FOURTH EDITION

ITALY

From Revolution to Republic, 1700 to the Present

Spencer M. Di Scala

ITÁLY

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ITALY
From Revolution to Republic

1700 to the Present

Fourth Edition

Spencer M. Di Scala

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Preface and Acknowledgments

Although Italy has a distinguished past, the country's modern history generates controversy. The ideas that the general public has about Italians are frequently contradictory and based on insufficient knowledge and on stereotypes. Fascism, communism, terrorism, and crime—these images vie with those of a fashionable, sophisticated, and fun-loving people. Academic interpretations of modern Italy frequently reflect, imperfectly, the Italian political milieu. Thus, the Risorgimento, once interpreted as a heroic struggle to liberate the peninsula, came under criticism because it allegedly failed to involve the masses. The Christian Democrats (DC), praised by the U.S. government for keeping Italy out of the Soviet bloc, were condemned by professors for excluding the "different" Italian Communists from power.

This book has its own point of view, but it provides readers with different interpretations of Italian history even where they might disagree with mine. To provide the flavor of historical controversies, I have brought diverse viewpoints into the text and the bibliographical essay; put events into historical context; compared them, where warranted, with similar developments in other countries; and informed readers of the views of protagonists of the time. For example, within the context of the times, the masses did have a significant role in Italian unification and, under Socialist guidance, in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Italian society and politics. I have also supplied whatever detail is necessary to achieve clarity and understanding, for example, in my account of Italian participation in the world wars, where I saw historical misconceptions.

I have structured the book to include periods that are usually not considered at length in a single volume. The book begins in the eighteenth century, after an introduction covering the end of the Renaissance, because that is where the modern

age began for Italy, not with unification in 1861; I have also devoted much attention to periods other than the Risorgimento and fascism, which are sometimes covered in other works almost to the exclusion of other, fundamental, eras. One of the lessons of history, I think, is continuity despite apparent breaks. I have stressed links through culture, society, and economics. Sometimes periods that broke politically with previous times demonstrate continuity in other ways—for example, economically. This is the case with the Fascist period, whose continuity with the republic, on levels other than the political, is sometimes striking. In the early 1990s, Italy underwent major changes in its political system owing to a major corruption scandal and the end of international communism, but here again, continuity stands out. Even after 1992, when the corruption scandal swept away the old parties and most observers were expecting a radical break with the past, the continuity over the following years in certain areas was uncanny. By 2008, the country remained in flux because of an unsettled political picture, increasing immigration, globalization, a stagnating population, a declining economy, and international terrorism—areas to which this edition pays particular attention—but Italians struggled to maintain their traditions.

I owe debts to many people from whose help I benefited. Steve Catalano, my former editor at Westview Press, encouraged me to do this fourth edition, while Brooke Kush worked hard to see it through; I profited much by their suggestions. Roy Domenico offered important ideas for improvement that I was glad to accept. I owe much to the librarians at the University of Massachusetts Boston, who kept me constantly updated on the new technology that has revolutionized research. As always, I owe the greatest debt to my wife, Laura, and as was the case with the previous editions, I dedicate this book, with love, to my daughter Ashley.

Spencer M. Di Scala
Boston, Massachusetts
May 2008

The Setting

A cursory glance at a map of Italy reveals important geographical features that have profoundly influenced the boot-shaped peninsula's history. The most striking aspect is the mountainous and hilly terrain. To the north, the Alps—cited by the poet Dante as being the natural border of Italy—crown the peninsula and form Italy's boundaries with France, Switzerland, Austria, and Slovenia. Pockmarked by more than a thousand glaciers and with peaks of over 13,000 feet, the Alps give a picture of rugged beauty. The most famous peaks include Monte Bianco (15,771 feet), Monte Rosa (15,203 feet), and the Matterhorn (14,692 feet). The Alps affect the country's climate by blocking the northern and western winds and have been an important factor in the area's military history by making control of the few passes essential. In modern times, the starkly beautiful terrain has given rise to the important skiing and tourist industries. Besides the Alps, a long mountain range runs down the entire length of the peninsula. With their highest peak at 9,560 feet, the Apennines are lower than the Alps but are 745 miles long and extend practically to the sea. A recent geological formation, the Italian Peninsula is subject to earthquakes and volcanic activity. The country includes Europe's three active volcanoes (Vesuvius, Etna, and Stromboli), and various forms of volcanic action are visible in areas such as the Campi Flegrei and Pozzuoli, outside Naples, and on islands such as Ischia in the Bay of Naples. Depending on location, these volcanic phenomena produce thermal springs—a source of revenue because of their supposed therapeutic effects—gas emissions, and unpleasantly abrupt alterations in ground levels.

Mountains and hilly areas represent 77 percent of the peninsula's territory; plains make up 23 percent. Arable land is strictly limited and has contributed to a high population density in the cities and towns and to vast emigration. The peninsula once included an abundance of unhealthful marshlands, especially in the Veneto, Tuscany, and Lazio. Drained relatively recently, they were hotbeds of malaria and other diseases and hampered the peninsula's economic development.

Fertile plains are practically restricted to the Po River Valley in the North and to small areas around such southern cities as Naples and Catania. The climate, which is cool and wet in the North and hot and dry in the South, also favors the Po Valley, which grows large quantities of rice, wheat, maize, and sugar beets. The fertile but tiny southern plains produce tomatoes and citrus fruits, both of which are important export crops.

Different climates and terrain help explain diverse dietary habits, products, and economic developments. The North historically produced more meat and dairy products. Northerners thus cooked with butter. Rice, introduced about five hundred years ago and favored by the wet conditions, became a staple instead of the pasta characteristic of the South. Soil and weather conditions in the Center and the South favor olive trees, and thus olive oil is featured in these regional cuisines and has become one of Italy's principal agricultural exports. Along with the production of olive oil, Italy's climate and soil favor wine-producing grapes, which grow well over the entire peninsula. Wine goes well with both pasta and rice—which is "born in water and dies in wine." Italy is the world's largest wine exporter, a status that has frequently created trade tension with France and Spain. As befits a country with wide climatic diversity, Italian wines range greatly. In the northern area of Piedmont, robust wines such as Barolo, Barbera, and Gattinara match the best French red wines in quality and are suitable for aging. The South produces wine of lower quality but of high alcoholic content; these wines, because they can be cut in various ways to create a less-expensive beverage, historically have found a foreign and domestic market among the lower classes. Good local wines, best consumed on the spot, contribute to a thriving industry.

Climatic and geographical characteristics have also produced differences, however, that are more crucial to modern economies. Italy is very poor in natural resources, having no substantial deposits of the coal, iron ore, or petroleum necessary for industrial economies. Given this situation, the North has had important advantages over the South. It is closer to northern Europe, and its plains facilitated the building of roads and easier communications with the rest of Europe; because of the mountainous southern terrain, for example, a highway linking the entire South with northern Italy and Europe was not completed until the 1960s. The North has numerous rivers and large lakes that can be utilized for hydroelectric power—and industry—but southern rivers run dry during the summer and are ill suited for making electricity. Although these advantages favored the development of an industrial base in the North in the late nineteenth century, the lack of an important energy source and poor communications help account for the South's failure to industrialize and to modernize its economy.

Besides economic disequilibrium, the difficult terrain facilitated the peninsula's division into many independent political units and hampered political,

social, and linguistic unification. In ancient times, Roman military force unified the peninsula. This unity survived the fall of the empire in the West (A.D. 476), but ended with the Lombard invasions of the sixth century. With the revival of trade in Europe, which began during the tenth century, Italians took advantage of their strategic location in the central Mediterranean Sea and their proximity to the Middle East to dominate European trade with the more advanced Arab world. The four maritime republics (Venice, Genoa, Pisa, and Amalfi) restored the Mediterranean to Western control and made it safe once again for European traders. Thanks to their strategic location and trading skills, Venetian and Genoese merchants gained vast economic concessions among the Arabs and traveled as far as China. Merchant-dominated Italian cities such as Florence, Venice, and Milan boomed, reaching unheard-of populations of 80,000 to 100,000. The cities achieved economic hegemony in Europe—especially in banking—overthrew medieval religious domination, and acquired secular political aspects that resembled modern times. The cities produced goods such as woolen cloth and arms and also tamed the land: around Milan, the largest irrigation project since the fall of the Roman Empire was undertaken around 1100 and was worked on by Leonardo da Vinci in the fifteenth century. According to British historian Stuart Woolf, "By the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the cities of northern and central Italy, as much of the countryside, had already acquired that characteristic physiognomy of towers and civic buildings, of markets and economic bustle, which amazed all foreign visitors and distinguished Italy from the rest of Europe." Italy had become "the land of the hundred cities" and embarked upon that remarkable cultural domination of Europe that culminated in the Renaissance.

Within this context, Italian political units assumed different forms. In areas such as Lombardy, large cities expanded to take over the myriad smaller cities and towns and became organized as regional states. Cities such as Rome and Naples dominated several regions, whereas others shared political control of a single region (Parma and Modena). Tucked in the peninsula's northwestern corner (Piedmont), the Savoy dynasty busily gathered feudal possessions that it eventually organized as a highly centralized state in the seventeenth century.

By 1494, when the foreign invasions that spelled the end of Italian independence began, the peninsula, shaped by geography and history, had crystallized into several different states that lasted until unification occurred between 1861 and 1870.

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Introduction: From "School of Europe" to Conquered Land

During the eighteenth century, Europe's most famous philosophe, Voltaire, summed up Renaissance Italy: "The Italians had everything, except music, which was still in its infancy, and experimental philosophy, which was unknown everywhere until Galileo finally introduced it into the world." Yet in the eyes of many observers, within a hundred years of Emperor Charles V's sack of Rome in 1527, Italy appeared to be a "land of the dead." Is this view of post-Renaissance Italy accurate, and if so, how do historians explain this rapid decline?

