolerant of this grotesque but harmless group. Much of the residual irony is Belli's own;

editors note especially his malicious distortions of "arcadico" and "archeologo" (though I find it interesting to add that the Italian word "arzigogolare" actually arose as a corruption of the Latin "archaeologare;" hence the pun does not originate with Belli).

Since Pius VI all the popes had spent enormous sums on excavation, and Gregory XVI was no exception. This of course continued to divert funds from other projects which would have been of greater practical benefit to the people -- such as street-lighting, sewers, and the improvement of agriculture. Apologists of Gregory's administration might have pointed out that Papal archaeology directly profited the people by creating jobs; but Belli's characters make it clear that the right to work is a distinctly mixed blessing. In fact, the privilege of abstaining from work is considered one of the special advantages of Rome's crima benedetto, as one matron advises a pregnant woman newly arrived from the provinces:

> Già, séte avvezza in quell'antri paesi
> dove se porta lo spadino e 'r panno;
> ma qui certe fatiche nun se fanno
> qua noi semo romani e no arbanesi.
>
> Quest'aria nun è aria da villani.
> Noi nun semo facchini, io ve l'ho detto:
> noi pe grazzia de Dio semo romani.[83]

Part of the plebian's hostility to archaeology is based then on resentment of the sheer physical labor involved in all excavation

and site development. Archaeology transforms the Campo Vaccino, formerly a favorite passeggiata and comfortably disheveled public space, into an organized workplace; and reduces the proud romano to a facchino, grudgingly uprooting earth and rocks and bearing them from one spot to another. If all work is to be avoided, this job seems quintessentially pointless. Belli gives here the view of one of the laborers in the Forum:

> Mo s'ariscava a Campidojo; e, amico,
> già so' du' vorte o tre che ciànno provo.
> Ma io, pe parte mia, poco me movo,
> perch'io nun so' più io quanno fatico.
>
> E lo sapete voi cosa ve dico
> de tutti sti sfrantumi ch'hanno trovo?
> Che mànneno a fà fótte er monno novo
> pe le cojonerie der monno antico.
>
> Ve pare un bèr procede da cristiani
> d'empì de ste pietracce ogni cantone
> perchè addosso ce pìscino li cani?
>
> Insomma er Santo-Padre è un gran cojone
> e dà retta a st'arcòggioli romani
> ch'arinégheno Cristo pe Nerone.[84]

This droll appraisal masks a genuine anxiety, widespread among the lower classes in Rome, regarding the Pope's role in the excavations. Since medieval times, pagan statues retrieved from the earth had been believed to possess demonic powers (a contemporary nineteenth-century version of this legend is Prosper

Mérimée's La Vénus d'Ille).[85] Dread of such archaeological images only focuses a more general fear of the "underworld" which persisted in Rome well into the nineteenth century. Remembering Hugo's extraordinary description of the sewer system of Paris in Les Misérables, it is hard not to imagine a comparable fear of Rome's intricate subsoil, laced with catacombs long believed to have been the clandestine refuge as well as the cemetery of Christian martyrs.[86]

Archaeologists were grave-robbers, raiding the sacred precincts of the dead. How could one reconcile a pope's interest in archaeology with this obvious fact? Yet Gregory XVI not only directed excavations from the Vatican but, as one sonnet attests, actually visited them periodically to inspect their progress.[87] (His successor, Pius IX, would in fact receive an ominous sign when visiting the scavi of S. Agnese fuori le Mura in 1855, when the ground gave way beneath him. His "miraculous" survival is commemorated in Domenico Toetti's fresco cycle in an ancillary chapel of that church.)[88]

Belli's laborer here resolves this question by blaming the Pope's blasphemous advisors -- in another malicious variant, the "arcoggioli" romani -- for leading him into "dalliance with a demon thing."[89] Yet elsewhere

the Pope is applauded for his sponsorship of archaeology, and the presence of the "anticaje" becomes a source of civic pride (and anti-French polemic), as in the sonnet "Roma Capomunni":

> Nun fuss'antro pe tante antichità
> bisognerebbe nasce tutti qui,
> perché a la robba che ciavémo qua
> c'è, sor frìccica mio, poco da dì.
>
> Te giri, e vedi bùggere de lì:
> te svòrti, e vedi bùggere de là:
> e a vive l'anni che campò un socchì,
> nun se n'arriva a vede la mità.
>
> Sto paese, da sì che se creò,
> poteva fà cor monno a tu per tu,
> sin che nun venne er general Cacò.
>
> Ecchevel'er motivo, sor Monsù,
> che Roma ha perso l'erre, e che però
> de st'anticaje nun ne pò fà più.[90]

This text is fascinating to me because it reveals the popolo's genuine ontological perplexity regarding the ruins of Rome. This speaker's pride in the "anticaje" rests on the vague conviction that they are somehow fabricated by the Pope himself through the mysterious act of excavation, for the greater glory (and profit) of Rome. Both the popolano's instinctive cynicism and his ignorance of "history" contribute to the shrewd hypothesis of the "finte antichità;" just as

the protagonist of the poem "L'innustria" tricks a credulous Englishman into buying a worthless, broken andiron ("Signore, guardi un pò quest'anticaja / ch'avemo trovo jeri in de lo scavo"),[91] the speaker in "Roma Capomunni" appears to implicate the Pope himself in the manufacture of "antique" artifacts -- that quintessentially Roman tourist industry whose interruption by the French had led to Rome's abrupt decline.[92]

An alternate hypothesis regarding the origin of the ruins is that they were simply built that way by the ancient Romans, "co una parte mezza sotterrata."[93] But this theory raises obvious problems. Nino, pointing out the twelve crumbling columns in the facade of the Dogana (now the Roman Stock Exchange), asks sensibly, "Subbito che nun so' sane ne tonne / e deverébbeno èsse tonne e sane, / c'era bisogno qui delle colonne?"[94]. And another character, guardedly identifying "l'arco de Campovaccino, quello in qua" as "l'arco...di Sittimio s'è vero" ("ché pò èsse che sii 'na buggiarata"!), goes on to exclaim in obvious exasperation, "Oh vedi che crapiccio de pensiero, / vedi si ch'idea matta sconsagrata, / de nun annallo a frabbicallo intero, / ma co una parte mezza sotterrata!"[95]

Perplexing as it may seem, the notion of "prefabricated" ruins is still more plausible to these characters than that of historical change. For them the city of Rome has always existed

in its present form (Campidoglio, Vatican, and all), since the day it was built by Romulus and Remus:

> Chi ha frabbicato Roma, er Vaticano,
> er Campidojo, er Popolo, er Castello?
> Furno Romolo e Rèmolo, Marcello
> che gnisun de li dua era romano.
> ...
> De li sfrìzzoli ognuno ebbe li sui:
> e Roma, quelli dua la liticòrno,
> ma venne er Papa e se la prese lui.[96]

It is interesting to note how this comically foreshortened view of Roman history caricatures the basic papal claim of the continuità delle due Rome. For Belli's popolano, classical and Christian Rome are not merely complementary; they are quite literally identical, and merge into that single, spontaneous and fantasmagoric vision of the city which alone responds to his direct experience. The very idea of a distinction between ancient and modern Rome amuses Belli's characters: "Rom'antich'e moderna!" cries one, "oh quest'è bella! / Mŏ adesso Roma s'è fatta un'amica! / Ma s'una è questa qua, l'antra indov'èlla?"[97]

In his instinctive resistance to change and redefinition Belli's popolano is frequently as dogmatic as the "arcoggiolo" himself. A number of the sonnets dealing with the "antichità" develop this theme. The papal "battesimi de l'anticaje" are

ridiculed by one character in a sonnet of that name; shrewdly invoking a folk etymology, he insists that the structure recently labeled "Teatro di Marcello" is clearly "un Culiseo" ("Sti cosi tonni, come'er culo, a Roma / se so' sempre chiamati Culisei").[98] Again in "un deposito" a romano de Roma declares that the well-known tomb on the Via Cassia can only be that of Nero, regardless of the name there inscribed: "perché, da sì ch'er monno s'è creato, / questa è la sepportura de Nerone."[99] A third character is equally dogmatic in insisting on the proper pronunciation of "Colonna Trojana" (!); lecturing a deluded companion (who had ventured to pronounce it "Trogliana") on the prehistory of the monument, after a marvelous jumble of misinformation he concludes: "Ebbè, si viè da Troja sta colonna, / s'ha da dì, si te piaceno li fichi, / Trojana, pe l'amor de la Madonna! / Chè a chiamalla sinnò come tu dichi, / sarebbe com'a dì che nun è tonna / e volénne sapé più de l'antichi."[100]

Such a "dialogo tra sordi" is a fine parody of the degraded forms of archaeological debate which Belli surely had witnessed at the papal court. A similarly futile conversation, in "La Dogana de Terra a Piazza-de Pietra," goes on for thirty-eight lines.[101] In "La salara de l'antichi" one characters goes so far as to

speculate, on the basis of a confusion between "il sale" and "le sale" (the "Sette Sale" of Titus, as Belli explains in a note), that a cistern at that site, currently used for storing salt, not only served the same purpose for the ancient Romans, but was also a warehouse of tobacco ("E mó mi viè un'idea! che lì, per bacco, / chissà che nun ce fussi er sito puro / per tutto er magazzino der tabbacco?")[102]

What interests me in these examples is the structural similarity between such folk etymologies and naive reconstructions of ancient Rome, and the hypotheses of the archaeologists themselves -- more "sophisticated" perhaps, yet often equally deluded. Despite their distrust of the "arzigolighi" and professed indifference to archaeological speculation, Belli's popolani inevitably share their fascination for all that is Roman, and their impulse to account for both the prodigies and flaws in its landscape. Throughout the sonnets they rehearse an unwitting parody of the pope's "arcoggioli" -- taking turns playing cicerone, improvising explanations for puzzling iconography, trading tireless harangues on the antichità. "Guarda, Ghitano mia: eh / di',te piace?" demands sor Gregorio, in the first of a four-sonnet series documenting their tour of the Campo Vaccino. Together they admire the Basilica di Massenzio -- awesome if only as a heap of masonry ("Nun fuss'antro la carcia!" -- "Buggiarona! /

E li mattoni? Sai quante fornace!"),[103] before moving on to the three columns of the Temple of Castor and Pollux which dominate all views of the Forum. Here in a fantastic, quasi-oneiric reconstruction of the Imperial City, sor Gregorio explains that these three columns are all that remain of the three-hundred-column Bridge of Caligula, which once extended from the Coliseum to the Campidoglio.

Such examples suggest a long tradition of "folk archaeology" analogous in inspiration to the "professional" version favored by the Vatican. The plebe was after all the first party to make the "mute stones speak"! In recalling not only the Pasquino but all the other "statue parlanti" which had preceded Belli in lending a ventriloquist's voice to the lower classes of Rome, I have come full circle from my opening discussion of Monti's "Prosopopea." The Grecian herm gives way to the rogue of the Piazza Navona. Far more could be said of Belli's sonnets on the antichità; but given the breadth of my topic this seems a suitable place to conclude this chapter's provisional portrait of the archaeological "profession" in papal Rome.

Chapter III. Risorgimento Uses of Archaeology: Gioberti and Mazzini

If the primary strategy of Pio-Clementine classicism was to create vast ceremonial spaces in which to display the spoils of recent excavations and proclaim the Pope's exclusive title to the complex legacy of Rome, Mazzini and other writers of the left dreamed of repopulating those architectural spaces abandoned by the marauding Popes, as a common ground for the democratic opposition.

In the works of Mazzini and other writers of the "scuola democratica,"[1] and in the works of other European writers sympathetic to the cause of Italian nationalism, the ruins of Rome are repeatedly invoked as a setting for revolutionary action -- a transitional topos or "common place" in which to mobilize the scattered forces for Italian unity, in preparation for the overthrow of the temporal power.

How literally the Roman ruins might come to represent the rallying-point of the Popolo and the site from which to move their assault on the Vatican, becomes clear in a text such as Charles Didier's Rome souterraine of 1833 -- a novel much admired by Mazzini and a text to which I will return later in this chapter.[2] In this fictionalized account of a carbonaro uprising, the tiny church of San Lorenzo in Miranda, layered into the ruins of the Temple of

Antoninus and Faustina at the very base of the Forum, is chosen as the rendez-vous and base of operations of the carbonari; and it is to this site that the insurgents, having won an abandoned Vatican only to be routed from the Castel Sant'Angelo, retreat for the final seige in which all but one will die, martyrs to the cause of a united Italy.

It is easy to understand why Mazzini, in a review of Rome souterraine published in the Giovine Italia,[3] applauded the metamorphosis of the ruins into barricades. By reclaiming the ruins as political symbols and deploying them in an "epic" narrative which promised wide popular appeal, Didier's text helped to counter an increasingly mannered "poetry of ruins" which throughout Europe had found in Rome its privileged setting.

Just as Foscolo in "Dei Sepolcri" had resisted the elegiac tendency of the English sepulchral tradition, both as political orator and literary critic Mazzini tirelessly campaigned against the shallow despair over Italy's fortunes made fashionable by Lamartine[4] -- declaring with Giusti to the alleged "terre des morts", "fin le vostre ruine / sono un'apoteosi."[5] It is characteristic of Mazzini's apocalyptically distended vision to move from the focus on the individual sculptural monument (increasingly

delicate in Foscolo as he approached Le grazie) toward a wide-angle view of the entire monumental complex of Rome; but however that city is transfigured through Mazzini's myth of the "Terza Roma," as an ideal everywhere present in his writings it supplies a unifying image and center which had been lacking in Foscolo -- whose inconclusive archaeological odyssey I traced in the first chapter.

Where Mazzini, in the tradition of David and other artists of the French Revolution, exploits the full subversive potential of the classical landscape by reclaiming it as the stage for the austere trials of republican virtue[6] -- polemically overturning broken bas-reliefs, urns, and sarcofaphi and aligning them as improvised barricades, introducing a new and severe, visionary order into the picturesque disarray prized by the Romantics -- Giobert is far less radical in his representation of Rome.

Although he too strategically exploits the archaeological metaphor, his emphasis is not on the actual elaboration of the site, but on the hallucinatory display of the artifact -- that fragile and priceless Italian primato lost through centuries of foreign domination.[7]

Where Mazzini develops the imagery of excavation -- the search for civic and spiritual ideals long buried under the debris

of the Ancien Régime, the patient shared work of undermining the remaining vestiges of that authority through the labyrinth of clandestine organization -- Gioberti remains more consistently on the surface, denying the need to "break ground" at all, miraculously resurrecting an object of dubious authenticity from the depths of his own imagination.

In this chapter, devoted to "Risorgimento uses of archaeology," I have chosen to discuss Mazzini and Gioberti not because they present a united ideological front -- an "opposition" whose discourse stands clearly profiled against the Vatican discorso del potere[8] -- but because in the period leading up to the events of 1848 they represent the two rival forces most influential in shaping public opinion and enlisting widespread sympathy for the goal of a united Italy.[9] Certainly some measure of their influence is due to the common strategy which I have introduced here -- an archaeological revival of the idea of Rome.

