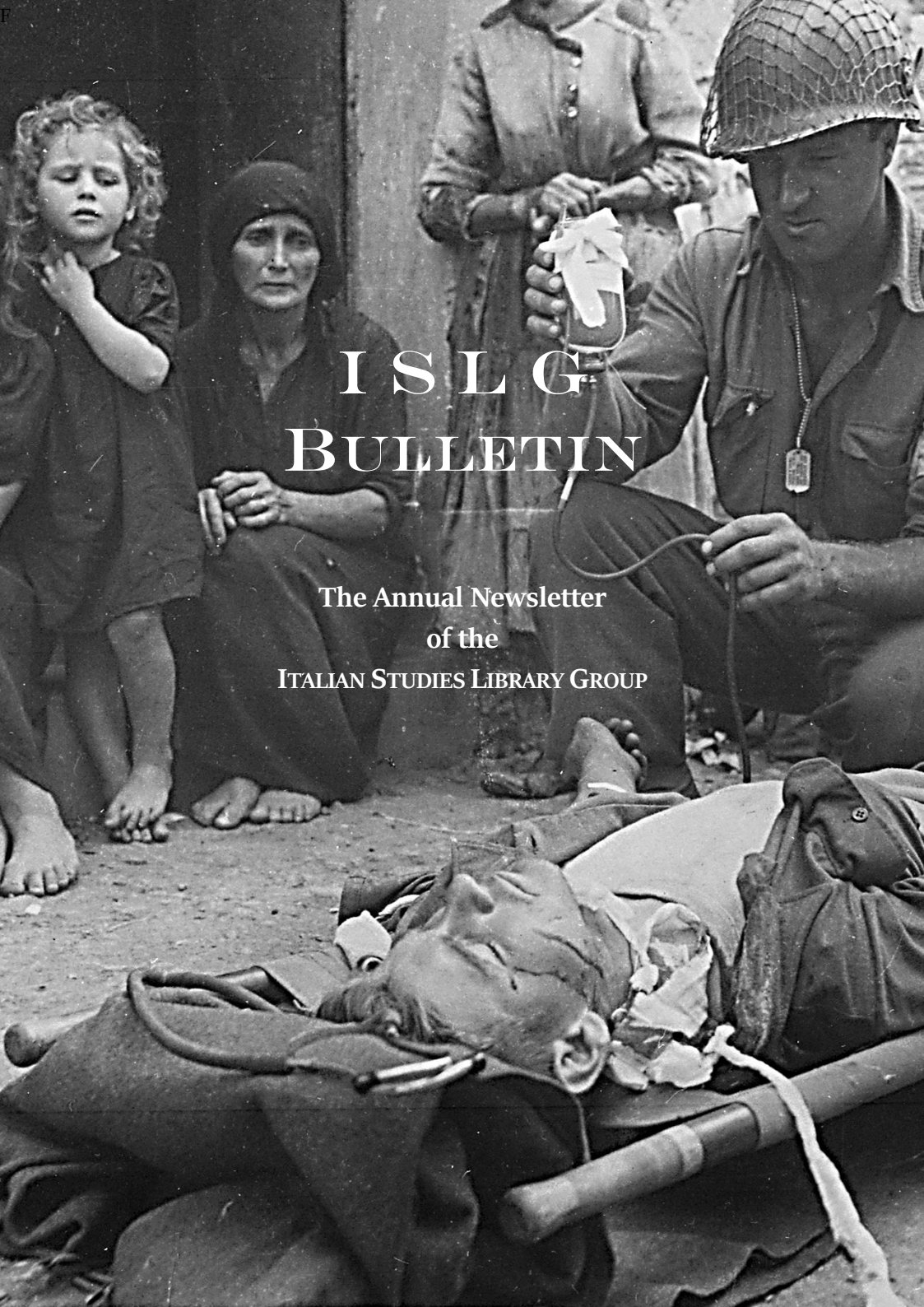

ISLG Bulletin

The Annual Newsletter
of the
Italian Studies Library Group

ISLG
BULLETIN

The Annual Newsletter
of the
ITALIAN STUDIES LIBRARY GROUP

Number 17
2018

EDITORS

Andrea Del Cornò
The London Library

Cecilia Izzo
Sackler Library
University of Oxford

Contents

Chairman's Introduction

Andrea Del Cornò

In introducing the 2018 ISLG Bulletin, as ISLG Acting Chairman, I wish to firstly reflect on the content and draw attention to recent developments. The *ISLG Bulletin* continues to attract scholarly articles and we are inordinately grateful to Robert Gordon, Serena Professor of Italian Studies at the University of Cambridge, for allowing us to publish a follow-up essay based on his accomplished British Library lecture of 9th October 2017. In his piece, Professor Gordon discusses Sicily and 'occupation literature' through John Hersey's novel *A Bell for Adano* (1944). The Allied occupation of Sicily was the first such in Second World War Europe. American war reporter and writer, John Hersey accompanied the Allies landing in southern Sicily in July 1943. As Italy progressed uneasily toward a new settlement and post-Fascist democracy, Allied forces led by U.S. Army Major Victor P. Joppolo — as his name suggests of Italian descent — try to restore order in the war-torn fictional coastal Sicilian town of Adano. Major Joppolo, as Adano's *ad interim* mayor, wins the trust and support of the locals as their new representative. However, he will be disciplined for his actions in a clash between military duty and moral courage. A successful novel, *A Bell for Adano* was awarded the Pulitzer Prize in 1945 and later adapted into a film rendition, starring John Hodiack as Major Joppolo and Gene Tiernay as Tina Tomasino, the young daughter of a local fisherman for whom the U.S. officer develops a romantic attachment.

In his essay, Edward Chaney, Professor of Fine and Decorative Arts at Southampton Solent University, recalls the beginning of his academic career and discusses the Italian city state hospitals and the care for the sick and the poor they dispensed. Italian hospitals, at the time of the Renaissance, were renowned and admired for their excellent standard of care. Even Martin Luther, certainly no advocate of Roman Catholic piety, spoke favourably of these institutions following treatment at the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova in Florence. English travellers in their journals and diaries left laudatory accounts of Italian hospitals, which inspired and encouraged the foundation of similar charitable institutions for the sick in England, such as the London's Savoy Hospital, established by Henry VII in 1505. In his essay, Professor Chaney — questioning some of the conclusions put forward by Michel Foucault in his *Histoire de la folie* — recalls that at times Italian infirmaries, in addition to medical care they provided, gave those convalescent theatrical performances, concerts and access to library collections, addressing mental and emotional issues.

Stefano Jossa, Lecturer of Italian at Royal Holloway University, in his contribution, considers the symbolic significance of Pinocchio, the mischievous *burattino* created by the fantasy of Carlo Collodi. One of the best known, if not the best known, puppet-story ever written and a children's classic, Pinocchio — Dr. Jossa argues — became a stereotype representation of Italian virtues and vices alike and a personification of the Italian national character. Dr. Jossa discusses the politically charged and often controversial commissioning and production of monuments celebrating Pinocchio in an attempt to foster and reinforce the establishment of a common and shared national identity.

A short piece of mine completes the current issue. It focuses on the Free Italian School established in London by Italian patriot Giuseppe Mazzini in 1841. Universal and free primary education, both for male and female students, was close to Mazzini's heart. A precursor of his time, Mazzini valued education as e key element in a truly democratic society. Mazzini's ideas on education however have been neglected.

For the illustrations of this issue we are indebted to: the National Archives, Washington D.C.; the Imperial War Museum, London; The Fondazione Nazionale Carlo Collodi, Parco Pinocchio, Pescia; Archivi Fratelli Alinari, Florence.

As ISLG Acting Chairman, I should like to take the opportunity to thank all Committee Members, past and present, for their sterling service and personal contributions given to the ISLG over the years. Without them the ISLG could not have continued to flourish. A special mention to Clare Hills-Nova, Sackler Library, University of Oxford, and Stephen Parkin, British Library, who have recently decided to step down from their respective offices of Secretary and Treasurer. At the same time, I am delighted to welcome Laura Carnelos, Department of Typography & Graphic Communication, University of Reading, Valentina Mirabella and Annalisa Ricciardi, British Library, as new Committee Members.

Finally, the ISLG remains grateful to Casalini Libri for their loyal support and genuine interest. Thanks to Casalini too, the *ISLG Bulletin* is available both in print and electronically on *Torrossa*, Casalini Libri's digital full text platform. Through Torrossa access to the *ISLG Bulletin* is now available to a wider community and we hope to make the entire print-run available soon, going back to its inception, the first issue originally published in 2002. A fitting way of marking seventeen years of ISLG successful activities.

Adano: Sicily, Occupation Literature, and the American Century*

Robert S. C. Gordon

1. *Refractions*

My aim here is to explore a case-study of what we might call the 'cultural refraction' of history.[1] The notion of 'cultural refraction' is intended to imply something different from the perhaps more conventional, linear idea of cultural reflection, by which, at given distance of time and/or space, cultural forms mirror preceding experiences of history and its vicissitudes, and thus event moves steadily and sequentially towards representation and retrospection in memory and history. Refraction rather suggests both contact between voices and cultures, at an interface of near simultaneity in time and space, and also a displacement or even distortion, a sort of trans-culturation, at the point of contact, bringing a new optical spectrum, a plural or prismatic set of perspectives on history as it is being enacted and as it becomes history. Refraction of this kind is a near-live processing of history — 'live-texting', we might call it today — and therefore often offers partial, provisional, not yet coherent, but also sensitive and open accounts. It has something of the 'first rough draft of history'; and indeed it is no coincidence that the particular case in question here has its origins in journalism, as we shall see.[2]

Our case-study is centred on wartime Italy, as the endgame of the Second World War began to play itself out following the invasion and occupation of Sicily in summer 1943,

* This article is based on my 2017 Italian Studies Library Group Lecture (British Library, 9 October 2017). I am grateful to Stephen Parkin and to the late Chris Michaelides for the invitation on behalf of the ISLG Committee to give the lecture and to Andrea Del Cornò for the invitation to publish this version of it in the *ISLG Bulletin*. Thanks also to the ASMI Summer School 2017, which heard an earlier version of this lecture.

[1] Recent scholars of globalization and hybridity have used this phrase, sourced to Arnold Toynbee's *The Present-Day Experiment in Western Civilization* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962): e.g. Hans Peter Hahn, 'Circulating Objects and the Power of Hybridization as a Localizing Strategy' in *Conceptualizing Cultural Hybridization: A Transdisciplinary Approach*, ed. by Philipp Wolfgang Stockhammer (Berlin: Springer, 2012), pp. 27–42 (p. 30).

[2] The phrase 'the first rough draft of history' as a descriptor of news journalism is conventionally attributed to Alan Barth in *The New Republic* in 1943, in precisely the period of American journalism out of which our case-study emerges. Jack Shafer, 'Who Said It First? Journalism is the "First Rough Draft of History"', *Slate*, 30 August 2010 <http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/press_box/2010/08/who_said_it_first.html> [accessed 11 October 2018]

American troops advance through a damaged street in Randazzo, Sicily

and in particular on a single work of fiction, surrounded by a cluster of sources, paratexts, versions, adaptations and echoes, including journalism, novel, photography, film, drama, etc. and including both Italian and English-language material. The refractive process takes us from historical event to work of literature and from there into all these other forms. What is more, there is also a vertical dimension to the refractive spectrum, as these different forms and angles take in intimate and experiential, on-the-ground perspectives and macro-questions of geo-politics and global history. The key larger question posed is the question or rather the problem of 'occupation', especially the Allied occupation of enemy nations toward the end of the Second World War, its nature, its purpose, its mechanisms, its legitimacy and its larger 'meaning' for the coming post-war era, and indeed its conceptual status as a sort of geopolitical, juridical, civic and cultural 'state of exception'.[3] I want therefore to look first at the occupation in its cultural aspects, in the war in general and in the Italian case, before turning to the specifics of Sicily and our case-study.

2. *Occupation culture*

A key stimulus to this focus on occupation as a state apart, and on the Allied occupation of World War Two in particular as a phenomenon of culture as much as of military history, comes from a recent research project coordinated at King's College London on the culture of the Allied occupation zones of Germany at the end of the war. This project, called *Beyond Enemy Lines*, set out its aims on its main website as follows: 'To survey in detail the cultural landscape of the British and American zones of Germany, exploring in particular the British and American writers and filmmakers who worked in Germany during the Occupation'.[4]

It was focused in particular on artists such as W. H. Auden, Stephen Spender, Billy Wilder and Humphrey Jennings, who were 'sent as part of the occupying armies to convert Germans to democracy through instilling British and American culture'.[5] Many of these voices both spoke for the occupying force, but also saw it as their task to engage from below, through the medium of literary or cultural expression and against the grain of the occupier's control, with the place and people of the occupied. A key output linked to the project was a book by Lara Feigel, *The Bitter Taste of Victory*, which follows the paths of a cluster of these writers and intellectuals — British, American and crucially also returning German anti-Nazi exiles — as they lived through the last months of the war

[3] The phrase refers to Giorgio Agamben's influential essay, part of his *Homo Sacer* cycle, drawing on Carl Schmitt's concept, *Stato di eccezione* (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 2005). It has been applied, often uneasily, to contemporary occupations such as Iraq or the West Bank; less frequently to the Second World War.

[4] *Beyond Enemy Lines: Literature and Film in the British and American Zones of Occupied Germany, 1945–1949* <http:// beyondenemylines.co.uk> [accessed 11 October 2018]

[5] *Beyond Enemy Lines*.

on the ground in Europe, fighting towards Germany and then into the phase of occupation and reconstruction, dipping in and out of theatres of war and bombed-out cities, sending back reportage and journalism, processing what they saw in diaries and other ego-documents, in photography, narrative and poetry, contemplating the aftermath of defeat, the city bombings, the camps, the trials, the occupation itself and the current and future state of Germany and Europe.[6]

Feigel's book raises a series of compelling questions about the complexity of cultural process under this occupation, the mediation work it performed as war transitioned into peace (and into Cold War), and as early meanings and perspectives on the war, Nazism and genocide first emerged. A series of fault lines and tensions are strongly apparent in the German case and perhaps apply more widely also. First, Feigel's chroniclers operate frequently on a tense border between military and non-military spheres, agents and ways of thinking. This is an issue in structure and governance, in terms of who controls various spheres of a suspended, fragmented German nation and society and when these spheres move from military to civilian control. But it comes through also in the detail of Feigel's biographical narratives: for example, in the way she follows Martha Gellhorn as she moves in and out of army and civilian sites, not least as she sleeps with various five-star US generals whilst evading the attentions of her former husband Ernest Hemingway.[7] A clear and fundamentally important tension also emerges between the states of liberation and occupation, the different vocabularies, perceptions and mind-set that accompany them and the radically different paradigms from the perspective of the Allied liberators/occupiers and the populations of the liberated/occupied. For Feigel, this is staged with particular intensity in the case of observers and cultural articulators of occupation who were also tied through personal history or affinity to Germany: whether exiles such as Klaus and Erica Mann or Germanophiles like Spender.[8] Further, there is also a tension apparent in the way that writers and artists deploy a vocabulary and narrative of the war and its consequences, and the parallel processing occurring through official channels and institutions, for example in the reconstruction work or in the juridical processing carried out at the Nuremberg trials.[9] The culture of the German occupation, then, is constituted by a series of continual negotiations across these spheres and these tensions. And hovering over them all is the looming shadow of the immediate and inevitable historical precedent: for most contemporaries *the* occupation *per se*, the other occupation: the Nazi occupation(s) of Europe.

The complexity and centrality of the German case for an understanding of Europe's war and post-war are self-evident, and the stretching of our understanding of it through

[6] Lara Feigel, *The Bitter Taste of Victory: In the Ruins of the Reich* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016).
[7] Ibid., pp. 21–27.
[8] Ibid., pp. 56–60, 180–85 (Erica and Klaus Mann), pp. 3–4, 131 (Spender), and passim.
[9] Ibid., pp. 71–139 (reconstruction), pp. 143–217 (Nuremberg).

its reconceptualization as a cultural phenomenon, in Feigel's work and in *Beyond Enemy Lines*, is a signally enlightening step. Without suggesting its paradigmatic status — indeed the phenomenon of Nazism demands that it must be in several respects treated as exception not rule — it points with force to the need to pay equal attention to the cultural dimensions of occupation in other theatres. Indeed, *Beyond Enemy Lines* extended its project in comparative directions in a symposium on the culture of 'Western' occupations held in Venice in 2016, where the German case was compared to four further cases, two closely linked to Germany in 1945 — the Allied occupations of Japan and Italy — and two more distant descendants, the US-led occupations of Afghanistan after 2001 and Iraq after 2003.[10]

3. *The Italian occupation*

Where did the Italian case sit in this panorama of Western occupations and their cultural dimensions? The Allied occupation of Italy, starting in 1943, moving through Italian territory behind or alongside the fighting army over the following 20 months, and then lasting in terms of international convention until the end of 1945, presented itself as both rule and exception in such comparative company, both paradigmatic — a precedent in chronological terms — but also deeply anomalous and more intractable, more slippery to the grasp than other cases.[11] It was paradigmatic because the July 1943 conquests of Sicily and Southern Italy set up what was the first Allied occupation and governance in wartime Europe, the first occupation of an Axis power, and marked the beginning of the end of Axis Europe. It was, therefore, the first testing-ground for an Anglo-American occupation administration and more widely also for a polity for post-war Europe, indeed for the larger post-war American hegemony over Western Europe. It was of huge strategic and geopolitical significance as a result. But it was also in many respects deeply unstable, improvised and at times inadequate to even the most immediate and urgent tasks, such as establishing the rule of law, the provision of food and the start of reconciliation and reconstruction. It was anomalous and slippery also because it was significantly more short-lived than the other occupations mentioned above — which ranged from four (Germany) to over ten years (Afghanistan) — and because it was a constantly shifting object in its geographical extent, its governing structures, its politics.

[10] 'Comparing Occupations.' (4 January 2018) <http://beyondenemylines.co.uk/comparing-occupations-podcast/> [accessed 11 October 2018]. I presented on Italy at this event and discussion there directly informed the writing of this essay.

[11] On the Allied occupation of Italy, see David Ellwood, *L'alleato nemico: la politica dell'occupazione anglo-americana in Italia 1943–1946* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1977); and on Sicily and the South in particular, Manoela Patti, *Sicilia e gli alleati: tra occupazione e liberazione* (Rome: Donzelli, 2003); Isobel Williams, *Allies and Italians under Occupation: Sicily and Southern Italy, 1943–45* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

Even its nomenclature was decidedly mobile, as AMGOT (the Allied Military Government of the Occupied Territories), gave way to AMG (Allied Military Government), ACC (Allied Control Commissions) and AC (Allied Commissions — when the Italians baulked at the on-going notion of 'Control').[12]

What is more, for large parts of its messy history, the Allied occupation existed in parallel with and simultaneous to that other occupation, the Nazi occupation of Italy, or rather of a very slowly shrinking portion of Italian territory, from September 1943 until April 1945, which itself co-existed with the Resistance movement or 'civil war' that erupted in reaction to the Nazi occupation.[13] It is certainly extremely difficult, if not impossible, then, to distil the occupation in the Italian case into a single entity with defined contours (and perhaps at some level in all occupations, therefore) and certainly not one that follows neatly as a consequence of war, in some neat sequence from belligerence to victory to a victor's occupation. On the contrary, much like Claudio Pavone's influential model for the Italian conflict in the central-northern Italy as three simultaneously wars — a class war, a war of liberation, and a civil war — the history of Italy's Allied occupation was one of several simultaneous and entangled wars, occupations, and transitions, all intersecting and mutually impacting upon each other, whilst all also preserving an autonomous trajectory and experiential meaning for their participants, Italian and foreign. One crucial consequence of this (as well as yet another manifestation of the historical tendency to neglect the South of Italy in shapings of a shared 'national' history) has been that the memory and significance of the Allied occupation have for much of the post-war era, been either misconstrued or neglected.

