

Notes

1 Decline and Discovery

1. Following Charlotte Hogsett's feminist usage, I refer to Madame de Staël, as she is generally known, as Staël. See Hogsett, *The Literary Existence of Germaine de Staël* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1987), xiv.
2. For Staël's major role in the formation of European Romanticism, see John Claiborne Isbell, *The Birth of a European Romanticism: Truth and Propaganda in Staël's De l'Allemagne, 1810–1813* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), *passim*.
3. As this is not a philological study, I have cited Avriel Goldberger's English translation of Staël's novel, which appeared as *Corinne, or Italy* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1987); references are given parenthetically within the text whenever convenient. I have also relied on Morroe Berger's edition of *Madame de Staël on Politics, Literature, and National Character* (New York: Doubleday, 1964), which contains extensive excerpts from *On Literature, Germany, and Considerations on the Principle Events of the French Revolution*. All footnote references from Berger's edition are accompanied by corresponding (and supplementary) citations from Vols. I, II, and III of the Slatkine reprint of *Oeuvres complètes de Madame la Baronne de Staël-Holstein*, published in Geneva in 1967 after the Paris edition of 1861.
4. A crucial exception to this rule is Giacomo Leopardi, *Discorso sopra lo stato presente dei costumi degli italiani*, ed. Mario Andrea Rigoni (Milan: Rizzoli, 1988). Written in 1824 although published only in 1906, Leopardi's study is influenced by Staël's treatment of the Italian character with which it agrees on several key points. See Rigoni's Introduction, 7–8, 8n, 8–9; see also Roberto Melchiori's "Commento," 87n, 97–8n, 100–100n, 105n, 132n. On some aspects of Leopardi's relation to Staël, exclusive of the question of national character, see Arnaud Tripet, "Esquisse d'une genèse leopardienne: Leopardi, lecteur de Madame de Staël," in Mario Matucci, ed., *Il gruppo di Coppet e l'Italia (Pescia, 24–27 Settembre 1986)* (Pisa: Pacini, 1988), 41–52. Leopardi's analysis of the Italian character had been preceded by Joseph Baretti's valuable but much less trenchant *An Account of the Manners and Customs of Italy* (1768), which was written in English. Other works in this vein include Pietro Calepio, *Descrizione de' costumi italiani* (1727) and Carlo Denina, *Considérations d'un Italien sur l'Italie ou Mémoires sur l'état actuel des lettres et des arts en Italie et les caractères des habitants* (1796). For a discussion of

Calepio and Denina, see Giulio Bollati, *L'Italiano: Il carattere originale come storia e come invenzione* (Torino: Einaudi, 1983), 50–3. More recent studies on the subject include Silvio Guarneri, *Carattere degli italiani* (Torino: Einaudi, 1948); Bollati, “L’italiano. Il carattere degli italiani come problema storico,” in Bollati, *L'Italiano*; Carlo Tullio-Altan, *La Nostra Italia: aretratezza culturale, clientelismo, trasformismo e ribellione dall’unità all’oggi* (Milano: Feltrinelli, 1986); Loredana Sciolla, *Italiani: stereotipi di casa nostra* (Bologna: Mulino, 1997). Guarneri attempts to deduce the Italian character mainly from literary examples and thus tends to treat the problem at too great a remove from everyday life. He also seems to deny the existence of such a character, given the variety and contradiction among Italians within their separate regions, classes, and occupations. From this perspective the national character has yet to be formed in the post–1945 environment, preferably in accordance with an ideal standard. In other contexts Guarneri refers to the Italian character as if it were synonymous with the moral fiber of the people.

5. Madelyn Gutwirth, *Madame de Staël, Novelist: The Emergence of the Artist as Woman* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978), 278, 278n, 282–3; Ellen Moers, “Performing Heroicism: The Myth of Corinne,” in Jerome Hamilton Buckley, ed., *The Worlds of Victorian Fiction* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975), 319–50; Paula Blanchard, “Corinne and the ‘Yankee Corinna’: Madame de Staël and Margaret Fuller,” in Avriel H. Goldberger ed., *Woman as Mediatrix: Essays on Nineteenth-Century European Women Writers* (New York: Greenwood, 1987), 39–46; Madelyn Gutwirth, Avriel Goldberger, and Karyna Szmurlo, eds., *Germaine de Staël: Crossing the Borders* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1991), 227 (Bibliography); Van Wyck Brooks, *The Dream of Arcadia: American Writers and Artists in Italy, 1760–1915* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1958), 15–6; Paul R. Baker, *The Fortunate Pilgrims: Americans in Italy, 1800–1860* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1964), 27–8; Attilio Brilli, *Il viaggio in Italia: Storia di una grande tradizione culturale dal XVI al XIX secolo* (Milano: Silvana Editoriale, 1987), 264; Linda M. Lewis, *Germaine de Staël, George Sand, and the Victorian Woman Artist* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2003), 13–6; Nanora Sweet, “‘Lorenzo’s’ Liverpool and ‘Corinne’s’ Coppet: The Italianate Salon and Romantic Education,” in Thomas Pfau and Robert F. Gleckner, eds., *The Lessons of Romanticism: A Critical Companion* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 251–2; Jan Marsh, “Art, Ambition, and Sisterhood in the 1850s,” in Christina Campbell Orr, ed., *Women in the Victorian Art World* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 37–38; in the same volume, Clarissa Campbell Orr, “The Corinne Complex: Gender, Genius, and National Culture,” 89–91; Angela Leighton, *Victorian Women Poets: Writing Against the Heart* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1992), 3, 30, 31–5, 47, 58–9, 65–6, 76, 78, 81, 88–91, 142; Maura O’Connor, *The Romance of Italy and the English Political Imagination* (New York: St. Martin’s, 1998), 20; Robert Calvin Whitford, *Madame de Staël’s Literary Reputation in England*, University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, Vol. IV, February 1918, no. 1 (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1918); Michael O’Brien, “Italy and the Southern Romantics,” in O’Brien, *Rethinking*

- the South: Essays in Intellectual History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), 91–6; Ellen Peel and Nanora Sweet, “*Corinne* and the Woman as Poet in England: Hemans, Jewsbury, and Barrett Browning,” in Karyna Szmurlo, ed., *The Novel’s Seductions: Staël’s “Corinne” in Critical Inquiry* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1999), 204–20.
6. Gutwirth, *Madame de Staël, Novelist*, 154–309; Colson, “Étude de la Société dans *Corinne ou l’Italie*,” Diss: Case Western Reserve University, 1970, 52. See also Monika Bosse, “*Corinne ou l’Italie*: Diagnostic d’une dilemme historique,” in *Il gruppo di Coppet e l’Italia*, ed. Matucci, 104n.
 7. Romero, “Mme de Staël en la revolución feminina del siglo xix,” *Cuadernos Americanos*, CVII, no. 6 (1959): 159, noted in Gutwirth, *Madame de Staël, Novelist*, 214n. For an incisive analysis of the possible ambiguities of the title, see Marie-Claire Vallois, *Fictions féminines: Mme. de Staël et les voix de la Sibylle*, *Stanford French and Italian Studies*, 48 (Saratoga, CA: Anima Libri, 1987), 111–3, 131. Vallois rightly sees the title as the “key” to the novel, which establishes an “equation” between *Corinne* and Italy. However, in a later essay Vallois places greater stress, which the title also sanctions, on the difference between *Corinne* and Italy. See Vallois, “Old Idols, New Subjects: Germaine de Staël and Romanticism,” in *Germaine de Staël: Crossing the Borders*, ed. Gutwirth et al., eds., 88–9.
 8. Hillard, *Six Months in Italy*, Vol. II (Boston: Ticknor, Read, and Fiedler, 1853), 404.
 9. Notwithstanding his frequent disparagement of Staël, for what he sees as both her novelistic failings and misrepresentation of Italy, Stendhal sometimes praises her in the highest terms and, even though never adequately acknowledging his indebtedness, owes much to her writings on Italy and other subjects. Besides drawing upon Staël’s dichotomy between Northern and Southern Europe, Stendhal borrows her conception of Italy as an essentially “feminine” country where society does not exist and the people therefore remain “natural.” Staël’s Italians anticipate those of Stendhal in being free from convention, vanity, affectation, coquetry, ridicule, distinctions of rank, and the embarrassments of poverty, in short, from the tyranny or “regard” of the “other.” In Stendhal, as in Staël, the passionate Italians delight in love and the arts and prefer outdoor pleasures to the indoor comforts favored in the North. Stendhal is also influenced profoundly by Staël’s idea of the irreconcilable opposition between love and vanity and her recognition of the tension between art and society. For Stendhal, as for Staël, Italian naturalness contrasts with the frigidity and conventionality of bourgeois England. Stendhal’s dislike of Staël seems to have stemmed partly from the fact that she despised and criticized his idol Napoleon, who had sent her into exile. In contrast with Stendhal, who rightly realizes that Napoleon’s despotism in Italy had imposed many liberalizing and modernizing reforms, Staël minimizes these achievements, persisting in the view that Napoleon had primarily debased, brutalized, and exploited the Italian people. In this judgment she agrees with her friend Sismondi, who, as Franco Venturi notes, wrote to her in a letter during the first decade of the nineteenth century that under Napoleon Italy had sunk into the mud. For the relation between Staël and Stendhal, see Stendhal, *Love* (translation of *De L’amour*),

- trans. Gilbert and Suzanne Sale (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1975), 25, 84n; Stendhal, *Rome, Naples et Florence (1826)* in Stendhal, *Voyages en Italie*, ed. Vittorio del Litto (Paris: Gallimard, 1973), 326; Stendhal, *Selected Journalism from the English Reviews*, ed. and trans. Geoffrey Strickland (New York: Grove Press, 1959), 168, 175, 243–4, 295; V. del Litto, *La vie intellectuelle de Stendhal: Genèse et évolution de ses idées (1802–1821)* (Grenoble: Presses Universitaires de France, 1962), 52, 67–70, 115–16, 163, 183–4, 233, 238, 272, 278–82, 309, 314, 341–5, 400, 422–3, 443, 472–4, 501, 510, 516, 575, 633–4; H.-F. Imbert, *Les Métamorphoses de la liberté, ou Stendhal devant la Restauration et le Risorgimento* (Paris: Jose Corti, 1967), 245, 248; Michel Crouzet, *Stendhal et l'Italianité: Essai de mythologie romantique* (Paris: Corti, 1982), 6, 13–14, 26, 27, 39, 56n, 57, 150, 197n, 198n, 244, 261; Charles Dejob, *Madame de Staël et l'Italie avec une bibliographie de l'influence française en Italie, de 1796 à 1814* (Paris: Collin, 1890), 62–7, 62n, 65–6, 90–3, 96, 105–7, 114–15; Jules Bertaut, *L'Italie vue par les français* (Paris: Librairie des Annales Politiques, n.d.), 148; Simone Balayé, *Les carnets de voyage de Madame de Staël: Contribution à la genèse de ses oeuvres* (Geneva: Droz, 1971), 412–13; *Madame de Staël*, Berger, ed., 59; Franco Venturi, "L'Italia fuori d'Italia," in *Storia d'Italia*, Vol. III, *Dal primo Settecento all'Unità*, eds. Ruggiero Romano and Corrado Vivanti (Turin: Einaudi, 1973), 1177; Roland Mortier, *La poétique des ruines en France: Ses origines, ses variations, de la Renaissance à Victor Hugo* (Geneve: Droz, 1974), 203, 205; Mortier, "Les états généraux de l'opinion européenne," in Kurt Kloocke, ed., *Le Groupe de Coppet et l'Europe, 1789–1830: Actes du cinquième colloque de Coppet (8–10 Juillet, 1993)* (Lausanne: Institut Benjamin Constant, 1994), 18; Benjamin McRae Amoss, Jr., *Time and Narrative in Stendhal* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1992), 36. For Sismondi's condemnation of Napoleon for allegedly strangling Italian thought and life, see Adolfo Omodeo, "Il circolo di Coppet di fronte a Napoleone," in Omodeo, *Il Senso della Storia* (Torino: Einaudi, 1955), 357, 358.
10. For Chateaubriand and Staël on moonlit Roman ruins, see Mortier, *La poétique des ruines en France*, 177, 196–7. For the fashion generally, see Gutwirth, *Madame de Staël, Novelist*, 163–4; H. Nelville Maugham, ed., *The Book of Italian Travel, 1580–1900* (London: Grant Richards, 1903), 339–40, 339–40n; Dennis Porter, "Reinventing Travel: Stendhal's Roman Journey," *Genre*, Vol. XVI (Winter 1983): 475; Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Italian Journey*, trans. W.H. Auden and Elizabeth Mayer (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1982), 168; Lady Phillipina Knight, *Lady Knight's Letters from France and Italy, 1776–1795*, ed. Lady Elliott-Drake (London: Arthur L. Humphreys, 1905), July 11, 1778, 60–1; Maurice Andrieux, *Les Français a Rome* (Paris: Fayard, 1968), 220–1; Camillo von Klenze, *The Interpretation of Italy during the Last Two Centuries: A Contribution to the Study of Goethe's "Italienische Reise"* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1907), 41–2; Paul Franklin Kirby, *The Grand Tour in Italy (1700–1800)* (New York: S.F. Vanni, 1952), 80n; Mrs. [Anna] Jameson, *The Diary of an Ennuyée* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1894), 130; Mario Praz, "Grand Tour," in *Studi e svaghi inglese* (Firenze: G.C. Sansoni, 1937), 280; Baker, *The Fortunate Pilgrims*, 66.

11. On the role of mental perceptions, ideologies, symbols, and images in the formation of what is taken to be socially real, and the controversy surrounding the argument that social objects exist only as they are represented, see Gabriela Gribaudi, "Images of the South: The Mezzogiorno as seen by Insiders and Outsiders," in Robert Lumley and Jonathan Morris, eds., *The New History of the Italian South: The Mezzogiorno Revisited* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1997), 83–4. For a view of Northern European travel writing on Italy as primarily a form of anthropological construction, see Joseph Luzzi, "Italy without Italians: Literary Origins of a Romantic Myth," *MLN*, 117 (January 2002): 49, 50n. Armed with this methodology, Luzzi can even argue that Italy's relative backwardness in modernity, for which there are any number of credible social, political, cultural, and economic indicators, is no more than a "myth."
12. Nelson Moe, *The View from Vesuvius: Italian Culture and the Southern Question* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 13–81, esp. 53.
13. Croce, "Il 'Paradiso abitato da diavoli,'" in *Uomini e Cose della Vecchia Italia*, First Series, 2d. edition (Bari: Laterza, 1943), 69–87, esp. 82, 85.
14. Peter Burke acknowledges that Northern European visitors to Italy in the early modern period lacked camera-like objectivity and all too often found what they expected to find. Yet, though they had prejudices, and though some of them were grossly biased against Italy and Italians, their writings deserve to be taken seriously, as they were also sensitive to differences, details, and patterns within the environments they visited. Burke thus implies the possibility of correlating travelers' reports with an underlying social and historical reality. See Burke, *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 16–17; Burke, "The Discreet Charm of Milan: English Travelers in the Seventeenth Century," in Burke, *Varieties of Cultural History* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997), 94, 96, 97. More recently, Jean Vивиès has warned against a naive empiricism based on false notions of the objectivity of travel writing, for as he says, "description always implies a selection of materials, and a sense of judgment." So too, travelers are "rarely professional historians or geographers," with a "studied method of observation," but view the world from a "highly personal angle," which keeps them from ever dealing in "pure facts." Nonetheless, Vивиès states that traveling allows stereotypes to be "reviewed in the light of experience," and thus provides a "means to verify the book of the world." See Vивиès, *English Travel Narratives in the Eighteenth Century: Exploring Genres*, trans. Claire Davison (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 26, 102.

In recent decades the concept of national character has met with great skepticism. Not only do critics commonly hold that the concept of a national character resists objective or definite categorization, but they contend that such attempts at definition result inevitably in the formation of inherently prejudicial stereotypes in the classic sense of representations at once rigid, unchanging, crudely simplified and generalized, and lacking in perceptual depth. Further arguments against the concept of national character (and stereotyping) deplore their overgeneralizations and single factor explanations of national or ethnic groups—an objection that David Hume was among the first to register in his

essay "Of National Character," published in 1748. Other critics complain that appeals to national character ignore class and other differences within national groups while failing to take into account the historical changes that are known to modify their attitudes and behaviors. With regard to Staël and her circle of intellectuals at Coppet, it has been pointed out that, while the very word stereotyping had not yet been invented in Staël's lifetime, having come into its own only in the early twentieth century, Staël and her colleagues understood the concept of national stereotypes while attempting to expose the prejudices to which they had given rise, as witness Staël's studies of Italy and Germany. Yet Francois Rosset also notes the paradox that despite the attempt by Staël and her circle to counteract stereotyping, they by no means avoided the tendency to treat national groups in stereotypical terms. For instance, for at least part of her career Staël believed that every national group could be defined by a single dominant trait (an assumption she fortunately put aside in the writing of *Corinne*). So far as the study of the Italian national character is concerned, it must be said that not just Staël but many of her predecessors and successors among Northern European and American travel writers also speculated on the existence of such an entity before the Italians themselves had achieved national unification—a seeming contradiction that raises the question of the usefulness of referring to an Italian national character at any point prior to 1860, especially in view of the extraordinary regional diversity within the peninsula. As Anthony D. Smith states: "Before the period leading up to the French Revolution we have only fleeting expressions of a national sentiment." See Alex Inkeles, *National Character: A Psycho-Social Perspective* (New Brunswick: Transaction, 1997), vii–ix, 6–7; Roberto Romani, *National Character and Public Spirit in Britain and France, 1750–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 337–8; Penelope J. Oakes, S. Alexander Haslam, and John C. Turner, *Stereotyping and Social Reality* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), 186–4; Francois Rosset, "Coppet et les stereotypes nationaux," in *Le Groupe de Coppet et l'Europe, 1789–1830*, ed. Kloocke, 55, 55n, 56–60, 66; Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1991), 44.

The foregoing objections should serve as a caution to any scholar venturing upon this conceptual and historical terrain. It is assumed throughout *The Empire of Stereotypes* that national character, insofar as it exists, eludes overly sweeping generalizations as well as single factor explanations. It must be seen pluralistically, as an aggregate or constellation of traits that appear if not in all then in large segments of a population. At the same time, national character is further assumed to be an entity that, by its very nature, cuts across class lines, as Alex Inkeles argues. It is further taken for granted that both national character, and the tendency of foreigners to view it stereotypically, modify according to historical circumstances. To give only one example regarding the Italians, such historical modification is amply demonstrated in an essay by Andrew M. Canepa that is drawn upon in the following pages. The essay shows how, from the Renaissance to the eighteenth century, and in response to the historical reality of Italian decline, the majority of Italians ceased to be seen by

the English as “degenerate scoundrels” but instead acquired the reputation of Rousseauvian primitives. On the other hand, the student of national character should properly follow Inkeles’s assumption that it properly refers to “relatively enduring” personality characteristics within a nation. On the tricky question of the justifiability of referring to the Italian national character within an historical context preceding Italian political unification, it is worth noting that long before the Italians unified politically, they thought of their peninsula as a distinct cultural totality. Accordingly, as Silvana Patriarca notes, Ruggiero Romano has “stressed the long history and profound cultural unity of Italy in spite of its fairly recent history as a political unit.” See Inkeles, *National Character*, ix, 165–6; Patriarca, “Italian Neopatriotism: Debating National Identity in the 1990s,” *Modern Italy*, 6, 1 (2001): 23.

Nonetheless, the very possibility of defining a national character, and more particularly the Italian national character, has been called into question by Pellegrino d’Acierno, who dismisses the whole enterprise as a resort to reductive stereotypes. Resolutely opposed to any kind of generalization concerning Italians, d’Acierno endorses Giulio Bollati’s argument that, because of linguistic and social (especially class) fragmentation within the peninsula, no national character exists. Bollati had furthermore treated the very notion of an Italian national character as an ideological construction, remarking that many influential figures of the Risorgimento had created a conception of Italy after their own needs. Since in d’Acierno’s view there can only be individual Italians, whose nation thus constitutes a “heterotopia,” he rejects Barzini’s attempt to define the national character in *The Italians*, which he believes to exemplify, albeit unconsciously, Italian self-stereotyping.

Such arguments as d’Acierno’s and Bollati’s, driven in the former case by a need to find and celebrate diversity to the maximum, ought to be tempered by logic and common sense. To begin with, if Barzini’s often painfully insightful book had been no more than an example of Italian self-stereotyping, it would not have produced such annoyance and even anger among the Italians upon its publication. In some respects Barzini had raised to the level of self-consciousness and self-reflection many aspects of Italian life that the Italians themselves had failed to acknowledge; for as Leopardi says in an observation noted by Barzini, Italians generally dislike criticizing or even reflecting upon their own behavior. As for arguments against the existence of national characters, Dean Peabody finds them illogical and unconvincing. In his view, national character should be conceptualized as the average, that is, a “central tendency” of the characteristics of individuals. With respect to Italy or any other country, this means that the common denominators among individuals are more significant than their differences. This common denominator can be determined statistically, through interviews such as those conducted by Peabody, but it can also be approximated by more loosely empirical as well as intuitive methods as is the case with Barzini, upon whom Peabody relies and whom he quotes approvingly. See Bollati, *L’Italiano*, 35–40; Pellegrino d’Acierno, ed., *The Italian American Heritage: A Companion to Literature and the Arts* (New York: Garland, 1999), xxiv–xxvi, 615–6; Luigi Barzini, *The Italians* (New York: Bantam, 1965); Dean

Peabody, *National Characteristics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 5–19, 71; Leopardi, *Discorso sopra lo stato presente dei costumi degl'italiani*, ed. Rigoni, 48–9; Silvana Patriarca, “National Identity or National Character?: New Vocabularies and Old Paradigms,” in *Making and Remaking Italy: The Cultivation of National Identity around the Risorgimento* (Oxford: Berg, 2001) ed. Ascoli and von Henneberg, 301–3; Inkeles, *National Character*, 11–12, 14.

For a recent defense of the concept of national character, with special reference to Italy, see Michael Carroll, *Veiled Threats: The Logic of Popular Catholicism in Italy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 226–30, and especially Alessandro Cavalli, “Reflections on Political Culture and the ‘Italian National Character,’” *Daedalus*, 130 (Summer, 2001): 119–37, esp. 123–5. Citing Norbert Elias’s studies of the German identity, Cavalli defines national character in terms not of national traits but of the “traces” that history has deposited in the “inner depths” of a people. These are acquired unintentionally and are therefore not part of a nation’s historical memory or tradition. Such a definition seems necessarily to contradict Croce’s claim that national character is nothing but the history of a people, for which see Bollati, *L’Italiano*, 39. To the extent that national character is by its very nature made up of unconscious elements, it differs from natural identity, which has come to replace the concept of national character in much historical and sociological discussion, but which according to Silvana Patriarca carries more or less the same semantic weight. See Patriarca, “Italian Neopatriotism”: 26; Patriarca, “National Identity or National Character?,” 299–300, 313; Smith, *National Identity, passim*; Romani, *National Character and Public Spirit in Britain and France, 1750–1914*, 2. For a study that relies implicitly on the concept of national character, see Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations* (Boston: Little Brown, 1963), *passim*, esp. 11, 11–12n. For a discussion, see Inkeles, *National Character*, 33–4, and Romani, *National Character and Public Spirit in Britain and France, 1750–1914*, 399–40. Romani says that Almond and Verba fail to prove the presence of national character as a factor in Italian politics, as the political attitudes of Italians apparently vary according to class and level of education. This, however, would not disprove the existence of national character itself.

The kernel of truth argument regarding stereotypes of national character enjoyed a vogue in the 1950s and 1960s but has been questioned by critics who hold that the normative reality to which the stereotypes supposedly refer is difficult to dissociate from the ideological assumptions of the social scientist. Yet despite the onesidedness and distortion to which the kernel of truth argument is susceptible, a number of scholars other than Croce cautiously accept it while acknowledging its dangers. See Patriarca, “National Identity or National Character?,” 307; Romani, *National Character and Public Spirit in Britain and France, 1750–1914*, 2, 341; Jacques Le Goff, “Il peso del passato nella coscienza degli italiani,” in Fabio Luca Cavazza and Stephen R. Graubard, eds., *Il caso italiano* (Milan: Garzanti, 1971). For criticism of the kernel of truth argument, see Oakes et al., *Stereotypes and Social Reality*, 19–22; Michael Pickering, *Stereotyping: The Politics of Representation* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 25–6.

15. For the *calamità d'Italia*, see Francesco Guicciardini, *The History of Italy*, trans. Sidney Alexander (New York: Macmillan, 1969), 3. See also Eric Cochrane, Introduction to Cochrane, ed., *The Late Italian Renaissance, 1525–1630* (New York: Harper, 1970), 9.
16. The description derives from an Italian historian quoted by Benedetto Croce in his *Storia dell'età barocca in Italia*, 2d. edition, 1946, 41, 43. See Fernand Braudel, *Out of Italy, 1450–1650*, trans. Sian Reynolds (Tours: Flammarion, 1991), 193.
17. Rigoni, Introduction to Leopardi, *Discorso sopra lo stato presente dei costumi degl'italiani*, ed. Rigoni, 6.
18. Cesare Vasoli, *Umanesimo e Rinascimento*, 2d. edition (Palumbo: Palermo, 1976), 151, 153–5, 161, 166.
19. De Sanctis, *History of Italian Literature*, Vol. II, trans. Joan Redfern (New York: Basic Books, 1960), 621, 627–8, 630–3, 652, 665, 715, 767, 781–90; for the “Italian tragedy,” see 595. For de Sanctis on the “moral dissolution” of Italy, see also Cochrane, Introduction to Cochrane, ed., *Italy, 1525–1630*, 9–10. Pasquale Villari, an eminent Risorgimento historian, sees the Renaissance as the “last really original manifestation” of the Italian spirit, and believes it to have ended with Martin Luther. By this point had already begun the foreign invasions, which “suffocated liberty and hastened the general decadence” of Italy in the first half of the sixteenth century. This was marked by moral decay as well as the corruption and decadence of Italian art, which fell “at last into the abyss of the barocco.” The antidote would have been popular political participation, but circumstances disallowed it. See Villari, *The Life and Times of Niccolò Machiavelli*, I, trans. Linda Villari (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1892), xix, 2, 3, 64, 416, 425, 432; *The Life and Times of Niccolò Machiavelli*, Vol. II, trans. Linda Villari (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1892), 119, 120, 122, 358–9. Girolamo Mancini similarly describes Italy as undergoing a moral deterioration marked by fraud, factionalism, and the decline of religion into superstition, hypocrisy, and paganism. In his view, the beginnings of this process are already visible from about 1450 onward. See Mancini, *La Vita di Leone Battista Alberti* (Florence: Carnesecchi, 1911), 501–2.
20. Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, trans. S.G.C. Middlemore (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1990), 53, 179, 273, 274. For Burckhardt, see also Cochrane, Introduction to Cochrane, ed., *The Late Italian Renaissance, 1525–1630*, 10.
21. Like the historian Heinrich Leo, a German contemporary, the early nineteenth-century English historian George Perceval (whose pseudonym was Colonel Proctor) locates the beginnings of what he terms the “long tragedy” of Italy at the end of the Renaissance, as it is now known. See Venturi, “L'Italia fuori d'Italia,” 1194, 1280. The twentieth-century historian Myron Gilmore writes of what he calls the “tragedy” of Italy in the sixteenth century. See Gilmore, *The World of Humanism: 1453–1517* (New York: Harper, 1952), 140. For Symonds, Italy's development was arrested in 1530 primarily as a result of its political and intellectual servitude under Spanish despotism and the Counter Reformation. Art sank into mannerism, academicism, and technical display;

- literature became a formalist exercise devoid of content; philosophy and science gradually deteriorated; and the healthy forms of humanism fled across the Alps. Symonds defines the Renaissance as the first of three great phases of intellectual and moral progress in the modern period, the second being the Reformation, which continued the work of the Renaissance after its suicidal collapse, the third being the French Revolution. Within this process Italy was left behind, having "had to suffer for the general good." See Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy: The Age of the Despots* (New York: Henry Holt, 1888), 8, 26, 40, 45, 457–9; *Renaissance in Italy: The Revival of Learning* (New York: Henry Holt, 1908), 517, 542, 543; *Renaissance in Italy: The Fine Arts* (New York: Henry Holt, 1888), 71, 94, 98–9, 168, 342, 343, 453; *Renaissance in Italy: Italian Literature*, Vol. I (New York: Henry Holt, 1887), 147, 403, 447, 448, 506, 507; *Renaissance in Italy: Italian Literature*, Vol. II (New York: Henry Holt, 1888), 430–1, 441, 449, 486, 493, 494, 530; *Renaissance in Italy: The Catholic Reaction*, Vol. I (New York: Henry Holt, 1887), 2–3, 7, 49–50, 53, 54–5, 58–9, 61, 65–6, 68–70, 300, 302–3; *Renaissance in Italy: The Catholic Reaction*, Vol. II (New York: Henry Holt, 1887), 2, 28, 96–7, 121, 127, 129; Symonds, quoted in J.R. Hale, *England and the Italian Renaissance: The Growth of Interest in its History and Art* (London: Faber and Faber, 1954), 194–5.
22. Lee, *Euphorion: Being Studies of the Antique and the Medieval in the Renaissance*, Vol. I (Boston: Roberts, 1884), 28–9, 46, 49, 50–2, 68, 86.
 23. For Roscoe, the gradual emancipation of the human mind from its long enslavement to the Church began in the late Middle Ages and intensified during the Renaissance revival of letters and learning. After Italy succumbed to Papal repression and censorship in the sixteenth century, Protestantism in imitation of the Renaissance continued the advancement of learning and thus prepared for the Enlightenment and French Revolution. Roscoe's interpretation of the Renaissance (as it subsequently came to be known) somewhat resembles that of David Hume and William Robertson. See Roscoe, *The Life of Lorenzo de' Medici, Called the Magnificent* (London: David Bogue, 1846), xxxiii, xxxvi, xxxix, 10–12, 15, 17–18, 21, 24, 25, 201–4, 213, 216–17, 223–4; Roscoe, *The Life and Pontificate of Leo X*, Vol. 4 (Philadelphia: E. Bronson, 1805), 11, 115–6; see also Vol. III, 171–5; Mary Fearnley-Stander, "William Roscoe, Historian," *Clio*, 10 (Winter 1981): 190–1. See also Wallace K. Ferguson, *The Renaissance in Historical Thought: Five Centuries of Interpretation* (Cambridge: Houghton-Mifflin, 1948), 102–4, 164–5; Vasoli, *Umanesimo e Rinascimento*, 90–1.
 24. J.C.L. Simonde de Sismondi, *Histoire des républiques italiennes du moyen âge*, Vol. X (Paris: Furne, 1840), 236–7, 364–7. See also Sismondi, *Historical View of the Literature of the South of Europe*, I, trans. Thomas Roscoe (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1853), 445, 458–9, 506, 509–10: "in short, the whole nation ought to be considered virtually extinct."
 25. Taine, *Italy: Florence and Venice* (translation of *Voyage en Italie*, I), trans. John Durand (New York: Leypoldt and Holt, 1969), 78.
 26. Croce, *Storia dell'età barocca in Italia: Pensiero, Poesia, e Letteratura, Vita morale* (Bari: Laterza, 1957), 17, 18, 19, 28–9, 39–40, 41, 45, 75, 494. "Italian

- Decadence,” in Croce, *Philosophy, Poetry, History: An Anthology of Essays*, trans. Cecil Sprigge (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), 1029, and *passim*. See also Croce, “The Sixteenth-Century Crisis in Italy: Links between Renaissance and Risorgimento,” in Croce, *Philosophy, Poetry, History*, 975–7, 979, 982–5. Since Croce interprets the Italian decadence as a moral and spiritual phenomenon, he rejects the view of many Italian historians that it results from such material causes as lack of national unity and independence. Indeed, Spain was unified nationally yet rapidly declined, while Switzerland, though divided into numerous small states, entered the modern current and contributed vitally to it.
27. On the continuing influence of de Sanctis and Croce on postwar Italian historians, see Julius Kirschner, Introduction to Eric Cochrane, *Italy, 1530–1630* (Longman: New York, 1988), 1–2, 5n. The idea of the post-Renaissance as a decadent period also influenced popular historians such as Lacy Collison-Morley in his *Italy after the Renaissance: Decadence and Display in the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Henry Holt, 1930), 7, and *passim*.
 28. On historians’ neglect of what Cochrane terms the “forgotten centuries,” see Gregory Hanlon, *Italy, 1550–1800* (New York: St. Martin’s, 2000), xii.
 29. For Berenson, Murray, and Spini, see Cochrane, Introduction to *The Late Italian Renaissance, 1525–1630*, ed. Cochrane, 10. See also Massimo Salvadori, *Western Roots in Europe: An Aid to the Educated Traveller* (London: Pall Mall, 1961), 142.
 30. Angelo Ventura, *Nobiltà e popolo nella società veneta del ‘400 e ‘500* (Laterza: Bari, 1964), 367–9.
 31. Lopez, “Hard Times and Investment in Culture,” *The Renaissance: A Symposium* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1953), 19–32; Lopez and Harry Miskimin, “The Economic Depression of the Renaissance,” *Economic History Review*, New series, XIV, no. 3 (1962): 408–26; Lopez, *The Three Ages of the Italian Renaissance* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1970), 9–14, 78–9n. For Carlo Cipolla’s divergence from the Lopez thesis, his argument being that wars and plagues had reduced the size of the population during this period and thus increased per capita income, see Cipolla, *Before the Industrial Revolution: European Society and Economy, 1000–1700*, trans. Marcella Kooy (New York: W.W. Norton, 1980), 215–16, 219. On the difficulties faced by investors as a result of Renaissance Italy’s “frozen” wealth, see Eric Hobsbawm, “The Crisis of the Seventeenth Century,” in Trevor Aston, ed. *Crisis in Europe, 1560–1660* (New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1967), 19. For Joseph Addison’s and Gilbert Burnet’s complaints that the Italians had immobilized far too much of their wealth in lavish palaces and works of art, see Venturi, “L’Italia fuori d’Italia,” 992–3, 1014. On the Lopez thesis, see also Richard A. Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy, 1300–1600* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 14–16.
 32. Koenigsberger, “Decadence or Shift?: Changes in the Civilization of Italy and Europe in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, Vol. 10 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1960), 5–7, 9–10, 13. The literary historian A. Lytton Sells stated contemporaneously: “It is not simply an exaggeration to speak—as historians have been prone to

- speak—of seventeenth-century Italy as decadent, it is an error.” See Sells, *The Paradise of Travellers: The Italian Influence on Englishmen in the Seventeenth Century* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1964), 21.
33. Cochrane, Introduction to *The Late Italian Renaissance, 1525–1630*, ed. Cochrane, 13–17; Cochrane, *Italy, 1530–1630*, 2–3 (Introduction by Julius Kirschner), 33–54, 106–64. On the continuing vitality of Italian science, supported by lay and ecclesiastical patronage, between 1550 and 1650, see Hiram Caton, *The Politics of Progress: The Origins and Development of the Commercial Republic, 1600–1835* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1988), 67–8, 73, 75–6, 104; Sells, *The Paradise of Travellers*, 197.
 34. Hanlon, *Early Modern Italy, 1550–1800*, 33–5, 76–90, 91–103, 205–6.
 35. Braudel, *Out of Italy, 1450–1650*, 213–9, 221–2, 226; Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, Vol. I, trans. Sian Reynolds (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), 290–1, 320, 597–99; Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, Vol. II, trans. Sian Reynolds (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), 827–33, 1240–2.
 36. Cipolla, *Before the Industrial Revolution*, 255–7. The phase “pilot role” is from Hanlon, *Early Modern Italy, 1550–1800*, viii.
 37. Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy, 1300–1600*, 20–67.
 38. On the continuing vitality of the Italian economy, see Domenico Sella, *Italy in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Longman, 1997), ix, 19, 21–2; Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy, 1300–1600*, 21; Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World System, I: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World Economy in the Sixteenth Century* (New York: Academic Press, 1974), 214–15; Wallace Ferguson, “Recent Trends in the Economic Historiography of the Renaissance,” *Studies in the Renaissance*, 7 (1960): 19–26; Judith Brown, “Prosperity or Hard Times in Renaissance Italy?” *Renaissance Quarterly*, 42 (1989): 761–80. On the Age of Genoa, spanning the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, see Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th–18th Century*, Vol. III (*The Perspective of the World*) (New York: Harper and Row, 1982–4), 157, 164, 166–74; G.V. Scammell, *The World Encompassed: The First European Maritime Empires, c. 800–1650* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 156, 178, 182–3, 191, 201–2. On Venice, see the essays included in Brian Pullan, ed., *Crisis and Change in the Venetian Economy in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (London: Methuen, 1968), especially Pullan, Introduction, 3, 4, 11, 13–15, and Sella, “Crisis and Transformation in Venetian Trade,” 88–105.
 39. On the decline of Italy and its economic and other causes, see Cipolla, “The Decline of Italy: The Case of a Fully Matured Economy,” *Economic History Review*, 2d. new series, 5, no. 2 (1952): 178–87; Cipolla, *Before the Industrial Revolution, 1000–1700*, 256–7, 261; Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, Vol. I, 543–629; Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, Vol. II, 1240–1; Braudel, *Out of Italy, 1450–1650*, 201–3, 222–4; Domenico Sella, *Italy in the Seventeenth Century*, 22–4, 29, 41, 48–9; Wallerstein, *The Modern World*

- System*, I, 81, 84, 216, 219–20, 219–20n; Hanlon, *Early Modern Italy, 1550–1800*, xiii, 79, 179–80, 205–39, 285; Cochrane, *Italy, 1530–1630*, 4–5, 259–90; Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy, 1300–1600*, 15, 17, 20, 62–5; Ruggiero Romano, “l’Italia nella crisi del secolo XVII,” *Studi storici*, 14 (1968): 723–41; Giuliano Procacci, *History of the Italian People*, trans. Anthony Paul (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), 149–207; Richard Tilden Rapp, *Industry and Economic Decline in Seventeenth-Century Venice* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), 10–1, 35, 47, 104–5, 116, 158–9.
40. Sella, *Italy in the Seventeenth Century*, 32–4, 63–9. On refeudalization, see also Braudel, *Out of Italy, 1450–1650*, 204–5; Kirschner, Introduction to *Italy, 1530–1630*, ed. Cochrane, 3.
41. Maurice Aymard, “La fragilità di un’economia avanzata: L’Italia e le trasformazioni dell’economia europea,” in *Storia dell’economia italiana*, Vol. 2, ed. Ruggiero Romano (Turin: Einaudi, 1991), 85–7, cited in Sella, *Italy in the Seventeenth Century*, 24n, 47n; Braudel, *Out of Italy, 1450–1650*, 193, 204–6; Christopher F. Black, *Early Modern Italy: A Social History* (London: Routledge, 2001), 32.
42. Sella, *Italy in the Seventeenth Century*, 23–29, 41–9. On the Venetian adjustment, see Rapp, *Industry and Economic Decline in Seventeenth-Century Venice*, 49, 95, 144.
43. Sella, *Italy in the Seventeenth Century*, 49; Braudel, *Out of Italy, 1450–1650*, 193–5, 198, 202–4, 215; Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy, 1300–1600*, 62–3; Rapp, *Industry and Economic Decline in Seventeenth-Century Venice*, 1–5, 5n.
44. Cochrane, “Disaster and Recovery, 1527–1750,” in John Julius Norwich, ed., *The Italians: History, Art, and the Genius of a People* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1983), 182–6. See also Kirschner, Introduction to Cochrane, *Italy, 1530–1630*, 4. On the decline of science in Italy, including the trial of Galileo and the stifling of learning by the Jesuits, see Caton, *The Politics of Progress*, 53–4, 60, 72, 116–17.
45. Hanlon, *Early Modern Italy, 1550–1800*, 323–5.
46. Braudel, “L’Italia fuori d’Italia: Due secoli e tre Italie,” in *Storia d’Italia*, Vol. 2, pt. 2, *Dalla caduta dell’Impero romano al secolo XVIII*, ed. Ruggiero Romano and Corrado Vivanti (Turin: Einaudi, 1974), 2227–8, quoted in Moe, *The View from Vesuvius*, 15n; see also 14–15. In a much more favorable reading of Italian decline, Vernon Lee argued in 1880 that, despite its intellectual dependence on France and England, eighteenth-century Italy experienced a “musical and dramatic efflorescence” that culminated previous periods of Italian development in these fields and amounted to the only “living and growing artistic organisms” of the whole period. However, in the 1908 edition of the same work Lee retracted such assertions, characterizing eighteenth-century Italy as “unpicturesque and unimportant.” See Lee, *Studies of the Eighteenth Century in Italy*, 2d. edition (Chicago: A.C. McClurg, 1908), xvii, xviii, 23, 25, 41, 55.
47. Cipolla, *Before the Industrial Revolution*, 249–50.
48. Croce, “The Italian Decadence,” 1035; Croce, *Storia dell’età barocca*, 53. On Croce’s premature date for the end of Italy’s decline, see John Paul Russo’s

- unpublished manuscript, "The Decline of Italy"; this essay will appear in *The Italian in Modernity*, a two-volume study cowritten by Russo and Robert Casillo and now in preparation.
49. Hanlon, *Early Modern Italy 1550–1800*, 283–95, 326–39, 367, 368, 369. Hanlon claims that Italy experienced not a relative but "absolute impoverishment," failing to make a recovery post–1660 in any dimension.
 50. Koch, *Schönheit und Dekadenz: Die Italienerfahrung britischen reisender im 19. Jahrhundert* (Trier: Wissenschaftliche Verlag Trier, 1989), 57.
 51. Misson, Preface to *A New Voyage to Italy: With Curious Observations on Several Other Countries, as Germany, Switzerland, Savoy, Geneva, Flanders, and Holland*, Vol. I (London: T. Goodwin, 1695), n.p.; see also 126, 142, 156, 157, 165, 241; Vol. II, 43. On the Northern European (specifically French) discovery, in the late 1600s, that Italy had "decayed," see Croce, "The Italian Decadence," 1034; Croce, *Storia dell'età barocca*, 52, 496–7, 99. Bertaut writes that during the 1600s, the interest of the French in Italy declined as they came increasingly to regard themselves as self-sufficient culturally. See Bertaut, *L'Italie vue par les français*, 59–60. Lewis Einstein holds that English travelers to Italy were beginning to display their feelings of superiority around 1550, with the Renaissance past its heyday, and the country under foreign domination. See Einstein, *The Italian Renaissance in England* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1903), 122. According to John Walter Stoye, by the later seventeenth-century, English travelers had come to see France rather than Italy as the "more indispensable element in a gentleman's time abroad." See Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad, 1604–1667: Their Influence in English Society and Politics* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1952), 176–7. And yet as late as 1676, in his *A Tour of France and Italy*, John Clenche expresses high esteem for Italian soldiers, generals, politics, mathematics, and artists. See George B. Parks, "The Decline and Fall of the English Renaissance Admiration for Italy," *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 31 (August 1968): 341.
 52. Venturi, "L'Italia fuori d'Italia," 999, 1012, 1026, 1031. See also Dino Carpanetto and Giuseppe Ricuperati, *Italy in the Age of Reason, 1685–1789*, trans. Carolyn Higgitt (Longman: London, 1987), 311.
 53. Andrew M. Canepa was perhaps the first scholar to stress the intimate connection between Italy's political, economic, social, and cultural decline and the increasingly negative stereotypes that British writers attached to the country and its people. At many points, *The Empire of Stereotypes* attempts to extend the scope and follow through on the implications of Canepa's richly detailed and suggestive essay. See Canepa, "From Degenerate Scoundrel to Noble Savage: The Italian Stereotype in 18th-Century British Travel Literature," *English Miscellany*, 22 (1971): 107–46.
 54. For Staël's relationship to the Enlightenment, and her high estimation of "enlightenment" as a democratic value, see J. Christopher Herold, *Mistress to an Age: A Life of Madame de Staël* (Indianapolis, New York: Bobbs Merrill, 1958), 189–207; Roland Mortier, "Madame de Staël et l'héritage des Lumières," in Jean Fabre and Simone Balayé, eds, *Madame de Staël et l'Europe: Colloque de Coppet* (Paris: Editions Klincksieck, 1970), 129, 131; Simone Balayé,

- Madame de Staël: Lumières et Liberté* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1979), 81; Romani, *National Character and Public Spirit in Britain and France, 1750–1914*, 70, 71, 72; Mortier, “Les états généraux de l’opinion européenne,” 19. See also Berger, ed., *Madame de Staël*, 39, 52, 141, 158, 179, 183, 187, 218, 226–9; Staël, *Oeuvres complètes*, I, 200, 207, 208, 210, 213, 242, 246, 278, 294–6; Hogsett, *The Literary Existence of Germaine de Staël*, 75–7. According to Lucien Febvre, Staël is clearly in the tradition of the Enlightenment concept of civilization when she defends the goal of the perfectability of man and society, “which had . . . been the system of all enlightened philosophers of the past fifty years.” See Febvre, “Civilization: Evolution of a Word and a Group of Ideas,” in Febvre, *A New Kind of History and Other Essays*, ed. Peter Burke, trans. K. Folca (New York: Harper and Row, 1973), 239–40. Hippolyte Taine resembles Staël in arguing that modern and especially Northern Europe, having subjected reality to the control of science, and having established a comprehensive and mutually supporting system of nation states, need no longer fear the decadence suffered by ancient Rome and Renaissance Italy. See Taine, *Italy: Florence and Venice*, 210–5.
55. Frank Paul Bowman, “Communication and Power in Germaine de Staël: Transparency and Obstacle,” in *Germaine de Staël: Crossing the Borders*, ed. Gutwirth, et al., 61.
 56. Berger, ed., *Madame de Staël*, 181; Staël, *Oeuvres complètes*, Vol. I, 236–40.
 57. Berger, ed., *Madame de Staël*, 181, 191, 193–4; Staël, *Oeuvres Complètes*, Vol. I, 237, 238, 249, 252, 253, 255.
 58. Berger, ed., *Madame de Staël*, 191, 193–4; Staël, *Oeuvres complètes*, Vol. I, 238, 252, 253, 254, 255.
 59. Berger, ed., *Madame de Staël*, 186, 194, 204; Staël, *Oeuvres complètes*, Vol. I, 246, 253, 266–7.
 60. Berger, ed., *Madame de Staël*, 154–5; Staël, *Oeuvres complètes*, Vol. I, 200, 208–11.
 61. Berger, ed., *Madame de Staël*, 186, 194, 195, 204; Staël, *Oeuvres complètes*, Vol. I, 246, 253, 255, 266–7.
 62. Berger, ed., *Madame de Staël*, 334–5; Staël, *Oeuvres complètes*, I, 746–7; Vol. II, 227, 231; Frank Bowman, “Mme. de Staël et l’apologétique Romantique,” in *Madame de Staël et l’Europe*, ed. Fabre and Balayé, 161.
 63. For Staël on England, see Berger, ed., *Madame de Staël*, 197–8, 200, 201, 202, 204, 205, 209, 210, 212–3; Staël, *Oeuvres complètes*, 258, 262n, 263, 264, 266–7, 269, 270, 271. See also Gutwirth, *Madame de Staël, Novelist*, 215–23; Herold, *Mistress to an Age*, 195.
 64. Berger, ed., *Madame de Staël*, 192–3, 197–8, 204, 209; Staël, Vol. I, *Oeuvres complètes*, 253, 258, 264, 266–7. Staël acknowledges certain minor limitations to life in England. Because the average Englishman is absorbed in business, he knows pleasure in the form only of relaxation. He is furthermore susceptible to boredom owing to his severe religious notions, serious pursuits, and involvement in family life. The restriction of the Englishman’s activity to family gatherings or public debates means that England lacks the “intermediary called society,” that “frivolous area” in which, nonetheless, “finesse and taste are formed.”

- There is moreover a tendency among English philosophers to restrict their intellectual “independence” by focusing onesidedly on utility, which also accounts for their stylistic imperfections as compared with their French counterparts. See Berger, ed., *Madame de Staël*, 199, 209; Staël, *Oeuvres complètes*, I, 262, 269, 270.
65. Berger, ed., *Madame de Staël*, 181, 182; Staël, *Oeuvres complètes*, Vol. I, 236, 237, 238, 239.
 66. Berger, ed., *Madame de Staël*, 188, 193–4; Staël, *Oeuvres complètes*, Vol. I, 248, 249, 250, 253.
 67. Berger, ed., *Madame de Staël*, 188, 193–4; Staël, *Oeuvres complètes*, 247, 248, 249, 251, 253.
 68. Berger, ed., *Madame de Staël*, 188, 193–4; Staël, *Oeuvres complètes*, Vol. I, 250, 253, 254.
 69. Berger, ed., *Madame de Staël*, 190; Staël, *Oeuvres complètes*, Vol. I, 248, 249, 250, 255.
 70. Berger, ed., *Madame de Staël*, 187, 190–1; Staël, *Oeuvres complètes*, Vol. I, 246, 247, 251. Susan Tenenbaum notes Staël’s assumption that the novel properly depicts natural sentiment and self-development within the private sphere. Ironically, this assumption is challenged by her own practice in *Corinne*, whose heroine belongs to the public sphere, and which itself carries political intentions. See Tenenbaum, “*Corinne*: Political Polemics and the Theory of the Novel,” in Szmurlo, ed., *The Novel’s Seductions*, 154–8.
 71. The Romantic opposition between the sublime and the beautiful is largely exemplified in Burke’s definition of these concepts, for which see Mary D. Sheriff, *The Exceptional Woman: Elizabeth Vigée-Lebrun and the Cultural Politics of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 257, and W. J. T. Mitchell, *Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 129–31.
 72. Berger, ed., *Madame de Staël*, 186, 187, 188, 213–8; Staël, *Oeuvres complètes*, Vol. I, 245, 246–7, 248, 272–8. In *On Literature* Staël refers to a “renaissance des lettres” originating in Italy; in *Corinne*, the heroine on the occasion of her reception of the laurel crown on the Capitol performs an improvisation in which she extols the “renaissance des arts,” also of Italian origin (27). The idea of the Renaissance as a time of rebirth traces to the later Middle Ages and Quattrocento, when Italian writers such as Petrarch, Boccaccio, Salutati, Villani, Brunni, Ghiberti, Matteo Palmieri, Valla, Poggio Bracciolini, Ficino, and Machiavelli commented on what they saw as a resurgence of arts and letters in their own age. They envisioned it primarily as an awakening, although many of them also thought of it as a rebirth. Most modern scholars hold that these fourteenth- and fifteenth-century commentators failed to arrive at the idea of the Renaissance as a distinct historical period or epoch, but limited it to one or the other of the arts or at most extended it to artistic culture as a whole. The idea of a “renaissance” gained wider currency as a result of Vasari’s many references to the rebirth or *rinascita* of the arts in his *Lives of the Artists*, in which the idea of a general cultural rebirth is also implicit. The humanists of Vasari’s time also wrote of the earlier rebirth of letters. During the

Enlightenment Pierre Bayle, Voltaire, and other French writers identified fifteenth-century Italy with a “renaissance des arts” and “renaissance des lettres,” which they thought of as the immediate foundation of their own age. The word “renaissance” entered the Dictionary of the French Academy in 1718, with specific mention of a literary revival. Nonetheless, intellectual historians such as Wallace K. Ferguson and J.B. Bullen deny that the French Enlightenment developed an idea of the Renaissance as an independent and unitary historical epoch between the Middle Ages and the modern period, even though Voltaire approximated it. Instead, the renaissance of arts and letters was seen as one of a number of phenomena heralding the modern world. Nor does the concept of the Renaissance as an independent historical epoch appear in Roscoe or Sismondi. According to Ferguson, only at the beginning of the nineteenth century does one see the beginnings of an integrated periodic concept as the term “renaissance” was extended to other aspects of the culture of the age; in this context he mentions Hegel and the art historian Seroux d’Agincourt, whose *Histoire de l’art par les monuments, depuis sa décadence au IV^e siècle jusqu’à sa renouvellement au XVI^e* appeared in six volumes between 1809 and 1823. Lucien Febvre and other historians argue that the first historian to write of the Renaissance not simply as a revival of arts and letters but as a distinct historical period was Jules Michelet in the seventh volume of his *Histoire de France* (1855). This work, which portrays the Renaissance as a liberation from the Middle Ages, is widely seen as having had a powerful influence on the more thoroughgoing and integral periodic conception defined by Jacob Burckhardt in *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (1860). However, Francois Masai contends that Michelet’s idea of the Renaissance had been anticipated by Paul Lacroix in the 1840s. For Bullen, the credit for the invention of the concept of the Renaissance as a distinct historical period must go to Seroux d’Agincourt. Whereas historians still lacked such a formulation during Staël’s lifetime, the idea of the “époque de la renaissance” had become “naturalized” in France by the late 1820s, as Bullen notes. In England, though Ruskin had approximated a periodic concept in *The Stones of Venice* and other works, it gained currency only after 1860, thanks partly to Burckhardt. In the later twentieth century, the Renaissance has been characterized by some scholars, such as Ernst Gombrich, Francois Masai, and Peter Burke, as a movement rather than a distinct or “organic” period. See Franco Simone, “La coscienza della rinascita negli umanisti,” *La Rinascita*, Vol. II (1939): 838–71; Vol. III (1940): 183–6; B.L. Ullman, “Renaissance, The Word and the Underlying Concept,” in Ullman, *Studies in the Italian Renaissance* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1955), 19–20, 21, 24; Ferguson, *The Renaissance in Historical Thought*, 1, 19–21, 59, 66, 67, 69, 72, 90, 133–45, 145n, 173, 174–94; Vasoli, *Umanesimo e Rinascimento*, 14, 26–7, 28–9, 30, 32–4, 53, 54, 60, 75, 77, 78, 79, 80–1, 90–1; J.B. Bullen, *The Myth of the Renaissance in Nineteenth-Century Writing* (Clarendon: Oxford, 1994), 1, 2, 10, 11, 17, 18, 26, 27, 33, 39, 65, 119, 123, 156; Francois Masai, “La Notion de Renaissance, Équivoques et malentendus,” in Chaim Perelman, ed., *Les catégories en histoire* (Brussels: Éditions de l’Institut de Sociologie de l’Université libre de Bruxelles, 1969), 59, 59n, 62, 65n, 82; Michele Ciliberto, *Il Rinascimento: Storia di un Dibattito* (Firenze: La

- Nuova Italiana Editrice, 1975), 5–6, 3–4; Lucien Febvre, “How Jules Michelet invented the Renaissance,” in Febvre, *A New Kind of History and Other Essays*, ed. Burke, 258ff; Karl Dannenfeldt, Introduction to Dannenfeldt, ed., *The Renaissance: Medieval or Modern?* (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath, 1959), viii; Peter Burke, *The Renaissance* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1987), 59.
73. Berger, ed., *Madame de Staël*, 186–7, 188; Staël, *Oeuvres complètes*, I, 241, 245–6, 247, 251.
74. On Archenholz, see Venturi, “L’Italia fuori d’Italia,” 1107–8; von Klenze, *The Interpretation of Italy during the Last Two Centuries*, 79n.
75. Victor de Pange, “La rêve anglais de Madame de Staël,” in *Madame de Staël et l’Europe*, ed. Fabre and Balayé, 173, 174, 191.
76. Berger, ed., *Madame de Staël*, 342–56; Staël, *Oeuvres complètes*, I, 291–3, 297, 299, 300–1, 303–4, 307–9.
77. Berger, ed., *Madame de Staël*, 191, 193–4, 199; Staël, *Oeuvres complètes*, I, 238, 249, 252, 253, 262.
78. Berger, ed., *Madame de Staël*, 188, 193; Staël, *Oeuvres complètes*, I, 247, 250, 253.
79. Geneviève Gennari, *Le premier voyage de Madame de Staël en Italie et la genèse de Corinne* (Paris: Boivin, 1947), 55, 57. Staël was surprised by the severity of the transalpine winter.
80. Joanne Wilkes, *Lord Byron and Madame de Staël: Born for Opposition* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 101–2.
81. Coryate, *Coryat’s Crudities* (London: William Stansby, 1611), 92–3; see also 87, 91. On the fertility of Italy as assumed by Northern travelers, see D.S. Walker, *A Geography of Italy* (London: Methuen, 1967), 34–5.
82. Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey begun An. Dom.: 1610* (London: W. Barrett, 1615; repr. 1973, Da Capo), 233, 235, 245, 262; Moryson, *An Itinerary: Containing his Ten Yeeres Travell through the Twelve Dominions of Germany, Bohmerland, Switzerland, Netherland, Denmarke, Poland, Italy, Turkey, France, England, Scotland, & Ireland*, Vol. I (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1907), 239, 258, 309, 311.
83. William Lithgow, *The Totall Discourse, of the Rare Adventures and painefull Pererinations of long nineteen years Travailes from Scotland, to the most famous Kingdomes in Europe, Asia, and Affrica* (London: I. Okes, 1640), 26, 384–6, 387.
84. Evelyn, *Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn*, Vol. I, ed. William Bray (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1859), 87, 88, 91, 96–7, 140, 148, 154–61, 168, 186; Lassels, *The Voyage of Italy, or a Compleat Journey through Italy* (London: John Starkey, 1670), 1, 2, 4. For Clenche and Veryard, see Chloe Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour: Travel Writing and Imaginative Geography, 1600–1830* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 51, 70. For Mortoft, see Ludwig Schudt, *Italienreisen im 17 und 18 Jahrhundert* (Vienna-Munich: Schroll, 1959), 176. Schudt notes the frequent praise of the fertility of Tuscany and Umbria in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century.
85. George Berkeley, *Journals of Travels in Italy*, in *The Works of George Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne*, ed. A.A. Luce and T.E. Jessup, Vol. VII (London: Thomas Nelson, 1964), 278, 280, 281, 282, 287, 288, 289, 291, 292, 296, 297, 298.