In his fundamental chapter on "L'idea di Roma" in the Storia della politica estera italiana dal 1870 al 1896,[10] Federico Chabod has shown that Rome was an emblem not widely trusted by the left during the early years of the Risorgimento, precisely because of its imperial, papal, and Napoleonic associations. It was largely

due to the contribution of Gioberti and Mazzini if by mid-century, as Chabod claims, the idea of Rome had gained sufficient popular appeal to displace its main rival iconography, that of the medieval communes (and signally of Florence) -- which had been used by writers as diverse as Cattaneo, Sismondi, and D'Azeglio implicitly to illustrate the advantages of a federalist system of government over those of a strongly centralized state.

That even then the question was not fully resolved is clear from Chabod's account of the continued debate during the 1860's on the choice of a capital city for the new Kingdom of Italy. Nonetheless, with the events of 1848 -- and especially Garibaldi's epic defense of the Roman Republic from the Janiculum -- the image of Rome, with its rich landscape of rovine esortatrici, moved increasingly toward the foreground of nationalist discourse in Italy.

Italian archaeological inquiry was of course not limited to Rome during the first half of the nineteenth century. During the Napoleonic period, the success of such works as Vincenzo Cuoco's Platone in Italia (1804-06) and Micali's L'Italia avanti il dominio dei Romani (1810)[11], attests to a polemical revival of interest in pre-Roman civilizations, which like the cult of the medieval communes

attempted to divert attention from the centralizing image of Rome by reconstructing the annals of previous civilizations brutally assimilated by Rome during its conquest of the peninsula.

Where Cuoco's novel, in the tradition of Barthélemy's Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis en Grèce, was a freewheeling archaeologico-political fantasy whose only claim to historical authenticity was the purely formal conceit of the "found manuscript,"[12] Micali's study -- despite the paucity of empirical evidence to support his theory -- presented itself as a serious scientific treatise, complete with an erudite apparatus largely improvised to support his premise of a network of highly developed and differentiated autochthonous civilizations anterior to the Roman conquest.

That Micali himself did not fully anticipate or intend the politically subversive impact of his Storia as the century progressed, does not alter its effective status as a prototypical narrative of resistance to Rome and an early attempt to rewrite the history of Italy from the perspective of the vinti. Although he notes the distrust of the "scrittori mazziniani" for the anti-Roman rhetoric of this "letteratura pelasgica" and mentions Sismondi's concern that

by fostering a retrospective resentment of Rome such rhetoric would lead to a "svalutazione del retaggio classico" and an alienation from Italy's most precious moral and mythical resources ("uno sperpero di mezzi e di forze, d'un patrimonio civile e morale che dell'imminente, e tuttavia remoto, risorgimento italiano doveva insieme costituire la premessa e la guarentigia"), Trèves argues that the reaction to Rome was a salutary development, even a necessary condition of the nation's eventual reconciliation with and repossession of Rome: "solo mercè quest'opera d'intelligenza storica del proprio passato, l'Italia sarebbe stata capace d'intendere il rapporto dialettico fra il suo retaggio classico-universalistico e il suo moderno fare, vivere e sentire, fra le due Rome di ieri e la terza, che si trattava non pur d'occupare, ma, e più veramente, di costruire."[13]

Although the nationalistic revival of medieval vocabularies came relatively late to Italian architecture, notably with the work of Camillo Boito in the 1870's and the facade completions of the cathedrals of Florence and Milan,[14] the renewal of interest in the Middle Ages propagated by European Romanticism did find expression in the archaeological reconstructions of episodes from Italian history attempted by the romanzo storico and history

painting of the 1830's and 1840's.[15] Apart from purely sentimental approaches to the theme, such as Diodata Saluzzo's poem "Le rovine," a fantasy inspired by the view of a ruined medieval castle — which nonetheless was celebrated by Di Breme as the prototype of the modern Romantic lyric[16] -- there did evolve, a contrario, out of the reactionary cult of the Middle Ages imposed by Restoration pedagogy to erase the memory of Jacobin classicism, that liberal and patriotic revaluation of the medieval communes which I mentioned earlier, and whose genesis De Sanctis would recall in his 1866 funeral oration for Massimo D'Azeglio:

> Allora era molto in voga lo studio del medio evo.
> Era una specie di reazione a quella storia greca
> e romana alla quale si attribuivano quelle ubbie
> rivoluzionarie che avevano guasti i cervelli.
> E per racconciarli si raccomandava il medio evo,
> che rappresentava la grandezza del Papato e il
> diritto divino, e se n'era cavato non so qual
> sistema fra il mistico e il feudale, che dovea
> essere il catechismo della nuova generazione,
> il medio evo della ristorazione.
> Ma non ci è sistema, nè storia che possa fermare
> il sole, voglio dire il corso fatale delle cose.
> L'Italia vivea oramai in tutte le intelligenze
> e l'intelligenza è quella che fa la storia.
> D'Azeglio studiò il medio evo a modo suo e
> s'incontrò con altri scrittori italiani.
> Costoro foggiarono un medio evo della rivoluzione
> italiana, dove scrittori, principi e guerrieri,
> parlano il nostro linguaggio ed operano e vogliono
> secondo i nostri desiderii. Così lo cercò e lo
> scoperse Massimo D'Azeglio; così lo rappresentò
> ne' suoi quadri e ne' suoi romanzi.

After a rapid summary of the episodes and protagonists favored by the new romanzo storico, De Sanctis concludes:

> Questo fu il medio evo creato da Massimo D'Azeglio Raccomandato, favorito dalla ristorazione, lo studio del medio evo si volse contro di lei, e divenne uno de' più efficaci fattori della nostra redenzione. Noi vi cercammo non dritti storici, non pergamene, non codici, non istituzioni, non pretese di Papi e Imperatori, ma le tradizioni e la carta della nostra nazionalità, una più chiara coscienza di noi stessi, le testimonianze e i documenti del nostro valore e della nostra grandezza.[17]

Though conscious of the limits of the medieval commune as a political ideal (for it was structurally more sympathetic to the federalist thesis), Mazzini himself applauded every effort to reconstruct "heroic" episodes from any period in Italian history, which might serve as an exemplum virtutis to the present generation. In an essay of 1828, "Del romanzo in generale ed anche dei Promessi sposi di Alessandro Manzoni" — his first contribution to the ongoing debate on the validity of the romanzo storico as a genre -- he not only defended its political and pedagogical utility but specifically recommended a medieval thematic:

> Noi esortiamo gli Italiani a consecrarsi con ardore a questo genere, e a trarne i materiali de' tempi di mezzo, perchè quei secoli, che la rea indifferenze degli scrittori dannò sì gran tempo alle tenebre, sono fecondi, sovra tutti, di gravi insegnamenti, di memorie sublimi, e di esempli.[18]

If, as Mazzini adds later in the essay, one of the practical advantages of the romanzo storico is to "porgere coll'autorità di storici nomi una guarentigia maggiore della verità delle pitture, che si danno al pubblico," his endorsement of medieval themes in the novel concords with the preference for Hayez expressed in a later commentary on the "Pittura moderna italiana." There Mazzini judges the most valuable contribution of the neoclassical school of painting to have been the search for archaeological accuracy in the reconstruction of an _ambiente_ -- a goal accordingly politicized by the medievalizing school of the _pittura storica_ headed by Francesco Hayez, who in his great crowded frescoes of historical events first gave concrete representation to the masses:

> /Gli artisti classici/ col ritorno all'esattezza storica ed architettonica, così preminente nei loro quadri, prepararono il terreno alla scuola che doveva seguire... /Ma i pittori storici/ sono i Precursori della Pittura Nazionale, come /i /martiri /politici/ sono i Precursori della Nazione.[19]

Mazzini's aesthetic does not then exclude medieval themes; his approval of archaeological strategies of representation is conditional only on their progressive political function in

society. Mazzini's primary concern is that the accurate reconstruction of a milieu be remembered as the means, and not the end, of the historical mode. It is true that he does not share with a Giacomo Durando (antiromano and futurist avant la lettre!) that fanatical distrust of history that led the latter, in his 1846 manifesto Della nazionalità italiana, to reject every prior archaeological effort to forge a coscienza nazionale as mere "idolatria dell'antico" — accusing Dante, Machiavelli, Alfieri, Foscolo, et al., of fatally confusing politics and aesthetics:

> Noi abbiamo divisato di rigenerare l'Italia come si trattasse di ristorare una statua di Prasitele, un libro d'Aristotele o di Cicerone, senza tener conto, che se il bello e il buono dell'Arte, dell'immaginazione e del sentimento serbano lo stesso carattere quasi dapertutto / sic /, il buono e il bello sociale e politico vanno diversificati a seconda de' luoghi e de' tempi. L'arte si eresse tiranna fra noi...L'arte ci uccide.[20]

Yet Mazzini is fully aware of the dangers of encouraging any inquiry into the past, that is not directed by and anchored in an immediate and creative concern for the future. In the spirit of Renaissance Humanism as characterized by Thomas Greene,[21] Mazzini understands archaeology to be useful only insofar as it implies a "latent pressure on the present and future;" the "will to form" which motivates his historical imagination is a dynamic

and prospective force, alien to any retrospective or archaizing brand of classicism oriented toward the restoration of a static ideal.

Gioberti's Primato, with its promise of the literal restitution of the natural and inalienable title of "primogenito delle nazioni" to the Italian people, was certainly more deserving of Durando's skepticism than Mazzini's searching and abstract archaeology. In the following pages I will further question the function of archaeological imagery in the discourse of these two figures, and consider the measure in which it shapes their contrasting modes of representing "la questione italiana" in the years leading up to 1848. I do not pretend to provide a more general outline or critique of the political thought of either figure; and as I mentioned earlier, my discussion of Gioberti will be deliberately limited to a single text, the Primato morale e civile degli italiani, whereas most of my references to Mazzini will be culled from a series of essays of the decade preceding the Primato, which as part of his ongoing critica militante develop the imagery of archaeology in particularly striking ways.

Although in a chronological presentation Gioberti would logically belong after Mazzini -- for his Primato appeared only in 1843 and was conceived in direct reaction to Mazzini's doctrines, as an attempt to provide a broad-based national political alter-

native to Mazzinian republicanism[22] — I will discuss Gioberti first, since on the crude ideological spectrum plotted by these two chapters he belongs somewhere in the middle -- on the cusp between the purely conservative discourse of Papal classicism and the subversive, experimental classicisms of the left.

Any discussion of Gioberti's use of archaeology would have to begin by citing at length, if not in its entirety, his "Esortazione ai colti giovani italiani"[23] — an explicit appeal to renew the study of classical antiquity in order to refresh the present generation's awareness of the dignity of its origins.

In this chapter of the Primato[24] Gioberti deplores in general the neglect of archaeological inquiry in a region like Italy, naturally its privileged terrain:

> L'Italia e la Grecia sono le due regioni di Europa, che contengono maggiori reliquie di una civiltà vetusta, e posano sulle ruine di un antico mondo, fabbricato e distrutto dall'industria e dalla barbarie degli uomini. Egli è doloroso a pensare che così pochi siano al dì d'oggi gl'Italiani solleciti di conoscere e studiare le patrie ruine, e che tale inchiesta si abbandoni, come inutile, all'ozio erudito di qualche antiquario.

More specifically Gioberti recommends the revival of such study for its salutary effect on the young. The ritual contemplation of ruins represents in fact the climax

of an austere pedagogical program which he proposes to remedy the corruption of Italy's present educational system. "La maestà delle rovine" is a spectacle reserved for the highest grade of the initiate, who having honed their moral sensibilities through tireless mortification of the flesh ("Indurino il corpo, avvezzandolo al sole, allenandolo alla corsa e ai ginnastici esercizi, rompendolo alle operose veglie e alle utili fatiche, costringendolo a nutrirsi di cibi frugali, a posare su dura coltrice, e assoggettandolo in ogni cosa all'imperio dell'animo..."), and trained their spiritual faculties through solitary communion with nature at its most "sublime" ("contemplino...le cose divine...al cupo rezzo e fra lo stormire delle selve, o...sui gioghi eccelsi e sereni delle montagne"), will finally be prepared, in the contemplation of ruins, to accomplish that spiritual ascent enabling man to "risalire per la corrente degli anni e dei secoli sino alla fonte divina e misteriosa delle origini."

But archaeology is more than a private spiritual exercise. To each nation as a whole, architectural ruins represent an archive, a repository of information and concrete mode of access to its unwritten history. In a page which Mazzini could only have underscored, Gioberti develops this concept:

> Le ruine sono come i fossili delle nazioni e delle civiltà estinte, e perpetuano in un certo modo le età che passarono, rappresentandone in modo vivo e concreto l'istoria; tanto che gli annali di più di un paese si potrebbero cavare dalla sola descrizione de' suoi antichi avanzi. Una storia di Grecia, d'Italia, di Spagna, dedotta dalle ruine, sarebbe un lavoro curioso e degno di un eloquente filosofo.

From an awareness of history comes the power to shape the future; hence the creative and prospective nature of archaeology as a human science:

> L'archeologia, non meno della filologia, ben lungi d'essere una scienza sterile o morta, è viva e fecondissima, perchè, oltre al rinnovare il passato, giova a preparare l'avvenire delle nazioni. Imperocchè la risurrezione erudita dei monumenti nazionali porta seco il ristauro delle idee patrie, congiunge le età trascorse colle future, serve come di tessera esterna e di taglia ricordatrice ai popoli risorgituri, destandone e alimentandone le speranze colla sveglia e coll'esca delle memorie.

In a passage which inevitably recalls the democratic view of ruins as a "common place" in which to mobilize a patriotic opposition, Gioberti declares:

> Per questo verso le ruine sono spesso il ritrovo delle generazioni disperse, e la coscienza superstite delle genti dome e abbattute; le quali dissipate od oppresse dalla forza e dalla violenza, e talvolta spogliate perfino del nome e della lingua, vivono ancora per qualche guisa e perennano nei monumenti dei loro avi.

Just as a single fallen column, in Gioberti's semiology of ruins, signifies survival rather than decay, the more complex image of a stratified monumental ruin site attests not to the violence of human history but to the covert presence of a providential plan — a divine "teleology of nations" which guarantees the preservation of one civilization through the temporary superimposition of another. This is the logic to be "sub-read" in the apparently random movements of migrating tribes:

> ...le macerie illustri servono a determinare
> le soste, le pose e le stanze dei popoli migranti
> o pellegrini, perpetuando sovente le medesime
> linee nella configurazione artifiziale dei paesi;
> e quindi vengono ad intrecciarsi insieme parecchie
> civiltà diversissime, e una città sorge sullo
> sfasciume dell'altra... Laonde io credo che la
> preservazione dei monumenti di ogni genere non
> succeda a caso, e si colleghi colla teleologia
> divina della nazioni; e che un edifizio risparmiato
> dall'edacità del tempo e dalla violenza degli
> uomini sia tutti'altro, che un mucchio di pietre
> o di mattoni disutile.

It is this divine aura surrounding the monuments of the past that makes their study so valuable to the young, particularly in a period of moral and political upheaval:

> Le anticaglie sono spesso più importanti delle
> modernità, sopratutto /sic/ quando si consertano colle
> memorie civili, e valgono a rinfrescare gli spiriti
> nazionali; onde la colta gioventù d'Italia farà gran
> senno a non trascurare quelle della sua patria. E come
> alcuni pazienti eruditi hanno rifatto a grande studio
> certi antichi monumenti favolosi o distrutti, quali
> sono lo scudo di Achille, i mausolei di Osimandia e di
> Porsena, i sarcofaghi di Efestione e di Alessandro, il
> laberinto d'Egitto e via discorrendo; così i giovani
> studiosi, meditando le prische memorie, potranno rinnovar

> coll'esempio la santità degli antichi costumi, e instaurare, non già i fori, gli anfiteatri, le terme, ma l'unità, la grandezza e la forza dell'antica patria italiana. (emphasis mine)

Mazzini himself could have found little to quarrel with in this generic invocation of the archaeological metaphor in support of a "patriotic" discourse. Yet to distinguish his use of the metaphor from that of Gioberti, one need only consider the nature of those institutions in which Gioberti saw "l'unità, la grandezza, e la forza dell'antica patria italiana" to reside.