4. *Italian occupation literature*

What, then, was the nature of the cultural response to this occupation, in parallel to Feigel's German case? Who chronicled the Allied occupation in Italy and how? Was there a literature of occupation *as such* — indeed, was this even conceivable as a discrete entity given the instability of the events and the phenomena just outlined? And did it have resonance with wider questions of culture and occupation, the tensions and mediations suggested by *Beyond Enemy Lines*?

A sample of occupier's literature in the Italian case would have to start with Naples, which experienced extraordinary extremes of heroism and degradation, rising up against the occupying Nazi forces in the famous *Quattro Giornate* of 27–30 September

[12] On these acronyms and their history, see sources in note 11; and Claudio Li Gotti, *Gli americani a Licata: dall'amministrazione militare alla ricostruzione democratica* (Civitavecchia: Prospettiva, 2008).
[13] On these parallel histories, see: Lutz Klinkammer, *L'occupazione tedesca in Italia: 1943—1945* (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 1993); Claudio Pavone, *Una guerra civile: saggio storico sulla moralità nella Resistenza* (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 1993).

1943, only for the Germans to return before the Allies definitively occupied the city, having bombed large swathes of it, causing desperate living conditions and social breakdown. So extreme was the experience, and so overlaid with centuries-old myths of Naples and its environs (Vesuvius even erupted dramatically in March 1944), that Naples became the scene of an extreme and somewhat phantasmagorical imaginary of occupation, of a polis and civic sphere in dissolution or collapse. It is perhaps the only particular zone of the Italian occupation that has acquired a corpus of occupation literature, by both occupier and occupied, with such a specific and sustained thread of identity, manifest for example in the intersecting, if strikingly diverse accounts of John Burns' *The Gallery*, Curzio Malaparte's *La pelle*, and Norman Lewis', *Naples '44*.[14]

Secondly, as in the German case and indeed as across European theatres of war and beyond, there were the Anglo-American reporter-writers. Indeed, some of the same figures tracked by Lara Feigel — Gellhorn, Klaus Mann, among others — also traversed Italian territory during the long Italian campaign of 1943–45. A key contribution to this sub-field was the reportage by John Steinbeck for the *New York Herald Tribune*, from North Africa and Italy, including his account of the liberation of Palermo and his mock-comic record of the liberation of the small prison island of Ventotene, alongside Douglas Fairbanks Jr., where Germans were tricked into abandoning the island through fake rumours of a large American landing force.[15] If Steinbeck's pieces, like the vast majority of such journalism, were more war reportage than occupation literature, some pages of Arthur Miller's autobiography *Timebends* push the category to a later boundary, chronicling his journey to Italy in 1947, at the very tail end of the American presence in Italy, the occupation formally over but the American presence, on-the-ground — economic, cultural and political — remained extremely powerful.[16] These are pages on the Italian-American encounter in the penumbra of occupation: Miller goes to Milan, Rome, Naples, the South and the Sicily; there's even a comic chance encounter with Lucky Luciano. Here, the military frame is fading and another transition is in process — from war and occupation to Marshall Plan Italy and reconstruction — and the continuity between all these is a seam which we will come across again.

If the Neapolitan case exists in a mythic, fantastic aura of its own and the writer-reporters cleave more to war reportage or indeed travelogue than occupation, another key case stands out against both of these, a once much-fêted, but now largely forgotten

[14] John Burns, *The Gallery* (New York: Harper, 1947), Curzio Malaparte, *La pelle* (Milan: Aria d'Italia, 1949), and Norman Lewis, *Naples '44* (London: Collins, 1978); to which list we might add film representations, not least the Neapolitan episode of Roberto Rossellini's *Paisà* (OFI/FFP, 1946). See John Gatt-Rutter, 'Liberation and Literature: Naples 1944', *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 1.2 (1996), 245–272.

[15] Later collected as John Steinbeck, *Once There Was a War* (New York: Viking, 1958; repr. London: Penguin, 1994). See John P. Diggins, 'The American Writer, Fascism and the Liberation of Italy', *American Quarterly*, 18.4 (1966), 599–614.

[16] Arthur Miller, *Timebends: A Life* (London: Methuen, 1987; repr. London: Minerva, 1990), pp. 160–177.

work of reportage-literature. It is a book set in Sicily in the days and weeks immediately after the invasion of the island on 10 July 1943; a book which, crucially for what we are interested in here, set out centrally and primarily to document, imagine and in some sense also to proactively shape the civic model for the occupation *as such*. It is a work of occupation literature, written and published even as the war still raged on, but intent on holding the battlefield war at bay, in order to pose, in a sort of *roman à thèse* of the occupation, a series of powerful cultural and geopolitical questions, and in so doing to argue for their urgency and for the potential of the Italian case to provide answers. The questions included: how should nations, languages and cultures relate in the high-pressure 'contact zone' of an occupied territory?[17] How should an occupier control, purge, transform but also somehow re-educate, feed, rebuild and culturally re-imagine the occupied — and vice versa, how does the occupied imagine and negotiate with the occupier, whist constructing a new civil society? How should the histories and resistances of the occupied be respected or mitigated by the occupier? What polity — Italian, American, European, universal — should follow war and occupation? In sum, to borrow a phrase of Susan Carruthers in an important recent study, what in 1943 constituted a 'good occupation';[18] for which read a militarily and morally successful occupation; for which read, a 'properly American' occupation of Italy? This work of occupation literature is the principal focus of my interest here and is alluded to in the title of this essay: John Hersey's *A Bell for Adano* (1944).[19]

5. *Adano*

Although somewhat faded in reputation and in public memory today, Hersey (1914–93) was one of the most remarkable figures in the history of twentieth-century journalism and war writing. He was the author of perhaps the single most important work of journalism of the modern era, his reportage 'Hiroshima', an extraordinarily powerful account of the bomb and its after-effects, seen from the point of view of six survivors,

[17] The notion of the asymmetrical 'contact zone', productive of precisely the kinds of hybrid 'cultural refractions' explored here, has been influentially theorized in colonial studies in Mary Louise Pratt, 'Arts of the Contact Zone', *Profession* (1991), 33–40.

[18] Susan L. Carruthers, *The Good Occupation: American Soldiers and the Hazards of Peace* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016); and see also '"Produce More Joppolos": John Hersey's *A Bell for Adano* and the Making of the "Good Occupation"', *Journal of American History*, 100.4 (2014), 1086–1113, which uses Hersey to probe the complex construction of an occupation policy and image in war-time and post-war America and coincides in some aspects with my argument.

[19] John Hersey, *A Bell for Adano* (New York: Knopf, 1944; all page references to New York: Vintage, 1998).

published first in the *New Yorker* magazine in 1946 and then soon after in book form.[20] In 1950, he published *The Wall,* an important early work of Holocaust literature in English, a fictionalized account of the Warsaw ghetto, the uprising and its eventual liquidation by the Nazis in May 1943.[21] *A Bell for Adano* is the first and surely the least significant of these three whether as literature, as reportage or in terms of historical weight. Indeed, it is of pertinence to note from the outset that *A Bell for Adano* as a piece of writing is decidedly two-dimensional; yet it displays a canny three-dimensional awareness, something like a journalist's awareness, of the geo-political and cultural stakes of its subject-matter. And taken together, *A Bell for Adano, Hiroshima*, and *The Wall* made up a remarkable trilogy of early chronicling of the total war. Tellingly, none of them addresses what we might think of as the central concern of war literature, the conventional fighting war: occupation, the atom bomb and genocide attracted Hersey as the margins that somehow set the contours for understanding this war and, as it came to an end, its legacy.

In 1943, Hersey was working for *Life* magazine. He had written a couple of minor novels and reported on the war in Asia. He was sent to accompany the Allied invasion of Sicily in July, known as Operation Husky, and he landed and spent just a few days in Licata, one of the central landing-sites in the American zone of the Allied invasion. This massive amphibian landing was an epoch-making moment for the war in Europe, but also for Italians; the arrival of the Americans, possibly the end of the war, the visible consequence of the fall of Mussolini only days earlier in far-off Rome. If the history and complexity of the occupation that would follow has faded in later memory and historiography, the myths and imaginary force of the arrival of the Americans, starting here and played out across Italy thereafter, has not.

Twenty-two-year-old future writer Leonardo Sciascia was only a few kilometres away in his home-town Racalmuto, as he would later recount in several of his early short-stories:

> Eravamo al 14 luglio. Nel pomeriggio si diffuse la notizia che gli americani arrivavano. Il podestà, l'arciprete e un interprete si avviarono ad incontrarli. La popolazione in attesa si preoccupò di bruciare, ciascuno nella sua casa, tessere, ritratti di Mussolini, opuscoli di propaganda. Dagli occhielli i distintivi scivolarono nelle fogne. Ma gli americani ancora non venivano [...] cinque soldati con un lungo fucile abbassato sbucarono improvvisamente nella piazza, indecisi. Videro, davanti una porta semiaperta, qualche uomo in divisa e si mossero sicuri. I carabinieri si trovarono puntati addosso i fucili senza ancora capire che gli americani erano finalmente arrivati.

[20] John Hersey, 'Hiroshima', *The New Yorker*, 31 August 1946. In book form as *Hiroshima* (New York: Knopf, 1946). Exceptionally, the entire issue of *The New Yorker* was devoted to Hersey's piece.
[21] John Hersey, *The Wall* (New York: Knopf, 1950). On Hersey, see Nancy L. Huse, *The Survival Tales of John Hersey* (Troy, NY: Whitston, 1983).

Le loro pistole penzolarono nelle mani di uno della pattuglia. Un applauso scrosciò. Una voce chiese sigarette; e il caporale americano tastò le tasche del brigadiere dei carabinieri, ne tirò fuori un pacchetto di Africa e lo lanciò agli spettatori [...] la festa era cominciata.[22]

The arrival of the Americans (and despite the strong presence of the British in the Allied force, it is the American who are the liberators in the imaginary sphere of culture and collective memory) is associated in collective memory, in Sciascia as elsewhere, with a narrative of euphoria and comedy, of Lucky Strike cigarettes and caramel sweets, all traces of Fascism disappearing in an instant: part of a swift and long-lasting process of crystallization of key myths and iconographies of the American presence in Italy that occludes occupation in favour of liberation. Tommaso Baris has argued that this imaginary sphere of American liberation can be best captured in two emblematic and equally occluding motifs, both founded in Sicily in summer 1943 and, we might add, both strongly reflected in Hersey's occupation novel, *A Bell for Adano*.[23] The first is the motif we find in Sciascia of 'la festa', of liberation as spontaneous celebration, in the streets and in the hearts of Italians, a manifestation of an instinctive anti-Fascism and a sense of freedom. Hersey's novel will also in part offer a sustained 'celebration' of the arrival of the Americans, extended into an ideal of benign and, paradoxically, 'free' occupation. Secondly, Baris suggests, liberation is staged in the imagination and promoted by the Allies as a co-operative venture, as an alliance between Americans and Italians, across boundaries of geography, history, and culture, as well as age, modernity, landscape and technology. All these aspects are crystallized for Baris in a photograph by the great war photographer Robert Capa, taken in early August 1943 near Troina in Sicily, of a crouching American soldier listening to an old Sicilian as he points to something in the landscape with his staff — the route of the 'former' allies, the Germans — cloth cap and military helmet aligned in harmony against the parched summer hillscape.[24]

Capa's visionary icon of Italian-American affinity and harmony captures in a single image something that Hersey was inspired to elaborate and reflect on from Licata in

[22] Leonardo Sciascia, 'Una kermesse', *Galleria* 1 (1949); repr. in Leonardo Sciascia, *Opere*, ed. by P. Squillacioti (Milan: Adelphi, 2012–), I, pp. 1243-44; variants on the same scene and story are to be found in 'La zia d'America', 'Paese con figure', '10 luglio 1943' and 'La guerra spiegata al popolo' in ibid., pp. 47, 1236-37, 1405-09, 1972-73.

[23] Tommaso Baris, 'La memoria della Seconda guerra mondiale nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia' in *Italia e le sue regioni: l'età repubblicana: culture* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 2015), pp. 331–50 <http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/la-memoria-della-seconda-guerra-mondiale-nel-mezzogiorno-d-italia_%28L%27Italia-e-le-sue-Regioni%29/> [accessed 11 October 2018]

[24] Capa's image can be seen at <https://www.icp.org/browse/archive/objects/sicilian-peasant-telling-an-american-officer-which-way-the-germans-had-gone> [accessed 11 October 2018]. A similar image was published in *Life*, 30 August 1943, p. 27, of a peasant pointing the way to Brig. General Theodore Roosevelt, both standing, suggesting a certain staging of both images.

some depth: the role of America and Americans (and indeed Italian-Americans) as they came into contact with occupied territory and the occupied people. *A Bell for Adano* would grow out of these on-the-ground reflections, as though Capa's aperture had been held open a few weeks longer. In fact, Capa was embedded with the same Allied invasion force of Sicily alongside Hersey and many of his other remarkable Sicilian photos, including a full photo-reportage on the liberation of Palermo on 22 July, would accompany and surround Hersey's first reflections on his days in Licata, when they first appeared in *Life* magazine on 23 August 1943.[25]

Hersey's short piece in the same issue was entitled 'AMGOT at Work'.[26] It was about an American occupation officer designated as the Civilian Affairs Officer, or CAO, of Licata, just called 'the Major' in the article. As the subtitle to piece indicates, it aimed to describe how 'an American Major brings some American democracy to his job of administering a small Sicilian town'.[27] The CAO was the key local governor figure, part-military part-civilian, in charge of liberated civilian populations behind the front. Their roles had been set as part of elaborate occupation plans worked out by British and American command in London and Washington, and in Allied Military Government schools in Charlottesville, Virginia.[28] Agreement between the Anglo-American allies for this administration was settled in Casablanca in the months leading up to the July 1943 invasion. CAOs, then, were the first standard-bearers for the occupation, embodying a new rule of law, a new bureaucracy and enacting on-the-ground contact with local populations. They thus projected a model for a future post-Fascist Italy, 'bring[ing] some American democracy' to Licata, as Hersey's by-line editor had it.

'AMGOT at Work', appearing in *Life* so soon after the invasion, was certainly one of the first, if not the first widely read account not of the invasion and battle for Sicily nor of the liberation/surrender of the island, but rather of the quotidian reality of the Allied occupation of mainland Europe. Although only a short four columns in length, it is pullulating with local detail and colour. It describes 'the Major' at work in his office in Licata municipal *palazzo*, the Palazzo di città, dealing with whatever appears in his office, case by case, solving problems, delivering food, justice, and democracy through a

[25] 'The Surrender of Palermo: *Life* Photographer Robert Capa Enters the City with the American Troops', *Life*, 23 August 1943, pp. 25–31.
[26] John Hersey, 'AMGOT at Work', *Life*, 23 August 1943, pp. 30–31.
[27] The Major was based on Frank Toscani, the real CAO of Licata for just five weeks from mid-July 1943, almost exactly the time it took for the whole of Sicily to be liberated from German and Italian forces. The Axis forces escaped to the mainland to fight on in their rearguard action shortly after the battles around Troina. Toscani would fall out with Hersey over the book based on the article, since it hints he had an affair in Sicily, but he was and is feted in Licata where a celebratory plaque was unveiled in July 2013: 'Amministrò con zelo e saggezza la nostra città restituendola alla democrazia e sollevando gli indigenti, gli sfollati e i senza tetto dalle ingiustizie, dalla fame, dalle malattie e dalle sofferenze'. The plaque also refers to Hersey's book. See his obituary: Douglas Martin, 'F. E. Toscani, 89, Dies: Model for Hero of "Bell for Adano"', *New York Times,* 28 January 2001.
[28] See Carruthers, *The Good Occupation*, pp. 15–30.

series of sketches, episodes and vignettes, enlivened by Capa's dynamic surrounding photographs from elsewhere on the island. Locals come to the Major looking for favours, help or redress; two women with a baby, a lawyer, a merchant, an old sulphur-mine owner. One man complains that American soldiers billeted in his house have damaged it; a woman looks for her boyfriend, a prisoner of war. The Major acts in improvised but also semi-official ways to resolve these problems as best he can: he holds summary trials and improvises punishments of local offenders and recalcitrants: one man refuses US dollars as currency; another refuses to sell bread on credit; some peasants have stolen some hay; a cartman has inadvertently blocked US trucks with his horse. The Major's work is decidedly undramatic (in striking contrast to the tenor of most war reportage); but crucially, Hersey says, reflecting on the wider frame of what he witnessed, the Major is building nothing less than 'the future' from behind his desk:

> Army desk jobs are famous for dullness. And yet one of the most exciting things you can do in Sicily right now is to sit for a day by the desk of the Major who runs the town of Licata in the name of the Allies [...]. At the Major's desk you see difficulties, hundreds of them, but you see shrewd action, American idealism and generosity bordering on sentimentality. [...] You see incredible Italian poverty, you see the habits of Fascism, you see a little duplicity and a lot of simplicity and many things which are tragic and comic at one time. Above all you see a thing succeeding and it looks like the future.[29]

The tenor and core message of the article contain more than an echo of possibly the most significant article to appear in *Life* magazine's history, the 1941 editorial by publisher (and mentor of Hersey) Henry Luce, entitled 'The American Century', a proselytising part-Rooseveltian, part-Wilsonian justification for American participation in the war and for a wider a liberal world hegemony.[30] Luce — and Hersey implicitly but forthrightly follows him in this — is interested in an American future (one of his intertitles reads 'The Future is Ours') and in American values (freedom, democracy, the individual) more than territory:

> We are not in a war to defend American territory. We are in a war to defend and even to promote, encourage and incite so-called democratic principles throughout the world. [...] What we must insist on is that the abundant life is predicated on Freedom — on the Freedom which has created its possibility — on a vision of Freedom under Law. Without Freedom, there will be no abundant life. With Freedom, there can be. [...] In general the issues which the American people champion revolve around their determination to make the society of men safe for the freedom, growth and increasing satisfaction of all individual men.[31]

---

[29] 'AMGOT at Work', p. 30.
[30] Henry Luce, 'The American Century', *Life*, 17 February 1941, pp. 61–65.
[31] 'The American Century', pp. 62, 64. Hersey would break with Luce over his 'Hiroshima' article, following a growing period of tension between the two: in part, this was for political reasons (Luce's fierce anti-

Hersey's dose of upbeat, Luce-ian although also in some senses contrarian (because anti-militaristic) propaganda clearly struck a chord. Back in the US shortly afterwards, in just three weeks, he fictionalized Toscani into a character called Major Victor Joppolo, Licata was renamed Adano, and the resulting novel, *A Bell for Adano*, appeared in February 1944 to widespread acclaim. The book was adapted into a radio play in March 1944 for NBC, a Broadway play opening in December 1944, which was the cover story in *Life* on 18 December 1944, and won a Pulitzer Prize in 1945, announced on the same day as Victory in Europe, 8 May. A film version by Twentieth-Century Fox, directed by Henry King and starring John Hodiak and Gene Tierney was shot in California during early 1945 and released to strong success in June.[32] A good gauge of the novel's success is provided by the full-page Knopf press advert from early 1945, illustrated with a hand pulling down on some bell ropes, which collated review phrases in praise for the book, including: 'selected by eight out of ten of the nation's leading critics as "the best novel of the year"'; 'a clean sweep of critical and popular honors' (*Time*)'; 'imperative'; and, for its dramatization, '"one of the finest war plays you will ever see" (*New York Herald Tribune*)'.[33] This is high praise indeed, all the more remarkable for a novel which, as already noted, strikes twentyfirst-century readers as decidedly wooden and limited in scope.[34] Hersey was speaking to a shared set of interests and values with regard to the war in general and, we might posit, this early response to the conquest and occupation of Europe, tapped into intense concerns with America's present and future as well as a rich vein of imagery and stereotypes of Italy.[35] What was so compelling? Like 'AMGOT at Work', *A Bell for Adano* centres almost entirely on the Major, on Joppolo, on his humane concern for doing right by his role and by the people he finds himself ruling over. Around him are a few lightly sketched companions and helpmates, Americans and Italians, and the vibrant local population, many of them painted in broad-brush stereotype. Joppolo sets up his office in the central city Palazzo, just like Toscani had in Licata, and sets about dealing with the fractious, hungry, bombed out, confused locals, men and women, Fascists and ex-Fascists, anti-Fascists and fake ex-anti-Fascists, black marketeers, fishermen, clerics, landowners and peasants. Vignette by vignette and

Communism and worries about pacifism), but also because Luce resented the success of the piece in a rival publication to his own. See e.g. Robert Vanderlan, *Intellectuals Incorporated: Politics, Art, and Ideas Inside Henry Luce's Media Empire* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), pp. 221, 252–53.