The Invasions

During the Middle Ages, Italy was divided into many independent political entities that eventually coalesced into five major states—Naples, Florence, Rome, Venice, and Milan—and several minor ones. Although the Swiss historian of the Renaissance, Jacob Burckhardt, argued that these states were the first in Europe with modern attributes, none of them developed enough strength to conquer and unify the entire peninsula.

Peculiar to Italy and marking its entire history was the Papal State, which the popes considered essential to ensure their independence from secular rulers anxious to dominate the Church. For centuries popes battled the German-based Holy Roman Empire, which claimed Italy and the authority to intervene in Church affairs.

The fight between papacy and empire enabled the Italian states to remain independent. Over the centuries, the empire steadily declined, but during the "Babylonian Captivity" and the "Great Schism" between 1308 and 1417, when the French nominated the popes and competing pontiffs claimed the allegiance of the faithful, the papacy's power decreased as well. The threat of political domination of Italy by either the Holy Roman Empire or the pope receded.

By 1454, the Italian states had consciously established a balance of power. This equilibrium meant that none of the major states could dominate the entire peninsula because the others would ally against it. In effect, the territorial division of Italy had been officially recognized, guaranteed a multistate system on the peninsula, and made Italian unification impossible.

This development contrasted with events in France, Spain, and England that resulted in strong national monarchies. In 1494, the Milanese ruler Ludovico il Moro, his power threatened by other Italian monarchs, invited French King Charles VIII into Italy to aid him. This move introduced a strong contender for European preponderance into the Italian equation. When France's rival, Spain, also entered Italy, the peninsula became a major battleground between the two great powers.

Although Ludovico's policy proved ill fated, great-power intervention was probably just a matter of time. Italy had been a battleground since ancient days, and only the decline of the two great medieval powers—the Church and the Holy Roman Empire—had produced political independence. During the Renaissance "the Italians had everything"—rich cities and cultural, financial, and commercial superiority—but, separately, none of the small states could compete militarily with their newly united neighbors. Too weak to prevail militarily over either France or Spain, and too divided to act in concert and heed Machiavelli's "exhortation to take Italy and free her from the hands of the barbarians," the Italian states combined now with one, now with the other great power, in a vain attempt to salvage their independence through the application of balance-of-power principles. The savage fighting brought destruction, economic decline, and misery to the entire peninsula. The Spanish won the contest, and in 1559 the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis consigned Italy to Spain.

Italy During the Spanish Domination

Two major interpretative trends dominate historical views of post-Renaissance Italy. Not surprisingly, observers during the nineteenth-century Italian national revival viewed the period as a break with the preceding one and blamed Italy's "decadence" on war, foreign domination, and religious reaction. Subsequently

adopted and honed by Marxist historians, this explanation became the standard interpretation. Proponents agree that, resting upon direct control of Milan and Naples, Spanish domination until 1713 favored important economic and social developments that, though less rapid, produced more serious alterations than did the political changes.

Most important, in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the tendency of merchants to make large investments in land increased drastically. The prosperity of medieval and Renaissance Italy had been based on commerce, which military operations rendered very risky. Though less spectacular, the profits from land were safer. In Milan, Florence, Venice, and other once-flourishing commercial centers, the urban upper classes gradually became transformed into a landed aristocracy that adopted the Spanish nobility's attitude of viewing commerce as an undignified activity. Furthermore, always needing money, the Spanish authorities sold fiefs, noble titles, and the right to perform public services, such as collecting taxes and dispensing justice, to families once devoted to trade. According to these historians, this policy "refeudalized" Italy.

This process helps explain the near absence of an enterprising Italian bourgeoisie interested in change, as developed in France. It also encouraged the overcrowding of cities because peasants moved into urban areas to take advantage of the aristocratic wealth concentrated there by engaging in such activities as begging. This movement resulted in extremely poor living conditions and an imbalance between city and countryside. The cities consumed the food produced on the land without providing anything in return, such as capital.

International trends intensified the decline. Increased trade with the Americas and new routes around Africa shifted trade away from Italian cities such as Venice and toward French, Spanish, and English Atlantic ports. Furthermore, since Spain was constantly involved in wars against the "infidel" Turks, Italian insertion into the Spanish orbit increased Italy's exposure to naval attacks and piracy; shipborne commerce was devastated and coastal areas depopulated, while increased taxation to pay for the fighting further impoverished the Italian Peninsula. Operas such as Antonio Vivaldi's *La Fida Ninfa* (first produced in January 1732) illustrate a lingering concern with the effects of piracy. Finally, Spain's military championship of the Counter-Reformation, combined with the papacy's struggle to reestablish Catholic supremacy in Europe, accelerated Italy's decline by stifling the country's cultural life.

Reformation and Counter-Reformation

The attempt of Martin Luther and other European reformers to purify the Catholic Church found many sympathizers among Italian theologians and intellectuals.

Italian historian Delio Cantimori described the rich and suggestive ideas of these thinkers, which were so widespread that the future Pope Paul IV complained: "At that time it seemed that one could not be considered a proper noble or courtier if one did not have some heretical or erroneous opinions."

Given the papacy's influence, the power of Spain, the weakness of the bourgeoisie, and the economically depressed peasantry, these Reformation ideas could not be transformed into a mass movement. Initially concentrating on the necessity to end corruption as a way to combat heresy, the Church rapidly turned to repression and doctrinal conservatism.

"If our own father had been a heretic," stated Pope Paul IV, "we would personally have carried the wood needed to burn him at the stake." In line with his strong beliefs, Paul IV increased the Inquisition's powers, purged the Church hierarchy, imprisoned anyone vaguely suspected of harboring heretical ideas, and encouraged completion of the Index of Forbidden Books. Book shipments into Italy were scrutinized for offensive material, and book burnings became regular events. In 1573, the Inquisition summoned painter Paolo Veronese, criticized him for including "buffoons, drunken Germans, dwarfs, and other such absurdities" in a painting of the Last Supper, and ordered him to correct the picture at his own expense. In 1600, philosopher Giordano Bruno was burned at the stake for his ideas. In 1616, Galileo submitted to the Inquisition's order to stop teaching that the earth orbits the sun. Religious confraternities were important in politics and in maintaining social order, while papal politics became increasingly complex.

As a result of these persecutions, many intellectuals fled Italy, a diaspora that greatly impoverished the country and enriched the rest of Europe. At first this emigration affected religious reformers such as Bernardino Ochino, precursor of unitarianism, and Fausto and Lelio Sozzini, who greatly influenced the Reformation in eastern Europe. In the seventeenth century, this "brain drain" became a flood that included artists, musicians, diplomats, statesmen, and specialized artisans.

During the same period, at the behest of King and Holy Roman Emperor Charles V of Spain, the Church convened the Council of Trent (1545–1563). This council reaffirmed all the Church's doctrines, conforming with the ideas of Charles's son Philip II and making him the Church's champion.

At the same time, the Church distorted Italian cultural life. Through its propaganda activities, domination of education, and political influence, the Church identified the glories of Italy with those of Catholicism and attributed to the Italians the historical function of safeguarding Catholic tradition and the Church's "liberty." This identification of Italian greatness with the Church inspired a "Guelph" spirit in Italian culture that remained influential into the nineteenth century, when an Italian confederation with the pope as its head

became one option for a united Italy. (During the Middle Ages, the Guelphs supported the papacy against the empire, hence the term's identification with the Church.)

The Debate

This synopsis may be considered the standard view of post-Renaissance Italy, but it has been increasingly challenged by historians. According to these revisionists, careful research reveals "refeudalization" as a myth. Furthermore, they believe, Charles V established a new order in alliance with the Italian states, not against them. Instead of misery, this Spanish "consolidation" supposedly produced a measure of peace and a new economic, commercial, industrial, and agricultural prosperity.

Furthermore, instead of viewing the Counter-Reformation as a Spanish-inspired suffocation of Renaissance humanism, these observers praise it as a religious revival with deep Italian roots. Rather than interpreting the Counter-Reformation as a subversion of Italian culture by the Church, revisionists emphasize a new and more modern definition of the nation during this period and point to an emerging nationalism. Just as they see no break in the economic sector, the revisionists discern not decadence but continuity in the secular culture of the high Renaissance. Indeed, their analysis of the age's artistic, literary, and scientific creativity is the keystone of their argument. In recent years, a rich historical literature has emphasized society and culture in the different states. Indeed, consideration of the development of the individual states is a crucial aspect of understanding future Italian events if history is not to be distorted.

Both the standard and revisionist views have merit. It would seem an error to define as decadent the mannerist style of art and the Baroque Age that, between 1550 and 1750, produced Claudio Monteverdi, who brought opera from its primitive to its developed form, world-class artists such as the painters Annibale Carracci and Caravaggio, the poet Torquato Tasso, the sculptor Gian Lorenzo Bernini, and the religious thinker Paolo Sarpi. On the other hand, the revisionists do not deny that a relative decline in all fields occurred, but they tend to push it back, blame it on war and disease, and explain it in European rather than in Italian terms. And yet, the destruction, the suppression of ideas, the intellectual exodus, the subordination of Italian to Spanish interests under Philip II, and the repression of Paolo Sarpi's advanced ideas on the relationship between church and state all occurred. Whether these events can best be explained by direct Spanish and papal intervention or by indirect pressure or trends that had Italian origins, as the revisionists believe, seems a less important issue.

Although the essence of the post-Renaissance era will continue to be debated, several facts seem clear. Although continuity should be emphasized over a break, and gradualism over a drastic shift, the Italian decline of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries seems both real and serious in all sectors. Italy not only lost its position as prime innovator and leader of the Western world but also regressed economically and politically. The peninsula remained, however, intimately linked to western Europe, played a key role in the cultural developments of the eighteenth century, and was profoundly influenced by European events.