Although he implies the exclusion of Austria from a future confederation of Italian states,[25] Gioberti's proposal of a "return to origins" otherwise amounts to little more than an elaborate apology of the existing power structure in Italy. The theory of the "due componenti del genio nazionale italiano" elaborated in I, 179ff., provides an ingenious "genetic" explanation of the split between lay princes and Papacy which revaluates that duality as the sole possible structuring principle of national unity:

> Il genio proprio degli Italiani nelle cose civili risulta da due componenti, l'uno dei quali è naturale, antico, pelasgico, dorico, etrusco,latino, romano, e s'attiene alla stirpe e alle abitudini primitive di essa; l'altro è sovranaturale, moderno, cristiano, cattolico, guelfo, e proviene dalle credenze e instituzioni radicate, mediate un uso di ben quindici secoli, e tornate in seconda natura agli abitanti della Penisola. Questi due elementi, che sono entrambi nostrani, ma il primo dei quali è specialmente civile e laicale, il secondo religioso e ieratico, insieme armonizzano; giacchè, essendo logicamente

> simultanei e cronologicamente successivi, ma con assidua vicenda, l'uno compie l'altro, e corrispondono ai due gran periodi della nostra istoria prima e dopo di Cristo, e alle due instituzioni italiane più forti e mirabili...cioè all'imperio latino nato dalla civiltà etrusco-pelasgica, e alla dittatura civile del papa nel medio evo, procreata dal Cristianesimo. Amendue questi concetti, nazionali all'Italia e tosco-romani di origine, mirano a compenetrare tutte le parti del vivere civile, mediate un' aristocrazia elettiva, consigliera e ausiliare naturale del principato... e un primato ieratico, moderatore, preside e unificatore dei governi particolari, che è il perno della società ecclesiastica. Dal che risulta che gli ordini popolari non sono acconci alle instituzioni della Penisola...

Despite the apparent audacity of his proposal that the Pope be appointed head of a league of lay princes, the implications of Gioberti's neoguelph restoration are deeply conservative. The theme of the providential continuity between classical and Christian Rome, a bulwark of the Vatican's own apology of the temporal power, has merely been extended to the entire peninsula and made the basis of a triumphal characterization of a fixed national character — which provides a retrospective, pseudo-scentific sanction to the two forms of authority surviving in Italy but denies the emergence of that third force, the Popolo, which had recently found its spokesman in Mazzini.

The "Popolo" is only an abstraction, a chimera, argues Gioberti

in implicit polemic with Mazzini. It can not be considered one of the "raw materials" of a national Risorgimento because it is an entity nowhere to be found in Italian political precedent. And Gioberti's own greatest strength, according to his pseudo-Machiavellian parenthesis of I, 118ff. ("Scusa dell'autore se entra a discorrere di cose di Stato"), is his "prudence" in matters of politics:

> giacchè non mi arrischio a fabbricar nuovi ordini, nè a creare il minimo ingrediente sociale, restringendomi con gran riserva ad accennare il miglior costrutto possibile a cavarsi da quegli elementi, che si trovano in effetto. (emphasis mine)

In more explicit polemic with Mazzini, he warns in the "Esortazione agli esuli italiani" (II, 2 ff.) that nothing is more damaging to the cause of national unity than the exhortation to violence. "Le dottrine intemperate" learned while in exile will never find widespread support in Italy; they can lead only to "rivoluzioni abortive" and renewed governmental repression. Such setbacks are the more to be regretted because they derive from the imitation of foreigners -- especially the French -- and could be avoided by a realistic recognition of the Italian national temper: "perchè le dottrine democratiche, tumultuarie e licenziose sono contrarie al nostro genio nazionale."(p.4)

Elsewhere Gioberti is even more blunt in his rejection of a democratic alternative as both unworkable and undesirable in Italy:

> Io credo adunque savissimo quell'apotegma che dice, tutto doversi fare in pro della plebe, ma nulla o ben poco per mezzo di essa; giacchè il pessimo dei governi e il più contrario al bene di tutti, è appunto il plebeo." (II, 215)

Not by imitating the errors of the French -- whose many heresies, political and religious, he condemns at length (I, 189ff. et passim)-- but by conforming to the precedents of their own history, will the Italians realize their unique and privileged destiny among nations. An impressive vocabulary is enlisted to support the ethnographic end of this argument: "L'imitazione ci è tanto più interdetta, che il legnaggio pelasgico è la stirpe regia della gran famiglia giapetica del ramo indogermanico..." (I, 187) But the defense of the primato concept returns inevitably to the archaeological metaphor, as he concludes:

> E siccome il presente si radica nel passato, lo statista italiano dee avere una conoscenza ampia e profonda della storia, e direi quasi dell'archeologia politica della nazione, per saperci ravvisare quelle parti che hanno ancora del vivo, e sono quasi le morse e l'addentellato in cui il nuovo cape e si abbarbica." (I, 187; emphasis mine)

If Gioberti reserves his greatest scorn for the imitators of the "cosmopoliti" and "forestieri," fatally seduced by every novelty, he warns too against the possible abuses of archaeology.

The peculiar irony of the "ghibelline heresy" is its anachronistic attempt to return to pagan origins long since superseded and transvalued by the Church. Gioberti cites such figures as Cola di Rienzo, Arnaldo da Brescia, and Machiavelli himself, as victims of a single "magnanimo errore" -- a naive enthusiasm for the study of classical antiquity, which divorced them from Christian principles and led them, "commossi e rapiti dallo spettacolo dell'antica civiltà romana e del romano imperio" (I, 51), to seek Italy's redemption in a literal restoration of its pagan past.

By ignoring the mediating tradition which had preserved ancient Rome from destruction and fulfilled its prefigured destiny, such men invited their own destruction; for they moved to sever the first component of the "genio nazionale" (etrusco, pelasgico, romano, etc.) from the second which had preserved, nurtured, and perfected it. Gioberti's own polemic was not as anachronistic as it might first seem; Arnaldo da Brescia, here so heavily censured, would star in Giovanni Battista Niccolini's tragedy of that same year (1843).

Against the parable of such deluded "antiquarians" Gioberti envisions himself a successful Aesculapius -- healing, restoring, re-membering the fragments of Italy's past by mustering every icon and emblem, however decrepit, in the service of a vast rhetorical

synthesis. In his attempt to rally the broadest possible range of support among moderates and conservatives, he raises not only the sacred effigy of the Pope ("doge e gonfaloniere della confederazione italiana, arbitro paterno e pacificatore d'Europa, institutore e incivilitore del mondo, padre spirituale del genere umano, erede ed ampliatore naturale e pacifico della grandezza latina," III, 262); but also the standard of the Piedmontese House of Savoy ("Della casa di Savoia e sue lodi," I, 132ff.), and a host of lesser imprese representing each of the surviving indigenous dynasties on Italian soil.

Throughout the Primato he is patiently solicitous of these private interests, assuring the princes that the unity of Italy will be accomplished "senza guerre, senza rivoluzioni, senza offesa di alcun diritto pubblico o privato "(II, 90); for it depends simply on the restoration of an established network of legitimate authorities.

"Alcuni utopisti tengon per buon rimedio /al disordine attuale d'Italia/ un assoluto rivolgimento degli ordini sociali;" on the contrary, he claims, "la proprietà e la diseguaglianza delle fortune /sono/ assolutamente inseparabili da ogni vivere civile e dalle leggi della nostra natura" (II, 215). The emphasis on diritti rather than doveri is obviously calculated; unlike Mazzini, he promises to salvage all and sacrifice nothing; and to reassure

"la nuova stirpe che regge il Piemonte" he explains carefully:

> ...non occorre innovare, ma solo rinnovare un'idea italiana, cattolica, antichissima, ed effettuarla con modi pacifici, a pro di tutti, senza offendere, anzi avvalorando i diritti di ciascuno" (I, 140)

Finally Gioberti argues that the reintegration of a fragmented Italy is only a prelude to the reintegration of Europe as a whole, divided against itself since the Protestant schism. In a passage reminiscent of Angelo Mai's "Ragionamento" (cf. my Chapter II, 39-48), he orients his public toward the far horizon of heterodoxy -- praising the ongoing missionary work of the Church and promising a renewed Catholic crusade to the Orient as the ultimate goal and reward of an Italian risorgimento.

In his essentially encomiastic scheme and informing promise to preserve, rather than subvert, the present power structure of Italy, it is easy to discern the limits of Gioberti's archaeology. But it would be naive to underestimate the extraordinary appeal of his Primato during the years immediately following its publication.[26] If his "program" for the union of Italy represents little more than a sanguine description of her composite features, we must nonetheless recognize the success of this very rhetorical strategy.

His approach to the question of Rome is a case in point.

Though repeatedly throughout the Primato he returns to the image of Rome as eternal city, a phoenix continually reborn from its own ashes (I, 79), the fulcrum and cornerstone of Italian stability and (in yet another archaeological metaphor) the guardian of its Vestal fire (I, 78), it is only in the context of a panoramic review of Italian geography that he fully develops the crucial panegyric of Rome.

Gioberti's sketch of a "moral geography" of Italy (III, 159-93) is calculated to disarm regional resistance to Rome by framing the monumental image of Saint Peter's within a triumphal rhetorical tour of the entire peninsula which skillfully promotes the illusion of unity through the very description of diversity. Gioberti's stated premise is that "la varietà non pregiudica all'unità nelle cose create, anzi concorre a produrla." This applies particularly to a region like Italy, where a "genetic" predisposition to order naturally facilitates the harmonious integration of opposites:

> ...la stirpe pelasgica... è la più doviziosa, capace ed acconcia a riunire in sè stessa tutte le varietà e contrarietà etnografiche con armonico temperamento, come le opposizioni ideali e apparenti nell'Ente supremo si accordano.

By virtue of its very diversity, Italy becomes in Gioberti's view not only a microcosm of Europe ("la sintesi e lo specchio di Europa"), but an image of the Cosmos ("la più viva immagine del Cosmo"). By elevating Italy's geographic, ethnic and political heterogeneity to a sign and precondition of its primato Gioberti disarms the opposition and smoothly paves his rhetorical path to Rome.

A practical advantage of his conciliatory mode[27] is that on this rhetorical journey not even Florence need present an obstacle. Although he concedes that it is unusual to find two cities so close together, yet with such highly developed and distinct traditions, he is unwilling to admit any antagonism between them; even historically he characterizes their relationship as one of alternating hegemony and mutual regeneration rather than conflict.

In a favorite spatial metaphor which he frequently opposes to the circle (seen, like the geographical configuration of France, to imply all the dangers of excessive centralization), he describes Florence and Rome as the "due fochi dell'ellisse italiana" (179), logically sharing the function of directing the destinies of the peninsula. But their peaceful coexistence is ironically

dependent on the surpassing prestige of Rome; if "Roma e Firenze fanno moralmente una sola metropoli," this is possible only because Rome so clearly prevails:

> ...come città sacra e cosmopolitica, seggio privilegiato dell'idea, guardia dei principi dottrinali, archivio delle origini, capo e lingua del sacerdozio, corte della religione, e quindi come motrice e regolatrice del pensiero e dell'azione, che dalla religiosa molla principalmente dipendono. (173)

Gioberti's formal "Elogio di Firenze" (175-77), complete with its tribute to the city's distant Etruscan origins, whose "monumenti durano in gran parte eterni," is then an impatient prelude to the acclamation of Rome (177-82). After a passing reproach to the "fiera e ingegnosa plebe romanesca," which through its archaic spirit of resistance to authority retarded the rise of the Church and with it the work of Italian unification (178), Gioberti admits:

> Se non che, quando si parla di Roma, per eccitare ed occupare l'ammirazione degli uomini basta la città ieratica, cosmopolitica e monumentale. Chi dalla Toscana va a Roma, passando per l'Umbria, comincia a sentire nella regione del Tebro superiore le vicinanze della città sacra...

And in his own version of the "entry into Rome" topos ("Ecco Roma!"), central to the genre of the "viaggio in Italia,"

he declares:

> Se un dotto Tedesco rassomiglia Venezia a un enorme vascello ancorato nel fondo dell'Adriatico, la settemplice città, che s'innalza fra la quiete solenne della sua campagna, può paragonarsi a una immensa piramide che sorge in mezzo al deserto.

This "desert" is neither the "vuota insalubre region" decried by Alfieri and a generation of Settecento illuministi pressing for reform in the Papal States, nor the melancholy retreat favored by a certain romantic sensibility, but a sparkling visual setting for a monumental city which is the "sede privilegiata del sublime." For Gioberti in fact, Rome with its maze of ruins and monuments is a spectacular image of order:

> Rome...come città cristiana e cosmopolitica, somiglia alla monade leibniziana; ed è rappresentativa dell' universo; di cui ella riunisce ed esprime i varii componenti, non accozzati e parificati a magistero di filosofia eclettica, o panteisticamente confusi, ma armonicamente distinti, e governati dal principio di creazione.

Incarnating this principle is of course the Pope,

> che trasse la città novella dalle ruine dell'antica metropoli, e sopra di esse edificolla, come Iddio fabbricò la nostra terra sulle macerie di un globo anteriore, le cui reliquie sono sepolte nelle viscere delle montagne.

Noting that Gibbon himself praised the efforts of the Popes

to restore and preserve pagan monuments (but cf. my Chapter II, p. 58 ff.),Gioberti concludes:

> Perciò i residui del pagnesimo si veggono frammisti ai monumenti cristiani, e formano quasi una città funebre e mortuale intrecciata colla città dei vivi, ma a Lei soggiacente; perchè il principio cristiano signoreggia in Roma, e abbracciando ogni cosa col magistero della vasta sua sintesi, tutto spiega e colloca nel suo debito luogo. (179, emphasis mine)

Gioberti clearly takes his distance from Gibbon, and from every other writer who had read in the Roman landscape the decadence of classical civilization (or indeed, of Italian civilization as a whole) when he envisions, even from the depths of the "città sotterranea e sepolcrale," the indistinct splendors of a "metropoli futura":

> Un dotto inglese dell'età scorsa, abbattendosi a sentire, mentre sedeva sul Campidoglio, la salmodia cristiana risonante nel tempio di Giove, corse col pensiero all'agonia e alla morte di un imperio spento da molti secoli, e si propose di scrivere minutamente l'istoria. A me più diletta di ravvisare nelle solennità di Roma cristiana un nuovo ordine di cose, che si avvicina, e di poterne intuonare l'augurio e salutarne l'avvenimento. Salve, o Roma, città di memorie, ma più ancor di speranze, poichè tu sola contieni in germe l'unità d'Italia e del mondo...Piantata in mezzo all'Italia, tu sei il comune ritrovo dei figliuoli di essa; i quali, movendo dal norte e dall'austro, dai monti e dai liti, s'incontrano nel tuo grembo, dove, parlando la tua favella, si riconoscono per compatrioti, e benedetti dal padre, si abbracciano come fratelli. (emphasis mine)

The edifying parable, prophetic tone, and "comune ritrovo" theme inevitably recall Mazzini; but Mazzini's Terza Roma would have risen on the ruins of the Papacy. This is in fact the austere reminder which qualifies his otherwise favorable review of Didier's Rome souterraine, which I mentioned at the outset of this chapter.