[32] On the reception of 'A Bell for Adano', see Carruthers, *Good Occupation*, pp. 38–40.

[33] All quoted from one-page advert, entitled 'A Bell for Adano', *The New Yorker*, 3 February 1945, p. 75.

[34] This mismatch in taste and value suggest that we require something like a perspective in the history of mentalities, of the kind proposed by Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (London: Allen Lane, 1984).

[35] On this general question of American attitudes to Italians as a factor in the war and occupation, see Andrew Buchanan, '"Good Morning, Pupil!": American Representations of Italianness and the Occupation of Italy, 1943–1945', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 43.2 (2008), 217–40.

problem by problem, many taken directly from the columns of his *Life* article and strung out and strung together, Hersey sets out what amounts to a varied nexus of challenges concerning culture, ideology or clash of ideologies, and the nature and function of occupation, as what we might recognize as a form of colonization. The book's method for a steady accumulation of the building-blocks of a 'good occupation' can be analysed under three main headings: first, its use of symbolism, primarily the bell of the book's title; second, its practice of 'state-building', imagined through Joppolo's semi-improvised structures and strictures; and thirdly, its occasional, toned down, but persistent hints at a darker counter-vision of the risk, violence and injustice shadowing the occupation, one perhaps closer to the real lives of Sicilians in 1943, a hint of reality hanging over this near-utopia of benign rule.

The bell of the book's title carries heavy — indeed, heavy-handed — narrative and symbolic weight. The historical old bell from the town's bell-tower has been taken down by the Fascists for the war effort. Major Joppolo arrives in Adano and soon gathers around him a series of local chancers, dignitaries and do-gooders in a stagey, half-comic, half-earnest early scene of the novel. What, he asks them, does the town of Adano need most (p. 19):

> The Major said: 'You say you've come to advise me. Then tell me, what does this town need the most right now?'
> This time the fat Craxi got there first: 'To eat,' he said, 'much to eat.'
> Cacopardo said: 'It needs a bell more than anything'.
> Craxi said: 'Foolishness, a bell. More than anything, to eat is necessary'.
> Cacopardo said: 'The town needs its bell back. You can always eat. [...] The bell was our spirit. It was our history'.
> Craxi said in Italian: 'People who are very hungry have a ringing in their ears. They have no need of bells'.

Body or soul, to win hearts and minds? The debate over what Adano needs (for which read Italy, Europe, the future liberated peoples of the world) and what Joppolo/America can provide carries on for several pages; indeed, it is the leitmotif that runs through the entire book. Culture and liberty nourish as much as food and money. And Joppolo's quest for a new bell levers open a vision of democracy (ask the people what they want); but also a bridge leading from Italy's history and tradition, its sense of community, or beauty or memory (the bell as beautiful ancient artistic emblem of the town, of Italy, betrayed by Fascism's war) to America's history (the founding fathers' cracked bell of liberty) and a new history that projects both into the future. It becomes, in other words, Hersey's key motif for the American occupation as the moment of the American century, not least because of the American patriotism of the bell but also for its imperfect but humane ideal of democracy.

Incidentally but significantly, Joppolo's search for a new bell also draws him into delicate dealings with both the American class system, hidden within its apparently egalitarian democracy, and with military authoritarianism. He negotiates with the Navy, with the Allied command, with the Ivy league officers who are amused at the efforts of this poor Italian-American clerk from the sanitation department in New York. In the end, though, his native wit finds the decent men in them and this narrative thread reaches a triumphant conclusion when he locates and delivers a new bell for Adano, from the USS Corelli, a ship named after an Italian-American who rescued Italians from the Atlantic in World War One. Its inscription reads: 'USS Corelli/America ed Italia' and Joppolo explicitly compares it to the inscription on Liberty Bell: 'Proclaim liberty throughout the land and to all the inhabitants thereof' (pp. 251, 253). The bell, then, proclaims a series of abstractions and ties them to something American — freedom, democracy, culture — but it also taps into another American mythology and another myth of America's war and occupation in Italy, that of the immigrant, specifically the Italian-American that Joppolo embodies.[36] Joppolo's family is from Tuscany and he speaks Italian; the new bell is Italian-American; several of the townsfolk have been or have family who have been in the US, including some with hints of mafia association (another of the highly contested mythical grounds of the Sicilian invasion). Just as in Sciascia's story 'La zia d'America',[37] the Italian-American border, the literal and metaphorical journeying between the two places, is an awkward site of negotiation of sameness and difference in economics, values and 'race'; so Joppolo is regularly forced to inhabit an ambiguous interstitial zone between his American and his Italian identity. On the one hand, treated by colleagues 'as if he were a boy having been called *wop* by others at school' (p. 5), for speaking the language, for being too 'sentimental'. On the other, he demarcates himself clearly against Italy and Italians and as an American when necessary, as well as against 'bad' Americans: 'I'm not Italian boys. I'm American and sometimes I'm not as proud of it as I'd like to be' (p. 138), Hersey has him comment when restaged the story from 'AMGOT at work' of American soldiers trashing their billet.

Hersey added a preface to the 1946 edition of the book that clinches this vision of the *cultural* significance of Americans' hyphenated identities, both for the force of occupation and for a wider American hegemony (p. vi):

[36] On Italian-Americans in the war effort, see Buchanan, *'Good morning pupil!'*; *Italy and America, 1943–44: Italian, American and Italian American Experiences of the Liberation of the Italian Mezzogiorno*' (Naples: Città del sole, 1997); and the online exhibition 'War and Ethnicity: Soldiers of Italian Origin in the Allied Armies', curated by Matthew Pretelli and Francesco Fusi (Istituto Storico della Resistenza in Toscana) <https://artsandculture.google.com/exhibit/pgJimskv1fTeLA> [accessed 11 October 2018].
[37] Leonardo Sciascia, *Opere*.

America is the international country. Major Joppolo was an Italian-American going to work in Italy. Our Army has Yugoslavs and Frenchmen and Austrians and Czechs and Norwegians in it, and everywhere our army goes in Europe, a man can turn to the private beside him and say: 'Hey, Mac, what's this furriner saying? How much does he want for that bunch of grapes?' And Mac will be able to translate. That is where we are lucky. No other country has such a fund of men who speak the languages of the lands we must invade, who understand the ways and have listened to their parents sing the folk songs and have tasted the wine of the land on the palate of their memories. This is a lucky thing for America. We are vey lucky to have our Joppolos.

Beyond the bell itself, *A Bell for Adano* also continues and extends Hersey's interest in the complex administration of an occupation, in Adano as a testing ground for structures of command and cooperation, and therefore for democracy not now as symbol but rather as institution and law. Joppolo starts off his new role turning to the rules and regulations, the official paperwork of the AMGOT occupation prepared before the invasion: the 'Instructions to Civil Affairs Officers' (p. 13).[38] But Joppolo gets quickly bored and frustrated — the American hero is always a free-spirited anti-authoritarian, and an improviser — and he tears them up in favour of his own scribbles, headed 'Notes to Joppolo from Joppolo' (p. 14):

Don't make yourself cheap, always be accessible to the public. Don't play favorites. Speak Italian whenever possible. Don't lose your temper. When plans fall down, improvise.

These notes and their flexible sense of justice animate all the episodic encounters with the townsfolk, and Joppolo's application of justice and clemency, much as in the *Life* article. Joppolo's improvised rulings and acts of justice, problem-solving and dispute-resolution are also the source of much broad-brush comedy, in the novel as in the film, as he astonishes colleagues and citizens with his creative solutions, defying convention, rule and authority. He gets the fisherman fishing again despite the Navy's reservations; he punishes the former Fascist mayor by having him publicly confess his 'sins' as a Fascist; he combats the black market; he creates a basic welfare programme; he even defeats malicious rumours of a German gas attack by standing on a street corner and ostentatiously 'breathing'. Joppolo is a bureaucrat, a paradoxical mix of patrician and ordinary guy, a judge, but also a pedagogue, of democracy and ultimately of happiness itself. At one point, he declares somewhat pompously to his rapt Italian listeners (pp. 45–46):

[38] This document recalls the Allied handbook for soldiers, the *Sicily Zone Handbook*, republished in a modern edition as: *Sicily zone handbook (1943): il manuale britannico per le forze d'occupazione in Sicilia*, ed. by Rosario Mangiameli (Caltanissetta: Sciascia, 1994). These handbooks included cultural-anthropological guidance that is still in place today in the US military, such as in the Iraq theatre after 2003, see e.g. Rochelle Davis, 'Culture as a Weapon System', *Middle East Report (MERIP)*, 255 (2010), 8–13.

Perhaps you do not know what democracy is. I will tell you. Democracy is this: democracy is that the men of the government are no longer the masters of the people. They are the servants of the people. [...] Therefore you are now the servants of the people of Adano. I too am their servant. When I go to buy bread, I shall take my place at the end of the line, and I will wait my turn. [...] And watch: this thing will make you happier than you have ever been in your lives.

Joppolo is, then, a standard-bearer of a liberal economics, a moral humanism and a New Deal welfare democracy of the poor, grafted onto the American revolutionary idea of 'life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness'. And happiness is perhaps the key here: Joppolo's belief in it is mocked, for example by his friend and military police colleague, Borth; but Joppolo offers it as the deepest human universal that America can offer the world: 'happiness' as a form of cultural imperialism for the future. Hersey pleads for us to take note: from the 1946 preface again: 'I beg you to get to know this man Joppolo well. We have need of him. He is our future in the world' (p. vii). There is, finally, a counter-vision in the novel, which gives it what little edge it has: a negative to set against its (Italian-) American vision and hero, and its multiple vignettes of either simple and decent or devious and corrupt Sicilian folk. Two key figures from the Allied command contrast emblematically with Joppolo and all he represents, and one of these proves directly responsible for Joppolo's final downfall as CAO of Adano. First, Joppolo encounters in one brief episode the decent but deeply colonialist, snuff-taking British official Lord Runcin (modelled on Lord Rennell Rodd, the Chief of Civil Affairs in Sicily).[39] Runcin is especially sceptical of Joppolo's idea of happiness as a factor for the occupation: 'Can't afford to let these people be *too* happy, you know' (p. 134). Far more significant, historically as in the novel, is the figure of General Marvin, clearly modelled on leading US General in charge of the American invasion of Sicily (alongside Montgomery on the British side), George S. Patton. Marvin's blundering aggression is the exact opposite to Joppolo's civic and social sensitivity: in a key sequence of the book (one that once again picks up on a real event in 'AMGOT at Work'), after a mule-drawn cart accidentally blocks a roadway outside Adano, Marvin orders the mule shot dead and he bans all carts from the town, ruining its owner and preventing all food and water supplies from reaching the town. Joppolo countermands Marvin's order in an act of outright insubordination that leads eventually to his removal from Adano at the end of the novel. Marvin/Patton is the 'bad' American, blundering destructively into occupied territory and destroying all possibility of a benign vision of cultural contact between occupier and occupied; and Hersey's description of him was a bold note of warning to set against the tentative but rosy vision of Joppolo's version of the occupier's enlightened despotism.

[39] See 'Rodd, Francis James Rennell, second Baron Rennell (1895–1978)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/31623> [accessed 11 October 2018]

It should be clear that there are profound evasions and limitations in *A Bell for Adano*; not least its heavily one-sided view that largely neglects the deep complexities of the Sicilian experience of Fascism, war and occupation. In its defence, it might be noted, finally, that there are to be found, hidden amongst the sweetened and stereotyped portrait of Adano and its townsfolk, several hints at a darker perspective, at the underside of occupation: there are rumour and propaganda (like the rumour of German gas attacks), continuities with the Fascist state (the slippery former mayor), internecine violence within Italian forces, dangers of mines and military vehicles to life and limb (fishermen die in the harbour), crises in food production, black markets and shortages, mafia presences, allusions to rape by Allied troops, bombings, tensions between US and UK allies (and so on).[40] But these are all dealt with in passing moments by Hersey, and they are more often than not shown to be malleable to Joppolo's patrician-pedagogical vision of the good occupation.

6. *Afterlife*

As its swift translation from article to novel, its easy adaptability to different media in the 1940s and its wide acclaim all suggest, Hersey's book touched a chord. Both in Italy and the US, it has had a muted but intriguing afterlife, not perhaps in terms of literary reputation, which rapidly faded from the 1960s onwards, but in some hidden quarters of cultural discourse, as if to confirm its minor but nonetheless significant role as a model for occupation literature and a prism, to return to the metaphor of refraction proposed at the outset, for a wider idea of the hybrid negotiations of (para-)military 'contact zones'. By way of conclusion, we can touch on three curious examples, three refractions of small fragments of *A Bell for Adano* — respectively, of its title, its setting and its hero — one from the immediate post-war period and two more from the early twenty-first century, where, it seems, Hersey's optimistic vision still has a surprising cultural purchase, at least in certain corners of this post-American century.

The first example belongs to the weeks and months following the book's first publication and it suggests that it made a mark not only in America but also in Italy, or rather in Italy as it looked towards future relations with America; and not only in book reviews and sales — an Italian version only appeared in 1946[41] — but also in international

[40] On all of these difficult localized problems that emerged in the occupation of Sicily and of Italy more widely, see e.g. Williams, *Allies*.

[41] The book was published in Italian in 1946: John Hersey, *Una campana per Adano*, trad. by Margherita Cerrutti (Milan: Bompiani, 1946). The film was released by Fox in Italy only in 1950, but the American release was discussed back in Italy, for example in the film magazine *Cinetempo*, 18 (1946), 4, where there was both interest in 'il primo lavoro cinematografico girato a Hollywood che, per quanto ne sappiamo, si riferisca alla compagna d'Italia'; and clear reservations about its 'errori di psicologia, di colore e d'ambiente [...] un seguito

spheres of finance and diplomacy. From 1944, Italian government and official sources would make repeated appeals to the Allies to be recognised fully as a co-belligerent and no longer either enemy nation nor defeated power; and in due course, concerted and ultimately successful attempts would be made to receive reconstruction money, including Marshall Plan funds from 1948. Well before the Marshall Plan, however, one of the very first missions to the US, sent by the first Italian coalition government led by Ivanoe Bonomi in 1944–45, was led by a banker, Enrico Scaretti, his mission to talk to sympathetic government official and financiers, many of them either Italian-American or sympathetic to the Italian cause for other reasons. Scaretti's English-language report was a sales pitch arguing for the necessity of structural finance and investment in Italy, but also for a deeper engagement with Italy and the construction of its future role within the Western alliance. The title of Scaretti's report was designed to appeal to the clearest, brightest vision for an American-led future for Italy, to appeal in other words to Americans and their best idea of themselves as occupiers and guarantors of a future American century, and it came directly from Hersey: *A Bell for Italy*.[42]

The second *survivance* of *A Bell for Adano* is a literary one, from the year 2000 but with a web of links back to 1944 and to the history of post-war Italian literature. It ties the Adano thread back to the work and legacy of Leonardo Sciascia, evoked above on the ground as one of the liberated, in Racalmuto in 1943, and later as the chronicler of these events in his work, of the liberation and occupation in Sicily, and who became the great literary artist of the shadow-world of the Sicilian mafia and of power more generally in his novels of the 1950s and after. In November 1944, the mayor of Racalmuto, appointed by the American occupiers, by the 'Joppolo' of the town in 1943, was assassinated. As Sciascia recounted later in some pages of his 1956 first book *Le parrocchie di Regalpetra*, an obviously innocent man was convicted and a conspiracy of *omertà* would keep the true assassin safe.[43] In 2000, local writer Gaetano Savatteri reconstructed the case, picking up on Sciascia's brief account in his first novel *La congiura dei loquaci*.[44] Savatteri retells the story and the web of crime, power and deceit through the eyes of an American lieutenant turned detective, drawn into the shadow world of Racalmuto, its politics, the black market and the mafia. His name, in a clear homage to Hersey, is Lt. Benjamin Adano.

---

di episodi non di grande rilievo [...] un'esile trama'. Thanks to Catherine O'Rawe for pointing me to this review.

[42] The report has been republished recently in Italian as Enrico Scaretti, *Una campana per l'Italia: storia di un documento e di un personaggio nell'Italia sconfitta*, ed. by Paolo Savona (Rome: Treves, 2013).

[43] Leonardo Sciascia, *Le parrocchie di Regalpetra* (Bari: Laterza, 1956), repr. in Leonardo Sciascia, *Opere*, ed. by Claude Ambroise, 3 vols (Milan: Bompani, 1987–1991), I, p. 66.

[44] Gaetano Savatteri, *La congiura dei loquaci* (Palermo: Sellerio, 2000).

Finally and perhaps most immediately resonant of all, there is a military legacy of *A Bell for Adano*, one that in the early 2000s intersected with neo-conservative debate at the time of the Iraq war and subsequent occupation of that country. After the 1940s, *A Bell for Adano* become itself a sort of occupation manual (ironically enough, of the kind Joppolo rips up early in Hersey's novel); used for example as set reading at military training schools or the basis for a prize, the Bell for Adano Trophy, set up in 1965 for the best Civil Affairs unit in parts of the American military.[45] There is a final cultural-historical paradox here: despite the extremely fluid and provisional historical reality of Licata/Adano's and Hersey's situation in 1943 — a few days on the ground, a few weeks of a provisional occupation, hardly lasting more than the concurrent fighting war of the liberation of Sicily going on around it, AMGOT swiftly superseded by AMG, ACC, AC, not to mention 'Il regno d'Italia' and the new Italian CLN government, each with new temporary regulations and institutions — yet *A Bell for Adan*o became a paradigm-case for stability and harmonious relations in later 'hearts and minds' operation that accompanied American territorial conquest and Joppolo, with his warm-hearted intuitions a model of leadership. In a 2003 article, none too subtly entitled 'Supremacy by Stealth', Robert D. Kaplan reflects on how to conquer both territory and people in post-Saddam Iraq, offering a checklist, '10 principles on how to achieve American "Supremacy by stealth"': the very first of these, Kaplan's 'Rule No. 1', could not be simpler nor more eloquent for our purposes of understanding *A Bell for Adano* as a pliable model, a refractive prism for occupation literature and for a certain idealized but deeply ambiguous vision of occupation, its culture, politics and law: 'Produce more Joppolos'.[46]

[45] See Norman W. Provizer 'Leadership and Improvisation: "A Bell for Adano", by John Hersey' in *Fictional Leaders*, ed. by Jonathan Gosling and Peter Villiers (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 113–24. On the trophy, see e.g. 'Adano Bell Trophy Will Be Presented', *Petersburg Progress-Index*, 8 August 1969.
[46] Robert D. Kaplan, 'Supremacy by Stealth', *Atlantic Monthly*, 292 (2003), 66–83. See Carruthers, '"Produce More Joppolos"'.