86. Bouchard, *Journal*, ed. Emanuele Kanceff, two volumes (Turin: Giappichelli, 1976), Vol. II, 171. For de Rochefort, see Schudt, *Italienreisen im 17 und 18 Jahrhundert*, 101. See also Misson, *A New Voyage to Italy*, Vol. I, 239, 269, 270, 298, 303.
87. Bouchard, *Journal*, Vol. II, 171; Howell, *Epistolae Ho-Eliaanae*, Part I, 85, quoted in Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour*, 61.
88. Bowen, *A Complete System of Geography* (1747), I, 803, quoted in Oliver Goldsmith, *Collected Works*, ed. Arthur Friedman, Vol. IV (Oxford: Clarendon), 253n; see also 252n; Goldsmith, "The Traveller," in Goldsmith, *Collected Works*, ed. Friedman, Vol. IV, ll. 111–25, 144, pp. 253–4.
89. Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour*, 109n; Patrick Brydone, *A Tour through Sicily and Malta in a Series of Letters to William Beckford*, I (London: W. Strahan, 1776), 45.
90. For eighteenth-century theories of climatic influence, including those of Du Bos in his study of genius, *Réflexions Critiques sur la Poésie et sur la Peinture* (1719), see Clarence J. Glacken, *Traces on the Rhodian Shore: Nature and Culture in Western Thought from Ancient Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), 502, 551–622; Romani, *National Character and Public Spirit in Britain and France, 1750–1914*, 8–9, 19, 20, 23, 25–9; Jacques Chouillet, "L'Italie des lumières et son reflet dans l'oeuvre de Madame de Staël," in *Il gruppo di Coppet*, ed. Matucci, 21–3. For the Hippocratic School and Aristotle, see Glacken, xiii, 5, 82–8, 93–5. On the theory of climate as it influences eighteenth-century British writing on Italy as a "southern" zone, see Koch, *Schönheit und Dekadenz*, 92–6. Koch is indebted to Waldemar Zacharasiewicz, *Das Klimatheorie in der Englischen Literatur und Literaturkritik von der Mitte des 16. bis zum forschen 18. jahrhundert* (Wien, 1977). The following discussion of Montesquieu's environmental theories is based on Charles de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu, *The Spirit of the Laws*, in *The Great Books of the Western World* (Vol. 38, Montesquieu, Rousseau), ed. Robert Maynard Hutchins (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, 1952). See Book XIV, "Of Laws in Relation to the Nature of the Climate," chapters 1–18, 102–15; Book XXI, "Of Laws in Relation to Commerce, Considered in the Revolutions It Has Met with in the World," Ch. 3, 153. On Montesquieu and eighteenth-century climatic determinism, see Atanasio Mozzillo, *La frontiera del Grand Tour: Viaggi e viaggiatori nel Mezzogiorno borbonico* (Naples: Liguori, 1992), 67–8. On climatic theory and Staël, see Roberto Melchiori, "Commento" on Leopardi, *Discorso sopra lo stato presente dei costumi degl'italiani*, ed. Rigoni, 97.
91. On the question of Montesquieu's environmental determinism, see Glacken, *Traces on the Rhodian Shore*, 565–8, 571–2, 576–1.
92. Montesquieu's climatic mythology influenced not only Staël but the French administrators who supervised Napoleon's Italian empire between 1794 and 1814. In their view climate had made the Italians lazy, backward, cowardly, and sensuous, traits they likewise attributed to the inhabitants of Southern France. However, in keeping with Montesquieu's qualified determinism, these administrators believed themselves capable of transforming the Italians by

- counteracting the effects of their environment. They also distinguished between the corrupted Italians of the lowlands and the more primitive or rather savage inhabitants of the mountains, whose environment had enabled them to retain a certain energy, robustness, and martial valor. See Michael Broers, *The Napoleonic Empire in Italy, 1796–1814: Cultural Imperialism in a European Context?* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 167, 216, 220, 221–2, 233, 235.
93. Bonstetten, *The Man of the North, and the Man of the South: Or the Influence of Climate*, n.t. (New York: F.W. Christern, 1864), *passim*. For Bonstetten's acknowledgment of the limits of climatic influence and the capacity of human agency to counteract it, see 9, 11, 21, 32–3, 122, 124. See also Moe, *The View from Vesuvius*, 27–31; Mozzillo, *La frontiera del Grand Tour*, 68; Lionello Sozzi, "Les illusions selon Bonstetten," in *Actualité de Bonstetten: actes de la sixième journée de Coppet (4 septembre 1982) commémorant le cent-cinquantaire de la mort de Charles-Victor de Bonstetten (1745–1832)* (Paris: Jean Touzot, 1983), 78; Maria-L. Herking, *Charles-Victor de Bonstetten, 1745–1832: sa vie, ses oeuvres* (Lausanne: La Concorde, 1921), 326–330, 327n, 328n, 336. On the link between Staël's and Bonstetten's climatic theories, see Charles-Victor de Bonstetten to J.C.J. Sismondi, July 7, 1812, in Carlo Pellegrini, *Madame de Staël e il gruppo di Coppet*, (2d. ed.) (Bologna: Patron, 1974), 249; Corrado Rosso, "Mito e concetto del nord in Ch.-V. de Bonstetten," *Studi francese*, 2 (January–April 1958): 24, 26, 28–9, 31–2, 32n, 33, 37 Martine de Rougemont, "Théâtre et Théâtralité de l'Italie vus par le groupe de Coppet," in *Il gruppo di Coppet e l'Italia*, ed. Matucci, 128; in the same volume, Alessandra Pecchioli Temperani, "La fortuna di Bonstetten in Italia dalla Restaurazione ad oggi," 287. For the Italian response to Bonstetten, see also Temperani, 290. For an early critique of Bonstetten's climatic theories, see Melchiorre Gioia, "Reflessioni sull'opera di Bonstetten" (L'Homme du Midi et L'Homme du Nord), in *Opere minori*, Vol. 6 (Lugano, 1834), 83–150, cited and discussed in Bollati, "L'Italiano. 1. Il carattere degli italiani come problema," in Bollati, *L'Italiano*, 36, 36n; Leo Neppi Modona, "Une polémique d'autrefois: Melchiorri Gioia contre Charles-Victor de Bonstetten," in *Actualité de Bonstetten*, 85–8, 91, 93–5.
94. Barclay, paraphrased by Parks, "The Decline and Fall of the English Renaissance Admiration of Italy": 348.
95. For Sharp and Young, see Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour*, 109, 109n. For Sharp, see also Angelo Celli, *The History of Malaria in the Roman Campagna from Ancient Times*, trans. Anna Celli-Fraentzel (London: John Bale, 1933), 139.
96. Joseph (Giuseppe) Baretti, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of Italy; with Observations on the Mistakes of Some Travellers, with Regard to that Country*, Vol. I (2d. edition) (London: T. Davies, 1769), 65–8, 89–90, 296–301.
97. Charles Duclos, *Voyage en Italie* (A Maestricht: J.P. Roux, 1793), 35–6.
98. Koch, *Schönheit und Dekadenz*, 89–91.
99. William Beckford, *The Travel Diaries of William Beckford of Fonthill*, Vol. I (Cambridge, England: Constable, 1928), Letter XXVIII, 250, 251.

100. Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour*, 41–2; Hester Thrale Piozzi, *Observations and Reflections Made in the Course of a Journey Through France, Italy, and Germany*, ed. Herbert Barrows (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1967), 231.
101. Canepa, “From Degenerate Scoundrel to Noble Savage: The Italian Stereotype in Eighteenth-Century British Travel Literature”: 123; Kenneth Churchill, *Italy and English Literature, 1764–1930* (Totowa, N.J.: Barnes and Noble, 1980), 2.
102. Swinburne, excerpted in Atanasio Mozzillo, ed., *Viaggiatori stranieri nel Sud* (Milano: Edizioni di Comunità, 1964), 101–2.
103. Charles Dupaty, *Sentimental Letters on Italy; written in French by President Dupaty, in 1785*, trans. J. Povoleri (London: J. Crowder, 1789), Vol. II, Letter LXXVII, 63–4; Letter LXXIX, 76.
104. Goethe, *Italian Journey*, 320–22.
105. Louis Simond, *A Tour in Italy and Sicily* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1828), 23, 83–4, 109.
106. Charlotte Eaton, *Rome in the Nineteenth Century*, II, 5th edition (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1852), 159.
107. Lord Byron, *Complete Poetical Works*, ed. Jerome McGann, Vol. II, *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage*, Canto Four, stanza 26, l. 228; Stendhal, *Love*, 265; Stendhal, *Rome, Naples et Florence (1826)*, 407. For the similar views of the French writer Frédéric Lullin de Chateaueux, who visited Italy in 1812–1813, see Venturi, “L’Italia fuori d’Italia,” 1185–6. As Venturi also notes, Charles Didier in an article published in 1831 characterized Italy as the most fertile land in Europe. See 1250.
108. Richard Keppel Craven, *A Tour through the Southern Provinces of the Kingdom of Naples* (London: Rodwell and Martin, 1821), 277, 298–9, 294, 350, 351–2.
109. William Hazlitt, *Notes of a Journey through France and Italy*, in *The Complete Works of William Hazlitt*, ed. P.P. Howe, Vol. X (London: Dent, 1932), 275, 264.
110. Blessington, *The Idler in Italy* (1839), excerpted in Manfred Pfister, ed., *The Fatal Gift of Beauty* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1996), 94.
111. Canepa, “From Degenerate Scoundrel to Noble Savage: The Italian Stereotype in Eighteenth-Century British Travel Literature”: 123; John Pemble, *The Mediterranean Passion: Victorians and Edwardians in the South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 54.
112. Koch, *Schönheit und Dekadenz*, 141.
113. Margaret Oliphant, *Makers of Venice* (New York: Hub, 1885), 172.
114. George Gissing, *By the Ionian Sea* (London: Richards, 1956), 43.
115. Washington Irving, *Journals and Notebooks, I (1803–1806)*, ed. Nathalia Wright (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), April 22, 1805, 321.
116. Dupré, *Relation d’un voyage en Italie*, excerpted in Yves Hersant, ed., *Italies: Anthologie des voyageurs français aux XVIIIe et XIXe siècles* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1988), 755.
117. Bazin, *Les Italiens d’aujourd’hui* (1894), excerpted in ed. Hersant, *Italies*, 799–801.
118. John Chetwode Eustace, *A Tour through Italy, Exhibiting a View of its Scenery, its Antiquities, and its Monuments*, Vol. I (London: J. Mawman, 1813), 97; Vol. II, 42–4, 51, 167, 438–9, 574, 576; Mariana Starke, *Letters from Italy between the*

Years 1792 and 1798, containing a View of the Revolutions of that Country, from the Capture of Nice by the French Republic to the Expulsion of Pius VI from the Ecclesiastical State, Vol. I (London: R. Philips, 1800), 331–2. On Eustace, see also Koch, *Schönheit und Dekadenz*, 202, and O'Connor, *The Romance of Italy and the English Political Imagination*, 45–6. On Du Bos's theory of the increased warmth of the Roman climate, by which he explains the inhabitants' loss of their martial spirit, see Glacken, *Traces on the Rhodian Shore*, 560. Edward Taylor, whom Roderick Marshall proposes as possibly the author of *Cursory Remarks on Tragedy* (1774), holds that Italy's climate had grown warmer since ancient times, thus transforming the militaristic Romans into the modern Italians, a people of sensibility. See Roderick Marshall, *Italy in English Literature, 1755–1815: Origins of the Romantic Interest in Italy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1935), 115–6. In view of this stereotype of an increasingly hot Italy, to which Staël had given credence in *On Literature*, it is worth noting that a diametrically opposite theory is posed by the narrator in *Corinne*: "When you observe the extreme precautions taken by the ancients against the heat, you might well believe that the climate then was still more burning than it is today" (71). The narrator refers mainly to Roman baths.

119. Craven, *A Tour through the Southern Provinces of the Kingdom of Naples*, 199–200.
120. Hazlitt, *Notes of a Journey through England and France*, 275.
121. Alexander Murray, *Reason and Society in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1978), 254–5, 256–7. As Murray notes, these correlations of climate and national temperament derive from Aristotle, *Politics*, Vol. VII, 1–3.
122. Sara Warneke, *Images of the Educational Traveller in Early Modern England* (Leiden: E.G. Brill, 1995), 79–82.
123. Jeanette Fellheimer, "The 'Subtlety' of the Italians," *English Miscellany*, 12 (1961): 25; Mario Praz, *Machiavelli and the Elizabethans* (London: H. Milford, 1928), 2. See also Barzini, *The Italians*, 27–8, citing J.R. Hale.
124. Koch, *Schönheit und Dekadenz*, 93.
125. Sells, *The Paradise of Travellers*, 218. The mystique of the superiority of Southern creative genius persists as late as George Keate's *Ancient and Modern Rome* (1755). See Michael L. Ross, *Storied Cities: Literary Imaginings of Florence, Venice, and Rome* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1994), 4.
126. Lassels, *Voyage of Italy*, 4.
127. Martin Clark, *Modern Italy, 1871–1982* (London: Longman, 1996), 12. Nonetheless this myth remains alive in the present century. See Roderick Cavaliero, *Italia Romantica: English Romantics and Italian Freedom* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2005), 63.
128. Bertaut, *L'Italie vue par les français*, 303.
129. Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, Vol. I, 232–41; *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, Vol. I, 1239. "North Europeans," writes J. Davis, "think that the Mediterranean climate is ideal. In fact it varies; it is liable to produce droughts and floods, frequently requiring elaborate investment in drainage

- and irrigation.” See Davis, *People of the Mediterranean: An Essay in Comparative Social Anthropology* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977), 41. Not only is Italy’s land surface in many places rough or rocky, with little topsoil, but the relief too is often high and steep. Winters, though brief, can be severe and, despite the warmth of the climate, the land often suffers aridity because of irregular rainfall. To these limitations are added difficulties arising from landslips, earthquakes, vulcanism, tidal waves, and flood-related erosion—the latter not necessarily caused by human interference. Italians like Mediterranean people generally must be cunning, careful, and watchful, for only through land drainage, irrigation, and terracing, and the careful choice of crops and farming methods, can they realize the land’s potential for a “diversity of fruitfulness.” See Catherine Delano-Smith, *Western Mediterranean Europe: A Historical Geography of Italy, Spain, and Southern France since the Neolithic* (London: Academic Press, 1979), 159–61, 166–91, 192; D.S. Walker, *A Geography of Italy*, 54–60, 75–8. On the severity of the Mediterranean climate and its discipline of constant work, see also André Siegfried, *The Mediterranean*, trans. Doris Hemming (New York: Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, 1948), 107–8, 215–16; Leonardo Olschki, *The Genius of Italy* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1958), 3–5, 11–13.
130. Fortunato, quoted in Moe, *The View from Vesuvius*, 46. Benedetto Croce similarly remarks the very common error of thinking of the whole of Southern Italy as a fertile “Paradise.” See Croce, “Il ‘Paradiso abitato da diavoli,’” 84–5.
131. Gennari, *Le premier voyage de Madame de Staël en Italie*, 197; Colson, “Étude de la société,” ii. Wilhelm von Humboldt criticized *On Literature* for its ignorance of its subject matter and parochial French viewpoint. See Balayé, *Madame de Staël: Lumières et Liberté*, 84.
132. Franco Simone, “La littérature italienne dans *Corinne*,” in *Madame de Staël et l’Europe*, ed. Fabre and Balayé, 294–6; Dejob, *Madame de Staël et l’Italie*, 26, 32–4; Christine Pouzoulet, “Pour une renaissance politique et littéraire de l’Italie: enjeux du modèle de Dante chez Madame de Staël et Sismondi,” in *Le groupe de Coppet et l’Europe, 1789–1830*, ed. Kloocke, 292.
133. Simone, “La littérature italienne dans *Corinne*,” 292–4; Dejob, *Madame de Staël et l’Italie*, 26. Wallace Ferguson notes that many Northern European historians after Staël have attempted to devaluate the Italian Renaissance, defining it as a less creative continuation of and even as a falling off from the Middle Ages. This definition not infrequently implies an invidious comparison between the Germanic North and the Latin South. Northern European historians have also with some frequency argued for the supreme importance not of the Italian Renaissance but of the Protestant Reformation in the shaping of the modern world. This argument, which is implicit in Staël’s *On Literature*, appears in Hume, William Robertson, Dilthey, Paul Joachimsen, and Konrad Burdach, to name some prominent examples. See Ferguson, *The Renaissance in Historical Thought*, 100–1, 127–9, 280–2, 290–385; Vasoli, *Umanesimo e Rinascimento*, 190–3; Henry S. Lucas, “The Renaissance: A Review of Some Views,” *The Catholic Historical Review*, 35 (January 1950): 390.

134. Staël, *Correspondance générale*, ed. Beatrice W. Jasinski, 5/2, "Le Leman et l'Italie" (May 19, 1804–1809 November, 1805) (Paris: Hachette, 1985), 475; Xavier Martin, "Bonaparte meridional dans le propos staëlien," in *Le Groupe de Coppet et L'Europe, 1789–1830*, ed. Kloocke, 42. The motif of Italian dissimulation is discussed at length in chapters 2 and 3. A related stereotype, that of the Italian as a conspiratorial or vengeful or simply irascible knife-wielding assassin, appears in countless travelers' reports, including those of Sir Walter Scott, Stendhal, James Boswell, Bonstetten, Forsyth, Piozzi, Craufurd Tait Ramage, Mary Shelley, George Eliot, Charlotte Eaton, and Margaret Fuller. It is therefore understandable that Giuseppe Verdi protested when his librettist Eugène Scribe sought to introduce a "common conspirator with dagger in hand" into the plot of *Vêpres italiennes*. See Crouzet, *Stendhal et l'italianité*, 188, 190, 193; James Boswell, *Boswell on the Grand Tour: Italy, Corsica, and France, 1765–1766*, ed. Frank Brady and Frederick A. Pottle (London: McGraw-Hill, 1956): Boswell to Jean-Jacques Rousseau, October 3, 1765, 17; Craufurd Tait Ramage, *Ramage in South Italy: The Nooks and By-Ways of Italy: Wandering in Search of Ancient Remains and Modern Superstitions*, trans. Edith Clay (London: Longmans, 1965), 13; Charlotte Anne Waldie Eaton, *Rome in the Nineteenth Century*, II, 5th edition (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1852), 20; Brian Hill, *Travels through Sicily and Calabria*, discussed in Howard Marraro, "Italy and the Italians of the Eighteenth Century seen by Americans," *Italian Quarterly*, 16 (1972): 54; Cavaliero, *Italia Romantica*, 98–9; Adrian Lyttelton, "Creating a National Past: Italy, Myth, and Image in the Risorgimento," in *Making and Remaking Italy*, ed. Ascoli and von Henneberg, 57; William Vance, *America's Rome, II: Catholic and Contemporary Rome* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 135.
135. Martin, "Bonaparte meridional," 42–3. Examining such Staëlian texts as *Dix années d'exil* (1821) and *Considérations sur la révolution française* (1818), Martin shows that Staël thought of Napoleon as possessing the same Machiavellianism she attributes to Catherine de Medici, who taught her son, King Louis XIII of France, all the Italian arts of dissimulation. Like Richelieu, who was trained in Italy, Napoleon had denatured the French from their original honesty. Staël furthermore interprets Napoleon's character as a climatological phenomenon, for having grown up in Corsica, where the temperature resembles that of Africa, he embodies those despotic and perfidious qualities that Orientalist thinking had conventionally assigned to the Southern regions, including Italy. It is therefore not surprising that, just as Staël characterizes Napoleon as a "corse africain," with the implication of primitivism and savagery, so she locates similarly "African" features in Naples and its environs in *Corinne*. At the same time, not only does Staël discover in the Neapolitans a volcanic nature akin to and indeed fostered by their environment, dominated by Vesuvius, but she also sees in Napoleon the same sort of volatility and explosiveness, a link perhaps suggested by the resemblance between the despot's name and that of the city. The key difference between Napoleon and the Italians is that, in contrast to their indolence and servility, he represents the opposite extreme, being a monster of energy and megalomania.

136. For Staël's Italian tour, see Simone Balayé, *Les carnets de voyage de Madame de Staël*, 169–259; Gennari, *Le premier voyage de Madame de Staël en Italie*, 56–117; Colson, “Étude de la Société,” 32–4; Gutwirth, *Madame de Staël, Novelist*, 171; Dejob, *Madame de Staël et l'Italie*, 44–7; M. Jean Menard, “Madame de Staël et la peinture,” in *Madame de Staël et l'Europe*, ed. Fabre and Balayé, 254–5, 261; Herking, *Charles-Victor de Bonstetten, 1745–1832*, 275n; Pellegrini, *Madame de Staël e il gruppo di Coppet*, 24–6, 54. Wayne Andrews, *Germaine: A Portrait of Madame de Staël* (New York: Athenaeum, 1963), 142–8; Herold, *Mistress to an Age*, 300–6; Bella Duffy, *Madame de Staël* (Boston: Roberts, 1897), 143–5; Maurice Levaillant, *The Passionate Exiles: Madame de Staël and Madame le Récamier* (London: George Allen, 1958), 52–7; Andrieux, *Les Français à Rome*, 258–61. The Arcadian Academy (Accademia degli Arcadia), whose members gave themselves the names of Arcadian shepherds, was the most prestigious of the numerous whimsically titled literary academies to spring up in eighteenth-century Rome. Although it was founded in 1689 by habitués of Swedish Queen Christina's salon in order to combat bad taste, it is widely seen as having never produced anything more than verbose, inflated, trivial, and pretentious versifying. It had numerous counterparts in Italy during this period, all of which have likewise been dismissed as silly and poetically sterile. Long before Staël's time the Arcadians had become an object of ridicule. Nonetheless Croce defends them against the detractors of Baretti and others in arguing that Arcadia not only represented a healthy current of rationalism but also attracted many of the leading lights of Italian society; moreover, despite the weakness of its poetic productions, it banished the long-predominant Baroque taste for the “amazing” through its awakening of a new and lasting appreciation for the true and direct expression of feelings and thoughts. See Maurice Andrieux, *Daily Life in Papal Rome in the Eighteenth Century*, trans. Mary Fitton (New York: Macmillan, 1968), 167–9; Croce, “Italian Decadence” and “Arcadia,” in Croce, *Poetry, History, Philosophy*, ed. Sprigge, 1034–5, 1055–66; Croce, *Storia dell'età barocca*, 26–27, 31–2, 34, 39–40, 53; Vernon, “The Arcadian Academy,” in Lee, *Studies of the Eighteenth Century in Italy*, 15–102; Thomas Anthony Trollope, *A Decade of Italian Women*, Vol. II (London: Chapman and Holt, 1859), 396–8; Pompeo Molmenti, *Venice: Its Individual Growth from the Earliest Beginnings to the Fall of the Republic*, trans. H.F. Brown, Part III, The Decadence, Vol. II (London: John Murray, 1908), 158–9. Although Maria Fairweather is probably justified in saying that by Staël's time the Arcadian Academy had “degenerated into little more than a pretentious social club,” it enjoyed something of a revival in the later eighteenth century under its ambitious and energetic director Gioacchino Pizzi, who sought to substitute for its previous devotion to sentimental and pastoral verse a new emphasis on scientifically and philosophically based poetry inspired by the French Enlightenment. The coronation of Corilla Olimpica, which took place under Pizzi's term of office extending from 1772 to 1790, belongs to this period of revival, after which the Arcadian Academy petered out. See Maria

- Fairweather, *Madame de Staël* (New York: Carroll and Graf, 2005), 322; Luigi Felici, "L'Arcadia romana tra illuminismo e neoclassicismo," *Atti e Memorie (Arcadia, Accademia Letteraria Italiana)*, 5 (1970): 167–92. See also Lee, *Studies of the Eighteenth Century in Italy*, 177–82, 85, 87, 89, 90, 101–2. For the President Dupaty, who visited Italy in 1785, the Arcadian Academy was but a "name." According to Charles Duclos, whose *Voyage en Italie* appeared in 1791, the Accademia degli Arcadia with its "deluge of sonnets" was only a parody of a real learned society. See Dupaty, *Sentimental Letters on Italy*, Vol. II, Letter LXVI, 3; Duclos, *Voyage en Italie*, 65. See also Louis Simond's belittling remarks concerning the Arcadian Academy and Italian academies generally in *A Tour in Italy and Sicily*. 289. In a favorable interpretation that anticipates that of Croce, Vernon Lee sees the Arcadian Academy as a healthy reformist reaction against the extravagant and artificial language of Baroque poetry in favor of naturalness, simplicity, and directness. See Lee, *Studies of the Eighteenth Century in Italy*, 25, 26, 31.
137. Gennari, *Le premier voyage de Madame de Staël en Italie*, 21, 24–6, 53, 115. For Melzi's responsible and competent tenure as vice president of the Second Cisalpine Republic, from which he felt obliged to resign because of Napoleon's refusal to grant the republic real political autonomy, see Desmond Gregory, *Napoleon's Italy* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2001), 45–66. See also Giulio Bollati, "Fare l'Italia senza gli Italiani. Il tentativo di Francesco Melzi d'Eril," in Bollati, *L'Italiano*, 14–33. Bollati, who touches on Melzi's affinities with Staël, characterizes him as a cautious, antirevolutionary liberal whom historians have unjustly neglected. Not only did Melzi envision a constitutional government dominated by the propertied classes, but he feared to include the Italian general population in the political process, thus aiming in effect to create a new Italy without the full participation of its people.
138. Gennari, *Le premier voyage de Madame de Staël en Italie*, 28, 29–30; Colson, "Étude de la Société," 17–19; Balayé, *Les carnets de voyage de Madame de Staël*, 93, 93–4n, 107, 110, 111; Menard, "Madame de Staël et la peinture," 255, 257; Frank Paul Bowman, "Le groupe de Coppet et la mythologie," in *Il gruppo di Coppet e l'Italia*, ed. Matucci, 55.
139. Gennari, *Le premier voyage de Madame de Staël en Italie*, 22, 27, 28, 193, 196; Colson, "Étude de la Société," 10–11, 30; Balayé, *Les carnets de voyage de Madame de Staël*, 133, 165; Pouzoulet, "Pour une renaissance politique et littéraire de l'Italie: enjeux du modèle de Dante chez Madame de Staël et Sismondi," 292, 293; Beatrice Didier, "Aspects de la musique italienne: chez Madame de Staël et chez Sismondi," in *Il gruppo di Coppet e l'Italia*, ed. Matucci, 109–11, 114, 115, 119, 120; Pellegrini, *Madame de Staël e il gruppo de Coppet*, 33–4, 50.
140. For the Italian improvisers and Staël's view of them, see Gutwirth, *Madame de Staël, Novelist*, 172–3, 173n; Eugène Bouvy, "L'Improvisation poétique en Italie," *Bulletin Italien*, 6 (January–March 1906): 1–20; Balayé, *Les carnets de voyage de Madame de Staël*, 104–5n, 113–14, 113n; Gennari, *Le premier voyage de Madame de Staël en Italie*, 59, 100–2, 137–8, 140. Gutwirth says mistakenly that Staël witnessed a performance by Amaryllis Etrusca, a point corrected by

- Gennari and Balayé. See also Staël, *Oeuvres complètes*, I, 250, for Staël's initial disdain of Italian improvisers. Paola Giuli argues that despite Staël's disclaimer, not only the name but the characterization of Corinne as a brilliant poetess was also suggested by the example of Corilla Olimpica. According to Giuli, Staël received extensive information regarding Corilla's coronation from Prince Gonzaga and the Abbot Godard, both of whom had been in attendance, and the second of whom had eulogized Corilla during the ceremony. It was moreover Godard who welcomed Staël at the Arcadian Academy on February 14, 1805. See Giuli, "Tracing a Sisterhood: Corilla Olimpica as Corinne's Unacknowledged Alter Ego," in *The Novel's Seductions*, ed. Szmurlo, 165, 168. Staël would have received further information concerning Corilla from her friend and colleague at Coppet, Charles-Victor de Bonstetten, who witnessed an improvisation by Corilla during his Italian visit in 1774. See Herking, *Charles-Victor de Bonstetten, 1745–1832*, 112.
141. See Sismondi, *Historical View of the Literature of the South of Europe*, I, 336; Sismondi, *Historical View of the Literature of the South of Europe*, II, trans. Thomas Roscoe (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1853), 58–7, 80, 83, 84–6. See also Didier, "Aspects de la musique italienne: chez Madame de Staël et chez Sismondi," 113, 114.
142. Joseph (Giuseppe) Baretti, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of Italy; with Observations on the Mistakes of some Travellers with Regard to that Country*, Vol. II (London: T. Davies, 1768), 169–74, 177. See also Bouvy, "L'Improvisation poétique en Italie," 2–5; Lee, *Studies of the Eighteenth Century in Italy*, 47.
143. Blunt, *Vestiges of Ancient Manners and Customs, discoverable in Modern Italy and Sicily* (New York: John Murray, 1823), 286–8.
144. Braudel, *Out of Italy, 1450–1650*, 136–47, esp. 141; Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (New York: New York University Press, 1978), 143; Burke, *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy*, 81; Collison-Morley, *Italy after the Renaissance*, 73, 74, 78; Sismondi, *Historical View of the Literatures of the South of Europe*, I, 439, 518–9; Bouvy, "L'Improvisation poétique en Italie": 6.
145. Kathleen McGill, "Women and Performance: The Development of Improvisation by Sixteenth-Century Commedia dell'Arte," *Theater Journal*, 59–69. Noted by Vincent Whitman, "'Remember My Verse Sometimes': Corinne's Three Songs," in *The Novel's Seductions*, ed., Szmurlo, 260n.
146. Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, 105, 113, 142, 143. For other early modern examples, see Collison-Morley, *Italy after the Renaissance*, 76. Burke notes that during this period improvisation was also common in some parts of Europe other than Italy, such as Dalmatia. In Staël's novel, Corinne identifies Dalmatia and, in particular, its improvisers with the same qualities she admires in Italy, including spontaneity, freedom, primitivism, and not least originality, all of which testify to both countries' freedom from the monotonous constraints of civilization. See Staël, *Corinne*, 301–2.
147. Montaigne, *The Diary of Montaigne's Journey to Italy in 1580 and 1581*, trans. E.J. Trechman (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1929), 186, 219; Burke, *Popular*

- Culture in Early Modern Europe*, 142; Charles de Brosses, *Lettres d'Italie du Président de Brosses*, I, ed. Frédéric d'Agay (Paris: Mercure de France, 1986), Letter XXVIII, 363–4. See also Andrieux, *Daily Life in Papal Rome in the Eighteenth Century*, 168–9. For Perfetti, see also Bouvy, “L’Improvisations poétique en Italie”: 7–9; see, *Studies of the Eighteenth Century in Italy*, 46–52.
148. Dupaty, *Sentimental Letters on Italy*, I, trans. J. Povoleri (London: J. Crowder, 1789), Letter XXIX, 112–3. For Corilla Olimpica, see Bouvy, “L’Improvisation poétique en Italie,” 10; Lee, *Studies of the Eighteenth Century in Italy*, 90; Jolanda de Blasi, *Le scrittrici italiane dalle origini al 1800* (Florence: Casa Editrice “Nemi”) 1930), 271–80. For a sampling of Corilla’s verse, see de Blasi, *Antologia delle scrittrici italiane dalle origini al 1800* (Florence: Casa Editrice “Nemi,” 1930), 440–2.
149. Slava Klima, Introduction to Joseph Spence, *Letters from the Grand Tour*, ed. Klima (Montreal and London: McGill-Queens University Press, 1975), 19–21.
150. Brooks, *The Dream of Arcadia*, 2–3.
151. Piozzi, *Observations and Reflections*, ed. Barrows, 161–3. However, Piozzi prefers the improvisations of the Abate Lorenzi of Verona and the Abbe Bertola of the University of Pavia to those of their Tuscan counterparts; see 353–6. See also Starke, *Letters from Italy*, I, 244. For La Fantastici, whose full name was Fortunata Sulgher Marchesini, see de Blasi, *Le scrittrici italiane dalle origini al 1800*, 443–67; for a sampling of her verse, see de Blasi, *Antologia delle scrittrici italiane dalle origini al 1800*, 468–78. For Amarilla Etrusca, see Bouvy, “L’Improvisation poétique en Italie”: 11–12.
152. Swinburne, *Travels in the Two Sicilies by Henry Swinburne in the Years 1777, 1778, 1779, and 1780*, 2d. edition, Vol. II (London: J. Nichols, 1790), 288.
153. Moore, *A View of Society and Manners in Italy, with Anecdotes relating to some Eminent Characters* (Boston: Belknap and Young, 1792), 355–7.
154. Joseph Forsyth, *Remarks on Antiquities, Arts, and Letters during an Excursion in Italy in the Years 1802 and 1803*, ed. Keith Crook (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2001), 31–2; see also 131, on the *improvvisatori*: “But fecundity does not always imply genius.” For L’Aquila’s limitations as an improviser, see also Bouvy, “L’Improvisation poétique en Italie”: 4.
155. Irving, *Journals and Notebooks, I (1803–1806)*, ed. Wright, December 1, 1804, 134, 136–7.
156. Eustace, *A Tour through Italy*, I, 175–6. Another Briton, John Mayne, saw a performance of the Florentine improviser Filippo Pistrucci during his Italian journey of 1814. See John Mayne, *The Journal of John Mayne: During a Tour on the Continent upon its Reopening after the Fall of Napoleon, 1814*, ed. John Mayne Colles (London: John Lane, 1909), 147. Gabriele Rossetti, the father of the English poet Dante Gabriel Rossetti, enjoyed a reputation as an improviser during the early nineteenth century. See Harry W. Rudman, *Italian Nationalism and English Letters: Figures of the Risorgimento and Victorian Men of Letters* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1940), 186.
157. Simond, *A Tour in Italy and Sicily*, 126, 266–73. See also 564–6. On Sgricci, see Bouvy, “L’Improvisation poétique en Italie”: 14.
158. Lady (Sidney Owenson) Morgan, *Italy*, Vol. II (New York: G. Seymour, 1821), 64, 117, 357, 357n. Highly impressed by the effortlessness and stamina of the

Roman improvisers, whose effusions display “real poetic beauty” and the “warm irresistible eloquence of passion,” and whose “inspired moods” and “unpremeditated streams” can even call to mind the sibyls of ancient times, Charlotte Eaton nonetheless admits that, though “occasionally very pretty,” such compositions by their very nature are rarely very fine and sometimes “pretty bad,” as they rely on hackneyed images and similes. See Eaton, *Rome in the Nineteenth Century*, II, 272–8.

159. Jameson, *The Diary of an Ennuyée*, 279–87, 281n.
160. Brooks, *The Dream of Arcadia*, 63.
161. Hillard, *Six Months in Italy*, Vol. II, 23. By contrast, Alexander Dumas sees the art of improvisation as declining in Naples during the 1830s as a result of the theft of the improvisers’ earnings, so that the art can be revived only by government subvention. See Dumas, *Impressions de Voyage, Le Corricolo*, I (Paris: Calmann Levy, 1848), 97–8. However, perhaps the only important English-speaking poet to have been influenced by the Italian technique of improvisation was Byron, as witness *Beppo* and *Don Juan*. See Tony Tanner, *Venice Desired* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), 42–53, esp. 42: “In *Beppo* Byron clearly aims for an improvised, improvising air, to the point where at times it seems almost trivializing, flippant.”
162. Headley, *Letters from Italy*, rev. ed. (New York, 1848), 53, noted in Baker, *The Fortunate Pilgrims*, 108.
163. Trollope, *A Decade of Italian Women*, Vol. II, 400–1. As Bouvy notes, many of the standard criticisms of the *improvvisatori* appear in Pietro Giordano’s *Sgricci et les improvisateurs en Italie* (1816). Yet though Bouvy acknowledges that their productions were never anything more than theatrical, external, and fleeting, he prefers to judge them in their own terms, not by the standards of the written word. Di Blasi similarly regards the improvisations as poor stuff in their printed form, yet she too holds that they should not be dissociated from the theatrical ambience from which they emerged and without which they would not have existed. See Bouvy, “L’Improvisation poétique en Italie”: 1–2, 8; De Blasi, *Le scrittrici italiane dalle origini al 1800*, 269–70.
164. Joan Dejean, “Staël’s Corinne: The Novel’s Other Dilemma,” *Stanford French Review*, 11 (Spring, 1987): 82. See also Dejean, *Fictions of Sappho, 1546–1937* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 178–9.
165. Andrieux, *Les Français a Rome*, 261–2; Andrieux, *Daily Life in Rome in the Eighteenth Century*, 169–70. Shortly after this fiasco, notes Andrieux, the prestige of the Arcadian Academy declined. For a more ambiguous description of this event, see Gennari, *Le premier voyage de Madame de Staël en Italie*, 140. For Corinne’s coronation, see Staël, *Corinne*, 20–32. Thomas Anthony Trollope claims that Corilla bought her laureate crown, and that her coronation ceremony, which included the easiest tests of her improvisatory skills, amounted to a “sham and a humbug,” a “trading imposture.” See Trollope, *A Decade of Italian Women*, Vol. II, 405–13, 415. See also Lee, *Studies of the Eighteenth Century in Italy*, 91–4; de Blasi, *Le scrittrici italiane dalle origini al 1800*, 275–8. De Blasi notes that the event was underattended, that following the ceremony Corilla found it necessary to return home by an indirect route

- in order to avoid her jeering critics, and that she was subsequently required to leave Rome for a period so as to allow the scandal time to blow over.
166. Giuli, "Tracing a Sisterhood," 165–84.
 167. On this transition, see von Klenze, *The Interpretation of Italy during the Last Two Centuries*, 94, 106, 109. See also Camillo von Klenze, *From Goethe to Hauptmann: Studies in a Changing Culture* (New York: Viking, 1926), 3–64.
 168. Gennari, *Le premier voyage de Madame de Staël en Italie*, 117–18, 241; Goldberger, quoting Staël in her translator's introduction to *Corinne*, xxxii.
 169. Carlo Pellegrini, "Corinne et son aspect politique," in *Madame de Staël et l'Europe*, ed. Fabre and Balayé, 266. However, contrary to common assumption, the idea for the novel preceded Staël's Italian journey; see Balayé, *Les carnets de voyage de Madame de Staël*, 94; Simone Balayé, "Pour une lecture politique de *Corinne*," in *Il gruppo di Coppet e l'Italia*, ed. Matucci, 13.
 170. See Pellegrini, "Corinne et son aspect politique," 265–9; Pellegrini, *Madame de Staël e il gruppo di Coppet*, 57–63; von Klenze, *The Interpretation of Italy during the Last Two Centuries*, 13, 18, 20–1, 22, 29, 55–8, 87n, 133; Dupaty, *Sentimental Letters on Italy*, I, Letter LXIV, 236; Mortier, *La poétique des ruines en France*, 143–9, 151; O'Connor, *The Romance of Italy and the English Political Imagination*, 41–4, 48; Kenneth Churchill, *Italy and English Literature, 1764–1930*, 25, 26. Koch, *Schönheit und Dekadenz*, 4–5, 15–17, 22–5. See also Roland Mortier, "Un magistrat 'âme sensible': Le Président Dupaty (1746–1788)," and "Les voyageurs français en Italie et le débat sur les institutions," in Mortier, *Le Coeur et la Raison: Recueil d'études sur le dix-huitième siècle* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1990), 307, 308, 308n, 384–96, 402. On Staël's indebtedness to eighteenth-century travel writers and more especially Dupaty, see Mireille Gille, "Un antécédent littéraire de *Corinne*: Les Lettres sur l'Italie de Dupaty," in *Il gruppo di Coppet e l'Italia*, ed. Matucci, 163–81, 183n. According to Jacques Chouillet, Staël's conception of Italy closely resembles that of her eighteenth-century precursors. See Chouillet, "L'Italie des Lumières et son reflet dans l'oeuvre de Madame de Staël," 17–19. See also Venturi, "L'Italia fuori d'Italia," 1179. Late eighteenth-century travelers such as Goethe and Houël anticipate Staël in their interest in the popular life of the Sicilians, including customs and festivals. See Carlo Ruta, *Viaggiatori in Sicilia: L'immagine dell'isola nel secolo dei lumi* (Palermo: A.A.A. Pittagorica, 2004), 22–3, 32. If, as J.H. Whitfield notes, Lady Morgan replaces the longstanding traditional interest of British travelers, such as Addison and her contemporary John Chetwode Eustace, in Italy's classical heritage with a more concentrated focus on the "living, moving, breathing Italy" of the present, it is partly because Lady Morgan follows her example. See Whitfield, "Mr Eustace and Lady Morgan," in C.P. Brand, K. Foster, and U. Limentani, eds., *Italian Studies presented to E.R. Vincent* (Cambridge: Heffer, 1962), 182; see also Eustace, *A Tour through Italy*, I, vii–viii, xvii–xviii, xx, 133. In fairness to Eustace, however, it must be said that he mingles classical interests with observations on the present condition of Italy, social, religious, cultural, and natural.
 171. According to Staël in an overly reductive comment in *On Literature*, "In a nation, as in a man, we need to find only the characteristic trait; all the others

are the result of a thousand different accidents, but that one alone constitutes its being.” See Berger, ed., *Madame de Staël*, 193; Staël, *Oeuvres complètes*, I, 253.

172. Giacomo Leopardi refers to *Corinne* as the work that more than any other initiated a trend among Northern European writers toward a more favorable view of Italy, even to the point of overrating it. See Leopardi, *Discorso sopra lo stato presente dei costumi degl'italiani*, ed. Rigoni, 48–9.

2 The Debate over Italy

1. Gutwirth, *Madame de Staël, Novelist*, 215; see also 267–8.
2. O'Connor, *The Romance of Italy and the English Political Imagination*, 29.
3. Gutwirth, *Madame de Staël, Novelist*, 260. On this point, see also Pellegrini, *Madame de Staël e il gruppo di Coppet*, 41.
4. Vallois, “Old Idols, New Subjects: Germaine de Staël and Romanticism,” in *Germaine de Staël: Crossing the Borders*, ed. Gutwirth et al., 86–8.
5. Vallois, *Fictions féminines*, 133; see also 132–9; Balayé, *Les carnets de voyage de Madame de Staël*, 16n. The novel’s aspiration to the status of a travelogue is reflected in the fact that nineteenth-century British travelers used it as a travel guide, not bothering to dissociate fact and fiction. See O'Connor, *The Romance of Italy and the English Political Imagination*, 20, 198n.
6. Colson, “Étude de la Société,” 146, notes that the Italians have generally regarded Staël’s portrayal of Italy as accurate. See also Maugham, ed., *The Book of Italian Travel*, 62. According to Dejob, not only is Staël the first writer to examine the Italian national character, but she also surpasses her French predecessors in the wisdom and profundity of her observations on Italy. He quotes J. Grassi, *Courrier de Turin*, August 5, 1807: “Tout ce que Madame de Staël dit sur les Italiens est vrai; les traits sont vraisemblants; elle en a oubliés plusieurs; mais ceux qu’elle a tracés sont exacts.” Some critics, though, found her descriptions of place to be vague, while Ugo Foscolo criticized her presumption for judging Italy after a rapid carriage tour, and Byron said that she was often wrong about Italy and England. Yet despite Foscolo’s complaint that Staël had indulged in hasty cultural generalizations, his attack on *Corinne* is itself based on a superficial reading of the novel, whose frequent insights he fails to acknowledge. See Dejob, *Madame de Staël et l’Italie*, xii, 24, 59, 59n, 60, 61, 67, 120; Berger, ed., *Madame de Staël*, 51.
7. Gutwirth, *Madame de Staël, Novelist*, 208; Simone, “La littérature italienne dans *Corinne*,” 295–7, 299. Gennari holds more credibly that in *Corinne* Staël attempts to retract much of what she had written concerning Italian literature. See Gennari, *Le premier voyage de Madame de Staël en Italie*, 199.
8. On the emergence of the public sphere in the eighteenth century, see Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Berger (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991), *passim*. Although Habermas sees England as developing a public sphere in the eighteenth century, it has been argued that it remained an *ancien régime* society up to around 1832. See J.C.D. Clark, *English Society*,

1688–1832: *Religion, Ideology and Politics during the Ancien Régime* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

9. Leopardi similarly holds that the absence of society in Italy follows above all from the fact that the Italians have failed to achieve nationhood. See Leopardi, *Discorso sopra lo stato presente dei costumi degl'italiani*, ed. Rigoni, 75, and Rigoni's Introduction, 14. It would be misleading, however, to deny the existence of a public sphere in many parts of Italy after the Renaissance, as witness the extensive book trade, literary reviews, reviews of art, agriculture and commerce, story magazines, memoirs, gazettes, encyclopedias, and many translations of foreign works. One thinks too of the group of Milanese intellectuals centered in the journal *Il Caffè* (1762–1764). However, the public sphere does not seem to have been as extensive or as well-developed in Italy as in other parts of Europe, chiefly England and France. Nor did there exist a single public sphere encompassing the greater part of the peninsula if not its whole extent. In short, Italy still lacked what Procacci terms a "national public opinion," which would emerge only with the Risorgimento and which remained underdeveloped even in the later nineteenth century. See Brendan Dooley, "The Public Sphere and the Organization of Knowledge," in John Marino, ed., *Early Modern Italy, 1550–1796* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 209–28; Procacci, *History of the Italian People*, 223–4, 269; John Dickie, *Darkest Italy: The Nation and Stereotypes of the Mezzogiorno, 1960–1900* (New York: St. Martin's, 1990), 17; Rebecca Messbarger, "Reforming the Female Class: *Il Caffè's* 'Defense of Women,'" *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 32 (Spring, 1999): 355, 357–8; Krystyna von Henneberg and Albert Russell Ascoli, "Introduction: Nationalism and the Uses of Risorgimento Culture," in *Making and Remaking Italy*, ed. Ascoli and von Henneberg, 10.
10. Likewise for Leopardi, Italy exists in a state of virtual anarchy owing to its failure to create for itself a cooperative and self-disciplined society. See Leopardi, *Discorso sopra lo stato presente dei costumi degl'italiani*, ed. Rigoni, 57, and Rigoni's Introduction, 14.
11. Commenting on the condition of the Italians in recent centuries, Leopardi notes that their lack of worthy and satisfying occupations has robbed them of any sense of the importance of life. Devoid of those idealistic illusions necessary to prompt energetic effort toward a higher goal, the Italians have no strong investment in the future but remain content to live from moment to moment. See Leopardi, *Discorso sopra lo stato presente dei costumi degl'italiani*, ed. Rigoni, 58–9.
12. Joan B. Landes quotes Amelia Gere Mason's *The Women of the French Salons* (New York: Century, 1891), 124, which compares the salon to the press and describes it as a "vast engine of power, an organ of public opinion." Landes in turn identifies the salon with Habermas's public sphere, although she acknowledges that, like the eighteenth-century public sphere in general, it was by no means egalitarian. See Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (London: Cornell University Press, 1988), 23, 57. On this point, see also Messbarger, "Reforming the Female Class": 357–8. The role of the salon in determining the socially acceptable extended to both speech and

writing. As Marc Fumaroli notes, a close association existed in the seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries between the Parisian salons and the French Académie, which partly relied on them to determine the correct use of language, or *bon usage*. See Fumaroli, *Trois institutions littéraires* (Paris: Gallimard, 1994), 145, 146, 155, 158.

13. Fumaroli notes that Staël celebrated Paris as the place where conversation most flourished, not least because of the active participation of women on an equal footing with men. Nor is there any doubt that Staël appreciated the art of conversation as embodied in the aristocratic salons of the Ancien Régime, and that she attempted to recreate the salon as a social institution after it had become a casualty of revolutionary terrorism and Napoleonic interference. Yet as Fumaroli also remarks, a significant difference exists between the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century salon and its nineteenth-century successor that Staël played a major role in initiating. As an aristocratic institution, the salon had brought together equals or near equals in small, intimate gatherings. It also adhered to the classical ideal of leisure and thus the art of conversation for its own sake, as a nonutilitarian form of free play requiring no justification beyond itself. Contrastingly Staël derives from a bourgeois background and belongs to the ideologized postrevolutionary world. For her, the salon is primarily a practical instrument through which conversation ceases to be an absolute value whose only requirement is that it be enjoyed in intimate surroundings by a privileged few, but instead becomes synonymous with serious discussion in the service of a political, that is, public agenda external to itself. The accent now falls not on play and pleasure but the effort of persuasion. It was for this reason that Sainte-Beuve traced the decline of the older conversational ideal to Staël. See Fumaroli, *Trois institutions littéraires*, 172, 173–5, 176, 177. For eighteenth-century complaints against the linguistic precision of the salons and the prominent role of women within them, see Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution*, 11, 22–3, 25–6, 27, 29, 47, 49. In characterizing Staël as the “logical heir of the Napoleonic era to the notion of the international high bourgeois salon,” Nanora Sweet ignores the essential difference between the aristocratic eighteenth-century salon and its Staël-inspired nineteenth-century successors in which, as Sweet does recognize, education, utilitarian aims, and the dissemination of a middle-class liberal agenda were the chief order of business. See Sweet, “‘Lorenzo’s’ Liverpool and ‘Corinne’s’ Coppet: The Italianate Salon and Romantic Education,” in *The Lessons of Romanticism*, ed. Pfau and Gleckner, 244–60. On the salon as a realm in which women could achieve both social and intellectual distinction, see Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution*, 11, 22, 23, 24. Merry Wiesner notes that women were most often facilitators of the salons, which typically centered on male intellectuals. See Wiesner, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, 2d. edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 167.
14. Leopardi regards France as the modern nation par excellence not only because of its literature but also because, as an indispensable basis for that literature, it possesses a centralized capital where a genuine society defines standards of

behavior for the nation as a whole. At the same time, national unity and the presence of generally approved social standards have resulted in the formation of a collective awareness expressed through public opinion, which Leopardi sees as essential to a modern nation. See Leopardi, *Discorso sopra lo stato presente dei costumi degl'italiani*, ed. Rigoni, 85–6n, and Melchiori, “Commento,” 95n. However, Staël believes that the French by comparison with the English had failed to develop sufficiently both public opinion and civic participation, and that they had only begun to nurture these political virtues following the French Revolution. See Romani, *National Character and Public Spirit in Britain and France, 1750–1914*, 67–9, 74, 82–3, 84, 91, 335.

15. Concurring with Staël's analysis of Italian behavior, Leopardi holds that, by contrast with France, Italy lacks a social elite (a “*società stretta*,” as he calls it) capable of defining a generally recognized and approved norm of behavior for the larger national society. The absence of a refined and widely influential society centered in a national capital has also prevented the formation of enlightened public opinion within the peninsula as a whole. Thus the typical Italian neither respects public opinion nor follows a generally recognized social standard. Indifferent to *bon ton*, he acts as he pleases, in his own manner. See Leopardi, *Discorso sopra lo stato presente dei costumi degl'italiani*, ed. Rigoni, 51, 56–7, 66, 75–6. See also Rigoni's Introduction, 13, 15, and Melchiori, “Commento,” 90–1n, 98n, 99–100n. According to Sismondi, “As there is no real society in Italy, no power of public opinion, and no satire which is dreaded, we there behold errors and vices exhibited with a fearless sincerity, which we in vain look for in any other country.” See Sismondi, *Historical View of the Literature of the South of Europe*, I, 527.
16. Leopardi similarly identifies the Italians with a dislike of both domestic life and conversation, attributing these traits partly to their temperate climate, which allows them to spend much of their time outdoors. See Leopardi, *Discorso sopra lo stato presente dei costumi degl'italiani*, ed. Rigoni, 56, and Melchiori's “Commento,” 96n.
17. According to Fumaroli, the interior arrangements, decoration, furniture, lighting, and acoustics of the French salons were carefully calculated to meet the requirements of a society in which intimate conversation among small groups of people was regarded as the liveliest of pleasures, and which made every attempt to promote and stimulate it. He adds that there was nothing in common between the “*grottes enchantées*” of the Parisian hôtels and the enormous rooms that typically formed the centerpiece of Italian palaces, and which were intended to accommodate large numbers of people. See Fumaroli, *Trois Institutions Littéraires*, 128.
18. Richard P. McBrien, *Catholicism* (San Francisco: HarperSan Francisco, 1994), 9, 11, 12, 15, 46, 76, 78, 1108–9; Peter Berger, *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1969), 111–12, 121; Andrew Greeley, *The Catholic Imagination* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 1, 6, 8; Paul Giles, *American Catholic Arts and Fictions: Culture, Ideology, Aesthetics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 27–8, 38–9, 55–7, 85. On the distinction between Protestant and Catholic

- viewpoints, with special reference to Italian Catholicism, see John Paul Russo, "DeLillo: Italian American Catholic Writer," in *Altreitalia*, 25 (July–December 2002): 5–6, and *passim*.
19. Leopardi attributes the lack of a genuinely Italian theater to the absence of a national capital, this being in turn a symptom of the Italians' inability to identify with a collective historical purpose. See Leopardi, *Discorso sopra lo stato presente dei costumi degl'italiani*, ed. Rigoni, 56; see also Melchiori's "Commento," 99n, noting the parallel with Staël, and the discussion of Staël's view of the relationship between tragic drama and political organization in de Rougemont, "Théâtre et théâtralité de l'Italie vue par le groupe de Coppet," 129–32.
 20. Among the stereotypes of Italy is that of a land of sleep, a variation on the stereotype of Italian indolence. For instance, in Lamartine's "Harold" Italy is the "terre du passé," where "tout dort." See Luigi Monza, "Lamartine's Ambivalent Relationship with Italy: An Episode of the 'Risorgimento,'" *Nineteenth-Century French Studies*, 4 (Spring, 1976): 157–9.
 21. In an essay written under the strong influence of *Corinne*, Leopardi stresses the importance of the nation or "fatherland" (*patria*), governed from a centralized capital, as the necessary basis for individual, political, social, and cultural greatness. Indeed, he regards national sentiment such as the pride displayed by the French and English as the source of every worthy undertaking. See Mario Andrea Rigoni's Introduction to Leopardi, *Discorso sopra lo stato presente dei costumi degl'italiani*, ed. Rigoni, 5–6, 6n, 15–16.
 22. Balayé, "Madame de Staël, Napoléon, et l'indépendance italienne," *Revue des Sciences Humaines*, 34, no. 133 (January 1969): 47–56; Balayé, *Madame de Staël: Lumières et Liberté*, 119; Balayé, "Madame de Staël et l'Europe napoléonienne," in *Le Groupe de Coppet et l'Europe, 1789–1830*, ed. Kloocke, 27; Balayé, "Pour une lecture politique de *Corinne*," in *Il gruppo di Coppet l'Italia*, ed. Matucci, 7–9. For the Napoleonic presence in Italy, see Gregory, *Napoleon's Italy*, 18–118.
 23. Gennari, *Le premier voyage di Madame de Staël en Italie*, 227–8; Pellegrini, *Madame de Staël e il gruppo de Coppet*, 32–3. As Balayé notes, *Corinne*'s speech on the Capitol, a celebration Italy's republican freedom, was required necessarily to precede the occupation. See Balayé, "Pour une lecture politique de *Corinne*," 8.
 24. Gutwirth, *Madame de Staël, Novelist*, 195; Colson, "Étude de la Société," 137–38; Koch, *Schönheit und Dekadenz*, quoting John Playfair, *Edinburgh Review*, 11 (1807), 118.
 25. In *Considerations on the French Revolution* Staël mentions the common fear of ridicule in England but also points out its unparalleled tolerance of eccentricity. She further holds that, despite their reserve, the English have strong passions—a view consistent with her claim in *On Literature* that Northern Europeans surpass their Southern counterparts in the intensity of passion. See Berger, ed., *Madame de Staël*, 193, 352, 356; Staël, *Oeuvres complètes*, Vol. II, 253; Vol. III, 305, 308–9. Native as well as foreign observers began to identify England with eccentricity in the later 1600s and the image became solidified in the next century. It was widely assumed that the British "original" (as eccentrics were then known) flourished thanks to the national atmosphere of

- political tolerance. See Katherine Turner, *British Travel Writers in Europe, 1750–1800: Authorship, Gender, and National Identity* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 38–41. But Turner also notes that eighteenth-century England witnessed the increasing confinement of women to the domestic sphere as well as an intensifying insistence upon their morally stabilizing role. See pp. 52–3.
26. Berger, ed., *Madame de Staël*, 227; Staël, *Oeuvres complètes*, I, 290.
27. Staël's satire on d'Erfeuil is anticipated in her novel *Delphine*, where the predominating trait of the aristocrat Léonce de Mondeville and his mother Madame de Mondeville consists of subservience to social expectations and thus a lack of individuality. See Wilkes, *Lord Byron and Madame de Staël*, 40. The pride of the French in their self-proclaimed intellectual and cultural superiority first appears in the twelfth century, when other nations, such as the Italians and the British, complained of the *Superbia Gallica*. However, during the Middle Ages (as in the Renaissance and even later) the Italians made similar claims for themselves. See Murray, *Reason and Society in the Middle Ages*, 252–4, 255–7.
28. For D'Erfeuil, see *Corinne*, 10, 17, 45, 113–14, 161. According to Susan Tenenbaum, d'Erfeuil is intended to typify the French nation in his wit, sociability, elegance, and belief in the superiority of his own culture. See Tenenbaum, "Corinne: Political Polemic and the Theory of the Novel," in *The Novel's Seductions*, ed. Szmurlo, 160. For Staël's awareness of the disadvantages resulting from the predominance of public opinion in both England and France, whether through conformism, the subordination of the individual to the needs of the nation, or, the requirement of feminine submission to patriarchal dominance, see Gérard Gemgembre and Jean Goldzink, "L'opinion dans *Corinne*," *Europe*, 693–4 (1987): 48–9, 50–4.
29. De Brosses, *Lettres d'Italie du Président de Brosses*, Vol. II, ed. Frédéric d'Agay (Paris: Mercure de France, 1986), Letter XL, 82.
30. Martin Sherlock, *Letters from an English Traveller, Translated from the French Original* (New York: Garland, 1971), 95–6.
31. Eustace, *A Tour through Italy*, I, 509–10.
32. Dejob, *Madame de Staël et l'Italie*, x–xi.
33. Moloney, *Florence and England: Essays on Cultural Relations in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century* (Firenze: Olschki, 1969), 155–6. During the later eighteenth and especially the nineteenth-century English travelers in Italy acquired an apparently deserved reputation for self-segregation and condescension toward the natives. This attitude contrasts with that of British travelers of the Renaissance, to whom it was recommended by their own countrymen that they speak and associate with Italians of all classes. To judge from Michael Lloyd's research, many eighteenth-century English travelers including Dr. John Moore and Hester Thrale Piozzi continued to show an interest in all levels of Italian society, associated with the people at least to some extent, and on the whole looked favorably upon them. Nonetheless, not a few British travelers of the period despised and suspected Italians and refused to mingle with them, preferring instead to keep to themselves in what amounted to British colonies of

brief or longer duration. The eighteenth-century traveler Dupaty complained that the English “spoke ill of all other nations.” This attitude intensified in the nineteenth century with the emergence of what Lloyd calls the “hostile tradition,” whose chief exemplars include Ruskin among the English and Hawthorne among the Americans. Filled with a sense of social superiority, as well as with a multitude of prejudicial misconceptions, these travelers shunned all intimate or even friendly contact with Italians. Thomas Adolphus Trollope noted in 1860 that the Englishman in Italy typically shut himself off from Italians owing to his reliance on servants, special inns, and a limited list of prescribed sites. Bernard Porter remarks that nineteenth-century British observers frequently mention their compatriots’ xenophobia and condescension toward the Continent. Even such figures as Walter Savage Landor and Robert Browning, who lived for long periods in Italy, avoided the locals and kept to their own relatively small circle of English acquaintances. The gatherings that Trollope sponsored at his Florentine palazzo, where the English and Italians would meet to exchange views, was decidedly the exception in Florence as in Italy generally. See Einstein, *The Italian Renaissance in England*, 122; Michael Lloyd, “Hawthorne, Ruskin, and the Hostile Tradition,” *English Miscellany*, 6 (1955): 112–14, 131; J.A.R. Pimlott, *The Englishman’s Holiday: A Social History* (1947: rpt., Harvester, 1977), 70; T. Adolphus Trollope, *Filippo Strozzi: A History of the Last Days of the Old Italian Nobility* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1860), viii; Koch, *Schönheit und Dekadenz*, 172–4; Cavaliero, *Italia Romantica*, 38, 39; Giulia Artom Treves, *The Golden Ring: The Anglo-Florentines, 1847–1862* (London: Longmans Green, 1956), 5, 15, 33–7; Rudman, *Italian Nationalism and English Letters*, 216; Bernard Porter, “‘Bureau and Barrack’: Early Victorian Attitudes towards the Continent,” *Victorian Studies*, 27 (Summer 1984): 407–33; Jacob Korg, *Browning and Italy* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1983), 6, 44, 84, 85, 93. One does not want, however, to exaggerate the interest, friendliness, and openness shown by the French toward the Italians. The favorable attitude of the French during the prerevolutionary period may have had something to do with the fact that they continued to feel artistically inferior to the Italians even at this time, and therefore saw them as a people worthy of respect and from whom something could be learned through association. Yet as Michael Broers shows, the French held a radically different view of the Italians during the Napoleonic occupation of the peninsula. Confident of their cultural (as well as political and social) superiority over what they regarded as a decadent civilization, the French invaders looked down their noses at the Italian “subalterns,” refusing to borrow the least elements of their present culture and in many cases even refusing to mix with them socially. In the view of the French administrators, Italy could be regenerated only by copying the French model. This arrogant attitude appears to have diminished somewhat after the collapse of Napoleon’s ambitions. See Broers, *The Napoleonic Empire in Italy, 1796–1814*, 7, 20, 25, 118, 120–1, 163–4, 173, 177, 201, 213–14, 216, 218–22, 245–9, 254–5, 258, 260, 263; Christopher M.S. Johns, *Antonio Canova and the Politics of Patronage in Revolutionary and Napoleonic Europe* (Berkeley: University of California Press,

- 1998), 11–12. According to William Vance, some American visitors to Rome attempted to distinguish themselves from their aloof and snobbish English counterparts by taking a sympathetic and tolerant interest in the common people of the city, whom foreigners commonly derided for all sorts of presumed shortcomings. See Vance, *America's Rome*, II, 115–18.
34. Staël, *Corinne*, 42–3, 90, 93, 94, 176.
35. Berger, ed., *Madame de Staël*, 190; Staël, *Oeuvres complètes*, I, 249. However, the antithesis between the vanity and affectation of the French and the sincere erotic passion of the Italians, which would figure prominently in Stendhal's work as well as Staël's, had already been forming in later eighteenth-century writers such as Jean Paul Richter and Duclos, the second of whom characterizes love as merely the amusement of French women, in contrast to Italian women for whom it is a chief occupation. See Pierre Fauchery, *La destinée féminine dans le roman européen du dix-huitième siècle, 1713–1807: essai de gynécomythie romanesque* (Paris: A. Colin, 1972), 81–2, 83, 82n.
36. For Staël's literary affiliations with Chateaubriand and also for her emerging sympathy with Catholicism, see Gennari, *Le premier voyage de Madame de Staël en Italie*, 28–32, 61–2, 105, 158–9; Gutwirth, *Madame de Staël, Novelist*, 163–4; Colson, "Étude de la Société," 24–6, 94.
37. Balayé, *Les carnets de voyage de Madame de Staël*, 131, and especially Bowman, "Mme. de Staël et l'apologétique romantique," 161.
38. Bowman, "Madame de Staël et l'apologétique romantique," 161.
39. Gennari, *Le premier voyage de Madame de Staël en Italie*, 207–9.
40. On this point, see Carla Peterson, "Corrine and Louis Lambert: Romantic Myth-Making," in Peterson, *The Determined Reader: Gender and Culture in the Novel from Napoleon to Victoria* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1986), 48.
41. Balayé, "Plotting with Music and Sound in *Corinne*," in *The Novel's Seductions*, ed. Szmurlo, 73–6, 262n.
42. Gennari, *Le premier voyage de Madame de Staël en Italie*, 30–3, 175–6; Temperani, "La fortuna di Bonstetten in Italia dalla Restaurazione ad oggi," 288–9.
43. Gennari, *Le premier voyage de Madame de Staël*, 19–20, 175–6; Balayé, *Madame de Staël: Lumières et Liberté*, 140–1, 154n; Balayé, "Benjamin Constant: lecteur de *Corinne*," in *Benjamin Constant*, ed. Pierre Cordey and Jean-Luc Seylaz (Genève: Droz, 1968), 191.
44. Balayé, *Madame de Staël: Lumières et Liberté*, 71, 140–1, 141n, 152–4, 154n.
45. Gennari, *Le premier voyage de Madame de Staël en Italie*, 30–3, 175–6; Balayé, "Plotting with Music and Sound in *Corinne*," 262n.
46. Balayé, "Plotting with Music and Sound in *Corinne*," 262n.
47. Perhaps influenced by Staël, American writers such as Cooper, Hawthorne, and Tuckerman think in terms of a radical opposition between the United States and Italy, the former being identified with utilitarianism, "progress," and unstinting commercial pressures, the latter seen as a refuge where meditation and contemplation—in short, the aesthetic approach to life—are allowed as nowhere else to flourish without interference. See Natalia Wright, *American Novelists in Italy: The Discoverers: Allston to James* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1965), 32, 53, 54, 58–9, 60, 119, 120, 136, 160; Cushing

- Stout, *The American Image of the Old World* (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), 90.
48. Vallois, *Fictions féminines*, 172–3, notes the continuity of the narrator's and Corinne's point of view in the Roman sections of the novel. On Corinne's experience of passion as a kind of eternal state, in which past, present, and future are merged in an "artificial time," and the temporal order is totally subverted, see Clare Garry-Boussel, *Statut et Fonction du personnage chez Madame de Staël* (Paris: Champion, 2002), 271–4.
 49. Crouzet, *Stendhal et l'Italianité*, 111–48, esp. 118–30. Crouzet links Stendhal's concept of the present-minded Italian to Rousseau and Bonstetten.
 50. Two American observers, Henry Adams and Eleanor Clark, comment on the jumbled chronology of Roman buildings, which defeat standard notions of historical sequence. For Adams, Rome calls in question the "law of progress"; for Clark, it represents an "incredible compounding of time." See Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1973), 91; Clark, *Rome and a Villa* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1952), 17.
 51. On the theme of ruins as a means of the soul's retreat into the consolatory dream-world of an aesthetic landscape, see Koch's discussion of *Corinne* in *Schönheit und Dekadenz*, 240–1.
 52. As a further instance of the consolation theme, see Corinne's remarks to Oswald: "The very degradation of the Roman people is impressive still . . . The genius of ideal beauty seeks to console man for the real and true dignity he has lost." See *Corinne*, 67.
 53. The discussion in this paragraph is indebted to Vallois, "Old Idols, New Subjects: Germaine de Staël and Romanticism," in Gutwirth et al., eds., *Germaine de Staël: Crossing the Borders*, 85–7, 90–2. See also Mortier, *La poétique des ruines en France*, 196–7.
 54. Staël's feeling for ruins somewhat resembles that of Georg Simmel, who describes them as a "unity which is no longer grounded in human purposiveness but in that depth where human purposiveness and the working of non-conscious natural forces grow from their common root." That human beings have allowed ruins to decay, adds Simmel, strikes us as a "positive passivity, . . . a reversal of the typical order, . . . a return to the 'good mother,' as Goethe calls nature." Simmel, "The Ruin," quoted in Tanner, *Venice Desired*, 28. On the psychological function of ruins in *Corinne*, as a reflection of the moods of the two main characters, see Ingrid G. Daemrich, "The Ruins Motif as Artistic Device in French Literature," Part II, *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 31 (Fall 1992): 39. For the Romantic "religion of ruins," which Chateaubriand inaugurated with his *Lettre à Fontanes*, see Mozzillo, Introduction to *Viaggiatori stranieri nel Sud*, ed. Mozzillo, 21; see also 21n, citing R. Michéa, "Les Ruines, l'Italie et le preromanticisme," in *Revue des études italiennes*, 1945.
 55. Quoted in Balayé, *Les carnets de voyage de Madame de Staël*, 238.
 56. Staël also views Germany as a feminine country, finding it similar to Italy in its political and social defects as well as in its social and cultural virtues. Like the Italians, the Germans are politically fragmented and hence lack the energy, character, and power which are founded in devotion to a national cause.