PART ONE

Enlightenment and French Revolutionary Italy

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CHAPTER ONE

The Italian Enlightenment

THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY EUROPEAN ENLIGHTENMENT USED IDEAS AS "intellectual weapons" to alter the existing religious, political, and social situation. The intellectuals of this age, the philosophes (*illuministi* in Italian), aimed to transform their traditional, rigid, and inequitable society into a world that enjoyed greater justice. They utilized "reason," critical judgment that corroded the "myths" underpinning the existing political and social structure. By employing reason, they could analyze society, learn the principles governing behavior, and achieve a more perfect and rational world by applying these principles through education and influence upon powerful "Enlightened monarchs."

In short, the philosophes applied physicist Isaac Newton's scientific methodology to the study of society, reversing the prevailing attitude of reverence for the past and aiming for perfection in the future rather than lamenting the loss of the past's golden age. Newton had influence also in Italy. Using the rules of evidence, they questioned everything, destroyed the historical basis of the old regime, and set the stage for the "Age of the Democratic Revolution" in Europe and America.

In practice, the philosophes advocated eliminating the Church's political power, judging government by a utilitarian yardstick, rationalizing the economy by eliminating feudal vestiges and by establishing an equitable tax system, opening careers to talent instead of birth, drafting constitutions to limit the power of governments, securing civil rights, and reforming the justice system.

Reciprocal Influences

France's position as the center of the Enlightenment sometimes causes observers to overlook the crucial contributions of Italian, German, English, Russian, and other thinkers, and Marxist analyses of the movement as the expression of a rising

bourgeoisie have downplayed the Enlightenment's revolutionary character outside France. In Italy during the 1920s and 1930s, the Fascists encouraged interpretation of the Italian Enlightenment as a purely native movement foreshadowing the Risorgimento—the movement for Italian unification. After World War II, Italian historian Franco Venturi refuted this nationalistic view by demonstrating the Italian Enlightenment's richness and its integration within the "Atlantic" movement. Newtonian ideas, for example, influenced the Italian Enlightenment, and the Italian intellectual diaspora had effects on northern European culture.

Although intellectual developments in France stimulated discussion in Italy, Italians also influenced European Enlightenment thinkers. The works of Alberto Radicati di Passerano, an exile from the intolerant Kingdom of Sardinia (Piedmont), dealt with several issues dear to Enlightenment intellectuals. After a bold analysis of religious leaders, for example, he wryly concluded that "it would be better . . . to be an atheist than to worship a Being chargeable with such enormous crimes and iniquities." Like French philosophe Denis Diderot, Passerano chipped away at the concept that governments enforce ethical behavior established by God, a prime source of their authority, and argued that ethical concepts originate in social habit and custom.

If Passerano's ideas dealt with the more subtle aspects of the "myths" holding existing society together, writer Girolamo Tartarotti undermined grosser ones. In the 1740s, he struck a blow against prejudice and superstition by demolishing the belief in witches; such beliefs, he argued, contradicted morality and the scientific precepts of the new age. His work stimulated a vast debate over magic and touched off a general attack in France, Austria, and Germany on the supposed existence of witches, vampires, and ghosts.

The work of a Milanese thinker, Pietro Verri, is another example of this reciprocal influence. His *Meditations on Political Economy* (1771) caused a commotion in Europe by criticizing the Physiocrats, influential economists who advocated taxes on all land as the only source of new wealth. Verri argued that Physiocratic ideas would keep out foreign produce, working against the beneficial free trade that the Physiocrats intended their program to produce. Translated into French, German, and Russian, Verri's book stirred discussion among the most famous philosophes and provided Europe with a taste of the fundamental issues being engaged by Italian intellectuals.

But it was another Milanese thinker who had the most international influence. Cesare Beccaria's *Of Crimes and Punishments* (1764) was translated into many languages (the French edition bore a famous commentary by Voltaire). In examining justice during his time, Beccaria made compelling arguments for speedy trials, for informing the accused of their crimes, for limiting the power of judges, for proportioning the punishment to the crime, for equalizing punishments for

the same crime, and for treating offenders equally regardless of social class; he denounced torture and the death penalty. Beccaria placed jurisprudence on a modern footing in Europe and America.

The Long Peace

Besides these intellectual aspects, political currents also intertwined in eighteenth-century Italy. Historians seem to agree that the 1730s mark the depth of the Italian post-Renaissance crisis and that the decade witnessed a slow revival of the political, economic, and intellectual fortunes of the country.

They divide the century into two periods. From 1700 to 1748, the precipitous decline of Spain and the desire to pluck Spanish spoils in Italy provoked major conflicts. During the War of Spanish Succession (1700–1713), the French attempted to take over the entire Spanish Empire, including Italy, while Austria hoped to substitute its hegemony for Spain's on the peninsula. In the end, Austrian domination replaced Spanish, a development that made the Italian diplomatic situation more fluid.

The Austrians controlled only Lombardy (Milan) directly, even though they had indirect power in Tuscany (Florence). Spain retained influence in Naples, Sicily, and Parma through Bourbon rulers, but these states regained their independence. To obtain a consensus in their newly acquired possessions, the rulers adopted important reforms based on the prevailing Enlightenment culture. These attempts had the powerful support of Italian intellectuals, many of whom played an active role in the government and thus gained valuable governmental experience. A good example of Hapsburg activities in this sense can be seen in Trieste, where the Austrians established a free port and granted tolerance to the Jews.

With the decline of Spain and the emergence of a new European balance, the Italian diplomatic equation underwent major changes. The major beneficiary was Piedmont. Tucked in the northwest corner of Italy, and pursuing the expansionist aims of its ruling Savoy dynasty, this state ably exploited the differences between France and Austria, new rivals for supremacy in Italy. Because of England's emergence as a Mediterranean power and its policy of preserving Piedmontese independence to counterbalance France and Austria, and because of its value to France and Austria as a buffer state, Piedmont gained diplomatic maneuverability. Smaller Italian states acquired some diplomatic maneuverability as well. By exploiting its privileged position, Piedmont acquired the large island of Sardinia, increased its mainland possessions, and won recognition as a kingdom. Thus, the eighteenth century witnessed the growth in prestige and size of the state that, a century and a half later, would accomplish Italian unification.

Map 1.1 Eighteenth-Century Italy

European developments produced a long peace in Italy. Following the War of Austrian Succession (1740–1748), the rivals for control of Italy—France and Austria—became allies. Consequently, European conflicts did not involve the peninsula until 1792, when revolutionary France and conservative Austria battled anew. For fifty years, the Italian states could concentrate on internal affairs. Different conditions in various sections guaranteed mixed results, but the reform

attempts were always interesting in their own right and helped determine the future course of the various Italian regions.

The North

Enlightened reforms and their effects on social and economic development placed Lombardy, despite its subjection to Austria, in the forefront of the Italian states.

The Austrian Hapsburg queen, Maria Theresa (1740–1780), initiated a reform policy on practical grounds, not on Enlightenment principles. Emerging from a war designed to dismember her disparate empire, Maria Theresa understood that only by streamlining the financial and administrative structure of her dominions could she increase production and the population's capacity to pay more taxes. In practice, this policy meant a campaign against the remnants of Lombard feudalism, which hampered production—a goal that secured the cooperation of the Lombard philosophes.

The most crucial reform proved to be the vast land survey initiated by Maria Theresa's father and completed by the empress in 1759. This survey allowed the state to impose a fairer tax on land belonging to all classes, including the nobility. Besides addressing the equity issue, the survey ensured fiscal stability by imposing definitive taxes, thus stimulating agricultural production. A typical but rarely implemented Enlightenment demand, this reform pleased Pietro Verri and the Lombard illuministi, ensuring their collaboration in the reforms that followed.

During the seventeenth century, the Spanish had sold to landlords the right to collect certain taxes and tolls. Between 1760 and 1786, the Austrians returned direct control of these taxes and tolls to the state. As a result, the economic position of nobles suffered. Since the reform presented the nobility with the choice of either a reduction in income or a return to business activity, part of the Lombard aristocracy engaged in improving its lands for profit. In short, this reform dealt a death blow to the residues of Lombard feudalism and created the basis for its legal abolition in 1797, results that went beyond the government's intentions. Furthermore, redemption of indirect taxes and tolls permitted Lombardy in 1776 to declare freedom of internal trade in grains and, ten years later, to permit their free export. Lombardy thus carried out a series of important reforms that had long been advocated by European philosophes but that countries such as France had been unable to achieve.

In other areas of reform, such as administration, the Church, and education, the Austrians achieved mixed success, but on balance, the reform policy yielded permanent results. In the fertile Lombard lowlands, the great noble estates began breaking up, the land going to persons—noble and not—who founded vibrant

agricultural firms. Intent on increasing production and profits, the agricultural bourgeoisie introduced new production methods and products such as cheese. This activity reversed the previous parasitic role of the city and created an equilibrium between city and country, as may be seen in the cultivation of the silkworm in the country while the towns invested capital and produced finished silk products. The population spurt in the smaller Lombard cities signaled a new dynamism unknown in Lombard society since the Renaissance.