Philanthropy in Italy Revisited: Post-Reformation British Perceptions of Italian Hospitals*

Edward Chaney

MY FIRST MAJOR (NERVE-WRACKED) ACADEMIC PAPER was presented at a generously-funded conference on poverty: 'Pauperismo e assistenza negli antichi stati italiani', convened in the lovely (underrated) city of Cremona on 28 March 1980. This was published both in Italian in the conference proceedings and in English as 'Philanthropy in Italy: English Observations on Italian Hospitals, 1545-1789' in a volume sponsored by the European University Institute in Florence where I was then a *Ricercatore*.[1] I eventually included this in slightly revised form in 1998 in *The Evolution of the Grand Tour: Anglo-Italian Cultural Relations since the Renaissance*.[2]
When originally asked to give the paper at Cremona, I was completing my PhD on Richard Lassels, a seventeenth-century Catholic priest and author who earned his living as a travelling tutor to the children of fellow Catholics and/or Royalists in exile from the Civil War. He ended up writing a pioneering guidebook, published posthumously in 1670 as *The Voyage of Italy*.[3] If one looks up the term 'Grand Tour' in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, Lassels's *Voyage* is cited as the place in which it occurred for the first time.[4] Early on in my research I was struck by the fact that it was not just the likes of Lassels but also those travellers who belonged to one or other Reformed church and were not therefore disposed to praise Catholic institutions who enthused about early modern and indeed late eighteenth-century Italian hospitals. Occasionally indeed they remarked explicitly on what was accumulatively implicit, that there was a lot less to be enthusiastic about where post-Reformation hospitals at home were concerned.

---

* Based on an illustrated talk given at the Quincentennial Society meeting of the Royal College of Physicians on 9 October 2017.

[1] *Aspects of Poverty in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Thomas Riis (Stuttgart: Klett, 1981), pp. 183-217; published in Italian as 'Giudizi inglesi su ospedali italiani, 1545–1789', in *Timore e carità: i poveri nell'Italia moderna. Atti del convegno 'Pauperismo e assistenza negli antichi stati italiani'*, ed. by Giorgio Politi, Mario Rosa and Franco Della Peruta (Cremona: Libreria del convegno,1982), pp. 77-101.

[2] 2nd edn, rev. (London: Routledge, 2000). In 1986 I included a separate section of early first-hand accounts of hospitals, in *Florence: A Traveller's Reader,* 3rd ed. (London: Robinson, 2018), pp. 107-17. The medically-trained historian, Guenter B. Risse's comprehensive *Mending Bodies, Saving Souls: A History of Hospitals* appeared in 1999, published by Oxford University Press.

[3] Four editions are known: ESTC R473617, R179652, R233773, R2418.

[4] Edward Chaney, *The Grand Tour and the Great Rebellion: Richard Lassels and 'The Voyage of Italy' in the Seventeenth Century* (Geneva: Slatkine, 1985).

Loggia of the Ospedale degli Innocenti, Florence

After graduating in art history, I had decided to broaden my education by pursuing post-graduate studies at the wonderful Warburg Institute. Here, where the likes of Ernst Gombrich and Frances Yates were still teaching, I learned about iconoclasm and the horrid things Henry VIII and Hilary Mantel's hero, Thomas Cromwell, did to the English monasteries and thereby the monastic hospitals. I then came across the standard account of what was supposed to have happened in the wake of the shut-down of these medieval institutions that had cared for the poor and sick, W.K. Jordan's *Philanthropy in England 1480-1660*, and its companion volumes, *The Charities of London* and *The Charities of Rural England* (covering the same period), published between 1959 and 1961.[5] An enthusiastic American Protestant, Professor Jordan made what from my primitive attempts at comparative history already seemed unjustified claims for the pioneering humanitarianism of post-Reformation England and the London hospitals in particular. He described the latter as: 'unrivalled [...] in the whole of the western world'. In a related article entitled 'The English Background to Modern Philanthropy' Jordan wrote that 'by 1580 [...] already in England an edifice of charity had been reared which stood incomparable in all Europe'.[6]

The English dialogue with 'Italian' hospitals no doubt dates back to the Romans but at least as far as the West Saxon King Ine, who died in Rome in 726 after having supposedly founded the Church of the Hospital of Santo Spirito in Sassia. The Sassia part of its name refers to the Burgus Saxonum on the Vatican side of the Tiber in which both church and hospital are situated. After the Fire in the Borgo Leo IV rebuilt the complex and King Burgred of Mercia was buried there in 874.[7] In the 1120s Rahere founded St Bartholomew's at Smithfield as a result of contracting Malaria in Rome and vowing during his convalescence to create a hospital 'yn recreacion of poure men' inspired by San Bartolomeo all'Isola, the Roman site of the ancient temple of Aesculepius.[8] Ironically, the great age of hospital building, inasmuch as such institutions were attached to minsters such as York (St Leonard's great hospital was refounded in the same decade as St Bartholomew's), or to monasteries such as Ely, Canterbury,

[5] *Philanthropy in England 1480-1660: A Study of the Changing Pattern of English Social Aspirations* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1959); *The Charities of London 1480-1660: The Aspirations and the Achievements of the Urban Society* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1960); *The Charities of Rural England, 1480-1660: The Aspirations and the Achievements of the Rural Society* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1961).

[6] *American Historical Review*, 66 (1961), 407; quoted in *The Evolution of the Grand Tour*, p. 243.

[7] S. E. Kelly, 'Burgred', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* < http://www.oxforddnb.com> [accessed 7 October 2018]

[8] Rotha Mary Clay, *The Mediæval Hospitals of England* (London: Methuen & Co., 1909), p. 86. For Aesculapius and more on 'Pre-Christian healing places', see the early chapters of the medically-trained historian, Guenter B. Risse's *Mending Bodies, Saving Souls: A History of Hospitals* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

Romsey and Fountains Abbey, was waning as the new building style we call the Renaissance emerged.[9]

In the wake of the Wars of the Roses but still prior to the Reformation which abandoned 'good works' (including the Seven Works of Mercy) and indeed free will as undermining God's all-encompassing Grace, for a relatively brief period Henry VII and initially even his son (guided by Cardinal Wolsey) emulated Renaissance Italy in a wide range of cultural matters. As a result the first Tudor's tomb (and that of Elizabeth of York) in Westminster Abbey was made by one of the greatest sculptors of the period, Pietro Torrigiano.[10] Though the Italian city states had also fought among each other during the fifteenth century, the likes of Cosimo de' Medici and his son Giovanni meanwhile advised Francesco Sforza on how best to build a Milanese hospital to match Florence's renowned Santa Maria Nuova. The Florentine architect, Filarete's Ca' Granda hospital, today still fully-functioning as the Policlinico di Milano, was thereby founded in 1456.[11] Santa Maria Nuova had in fact already been the model for the Pammatone in Genoa, begun in 1422, and together with Siena's Santa Maria della Scala, inspired new hospitals in Mantua and Brescia, as well as the one our Cremona conference celebrated, founded in 1451.

Begun in 1504, Toledo's Hospital de Santa Cruz had been the most recent to be rebuilt on the model of Santa Maria Nuova when, less than a decade later, Henry VII requested a copy of the Florentine hospital's *Regolamento* from the merchant, Francesco Portinari, a descendant of its thirteenth-century co-founder, Folco Portinari (father of Dante's Beatrice).[12] Inspired by glowing accounts of Santa Maria Nuova, Henry began building what would be Britain's first modern hospital and 'the largest institution of its kind in Tudor England' on the site of John of Gaunt's medieval Savoy Palace (Figure 2).[13] It seemed to me likely that Thomas More (later knighted, now a saint), would have had such an important Anglo-Italian intervention in mind when he published his account of an ideal hospital in *Utopia*.[14] Interestingly, after designing his Milanese Ospedale Grande, Filarete planned the rest of a Utopian city for his patron Francesco Sforza in a magnum opus he named the *Sforzinda*. This came complete with a ten-storey structure,

---

[9] Clay, *Mediæval Hospitals*, passim.

[10] See Edward Chaney, 'Early Tudor Tombs and the Rise and Fall of Anglo-Italian Relations', in *The Evolution of the Grand Tour*, pp. 41–57.

[11] Sforza sent Filarete to Florence to inspect the hospital; see *La Ca' Granda: cinque secoli di storia e d'arte dell'Ospedale Maggiore di Milano*, ed. by Carlo Pirovano (Milan: Electa, 1981).

[12] Folco Portinari (died 1289) bequeathed a large sum of money to Santa Maria to found its female wing. An intermediate descendant, Tommaso, commissioned Hugo van der Goes's influential 'Portinari Triptych' for the hospital church; now in the Uffizi.

[13] *The History of the King's Work*, ed. by H. M. Colvin (London: H.M.S.O., 1963–1982), III: *1485-1660. (Part 1)* (1975), p. 199.

[14] 'Philanthropy in Italy', p. 183; cf. *Evolution of the Grand Tour*, p. 53, note 6.

on the ground floor of which was a Utopian brothel. Filarete ended up dedicating his treatise, called by Vasari 'perhaps the most stupid book ever written,' to Cosimo's other son, Giovanni's brother Piero the Gouty, father of the more famous Lorenzo.[15] Meanwhile, here is the translation of More's Latin account of his Utopian hospital by the late seventeenth-century Protestant clergyman and scholar, later Bishop, Gilbert Burnet, who as we shall see, went on to praise the Italian hospitals in his *Letters from Italy*:

> But they take more care of their Sick, than of any others, who are looked after and lodged in public hospitals: They have belonging to every Town four Hospitals, that are built without their Walls, and are so large, that they pass for little Towns. By this means, if they had ever such a number of sick persons, they could lodg them conveniently, and at such a distance, that such of them as are sick of infectious Diseases, may be kept so far from the rest, that there can be no danger of Contagion. The Hospitals are so furnished and stored with all the things that are convenient for the ease and recovery of their Sick; and those that are put in them, are all looked after with so tender and watchful a care, and are so constantly treated by their skilful Physicians; that as none is sent to them against their will, so there is scarce one in a whole Town, that if he should fall ill, would not chuse rather to go thither, than lie sick at home.[16]

Ten years after I published my essay, Katherine Park and my former colleague at the European University, John Henderson (who went on to write a monograph on Renaissance hospitals), published an article in *Medical History* on Santa Maria Nuova.[17] Here they echoed my suggestion regarding the Florentine inspiration for More's Utopian hospital but where I used Burnet's translation of More's Latin as my epigraph, they chose an interesting quotation from the Florentine humanist, Cristoforo Landino's 1481 commentary on Dante's *Divine Comedy*.[18] This serves as a reminder of the competitive pride Florentines felt for their philanthropic institutions, a pride for which one finds no equivalent in England, even before the Reformation:

> I make bold to call Santa Maria Nuova the first hospital among Christians'.[19] In it they take care of more than three hundred sick people month after month. Difficult as it is to arrange, the beds

---

[15] S. Lang, 'Sforzinda, Filarete and Filelfo', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 35 (1972), pp. 391–97.

[16] *Utopia: Written in Latin by Sir Thomas More, Chancellor of England: Translated into English* [by Gilbert Burnet] (London: Richard Chiswell, 1684), pp. 92–3. Burnet toured Italy soon after publishing this, going on to publish his *Some Letters Containing an Account of what Seemed Most Remarkable in Switzerland, Italy, &c.* (Rotterdam: Abraham Acher, 1686), which included several enthusiastic accounts of Italian hospital, despite the author's Whiggish Protestantism.

[17] '"The first hospital among Christians": The Ospedale di Santa Maria Nuova in early sixteenth-century Florence', *Medical History*, 35 (1991), pp. 164–188; cf. John Henderson, *The Renaissance Hospital: Healing the Body and Healing the Soul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), pp. 153–55.

[18] See Christine Stevenson, *Medicine and Magnificence: British Hospital and Asylum Architecture, 1660–1815* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), p. 239, note 6.

[19] This perhaps suggests that More was conscious of the possibility that Islamic hospitals provided comparable medical care.

are always clean and nurses are constantly on duty to look after the sick and see to their needs. Food and medicine are prescribed individually for each patient according to his illness, and physicians and surgeons are always available to give individual instructions. As a result, many rich and noble foreigners have chosen to be treated there when they fall ill during a journey.[20]

Not long after Landino presented his edition of Dante to Florence's city council, the 26-year-old Augustinian friar, Martin Luther may have benefitted from a brief stay at Santa Maria Nuova *en route* to being horrified by the supposed corruption of Rome.[21] Park and Henderson opened their article by citing, as I had done, Luther's similarly positive account of Italian hospitals (I quote here Captain Henrie Bell's 1652 translation of his *Table Talk* or *Tischreden):*

In *Italie* (said *Luther*) the Hospitals are very well provided, fair buildings, good meat and drink, they have diligent attendance, and Learned Physicians, the bedding and furniture are clean and neat, the dwelling places fairly painted. So soon as a sick person is brought in, they take off his Cloths in the presence of a publique Notarie, who truly taketh notice therof in writing they are well and warily laid up, and they put upon him a white coat, and lay him in a well prepared Bed. Soon after they bring two Physicians, and the servants bring meat and drink in pure Glass vessels and cups, which they touch onely with one Finger. Then also certain married Matrones and women (whose faces are covered) do come and minister to the poor, as unknown, and afterwards go home again.[22]

Recorded after he had inspired what became known as the Reformation, which downgraded the efficacy of good works, Luther's literal-minded conclusion undermines his own apparent enthusiasm by questioning the philanthropists' charitable motivation:

These works are good and laudable, onely, the mischief is, that thereby they think to merit Heaven, and to be sustained and saved by reason of their works, which spoileth all.

Luther's remarks on Thomas More were more scathing, despite the fact that More had meanwhile been executed. Luther would have been conscious of the fact that More had once helped earn Henry VIII (and his successors down to the present day) the title of Defender of the [Catholic] Faith.[23]

---

[20] Cristoforo Landino, *Scritti critici e teorici*, ed. by Roberto Cardini, (Rome: Bulzoni, 1974), I, p. 116.
[21] *Florence and Its Hospitals: A History of Health Care in the Florentine Area*, ed. by Donatella Tombaccini and others (Florence: Firenze University Press, 2008), p.35.
[22] Martin Luther, *Dris Martini Lutheri Colloquia Mensalia; or, Dr Martin Luther's Divine Discourses at his Table, &*c., trans. by Captain Henry Bell (London: William Du-gard, 1652), p. 233.
[23] Cf. Luther on More: 'Some one asked, whether Sir Thomas More was executed for the Gospel's sake or no? I answered: No, in no wise; he was a cruel tyrant; he was the king's chief counsellor; a very learned and wise man, doubtless, but he shed the blood of many innocent Christians that confessed the Gospel; he tormented them with strange instruments, like a hangman; first, he personally examined them under a green tree, and then cruelly tortured them in prison. At last, he opposed the edict of the king and kingdom. He was disobedient, and was punished.' (*Table Talk*, DCXXV). For a justification of Luther which cites me as a 'Catholic scholar', see Carter Lindberg, *Beyond Charity: Reformation Initiatives for the Poor* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), p. 10.

It seems very likely that More's teacher at Oxford, England's then 'greatest classical scholar', Thomas Linacre, would have played a part in encouraging Henry VII to found the Savoy.[24] Having studied Greek in Florence and graduated in medicine at Padua, Linacre came to court in 1499 as Prince Arthur's tutor. He went on to become Henry VIII's personal physician and, again on the basis of an Italian model, co-founder of the College of Physicians, subsequently the *Royal* College, of which he became first President and to which he bequeathed his house and library.[25] Since More never travelled to Italy it would also seem likely that Linacre, with whom he remained friends, played a part in inspiring his former student's account of the Utopian hospital, both in terms of the Italian ideal and its English imitation in the form of the Savoy.[26] That their mutual friend was the humanist and priest, John Colet, who also studied in Florence and was registered in the *Liber Fraternitatis* of the Hospital of Santo Spirito in Rome can only have reinforced the Italian and ultimately classical influence.[27] Colet of course founded yet another institution inspired by Italian example, in this case the humanism that provided a model for the school he named after the then still Catholic St Paul's Cathedral. 'When I listen to Colet', wrote Erasmus, fellow Italophile and friend to all these Englishmen, 'it seems to me I am listening to Plato himself.'[28]

Linacre eventually, in 1519, also became a priest, a fact not mentioned in his *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* entry (any more than the *ODNB* entry on John Dee mentions the fact that he too was ordained a Catholic priest. Dee also travelled to Italy and most of his surviving books are in the Royal College of Physicians, a wonderful exhibition of them being held there last year). Thomas More was one of the executors of Linacre's will when he died in 1524. Fellow executor and Catholic physician (as well as interlocutor in *Utopia*), John Clement eventually joined Thomas More's family in exile after his execution.[29] John Caius, another English Catholic physician who travelled to Italy, interested himself in hospitals and became a benefactor and President of the College of Physicians, should perhaps also be mentioned at this point. He studied

[24] George B. Parks, *The English Traveler to Italy: The Middle Ages* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1954), I, p. 491: 'No English classical scholar can compare even with Linacre for probably close to a century, until Henry Savile edited St John Chrysostom [...]'.

[25] *Essays on the Life and Work of Thomas Linacre, c. 1460-1524*, ed. by F. Maddison, Charles Webster and Margaret Pelling (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977); Vivian Nutton, 'Thomas Linacre', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://www.oxforddnb.com> [accessed 7 October 2018]. For evidence of the Italian inspiration for the College of Physicians, see the opening lines of its foundation charter (*Evolution of the Grand Tour*, p. 62).

[26] For Linacre's 12 years in Italy, see Charles Schmitt, 'Thomas Linacre and Italy', in *Essays on the Life and Work of Thomas Linacre*, pp. 36–75.

[27] Parks, *The English Traveler*, p. 367.

[28] *Evolution of the Grand Tour*, p. 61.