- Lacking the practical skills perfected by the English and French, the Germans further resemble the Italians in compensating for this deficiency through their achievements in the liberal arts, which require the freedom, spontaneity, and imagination cultivated by “diffuse” personalities under conditions of national disunity. By the same token, the Germans like the Italians are master improvisers. Hogsett notes the resemblances in Staël’s works between Italy, Germany, and the feminine in *The Literary Existence of Germaine de Staël*, 116, 117, 118, 119. See also Berger, ed., *Madame de Staël*, 215, 277, 281–3, 331; Staël, *Oeuvres complètes*, I, 273; Vol. II, 5–9, 203–4.
57. Corinne acknowledges that “Some [Italian women] are so ignorant that they do not know how to write, and they admit it openly” (102). On this point see also Bosse, “*Corinne ou l’Italie*: Diagnostic d’une dilemme historique,” 95.
 58. On the “diffuseness” of the Italian and feminine personality, and its relation to creativity, see Hogsett, *The Literary Existence of Germaine de Staël*, 112.
 59. Marso, *(Un)Manly Citizens: Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Germaine de Staël’s Subversive Women* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 108–14. On the repression of women in patriarchal, postrevolutionary France, see Madelyn Gutwirth, “Coppet et la querelle de l’éducation morale: l’apport des femmes-écrivains,” in *Le Groupe de Coppet et l’Europe, 1789–1830*, ed. Kloocke, 153; in the same volume, Marie-Claire Vallois, “Exclusion des femmes et modernité dans les écrits politiques de Germaine de Staël,” 257; Ada Giusti, “The Politics of Location: Italian Narratives of Madame de Staël and George Sand,” *Neohelicon*, XXII/2 (1995): 209; Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution*, 7–8, 11, 12, 13, 38, 41, 169, 170, 171–2; Simone Balayé, “Corinne et Rome, ou le chant du cygne,” in Raymond Trousson, ed., *Thèmes et figures du siècle des lumières: mélanges offerts à Roland Mortier* (Droz: Geneva, 1980), 46.
 60. Dennis Porter, *Haunted Journeys: Desire and Transgression in European Travel Writing* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 142–4; Porter, “Reinventing Travel: Stendhal’s Roman Journey”: 470, 474–5. See also Staël, *Corinne*, 286.
 61. For Staël’s feminization of Italy, see Doris Y. Kadish, “Narrating the French Revolution: The Example of *Corinne*,” in *Germaine de Staël: Crossing the Borders*, ed. Gutwirth et al., 117; Carla Peterson, “*Corinne* and *Louis Lambert*: Romantic Myth-Making,” 43, 44.
 62. Vallois, “Old Idols, New Subjects: Germaine de Staël and Romanticism,” 93–5.
 63. These statements may have been influenced by Gotthold Ephraim Lessing’s famous essay, “How the Ancients Represented Death.” See Lessing, *Selected Prose Works*, trans. E.C. Beasley and Helen Zimmern (London: George Bell, 1879), 171–226, esp. 180–1, 184, 198, 199, 206–7, 209–11, 214–5, 225–6. According to Simone Balayé, Lessing’s ideas influenced the discussions of the arts in *Corinne*. See Balayé, *Madame de Staël: Lumières et Liberté*, 108.
 64. On this point, see Gennari, *Le premier voyage de Madame de Staël en Italie*, 137–9.
 65. In portraying Corinne as a synthesis of Northern and Southern European culture, Staël shares the Schlegel brothers’ vision of a future literature in which the contrasting tendencies of Romanticism and classicism would be reconciled.

- See Peterson, “*Corinne* and *Louis Lambert*: Romantic Myth-Making,” 42, 45. For Pouzoulet, *Corinne* projects a new cycle of Italian literature and culture to the extent that, like Dante, who in Staël’s view stands outside the Italian national character, she qualifies as a “melancholic of the Midi.” Thus like her medieval counterpart *Corinne* achieves a fusion of philosophy and imagination, of North and South, similar to that which Staël discerns in Shakespeare. See Pouzoulet, “Pour une renaissance politique et littéraire de l’Italie,” 301, 304–7. On Staël’s cosmopolitan values, which she shared with other members of the intellectual community she gathered around her at Coppet, see Francesca B. Crucitti Ullrich, “L’idea di cosmopolitanismo del gruppo di Coppet nella stampa periodica,” in *Il gruppo di Coppet e l’Italia*, ed. Matucci, 219, 250; in the same volume, Carlo Pellegrini quoted in Liano Petroni, “Letteratura e storia in un volume di Carlo Pellegrini su Madame de Staël e il gruppo di Coppet,” 297; Mortier, “Les états généraux de l’opinion européenne,” 18–19, 20, 21; Pellegrini, *Madame de Staël e il gruppo di Coppet*, 10–13.
66. Dejob, *Madame de Staël et l’Italie*, 124–6, 131, 135, 183; del Litto, *La Vie Intellectuelle de Stendhal*, 540; T. M. Pratt, “Madame de Staël and the Italian articles of 1816,” *Comparative Literature Studies*, 22 (Winter, 1985): 444–54. Lyttelton, “Creating a National Past,” 31–2; Balayé, *Les carnets de voyage de Madame de Staël*, 410–1. The essay appeared in Italian translation in *Biblioteca Italiana* in June 1816, and immediately provoked literary controversy among the Italians. For their part, Leopardi, Alfieri, and Foscolo rejected Staël’s idea that Italian literature needed an injection of English and German influence, believing Italy capable of auto-fecundation on the basis of its own native traditions. See Tripet, “Esquisse d’une genèse Leopardienne: Leopardi, lecteur de Madame de Staël,” 44–5; Luzzi, “Italy Without Italians”: 81–2.
67. Hester Thrale Piozzi registered a similar response to the nightlife of the Piazza San Marco in Venice, quoting Milton’s Eve’s remark to Adam: “With thee conversing I forget all time.” See Piozzi, *Observations and Reflections*, ed. Barrows, 85.

3 The Empire of Stereotypes

1. Brilli, *Il viaggio in Italia*, 264. On this point see also Wright, *American Novelists in Italy*, 30; Burke, “The Discreet Charm of Milan,” 94, 96; Jean Rousset “Se promener dans Rome au XVIIIe siècle,” in *Thèmes et figures du siècle des lumières*, ed. Trousson, 239.
2. Ammianus Marcellinus, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, I, trans. John C. Rolfe (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935–1939), XV, 12.3, 195–6.
3. Le Goff, “Il peso del passato,” 542; Girolamo Arnaldi, “La storiografia come mezzo di liberazione del passato,” in *Il caso italiano*, ed. Cavazza and Graubard, 555. For the absence of feudalism in Italy as a cause for its failure to develop an ethos of “service,” see Carlo Tullio-Altan as discussed in Patriarca, “Italian Neopatriotism”: 29, 33n. According to Giuseppe Galasso, the eleventh-century Norman adventurer Robert Guiscard (as reported by the medieval chronicler Salimbene) complained of the cowardice of the Neapolitans. See Galasso, “Lo

- stereotipo del napoletano e le sue variazioni regionali,” in Galasso, *L'altra Europa: per un'antropologia storica del Mezzogiorno* (Milan: Mondadori, 1982), 145.
4. Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince and the Discourses*, trans. Luigi Ricci, E.R.P. Vincent, and Christian E. Detmold (New York: Modern Library, 1950): *The Prince*, 44–53, 94–8; *The Discourses*, 175–6, 226–7, 308–12, 384–6; *Florentine Histories*, trans. Laura F. Banfield and Harvey C. Mansfield, Jr. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), I. 39: 50; IV. 6: 151; V. 1: 186; V. 33: 227–8; Villari, *The Life and Times of Niccolò Machiavelli*, Vol. II, 441, 452, 458–9, 458–9n. Machiavelli claims that, though the battle of Anghiari (1440) lasted nearly a day, only one man died—crushed by his horse after having been thrown. According to Villari, Machiavelli deliberately minimized the seriousness of Renaissance warfare so as to strengthen his case for citizen soldiers. His arguments against the use of mercenaries had been anticipated in various ways by Petrarch (in “Italia Mia”), Bernardo Accolto, who became Chancellor of the Florentine Republic in 1458, the Florentine architect Leone Battista Alberti, and Pope Pius II in his *Commentaries*. See Mancini, *La Vita di Leone Battista Alberti*, 251–3.
 5. Geoffrey Trease, *The Condottiere: Soldiers of Fortune* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1973), 340–1.
 6. Baldesar Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, trans. Charles Singleton (New York: Doubleday, 1959), 13, 69–70, 289.
 7. Hume, quoted in Richard Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy, 1300–1600*, 167.
 8. Bonstetten, *The Man of the North, and the Man of the South*, 113–15, 117.
 9. Sismondi, *Histoire des républiques italiennes du moyen âge*, Vol. X, 394–6. Sir Walter Scott rather illogically derides the Italians’ supposedly cowardly preference for knife-fighting over “manly encounters,” while Walter Savage Landor finds them too “cowardly” to assert their right to representative government. See Cavaliero, *Italia Romantica*, 98–9. Nor have Italian writers failed to comment on what they see as their compatriots’ lack of martial prowess. According to Carlo Denina, the *ferox* or ferocious mountain tribes of ancient Italy gradually degenerated in the same way as did the Etruscans and their descendants, the Tuscans. Residents of the enervating lowlands, the Tuscans had become a soft, effeminate, pacifistic, polished, and overly civilized people utterly lacking the martial virtues formerly possessed by the peninsula’s uplanders. See Denina, *Essai sur les traces anciennes du caractère des Italies modernes, des Siciliens, des Sardes et des Corses, suivi d'un coup d'oeil sur le tableau historique, statistique et moral de la Haute-Italie* (Paris, 1807), and *Delle rivoluzioni d'Italia*, 3 vols. (Turin, 1814), discussed in Broers, *The Napoleonic Empire in Italy, 1796–1814*, 215–16, 221.
 10. Mancini, *La Vita di Leone Battista Alberti*, 17–8, 251–2; Villari, *The Life and Times of Niccolò Machiavelli*, Vol. II, 458–9n; C.C. Bayley, *War and Society in Renaissance Florence: The “De Militia” of Leonardo Bruni* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), 106, 169, 169n, 223, 223n; Trease, *The Condottiere*, 18, 70, 126, 340–1. Trease argues that Machiavelli and Guicciardini unjustly

accused their countrymen of military cowardice; Italy's real problem was political disunity.

11. Michael Mallett, *Mercenaries and their Masters: Warfare in Renaissance Italy* (London: Military Book Society, 1974), 104, 109, 242ff; Michael Mallett and J.R. Hale, *The Military Organization of a Renaissance State: Venice, c. 1400 to 1617* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 25, 33, 40, 45, 66, 68–9, 96, 101, 181, 181–7, 197, 201, 203, 213.
12. Gregory Hanlon, *The Twilight of a Military Tradition: Italian Aristocrats and European Conflicts, 1560–1800* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1998), 1–8, 356–8, and *passim*; Benedetto Croce, *History of the Kingdom of Naples*, ed. H. Stuart Hughes, trans. Frances Frenaye (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 104–10.
13. Napoleon to Talleyrand, October 7, 1797, quoted in Gregory, *Napoleon's Italy*, 42–3. See also 138–9, 143. Venturi, “L’Italia fuori d’Italia,” 1170. The administrators of Napoleon’s Italian empire believed that following the fall of Rome the Italians with the sole exception of their rugged mountain folk had sunk into a soft effeminacy which rendered them unfit for the pursuit of manly arms. These French administrators further believed that they could counteract this condition by imposing upon the Italians a rigorous system of conscription. See Broers, *The Napoleonic Empire in Italy, 1796–1814*, 237–9, 241, 244. See also Patriarca, “Indolence and Regeneration”: 390. In a despatch from Florence in 1794, the French revolutionary writer Francois Cacault said of the Italians that they had the same character and habits as women. See Venturi, “L’Italia fuori d’Italia,” 1127–8.
14. Crouzet, *Stendhal et l’Italianité*, 330.
15. Galasso, “Lo stereotipo del napoletano,” 153.
16. Vance, *America’s Rome*, II, 118, 119.
17. Lyttelton, “Creating a National Past,” 58, 69n; Patriarca, “Indolence and Regeneration”: 403, 405. Not all patriots of the Risorgimento were confident of the Italians’ ability to overcome their poor military reputation. The work of a political refugee to England, Antonio Gallenga’s novel *Castellamare* (1854) denounces the Italians for having consistently displayed military cowardice for nearly four centuries, “especially when under their own leaders.” What makes this ironic is that in 1848, the year of Italy’s attempted liberation from Austria, Gallenga had emphasized that a recovery of Italian honor “required prodigies of valor,” and that “liberty too cheaply obtained is generally held too cheaply.” The Italians’ less than stellar performance against the Austrians at the Battle of Custoza in 1848, and the failure of their defense of Rome in 1848, may have had something to do with Gallenga’s changed attitude. See Rudman, *Italian Nationalism and English Letters*, 225; Patriarca, “Indolence and Regeneration”: 405.
18. Misson, *A New Voyage to Italy*, Vol. II, 246.
19. Dupaty, *A Sentimental Tour in Italy*, Vol. II, Letter LXXVIII, 68–9. Étienne de Silhouette, who visited Italy in 1730, regards dissimulation as a characteristic trait of Italians, as does the French revolutionary writer Francois Cacault in his 1794 despatches from Florence. See Venturi, “L’Italia fuori d’Italia,” 1057–8.

20. Writers such as Roger Ascham, Thomas Nashe, and John Lyly played important roles in this anti-Italian trend, for which see Einstein, *The Italian Renaissance in England*, 155, 156, 157; Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad, 1604–1667*, 109–10; Warneke, *Images of the Educational Traveler in Early Modern England*, 7, 8, 10, 36–8, 52–8, 95, 96, 105, 106–11, 113, 122–3, 125, 127, 131–2, 136, 136n, 148, 154, 191–2, 193, 194, 199, 201, 203, 207; Parks, “The Decline and Fall of the English Renaissance Admiration of Italy”: 341–57; Praz, *Machiavelli and the Elizabethans*, 9; John Lievsay, *The Elizabethan Image of Italy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1964), 6–7, 12, 13, 26; Hale, *England and the Italian Renaissance*, 19–21. William Lithgow regards the Italians as “wonderful deceitful in their actions, [and] so unappeasable in anger, that they cowardly murder their enemies rather than seeke an honorable revenge.” See Lithgow, *The Totall Discourse*, 26. John Evelyn describes the Genoese as murderous and vengeful, while Richard Lassels, John Ray, and Ellis Veryard attribute jealousy and vengefulness to the Italians as a whole. See Sells, *The Paradise of Travellers*, 190, 228; Burke, “The Discreet Charm of Milan,” 99. In the view of Tobias Smollett, Italians are violent, vengeful, treacherous, and cruel. See Smollett, *Travels through France and Italy*, ed. Frank Felsenstein (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 243–4.
21. For an overview, see Canepa, “From Degenerate Scoundrel to Noble Savage: The Italian Stereotype in 18th-Century British Travel Literature”: 107–46. See also Fellheimer, “The ‘Subtlety’ of the Italians”: 21–31; Praz, *Machiavelli and the Elizabethans*, 9–16, 25, 34; Felix Raab, *The English Face of Machiavelli: A Changing Interpretation, 1500–1700* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964), 55–61; Warneke, *Images of the Educational Traveler in Early Modern England*, 56, 105–6, 118–21, 191–2; Lievsay, *The Elizabethan Image of Italy*, 20–1.
22. Wotton, cited in Sells, *The Paradise of Travelers*, 54. The Italian was repeating to Wotton what Luigi Barzini describes as an old proverb. See Barzini, *The Italians*, 172.
23. Howell, *Instructions for forreine travell*, ed. Edward Arber (London, 1642: rpt. London, 1895), 42.
24. Burnet, *Some Letters containing an Account of what seemed most Remarkable in Switzerland, Italy, etc.* (Amsterdam, 1686), 237; Venturi, “L’Italia fuori d’Italia,” 988, 993.
25. Thompson, “Ancient and Modern Italy Compared, being the First Part of Liberty, a Poem,” in Thompson, *Liberty, The Castle of Indolence, and other Poems*, ed. James Sambrook (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), l. 225, p. 49.
26. Sherlock, *Letters from an English Traveller*, 74. Sherlock says that every Italian court is “the abode of dissimulation,” and that the multitude of courts in Italy insures that “this country must have more hypocritical character than any other.” See 71–2.
27. Beckford, *The Travel Diaries of William Beckford*, I, Letter XXVII, 8; Letter XXVIII, 248–9.
28. Moryson, *Itinerary*, 167, 217, 235, 275–6.
29. Burnet, *Some Letters*, 110, 115, 124; Bruce Redford, *Venice and the Grand Tour* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 30.

30. Quoted in Burke, *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy*, 223.
31. John Boyle, Earle of Corke and Orrery, *Letters from Italy* (1733), excerpted in *The Fatal Gift of Beauty*, ed. Pfister, 358.
32. Miller, Anna Riggs, Lady, *Letters from Italy describing the Manners, Customs, Antiquities, Paintings, etc. of that Country* (London: Edward and Charles Dilly, 1777), Vol. I, Letter XV, 164–5; Lady Miller, *Letters from Italy describing the Manners, Customs, and Antiquities, Paintings, etc. of that Country* (London: Edward and Chales Dilly, 1777), Vol. II, Letter XXXVIII, 142.
33. On English fears of seduction by and conversion to Catholicism, while on Italian soil, see Warneke, *Images of the Educational Traveler in Early Modern England*, 8, 11, 167–72, 181, 183–4; Redford, *Venice and the Grand Tour*, 19. See also Moore, *A View of Society and Manners in Italy*, 289–90.
34. Misson, *A New Voyage to Italy*, Vol. II, 30.
35. De Brosse, *Lettres d'Italie*, I, Letter XXXI, 392. See also Duclos, *Voyage en Italie*, 163–4, on the “pretended” miracle of the liquefaction of the blood of San Gennaro (St. Januarius), whose failure to liquefy precipitates a “crisis” among the Neapolitans. As Mozzillo points out, Montesquieu affords a notable exception to those many Northern visitors who denounce the liquefaction as a “bungling trick” and “imposture,” as Samuel Sharp terms it. Instead, Montesquieu with unusual openmindedness refuses to attribute the liquefaction to priestly fakery, for which he sees no evidence in the accompanying ceremony, and, with an implicit acknowledgment of the limits of reason, allows for the possibility that a miracle has taken place: “Peut-être y a-t-il un véritable miracle.” See Montesquieu, *Voyage de Gratz à la Haye*, in Montesquieu, *Oeuvres complètes*, I, ed. Roger Cailliois (Paris: Gallimard, 1949), 739. See also Mozzillo, *La frontiera del Grand Tour*, 13–4n. Joseph Addison denounces the liquefaction of the blood of San Gennaro as a “pretended miracle” and traces it to pagan superstitions. See Addison, *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy*, in Richard Hurd, ed., *The Works of Joseph Addison*, I (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1854), 424–5.
36. Goudar, excerpted in Hersant, ed., *Italies*, 947. Goudar’s complaint concerning the resemblance between Italian secular and religious music seems to be confirmed by Vernon Lee who, commenting on the eighteenth century in Italy, notes that the “music performed in the churches was, as a rule, not very different [in style] from that performed in the theaters . . . There never existed such a thing as church music independent of the other branches of the art.” She adds that the “church music of the eighteenth century is profane, if you will; saints and angels are made to sing like opera heroes and heroines.” See Lee, *Studies of the Eighteenth Century in Italy*, 130, 131.
37. Marquis de Sade, *Voyage d'Italie*, in *Oeuvres complètes du Marquis de Sade*, Vol. XV (Paris: Cercle du Livre Précieux, 1966–7), 453–4.
38. Dupaty, *Sentimental Letters on Italy*, I, Letter XXII, 72.
39. Canepa, “From Degenerate Scoundrel to Noble Savage: The Italian Stereotype in 18th-Century British Travel Literature”: *passim*; Marshall, *Italy in English Literature: 1755–1815*, 85–8, 95–6, 100–1, 102, 103, 104. Canepa’s evidence confirms Marshall’s point that Baretti had encouraged the British to think of Italians as a tender-hearted people of sensibility. See also Lloyd, “Hawthorne, Ruskin, and

- the Hostile Tradition": 109–35; Marraro, "Italy and the Italians of the Eighteenth Century seen by Americans": 43. However, the stereotype of the "natural" Italian for all its favorable associations also carries a negative valence to be seen in Goethe's half-admiring, half-critical characterization of Italians as "*Naturmenschen*," implying a primitive stage of social and mental development. Thus, though Goethe regards them as a Schillerian "naive" people who, in contrast with Northern Europeans, retain a special emotional and imaginative capacity for artistic creation, he also sees them as behaving as if they still lived "in caves and forests." See the discussion of Goethe's *Italian Journey* in Luzzi, "Italy without Italians": 62–3.
40. W. Gaunt, *Bandits in a Landscape: A Study of Romantic Painting from Caravaggio to Delacroix* (London: Studio, 1937), 123, 126.
 41. Moore, *A View of Society and Manners in Italy*, 121–2, 255, 229–30, 448. Notwithstanding his kind words for Italians, Moore subsequently painted them most unflatteringly in his novel *Zeluco* (1786), for which see Cavaliero, *Italia Romantica*, 50.
 42. Quoted in Gregory, *Napoleon's Italy*, 74. In a letter to Talleyrand of October 7, 1797, Napoleon had remarked the "deceitful" Italians. See Gregory, *Napoleon's Italy*, 42–3.
 43. Sismondi, *Histoire des républiques italiennes du moyen âge*, Vol. X, 386.
 44. Stendhal, *Rome, Naples et Florence (1826) du moyen âge*, 415, 447; *Love*, 143, 148. In 1829 it was claimed in the prestigious French journal *Le Globe* that political repression and surveillance had reduced the Italians so thoroughly to silence that they had been robbed of a public sphere. See Venturi, "L'Italia fuori d'Italia," 1245.
 45. Charlotte Anne Waldie Eaton, *Rome in the Nineteenth Century*, I, 5th ed. (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1852), vii, 43–4 50–1, 51n.
 46. Simond, *A Tour in Italy and Sicily*, 122, 127, 197–8, 200–1, 585–6.
 47. Cavaliero, *Italia Romantica*, 39.
 48. On the ceremony of the nun's taking of the veil, see Samuel Rogers, "The Nun," in Rogers, *Italy: a Poem* (London: T. Cadells, E. Moxon, 1836), 162–5. See also O'Connor, *The Romance of Italy and the English Political Imagination*, 35–6; Brooks, *The Dream of Arcadia*, 65. Some American visitors disapprove of the taking of the veil, regarding it as an act of life denial. See Irving, *Journals and Notebooks, I (1803–1806)*, ed. Wright, February 8, 1805, 194–5; William Wetmore Story, *Roba di Roma* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1876), 89–90. See also Robert Weir's painting, *Taking the Veil*, reproduced and discussed in Jenny Franchot, *Roads to Rome: The Antebellum Protestant Encounter with Catholicism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 191–3; Theodore E. Stebbins, Jr., *The Lure of Italy: American Artists and the Italian Experience, 1760–1914* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1992), 221–3; Eaton, *Rome in the Nineteenth Century*, II, 183–4, 208–10; Vance, *America's Rome*, II, 23. According to Churchill, the whole genre of literary works on the nun's taking the veil is "depressing in its unremitting stress on the negation of the positive values of life," which bespeaks a "failure to make even a gesture towards understanding of the Roman Catholic point of view." See Churchill, *Italy in English Literature, 1634–1930*, 54–5, 61. It is also worth noting by way of contrast that in eighteenth-century Italy the ceremony of the nun's taking the veil inspired a whole genre of what Vernon Lee characterizes as "long,

- intensely subtle, and metaphysical canzoni,” in which the female subjects, either forced into the convent by their families or entering it from worldly disappointment or ennui, “are supposed to be so many St. Catherines and St. Teresas.” See Lee, *Studies of the Eighteenth Century in Italy*, 64.
49. Ramage, *Ramage in South Italy*, 85–6, 201–2.
 50. Robinson, *Diary*, Vol. II, 469–71, excerpted in *The Fatal Gift of Beauty*, ed. Pfister, 213.
 51. Waldie, noted in O’Connor, *The Romance of Italy and the British Political Imagination*, 48–9.
 52. Giuseppe Prezzolini, *Come gli americani scoprono l’Italia, 1750–1850* (Milano: Fratelli Treves, 1933), 230–31; Hillard, *Six Months in Italy*, Vol. II, 300; James Jackson Jarves, *Italian Sights and Papal Principles seen through American Spectacles* (New York: Harper, 1856), 314, 317. On nineteenth-century American visitors’ assumption of Italian dishonesty, see also Baker, *The Fortunate Pilgrims*, 84–5. For the circulation of this idea in eighteenth-century America, see Marraro, “Italy and the Italians of the Eighteenth Century seen by Americans”: 46.
 53. Vance, *America’s Rome*, II, 113–14, 118, 135.
 54. Howells, “Italian Brigandage,” *North American Review*, 101 (July 1865): 166; Paul Giles, *American Catholic Arts and Fictions: Culture, Ideology, Aesthetics*, 45, 102–3; Wright, *American Novelists in Italy*, 63; Vance, *America’s Rome*, II, 6, 10, 22, 30–2, 82, 95, 120–1.
 55. For James Jackson Jarves’s denunciations of papal “priestcraft,” “pageantry,” and “idolatry” as manifest in the emotionally affecting yet spiritually superficial “spectacle” of Catholicism, see Jarves, *Italian Sights and Papal Principles*, 225–41, 252, 254, 286, 292, 233–4. See also Wright *American Novelists in Italy*, 64, 187. Yet as Jenny Franchot shows, these visitors’ repulsion from Catholicism was often combined with a voyeuristic attraction to the overwhelming beauty of its spectacle, which exerted an even stronger power of seduction as American culture itself become more visually oriented and preoccupied with external appearances over the course of the century. See Franchot, *Roads to Rome: The Antebellum Protestant Encounter with Catholicism*, xx, xxiii–xxiv, 7, 9, 11, 16, 17, 24, 119, 197, 216, 237, 241, 270. For early instances, see James Fenimore Cooper and Harriet Beecher Stowe as discussed as Wright, *American Novelists in Italy*, 89, 119. See also Vance, *America’s Rome*, II, 6, 26, 29–30. The travel writings of Dorothy Wordsworth, Hester Thrale Piozzi, and Mary Shelley combine conventional British objections to Catholic worship with moments of attraction and even momentary surrender to the delightfully sensuous spectacle of its ritualism. See Jane Stabler, “Devotion and Subversion: Early Nineteenth-Century British Women Travelers in Italy and the Catholic Church,” in Allison Chapman and Jane Stabler, eds., *Unfolding the South: Nineteenth-Century British Women Writers and Artists in Italy* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 16–33. For Charlotte Eaton’s similar response, see Eaton, *Rome in the Nineteenth Century*, II, 183–4, 208–10.
 56. Barzini, *The Italians*, 171, and esp. chapter five, “Illusion and Cagliostro,” 78–105. Leopardi observes in his notebook (*Zibaldone di pensiero*) in 1821 that

- the dissimulating character of the Italians had been formed as a result of what Silvana Patriarca in a recent essay summarizes as “unequal power relations” under foreign hegemony, which had caused these subjected men and women to develop habits of deception. See Patriarca, “Indolence and Regeneration”: 402.
57. Putnam, with Robert Leonardi and Raffaella Y. Nanetti, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), *passim*. According to William H. McNeil, Venice and the other commercial centers of Northern Italy owed their commercial success during the later Middle Ages and Renaissance to the development of credit, which was made possible by the high degree of mutual trust among the merchants within and among the various cities. See McNeil, *Venice: The Hinge of Europe, 1081–1797* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 20–1.
58. Rahe, *Republics Ancient and Modern: Classical Republicanism and the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 237. Commenting on the same period, Collison-Morley mentions the casuistry surrounding the frequent practice of dueling, which resulted in the categorization of different types of lying, including the valid and invalid; the Jesuits, who “reflect the moral outlook of the day” in the “shameless hypocrisy” with which they justify the faults of their aristocratic superiors; Francesco Birago’s *Discorso Cavallereschi*, which simultaneously defends honor and the permissibility of dissimulation in all instances; and the claim of the educator Pascali not only that lying with good intent is laudable, but that keeping quiet about the truth is “even more so.” See Collison-Morley, *Italy after the Renaissance*, 107, 108, 120–1.
59. Burke, *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy*, 12–14. Characterizing the seventeenth century as a “great age of dissimulation,” Rosario Villari notes that Accetto’s book brought to new heights a general tendency within later Renaissance and Baroque Italy to justify deception and concealment as indispensable tools of survival in the face of the political oppression, suspicion, and surveillance which had come to pervade the peninsula. Yet though Villari identifies the “elogio della dissimulazione [panegyric on dissimulation]” with such Italian notables as Machiavelli, Pope Paul III, Paolo Sarpi, Tommaso Campanella, and Virgilio Malpezzi, he regards it as a general European phenomenon of that century, encompassing Protestant as well as Catholic nations, as witness a comparably encomiastic rhetoric in Gracian, Bacon, Montaigne, Mazarin, and Grotius. Moreover, in contrast with those scholars who see self-concealment as primarily a defensive strategy on the part of the weak and abject, Villari views it as a form of quietism or political renunciation which allows the individual to meditate and circulate rebellious ideas in secret. See Villari, *Elogio della dissimulazione: La lotta politica nel Seicento* (Bari: Laterza, 1987), 3–5, 8–9, 17–23, 25–6, 40–5.
60. Almond and Verba, *The Civic Culture*, 55, 60, 79, 81, 82, 84, 110, 113, 184, 214, 223, 239. Owing to the presence of notably repressive political regimes, habits of secrecy and concealment were perhaps even more deeply rooted and crucial to survival in Southern Italy and Sicily than in Northern Italy during the early

modern period. As Norman Douglas contends, in an attempt to explain why Southern Italians have produced so many studies of local history and antiquities, the reason is that “local people of alert mind dared not touch upon social or religious or scientific matters in writing, or even in conversation.” What they wrote, comments Paul Franklin Kirby, was “always inoffensive.” See Douglas, *Old Calabria*, New York, 1928, vii–viii, quoted in Kirby, “Norman Douglas, Gissing, and Lenormant in South Italy,” in Mario Currilli and Alberto Martino, eds., *Critical Dimensions: English, German, and Comparative Essays in Honour of Aurelio Zanco* (Cuneo: Sasta, 1978), 405.

61. For d’Emiliane, see Schudt, *Italienreisen im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, 127–8, 406; Edward Chaney, “Milton’s Visit to Vallombrosa: A Literary Tradition,” in Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour: Anglo-Italian Cultural Relations since the Renaissance* (London: Frank Cass, 1998), 282–4.
62. Misson, *A New Voyage to Italy*, I, 240.
63. Montesquieu, *Voyage de Gratz à la Haye*, 661, 672–3, 678. For Montesquieu, see also Andrieux, *Les Français à Rome*, 138–43; for Blainville, see Schudt, *Italienreisen im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, 182–9.
64. De Brosse, *Lettres d’Italie*, I, Letter XXVIII, 368–9; Letter XXIX, 371–2; *Lettres d’Italie*, Vol. II, Letter XXXVI, 11; Letter XXXVIII, 28–33.
65. Mabillon and de La Crose visited respectively in 1685 and 1687, Abbé Coyer between 1763 and 1764. Pierre-Jean Grosley’s *Nouveaux mémoires ou observations sur l’Italie et sur les Italiens* appeared in 1764, followed two years later by Richard’s *Description historique et critique de l’Italie*, and in 1769 by Lalande’s *Voyage d’un François en Italie*, the product of a visit four years earlier. Dupaty’s *Lettres sur l’Italie en 1785* was published in 1790. See Venturi, “L’Italia fuori d’Italia,” 987–90, 1056–7, 1058–65, 1115–17. For Mabillon, see also Schudt, *Italienreisen im 17 und 18 Jahrhundert*, 182, 411. For Richard, see also *Description historique et critique de l’Italie*, excerpted in Hersant, *Italies*, 864.
66. For Lalande and Dupaty, see Venturi, “L’Italia fuori d’Italia,” 1062–5, 1115–17. See also Dupaty, *Sentimental Letters on Italy*, I, Letter XLIV, 159–60; J.-M. Gautier, Introduction to Chateaubriand, *Lettre à Fontanes sur la Campagne romane*, ed. Gautier (Geneve: Librairie Droz, 1951), xlvi.
67. Dupaty, *Sentimental Letters on Italy*, Vol. I, Letter XXV, 89–94; Letter XXVI, 95–101; Letter XXXVIII, 139–41; Letter XLIV, 157–60; *Sentimental Letters on Italy*, Vol. II, Letter LXXIV, 47–50; Letter LXXV, 51–4; LXXVI, 55–7; Letter LXXVII, 58–66; Letter LXXVIII, 67–8; Letter LXXIX, 71–3. For Dupaty, see also Mortier, “Les voyageurs français et le débat sur les institutions,” 394–400; Mortier, “Un magistrat ‘âme sensible’: Le Président Dupaty (1746–1788),” 309; Mozzillo, *La frontiera del Grand Tour*, 63–6. Friedrich Johann Lorenz Meyer, whose *Darstellungen aus Italien* appeared in 1792, praises Duke Leopold’s concern for the public welfare, including his abolition of the state control of the grain trade, which he sees as the chief cause of the economic failure of the papal states. See Venturi, “L’Italia fuori d’Italia,” 1106. For Leopold’s reforms, including his attempt to distribute land to small proprietors, see Hanlon, *Early Modern Italy, 1550–1800*, 362–4; Procacci, *History of the Italian People*, 235–9. Ironically Leopold’s free trade

- policies set off peasant revolts in the 1790s, having already reduced the Tuscan sharecroppers or *mezzadri* to impoverished misery. See Broers, *The Napoleonic Empire in Italy, 1796–1814*; Black, *Early Modern Italy*, 216; Procacci, *History of the Italian People*, 237–9. On the high esteem for the political administration of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany in eighteenth-century America, including a favorable comparison with the practice of criminal justice in the allegedly crime-ridden papal states, see Marraro, “Italy and the Italians of the Eighteenth Century seen by Americans”: 55–7.
68. Duclos, *Voyage en Italie*, 31–2, 36, 63–79, 73, 75–9, 92, 96, 98, 99, 103–4, 110–18, 175–6, 241–62. On Duclos, see Mortier, “Les voyageurs français et le débat sur les institutions,” 390–4.
69. Kirby, *The Grand Tour in Italy*, 45. Oliver Goldsmith affords a rare exception to Kirby’s statement, for though he refers in “The Traveller” to the Campagna as a “forsaken” and “weary waste expanding to the skies,” he does not attribute this condition to the Papacy. See Goldsmith, “The Traveller,” in Goldsmith, *Collected Works*, ed., Friedman, Vol. IV, ll, 5–6, p. 248. See also William Edward Mead, *The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1914), 19–20, 147.
70. Burnet, *Some Letters*, 163–5, 176–8, 181, 182–6, 222, 233–4; Venturi, “L’Italia fuori d’Italia,” 992–4. On the conventional contrast in English travel writing of Rome with Tuscany, see Koch, *Schönheit und Dekadenz*, 140, 152–3.
71. Addison, *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy*, 419–21. For Addison see also Venturi, “L’Italia fuori d’Italia,” 1012–14; Redford, *Venice and the Grand Tour*, 33; Schudt, *Italienreisen im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, 89–90, 191.
72. Smollett, *Travels through France and Italy*, ed. Felsenstein 259–60; Thompson, “Ancient and Modern Italy Compared, being the First Part of Liberty, A Poem,” in Thompson, *Liberty, The Castle of Indolence and Other Poems*, ed. Sambrook, ll. 123–38, 144, 202–3, pp. 46, 47, 49; Sharp, *Letters from Italy* (1765–1766), excerpted in *The Fatal Gift of Beauty*, ed. Pfister, 368; Spence, *Letters from the Grand Tour*, ed. Klima, 117; Bowen, *A Complete System of Geography* (1747), Vol. I, 872, cited by Arthur Friedman in *The Collected Works of Oliver Goldsmith*, ed. Friedman, Vol. IV, 248n; Beckford, *The Travel Writings of William Beckford*, ed. Friedman, Vol. I, Letter XXII, 184. For Sharp, see also Canepa, “From Degenerate Scoundrel to Noble Savage: The Italian Stereotype in 18th-Century British Travel Literature”: 131. For Symonds, see Venturi, “L’Italia fuori d’Italia,” 1111.
73. Moore, *A View of Society and Manners in Italy*, 138, 187.
74. Baretti, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of Italy*, Vol. I, 19, 24–5, 29–30.
75. Eustace, *A Tour through Italy*, Vol. I, 192–3; John Chetwode Eustace, *A Tour through Italy*, Vol. II. 134–46.
76. Gautier, Introduction to Chateaubriand, *Lettre à Fontanes*, xliii–xliv, lxvii–lxviii; see also 3–6. See also Chateaubriand, *Mémoires d’outre-tombe*, Vol. II (Paris: Gallimard, 1951), 255; Mortier, *La poétique des ruines en France*, 177. Notwithstanding his antiutilitarian argument in favor of maintaining the Campagna as a desolate, depopulated area fit chiefly for melancholy meditation, Chateaubriand introduces utilitarian or economic considerations

in defending his position, noting that pasturage in the Campagna has proved on the basis of statistical study more profitable than agriculture, with a revenue per hectare nearly as large as that of France. See *Mémoires d'outre-tombe*, Vol. II, 256.

77. Stendhal, *Promenades dans Rome*, Supplement V, in *Voyages en Italie*. ed. V. del Litto (Paris: Gallimard, 1973), 1220.
78. MacFarlane, *A Glance at Revolutionized Italy* (1849), discussed in Koch, *Schönheit und Dekadenz*, 220–1.
79. Kemble, *A Year of Consolation* (1847), I, discussed in Koch, *Schönheit und Dekadenz*, 221.
80. Gennari, *Le premier voyage de Madame de Staël en Italie*, 28, 30–3; Balayé, *Les carnets de voyage de Madame de Staël*, 111; Raymond Chevalier, “Le ‘Voyage sur la scène des six derniers livres de l’Énéide’ ou ‘Voyage dans le Latium’ (Genève, An XIII) a la lumière des découvertes archéologiques récentes,” in *Actualité de Bonstetten*, 20, 21; Herking, *Charles-Victor de Bonstetten, 1745–1832*, 301–6, 308n, 310–3; Christophe Calame, “Bonstetten et l’Europe,” in *Le Groupe de Coppet et l’Europe*, ed. Kloocke, 109–10. Venturi, “L’Italia fuori d’Italia,” 1181–2; Charles-Victor de Bonstetten, *Voyage sur la scène des six derniers livres de l’Énéide* (Geneve: J.J. Paschoud, 1805), 3–4, 22, 23, 26–7, 36, 39, 44–5, 47, 49, 53–4, 60–8, 77, 95, 109, 161–2, 171–2, 190–1, 198, 217–18, 221, 297, 312. An exponent of the Enlightenment view that good laws promote good conduct and manners, Bonstetten finds the Papacy incapable of shaking off its immobility despite its desire for reform. Out of touch with its dominions, it reminds him of a head cut off from its body. In Rome, assassination flourishes owing to the law of ecclesiastical sanctuary. Education and health care remain substandard, and the custom of charity encourages beggary and idleness among the population. Not only are there too many convents, but Roman priests often commit sexual infractions. Prostitution, child-beating, and near-starvation typify life in many parts of Rome, which has almost no exports to speak of. In the Campagna, most of the land has been possessed since Roman times by a few rich proprietors who either neglect it or else work it with hired laborers whom they treat as beasts of burden. Small proprietors are few and far between, while leaseholders often have difficulty maintaining their leases because of the high price of foodstuffs determined by the papal government. In general, ploughs have hardly changed since Virgil’s day, and methods of cultivation are ignorant and wasteful. As a remedy to the agrarian crisis, Bonstetten proposes to improve working conditions through the establishment of labor organizations watched over by a protective magistracy, with the ultimate goal of creating a class of freeholding farmers. Free trade is also an essential requirement, but it must be applied gradually, so as not to hurt the poor by raising prices, and it must also be introduced within a larger legal framework facilitating the exchange of goods.
81. Sismondi, *Historical View of the Literature of the South of Europe*, I, 509.
82. Simond, *A Tour in Italy and Sicily*, 227–8, 229–30, 235, 236–50, 563–4, 569, 570, 573, 574, 575. What makes Simond’s statements about the Papacy prejudicial is that they ignore the Papacy’s intelligent and well-intentioned attempts

- at administrative reform since the mid-1700s, including the not negligible efforts of Pope Pius VII and his minister Cardinal Ettore Consalvi in the period before the French takeover of Rome in 1807. These included the rationalization of the Roman tax structure, the limitation of judicial privilege, and the liberalization of the grain trade. This is not to deny that these measures failed to overcome Rome's economic and social stagnation. On the other hand, Simond originally published in French in 1817 and would have been unable to assess the great period of Consalvi's reforms which began two years earlier. See Broers, *The Napoleonic Empire in Italy, 1796–1814*, 75–7; Mario Caravalle and Alberto Caracciolo, *Lo stato pontificio da Martino V a Pio IX* (Turin: Einaudi, 1978), in *Storia d'Italia*, XIV, ed. Giuseppe Galasso, 577–80.
83. Stendhal, *Promenades dans Rome*, 1276. See also Stendhal, *Rome, Naples et Florence* (1826), 438: In the Papal State “nothing is as poorly rewarded as patient industry.”
84. Blunt, *Vestiges of Ancient Manners and Customs, Discoverable in Modern Italy and Sicily*, 194–5; Lady Morgan, *Italy*, Vol. II, 253–4; Koch, *Schönheit und Dekadenz*, 153.
85. Eaton, *Rome in the Nineteenth Century*, I, 63, 375; II, 159.
86. Rogers, “National Prejudices,” and “The Campagna of Rome,” in Rogers, *Italy: A Poem*, 149–52, 157.
87. Jameson, *Diary of an Ennuyée*, 295.
88. Hazlitt, *Notes of a Journey through Italy and France*, 230–1.
89. Dickens, *Pictures from Italy* (London: Bradbury and Evans, 1846), 162–3. In 1845, around the time of Dicken's visit, Giuseppe Mazzini denounced the Papal States for their anarchy, oppressive taxation, depressed industry, and priestly corruption. See Rudman, *Italian Nationalism and English Letters*, 69, 68n.
90. Edward Dicey, *Rome in 1861* (London: MacMillan, 1861), 3, 4, 8–10, 15–17, 20, 22–4, 32–3, 38, 44–6, 49–51, 54–5, 72–87, 89, 99, 128, 136, 139, 163–173.
91. This is not to claim, however, that anti-Papal sentiments constitute the whole of the Americans' response to the desolation of the Campagna. In many instances they read this “accursed” wasteland as a disturbing symbol of historical mutability, interpreted as the result not necessarily of the Papacy alone but of Rome's imperial decadence. They are also capable of deriving a compensatory aesthetic satisfaction from the Campagna in the spirit of Chateaubriand and Staël, as witness the many American painters who portrayed the landscape around Rome in varying modes of realism, idealism, and visionary transfiguration. For the Americans, see Prezzolini, *Come gli americani scoprono l'Italia, 1750–1850*, 50–1, 52, 80, 178–80; Vance, *America's Rome*, II, 115; Jarves, *Italian Sights and Papal Principles*, 347–50. A. William Salomone, “The Nineteenth-Century Discovery of Italy: An Essay in America's Cultural History,” *American Historical Review*, 73, 5 (June, 1968): 1359–1391; and William Vance's discussion of such visitors as James, Melville, Hawthorne, Bayard Taylor, George Ticknor, Eugene Benson, and William Dean Howells in Vance, *America's Rome*, I, 70–2, 81, 89–105. Attempting to explain the impoverishment and stagnation of the Campagna, the American expatriate

William Wetmore Story traces it to unequal distribution of land, excessive taxation, highly exploitative forms of *mezzadria*, unprofitably short leases, and mismanagement by the ecclesiastical government, which does little to encourage industry, commerce, and technological advances. See Story, *Roba di Roma*, 50–1, 347–56. The greater prosperity of Tuscan by comparison with Roman farmers may be explained by the *mezzadria* (sharecropping) system, which predominated in Tuscany and Central Italy, whereas in the Campagna short-term leases prevailed. Harry Hearder notes that in the Agro Romano the system of land tenure was confused, only sometimes approaching *mezzadria*. See Carpanetto and Ricuperati, *Italy in the Age of Reason, 1685–1789*, 28–30; Hearder, *Italy in the Age of the Risorgimento, 1790–1870* (London: Longmans, 1983), 121; Clark, *Modern Italy, 1871–1982*, 14, 17, 30. For an anthology of nineteenth-century American writings on the Campagna, including excerpts from Longellow, Parkman, Story, and Leland, and with a historical survey of the Agro Romano and Pontine Marshes, see Alessandra Pinto Surdi, ed., *Scrittori americani nella campagna romana* (Roma: Fratelli Palombi, 1999).

92. Citing the Elder Pliny's famous statement that the *latifundia* had destroyed Italy, Hillard asserts that the Agro Romano's problems began in the late Roman Republic. He complains that in his own time land in the Campagna is monopolized by big landowners both private and ecclesiastical, whose *mercanti* had formed a consortium to fix grain prices, and who had left cultivation in the hands of agents and contracted workers hired usually by the year or day. There are few improvements, and large tracts of land go uncultivated, while much cultivable land is wasted because landowners find pasturage more profitable than tillage. But being influenced apparently by Eustace, Hillard rejects his compatriots' allegations that the Campagna's blight had resulted from Papal administration, for other areas of the Papal States are prosperous and populous, and the Papal government generally employs competent administrators. Indeed, it had attempted to improve the Campagna by draining marshes, preventing large-scale grazing, and encouraging agriculture, but had failed to overcome the intransigence of the big proprietors. Hillard assails Lady Morgan's blame of the Papacy as the chief cause of the continued pestilential condition of the Campagna, quoting Ampère's withering attack on her prejudices, and adding that her anti-Catholicism had clouded her judgments of Italy. Besides Eustace, Hillard's discussion of the Campagna is indebted to *Études sur l'économie politique* of Simonde de Sismondi, Staël's friend and traveling companion, who had proposed a reclamation of the area. See Hillard, *Six Months in Italy*, Vol. II, 53–61, 72–99, 418–20; Vance, *America's Rome*, I, 87–9; Whitfield, "Mr Eustace and Lady Morgan," *passim*.
93. Walker, *The Geography of Italy*, 5.
94. Procacci, *History of the Italian People*, 183; Luzzatto, *An Economic History of Italy from the Fall of the Roman Empire to the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century*, trans. Philip Jones (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1961), 165, 166.
95. Carpanetto and Ricuperati, *Italy in the Age of Reason, 1685–1789*, 23–4, 30, 46.
96. Martin Clark, *Modern Italy, 1871–1982*, 14–15.

97. Hanns Gross, *Rome in the Age of the Enlightenment: The Post-Tridentine Syndrome and the Ancien Régime* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), ix, 7–8, 11, 40–2, 44, 45, 46, 51; See also Hanlon, *Early Modern Italy, 1550–1800*, 145.
98. Gross, *Rome in the Age of Enlightenment*, 11, 40–6, 88–195. See also Hanlon, *Early Modern Italy, 1550–1800*, 98, 101, 145, 220, 222, 328, 330; Black, *Early Modern Italy*, 53, 57; Gregory, *Napoleon's Italy*, 25–6. Attempting to combat anti-Papal prejudice, Luigi dal Pane shows that many historians have underestimated the reformist aims of the eighteenth-century Papacy, which sought to promote the productiveness and financial health of the Roman state through a variety of legislative and administrative initiatives culminating in the reign of Pope Pius VI (1775–1799). Subsequently in the first decades of the next century Pope Pius VII (1800–1823) pursued a reformist agenda spearheaded by his able and energetic minister Cardinal Ercole Consalvi. This is not to say, though, that these papal policies were largely successful over the long run. See dal Pane, *Lo stato pontificio e il movimento riformatore del Settecento* (Milano: A Giuffrè, 1959), 1–61, and *passim*. See also Procacci, *History of the Italian People*, 200.
99. Clark, *Modern Italy, 1871–1982*, 14, 17–18, 30.
100. Misson, *A New Voyage to Italy*, Preface, n.p.; see also I, 141, 142.
101. Dupaty, *Sentimental Letters from Italy*, Vol. II, Letter LXXIX, 75–6.
102. Noted in Koch, *Schönheit und Dekadenz*, 69–70.
103. For Moore, see Canepa, “From Noble Savage to Degenerate Scoundrel: The Italian Stereotype in 18th-Century British Travel Literature”: 139.
104. Sherlock, *Letters from an English Traveller*, 74.
105. Beckford, *Travel Writings*, I, Letter VIII, 91; Letter XXVIII, 253.
106. Piozzi, *Observations and Reflections*, ed. Barrows, 232–3, 324.
107. Swinburne, *Travels in the Two Sicilies by Henry Swinburne, Esq. in the Years 1777, 1778, 1779, and 1780*, 2d. edition, Vol. III (London: J. Nichols, 1790), 99–101.
108. Eustace, *A Tour Through Italy*, Vol. II, 579–81.
109. John Mayne, *The Journal of John Mayne, 1814*, ed. Colles, 136–7.
110. Craven, *A Tour through the Southern Provinces of the Kingdom of Naples*, 3.
111. Eaton, *Rome in the Nineteenth Century*, II, 20, 21.
112. Hazlitt, *Notes of a Journey through France and Italy*, 206. See also Francesco Viglione's discussion of Hazlitt's visit to an Italian opera house in Viglione, *L'Italia nel pensiero degli scrittori inglesi* (Milano: Fratelli Bocca, 1946), 442.
113. Ramage, *Ramage in South Italy*, 13.
114. Ruskin, *The Library Edition of the Works of John Ruskin*, ed. E.T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn (London: George Allen, 1903–1912), Vol. 23, 388–9.
115. Stendhal, *Rome, Naples, and Florence (1826)*, 343, 414, 305–6.
116. Taine, *Italy: Rome and Naples* (New York: Leypoldt and Holt, 1968), 299; Taine, *Italy: Florence and Venice*, 87, 164, 371.
117. Hillard, *Six Months in Italy*, Vol. II, 7.
118. Baker, *The Fortunate Pilgrims*, 86. See for instance William Dean Howells as noted in Wright, *American Novelists in Italy*, 173.