If Mazzini is grateful for Didier's solidarity with the Italian cause ("Didier ci è fratello; fratello di speranze e d'amore. La nostra terra gli è sacra,") and congratulates the author for having created, in his "bel tipo d'Anselmo," a protagonist capable of representing that Popolo which he himself regarded as the sole possible source of Italy's redemption, Mazzini senses the objective limit of Didier's political vision to be the persistent mirage of the Papacy -- by which Anselmo, in his bizarre clandestine maneuvers as double agent for the carbonari and sanfedisti, is fatally deceived.

If Anselmo's continued fascination for the Papacy is chiefly explained in the novel by the charismatic presence of the Cardinal de Pétralie -- a Julien Sorel figure and "bâtard de la Sicile" grimly, estatically determined to rise from his humble origins to the office of Pope, and like Julien a skillful "comedien," secretly patterning his own meteoric career on a text (here, the biography of Sixtus V)[28], Mazzini insists nonetheless (a decade before Gioberti's

Primato and the election of Pius IX!) that the Pope will never play a role in the unification of Italy.

The neoguelph illusion from which Anselmo never manages entirely to free himself thus represents for Mazzini the single reactionary tendency in Didier's novel. The ideological limits of Anselmo are those of carbonarismo in general. As an ideal "type" of the emerging Popolo Anselmo is flawed, incomplete:

> Perchè Anselmo figlio del popolo, come il Carbonarismo, non ha fiducia nel popolo -- perchè, intravedendo pure i destini repubblicani d'Italia, si riduce non pertanto a cercare la salute d'Italia, e la sanzione di quei destini, nella tiara e in una bolla d'un Giulio IV -- perchè fra il Popolo e Dio, soli termini dell'avvenire, egli, uomo di poca fede, s'ostina a cacciare un termine intermedio, che il secolo elimina. (390)

Extending to the carbonari in general -- for their lack of a coherent political program and willingness to compromise with the Church for the expulsion of Austria -- a reproach which he had repeatedly leveled against a nostalgic "poetry of ruins,"[29] Mazzini concludes that Anselmo,

> passeggiando le rovine sublimi di Roma, ci s'è innamorato del sole al tramonto, e commosso della grandezza che posa sulle reliquie dei due mondi concentrati nel cerchio di Roma, egli s'è prostrato davanti a quel sole cadente, e allettato da un bel sogno, la riabilitazione delle rovine, ha scambiato l'ultimo raggio che una grande istituzione consunta diffonde su quelle, nel primo che irraggierà un terzo mondo invisibile ancora. (390-91)

If carbonarismo was historically unprepared to witness that "primo raggio" ("Quel primo raggio verrà; ma sorgendo, illuminerà un Concilio, non un Conclave..."), it nevertheless began the labyrinthine work of subverting the present power structure through its obscure maze of mines and countermines -- the "catacombes politiques" traced by Didier in an effort to explain the unlikely collaboration of carbonari and sanfedisti in a novel pledged to historical verisimilitude:

> L'Italie, nous l'avons dit, est, comme l'antique Égypte, un pays de mystères et d'initiations. C'est un sol volcanique en tout; les trônes y tremblent comme la terre; quand sa surface est calme et jonchée de fleurs, c'est alors peut-être que la mine brûle et qu'elle va sauter. Dans ce vaste réseau souterrain de mines et de contremines qui s'entrecroisent dans l'ombre et qui sapent dans leurs bases les dynasties italiennes, il arrive maintes fois que l'ouvrage de l'un sert à l'autre, et maintes fois aussi que les mineurs, se rencontrant sous terre comme au siége de Tortone, ensanglantent les ténèbres. (p. 81)

One can not help recalling the extraordinary elaboration of this theme in Hugo's chapter, "Les mines et les mineurs," in Les Misérables (1862). The reader will forgive me for citing a portion of it here:

> Les sociétés humaines ont toutes ce qu'on appelle dans les théâtres un troisième dessous. Le sol social est partout miné, tantôt pour le bien, tantôt pour le mal. Ces travaux se superposent.

> Il y a les mines supérieures et les mines inférieures...L'Encyclopédie, au siècle dernier, était une mine, presque à ciel ouvert. Les ténèbres, ces sombres couveuses du christianisme primitif, n'attendaient qu'une occasion pour faire explosion sous les Césars et pour inonder le genre humain de lumière. Car dans les ténèbres sacrées il y a de la lumière latente. Les volcans sont pleins d'une ombre capable de flamboiement. Toute lave commence par être nuit. Les catacombes, où s'est dite la première messe, n'étaient pas seulement la cave de Rome, elles étaient le souterrain du mond.
> Il y a sous la construction sociale, cette merveille compliquée d'une masure, des excavations de toutes sortes. Il y a la mine religieuse, la mine philosophique, la mine politique, la mine économique, la mine révolutionnaire. Tel pioche avec l'idée, tel pioche avec le chiffre, tel pioche avec la colère. On s'appelle et on se répond d'una catacombe à l'autre. Les utopies cheminent sous terre dans ces conduits. Elles s'y ramifient en tous sens. Elles s'y rencontrent parfois, et y fraternisent... Quelquefois elles s'y combattent...Mais rien n'arrête ni n'interrompt la tension de toutes ces énergies vers le but, et la vaste activité simultanée, qui va et vient, monte, descend et remonte dans ces obscurités, et qui transforme lentement le dessus par le dessous et le dehors par le dedans; immense fourmillement inconnu. La société se doute à peine de ce creusement qui lui laisse sa surface et lui change les entrailles. Autant d'étages souterrains, autant de travaux différents, autant d'extractions diverses. Que sort-il de toutes ces fouilles profondes? L'avenir.[30]

Characteristically Hugo unfurls the full hyperbolic possibilities of the metaphor. But Mazzini's own rhetoric was

one of melodramatic antithesis and calculated excess. After congratulating Didier for his discovery of the "true" Italy ("E allora, a lui credente, fu rivelata l'Italia -- l'Italia invisibile -- l'Italia sotterranea"), he is not afraid to strain even further the metaphor of a politico-religious "underground" by portraying the Popolo itself as a buried icon, a mystical artifact soon to be excavated and unveiled:

> La gioventù intravvedeva i nuovi destini, e s'affacciava vogliosa ad una rivelazione. La tirannide incauta l'aveva preparata, raddoppiando ferocemente la sua percossa sulle bende e sui simboli che fasciavano l'immagine dell'Italia futura, custodita a prezzo di sangue dall'Italia sotterranea. La gioventù strappava l'ultimo velo, e il Verbo, il segreto dell'Italia appariva. -- Era il Popolo. -- (388)

It is because carbonarismo was unready for this revelation ("se sollevò forse talora il velo, e dietro a quel velo intravvide il Popolo, lo lasciò ricadere come il giovane poeta di Schiller, senza osare d'affisarvisi e contemplarlo") that Mazzini considers Didier's text a historical novel -- "una lapide al Carbonarismo" with a useful commemorative function, but itself an inadequate representation of the ongoing political struggle in Italy. This explains his later request to George Sand, in a letter of 1843, to write a novel that would glorify the Giovine Italia as Didier's Rome souterraine had the carbonari, by portraying "une Italie souterraine qui serait non l'épitaphe de la vielle et réactionnaire Italie...mais l'hymne du rajeunissement."[31]

If Mazzini judged Anselmo's attempted rapprochement between the carbonari and sanfedisti to be a particularly dangerous form of political collaboration, he did believe it necessary for the Giovine Italia to work closely with other sects both in Italy and throughout Europe. One of the unusual features of his program was in fact the requirement that all members of the Giovine Italia belong to other sects as well, in order to direct the older organizations toward its new set of goals. This labyrinth of clandestine activity was complex and not easily penetrated; there were many cul-de-sacs and false leads, and much shifting terrain. But Mazzini's "catacombes politiques" were not the Carceri of Piranesi; at least he shared none of his contemporaries' voluptuous terror in tracing the blind staircases and skewed perspectives of Piranesi's subterranean architectural fantasies.[32] The entire clandestine structure which he helped to create was founded on the goal of communication ("On s'appelle et on se répond d'une catacombe à l'autre"); and his own monumental city (the "Terza Roma") would have shared none of Piranesi's sinister spatial humor.

Given the interest of Didier's Rome souterraine not only to Mazzini but to Garibaldi himself as a novelist, it may be helpful to examine that text very briefly here. On the whole

the book reads like a revisionary topography of Rome; the table of contents, with its catalogue of monumental sites, would have intrigued any dilettante on a classical tour. But Didier's strategy is to exploit each of these settings as a contemporary frame for heroic action -- as if by their historical and mythical associations monumental sites could indeed inspire "monumental" deeds (Foscolo's "egregie cose").

Since Didier's characters are constantly on the move -- circulating throughout the city and outlying Campagna in a continuing effort to communicate with and mobilize their fellow conspirators, while avoiding detection, the author is able -- without abandoning all claim to verisimilitude -- to range freely throughout the city of Rome, accompanying his characters like the crow in Pasolini's Uccellacci e uccellini, pursuing them tirelessly with edifying commentary on each Roman landmark that crosses their path. If this technique would be less successful today, we have Mazzini's testimony to its popularity then ("I giornali hanno, da molto, enumerate le bellezze /del libro di Didier/...bellezze di tinte locali riprodotte con esattezza mirabile, di scene vivacemente descritte, d'erudizione sparsa senza pedanteria per entro a' volumi, nello sviluppo della tela d'azione," 385). A tolerance for such intrusive

archaeological narration had certainly been prepared in part by the diffusion of the roman pédagogique, at least since Barthélemy's Anacharsis. In any case my point here is not to defend Didier's narrative technique but to suggest that his strategic focus on certain landmarks of the ancient city contributed to an Italian re-vision of the possibilities of Rome.

To retrace each character's complicated itineraries would require a separate chapter, which almost certainly no one would read. It is probably sufficient for the interests of this thesis to sketch the basic camps into which the city is divided in Didier's novel.

The locus of power is clearly represented by the Vatican (finally spared from destruction by the invading carbonari only through the intervention of Remo, the artist of the group: "Brûler les Loges de Raphaël et la Transfiguration!...Brûler le Laocoön! Le Jugement dernier de Michel-Ange! Brûler l'Apollon du Belvédère! Sacrilége! Sacrilége! Sommes-nous donc des incendiaires? Que dirait L'Italie? Que dirait le monde?" 346-47); the Quirinal (seat of the Conclave and retreat of the Pope during the insurrection, 190ff.), the Palazzo Madama (headquarters of the Papal police, to whom Antonia, the jealous mistress of one of the

insurgents, denounces the conspiracy, 157ff.); and, ironically, the Piazza del Popolo (where Marius "le Trasteverin" is executed, like Arnaldo da Brescia before him -- his scaffold erected at the base of the papal obelisk, 332).

A separate and unsavory status is reserved for the Piazza di Spagna, "véritable square britannique." Didier is harsh on the English in general ("Que vient chercher à Rome John Bull? Des spectacles. Or l'execution d'un carbonaro romain sous l'obélisque d'Héliopolis est un spectacle que en vaut bien d'autres; celui-là du moins ne coûte rien," 333). In a particularly cruel caricature he relates the acquisition of a funerary urn (seized and emptied of its ashes by the papal soldier who had murdered its bearer) by an English antiquarian and voyeur, "qui contemplait le combat en amateur, du seuil de la prison Mamertine" (354).

The primary locus of the opposition, instead, is the Forum. Though forced to hide most of their men in the medieval tower of Astura, on the coast at a short distance from Rome, the carbonari base their military operations in the Forum itself. One early convocation in the Velabrum is foiled, as we know, by the jealous Antonia; but the conspirators escape through an underground passage-way unknown to the police (165 ff.).

The Baths of Caracalla are the more intimate rendez-vous

of Anselmo and Marius the intransigent republican; here they debate political strategy while awaiting the decision of the Conclave. The Tomb of Bibulus (a plebeian aedile of the first century B.C.) is the scene of Marius' harangue to the Roman people following the election of the new Pope; Didier supplies the entire Latin inscription to help us follow the impassioned epigraphy of this Rienzi redivivo, who points to the words "Senatus Consulto Populoque Iussu" as incontrovertible proof of the natural sovereignty of the Roman people. (240)

To each of the principal characters is assigned a separate hill, commanding a distinct perspective of Rome, on which to confess his private life and political ideals. Marius chooses Monte Sacro (site of the popular revolt of 394 B.C. which resulted in the concession of the tribunes) as the site of his sunrise farewell to Anselmo(269ff.) The Cardinal de Pétralie as a cleric prefers the right bank, and arranges to meet Anselmo on Monte Mario at sunset (118ff.). Anselmo himself selects the overgrown gardens of the Villa Farnese on the Palatine, with its view of the Forum, as the site of his entretien with the Cardinal. (289).

But the action naturally climaxes in the Forum itself. Bombarded by papal cannon from the Palatine and surprised from the rear by the entry of enemy troops through their

secret escape route, the carbonari besieged in the "maison du Forum" are swiftly massacred; but each dies crying "Vive l'Italie!", and the narrator, surveying the wreckage, concludes, "Jamais le Forum, ce vieux champ de bataille des Gracques, des Barbares et des guerres civiles du moyen âge, jamais il n'avait vu une si épouvantable mêlée." (354)

Anselmo alone survives the attack and is left to find a hiding place till nightfall allows him to return safely home. Ironically, it is the Coliseum that affords greatest anonymity; though his meditations there are soon interrupted by the arrival of no less than the mother of Napoleon ("Si cette femme isolée n'était pas la Niobe des nations," the narrator remarks, echoing Byron's phrase, "c'était bien une Niobe comme elle, elle avait à pleurer, elle aussi, bien des enfants, bien des martyrs...")

But it is the sight of a procession of peninents in the arena below, praying for the Christian martyrs, that finally restores Anselmo's faith in the revolution, as he declares to the Capuchin monk who has come to console him for the death of his comrades: "Ce que les chrétiens étaient pour la Rome de Néron, nous le sommes, nous, pour la Rome du Vatican." The idyllic landscape of ruins ("le

temps était splendide, les ruines toutes parfumées de fleurs sauvages. Voltigeant en liberté parmi les broussailles, des oiseaux de mille couleurs scintillaient au sol..."), through the timely superimposition of a Christian spectacle, has been reclaimed by Didier's hero as a political symbol of an "avenir réparateur."

A good deal less skillfully Garibaldi, in his novel Clelia of 1870,[33] will exploit the same landscape as the setting for a fictionalized account of the Roman uprising of 1867, which had ended in disastrous defeat at the Villa Glori. As if to take up where Didier had left off, he stages the first assembly of his conspirators in the Coliseum itself — a Coliseum which, he proudly notes, bears no resemblance to the romantic moonlit ramble of the straniero ("Lo straniero suole visitare il Colosseo a lume di luna -- ma bisogna vederlo in una oscura notte di tempesta -- illuminato da lampi -- scosso dalla folgore -- e pieno di cupi e strani rimbombi," 11).