The emerging middle class favored by Austrian policy created a climate for greater participation in politics to further its economic interests, although this was expressed only with the arrival of the French in 1796. At this critical point, however, the Austrians reversed their policy of cooperation with the Italians. The circumstances of Maria Theresa's accession to the throne had forced her to collaborate with her subjects, but her son pursued a policy of centralization throughout his empire. After his mother's death in 1780, Joseph II strengthened his control over Lombard officials; by 1790, collaboration with intellectuals and the middle class had ended. Historian Alexander Grab emphasizes the limits of Austrian reform policy and believes that "Joseph II lacked a commitment to a deep economic reform program"; according to Grab, for further significant economic change to occur, "other political upheavals and a stronger bourgeoisie were necessary." Thus the Austrian fracture with the Lombard illuministi and the middle class transformed collaboration into permanent conflict and ensured a receptive audience for French revolutionary ideas.

No reform activity of the kind noted in Lombardy marked adjoining Piedmont. This state lacked the stimulus of a new ruling house eager to establish itself and did not follow a reform policy. Indeed, the Savoy dynasty judged reform dangerous to its control and persecuted Enlightenment culture. The travails of an important Piedmontese writer, Vittorio Alfieri, symbolize the poor relationship of this state with its intellectuals.

Other differences from the Italian pattern also show up. Piedmontese origins lay not in a large commercial city that had swallowed surrounding territory but in a collection of medieval fiefs over which the Savoy house had succeeded in imposing a centralized command after 1559. The government accomplished this aim by taming the unruly aristocracy and by converting it into a "service nobility" of the Prussian type that was closely bound to the monarchy. Loss of its fiscal privileges did not transform the Piedmontese nobility into a business class, as had partially occurred in Lombardy, but into a military, bureaucratic, and diplomatic caste; it thus retained its social status and its landed character.

This development did not improve Piedmontese agriculture, which remained backward. Industrial activity did not develop because the government failed to encourage commerce through the eradication of feudal conditions and because Piedmont lacked large cities. While Piedmontese rulers made weak attempts to

improve the economy, they rejected the Enlightenment reforms that would have encouraged industry and commerce.

Piedmont achieved military and diplomatic successes in the eighteenth century, but it would not emerge as a serious candidate to lead the movement for Italian unification in the next century until it had moderated the less progressive aspects of its society, economy, and politics.

The fate of Venice and Genoa, once important mercantile republics, may be considered together. Venice emerged exhausted from the numerous attempts to destroy it during the late Renaissance and from a century-long conflict with the Turks. The discovery of America had pushed Venice into a long economic decline; by the eighteenth century, the republic had dwindled to diplomatic insignificance, even though its governmental structure remained an object of study and admiration for the philosophes.

The Venetian nobility abandoned commerce for landed activity and concentrated wealth into a few hands while retaining the severe restrictions for entry into the ruling class that had existed in its glory days. These factors prevented the emergence of a commercial middle class and provided little incentive for the aristocracy to engage in commerce once more. Enlightenment ideas did penetrate and some industry did develop, but not to a significant degree.

Similar to Venice in its restrictive governmental structure, Genoa also presents interesting dissimilarities. Given Genoa's small size and poor hinterland, the nobles continued to lend money to the great powers, but this money-lending never developed into modern investment activity, nor did it stimulate industrial growth. Only in the ports of Leghorn and Genoa did mercantile activity expand; this commercial development gave rise to a vocal bourgeois class that was impatient with noble privileges and that later supported Italian unification.

The Center

The government of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, the area surrounding Florence, conducted the most serious experiment in Enlightenment reform. When Francis of Lorraine, husband of Maria Theresa, became the grand duke in 1737, he brought Tuscany under indirect Austrian control and initiated the reform process that their son, Peter Leopold (1765–1790), greatly accelerated.

Peter Leopold inherited an agricultural region that primarily produced grain, wine, olive oil, and fruit. The bourgeoisie was weak, and the land belonged mostly to the nobility, the ruling family, the Church, or to special orders of knights founded to fight the Turks. The peasants worked the land as sharecroppers to produce for themselves and the landowners, not for a market. The absence of a market, combined with the large tracts of unhealthy marshland, created a depressed

peasant class perpetually indebted to the landlords and subject to frequent famines.

As in Lombardy, the new Austrian dynasty collaborated with the illuministi to bring about a series of reforms. Expanding on a 1767 provision, Peter Leopold allowed unlimited exportation and importation of agricultural products in 1775. Eight years later, he eliminated internal tariffs and tolls, fulfilling in Tuscany the philosophes' dream of free commerce. In addition, between 1747 and 1789, freedom to buy and sell land arrived through strict limits on mortmain (perpetual ownership of land by the Church and other institutions forbidden to sell it). Between 1770 and 1781, the government, in the hope of eliminating serious obstacles to production, abolished the obsolete privileged corporations that had once dominated the Florentine economy.

During the same period, Peter Leopold limited the power of the central administration by giving greater autonomy to local government and adopted fiscal reforms. He replaced the many confusing taxes with one land tax, which was to be paid by all landholders, and reduced the sharecroppers' burden by limiting the percentage of this tax that could be passed on to them. In addition, tax privileges enjoyed by ecclesiastical orders and privileged corporations ceased.

However, a land survey that would have ensured the effectiveness of the reforms could not be completed, and the government's attempt to create a small landholding class failed. The grand duke broke up vast governmental holdings into small plots and arranged for their sale to peasants under easy terms. Unfortunately, these buyers proved too poor to meet the conditions of sale and consequently sold the land either to rich city dwellers or to noble landholders. In a related area, the government achieved only mixed success in reclaiming marshland, including the Maremma, an area so unhealthy, a popular song proclaimed, that birds lost their tails if they flew over it.

The government partially succeeded in limiting the Church's influence by curbing mortmain, abolishing fiscal privileges, ending the Inquisition, and suppressing the Jesuits. But when Peter Leopold tried to introduce Jansenism—policies to "purify" the Church favored by the philosophes—he failed. When he attempted to reform religious orders by abolishing perpetual vows, simplifying religious ceremonies, cutting the number of feast days, reducing the pope's authority, and forbidding the veneration of relics, he encountered hierarchical and popular resistance; riots broke out, and the grand duke backed off.

Despite its intensity and the collaboration of the illuministi, Peter Leopold's reform effort had slight effect; his failure illustrated the difficulty of producing real change against a recalcitrant social structure. In Tuscany, as in the other Italian states, the government reached the point when it had to decide whether to force greater reform at the risk of revolution or give up the effort.

The chief stimulus for reform was removed when Peter Leopold succeeded his brother Joseph as the Austrian emperor in 1790. The French Revolution had already begun, and Peter's successors abandoned reform. This increased conservatism of the Tuscan rulers made Tuscan intellectuals more receptive to revolutionary ideas. Like Lombardy, Tuscany confronted a crisis situation at the end of the eighteenth century.

The Papal State faced greater problems than Tuscany and lacked its reform fervor. The pope's temporal domain, sliced in two by the Apennine Mountains, consisted of several disparate regions. Large noble and ecclesiastical landholdings and stagnant marshlands characterized the most backward areas to the south, such as Lazio, where the sharecroppers lived a particularly depressed life, even if they resisted the power of the local magnates. In these regions, there was little commerce in the cities, which served mainly as administrative centers. Rome was important not as an economic center but as the capital of Christendom and as a center of the arts; indeed, its ability to siphon gold from the Catholic world dampened its rulers' will to undertake reforms. Northern regions, such as the Romagna, enjoyed a more resilient economy because of better communications with the North; silk and hemp stimulated industrial production, the University of Bologna maintained intellectual contact with Europe, and fairs and ports spurred trade. Even there, however, depressed agricultural conditions forced sharecroppers into the cities to beg, and a stunted, economically weak bourgeoisie remained subservient to the aristocracy.

Consisting of a mix of ancient feudal families, "nephews" descended from past popes and cardinals, and dignitaries of the papal court, the ruling class ran the papal government and the Church for its own benefit. Strengthened by the imposition of a fairly centralized papal authority in the sixteenth century, this group resisted Enlightenment culture so successfully that the reform initiated with severe criticism of papal policy from abroad. Slowly the papal government introduced some measures such as the abolition of taxes and tolls in 1793, but these were too late and too inadequate to avert the crisis of the state in the late eighteenth century.

The little Duchies of Parma and Modena round out this survey of the Center. Both areas were centers of Enlightenment reform and culture, Modena being particularly noted for the activities of Ludovico Antonio Muratori, the historian of Italian cultural unity.

The South

In the South, the Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily were home to Enlightenment writers who were of high quality but were defeated in the long run by a feudalistic

social structure and the unwillingness of the rulers to adopt the drastic reform measures necessary to redress the poor economic and social conditions. Although these two kingdoms had the same ruler, they were administratively distinct and will be discussed separately.

Surveying his new possessions from his capital in Naples, the king, Charles of Bourbon (1734–1759), would have observed the most disparate kingdom on the peninsula. It consisted of six regions, each of which lacked a commercial and industrial base, possessed few roads, and organized agricultural production only for local markets. With a population of almost 410,000, the city of Naples, the largest city in Italy and one of the biggest in Europe, dominated the entire state. Naples, however, owed its size to its position as the seat of government, its appeal as a residential center for a nobility that refused to manage its lands, and its attraction for enormous numbers of peasants abandoning the land to find work as servants or to beg. Very little commerce or industry existed in the city, which lived off the countryside and best illustrated the economic disequilibrium that afflicted the kingdom.

In addition, Charles's Spanish forebears had bequeathed him a mixed heredity where the nobility was concerned. They had drastically reduced the nobility's governmental role at the center, but in the countryside the nobles had increased their power, retaining crucial functions such as tax collection and the dispensing of justice. In addition, out of two thousand towns, Charles had jurisdiction over fewer than fifty.

Rural economic and social conditions varied, but they were among the worst in Italy. Except in areas suitable for growing fruits, vegetables, grapes, and olives, extensive agriculture characterized by the primitive production of cereals alternated with long periods of leaving the land fallow. Tenant farmers worked large baronial holdings under miserable living conditions, with many forced to become day laborers or to leave the land.