[29] Patrick Wallis, 'John Clement', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://www.oxforddnb.com> [accessed 7 October 2018]

medicine at Padua with its most celebrated professor, Johannes Baptista Montanus and with Vesalius, becoming a pioneering advocate of dissection as a result of this, itself a result of his humanistic enthusiasm for Galen. He funded the refurbishment of Thomas Linacre's tomb in St Paul's Cathedral and thanks to Queen Mary (and his loyalty to Roman Catholicism) he was granted Letters Patent to refound the failing Gonville Hall, Cambridge, as Gonville and Caius.[30]

Caius survived the short reign of Henry VIII's priggishly puritan son, Edward VI, who as well as destroying 'idolatrous' religious art, shut down his grandfather's Savoy Hospital. In the middle of his reign one of his advisers, the literally Machiavellian William Thomas, published *The Historie of Italie*, as much a guidebook as a history and based on several years residence in various city states.[31] There is no doubting Thomas's Reformist, indeed revolutionary, credentials given his promotion to Clerk of the Privy Council and indeed eventual execution for participation in Wyatt's rebellion against Philip and Mary, who had meanwhile re-established the Savoy Hospital. In Florence Thomas stayed with Bartolomeo Panciatichi, who, along with his wife, Lucrezia, was painted by Bronzino and likewise persecuted for his Protestant tendencies; but Thomas could not help but praise Santa Maria Nuova, the like of which he had clearly never seen in England (or indeed his native Wales):

> But amongest all other thei have divers goodlie hospitalles, for relieve of the sicke and poore, and one verie faire, so well ordred, that it receiveth a great number of men and women, but into severall houses: where they are applied with good phisicke, and their beddes, their shetes, and everie other thyng so cleane, that manie tymes righte honest men and women be not ashamed to seke their health there. For that hospitall alone maie dispende yerelie above .20000. crownes: by reason wherof they have excellente phisicions, good poticaries, dilygente ministers, and everie other thyng necessarie.[32]

---

[30] William Munk, *Lives of the Fellows of the Royal College of Physicians of London* (London: Royal College of Physicians, 1955-), I, p. 37. He was denounced by the Bishop of London in December 1572, renounced the Mastership and died the following June. For a fine corrective to the negative comparison with Linacre see Vivian Nutton, 'John Caius and the Linacre Tradition', *Medical History*, 23 (1979), pp. 373–91. It culminates with a reminder of the benefit William Harvey derived from the Galenic emphasis on anatomy at Caius. It might moreover have been argued that the College's Italophile tradition more generally encouraged Harvey to study in Padua, without which he is unlikely to have discovered the circulation of the blood ('which discovery I prefer to that of Columbus' wrote Sir Thomas Browne, who also studied at Padua; see R. H. Robbins, 'Sir Thomas Browne', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://www.oxforddnb.com> [accessed 7 October 2018]). In 1508, two years before Luther's likely visit, Leonardo da Vinci witnessed the death of a hundred year old man at Santa Maria Nuova and then conducted an autopsy 'to see the cause of so sweet a death'; see Windsor, Windsor Castle, RL 19028 <https://www.rct.uk/collection/919028> [accessed 7 October 2018]; see now Francesco Ciuti, 'Il medico e l'ospedale: il nosocomio di Santa Maria Nuova e le professioni sanitarie a Firenze in età moderna', *Medicina & Storia*, 11 (2011), 21–22, n.s., pp. 63–88; cf. the same author's unpublished PhD for the University of Pisa of the same year covering the sixteenth-eighteenth centuries.

[31] William Thomas, *The Historie of Italie* ([London]: Thomas Berthelet, 1549).

[32] Ibid., fol. 138^{r}.

The extent to which Milan had succeeded in its attempt not merely to imitate but rival Florence's Santa Maria Nuova is suggested in the journal of Bishop Thomas Thirlby and Viscount Montagu's Marian embassy to Rome in 1555. It is interesting that William Thomas's 1549 *Historie* is recommended in this account despite the fact that it was from Montagu's Catholic father, Sir Anthony Browne, that Thomas is supposed to have embezzled some money (religious differences having perhaps also played a part in their falling out and his consequent flight to Venice).[33] By the time Thirlby and Montagu were en route to Rome, Thomas's head was on a pole on London Bridge, though this doesn't prevent their secretary recommending his book. Where Thomas informed us that Florence's Santa Maria Nuova had an annual budget of above 20,000 crownes, the diarist tells us that in Milan:

> There is an hospital that may dispende 25,000 crowns a year; the provision whereof passeth all other; for at that present we saw one hundred fat oxen in a stable, one hundred vessels of wine, everyone containing five tons, in one cellar; the diet so cleanly and daintily prepared for the sick by the recourse of surgeons and physicians, that it is a goodly thing to see. In this hospital are five hundred nurses to look to the sick, and to bring up children. Many hospitals more there are, some for men and some for women, and some for children, besides a house built without the town, for such as shall be infected of the plague, having three hundred and sixty-five chambers several.[34]

Even in terms of some of its individual city states such as Milan, Florence, Venice and Naples, let alone Rome, and despite predatory invasions by France and Spain, Italy remained richer than England so perhaps superiority in such matters might still be expected. Of Milan, the diarist writes that:

> This city is notably rich, and full of merchandize, and artificers, very wealthy; for there is almost no artificer's wife but she weareth a chain of gold about her neck or middle. The Noblemen and Gentlemen of Italy lie always in the great towns, and never in the country.[35]

Milan's plague hospital, described here as being 'without the town', was the enormous Lazaretto immortalized by Manzoni's *Promessi sposi* (set in the seventeenth century). Most of this was demolished at the end of 19th century when only a section of five rooms with their individual chimneys and the Church of San Carlo al Lazzaretto which had been in the centre of the huge quadrangle was preserved. A plaque commemorates the

---

[33] *Miscellaneous State Papers 1501-1726*, 2 vols (London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1778), pp. 96–99; and, in context, John Hale, *England and the Italian Renaissance: The Growth of Interest in Its History and Art*, 4th ed., rev., introduction by Edward Chaney (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), pp. 1–4.

[34] *Miscellaneous State Papers 1501-1726*, 2 vols (London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1778), I, pp. 81–82. Though Thirlby and Viscount Montagu were Catholics, the tone adopted by the author of this account suggests that he was an Erasmianly sceptical one.

[35] Ibid., p. 82: 'The Lords tarried at Milan six days […]'. With them was Sir Edward Carne who remained in Rome till his death in 1561.

heroic Franciscans who, for centuries, dedicated themselves to the care of the plague sick in the Lazzaretto.

It was not just British Protestants who admired the Catholic hospitals of Italy. The pious Lutheran architect Joseph Furtenbach migrated from Baden-Württemberg in 1608 and spent the next twelve years in Northern Italy, including two years in Milan. Regarding the Ca Granda as 'the principal hospital of all Italy', in 1628 he designed 'A Hospital in the Italian Style', i.e. cruciform in plan, with separate male and female wards and featuring a privy between every two beds as in Milan, which had continuous drainage beneath. Despite another subsequent full-scale plan, Furtenbach failed to persuade anyone in pre-unified Germany to build his hospital.[36] It was not that different in recently united 'Great Britain'. Partly due to the sixteenth-century accounts of Italian hospitals we have quoted, as well as descriptions of plague hospitals such as the Hopital St Louis in Paris, grand plans to create equivalent institutions in London were drawn up but came to nothing. In 1630, in what was thought to be 'the worst plague since the Black Death,' the Privy Council sent a description of the Paris hospital, as well as accounts of the health boards of Venice and Padua to the London justices as potential models.[37] Charles I's physician, Theodore Turquet de Mayerne (FRCP since 1616) and fellow Italian traveller Dr Matthew Lister drew up plans for the 'King's hospital of health' or 'God's House' (Maison Dieu) and up to four other London hospitals but they came to nothing, so that no such accommodation was available for the 100,000 dying Londoners during the so-called Great Plague in 1665.[38] How envious must seventeenth-century Britons have been to read Fynes Moryson's 1617 account of Florence's Santa Maria Nuova: 'said to passe all others in *Italy*, for all necessaries to cure and nourish the sicke, and for orderly attendance, where to that purpose are ninety six beds in one roome.'[39]

---

[36] John D. Thompson and Grace Goldin, *The Hospital: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975), p. 37.

[37] Hugh Trevor-Roper, *Europe's Physician: The Various Life of Sir Theodore Turquet de Mayerne* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), pp. 308–09, and p. 413, note 15, citing my unrevised 1981 acccount and Carlo Cipolla, *Public Health and the Medical Professions in the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976).

[38] Stevenson, *Medicine and Magnificence*, pp. 14-15, and Trevor-Roper, *Europe's Physician,* pp. 310-11. The references to Sir *Martin* Lister in Trevor-Roper's posthumously edited monograph should be to *Matthew* Lister, who was knighted in October 1636. Dr Martin Lister (1639–1712) was Sir Matthew's great nephew. For Dr Matthew Lister's 1609–1611 travels in France and Italy with William Cecil, Viscount Cranborne, see E. Chaney and T. Wilks, *The Jacobean Grand Tour: Early Stuart Travellers in Europe* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2014), passim. He had already studied at Padua at the start of the century and witnessed the conferring of a doctorate on William Harvey there in April 1602, receiving his own doctorate (on the theory of fever) at Basle in November 1604; ibid., p. 45.

[39] Chaney, *Evolution of the Grand Tour*, p. 256, and quoted by way of confirmation that 'Italy's hospitals remained the envy of Europe', by Roy Porter in *The Greatest Benefit to Mankind: A Medical History of Humanity from Antiquity to the Present* (London: Fontana, 1999), p. 239.

Throughout the period in which W. K. Jordan retrospectively extolled England's provisions for the poor and sick (and the pioneering Poor Laws), contemporary criticisms of the lack of such facilities were rife. Increasingly, commentators harked back to pre-Reformation days and waxed nostalgic about more charitable times. The Elizabethan historian, John Stow, for example criticized the prevalence of London's new 'summer-houses' and banqueting houses:

> Like Midsummer pageants, with towers, turrets, and chimney tops [...] for show and pleasure, betraying the vanity of men's minds, much unlike to the disposition of the antient citizens, who delighted in the building of hospitals and alms-houses for the poor, and therein both employed their wits, and spent their wealths in preferment of the common commodity of this our city.[40]

If Stow may have harboured Catholic sympathies, the less sophisticated barber-surgeon, former-galley slave and Protestant, William Davies, was extremely critical of the Papacy and the prevalence of murder and prostitution in Italy but, as he continues, in his *True Relation*, published in 1614:

> Now as I haue spoken of two deadly sinnes wherein they exceed, so will I speake of one thing wherein some of them are to be commended, that is this. If there be any Christian, of what Nation soever, poore and in distresse, making his case knowne, and asking for Christs sake, he shall be relieued, with all those necessaries whereof he is destitute, as apparrell, meat, and drinke, and some money, though it be but little: if he be sicke, then shall he be put into an Hospitall, where he shall be choisely attended upon, having good lodging, daintie diet, and comfortable Phisicke for the restoring of his health, whether he be Papist or Protestant: but if he be a Papist, he shall be the better used, and if he be a Protestant they will use all meanes they can to convert him, but force him to nothing at all.[41]

By the mid-seventeenth century it seems that enough eulogies of Italian hospitals were in circulation for even those internal exiles who never left England to become self-critical. Having been ousted from his livings as an Anglican clergyman (including his chaplaincy of All Souls, Oxford), the scholarly Jeremy Stephens was no longer inclined to enthuse about the Reformation. In November 1652 he wrote to the Vatican Librarian asking for documentation on the papal response to the dissolution of the monasteries:

> Further, if it be not too troublesome, I desire to know what Hospitals of note there are in Italy for reliefe of the poor. I have bin told much of a very great one att Rome called lo Santa Spirito; and

---

[40] Stevenson, *Medicine and Magnificence,* p. 15; cf. Jordan's use of Stow as evidence of 'great pride in the achievement of Protestant charity', in the great institutions built by the generosity of private men [...]' (*Philanthropy in England*, p. 234). Eamon Duffy records early sixteenth-century charitable giving to both London and Roman hospitals (via the sale of indulgences) in *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400–1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), p. 368.

[41] 'The Description of Civita de Vecchia', in *A True Relation of the Travailes and Most Miserable Captivitie of William Davies, Barber-Surgion of London, Under the Duke of Florence* (London: Nicholas Bourne, 1614), fols $B1^{v}$–$B2^{r}$.

an other att Naples worth 100 thousand crownes yearely, wherein 2000 poore chidren are maintained, besides other pious uses. In England we had anciently very many; and particularly dependent upon the Abbayes; whereof every great one had 3 hospitalls belonging to it. We had 110 great hospitals (as appeareth upon record) demolished att one clappe in the tempest of King Henry the 8 his rage. By the losse of which our poore att this day to suffer extremely in all partes.[42]

Admiration of Rome's Santo Spirito by pre-Reformation Englishmen such as John Colet may have encouraged post-Reformation travellers such as the Anglo-Irish Henry Piers to return to Rome in more ways than one. In my original essay I quoted from his eulogy of the Florentine hospitals but these were trumped in his eyes by Santo Spirito which he described as 'the moste famous [ritcheste] and lardgeste hospitall [that is] in the whole worlde'.[43] Piers's Bodleian manuscript 'A Discourse of HP his Travelles written by him selfe', has now been published for the Royal Historical Society by Father Brian Mac Cuarta SJ.[44] Having discussed the number of orphans cared for in Florence, Piers confirms that the method of depositing your unwanted child in Rome resembled that followed at Brunelleschi's Innocenti:

There is a gratte of Iron in this hospital, through the wch if any Childe is putt, yt is there receaved nourished and broght up upon the Chardges thereof until he or shee be sufficiently instructed in some good trade, by the wch they shalbe able to live.[45]

Like Gregory Martin in his manuscript *Rome Sancta* (1581), Piers praised other hospitals including San Giacomo degli Incurabili and that attached to Santa Maria Maddalena, 'where there is good government used and much cost be served'.[46] Escaping from civil war at home, in January 1645, the devout Anglican diarist, John Evelyn, benefitted from a guided tour around Santo Spirito by Catholic exile, Dr James Gibbes. After a detailed survey, Evelyn pronounced the hospital:

One of the most pious and worthy Foundations that ever I saw, nor is the benefit small which divers Young Physitians & Chirurgions reape by the experience they learne here

[42] Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana, MSS Barberini Lat. 3539, fol. 155 (cf. British Library Rome Transcripts 31/9/95). It is likely that Sir Kenelm Digby would have been the conveyor of Stephens's request to Lucas Holstenius, the Vatican Librarian.
[43] *Evolution of the Grand Tour*, p. 272, note 50.
[44] *Henry Piers's Continental Travels, 1595–1598*, Camden 5th series, 54 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018). Father Mac Cuarta references the late Thomas Frank's unpublished 1954 B.Litt. dissertation: *An Edition of a Discourse of HP his Travelles*, which thanks to the loan of a copy of this complete edition by the author I was able to use in my original paper.
[45] Ibid., p. 97. See my illustration of the Loggia of the Innocenti in *Florence: A Traveller's Reader*, ed. by Edward Chaney, 3rd ed. (London: Robinson, 2018), fig. 15, which confirms that the purpose of the grill included excluding infants above a certain size.
[46] *Henry Piers's Continental Travels*, pp. 98-99.

amongst the sick, to whom those students have universal accesse.[47]

Despite the belated foundation (and re-foundation) of British hospitals in the eighteenth century, the Italian hospitals were still being highly praised by pleasantly surprised Protestants through to the nineteenth. When the Anglican priest and poet, Joseph Spence, acting as travelling companion to Charles Sackville, Lord Middlesex (later 2nd Duke of Dorset), visited Filarete's Ca' Granda in early November 1731 he wrote:

One of the things that I have seen with the greatest pleasure at Milan was the Grand Hospital. There is one large court and four less on each side of it. Each court has a canal of clear water running round it. They are served with all conveniences and everything looks neat about them. In one square are religious women, in another the sick, in another the decrepit, and in a fourth children that come by chance into the world, etc. The latter, if boys, they prentice out when about fourteen years old, and the girls are kept there till they can get husbands or some method of living out of it, if they choose it. The income for the maintenance of the hospital is very great, and they are all kept very well. [...] I believe most of the nurses had been of the same breed themselves, and as they grew up were taught to take care of their new little cousins as they came in. We have something of this kind in all the great cities where I have been: there is a noble one in particular at Venice; and before it was established they said they used to find numbers of little children floating in their canals. [...] Though the hospital at Milan [...] is so rich, there are still people continually leaving money to it. They have a great hall with the pictures of their benefactors in it.[48]

A third of a century later, in his published *Letters from Italy* [...] *in the years 1765, and 1766,* the travelling surgeon, Dr Samuel Sharp could still enthuse about the Florentine hospital that had inspired Filarete's in Milan. This is noteworthy not merely because of Sharp's Protestantism but because he was otherwise so critical of things Italian that his book prompted Dr Johnson's friend, Giuseppe Baretti, to write his indignantly defensive *Account of the Manners and Customs of Italy With Observations on the Mistakes of Some Travellers With Regard to That Country* (London, 1769). Baretti found no reason to reprove Sharp for his account of Santa Maria Nuova, with its bug-resistant beds, however:

I am much pleased with the contrivance used in the great hospital here, to avoid bugs; it is no other than a plain bedstead of iron, made so simple, that there is not a crevice where a bug can conceal itself. I remember, that there have been attempts of this kind made in England, but they have proved ineffectual, because they fastened ticking to the frame, with oilet-holes, and cording, which afforded some harbour to these animals. In this hospital they only lay across the frame about four or five boards, a little longer than the width of the frame, and about a foot broad, upon

[47] *The Diary of John Evelyn*, 6 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), II, p. 312; for poet and physician James Gibbes, see *Evolution of the Grand Tour*, pp. 18–19, 226–30 and *The Grand Tour and the Great Rebellion*, pp. 232-38.
[48] *Letters from the Grand Tour,* ed. by Slava Klima (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975), p. 77.

which they lay the bedding; these are moveable, and if necessary, may be brushed when the bed is made, as easily, and in as short a time, as a man brushes his hat. In the hospitals at London, bugs are frequently a greater evil to the patient, than the malady for which he seeks an hospital; and, could I have interest enough with the governors, to bring about an imitation of this frame, I should be exceedingly rejoiced in the comfort it will afford to so many thousands of miserable wretches, that are tormented sometimes even to death, by these nauseous vermin.[49]

It is only later in the eighteenth-century that we encounter an English traveller finding fault with Santa Maria Nuova but even then in an otherwise entirely positive context, that pioneering comparative study by the Calvinist-educated John Howard: *The State of the Prisons in England and Wales With Preliminary Observations and an Account of Some Foreign Prisons and Hospitals*, 2nd ed. (London, 1780). Howard wrote enthusiastically of the Italian hospitals and the system of health boards that Fyne Moryson had already praised in around 1600. His praise of a particular Florentine institution, San Giovanni di Dio, for its adoption of metal beds no doubt reflected his reading of Sharp's account of Santa Maria Nuova. By the 1780s the troubled state of the Florentine economy may finally have been taking its toll on the institution founded almost five centuries earlier. A superior alternative was emerging however and Howard thought that the more ancient hospital could improve:

The great *Hospital* of S. *Maria Nova* was crowded, and too close [...] the Hospital which I most frequently visited, was S. Giovan di Dio. The ascent into the sick ward is by a flight of thirty stone steps. This ward was lofty and clean; and was a hundred and twenty-three feet long, and thirty-three and a half wide. There were in it thirty-three beds, three feet four inches wide, placed on varnished boards, on iron bedsteads. This is very conducive to cleanliness, and secures patients from vermin. — At one end there are five rooms with single beds for sick priests. Three of them were occupied. Neither the sides nor floors of this, and the other hospitals of Italy, were wood, that being more retentive of scents or infection than tarras or brick. — The great attention of this order of friars to the sick, in every country where they have hospitals, does them honour.[50]

By the time Howard returned to Florence for another inspection he was able to report on:

The wards around the *garden* of the *Hospital of Santa Maria Nova* being very properly contrived for promoting the health and spirits of the patients, especially convalescents; I shall give a plan

[49] Samuel Sharp, *Letters From Italy Describing the Customs and Manners of That Country in the Years 1765 and 1766: To Which is Annexed, an Admonition to Gentlemen Who Pass the Alps, in Their Tour Through Italy* (London: Henry and Cave, 1767), as quoted in the section on 'Ospedali' in Chaney, *Florence*, p. 116.
[50] *The State of the Prisons*, 2nd edn (Warrington: printed by William Eyres, 1780), p. 88.

of the garden, and of the women's ward. This will show the usual form of hospitals in many Roman-Catholic countries. See plate xvii.[51]

And here Howard included one of his lavish, fold-out engravings, providing a detailed plan and part elevation.[52] As we have seen, John Howard was only consolidating an already well-established tradition of comparative hospital-visiting on the part of British travelers in Italy. It is likely, however, that travelers such as the Catholic Elizabeth (Betsy) Wynne and her parents would have been encouraged to visit more out of the way hospitals by his lavish publications. Having crossed the Apennines from Modena, via what is now the ski resort of Abetone, on Sunday 3 April 1796 this intrepid, not yet 18-year-old and her parents arrived in Pistoia:

The country we passed through this morning was charming when we came down from the mountains we had some beautiful views. Pistoya is in a plain but all round it little hills. The town is not very fine, whilst the horses reposed we walked to see the hospital which is one of the finest I ever saw. There is two immense rooms for the men and two more for the women. The beds are very clean with white curtains there is more than 200 beds for the women and 120 for the men. All poors are take there and kept for nothing people of all nations of religions of all ages. It is kept vastly clean.[53]

No doubt today, a more art-historically-inclined Betsy (who was the ancestor of Iain Duncan Smith's Catholic wife, named Betsy after her), would also have admired, as well as understood the significance of the beautiful polychrome frieze depicting the Seven Works of Mercy. As well as praising Santa Maria Nuova, which since 1501 included in its jurisdiction Pistoia's hospital, William Thomas had praised the Venetian institutions, including the Ospedale della Pietà:

Furthermore there are certaine hospitalles, some for the sicke and diseased, and some for poore orphanes, in whiche they are nourished up till thei come unto yeres of service: and then is the man childe put unto a craft, and the maidens kept till they be maried. If she be fayre, she is soone

[51] John Howard, *An Account of the Principal Lazarettos in Europe; With Various Papers Relative to the Plague: Together With Further Observations on Some Foreign Prisons and Hospitals; and Additional Remarks on the Present State of Those in Great Britain and Ireland*, 2nd edn (London: J. Johnson, C. Dilly, and T. Cadell, 1791), p. 57.