That such a public place, in the heart of the papal city, affords safe rendez-vous for three hundred conspirators, is due (the narrator explains) to the obscurantism of the clergy

itself, which by fostering superstition and fear has created within its own walls an enclave for the opposition, a desert within the city abandoned at nightfall not only by the populace but by the priests themselves (13). Thus the single pair of papal sbirri who venture forth to investigate the gathering, take flight at first sight of the conspirators, mistaking them (how appropriately!) for ghosts of the ancient Romans.

"Era oscura la notte -- e nuvoloni neri neri si addensavano sulla città santa -- spinti da violento scirocco..." The scene is set for the arrival of the Trecento, "avvolti in ampi mantelli che nella luce incerta parevano toghe." They silently file into the sole remaining loggia of the Coliseum: "Non seggioloni, non arazzi adornavano il recinto. -- (E che importavano gli adornamenti a coloro che s'eran sacrati alla morte?) -- Le macerie, eran per loro pareti, tribune, sedili." (12)

Their leader Attilio has only begun his "ardente discorso" when the ceremony is interrupted by a violent storm ("...un lampo improvviso illuminò la vasta navata del Colosseo, come se a un tratto mille torcie si fossero accese per incanto. Al lampo tenner dietro le tenebre -- più fitte di prima ed un terribile tuono scosse fino dalle fondamenta la sterminata mole," 18-19), and the sudden

apparition of a dishcveled young woman, stumbling into the midst of the arena. "Povera Camilla!" exclaims the gallant Silvio, as she shrieks and faints in his arms -- for this woman, like Didier's mère de Napoléon, is also a Niobe, a bereaved mother -- seduced and abandoned to a manicomio by a perfidious priest upon the murder of her illegitimate child...and it is her appearance that precipitates the bewildering whirl of events that will make up Garibaldi's novel.

I will not pursue the plot any further except to note that the political topography of the novel continues remarkably parallel to that of Didier. A second convocation in the catacombs beneath the Baths of Caracalla is, like the carbonaro reunion of the Velabrum, betrayed to the papal authorities by a spy -- leaving the conspirators to disperse at great peril through the streets and ruins of Rome (100 ff.). Again a ruined medieval tower along the coastline serves as shelter for the fugitives (149); and the Campagna as a whole is portrayed, with the great marble wilderness of Rome, as the locus of political resistance -- "un deserto...seminato di macerie" (95), officially belonging to the priests but effectively the asylum of beggars, banditti, and other victims of papal

misgovernment.

That Garibaldi's awareness of the political implications of archaeology naturally sought more concrete form of expression than the literary text, is clear from his campaign during the 1870's to divert the Tiber from the city of Rome, opening a vast new field for excavation and eventually transforming the ancient river bed into an instructive "passeggiata archeologica."[34]

This audacious proposal, while cause of great embarrassment to the governing coalition of the Destra, wholly conformed to the heroic scale of the city envisioned by Mazzini -- the Terza Roma which he invoked in a famous passage of 1859.[35]

"Venite meco," he began, leading the "giovani d'Italia" on an imaginary archaeological tour of the Campagna north of Rome. "Seguitemi dove comincia la vasta campagna che fu, or sono tredici secoli, il convegno delle razze, perch'io vi ricordi dove batte il core d'Italia..."

Admonishing that the ground beneath their feet is the "polve di popoli," he invites them to consider the view:

> Muta è la vasta campagna e sull'ampia solitudine
> erra un silenzio che ingombra l'animo di tristezza
> come a chi mova per Camposanto. Ma chi, nudrito
> di forti pensieri purificati dalla sventura,
> s'arresta nella solitudine a sera...sente sotto
> i suoi piedi come un murmure indistinto di vita
> in fermento, come un brulichío di generazioni
> che aspettano il <u>fiat</u> d'una parola potente per

> nascere e ripopolare quei luoghi che paiono
> fatti per un Concilio di Popoli...

With an increasingly hypnotic momentum he urges his listeners on, to a vantage point on the Via Cassia, "fra tufi di vulcani spenti e reliquie d'Etruschi," and gives this command:

> Sostate e spingete fin dove vale lo sguardo
> verso mezzogiorno, piegando al Mediterraneo.
> Di mezzo all'immenso, vi sorgerà davanti allo
> sguardo, come faro in oceano, un punto isolato,
> un segno di lontana grandezza. Piegate il
> ginocchio e adorate: là batte il core d'Italia:
> là pose eternamente solenne ROMA.
> E quel punto saliente è il Campidoglio del
> Mondo Cristiano. E a pochi passi sta il
> Campidoglio del Mondo Pagano. E quei due
> Mondi giacenti aspettano un terzo Mondo
> più vasto e sublime dei due che s'elabora tra
> le potenti rovine.
> Ed è la Trinità della Storia il cui Verbo è
> in Roma.

Rome's "potenti rovine" never gave birth to the ideal city of Mazzini. It is hard to guess what structures and spaces he might have invented to replace the broken thrones and altars of Europe. In Rome we can imagine a "Pantheon dell'Umanità" inspired by the visionary geometry of Boullée and Ledoux. Instead we have the Victor Emanuel monument.

Yet Mazzini's Terza Roma remains, along with the neoguelph capital of Gioberti, one of the most influential nineteenth-century visions of Rome; and illustrates, perhaps most vividly of all the "archaeological representations" addressed in this dissertation, the natural complicity between archaeology and myth.

EPILOGUE

In 1871 the Italian government announced its intention of transferring the ashes of Foscolo from the English cemetery of Chiswick, where they had lain since 1827, to the cathedral of Santa Croce. Mazzini is perhaps nowhere so much the iconoclast as in his essay, "Ugo Foscolo," written in response to this occasion.[1]

"Fra non molto le reliquie d'Ugo Foscolo poseranno, dopo quarantaquattro anni di sepoltura straniera, in terra italiana.... Non so se gli anni o le delusioni abbiano intorpidito in me il senso della gioia o inchinato la mente a troppo severi giudizi, ma io mi sentirò in quel giorno più mesto..." So begins Mazzini's austere reappraisal of the monumental gesture proposed.

In essence, he argues that the repatriation of the poet's remains is an act of <u>hubris</u> on the part of the new regime, which has not proved itself worthy of claiming kinship with Foscolo. A state contrived at the bargaining-table, through the inglorious compromises of international diplomacy, can not pretend to represent the fulfillment of those ideals for which Foscolo went into exile...to be followed some fifteen years later

by Mazzini himself.

"Foscolo fu uno dei primi affetti della mia vita. Fin dagli anni più giovanili, quand'io m'affacciai agli studi e sentii balzarmi dentro l'orgoglio del nome italiano, le sue pagine furono per me oggetto di lettura assidua, ripetuta, perenne..." Upon his arrival in London years later, Mazzini explains, he gave himself over to the archaeological search for Foscolo's inediti: "m'affrettai a cercar di raccogliere ogni negletta smarrita reliquia di Foscolo e dissotterrai ciò ch'egli avea preparato dell'edizione di Dante e parte della Lettera apologetica."

Yet his efforts to revive "il culto illanguidito di Foscolo" were sustained by the vision of "un'Italia ch'oggi non è": the betrayal of Trieste, Nice and the Trentino, the abandonment of a republican goal and acceptance of an uneasy compromise with the Church all point to the spiritual collapse of that Risorgimento which Foscolo had envisioned. If in fact his entire generation demands dignified burial, this can be offered only by a popolo at last prepared to say: "ecco: il vostro ideale si riflette in ciascuno di noi: la vostra Terra è fatta Tempio di verità e di giustizia: venite e siate i Santi del Tempio: le vostre urne lo serberanno per lunghi anni incontaminato."

Until Italians can in conscience make that claim,

Mazzini argues, all their testimonials to the martyrs of the Risorgimento will remain an empty parody of filial pietas.

To a society still shaping its goals every form of monumental representation is premature: how much more hollow then the present government's proposed memorials to Foscolo, Beccaria, Bruno, and Pisacane when it has willfully betrayed all that they represented in life!

"Io chiuderei, se potessi, le porte di Santa Croce e lascerei dove si stanno le ceneri di /Foscolo/ ..." Instead they were indeed transferred to Florence, with due ceremony. Mazzini's rebuke was not sufficient to prevent the reappropriation of Foscolo's memory by a regime which clearly sensed the political expediency of such a gesture.

Yet we can appreciate his attempt to demystify the government's discorso monumentale. It was an appealing proposal -- to bring the hero home to rest at the very site celebrated in his "Sepolcri"! -- but Mazzini in his austerity resists such symmetries and exposes the move as a premature and inauthentic form of closure to a task which remained incomplete.

As I put down this dissertation I might well follow his example, by pointing to work which remains to be done. In my Introduction I noted that this study does not pretend to be conclusive. Although it could usefully be extended in several

directions, the figure perhaps most conspicuous by his absence, and most demanding of mention here, is Leopardi.

I did touch on him briefly in the second chapter, but hardly began to suggest the extent to which he might be implicated in my theme. Not only is archaeology a pervasive metaphor in his poetry; Leopardi was in his own right probably the finest "archaeologist" of classical texts in the Ottocento. Both for his activity as a philologist and his sophisticated use of archaeological imagery, Leopardi would deserve a separate chapter in any extended version of this dissertation.

From the shattered classical landscape of his canzone "All'Italia" ("O patria mia, vedo le mura e gli archi / e le colonne e i simulacri e l'erme / torri degli avi nostri / ma la gloria non vedo...") to the slopes of Vesuvius in "La Ginestra," with their ironic tale of Nature's infinite capability of betrayal of man ("Dipinte in queste rive / son dell'umana gente / 'le magnifiche sorti e progressive'"), one could well trace the theme of archaeology in the Canti. Renzo Negri has attempted as much in conclusion to his study, Gusto e poesia delle rovine in Italia fra il Sette e l'Ottocento.[2]

It is a good start, but much remains to be done. In

particular I would want to consider such issues as the archaeological reconstruction of a lost classical text (Simonides' hymn to the heroes of Thermopylae) in the canzone "All'Italia;" the inscription on an imaginary monument, in "Sopra il monumento di Dante" of 1818 (recalling Byron's own tirade of the same year against "ungrateful Florence" for her failure to provide such a memorial: "But where repose all the Etruscan three...? Are they resolved to dust, / And have the country's marbles nought to say?" -- Childe Harold, Canto IV, 496-502); and the pair of canzoni sepolcrali, where the interrogation of an "archaeological" artifact (but was the "basso-rilievo antico" to which the first title refers actually a recent sculpture by Tenerani?), becomes most plainly and inexorably a meditation on death.

To do justice to Leopardi's poetry is clearly beyond the scope of this dissertation. It remains nonetheless a promising encounter, which may even profit by being postponed. In any case I believe that the example of this thesis already suggests an original and productive approach to the study of Leopardi and to the literature of the Ottocento in general.

Notes

Introduction

[1] Italian Hours; cited as epigraph by Rose Macaulay, Pleasure of Ruins (London: Weiderfeld and Nicolson, 1953).

[2] In a famous passage Byron describes his cooperation with the carbonari in their preparations for an uprising in Central Italy:

> My lower apartments are full of their bayonets, fusils, cartridges and what-not. I suppose that they consider me as a depot to be sacrificed in case of accidents. It is no great matter, supposing that Italy could be liberated, who or what is sacrificed. It is a grand object -- the very poetry of politics. Only think -- a free Italy!!! Why, there has been nothing like it since the days of Augustus.
>
> (Byron, Letters and Journals, V, 205; cited in C.P. Brand, Italy and the English Romantics, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957, p. 202).

[3] The epigraph is taken from Ariosto's third Satire.

[4] John Hobhouse, Historical Illustrations of the Fourth Canto of Childe Harold (New York: Gilley, 1818).

[5] Letter of Dedication of Canto the Fourth, "To John Hobhouse" (Venice, January 2, 1818).

[6] E.R. Vincent, Byron, Hobhouse and Foscolo: New Documents in the History of a Collaboration (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1949), p. 4.

[7] Keats' "Ode on a Grecian Urn" appeared in the following year (1819). On the "anti-archaeological" message of the urn, cf. especially the brilliant reading of Leo Spitzer, "The 'Ode on a Grecian Urn,' or Content vs. Metagrammar," Comparative Literature, VII (1955), 203-25.

[8] Byron, Childe Harold's Pilgrimage and other Romantic Poems (New York: Doubleday, 1936), p. 175, IV, lines 982-83. All other citations from the poem will be identified by line numbers in the text.

[9] Cf. my Chapter II, p. 80 ff.

[10] Maurice Andrieux, Rome (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1968), p. 151. In the English prose translation provided, the sonnet reads, "Learned idiots, the volumes that you have written on the name to be given to my pillar, set one atop the other, would equal its height; how much more clever and less boring you would have been if you had laid aside the pens and reached for the spades."

[11] Hobhouse, p. 154.

[12] Shelley, Complete Works, ed. Roger Ignpen and Walter Peck, X (London: Benn, 1926), especially the letter to Thomas Love Peacock (March 23, 1819), pp. 36-44.

[13] Lamartine, Oeuvres complètes, II (Paris: Furnes, 1834), pp. 238-240.

[14] Correspondance de Lamartine publiée par M.me Valentine de Lamartine (Paris: Hachette, 1881), I, 172; cited by Franco Venturi, "L'Italia fuori d'Italia," in Storia d'Italia, III (Torino: Einaudi, 1973).

[15] For a panoramic review of this genre in Italy, cf. Renzo Negri, Gusto e poesia delle rovine in Italia fra il Sette e l'Ottocento (Milano: Ceschina, 1965).

[16] Cf. especially Jean Starobinski, 1789: Les emblèmes de la raison (Paris: Flammarion, 1973); Robert Rosenblum, Transformations in Late Eighteenth-Century Art (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967); and Mario Praz, Gusto neoclassico (Firenze: Sansoni, 1940).

[17] Eugenio Donato, "The Mnemonics of History: Notes for a Contextual Reading of Foscolo's 'Dei Sepolcri,'" Yale Italian Studies, I:1 (1977), 1-23.

[18] On individual acts of self-creation in the image of Rome from Mantegna to Gérard de Nerval, cf. Robert Adams' brilliant study, The Roman Stamp: Frame and Façade in Some Forms of Neo-Classicism (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974).

[19] M.me de Staël, Corinne ou l'Italie (Paris: Nelson, 1928), II, 281. The issues of filiation and genealogy appear to me central to the interests of this novel, which plays out the ill-starred "histoire sentimentale" of Corinne and Count Nelvil against Rome's "histoire monumentale," narrated by Corinne during their walks through the ruins. Like Scheherezade, Corinne continues to postpone her demise by the device of story-telling; each excursion to the Forum provides a pretext for a new tale, and so postpones the fatal revelation of her identity. Just as lengthy description of the ruins allows Corinne to "buy time" with Count Nelvil, it enables M.me de Staël to protract an otherwise uneventful narrative.

[20] Cf. Piero Becchetti, Fotografi e fotografia in Italia 1839-1880 (Roma: Quasar, 1978).

[21] Thomas M. Greene, "Restoring Rome: The Double Task of the Humanist Imagination" (unpublished essay), p. 7.

[22] Green, p. 7.