Important trends, which might have signaled possible changes, did not alter this dismal picture. Europe throughout the eighteenth century witnessed enormous inflation. The Neapolitan barons, living in Naples and straining to keep up with the social requirements of a brilliant court, incurred large debts; to increase their income, they raised the peasants' fees and dues and, when that did not raise enough money, either sold off parcels of their land or "rented" them to overseers. This new group—small property holders, merchants, moneylenders, administrative employees—opposed the feudal interests of the nobility and created a new tension in the countryside. But because the new class failed to develop new products and methods of production, the struggle neither created an agrarian bourgeoisie nor substantially weakened the nobility.

This disappointing result occurred despite the collaboration of notable illuministi with Charles's chief minister, Bernardo Tanucci, and his successors. En-

lightenment intellectuals such as Antonio Genovesi and Gaetano Filangieri sought to eliminate the worst aspects of feudalism, but Neapolitan monarchs reacted weakly to the resistance of the privileged classes, and Tanucci did not agree with the more extreme measures the philosophes suggested. In 1741, for example, Charles ordered a land survey, but poor implementation of reform policies ensured that the barons did not pay their fair share of taxes; the poor would continue carrying the major burden of taxation, which was exacerbated by an expensive military policy. The kingdom remained economically backward; it exported unfinished products such as raw silk, olive oil, and grain and imported finished products while running a very high deficit.

The Neapolitan Enlightenment probably succeeded best in its Church policy. With a disproportionately large number of priests, vast landholdings, important fiscal and legal privileges, and the government's inability to block the flow of vast sums to the pope, the Church presented a more serious problem in Naples than it did in other Italian states.

Energetic action to restrict Church influence began early. In 1741, a new concordat (an agreement regulating relations between Church and State) limited the Church's fiscal privileges and the authority of Church courts. Soon thereafter the Inquisition was abolished, and Tanucci suppressed many monasteries, abolished mortmain for new acquisitions, expelled the Jesuits, confiscated their property, and abolished ecclesiastical tithes (taxes). The Church's power was still significant at the end of the century, but it had greatly diminished.

Ferdinand IV succeeded Charles but left policy to his Austrian wife, Queen Maria Carolina, and to her English adviser, John Acton. Reform policies continued until 1792, when, fearful that Enlightenment ideas would produce a revolution as they had in France, the two reversed course.

Despite the high intellectual quality of the Neapolitan Enlightenment and its strong international ties, it produced fewer results than the Enlightenment movement in either Lombardy or Tuscany. Illuminista collaboration ended in Naples, as it had in the other Italian states, on a note of failure and resentment that would plunge the kingdom into a greater crisis.

In the other Bourbon-controlled kingdom, Sicily, the social situation resembled that of Naples, but because low consumption allowed high grain exportation, the nobility retained a stronger economic position than its Neapolitan counterpart. Moreover, the Sicilian nobles had won important political privileges from the previous Spanish rulers. A small bourgeois class existed in some cities, but its lack of capital condemned it to perpetual weakness and dependence on English capital, for example, for the development of the wine industry in Marsala. Finally, an active baron-dominated Parliament rounded out the noble advantage.

Although Neapolitan administrators cooperated with the barons until 1781, this changed with the arrival of Domenico Caracciolo, an energetic philosophe who

PORTRAITS

MARIA CAROLINA

Queen of Intrigue

Born on August 13, 1752, in Vienna, Maria Carolina married Ferdinand IV of Naples in 1768. She did not love Ferdinand and felt frustrated at being excluded from the kingdom's ruling Council of State because she had given birth to three daughters but not to a son. She took a string of lovers and, in 1775, bore a male heir and joined the ruling Council. She dominated the government and became "in reality, the King of Naples."

Maria Carolina strengthened Austria's influence to Spain's detriment. She fired the capable Bernardo Tanucci and brought in new ministers, many of whom were her lovers. A folk song about her includes the line: "You're a whore and everyone knows it." Nevertheless, during this period Maria Carolina's brothers, Joseph in Austria and Peter Leopold in Tuscany, attempted to bring about reforms favored by the French Enlightenment. The queen demonstrated herself sympathetic to a similar policy; Enlightenment intellectuals favoring reform regarded her positively, and a period of reform began in Naples.

However, the French Revolution in 1789 scared Maria Carolina into ending reform measures. After the beheading of her sister, Marie Antoinette, on October 16, 1793, she lived in terror. Along with her English minister and lover, Lord Acton, she hunted down anyone she suspected of favoring the hated French, imprisoning or executing them. Because the English fleet protected the kingdom, she became close to the English ambassador's wife, Emma Hamilton, Admiral Horatio Nelson's lover. In 1798, her army defeated by the French-dominated Roman Republic, she, the king, and the court fled to Sicily under the British fleet's protection.

In 1799, Cardinal Fabrizio Ruffo overthrew the Neapolitan Republic that had replaced the kingdom. He made an agreement that spared the lives of the revolutionaries if they would surrender. Maria Carolina, however, would have none of it. She prepared a list of persons she wanted dead and gave it to Emma Hamilton. Hamilton passed it on to Admiral Nelson; he pressured Ruffo to go back on his word to the revolutionaries. In an incident that shocked all Europe, the restored regime executed everyone on Maria Carolina's list.

In 1806, Napoleon conquered the Kingdom of Naples. Maria Carolina fled to Sicily once again. The queen wanted to try a comeback one more time, but her husband concentrated on his mistress rather than politics. On February 2, 1814, with Napoleon about to fall, Maria Carolina went to Vienna to ask the allies to return her throne. On September 7, the answer came: no—they feared a repeat of 1799. Maria Carolina, her heart (it is said) unable to take the shock, died the same day.

had lived in Paris. His ambitious program would have weakened Sicilian feudalism by limiting the barons' power to confiscate goods and dispense justice, eliminating their political and financial control of the towns, establishing a mechanism to redeem feudal rights, and attacking the barons' financial privileges.

The barons fought back by portraying the Neapolitans as new conquerors attempting to abolish the ancient rights of the Sicilian "nation." Following a pattern all too typical of the eighteenth century, the barons won the support of the very people who would have benefited from the projected reforms. In addition, by gradually transforming their fiefs into free land, members of the nobility converted themselves into large landowners while preserving their economic and social privileges.

Daily Life

As might be expected, living conditions at this time varied greatly depending on social class and region. In the towns, luxurious Renaissance villas, monuments, theaters, fountains, and monumental stairs built for gala occasions (for example, the Spanish Steps in Rome) contrasted with very poor housing. And despite a demographic recovery that allowed Rome to reach 163,000 and Florence 72,000, low population density characterized urban centers. In smaller towns, convicts used cart-drawn water barrels to clean the streets, which were unpaved and unnamed and on which stood unnumbered houses. Mild weather encouraged people to live outdoors: they sold wares and cooked food on the street, washed clothes in the fountains, and relieved themselves in the courtyards. Because of the heat, people rose early and ceased all activity at noon; everyone slept during the afternoon and resumed their tasks only after the sun had gone down. They had dinner very late and retired even later.

Tradespeople and shops concentrated in specific areas, which eventually took the names of their trades. Wooden signs bearing a symbol of the trade identified the shops. For example, a brass plate identified a Roman barber, and since men with high-pitched voices took the place of women in musical performances, he proudly advertised: "Here we castrate the singers in the Papal chapels."

Travelers remarked upon how well tended the land in the countryside seemed, despite the extreme poverty of the peasants. German poet Goethe wrote: "It would seem impossible to see better-kept fields." In the North, fertile lands, irrigation networks, and landowner interest eased the sharecroppers' lot, but in the South an adverse climate, absentee landlords, isolation, and the lack of public works crushed the sharecroppers. Peasants lived in huts with only a hole in the roof to let out the smoke. In Sicily, most men possessed only a short, brown,

sleeveless waistcoat, with a heavy brown or black wool cloak for the winter; women wore dresses of black linen or serge, a handkerchief on their heads, and, on Sundays, a white mantle if they owned one.

As might be expected, peasants and the poor in general did not receive an education because the Italian states did not establish a public school system. Occasionally a priest who noticed a boy of uncommon intelligence might teach him or arrange for his education in a seminary (not necessarily to become part of the clergy), but the lack of an educational system accounts for the very high illiteracy rate that later afflicted modern Italy. In the middle of the nineteenth century, illiteracy in the South was at 80 percent, but a hundred years earlier it was probably higher and more diffused.

Southern peasants frequently rebelled against their situation. A popular song dating from the fourteenth century demanded: "You promised me six 'handkerchiefs' [pieces of land], and I'm here to claim them . . . for that which you carry on your back [own] is not yours." In the seventeenth century, serious revolts shook the region, but the lack of a strong middle class hampered the evolution of these revolts into revolution. Until the famine of 1763–1764, agricultural conditions probably remained static or even improved. That development, however, worsened the conditions of the sharecroppers and tenants. Lacking reserves, technical skill, and the ability to resist a nobility that imposed harsher conditions of land tenure, and forced to borrow money that they could never repay, many of these peasants became day laborers or found other means of subsistence. These developments help explain the great increase in begging that observers report in the eighteenth century.

In the cities, the government's control of food prices and tendency to restrain the worst abuses of the nobility mitigated the poverty there. Begging was rife, but the poor had a better hope of receiving charity and of finding employment in the guilds or as servants in the many palaces owned by the aristocracy or the Church hierarchy.

Not all nobles fared better than the common folk. Foreign tourists reported that poor aristocrats resided in large palaces that they could not afford to heat, but luckily, the wealthy nobles were usually generous to foreigners. This was a boon to travelers like Goethe, who was warned to avoid the "Golden Lion" in Catania: "It is worse than if you had fallen into the clutches of the Cyclops, the Sirens, and the Scyllas all at the same time."