119. Piozzi, *Observations and Reflections*, ed. Barrows, 38, 43–4, 54–5, 91, 122–3, 149–50, 319, 330–1, 332, 356.
120. Stendhal, *Rome, Naples et Florence (1826)*, 289, 303–4, 343, 408, 419, 431, 534; Stendhal, *Promenades dans Rome*, 623, 967.
121. Simond, *A Tour in Italy and Sicily*, 294, 295; see also 384.
122. Wright, *American Novelists in Italy*, 53.
123. Story, *Roba di Roma*, 33, 38.
124. Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process* (New York: Urizen, 1978), trans. Edmund Jephcott, I, xi, xiii, xv, 14, 33–5, 39, 48–9, 235, 305, 307; Vol. II, 4, 5, 7, 70, 72, 73, 77, 85, 87–9, 113, 114, 163, 164, 193–201, 229, 230, 232, 233, 235, 236, 238, 240–2, 246, 247, 248, 267–75, 276, 278, 281, 289, 291n, 305, 307, 319, 347n, 357–8n. On Elias's concepts of the "civilizing process" and "drive-control" as a basis upon which to understand Northern observers' frequently unfavorable judgments of Italian manners, especially the perceived deficiency in civility, see Koch, *Schönheit und Dekadenz*, 175–6, 178. However, Elias underestimates the crucial role played by the Italian Renaissance in pioneering the values of courtesy and civility in the modern period, as is noted by Richard Goldthwaite in *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy*, 254. The Italian contribution is acknowledged in the following statement by Thomas Hoby (1530–1566), the English traveler and translator of Castiglione: "The Italian nation . . . seemed to flourish in civility most of all others at this date." See Lewis Einstein, *The Italian Renaissance in England*, 60–1, 81, 118. Richard Lassels remarked in 1670 that the world "owes its Civility to the Italians." See Lassels, *A Voyage of Italy*, 12. The seventeenth-century British traveler John Raymond similarly says of Italy that "To her we owe our civility." See Sells, *The Paradise of Travellers*, 219. For the Italian contribution to civility in the sense of good manners and the art of conversation, see Peter Burke, *The Art of Conversation* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 89–90, 98–105, 115; Burke, *Varieties of Cultural History* 60, 70–3 ("The Language of Gesture in Early Modern Italy"); 87–8 ("Frontiers of the Comic in Early Modern Italy"); Burke, *The Italian Renaissance: Culture and Society in Italy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 201–2, 205n, 216, 217; Ruth Kelso, *The Doctrine of the English Gentleman in the Sixteenth Century*, University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, Vol. XIV, February–May 1929 (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1929), 13, 48–52, 81–8, 119; Thomas Frederick Crane, *Italian Customs of the Sixteenth Century and their Influence on the Literatures of Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1920), vii, 1–2; Braudel, *Out of Italy, 1450–1650*, 161–2. Crane concurs with Braudel's point that the Parisian salon or "literary court" of Madame de Rambouillet, which flourished between 1635 and 1638, and which was the first of its kind in France, took as its model the "princely courts of Italy." In Burke's judgment, however, the Italian courts of the Renaissance only adumbrated Madame de Rambouillet's salon, which was followed by similar arrangements associated with the Marquise de Sablé, Madame de Lafayette, and Mademoiselle de Scudéry.
125. Burke, *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy*, 6, 8, 9–10, 11–14, 17, 21–2, 23, 81–2, 83, 88, 90–4, 95–109, 132–49. On the centrality of *bella figura*

- in contemporary Italian American life, see Gloria Nardini, *Che Bella Figura! The Power of Performance at an Italian Woman's Club in Chicago* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999).
126. Burke, *A Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy*, 6. On the emergence of conversation (and the salon) as a social institution in early seventeenth-century France, partly under the inspiration of Italian Renaissance models, and its declining fortunes after its eighteenth-century heyday, see Fumaroli, *Trois institutions littéraires*, 114, 119, 136–40, 144–5, 146, 152, 153, 154, and *passim*.
 127. To quote Leopardi: “Gl’Italiani hanno piuttosto usanze e abitudine che costumi.” See Leopardi, *Discorso sopra lo stato presente dei costumi degl’italiani*, ed. Rigoni, 75.
 128. Roger Chartier, summarizing the civilizing process, emphasizes the individual’s interiorization of prohibitions, which had formerly been imposed from the outside. Noted in Melchiori, “Commento” on Leopardi, *Discorso sopra lo stato presente dei costumi degl’italiani*, ed. Rigoni, 95n.
 129. Leopardi, *Discorso sopra lo stato presente dei costumi degl’italiani*, ed. Rigoni, 57.
 130. D’Acierno, “Cinema Paradiso: The Italian American Presence in American Cinema,” in *The Italian American Heritage*, ed. d’Acierno, 668.
 131. Barzini, *The Italians*, 61–7, 111–14.
 132. Richard Gambino, *Blood of My Blood: The Dilemma of Italian Americans* (New York: Doubleday, 1975), 131–2.
 133. Barzini, *The Europeans* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1983), 157; Dean Peabody, *National Characteristics*, 136–7, 140–1.
 134. Christopher Browning, “Genocide Forestalled,” review of Jonathan Steinberg, *All or Nothing—The Axis and the Holocaust, 1941–1943* (London: Routledge, 1990), TLS, October 19–25, 1990, 1125.
 135. Koch asserts that *cicisbeismo* is the custom most frequently commented upon by British travelers. See Koch, *Schönheit und Dekadenz*, 73.
 136. Valmaggi, *I Cicisbei: Contributo alla storia del costume italiano nel sec. XVIII* (Torino: Giovanni Chiantore, 1927), 7–12, 22–3, 230, 240–1; Luciano Guerci, *La discussione sulla donna nell’Italia del Settecento: aspetti e problemi* (Torino: Tirrenia, 1987), 95, 97–122, 124–30, 136, 138–9; Carla Pellandra Cozzoli, “Dames et Sigisbées,” *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 193 (1988): 2029–34. Often mistakenly attributed to Stendhal, Foscolo’s essay appears under the title “The Women of Italy” in *Selected Journalism from the English Reviews*, ed. Strickland, 239–67.
 137. “Gazeteer of Travelers,” in *The Fatal Gift of Beauty*, ed. Pfister, 500.
 138. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, *The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, Vol. I (1708–1720), ed. Robert Halsband (Oxford: Clarendon, 1967), To Lady Mar, August 18, 1718, 429–30.
 139. Valmaggi, *I Cicisbei*, 201–3; Kirby, *The Grand Tour in Italy*, 49–50; Baker, *The Fortunate Pilgrims*, 50; Brillì, *Il Viaggio in Italia*, 234; Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad, 1604–1667*, 185. On the shock that *cicisbeismo* produced in British travelers to Genoa, see Jeremy Black, *The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: St. Martin’s, 1992), 43.

140. Marshall, *Italy in English Literature, 1755–1815*, 13.
141. Marshall, *Italy and English Literature, 1755–1815*, 78–80.
142. Smollett, *Travels through France and Italy*, ed. Felsenstein, 154–5, 230–1, 422–3n; *Italy in English Literature, 1755–1815*, 80, 83.
143. For Sharp, see Giuseppe Baretti, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of Italy*, Vol. I, 8, 78–88, 99, 101–2; Marshall, *Italy in English Literature, 1755–1815*, 80, 80–1n; Viglione, *L'Italia nel pensiero degli scrittori inglesi*, 350n; Maugham, *The Book of Italian Travel 1580–1590*, 41; Crouzet, *Stendhal et l'Italianité*, 283n.
144. Boswell, *Boswell in the Grand Tour* ed. Brady and Pottle: Boswell to Rousseau, October 3, 1765, 17–18; January 8, 1765, 24; January 4, 1765, 26. See also Boswell to Porzia Sansedoni (original in French), August, 1765, 120.
145. Baretti, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Italians*, Vol. I, 78–107, 113–15. See also Marshall, *Italy in English Literature, 1755–1815*, 83–4; Lacy Collison-Morley, *Giuseppe Baretti, with an Account of his Literary Friendships and Feuds in Italy and England in the Days of Dr. Johnson* (London: John Murray, 1909), 12–13, 185–6; Turner, *British Travel Writers in Europe: Authorship, Gender, and National Identity*, 74–81. On Baretti, see also Guerici, *La discussione sulla donna nell'Italia del Settecento*, 133–4, 136–7.
146. Lady Miller, *Letters from Italy*, Vol. I, Letter XI, 136; Letter XXI, 281; Letter XXVI, 353; Lady Miller, *Letters from Italy*, Vol. II, Letter LIII, 363–4. For Lady Miller, see also Marshall, *Italy in English Literature, 1755–1815*, 102–3; Koch, *Schönheit und Dekadenz*, 88.
147. Marshall, *Italy in English Literature, 1755–1815*, 104; Valmaggi, *I Cicisbei*, 217.
148. Moore, *A View of Society and Manners in Italy*, 462–71; see also 115. For Moore, see also von Klenze, *The Interpretation of Italy during the Last Two Centuries*, 75n; Marshall, *Italy in English Literature, 1755–1815*, 148–9; Crouzet, *Stendhal et l'Italianité*, 283n.
149. Evelyn Martinengo Cesaresco, Introduction to Piozzi, *Glimpses of Italian Society in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Scribner's, 1892), 12–14; Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour*, 129–30.
150. Marshall, *Italy in English Literature, 1755–1815*, 229–59, esp. 230–4. For the persistence of this cliché in eighteenth-century America, see Marraro, “Italy and the Italians of the Eighteenth Century seen by Americans”: 44–5.
151. Lady Philippina Knight, *Lady Knight's Letters from France and Italy, 1776–1795*, August 20, 1790, 149.
152. Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour*, 92.
153. Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour*, 128.
154. Dupaty, *Sentimental Letters on Italy*, Vol. I, Letter XX, 66; Valmaggi, *I Cicisbei*, 4, 5. Dupaty noted by Frédéric d'Agay in de Brosse, *Lettres d'Italie du Président de Brosse*, ed. d'Agay, Vol. I, 88n.
155. Dupaty, *Sentimental Letters on Italy*, Letter XX, 66; Valmaggi, *I Cicisbei*, 5, 38, 201, 203, 204.
156. Montesquieu, *Lettre sur Gênes*, in Montesquieu, *Oeuvres complètes*, Vol. I, ed. Roger Caillois (Paris: Gallimard, 1949), 918–19.

157. Valmaggi, *I Cicisbei*, 5; Marzio Barbagli, *Sotto lo stesso tetto: mutamento della famiglia dal XIV al XX secolo* (Bologna: Mulino, 1984), 332.
158. Valmaggi, *I Cicisbei*, 5, 46, 142, 248; Crouzet, *Stendhal et l'Italianité*, 283n; Molmenti, *Venice: Its Individual Growth from the Earliest Beginnings to the Fall of the Republic*, Part III, *The Decadence*, Vol. II, 78; Alfonso Lowe, *La Serenissima: The Last Flowering of the Venetian Republic* (London: Cassell, 1974), 22.
159. De Brosse, *Lettres d'Italie*, Vol. II, XLV, 177–178. See also Valmaggi, *I Cicisbei*, 46, 141, 214–5; Maurice Vaussard, *Daily Life in Eighteenth-Century Italy*, trans. Michael Heron (New York: Macmillan, 1963), 95; Cesaresco, Introduction to Piozzi, *Glimpses of Italian Society in the Eighteenth Century*, 14.
160. Sade, *Voyage d'Italie*, 146–7.
161. Crouzet, *Stendhal et l'Italianité*, 283n.
162. Valmaggi, *I Cicisbei*, 215.
163. Dupaty, *Sentimental Letters on Italy*, Letter XX, 67–8; Letter LXIII, 230–2. See also Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour*, 128.
164. Forsyth, *Remarks*, 206.
165. Broers, *The Napoleonic Empire in Italy, 1796–1814*, 252–4.
166. Mayne, *The Journal of John Mayne*, ed. Colles, 224–5.
167. Byron, *Byron: A Self-Portrait. Letters and Diaries, 1798–1824*, Vol. II, ed. Peter Quennell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 378–9, 388, 394, 441, 472–8, 441, 500–2; *Beppo*, in *The Poetical Works of Lord Byron*, ed. Ernest Hartley Coleridge (London: John Murray, 1905), stanzas 36–40. See also Koch, *Schönheit und Dekadenz*, 176–7. In *Beppo* the most relevant stanzas on *cicisbeismo* are 36–40.
168. See Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour*, 237.
169. Eaton, *Rome in the Nineteenth Century*, II, 242–5, 248.
170. Lady Morgan, *Italy*, Vol. I (New York: C.S. Winkle, 1821), 162, 162–3n; Valmaggi, *I Cicisbei*, 231.
171. Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour*, 237–8; Churchill, *Italy and English Literature, 1764–1830*, 56–7.
172. Hazlitt, *Notes of a Journey through France and Italy*, 217, 250. See also Viglione, *L'Italia nel pensiero dei scrittori inglesi*, 442.
173. Amfitheatrof, *The Enchanted Ground: Americans in Italy, 1760–1980* (Boston: Little Brown, 1980), 51.
174. For Cooper, see Wright, *American Novelists in Italy*, 119.
175. Prezzolini, *Come gli americani scoprono l'Italia, 1750–1850*, 61.
176. Jarves, *Italian Sights and Papal Principles*, 126–8.
177. MacFarlane, *A Glance at Revolutionized Italy* (1849), discussed in Koch, *Schönheit und Dekadenz*, 120, 121.
178. Baker, *The Fortunate Travelers*, 98–9. See also Prezzolini, *Come gli americani scoprono l'Italia, 1750–1850*, 189–90. As late as 1858, Horatio Greenough's novel *Ernest Carroll, or Artist-Life in Italy*, mentions the corruption of *cicisbeismo*; see Wright, *American Novelists in Italy*, 81.
179. Balayé, *Les carnets de voyage de Madame de Staël*, 231.
180. Sismondi, *Histoire des républiques italiennes du moyen âge*, Vol. X, 238–41, 393–4. See also Crouzet, *Stendhal et l'Italianité*, 282n and Sismondi's disparaging remarks on the *cicisbeo* in *Historical View of the Literature of the*

- South of Europe*, I, 509–10, 523. Roberto Bizzocchi describes Sismondi's works as key texts in the objectification of the character of the modern Italians, with his portrayal of *cicisbeismo* playing a central role in this cultural process. According to Silvana Patriarca, not only did the patriots of the Risorgimento largely accept Sismondi's interpretation of the causes of Italian decadence, but they were especially affected by his identification of *cicisbeismo* as both a contributing factor in and embodiment of the Italian "indolence" and "effeminacy" whose eradication they deemed essential to the project of national revival. See Bizzocchi, "Cicisbei: La morale italiana," *Storica*, 9 (1997): 64; Patriarca, "Indolence and Regeneration": 382, 387, 389, 391–2, 393. For Sismondi on Italian indolence and effeminacy both in themselves and in connection with *cicisbeismo*, see Sismondi, *Historical View of the Literature of the South of Europe*, I, 445, 479, 506, 509–10, 531; Sismondi, *Historical View of the Literature of the South of Europe*, II, 26, 75; Cozzoli, "Dames et sigisbées": 2029.
181. Bonstetten, *The Man of the North, and the Man of the South*, 96–8. However, Bonstetten writes retrospectively, for as Modona notes, he believes *cicisbeismo* to have faded in Italy after the period of the French occupation. See Modona, "Une polémique d'autrefois," 94n.
182. Breton, *Voyage en Piémont* (1803), excerpted, *Italies*, ed. Hersant, 989–90.
183. Simond, *A Tour in Italy and Sicily*, 97–8, 118–19, 290–4, 585, 603. For Delécleuze and Simond, see Crouzet, *Stendhal et l'Italianité*, 282–3n. For Simond, see also Andrieux, *Les Français à Rome*, 272–4.
184. Dumas, *Une année à Florence*, excerpted in *Italies*, ed. Hersant, 990–1.
185. Stendhal, *Rome, Naples et Florence en 1817* in Stendhal, *Voyages en Italie*, ed. Vittorio del Litto (Paris: Gallimard, 1973), 81; *Rome, Naples et Florence* (1826), 351; *Promenades dans Rome*, 1039; Crouzet, *Stendhal et l'Italianité*, 265; Valmaggì, *I Cicisbei*, 236. Burckhardt similarly regards Spanish influence as the source of *cicisbeismo*, which in his view put an end to the marital jealousy prevalent during the Renaissance. See Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, 282. See also Molmenti, *Venice: Its Individual Growth from the Earliest Beginnings to the Fall of the Republic*, Part III, The Decadence, Vol. II, 78. Ironically, the eighteenth-century Spanish priest, Fray Joseph Haro, blamed the custom of the *Chichisveo*, as the Spanish called it, on the Italians, while the Italians tended to blame it on the licentious French. Regarding *cicisbeismo* among the Spanish, Julian Pitt-Rivers describes it as an institution "surrounded" in ambiguity, for though the *cavaliere servente* originates as the guarantor of the wife's hand in the husband's absence, suspicions inevitably arise regarding the wife's fidelity and the innocence of her relationship to the servant, as in Italy. On the question of the origins of *cicisbeismo*, Pitt-Rivers without stating so outright gives the impression of its having originated independently in both Spain and Italy, as an outgrowth of traditional Mediterranean attitudes toward masculine honor and female sexuality. See Pitt-Rivers, "Honour and Social Status in Andalusia," in Pitt-Rivers, ed. *The Fate of Shechem, or the Politics of Sex: Essays in the Anthropology of the Mediterranean* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 41, 42–3.
186. Stendhal, *Promenades dans Rome*, 899; Valmaggì, *I Cicisbei*, 203, 205.

187. Crouzet, *Stendhal et l'italianité*, 264–5; Valmaggi, *I Cicisbei*, 152.
188. Stendhal, *Rome, Naples, et Florence en 1817*, 81; Stendhal, *L'Italie en 1818*, in Vittorio del Litto, ed., *Voyages en Italie* (Paris; Gallimard, 1973), 210; Stendhal, *Rome, Naples et Florence (1826)*, 312, 443–4; Stendhal, *Love*, 163; Crouzet, *Stendhal et l'italianité*, 265–8; Valmaggi, *I Cicisbei*, 142.
189. Stendhal, *Promenades dans Rome*, 1039; *The Charterhouse of Parma*, trans. C.K. Scott-Moncrieff (New York: New American Library, 1981), 9–10; Crouzet, *Stendhal et l'italianité*, 265.
190. Valmaggi, *I Cicisbei*, 45–7, 101, 114–15, 128–9.
191. Angelico Prati, *Vocabolario etimologico italiano* (Milan: Garzanti, 1970); Alfred Hoare, *An Italian Dictionary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1925); *Dizionario etimologico italiano*, Vol. II (Firenze: G. Barbera, 1975); Kirby, *The Grand Tour in Italy*, 50; Andrieux, *Daily Life in Papal Life in Ancient Rome in the Eighteenth Century*, 112; Valmaggi, *I Cicisbei*, 2–3. Ernest Hartley Coleridge, in his edition of the *Poetical Works of Lord Byron*, 423n, observes that the Accademia della Crusca identifies “cicisbeo” as an inversion of “bel cece,” beautiful chick (pea). He also cites the Italian scholar Pasqualino who derives it from the French *chiche beau*.
192. Valmaggi, *I Cicisbei*, 4, 227–9, 236–7, 239.
193. Valmaggi, *I Cicisbei*, 205–21.
194. Valmaggi, *I Cicisbei*, 138–41, 139n. Regarding Venice, Alfonso Lowe believes *cicisbeismo* to have been confined to a small part of the upper class. See Lowe *La Serenissima: The Last Flowering of the Venetian Republic*, 22.
195. Valmaggi, *I Cicisbei*, 137–8, 141–3, 145–7.
196. Valmaggi, *I Cicisbei*, 2–4, 183–6. On the passionlessness of Venetian *cicisbeismo*, see Molmenti, *Venice: Its Individual Growth from the Earliest Beginnings to the Fall of the Republic*, Part III, The Decadence, Vol. II, 78.
197. Valmaggi, *I Cicisbei*, 219, 230–3.
198. Vaussard, *Daily Life in Eighteenth-Century Italy*, 93–7.
199. Andrieux, *Daily Life in Papal Rome in the Eighteenth Century*, 111–17.
200. Barbagli, *Sotto lo stesso tetto*, 331, 333–4; Bizzocchi, “Cicisbei”: 66–9; Guerci, *La discussione sulla donna nell'Italia del Settecento*, 98.
201. Barbagli, *Sotto lo stesso tetto*, 335; Bizzocchi, “Cicisbei”: 70–3, 75–81; Patriarca, “Indolence and Regeneration”: 399, 400; Pitt-Rivers, “Honour and Social Status in Andalusia,” 40–7.
202. Cozzoli, “Dames et sigisbéés”: 2031, 2034, 2034n; Guerci, *La discussione sulla donna nell'Italia del Settecento*, 122–4; Barbagli, *Sotto lo stesso tetto*, 334–6; Bizzocchi, “Cicisbei”: 87–8; Patriarca, “Indolence and Regeneration”: 399.
203. Gianna Pomata, “Family and Gender,” in *Early Modern Italy, 1550–1796*, ed. Marino, 81–6; Gregory Hanlon, *Early Modern Italy, 1550–1800*, 322–3; Barbagli, *Sotto lo stesso tetto*, 323–1; Guerci, *La discussione sulla donna nell'Italia del Settecento*, 76n.
204. Bizzocchi, “Cicisbei”: 65, 72.

205. Hanlon, *Early Modern Italy, 1550–1800*, 322; Spencer di Scala, *Italy: From Revolution to Republic* (New York: Westview, 1998), 16.
206. Koch, *Schönheit und Dekadenz*, 73; Hanlon, *Early Modern Italy, 1550–1800*, 323. According to Barbagli, 1780 only marks the beginning of the end of *cicisbeismo*, of which Stendhal remarked in 1816 that it was only to be seen in the older generation. See Barbagli, *Sotto lo stesso tetto*, 335.
207. For Byron and Marianna Segati, see Byron, *A Self-Portrait: Letters and Diaries, 1798–1824*, Vol. II, ed. Quennell, 372–3, 376–7, 379, 382, 386, 387, 394, 400, 472–8, comprising letters of 1816–19.
208. Misson, *A New Voyage to Italy*, Vol. I, 128, 187, 251, 255–7, 258, 264–7, 303–4, 305, 317, 398–403; Vol. II, 15, 18–19, 28–30, 54, 66, 76–8, 81–93, 120, 143–4, 146–7, 163–5. See also Roland Mortier, “Les voyageurs français en Italie et le débat sur les institutions,” 384–5; Mortier, *La poétique des ruines en France*, 143, 197n.
209. Andrieux, *Les Français a Rome*, 131–2, 136–8; Vaussard, *Daily Life in Eighteenth-Century Italy*, 76.
210. Dupaty, *Sentimental Letters on Italy*, Vol. II, Letter LXXXI, 82; Vol. I, Letter XXII, 72.
211. For the responses of Abbé Coyer and the Comte de Caylus, see Vaussard, *Daily Life in Eighteenth-Century Italy*, 77. Notwithstanding his frequent expressions of admiration and fondness for Italians, Goethe in his *Italian Journey* criticizes the Church for its practice of providing murderers with the right of ecclesiastical sanctuary, which he views as an inducement to crime. He also calls to mind numerous other Protestant visitors in inveighing against what he sees as the meaningless of Catholic worship, charging that its rituals, superstitions, spectacles, and other routinized behavior promote emotion at the expense of critical reason. See Luzzi, “Italy without Italians”: 65, 66.
212. Sismondi, *Histoire des républiques italiennes du moyen âge*, X, 367–77, 390.
213. Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad, 1604–1667*, 122–3, 193; Warneke, *Images of the Educational Traveler in Early Modern England*, 180.
214. Lithgow, *The Totall Discourse*, 13, 17–18, 28, 32–3, 34–5, 41, 393–4, 405–7, 408–11.
215. Noted in Burke, *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy*, 18.
216. Viglione, *L'Italia nel pensiero degli scrittori inglesi*, 111; Spence, *Letters from the Grand Tour*, ed. Klima, August 2, 1732, 114–16, 116n; January 21, 1741, 344, 345n.
217. Goldsmith, “The Traveller,” in *The Collected Works of Oliver Goldsmith*, ed. Friedman, Vol. IV, l. 130, p. 254.
218. Smollett, *Travels through France and Italy*, ed. Felsenstein, 210, 230, 267.
219. Piozzi, *Observations and Reflections*, ed. Barrows, 107, 237, 273–4, 326.
220. Viglione, *Italia nel pensiero degli scrittori inglesi*, 352.
221. Moore, *A View of Society and Manners in Italy*, 448, 449, 453.
222. Percy Bysshe Shelley, Preface to *The Cenci*, in *The Complete Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, Vol. II, ed. Roger Ingpen and Walter E. Peck (New York: Gordian, 1965), 72.
223. Eaton, *Rome in the Nineteenth Century*, I, 419–20, 420–1n; Eaton, *Rome in the Nineteenth Century*, II, 15, 16, 26, 191–2, 194–6, 200–1, 203, 205, 226–8, 230–1, 251, 257, 368.

224. Lady Morgan, *Italy*, Vol. II, 218–19, 239, 241, 247, 248, 305.
225. Hazlitt, *Notes of a Tour in Italy and France*, 214–16.
226. Blunt, *Vestiges of Ancient Manners and Customs Discoverable in Modern Italy and Sicily*, x, xi, 4–5, 41–2, 103, 125, 138–9, 147–61. Like Blunt and Hazlitt, British visitors customarily charged that Italian congregations regarded church services as the equivalent of theater. See Cavaliero, *Italia Romantica*, 15.
227. Jameson, *Diary of an Ennuyée*, 141–2, 144–5, 152, 177, 266–7, 288. Artaud de Montour, who was French chargé d'affaires in early nineteenth-century Rome, and who guided Staël around the city during her visit of 1805, complained similarly of foreigners' behavior in Roman churches. See Balayé, *Les carnets de voyage de Madame de Staël*, 242. For similar behavior exhibited by American visitors, see Vance, *America's Rome*, II, 25–6, 95, 96.
228. Korg, *Browning in Italy*, 132–3. On nineteenth-century British travelers' objections to Italian Catholic worship, see also Pemble, *The Mediterranean Passion*, 215–16.
229. Baker, *The Fortunate Pilgrims*, 155–82. See also Wright, *American Novelists in Italy*, 33, 46; Vance, *America's Rome*, II, 3–76. For complaints of Italian Catholic superstition in eighteenth-century America, see Marraro, "Italy and the Italians of the Eighteenth Century seen by Americans": 45, 49, 50.
230. Prezzolini, *Come gli americani scoprono l'Italia, 1750–1850*, 70, 71. See for instance the views of Theodore Sedgwick Fay as discussed in Wright, *American Novelists in Italy*, 63, 64.
231. Vance, *America's Rome*, II, 24, 57, 31, 32.
232. Irving, *Journals and Notebooks, I (1803–1806)*, ed. Wright, February 6, 1805, 93–5; February 12, 1805, 203. See also Vance, *America's Rome*, II, 6, 8, 9, 10, 33.
233. Prezzolini, *Come gli americani scoprono l'Italia, 1750–1850*, 61. See also Vance, *America's Rome*, II, 3, 95. The charge of a "paganized" Italian Catholicism has a long history and figures as well in German Protestant writers on Southern Italy, as witness Theodor Trede, *Das Heidentum in der Römische Kirche* (1889–91), discussed and rebutted by Ernesto de Martino in *Sud e magia* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1966), 92–4, 128, 129.
234. Prezzolini, *Come gli americani scoprono l'Italia, 1750–1850*, 70, 71.
235. Prezzolini, *Come gli americani scoprono l'Italia, 1750–1850*, 71; Ray Allen Billington, *The Protestant Crusade, 1800–1860: A Study of the Origins of American Nativism* (New York: Rinehart, 1952), 1–141; Franchot, *Roads to Rome*, 119; Vance, *America's Rome*, II, 26. On the theme of the effeminacy and illicit sexuality of Italian priests in the writings of William Dean Howells, see Susan M. Griffin, "The Black Robe of Romance: Hawthorne's Shadow and Howells's Italian Priest," in Robert K. Martin and Leland S. Person, eds., *Roman Holidays: American Writers and Artists in Nineteenth-Century Italy* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2002), 191–203.
236. Stout, *The American Image of the Old World*, 55. On the seeming immobility of the Catholic Church as seen by American travelers, see Franchot, *Roads to Rome*, 13. However, one does not want to exaggerate the uniformity of the American visitors' anti-Catholicism, for whereas in 1849 Theodore Dwight looked forward to the "fall of the temporal power of the Papacy," Charles Eliot

- Norton was pleased to be able to report to Ruskin as late as May, 1870 that "Rome retains something still of its prerogative of immobility." See Salomone, "Nineteenth-Century Discovery of Italy": 1375, 1383.
237. Andrieux, *Daily Life in Papal Rome in the Eighteenth Century*, 121–8.
238. Croce, *Storia dell'età barocca*, 14–15; Black, *Early Modern Italy*, 11–12, 183–6.
239. Venturi, "History and Reform in the Middle of the Eighteenth Century," in J.H. Elliott and H.G. Koenigsberger, eds., *The Diversity of History: Essays in Honor of Herbert Butterfield* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970), 239. Pilati was the author of the anticlerical polemic *Riforma d'Italia*, published in the 1760s, in which he envisions a major reduction of ecclesiastical influence in Italian life. See Venturi, "L'Italia fuori d'Italia," 1046–8.
240. Leopardi, *Zibaldone*, 1242, quoted in Melchiori, "Commento" on Leopardi, *Discorsi sopra lo stato presente dei costumi degl'italiani*, 97n: "non è luogo dove la religione cattolica, anzi la cristiana (e così qualunque altra) sia più rilasciata nell'esterno ancora, e massime nell'interno, come in quel paese dov'ella e non solo dominante ma unica, cioè in Italia." See also Melchiori, "Commento," 97–8n.
241. De Sanctis, *History of Italian Literature*, Vol. II, 622, 625, 627–8, 645, 692, 715.
242. Molmenti, *Venice: Its Individual Growth from its Earliest Beginnings to the Fall of the Republic*, Part III, The Decadence, Vol. II, 47–9.
243. Croce, "The Moral Life of Seventeenth-Century Italy," in Croce, *Philosophy, Poetry, History*, 1036–53. See also Croce, "Italian Decadence," 1032; *Storia dell'età barocca*, 72, 492, 498.
244. Salvatorelli, *The Risorgimento: Thought and Action*, trans. Mario Domandi (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), 19.
245. Ventura, *Nobiltà e popolo nella società veneta del '400 e '500*, 367–9. In a more recent commentary on the Italian character, Alessandro Cavalli observes that Max Weber "once noted how, in the culture of Catholic countries, the institution of confession, by allowing for a sort of periodic cleansing of consciousness, favored a less restricting sense of morality, at least for those common mortals for whom the rigorous conduct of monks and nuns represented an unattainable ideal." See Cavalli, "Reflections on Political Culture": 126.
246. Aldo Schiavone, *Italiani senza Italia: storia e identità* (Turin: Einaudi, 1998), 84, noted in Patriarca, "Italian Neopatriotism": 28–9.
247. Noted by Simone Balayé, "Staël and Liberty: An Overview," in *Germaine de Staël: Crossing the Borders*, ed. Gutwirth et al., 17.
248. Lady Morgan, *Italy*, Vol. I, 220–1n.
249. Nicholas Boileau-Despréaux, *Satire IX*, in *Oeuvres de Boileau*, Vol. I (Paris: Chez Lefèvre, 1824), 178, line 176; *L'Art Poétique*, Chant I, in *Oeuvres de Boileau*, Vol. II, 8, ll. 43–4.
250. Eric Cochrane, Introduction to *The Late Italian Renaissance, 1525–1630*, ed. Cochrane, 11.
251. Voltaire, "Essai sur la poésie épique," in *Oeuvres complètes de Voltaire*, Vol. 8 (Paris: Garnier Freres, 1877), 309, 310, 330–42.
252. Gennari, *Le premier voyage de Madame de Staël en Italie*, 200, citing A. Farinelli, *Dante e la Francia dall'età media al secolo di Voltaire*, Vol. II, 297, Milan, 1908.

253. Dupaty, *Sentimental Letters on Italy*, Vol. I, Letter XXVII, 112–13.
254. Marshall, *Italy in English Literature, 1755–1815*, 382; Delon Simone, “La littérature italienne dans *Corinne*,” 294; Michel Delon, “Le Groupe de Coppet devant Machiavel et le Machiavelisme,” in *Il Gruppo di Coppet e l’Italia*, ed. Maticucci, 77; Sismondi, *Historical View of the Literature of the South of Europe*, I, 381, and *passim*. Yet Sismondi is also capable of sweepingly harsh judgments of certain phases of Italian literature, characterizing the entire seventeenth century as a “blank . . . in the annals of the human mind,” when a “profusion of ornament” disguised the “want of native talent.” By the same token, eighteenth-century prose writers “excite but little curiosity,” and Italian literature would have ceased to exist at that time save for French influence. See 410–1, 458, 474.
255. Stendhal, *Rome, Naples et Florence (1826)*, 410–1, 426n.
256. E.H. Thorne, “Italian Teachers and Teaching in Eighteenth-Century England,” *English Miscellany*, 9 (1958): 143–5.
257. Francesco Viglione, *L’Italia nel pensiero degli scrittori inglesi*, 355–6.
258. Baretti, “In Defense of Dante,” reprinted from *Prefazione e polemiche*, ed. Luigi Piccioni (Bari: Gius. Laterza, 1911), 97–109, in Beatrice Corrigan, ed., *Italian Poets and English Critics, 1755–1859: A Collection of Critical Essays* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), 32, 37, 40; Collison-Morley, *Giuseppe Baretti*, 151–4.
259. Sherlock, *Letters from an English Traveller*, 59.
260. Swinburne, *Travels in the Two Sicilies in the Years 1777, 1778, 1779, 1780*, 2d. edition, Vol. I (London: J. Nichols, 1790), 136.
261. For Matthias, see C.P. Brand, *Italy and the English Romantics: The Italianate Fashion in Early Nineteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957), 51.
262. Thorne, “Italian Teachers and Teaching in Eighteenth-Century England”: 145–8, 158; Brand, *Italy and the English Romantics*, *passim*; E.R. Vincent, *Ugo Foscolo: An Italian in Regency England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), 48–9.
263. Eustace, *A Tour through Italy*, Vol. I, 510–1n; Eustace, *A Tour through Italy*, Vol. II, 463, 465, 466, 481–517.
264. Lady Morgan, *Italy*, Vol. II, 63–79, 63n.
265. Eaton, *Rome in the Nineteenth Century*, II, 296–7, 380–2.
266. Mill, “Guizot’s Lectures on European Civilization,” in Mill, *Essays on French History and Other Essays*, ed. John M. Robson, Vol. XX of *The Collected Works of John Stuart Mill* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 379.
267. Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy: Italian Literature*, Vol. I, 403–4, 496–7; *Renaissance in Italy: Italian Literature*, Vol. II, 5, 6–7, 12n, 18–19, 20, 430–1, 432, 445, 451, 452–3, 506, 517, 518.
268. Hillard, *Six Months in Italy*, Vol. II, 267.
269. Pound, *Literary Essays of Ezra Pound*, ed. T.S. Eliot (London: Faber and Faber, 1954), 21–3, 29–31, 37, 154, 162, 210, 215, 217, 353, 362–3; Pound, *The Spirit of Romance* (New York: New Directions, 1952), 223, 237–8; Pound, *Selected Prose, 1909–1965*, ed. William Cookson (New York: New Directions, 1973),

- 54; Pound, *ABC of Reading* (New York: New Directions, 1960), 71–2, 157; Pound, *Gaudier-Brzeska: A Memoir* (New York: New Directions, 1970), 113–4. Pound's evaluation of Michelangelo calls to mind that of Erwin Panofsky: "Thus Michelangelo's verses, which strike the sensitive Italian ear as harsh and jagged, differ from the most euphonious productions of his contemporaries in that they have the ring of truth." See Panofsky, "The Neoplatonic Movement and Michelangelo," in Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Studies in the Art of the Renaissance* (New York: Harper and Row, 1967), 180.
270. De Sanctis, *History of Italian Literature*, Vol. II, 469, 473, 483, 485, 495, 496–500, 503, 505, 506, 507, 536, 537–9, 540, 541, 555–9, 565, 583, 585, 587, 628–34, 639–40, 648–9, 663, 665–6, 670–1, 679, 683, 693, 715, 781–3. Like Stendhal, de Sanctis complains of the interminable length of the sentences in Italian prose, quoting an example from the sixteenth-century writer Sperone Speroni.
271. Croce, "Italian Decadence," 1028, 1034–5.
272. Le Goff, "Il peso del passato," 556.
273. Andrieux, *Daily Life in Papal Rome in the Eighteenth Century*, 160–1; Moore, *A View of Society and Manners in Italy*, 104, 456–7; Duclos, *Voyage en Italie*, 132–3; Piozzi, *Observations and Reflections*, ed. Barrows, 148; John Ruskin, *Letters from Venice, 1851–1852*, ed. John Lewis Bradley (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955), Letter 150, February 20, 1852, 187; Mary Lutyens, *Young Mrs. Ruskin in Venice: Unpublished Letters from Mrs. John Ruskin from Venice between 1849–1852*, ed. Mary Lutyens (New York: Vineyard, 1965), February 18, 1850, 144–5; December 28, 1852, 238–9; Simond, *A Tour in Italy and Sicily*, 17, 550, 585; Lady Miller, *Some Letters from Italy*, Vol. I, Letter XVIII, 213; Burke, *The Art of Conversation*, 140; Mead, *The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century*, 305; Samuel Sharp, *Letters from Italy*, and William Hazlitt, *Notes of a Journey through France and Italy*, discussed in Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour*, 173, 180; Eaton, *Rome in the Nineteenth Century*, II, 269; Lee, *Studies of the Eighteenth Century in Italy*, 205; Molmenti, *Venice: Its Individual Growth from the Earliest Beginnings to the Fall of the Republic*, Part III, The Decadence, Vol. II, 164–5; Baker, *The Fortunate Pilgrims*, 109–10; Viglione, *Italia nel pensiero degli scrittori inglesi*, 442; Bertaut, *L'Italie vue par les français*, 56n, 88–9, 110–1, 111.
274. Vernon Lee, an admirer of Stendhal, makes just this point in Lee, *Studies of the Eighteenth Century in Italy*, 204–6.
275. Sir Robert Dallington, *A Survey of the Great Duke's State of Tuscany in the Year of our Lord 1598* (published 1606), quoted in Einstein, *The Italian Renaissance in England*, 145.
276. Burnet, *Some Letters*, 150; see also 225. See also the observations of John Ray as reported on Burke, "The Discreet Charm of Milan," 99.
277. Baretti, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of Italy*, Vol. II, 209–10; Andrieux, *Daily Life in Papal Rome in the Eighteenth Century*, 20, 44; Berkeley, *Works*, Vol. VII, 246.
278. Vaussard, *Daily Life in Eighteenth-Century Italy*, 37–9.
279. Eustace, *A Tour through Italy*, Vol. I, 272; Eustace, *A Tour through Italy*, Vol. II, 578.

280. Hawthorne, *The French and Italian Notebooks*, Vol. XIV of *The Centenary Edition of the Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne*, ed. Thomas Woodson (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1980), 53, 56, 58–9, 60, 110, 126–7, 174, 211–12; Baker, *The Fortunate Pilgrims*, 97; Forsyth, *Remarks*, 96, 97; Stendhal, *Rome, Naples et Florence (1826)*, 309; Lady Morgan, *Italy*, Vol. II, 155, 157, 157n; Treves, *The Golden Ring*, 9; Lutyens, *Young Mrs. Ruskin in Venice*, December 3, 1849, 81; Jarves, *Italian Sights and Papal Principles*, 35–36; Jameson, *Diary of an Ennuyée*, 162, 189, 191n, 322–3.
281. Stout, *The American Image of the Old World*, 69.
282. Porter, “‘Bureau and Barrack’: Early Victorian Attitudes toward the Continent”: 408, 410, 422.
283. Clarke, paraphrased by Marshall, *Italy in English Literature, 1755–1815*, 20.
284. Eaton, *Rome in the Nineteenth Century*, I, 404. It would be misleading to imply that an absolute uniformity of opinion exists among American visitors on the question of art and morality. William Gillespie in *Rome as seen by a New Yorker in 1843* finds that the “grandeur” of the Colosseum and its games “half excuses their enormity,” while in *Italian Sights and Papal Principles (1852–1854)*, James Jackson Jarves characterizes the Colosseum as a “noble triumph of art.” However, Jarves’s *Art Hints: Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting (1855)* condemns the Colosseum as “base” owing to its “gigantic display and enervating luxury, a mingling of pride and vanity.” In Longfellow’s late drama, *Michael Angelo: A Fragment (1882)*, the artist’s friend Tommaso Cavaliere adopts the moralistic view that the “end and aim” of a work of art determine its nobility, by which standard the Colosseum fails, as it served “people / whose pleasure was the pain of dying men.” Contrastingly Michelangelo adopts the aesthetic standpoint, preferring to speak “not of its uses, but its beauty.” See Vance, *America’s Rome*, I, 64–5.
285. Baker, *The Fortunate Pilgrims*, 157.
286. Corinne mentions Filicaia in her discussion of Italian literature; see *Corinne*, 111. See also Lord Byron, *Complete Poetical Works*, Vol. II, ed. McGann, *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage*, Canto 4, stanzas 42–3, ll. 370–87; Wilkes, *Lord Byron and Madame de Staël*, 101. Staël’s translation of Filicaia’s sonnet was published in 1820, three years after her death. See Balayé, *Les carnets de voyage de Madame de Staël*, 217. For an eighteenth-century prose translation by Christopher Hervey, see Marshall, *Italy in English Literature, 1755–1815*, 51. Thomas Roscoe’s translation of Filicaia’s poem appears in Sismondi, *Historical View of the Literature of the South of Europe*, I, 459–60.
287. John Stuart Mill, “Guizot’s Lectures on European Civilization,” 376. See also Mill, 376–7, for criticisms of Italy which closely resemble Staël’s. In fairness to Mill, it must be mentioned that, whereas his predecessors among the utilitarians had aimed primarily to increase the sheer quantity of what was generally regarded as the good, as in the formula, “the greatest good for the greatest number,” which in practice meant the maximization of human physical comforts, Mill sought ultimately to introduce into utilitarianism a concern for not simply the quantity but the quality of pleasure, and thus came to stress artistic and cultural refinement as a necessary component of a

- desirable life. According to Donald Drew Egbert, the later Mill increasingly appreciated the intellectual and emotional value of the pictorial arts. See Egbert, *Social Radicalism and the Arts* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970), 400.
288. Hofstadter, *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1970), 308.
289. Moore, *A View of Society and Manners in Italy*, 216.
290. Vallois, *Fictions féminines*, 160; Pound, *Selected Prose, 1909–1965*, 334. Stendhal is aware of the ancient palindrome “Rome = Amor.” See Armand Carocccio, “Stendhal et la ville éternelle,” in Carocccio, *Variétés Stendhaliennes* (Grenoble-Paris: B. Arthaud, 1946), 212.
291. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, *Letters from the Right Honourable Mary Wortley Montagu, 1789 to 1762*, ed. R. Brimsley Johnson (London: Dent, 1906), excerpted in *The Fatal Gift of Beauty*, ed. Pfister, 172. For Montagu’s abandonment of England and her high estimation of Italy as a special site of feminine freedom, see Gianna Pomata, “Family and Gender,” in *Early Modern Italy, 1550–1796*, ed. Marino, 69.
292. Duclos, *Voyage en Italie*, 194–5.
293. Natalia Costa-Zalessow, “The Personification of Italy from Dante through the Trecento,” *Italica*, 68 (Autumn, 1991): 316–31, esp. 313, 317, 322, 325–9. The relevant lines from Dante are in *Purgatorio*, Canto 6, 76–8, 112–26; Petrarch’s “Spirito Gentil” is in *Rime*, LIII. In addition to these examples, images of a feminine, victimized Italy appear in the works of such pre-Risorgimento poets as Fabio Testi, Filicaia, Fantini, Maffei, Alfieri, Monti, Foscolo, and Leopardi, whose recurrence to this theme seems to reflect the influence of Staël. See Natalia Costa-Zalessow, “Italy as Victim: Historical Appraisal of a Literary Theme,” *Italica*, 45 (June 1968): 216–40; Tripet, “Esquisse d’une genèse leopardienne,” 46–7.
294. Ascham, *The Scholemaster* (London: John Daye, 1570; rpt. 1968, New York, Da Capo), 23–83, esp. 24–7.
295. Coryate, *Crudities*, 261–70; Howell, noted in Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour*, 61; Lassels, *The Voyage of Italy*, Preface, n.p. Travelers’ estimates of the number of prostitutes in Rome were wildly exaggerated. See Black, *Early Modern Italy*, 102, 103.
296. Evelyn, *Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn*, Vol. I, ed. Bray, 159.
297. Redford, *Venice and the Grand Tour*, 6–7; Alexander Pope, *The Dunciad*, 2d. edition, ed. James Sutherland (London: Methuen, 1953), Book 4, ll. 299–316, pp. 373–4. See also Black, *The British and the Grand Tour* (London: Croom Helm, 1985), 112, 113. The irony of the stereotype of a corrupting Italy is that Richard Lassels had initially defended the Grand Tour as an invigorating, toughening, and educative experience that prepared the young traveler for an informed and responsible public life. See Lassels, *Voyage of Italy*, Preface, n.p. On Roman and Venetian prostitutes, see *Boswell on the Grand Tour*, ed. Brady and Pottle: Boswell to Jean-Jacques Rousseau, October 3, 1765, 7; Boswell to John Johnston, July 19, 1765, 104.
298. Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour*, 122–5. According to Patriarca, the “effemination” of Italy owes much to the climatic theory of Montesquieu,

- which places both Italians and Orientals in the category of the feminine. See Patriarca, "Indolence and Regeneration": 389–90.
299. Moryson, *Shakespeare's Europe: Being Unpublished Chapters of Fynes Moryson's Itinerary* (1617), ed. Charles Hughes (London, 1903: rpr. New York, 1967), excerpted in *The Fatal Gift of Beauty*, ed. Pfister, 285–6.
300. Thompson, "Ancient and Modern Italy Compared," Part 1, 224, p. 49; Spence, *Letters from the Grand Tour*, ed. Klima, January 13, 1741, 343.
301. Brydone, *A Tour through Sicily and Malta in a Series of Letters to William Beckford*, Vol. II, 2d. edition (London: W. Strahan, 1776), 136–7. Silvana Patriarca observes that the European discourse of national character has been "replete with gendered metaphors" which in the case of the Italians identified their "historical degeneration" as a "process of almost literal feminization." Nor did the patriots of the Risorgimento reject this characterization, but sought to find ways to correct what they saw as the feminine softness and idleness of their fellow Italians. See Patriarca, "Indolence and Regeneration": 385, 387, 391–3.
302. Marshall, *Italy in English Literature, 1755–1815*, 10; Baretto, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of Italy*, Vol. I, 285, 286, 288, 289, 290, 292.
303. Redford, *Venice and the Grand Tour*, 22–3.
304. Warneke, *Images of the Educational Traveler in Early Modern England*, 230.
305. Redford, *Venice and the Grand Tour*, 24–5.
306. Batten, Jr., *Pleasurable Instruction: Form and Convention in Eighteenth-Century Travel Literature* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 101. According to Joseph Luzzi, the Italians' "gender characteristics" were widely seen as helping to explain their achievements in the imaginative arts. See Luzzi, "Italy without Italians": 51.
307. Piozzi, *Observations and Reflections*, ed. Barrows, 67.
308. Baretto, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of Italy*, Vol. I, 61, 120–1, 122; Baretto, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of Italy*, Vol. II, 289.
309. Byron, *Complete Poetical Works*, Vol. II, *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, Canto 4, stanza 79, l. 703. Byron's representation of a feminine, victimized Italy was probably indebted to the Italian poetic tradition discussed by Costa-Zalessow.
310. Mead, *The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century*, 295.
311. Eustace, *A Tour Through Italy*, Vol. I, xxx; *A Tour Through Italy*, Vol. II, 489, 553. Sismondi identifies Italian opera with the "indolence and effeminacy" of local princes, who sought to promote "voluptuousness" among their subjects both through music and the "effeminate character of this species of poetry." See Sismondi, *Historical View of the Literature of the South of Europe*, I, 479.
312. Blunt, *Vestiges of Ancient Manners and Customs, Discoverable in Modern Italy and Sicily*, 284. However, during the early modern period in both Italy and Europe generally it was "neither unusual nor unseemly for men to weep in public, at least on certain kinds of occasion." See Burke, *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy*, 9.
313. Lady Blessington, *The Idler in Italy* (1839), excerpted in Pfister, ed., *The Fatal Gift of Beauty*, 295–6.

314. Strutt, *Calabria Sicilia 1840*, ed. Guido Puccio (Edizioni scientifiche italiane, 1970), 88.
315. O'Connor, *The Romance of Italy and the English Political Imagination*, 52.
316. O'Connor, *The Romance of Italy and the English Political Imagination*, 4, 31–2. O'Connor quotes Samuel Rogers' characterization of Italy as the "mistress of civilization." On nineteenth-century conceptions of Italy as a feminine country, see also James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800–1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 130–9, 247, 255–6.
317. Barbara Caine, "La bella libertà," *Women's Writing*, 10, 2 (2003): 237; Allison Chapman and Jane Stabler, Introduction to *Unfolding the South: Nineteenth-Century British Women Writers and Artists In Italy*, ed. Chapman and Stabler, 1, 5; in the same volume, Richard Cronin, "Casa Guidi Windows: Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Italy, and the Poetry of Citizenship," 39.
318. Caine, "La bella Libertà": 237–9; Glenda Sluga, "Gender and Nation: Madame de Staël on Italy," *Woman's Writing*, 10, 2 (2003): 241–2; O'Connor, *The Romance of Italy and the English Political Imagination*, chapter 2. British women also involved themselves in the building of the Italian nation following the Risorgimento. See Maura O'Connor, "Civilizing Southern Italy: British and Italian Women and the Cultural Politics of European Nation Building," *Women's Writing*, 10, 2 (2003): 253–6.
319. Sluga, "Gender and Nation": 250; Allison Chapman, "In our blood drenched the pen": Italy and Sensibility in Elizabeth Barrett Browning's *Last Poems* (1862)," *Women's Writing*, 10, 2 (2003): 269, 271–3, 275, 278, 279, 283; Chapman and Stabler, Introduction, 6; Cronin, "Casa Guidi Windows," 42–3.
320. Prezzolini, *Come gli americani scoprirono l'Italia, 1750–1850*, 226.
321. Jarves, *Italian Sights and Papal Principles*, 316.
322. Hillard, *Six Months in Italy*, Vol. II, 243–4, 267, 284, 452.
323. Wright, *American Novelists in Italy*.
324. Brooks, *The Dream of Arcadia*, 157. However, James on a later visit came to view Italy much more prosaically in response to what he recognized as its incipient modernization. See Buzard, *The Beaten Track*, 133–4.
325. Dejob, *Madame de Staël et l'Italie*, 67–74.
326. Lee, *Studies of the Eighteenth Century in Italy*, 56–7.
327. Gennari, *Le premier voyage de Madame de Staël en Italie*, 135–6.
328. Strickland, *Stendhal: The Education of a Novelist*, 237, 285n; Stendhal, *Selected Journalism from the English Reviews*, ed. Strickland, 239–67. A.E. Greaves, *Stendhal's Italy: Themes of Political and Religious Satire* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1995), 53, 172–3n. The work is included in E.R. Vincent's bibliography of Foscolo's writings for English publications: "The Women of Italy," *The London Magazine*, Vol. VI, no. 22, October 1826. See Vincent, *Ugo Foscolo: An Italian in Regency England*, 219. For all his doubts concerning the social and intellectual opportunities for Italian women, Stendhal basically shares Staël's conception of Italy as a society in which

women are “enthroned” by idolatrous males; and like Staël he bases this judgment primarily upon his observation of the upper classes. See Crouzet, *Stendhal et l’Italianité*, 256–60.

329. Vaussard, *Daily Life in Eighteenth-Century Italy*, 92, 93, 109–11.
330. Amfiteatrof, *The Children of Columbus: An Informal History of the Italians in the New World* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1973), 247.
331. Andrieux, *Daily Life in Papal Rome in the Eighteenth Century*, 155.
332. Di Scala, *Italy: From Revolution to Republic*, 16. To judge from recent scholarship, the condition of the majority of Italian women during the eighteenth century had not appreciably changed since the Renaissance, when they were generally denied educational, intellectual, and cultural opportunities. This is not to forget that Renaissance courts welcomed the participation of cultivated, talented, and highborn women such as Isabella Gonzaga d’Este. As is evident in Castiglione’s *Courtier*, women played a significant even if admittedly secondary role in the famous conversations conducted at the court of the Montefeltro at Urbino. Nonetheless Denys Hay and John Law reject Burckhardt’s idea of the equality of the sexes during the Renaissance, when very few women were allowed the chance to prove their excellence. Remarking the extremely small percentage of women among the most talented Renaissance artists and writers, Peter Burke finds it “reasonable to suggest that women had little more than a toehold on literate culture.” According to Margaret King, not only was the learned and scholarly woman typically identified most unflatteringly with the Amazon or virago but the ordinary woman of the Renaissance lived in a legally constituted male-dominant society, which defined her in terms of a domestic, maternal role. Thus to lack a dowry was to face a life close to servitude. On this basis King supports Joan Kelly’s famous contention that Italian women never had a Renaissance. David Herlihy disagrees, claiming that women’s spiritual sense of themselves changed during this period, even though their social and material conditions remained the same. See Denys Hay and John Law, *Italy in the Age of the Renaissance, 1380–1530* (London: Longman, 1989), 139; Peter Burke, *The Italian Renaissance: Culture and Society in Italy*, 43, 44; Burke, *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy*, 130; Margaret L. King, *Women of the Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), ix–xi, 23, 161–2, 190, 237–8. Although Rebecca Messbarger rightly notes that the eighteenth century is often referred to as the “Century of Women” owing to the fact that it “witnessed an unprecedented number of women penetrating and attaining power in areas historically dominated by men,” one does not want to exaggerate the extent of their success and mobility whether in Italy or elsewhere. Whereas a select group of French women presided over salons, recent studies of Italian women of the eighteenth century suggest that, as compared with their French and British counterparts, they enjoyed much greater access to intellectual careers in the universities. Some of the leading eighteenth-century Italian academics include the physicist Laura Bassi (1711–1778), legal scholar Maria Pellegrini Amoretti (1756–1787), Newtonian scientist Cristina Roccati (1734–1814), the anatomist Anna Morandi Manzolini

(1717–1774), the mathematician Maria Gaetana Agnesi (1718–1799), and the classics scholar Clotilde Tambroni (1758–1817). Nonetheless, these women were very much exceptions, and in order to make their way professionally they often struggled against male prejudice and exclusivism which attempted to relegate them to a subordinate or marginal role within the academy. In some instances these women contented themselves with translation and popularization rather than aspiring to high visibility through independent authorship. Italian women of the eighteenth century were also admitted to the literary academies which then typified Italian culture, yet though these institutions offered them the chance to publish their work, they were much underrepresented by comparison with men, and were often assigned a lesser, ornamental function in group proceedings. Even the leaders of the Italian Enlightenment, as represented for instance by the intellectuals centered in the Milanese journal *Il Caffè*, envisioned both the public realm and the domestic sphere as masculine preserves despite their desire to rescue women from frivolity and triviality by raising their educational and intellectual level. Throughout the eighteenth century the intellectual inferiority of women was taken for granted, including their inability to master the most abstract forms of knowledge. See Messbarger, “Defining the Female Class”: 355–66; Susan M. Dixon, “Women in Arcadia,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 32, 3 (Spring, 1999): 371–5; Paula Findlen, “Science as a Career in Enlightenment Italy: The Strategies of Laura Bassi,” *Isis*, 84, 3 (Sept. 1994): 441–69, esp. 442–7, 450–1, 456–9, 466–7, 477–8; Findlen, “Translating the New Science: Women and the Circulation of Knowledge in Enlightenment Italy,” *Configurations*, 3, 2 (1995): 167–206, esp. 169–78, 180, 184, 187–8, 203, 205; Wiesner, *Women and Gender*, 163, 166–7.

333. Pomata, “Family and Gender,” 69–70, 72–5, 77–86; Hanlon, *Early Modern Italy, 1550–1800*, 322–33; see also 169. Sismondi thus describes the condition of Italian women in the post-Renaissance: “Educated in complete seclusion from society, and obliged to maintain the utmost reserve, these young women were subjected to a severe ordeal of public opinion for merely appearing in the world, as for engaging in a dishonorable intrigue.” He adds that a young woman has little freedom in the choice of a husband, and yet will marry in order to throw off her parental yoke. See Sismondi, a *Historical View of the Literature of the South of Europe*, I, 520. Speaking of the early modern period, the contemporary historian Christopher Black finds marriages often to have been a political arrangement between families, the dowry being the main objective, although like other recent scholars he cautions against the false assumption common to travel writing that the children of such marriages were necessarily unloved. In some cases, moreover, a wife retained rights over her dowry, and husbands and wives achieved something close to equality in their daily conduct. Yet what stands out in this period is the persistence of misogynistic attitudes which, besides fostering a patriarchal orientation within the family, frequently caused husbands to suspect their wives’ fidelity, a breach of familial honor for which death-dealing revenge was widely regarded as a legitimate solution. It is therefore understandable that the “restriction of public sociability for women, especially for

the young, . . . remained considerable until very recently,” and that for many married women a visit to church constituted the only opportunity for social encounters outside the home. See Black, *Early Modern Italy*, 82, 111–119, 123, 127, 215, 217.

4 Italy as Other: The Carnival and the Swamp

1. On the importance of the paternal interdict in the novel, see Vallois, *Fictions féminines*, 116–7, 128.
2. Ellen Peel notes the centrality of the phallus in patriarchal culture as the sign of hierarchy, unity, and definition, yet she questionably asserts that men have been linked traditionally with absence and women with presence. Rather, patriarchy logically dictates the inferiority of women because of their lack of the phallus. See Peel, “Contradictions of Form and Feminism in *Corinne ou l’Italie*,” *Essays in Literature*, 14 (Fall 1987): 285, 291.
3. Quoted in Balayé, *Les carnets de voyage de Madame de Staël*, 174. On this point, see also Crouzet, *Stendhal et l’Italianité*, 324.
4. Staël, *Correspondance générale*. ed. Jasinski, V/2, 6 Feb., 1805, 492.
5. Sigmund Freud, “Medusa’s Head,” in *Collected Papers*, ed. James Strachey, Vol. V (New York: Basic Books, 1954), 105.
6. Sigmund Freud, “Symbols in Dreams,” in *Introductory Lectures in Psychoanalysis*, trans. James Strachey (New York: W.W. Norton, 1977), 156, 484.
7. This dubious *topos* of an Italy which, being stateless and hence ultimately “ahistorical” or “natural,” “se répète et ne construit pas,” also figures in Stendhal, who probably derived it in part from Staël. It subsequently figures in Taine (*Voyage en Italie*), whose Italian travel writings owe much to Stendhal. See Crouzet, *Stendhal et l’Italianité*, 138–40, 392n.
8. On this distinction, and on the ways in which the Dark Lady is associated with evil, see Gutwirth, *Madame de Staël, Novelist*, 244–5, 273, 275–6.
9. Gutwirth, *Madame de Staël, Novelist*, 204, 237, 240–1; see also Staël, *Corinne*, 397–8.
10. MacFarlane, *The Lives and Exploits of Banditti and Robbers in All Parts of the World*, 3d. ed. (London: T. Tegg, 1839), 127. Richard Gambino remarks that “when danced by a young man and woman . . . [the *tarantella*] is often openly sexual in its connotations.” See Gambino, *Blood of My Blood*, 155.
11. Perhaps recalling Staël, Vernon Lee portrays Italy as a sacrificial victim in her *Euphorion*, Vol. I, “The Sacrifice,” 27–54, esp. 44–5, 53. For Lee, Renaissance Italy’s strangulating conquest by Northern European nations was a necessary sacrifice allowing for the spread of its vitalizing civilization.
12. For other references to sacrifice in *Corinne*, see 3, 68, 74, 338, 346, 357.
13. Natalia Costa-Zalessow, “Italy as Victim: Historical Appraisal of a Literary Theme”: 216–40.
14. Girard, *Violence and the Sacred*, trans. Patrick Gregory (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977), *passim*.