[23] Jean Starobinski, The Invention of Liberty: 1700-1789 (Geneva: Skira, 1964), p. 179. For a review of the tradition of idealized classical landscape in British art, cf. the recent exhibition (July 29-September 20, 1981) at the Yale Center for British Art, "Classic Ground: British Artists and the Landscape of Italy, 1740-1830" (catalogue prepared by Duncan Bull, New Haven, 1981).

[24] Cf. the discussion in Stephen Larrabee, English Bards and Grecian Marbles (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), pp. 151-58.

[25] Rosenblum, p. viii.

Notes

Chapter I

[1] Foscolo, "Dei Sepolcri," lines 51 ff. All quotations from the poem are taken from Foscolo, Opere, ed. Franco Gavazzeni (Milan: Ricciardi, 1974), I, 291-327 and are identified by line numbers.

[2] Parini was buried in 1799 in a common plot in the cemetary of Porta Comasina (Gavazzeni, p. 300).

[3] Excerpts from the contemporary polemic aroused by "Dei Sepolcri" are reprinted in Foscolo, Opere, VI, Edizione Nazionale (Firenze: Le Monnier, 1972).

[4] Foscolo, Opere, VI, Edizione Nazionale, pp. 501-18.

[5] All quotations from the poem are taken from Thomas Gray, The Complete English Poems (London: Heinemann, 1973) and are identified by line numbers.

[6] Gavazzeni, p. 29.

[7] M/e/lchiorre/ C/e/sarotti/, Elegia inglese del signor Tommaso Gray sopra un cimitero di campagna trasportata in verso italiano dall'Abate M.C. (Padova: Comino, 1772).

[8] Although it was not published until 1813, Foscolo began work on the Viaggio sentimentale as early as 1803.

[9] "The breezy call of incense-breathing morn, / The swallow twittering from the straw-built shed, / The cock's shrill clarion or the echoing horn / No more shall rouse them from their lowly bed".

[10] "For them no more the blazing hearth shall burn, / Or busy housewife ply her evening care: / No children run to lisp their sire's return, / Or climb his knees the envied kiss to share".

[11] "Oft did the harvest to their sickle yield, / Their furrow oft the stubborn glebe has broke; / How jocund did they drive their team afield! / How bowed the woods beneath their sturdy stroke!"

[12] "Perhaps in this neglected spot is laid / Some heart once pregnant with celestial fire; / Hands that the rod of empire might have swayed, / Or waked to ecstasy the living lyre."

[13] "Full many a gem of purest ray serene / The dark unfathomed caves of ocean bear: / Full many a flower is born to blush unseen / And waste its sweetness on the desert air."

[14] "Their lot...nor circumscribed alone / Their growing virtues, but their crimes confined; / Forbade to walk through slaughter to a throne, / And shut the gates of mercy on mankind."

[15] Foscolo, Ultime lettere di Jacopo Ortis (Milan: Rizzoli, 1975), p. 110.

[16] This was recently stressed by Eugenio Donato, to whose essay, "The Mnemonics of History: Notes for a Contextual Reading of 'Dei Sepolcri,'" Yale Italian Studies I: 1 (1977), pp. 1-23, I am deeply indebted throughout this chapter.

[17] Paolo Valesio, Novantiqua: Rhetorics as a Contemporary Theory (Bloomington: Indidana University Press, 1980), p. 4.

[18] Lechevalier, J.B., Voyage dans la Troade, fait dans les années 1785 et 1786, 2 vols. (Paris: Dentu, An X - 1802).

[19] Donato, p. 21.

[20] Petrarch, Canzoniere (Torino: Einaudi, 1964), p. 175, lines 33-35.

[21] Gavazzeni, p. 313. For the Di Tarsia sonnet, cf. Foscolo, Opere VIII, Edizione nazionale, pp. 135-36.

[22] Leopardi, Tutte le opere (Firenze: Sansoni, 1969), II, 39 (Zibaldone, 58).

[23] Victor Hugo, Notre-Dame de Paris, I (Paris: Hetzel, 1831), p. 129.

[24] Alfieri, who died on September 8, 1803, was buried in Santa Croce. His tomb was completed by Canova in 1810. Foscolo himself died and was buried in England in 1827. His remains were not transferred to Santa Croce until 1871, when Italian unity had been achieved. His tomb there was sculpted in 1938 by Antonio Berti (Guida a Firenze e Dintorni, Milano: Touring Club Italiano, 1974, p. 189).

[25] Gavazzeni, in his "Nota introduttiva" to the "Esperimente" (pp. 339-43), stresses the close relationship between "Dei Sepolcri" and the "Esperimente" -- their parallel composition and publication. He cites Foscolo's letter to Isabella Teotochi Albrizzi (Milano, September 6, 1806) announcing the completion of both an "Epistola sui sepolcri da stamparsi lindamente," and "alcune squarci dell'Iliade, e tutto tutto il primo canto." From another letter cited by Gavazzeni we learn that, during the period directly preceding the August 1806 composition of "Dei Sepolcri," Foscolo was so closely at work on the Iliad that he kept a copy (along with that other "voyage" narrative of Sterne!) as his constant traveling companion: "Viaggiando per le Fiandre io avea tradotti moltissimi squarci dell'Iliade; perchè tutti i miei libri erano l'Iliade e il Viaggio d'Yorick; quando fui mandato ad esaminare le miniere di ferro nella Valtellina e sul Bergamasco /intorno ai primi di luglio del 1806 -- ed./ , sono ritornato ad Omero: e mi fu solo compagno..." (Milano, November 24, 1806).

[26] Foscolo, Opere, XV (Firenze: Le Monnier, 1952), pp. 142-43.

[27] Lettera, note 16. Foscolo is referring here to his own footnote to lines 216-18, which identifies one of the "antichi fatti" as the building of the tomb of Achilles and Patroclus, as described in the Iliad VII, 86 ("Gli achei innalzino a' loro Eroi il sepolcro presso l'ampio Ellesponto, onde i posteri navigatori dicano: Questo è il monumento d'un prode anticamente morto,") and the Odyssey XXIV, 76 ff. ("E noi dell'esercito sacro de' Danai ponemmo, o Achille, le tue reliquie con quelle del tuo Patroclo, edificandoti un grande ed inclito monumento ove il lito è più eccelso nell'ampio Ellesponto, acciocchè dal lontano mare si manifesti agli uomini che vivono e che vivranno in futuro"). I quote these lines in Foscolo's Italian translation of the footnote.

Notes

Chapter II.

[1] Honoré de Balzac, Illusions perdues (Paris: Garnier, 1956), p. 264. Many readers will remember the encounter:

> ---Etes-vous classique ou romantique? lui demanda Lousteau.
>
> L'air étonné de Lucien dénotait une si complète ignorance de l'état des choses dans la République des Lettres, que Lousteau jugea nécessaire de l'éclairer.
>
> ---Mon cher, vous arrivez au milieu d'une bataille acharnée, il faut vous décider promptement. La littérature est partagée d'abord en plusieurs zones; mais nos grands hommes sont divisés en deux camps. Les écrivains royalistes sont romantiques, les Libéraux sont classiques. La divergence des opinions littéraires se joint à la divergence des opinions politiques...

[2] Gennaro Barbarisi, "Vincenzo Monti e la cultura neoclassica," in Storia della letteratura italiana, VII (Milano: Garzanti, 1969), pp. 3-95.

[3] The Vatican Sacrestia Nuova was built between 1776-84 by Carlo Marchionni (Guida a Roma e Dintorni, Milano: Touring Club Italiano, 1965, p. 498).

[4] For a discussion of David's activity in Rome and particularly of the Horatii, cf. L. Hautecoeur, Rome et la renaissance de l'antiquité à la fin du XVIII siècle (Paris: Fontemoing, 1912), pp. 155-62.

[5] On Appiani's Napoleonic fresco cycle, cf. especially Mario Praz, "Arte neoclassica nel periodo napoleonico," in Eileen Anne Millar's Napoleon in Italian Literature: 1796-1821 (Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1977), pp. vii-xl.

[6] Ennio Quirino Visconti, Museo Pio-Clementino, I (Roma: Mirri, 1782).

[7] Hautecoeur, p. 61. For a similar polemic against this

"turpe mercato," but representing the opposing camp, cf. my citation of Guerrazzi in "Verso un'iconografia 'democratica' del Risorgimento: romanzo e pittura in Beatrice Cenci," Versus, 19/20 (1978), p. 199.

[8] In his Trophy of Conquest (London: Faber and Faber, 1965), p. 41, Cecil Gould quotes the Napoleonic official Grégoire on the imminent Italian campaign: "Certainly, if our victorious armies penetrate into Italy the removal of the Apollo Belvedere and of the Farnese Hercules would be the most brilliant conquest."

[9] Having led the group of shades through St. Peter's and elicited praise of even Bernini's baldacchino ("E quantunque formate con ben centottantaseimila libre di metallo usurpato al portico del Pantheon, pure non udii lamenti, perocchè vedeano un'opera emula della magnificenza distrutta..," p. 248), the narrator allows them to range through the Vatican library and museums -- where they stand amazed by the sheer "copia di oggetti" documenting their own culture, and grateful for Christian piety toward pagan artifacts: "Ma quando vi penetrarono, e videro il meraviglioso artifizio di dipinture in ogni parete...quando in ispaziose aule disposti ammirarono i simulacri de' loro numi, le immagini de' loro eroi, quelle de' celebrati uomini, e insieme le urne loro, le iscrizioni delle tombe, le are, gli arredi de' riti sacri, i Penati domestici, le suppellettili, le armi, gli ornamenti femminili, le monete; quando così ogni memoria o appartenenza de' loro modi e costumanze conobbero servate non solo per curiosità, ma con pietosa venerazione, allora vidi ch'erano tutti gli spettri compresi da inesplicabile maraviglia e insieme da tenera contentezza," (pp. 253-54, emphasis mine).

A brief archaeological mise-en-abîme of the above episode: Although Verri (writing in 1792-1804) situates his fiction in May 1780 (directly after the discovery of the Tomb of the Scipios), the Pio-Clementine Museum was not opened until Easter 1786. There the visitor would have found, prominently displayed in the Atrium of the Torso Belvedere, the original Sepolcro degli Scipioni discovered in 1780 and expropriated by the insatiable Pius VI to add to his collection. It is the sarcophagus of Cornelius Scipio Barbatus, consul in 298 B.C. and ancestor of Scipio Africanus. A copy is now displayed at the Via Appia site (Guida T.C.I., p. 387).

[10] Alessandro Verri, Le notti romane (Bari: Laterza, 1967), pp. 402-04.

[11] Hautecoeur, p. 57.

[12] Cited in Hautecoeur, p. 70.

[13] Cf. Thomas Greene, "Restoring Rome: The Double Task of the Humanist Imagination" (unpublished).

[14] Sixtus V not only "converted" the Roman columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius by replacing the emperors' statues with effigies of Saints Peter and Paul, but erected throughout Rome several fallen obelisks including that of Caligula, which he removed from Nero's circus to the Piazza S. Pietro and crowned with a relic of the True Cross! (cf. Maurice Andrieux, Rome, New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1968, pp. 293 ff.).

[15] Guida T.C.I., p. 520.

[16] I will continue to refer frequently to Hautecoeur's excellent book on the subject.

[17] cf. Piero Trèves, Lo studio dell'antichità classica nell'Ottocento (Milano: Ricciardi, 1962).

[18] Letter of December 9, 1822; Leopardi, Opere, II (Milano: Ricciardi, 1966), p. 1036. Also cited in Trèves, L'idea di Roma nella cultura del Risorgimento (Milano: Ricciardi, 1962), p. 48.

[19] Massimo d'Azeglio, I miei ricordi (Torino: Einaudi, 1949), p. 152.

[20] Cited in Trèves, Lo studio..., p. 388.

[21] Leopardi, Opere (Milano: Ricciardi, 1956), I, 336, Canto I, stanzas 16-17.

[22] Ennio Quirino Visconti, Museo Pio-Clementino, 7 vols. (Roma: Mirri, 1782-1807).

[23] Marie Henri Beyle, Promenades dans Rome (Paris: Le Divan, 1931), I, 336.

[24] Vincenzo Monti, "Prosopopea di Pericle: Alla santità di Pio VI," Opere (Milano: Ricciardi, 1953), pp. 702-707. All references in the text are to the poem's final version, completed in 1787. This is the version commonly reprinted.

[25] James Thomson, The Complete Poetical Works (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1908), pp. 361-63, Part IV, lines 134 ff.

[26] Visconti's attribution to Phidias, accepted by Monti (cf. line 67), has since been overturned. The bust is now believed the work of Cresilas (cf. Guida T.C.I., p. 521).

[27] "...Sculpture first, / Deep digging, from the cavern dark and damp, / Their grave for ages, bade her marble race / Spring to new light..." (lines 134-37).

[28] Hautecoeur (passim) and Sebastiano Timpanaro, in La filologia di Giacomo Leopardi (Firenze: Le Monnier, 1955), pp. 93-144, mention a number of these journals; unfortunately, most are available only in archives.

[29] Leopardi, "Ad Angelo Mai, quand'ebbe trovato i libri di Cicerone della Repubblica", Opere (Milano: Ricciardi, 1956), I, 16-23.

[30] On the relationship between Leopardi and Mai, cf. especially Trèves, Lo studio..., pp. 347-60, and Leopardi's letters to Mai, in his Opere, II, 893-94 and 989-990.

[31] Hautecoeur, pp. 130ff.

[32] Hautecceur, p. 67.

[33] Hautecoeur, p. 75.

[34] Hautecoeur, pp. 78-79.

[35] Gould, p. 43.

[36] Gould, Appendix, folding plates.

[37] Gould, p. 65.

[38] One interesting contemporary protest is Quatremère de Quincy's Lettres sur la préjudice qu'occasioneroient aux Arts

et à la Science, le déplacement des Monumens de l'art de l'Italie, le démembrement de ses Écoles, et la spoliation de ses Collections, Galéries, Musées, etc. (Rome, 1815). More generally, the Spring 1980 exhibit on the Horses of San Marco at the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art gave an exemplary chronicle, both visual and verbal, of the vicissitudes of the icon.

[39] Cited by Attilio La Padula, Roma 1809-1814: Contributo alla storia dell'urbanistica (Roma: Palombi, 1958), p. 7.

[40] La Padula, p. 7, note 6.

[41] Guida T.C.I., p. 526.

[42] Hautecoeur, p. 272.

[43] Pierre Grimal, In Search of Ancient Italy (New York: Hill and Wang, 1964), p. 38.

[44] La Padula, p. 13, note 1.

[45] La Padula, p. 15.

[46] Tournon, Études... (Paris: Wurtz, 1831), II, 237-66.

[47] Louis Madelin, La Rome de Napoléon: La domination française à Rome de 1809 à 1814 (Paris: Plon, 1906), p. 376.

[48] Tournon was appointed to direct all excavations in Rome on October 6, 1810. I use his name here metonymically to refer to the entire Napoleonic équipe, without meaning to attribute to him individually any of the specific accomplishments, motives, or "manias" mentioned here.

[49] La Padula, p. 43.

[50] Andrieux, p. 399.

[51] On Mussolini's archaeology, it is interesting to compare Antonio Munoz's contemporary and highly enthusiastic account, in Roma di Mussolini (Milano: Treves, 1935), with later appraisals such as the discussion in Paul MacKendrick's The Mute Stones Speak: The Story of Archaeology in Italy (New York: Mentor Books, 1960).