Governments subjected wealthy nobles to dress codes appropriate to their station in life. In Venice, nobles had to wear a toga based upon the dress of the ancient Roman Senate. When capes became fashionable in the seventeenth century, a law punished noblemen caught wearing them in public with five years' imprisonment and a heavy fine. Noblewomen who wore colors other than black suf-

fered a similar fate, since only prostitutes wore bright colors and rouge. These attempts at control failed, especially during the eighteenth century, when magazines introduced French and English fashions.

Noblemen hired tutors, usually clergy, to educate their sons, but these were mostly useless. Serious sons of the nobility and the middle class went to Jesuit academies, which were fairly widespread throughout the peninsula. The Jesuits imparted strict discipline and religious instruction to their charges, in addition to a solid grounding in Latin and the classics. After the suppression of the Jesuit order in 1773, the Jansenist-influenced Congregation of Pious Schools became more important. These fathers introduced subjects more appropriate to the eighteenth-century interest in economic and agricultural affairs. Italian was also a more important part of the curriculum, and many later supporters of Italian independence came out of these schools.

As might be expected, the increasing importance given to education did not extend to women. Daughters of well-off families generally went off to convents to await marriage, and they were educated primarily in the acquisition of social and domestic skills. Sometimes they learned some reading and writing, but generally parents, who believed it dangerous for women to know how to read because they might be misled by bad books, felt that learning the rosary was far more appropriate. Despite these limitations on their education, there are interesting reports of highly cultivated women in eighteenth-century Italy, and in the major Italian cities, salons run by women—usually noble—were, as in France, major centers of culture.

In eighteenth-century Europe, women were excluded from the recently founded scientific academies—following a long-established practice in the universities. "In Italy, however, a few women succeeded in carving out a niche for themselves. They were excluded neither from the universities and the scientific academies nor from the knowledge expounded by those universities." In fact, Laura Bassi Verati was granted a lectureship at the University of Bologna (in the Papal State) on October 29, 1732, and eventually received one of the highest salaries at the institution—1,200 lire a year.

As a rule, however, women led restricted lives. They did not go out, except to church, and chaperones always accompanied them. Their parents chose their husbands without taking their wishes into consideration, even though the bridegroom was sometimes expected to make some ritual show of love. In Venice, women could dissolve marriages for such reasons as "barbarous treatment by the husband," but during the divorce proceedings they had to retreat to a convent. Venice prohibited public affection between husbands and wives, a ban that contributed to the evolution of the *cicisbeo*, a noble "servant." Frequently encountered in Carlo Goldoni's plays and a staple of upper-class Venetian marriage contracts,

the cicisbeo accompanied the noblewoman everywhere, was present during her most intimate functions, but was never her lover. As a Venetian satirist described it, his duty was "to stay constantly by the side of the wife of a third party and by express contract and obligation to be bored by her for days at a time."

Religious attitudes differed greatly from those in modern times. During church services, people chatted, walked around, gathered in crowds, and conducted their business. Religious festivals also provided entertainment. People appeared genuinely attached to their religion—many attended mass daily, recited the rosary nightly, and observed Lent—but they saw no reason to alter their behavior. Brothels burned candles to the Virgin Mary and charged an extra fee to have masses said on special occasions. People gave in to their passions, went to confession, and began all over again.

This pattern shocked no one. Goethe observed a rich nobleman famous for his expensive vices begging for money to ransom slaves captured by the Barbary pirates. When the poet remarked upon the contradiction, he received the following response: "But we are all like that! We gladly pay for our own follies ourselves, but others are expected to provide the money for our virtues." When it came time to reap the rewards of a virtuous life, the funerals of the rich were lavish, and the deceased were remembered with the grandiose monuments that decorate Italian churches. In Sicily, the corpse was frequently dressed in the deceased's finest garments and brought seated into the decorated church as musicians played their instruments. In the states most affected by the Enlightenment, however, a reaction against these customs set in; states such as Lombardy and Tuscany regulated funerals even to the point of restricting the number of candles families could display (depending on their social status) and forbidding the use of coffins except for high clergy and nuns.

Culture and Crisis

Whereas contradiction characterized private life, the interaction of philosophy and politics and the manifest failure of reform marked the public life of eighteenth-century Italy. Enlightenment philosophy, however, precluded a return to old methods, spurring the illuministi instead to examine the causes of their failure and to take new action.

European and Italian philosophes had counted upon rulers imbued with their ideas—"Enlightened monarchs"—to reform their countries and in the process justified their leaders on the basis of utilitarianism. The philosophes eventually realized that the monarchs ruled for their own benefit. At this point, they replaced "Enlightened monarchy" as a basis for rule with Jean-Jacques Rousseau's

"general will," a difficult political concept that easily translated into "majority rule." In France, a country with an economically powerful and politically sophisticated bourgeoisie, this transition helped produce the Revolution. In Italy, the bourgeoisie's strength varied, but nowhere attained that of its French counterpart. Thus the collapse of Enlightenment reform due to the withdrawal of government support could not immediately lead to revolution, but it did produce a crisis that made Italian intellectuals receptive to radical social, economic, and political solutions, including the idea of national cohesion.

In Naples, Tanucci rejected the ideas of Antonio Genovesi, a professor of political economy, to free the grain trade and to eliminate government interference in the economy as a means of modernizing the state, alleviating rural poverty, and preventing such terrible catastrophes as the famine of 1763–1764. Famine also hit Tuscany in the 1760s, but by the 1790s the reform movement had petered out or failed. Italy approached the end of the eighteenth century in a severe economic and moral crisis characterized by widespread discontent.

If indeed "a substantial part of the Italian Enlightenment debate can properly be read as testimony to the scale of pauperism," it is comprehensible that with the failure of reform, revolutionary ideas current in the rest of Europe should become attractive to Italian intellectuals. In the 1770s and 1780s, for example, the appeal of Freemasonry to growing numbers of Italian intellectuals signaled their withdrawal from conventional politics. In the South especially, faith in radical, egalitarian, and communistic methods of solving Italy's problems increased. Influential Neapolitan philosophe Gaetano Filangieri might remain basically optimistic, but he forcefully identified Europe's paramount problem as the minority's monopoly on wealth; "the remedy to be aimed at," he asserted, was to make certain that "everything be in the hands of the many."

The search for new solutions produced faith not only in egalitarianism and republicanism of the American type but also in a revival of national feeling, the idea that the lot of Italians would improve if the peninsula were united and if the people could work together. But what made the Italians one people? Discussion centered on several elements that emphasized pride and national character. In their quest to understand the relationship between language and nationality, intellectuals debated the ideas of Neapolitan philosopher Giambattista Vico, a philosophical giant of the age. Vico's student, Genovesi, challenged his colleagues by lecturing at the University of Naples in Italian. Genovesi's reasoning was double-edged: as long as Latin, incomprehensible to most Italians, dominated education, there could be no mass education and no national solidarity, and no nation could develop an independent culture so long as its most important works were written in a foreign language. Accordingly, Genovesi and other scholars wrote in Italian and convincingly argued for the scholarly stature of Italian.

During the same period, "history also became a source of national pride," and Italians turned their emphasis from European to Italian history. Ancient Rome, whose language had dominated the cultural life of the peninsula but now hindered the view of Italians as one people, was deemphasized. In Modena, Ludovico Antonio Muratori investigated the Middle Ages as the source of modern Italy. He published majestic, accurate collections of medieval documents designed to demonstrate the continuity of Italian history through the ages. One historian believes that, because of this kind of activity, "a national feeling resulting from a recognition of a common cultural heritage, common historical traditions, common economic interests, and common language" made progress during the eighteenth century.

This view does not contradict the cosmopolitan essence of the Italian Enlightenment, but it suggests the multiple antecedents of the Risorgimento. Between 1700 and 1789, European influences found quick acceptance in Italy, despite the resistance of an older culture, and transformed the static situation of the previous century into a dynamic one. Historian Giorgio Candeloro believed that the political, social, economic, and cultural conditions that emerged during the period combined with the impetus of the French Revolution to create a necessary "preface" to the Risorgimento.

In short, the Italian and European cultural strains, and their complex interaction with Atlantic society and politics, must be understood to analyze the Italian Enlightenment on its own merits and to appreciate its implications.

CHAPTER TWO

Italy and the French Revolution

The French Revolution's impact on Italy has aroused fierce debate. Did the Risorgimento originate during the Enlightenment, the dawn of national awareness, or was it another nineteenth-century spin-off of the French Revolution? Historians have not reached a consensus on this question, but many believe that the social and political changes induced by the Revolution, and therefore its influence on the Risorgimento, would have been impossible without the Enlightenment.

Greeting Revolution

The last chapter described how Enlightenment measures stimulated only the limited development of a modern bourgeoisie. The growth of groups profiting from inflationistic economic trends and antifeudalistic governmental action through the acquisition of land, the management of noble holdings, or rents—a "primitive" capitalism—increased tensions with the ruling classes and contributed to the impoverishment of many peasants. In addition, because of the Europe-wide price rise, real wages dropped and poverty increased dramatically. This social crisis coincided with the cultural and political crisis, the growth of radical ideas, and the new emphasis on cultural and linguistic unity.

Thus, the Italian situation had become critical by 1789, when the French Revolution exploded. Between then and 1795, the Revolution found popular support and a warm welcome from disillusioned Italian intellectuals. Disorders erupted in several states, as in Naples, where demonstrators wished "to do as the French are doing," or Piedmont, where crowds shouted, "Long live France!" The intellectuals had already gone beyond cultural considerations by advocating Italian political revival. Piedmontese playwright Vittorio Alfieri, who dedicated one of his works to "the American liberator," George Washington, symbolized this feeling.