[52] See my discussion and illustration in *The Evolution of the Grand Tour*, p. 247, and likewise in Ole Peter Grell, 'A Journey of Body and Soul: The Significance of the Hospitals in Southern, Catholic Europe for John Howard's View of Health Care and the Creation of the Utopian Hospital', in *Health Care and Poor Relief in 18th and 19th Century Southern Europe*, ed. by Ole Peter Grell and Andrew Cunningham (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), p. 205. This volume was based on a conference hosted by the University of Zurich in September 2000 at which I gave an illustrated paper entitled 'The Utopian Hospital', culminating in a discussion of John Howard.

[53] Elizabeth Wynne, *The Wynne Diaries*, ed. by Anne Fremantle, 3 vols (London: Oxford University Press, 1935–1940), II, *1794–1796*, p. 81.

had, and little money geven with hir: if she be foule, they avaunce hir with a better porcion of money.[54]

Even Jordan failed to find the sort of funded apprenticeships described here, admitting that 'the growth of these funds was very slow indeed throughout the remainder of the sixteenth century.'[55] In fact the facilities of Venice's Ospedale della Pietà or indeed Florence's Innocenti, would not be matched in England until the eighteenth century by Thomas Coram's Foundling Hospital, thereby fuelling the debate on the encouragement of vice.[56] By this time Vivaldi was teaching and composing for the Venetian institution, an example that would be imitated by the Italianate Handel's association with the London orphanage. The only equivalently sophisticated account of Italy dating from the same period as William Thomas was that of fellow Protestant (and future translator of Castiglione's *Cortegiano*) Thomas Hoby who kept a diary throughout his more extensive travels but did not publish it. Though Thomas provides an account of Naples in his *Historie* it is not certain that he actually visited it. Hoby clearly did when in Rome in late 1549, following the death of Pope Paul III, he found that the conclave was taking too long to elect his successor and 'determined in the mean time to make a journeye to Naples'. He was particularly impressed with the hospital of the Annunziata:

> Here is within the citie a very bewtifull and large hospitall, wheras are continuallie both gentlemen and poore men and in like maner women which are placed according to their disease and served according to their degree, with a good order and cumlie to behold: a great revenwes are belonging unto yt, and a great multitude of people alwais within yt.[57]

In my 1980 paper I quoted Gilbert Burnet on the 'prodigious' riches' of this institution, which in 1686 he called 'the greatest Hospital in the world.' He went on to describe 'one convenience for the sick' that he observed 'in their Galleries, which was considerable, that every Bed stood as in an Alcove, and had a Wall on both sides separating it from the Beds on both hands'.[58] As a Protestant and soon-to-be-supporter of the so-called Glorious Revolution Burnet cannot be accused of Catholic sympathies. David Gentilcore begins both his masterly surveys of health care in Naples with this quotation by Burnet,

---

[54] *Historie of Italie*, fol. 83[r].
[55] *The Charities of London*, p. 168.
[56] For a broader context, including reference to the Malthusian critique, see Brian Dolan, *Exploring European Frontiers: British Travellers in the Age of Enlightenment* (Basingstoke: MacMillan, 2000).
[57] *The Travels and Life of Sir Thomas Hoby, Kt. of Bisham Abbey*, ed. by Edgar Powell (London: Royal Historical Society, 1902), p. 29; cf. Steven J. Masello, *A Book of the Lief and Travaile of me Thomas Hoby, with Diverse Thinges Woorth the Notinge, 1547–1564: A Modern Edition With Introduction and Notes* (doctoral thesis, Loyola University Chicago, 1979), pp. 37–38 <http://ecommons.luc.edu/luc_diss/1865> [accessed 7 October 2018]
[58] Burnet, *Some Letters*, p. 193. Quoting from my paper in his useful survey of 'Welfare', Domenico Sella prematurely promotes Burnet to Bishop in his *Italy in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Longman, 1997), pp. 84–5.

complemented by the Thirlby/Montagu journal and another travel account I have omitted here, confirming that the Annunziata was indeed an exceptionally well-funded charitable institution, maintaining some 8000 foundlings many of whom were sent out to the hospital's 2,500 wet nurses.[59] Wherever the babies came from they would be granted Neapolitan citizenship. Boys were sent out to apprenticeships before they were in their teens but girls could 'remain in the hospital until the age of 18, where they were taught "feminine activities and skills" by the Hospital's several hundred teachers.' Every year 70 girls were awarded dowries worth 90 ducats each.[60] Despite a population which overtook Naples in this period, London would have to wait till the next century for equivalent provision for the sick and abandoned.

The first of the English voluntary hospitals, Westminster, was founded in 1720. The SPCK commissioned an English translation of a work by the Torinese Jesuit, Andrea Guevarre (1646–1724) as *Ways and Means for Suppressing Beggary, and Relieving the Poor, by Erecting General Hospitals, and Charitable Corporations* (London: James Roberts, 1726).[61] Charles Mercier Dupaty (1746–1788) was a progressive French magistrate whose politics are strongly indicated in this pre-revolutionary account based on his journey of 1785. In his *Lettres sur l'Italie en 1785*, published in English as *Travels Through Italy, in a Series of Letters Written in the Year 1785* (London: G. G. J. and J. Robinson, 1788), he publishes a eulogy of the Grand Duke Pietro Leopoldo:

> The finest gallery in the world is at Florence; but I will not now speak to you of paintings, statues and images; I have seen Leopold and his people [...] Leopold loves his people, and has suppressed all such imposts as were not necessary: he has disbanded almost all his troops, retaining only sufficient to preserve the art of military discipline. [...] He has destroyed the fortifications of Pisa, the maintenance of which was very expensive; he has overthrown the stones which devoured mankind. [...] He found that his court concealed from him his people: he has no longer any court. He has established manufactures. He has every where opened superb roads, and at his own expence. He has founded hospitals. — You would imagine the hospitals in Tuscany were palaces of the grand duke. I have visited them, and found in them all, cleanliness, good order, and the most humane and attentive care. I have seen sick old men, who seemed as if waited on by their children. I have seen sick children, who seemed as if nursed by their mothers. I could not, without

[59] David Gentilcore, '"Cradle of Saints and Useful Institutions": Health Care and Poor Relief in Naples', in *Health Care and Poor Relief in Counter-Reformation Europe,* ed. by Ole Grell and Andrew Cunningham (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 131–150; cf. the same author's *Healers and Healing in Early Modern Italy* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), p. 150, citing the Italian version of my 1980 paper.
[60] Gentilcore, '"*Cradle of Saints*" [...]', p. 134.
[61] Paul Slack, 'Hospitals, Workhouses and the Relief of the Poor in Early Modern London', in *Health Care and Poor Relief in Protestant Europe 1500-1700*, ed. by O. P. Grell and A. Cunningham (London: Routledge, 1997), p. 246. For Guevarre, see Bruno Signorelli and Pietro Uscello, *La Compagnia di Gesù nella provincia di Torino: dagli anni di Emanuele Filiberto a quelli di Carlo Alberto* (Turin: Società piemontese di archeologia e belle arti, 1998), pp. 186–87.

shedding tears, behold this luxury of compassion and humanity. In the inscriptions on the front of these hospitals, they have bestowed on Leopold the title of *Father of the Poor*. The hospitals themselves give him this title. These are monuments which stand in no need of inscriptions. The grand duke comes frequently to visit his poor and sick; he does not neglect the good he has done; he possesses not only the sudden feelings of humanity, he has a humane soul. He never makes his appearance in this abode of anguish and sorrow without causing tears of joy; he never leaves it without being followed with benedictions which are the gratitude of a happy people: and these songs of thanksgiving are sent up from an hospital![62]

Much of Michel Foucault's once celebrated *History of Madness* (only recently translated in its entirety) is contradicted by English and French travel accounts such as these. Both their content and tone give the lie to his account of the 'great confinement' of the poor, and sick/insane, which in any case fails to convince where England is concerned due to the very inadequacy of provision of 'confined' accommodation whether for poor or sick even during Foucault's 'Age of Reason'. [63] Reminding one of both is a rare English institution which indeed confined inmates but prior to Foucault's classic period, as documented in a still little known early sixteenth-century Italian account of the Bethlehem Hospital published by my late friend Luigi Monga in 1985:

In Londres in uno borgho apresso ad una porta a cantto ad una chiesetta appellate Bethelem li he uno hospitale de matti ove sono molte camera et ciascuna ha uno matto entrovi, et glien'e de ogni sorte: he cosa paurosa ad vedere.[64]

On the other hand, referring to the same institution when describing the state of things in Italy in the midst of Foucault's chosen period, the anonymous account of an early eighteenth-century English traveller observes that:

Amongst all their charities there is not a Bedlam in all Itally, nor have they occasion for any, for I do not remember in all my travels to have heard of either a down-right fool or madman in Itally. Whether its the regular diet, their keeping good hours in going to bed, or the happiness of the climate, I don't know.[65]

---

[62] Chaney, *Florence: A Traveller's Reader*, pp. 114–16. Dupaty's travelogue proved very popular being reprinted in Dublin and in a second edition in London in 2 volumes in 1789, also being serialised in the *European Magazine* and *London Review* of the same year.

[63] In the 1981 English version of my paper (p. 215) I used the abridged translation as well as the original to conclude that 'Both the sympathetic tone which Lassels adopts and the humanitarian attitude he ascribes to the institution he is dealing with, ill accord with the thesis advanced by Michel Foucault in *Madness and Civilization*...'. At least where things at home were concerned, there has been some agreement that: 'For sixteenth-, seventeenth-, even eighteenth-century England, Foucault's notion of a "Great Confinement" is a myth. It did not exist.' (Andrew Scull in the *TLS*, 20 April 2007, p. 15).

[64] *Un mercante di Milano in Europa: diario di viaggio del primo Cinquecento* [1517–1519], ed. by Luigi Monga (Milan: Jaca Book, 1985), p. 84.

[65] Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts. *Report on Manuscripts of Mrs Frankland-Russell-Astley of Chequers Court, Bucks.* (London: H.M.S.O., 1900), p. 173.

There were of course Italian 'madhouses' but Foucault's emphasis on ongoing bourgeois inhumanity is contradicted by Lady Blessington's very full May 1825 account of the Maddalena asylum in Aversa, the like of which she was clearly not familiar with at home:

> The attention paid to the comfort of the insane in this establishment extends not only to their persons, but to their minds; and many are the satisfactory results with which this rational and merciful treatment have been attended. The opulent, when afflicted with the dread malady of a loss of reason, can here find the most skilful care and judicious attention for their wants, for which a moderate yearly sum is paid, while they continue in the asylum; while the poor are received gratis. The first-named class occupy chambers fitted up with the same attention to their comfort as if they were in their own homes. Hot and cold baths, an extensive library, a theatre, a concert room, an apartment appropriated to astronomical instrument and another to experiments in electricity, galvanism and chemistry, are comprised within the building. In short the establishment resembles one of those arranged for the reception of inmates of cultivated mind and refined habits; and such, many of the pensioners at Aversa have become, who entered it in a state of violent mental aberration, that gave little hope of their recovery.[66]

A very detailed account of the 'Benevolent Institutions of Tuscany' was provided by the charismatic Conservative QC and future Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, James Whiteside, in his *Italy in the Nineteenth Century Contrasted With its Past Condition*, 3 vols (London: Bentley, 1848). Based in large part on a survey by one 'Signor Turchetti' that Whiteside acquired in Pisa, as well as accounts of the 'Hospitals for the Insane', for 'Misguided Women', 'Deaf and Dumb' and the provision of 'gratuitous vaccination' at the Innocenti, one is pleased to find an account that is apparently the author's own of Santa Maria Nuova:

> The size of this building the ample and well ventilated galleries, and above all, its scrupulous cleanliness, place this hospital amongst the most remarkable of Italy. [...] The medical attendance is entrusted to a professor, first class doctors, &c. The surgical attendance is superintended by a professor and other surgeons. More than 340 individuals are employed to assist the sick in this immense hospital.[67]

---

[66] Marguerite Blessington, *The Idler in Italy*, 2 vols (London: Colburn, 1839), II, pp. 251–52. This institution, founded by Murat in 1813 was featured in the 1831 number of *The North American Medical and Surgical Journal* and all the guidebooks of the period, well into the twentieth century. In his *Observations on Italy* of 1825, John Bell is similarly enthusiastic about the Aversa asylum. By this time there was moreover, increasing evidence of a sophisticated medical philanthropy in Britain that contradicts Foucault's damning account; for the treatment of the artist Richard Dadd after he murdered his father, see Edward Chaney, 'Egypt in England and America: The Cultural Memorials of Religion, Royalty and Revolution', in *Sites of Exchange: European Crossroads and Faultlines*, ed. by Maurizio Ascari and Adriano Corrado (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2006), pp. 41–42.

[67] Whiteside, *Italy in the Nineteenth Century*, I, p. 211.

Thus even in the mid-nineteenth century (and Whiteside republished his book in 1860), visitors from Britain, very conscious of Italy's decline in other respects (its poverty indeed encouraging many to live there cheaply), were struck by the fact that the increasing number of poor and sick were cared for better than might have been expected. The young Florence Nightingale, however, already familiar with the comparative travelogues culminating in Howard's, struck a strongly critical note, commenting on the 'dreadful' stench and the hopelessly worn-out nurses at San Giacomo in Rome: 'So much collected for charities, so little to the hospitals'.[68] Her return to the country of her and her sister's birth (in Florence and Naples, hence 'Parthenope', respectively) was preliminary to travel as far as Egypt where her working visit to the Institut of St Vincent de Paul in Alexandria confirmed her decision to become a nurse and thence one of the greatest medical reformers of all time.[69] Like Oxford and Cambridge colleges even today (and unlike the National Health Service) the landed wealth which was the result of centuries of charitable donations, enabled Italian hospitals to maintain a standard of care that was higher than would have been the case had they been obliged to reflect the country's or individual city states' general economic condition. 'Austerity' was thereby not suffered as immediately or collectively as it would have been under a single, state-dominated system. The debate regarding the short and long-term consequences of limited and/or unlimited provision for the poor remains distinct from that concerning medical care with access to hospitals in the modern sense of the word.[70] Whether provision of facilities for the abandonment of infants encouraged vice and/or an increase in population may still be relevant. It is not unrelated to the debate as to whether to restrict migration across the Mediterranean thereby increasing deaths by drowning in the short term in order to discourage a larger number of such deaths in the future. For the acquisition of an understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of such alternatives Sir Philip Sidney recommended travelling with the eye of Ulysses: 'for hard sure it is to knowe England, without you knowe it by compareing it with others'.[71]

[68] *Evolution of the Grand Tour*, pp. 276–77, note 81; cf. now Mark Bostridge, *Florence Nightingale: The Woman and Her Legend* (London: Viking, 2008), p. 119.
[69] Chaney, 'Egypt in England', p. 59, note 76.
[70] A good reminder of early modern precedents is provided in Brian Pullan's chapter on 'Hospital During the Fifteenth Century' which opens Part II, 'The New Philantropy', of *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice: The Social Institutions of a Catholic State, to 1620*. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1971).
[71] *Evolution of the Grand Tour*, p. 88, citing Philip Sidney, *Prose Works*, ed. by A. Feuillerat, 4 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), III, p. 125.

Neutralising Pinocchio (and Italian-ness): From Puppet to Monument*

Stefano Jossa

SOME TIME AGO, while I was wandering among the shelves of the Feltrinelli bookshop in via Appia in Rome, I happened on a Pinocchio-shaped pencil, with Pinocchio's face on top and the pencil stick painted in green, white and red. This is just one of the thousands of toys making the connection between Pinocchio and Italy, usually through the reference to the three colours of the Italian national flag — green, white and red, indeed. The connection has become stereotypical, and yet it displays the enduring idea that Pinocchio works as a paradigm of Italian-ness, to the extent that Italians are invited and sometimes encouraged to identify and empathize with Pinocchio. No discussion is allowed: Pinocchio means Italy and is the Italian par excellence. Nonetheless, as is well known, the words *Italia*, *italiani* and *italiano* do not appear in Collodi's book, *Le avventure di Pinocchio* (1883).

Few literary characters have so consistently been associated with the national as Pinocchio. For all the regional pride that was involved in the most famous Tuscan creature in the world, up to the connection with Dante as Florentine icons, and for all his own global fame and American influence, Pinocchio has constantly been connoted as an Italian first and foremost. 'Pinocchio is the first taste of Italy for foreigners', the writer and journalist Giuseppe Prezzolini (1882–1982) famously claimed in 1923, at the dawn of Italian Fascism, when presenting Italian culture to his readers: 'Pinocchio è la pietra d'assaggio degli stranieri. Chi capisce la bellezza di Pinocchio, capisce l'Italia' ('Pinocchio is the touchstone for foreigners. Those who understand the beauty of Pinocchio, understand Italy").[1] 'Studiamo Pinocchio, fa bene all'Italia' ('Let's study Pinocchio, it is good for Italy'), the journalist and writer Paolo Di Stefano echoed in *Il corriere della sera* nearly a century later.[2]

* I should like to thank Stephen Parkin for his advice on the first version of this article and for his enlightening help with the translations from the original Italian.

[1] Giuseppe Prezzolini, *La coltura italiana* (Florence: La Voce, 1923), p. 222.
[2] Paolo Di Stefano, 'Studiamo Pinocchio, fa bene all'Italia', *Il corriere della sera*, 22 April 2012 <http://lettura.corriere.it/debates/studiamo-pinocchio-fa-bene-allitalia> [accessed 20 September 2018]

Pinocchio e la fata by Emilio Greco

Ninety years have passed between Prezzolini and Di Stefano's statements, yet the association between Pinocchio and Italy is still there, unchallenged and enduring, to the extent that we might justifiably suspect that Pinocchio has been able to transcend history and achieve a sort of metaphysical status: representative of national character, therefore, rather than national identity, to subsume the distinction proposed by Silvana Patriarca in *Italian Vices*, where she has suggested that

> national character tends to refer to the 'objective' settled dispositions (a set of distinctive moral and mental traits) of a people, while national identity, a term of more recent coinage, tends to indicate a more subjective dimension of perception and self-images which may include a sense of mission and self-projection in the world'.[3]

National character would be made up of unconscious yet consistent elements at a sort of ethno-anthropological level, while national identity would be made up by the traces that history has deposited in the inner depth of a people through a discursive process. In fact, as we shall see, Pinocchio has usually been related to a rather unspecified Italian-ness than to precise literary, political or historical ideas of Italy and *italianità*.