15. Berger, ed., *Madame de Staël*, 233–5; Staël, *Oeuvres complètes*, Vol. I, 301–5. Gutwirth, *Madame de Staël, Novelist*, 275, refers to the Dark Lady, whom Corinne embodies, as a scapegoat.
16. Vallois notes Corinne's indeterminacy, as manifest for instance in her fondness for theatricality, but does not relate it specifically to the theme of sacrifice. See Vallois, *Fictions féminines*, 130. Carla Peterson characterizes Corinne as a version of what Girard calls the "monstrous double." For Girard, this entity emerges within as well as represents the climax of the sacrificial crisis in all its violent confusion. At this point a marginal and defenseless member of the community is singled out arbitrarily and heaped with a multitude of false and scandalous accusations so as to be transformed into the "monstrous double" of the crisis itself. Also held responsible for the plague of social violence, this individual then becomes the scapegoat upon whose extermination or removal the crisis terminates and the reunified community returns to order, harmony, and serenity. According to Peterson, Corinne fits the description of the "monstrous double" not only because, in her imitation of male authors such as Petrarch and Tasso, she transforms herself into an indeterminate social being, but also because she delights in masks, which Girard identifies with the monstrous double. However, Peterson's discussion is more suggestive than clarifying, for she fails to relate Girard's concept to either the sacrificial crisis or the scapegoating process as a whole. See Peterson, "Corinne and Louis Lambert: Romantic Myth-Making," 31, 44, 46.
17. Staël, *Corinne*, 24, 81, 99, 103, 126, 296, 305, 81.
18. Creuzé de Lesser, *Voyage en Italie et en Sicile en 1801 et 1802* (Paris, 1806), quoted in Edward Chaney, "The Grand Tour and Beyond: British and American Travelers in Southern Italy, 1545–1960," in Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour*, 102. See also Mozzillo, Introduction to Mozzillo, ed., *Viaggiatori stranieri nel Sud*, 9. For Staël's view of de Lesser, see Balayé, *Les carnets de voyage de Madame de Staël*, 111.
19. Moe, *The View from Vesuvius*, 24–7; Romani, *National Character and Public Spirit in Britain and France, 1750–1914*, 20.
20. Beckford, *The Travel Diaries of William Beckford*, Vol. I, Letter VIII, 87, 91, 93–4, 100; Letter XIII, 124; Letter XVIII, 167. See also, in the same volume, "Additional Letters," Letter III, 269.
21. Gennari, *Le premier voyage de Madame de Staël en Italie*, 110–1; Lady Morgan, *Italy*, Vol. II, 276, 410–1.
22. Hillard, *Six Months in Italy*, Vol. II, 308.
23. Pfister, Introduction to *The Fatal Gift of Beauty*, ed. Pfister, 5.
24. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon, 1978), *passim*. Yet whereas Michael Broers believes that Napoleon and his administrators conceived of occupied Italy in something close to both Orientalist and colonialist terms, thus performing a sort of warmup for later French imperialist ventures, Silvana Patriarca though acknowledging Northern Europeans' attribution of otherness to Italy and Italians rightly rejects the application of Said's paradigm to the Italian situation on the grounds that Italy never really qualified as a "colonial other" of Europe. See Broers, *The Napoleonic Empire in Italy*,

- 1796–1814, 1, 6, 13, 25, 215, 221, 235–6, 266, 272; Patriarca, “Indolence and Regeneration”: 383, 383n.
25. Peterson, “*Corinne* and *Louis Lambert*: Romantic Myth-Making,” 49.
26. Addison, *Works*, I: “A Letter from Italy to the Right Honourable Charles Lord Halifax, in the year 1701,” 28–37; *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy*, 356–538. See also Thompson, “Ancient and Modern Italy Compared,” ll. 107–25, 198–315, pp. 46–7, 49–51. See also Thompson’s letter to Lady Hertford, October 1732, quoted in James Sambrook, Introduction to Thompson, *Liberty, The Castle of Indolence and other Poems*, 31–2.
27. Sambrook, Introduction to Thompson, *Liberty, The Castle of Indolence and other Poems*, 36–7.
28. Venturi, “Italia fuori d’Italia,” 1024–6.
29. Dupaty, *Sentimental Letters on Italy*, Vol. I, Letter XLIV, 160. See also *Sentimental Letters on Italy*, Vol. II, Letter LXXIX, 72; Mortier, *La poétique des ruines en France*, 148.
30. Noted by Mortier, *La poétique des ruines en France*, 146.
31. Starke, *Letters from Italy between the Years 1792 and 1798*, Vol. II (London: R. Philips, 1800), 59–61.
32. Baretti, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of Italy*, Vol. II, 161; Eustace, *A Tour through Italy*, Vol. II, 161–7, 171.
33. Noted in Mortier, *La poétique des ruines en France*, 151n.
34. Broers, *The Napoleonic Empire in Italy, 1796–1814*, 235.
35. Forsyth, *Remarks*, 219.
36. Eaton, *Rome in the Nineteenth Century*, I, 402.
37. Hazlitt, *Notes of a Journey through France and Italy*, 232, 235, 256–7. Compare Mary Shelley’s disdain for the contemporary Romans as noted in Cavaliero, *Italia Romantica*, 42.
38. For American responses, see Baker, *The Fortunate Pilgrims*, 42; Prezzolini, *Come gli americani scoprono l’Italia, 1750–1850*, 110; Hillard, *Six Months in Italy*, Vol. II, 20–2; Vance, *America’s Rome* I, 71; *America’s Rome*, II, 31, 120; and Albert Bierstadt’s painting *The Arch of Octavia*, discussed by Theodore Stebbins in *The Lure of Italy: American Artists and the Italian Experience*, ed. Stebbins, 214–5. See also George Stillman Hillard, *Six Months in Italy*, Vol. I (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1853), 291: Of the Roman monuments Hillard writes that they “are often in unfavorable positions, and bear the shadow of disenchanting proximities.” On the other hand he acknowledges that uncleanness in Italy is “picturesque.”
39. Taine, *Italy: Rome and Naples*, 109, 131, 269.
40. On this theme, see Luzzi, “Italy without Italians”: 51, 53.
41. Lord Byron, “Ode on Venice,” in *The Poetical Works of Lord Byron*, ed. Coleridge, ll. 9–13, 103–4, pp. 431–2.
42. Percy Bysshe Shelley, *The Complete Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, Vol. X (*Letters, 1818 to 1822*), ed. Roger Ingpen and Walter E. Peck (New York: Gordian, 1965), December 22, 1818, Letter to Leigh Hunt, 10.
43. Shelley, *The Complete Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, Vol. X, ed. Ingpen and Peck, April 6, 1819, Letter to Thomas Love Peacock, 48.

44. Shelley, *The Complete Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, Vol. IX (*Letters, 1812 to 1818*), ed. Roger Ingpen and Walter E. Peck, April 20, 1818, Letter to Thomas Love Peacock, 299–300.
45. Lloyd, “Hawthorne, Ruskin, and the Hostile Tradition”: 110, 115–16, 118, 121, 129. Lloyd quotes Ruskin, *Works*, ed. Cook and Wedderburn, 10. 84–5, 228–9.
46. Prezzolini, *Come gli americani scoprirono l’Italia, 1750–1850*, 173. See also Franchot, *Roads to Rome*, 21, 23. Franchot notes Francis Parkman’s disgust with “Italian dregs of humanity.” On the recurrent theme of a “dead” Italy in travelers’ reports during the decades immediately following the Restoration, see Venturi, “L’Italia fuori d’Italia,” 1196–8, 1200–2, 1206, 1250.
47. This scene calls to mind John James Blunt’s mocking distinction between Italian and Northern European behavior: “Is their house in flames?” he says of the Italians, “is the buckle of their harness broke? Does their mule sink in a quagmire? Expressions of the most violent passion escape them without discrimination or judgment: they tear their hair; cry out upon all the saints, not excepting the Santo Diavolo himself; and, in short, do every thing but only that which a phlegmatic inhabitant of the north would content himself with doing—to flog the horse, and put the shoulder to the wheel, and depend on his own exertions for escape.” See Blunt, *Vestiges of Ancient Manners and Customs, discoverable in Modern Italy and Sicily*, 282–3.
48. Staël may have read Goethe’s famous description of the Roman Carnival, which appeared in 1789, long before it was incorporated in his *Italian Journey*. See Gennari, *Le premier voyage de Madame de Staël en Italie*, 69.
49. For eighteenth-century Italian carnivals, see Vaussard, *Daily Life in Eighteenth-Century Italy*, 133–40. Crouzet, *Stendhal et l’Italianité*, 296, discusses Goethe’s and Staël’s response to the Roman Carnival.
50. Gennari, *Le premier voyage de Madame de Staël en Italie*, 68. In 1831, the year of the ascension of Pope Gregory XVI, the carnival was similarly suspended for fear that popular unrest elsewhere in Italy might spread to Rome. See Vance, *America’s Rome*, II, 114.
51. Andrieux, *Daily Life in Papal Rome in the Eighteenth Century*, 141–7, 144–5n. See also Goethe’s description of the Roman Carnival in *Italian Journey*, 446–69, and Eaton, *Rome in the Nineteenth Century*, II, 232–59.
52. Bakhtin, *Rabelais and his World*, trans. Helene Iswolsky (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1968), 196–208; Hillard, *Six Months in Italy*, Vol. II, 8.
53. Goethe, *Italian Journey*, 447, 458–9, 467–8.
54. Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, 24–5, 26, 27, 28, 57, 79, 111, 178, 179, 182–9, 190, 191; Burke, *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy*, 183–90; Burke, *Varieties of Cultural History* (“Learned Culture and Popular Culture in Renaissance Italy”), 130. Writing in the late seventeenth century, Misson says of the Venetians during carnival time that “they are not satisfied with the ordinary Libertinism,” but “plunge” into pleasure “up to the neck . . . Vice and Virtue are never as well counterfeited, and both the name and use of ‘em is absolutely changed.” Amid such “General Motion and Confusion,” one “would swear, that all the World were turn’d Fools in an instant.” See Misson, *A New Voyage to Italy*, Vol. I, 198.

55. Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, 178, 189, 207, 208, 209, 211–13, 215–16, 219, 220, 271–3; Burke, *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy*, 181, 187–8; Burke, *Varieties of Cultural History*, 131; Collison–Morley, *Italy after the Renaissance*, 111; Black, *Early Modern Italy*, 181–2. In view of the fact that Corinne praises Dalmatia as a haven of improvisation, spontaneity, and passion, and hence, like Italy, as different from those Northern European nations where a monotonously routinized and prudently administered order prevails, it is worth noting that Alberto Fortis, in his *Viaggio in Dalmazia* (1774), complains that the carnivalizing Dalmatians have no sense of domestic economy. See Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, 178.
56. Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975), 97–151.
57. Goethe, *Italian Journey*, 446.
58. Terry Castle, *Masquerade and Civilization: The Carnavalesque in Eighteenth-Century English Culture and Fiction* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986), 3–7, 11–20, 26–8, 34, 71–2, 76–80, 88–9, 95–6, 99–104, 107, 332, 342–3; Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, 119. Like Castle, Goethe and Bakhtin link the European carnival to the Roman Saturnalia. According to Peter Burke, the Italian carnival may have developed from the Saturnalia, but the connection cannot be proved. See Goethe, *Italian Journey*, 447; Bakhtin, *Rabelais and his World*, 6–8, 198, and *passim*; Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, 21.
59. Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, 275–6. Burckhardt remarks the withdrawal of the Renaissance aristocracy from Roman Carnival and other popular festivities, of which, in his view, only a poor remnant existed in the nineteenth century. See Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, 257.
60. Andrieux, *Daily Life in Papal Rome in the Eighteenth Century*, 33–4, 43–4; Maurice Rawdon, *The Silver Age of Venice* (New York: Praeger, 1970), 121, 122–3. A disconcerted Lady Knight notes the surprising resemblances in the behavior of the Italian upper and lower classes in her *Letters from France and Italy, 1776–1795*, October 29, 1778, 69. For similar observations, see Piozzi, *Observations and Reflections*, ed. Barrows, 43, 54–5; Molmenti, *Venice: Its Individual Growth from the Earliest Beginnings to the Fall of the Republic*, trans. H.F. Brown, Part III, The Decadence, Vol. I (London: John Murray, 1908), 192, 199–200; Molmenti, *Venice: Its Individual Growth from the Earliest Beginnings to the Fall of the Republic*, Part III, The Decadence, Vol. II, 40; Burke, *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy*, 185–8; Burke, *Varieties of Cultural History*, 77–8, 81–5, 88–90 (“Frontiers of the Comic in Early Modern Italy”); and Bertaut’s discussion of George Sand in *L’Italie vue par les français*, 251.
61. The Venetian Carnival, which, like the Roman, had a long tradition behind it, took up six months of every year in the mid- and later eighteenth century. On the Venetian Carnival, see Maurice Andrieux, *Daily Life in Venice in the Time of Casanova*, trans. Mary Fitton (New York: Praeger, 1965), 119–25; Molmenti, *Venice: Its Individual Growth from the Earliest Beginnings to the Fall of the Republic*, Part III, The Decadence, Vol. I, 143–8.
62. Castle, *Masquerade and Civilization*, 12–5, 18, 19; Spence, *Letters from the Grand Tour*, ed. Klima, March 15, 1732, 94–6, 96n; February 18, 1741, 352–3.

63. Dickens, *Pictures from Italy*, 173–84. On Dickens, see John Bowen, “Dickens and the Figures of *Pictures from Italy*,” in Clare Hornsby, ed., *The Impact of Italy: The Grand Tour and Beyond* (London: The British School at Rome, 2000), 211–14. On Dickens’s open and uncondescending attitude toward Italians, atypical of the English of his era, see Churchill, *Italy and English Literature, 1764–1930*, 137.
64. On Hawthorne’s troubled response to the Roman Carnival, see Robert K. Martin, “‘An Awful Freedom’: Hawthorne and the Anxieties of the Carnival,” in *Roman Holidays*, ed. Martin and Person, eds., 29–43, esp. 36–7.
65. Lady Morgan, *Italy*, Vol. II, 231–7.
66. Jameson, *Diary of an Ennuyée*, 212.
67. Hillard, *Six Months in Italy*, Vol. II, 15–16. For a negative English response to the Venetian Carnival which circulated in eighteenth-century America, see Marraro, “Italy and the Italians of the Eighteenth Century seen by Americans,” 46.
68. Tanner, *Venice Desired*, 13, 40–4.
69. Pemble, *The Mediterranean Passion*, 135; Martin, “‘An Awful Freedom’”: 37–8.
70. Goethe, *Italian Journey*, 451.
71. Balayé, *Les carnets de voyage de Madame de Staël en Italie*, 126; Gennari, *Le premier voyage de Madame de Staël en Italie*, 67; Goldberger, notes to *Corinne*, 428n.
72. Andrieux regards the fastidious Staël as a killjoy who fails to appreciate the spontaneous joyousness of the Roman Carnival but prefers mistakenly to portray its merrymaking as an obligatory routine. See Andrieux, *Les Français a Rome*, 259–60.
73. Gennari, *Le premier voyage de Madame de Staël en Italie*, 67, 108, 111. The deficiencies of conversation in Italy are noted by Leopardi, who even claims that Italians dislike conversing. What he means is that, in contrast with French and English norms, they do not show respect for other speakers in a dialogue, but rather interrupt or speak simultaneously with them, so that conversation becomes an aggressive, even warlike competition. Evaluating Roman social gatherings by the standard of France, where women converse on a more or less equal footing with men, and sometimes even dominate the proceedings, Montesquieu is surprised to discover a city where the social tone is set by priests rather than women. During his Roman visit in the mid-1760s, Boswell noted the lack of aristocratic dinner parties and other intimate forms of social entertainment, complaining that the Romans “scarcely have any society.” Nor was Siena appreciably better, as he found its society a “little tedious” owing to the banality of conversation of which he gives examples. Hester Thrale Piozzi remarks that “nobody [in Italy] dreams of cultivating conversation at all, as an art.” Contrary to these evaluations, Brendan Dooley mentions a number of Italian salons of the period in Rome, Milan, Naples, Florence, and other places, but the examples he describes often resemble academies or in some cases appear to resemble discussion groups, rather than embodying the ideal of conversation as free leisurely play in the eighteenth-century aristocratic Parisian tradition described by Fumaroli. Regarding the nineteenth century, Stendhal in his writings on Italy frequently comments on the lack of society in Italy as

well as the absence of conversation in the style of the French salon. This deficiency was also noted by English visitors such as Charlotte Eaton, who observes of Italy that “there is scarcely anything worthy of the name of society at all,” and certainly nothing to compare with the fashion, “highbred ease,” and “polished gaiety” of the best circles of London and Paris. In the case of Rome she attributes the poverty of conversation to the social predominance of the papal court, the absence of a theater and places of public amusement, and the self-isolation of the aristocracy, which leads a life unparalleled in its “unsocial” and “gloomily domestic” character. In Lady Morgan’s view, Italians visit aristocratic houses in order to gamble rather than to talk—a complaint previously made by the administrators of Napoleon’s empire in Italy, who lamented the absence there of salons of the Parisian type. As late as 1873 Henry James implicitly complains of the deficiencies of conversation in Rome in noting its lack of an “interesting” or “cultivated native society” as compared to what he had known in Paris and London. From this perspective, the Venetian drawing rooms of the eighteenth century afford the major exception to the Italian rule and the closest approximation within Italy to the French salon. Piozzi favorably compares the conversations at the Querini Casino to those of the literary club of her friend Dr. Johnson, which it rivals in the variety of its conversation but surpasses in the equal division of the sexes. Pompeo Molmenti says of the *conversazioni* conducted in eighteenth-century Venetian drawing rooms that these were “women’s kingdom,” where the “amiable great ladies” and their guests were as capable of “lofty” and “original” exchanges as of frivolous gossip. Alfonso Lowe similarly notes the social gatherings presided over by such eighteenth-century Venetian ladies as Lucrezia Basadonna, Caterina Sagredo Barbarigo, and Marina Querini Benzon. He concedes, though, that these so-called salons are not to be compared for brilliance of conversation to their French counterparts conducted by the Marquise de Deffand and her pupil Mlle. de Lespinasse. See Piozzi, *Observations and Reflections*, ed. Barrows, 92, 105; Lady Morgan, *Italy*, Vol. II, 210; Burke, *The Art of Conversation*, 98; Leopardi, *Discorso sopra lo stato presente dei costumi degl’italiani*, ed. Rigoni, 56, 66–7, 68–9; Andrieux, *Daily Life in Eighteenth-Century Rome*, 155; Broers, *The Napoleonic Empire in Italy, 1796–1814*, 17, 216, 248–9; Dooley, “The Public Sphere and the Organization of Knowledge,” 224–6; Boswell, *Boswell on the Grand Tour*, ed. Brady and Pottle: Boswell to Jean-Jacques Rousseau, October 3, 1765, 8; Eaton, *Rome in the Nineteenth Century*, I, vii–viii; Eaton, *Rome in the Nineteenth Century*, II, 238–42; Wright, *American Novelists in Italy*, 203; Guerci, *La discussione sulla donna nell’ Italia del Settecento*, 91–3; Cozzoli, “Dames et sigisbées”: 2030–2, 2034. Molmenti, *Venice: Its Individual Growth from the Earliest Beginnings to the Fall of the Republic*, Part III, The Decadence, Vol. II, 141; Lowe, *La Serenissima*, 58; Hanlon, *Early Modern Italy, 1550–1800*, 319. On conversation as a cultural institution, see M. Fumaroli, “La Conversation,” in Fumaroli, *Trois Institutions Littéraires*. According to Kenneth Churchill, the first English writer to appreciate fully the life of the Italian piazza was Robert Browning in “Up at a Villa—Down in the City (as

- Distinguished by an Italian Person of Quality),” which appeared in 1855. See Churchill, *Italy in English Literature, 1764–1830*, 96–7.
74. Goethe, *Italian Journey*, 449–51.
 75. Staël’s apparent inability to appreciate the Roman Carnival calls to mind the even less favorable response of the administrators of Napoleon’s empire in Italy, who regarded the country as insufficiently civilized. As in their view the civility and polish of the salon marked the apex of civilized existence, they naturally deplored the crowded, noisy, and tumultuous festivals of post-Tridentine society as a major sign of Italy’s retrograde and “trivial” condition. Nor were they pleased by the fact that the Italian elites still cherished the great festivals of the Church, being “bound by the morality of the Catholic Reformation.” See Broers, *The Napoleonic Empire in Italy, 1796–1814*, 16, 234, 236, 248, 249, 256, 258.
 76. Gennari, *Le premier voyage de Madame de Staël en Italie*, 69.
 77. John Claiborne Isbell addresses these issues as they pertain to the novel, noting that Corinne in her performance on the Capitol simultaneously celebrates republicanism with its assumption of the collective interest and at the same time incarnates the superior individual who stands out from the mass and even leads it. The apparent contradiction is resolved, suggests Isbell, in the implied symbiosis that exists between Italy, the nation, and Corinne, the public genius, who frequently appears in the midst of an adulatory populace, and who thus constitutes a kind of “*femme-pays*.” See Isbell, Introduction to Madame de Staël, *Corinne, or Italy*, trans. Sylvia Raphael (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), xi–xiii.
 78. This detail is probably a novelistic exaggeration. Andrieux and Goethe mention injuries to horses and mortal injuries to spectators during the running of the Corso, but not horses dying at the finish line.
 79. Sigmund Freud, *The Ego and the Id*, trans. Joan Riviere, ed. James Strachey (New York: W.W. Norton, 1960), 15.
 80. Noted by Balayé, *Les carnets de voyage de Madame de Staël*, 135n. See also Balayé, *Madame de Staël: Lumières et Liberté*, 117.
 81. Balayé, *Les carnets de voyage de Madame de Staël*, 135, 135n, 136.
 82. No friend to Staël, Andrieux uncharitably calls attention to her ugliness and notes that a young Greek patriot flew into a rage upon seeing a portrait of her dressed in a turban, taking her for a Turkish man. According to Byron, Staël had a face as “frightful as a precipice.” See Andrieux, *Les Français à Rome*, 264; Byron, letter to Henrietta d’Ussières, June 8, 1814, quoted in Wilkes, *Lord Byron and Madame de Staël*, 5. See also Sheriff, *The Exceptional Woman: Elizabeth Vigée and the Cultural Politics of Art*, 244, 256.
 83. Girard, *Violence and the Sacred*, 166–8, 284.
 84. Gennari, *Le premier voyage de Madame de Staël en Italie*, 67.
 85. For Staël’s disapproval of violence, see Balayé, *Madame de Staël: Lumières et Liberté*, 70.
 86. Noted by Richard Wrigley, “Infectious Enthusiasms: Influence, Contagion, and the Experience of Rome,” in Chloe Chard and Helen Langdon, eds.,

- Transports: Travel, Pleasure, Imaginative Geography, 1600–1830* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 91.
87. Wrigley, “Infectious Enthusiasms; Influence, Contagion, and the Experience of Rome,” 87–91, 95, 96, 98.
88. Wrigley, “Infectious Enthusiasms: Influence, Contagion, and the Experience of Rome,” 97; Hanns Gross, *Rome in the Age of the Enlightenment*, 155; Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, Vol. I, 63–4; Celli, *The History of the Malaria in the Roman Campagna from Ancient Times*, Vol. VII, 5, 6, 169; Robert Sallares, *Malaria and Rome: A History of Malaria in Ancient Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 7, 46; Frank M. Snowden, “‘Fields of Death’: Malaria in Italy, 1861–1962,” *Modern Italy*, 4, 1 (1999): 39–40; Gordon Harrison, *Mosquitoes, Malaria, and Man: A History of the Hostilities since 1880* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1978), 2, 3, 24–5, 29, 35–101, 103, 105, 107, 108. Braudel notes that malaria, which is caused by hematozoa of the *plasmodium* species, has been “permanently installed” for various reasons in the Mediterranean region. The discovery of these animalculae is owed to the French military physician Laveran who, while working in an Algerian hospital in 1880, observed them in fever patients. In 1898 the British physician Sir Ronald Ross determined, by means of experiments made in India, the role of the anopheles mosquito in the transmission of the disease, and within a year Giovanni Battista Grassi and his colleagues at Rome isolated the anopheles and its “generic sisters” as the “guilty party,” to quote Harrison.
89. George B. Parks, *The English Traveler to Italy: The Middle Ages (to 1525)*, Vol. I (Roma: Edizioni Storia e Letteratura, 1954), 69–70, 72, 80–81; Celli, *The History of Malaria in the Roman Campagna*, 63; Sallares, *Malaria and Rome*, 149, 157.
90. Burnet, *Some Letters*, 181–2.
91. Quoted in *Collected Works of Oliver Goldsmith*, ed. Friedman, Vol. IV (Oxford: Clarendon, 1966), 248n.
92. Berkeley, *Works*, Vol. VII, *Journals of Travels in Italy*, 254; Black, *The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century*, 39–40; Spence, *Letters from the Grand Tour*, ed. Klima, August 23, 1732, 117; Starke, *Letters from Italy*, Vol. I, 330–3; Eustace, *A Tour through Italy*, Vol. II, 145–6; Sallares, *Malaria and Rome*, 9.
93. Lady Knight, *Lady Knight’s Letters from France and Italy, 1776–1795*, November 18, 1780, 95.
94. Misson, *A New Voyage of Italy*, Vol. II, 4, 255.
95. Noted in Wrigley, “Infectious Enthusiasms,” 92.
96. Montesquieu, “Réflexions sur les Habitants de Rome,” and *Voyage de Gratz à la Haye*, in *Oeuvres complètes*, Vol. I, ed. Caillois, 910–11, 663, 678, 689–90, 716–17, 736.
97. A.-L. Girodet-Trioson, *Oeuvres posthumes de Girodet-Trioson, suivie de sa correspondance*, ed., Pierre A. Coupin, Paris, 1929, 1: 243, quoted in Wrigley, “Infectious Enthusiasms,” 80, 103–4n.
98. Lalande, discussed by Wrigley in “Infectious Enthusiasms,” 112n.
99. On the fear of nocturnal infection, see Andrieux, *Daily Life in Papal Rome in the Eighteenth Century*, 14, and Wrigley, “Infectious Enthusiasms,” 98. See also

- Montesquieu, *Voyage de Gratz à la Haye*, 663. The belief was not confined to Rome but was also accepted by the people of Southern Italy. Thus Swinburne describes the complicated precautions taken in the vicinity of Metapontum by peasants who have no choice but to sleep in the open air during the malarial season. See Swinburne, *Travels in the Two Sicilies*, Vol. II, 124–5. Passing through a malarial region near Alcamo in Sicily in 1875, Ernest Renan was told by the locals that to fall asleep was to run the risk of fever. See Renan, excerpted in Mozzillo, ed. *Viaggiatori stranieri nel Sud*, 562. In the same volume, see also Mozzillo, Introduction, 79, and the excerpt from Lenormant, 640. Edward Lear, who journeyed by foot in Calabria in 1852, reports similar warnings against sleeping in a malarial region. See Lear, “From the Journals of a Landscape Painter in Southern Calabria (1852),” in Edward Lear, *Edward Lear’s Journals: A Selection* (New York: Coward-McCann, 1952), 113–14.
100. Quoted in Celli, *The History of the Malaria in the Roman Campagna*, 137–8.
 101. Beckford, *The Travel Diaries of William Beckford*, Vol. I, 194.
 102. Moore, *A View of Society and Manners in Italy*, 310.
 103. Goethe, *Italian Journey*, 181; Eustace, *A Tour through Italy*, Vol. II, 62. Louis Simond and Lady Blessington were troubled by the same fears of falling asleep while crossing the region. See Simond, *A Tour of Italy and Sicily*, 336, 340, 354; Celli, *A History of Malaria in the Roman Campagna from Ancient Times*, 152.
 104. Celli, *A History of the Roman Campagna from Ancient Times*, 6; Sallares, *Malaria and Rome*, 97.
 105. Bonstetten, *Voyage sur la scène des six derniers livres de l’Énéide*, 3–5, 27, 44–5, 49, 53–4, 57–60, 62–4, 65, 75, 77, 79, 151–2, 137, 160, 187, 190, 193, 217–18, 230–5, 252–5, 263–9, 265–6n, 288–9, 319–22.
 106. Balayé, *Les carnets de voyage de Madame de Staël*, 215n; Stendhal, *Rome, Naples et Florence (1826)*, 581; *Promenades dans Rome*, 992.
 107. Wrigley, “Infectious Enthusiasms,” 99.
 108. Simond, *A Tour in Italy and Sicily*, 139, 187, 189–90, 262–4, 319, 336, 340, 350–1, 352–5, 390–1. Although founded on an erroneous understanding of the causes and transmission of malaria, Simond’s counsel to evade the disease through the occupation of high ground and the upper stories of buildings consorts with the common view among the Italians themselves and has much to recommend it in practical terms. For as is now known, anopheles mosquitoes in addition to breeding in low-lying areas are notoriously weak fliers and generally shun the strong breezes of the upper air. Thus from long experience the Italians had come to realize that elevated areas are most likely to provide safety against malaria, despite their inability to explain why this is so. See Sallares, *Malaria and Rome*, 55, 57, 60, 91, 96, 204–6, 246.
 109. Forsyth, *Remarks*, 135, 135n, 144.
 110. Celli, *The History of Malaria in the Roman Campagna from Ancient Times*, 142.
 111. Lady Morgan, *Italy*, Vol. II, 108n, 131, 135, 136, 142, 164–5, 265–7n, 272n; Starke, *Letters from Italy*, Vol. I, 332; Starke, *Travels in Europe (1828)*, excerpted in *The Fatal Gift of Beauty*, ed. Pfister, 126–7.

112. Eaton, *Rome in the Nineteenth Century*, I, 50, 63, 64, 90, 284–5, 375; II, 64, 159, 229, 386.
113. Gell, *The Topography of Rome and its Vicinity* (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1844), 143.
114. Noted in Celli, *The History of Malaria in the Roman Campagna from Ancient Times*, 152–3.
115. Ruskin, *Works*, ed. Cook and Wedderburn, 35, 272. In a letter of 1845 to his son, John Ruskin's father likened the "strong excitement," "depression," and "exhaustion" of a visit to Italy to a "malarial infection." "See John Ruskin, *Ruskin in Italy: Letters to his Parents, 1845*, ed. Harold J. Shapiro (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972), 168, 168n.
116. Pemble, *The Mediterranean Passion*, 240–4; Baker, *The Fortunate Pilgrims*, 23–4; Churchill, *Italy and English Literature, 1764–1930*, 58.
117. Crevecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer* (London: Dent, 1971), 12.
118. Hillard, *Six Months in Italy*, Vol. II, 88–9, 291–4.
119. Hawthorne, *The French and Italian Notebooks*, 211–12, 478, 495, 518, 664; *The Marble Faun* (New York: Harmondsworth, 1990), 326–9. In *The Marble Faun*, as in *Corinne*, the area around the Villa Borghese evokes the idea of Italian duplicity insofar as its beautiful exterior conceals the presence of lethal malaria—a disturbing contrast that the American visitor George Ticknor likewise attributes to the Roman Campagna, where "this air which breathes so gently is as fatal as it is balmy." See Vance, *America's Rome*, I, 81, 118–21.
120. Baker, *The Fortunate Pilgrims*, 24–5. See also Priscilla L. Walton, "Roman Spring and Roman Fever: James, Gender, and the Transnational Dis-ease," in *Roman Holidays*, ed. Martin and Person, 140–52, esp. 143, 150.
121. Burnet, *Burnet's Travels* (1737), excerpted in *The Fatal Gift of Beauty*, ed. Pfister, 204–5; for Mabillon, see Schudt, *Italienreisen im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, 182.
122. Schudt, *Italienreisen im 17 und 18 Jahrhundert*, 182–3.
123. Quoted in Celli, *The History of Malaria in the Roman Campagna from Ancient Times*, 138–9.
124. For Thouvenel, Laoreins, and Stendhal, see Wrigley, "Infectious Enthusiasms," 99, 114n. See also Stendhal, *Rome, Naples et Florence en 1817*, 1372–3n, 68; *Promenades dans Rome*, 734–5, 1002.
125. Forsyth, *Remarks*, 134–6.
126. Lady Morgan, *Italy*, Vol. II, 135, 142, 164–5, 266–7n; Ruskin, *Works*, ed. Cook and Wedderburn, 35, 272.
127. Jarves, *Italian Sights and Papal Principles*, 347–9; Hillard, *Six Months in Italy*, Vol. II, 293. See also Vance, *America's Rome*, II, 114–15.
128. Blunt, *Vestiges of Ancient Manners and Customs, discoverable in Modern Italy and Sicily*, 195–9; Story, *Roba di Roma*, 363–76. The identification of malaria with Papal corruption also appears in Russian literature, as witness Dmitri Merejcovski's portrayal of the moral and physical atmosphere in Renaissance Rome following the death of the notoriously amoral Rodrigo Borgia, otherwise known as Pope Alexander VI: "It seemed that the very air of Rome, to the death-laden breath of malaria had been joined a new, unknown stench, still

- more loathesome and ominous." See Merejcovski, *The Romance of Leonardo da Vinci*, trans. Raymond Guilbert Guerny (New York: Heritage Press, 1938), 455.
129. Eustace, *A Tour Through Italy*, Vol. I, 460–6, 465n; Eustace, *A Tour through Italy*, Vol. II, 104; Starke, *Letters from Italy*, Vol. I, 179.
 130. Andrieux, *Daily Life in Papal Rome in the Eighteenth Century*, 200. On Pope Pius VI's failure to drain the Pontine Marshes, see also Header, *Italy in the Age of the Risorgimento, 1790–1870*, 97.
 131. Eaton, *Rome in the Nineteenth Century*, II, 22–3.
 132. Dicey, *Rome in 1860*, 23–4, 45–6.
 133. Hillard, *Six Months in Italy*, Vol. II, 293.
 134. Marsh, *The Earth as Modified by Human Action: A New Edition of "Man and Nature"* (New York: Scribner, Armstrong, 1874; rpt. Arno, 1970), 156–9, 158n.
 135. Smith, *Western Mediterranean Europe*, 190.
 136. Ashby, *The Roman Campagna in Classical Times* (London: Ernest Benn, 1970), 17, 17n; Ashby cites Jones, *Malaria in Ancient Times*.
 137. Luzzatto, *An Economic History of Italy from the Fall of the Roman Empire to the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century*, 5.
 138. Gross, *Rome in the Age of Enlightenment*, 153–5; Procacci, *History of the Italian People*, 183; Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, Vol. I, 62–6, 65–6, 258–9; Jerre Mangione and Ben Morreale, *La Storia: Five Centuries of Italian American Experience* (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), 76; Celli, *The History of Malaria in the Roman Campagna from Ancient Times*, 128. Girolamo Mancini refers to a devastating malarial epidemic that wracked Rome and its environs in 1428. See Mancini, *La Vita di Leone Battista Alberti*, 97.
 139. Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, 93.
 140. Andrieux, *Les Français a Rome*, 260; Andrieux *Daily Life in Papal Rome in the Eighteenth Century*, 14–15.
 141. Ashby, *The Roman Campagna in Classical Times*, 47–8.
 142. Gross, *Rome in the Age of Enlightenment*, 152–6. On the regular occurrence of epidemics in Rome throughout the eighteenth century, see also Wrigley, "Infectious Enthusiasms," 97.
 143. Gross, *Rome in the Age of Enlightenment*, chapter XIX, "The Agro Romano," 152–174, esp. 172–3; Celli, *The History of Malaria in the Roman Campagna from Ancient Times*, 2, 100, 117; Sallares, *Malaria and Rome*, 4–5; Ashby, *The Roman Campagna in Classical Times*, 49; Hanlon, *Early Modern Italy, 1550–1800*, 101; Walker, *A Geography of Italy*, 36, 41. The historical, mythological, artistic, economic, social, and sociological significance of the Pontine Marshes is sketched in Vittoria d'Erme, Renato Mammucari, and Paolo Emilio Trastulli, *Le Palude Pontine: Un mondo scomparso* (Rome: Newton Compton, 1984).
 144. On the Roman school of malariology, see Snowden, "'Fields of Death': Malaria in Italy, 1861–1962": 26; Harrison, *Mosquitoes, Malaria, and Man*, 169–89, 102–8.
 145. Celli, *The History of the Malaria in the Roman Campagna from Ancient Times*, 2–4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 15, 17, 23, 24, 28, 29, 32–42, 45, 46, 48, 50, 54–7, 61–3, 64, 67–8,

- 70–3, 77–8, 89, 100, 101, 105, 108–9, 111, 112, 116–20, 121, 124, 125–8, 131, 155–6, 157, 159–67. L.W. Hackett regards Celli's cyclical theory of malaria as overly onesided, arguing that fluctuations in the intensity of the disease should be regarded not as "autonomous" in their supposedly "inherent periodicity" but as partly dependent upon man-made environmental factors subject to analysis and correction. See Hackett, *Malaria in Europe: An Ecological Study* (London: Oxford University Press, 1944), 7–8.
146. Sallares, *Malaria and Rome*, 13–4, 16–7, 36, 39, 42, 64, 70, 72, 75, 86, 97, 101–3, 110, 117, 149, 157, 167, 170, 174, 174n, 177, 178–83, 185–90, 200–2, 205–6, 212, 213, 215, 219, 222, 224, 228, 230, 234, 236, 239–42, 244–50, 252, 254, 256, 258–60. Enrico Bruschini and Alba Amoia attribute the removal of the malaria from Rome and its environs to three main causes: the planting of eucalyptus trees by Trappist monks beginning in 1868, the reclamation projects carried out during the reign of King Humbert I (1878–1900), and the draining of the Pontine Marshes by Mussolini. Actually, the efficacy of eucalyptus trees in the removal of malaria is purely mythical, and the disease continued to trouble the region up to the Fascist era and to some extent even into the 1950s. See Bruschini and Amoia, "Rome, Monuments, and Artistic Treasures in Mme. de Staël's *Corinne* (1807): Then and Now," *Nineteenth-Century French Studies*, 22 (Spring-Summer, 1994): 345; Harrison, *Mosquitoes, Malaria, and Man*, 26.
147. Marsh, *The Earth as Modified by Human Action*, 1–8, 32, 33n, 50, 149, 156–7, 158n, 234, 264n, 278–84, 279n, 299, 301–2, 318–23, 525–44.
148. See the excerpts from Francois Lenormant and Georges Goyau in *Viaggiatori stranieri nel Sud*, ed. Mozzillo, 621, 659; see also Clark, *Modern Italy, 1871–1892*, 15.
149. Craven, *A Tour Through the Southern Provinces of the Kingdom of Naples*, 4–5, 8, 64, 69, 124, 125–6, 127, 200, 201, 214, 231, 273, 330, 341–2, 345, 351, 356, 359–60; Gissing, *By the Ionian Sea*, 18, 41; Norman Douglas, *Old Calabria* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1956), 293–300. On malaria in Sicily, see Ruta, *Viaggiatori in Sicilia*, 43. For malaria as a longstanding problem in many parts of Italy, including the South or Mezzogiorno, during the modern period, see Hanlon, *Early Modern Italy, 1550–1800*, 12–13; Mozzillo, Introduction to *Viaggiatori stranieri nel Sud*, ed. Mozzillo, 79. For many centuries up the mid-1950s malaria has raged more widely and destructively in Southern than in Northern and Central Italy, the latter two regions having been favored overwhelmingly by Mussolini in his attempt (partially successful) to eradicate the disease. In the view of some observers, including Frank M. Snowden, malaria has been underestimated as a factor in Southern Italian backwardness, settlement patterns, and immigration. Its presence in the region has resulted from a combination of natural and human causes. See Snowden, "Fields of Death": 26–9, 38–6, 46–7.
150. Clark, *Modern Italy, 1871–1892*, 21, 62, 129, 270; Celli, *The History of Malaria in the Roman Campagna from Ancient Times*, 170–5; Sallares, *Malaria and Rome*, viii, 4, 112; Ashby, *The Roman Campagna in Classical Times*, 49–50.

151. Smith, quoted in Anton Blok, *The Mafia of a Peasant Village, 1860–1960: A Study of Violent Peasant Entrepreneurship* (New York: Harper and Row, 1974), 19.
152. Gutwirth twice compares Corinne to Circe; see Gutwirth, *Madame de Staël, Novelist*, 215, 268. The Circean dangers of Italy had been a staple theme of English writers from at least Roger Ascham onward; see Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, 24–7.

5 Children of Vulcan

1. Edward Chaney, “The Grand Tour and Beyond: British and American Travellers in Southern Italy, 1545–1960,” in Chaney, ed., *The Evolution of the Grand Tour*, 102, 104, 113–14. See also Moe, *The View from Vesuvius*, 55–6. Consistent with Chaney, Jeremy Black remarks that the “relative appeal of Florence faded as the [eighteenth] century proceeded because of the growing determination to visit Naples and its environs.” Contrary to Chaney, Sells contends that already by about 1635 Naples had become a regular stage in the tour of Italy, earning this status on the strength of visits by such seventeenth-century travelers as John Milton, George Sandys, John Raymond, William Lithgow, and John Ray. John Walter Stoye similarly describes Naples as the “southern limit” of the “*giro d’Italia*” in the seventeenth century. Other Northern visitors to Naples during this period include Sigmund Von Birken, Prince Friedrich Michael von Zweibruchen, John Evelyn, Hieronymus Welsch, Jean Bouchard, J. Fr. Breithaupt, Berthold von Gadenstedt, and the Prince de Condé. Nonetheless Naples’s popularity among foreign tourists before 1750 is not to be compared to what it enjoyed after that date. According to Bertaut, during the Romantic period no part of Italy was more visited by French travelers than Naples. See Black, *The British Abroad*, 48; Sells, *The Paradise of Travellers*, 189; Stoye, *English Travelers Abroad, 1604–1667*, 191; Bertaut, *L’Italie vue par les français*, 159; Schudt, *Italienreisen im 17 und 18 Jahrhundert*, 27, 49, 58, 59, 61, 62, 65, 67; Astarita, *Between Salt Water and Holy Water: A History of Southern Italy*, (New York: WW. Norton, 2005), 220, 223, 226.
2. Marie-Madeleine Martinet, *Le voyage d’Italie dans les littératures européennes* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1996), 104–5; Koch, *Schönheit und Dekadenz*, 86. For examples of Northern European travelers to Sicily and the Mezzogiorno, see Mozzillo, Introduction to *Viaggiatori stranieri nel Sud* ed. Mozzillo, 9–12. It would be misleading to say that Northern European travelers altogether neglected Sicily and the lower peninsula before 1750. Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century visitors include Thomas Nugent, Nicholas Benard, Ludwig zu Anhalt-Kohlen, Ferdinand Albrecht von Braunschweig-Bevern, Hieronymus Magiser, Berthold von Gadenstedt, Hieronymus Welsch, J. Fr. Breithaupt, Johann Jacob Grassner, George Abbot, George Sandys, and Edward Webbe. As early as 1672 de Rochefort, a French traveler, claimed that a visit to Italy demanded that one see Sicily. Among the early eighteenth-century visitors to Sicily were John Dryden (son of the poet), John Brevall, and

Jean Philippe D'Ourville. Yet, it was only from 1750 onward that Sicily began to teem with Northerners most prominently represented by Goethe, Brydone, Riedesel, Vivant Denon, Joseph Hager, Houël, and John, Lord Brudenell. Although Naples had not yet become a regular spot on the Grand Tour, the southern part of the Italian peninsula was visited by St. George Ashe and his tutor George Berkeley between 1716 and 1720. John, Lord Brudenell, visited Paestum and Taranto during the 1750s, and roughly two decades later Richard Colt Hoare visited classical sites in the lower peninsula. See Ruta, *Viaggiatori in Sicilia*, 5–6, 8–9, 13, 21, 73n; Black, *The British Abroad*, 54; Schudt, *Italienreisen im 17 und 18 Jahrhundert*, 29, 49, 51–2, 56–7, 58, 59, 66; von Klenze, *The Interpretation of Italy during the Last Two Centuries*, 59–64, 59n; Astarita, *Between Salt Water and Holy Water*, 226, 245, 247.

3. See Robert Shackleton, "Travel and Enlightenment: Naples as a Specimen," in Jean Macaray, ed., *Essays on the Age of Enlightenment in Honor of Ira Wade* (Genève: Droz, 1977), 281, 283.
4. Martinet, *Le voyage d'Italie dans les littératures européennes*, 104; Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour*, 22, 194. For Southern Italy as a "liminal zone," see Moe, *The View from Vesuvius*, 49.
5. Regarded by Fernand Braudel as a generally reliable commentator on Italian banditry, Stendhal notes that though the problem had existed from time immemorial it had become increasingly serious in the papal states from the later sixteenth into the early nineteenth century. Stendhal is also aware of its presence in other parts of Italy, including the Kingdom of Naples, Calabria, Sicily, Tuscany, and Lombardy. Undoubtedly Italy's political and geographical circumstances contributed to the problem since, as is noted by Charles MacFarlane, E.J. Hobsbawm, and Jeremy Black, banditry has always been encouraged and facilitated by the existence of numerous political borders, especially in combination with rough terrain and the absence of modern communications. If, to quote Hobsbawm, Southern Italy is the "classic country of banditry," this is partly because of the liminality of the area between Naples and the papal states. Southern Italy gained this reputation on the strength of the exploits of such fabled figures as Fra Diavolo, Giuseppe Mistrilli, the Vardarelli brothers, Don Ciro, Parella, Vito Caligiuri, Alfonso Piccolomini, Marco Sciarra, and Gasparone. According to Braudel, the great eruption of banditry in Southern Italy, including the area of Rome, began in the sixteenth century owing to the increasing split between the landed rich and poor peasantry. In Stendhal's view the outbreak arose as a result of the Papacy's interference in the grain trade, which produced famine and depopulated the countryside, thus creating highly favorable conditions for banditry; he traces its persistence in the region to the incompetence and corruption of the Papal administration. Like Stendhal and Hobsbawm, Braudel sees the bandits as having been motivated by opposition to their repressive and unjust governments, so that these social rebels were idealized as Robin Hoods by the local people, despite their crimes. But for Immanuel Wallerstein, banditry is a characteristic product not of a strong or oppressive state but of a weak one. Not surprisingly many Northern European travelers have mentioned Italian bandits, sometimes scoffing, but much more often

fearfully. Already in the early seventeenth century Thomas Coryate received reports of bandits in the Bergamasque Alps; other groups were active on the road to Naples in the 1640s. According to Maximilien Misson, writing in the late 1600s, Sixtus VI and the Marquis di Carpio had succeeded in ridding banditry from Rome and Naples respectively. Yet during the period of Oswald's and Corinne's fictional journey to Naples, the region of Terracina swarmed with bandits, as MacFarlane reports, and travelers sometimes made their way escorted by armed soldiers or policemen. Although Stendhal, Eustace, and other writers contend that the Napoleonic regime had largely suppressed banditry over much of the peninsula, its success in doing so should not be overestimated. As Desmond Gregory shows, not only was banditry encouraged by feudal landowners who resented Napoleon's abolition of their privileges, but also the ranks of the bandits swelled with Italians fleeing conscription in the Italian armies newly formed by Napoleon's ministers. Banditry remained endemic in Southern Piedmont throughout the Napoleonic period; there were outbreaks in the Appenine valleys in 1805–6 and in Southern Italy up to 1811 (with major military campaigns conducted against the bandits beginning in 1806), and even in the area of Rome banditry was increasing after 1809. But apparently banditry made an even stronger resurgence after the expulsion of the French, as is suggested by Richard Keppel Craven's reports of his 1818 tour. Among the most notorious instances was the murder of two British travelers, Mr. and Mrs. Hunt, in the vicinity of Paestum in 1825. A traveler to Italy in the same year, Hazlitt mentions that a few instances of banditry had occurred somewhat earlier between Rome and Naples but dismisses most reports of bandits as imaginary, claiming that the prudent and cautious traveler can complete the journey safely. In a supplement to *Promenades dans Rome*, entitled "Italian Brigandage," Stendhal says that, so far as the papal states are concerned, banditry had been pretty much suppressed as of 1829. Nonetheless, Paul R. Baker finds that incidents of banditry persisted between Rome and Naples up to about 1860, to judge from the reports of American travelers. As for the remainder of the peninsula, MacFarlane in his *Lives and Exploits of Bandits and Robbers* (first ed. 1837) states that the plains of Puglia had recently been overrun with bandits, while Arthur John Strutt during his visit to Calabria and Sicily in 1840 expresses an apparently well-justified fear of encountering them. According to Eugene Schuyler in his *Italian Influences* the years 1868–9 mark the end of Italian banditry save for Sicily. Writing in 1894, only a few decades after Italian unification, R. Bazin in his *Les Italiens d'aujourd'hui* announces that the "classic bandit is no more." See Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, Vol. II, 734–54; Stendhal, *Promenades dans Rome*, 627–8, 1034–40, 1127–9, 1234–49; Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad, 1604–1667*, 184; Lievsay, *The Elizabethan Image of Italy*, 4; Lithgow, *The Totall Discourse*, 351–2, 388; Sells, *The Paradise of Travellers*, 167, 214; Black, *The British Abroad*, 41; Stendhal, "The Abbess of Castro," in *The Shorter Novels of Stendhal*, trans. C.K. Scott-Moncrieff (New York: Liveright, 1946), 11–16; Misson, *A New Voyage to Italy*, Vol. I, 319; Vol. II, 251; Gregory, *Napoleon's Italy*, 163, 165, 170–3; Lady Miller, *Letters from Italy*, Vol. II, Letter LVII, 390; Brydone, *A Tour through Sicily and Malta*, I, 2, 3;

- Swinburne, *Travels in the Two Sicilies*, Vol. I, 97–8, 208, 248; IV, 242, 268–9, 291–2; Duclos, *Voyage en Italie*, 123; Simond, *A Tour in Italy and Sicily*, 138, 224–8, 316–18, 364–5, 391, 556, 557–8; Baker, *The Fortunate Pilgrims*, 40–1, 69; Mayne, *The Journal of John Mayne*, ed. Colles, 212–13, 256–7; Irving, *Journals and Notebooks, I (1803–1806)*, ed. Wright, November 14, 1804, 127–31; February 11, 1805, 103, 107–8; Prezzolini, *Come gli americani scoprirono l'Italia, 1750–1850*, 18–19; Hazlitt, *Notes of a Journey through France and Italy*, 199, 249, 253–6; Jameson, *Diary of an Ennuyée*, 192–3, 253, 254n; MacFarlane, *The Lives and Exploits of Banditti and Robbers in All Parts of the World*, 26–217, esp., 2, 3, 5, 8, 12–14, 45, 181, 183; Guy de Maupassant, *La vie errante* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1953), 95–6, 106, 109–10; Collison-Morley, *Italy after the Renaissance*, 19, 20, 53–4, 123–4; Wright, *American Novelists in Italy*, 47–8; Anna Maria Rao, “The Feudal Question, Judicial Systems, and the Enlightenment,” in Girolamo Imbruglia, ed., *Naples in the Eighteenth Century: The Life and Death of a Nation State* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2005), 92, 286–8; P-L Courier, *Oeuvres de P.L Courier* (Paris: Librairie des Bibliophiles, 1882), 37–8, 42 (Letter of May 14, 1805); Rosario Villari, *The Revolt of Naples*, trans. James Newell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 33, 34, 35–9, 41, 42, 46, 47, 48, 49–54, 159; Dumas, *Impressions de Voyage: Le Corricolo*, I, 178–85; Black, *Early Modern Italy*, 32–5, 188–92; Aurelio Lepre, *Storia del Mezzogiorno d'Italia, I: Dall'antica regimè alla società borghese* (Naples: Liguori, 1986), 210–6; Lepre, *Storia del Mezzogiorno d'Italia, II: La lunga durata e la crisi (1500–1656)* (Naples: Liguori, 1986), 214–20; Dickie, *Darkest Italy*, 25–51; Giuseppe Massari and S. Castagnola, *Il brigandaggio nelle provincie napoletane* (Naples, 1863), excerpted in Rosario Villari, ed., *Il Sud nella storia d'Italia*, I (Roma-Bari: Laterza, 1975), 89–102; Eaton, *Rome in the Nineteenth Century*, II, 373–80, 380n; Procacci, *History of the Italian People*, 156; Gabriele Pepe, *Il Mezzogiorno d'Italia sotto gli Spagnuoli* (Florence: Sansoni, 1952), 19, 60–2, 116; Giuseppe Galasso, *Napoli spagnola dopo Masaniello: politica, cultura, società*, I (Florence: Sansoni, 1982), Prefazione, ii, iii (“La ‘Via Francese’ di Napoli Spagnola e una storia piu complessa”), 278–81; E.J. Hobsbawm, *Bandits* (New York: Delacorte Press, 1969), 13–23, 31–3; Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1963), 13–29; Wallerstein, *The Modern World System*, Vol. I, 142–3; Clark, *Modern Italy, 1871–1995*, 69–70; Mozzillo, Introduction to *Viaggiatori stranieri nel Sud*, ed. Mozzillo, 52–66, and his selections from Brydone, Lenormant, Courier and other travel writers, 275–395; Koch, *Schönheit und Dekadenz*, 129–34, 137–8; Ramage, *Ramage in South Italy*, 5, 193n, 203; Strutt, *Calabria Sicilia 1840*, 86; Schuyler, *Italian Influences*, cited in Brooks, *The Dream of Arcadia*, 177n; Evelyn, *Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn*, I, ed. Bray, 152–3; Brilli, *Viaggio in Italia*, 240–4; Craven, *A Tour Through the Southern Provinces of the Kingdom of Naples*, 30–2, 35–6, 38–40, 83–4, 86, 201, 207, 224, 245, 321–2. See also also the selections from Misson, R. Colomb (Stendhal), and Bazin in *Italies*, ed. Hersant, 732–4, 738;
6. Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour*, 17, 191–2, 194, 201.
 7. Moe, *The View from Vesuvius*, 24–7. See also 1–3 for the transformation of Southern Italy into “Africa” by the Northern Italian bourgeois nationalists of the

mid-nineteenth-century Risorgimento. According to Richard Gambino, nineteenth-century Northern Italians failed to comprehend the Mezzogiorno and, in an attempt to answer what in the post-Risorgimento had come to be known as the “Southern question,” contemptuously labelled the region “Africa.” See Gambino, *Blood of My Blood*, 71. See also Astarita, *Between Salt Water and Holy Water*, 221, 242, 246, 286, 281; Dickie, *Darkest Italy*, 1, 14, 35, 36, 104, 106, 110, 126, 135, 145, 180, and *passim*; Napoleone Colajanni, *Per la razza maladetta* (Palermo-Roma, 1898), excerpted in *Il Sud nella Storia d'Italia*, I, ed. Villari, 431–44. The eighteenth-century traveler Hester Thrale Piozzi writes: “To hear the lazaroni [Neapolitan common people] shout and bawl about the streets night and day one would really fancy one’s self in a semi-barbarous nation,” to which she adds the report of a Milanese observer who “protested that the manners of the great corresponded in every respect with the idea given of them by the little.” See Piozzi, *Observations and Reflections*, ed. Barrows, 236. The early nineteenth-century traveler Paul-Louis Courier likened Calabria, with its “végétaux africains,” to the banks of the Nile. See Courier, *Oeuvres*, 64 (letter of April 15, 1806).

8. Balayé, *Les carnets de voyage de Madame de Staël*, 116; Gennari, *Le premier voyage de Madame de Staël en Italie*, 78–80.
9. Mozzillo, Introduction to *Viaggiatori stranieri nel Sud*, ed. Mozzillo, 69–70, 77–8. As Giuseppe Galasso notes, not just foreign observers but also the Neapolitans themselves have often embraced the myth of Naples as the land of virtually spontaneous, paradisaical abundance. Galasso further remarks that a common tendency of travelers both native and foreign has been to treat Naples and other parts of the Southern Italy (and Sicily) as belonging to a single, homogenous Mezzogiorno and thus to fabricate for it a single stereotype at the cost of ignoring the remarkable geographical, social, economic, cultural, and other differences from region to region. However, some writers, including Camillo Porzio, G.M. Galanti, Vincenzo Cuoco, and S. De Renzi are acutely aware of the regional differences within the South, with the result that, from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, its individual regions came to acquire their own stereotypes. See Galasso, “Lo stereotipo del napoletano,” 150, 152, 155, 158, 161–81, 190. See also Galasso, “L’imprenditore,” in Galasso, *L'altra Europa*, 193; Tommaso Astarita, *The Continuity of Feudal Power: The Caracciolo di Brienza* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 10, 11.
10. Misson, *A New Voyage to Italy*, Vol. I, 298–300, 395.
11. Montesquieu, *Voyage de Gratz à la Haye*, 724.
12. De Brosse, *Lettres d'Italie*, Vol. I, Letter XXXI, I 405.
13. Duclos, *Voyage en Italie*, 125–6, 127, 130, 147.
14. Sade, *Voyage d'Italie*, 382–4, 439.
15. Dupaty, *Sentimental Letters on Italy*, Vol. II, Letter CIX, 203–5. As Anthony Blunt shows, most French travelers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries responded favorably to Naples’ natural beauty as well as to its art and architecture. Some travelers, however, such as Montesquieu, Cochin, and Saint-Non had no stomach for Neapolitan Baroque buildings, which they

- found tastelessly overornamented. See Blunt, "Naples as seen by French Travellers, 1630–1780," in *The Artist and Writer in France: Essays in Honour of Jean Seznec*, ed. Francis Haskell, Anthony Levi, and Robert Shackelton (Oxford: Clarendon, 1974), 1–14.
16. Mozzillo, Introduction to *Viaggiatori stranieri nel Sud*, ed. Mozzillo, 69–70. See also Astarita, *Between Salt Water and Holy Water*, 242.
 17. Simond, *A Tour through Italy and Sicily*, 395, 397; see also 552–3.
 18. Sandys, *A Relation*, 253–7, 259; Collison-Morley, *Italy after the Renaissance*, 44.
 19. Evelyn, *Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn*, Vol. I, ed. Bray, 154–5, 156, 161. Compare the similarly favorable remarks of Joseph Addison, including the assumption of the "wonderful fertility of the country," in Addison, *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy*, 425–7, 168.
 20. Burnet, *Some Letters*, 191, 200.
 21. Berkeley, *Journals of Travels in Italy*, in *Works*, Vol. VII, 235, 305–6, 313–4, 315–6, 322, 330.
 22. Lady Miller, *Letters from Italy*, Vol. II, Letter XXXVII, 100; Letter XXXVIII, 137.
 23. Swinburne, *Travels in the Two Sicilies*, Vol. III, 78; Vol. I, 110. See also Vol. I, 278–9, on the Adriatic coast of Puglia, "a province so blessed with articles of prime necessity"; Vol. II, 160–1, on the rich landscape near the Ionian sea near Corigliano, where "every production . . . is in the highest perfection it can possibly attain when unassisted by art," and where, though the land is mismanaged and neglected, "climate and soil do more than half the work"; Vol. III, 161–2, on the "astonishing abundance" near Paestum; Vol. IV, 335, on the area of Capua, where "repeated crops" are "produced in the course of each year, without being exhausted"; Vol. IV, 381–2, on "benevolent nature" and the "vigor which nature so remarkably displays here in all her operations."
 24. Moore, *A View of Society and Manners in Italy*, 317–18.
 25. Jarves, *Italian Sights and Papal Principles*, 159–60.
 26. Dennistoun, *Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino, Illustrating the Arms, Arts, and Literature of Italy, 1440–1630*, Vol. III (London: John Lane, 1909), 39.
 27. Mozzillo, Introduction to *Viaggiatori stranieri nel Sud*, ed. Mozzillo, 19–20, 77, 79–80. See also Lepre, *Storia del Mezzogiorno d'Italia*, I, 11–2, 18–19, 26, 34–5, 40–4. As Lepre shows, the Italians themselves embraced for many centuries the myth of the fertility of the South. Yet whereas Lepre conceives of the natural environment as imposing definite limits upon the economic and social development of the region, Gabriele Pepe insists contrary to the view of such writers as Giustino Fortunato that its soil carries great potential for fertility and abundance if intelligently managed. See Pepe, *Il Mezzogiorno d'Italia sotto gli Spagnuoli*, x. For an emphasis on moral over environmental factors in eighteenth-century Neapolitan reformism, see A. Genovesi and C. Trinci, *L'agricoltore sperimentato* (Naples, 1769), excerpted in *Il Sud nella storia d'Italia*, I, ed. Villari, 6–7, 9.
 28. Swinburne, *Travels in the Two Sicilies*, Vol. I, 103, 204–8, 249.
 29. Walker, *A Geography of Italy*, 183–5.
 30. Gambino, *Blood of My Blood*, 62–3; Astarita, *Between Salt Water and Holy Water*, 15–6, 189; Black, *Early Modern Italy*, 4, 19, 50, 297.