Intellectuals published draft constitutions, favored French ideals, and transformed Masonic lodges into Jacobin organizations. The turmoil caused by the Revolution favored the intellectuals' activities by exacerbating the economic crisis: prices rose, trade difficulties increased, and the fiscal burden worsened as arms spending increased. Furthermore, the governments responded to French developments by truncating reform policies, allying with the Church, and repressing the opposition. Intellectuals and governments set upon a collision course, but Italians imbued with French revolutionary principles could make slight headway without outside help.

Statecraft in a Revolutionary Era

The wars of the French Revolution that began in 1792 ended the long peace between France and Austria, which once more fought for supremacy in Italy. One important difference, however, marked this struggle. Frightened by revolution, Italian monarchs did not negotiate for advantages but allied with Austria. Despite French attempts to secure Piedmontese support, this state quickly joined Austria in fighting France. In short, contrary to its policy in the seventeenth century, Piedmont threw away its strategic advantage and allowed itself to be exploited diplomatically by Austria. Naples and Tuscany preferred to remain neutral, but the British coerced them into war. French policy appeared torn between traditional diplomatic initiatives and revolutionary aims. While French agents attempted to convert Italian dissatisfaction into revolution, their government acted to exploit revolutionary fervor for expansionist ends.

The primary reason for this development was the course of the French Revolution itself. The Revolution's "moderate" phase ended in late 1792, and a radical period followed. The Jacobins seized control and held power until July–August 1794. When the French overhauled their form of government in 1795, they set up the Directory, a government that consisted of five directors chosen by two councils. These changes had important effects on Italy. The Directory pursued conservative domestic policies and exploited French revolutionary ideals to extend French influence abroad. This course created the premise for a fight with the Italians because they remained committed to Jacobinism after its defeat in France and resented French expansionism. In addition, France and the conservative European powers continued fighting during the years the Directory remained in power. These conflicts had important effects on Italy because the French first became dominant on the peninsula, then met defeat, and then returned for several years until their definitive downfall. A host of shifting territorial arrangements in Italy during the French revolutionary and Napoleonic periods reflected these events.

After war broke out in 1792, the French quickly occupied Savoy and Nice, but then the French army bogged down. In March 1796, however, Napoleon Bonaparte, who was from the formerly Genoese island of Corsica, became the French commander on the Italian front. On April 12, he unloosed a campaign that broke through enemy lines, defeated the Piedmontese, and chased the Austrians out of Italy. He came within seventy-five miles of Vienna before the Treaty of Campoformio was signed in 1797. With the Austrian defeat, Napoleon controlled the entire peninsula.

Italian Jacobinism

The French conquerors made a host of complex, constantly shifting territorial alterations in Italy. They established several republics governed by a directory (as was the case in France between 1795 and 1799) that included areas that were previously part of different states. This change provided many Italians with the important experience of living, working, and governing together.

In the North, Napoleon established the short-lived Cispadane Republic (consisting of the papal legations of Bologna and Ferrara and the Duchy of Modena) and the Transpadane Republic (which included the Duchies of Milan and Mantua), later merged into the Cisalpine Republic. By October 1797, the Cisalpine Republic was enlarged and included 3.5 million inhabitants who had formerly been the subjects of several states. The French reorganized Genoa into the Ligurian Republic and, in February 1798, incorporated the pope's domains into the Roman Republic. This last development provoked a Neapolitan attack, with Austrian and British support, resulting in a Bourbon defeat, the royal family's escape to Sicily, and the establishment of a Neapolitan Republic in January 1799.

Unlike France, the peninsula was pervaded by Jacobin influence during this period. Indeed, informed scholars from Giorgio Vaccarini to Stuart Woolf agree that the staunchly republican Italian Jacobins, or "patriots," posed the question of Italian revival in political and social terms, calling for unity, independence, and a republic. Giorgio Candeloro argued that a pan-Italian "Jacobin-patriotic" movement formed between 1789 and 1795 posed the Italian problem in political terms; he sees this development as the beginning of the Risorgimento.

The story of the French revolutionary impact in Italy, therefore, could not be linear because the French discouraged an Italian revolution for domestic and diplomatic reasons. Although heavily influenced by France, the republics of this era were characterized by significant intellectual independence, a degree of political autonomy, and a complex relationship with the French.

Even before the French conquest, for example, Piedmontese Jacobins conspired with Filippo Buonarroti. Buonarroti, a law graduate of the University of Pisa, a

former official of the French Jacobin government, and a participant in Gracchus Babeuf's communistic "conspiracy of the equals" in 1796, would become the major European conspiratorial figure in the early nineteenth century. Buonarroti and his Italian friends planned a Piedmontese uprising that would gain popular support by attacking feudalism and instituting a republic as the first step in the liberation of Italy.

This plan failed because of the conspirators' arrests in Paris and Napoleon's rapid advance. The conspiracy had negative repercussions on France's Italian policy because it branded Italians as radical followers of Babeuf. Ironically, French officials concluded that they should not "republicanize" Italy because the Italian youth, "excited and carried away by ideas borrowed from our revolution, . . . want to stir things up, without knowing how, without calculating their resources, without any clear and balanced ideas about what sort of thing they want to set up." In the debate about Italy's future, in which the Jacobins demanded an independent and unified Italian republic, the Directory favored conservative currents and viewed the peninsula as an area to be exploited economically to pay for France's wars; indeed, after the initial pro-French euphoria, this attitude caused many Italians to turn against the French and support the counterrevolutionary movements of 1799.

Napoleon's political ambition also proved critical. His military successes gave him a great deal of independence from Paris, and he used it to gain support. This meant allowing the Italians some freedom to debate the crucial issues but not allowing these ideas to be translated into action. At the same time, Napoleon controlled the conquered areas, intervened in the republics' domestic affairs, and drew their boundaries to ensure continued Italian military dependence on France. Napoleon's decision to award the Venetian Republic to Austria despite the protests of Italian patriots was the most clamorous example of this policy.

Within the context of French revolutionary Italy, therefore, Italian Jacobin ideas had little chance of being realized; nevertheless, they had an important effect on the future. Although they differed on the process, composition, and political form a united Italy would assume, the Jacobins never wavered in their total commitment to a unified, independent Italian republic. They also believed that French revolutionary ideals would free Italy and regenerate Italian society, but they identified these ideals in the most radical phase of the French Revolution, which had ended in France. Italian Jacobins had absolute faith in education as a means of eliminating Church influence and inspiring egalitarian democracy, and they viewed the creation of a small, independent, peasant property-holding class as essential to the future of their country. But how were they to create such a class, and how could they eliminate poverty? Here debate raged, as it had in France. Jacobin Melchiorre Gioia advocated cutting up Church estates for distri-

bution to the poor; others wanted the equal distribution of land, an imposition of a maximum income, or the abolition of property. All supported state intervention on behalf of the poor through public assistance.

Within this context, Italian Jacobins stirringly debated the meaning of "democracy," a term that frequently appeared in the titles of their newspapers. For them, democracy and republicanism were inseparable. More interesting, they agreed with moderate political philosopher Charles Louis Montesquieu and favored representative government over the precepts of Rousseau, the thinker who most influenced French Jacobins. Though Jacobinism has come to be identified with totalitarianism, some observers find the origins of the "making of Italian democracy" in this "Jacobin triennium."

But Italian Jacobinism ran into difficulty as early as 1797. Jacobins advocating the liberation and regeneration of Italy and humanity called for French evacuation of their country so that a revolution could proceed in a unified republic without foreign interference. Napoleon responded by repressing patriotic exponents and organizations. By 1798, leading Jacobins had flocked out of Lombardy, the radical center, admitting defeat by moving on to Rome and Naples.

The Early Republics

Practical developments in the various republics set up by the French reflected the badly divided Italian situation. The French government and, eventually, Napoleon lumped together as enemies the "reactionaries" who favored the old order and the "anarchistic" Jacobins arguing for radical change and Italian unity. Furthermore, the confusing rival claims of Italian cities and regions tried their patience, as did Italian attempts at independent policies designed to further patriotic aims. By now, the French were primarily interested in exacting payments from the Italians to help finance their wars, coercing the republics to raise their own armies for French ends, and taxing to pay for French forces stationed on Italian soil.

The French imposed moderate governments that would follow these policies. When the Cispadane Republic in the North proved unruly, Napoleon abolished it, reordered its territory, and established the Cisalpine Republic. The constitutions of this and the other republics reflected the French governmental setup: an executive consisting of five directors and a legislature composed of two houses elected by a restricted suffrage. Rigid administrative centralization was also imported from revolutionary France, and Napoleon personally named the highest officials. But he still faced fierce opposition from democrats influenced by French Jacobin ideals who demanded social justice measures such as price controls and progressive taxation.

In Milan, the heart of the Cisalpine Republic, the financial crisis caused by French exactions and Napoleon's hostility defeated advanced democratic demands, but a series of reforms paralleling those of the early French Revolution—the abolition of feudalism, tithes, and primogeniture; the confiscation of Church lands; the institution of civil matrimony; and the declaration of equality of men and women—were undertaken. As had happened in France, these measures generally favored the middle class and the peasants.

The more moderate southern Jacobins obtained fewer results. In Rome the Jacobins could operate primarily through their political clubs and newspapers, and in Naples the French quickly eliminated the more democratic leaders. Indeed, in Naples the failure to implement significant reforms beyond the abolition of primogeniture was disastrous for the Parthenopean Republic.