The fact that Pinocchio's connection with Italian-ness has persisted over the passage of time, and continues to impress us today in many different ways, irrespective of his literary origin, leads to the consideration of what has made this survival possible and who the individual players have been in that process. That process might even be more important for our own perception of the past and our contemporary sense of historical identity than Pinocchio's actual literary identity. According to Jan Assmann:

> Every culture formulates something that might be called a connective structure, [which] links yesterday with today by giving form and presence to influential experiences and memories, incorporating images and tales from another time into the background of the onward moving present, and bringing with it hope and continuity. [...] This connective structure is the aspect of culture that underlies myths and histories. Both the normative and the narrative elements of these, mixing instruction with storytelling, create a basis of belonging, of identity, so that the individual can then talk of 'we'. What binds him to this plural is the connective structure of common knowledge and characteristics — first through adherence to the same laws and values, and second through the memory of a shared past. The basic principle behind all connective structures is repetition. This guarantees that the lines of action will not branch out into infinite variations but instead will establish themselves in recognizable patterns immediately identifiable as elements of a shared culture.[4]

My hypothesis is that Pinocchio is a fundamental component of the 'connective structure' of Italian culture. In the course of time, Pinocchio has been continuously

---

[3] Silvana Patriarca, *Italian Vices: Nation and Character from the Risorgimento to the Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 2–3.
[4] Jan Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 2–3.

interpreted and reinterpreted as the champion of Italian-ness, identified with a rather vague idea of national character at an ethnic or anthropological level. This meant that he could be held up as an identification figure at the national level, which happened at various stages in the last one hundred and something years. The identification of Pinocchio with a generic idea of Italian-ness dates back to 1914, at the dawn of the Great War, when the French historian Paul Hazard (1878–1944) published an essay on children's literature in Italy in *Revue des deux mondes*, later included in his masterpiece *Les Livres, les enfants et les hommes* (1932, translated into English in 1944 and into Italian in 1954), where he rooted *Le avventure di Pinocchio* in the tradition of Italian comedy. In his identification between Pinocchio and the Italian spirit, Hazard went so far as to identify also Italy and imagination:

> Is not imagination, in fact, one of the most pleasing characteristics of the Italian spirit? What people have used their fancy to build more fairylike structures? [...] the Italian imagination is a magnificent heritage of which Pinocchio has received his share and spent it profitably.[5]

The identification between Pinocchio, imagination and Italy paved the way for the disclosure of Pinocchio as representative of the Italian soul:

> Can we be sure that this simple and practical way of understanding morality is not an attribute of the whole Italian nation? Could it be a special form of that "profound good sense" so often presented as one of the most fundamental traits of the race?[6]

In the original French edition, Hazard cited two of the then most influential essays on Italian national character: Giacomo Barzellotti (1844–1917)'s article 'La nostra letteratura e l'anima nazionale', first published in *Nuova Antologia* in 1901, and Francesco Novati (1859–1915)'s book *L'influsso del pensiero latino sopra la civiltà italiana del medio evo*, published in 1897. Both Barzellotti (whom Gentile later defined as 'Platonic') and Novati had argued that a good balance between realism and comedy was at the core of Italian tradition, so much so that this was identified with a sort of anthropological, and possibly metahistorical, character. Mentioning national 'spirit', 'soul' and 'mentality', Hazard followed the idealistic prejudice of the primacy of the spiritual over the material and made Pinocchio the symbol of a rather ethereal Italian-ness.

Seven years later, on the eve of Fascism (1921), the writer and literary critic Pietro Pancrazi (1893–1952) proclaimed that Pinocchio represented the boyhood of the generation prior to his and invited his readers not to laugh at his statement that behind Pinocchio he saw 'the honest little Italy of King Umberto I': 'Dietro Pinocchio io rivedo i

[5] Paul Hazard, *Books, Children and Men* (Boston: Horne Book, 1983), p. 115.
[6] Ibid., p. 117.

bambini di un tempo [...]. Dietro Pinocchio, io rivedo la piccola Italia onesta di re Umberto'.[7] Pancrazi's political reading of Pinocchio worked as a means of appreciation of the old rural Italy at the end of the nineteenth century as opposed to the new bourgeois Italy that emerged at the dawn of the twentieth century, but it also started the long series of Pinocchio's political interpretations, of which the constant feature would be the identification between the book and Italy, on the one hand, and the puppet and the average Italian, on the other.

Consequently, whether willingly or not, warily or not, Pancrazi, who would later be humorously antifascist, together with the above-mentioned Prezzolini, who had instead fascist inclinations, paved the way to the upcoming fascist exploitation of Pinocchio that would make him a national icon. Works such as those by Gino Schiatti, *Pinocchio fra i balilla*, and Giuseppe Petrai, *Avventure e spedizioni punitive di Pinocchio fascista*, worked as a method of dissemination of Pinocchio's pedagogical function as a bearer of fascist values. In one of his illustrations for Petrai's book, Giove Toppi (1889–1942), who later became also the illustrator of the first Italian Mickey Mouse, or *Topolino*, depicted a Fascist Pinocchio kicking a Marx-like Mangiafoco (Fire-eater) with a label hanging out of the latter's trouser pocket showing the communist symbol — hammer and sickle. The suggestion here is that the right and honest Italian, identified with Pinocchio — and Fascism — is expelling wrong and dishonest foreign influences, such as that of European, and especially Russian, Communists.

Nearly thirty years later, on the eve of the 1951 Italian local elections, the Christian Democrats issued an electoral booklet with a strip cartoon featuring Pinocchio and retelling his story in a political allegory.[8] The last strip showed Geppetto and Pinocchio walking hand in hand on a road leading to the rising sun. The landscape is described by Geppetto in a speech balloon above: 'On the left there is a dangerous sea, where the red shark is ready to kill freedom, while on the right there is a swampland with shifting sands'. The father-figure Geppetto instructs the young Pinocchio in another balloon below:

> The road you have to follow to save the fairy with tricolour hair and to become a man in full possession of your thoughts and your actions: the road of freedom, progress and justice, is in the middle. You cannot be wrong, Pinocchio [...]. But be careful: if you don't follow the right path, nobody will ever be able to save you. Go calmly, and good luck!

The political allegory was not too difficult to work out: the red shark on the left stood for the Popular Democratic Front, including both the Communist (PCI) and Socialist

[7] 'Behind Pinocchio I see the boys of some time ago. [...] Behind Pinocchio, I see the honest little Italy of King Umberto I'). Pietro Pancrazi, 'Elogio di Pinocchio', in *Venti uomini, un satiro e un burattino* (Florence: Vallecchi, 1923), pp. 204-05.

[8] Stefano Pivato, *Favole e politica: Pinocchio, Cappuccetto Rosso e la guerra fredda* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2015), pp. 106–07.

party (PSI), presented as enemies of freedom; the swampland on the right stood for political conservatism, to be identified with the two right wing parties of the time, the Movimento Sociale Italiano (MSI) and the Partito Nazionale Monarchico (PNM); the central road, the 'road of freedom, progress and justice', was identified with Christian Democracy. Pinocchio, in this poster, is both the past and the future of Italy. The past in that he is a literary character who is part of the childhood memories of every Italian voter; the future in that he is the good, adult Italian voter who will choose Christian Democracy against the threats of both the left wing alliance and the right wing parties. In so doing, the authors of the strip meant to use Pinocchio as a unifying figure, with which everybody could identify, so as to represent the average Italian with his political dreams and fears — it must be noted that the addressees at the time are thought of as male. Pinocchio is no longer a rebel, the puppet that disobeys his 'father'-maker Geppetto, nor is he the boy that emerged from the process of education and transformation set in place in the novel: he has become a neutral receptacle that could be imbued with any kind of political idea. Such political exploitations of Pinocchio were of course possible because Pinocchio had already been characterized as the average Italian and Italians had been encouraged to identify with Pinocchio during the Fascist regime; they thus mark a continuity rather than discontinuity between fascism and post-fascism.

Subsequently the late 1960s and early 1970s saw a relaunch of the idea that Pinocchio was representative of Italy — and actually its best aspect. In 1967, the historian Vittorio Frosini (1922–2001) declared *Le avventure di Pinocchio* to be 'un'immagine dell'umile Italia, quella dei casolari di campagna e dei villaggi di pescatori, che lotta ogni giorno per vivere'.[9] In giving Pinocchio a left-orientated political meaning, Frosini was still relying on the paradigm that Pinocchio was the right and good Italian, in line with the stereotype of *Italiani brava gente*.

In 1971, in an article published on the first page of the Italian daily newspaper *La Stampa*, a year before the general elections of 1972, the jurist and historian Arturo Carlo Jemolo (1891-1981) maintained that Pinocchio was a book *à clef*:

> Scritto a Firenze tra l'81 e l'83 da chi si proclamava repubblicano, ed era partito volontario nel '48 e nel '59, Pinocchio è il popolo italiano, la fata il liberalismo progressista, la volpe ed il gatto i legittimisti ed i clericali, ed il grillo parlante, cosi sfortunato, credo sia Mazzini, che magro, allampanato, vestito di nero, poteva evocare la figura del grillo. Ma se pure così non fosse, Pinocchio davanti alla medicina sarebbe sempre la immagine del popolo italiano, in specie degl'italiani di oggi. Perché da qualunque lato ci si volti, si sentono deplorare dei mali, e si avverte

[9] 'An image of the humble Italy — that of hamlets and fishing villages — with its daily struggle for survival': Vittorio Frosini, *La filosofia politica di Pinocchio* (Rome: Edizioni Lavoro, 1990), p. 33.

altresì che rimedi sicuri, che li stroncassero tutti, non esistono, ma per ciascuno qualche medicina che desse un po' di sollievo, ci sarebbe; soltanto, sono tutte amare.[10]

Being similar to Pinocchio, Jemolo suggested, Italians had to mirror Pinocchio's route from puppet to good boy. Three years later, the literary critic and academic Alberto Asor Rosa (b. 1933) famously claimed that Pinocchio was born from the intuition that Italy in its first post-Unitarian phase was living out its coming of age, like someone who transforms himself from being a puppet to becoming a man.[11] Pinocchio mirrored Italian history and was in a certain way a sort of personification of Italy, in Asor Rosa's reading. Clearly indebted, albeit without explicitly saying so, to Hazard's reading, Asor Rosa suggested that Pinocchio was the good Italian, with his problems in growing up, as opposed to the sick Italian interpreted by Enrico, the protagonist of De Amicis's *Cuore*. As argued by Giuseppe Decollanz, Pinocchio was ready to become a political model to the Italians.[12]

The situation becomes more intriguing in more recent times, starting with the writer Antonio Faeti (b. 1939), a professor of children's literature at the University of Bologna, who in 1993 described Pinocchio as:

> Ben conficcato nell'etnia italiana, [...] il protagonista di un *exemplum* laico e devozionale, [...] divinità lignea e totemica di un Paese che è sempre lì lì per cambiare, di un luogo nel mondo dove si vivono eterne vigilie di metamorfosi, di palingenesi, di terremoteschi mutamenti, sempre con il rischio di risvegliarsi diversi, sì, ma solo in virtù della differenziazione aggiunta di un paio di orecchie d'asino.[13]

while in 1997 the writer Raffaele La Capria (b. 1922) suggested that Pinocchio was 'un'immagine dell'Italia eterna'[14] and in 2004 the diplomat and essayist Ludovico Incisa di Camerana (1927–2013) went so far as to proclaim that Pinocchio is 'the proof that Italy exists':

---

[10] 'Written in Florence between 1881 and 1883 by a republican and former volunteer in the wars of independence of 1848 and 1859, Pinocchio stands for the Italian people, the fairy for progressive liberalism, the fox and the cat for legitimists and clericals, and the unlucky talking cricket (I think) for Mazzini. However, even if this is not the case, Pinocchio in front of his medicine would still be the image of the Italian people, who love complaining about their problems, yet are aware that the only effective medicines are all bitter': Arturo Carlo Jemolo, 'A noi l'amaro non ci piace', *La stampa*, 6 March 1971, p. 1.

[11] 'Intuizione che l'Italia nella sua prima fase postunitaria stava vivendo il dramma di chi da burattino si fa uomo': Alberto Asor Rosa, 'La cultura', in *Storia d'Italia: dall'Unità a oggi*, (Turin: Einaudi, 1975), II, pp. 821-1664 (p. 939).

[12] Giuseppe Decollanz, *Educazione e politica nel Pinocchio* (Bari: Scuola '70, 1972).

[13] 'Firmly rooted in Italian ethnicity, [...] the protagonist of a secular devotional tract [...] the wooden totem-like deity of a country that is always on the verge of changing': Antonio Faeti, 'Pinocchio', in *L'identità degli italiani*, ed. by G. Calcagno (Bari: Laterza, 1993), p. 173.

[14] 'An image of the eternal Italy': Raffaele La Capria, *Il sentimento della letteratura* (Milan: Mondadori, 1997), p. 46.

Valido per il Nord, per il Centro, per il Sud, Pinocchio è la prova che l'Italia esiste. Buono o cattivo, lavoratore o imbroglione, pronto a farsi ingannare dal Gatto e dalla Volpe, gatto o volpe lui stesso, generoso a volte, mascalzone altre, cinico e sentimentale, Pinocchio è il tipo nazionale.[15]

Meanwhile, in 2002 the comedian and film-maker Roberto Benigni (b. 1952) released a film on Pinocchio. In an interview in the daily newspaper *La repubblica*, Benigni stated that *Le avventure di Pinocchio* is 'una storia che più italiana non si può, con tutti i sentimenti italiani, piena di uno sberluccichio che appartiene soltanto a noi'.[16] The connection between Pinocchio and Italy is not, however, an invention of later critics. As early as 1883, after the publication of the book as a serial in the *Giornale dei bambini*, an anonymous reviewer in *Corriere del mattino*, a daily newspaper in Florence, pointed out that the tale of Pinocchio was a synthesis of Italian *buon senso* and humour which successfully rivalled the English model: 'C'è in questo romanzetto tutto il succo del buon senso italiano innestato al più schietto *humour*, che non ha più diritto di chiamarsi inglese'.[17]

Champion of Italian-ness, Pinocchio was able to give birth to what the literary critic and journalist Matteo Di Gesù, lecturer in Italian literature at the University of Palermo, has recently called 'la litania dei caratteri tipici dell'italianità'.[18] Either allegorically interpreted or exploited politically, Pinocchio, both the book and the character, has rarely escaped its function as national icon. No observer can in fact deny the pervasive presence of Pinocchio and the accompanying discourse on it in framing Italian national discourse. So it seems appropriate to choose Pinocchio as one of Italy's icons. But this icon comes at a cost, since Pinocchio's emptiness prevails over its other features at the expense of the book itself. It is this emptiness, for example, that has allowed Suzanne Stewart-Steinberg to speak of a 'Pinocchio effect', which has made Pinocchio equivalent to Italy on the grounds of his

[15] 'Valid for North, Centre and South, Pinocchio is the proof that Italy exists. Good and bad, a hard worker and a cheat, a credulous victim of the Cat and the Fox, but a cat and fox himself, sometimes generous, at other times rascally, cynical as well as sentimental, Pinocchio is the national type': Lodovico Incisa di Camerana, *Pinocchio* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2004), p. 144.

[16] 'The most Italian of stories, with all the Italian sentiments, full of a sparkle that belongs only to us': Curzio Maltese, 'Benigni: "Grazie delle critiche, ma al cinema siate bambini"', *La repubblica*, 19 October 2002 <http://www.repubblica.it/online/spettacoli_e_cultura/pinocchiodue/critiche/critiche.html> [accessed 20 September 2018]

[17] 'There is in this short novel the essence of Italian *buon senso* combined with such an open and frank humour that this can no longer be described as an English characteristic'.

[18] 'The litany of typical characters of Italian-ness': Matteo Di Gesù, *Dispatrie lettere: Di Blasi, Leopardi, Collodi: letterature e identità nazionali* (Rome: Aracne, 2005), p. 58.

strange combination of anxiety about the potential emptiness of the Italian subject, his fictional and rhetorical quality, his immaturity and even inhumane, puppet nature [...] [which leads to] the profundity of Italian interrogations of the social bond in a modern, post-liberal society.[19]

Nevertheless, the extent to which the interpretation of Pinocchio has led to a process of neutralization of Pinocchio itself, still needs to be addressed and understood. By neutralization, I mean a technique by which any subversive potential is absorbed into a more general process of harmonization. Here I will address the case of the monuments to Pinocchio which can be found throughout Italy.

1951, the same year as the Christian Democrat electoral booklet, also marked the promotion of a *Comitato nazionale per un monumento a Pinocchio*. The Comitato was set in place by Rolando Anzilotti (1919–1982), a professor of English literature at the University of Florence and the mayor of Pescia, the birthplace of Carlo Collodi, and the monument was to be installed in the planned Pinocchio Park in Pescia. Two years later the competition was won *ex aequo* by the sculptors Emilio Greco (1913–1995) with his project for a statue entitled 'Pinocchio e la fata' and Venturino Venturi (1918–2002) with his project for a 'Piazzetta dei Mosaici'. It is noteworthy that Greco's *Six Drawings for 'Pinocchio'* were later presented by the artist to the Tate Gallery, where they are currently stored. A drawing of Greco's monument was published in the December 1951 issue of *Domenica del corriere* and a national debate was ignited. To what extent was the proposed monument Italian? Was abstract art Italian enough to Italian people rather than just a few *eletti*? Enemies of abstractionism caused uproar; anti-clerical militants accused the Blue Fairy of being too ethereal and Virgin-like; churchgoing folk were instead disturbed by her provocative breasts ... There was a comic strip showing a father holding his child by the arm and telling him: 'Se non stai buono ti faccio vedere il monumento a Pinocchio'.[20] Criticism was so harsh that work on the monument was suspended until 1956.

In the same period, the Ancona section of the Società Dante Alighieri commissioned a monument to Pinocchio from Vittorio Morelli, which was inaugurated in 1954. The ceremony was filmed for the *Settimana Incom*, the Italian weekly newsreel distributed in cinemas from 1946 to 1965. The footage shows the mayor of Ancona, Francesco Angelini (1887–1964), of the Italian Republican Party (PRI), and the Minister of the Merchant Navy, Fernando Tambroni (1901–1963), Christian Democrat, shaking hands to celebrate Pinocchio as a way of overcoming political divisions at a time when anti-clerical parties and Catholics were unsuccessful in finding points of convergence. The film presents Pinocchio as a force of harmony and consensus, to the extent that even his enemies in the book that day applauded him: 'persino i personaggi che nel libro gli sono

[19] Susan Stewart-Steinberg, *The Pinocchio Effect: On Making Italians, 1860–1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), p. 6.
[20] 'If you don't behave, I'll take you to see the Pinocchio monument'.

avversi oggi applaudono', the commentary says, while the footage shows the Cat and the Fox clapping, just as if Pinocchio was able to overcome political divisions thanks to his harmonising force. Once more, Pinocchio is not seen as part of the conflict, one of the elements in the game of oppositions, in the fight between good and evil, but above the conflict, the representation of right and justice at an idealized level.