31. See Didier, "Aspects de la musique italienne," 111–12; Sismondi, *Historical View of the Literature of the South of Europe*, I, 468; Lee, *Studies of the Eighteenth Century in Italy*, 195, 197, 211, 213. Staël identifies Italy with music throughout *Corinne* rather than in the Neapolitan chapters alone, and in doing so draws upon a stereotype that persists to this day, namely that of the naturally musical Italian. What makes the durability of this stereotype somewhat surprising is the overall superiority of German to Italian music in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Among the Italians of Staël's time, the Neapolitans were often regarded as especially sensitive and expressive musically, a reputation that perhaps reflects the fact that Naples remained an operatic capital well into the nineteenth century.
32. According to Gambino, the "most popular and typical of the traditional dances of the Mezzogiorno is the *tarantella*, a high spirited dance perfectly suited to releasing controlled energies." It supposedly originated as a "superstitious ritual to cure the poisonous bite of large spiders called *tarantule*," or else the name derives from the city of Taranto in southeastern Italy. In any case, "the dancer seems to be kicking at large aggressive spiders." Although the *tarantella* "varied from region to region, even from town to town in the Mezzogiorno," it remains "characteristically Southern Italian in that it calls for individual improvisation within set patterns. The standard form requires that the dancer's posture maintain a dignified aspect by keeping the shoulders and hips fixed. Within this restriction almost any individual variation is welcomed." See Gambino, *Blood of My Blood*, 154–5. The *tarantella* is frequently commented on by Northern European visitors to Southern Italy, among them Maximilien Misson, who provides pictures of the tarantula in his *New Voyage to Italy*. A main reason for George Berkeley's visit to Southern Italy in 1717 was to determine whether, as legend had it, the tarantula's poisonous bite results in a wasting disease whose only remedy is dance music and a performance of the *tarantella*. Berkeley was told by a Southern Italian doctor that stories of snakebites served to cover lewd intentions; he also encountered a peasant who had held tarantulas in his hand without being bitten. See Berkeley, *Works*, Vol. VII, *Journals of Travels in Italy*, 235–6, 273–4, 276–8, 286, 288, 290, 294. The classic work on *tarantismo* is Ernesto de Martino, *La Terra del Rimorso: contributo a una storia religiosa del Sud* (Milan: Mondadori, 1961). Swinburne, who observed the dance, relates it to the rites of the Bacchantes in ancient times, suggesting that these persisted under Christianity in the form of the *tarantella* and under the pretense of a poisonous snake-bite or demonic possession. A rationalist skeptic, Swinburne attributes the dance to attacks of nerves (comparable to St. Vitus' Dance), hysterics, excessive heat, and other effects of the atmosphere. See Swinburne, *Travels in the Two Sicilies*, 304–10. On the *tarantella*, see also Craven, *A Tour through the Southern Province of the Kingdom of Naples*, 185–6, 187–8.
33. Balayé, *Les carnets de voyage de Madame de Staël*, 137–8.
34. Piozzi, *Observations and Reflections*, ed. Barrows, 232–3. For the Numidians, see Glossary to *The Aeneid of Virgil*, trans. Allen Mandelbaum (New York: Bantam, 1972), 377. See also Book Four, ll. 53–4.

35. For Staël's response to the *lazzaroni* in her notebooks, see Balayé, *Les carnets de voyage de Madame de Staël*, 160–1. An anonymous translator of an 1820 Italian edition of *Corinne* says that she was apparently misled by exaggerated reports of inhuman living conditions among the *lazzaroni*. See Dejob, *Madame de Staël et l'Italie*, 204.
36. Croce, "Il 'Paradiso abitato da diavoli,'" 69–72, and *passim*. See also Moe, *The View from Vesuvius*, 6–7; Galasso, *Napoli Spagnola dopo Masaniello*, I, Introduction, "Una città, una capitale," X.
37. On the revolt of Masaniello, see Sella, *Italy in the Seventeenth Century*, 94–8; Burke, *The Historical Anthropology of Modern Italy*, 198–204; Collison-Morley, *Italy after the Renaissance*, 47–8; Black, *Early Modern Italy*, 191–2; Galasso, "Lo stereotipo del napoletano e le sue variazioni regionali," 157–8. On the damaging effect of the revolt on the reputation of Naples, see Mozzillo, *La frontiera del Grand Tour*, 14. Contrary to a common interpretation that characterizes Masaniello's revolt and its aftermath as a basically plebeian disturbance largely confined to the Neapolitan equivalent of the Parisian sansculottes or urban poor, the Marxist historian Rosario Villari argues that it was rooted in the peasant countryside whence it spread to the city; moreover, that it encompassed not just the urban lower classes and peasantry but also large sections of the bourgeoisie and intelligentsia, all rising in concert against aristocratic and monarchical abuses. See Villari, *The Revolt of Naples*, 158–72.
38. Bouchard, *Journal*, Vol. II, 316.
39. Misson, *A New Voyage to Italy*, Vol. I, 319–20. See also Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour*, 66.
40. Gerville, excerpted in *Italies*, ed. Hersant, 568–71.
41. Montesquieu, *Voyage de Gratz à la Haye*, 728–9. See also Mozzillo, *La frontiera del Grand Tour*, 11, 14.
42. Montesquieu, *Considérations sur la causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur décadence*, in Montesquieu, *Oeuvres complètes*, Vol. I, ed. Roger Caillois (Paris: Gallimard, 1949), 147.
43. For d'Argens, see Robert Shackleton, "Travel and the Enlightenment: Naples as a Specimen," 284, 284n.
44. De Brosse, *Lettres d'Italie*, Vol. I, Letter XXXI, 393, 401–2. On the false assumption common to Northern travelers that all members of the Neapolitan classes were *lazzaroni*, and thus homeless and idle beggars, see Mozzillo, *La frontiera del Sud*, 31–2, 37. The idea of syphilis as the "Neapolitan disease" seems to have found its way into Goethe's *Faust*, Vol. I, in the scene in which Mephistopheles invents stories concerning Martha's errant husband. These include the report that, at Naples, the husband had met a "pretty" local girl who had given him so much love and care that he felt it up to his "holy end." The implication is that the husband had died of syphilis communicated by a Neapolitan prostitute. See Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Goethe's Faust*, trans. Walter Kaufman (New York: Doubleday, 1963), 286–7. The Northern European identification of Naples with syphilis seems to have originated with the return from Italy of the army of King Charles VIII of France in 1495, many of his soldiers and camp followers having become infected during their occupation of the city. See Black, *Early Modern Italy*, 9.

45. De Sade, *Voyage d'Italie*, 423–4, 425, 439, 440–1, 442, 453, 454, 455–6; Astarita, *Between Salt Water and Holy Water*, 225.
46. Mozzillo, *La frontiera del Grand Tour*, 36, 38, 39.
47. Astarita, *Between Salt Water and Holy Water*, 241, 242.
48. De Maupassant, *La vie errante*, 82. According to Michael Herzfeld, nineteenth-century Victorian anthropologists exemplified the social prejudices of their nation in identifying gesticulation “as a ‘natural’ act, and therefore as ‘rude’ . . . a feature of the savage state in human evolution.” He adds that the “use of gesticulation was thus a categorical anomaly, a breach of etiquette, and an absence of culture at its most rarefied stage.” In the words of the Victorian anthropologist E.B. Tylor, the offending nations and ethnic groups had failed to “let fall those aids to speech which cannot be carried into the written language.” Among these were the Neapolitans, whose “colloquial pantomime” had become the subject of a “special treatise” by Jorio. See Herzfeld, *Anthropology through the Looking Glass: Political Ethnography on the Margins of Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 136–8. On Neapolitan gesticulation, see also Galasso, “Lo stereotipo del napoletano,” 149. For gesticulation among the modern Romans, see Bonstetten, *Voyage sur la scène des six derniers livres de l'Énéide*, 110, 112–13.
49. Duclos, *Voyage en Italie*, 128, 140, 158, 165, 168.
50. Dupaty, *Sentimental Letters on Italy*, Vol. II, Letter CIII, 158–63; Letter CIV, 167–8. For Dupaty, see also Mortier, “Un magistrat ‘âme sensible’: Le Président Dupaty (1746–1788),” 309. See also Mead, *The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century*, 328.
51. Moe, *The View from Vesuvius*, 38, 46–7.
52. Lievsay, *The Elizabethan Image of Italy*, 7.
53. Warneke, *Images of the Educational Traveler in Early Modern England*, 128–9.
54. Baretti, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of Italy*, Vol. I, 55.
55. For Sharp, see Canepa, “From Degenerate Scoundrel to Noble Savage: The Italian Stereotype in 18th-Century British Travel Writing”: 130.
56. Black, *The British Abroad*, 50.
57. Chaney, “The Grand Tour and Beyond: British and American Travelers in Southern Italy, 1545–1969,” 114.
58. Beckford, *The Travel Diaries of William Beckford*, Vol. I, Letter XXVII, 253. For the circulation of negative views of Naples and Neapolitans in eighteenth-century America, see Marraro, “Italy and the Italians of the Eighteenth Century seen by Americans”: 50–4.
59. Canepa, “From Degenerate Scoundrel to Noble Savage: The Italian Stereotype in 18th-Century British Travel Writing”: 133–40. See also Moe, *The View from Vesuvius*, 64–5.
60. Mozzillo, Introduction to *Viaggiatori stranieri nel Sud*, ed. Mozzillo, 33, 70; Mozzillo, *La frontiera del Grand Tour*, 42–3, 47. See also Astarita, *Between Salt Water and Holy Water*, 242–3, 248, 274. For some nineteenth-century American examples, including Cooper, Tuckerman, and Anna Hampton Brewster, see Wright, *American Novelists in Italy*, 32, 53, 54, 58–9, 60, 114, 119, 120, 136, 295. The emergence of a more favorable view of the Neapolitans and their unabashed

- pursuit of *dolce far niente* probably contributed over the long run to a modification in Northern European and American attitudes towards Italians generally. This development became increasingly visible over the nineteenth century and has culminated in contemporary consumerism and tourism. In the present postindustrial climate Americans as well as Northern Europeans look much more favorably upon Italians than previously, seeking to socialize with them and even to imitate if only in a controlled, prescribed, and temporary fashion their legendary spontaneity, expressiveness, leisure, and self-indulgent hedonism. This mentality underlies the present-day representation of Italy in American advertisements along with the current craze for Italian travel, food, fashion, cinema, etc. On these developments, see Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour*, 218–9; Robert Casillo, “Dirty Gondola: The Image of Italy in American Advertisements,” *Word and Image*, 1 (October–December 1985), 330–350.
61. Goethe, *Italian Journey*, 145, 199, 200, 204, 207, 213, 321–5; Sherlock, *Letters from an English Traveler*, 102–4. See also Astarita, *Between Salt Water and Holy Water*, 240. Canepa notes Sherlock’s contribution to the new stereotype, but also his view of the Romans as dissemblers. See Canepa, “From Degenerate Scoundrel to Noble Savage: The Italian Stereotype in 18th-Century Travel Writing”: 134n.
 62. Lady Miller, *Letters from Italy*, Vol. II, Letter XXXVIII, 132; Letter XXXIX, 152–3.
 63. Moore, quoted in Mead, *The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century*, 328; Marshall, *Italy in English Literature, 1755–1815*, 147. See also Lloyd, “Hawthorne, Ruskin, and the Hostile Tradition”: 112, 116.
 64. Swinburne, *Travels in the Two Sicilies*, Vol. I, 96–7, 104; Vol. III, 82. See also Balayé, *Les carnets de voyage de Madame de Staël*, 161n.
 65. Piozzi, *Observations and Reflections*, ed. Barrows, 236, 260; Starke, *Letters from Italy*, Vol. II, 93–4.
 66. Dupaty, *Sentimental Letters on Italy*, Vol. II, Letter XCI, 116–7; Letter CIII, 160, 162–3; Mortier, “Un magistrat ‘âme sensible’: Le Président Dupaty (1746–1788),” 309.
 67. Forsyth, *Remarks*, 225–6.
 68. Eustace, *A Tour through Italy*, Vol. II, 41–5, 55.
 69. Chaney, “The Grand Tour and Beyond: British and American Travelers in Southern Italy, 1545–1960,” 115.
 70. Stendhal, *Promenades dans Rome*, 967; *Rome, Naples et Florence en 1817*, 58; *Rome, Naples et Florence (1826)*, 364, 518, 532, 555. See also Mozzillo, *La frontiera del Grand Tour*, 136–42. According to Leonardo Sciascia, the supposedly first-hand references to Sicily in Stendhal’s writings are purely fictional, as he never set foot on the island. In some instances he resorts to commonplaces in writing about Sicily, as when he describes it as part of Africa. Regarding Southern Italy as a whole, Vittorio del Litto states that Stendhal never ventured south of Naples—a claim challenged by Vito Carofoglio though without compelling evidence. Carofoglio shows more persuasively that Stendhal besides repeating the stereotypes of Southern Italian barbarism, African savagery, superstition, emotionality, sensuality, present-mindedness, banditry, and violence, thought in terms of two Italies divided at the latitude of Rome. The Northern Italian possesses civilization and refinement but thus suffers from the absence of personal

- energy. The Southern, amounting to an autonomous society, exemplifies Rousseauvian primitivism, at once “natural” and energetic. See the following essays included in *Stendhal, Roma, l’Italia (Atti del Congresso Internazionale, Roma, November 7–10, 1983)*, ed. Massimo Colesanti, Anna Geronimides, Letizia Norci Cagiano, Anna Maria Scaiola (Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1985): Leonardo Sciascia, “Stendhal e la Sicilia,” 39–60; Vito Carofiglio, “Selvaggi, Turchi e Intellettuali: Il Sud ‘Napolitano’ di Stendhal,” 381–99.
71. Dumas, *Impressions de Voyage: Le Corricolo*, I, 28, 29–37, 38, 86, 90–7, 100, 101, 110–14, 263.
 72. Cooper, *Gleanings in Europe: Italy* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1981), 115.
 73. De Musset, *En Voiturin, courses en Italie et en Sicile* (1885), excerpted in *Italies*, ed. Hersant, 604–9.
 74. Gunn, “Some Thoughts on Time in Naples,” in Edward Chaney and Neil Richie, eds., *Oxford, China and Italy: Writings in Honour of Harold Acton on his Eightieth Birthday* (London: Thames and London, 1989), 126.
 75. Moe, *The View from Vesuvius*, 47.
 76. Simond, *A Tour in Sicily and Italy*, 430–2.
 77. Mozzillo, Introduction to *Viaggiatori stranieri nel Sud*, ed. Mozzillo, 62.
 78. Stendhal, *Rome, Naples et Florence en 1817*, 58; *Rome, Naples et Florence (1826)*, 364, 518, 532, 555; *Promenades dans Rome*, 967. See also the chapter entitled “Stendhal et le chimère del Sud” in Mozzillo, *La frontiera del Grand Tour*, 125–58, esp. 136–42.
 79. Renan, *Correspondance*, Letter to Adolphe Garnier (1850), excerpted in *Italies*, ed. Hersant, 951.
 80. Taine, *Italy: Naples and Rome*, 25, 35, 36, 83.
 81. Koch, *Schönheit und Dekadenz*, 143–4.
 82. Koch, *Schönheit und Dekadenz*, 155.
 83. Koch, *Schönheit und Dekadenz*, 156.
 84. Keith Crook, Introduction to Forsyth, *Remarks*, xvii.
 85. Shelley, *The Complete Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, Vol. X, ed. Ingpen and Peck, December 22, 1818, Letter to Thomas Love Peacock, 14–15.
 86. Vittorio Gabriele, ed., “Le ‘Notes on Italy’ di A.W. Power,” *English Miscellany*, 3 (1952): 268. Despite the stereotype of the Neapolitans as gamblers, the fact remains that for centuries a large percentage of the city’s population cutting across all classes has shown an inordinate fondness for games of chance, including the lottery. See Paolo Macry, “The Southern Metropolis: Redistributive Currents in Nineteenth-Century Naples,” in *The New History of the Italian South*, ed. Lumley and Morris, 78–9.
 87. Chaney, “The Grand Tour and Beyond: British and American Travelers in Southern Italy, 1545–1969,” 115–16; O’Connor, *The Romance of Italy and the English Political Imagination*, 53. Despite its generally low estimation of Neapolitans, the British public showed indignation upon William Gladstone’s revelation in 1851 of the penal injustices inflicted upon political dissidents by the Neapolitan monarchy. Gladstone characterized the Neapolitans as a mild and simple people unfairly accused of viciousness. See Rudman, *Italian Nationalism and English Letters*, 206–8, 216–17, 257; Astarita, *Between Salt Water and Holy Water*, 280–1.

88. Baker, *The Fortunate Pilgrims*, 87, 183.
89. Irving, *Journals and Notebooks, I (1803–1806)*, ed. Wright, January 5, 1805, 46; March 21, 1805, 251–2.
90. Baker, *The Fortunate Pilgrims*, 83.
91. Baker, *The Fortunate Pilgrims*, 70.
92. Jarves, *Italian Sights and Papal Principles*, 320.
93. Hillard, *Italy*, Vol. II, 174–84; Howells, “Italian Brigandage,” 4–8. See also Howells in Wright, *American Novelists in Italy*, 200.
94. Théophile Gautier, *Jettatura* (Boston: D.C. Heath, 1900); Dumas, *Impressions de Voyage: Le Corricolo*, I, 178–85; De Martino, *Sud e magia*, 97–121, 128, 130; De Martino, *La Terra del Rimorso*, 29, 31–2; Frederick Thomas Elsworth, *The Evil Eye: An Account of the Ancient and Widespread Superstition* (New York: Julian Press, 1986), 9, 17–18, 19, 20, 24, 27–8, 258–62, 264, 266, 269, 270; Giuseppe Galasso, “Dalla ‘fattura’ alla ‘jettatura’: una svolta nella ‘religione superstiziosa’ del Sud,” in Galasso, *L'altra Europa*, 259–76, 273n. As De Martino notes, visitors to Southern Italy were also disturbed by such practices of seeming pagan provenience as exorcism and *tarantismo*.
95. Burke, *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy*, 73–4, 195; Burke, “The Discreet Charm of Milan,” 96–7. According to Croce, the *lazzaroni* properly speaking were the *lumpen proletariat* of Naples, whose unreflective habits and customs were determined by the mild climate and relatively easy life of the city, which enabled them to live on little and to sleep in the open air. Although generally speaking they were resigned to their lot and had no desire to revolt against their oppressive government, Croce contends that the name *lazzaroni* originated at the time of the revolt of Masaniello, when it was applied to a portion of the lower class that had violently supported him, and only subsequently was it applied to the lower class as a whole. Some scholars, notes Croce, would derive the name from *lebbrosi*, meaning lepers, on account of the fact that both lepers and *lazzaroni* customarily wore white shirts. It is also argued that the name of the latter derives from the hospitals known as *lazzaretti*, which traditionally cared for lepers. Still others suggest that the name is inspired by the poverty of Lazarus in the Old Testament. For his part, Croce stresses the Spanish influence, tracing the word to *laceria* in the sense of leper but also a poor person. During the 1500s, which marks the beginning of the long domination of Naples by Spain, the Spanish word *lazzaro* in the sense of *plebeo* entered the Neapolitan dialect until finally it was extended to the entire lower class. See Croce, “I ‘Lazzari,’” in Croce, *Aneddoti di Varia Letteratura*, 2d. edition, Vol. 3 (Bari: Laterza, 1954), 198–211. Pellegrino d’Acerno holds that the term Lazzaronismo means beggary, and was applied by the Spanish government from the sixteenth century onward to the Neapolitan mob. He adds that Marx described South Italy as the *Lazaronitum*, meaning “class ghetto” of the “*Lumpenproletariat*.” See d’Acerno, “Appendix 11: Cultural Lexicon: Italian American Key Terms,” in *The Italian American Heritage*, ed. d’Acerno, 731.
96. According to Galasso, the stereotype of Naples as a “paradise inhabited by devils” emerged coincidentally with the “new physiognomy” acquired by

Naples in the sixteenth century, when all sorts of problems arose as an at least partial result of the increasing overpopulation of the capital, and when the impoverished *lazzarone* became a characteristic figure of the urban scene. See Galasso, "Lo stereotipo del napoletano," 155–6.

97. Putnam, *Making Democracy Work*, 170.
98. Carpanetto and Ricuperati, *Italy in the Age of Reason, 1765–1789*, 250–8. Slow to develop, Neapolitan reformism was coming into its own in the early eighteenth century, when it focused on economic and ecclesiastical rather than feudal abuses, as witness the writings of Pietro Giannone and Paolo Mattia Doria. See Lepre, *Storia del Mezzogiorno d'Italia*, II, 82–8. On other aspects of the reformist movement, see 92–102. See also Lepre, *Storia del Mezzogiorno d'Italia*, I, 235–47; Pepe, *Il Mezzogiorno d'Italia sotto gli Spagnuoli*, 20, 22–3, 24–5, 26–8, 108–10.
99. Hughes, Introduction to Croce, *History of the Kingdom of Naples*, xvii.
100. Croce, *History of the Kingdom of Naples*, 11.
101. Carpanetto and Ricuperati, *Italy in the Age of Reason, 1685–1789*, 17–8, 73, 107; Croce, *History of the Kingdom of Naples*, 94–146; Walker, *A Geography of Italy*, 37–8; Sells, *The Paradise of Travellers*, 23, 129–30; Villari, *The Revolt of Naples*, 1–6, 8, 10, 15–16, 18, 21, 23–4, 56–8, 74–172; Astarita, *Between Salt Water and Holy Water*, 9, 13, 14, 19, 40, 41, 68, 69, 70, 71, 88, 90, 93, 94, 101–19, 111–18, 159–63, 180, 187, 202, 204–13, 217, 219, 233; Collison-Morley, *Italy after the Renaissance*, 46–8, 51–3; Hanlon, *Early Modern Italy, 1550–1800*, 67–71, 198–200; Procacci, *History of the Italian People*, 152–6, 199, 203–7; Galasso, *Napoli Spagnola*, I, 269–70, 273, 275–7, 285, 286, 294–5; Astarita, *The Continuity of Feudal Power*, 9, 205; Maria Grazia Maiorini, "The Capital and the Provinces," in *Naples in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Imbruglia, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10; Rao, "The Feudal Question, Judicial Systems, and the Enlightenment," 95–101; Pepe, *Il Mezzogiorno d'Italia sotto gli Spagnuoli*, 16–7, 34, 35–8, 42–4, 56–8, 62–3, 67–8, 71–6, 79–80, 85–6, 88–9, 91, 101–6, 115, 119–23; Lepre, *Storia del Mezzogiorno d'Italia*, II, 11–12, 12–27, 74–8; Lepre, *Storia del Mezzogiorno d'Italia*, I, 48, 50, 73, 105–17, 120, 122, 139, 140–8, 179, 183, 191–2, 195–201, 205–6, 210, 211, 217–18, 221, 224, 226–7, 247–8, 252–4, 257–67, 269, 270–1, 275–6, 279–80, 285. Although the Neapolitan aristocracy succeeded in maintaining its social and economic supremacy, and although it continued to enjoy considerable political influence from the sixteenth into the later eighteenth century, one should not exaggerate its power or freedom, for, as Giuseppe Galasso and other historians argue, these centuries also witnessed the expansion of the monarchical state at the expense of the baronial class, which had to accommodate, adapt to, and compromise with the state in order to retain its privileged status. See Lepre, *Storia del Mezzogiorno d'Italia*, II, 74, 75, 82; Galasso, *Napoli Spagnola*, I, Preface, "La 'Via Francese' di Napoli Spagnola e una storia piu complessa," xii; Introduction, "Una Città, una Capitale," xix, xxiv, xxix; Astarita, *Continuity of Feudal Power*, 103, 204–5; Hanlon, *Early Modern Italy, 1550–1800*, 67; Procacci, *History of the Italian People*, 152.

102. Carpanetto and Ricuperati, *Italy in the Age of Reason, 1685–1789*, 18, 63–6, 73, 108, 147–9, 154, 156, 179–88, 236–48; Hanlon, *Early Modern Italy, 1550–1800*, 340–7; Black, *Early Modern Italy*, 57, 211–14; Procacci, *A History of the Italian People*, 239–44; Imbruglia, Introduction to *Naples in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Imbruglia, 2–3; in the same volume, Giuseppe Montroni, “The Court: Power Relations and the Forms of Social Life,” 22–44; Maiorini, “The Capital and the Provinces,” 11–18; Rao, “The Feudal Question, Judicial Systems, and the Enlightenment,” 102–14. Astarita, *Between Salt Water and Holy Water*, 198–200, 205–18, 229, 233; Lepre, *Storia del Mezzogiorno d’Italia*, II, 93–104. On the decadence of Naples under Spanish rule, as manifest in its excessive size, parasitical economy, and weak administration, all of which drove Neapolitan intellectuals to despair, see Franco Venturi, “History and Reform in the Middle of the Eighteenth Century,” in Elliott and Koenigsberger, eds., *The Diversity of History: Essays in Honor of Sir Herbert Butterfield*, 235–6. See also Maurice Vaussard, *Daily Life in Eighteenth-Century Italy*, 17, quoted in Putnam, *Making Democracy Work*, 36: “The Kingdom of Naples, with its two sections, one on the mainland and the other in Sicily, was by far the largest state in Italy with its five million inhabitants, but for a long time it was possibly also the worst administered, the most routine-bound and negligent.”
103. Mozzillo, *La Frontiera del Grand Tour*, 79–23; Croce, *History of the Kingdom of Naples*, 196–205; Lepre, *Storia del Mezzogiorno d’Italia*, II, 115; Harry Hearder, *Italy in the Age of the Risorgimento, 1790–1870*, 129; Gregory, *Napoleon’s Italy*, 45–6; Harold Acton, *The Bourbons of Naples (1734–1825)* (New York: St. Martin’s, 1956), 315–410.
104. Mozzillo, *La frontiera del Grand Tour*, 118–9; Astarita, *Between Salt Water and Holy Water*, 250–1, 254–5; Venturi, “L’Italia fuori d’Italia,” 1159–60, 1162–4.
105. Mozzillo, *La frontiera del Grand Tour*, 121–3.
106. Chaney, “The Grand Tour and Beyond: British and American Travelers in Southern Italy, 1545–1969,” 115–7; Astarita, *Between Salt Water and Holy Water*, 242. According to Stoye, seventeenth-century visitors regarded it as the “only regal city of Italy.” See Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad, 1604–1667*, 123.
107. Astarita, *Between Salt Water and Holy Water*, 257–72, 278, 280–1.
108. Lepre, *Storia del Mezzogiorno d’Italia*, 115; Procacci, *History of the Italian People*, 214–15; Galasso, “L’imprenditore,” 193–5, 205–7, 212.
109. Moe, *The View from Vesuvius*, 62. On declining conditions in nineteenth-century Naples, see also Gambino, *Blood of My Blood*, 64; Astarita, *Between Salt Water and Holy Water*, 277; Macry, “The Southern Metropolis,” 59–61. It did not help the city that in 1860, having ceased to be the capital of an absolutist state, it was no longer able to enjoy special privileges.
110. Banfield, *The Moral Basis of a Backward Society* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1958), *passim*. Banfield’s generalizing thesis, which probably applies only to certain groups and individuals within Southern Italy, rather than to its society as a whole, has elicited considerable opposition among scholars seeking either to demonstrate the capacity of Southern Italians for cooperative and communal behavior, or else to attribute their antisocial tendencies not as Banfield does to a seemingly ineradicable cultural ethos but to external social and economic causes beyond their control. For some examples of the reaction against Banfield, see Sydel Silverman,

"Agricultural Organization, Social Structure, and Values in Italy: Amoral Familism Reconsidered," *American Sociologist*, 70 (1968): 1, 2, 8, 11, 15, 16, 17; John Davis, "Morals and Backwardness," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 12 (1970): 346–50; William Muraskin, "The Moral Basis of a Backward Sociologist: Edward Banfield, the Italians, and Italian-Americans," *American Journal of Sociology*, 79 (1974): 1484n, 1489, 1491; Jerre Mangione and Ben Morreale, *La Storia*, 74–5n; Maureen Giovannini, "Female Chastity Codes in the Mediterranean," in David D. Gilmore, ed., *Honor and Shame and the Unity of the Mediterranean* (A Special Publication of the American Anthropological Association, no. 22) (Washington, DC: American Anthropological Association, 1987), 63; Filippo Sabetti, "A Different Way of Knowing: A Research Note on the Real 'Montegrano,'" *Italian Politics and Society*, 44 (Fall, 1995): 18–25; Alessandro Pizzorno, "Famalismo morale e marginalità storica, ovvero perchè non c'è niente da fare a Montegrano," *Quaderni di Sociologia*, 3 (1967): 247–62; Gribaudo, "Images of the South," 106–8. See also the largely negative critique of Banfield in the essays gathered by Alessio Columbis and Domenico de Masi in their Italian edition of Banfield's work, entitled *Le basi morale di una societa arretrata* (Bologna: Mulino, 1976), *passim*.

Nonetheless Banfield's arguments, and more particularly his concept of amoral familism, have also been widely accepted by students of Southern Italy, Italian immigration, and Italian America. See Herbert Gans, *The Urban Villagers: Group and Class in the Life of Italian Americans* (New York: The Free Press, 1965), 203–4; Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish in New York City*, 2d. edition (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1970), 195; Joseph Lopreato, *Peasants No More: Social Class and Social Change in an Underdeveloped Society* (San Francisco: Chandler, 1967), 66; Gustav Schachter, *The Italian South: Economic Development in Mediterranean Europe* (New York: Random House, 1965), 200; Thomas Kessner, *The Golden Door: Italian and Jewish Immigrants in New York City, 1880–1915* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1877), 172; Lydio F. Tomasi, *The Italian American Family: The Southern Italian Family's Process of Adjustment to an Urban America* (Staten Island, NJ: Center for Migration Studies, 1991), 11.

According to Carlo Tullio-Altan, familism along with the related social drawbacks of personalism and particularism has for many centuries afflicted not only Southern Italy but Italy as a whole, thus preventing it from developing sufficiently the civic and communal virtues necessary to a modern democratic society. See Tullio-Altan, *Una nazione senza religione civile: le ragioni di una democrazia incompiuta* (Udine: Istituto Editoriale Veneto Friuliane, 1995), xi, xxi–xxiii, 2–3, 11–2, 19–20, 68–74, 76, and *passim*. More recently Loredana Sciolla has called in question the basic assumptions in this debate by showing that familism, far from being especially pronounced only in the Italian South, appears with even greater frequency among the presumed civil societies of Northern Italy as well as other parts of Europe. Not only does Sciolla thus call in question the stereotype of Southern Italian familism, but she also shows that familism itself has been made to stand in a false antithesis to civic values. Ironically, recent studies indicate that at the present time Southern Italians exhibit greater trust in public institutions than do their Northern counterparts. See Sciolla, *Italiani*, *passim*.

111. Walker, *A Geography of Italy*, 185.
112. Anthony Pagden, "The Destruction of Trust and its Economic Consequences in the Case of Eighteenth-Century Naples," in Diego Gambetta, ed., *Trust: Making and Breaking Cooperative Relations* (London: Basil Blackwell, 1988), 127–41.
113. Putnam, *Making Democracy Work*, 15, 53–4, 74, 83–162, 163, 170, 174, 182, 183. Putnam acknowledges Pino Arlacchi's persuasive argument, contrary to Banfield, that "amoral familialism" characterizes only parts of Southern Italy. Yet Arlacchi lends support to Putnam's argument in showing that it is chiefly the Southern areas where amoral familialism is absent that have made the greatest recent strides toward civic and communal values. See Putnam, *Making Democracy Work*, 148. According to, Sidney Tarrow, Putnam fails to give a proper emphasis to colonial and capitalist exploitation as reasons for the insufficiently developed civic culture of Southern Italy. See Jane Schneider, "Introduction: The Dynamics of Neo-Orientalism in Italy (1848–1995)," in Schneider, ed., *Italy's "Southern Question": Orientalism in One Country* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 13; Sydney Tarrow, "Making Social Science Work Across Space and Time: A Critical Reflection on Robert Putnam's *Making Democracy Work*," *American Political Science Review*, 90 (June 1996): 394–5; Filippo Sabetti, "Path Dependency and Civic Culture: Some Lessons from Italy about Interpreting Social Experiments," *Politics and Society*, 24 (March 1996): 25, 29, 33, 34. In the view of Gabriele Pepe, the underdeveloped condition of Naples is largely owed to centuries of exploitative and more specifically "colonialistic" Spanish rule. See Pepe, *Il Mezzogiorno d'Italia sotto gli Spagnuoli*, 10–17, 19, and *passim*.
114. Burnet, *Some Letters*, 191. Historical determinism based on the assumption of a fixed national character seems implicit as well in James Howell's observation of 1652 regarding the revolt of Masaniello. In his view, the uprising failed to win independence from Spain because the "soft Neapolitan was not, it seems, so constant to his ends as the Hollander or Catalan or other tougher Nations." See Villari, *Revolt*, 169, 257–8n.
115. Koch, *Schönheit und Dekadenz*, 145.
116. Mozzillo, Introduction to *Viaggiatori stranieri nel Sud*, ed. Mozzillo, 70.
117. Koch, *Schönheit und Dekadenz*, 145–6.
118. Howells, "Italian Brigandage," 168, 172.
119. Baker, *The Fortunate Pilgrims*, 70–1.
120. Prezzolini, *Come gli americani scoprirono l'Italia, 1750–1850*, 110.
121. On the general failure of travelers to notice the reformist movement in eighteenth-century Naples, see Shackleton, "Travel and the Enlightenment: Naples as a Specimen," *passim*. Dupaty affords an example of this phenomenon, for as Mozzillo notes, he criticizes the laws of Naples while knowing nothing of the works of the great legal reformer, Filangieri, which had already been published. See Mozzillo, *La frontiera del Grand Tour*, 3–34.

122. Montesquieu, *Voyage de Gratz à la Haye*, 723–4, 728–9.
123. Sade, *Voyage d'Italie*, 444, 457.
124. For Roland de la Platière, see Venturi, “L’Italia fuori d’Italia,” in 1117.
125. Dupaty, *Sentimental Letters on Italy*, Vol. II, Letter CIV, 165–6; Letter CV, 169, 170; Letter CVI, 173; Letter CVII, 176–88. See also Mortier, “Les voyageurs et le debat sur les institutions,” 392–3; Mozzillo, *La frontiera del Grand Tour*, 72; Venturi, “L’Italia fuori d’Italia,” 1116.
126. Duclos, *Voyage en Italie*, 126–8, 147–8, 157, 166–7.
127. Sandys, *A Relation*, 258–9.
128. Evelyn, *Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn*, Vol. I, ed. Bray, 168.
129. Burnet, *Some Letters*, 191–2.
130. Addison, *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy*, 427–9.
131. Edward Gibbon, *Letters*, ed. J.E. Norton, I (London, 1956), July 21, 1765, 197–8, qtd. in Churchill, *Italy and English Literature, 1764–1830*, 7–8.
132. O’Connor, *The Romance of Italy and the English Political Imagination*, 16. See also Patrick Brydone, *A Tour through Sicily and Malta*, I, 45.
133. Venturi, “L’Italia fuori d’Italia,” 1111–12.
134. Beckford, *Travel Diaries*, Vol. I, Letter XXVIII, 253–4.
135. Moore, *A View of Society and Manners in Italy*, 321–3, 326–35, 337–8, 410. On Moore, see Marshall, *Italy and English Literature, 1765–1815*, 148–51; Lloyd, “Hawthorne, Ruskin, and the Hostile Tradition”: 112, 116; Canepa, “From Degenerate Scoundrel to Noble Savage: The Italian Stereotype in 18th-Century British Travel Writing”: 137n.
136. Swinburne, *Travels in the Two Sicilies*, Vol. I, 42–4, 99–102, 110–19, 221, 223, 224, 278–9; Vol. II, 45, 133–4, 143–4, 160–1, 217, 253–4, 275–7, 297–301; Vol. III, 93–6, 101–5, 107, 112, 120–1; Vol. IV, 246, 314, 380–2.
137. Stendhal, *Rome, Naples et Florence* (1826), 365.
138. Mozzillo, Introduction to *Viaggiatori stranieri nel Sud*, ed. Mozzillo, 64.
139. Mozzillo, Introduction to *Viaggiatori stranieri nel Sud*, ed. Mozzillo, 64, 75–6.
140. Taine, *Italy: Rome and Naples*, 72–5.
141. For Lenormant, see the excerpt in *Viaggiatori stranieri nel Sud*, ed. Mozzillo, 617.
142. Koch, *Schönheit und Dekadenz*, 139.
143. Craven, *A Tour through the Southern Provinces of the Kingdom of Naples*, 351–2, 372–4, 414–6, 423–5.
144. Eustace, *A Tour through Italy*, Vol. II, 37–9; see also 50, 55.
145. Gabriele, ed., “Le ‘Notes on Italy’ di A.W. Power”: 258, 259, 260–1, 266, 267, 268.
146. Ramage, *Ramage in South Italy*, 75–6.
147. Lady Morgan, *Italy*, Vol. II, 329, 332–8, 335n, 343–4, 344n. See also the similar views of Frances Trollope as noted in Treves, *The Golden Ring*, 20.
148. Cooper, *Gleanings in Europe: Italy*, 115.
149. Prezzolini, *Come gli Americani scoprono l’Italia, 1750–1850*, 235–6; Hillard, *Six Months in Italy*, Vol. II, 173–4, 180–4.
150. Howells, “Italian Brigandage,” 168, 171.
151. Mozzillo writes that most travelers ignore historical causes and paint the misery and degradation as natural. See Mozzillo, *La frontiera del Grand Tour*, 72–3.

152. For Doria, Giannone, and Montesquieu, see Mozzillo, *La frontiera del Grand Tour*, 12–5, 12–13n.
153. De Brosse, noted in Mozzillo, *La frontiera del Grand Tour*, 18n.
154. Sade, *Voyage d'Italie*, 383, 439; Mozzillo, *La frontiera del Grand Tour*, 49.
155. Dupaty, *Sentimental Letters on Italy*, Vol. II, Letter CII, 155–6; Letter CIII, 158–9; Letter CIV, 166, 167; Letter CVI, 174. For Dupaty, see also Mozzillo, *La frontiera del Grand Tour*, 67, 69–74.
156. For Vivant Denon, see Mozzillo, Introduction to *Viaggiatori stranieri nel Sud*, ed. Mozzillo, 69–70; Taine, *Italy: Rome and Naples*, 24.
157. Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour*, 17, 198–9.
158. Addison, *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy*, 430.
159. Noted in Mozzillo, *La frontiera del Grand Tour*, 45–6.
160. Boswell, *Boswell on the Grand Tour*: Boswell to Jean-Jacques Rousseau, October 3, 1765, 5–6; Boswell to John Johnston, March 19, 1765, 59; Boswell to William Johnson Temple, April 22, 1765, 67; see also Appendix C, 321.
161. Swinburne, *Travels in the Two Sicilies*, Vol. III, 112–15, 118–19, 241–3.
162. Moore, *A View of Society and Manners in Italy*, 339, 416–18.
163. Koch, *Schönheit und Dekadenz*, 103.
164. Koch, *Schönheit und Dekadenz*, 139.
165. Ramage, *Ramage in South Italy*, 199.
166. Jameson, *Diary of an Ennuyée*, 247.
167. Dennistoun, *Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino*, Vol. III, 39.
168. For Vesuvius as symbol, see Moe, *The View from Vesuvius*, 45. Ruta observes that, thanks to travelers such as Brydone and Houël, “il mito etneo” became one of the great themes of the Grand Tour. See Ruta, *Viaggiatori in Sicilia*, 14, 24. However, William Lithgow had already ascended Etna in the early seventeenth century. See Lithgow, *The Totall Discourse*, 390–2.
169. Bouchard, *Journal*, Vol. II, 316.
170. Noted by Mozzillo, *La frontiera del Grand Tour*, 50.
171. Daniel Defoe, *A True Born Englishman* (1700), in *The Works of Daniel Defoe*, Vol. 11 (New York: The Jenson Society, 1907), 236–7.
172. Addison, *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy*, 428
173. Baretti, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of Italy*, Vol. II, 298.
174. Brydone, *A Tour through Sicily and Malta*, Vol. I, 178–9.
175. Piozzi, *Observations and Reflections*, ed. Barrows, 260.
176. Richard Hamblyn, “Private Cabinets and Popular Geology: The British Audiences for Volcanoes in the Eighteenth Century,” in Chard and Langdon, eds., *Transports*, 188, 191, 204n.
177. Mozzillo, *La frontiera del Grand Tour*, 12–3n.
178. Moore, *A View of the Manners and Customs of Italy*, 417–18.
179. Catherine Wilmot, *An Irish Peer on the Continent, 1801–1803* (London, 1924), quoted in Chloe Chard, Introduction to Chard and Langdon, eds., *Transports*, 12.
180. Bonstetten, *The Man of the South, and the Man of the North*, 13. Already in his correspondence from Naples during his visit of 1774 Bonstetten had anticipated in his evaluation of the natives some of the basic elements of his

description of the “man of the Midi.” In no way resembling the Transalpine peoples, the Neapolitans were in his view lively, passionate, intensely imaginative, incapable of the least effort or attention, and politically servile. However, the apparently absolutist implications of the last trait contrast with the more qualified determinism of Bonstetten’s later climatic theory, which he had not yet formulated. See Herking, *Charles-Victor de Bonstetten*, 107.

181. Stendhal, quoted in Crouzet, *Stendhal et l’Italianité*, 244; Lady Morgan, *Italy*, Vol. II, 334.
182. Lady Morgan, *The Life and Times of Salvator Rosa*, Vol. I (London, 1824), 106, quoted in O’Connor, *The Romance of Italy and the English Political Imagination*, 42.
183. Astarita, *Between Salt Water and Holy Water*, 274.
184. Ramage, *Ramage in South Italy*, 75.
185. Bignan, *Le Landscape Français, Italie*, 1833, excerpted in *Italies*, ed. Hersant, 835.
186. Jane Waldie, Preface to *Sketches Descriptive of Italy*, Vol. I, 180, quoted in O’Connor, *The Romance of Italy and the English Political Imagination*, 41.
187. John Ruskin, *The Diaries of John Ruskin, 1835–1847*, ed. Joan Evans and John Howard Whitehouse (Oxford: Clarendon, 1956), 166. In a reminiscence of a visit to Rome’s Pincio in the late 1840s, George Stillman Hillard describes the faces of Roman women as “volcanic,” capable of exploding at any moment into love hatred, jealousy, or revenge. See Hillard, *Six Months in Italy*, Vol. II, 285.
188. Wright, *American Novelists in Italy*, 94.
189. Craven, *A Tour through the Southern Provinces of the Kingdom of Naples*, 417.
190. Sells, *The Paradise of Travelers*, 133.
191. Gambino, *Blood of My Blood*, 65.
192. Sells, *The Paradise of Travellers*, 174–7, 177n. For seventeenth-century eruptions of Vesuvius, see also Misson, *A New Voyage to Italy*, 398, 407; he mentions instances in 1631, 1682, 1685, and 1684.
193. Brydone, *A Tour through Sicily and Malta*, Vol. I, 24–5, 28, 31.
194. Moe, *The View from Vesuvius*, 45.
195. Sells, *The Paradise of Travellers*, 177n. Moore mentions a major eruption of 1767 that he had read about in a description by Sir William Hamilton. During his visit of 1717, George Berkeley observed the eruption of Vesuvius, a description of which he later communicated to the Royal Society in London. According to Swinburne, who visited Naples in the late 1770s, Vesuvius had “of late years . . . so redoubled its violence, as to emit smoke continually, and every year, at least, a torrent of lava.” See Moore, *A View of Manners and Society in Italy*, 361; Berkeley, *Works*, Vol. VII, “The Eruption of Mount Vesuvius,” 247–50; Swinburne, *Travels in the Two Sicilies*, Vol. I, 73, 77, 89–90. See also Simond, *A Tour in Italy and Sicily*, 417; Astarita, *Between Salt Water and Holy Water*, 228.
196. Goethe, *Italian Journey*, 215. For Goethe’s view of Naples and Sicily as a land of contradictions, where the paradise of the world is menaced by volcanoes, see Martinet, *Le Voyage d’Italie dans les littératures européennes*, 118.
197. On this point, see Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour*, 124–5.

198. The late eighteenth-century German traveler Bartels similarly identifies the landscape of Mt. Etna with a contrast between beauty and fertility on the one hand and danger and destructiveness on the other. See Marraro, "Italy and the Italians of the Eighteenth Century seen by Americans": 66.
199. Misson, *A New Voyage to Italy*, Vol. I, 395–6.
200. Berkeley, *Journals of Travels in Italy*, Works, Vol. VII, 327.
201. Dupaty, *Sentimental Letters on Italy*, Vol. II, Letter CI, 149.
202. Quoted in Koch, *Schönheit und Dekadenz*, 195.
203. Craven, *A Tour through the Southern Provinces of the Kingdom of Naples*, 414.
204. O'Connor, *The Romance of Italy and the English Political Imagination*, 42.
205. Brydone, *A Tour through Sicily and Malta*, Vol. I, 19–20, 23–4, 186–7.
206. Jarves, *Italian Sights and Papal Principles*, 167.
207. Vallois, *Fictions féminines*, 144, 144n, and Maija Lehtonen, "Le fleuve du temps et le fleuve de l'enfer: Thèmes et images dans *Corinne* de Mme. de Staël," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 3–4 (1967): 225–42, 391–408; 1 (1968): 101–28.
208. Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy (Inferno)*, trans. Charles Singleton (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970): Canto 26, ll. 25–33. Eustace was also impressed by the spectacle of fireflies (*luciole*) in the vicinity of Naples. See Eustace, *A Tour through Italy*, Vol. I, 485.
209. Staël, *Corinne*, 242, 195, 206.
210. Staël, *Oeuvres complètes*, Vol. I, 240.
210. Gutwirth, *Madame de Staël, Novelist*, 301–2, notes the connection between Corinne and fire, identifies her with the culture-bearer Prometheus, and, following the speculations of Erica Jong, even suggests that Prometheus was a woman. On this theme, see also Lewis, *Germaine de Staël, George Sand, and the Victorian Woman Artist*, 22, 26, 28.
212. Swinburne, *Travels in the Two Sicilies*, Vol. III, 62.
213. For Vulcan, see Oscar Seyffert, ed., *A Dictionary of Classical Antiquities* (New York: Meridian Books, 1956), 691–2; N.G.L. Hammond and H.H. Scullard, eds., *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1970), 1130–1; Henry Thurston Peck, ed., *Harper's Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities* (New York: Cooper Square Publisher's, 1963), 1668. Patrick Brydone, who devotes much attention to the volcanic geology of Naples and Sicily, notes that Virgil locates the forge of Vulcan in Hiera (or Volcano), one of the Lipari islands; see Brydone, *A Tour through Sicily and Malta*, Vol. I, 38.
214. Hogsett, *The Literary Existence of Madame de Staël*, 107, 143.
215. Gennari, *Le premier voyage de Madame de Staël en Italie*, 154, 157.
216. Staël, *Oeuvres complètes*, Vol. I, 744.
217. Noted by Lewis, *Germaine de Staël, George Sand, and the Victorian Woman Artist*, 30–1. In her hybridity, Corinne resembles Mignon in Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship*, both characters being identified with realms of alterity and marginality such as the circus and theater. As Monika Bosse puts it, Mignon is a "paria, d'étrangère absolue, non récupérable par les structures traditionnelles de la vie sociale et affective." See Bosse, "*Corinne ou l'Italie*," 93.

218. Stendhal misremembers this scene in his Third Article on the Salon of 1824, in which he discusses Francois Gérard's second version (1824) of his painting *Corinne at Cape Misenus*. Incapable in Stendhal's view of responding to Corinne's impassioned utterance, the Englishwomen portrayed in the painting are for him consistent with what he regards as Staël's justly negative criticism of English reserve and propriety. However, Corinne's lyric awakens "spontaneous enjoyment" in a Neapolitan fisherman, while the "only person [in the painting] to respond openly and completely to Corinne's talent, without any afterthought or reservation to spoil his enjoyment, is a pauper who lives from hand to mouth." An "admirable portrayal of the passionate intensity with which the Southern nations listen to music," this *lazzarone* is for Stendhal "wholly typical of Italy," although he adds that Staël gives a "slightly exaggerated portrait of the country." Actually, Staël's representation of the scene at Cape Misenus is interesting partly because it avoids the ethnic clichés and antitheses that Stendhal imposes upon it. See David Wakefield, trans. and ed., *Stendhal and the Arts* (New York: Phaidon, 1973), 96–8. See also Sheriff, *The Exceptional Woman: Elizabeth Vigée-Lebrun and the Cultural Politics of Art*, 251–2.
219. Vallois plausibly compares Corinne to Freud's uncanny double on the grounds that, as a living being standing for the whole of Italy, she bears an indeterminate relationship to the country's fragmented, inanimate ruins, which she seeks to animate vocally. However, Vallois does not link Corinne's doubleness to her ultimate victimization as a figure of disturbing undifferentiation. See Vallois, "Old Idols, New Subjects: Germaine de Staël and Romanticism," 89; Vallois, "Voyage au pays des doubles: Ruines et mélancholie chez Mme. de Staël," *L'Esprit Créateur*, 25 (1985): 75–85.
220. In *Praeterita* Ruskin says of Vesuvius that "the valley of ashes and throats of lava . . . were visible hell." See Ruskin, *Works*, ed. Cook and Wedderburn, 35. 545. On the opposition between the beautiful, identified with "softness," femininity, and the loss of mental and emotional control, and the sublime, identified with manly invigoration, self-confirmation, and emotional responsiveness as a form of power, raising the soul to the level of the sublime objects that it confronts, see Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour*, 114–25, 196–7.
221. Gennari, *Le premier voyage de Madame de Staël en Italie*, 54.
222. Girard, "The Plague in Literature and Myth," in "To Double Business Bound": *Essays on Literature, Mimesis, and Anthropology* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), 136–54, esp. 137–9.
223. Staël, *Corinne*, 294–5; Théophile Gautier, *The Works of Théophile Gautier*, Vol. VII, trans. F.C. de Sumichrast (New York: George D. Sproul, 1901), 46–51, 54–5; Bertaut, *L'Italie vue par les français*, 171, 172; Martinet, *Le voyage d'Italie dans les littératures européennes*, 121, 129, 147; Churchill, *Italy and English Literature, 1764–1830*, 26–8, 61. For Northern European travelers' widely varying impressions of the gondola from the Renaissance to the twentieth century, see Milton Wilson, "Travellers' Venice: Some Images for Byron and Shelley," *University of Toronto Quarterly*, 43, 2 (Winter 1974): 93–6; Jeanne Clegg,

- Ruskin and Venice* (London: Junction Books, 1981), 21, 194n. According to G. Voisine, the eighteenth century witnessed a gradual transformation of Venice from that of the humanists and moralists into its nineteenth-century poetic version, with the pre-Romantic William Beckford initiating the last stage in this development. See Voisine, "Voyageurs anglais a Venise au XVIIIe siècle," in *Venezia nelle letterature moderne (Atti del Primo Congresso dell'Associazione Internazionale de Letteratura Comparata)*, ed. Carlo Pellegrini (Venezia-Roma: Istituto per la Collaborazione Culturale, 1955), 62.
224. *The Daughter of the Air or the Elevation of Semiramis*, a three-act play, which Staël saw in Venice, was first produced in 1786; see Goldberger, Explanatory Notes to *Corinne*, 433n.
225. Gutwirth, *Madame de Staël, Novelist*, 223–7, shows that Staël's love for her own father underlies Corinne's submissiveness to paternal law. See also Dejean, *Fictions of Sappho*, 179, 181.
226. Gutwirth writes insightfully of Corinne's (and Staël's) masochistic internalization of patriarchal values. See Gutwirth, *Madame de Staël, Novelist*, 207–8, 296–8, 307.
227. See also Staël, *Corinne*, 364: Corinne identifies with the Passion of Christ.
228. Gutwirth discusses Corinne's recriminations while implying if not directly stating the differences between her and the socially purifying scapegoat. See Gutwirth, *Madame de Staël, Novelist*, 256, 276, 307.
229. Vallois, *Fictions féminines*, 160; Gutwirth, *Madame de Staël, Novelist*, 211–12.
230. Balayé, *Les carnets de voyage de Madame de Staël*, 412–13; Imbert, *Stendhal, ou les métamorphoses de la Liberté*, 178–9, 244–7, 340; Pellegrini, *Madame de Staël il gruppo de Coppet*, 51; Staël to Sismondi, October 20, 1815, in Pellegrini, *Madame de Staël e il gruppo di Coppet*, 193–4. Stendhal, *Rome, Naples et Florence (1826)*, 291, 297–8, 339, 378–9, 409, 501–2. As Balayé remarks, Staël would have preferred for Italy to gain its unity by means other than a Napoleonic despotism. See Balayé, "Madame de Staël et l'Europe napoléonienne," 27. Scholars continue to debate whether the political and social condition of Italy improved under the Napoleonic occupation, and whether it had a lasting effect on the peninsula. Another major question has been to what extent the Napoleonic occupation contributed to Italian unification, both through its practical initiatives and reorientation of the mentality of the Italians generally, so long dominated by local and sectional loyalties. Notwithstanding that the Second Cisalpine Republic was republican only in name and was soon replaced by the Kingdom of Italy, it is widely held that the Napoleonic administration, based closely on the centralizing French model, was honest and efficient by previous Italian standards. This new administration was responsible for the abolition of feudalism, even in Naples, as well as the sale of an enormous number of ecclesiastical properties. The elimination of primogeniture was another important economic and social reform. Besides the rationalization and simplification of the legal system on the basis of the French civil code, the public debt was restructured and internal tolls were abolished. The law of entail (a feudal vestige) also disappeared, free compulsory education was instituted, and uniformity of weights and measures was introduced.

The price of a national army was that Italians were subjected to conscription, which they widely resented; moreover, heavy taxes were imposed to support the army, and these too were resented. The flooding of Italy with French goods caused its home industries to suffer; on the other hand, agriculture did well. In general, the standard of living for the masses declined, but the upper and middle classes prospered.

Regarding the long-term effects of Napoleonic rule, Gregory notes that, with respect to Napoleon's imperial possessions in Italy, almost all of his administrative reforms proved irreversible. These included the abolition of feudalism, not least in the South, the continuation of French legal codes and centralized forms of bureaucratic organization, the abolition of entail, and the removal of large areas from ecclesiastical ownership. Michael Broers likewise finds much truth in the traditional judgement of historians that Napoleon brought the modern state to Italy, which was needed for unification and the creation of a *paese civile*. On the other hand, he emphasizes that though the Italians borrowed much from the French after 1814, they refused to adopt the essence of their state, as they feared overcentralization and administrative "geometry." Thus many independent sources of private power continued to exist alongside the new Italian government.

Can it then be said that all of Napoleon's interventions necessarily tended in the direction of Italian unity? According to D.S. Walker, the Napoleonic occupation swept away the "inertia" and "stagnation" of centuries, "putting in motion a series of upheavals and which was to end in 1870." A.P. Greaves in a recent study of Stendhal takes it for granted that Napoleon more than anyone else established the foundation for a united Italy, as he supposedly enabled the Italians to see that they could be unified, and also because his administrative system covered much of the peninsula. These claims, however, must be taken cautiously. To begin with, not only were the two Cisalpine republics masks for French domination, but also Napoleon had no interest in either liberating Italy or creating national unity. As Luigi Salvatorelli remarks, Napoleon though originally of Italian background totally identified with France and regarded himself as French. Indeed, his motto was "France avant tout." Nor was there an immediate movement for the unification of the peninsula after 1815. Although Gregory extols what he sees as Napoleon's creation of a secular-minded middle class, whose essential role in the foundation of a future national state had previously been argued for by Stendhal, Broers has recently shown that the occupying French for reasons of contempt and suspicion rarely made use of Italians in the upper or middle levels of their imperial bureaucracy but rather relied on trained Frenchmen. The result was that the Italian elites failed to identify with or participate in Napoleon's imperial government. Broers adds that this division between the French and Italian elites had severe negative repercussions in Italy after unification, for whereas in the eighteenth century a genuine public sphere had existed in Italy, whereby state and society could interact, the French in driving a wedge between these realms alienated many Italians from their government and thus contributed to a mentality of privatization and

civic nonparticipation that was subsequently to plague the newly formed Italian state. Besides accentuating the existing economic divisions among the Italians, Napoleon in dividing the country into various subordinate or satellite states of the Empire “positively hindered” national unification, according to Desmond Gregory. But he observes on the positive side that the national army formed under Napoleon marked an important step toward the emergence of a national consciousness in that it helped to create a common Italian language while weakening local allegiances; Stendhal says much the same thing. In sum, Gregory concludes that Napoleon made a significant contribution the importance of which should not be exaggerated. Salvatorelli similarly refers to the “ambiguity” and “equivocation” of the Napoleonic era in Italy, which, despite its liberalizing impact in some spheres, he regards as a “regression” by comparison with the preceding revolutionary period. See Walker, *A Geography of Italy*, 39; Greaves, *Stendhal’s Italy: Themes of Religious and Political Satire*, 24, 29; Gregory, *Napoleon’s Italy*, 65–6, 69–70, 75–77, 119–35, 137–9, 144–6, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 156–7, 176–7, 179–80, 184, 185–7; Procacci, *History of the Italian People*, 258–69; Salvatorelli, *The Risorgimento*, xvii, 61–8; Header, *Italy in the Age of the Risorgimento, 1790–1870*, 21–30, 163–4; Imbert, *Les métamorphoses de la liberté*, 192, 192n; Broers, *The Napoleonic Empire in Italy, 1796–1814*, 7, 8, 16–17, 25, 26, 35, 49–51, 84, 118, 125–6, 137, 177, 178, 193–7, 201–3, 207, 231, 235, 237–40, 245, 260, 275, 278, 284, 285, 287–98.