[52] La Padula, pp. 70-76.

[53] Madelin, pp. 411 ff.

[54] The obelisk erected by Pius VII in 1822 on the Pincio had been dedicated by Hadrian to Antinous, and discovered near the Porta Maggiore in the sixteenth century (Guida T.C.I., p. 272.).

[55] Guida T.C.I. , p. 271.

[56] Andrieux, p. 86.

[57] Andrieux, p. 410.

[58] Two long poems commemorating this event are George Croly's Paris in 1815 (London: John Murray, 1818 -- first ed., 1815) and Felicia Hemans's The Restoration of the Works of Art to Italy (Oxford: John Murray, 1816).

[59] Atti dell'Accademia Romana di Archeologia (1816), p. 34.

[60] Canova, p. 32. Actually the Braccio Nuovo, planned in 1805-06 by Raffaele Stern, was not begun until 1816, and finally inaugurated in 1822 (Guida T.C.I., p. 530, and The Vatican Museums: Monumenti, Musei, e Gallerie Pontificie, Firenze: Scala, 1972, p. 67).

[61] cf. Guida T.C.I., p. 539, and the reproduction of one of these episodes ("Pius VII Endows the Vatican Library with an Excellent Set of Vases of Etruscan Renown. Year 1815"),on p. 3 of The Vatican Museums...

[62] A layman's reduction of the official Vatican report on these excavations is Toynbee and Perkins's The Shrine of St. Peter (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1956).

[63] Angelo Mai, Ragionamento letto alla Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia nel DÌ Solenne 21 di aprile 1837 Anniversario della Fondazione di Roma, reprinted in Treves, Lo studio..., pp. 388-97.

[64] I am citing C. Day Lewis's translation of Aeneid VIII, lines 671-72 (New York: Doubleday, 1952), p. 199.

[65] The 120-meter gallery was painted in 1580-83 by the Dominican monk Ignazio Danti of Perugia (Guida T.C.I., p. 560).

[66] In Trèves's Italian translation, "Mi appresto a trattar della corografia dell'ecumene, tema limitato e punto suscettibile di eloquenza, perchè quasi esclusivamente ristretto alla nomenclatura di luoghi e di populi," p. 399, note 1.

[67] The first two lines are from Aeneid I, 278-79, and the last three from Aeneid VI, 795-97. In Trèves's translation, "Ad essi non pongo termine di spazio e di tempo, diedi loro un impero che non ha fine...sorge oltre le stelle, oltre i termini del tempo e del sole una terra, dove Atlante cielifero regge sugli omeri l'asse contesto di stelle sfolgoranti," p. 392, note 2.

[68] Aeneid VI, 851-52. In Trèves's translation, "Tu ricorda, o romano, di regger con l'imperio il mondo: queste sien le tue arti," p. 396, note 4.

[69] Aeneid VI, 806. In Trèves's translation, "E tuttavia esitiamo a estendere con le nostre gesta l'area del nostro valore?" p. 397, note 1.

[70] Among Belli's colleagues in the Tiberina was Mauro Cappellari, the future Gregory XVI! For biographical information on Belli, cf. Pietro Gibellini's "Cronologia" in the Sonetti anthology edited by Giorgio Vigolo (Milano: Mondadori, 1978), pp. xci-cxx, and Massimo Grillandi's enormously readable biography, Belli (Milano: Rizzoli, 1979). For an unusual fictionalized character sketch of Belli, cf. Anthony Burgess, ABBA ABBA (London: Faber and Faber, 1977).

[71] "Musa mia, fermo in campo..," Belli italiano (Roma: Colombo, 1975), I, 249-51.

[72] Roma del Belli, ed. Roberto Vighi (Roma: Palombi, 1953).

[73] Stephen A. Larrabee, English Bards and Grecian Marbles (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), p. 45.

[74] Carlo Goldoni, Opere, II (Milano: Mondadori, 1936), 879-962. In Goldoni's play (first performed in 1749), "antiquarianism" is not a serious vocation but a comically consuming passion, a vice arbitrary as any other: "Ognuno a questo mondo ha qualche divertimento. Chi gioca, chi va all'osteria; io ho il divertimento delle antichità, " says Conte Anselmo, after squandering his daughter-in-law's dowry on the enrichment of his private collection of anticaglie (I: 18).

[75] Verri, Le notti romane, pp. 408-528. This sketch, an extended Quixote-like caricature of a comically deluded collector, was intended to preface Le notti but due to its unwonted levity was suppressed by the author before its publication. (cf. Verri's note, p. 528).

[76] Belli italiano (Roma: Colombo, 1975), I, 285-88, 554, et passim.

[77] Belli, Sonetti, ed. Giorgio Vigolo (Milano: Mondadori, 1978), p. 5.

[78] Michele Tripiscino's statue of Belli was erected in Trastevere in 1913 (Guida T.C.I., p. 443).

[79] Vighi, p. 112.

[80] Mussolini's isolation of the monuments required the displacement of thousands of Romans to "temporary" housing in the borgate. A film like Pasolini's Accattone thus illustrates the politics of archaeology at its most concrete level.

[81] Ed. Vigolo, p. 282.

[82] Ed. Vighi, "La compagnia de' 'Santi-petti'", p. 11. Except where specified, all further references will be to the Vighi edition. I cite its simplified spelling for the convenience of the reader.

[83] "La donna gravida," p. 23.

[84] "Er cariolante de la Bonificenza," p. 113.

[85] Prosper Mérimée, La Vénus d'Ille(Paris: Editions de l'Abeille d'Or, 1927).

[86] These catacombs were selected as the ideal stage for melodrama by Hawthorne, in his Marble Faun of 1860.

[87] "Papa Grigorio a li scavi," p. 129.

[88] Guida T.C.I., p. 308.

[89] cf. Larrabee, p. 18.

[90] "Roma Capomunni," p. 7.

[91] "L'innustria," p. LXVIII.

[92] Vighi notes the possible confusion between J.B. Cacault, a general of Napoleon, and François Cacault, French ambassador to Rome between 1800-03. In any case the scatological pun is obvious.

[93] "L'arco de Campovaccino, quello in qua," p. 127.

[94] "La Dogana de Terra a Piazza-de Pietra," p. 145.

[95] cf. Note 89, above.

[96] "A Padron Marcello," p. 9. Belli's romano always calculates creation according to a quasi-biblical, fantastically foreshortened timespan; cf. also "La colonna de Piazza Colonna," p. 141. This tradition survives ironically in the anecdote of the Roman taxi driver

who when asked by an insistent tourist how long it took to build the Coliseum, replies laconically, "Non lo so, ieri non c'era."

97 "Rom'antich'e moderna," p. 8.

98 "Li battesimi de l'anticaje," p. 107.

99 "Un deposito," p. 281.

100 "La Colonna Trojana," p. 139.

101 "La Dogana de Terra a Piazza-de Pietra," pp. 145-47.

102 "La salara de l'antichi," p. 149.

103 "Campo Vaccino," p. 119.

Notes

Chapter III.

[1] I continue to use the terms "scuola liberale" and "scuola democratica" as defined by De Sanctis in his lectures of 1872-74, published as La letteratura italiana nel secolo XIX, II (Bari: Laterza, 1953).

[2] Charles Didier, Rome souterraine (Paris: Gosselin, 1841).

[3] "Rome Souterraine par Charles Didier," originally published in fasc. VI of Giovine Italia, reprinted in Mazzini's Scritti editi ed inediti, I (Imola: Galeati, 1906), pp. 385-92. This edition will be abbreviated henceforth as S.E.I.

[4] Alphonse de Lamartine, "Le dernier chant du pélérinage d'Harold," Oeuvres complètes (Paris: Furnes, 1834), II, 221-99.

[5] Giuseppe Giusti, "La terra dei morti," Opere (Torino: U.T.E.T., 1976), p. 298, lines 100-01.

[6] Cf. Jean Starobinski, 1789: Les emblèmes de la raison (Paris: Flammarion, 1973), and especially Robert Rosenblum's chapter II, "The exemplum virtutis," in Transformations in Late Eighteenth-Century Art (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), pp. 50-105.

[7] I should note here that this chapter's discussion of Gioberti will be limited to his Primato morale e civile degli italiani (1843), rather than to his later political writings. My main reason is the same as that given by Chabod, in his Storia della politica estera italiana dal 1870 al 1896, I (Bari: Laterza, 1951), p. 199, n. 2: "quel che pesò sulla storia d'Italia fu, appunto, il Primato."

[8] The reader is of course familiar with Foucault's discussion of the discourse of power in his "Discourse on Language" (originally delivered in French at the Collège de France on December 2, 1972, published under the title "L'ordre du discours" by Gallimard in 1971, and now included as appendix to the Harper Torchbook edition in the English translation by Rupert Sawyer). For further development of this concept cf. the three-volume collection of essays, Faire de l'histoire, edited by Jacques Le Goff and Pierre Nora (Paris: Gallimard, 1974), and in particular the opening essay, "L'opération historique," by Michel de Certeau (Vol. I, pp. 3-41).

[9] Chabod, pp. 190-200.

[10] Chabod, pp. 179-323.

[11] Vincenzo Cuoco, Platone in Italia, 2 vols. (Bari: Laterza, 1924), and Giuseppe Micali, L'Italia avanti il dominio dei Romani (Firenze: Piatti, 1810).

[12] "Il manoscritto greco che ora ti do tradotto, o lettore, fu ritrovato da mio avo, nell'anno 1774, facendo scavare le fondamenta di una casa di campagna che ei volea costruire nel suolo istesso ove già fu Eraclea..," "Al lettore," I, 3.

[13] Piero Trèves, L'idea di Roma e la cultura italiana del secolo xIX (Milano: Ricciardi, 1962), pp. 30-31.

[14] Cf. Carroll Meeks, "History of the Façades of the Cathedrals of Florence and Milan," in his Italian Architecture 1750-1914 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1966), pp. 220-37.

[15] Cf. Fortunato Bellonzi, La pittura di storia dell'Ottocento italiano (Milano: Fabbri, 1967).

[16] Both the poem and Di Breme's defense, "Intorno all'ingiustizia di alcuni giudizi letterari italiani," are reprinted in Carlo Calcaterra, ed., I manifesti romantici del 1816 (Torino: U.T.E.T., 1968), pp. 81-124.

[17] De Sanctis, Nuovi saggi critici (Napoli: Morano, 1888), pp. 283 and 285.

[18] Mazzini, S.E.I., I, 34-35.

[19] S.E.I., XXI, 272 and 292.

[20] Giacomo Durando, Della nazionalità italiana (Losanna: Bonamici, 1846), pp. 10-11.

[21] Thomas Greene, "Restoring Rome: The Double Task of the Humanist Imagination" (unpublished).

[22] On this and on the general importance of Gioberti to the history of the Risorgimento, I have found particularly helpful Stuart Woolf's A History of Italy 1700-1860: The Social Constraints of Political Change (London: Methuen, 1979), an earlier Italian version of which appeared in Storia d'Italia, III (Torino: Einaudi, 1973), pp. 5-508. Also useful on both Gioberti and Mazzini were Luigi Salvatorelli, Il pensiero politico italiano dal 1700 al 1870 (Torino: Einaudi, 1943), and Ettore Passerin d'Entrèves, "Ideologie del Risorgimento," in Storia della letteratura italiana, VII, ed. E. Cecchi and N. Sapegno (Milano: Garzanti, 1969), 201-413, which also provides a good critical bibliography on the period.

[23] Vincenzo Gioberti, Del primato morale e civile degli italiani, 3 vols., ed. Gustavo Balsamo-Crivelli (Torino: U.T.E.T., 1932), III, 205-07. All additional references will be identified as necessary in the text by page number.

[24] As Lo Curto has pointed out in Gli scrittori cattolici dalla Restaurazione all'Unità (Bari: Laterza, 1976), p. 125, the chapter divisions and titles now incorporated into the Primato and to which I will refer throughout this chapter, were not present in Gioberti's original edition. They were added only grudgingly in his third edition (1845), for the benefit of those "asmatici di professione" unable to read the manifesto all in one breath, as he claimed to have written it. In bowing to the demands of a post-modern public accustomed to "libri o piuttosto libretti minutissimamente trinciati in articoli, paragrafi, punti, numeri, versetti e che so io," Gioberti explained that the original plan of the Primato reflected not "incuria" or "pigrizia" but "l'indole del /suo/ discorso il quale procedendo soprattutto nella prima parte per modo oratorio anzichè didascalico o rigorosamente scientifico non parve capace di quelle divisioni che rompono l'impeto dei pensieri e il corso naturale degli affetti."

[25] As Woolf notes (p. 343), Gioberti's dedication of the work to Silvio Pellico speaks for the silences in the text regarding the Austrian presence in Italy.

[26] "The first 1500 copies of the Primato were rapidly followed by reprints and Vieusseux proposed a popular edition of 5000 copies. As Balbo wrote to Gioberti: 'You are now a leader of a school.'" (Woolf, p. 343).

[27] Cf. Gioberti's apology of his "philosophical method," more properly here a rhetorical mode ("conciliativo" instead of "esclusivo"), in III, 252.

[28] The parallels between the two figures are probably not fortuitous; Le rouge et le noir was first published in 1830.

[29] Cf. especially "Pensieri. Ai poeti del secolo XIX" (1832), S.E.I., I, 349-74; "Dell'arte in Italia, a proposito del Marco Visconti, romanzo di Tommaso Grossi"(1835), VIII, 3-65; and "Byron e Goethe" (1840), XXI, 187-241.

[30] Victor Hugo, Les misérables (Paris: Gallimard, 1951), pp. 757-58.

[31] George Sand, Correspondance, VI, ed. Georges Lubin (Paris: Garnier, 1969), p. 34: cited by Franco Venturi in "L'Italia fuori l'Italia," Storia d'Italia, III (Torino: Einaudi, 1973), p. 1362.

[32] A classic treatment of this theme is De Quincey's famous passage in the Confessions of an English Opium Eater (1821), based on a dream of Coleridge and depicting Piranesi as the victim of his own perverse spatial imagination, endlessly climbing a series of blind spiral staircases. Praz quotes the passage in Gusto neoclassico (Firenze: Sansoni, 1940), pp. 79-80. Robert Adams, in The Roman Stamp: Frame and Façade in Some Forms of Neo-Classicism (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), p. 187, adds in a withering note that Coleridge and De Quincey "between them set a whole generation of romantics to work" on such fantasies, generating in turn such thematic studies as Luzius Keller's Piranèse et les romantiques francais: le mythe des escaliers en spirale (Paris: 1966).

[33] Giuseppe Garibaldi, Clelia: Il governo del monaco (Roma nel secolo XIX) (Milano: Rechiedei, 1870).

[34] Alberto Caracciolo, Roma capitale: Dal Risorgimento alla crisi dello Stato liberale (Roma: Editori Riuniti, 1974), pp. 110-18.

[35] "Ai giovani d'Italia," S.E.I., LXIV, 155-215. Part of this passage is cited by Chabod, p. 196.

Notes

Epilogue.

[1] Mazzini, S.E.I., XCIV, 93-101.

[2] For the section on Leopardi, cf. pp. 211-36.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adams, Robert M. The Roman Stamp: Frame and Façade in Some Forms of Neo-Classicism. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974.

Amfitheatrof, Erik. The Enchanted Ground: Americans in Italy, 1760-1980. Boston: Little, Brown, 1980.