Another monument was erected before Greco's: created by the sculptor Nino Spagnoli, it was inaugurated in June 1955 in Villa Revoltella, Trieste, at the presence of Pescia's mayor Anzilotti. The connection between Trieste and Pescia shows the extent to which Pinocchio could be exploited as a neutral icon of Italian-ness, superseding political divides. At the time Trieste was about to celebrate thirty-five years of its annexation to Italy and therefore a monument to Pinocchio could help to build a sense of belonging to Italy and its culture in a city which was still in large part remote from Italian culture.

On May 17, 1956, Greco's monument in Pescia was finally inaugurated in the presence of the President of the Italian Republic Giovanni Gronchi, confirming the symbolical value of the puppet as a means of national reconciliation in what was still very much a divided country. Two days later, May 19, another monument to Pinocchio appeared in Milan, in Piazza Indipendenza, the work of Attilio Fagioli, concluding the 1950s heyday of monuments to Pinocchio.

Since then, monuments to Pinocchio have been put up throughout Italy over the course of time, but it is particularly significant that a revival of Pinocchio monuments occurred from the 1990s onwards, especially the 2000s, in a period when Italian-ness was again a widespread topic in public debate and national unity was again under threat, after the so-called birth of Italian Second Republic (coinciding with *Tangentopoli*, the economic crisis of the early 1990s, the mafia assassinations of the judges Giovanni Falcone and Paolo Borsellino, the dissolution of the historical parties, and the rise of the Lega Nord and Silvio Berlusconi's own party, Forza Italia, in the 1994 general elections). To mention just a few: the 1997 monument to Pinocchio at Pescopennataro, Isernia, in Molise, dedicated 'a Pinocchio grande educatore di tutti i tempi';[21] the 2002 wooden Pinocchio at Viù, in the province of Turin; the 2006 bronze Pinocchio in Florence, in Piazza del Mercato, to celebrate Collodi's 180th birthday; and the 2009 15-metre high Pinocchio at Collodi on the side road by the Pinocchio Park.

Monuments, as Pierre Nora and Bruno Tobia have shown, are places where national memory is constructed.[22] There the national community can mirror its unity and its ideals. Pinocchio has historically worked as a way of idealising Italian-ness and reconciling national memory, independently of whether this memory is still in fact

[21] 'to Pinocchio great educator of all times'.

[22] Pierre Nora, *Les lieux de mémoire* (Paris: Gallimard, 1984–1992); Bruno Tobia, *Una patria per gli italiani: spazi, itinerari, monumenti nell'Italia unita (1870–1900)* (Roma: Laterza, 1991)

divided. Pinocchio can now be everybody and nobody, the Italian, simply because he is Pinocchio. It does not really matter whether we go for a revolutionary or conformist Pinocchio: he is the one who unifies and all conflicts disappear in the presence of Pinocchio. The only problem is that Collodi's Pinocchio is more divisive than cohesive: an opponent to his father, the talking Cricket and even the Blue Fairy, he carries the conflict in himself, with his amphibological nature, being, from the beginning to the end, both a puppet and a boy. Who knows whether monuments to him have served his cause, and Italy's cause, better.

Morello on his first journey. Lithograph by John Leslie

Giuseppe Mazzini and the Free Italian School of Hatton Garden, 1841–1860*

Andrea Del Cornò

L'educazione è il pane dell'anima

Giuseppe Mazzini

'FEW PERHAPS, OF THE READERS OF THE *PEOPLE'S JOURNAL*, know anything of the Italian Gratuitous School', William J. Linton — Chartist, republican and fervent admirer of Giuseppe Mazzini — noted in 1842.[1] Located on the first floor at no. 5 Greville Street, Hatton Garden, Holborn, the Free Italian School had opened its doors to the many illiterate Italian immigrants on 10 November 1841. The premises were strikingly modest, briefly described by Linton: 'two rooms thrown into one. [...] There was not much outward grandeur: [...] a few chairs for the more distinguished visitors, and forms for the rest, with no ornaments, except a few maps hung on the walls, and a bust of Dante over the fire-place'.[2] The Holborn area, Clerkenwell and their surrounding streets, a quarter soon to become known as 'Little Italy', was one of the most deprived in London and the neighbourhood where Charles Dickens placed *Fagin* and his cohort of young pick-pockets.[3] The School continued to function — although in a more limited capacity — quite possibly until the 1860s, offering destitute Italians free primary education.[4] Mazzini (Genoa 1805–Pisa 1872) had arrived in London on 12 January 1837.[5] To the Italian patriot, England offered the opportunity to leave behind a

* An earlier version of this article was first published in *Rivista*, the magazine of the British-Italian Society, in 2016. With grateful thanks to Richard Northern, British-Italian Society Chairman, Vanessa Hall-Smith and Linda Northern, editors of *Rivista*.

[1] William James Linton, 'The Italian Gratuitous School, No. 5, Greville Street, Hatton Garden', *The People's Journal*, 2 (1847), 147.

[2] Ibid.

[3] On Italian immigration in Britain during the nineteenth century, see Margaret C. W. Wicks, *The Italian Exiles in London, 1816–1848* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1937) and Lucio Sponza, *Italian Immigrants in Nineteenth-century Britain: Realities and Images* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1988).

[4] On the Free Italian School see Michele Finelli, '*Il prezioso elemento*': *Giuseppe Mazzini e gli emigrati italiani nell'esperienza della Scuola italiana di Londra* (Verrucchio: Pazzini, 1999).

[5] Among the many biographies of Giuseppe Mazzini, see: Jessie White Mario, *Della vita di Giuseppe Mazzini* (Milan: Sonzogno, 1886) and Bolton King, *The life of Mazzini* (London: Dent, 1903). Additionally, Emilia Morelli, *Mazzini in Inghilterra* (Firenze: Felice Le Monnier, 1938) and the more scholarly works: Denis Mack Smith, *Mazzini* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994) and Roland Sarti, *Mazzini: A Life for the Religion of Politics* (Westport: Praeger, 1997). Italian historian Nello Rosselli, notably wrote of an *abiografabilità* of the

life spent in hiding and on the run, whilst still remaining actively involved in revolutionary activities. Soon after his arrival, the Genoese wrote to Quirina Mocenni Maggiotti, the *donna gentile*, who had charitably supported Ugo Foscolo — arguably the greatest poet of his generation — during his London exile, saying:

> Here I have come across entire districts crowded with Italians from all regions, scraping a living with all sorts of jobs, in a state of complete savagery; I shall not say that they were unable to read: I shall say that they were unable to speak, and that I tried in vain to understand their parlance, a mishmash of *comasco* dialect — the majority of them being from the Lombardy region — and English. Italy to them was the name of a foreign country and nothing more.

And it was in London that an outraged Mazzini witnessed first-hand the plight of the many young Italian children whom, lured away from their native country and sold into a life of semi-slavery, were exploited mercilessly as beggars or street musicians. The scandal of what he called the 'white slaves trade' received ample coverage in the English Press and, at times, the authorities were compelled to intervene.

Mazzini first mentioned his idea of setting up a school in a letter to his beloved mother, dated 3 September 1841. The school, Mazzini envisaged, would be free and open to 'workers, young organ-grinders, those selling plaster figurines, etc.'. Classes were held in the evening to encourage attendance. Subjects taught included Italian grammar, history and geography which drew pupils to the concept of 'Italian unity' and, at the students' request, English.[6] On Sundays, general lectures on moral principles, patriotism and *italianità* were offered to a wider audience. Students were provided with all necessary materials, including paper, pens and ink to write with. Primers and other textbooks were supplied by the Italian bookseller Pietro Rolandi.[7] Running costs were met by voluntary subscriptions, donations and fundraising events, including an annual musical concert. Two magazines were printed with a view to providing additional reading and educational material. *Il Pellegrino* — the title being a clear reference to a journey of learning, but also evocative of the exiled condition of many Italian *émigrés* — and the subsequent *L'Educatore* were both inspired by pedagogical motives.[8] With their publication, the School Board intended:

Genoese patriot due to the vast amount of documentary sources; see *Nello Rosselli, uno storico sotto il Fascismo: lettere e scritti vari (1924–1937)*, ed. by Zeffiro Ciufoletti (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1979), p. 179.

[6] Other subjects taught included: arithmetic, geometry, mechanics and even astronomy; see Rossella Bonfatti, 'Mazzini e le comete: effemeridi del Risorgimento', in *Da Dante al Novecento*, ed. by S. Nobili and others (Bologna: Pàtron, 2014), pp. 139–149.

[7] On Pietro Rolandi and his bookshop, the Libreria Italiana, see Mario Nagari, *Pietro Rolandi: da Quarona Valsesia (1801–1863): libraio ed editore in 20, Berner's Street a Londra* (Novara: Tip. La Moderna, 1959).

[8] On *Il Pellegrino* see Andrea Del Cornò, 'Un ritrovato giornale mazziniano: "Il Pellegrino"', *Le fusa del gatto* (2013), 191–208.

to complement with its [i.e. *L'Educatore*] articles the teaching of love, education, and specialisation which the School provides to the students. [And] inform those Englishmen, who are sympathetic towards Italian affairs, of the progress, the achievement, and the objectives of the education process in Italy.[9]

Mazzini, at first, remained in the shadows to avoid any possible association between the School and the revolutionary political organisation of which he was leader. The teachers were unpaid volunteers. Among them were such prominent figures as Gabriele Rossetti, Carlo Pepoli, Joseph and George Toynbee. The renowned American writer and journalist Margaret Fuller addressed the students on more than one occasion. Mazzini himself did a share of teaching, primarily history and geography, which he considered vital in reinforcing the students' sentiment of being Italian. The popularity and success of the School surpassed all expectations. Fifty-one students enrolled on the first evening, a figure rising to sixty-five on the second. Mazzini was struck by this enthusiasm; he acknowledged that for '[these] poor souls [who] work or carry street-organs about all day [...] it costs a lot to devote two hours to studying', adding that 'if they come of their own will, this shows their typically good Italian character'. The number of students increased to two-hundred and thirty in the following year, even including a few female pupils. Following the example of the London Free Italian School, similar institutes were established by Italian exiles in Paris, Marseilles, Boston, New York, but also in South America, in Buenos Aires and Montevideo — geographical areas that were traditionally destinations of Italian emigration. From the pages of the *Apostolato popolare*, one of the Mazzinian journals printed in London, Mazzini spread his message outlining the importance of education, not as a privilege for the few but as a fundamental right, stressing that:

The example of London is merely indicating the path to follow. Free primary school must be opened — free because today people can not afford to pay for education — free because in the society of our future providing primary education will be a duty that Society as a whole owes to all its members.

The School, however, had many opponents and detractors too. Sir Anthony Panizzi, eminent Italian exile and Keeper of Printed Books at the British Museum, expressed his disapproval and even grave concern. Thomas Carlyle cautioned his wife not to get involved with what he called 'a nest of young conspirators'. Many saw in the School an excuse to indoctrinate children and teach them the four Rs: reading, 'riting, 'rithmetic, and revolution. Even stronger opposition came, as Mazzini had foreseen, from the students' masters or *padroni*, the Piedmontese authorities in London and the Catholic Church. An Italian priest, the Jesuit Reverend Angelo Maria Baldacconi, threatened with excommunication all those who attended the School. For Mazzini, however, the Free

[9] '*L'Educatore*, giornale della Scuola Italiana gratuita di Londra', *Apostolato popolare*, 11 (1843), 96.

Italian School never had a political agenda. Its primary purpose was to educate and ameliorate the conditions of Italian immigrants in London. Once again from the columns of the *Apostolato popolare*, the Genoese exile defended the institution and, with his usual political acumen, criticised not only the action of Reverend Baldacconi, but the entire Church establishment which had deviated from its evangelical mission and fomented what Mazzini called 'all the Baldacconis of London and the thousand Baldacconis of Italy'. Several English newspapers published articles in defence of the educational institution and the *Weekly Dispatch* coined a new word 'Maldacconi', to emphasise the malevolence of the Italian clergyman.[10]

In a letter entitled 'Education — Italian Boys', published in *The Morning Chronicle* on 26 April 1842, the writer, under the *nom the plume* 'Un amante dell'Italia', stated that the School, a commendable initiative, could be led to ruin by the inconsiderate actions of Reverend Baldacconi. The anonymous author, possibly Mazzini himself or one of his close associates, writes:

> The school has been rapidly increasing in numbers, but the opposition of a Catholic priest now threatens its destruction. [...] On Easter Sunday the Rev. Dr. Baldacconi, Roman Catholic priest in the Sardinian Chapel, Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, preached from the altar against the school [...] [he] renewed his opposition continuing to preach against it, until, on the 10th April last, he said that all those who persisted in attending the school should be refused the sacraments; that they need not send for him, if even on the point of death, for he would let them die in despair, washing his hands of them all.

The letter drew to an end with an emotional appeal:

> I trust I have said enough to induce some of your readers to visit the school, and in the hope that it may obtain the support of every friend of education in this metropolis.

In 1847 from Geneva, Mazzini lamented the lack of support among Italians resident in London, which he found shameful. In 1853 he wrote, 'we have decided to close the School, but we aim at maintaining the Sunday lectures, still extremely valuable'. Mazzini's last reference to the institution is included in a letter dated 27 December 1860 in which he reported that the School had twelve students every night.

The vicissitudes of the School are recalled in two juvenile novels. In *Morello, or, The Organ-Boy's Progress*, published in London in 1846, Antonio Gallenga, himself a teacher at the Free Italian School but later in life dissenting from Mazzini, recounts the misadventures of the young Morello, an Italian child native of the Parmesan Apennines region.[11] Brutally beaten by his master, hungry and cold, Morello, in despair, found himself in the proximity of Blackfriars Bridge and driven to an act of self-destruction.

[10] 'Priestly Insolence, Injustice and Cruelty', *Weekly Dispatch*, 1 May 1842.
[11] 'Antonio Carlo Napoleone Gallenga, Morello, or The Organ-Boy's progress', in *The Blackgown Papers*, 2 vols (London: Wiley & Putnam, 1846), II, pp. 1–100.

He was saved, but the reader is reminded of the many forlorn Italian boys who 'drop dead in the London streets', their young lives cut short by consumption. Most interestingly, the School is prominently recalled in Cesarina Lupati's *I monelli di Londra*.[12] It is significant that the novel was published as late as 1926, Mazzini's Free Italian School and the succour it had provided were still deeply imprinted in the Italian collective memory.

To Mazzini education had both a pedagogical and political meaning. Education was 'the bread of the soul' conducive to moral and spiritual regeneration. The Free Italian School, the Union of Italian Working Men (set up by Mazzini in 1840), the four journals produced and printed in London between 1840 and 1859, were all part of a single, moral, educational and philanthropic project. Though not a systematic or coherent thinker, the Apostle of Italian nationalism was an acute and perceptive interpreter of the political passions which eventually led to a unified Italy, although as a monarchy, under the House of Savoy, rather than the republic he had so unfaltering fought for. A precursor of his time — a 'contemporary to posterity' according to prominent republican Giovanni Bovio's definition — Mazzini saw education for the lower classes as a fundamental right and a way to achieve emancipation and acquire full consciousness of belonging to a spiritual community, transcending geographical and political borders — a Nation. Historian and anti-fascist Gaetano Salvemini, himself a political exile and ideological disciple of the Genoese patriot, asked as to how he wished to be remembered, replied unhesitatingly 'as a teacher, an educator'. I like to think that the same answer would have been given by his *maestro*, Giuseppe Mazzini.

[12] Cesarina Lupati, *I monelli di Londra: romanzo per fanciulli* (Milano: Treves, 1926).

Notes on Contributors

Robert S. C. Gordon is Serena Professor of Italian at the Faculty of Modern and Medieval Languages, University of Cambridge. He works primarily on modern Italian literature, cinema and cultural history. He is the author or editor of several monographs, including a major study of the writer and filmmaker Pier Paolo Pasolini and books on the work of Primo Levi. He has also published on the wider field of post-war cultural responses to the Holocaust. He is also the author of a general account of modern Italian literature, *A Difficult Modernity: An Introduction to Twentieth-Century Italian Literature*. He has taught at Oxford and Cambridge Universities and was elected Fellow of the British Academy in 2015.

Edward Chaney is Professor of Fine and Decorative Arts at Solent University. A C*ommendatore* of the Italian Republic, he has published widely on the Grand Tour, Anglo-Italian cultural relations and the legacy of ancient Egypt. He is the biographer of G. B. Edwards and has published on twentieth-century British art. An honorary life member of the British Institute of Florence, he has been awarded various awards ranging from the Leverhulme Major Research Fellowship to the Braudel Senior Fellowship at the European University Institute.

Stefano Jossa is Reader in Italian at Royal Holloway, University of London. He specialises in the Italian Renaissance and the Italian national identity expressed through literature. He is a contributor to the cultural pages of the Italian newspaper *Il Manifesto*. His public engagement spans from radio and newspapers interviews to literary festivals, including the Festival della Letteratura di Mantova and the Festival of Italian Literature in London. His most recent book is: *La più bella del mondo: perché amare la lingua italiana*.

Andrea Del Cornò is Curator of the Italian Collections at The London Library. He has published articles on librarianship, history of printing, and history of the book. Most recently, an essay on Giuseppe Mazzini and his journalistic activities during his exile in London has been published by the Società Bibliografica Toscana. As guest editor, he has collaborated with *Modern Italy*. Since 2007 he has been editor of the *ISLG Bulletin*.

ITALIAN STUDIES LIBRARY GROUP

Officers

ANDREA DEL CORNÒ
Acting Chairman and Editor *ISLG Bulletin*
The London Library

CECILIA IZZO
Treasurer and Editor *ISLG Bulletin*
Sackler Library, University of Oxford

BETTINA REX
Committee Member
Cambridge University Library

LAURA CARNELOS
Committee Member
Department of Typography & Graphic Communication
University of Reading

VALENTINA MIRABELLA
Committee Member
British Library

ANNALISA RICCIARDI
Committee Member
British Library

ILLUSTRATIONS AND CREDITS

Front cover
Private Roy W. Humphrey of Toledo, Ohio is being given blood plasma after he was wounded by shrapnel in Sicily on 10 August 1943
Photographer unknown
©National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Page 4
Photographer: Sgt. Dawson, No. 2 Army Film & Photographic Unit
©Imperial War Museum London

Page 24
©Edward Chaney

Page 44
By kind permission of the Fondazione Nazionale Carlo Collodi, Parco di Pinocchio, Pescia — All rights reserved

Page 54
By kind permission of the London Library — All rights reserved

Back cover
Pinocchio fra i Balilla. Nuove monellerie del celebre burattino e suo ravvedimento (Florence: Nerbini, 1927)
©Archivio Mauro Ranzani / Archivi Alinari
Artist: Cirillo Schizzo; Photographer: Ranzani Mauro
Collection: Archivio Mauro Ranzani / Archivi Alinari

ISSN 1757-4277

The ISLG Bulletin:

~ is published annually and is distributed free to ISLG members

~ is a forum for the exchange of information and views on all aspects of Italian studies. Articles are welcome and should be sent in electronic format to the Editors

Deadline for the next issue is 30 April 2019

Contact: andrea.delcorno@londonlibrary.co.uk

casalinilibri

European publications
sourcing, selection, supply
collection development
authority control, cataloguing
technical services
shelf-ready

www.casalini.it
for complete information on our services

Collana mensile illustrata delle "Avventure di Pinocchio,, N. 36

PINOCCHIO FRA I BALILLA

Nuove monellerie del celebre burattino e suo ravvedimento

FIRENZE
Casa Editrice
G. NERBINI

Testo e disegni di
Cirillo Schizzo del 420

Cent. 50