Counterrevolution

Because France's overly powerful position disrupted the balance of power, the European war resumed in 1799. The allies of the "Second Coalition" aimed to reduce French dominance in Italy. At the same time, French exactions, the plundering of wealth and artworks, the identification of Italian Jacobins as pro-French traitors, and revolutionary anticlericalism inflamed the common people. In addition, the reception accorded to French reforms was not uniform; in many circles they provoked cultural conflict, resentment, and resistance. These elements produced an explosion, at the same time popular and reactionary, against the French invaders and their Italian supporters.

This development had its most important manifestation in Naples. Proclaimed on January 22, 1799, the Parthenopean Republic moved rapidly to give Naples an administration of the French type, but it acted on a law that abolished feudalism only on April 25, when the peasants had already risen against it. This procrastination proved to be the republic's undoing.

In January, Cardinal Fabrizio Ruffo had already organized the Armata cristiana e reale, also called the Army of the Holy Faith (Sanfedista), to retake Naples. He landed in Calabria, and by playing upon the peasants' blind faith, loyalty to the king, and hatred of taxes, he provoked a mass uprising against the republic. The peasants' extraordinary marching song proclaimed themes that motivated them:

To the sound of the beating drum
Long live the little people;
To the sound of tambourines

the poor have risen.
To the sound of bells
long live the populace;
To the sound of violins
death to the Jacobins.
As for French revolutionary principles:
The French arrived
they taxed us;
Liberté . . . egalité
you rob me
I rob thee!

In April 1799, Austrian victories in Lombardy placed French forces in jeopardy, and they withdrew from Naples, leaving the Neapolitan Jacobins to fend for themselves. Ruffo marched north and took the capital after a heroic resistance. "Defenceless men, women, and children were butchered in hundreds by the lazzaroni [lower classes]," wrote historian R. M. Johnston. After resisting valiantly, the patriots signed a capitulation that guaranteed their lives. In July, however, King Ferdinand IV, pushed by Admiral Horatio Nelson of England and Queen Maria Carolina, unilaterally declared the agreement null and void. In a move condemned in all Europe, the restored government slaughtered the flower of the Neapolitan intelligentsia with a ruthlessness remembered to the present day.

The Neapolitan counterrevolution, the most famous incident of its kind, raises interesting questions and had important implications. The most important question is, why did the revolutionary government fail to achieve popular support? The answer seemingly lies in the failure to abolish the vestiges of feudalism quickly and the underestimation of the depth of popular feeling, but the skill with which Ruffo played upon peasant religious devotion and hatred of foreigners and high taxes was also important. According to the classic account of the counterrevolution by Vincenzo Cuoco, the intellectuals themselves concluded that the people were misled and that there existed "two peoples, divided by two different climates and two centuries of history." Also, "nowhere else has a monarch ever sentenced to prison, death, and exile prelates, gentlemen, generals, admirals, writers, scientists, poets, philosophers, jurists, and nobles—the intellectual and spiritual flower of the country." Revenge and a desire to decapitate future revolutions explain Ferdinand's action, but Nelson aimed to destroy French influence and guarantee future British dominance over Naples and its strategic ports—in addition to impressing his mistress.

Finally, what were the implications of the institution of a republic in Naples and of its dramatic fall? During the Parthenopean Republic's brief life, culture

flourished. In the *Monitore napoletano,* the major vehicle of intellectual discussion, Jacobins such as Eleonora De Fonseca Pimentel, one of the reaction's most illustrious victims, analyzed Neapolitan conditions and debated crucial reforms. The republicans also considered the fate of all Italy. In June 1799, in coordination with Italians from different parts of the peninsula, an appeal for the proclamation of a "single, indivisible, and independent Italian Republic" came to an unfriendly French Directory. Later declarations blamed its failure to endorse this goal as a reason for France's defeat in Italy.

Philosopher and historian Benedetto Croce stressed the importance of failed experiments with the nobility consecrated by tragic defeats as a prime motivating force in history. He argued that the massacre of the Neapolitan patriots had enduringly positive consequences for the peninsula. In the South, it "created a revolutionary tradition and education by example," and it forced the Neapolitan monarchy to rely upon the plebeian element, "transforming the Enlightened monarchy of Charles of Bourbon into the paupers' monarchy" that ended in 1860. It taught modern Italian liberals not to rely on the word of foreign governments. And, most important, it "planted the first seeds of Italian unity" by making Italians understand the need for a revolutionary movement based on the cooperation of the most "cultured" classes from all parts of Italy.

French-dominated northern Italy fell under a combined Austro-Russian assault in 1799, and elements similar to the Neapolitan counterrevolution could be discerned elsewhere, especially in Tuscany and Lombardy. Although some reforms of the early French Revolution were adopted, the Directory's Italian policy had failed. The French government's rapaciousness had alienated the people, and French hostility to the idea of Italian unification had diminished loyalty to France.

Napoleon in Italy

The Directory's domestic policies and its foreign failures produced the coup d'état of 18 Brumaire (November 9, 1799), which brought Napoleon Bonaparte to power in France. His Italian origins and his professed special interest in Italy hinted at support for its future unification. The French ruler had no intention of favoring independence, but his rhetoric reinforced the nationalist ideals of the French Revolution. In addition, by consolidating Italy into a few states, he brought together the former inhabitants of different political constituencies and provided them with the opportunity to work together. Along with French reforms, this development created a more efficient political class, one that was unattached to the old regimes and would play an important role in the early

PORTRAITS

ELEONORA DE FONSECA PIMENTEL

Poet and Martyr

Born in Rome on January 13, 1852, of noble Portuguese parents, Eleonora De Fonseca Pimentel moved with her family to Naples at age ten. She received an excellent education, studying Latin and Greek, and corresponded with the most important French and Italian writers of the age.

In 1778, Pimentel married a Neapolitan army officer in what turned out to be a very unhappy union. In 1779, she lost a son aged only eight months. Shortly afterwards, she lost an unborn baby because of a severe beating at the hands of her husband. She managed to separate from him in 1786.

In 1792, she came under the influence of French revolutionary ideas advocating liberty and progress for the lower classes. On October 5, 1798, the police arrested her, but she was liberated following the flight of the king and his court to Sicily in 1798.

In January 1799, Neapolitan Jacobins formed a republic; they did so to the verses of a poem Pimentel had composed in prison, "L'inno alla libertà" (The Hymn to Liberty). Pimentel was the most visible leader of the Neapolitan Republic during its brief existence, founding, editing, and writing for the *Monitore napoletano,* the most important, influential, and historically significant newspaper in Italy.

During the counterrevolution led by Cardinal Fabrizio Ruffo, Pimentel was among the rebels who agreed to surrender in return for their freedom and whom Ruffo betrayed. The government sentenced her to die by hanging and rejected her appeal to be beheaded instead of hanged because she did not belong to the Neapolitan nobility. They also turned down her request to have her skirts tied together so they would not open when her body hung in the air. She faced death with dignity, asking for a coffee before she went to her execution, which took place on August 20, 1799, and saying in Latin: "Perhaps, one day, it will be useful to remember all of this."

For a whole day, the authorities left her body hanging in Piazza Mercato while the crowd intoned, "Lady Eleonora . . . now dances in the Market," and thanked the "Holy Pope" for helping them defeat the Jacobins. Eleonora De Fonseca Pimentel's body was buried in a nearby church that was later torn down. Her remains were moved but, despite the best efforts of historians, have never been found.

Risorgimento. The increased economic opportunities created by wider markets and the experience of fighting in the same army under the same flag explains how the idea of Italian unity made a qualitative leap forward during the Napoleonic period. In fact, creation of an Italian army, even if primarily used as an instrument of French expansionism, favored Italian nationalism by being directed against the Austrians.

Prudent historians, however, will consider the negative aspects as well. Despite the existence of native states that struggled to formulate independent policies, the peninsula remained a conquered land that had a subordinate place in Napoleon's schemes of empire. The need to subsidize French military costs and the "Continental System," which favored French industry, limited economic opportunities. And though armies may convey a feeling of national glory, the draft, the expenses, the casualties, and the recognition that Italian soldiers were fighting for foreign aims caused resentment.

After taking power, Napoleon addressed foreign affairs. He defeated Austria in the Battle of Marengo in northern Italy on June 14, 1800; further victories produced the Treaty of Lunéville with Austria (February 9, 1801), which recognized French dominance on the peninsula. Thereafter, until his fall, Napoleon retained control of Italy, except for the islands of Sicily and Sardinia, where the exiled kings of Naples and Piedmont remained under British protection.

Napoleon's territorial reorganization of the peninsula occurred in two phases, from 1800 to 1802 and from 1805 to 1809. Practical considerations concerning the empire as a whole, not continuity in Napoleon's thought or action toward Italians, dictated the changes. At first, Napoleon reestablished the old republics, then reorganized them into the Italian Republic and named himself president. As usual, the French-dominated states reflected French governmental organization and became kingdoms after Napoleon declared himself emperor in 1804. Increasing tension marked Napoleon's relationship with the pope. In 1803, Napoleon and the pope signed a concordat that regulated relations between France and the Church, but Napoleon quickly moved to take control of Church affairs. In 1804, Napoleon invited the pope to crown him emperor, but then crowned himself. In Italy, relations were strained by an intense cultural struggle between Pius VII and the emperor, leading to a famous quarrel between the two and to the pope's arrest. By 1809, Napoleonic Italy had taken its final form, with the Kingdom of Italy in the North, the Kingdom of Naples in the South, and large areas (including Piedmont and the city of Rome) ruled directly as parts of imperial France.

The Italian Republic and the Kingdom of Italy

Following an abortive attempt at reviving the Cisalpine Republic, Napoleon created the Italian Republic in the North (1802). Once again, the republic's constitution paralleled the French Constitution imposed by Napoleon and reserved all power to him. Napoleon made himself president of the new republic, but chose as his vice president Francesco Melzi d'Eril, a prominent Milanese patrician of