231. Balayé, *Les carnets de voyage de Madame de Staël*, 411–2 Staël to Sismondi, October 20, 1815, in Pellegrini, *Madame de Staël e il gruppo di Coppet*, 193–4; see also 130. For Stendhal’s views of the Austrian regime, see Imbert, *Les métamorphoses de la Liberté*, 253–4, 259, 305–8, 339. Although Lady Morgan was influenced by *Corinne*, she differs from Staël (and the contemporary British traveler John Chetwode Eustace) in emphasizing the benefits conferred upon Italy by Napoleon and his administrators, for instance road-building, irrigation, improvement of commerce, administrative justice, consistency in the legal code, and abolition of all kinds of obscurantism. On the other hand, Lady Morgan shares Staël’s disdain of Austrian rule in Italy after the Restoration. See Whitfield, “Mr Eustace and Lady Morgan,” 167, 180, 181, 182, 183; Eustace, *A Tour through Italy*, Vol. I, viii–ix, xiv, 38–9, 74, 76, 126, 127, 159, 253; Eustace, *A Tour through Italy*, Vol. II, 105–6, 126–7, 130, 131.
232. See Gérard Gemgembre and Jean Goldzink, “L’opinion dans *Corinne*,” 56: “La mort de *Corinne* n’ouvre pas le moindre espoir d’une renaissance de l’Italie.” Yet would be misleading to imply that Staël had become altogether pessimistic toward Italy’s future in her final years, as contrary evidence is provided by her essay of 1816 on the spirit of translations. Appearing in Italian translation in the same year, the essay was motivated by her desire to foster both a literary and indirectly a political renewal in Italy by persuading its writers to energize their writing through the translation of foreign authors. So too, rather than representing Stendhal as an unqualified

supporter of the Risorgimento, one needs to acknowledge his lukewarm and even skeptical response toward Italian liberationist movements following the Restoration, at the beginning of which Staël mistakenly thought Italy to be sinking into its own debris. Despite the tragic fate of Staël's heroine, and also despite the gloomy portrait of a seemingly dying Italy in the final pages of Staël's novel, Charles Dejob holds that the work's initial optimism toward the possibility of a free Italy united under a republican government reveals a more passionately enthusiastic and historically justified commitment to the Risorgimento than what appears in Stendhal's writings from 1815 onward. According to Dejob, Stendhal was too absorbed by Italian art, music, and upper-class society to recognize the full potential of the political insurgence of his own day, which would bring the Risorgimento to completion within several decades. At the same time, Stendhal was so doubtful of Italy's capacity for constitutional government that he seriously entertained the idea that Italian unity required the intervention of a despot like Napoleon—an assumption that, as Dejob remarks, proved to be false, since Italy adopted republicanism upon its unification. A more recent study by H.-F. Imbert suggests that, though Stendhal long remained fascinated by Napoleonic-style absolutism as the basis for a unified Italy, he largely favored a constitutional government of the bicameral type. However, for all his sympathy with the Risorgimento, he doubted not only the political maturity of the Italian masses but also the methods and competence of the Italian revolutionaries. An apostle of rationality and system, Stendhal found the revolutionaries to be too violent, and thus incapable of laying the foundation for a stable government. Their failure to carry through on three attempted revolutions between 1820 and 1831 also made them appear ineffectual in Stendhal's eyes. His comic and generally unflattering portrayal of the idealistic but impractical revolutionary conspirator Ferrante Palla in *The Charterhouse of Parma* affords a good indication of his attitudes toward the Risorgimento. In Stendhal's view, any revolution requires a careful assessment of the true needs of the nation. For all these reasons, thought Stendhal, Italy could only expect a long march, perhaps of a hundred years, toward constitutional government. Though never a reactionary, he described himself as "very cool" toward politics as early as 1820. See Dejob, *Madame de Staël et l'Italie*, 105–7; Pratt, "Madame de Staël and the Italian articles of 1816": 444, 446, 450, 452; Imbert, *Stendhal, ou les métamorphoses de la Liberté*, 192, 197, 241, 272–3, 283, 287, 296, 606, 607; Francesco Novati, *Stendhal e l'anima italiana* (Milan: Cogliati, 1914), 82–3, 85–6; Stendhal, *Rome, Naples et Florence (1826)*, 291, 325, 378, 474, 560; Venturi, "L'Italia fuori d'Italia", 1214.

233. Hanlon, *Early Modern Italy, 1550–1800*, viii, 368–9.
234. Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism: 15th–18th Century*, Vol. II, *The Wheels of Commerce*, trans. Sian Reynolds (New York: Harper and Row, 1986), 578–80.
235. Putnam, *Making Democracy Work*, 83–162, 165, 180–5. This is not to deny that many historians, both Italian and American, question Putnam's attempt

to explain the impressive civic performance of Northern and Central Italy in recent centuries as against the much poorer performance of Southern Italy during the same period as the long-term consequence of the superior civic culture of the former region going all the way back to the later Middle Ages. For some historians, Putnam's "path dependence" model is overly deterministic, while others argue that he fails to clarify the mechanism by which to explain the perdurability of civic attitudes and institutions over the *longue durée*, for much of which Italy was under foreign domination. Putnam has also been faulted not only for exaggerating the conformity of medieval and Renaissance Italian cities with his more modern conception of the civic, but for underestimating the presence of civic institutions and initiatives in Southern Italy in the period under consideration. For other historians, his attempt to explain the regional disparities in civic performance neglects the more recent historical forces that have chiefly determined them and lie not in civic culture per se but in politics and economics. See Sidney Tarrow, "Making Social Science Work Across Space and Time: A Critical Reflection on Robert Putnam's *Making Democracy Work*," *American Political Science Review*, 90 (June 1996): 389–97; Paolo Feltrin, review of Putnam, *La tradizione civica nelle regioni italiane*, *Rivista italiana di scienza politica*, 24 (April 1994): 169–72; Leonardo Morlino, Review of *Making Democracy Work*, *Journal of Democracy*, 6, 1 (1995): 173–7; Per Mouritsen, *What's the Civil in Civil Society? Robert Putnam's Italian Republicanism* (Florence: Badia Fiesolana, San Domenico, 2001), 2–5, 11–12; Arnaldo Bagnasco, "Regioni, tradizioni civiche, modernizzazione italiana: un commento alla ricerca di Putnam," *Stato e mercato*, 40 (April 1994): 93–103, esp. 97, 99, 100; Jonathan Morris, "Challenging Meridionalism: Constructing a New History of Southern Italy," in *The New History of the Italian South*, ed. Lumley and Morris, 9–11. The following essays appear in *Politics and Society*, 24 (March 1996): Ellis Goldberg, "Thinking About How Democracy Works": 7–18; Filippo Sabetti, "Path Dependency and Civic Culture: Some Lessons from Italy about Interpreting Social Experiments": 19–44; Margaret Levi, "Social and Unsocial Capital: A Review Essay of Robert Putnam's *Making Democracy Work*": 45–55. See also the following essays in *Polis*, 8 (August 1994): Gianfranco Pasquino, "La politica eclissata dalla tradizione civica": 307–11; Samuel K. Cohn, "La storia secondo Robert Putnam": 315–24; Robert D. Putnam, "Lo storico e l'attivista": 325–8.

Yet though Putnam has received much criticism for claiming upon scant evidence the persistence of Italy's republican traditions, even during the period of foreign occupation, as the basis for its current civic renewal, Michael Broers appears to provide at least partial support for such a thesis. Broers notes that when Napoleon's occupying armies arrived in Italy in the 1790s, they found a "sophisticated, highly evolved public opinion" that was not only widespread but also had "deep roots in the tradition of municipal republicanism, both in the larger capital cities such as Florence and Genoa, and in many provincial centers." He adds that, even in absolutist Piedmont,

“civic republicanism was from dead in the provincial towns, as in Turin itself,” and that in Northern Italy as early as the 1660s the determination of praise or blame on the basis of public opinion had proved an effective check upon rulers. See Broers, *The Napoleonic Empire in Italy, 1796–1814*, 8, 16–17, 27, 37, 38, 234, 292, 293–4. According to Carlo Tullio-Altan, Roman Italy’s traditions of ancient *civitas* “miraculously” survived into the later Middle Ages when they helped to revive the Italian maritime republics. Were this hypothesis correct, contemporary Italian civicness would derive from sources historically far remoter from the present than even the distant centuries in which Putnam locates them. See Tullio-Altan, *Una nazione senza religione civile*, 65. In a discussion of the Risorgimento patriot Domenico Romagnosi, Adrian Lyttelton remarks Romagnosi’s belief that “in spite of the bureaucratic excesses of the later Roman Empire, the heritage of Etruscan and Italian civilization, together with Roman law, had survived the barbarian invasions and provided the foundations for the communal revival of the Middle Ages.” See Lyttelton, “Creating a National Past,” 44.

In the early 1960s Almond and Verba feared that the political and social traits of mistrust, personalism, particularism, uncooperativeness, suspicion of democracy and the marketplace, and lack of civic participation that the Italians had acquired during the preceding centuries of national disunity and subjection would endanger Italy’s chances of taking a permanent place among the modern industrial democracies. In subsequent decades the question continued to be debated whether Italy was moving closer to or away from Europe. More recently, however, statistical indicators show definite increases in trust, universalism, cooperativeness, prodemocracy, promarket capitalism, and “civicness,” all of which brings Italy much closer to the European and American norm. See Almond and Verba, *Civic Culture, passim*; Cavalli, “Reflections on Political Culture”: 126–35.

Index

- Abbot, George, 317
- Accademia degli Arcadia (Arcadian Academy), 34, 39–41, 132, 133, 134, 257–8, 259, 261–2
- Accetto, Torquato, 92, 280
Della dissimulazione onesta, 92, 280
- Accolto, Bernardo, 274
- Acheron, 228
- Acton, Harold, 330
- Adams, Henry, 271
- Addison, Joseph, 22, 29, 30, 43, 88, 96, 97, 152, 154, 159, 173, 181, 205, 211, 213, 243, 262, 277, 282, 306, 322, 333, 334
- Adler, George Christian, 3
- Adriatic, 50, 96, 154, 322
- Aeneas, 137, 140, 229
- Aeneid, The*, 228, 323
- Africa, 256
- Agnese (Agnesi), Maria Gaetana, 138, 333
- Agro Romano, 99, 100, 101, 176, 285
- Alberti, Leone Battista, 231, 241, 274
- Alcamo, 313
- Alcuin, 168
- Alexander VI, Pope, 314, 315
- Alexander, Sidney, 241
- Alfieri, Vittorio, 19, 34, 43, 74, 131, 132, 148, 229, 273, 299
- Allston, Washington, 2
- Almond, Gabriel, 92, 240, 280, 343
- Alps, 103, 226, 228, 229
- Amaryllis Etrusca (Teresa Bandettini Landucci), 36, 37–8, 258, 260
- Amazons, 160, 224, 302
- Amfiteatrof, Erik, 117, 142, 290, 302
- Ammianus Marcellinus, 83, 273
- Amoia, Alba, 316
- Amoretti, Maria Pellegrini, 302
- Amoss, Benjamin McRae, 236
- Ampère, Jean Jacques, 285
- Ancien Régime, 79, 201, 265
- Ancona, 26, 50, 51, 56, 97, 150, 154, 220, 223, 224
- Anderson, Hans Christian, 2
- Andrews, Wayne, 257
- Andrieux, Maurice, 37, 40, 128, 135, 142, 154, 155, 158, 175, 176, 236, 257, 260, 261, 281, 291, 292, 293, 295, 297, 302, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 315
- Angevins, 86
- Anghiari, Battle of, 274
- Anglicanism, 60
- Anhalt-Kohlen, Ludwig zu, 317
- Aphrodite, 140, 221
- Appenines, 29, 227
- Appius Claudius, 171
- Arabia Felix, 151
- Archenholz, J.V., 22, 250
- Ariosto, Ludovico, 19, 72, 130, 131, 133, 134
- Aristotle, 27, 251, 254
- Arlacchi, Pino, 332
- Arlecchino, 164
- Armida, 147, 221
- Arnaldi, Girolamo, 273
- Arno, 225
- Arnold, Matthew, 2
- Arnold, Thomas, 195

- Ascham, Roger, 139, 276, 299, 317
 Asclepiades, 178
 Ascoli, Albert Russell, 264
 Ashby, Thomas, 174, 315
 Ashe, St. George, 318
 Astarita, Tommaso, 317, 318, 321, 322,
 324, 325, 328, 329, 330, 335
 Athens, 34
 Atlantic Ocean, 6, 7, 9, 10
 Austen, Jane, 2
 Aymard, Maurice, 9, 245
- Bacon, Sir Francis, 280
 Bagnasco, Arnaldo, 342
 Baird, Robert, Rev., 117, 127, 209
 Baker, Paul R., 104, 127, 136, 172, 234,
 236, 261, 279, 286, 288, 290, 294,
 297, 298, 306, 314, 319, 320, 328,
 332
 Bakhtin, Mikhail, 45, 155, 157, 307, 308
 Balayé, Simone, 64, 74, 75, 165, 182,
 236, 246, 247, 249, 250, 255, 257,
 258, 259, 262, 263, 267, 270, 271,
 272, 273, 283, 290, 294, 295, 298,
 304, 309, 311, 313, 321, 324, 326,
 338, 340
 Balbo, Cesare, 5
 Bancroft, George, 196
 Banfield, Edward C., 201, 202, 330, 332
 Banfield, Laura F., 274
 Barbagli, Marzio, 122, 123, 290, 292, 293
 Barbarigo, Caterina Sagredo, 310
 Barclay, John, 29, 252
 Baretti, Giuseppe, 29, 36, 39, 89, 96,
 111–12, 113, 120, 131, 132, 135,
 140, 152, 190, 213, 233, 252, 259,
 277, 282, 289, 296, 297, 300, 306,
 325, 334
*An Account of the Manners and
 Customs of Italy*, 36, 111, 233,
 252, 289
 Bartels, Johann Heinrich, 336
 Barzini, Luigi, 2, 92, 107, 108, 239, 254,
 276, 279, 288
The Italians, 2, 239, 254, 279
 Basadonna, Lucrezia, 310
- Basilicata, 26, 179
 Bassi (Verati), Laura, 138, 143, 302
 Batten, Charles J., 140, 300
Bayadères, 150
 Bayle, Pierre, 249
 Bayley, C.C., 274
 Bazin, R., 31, 253, 319, 320
 Beasley, E.C., 272
 Beauharnais, Eugene Eugène de, 90
 Beautiful, the (as aesthetic category
 identified with Southern Europe),
 20, 138, 215, 222, 337
 Beccaria, Cesare, 19, 34, 132
 Beckford, William, 29, 43, 88, 96, 150,
 169, 191, 205, 252, 276, 282, 286,
 305, 313, 325, 333, 338
 Bembo, Cardinal, Pietro, 133, 134, 156,
 158
 Benard, Nicholas, 317
 Benedict XIV, Pope, 100
 Benevento, Battle of, 86
 Benson, Eugene, 284
 Benzon, Maria Querini, 310
 Berenson, Bernard, 6, 243
 Berger, Morroe, 233, 236, 247, 250,
 263, 267, 270, 272, 305
 Berger, Peter, 266
 Berkeley, George, 26, 135, 168, 181,
 184, 216, 250, 297, 312, 318, 322,
 323, 336
 Bertaut, Jules, 33, 236, 246, 254, 308,
 317, 337
 Bertola, Abbé, 260
 Biamonti, Abbe, 36
Biblioteca italiana, 273
 Bibliothèque Nationale, 45
 Bierstadt, Albert, 306
 Bignan, Annie, 214, 335
 Billington, Ray Allen, 294
 Birago, Francesco, 280
 Birkin, Sigmund von, 317
 Bizzocchi, Roberto, 122, 123,
 291, 292
 Black, Christopher, 245, 282, 286, 295,
 299, 303, 304, 308, 312, 320, 322,
 325, 330

- Black, Jeremy, 190, 288, 299, 317, 318, 319, 325
- Blackett, William, 191
- Blainville, 93, 172, 181, 281
- Blanchard, Paula, 234
- Blasi, Yolanda di, 260
- Blessington, Lady Margaret, 30, 140, 193, 214, 253, 300, 313
- Block, W., 85
- Blok, Anton, 317
- Blunt, Anthony, 321, 322
- Blunt, John James, 36, 98, 127, 140, 173, 259, 284, 294, 300, 307, 314
- Boccaccio, 19, 72, 131, 134, 138, 148, 248
- Boccalini, Troiano, 92
- Boileau-Despréaux, Nicholas, 130, 131, 132, 295
- Bollati, Giulio, 234, 239, 252, 258
L'Italiano, 234, 253, 258
- Bologna, 30, 35, 97, 138, 166, 223, 228
- Boniface VIII, Pope, 176
- Bonstetten, Charles-Victor, 28, 34, 74, 85, 98, 118, 169, 170, 214, 252, 256, 257, 259, 270, 271, 274, 283, 291, 313, 325, 334
L'Homme du midi et l'homme du nord (The Man of the North, and the Man of the South), 28, 118, 214, 252, 291, 335
Voyage sur la scene du six livres de l'Eneide, 74, 98, 283, 325
- Borgia, Rodrigo, 314
- Bosse, Monika, 235, 272, 336
- Boswell, James, 110, 181, 191, 211, 256, 289, 299, 309, 310, 334
- Bouchard, Jean-Jacques, 26, 188, 212, 251, 317, 324, 334
- Bouhours, Dominique, 131
- Bourcard, Francesco de, 86
- Bouvy, Eugene, 258, 259, 260
- Bowen, Emanuel, 27, 96, 168, 251, 282
- Bowen, John, 309
- Bowman, Frank, 12, 247, 258, 270
- Boyle, John, Earl of Corke and Orrery, 88, 277
- Braccini, Abbé, 215
- Bracciolini, Poggio, 248
- Brand, C.P., 262, 296
- Braschi, Duke, 173, 174
- Braudel, Fernand, 8, 10, 33, 231, 244, 245, 254, 259, 287, 312, 315, 318, 319, 342
- Braunschweig-Bevern, Ferdinand Albrecht von, 317
- Breckinridge, Robert Jefferson, Rev., 127
- Breithaupt, J. Fr., 317
- Breval, John, 317
- Brewster, Anna Hampton, 325
- Brilli, Attilio, 83, 234, 273, 288, 320
- Broers, Michael, 252, 269, 274, 275, 282, 284, 290, 305, 306, 310, 311, 340, 343
- Brontë, Charlotte, 2
- Brooks, Van Wyck, 234, 260, 261, 278, 301, 320
- Brosses, Charles de, 37, 40, 43, 66, 89, 93, 114, 181, 183, 189, 201, 210, 260, 268, 277, 281, 290, 321, 324, 334
- Brothers Brandolini (improvisers), 38
- Brown, Judith, 244
- Browning, Christopher, 288
- Browning, Elizabeth Barrett, 2, 127, 235, 300
- Browning, Robert, 2, 159, 269, 310
- Brudenell, John, Lord, 318
- Bruni, Leonardo, 248, 274
- Bruno, Giordano, 7
- Bruschini, Enrico, 316
- Brydone, Patrick, 27, 43, 112, 139, 181, 204, 211, 213, 215, 216, 217, 251, 300, 318, 319, 320, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337
- Bullen, J.B., 249
- Burckhardt, Jacob, 5, 65, 175, 231, 241, 249, 291, 308, 315
The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy, 5, 241, 249
- Burdach, Konrad, 255
- Burke, Edmund, 248

- Burke, Peter, 37, 92, 106, 155, 156, 157, 158, 161, 197, 237, 247, 249, 250, 259, 273, 276, 277, 280, 287, 288, 293, 297, 300, 302, 307, 308, 310, 324, 328
- Burn, R., 171
- Burnet, Gilbert, 22, 27, 87, 88, 95, 97, 99, 135, 168, 172, 173, 184, 202, 205, 243, 276, 282, 297, 312, 314, 322, 332, 333
- Burney, Fanny, 2
- Buzard, James, 301
- Byron, Lord, 3, 30, 115–16, 117, 119, 121, 123, 137, 140, 141, 153, 159, 224, 250, 253, 261, 290, 293, 298, 300, 306, 311
Beppo, 116, 159, 261, 270
Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, 30, 137, 253
- Cacault, Francois, 275
- Cagliostro, 279
- Caine, Barbara, 301
- Calabria, 26, 27, 179, 184, 193, 194, 195, 205, 207, 313, 318, 319, 321
- Calame, Christophe, 283
- Calepio, Pietro, 233
Descrizioni de' costumi italiani, 233
- Caligiuri, Vito, 318
- Calvinism, 157
- Campania (Naples) (also known as Campania Felix), 26, 184, 185, 188
- Campagna (Roman), 3, 31, 35, 51–2, 73, 74, 77, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 152, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 182, 183, 282, 283, 284, 285, 314
- Campanella, Tommaso, 280
- Canepa, Andrew M., 191, 238, 246, 253, 276, 277, 282, 286, 325, 326, 333
- Cape Misenus, 64, 218, 221, 222, 337
- Capitol (Rome), 25, 36, 39, 40, 46, 62, 64, 71, 72, 73, 77, 79, 146, 163, 164, 166, 229, 248, 267, 311
- Capodimonte (Naples), 192
- Capua, 184, 212, 322
- Caracciolo, Alberto, 284
- Caravaggio, 278
- Caravalle, Mario, 284
- Carbonarism, 230
- Carnival (Italian), 3, 50, 91, 126, 154–63, 187, 192, 223, 307, 308, 309, 311
 Roman Carnival, 3, 50, 126, 154–63, 166, 187, 223, 307, 308, 309, 311
- Caroccio, Armand, 299
- Carofiglio, Vito, 326, 327
- Carpanetto, Dino, 100, 246, 285, 328, 330
- Carpio, Marquis de, 188, 319
- Carroll, Michael, 240
- Carter, Nathaniel Hazeltine, 127
- Casanova, Giacomo, 190
- Casillo, Robert, 246, 326
- Castagnola, S., 320
- Castiglione, Baldesar, 84, 105, 106, 134, 156, 158, 274, 287, 302
The Courtier, 84
- Castle, Terry, 157, 158, 308
- Castrati, 140
- Cather, Willa, 2
- Catherine, St., 279
- Catholic Church, 18, 21, 49, 156, 198, 199, 200, 242, 293
- Catholicism, 59, 60, 61, 69–71, 266–7, 270, 278, 279, and *passim*
- Caton, Hiram, 244, 245
- Cattaneo, Carlo, 5
- Cavalcanti, Guido, 133
- Cavalieri, Tommaso, 298
- Cavaliero, Roderick, 254, 256, 274, 278, 294, 306
- Cavalli, Alessandro, 240, 295, 343
- Caylus, Comte de, 293
- Celli, Angelo, 176, 177, 178, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316
- Cenis, Mount, 228
- Cesaresco, Evelyn Martinengo, 289, 290

- Championnet, Jean Étienne, General, 200
- Chaney, Edward, 181, 193, 281, 305, 317, 325, 326, 327, 330
- Chapman, Alison, 301
- Chard, Chloe, 26, 211, 250, 251, 252, 253, 289, 290, 297, 299, 311, 318, 320, 324, 326, 334, 336, 337
- Charles of Bourbon, 199
- Charles VII, King (of France), 324
- Charon, 228
- Chartier, Roger, 288
- Chateaubriand, Francois-René, 3, 35, 70, 74, 77, 97, 98, 224, 236, 270, 271, 281, 282, 284
Lettre à Fontanes, 35, 74, 97, 98
- Chateauvieux, Frederic Lullin de, 253
- Chevalier, Raymond, 283
- Chopin, Kate, 2
- Chouillet, Jacques, 251, 262
- Christianity, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16–17, 31, 33, 59–60, 61, 69–71, 91, 99, 156, 242, 266–7, 270, 278, 279
- Christina, Queen of Sweden, 257
- Churchill, Kenneth, 253, 262, 278, 290, 309, 310, 311, 333, 338
- Cicero, 131, 134
- Cicisbeismo*, 57–8
Byron claims Italian origin for *cicisbeismo*, 116
chiefly an upper-class phenomenon, 122
a chief symbol of Italian decadence, 291
cicisbeismo moral and faithful in its own fashion, 68–9, 115, 116, 117
claimed to derive from Spain, 110, 119, 121, 122, 291
custom resembles Mediterranean godparenthood, also French *petit-maitre*, 123–4
decline following Napoleonic occupation, 116, 117, 119, 120, 121
disapproved in Staël's circle, 117–18
first appears in Italy in 1660s, 120
Genoa supposed capital of *cicisbeismo*, 109, 121
identified by some observers with Platonic love, 112, 118, 121
Lalande on Platonic decency of *cicisbeismo*, 114
linked to Petrarchan idealism, 112, 118
no evidence of *cicisbeo* in marriage contracts, 109, 115, 116, 119, 122
origin of word *cicisbeo*, 111–12, 120
possible general Mediterranean origin, 123, 291
possibly sign of proto-feminist revolt, 123
reaction to formalism of eighteenth-century marriages, 68, 112, 114, 116, 118, 123
seen as immoral by Italian critics, 108–9
seen by Sismondi as sign of Italian decadence, 117
seen by travelers as violating marital and domestic order, 51–2, 57, 108–23, 147, 288
temporarily terminates proverbial Italian jealousy, 109, 110, 111, 113, 120
yields to “intimate conjugal” marriage, 123
- Cicognara, Count Leopoldo, 35
- Ciliberto, Michele, 249
- Cincinnatus, 73
- Cipolla, Carlo, 7, 8, 10, 243, 244, 245
- Circe, 139, 179, 317
- Ciro (bandit), 318
- Cisalpine Republic (First), 35, 64, 338
- Cisalpine Republic (Second), 35, 258, 338
- Clark, Eleanor, 271
- Clark, J.C.D., 263–4
- Clark, Martin, 100, 254, 284, 286, 316, 320
- Clarke, Edward, 136, 298

- Clegg, Jeanne, 338
 Clement VII, Pope, 175
 Clenche, John, 26, 246, 250
 Cleopatra, 150
 Clorinda, 221
 Cochin, Charles-Nicholas, 321
 Cochrane, Eric, 7, 8, 10, 130, 241, 243, 244, 245, 295
 Code Napoleon, 109, 201
 Cogni, Margarita, 123
 Cohn, Samuel K., 342
 Colajanni, Napoleone, 321
 Collison-Morley, Lacy, 243, 259, 280, 289, 296, 308, 320, 322, 324, 329
 Colman, Henry, 203
 Colomb, R., 320
 Colosseum, 3, 62, 74, 79, 298
 Colson, Lydia Elizabeth, 2, 235, 257, 258, 263, 267, 270
Commedia dell'Arte, 36, 73, 164
 Condé, Prince de, 317
 condottiere (Renaissance), 84
 Consalvi, Cardinal Ettore, 284, 286
 Constant, Benjamin, 74, 270
 Cooper, James Fenimore, 117, 141, 194, 209, 270, 279, 290, 325, 327, 334
 Coppet, Switzerland: circle of intellectuals gathered there, 1, 35, 36, 74, 75, 85, 117, 238, 273
 Core, 229
 Coreggio, 147
Madonna della Scala, 147
 Corigliano, 322
 Corilla Olimpica (Maria Maddalena Morelli), 36, 37, 38, 40, 41, 42, 257, 258, 260, 261
Corinne at Cape Misenus (Gerard), 337
 Corsica, 256
 Corso (Rome), 155, 161, 163
 Coryate, Thomas, 26, 139, 250, 299, 319
 Costa-Zalesow, Natalia, 138, 148, 299, 300, 304
 Courier, P.-L., 320, 321
Courrier de Turin, 263
 Cowper, William, 38
 Coyer, Abbé, 94, 113, 281, 293
 Cozzoli, Carla Pellandra, 288, 291, 310
 Crane, Thomas Frederick, 287
 Craven, Richard Keppel, 30, 31, 103, 179, 207–8, 214, 215, 253, 254, 286, 316, 319, 320, 323, 333, 335, 336
 Creuzé de Lesser, Augustin, 152, 200, 305
 Cristoforo (improviser), 37
 Croce, Benedetto, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 86, 128, 134, 188, 196, 197, 230, 237, 240, 241, 242, 243, 245, 246, 255, 257, 275, 295, 297, 324, 328, 329, 330
History of the Kingdom of Naples, 197
 Cronin, Richard, 301
 Crook, Kieth, 260, 327
 Crose, Courande de la, 94, 281
 Crouzet, Michel, 236, 256, 271, 275, 289, 290, 291, 292, 302, 304, 307, 335
 Cuoco, Vincenzo, 321
 Custozza, Battle of, 275
 D'Acerno, Pellegrino, 107, 239, 288, 328
 Daemmrich, Ingrid G., 271
 d'Agincourt, Seroux, 249
 Dallington, Robert, 135, 297
 Dalmatia, 259, 308
 Dannenfeldt, Karl, 250
 Dante, 18, 33, 43, 71, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 138, 148, 218, 228, 273, 299, 336
Inferno, 228
Purgatorio, 138, 299
 d'Aquila, Serafino (improviser), 38, 260
 d'Argens, Marquis, 189, 324
 Dark Lady, 147, 304
 Davis, J., 254, 255, 331
 Davis, Natalie Zemon, 157, 164, 308
 D'Azeglio, Massimo, 86

- Deffand, Marquise de, 310
 Defoe, Daniel, 213, 334
 Dejean, Joan, 261, 338
 Dejob, Charles, 66, 83, 142,
 236, 255, 257, 263, 268, 273, 301,
 324, 341
 Delacroix, Eugène, 278
 Delano-Smith, Catherine, 174, 178,
 255
 Delécluze, Etienne, 118, 142, 291
 della Casa, Giovanni, 105, 106, 134
 Delon, Michel, 295
 Demeter, 229
 Denina, Carlo, 233, 274
*Considérations d'un italien sur
 l'Italie*, 233
 Dennis, John, 140
 Dennistoun, James, 185, 212, 322, 334
 Denon, Dominique Vivant, 184, 191,
 210–11, 318, 334
 d'Emiliane, Gabriel, 93, 281
 d'Erme, Vittorio, 315
 D'Este, Isabella Gonzaga, 302
 Detmold, Christian E., 274
 Diana, 221
 Diavolo, Fra, 318
 Dicey, Edward, 99, 173, 284, 315
 Dickens, Charles, 3, 98, 159, 195, 284,
 309
 Dickie, John, 264, 320, 321
 Dictionary of French Academy, 249
 Didier, Beatrice, 258, 259, 323
 Didier, Charles, 253
 Dido, 221, 229
 Dilthey, Wilhelm, 255
 di Scala, Spencer, 123, 143, 293, 302
 Disfida di Barletta, 86
 Disraeli, Benjamin, 2
 Dixon, Susan, 303
 Domenichino, 46, 63, 81, 150, 226
 Dooley, Brendan, 264, 309, 310
 Doria, Paolo Mattia, 123, 210, 213,
 329, 334
 Douglas, Norman, 179, 194, 280,
 281, 316
 D'Ourville, Jean Philippe, 318
 Dryden, John, 317
 Du Bos, Abbé, 27, 31, 168, 169, 177,
 251, 254
 Duclos, Charles, 29, 35, 43, 95, 138,
 152, 181, 183, 190, 204, 252, 270,
 277, 280, 297, 299, 320, 321, 325,
 333
 Duffy, Bella, 257
 Dumas, Alexandre, 119, 193, 196, 261,
 291, 320, 327, 328
 Duomo of Pisa, 90
 Dupaty, Charles, 29–30, 35, 37, 43, 86,
 89, 94, 102, 113, 114, 130, 152,
 181, 183, 184, 190, 193, 204, 210,
 216, 253, 260, 262, 269, 275, 277,
 281, 286, 289, 290, 293, 296, 306,
 321, 325, 326, 333, 334, 336
 Dupré, Alfonse, 31, 253
 Dwight, Theodore, 294
 Dyer, John, 152
 Eaton, Charlotte, 30, 90, 98, 103, 116,
 126, 132, 136, 153, 171, 174, 253,
 256, 261, 278, 279, 284, 286, 290,
 296, 297, 298, 306, 307, 310, 313,
 314, 315, 320
 Edgeworth, Maria, 2
Edinburgh Review, 65, 267
 Egbert, Donald Drew, 298
 Einstein, Lewis, 246, 269, 276, 287, 297
 Elias, Norbert, 105, 240, 287
 Eliot, George, 2, 256
 Eliot, T.S., 296
 Elliott, J.H., 295, 330
 Elsworthy, Frederick Thomas, 328
 Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 2
 England, 5, 8, 10, 12, 15, 16, 22–3, 47,
 52, 53, 55, 64, 65, 66, 81, 89, 132,
 138, 139, 140, 181, 192, 225, 229,
 225, 245, 249, 264, 266, 267, 275
 English traits in Staël's and other
 writings:
 advantages of political
 centralization, 47
 austere religion stresses self-
 reflection, duty, 52

English traits—*continued*

bourgeois, 235
 bracing weather promotes vigorous action, 30
 business promotes boredom and tension, 247–8
 citizenship, 16
 control of impulse enforced by climate, 52
 cooperative, utilitarian values, 15
 devotion to liberty, security, public welfare, 22
 discipline taught through politics, 52
 disciplined, philosophical citizenry, 22
 domesticity promotes uxoriousness, 58
 eccentricity tolerated, cultivated, 23, 267–8
 economic freedom and competition, 47
 education as basis for public welfare, 48
 equality before law, 22
 an essentially “masculine” nation, 78
 flourishing civic life or public sphere, 47–8, 263
 freedom of press, 22
 husbands’ protective role, 58
 ideal of domestic happiness, 68
 impartial justice and legality, 48
 institutions protect liberty, 15
 language concise, forceful, meaningful, 61
 life pursued indoors amid domestic order, privacy, civility, 55
 life routine and monotonous, 65
 marital ties sacrosanct, 58
 melancholy, 16
 military and navy promote duty, discipline, self-control, 52, 186, 188
 military service motivated by patriotic duty, 47
 misbehavior in Italian churches, 127

national pride, 267
 No unseemly exaggeration in speech, gesture, emotion, 101, 102, 105
 overemphasis on utility, 247–8
 patient, unflagging, 15
 patriarchy and patriarchal restrictions, 77–8
 poetry serious, imaginative, melancholic, philosophical, 16
 political freedom antithesis to Italian despotism, 152
 politically unified, 47
 politics, commerce, social convention wither art and love, 64
 political participation, 15, 16
 prevalence of freedom, equality, commerce, utility, 22
 proudly self-isolated in Italy, 268–9
 public service fostered by responsible government, 48
 public virtue prevails over private, 69
 rational political decisions, 15
 religion identified with moral conscience and consistent ethical conduct, 60–1, 125–7
 religion linked to duty, 60
 religious worship austere, abstract, disciplined, 60
 representative parliamentary government, 15
 respect for liberty, equality, justice, 15
 responsible, well-administered government, 15, 16, 22, 51
 ridicule, gossip curb enthusiasm, 65
 ridicule, public opinion induce conformity, 23, 267, 268
 science, philosophy, commerce, education, free speech, literacy, 15
 secure against despotism, 22
 self-control and reserve as social values, 52, 65, 186

- social mobility possible through
talent and effort, 15, 22–3
- social, economic, legal, and
intellectual progress, 15
- strong feelings seen as affront to
propriety, 65
- tendency toward class equality, 15
- the sublime as source of self-
mastery, 222
- trust in government based on
political freedom,
participation, 47
- utilitarianism determines political
decisions, 48, 51–2
- virtual antithesis of Italy, 212
- women mainly in domestic roles, 52,
55, 65
- Enlightenment, 11–12, 97, 203, 205,
242, 246, 249, 257, 264, 283
- Environment theorized as influence
upon national character,
including differences between
Northern and Southern Europe:
22–4, 27–8, 31–2, 63, 166, 251,
252
- Etna, Mount, 212, 213, 215, 334
- Etruscans, 274
- Eustace, John Chetwode, 31, 38, 66, 97,
103, 132, 136, 140, 152, 168, 169,
172, 174, 193, 195, 208, 253, 254,
260, 262, 268, 282, 285, 286, 296,
297, 300, 306, 312, 313, 315, 319,
326, 333, 336, 341
- Evelyn, John, 26, 139, 182, 184, 205,
250, 276, 299, 317, 320, 322, 330
- Fair Maiden, 146
- Fairweather, Maria, 258
- Fantini, Giovanni, 148, 299
- Farinelli, A., 130, 295
- Fauchery, Pierre, 270
- Fearnley-Stander, Mary, 242
- Febvre, Lucien, 247, 249, 250
- Felici, Luigi, 258
- Fellheimer, Jeanette, 254, 276
- Feltrin, Paolo, 342
- Ferber, Johannes, 213
- Ferdinand IV of Bourbon, 199, 206,
208
- Ferguson, Wallace, 242, 243, 249, 255
- Ferrara, 93, 96, 228
- Ferrari, Giacomo (improviser), 39
- Ficino, Marsilio, 248
- Fiedler, Leslie, 146
- Filangieri, Gaetano, 19, 34, 72, 132,
197, 203, 332
- Filicaia, Vincenzo, 136, 148, 298, 299
- Final Solution, 108
- Findlen, Paula, 303
- Fitton, Mary, 257
- Florence, 36, 38, 39, 42, 88, 93, 103,
104, 110, 115, 116, 135, 143, 150,
151, 158, 188, 225, 229, 269, 274,
275, 309, 317, 343
- Folca, K., 247
- Foresta, J.J., 202
- Forsyth, Joseph, 38, 40, 115, 153, 171,
173, 193, 256, 260, 290, 298, 306,
313, 314, 326, 327
- Fortis, Alberto, 308
- Fortunato, Giustino, 33, 255, 322
- Foscolo, Ugo, 71, 109, 142, 148, 263,
273, 288, 299, 301
- Foster, K. 262
- France, 1, 5, 10, 12, 15–16, 22, 39, 47, 52,
53, 55, 64, 65, 66, 73, 81, 132, 135,
245, 246, 249, 264, 266, 268, 309
- Franchot, Jenny, 278, 279, 294, 307
- Frenaye, Francis, 274
- French Academy (Academie
Française), 249, 265
- French traits (in Staël's and other
writings):
benefit from national capital, 47
conceit and coquettishness, 69
disdain of Italians, 268
disliked abroad because of arrogant
refusal to mix with natives, 66
emotional frigidity, 82
an essentially “masculine” nation, 78
ethnocentric, 46–7
longstanding national vanity, 268

French traits—*continued*

love as vain and affected
 amusement, 270
 mix with Italians while abroad, 66
 more than just Versailles and
 Parisian chic, 66
 national pride, 267–9
 other-directed and obsessed with
 social opinion, 67
 Parisian snobbery, 65
 poetry less melancholic than the
 English, 16
 politically unified, 52
 prevailing desire to produce
 favorable social impression, 69
 public opinion formed in Paris,
 265–6
 public sphere less developed than in
 England, 266
 reign of public opinion produces
 conformism, 268
 repression of women in
 revolutionary and Napoleonic
 periods, 79, 272
 respect for, closeness to Italians,
 268–9
 ridicule all who deviate from French
 social and artistic standards, 65
 rigid class divisions, 22–3
 salon perfects social life, norms of
 behavior, language, 53, 266
 social order, privacy, and civility
 perfected in domestic interiors,
 55
 social propriety and convention at
 the cost of originality, passion,
 and sincerity, 65
 society demands suppression of
 exaggeration in speech, gesture,
 emotion, 53, 55
 standards of behavior disseminated
 from capital, 53, 265–6
 unsurpassed appreciation of
 conversation in the salon,
 where women stand out, 53,
 161, 265, 309–10

urbanity, refinement, and
 sophistication, 52, 135
 vain, affected, artificial,
 overcivilized, 65, 270
 vanity, affectation, and a *blasé*
 attitude typical, 67, 104
 women fickle, fleeting, coquettish in
 amours, 113, 115, 119, 270
 French Revolution, 11, 154, 165, 242,
 264, 265
 Freud, Sigmund, 146, 158, 163, 221,
 304, 311, 337
 Fuller, Margaret, 2, 128, 234, 256
 Fullone, Pietro (improviser), 37
 Fumaroli, Marc, 265, 266, 288, 309

 Gabriele, Vittorio, 327, 333
 Gadenstedt, Berthold von, 317
 Galanti, G.M., 321
 Galasso, Giuseppe, 273, 274,
 275, 284, 320, 321, 324, 328,
 329, 330
 Galen, 178, 325, 328
 Galiani, Ferdinand, Abbé, 197
 Galileo, 7, 10
 Gallenga, Antonio, 275
 Gambetta, Diego, 332
 Gambino, Richard, 107, 186, 215, 288,
 304, 321, 322, 323, 335
 Gans, Herbert, 331
 Garry-Boussel, Claire, 271
 Garnier, Adolphe, 327
 Gasparone, 318
 Gauls, 83
 Gaunt, William, 278
 Gautier, J.-M., 281, 282, 337
 Gautier, Théophile, 196, 224, 328
 Gell, William, 191, 314
 Gemgembre, Gérard, 268, 341
 Gennari, Geneviève, 71, 74, 75, 130,
 142, 161, 163, 165, 220, 223, 250,
 255, 257, 258, 259, 261, 262, 263,
 267, 270, 283, 295, 301, 305, 307,
 309, 311, 320, 337, 338
 Genoa, 8, 9, 88, 89, 109, 113, 114, 115,
 116, 119, 244, 288, 343

- Genovesi, Antonio, 197, 322
 Gérando, Joseph-Marie de, 152
 Gérard, Francois, 337
 Géricault, Theodore, 155
 Germany, 12, 21, 22, 43, 78, 108, 186,
 271–2
 Geronomides, Anna, 327
 Gerville, Guyot de, 188, 271–2
 Ghibellines, 151
 Ghiberti, Lorenzo, 248
 Giannone, Pietro, 203, 210, 329, 334
 Gibbon, Edward, 181, 205, 333
 Giles, Paul, 266, 279
 Gille, Mireille, 262
 Gillespie, William, 298
 Gilmore, Myron, 241
 Gioberti, Vincenzo, 123
 Gioia, Melchiorre, 252
 Giordano, Pietro, 261
 Giovannini, Maureen, 331
 Girard, René (on violence,
 scapegoating, ritual, and festival),
 148–9, 165–6, 223, 227, 304, 305,
 311, 338
 Girodet-Trioson, A.-L., 312
 Girolamo, Remigio de, 31–2
 Gissing, George, 31, 179, 253,
 281, 316
 Giuli, Paola, 40, 259, 261
 Giusti, Ada, 272
 Glacken, Clarence J., 251, 254
 Gladstone, William, 327
 Glazer, Nathan, 331
 Godard, Abbot, 259
 Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von, 3, 30,
 42, 74, 83, 154, 155, 157, 159, 160,
 161, 169, 183, 191, 215, 224, 236,
 253, 262, 271, 278, 293, 307, 308,
 309, 311, 313, 318, 324, 326, 335
Italian Journey, 3, 236, 253, 278, 293,
 307, 308, 313, 336
 Goldberg, Ellis, 342
 Goldberger, Avriel, 233, 234
 Goldoni, Carlo, 20, 162
 Goldsmith, Oliver, 27, 125, 251, 282,
 293, 312
 Goldthwaite, Richard, 8, 243, 244,
 245, 274
 Goldzink, Jean, 268, 341
 Gombrich, Ernst, 249
 Gonzaga, Prince, 259
 Goudar, A., 89, 277
 Goyau, Georges, 179, 316
 Gozzi, Carlo, 224
La figlia d'aria, 224
 Gracian, 280
 Graces, Three, 219
 Graham, Maria, 171
 Grand Tour, 26, 43, 91, 95, 109, 131,
 139, 140, 152, 181, 182, 201, 236,
 250, 280, 299, 309, 312, 317, 318,
 325, 334
 Grassi, Giovanni Battista, 312
 Grassi, J., 263
 Grassner, Johann Jacob, 317
 Gravina, Vincenzo, 72, 132
 Gray, Thomas, 181
 Greaves, A.E., 301, 340
 Greeley, Andrew, 266
 Greenough, Horatio, 136, 290
 Gregory XIII, Pope, 172, 258
 Gregory XVI, Pope, 91, 307
 Gregory, Desmond, 258, 267, 275,
 278, 286, 319, 330, 339, 340
 Gregory, Patrick, 304
 Gribaudi, Gabriella, 237, 331
 Griffin, Susan M., 294
 Grosley, Pierre-Jean, 94, 172, 181, 281
 Gross, Hanns, 100, 175, 176, 286, 312,
 315
 Grotius, 280
 Guarino, Giovan Battista, 19
 Guarnieri, Silvio, 234
 Guazzo, Stefano, 105
 Guelphs, 151
 Guerci, Luciano, 122, 288, 289,
 292, 310
 Guicciardini, Francesco, 4, 21, 84, 133,
 241, 274
 Guiccioli, Teresa, 116
 Guinguiné, Pierre-Louis, 130, 131
 Guiscard, Robert, 273

- Guizot, Francois, 133, 296, 298
 Gunn, Peter, 194, 327
 Gutwirth, Madelyn, 2, 45, 147, 234,
 235, 247, 257, 258, 263, 267, 270,
 271, 272, 295, 304, 305, 317,
 336, 338
 Habermas, Jurgen, 263
 Hackett, L.W., 316
 Hades, 229
 Hadrian, 136
 Hager, Joseph, 318
 Hale, J.R., 85, 242, 275, 276
 Hall, Fanny W., 99
 Hamblyn, Richard, 334
 Hamilton, Sir William, 213, 335
 Hammond, N.G.L., 336
 Hanlon, Gregory, 8, 10, 85, 123, 143,
 231, 243, 244, 245, 246, 274, 281,
 286, 293, 300, 303, 310, 315, 316,
 330, 342
 Haro, Fray Joseph, 291
 Harrison, Gordon, 312, 315, 316
 Harvey, Gabriel, 140
 Haslam, S. Alexander, 238
 Hauptmann, Gerhart, 262
 Hawthorne, Nathaniel, 136, 172, 269,
 278, 284, 294, 298, 307, 309, 314,
 326
 The Marble Faun, 172, 314
 Hay, Denys, 6, 302
 Hazlitt, William, 30, 31, 99, 103, 116–17,
 126, 153, 253, 254, 284, 286, 290,
 294, 297, 306, 319, 320
 Headley, Joel, Tyler, 39, 261
 Header, Harry, 285, 315, 330, 340
 Heine, Heinrich, 2
 Hemans, Felicia, 2, 235
 Henneberg, Krystyna von, 264
 Herculeum, 215
 Herking, Maria-L., 252, 257, 283, 335
 Herlihy, David, 302
 Herold, Christopher, 246, 247, 257
 Heron, Michael, 290
 Hertford, Lady, 306
 Hervey, Christopher, 298
 Herzfeld, Michael, 324
 Hiera, 336, 337
 Hill, Brian, 256
 Hill, Isabel, 2
 Hillard, George Stillman, 2, 39, 91, 99,
 104, 133, 141, 151, 154, 159, 172,
 173, 174, 196, 209, 235, 236, 279,
 285, 286, 296, 301, 305, 306, 307,
 309, 314, 315, 328, 335
 Hippocratic School, 27, 251
 Hoare, Alfred, 292
 Hoare, Richard Colt, 318
 Hobsbawm, Eric, 243, 318, 320
 Hoby, Thomas, 287
 Hofstadter, Richard, 137, 299
 Hogarth, William, 102
 Hogsett, Charlotte, 220, 233, 247, 272,
 337
 Holocaust, 108
 Holy Roman Empire, 64
 Holy Week, 60
 Homer, 13, 38
 Homer (improviser), 37
 Horace, 31, 185
 Houël, Jean-Pierre-Louis-Laurent, 262,
 318, 334
 Howell, James, 87, 139, 251, 299, 310,
 332
 Howells, William Dean, 91, 196, 202,
 279, 284, 286, 294, 328, 332, 334
 Huarte, Juan, 32
 Hughes, Charles, 300
 Hughes, H. Stuart, 197, 275, 329
 Humbert I, King, 316
 Humboldt, Wilhelm von, 34, 74, 255
 Hume, David, 84, 237–8, 242, 255, 274
 Hunt, Leigh, 153
 Hunt, Mr. and Mrs., 319
 Ibsen, Henrik, 147
 A Doll House, 147
Il Caffè, 264, 303
 Imbert, H.-F., 236, 338, 340, 341
 Imbruglia, Girolamo, 320, 329, 330
 Ingpen, Roger, 293, 306, 307
 Inkeles, Alex, 238, 239

- Ireland, 12
- Irving, Washington, 2, 31, 38,
127, 195, 253, 260, 278, 294,
320, 328
- Isbell, John Claiborne, 233,
311
- Ischia, 194
- Italian traits (in writings by Staël and
others):
absence of French coquettishness,
69
absence of melancholy in Italians
and in their poetry, 24
absence of novels owing to
emotional superficiality, 19, 58,
59, 61
absence of politics and commerce
fosters feeling, imagination,
expression, 64
acquire energy from mingling with
Germanic invaders, 16
“Africanization” and
“Orientalization” of Italy,
150–1, 182, 194, 207, 256,
305–6
agreeable climate hinders
philosophy, 24
air of Rome assigned good and bad
properties, 167
amoral familism, 331
ancient Romans struggle against
malaria, 174–5, 176,
178
attunement to landscape expressed
in art of classical harmony, 212,
227
Austrian domination, 85, 199, 203,
230, 275, 340
Bandits, 98, 99, 202
barbarian invasions, 16, 177,
343
Baretti criticizes triviality of
eighteenth-century
Baretti vindicates Italian literature
and language,
131, 132
- Baroque, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 92, 128, 257,
258, 280
- best Italian prose writers avoid
rhetoric, 72
- buildings magnificent but
ostentatious, 62
- Campagna’s malarial swamps result
from ancient Romans’
improvidence, bad judgment,
167, 170
- Carbonarism, 230
- Castiglione, della Casa, and Guazzo
leaders in the “civilizing
process” in early modern
Europe, 105
- Catholic “despotism” stifles
philosophy, 21
- Catholic immanentism reconciles
concrete imagery with piety, 70
- Catholicism a religion of life-denial,
278
- Catholicism an exploitative fraud, 88
- Catholicism as system of deception,
124, 126, 127, 279
- Catholicism communicates through
the senses and is thus inferior
to Protestantism, 124
- Catholicism deceptive, theatrical, 88,
89, 90, 91, 124, 125, 126, 127,
128, 129, 294
- Catholicism dogmatic and casuistic,
denying reason and the heart,
124–5
- causes and extent of banditry,
318–19
- chasm between Italians’ professed
religion and moral conduct, 61
- Chateaubriand awakens new interest
in beauty of Roman
Campagna, 97, 284
- childishness of Italians, 104–5
- chronic problem of banditry in
post-Renaissance, 98, 99, 171,
182, 202, 318–19
- Church promotes irrationalism in
its own interest, 49

Italian traits—*continued*

- cicisbeismo* disapproved by Italian moralists, 108–9, 122
- civic republicanism from Middle Ages to present, 231–2, 342–3
- communal values revive in Risorgimento, 92
- continuing prosperity and cultural strength into seventeenth century, 7–8
- contrast between ancient Romans and present Italians, 51, 146, 151–4, 164, 306, 307
- contrasting view of history of Roman Campagna, 100
- conversation deficient in Italy, 309–10
- corrupted by hedonism, sensuality, and other vices, 16, 17, 47, 87
- Counter Reformation, 5, 6, 7, 8, 92, 124, 128–9, 241, 311
- cowardly and effeminate through lack of military careers, 49, 58, 83, 139, 140, 141, 274, 275
- craftiness and Machiavellianism, 32, 34, 87, 91
- criticisms of right of ecclesiastical sanctuary, 293
- culture of dissimulation in Baroque period, 92
- decline of communal tradition in Renaissance and after, 92
- decline of Italian literature charged by English, American, and Italian writers, 132–4
- decline of Italian military tradition in post-Renaissance, 86
- decline of patriliney, 143
- defeat of malaria requires twentieth-century scientific and technical knowledge, 178
- defects of Italian poetry and prose caused by environment, 24
- deforestation fosters malaria in ancient Roman times and after, 178–9
- deprived of tragic theater by inglorious history, 20, 61–2, 267
- despite successes of Counter Reformation, critics note elements of religious and moral decadence, 128–9
- Disfida di Barletta, 86
- dissimulation as product of Italian climate, 32
- dolce far niente*, 30, 33, 118, 326
- drawn to sensuous externals in art as in literature, 24
- dwellings unfit for intimacy of salon, 62
- easy resort to penance and absolution with no lasting moral result, 60, 124, 125, 126, 295
- economic and cultural decline, 4–11, 241–2, 243, 244–5, 246
- economic decadence of Roman Campagna, 51–2, 283
- economic initiative discouraged by governments, 48
- eighteenth-century Italy suffers malaria, 175–6, 7
- eighteenth-century literary vacuum, 296
- emphasis on social display and theatricality, 54–5
- energizing and enervating climate causes extreme behavior, 55
- enervated and effeminated by voluptuous climate, 24, 139
- enervating Italian language incompatible with philosophy or national independence, 18
- Enlightenment, 6, 10, 33, 64, 203, 251, 303
- equated with character of Corinne, 2, 225
- erotic passion the characteristic Italian emotion, 222
- excellence in art and music, in which sensuous beauty prevails, 18

- excellence in fine arts promoted by climate, 24
 existence of small public sphere in Italy, 264
 expressive musicality of Italian language, 161
 extremism, 17
 facility of Italians in poetic improvisation, 36–9
 facility of oral improvisation in Italian and improvisers' poetic mediocrity, 37–8, 40–1
 failure to conjoin morality and religion, 17
 failure to create national social standard through the salon, 56–7
 fanaticism, prejudice, superstition, irrationalism, 17–18
 farfetched explanations of malaria, 168
 Fascist era, 176
 favorable views of carnival, 158–9
 feudalism as factor in Italian history, 84, 100, 245, 273
 financial credit in Middle Ages, 280
 flawed land tenure and distribution in Campagna, 285
 French critics dismiss Italian poetry as soft, verbose, flashy, frivolous, and effeminate, 130
 governments intentionally neglect education, 48
 governments weak and poorly administered, 49, 52
 Grand Duke Leopoldo's reformism in Tuscany, 281–2
 Habsburgs, 10, 197, 199, 202
 historical degeneration as feminization, 300
 hostility to opera in eighteenth-century England following initial vogue, 131
 human feelings attuned joyously, consolingly with Italian landscape, 75, 212, 227
Il Caffè, Enlightenment journal, 264, 303
 ills of Campagna owed partly to unequal distribution of land, 100–1
 impulsive, unpredictable, and emotionally unstable, 54, 55, 56, 59, 61, 66, 101–8, 163
 incapacity for, resistance to philosophy, 21–2, 24
 indifference to public opinion, which is absent, 53, 66, 69, 105–6
 indifference to social ridicule, 57
 indifferent to military glory, 16
 indolence induced by climate, 24, 25, 30, 31
 indolence, 24, 28, 54, 78, 154, 256
 indolent through lack of political and military interests, 48
 influence of patriliney on domestic and marital practices in eighteenth and nineteenth century, 143
 interpretations of decline, 4–11, 241–6
 Italian art exemplifies classical harmony, softening consolingly the horror of death, 80
 Italian art lacks utility, 135
 Italian art put to immoral, non-utilitarian purposes, 62, 135, 136, 298
 Italian art, opera, and poetry induce softness and effeminacy, 135, 136–7, 139–40, 300n
 Italian carnival seen as lewd, licentious, barbaric, excessive, improvident, irrational, 158–9, 162, 309
 Italian carnivals exemplify national dissimulation and theatricality, 88, 91, 164
 Italian Catholicism corrupted by lavish icons, images, and material ornament, 60, 70, 124

Italian traits—*continued*

- Italian Catholicism different from philosophy, drawing upon and appealing to the feelings and enthusiasms of daily life, 70–1
- Italian Catholicism mingles imagination, aesthetic appreciation, sensuality, 71
- Italian Catholicism ritualistic, mechanized, superficial, and morally ineffective, 60–1, 124–6, 127, 128–9, 295
- Italian Catholicism though dogmatic tolerates and forgives, 71
- Italian Catholics erratically emotional and inconsistent in worship, 61, 124, 126
- Italian climate as primary, invincible factor in inhabitants' behavior, 166
- Italian dissimulation seen in beautiful but lethal landscapes, 167, 179, 182, 218, 227
- Italian genius attributed to climate during Middle Ages and Renaissance, 32
- Italian landscape seemingly idyllic yet dangerous, 182
- Italian language and poetry sensuous, superficial, enervating, unreflective, sacrificing thought to melodic beauty, 17, 18, 61, 71, 133
- Italian language harmonizes inward self with natural environment, 72, 161–2
- Italian language often lacks clarity, 133
- Italian language seen as effeminate, 132
- Italian masculinity defended, 140
- Italian nature contradictory, self-destructive, 166
- Italian passion, reverie blur distinctions of time, 76, 147, 151, 271
- Italian poetry a marvel of imagination and sensuous beauty, expressing harmoniously the beauty of its natural surroundings, 72
- Italian poetry becomes verbose, artificial, showy during Renaissance and after, 134, 197
- Italian poetry capable of expressing melancholy, 72
- Italian poetry culminates in Dante and declines into Petrarchan ornamentation, 133
- Italian poetry emotionally superficial and affected because of Petrarch's example, 18–19, 69, 133
- Italian poetry, 131–2
- Italian prose rhetorical, inflated, pedantic, longwinded, 19, 61, 71, 131, 132, 134, 297
- Italian Renaissance pioneers in manners and refinement, 287
- Italian ruins produce sense of timelessness without melancholy, 76–7, 271
- Italian ruins sink into feminine nature, outside history, 146
- Italian rulers favor classical revival over philosophy, 21
- Italian standing armies during Renaissance, 85–6
- Italian submission to irrationality, the unconscious, 179
- Italian upper classes participate in popular amusements, 161
- Italian verbose and obscure after Machiavelli and Guicciardini, 19, 133, 134
- Italian women subjected to patriarchy, 142
- Italian writers identify Italy with victimized femininity, 148, 299