Andrieux, Maurice. Rome. Trans. Charles Lam Markmann. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1968.

Balzac, Honoré de. Illusions perdues. Paris: Garnier, 1956.

Barbarisi, Gennaro. "Vincenzo Monti e la cultura neoclassica." In Storia della letteratura italiana. Vol. VII. Milano: Garzanti, 1969, pp. 3-95.

Becchetti, Piero. Fotografi e fotografia in Italia 1839-1880. Roma: Quasar, 1978.

Belli, Giuseppe Gioachino. Belli italiano. Ed. Roberto Vighi. 3 vols. Roma: Colombo, 1975.

----------. Roma del Belli. Ed. Roberto Vighi. Roma: Palombi, 1963.

----------. Sonetti. Ed. Giorgio Vigolo. Milano: Mondadori, 1978.

Bellonzi, Fortunato. La pittura di storia dell'Ottocento italiano. Milano: Fabbri, 1967.

Beyle, Marie Henri. Promenades dans Rome. Ed. Henri Martineau. 3 vols. Paris: Le Divan, 1931.

Borlenghi, Aldo. La polemica sul romanticismo. Padova: R.A.D.A.R., 1968.

Brand, C.P. Italy and the English Romantics: The Italianate Fashion in Early Nineteenth-Century England. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957.

Bull, Duncan. Classic Ground: British Artists and the Landscape of Italy, 1740-1830. New Haven: Yale Center for British Art, 1981 (Catalogue of an exhibition held July 29-September 20, 1981).

Burgess, Anthony. ABBA ABBA. London: Faber and Faber, 1977.

Byron, George Gordon Noel. Childe Harold's Pilgrimage and other Romantic Poems. Ed. Samuel Chew. New York: Odyssey, 1936.

Calcaterra, Carlo, ed. I manifesti romantici del 1816. Torino: U.T.E.T., 1968.

Canova, Antonio. "Prolusione alla nuova apertura dell'Accademia." In Accademia Romana di Archeologia. Atti. Vol. I. Roma: De Romanis, 1821, pp. 31-35.

Caracciolo, Alberto. Roma capitale: Dal Risorgimento alla crisi dello Stato liberale. Roma: Editori Riuniti, 1974.

Cattaneo, Carlo. "Del ristauro dei monumenti e della loro conservazione." In his Scritti letterari, artistici, linguistici e vari. Vol. II. Ed. Agostino Bertani. Firenze: Le Monnier, 1945, pp. 3-13.

----------. "Ugo Foscolo e l'Italia." In his Scritti critici. Ed. Mario Fubini. Firenze: Sansoni, 1954, pp. 113-118.

Chabod, Federico. Storia della politica estera italiana dal 1870 al 1896. Vol. 1. Bari: Laterza, 1951.

Croce, Benedetto. Storia della storiografia italiana nel secolo decimonono. Bari: Laterza, 1947.

Croly, George. Paris in 1815: A Poem. London: John Murray, 1818.

Cuoco, Vincenzo. Platone in Italia. Ed. Fausto Nicolini. 3 vols. Bari: Laterza, 1924.

De Sanctis, Francesco. La letteratura italiana nel secolo XIX. Vol. II: La scuola liberale e la scuola democratica. Bari: Laterza, 1953.

----------. Nuovi saggi critici. Napoli: Morano, 1888.

----------. Saggi critici. Vol. I. Bari: Laterza, 1952.

Didier, Charles. Rome souterraine. Paris: Gosselin, 1841.

Donato, Eugenio. "The Mnemonics of History: Notes for a Contextual Reading of Foscolo's 'Dei Sepolcri.'" Yale Italian Studies, I: 1 (1977), pp. 1-23.

Durando, Giacomo. Della nazionalità italiana: Saggio politico-militare. Lausanne: Bonamici, 1846.

Eco, Umberto. La struttura assente. Milano: Bompiani, 1968.

----------. "Per una analisi semantica dei segni architettonici." In Le forme del contenuto. Milano: Bompiani, 1971, pp. 159-79.

Eitner, Lorenz. "Cages, Prisons, and Captives in Eighteenth-Century Art." In Images of Romanticism: Verbal and Visual Affinities. Eds. Karl Kroeber and William Walling. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978.

Fea, Carlo. Descrizione di Roma e de' Contorni. 3 vols. Roma: Puccinelli, 1822.

Foscolo, Ugo. Opere. Vol. I. Ed. Franco Gavazzeni. Milano: Ricciardi, 1974.

----------. Opere. Vol. VI. Firenze: Le Monnier, 1972.

----------. Opere. Vol. XV. Firenze: Le Monnier, 1952.

Foucault, Michel. The Archaeology of Knowledge. Trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith. New York: Harper and Row, 1972.

Garibaldi, Giuseppe. Clelia: Il governo del monaco (Roma nel secolo XIX). Milano: Rechiedei, 1870.

Gioberti, Vincenzo. Del primato morale e civile degli italiani. Ed. Gustavo Balsamo-Crivelli. 3 vols. Torino: U.T.E.T., 1932.

Giusti, Giuseppe. Opere. Ed. Nunzio Sabbatucci. Torino: U.T.E.T., 1976.

Goldoni, Carlo. "La famiglia dell'antiquario: o La Suocera e la Nuora." In his Opere. Vol. II. Milano: Mondadori, 1936, pp. 879-962.

Gould, Cecil. Trophy of Conquest: The Musée Napoléon and the Creation of the Louvre. London: Faber and Faber, 1965.

Gramsci, Antonio. Letteratura e vita nazionale. Torino: Einaudi, 1950.

Gray, Thomas. The Complete English Poems. Ed. James Reeves. London: Heinemann, 1973.

Greene, Thomas M. "Restoring Rome: The Double Task of the Humanist Imagination." (unpublished)

Grillandi, Massimo. Belli. Milano: Rizzoli, 1979.

Grimal, Pierre. In Search of Ancient Italy. Trans. P.D. Cummins. New York: Hill and Wang, 1964.

Harvey, Miranda. Piranesi: The Imaginary Views. New York: Harmony Books, 1979.

Hautecoeur, L. Rome et la renaissance de l'antiquité à la fin du XVIII siècle. Paris: Fontemoing, 1912.

Hazard, Paul. La Révolution française et les lettres italiennes. Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1977.

Hemans, Felicia. The Restoration of the Works of Art to Italy: A Poem. 2nd ed. Oxford: John Murray, 1816.

Hobhouse, John. Historical Illustrations of the Fourth Canto of Childe Harold: containing Dissertations on the Ruins of Rome and an Essay on Italian Literature. New York: Gilley, 1818.

Hugo, Victor. Les Misérables. Paris: Gallimard, 1951.

----------. Notre-Dame de Paris. 2 vols. Paris: Hetzel, 1831.

Jenkyns, Richard. The Victorians and Ancient Greece. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1980.

Lamartine, Alphonse de. Correspondance de Lamartine publiée par M.me Valentine de Lamartine. Paris: Hachette, 1881.

----------. Oeuvres complètes. Vol. II. Paris: Furnes, 1834.

La Padula, Attilio. Roma 1809-1814: Contributo alla storia dell'urbanistica. Roma: Palombi, 1958.

Larrabee, Stephen A. English Bards and Grecian Marbles: The Relationship between Sculpture and Poetry especially in the Romantic Period. New York: Columbia University Press, 1943.

Lechevalier, J.B. Voyage dans la Troade, fait dans les années 1785 et 1786. Paris: Dentu, 1802.

Le Goff, Jacques, and Pierre Nora, Eds. Faire de l'histoire. 3 vols. Paris: Gallimard, 1974.

Leopardi, Giacomo. Opere. 2 vols. Milano: Ricciardi, 1966.

----------. Tutte le opere. 2 vols. Firenze: Sansoni, 1969.

Levin, Harry. The Broken Column: A Study in Romantic Hellenism. Cambridge: Harvard, 1931.

Lo Curto, Vito. Gli scrittori cattolici dalla Restaurazione all'Unità. Bari: Laterza, 1976.

Macaulay, Rose. Pleasure of Ruins. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1953.

MacKendrick, Paul. The Mute Stones Speak: The Story of Archaeology in Italy. New York: Mentor Books, 1960.

Mack Smith, Dennis, Ed. The Making of Italy: 1796-1870. New York: Walker, 1968.

Madelin, Louis. La Rome de Napoléon: La domination française à Rome de 1809 à 1814. Paris: Plon, 1906.

Mai, Angelo. Ragionamento letto alla Pontificia Romana di Archeologia nel Dì Solenne 21 di aprile 1837 Anniversario della Fondazione di Roma. Reprinted in Piero Trèves, Lo studio dell'antichità classica nell'Ottocento. Milano: Ricciardi, 1962, pp. 388-97.

Masson, Georgina. The Companion Guide to Rome. London: Collins, 1965.

Mazzini, Giuseppe. Ricordi autobiografici. Imola: Galeati, 1938.

----------. Scritti editi ed inediti. 98 vols. Imola: Galeati, 1906-40.

Meeks, Carroll L.V. Italian Architecture 1750-1914. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966.

Mérimée, Prosper. La Vénus d'Ille. Paris: Editions de l'Abeille d'Or, 1927.

Micali, Giuseppe. L'Italia avanti il dominio dei Romani. Firenze: Piatti, 1810.

Millar, Eileen Anne. Napoleon in Italian Literature: 1796-1821. Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1977.

Momigliano, Attilio. Cinque Saggi. Sansoni: Firenze, 1945.

Monti, Vincenzo. Opere. Milano: Ricciardi, 1953.

Munoz, Antonio. Roma di Mussolini. Milano: Treves, 1935.

Natali, Guido. "L'idea del primato italiano prima di Vincenzo Gioberti." Nuova antologia, 274 (1917), pp. 126-34.

Negri, Renzo. Gusto e poesia delle rovine in Italia fra il Sette e l'Ottocento. Milano: Ceschina, 1965.

Pareyson, Luigi. Estetica: Teoria della formatività. Bologna: Zanichelli, 1960.

Passerin d'Entrèves, Ettore. "Ideologie del Risorgimento." In Storia della letteratura italiana. Vol. VII. Ed. Emilio Cecchi and Natalino Sapegno. Milano: Garzanti, 1969, pp. 201-413.

Peruta, Franco della, ed. Scrittori politici dell'Ottocento. Vol. I. Giuseppe Mazzini e i democratici. Milano: Ricciardi, 1969.

Petrarca, Francesco. Canzoniere. Ed. Gianfranco Contini. Torino: Einaudi, 1964.

Piacentini, Marcello. Le vicende edilizie di Roma dal 1870 ad oggi. Roma: Palombi, 1952.

Pirodda, Giovanni. Mazzini e gli scrittori democratici. Roma: Laterza, 1976.

Praz, Mario. "Arte neoclassica nel periodo napoleonico." In Eileen Anne Millar's Napoleon in Italian Literature: 1796-1821. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1977, pp. vii-xl.

----------. Gusto neoclassico. Firenze: Sansoni, 1940.

Quatremère de Quincy. Lettres sur la préjudice qu'occasionneroient aux Arts et à la Science, le déplacement des Monumens de l'art de l'Italie, le démembrement de ses Écoles, et la spoliation de ses Collections, Galéries, Musées, etc. 2nd ed. Rome: 1815.

Romagnoli, Sergio. "Narratori e prosatori del Romanticismo." In Storia della letteratura italiana. Vol. VIII. Milano: Garzanti, 1968.

Rosenblum, Robert. Transformations in Late Eighteenth-Century Art. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967.

Rudman, Harry W. Italian Nationalism and English Letters: Figures of the Risorgimento and Victorian Men of Letters. New York: Columbia University Press, 1940.

Ruffini, Giovanni. Lorenzo Benoni. New York: Redfield, 1853.

Salvatorelli, Luigi. Il pensiero politico italiano dal 1700 al 1870. Torino: Einaudi, 1943.

Sand, Georges. Correspondance. Ed. Georges Lubin. Paris: Garnier, 1969.

Sciascia, Leonardo. Il consiglio d'Egitto. Torino: Einaudi, 1963.

Seznec, Jean. The Survival of the Pagan Gods. Trans. Barbara Sessions. New York: Bollingen, 1953.

Shelley, Percy Bysshe. The Complete Works. Ed. Roger Ingpen and Walter E. Peck. Vol. X. London: Benn, 1926.

Spencer, Terence. Fair Greece Sad Relic: Literary Philhellenism from Shakespeare to Byron. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1954.

Spitzer, Leo. "The 'Ode on a Grecian Urn,' or Content vs. Metagrammar." Comparative Literature, VII (1955), pp. 203-25.

Springer, Carolyn. "Verso un'iconografia 'democratica' del Risorgimento: romanzo e pittura in Beatrice Cenci." Versus, 19/20 (1978), pp. 189-201.

Staël-Holstein, Anne Louise Germaine, baronne de. Corinne: ou l'Italie. 2 vols. Paris: Nelson, 1928.

Starobinski, Jean. The Invention of Liberty: 1700-1789. Trans. Bernard Swift. Geneva: Skira, 1964.

----------. 1789: Les emblèmes de la raison. Paris: Flammarion, 1973.

Summerson, John. The Classical Language of Architecture. Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T., 1963.

Thomson, James. The Complete Poetical Works. Ed. J. Logie Robertson. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1908.

Timpanaro, Sebastiano. Classicismo e illuminismo nell'Ottocento italiano. Pisa: Nistri-Lischi, 1965.

----------. La filologia di Giacomo Leopardi. Firenze: Le Monnier, 1955.

Touring Club Italiano. Guida a Firenze e Dintorni. Milano: T.C.I., 1974.

----------. Guida a Roma e Dintorni. Milano: T.C.I., 1965.

Tournon, le comte de. Études statistiques sur Rome et la partie occidentale des états romans. 3 vols. Paris: Treuttel et Würtz, 1831.

Toynbee, Jocelyn, and John Ward Perkins. The Shrine of Saint Peter. London: Longmans, Green, 1956.

Trèves, Piero. L'idea di Roma e la cultura italiana del secolo XIX. Milano: Ricciardi, 1962.

----------. Lo studio dell'antichità classica nell'Ottocento. Milano: Ricciardi, 1962.

Valesio, Paolo. Novantiqua: Rhetorics as a Contemporary Theory. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980.

The Vatican Museums: Monumenti, Musei, e Gallerie Pontificie. Firenze: Scala, 1972.

Venturi, Franco. "L'Italia fuori d'Italia." In Storia d'Italia. Vol. III. Torino: Einaudi, 1973, pp. 987-1481.

Verri, Alessandro. Le notti romane. Ed. Renzo Negri. Bari: Laterza, 1967.

Vincent, E.R. Byron, Hobhouse and Foscolo: New Documents in the History of a Collaboration. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1949.

Visconti, Ennio Quirino. Il Museo Pio-Clementino. 7 vols. Roma: Mirri, 1782-1807.

Winckelmann, Johann Joachim. History of Ancient Art. Trans. G. Henry Lodge. 3 vols. New York: Unger, 1968.

----------. Monumenti antichi inediti. Roma: 1767.

----------. Reflections on the Painting and Sculpture of the Greeks. Trans. H. Fuseli. London: 1765.

Woodring, Carl. Politics in English Romantic Poetry. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970.

Woolf, Stuart. A History of Italy 1700-1860: The Social Constraints of Political Change. London: Methuen, 1979.