- Italians deficient in civility and
“drive-control,” 287, 307
- Italians elude coherent definition,
151
- Italians freely express passion
and joyful enthusiasm, 67,
235, 270
- Italians happy, natural, spontaneous,
naive, goodhearted people
lacking civilized vices, 89,
104–5, 112–13, 238–9, 277
- Italians have character of women,
78–9
- Italians liberated from tyranny of
public opinion, 67, 105
- Italians’ outdoor life lacks intimacy
of salon, 161, 164
- Italians possess contradictory usages
and habits rather than national
customs, 106
- Italians prefer magnificence to
comfort and utility 135–6
- Italians spontaneous and expressive
when danger is absent, 107
- Italy (and Corinne) as sacrificial
victim, 147–8, 299, 304
- Italy (History, Society, etc.):
- Italy a harmonious synthesis of
contrary feelings and
experiences, 80–1
- Italy allows women unparalleled
social and artistic freedom, 78,
299
- Italy as “feminine” country, 78, 80,
137–41, 145, 235, 272, 301
- Italy as culture of *bella figura* and
facades, 106–7, 287–8
- Italy as land of imaginative reverie
and consolation, 75, 77, 79–80,
271
- Italy as land of the mother, 78, 79
- Italy at once European and outside
modernization, 150, 151
- Italy identified with courtesans,
prostitutes, and venereal
disease, 139, 299
- Italy identified with extinction of
ego, superego, 167
- Italy identified with feminine
absence, amputation,
castration, 146
- Italy identified with self-destructive
passion, irrationality, 163
- Italy identified with
undifferentiation,
dissimulation, violence,
insanity, 149, 154
- Italy linked to atemporal
unconscious, extinction, 179
- Italy outside history, 146, 162, 304
- Italy pioneers the salon, 287, 288
- Italy primarily a Mediterranean
shame-culture as opposed to
guilt culture, 106–7
- Italy scene of social disorder and
self-destructive natural excess,
182
- Italy symbolic of return to maternal
nature, 77–6, 271
- Italy the land of artistic
individuality, 64
- Italy yields musical primacy to
Germany, 186
- Italy’s environmental limitations, 29,
31
- jealousy and violent vindictiveness,
17, 54, 87, 113, 276
- knife-wielding assassins, 34, 104,
256, 274
- lack of civic consciousness and
virtue, 16, 17, 49, 51
- lack of dignity and melancholy, 17
- lack of military skill and courage,
16, 63, 83–6
- lack of national capital prevents
social conformity, 66
- lack of national pride, 16, 21, 63, 65
- lack of national social standard
reflects absence of centralized
capital, 56
- lack of national social standard, 53,
105–6

Italian traits—*continued*

- lack of natural fertility and abundance, 27, 29, 31, 32–3, 254–5
- lack of political or public life, 48, 49
- lack of political unity and freedom creates flaws in national character, 49
- lack of social standard enables Italians to be themselves, 66–7, 104–5
- lack of sustained effort, will-power, 17, 18, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 49, 55, 59, 60, 61
- lack of vanity, affectation, snobbery, prejudice, 67, 104–5, 120, 235, 270
- land of aesthetic, contemplative values rather than utilitarianism, 73–4, 270
- land of fertility and abundance, 25–7, 29, 30, 31, 254, 255
- later Middle Ages and Renaissance as time of economic decline, 7
- lavish Catholic churches transcend mere utilitarian calculation, 70
- leisure in post-Renaissance Italy, 33
- literary vacuum in eighteenth century, 296
- love of exaggeration, 17
- love of poetic and other forms of improvisation, 36
- made impulsive by temperate, gratifying environment, 24
- malaria (*la cattiva aria*) symbol of Rome's moral and religious pestilence, 167, 223, 314–15
- malaria eradicated from Italy after World War II, 179
- malaria eradicated in Pontine Marshes by Mussolini's engineers, 176, 179
- malaria major problem since Roman times, 178–9, 316
- Mannerism, 7
- many pagan residues within Catholicism, 125, 126, 127, 294
- medieval and Renaissance Italy fragmented with civic strife, 21
- Middle Ages, 5, 6, 7, 35, 85, 148, 175, 178, 247, 268, 280
- miseries of Campagna as compared with Tuscany, 93, 94, 96, 285
- mistrust a feature of twentieth-century Italian life, 92
- monastic excess, 17, 21
- moral license, 87
- Napoleonic occupation of Italy, 64, 97, 115, 152, 165, 181, 201, 208, 207, 230, 251–2, 258, 267, 269, 275, 284, 305, 310, 311, 319, 338–40, 343
- national capital to form basis for Italian tragedy, 73
- national somnolence, 63, 267
- national vanity in Middle Ages and Renaissance, 31–2, 268
- need for government to counteract effects of climate, 47
- need for political unification, 48
- need for republican government, 63, 79
- new Italian comedy to be based on ideal human types, 73
- no opportunity for participation in military affairs, 48, 49, 63
- no sense of historical purpose, 63
- no serious social criticism in comic theater, 20
- only partial cultural, social division between upper and lower classes, 158, 308, 311
- operatic audiences chatter noisily, 62, 135
- outdoor life of the piazza, 310–11
- papacy attempts ineffectually from Middle Ages onward to vanquish malaria in area of Rome, 176–7
- papal government blamed for miseries of Rome and its

- environs, 51, 92–101, 283, 284, 285
- papal government disorganized, misguided in economic policies, 100
- passionate, unstable, indolent, impulsive, vengeful, servile, and criminally inclined because of hot climate, 24, 25, 28, 29, 30, 31, 47
- passionately expressive, 53–4
- perfidiousness, 17, 87
- political and social disorder approaching anarchy, 21, 49, 50, 51
- political servility, 5, 17, 47, 48, 49, 78, 256
- political servility induced by effeminate voluptuousness following Roman Empire, 17, 139
- Pope suspends Roman Carnival after French Revolution, 165
- post-Renaissance society unseemly by Northern standards, 158–9
- prefer outdoor over domestic life, 24
- preference for piazza over the salon, 55
- primitive, 278
- private ones predominate over public, 69, 107–8
- private virtues prevail over public, 107–8
- professional success, social freedom, and educational opportunities unusual for Italian women into the nineteenth-century, 142–3, 302–4
- proutilitarian prejudices of travelers, 136, 270
- reformism in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Rome, 283–4, 286
- relative absence of salons, 309–10
- religious idolatry, 51, 124, 127
- Renaissance warfare by no means harmless, 85
- Renaissance, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 14, 20–1, 34, 85, 86, 92, 99, 105, 106, 128, 129, 132, 133, 134, 175, 231, 242, 243, 248–50, 255, 264, 268, 274, 275, 280, 287, 288, 302, 308, 342
- renunciation of political existence under despotism, 17, 48
- resemblances between sacred and secular music, 89, 277
- Restoration, 64, 230
- Risorgimento patriots concerned by Italian reputation for cowardice, 86
- Risorgimento patriots link *cicisbeismo* with Italian decadence, 291
- Risorgimento, 4–5, 6, 10, 11, 64, 86, 92, 128, 141, 148, 230, 231, 239, 241, 243, 260, 264, 267, 285, 290, 300, 321, 341
- Roman Campagna abandoned and impoverished, 92–101
- Roman Empire time of high temperatures, 177
- Roman school of malariology, 176–7
- sense of timelessness, eternity in Italy, free of striving toward future, 76, 160
- seventeenth-century economic crisis and decline, 8–9
- sexually licentious priests, 126, 127, 294
- similarity with Asia and Asians, 28, 150, 299
- Sismondi, Guinguiné defend Italian literature, 130–1
- social mistrust, antisocial individualism, and withdrawal into private life (partly through political disenfranchisement), 48, 49, 51, 64, 69
- Spanish domination, 5, 6, 8, 9, 85, 90, 188, 198, 202, 203, 205, 206, 210, 241, 264, 269, 328

Italian traits—*continued*

- special expressiveness of Italian language manifest during carnival, 162
- Staël heralds nineteenth-century view of melancholy, decadent Venice, 224
- Stendhal criticizes hyperbole, longwindedness of Italian prose, 131
- superficial emotions, lack of passion, 17, 24
- superstition and irrationality, 51, 70, 124, 127, 294
- supposed decline in temperature since ancient times, 254
- supposed increase in temperature since ancient times, 24, 31, 254
- supposedly bloodless battles during the Renaissance, 84, 274
- tyranny denies Italian prose substance and logic, 72, 132
- unemployed males worshipfully enslaved to women, 17, 28, 55, 58, 150, 302
- unfitness for self-reflection and philosophy owing to sensuality, 17
- unidentical with Corinne, 221, 235
- unlike Northern Europe, carnival spirit persists in Italy despite Counter Reformation, 156, 158, 159
- unselfconscious and spontaneous for lack of social convention and ridicule, 67
- Victorian women identify with “feminine” Italy, 141, 301
- visitors blame Papacy for malaria, 167, 172–5
- visitors deplore decline, 10–1, 246
- visitors fear malaria, 167–75, 312–3, 314
- visitors fear seduction by beauty of Catholic ritual, 88, 277, 279

- weak governments fail to foster social and military discipline, 55–6
- weakened by lack of political unity, 4, 5–6, 16, 21, 48, 63
- widespread dissimulation and hypocrisy (partly as result of political and social mistrust), 48–9, 58, 86–92, 87, 164, 256, 275, 276, 278, 279, 280, 281, 283, 326
- women dominate because men lack political and military careers, 57
- women fickle, 59
- women perform in public, 55

- Jacini, Stefano, 32
- James, Henry, 3, 91, 141, 172, 284
- Jameson, Anna, 39, 99, 127, 154, 159, 212, 236, 261, 284, 294, 298, 309, 320, 334
- Jarves, James Jackson, 91, 99, 117, 141, 173, 184, 196, 217, 279, 284, 290, 298, 301, 314, 322, 327, 336
- Jeremiah, 138
 - Lamentations*, 138
- Jesuits, 280
- Jewett, Isaac, 99
- Jews, 108
- Jewsbury, Geraldine, 2, 235
- Joachimsen, Paul, 255
- Johns, Christopher M.S., 269–70
- Johnson, Dr. Samuel, 310
- Johnston, John, 299, 334
- Jones, W.H.S., 174, 315
- Jorio, Andrea de, 325
- Juliet, 221
- Jupiter, 219

- Kadish, Doris Y., 272
- Kant, Immanuel, 15, 60, 74
- Keate, George, 254
- Kelly, Joan, 302
- Kelso, Ruth, 287
- Kemble, Fanny, 30, 97, 202, 283

- Kessner, Thomas, 331
 Keyssler, Johann Georg, 169, 172
 Kingdom of Italy, 64, 338
 Kingdom of Naples, 50, 180, 182, 184,
 203, 207, 208, 318
 Kingsley, Charles, 30
 Kirby, Paul Franklin, 95, 236, 280, 281,
 282, 288, 292
 Kirschner, Julius, 243, 245
 Klenze, Camillo von, 236, 250, 262, 318
 Klima, Salva, 260, 282, 308, 312
 Knight, Lady Philipina, 3, 113, 168,
 236, 289, 308, 312
 Koch, Dieter, 10, 123, 195, 207, 212,
 246, 251, 252, 253, 254, 262, 267,
 269, 271, 282, 283, 284, 286, 287,
 288, 289, 290, 293, 317, 320, 327,
 332, 333, 334, 336
 Koenigsberger, H.G., 7, 243, 295, 330
 Korg, Jacob, 269, 294
 Kotzebue, Augustus von, 195, 202
 Krudener, Madame de, 150
- Labat, J.-B., 136
 Lacroix, Paul, 249
 La Fantastici (Fortunata Sulgher
 Marchesini), 36, 37, 38, 260
 Lafayette, Madame de, 287
 La Harpe, Jean-Francois, 130
 Lalande, Joseph-Jérôme de, 35, 43, 94,
 113–14, 169, 181, 183, 190, 281
 Lamartine, Alphonse, 267
 La Mergellina (Naples), 184
 Lancisi (Papal physician), 169
 Landes, Joan, 264, 265, 272
 Landor, Walter Savage, 269, 274
 Laoreins, Guinan, 172, 314
 Lassels, Richard, 26, 32, 139, 250, 254,
 276, 287, 299
latifundia, 178
 Latin language, 133
 Latium, 96, 101, 170, 174, 176, 177, 178
 Laveran, Charles Louis Alphonse, 312
 Law, John, 302
 Lazarillo de Tormes, 197
 Lazio (modern Latium), 99
- Lazzaroni*, 103, 166, 187, 189, 191–2,
 193, 194, 197, 200, 205, 209, 222,
 321, 324, 328, 339
 Lear, Edward, 313
 Lee, Vernon, 5, 142, 242, 245, 258, 259,
 260, 261, 277, 278–9, 297, 301,
 304, 323
Le Globe, 278
 Le Goff, Jacques, 84, 134, 240, 273, 297
 Lehtonen, Maija., 218, 336
 Leighton, Angela, 234
 Leland, Henry P., 285
 Le Moyne, Francois, 185
 Lenormant, Francois, 179, 207, 281,
 313, 316, 320, 333
 Leo, Heinrich, 241
 Leo X, Pope, 21, 176, 242
 Leonardi, Roberto, 280
 Leopardi, Giacomo, 4, 92, 105, 106, 107,
 128, 133, 148, 233, 239, 240, 241,
 251, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 273,
 279, 288, 288, 295, 299, 309, 310
*Discorso sopra lo stato presente dei
 costumi degl'italiani*, 233, 240,
 241, 251, 263, 264, 265, 266,
 267, 288
Zibaldone, 128–9
 Leopoldo, Duke, of Tuscany, 94, 205,
 281, 282
 Lepre, Aurelio, 320, 322, 329, 330
 Lespinasse, Mlle. de, 310
 Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim, 35, 272
 Levaillant, Maurice, 257
 Levi, Anthony, 322
 Levi, Margaret, 342
 Lewis, Linda, 334, 337
 Lievsay, John, 276, 319, 325
 Lipari Islands, 336
 Lithgow, William (*The Total
 Discourse*), 26, 125, 250, 276, 293,
 317, 319, 334
 Litto, Vittorio del, 236, 273, 292
 Liverpool, 234, 265
 Livy, 174
 Lloyd, Michael, 153, 268, 269, 277, 307,
 326, 333

- Lombardy, 26, 30, 209, 318
 London, 64, 131, 183, 184, 198,
 310, 335
London Magazine, 142, 301
 Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth, 39,
 117, 285, 298
 Lopez, Robert, 6–7, 243
 Lopreato, Joseph, 331
 Lorenzi, Abate, 260
 Louis XIII, King of France, 256
 Louis XIV, King of France, 130
 Lowe, Alfonso, 290, 292, 310
 Lucas, Henry S., 255
 Luther, Martin, 241
 Lutyens, Mary, 297, 298
 Luzzatto, Gino, 99, 175, 285, 315
 Luzzi, Joseph, 237, 273, 278, 293,
 300, 306, 311
 Lyly, John, 276
 Lyttelton, Adrian, 256, 273, 343
- Mabillon, Jean, 94, 172, 281, 314
 Macaroni, the, 140
 Macchia, Giovanni, 213
 MacFarlane, Charles, 97, 117, 147,
 283, 290, 304, 318, 319, 320
 Machiavelli, Niccolo, 4, 19, 72, 84, 85,
 86, 133, 134, 241, 248, 256, 274,
 280, 296
The Prince, 86, 274
 MacPherson, James, 13
 Macry, Paolo, 327, 330
 Maffei, Scipione, 148, 299
 Magiser, Hieronymus, 317
 Maiorini, Maria Grazia, 329, 330
 Mallett, Michael, 85, 275
 Malpezzi, Virgilio, 280
 Mammucari, Renato, 315
 Mancini, Girolamo, 85, 241,
 274, 315
 Mangione, Jerre, 315, 331
 Mansfield, Harvey, 274
 Manzolini, Anna Morandi, 302
 Manzoni, Alesssandro, 42
 Marescalchi, Ferdinando, 35
 Marmontel, Jean-Francois, 130
- Marraro, Howard, 256, 278, 279, 282,
 289, 294, 309, 325, 336
 Marsh, George Perkins, 174, 178,
 315, 316
 Marsh, Jan, 234
 Marshall, Roderick, 110, 111, 130, 254,
 277, 289, 295, 298, 300, 333
 Marso, Lori Jo, 79, 272
 Marston, John, 190
 Martin, Robert K., 294, 309, 314
 Martin, Xavier, 256
 Martinet, Marie-Madeleine, 317, 318,
 336, 338
 Martinière, J.B.J. Breton de la, 118, 291
 Martino, Alberto, 281
 Martino, Ernesto de, 294, 323, 328
 Marx, Karl, 328
 Masai, Francois, 249
 Masaniello, 188, 189, 190, 199, 204,
 206, 207, 324, 328, 332
 Masi, Domenico de, 331
 Mason, Amelia Gene, 264
 Massari, Giuseppe, 320
 Matthias, Thomas James, 132, 296
 Maugham, H. Neville, 236, 263, 289
 Maupassant, Guy de, 190, 320, 324
 Mayer, Elizabeth, 236
 Mayne, John, 103, 115, 260, 286, 290
 Mazarin, Cardinal, 280
 Mazzini, Giuseppe, 5, 284
 Mazzei, Madame, 36
 McBrien, Richard, 266
 McGann, Jerome, 253, 298
 McGill, Kathleen, 259
 McNeill, William, 280
 Mead, William Edward, 282, 300, 325,
 326
 Medici, Catherine de', 256
 Medici, Lorenzo de', 242
 Medici, the, 21
 Mediterranean, 7, 8, 10, 32, 33, 106,
 122–3, 178, 219, 255
 Melchiori, Roberto, 233, 251, 266, 267,
 288, 295
 Melville, Herman, 284
 Melzi d'Eril, Count Francesco, 34, 258

- Menard, M. Jean, 257, 258
Meredith, George, 2
Merejcovski, Dmitri, 314
Messbarger, Rebecca, 264, 302, 303
Metastasio, Pietro, 19, 34, 39
Meyer, Carl A., 196
Meyer, Friedrich Johann Lorenz, 281
Michéa, R., 271
Michelangelo, 6, 59, 133, 297, 298
 Last Judgment, 6
Michelet, Jules, 33, 249, 250
Mickleham, Surrey, 64
Middle Ages, 5, 6, 34, 84, 87, 99, 138,
 175, 242, 248, 249, 255, 268, 280,
 342, 343
Middleton, Conyers, 125
Mignon (*Wilhelm Meister*), 337
Milan, 30, 64, 103, 104, 138, 228, 229,
 237, 264, 273, 276, 297, 303, 309,
 328
Mill, John Stuart, 133, 137, 296, 298,
 299
Miller, Lady Anna Riggs, 43, 88, 111,
 114, 191, 277, 289, 297, 319,
 320, 326
Milton, John, 32, 317
Minerva, 22
Minzoni, Onofrio, 34
Miskimin, Harry, 243
Misson, Maximilien, 10, 26, 43, 86, 89,
 93, 102, 124, 168, 173, 183, 188,
 216, 246, 251, 277, 281, 286, 293,
 307, 312, 319, 320, 321, 323, 324,
 336
 *Nouveau voyage d'Italie (A New
 Voyage to Italy)*, 10, 26, 124,
 246, 307, 323, 335
Mistrilli, Giuseppe, 318
Mitchell, W.J.T., 248
Modona, Leo Neppi, 252, 291
Moe, Nelson, 4, 150, 201, 215, 237, 245,
 255, 305, 307, 318, 320, 323, 325,
 327, 330, 334, 335
Moers, Ellen, 234
Mola di Gaeta, 214
Molise, 26
Molmenti, Pompeo, 128, 257, 290, 291,
 292, 295, 297, 308, 310
Moloney, Brian, 66, 268
Mondeville, Léonce de (*Delphine*), 268
Mondeville, Madame de (*Delphine*),
 268
Montagu, Mary Wortley, Lady, 109,
 117, 138, 143, 154, 159, 181,
 288, 298
Montaigne, Michel de, 37, 259, 280
Montefeltro (family), 302
Monte Testaccio, 170
Montesquieu, Charles de, 11, 27–8, 30,
 93, 113, 136, 150, 152, 166, 169,
 181, 183, 188, 197, 203, 217, 251,
 277, 281, 289, 309, 312, 313, 321,
 324, 333, 334
 The Spirit of the Laws, 25, 27, 150,
 251
Monti, Vincenzo, 34, 35, 36, 41, 42, 43,
 148, 299
Montmorency, Matthieu de, 146, 304
Montour, Artaud de, 169, 294
Montroni, Giuseppe, 330
Monza, Luigi, 267
Moore, Dr. John, 29, 38, 43, 89, 96, 102,
 112–13, 125–16, 137, 169, 181,
 184, 192, 205, 213, 260, 277, 278,
 282, 286, 289, 293, 297, 299, 313,
 322, 326, 333, 334, 335
More, Hannah, 2
Morgan, Lady (Sidney Owenson), 39,
 98, 116, 130, 132, 150, 154, 159,
 171, 173, 214, 260, 262, 284, 285,
 290, 294, 295, 296, 298, 305, 310,
 313, 314, 334, 335, 340
Morlino, Leonard, 342
Morreale, Ben, 315, 331
Mortier, Roland, 152, 236, 246, 247,
 262, 271, 273, 281, 282, 293, 306,
 325, 326, 333
Mortoft, Francis, 26, 250
Moryson, Fynes, 26, 32, 87, 88, 139,
 184, 250, 276, 300
Mosca, Count (*The Charterhouse of
Parma*), 120

- Mouritsen, Per, 342
- Moynihan, Daniel Patrick, 321
- Mozzillo, Atanasio, 183, 185, 191, 200, 207, 210, 251, 252, 253, 271, 277, 281, 305, 313, 316, 317, 320, 321, 322, 324, 325, 326, 327, 330, 332, 333, 335
- Muraskin, William, 331
- Murray, Alexander, 254, 268
- Murray, Peter, 6, 243
- Musset, Paul de, 194, 327
- Mussolini, Benito, 316
- Naiads, 221
- Nanetti, Raffaella Y., 280
- Naples and Neapolitans, 9, 26, 27, 30, 33, 39, 50, 56, 67, 88, 89, 91, 102, 103, 115, 122, 123, 139, 140, 150, 151, 160, 166, 169, 179, 181–223, 229, 261, 309, 317, 318, 319, 321–2, 324, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338
- Naples and Neapolitans (as seen by Staël and other writers):
- animalistic and instinctive, without mind or heart, 187
 - beautiful yet menacing landscape exemplifies Italian dissimulation, 218
 - behaviorally erratic, excessive, 187
 - corrupting, enervating climate as fatalistic force, 209–12, 217, 334
 - cowardice, 273
 - deeply superstitious, 189, 190, 211, 277, 328
 - erratic emotionally and behaviorally, 102, 195
 - famed for beauty of location, 183–5
 - gesticulations seen as primitive, 190, 325
 - historical stasis, 210
 - identified with Africa and Orient, 187, 151, 194, 207, 217, 256
 - identified with natural abundance, 183–5
 - ills innate with the people, irremediable, 202–3, 217–18
 - indolence, 102, 195, 212
 - intensity and ferocity, 102, 195
 - lack of individual identity, 187
 - landscape paradoxically combines beauty and sublimity, 215–17
 - lazy and violent in equal measure, 187, 200
 - lazzaroni* the most savage and degraded, 187
 - licentious hedonism, 195
 - “liminal” zone, scene of transgression, 182
 - live amid public chaos, 187–8, 195
 - live improvidently in the present, 186–7
 - lively, noisy, tumultuous, 186
 - moral anarchy without higher aspiration or respect for public opinion, 186
 - naturally musical, 185, 323
 - naturally poetic, artistic, expressive, spontaneously generous, imaginative, vivacious, 185–6, 336
 - Neapolitans as well as visitors complain of *jettatura* and *malocchio*, 196
 - negative American responses, 325
 - nineteenth-century British complain of squalor, 195
 - optimists hope for government reforms, 203–9
 - outdoor life contrasts with Northern European norms, 187
 - paradise inhabited by devils, 188, 196, 200, 215, 237, 255, 328
 - region lacking fertility, rainfall, other advantages, 183
 - riddled with vices, including cheating, thieving, gambling, drunkenness, vengeance, servility, mendicancy, prostitution, and syphilis, 141,

- 188–191, 193, 194–6, 202, 321–2, 324
- Rousseauvian primitives, childlike, innocent, and spontaneous, 191–4, 327
- “rupture” in Grand Tour, 182, 187, 321
- savage, filthy, irrational, disorderly, uncivilized or semicivilized, 186–8, 190, 195–6, 207
- seen as Arcadia, 183, 191
- sensuality, 102
- some writers question myth of abundance, 27
- tarantella* exemplifies love of improvisation, 323
- the only regal city in Italy, 330
- Vesuvius symbol of Neapolitan temperament, 212–16, 256, 334
- work only for bare necessities, 190
- Naples (History):
- 1647 revolt hurts reputation, 188
- after 1860 no longer capital of absolutist state, 330
- Bourbons, 10, 91, 194, 197, 199, 200, 201, 202, 206, 208, 217
- checkered military reputation, 86
- defeat of Parthenopean Republic by England allied with pro-Catholic royalists, 181, 200, 201
- economic and social deterioration of nineteenth-century Naples, 202, 330
- eighteenth-, early nineteenth-century musical capital, 182
- feudal aristocracy compromises with state, retains considerable power, 9, 198, 199, 200, 329
- French occupation and establishment of Parthenopean Republic by Neapolitan liberals, 200
- Gladstone denounces unjust Bourbon regime, 328
- highly disorderly, ill-regulated, backward, 197, 330
- idealized by some eighteenth-century visitors, 191, 325, 326
- liberal reformist and Enlightenment tradition, 197, 203, 332
- loss of prestige as tourist site, 201
- mass revolt (1647) against Spanish, 199–200
- occupying French introduce lasting reforms, 201
- overpopulated and troubled by social, economic, administrative, and constitutional problems despite Bourbon reformism 197–200
- social and political mistrust as major, externally induced cause of ills, 2, 197, 201–2
- Spanish, Habsburg, and Bourbon regimes, 197–200, 202, 205, 206, 207, 208, 210
- the church enjoys privileges, immunities, vast land holdings, 198, 199, 200
- underdeveloped capitalist economy, 198
- Napoleon, 1, 34, 64, 86, 90, 97, 98, 148, 165, 207, 235, 236, 251, 256, 258, 275, 278, 311, 338, 339, 340, 343
- Nardini, Gloria, 288
- Nashe, Thomas (*The Unfortunate Traveler*), 190, 276
- Nazis, 108
- Near East, 8
- Necker, Jacques Necker, 1
- Necker, Suzanne Churchaud, 1
- Negro, Gian Carlo di, 38
- Nero, 175
- Newell, James, 320
- Ney, Marshal Michel, 39
- Niobe, 140, 141, 221
- Normanby, Marquis of, 116
- North Sea, 10
- Northern Europe, 2, 3, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 19, 23, 27, 32, 43, 44, 51, 52, 62, 75, 78, 80, 81, 89, 92, 104, 105, 106, 107, 122, 128, 136, 137,

Northern Europe—*continued*

- 138, 139, 141, 151, 153, 154,
 - 156–8, 164, 182, 193, 209, 215,
 - 222, 228, 229, 230, 235, 247, 272,
 - 278, 287, 307, 318
- Northern European traits (mainly as seen by Staël):
- absence of passion, sensuality, amorousness, 27
 - brave and self-sacrificial, 13
 - capable of material, social, political progress, 27
 - Christianity reconciled with philosophy, 13
 - “civilizing process” results in civility, “drive-control,” and refinement of manners, 105
 - climate conducive to industry, domesticity, political independence, provident calculation, inwardness, 23, 28
 - climate drives people indoors, 24
 - climate fosters behavioral regularity, discipline, cooperation, love of liberty, 23, 28, 102
 - climate fosters profundity, genius, and philosophy, 24, 80
 - climate inspires introspective gloom, imperfectly realized poetic imagery, 80
 - death portrayed in somber colors, 81
 - devotion to philosophy as rational means of human betterment, 13
 - discordant sensations result from struggle with environment, 75
 - division between high and popular culture by around 1800, 156–7, 158
 - imagination, melancholy, mysticism, 13
 - intense historical consciousness, 151
 - internalized controls typify guilt-culture, 106
 - love of liberty, 13
 - military virtues, 163–4
 - morally virtuous, physically strong, vigorous, industrious, unstinting, 27
 - necessity of living indoors develops domestic order, privacy, civility, 55
 - necessity to struggle against nature, 75
 - Northerners’ self-love depends partly on esteem for others, 107
 - orderliness in public affairs, 154
 - patience and stability, 103
 - patriarchal values, 164
 - poetry reflects regional temperament, 13
 - political, social, religious practices advance human perfectability, 15
 - preference for somber images, 13
 - preoccupation with death, 13
 - presence of mind in difficult situations, 154
 - regular, disciplined behavior, free of self-indulgence and criminal tendencies, 27, 163
 - rejection of carnival spirit during modernization process, 156, 161, 164
 - seriousness, moral reflection, 13
 - simple, natural sentiments, 13
 - sublime landscapes disharmonious and dangerous yet morally empowering, 215, 222
 - sublime landscapes invigorate, strengthen sense of purpose, 139
 - truthfulness, chastity, fidelity to promises, 13
- Norton, Charles Eliot, 294–5
- Norwich, John Julius, 245
- Novati, Francesco, 341
- Nugent, Thomas, 317
- Numidians, 187, 323
- Oakes, Penelope J., 238, 240
- O’Brien, Michael, 234

- O'Connor, Maura, 45, 141, 216, 234,
254, 262, 263, 278, 279, 301, 327,
328, 333, 334, 336
- Odysseus, 179
- Oliphant, Margaret, 31, 253
- Olschki, Leonardo, 255
- Omodeo, Adolpho, 236
- Opera, Italian, 35, 131
- Orr, Clarissa Campbell, 234
- Orrery, Earl of, 113
- Ossian, 13
- Oxford, Earl of, 140
- Padua, 150
- Paestum, 318, 319, 322
- Pagden, Anthony, 202, 332
- Palazzo dei Conservatori (Rome), 40
- Palla, Ferrante (*Charterhouse of
Parma*), 340
- Palmieri, Matteo, 248
- Pane, Luigi dal, 286
- Pange, Victor de, 250
- Panofsky, Erwin, 297
- Panurge, 90
- Papal States, 50, 92–101, 124, 154–5,
230, 283, 284, 285, 318, 319
- Parella (bandit), 318
- Parini, Giuseppe, 34, 42, 109
Il Giorno, 34, 109
- Paris, 52, 53, 65, 104, 161, 181, 183,
184, 198, 200, 265, 266, 310
- Parkman, Francis, 285, 307
- Parks, George, 246, 252, 276, 312
- Parma, 150
- Parthenopean Republic, 181, 200
- Pascali, 280
- Pasquino, Gianfranco, 342
- Patriarca, Silvana, 238, 239, 273,
275, 279, 291, 295, 299, 300,
305, 306
- Patriarchy (as value system), 142–3,
145, 146–7, 164, 222, 225, 292,
303–4, 338
- Paul, Anthony, 245
- Paul III, Pope, 280
- Pavia, University of, 260
- Peabody, Dean, 108, 239–40
- Peacock, Thomas Love, 153, 195, 306,
307, 327
- Peale, Rembrandt, 99
- Peck, Henry Thurston, 336
- Peck, Walter E., 293, 306, 307
- Peel, Ellen, 235, 304
- Pellegrini, Carlo, 252, 257, 258, 262,
263, 267, 273, 338
- Pellegrini, Isabella, 3
- Pemble, John, 253, 294, 309, 314
- Pepe, Gabriele, 320, 322, 329, 332
- Perceval, George, 241
- Perfetti, Bernardino (improviser), 37,
40, 260
- Persephone, 229
- Peterson, Carla, 270, 272, 273, 305, 306
- Petrarch, 18–19, 33, 36, 41, 72, 133,
138, 148, 165, 248, 274, 299
- Petroni, Liano, 273
- Pfister, Manfred, 109, 116, 151
- Piazza del Popolo (Rome), 172
- Piccolomini, Alfonso, 318
- Piccolomini, Girolama, 110
- Pickering, Michael, 240
- Piedmont, 209, 319, 342
- Pilati, Carlantonio, 128, 295
- Pimlott, J.R.R., 269
- Pincian Hill (Rome), 172, 335
- Pindar, 36
- Piozzi, Hester Thrane, 29, 37, 102, 104,
113, 125, 140, 181, 187, 192, 213,
252, 256, 260, 268, 273, 279, 286,
287, 293, 297, 300, 308, 309, 310,
320, 323, 326, 334
- Piranesi, Giovanni Battista, 153
- Pistrucci, Filippo (improviser), 260
- Pitt-Rivers, Julian, 291, 292
- Pius II, Pope, 274
- Pius VI, Pope, 101, 173, 173, 176,
254, 286
- Pius VII, Pope, 165, 177, 284, 286
- Pizzi, Gioacchino, 257
- Pizzorno, Alessandro, 331
- Platière, Roland de la, 114, 203, 333
- Playfair, John, 267

- Pliny, Elder, 285
 Po, River, 179
 Pomata, Gianna, 143, 292, 299, 303
 Pompeii, 215, 216, 219, 231
 Pontine Marshes, 150, 167, 168,
 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174,
 175, 176, 177, 178, 180, 182,
 285, 315, 316
 Pope, Alexander, 109, 139, 140, 299
 The Rape of the Lock, 109
 Porter, Bernard, 136, 236, 269, 298
 Porter, Dennis, 272
 Portugal, 12
 Porzio, Camillo, 321
 Posillipo, 192
 Pound, Ezra, 65, 133, 134, 296,
 297, 299
 Pouzoulet, Christine, 255, 258, 273
 Power, Anna, 195, 208
 Pozzuoli, 195
 Prati, Angelico, 292
 Pratt, T.M., 273, 341
 Praz, Mario, 146, 236, 254, 276
 Prezzolini, Giuseppe, 91, 127, 141, 279,
 284, 290, 294, 301, 306, 307, 320,
 332, 333, 334
 Procacci, Giuliano, 84, 99, 245, 264,
 281, 282, 285, 286, 315, 320, 329,
 330, 333, 340
 Prodigal Son, 71
 Prometheus, 219, 336
 Propertius, 36
 Protestantism, 14–15, 18, 33, 59–60,
 70, 71, 91, 156, 242, 266–7
 Protestant Reformation, 14, 128, 241,
 242, 255
 Ptolemy of Lucca, 32
 Puglia, 26, 184, 185, 207, 319, 322
 Pulcinella, 89, 90, 164, 190
 Pullan, Brian, 244
 Puritans, 91
 Putnam, Robert D., 92, 202, 231, 232,
 280, 328, 330, 332, 342, 343
 Quennell, Peter, 290, 293
 Querini Casino, 310
 Rabb, Felix, 276
 Rahe, Paul, 92, 280
 Ramage, Craufurd Tait, 91, 103, 208,
 212, 214, 256, 279, 286, 320, 333,
 334, 335
 Rambouillet, Madame de, 287
 Rao, Anna Maria, 320, 329, 330
 Rapin, Rene, 131
 Rapp, Richard Tilden, 245
 Rawdon, Maurice, 308
 Ray, John, 276, 297, 317
 Raymond, John, 32, 317
 Redford, Bruce, 88, 277, 282, 299, 300
 Renan, Ernest, 194–5, 313, 327
 Renzi, S. De, 321
Revue des études italiannes
 Richard, Jérôme, Abbé, 94, 114, 281
 Richelieu, Cardinal, 256
 Richter, Jean Paul, 270
 Ricuperati, Giuseppe, 100, 246, 285,
 328, 330
 Riedesel, H. von, 191, 318
 Rigoni, Mario Andrea, 233, 264, 266,
 267, 310
 Robertson, William, 242, 255
 Robinson, Henry Crabb, 279
 Roccati, Cristina, 302
 Rochefort, Jouvin de, 26, 251, 317
 Rockwell, Charles, 127
 Rogers, Samuel, 90, 99, 278, 284, 300
 Romagnosi, Giandomenico, 5, 343
 Romani, Roberto, 238, 240, 247, 251,
 266, 305
 Romano, Ruggiero, 236, 239, 245
 Rome (ancient), 12, 16, 17, 24, 30, 31,
 34, 42, 51, 79, 84, 94, 96, 97, 137,
 138, 139, 152, 153, 160, 166, 167,
 169, 170, 171, 173, 176, 177, 178,
 207, 219, 231, 247, 254, 261, 285,
 343
 Rome (post-classical), 33, 36, 39, 40,
 53, 61, 73, 76, 79, 87, 88, 92–101,
 102, 104, 114, 115, 117, 122, 126,
 127, 128, 135, 139, 142, 146, 148,
 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 158–66,
 167, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 179,

- 181, 182, 183, 194, 223, 224, 227,
257, 275, 285, 299, 309, 310, 316,
318, 319
- Romero, Francisco, 2, 235
- Room of the Horatii and Curiatii
(Roman Capitol), 40
- Rosa, Salvator, 214
- Roscoe, William, 5, 43, 132, 242, 249
- Ross, Michael L., 254
- Ross, Sir Ronald, 312
- Rosset, Francois, 238
- Rossetti, Dante Gabriel, 260
- Rossetti, Gabriele, 39, 260
- Rosso, Corrado, 252
- Rougemont, Martine de, 252, 267
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 42, 89, 110,
239, 256, 271, 289, 299, 334
- Rousset, Jean, 273
- Royal Society (London), 335
- Rudman, Harry W., 260, 269, 275,
284, 328
- Ruffo, Cardinal, 200
- Ruskin, John, 30, 103, 154, 171, 173,
214, 249, 269, 278, 286, 295, 297,
307, 314, 326, 335, 337
Praeterita, 171
- Russo, John Paul, 245–6, 267
- Ruta, Carlo, 262, 316, 318, 334
- Sabetti, Filippo, 331, 332, 342
- Sablé, Madame de, 287
- Sade, Marquis de, 89, 114, 184, 189,
203, 210, 212, 277, 290, 321, 325,
333, 334
- Said, Edward, 151, 305
- St. John-Crèvecoeur, Hector, 171, 314
- Sainte-Beuve, Charles Augustin, 265
- St. John Lateran (Rome), 172
- Saint-Non, Richard de, 181, 184, 189,
191, 321
- St. Peter's (Rome), 6, 80, 90, 127, 153
- St. Willibald, 168
- Sallares, Robert, 177, 178, 312, 315, 316
- Salomone, A. William, 284, 295
- Salon of 1824, 337
- Salutati, Coluccio, 248
- Salvadori, Mario, 6, 134, 241
- Salvatorelli, Luigi, 128, 295, 339, 340
- Sanctis, Francesco de, 5, 129, 134, 241,
243, 295, 297
- Sand, George, 2, 272, 308
- Sandys, George, 26, 184, 205, 250, 317,
322, 333
- San Gennaro (St. Januarius), 88, 89, 90,
127, 189, 193, 196, 277
- San Marco (Venice), 150, 151, 273
- Sansedoni, Porzia, 289
- Sanseverina, Gina (*The Charterhouse
of Parma*), 120
- Sappho, 147, 221, 261
- Sarpi, Paolo, 21, 92, 280
- Saturnalia, 155, 157, 160, 308
- Scammell, G.V., 244
- Schachter, Gustav, 331
- Scheherezade, 150
- Schiavone, Aldo, 129, 295
- Schiller, Friedrich, 74
- Schlegel, August-Wilhelm, 34, 35, 74,
223, 272
- Schlegel, Friedrich, 1, 35, 40, 74, 272
- Schneider, Jane, 332
- Schudt, Ludwig, 250, 251, 281, 282,
314, 317, 318
- Schuyler, Eugene, 319, 320
- Sciarra, Marco (bandit), 318
- Sciascia, Leonardo, 326
- Sciolla, Loredana, 234, 331–2.
- Scotland, 12, 192, 228
- Scott, Sir Walter, 2, 256, 274
- Scribe, Eugène, 256
- Scudéry, Madame de, 287
- Scullard, H.H., 336
- Second Cisalpine Republic, 35
- Segati, Marianna, 123, 293
- Sella, Domenico, 8, 244, 245, 324
- Sells, A. Lytton, 214, 243–4, 254, 276,
287, 317, 319, 329, 335
- Semiramis, 150, 221, 224
- Semple, Robert, 216
- Senatorial Palace (Capitol, Rome), 39
- Senonnes, Vicomte de, 169
- Serio, Don Luigi (improviser), 38

- Sestini (improviser), 39
 Seyffert, Oscar, 336
 Sgricci, Tommaso, 39, 260
 Shackleton, Robert, 318, 322, 324, 332
 Shakespeare, William, 16, 33, 54,
 81, 273
 Romeo and Juliet, 54, 81
 Sharp, Samuel, 29, 96, 100, 110, 121,
 125, 172, 181, 183, 190, 197, 213,
 252, 282, 289, 297, 325
 Shelley, Mary, 2, 90, 195, 224, 256,
 279, 306
 Shelley, Percy Bysshe, 126, 153, 195,
 293, 306, 307, 327
 The Cenci, 126
 Sheriff, Mary, 248, 311, 337
 Sherlock, Martin, 66, 87, 102, 132,
 181, 191, 268, 286, 296
 Sibyl, 46, 63, 147, 150, 226
 Sicily, 26, 27, 86, 112, 178, 181, 193,
 262, 280, 313, 317, 318, 319, 326,
 335, 336
 Siegfried, André, 255
 Siena, 309
 Silhouette, Étienne de, 87, 152,
 181, 275
 Silverman, Sydel, 331
 Simmel, Georg, 271
 Simond, Louis, 30, 39, 90, 98, 104–5,
 118, 169, 170, 184, 194, 207, 253,
 260, 278, 283, 287, 290, 297, 313,
 320, 322, 327, 336
 Simone, Franco, 34, 45, 255, 263, 295
 Sismondi, J.C.L. Simonde de, 5, 34, 35,
 36, 74, 85, 90, 98, 117, 124, 130,
 235, 236, 242, 249, 252, 259, 266,
 274, 278, 283, 285, 290, 291, 293,
 296, 300, 303, 323
 Histoire des républiques italiennes du
 moyen âge, 5, 29, 85, 90, 117,
 242, 290
 Historical View of the Literature of
 the South of Europe (De la
 littérature du midi de l'Europe),
 36, 131, 242, 259, 266, 291, 303
 Sixtus V, Pope, 176, 315, 319
 Skippon, Philip, 125
 Sluga, Glenda, 301
 Smith, Anthony D., 238
 Smith, Dennis Mack, 317
 Smollett, Tobias, 22, 29, 30, 96, 102,
 110, 125, 172, 276, 282, 289, 293
 Snowden, Frank M., 312, 315, 316
 Solfatara, 219
 Sophonisba, 39
 Sorrentine peninsula, 211
 Southern Italy and Southern Italians:
 3, 4, 26, 29, 30, 31, 33, 86, 91, 92,
 100, 102, 103, 129, 140, 180, 181,
 194, 201–2, 203, 207, 211, 213,
 214, 215, 217, 280, 313, 316, 318
 agrarian crisis from Renaissance
 onward, 99–100
 amoral familism, 201–2, 208, 330–1,
 332
 banditry, 318–19
 beautiful landscape conceals
 malaria, 179
 climate enervates, fatigues, 29, 30
 critique of amoral familism, 330–1,
 332
 dolce far niente, 30, 325
 effeminated males, 140–1
 excitable temperaments, 103
 failings caused by corrupt
 governments, stagnant
 economy, 205, 207, 208, 210
 half-civilized or uncivilized, 182, 326
 identified with irrationality, the
 unconscious, 180
 increasing visitors in eighteenth
 century, 317–18
 indolence, 195–6
 lack of economic initiative, 203
 lacks advantages of fertility, rainfall,
 33, 183, 185
 “liminal” zone, “rupture” in Grand
 Tour, 181–2, 318
 love of improvisation, 186, 323
 mistakenly identified with natural
 abundance, 26, 30, 31, 183–5,
 189, 322

- mistakenly treated as homogenous region, 321
 natural handicaps such as volcanoes, earthquakes, malaria, 217, 313, 316
 political repression inhibits curiosity, expression, 281
 political system produces mistrust, dishonesty, dissimulation, 92
 power of climate irresistible, 209, 211, 217
 regarded as distinct from "civilized" Northern Italy, 326–7
 resemblance to volcanoes, 214
 seen as innocent primitives, 191, 325, 326, 327
 supposedly African or Oriental, a "hybrid" region, 182, 194, 207, 320–1, 326
tarantella, 186
 volcanic temperaments, 214–5
 Sozzi, Lionello, 252
 Spain, 5, 6, 8, 9, 12, 116, 119, 122, 123, 243, 291
 Spence, Joseph, 37, 96, 125, 139, 154, 159, 168, 260, 282, 293, 300, 308, 312
 Speroni, Sperone, 297
 Spini, Giorgio, 6, 243
 Sprigge, Cecil, 243
 Stabler, Jane, 279, 301
 Staël, Germaine de:
 accepts Enlightenment concept of civilization, 11
 accepts environmental explanations for national traits, 12, 23–5, 47
 acquires favorable view of medieval Italian republics from Sismondi, 35
 ambivalent on question of art versus utility, 74–5, 136
 Anglophilism, 12, 15–16, 22
 aristocratic tendencies, 163
 attempt to harmonize classical and romantic values in literature, 130, 272
 attempts to portray Italian realities in *Corinne*, 45
 awareness of hostility toward extraordinary women, 149
 believes government can reform the Neapolitans, 203
 brilliant conversationalist, 1, 53, 265
 character and personality, 1
 Chateaubriand influences her view of Roman Campagna, 35, 97
 coins term "political science," 1
 contributes to development of Romanticism, 1, 233
 Corinne to explain Italy to Europe, 43
 culturally hybrid *Corinne* exemplifies Staël's cosmopolitan cultural ideal, 81–2, 272–3
 defends use of masks in Italian comedy, 164
 deplors suppression of women in France, 79
 detests Napoleon's policies, 34, 64, 230, 267
 devalues Italian contribution to modernity, 34, 231, 253
 devalues Italian Renaissance, 34
 disapproval of *cicisbeismo*, 117
 disapproves of violence, 165, 312
 discovers depth and expressive possibilities of Italian language, 35–6
 dismissal of Italian literature in *On Literature* largely consistent with eighteenth-century French criticism, 130
 drawn to Kantian view of religion, 15, 60
 enchanted by Naples and environs, 182–3
 envisions republican government for Italy, 63, 79
 fascinated by Italian female improvisers during Italian visit, 35–6

Staël—*continued*

- feminist precursor, 1, 2
- finds virtues in Catholicism during Italian visit, 70, 270
- fuses different types of travel writing in *Corinne*, 44
- glorifies Roman republic, 19, 79, 162
- guarded political optimism toward Italy in *Corinne*, 230
- heir to Enlightenment, 11, 246–7
- helps create sociology of literature, 1
- helps to create nineteenth-century salon, 265
- her view of Italy influences Romanticism, 1, 42, 45
- horror of masks, 164, 165
- identifies Italy with absence, 146
- identifies novel with domestic sphere, 248
- identifies with goal of Italian unity, 64
- ignorance of Italian literature in *On Literature*, 131
- immersion in Italian culture before visit, 35
- indebted to earlier travel writers, 3, 4, 11, 35
- influence on Stendhal, 235–6
- influenced by Montesquieu and Abbé Du Bos, 27, 251
- initial disdain of Italian improvisers, 259
- initially negative view of Italy, 11, 33–4
- interchangeability of Staël and *Corinne*, 2
- Italian visit of 1804–5, 34–6, 146, 257
- Italian visit of 1816, 230
- Italians praise her accuracy in portraying Italy, 263
- largely negative response toward Roman Carnival, 159–66
- like Stendhal, glorifies “feminine” Italy over classical patriarchy, 79
- overestimates freedom enjoyed by upper-class Italian women, 141–2, 272
- parents and upbringing, 1
- partial disenchantment with England, 22
- pessimism toward Italy’s political future in final years, 230
- prefers Italian music, especially opera, 35
- prefers Northern European literature, 14
- proposes to revive Italian literature through imitation of foreign models, 82, 273, 340–1
- prerepublican, 63, 79, 163, 311
- Protestant background, 1, 14–15
- realizes poetic limitations of the improvisers, 41–2
- reception by Arcadian Academy in Rome, 34
- regards Germans as “feminine” people, 271–2
- relies on stereotypes of travel writers, 83
- reevaluation of Italy in *Corinne*, 45–6
- role in forming Italian stereotypes, 2–3
- sees England as virtual opposite of Italy, 22
- sees Italy as utopia outside bourgeois North, 45
- Stendhal’s mixed reaction to Staël, 235–6
- stresses government as main determinant of national life and character, 12, 24–5, 47, 63, 166, 217
- stresses Reformation as factor in modernity, 255
- struggle* with Napoleon and banishment, 1
- Swiss background, 1–2
- unfavorable view of Neapolitans in travel notebooks, 186
- unhappy in England, 64

- views Italy as land of genius and feminine freedom, 42
- would combine Catholic enthusiasm and Protestant sense of duty, 70
- Staël, works discussed:
- Carnets* (travel notebooks), 146
 - Corinne*, 2, 11, 15, 20, 22, 24, 25, 27, 28, 33, 34, 36, 39–42, 43, 44, 45–82, 87–8, 89, 97, 98, 101–2, 103, 104, 107–8, 114, 121, 124, 128, 132, 135, 136, 137, 141, 142, 145, 146, 147, 150, 151, 154, 155, 159, 162–5, 171, 175, 179, 181, 182, 183, 185, 186, 192, 200, 202, 203, 217, 229, 230, 248, 254, 256, 259, 298, 314, and *passim*;
 - Delphine*, 268
 - On Literature in its Relation to Social Institutions (De la littérature)*, 1, 11, 12–24, 25, 28, 33, 35, 44, 45, 47, 55, 59, 61, 64, 69, 70, 71, 130, 131, 149, 162, 217, 248, 254, 255, 262–3, 267
 - Germany (L'Allemagne)*, 2, 11, 12, 130
 - Considerations on the Principle Events of the French Revolution (Considérations sur les principaux événements de la révolution française)*, 12, 22–3, 267
 - Ten Years of Exile (Dix années d'exil)*, 256
- Starke, Mariana, 31, 37, 152, 168, 171, 173–4, 177, 192, 253, 260, 306, 312, 313, 315, 326
- Stebbins, Jr., Theodore, 278, 306
- Steinberg, Jonathan, 288
- Stendhal (Henri Beyle), 2, 3, 30, 45, 64, 65, 66, 79, 83, 86, 90, 97, 98, 103, 104, 107, 116, 119, 121, 128, 131, 133, 134, 141, 142, 169, 170, 172, 193, 194, 201, 207, 214, 230, 235–6, 253, 270, 271, 272, 278, 283, 284, 286, 287, 288, 291, 292, 296, 297, 299, 301, 304, 309, 313, 314, 318, 319, 326, 327, 333, 335, 336, 338, 339, 341
- De l'amour (Love)*, 90, 116, 120, 235, 253
- La Chartreuse de Parme (The Charterhouse of Parma)*, 120, 292, 341
- indebtedness to and criticism of Staël, 235–6
- Promenades dans Rome*, 120, 172, 283, 291, 326
- Rome, Naples et Florence* (1826), 30, 90, 172, 207, 214, 236, 253, 291, 292, 296, 298, 341
- Stereotypes, their falsity and truth: 3–4, 83, 196–7, 237–40
- Stevens, Sacheverell, 172
- Story, William Wetmore, 99, 105, 173, 178, 278, 285, 287, 314
- Stout, Cushing, 270–1, 294, 298
- Stowe, Harriet Beecher, 214, 279
- Stoye, John Walter, 246, 276, 288, 293, 317, 319, 330
- Strickland, Geoffrey, 236, 286, 301
- Strozzi, Filippo, 269
- Strutt, Arthur John, 141, 301, 319, 320
- Styx, 228
- Sublime, the (as aesthetic category identified with Northern Europe), 20, 138, 139, 215, 222, 337
- Sweet, Nanora, 234, 235, 265
- Swinburne, Henry, 29, 38, 102, 132, 181, 184, 185, 192, 206–7, 211, 219, 253, 260, 286, 296, 313, 320, 321, 322, 323, 326, 333, 334, 335, 336
- Switzerland, 1, 35, 42, 243
- Symonds, John Addington, 5, 133, 134, 241, 296
- Symonds, John, 96, 205, 282
- Szmurlo, Karyna, 234, 235
- Taine, Hippolyte, 5–6, 104, 153, 195, 207, 211, 242, 247, 286, 304, 306, 327, 334
- Talleyrand, 86, 275
- Tambroni, Matilde, 303
- Tanner, Tony, 159, 261, 271, 309

- Tanucci, Bernardo, 199, 200
Tarantella, 53, 55, 57, 150, 186,
 304, 323
 Taranto, 318, 323
 Taro, 228
 Tarrow, Sidney, 332, 342
 Tasso, Torquato, 19, 36, 41, 72, 92, 130,
 131, 132, 133, 134, 147, 165, 222,
 305
Gerusalemme Liberata, 147
 Tavel, Duret de, 194, 207
 Taylor, Bayard, 284
 Taylor, Edward, 254
 Temperani, Alessandra Pecchioli, 252,
 270
 Temple, William Johnson, 334
 Tenenbaum, Susan, 247, 268
 Teresa, St., 278
 Terracina, 179, 183, 319
 Terra di Lavoro (Naples), 183, 189, 204
 Testi, Fabio ("Pianto d'Italia"), 148,
 299
 Thompson, James, 22, 87, 96, 139, 152,
 276, 282, 300, 306
 Thorne, E.H., 296
 Thouvenel, Pierre, 172, 314
 Tiber, 194
 Ticknor, George, 284, 314
 Tivoli, 160
 Tomasi, Lydio F., 331
 Torre, Padre della, 213
 Trastevere, 103, 174
 Trastevereans, 103
 Trastulli, Paolo Emilio, 315
 Trease, Geoffrey, 274
 Trechman, E.J., 259
 Trede, Theodor, 294
 Treves, Giulia Artom, 269, 298, 334
 Trinci, C., 322
 Tripet, Arnaud, 233, 273
 Trissino, Giovanni Giorgio, 130
 Trollope, Frances, 333–4
 Trollope, Thomas Anthony, 39, 257,
 261, 269
 Trousson, Raymond, 272, 273
 Tuckerman, Henry T., 105, 270, 325
 Tullio-Altan, Carlo, 234, 273, 331, 343
 Turin, 111, 121, 229, 343
 Turner, John, 238
 Turner, Kathleen, 268, 289
 Tuscan Maremma, 167, 179
 Tuscany, 30, 94, 96, 98, 99, 119, 228,
 250, 260, 274, 282, 285, 318
 Twain, Mark, 91
 Tylor, E.B., 325
 Ullman, B.-L., 249
 Ullrich, Francesca B. Crucitti, 273
 Umbria, 250
Universal Magazine, 140
 Urbino, 84, 302
 Valla, Lorenzo, 248
 Valmaggi, Luigi, 108, 109, 120, 121,
 288, 289, 290, 291, 292
 Vallois, Marie-Claire, 45, 77, 79, 218,
 235, 263, 271, 272, 299, 304, 305,
 336, 338
 Vance, William, 265, 270, 275, 278, 279,
 284, 285, 294, 298, 306, 307, 314
 Vaneschi, Signor (improviser), 37
 Vardarelli brothers (bandits), 318
 Vasari, Giorgio, 248
 Vasoli, Cesare, 4, 241, 242, 249, 255
 Vaussard, Maurice, 121–2, 142, 290,
 292, 293, 297, 302, 330
 Venice, 8, 9, 26, 30, 42, 82, 85, 92, 102,
 114, 123, 129, 135, 139, 150, 151,
 153, 159, 179, 183, 195, 224, 228,
 244, 257, 271, 273, 274, 299, 306,
 307, 310, 337, 338
 Ventura, Angelo, 6, 128, 243, 295
 Venturi, Franco, 11, 235, 236, 241,
 243, 246, 253, 262, 275, 276, 278,
 281, 282, 283, 295, 306, 307, 330,
 333, 342
 Venus, 137, 139, 219
 Venus and Rome, Temple of, 136
 Venus de Medici, 221
 Venus Genetrix, Temple of, 137
 Verba, Sidney, 92, 240, 280, 343
 Verdi, Giuseppe, 256

- Verri, Pietro, 34, 72
 Versailles, 66
 Veryard, Ellis, 26, 250, 276
 Vesuvius, Mount, 183, 189, 204, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 229, 231, 237, 252, 255, 256, 305, 334, 335
 Via Appia, 169, 178
 Via Toledo (Rome), 187
 Viglione, Francesco, 286, 289, 293, 296, 297
 Villa Borghese, 166, 167, 314
 Villa Mellini (Rome), 24
 Villani, Giovanni, 248
 Villari, Linda, 241
 Villari, Pasquale, 241, 274
 Villari, Rosario, 198, 199, 280, 320, 322, 324, 329, 332
 Vincent, E.R., 262, 274, 296, 301
 Virgil, 140, 218, 228, 229, 283, 323, 337
The Aeneid, 228
 Vivanti, Corrado, 236, 245
 Viviers, Jean, 237
 Voisine, G., 338
 Voltaire, Francois-Marie Arouet, 11, 15, 34, 130, 131, 140, 249, 295
 Von Hohenstaufen, Manfred, 86
 Vulcan, 336, 337
- Wakefield, David, 337
 Wakefield, Priscilla, 212
 Waldie, Jane, 91, 214, 279, 335
 Walker, D.S., 99, 185, 201, 250, 255, 285, 315, 322, 329, 332, 339, 340
 Wallerstein, Emanuel, 244, 318–19, 320
 Walpole, Horace, 154, 159, 168, 181
 Walton, Priscilla L., 314
- Warneke, Sarah, 254, 276, 277, 293, 300, 325
 Watkins, Thomas, 113
 Webbe, Edward, 317
 Weber, Max, 157, 295
 Weir, Robert, 278
 Welsch, Hieronymus, 317
 West, Benjamin, 37
 Whitehouse, John Howard, 335
 Whitfield, J.H., 262, 285, 340
 Whitford, Robert Calvin, 234
 Whitman, Vincent, 259
 Wiesner, Merry, 265, 303
 Wilde, Oscar, 224
 Wilkes, Joanne, 250, 268, 298, 311
 Williams, William, 116
 Wilmot, Catherine, 214, 335
 Wilson, Milton, 338
 Winkelmann, Johann Joachim, 35
 Wordsworth, Dorothy, 279
 World War II, 108
 Wotton, Sir Henry, 87, 276
 Wright, Natalia, 253, 260, 270, 273, 278, 279, 286, 287, 290, 294, 301, 320, 325, 328, 335
 Wright, Thomas, 32
 Wrigley, Richard, 170, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315
- Young, Arthur, 29, 252
- Zacharasiewicz, Waldemar, 251
 Zacharias, Pope, 177
 Zeus, 219
 Zimmern, Helen, 272
 Zweibruchen, Prince Friedrich Michael von, 317