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Introduction

The Disciplines of the Arts and Sciences in Naples: Medieval, Early Modern, Contemporary

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Historical amnesia and false comparisons with the history of northern Italy cloud our view of the history of Naples and southern Italy. News headlines of Southern crises from poverty, unemployment, garbage, crime, and violence distort our view back in time so that in the recent celebration of the 150th anniversary of Italian Unification, misguided voices were heard still scapegoating the fatal flaw of including the South in the project of national unification. In 1961, when Rosario Villari first published *Il Sud nella storia d'Italia*, this 777-page “anthology on the Southern Question” contained 50 selections taken from tracts beginning with the Neapolitan Enlightenment reformers (Antonio Genovesi, Gaetano Filangieri, Ferdinando Galiani, and Giuseppe Maria Galanti, who had established the prehistory of such problems as the land, the distinction between city and countryside, earthquakes, and emigration) and ending with contemporary thinkers at the time of the book’s publication (Manlio Rossi-Doria, Emilio Sereni, and Antonio Giolitti, who “examined and confronted the *questione meridionale* in the context of the political and economic development of our country from 1860 to today”).¹ The origins of the attendant stereotype of southern Italian backwardness and decadence has received recent analysis in terms of “Italian Culture and the Southern Question” in Nelson Moe’s fine book of 2002.² The purpose of this special issue of *California Italian Studies* is not to return to the debate on the Southern Question, but rather to examine the history of Naples on its own terms over the long thousand years from the Middle Ages to the present in order to emphasize Naples’ integral participation in and contributions to the history of Italian culture and society. This society and culture shared the common inheritance of Latin language, Roman law, ancient Roman history, papal Roman religion, and the Mediterranean landscape of plains, hills, and mountains across the Italian peninsula.

California Italian Studies’ commitment to interdisciplinarity, comparativity, and criticality is an antidote against anachronism. *CIS* finds the exemplary case of Naples as a cultural center in multiple fields across the centuries an appropriate object of study to recover our historical memory and reignite our cultural imagination.

1 Rosario Villari, ed., *Il Sud nella storia d'Italia: antologia della questione meridionale* (Bari: Editori Laterza, 1961), v.

2 Nelson Moe, *The View from Vesuvius: Italian Culture and the Southern Question* (Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002).

In prison in Naples' Castel Nuovo in 1602, Tommaso Campanella first composed his utopia, *La Città del Sole*, in Italian; it was published only later in Latin translation at Frankfurt in 1623 and again at Paris in 1637.⁴ This “poetical dialogue” between a Genoese apprentice sailor of Columbus and a Knight of Malta describes an idealized “City of the Sun” with a unique system of public education, which teaches its citizens the arts and sciences “without effort, merely while playing,” so that “their children come to know all the sciences pictorially before they are ten years old.”⁵ The city's circuits of walls, which separate the city into seven level areas set in ascending order one above the other on a hill, are used as open books for all to see and study. Paintings on the outside and inside of the city walls illustrate an encyclopedia of knowledge on nature and the liberal and mechanical arts. As one enters the city, one proceeds past representations of the founders of the laws and sciences; the mechanical arts; animals large and small; vegetation; natural and man-made liquids; minerals and stones; a map of the world with charts of each country's rites, customs, laws, and alphabet; all mathematical and geometrical figures; and a temple with outer walls of the planets and the stars.⁶ This open-air educational project is overseen by one of the city's prince-magistrates, called Wisdom, who “has charge of all the sciences and of all the doctors and masters of the liberal and mechanical arts.”⁷

In that same year 1602, Giulio Cesare Capaccio, an erudite member of the humanist literary-historian circle in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Naples, was appointed secretary of the city of Naples.⁸ His most famous work, the posthumous dialogue *Il Forastiero*, published in 1634, was also an encomium praising a “famous city which was envied by all the other most famous cities of Europe.”⁹ With the arrival of a curious Foreigner visiting Naples, a very well informed Citizen native to Naples and learned in its legend and lore, laws and customs, rites and rituals, and antiquities and histories takes it upon himself to act as cicerone for a ten-day tour through a guide-book less concerned with monuments and more with moral and political philosophy. In the very first day upon their meeting, the second speech of the Forastiero flatters our Neapolitan Citizen guide as being “a virtuoso in all the disciplines” and in his next short

3 The idea that teaching the moral virtues makes good citizens was a commonplace of the Humanist education program. Paul Gehl, *A Moral Art: Grammar, Society, and Culture in Trecento Florence* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), in his study of childhood language instruction in Florence from 1260/70 to the 1390s, argues that the Humanist tradition had its roots in medieval urban legalist and rhetorical traditions, with links back to the teaching of grammar in monastic settings such as at Monte Cassino, for the purpose of moral education. Instruction in Latin grammar inculcated values in addition to vocabulary and rules: “*Grammatica* [the first of the liberal arts] . . . was not aimed primarily at the mastery of language skills but rather at the transformation of the inner man” (p. 106).

4 Tommaso Campanella, *La Città del Sole: Dialogo Poetico/The City of the Sun: A Poetical Dialogue*, trans. Daniel J. Donno (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 19-20. The original Italian text circulated in manuscript, but the first printed Italian version published in 1836 was a translation from the Latin. The first critical Italian edition based on eleven extant manuscripts did not appear until 1941 and was updated after consultation with four additional extant manuscripts in 1949. See also, Margherita Palumbo, *La Città del Sole. Bibliografia delle edizioni* (Pisa-Rome: Istituti editoriali e poligrafici internazionali, 2004).

5 Campanella, *La Città del Sole*, 37. See also, Germana Ernst, *The Book and the Body of Nature*, trans. David L. Marshall (Dordrecht: Springer, 2010), 97-99.

6 Campanella, *La Città del Sole*, 32-37.

7 *Ibid.*, 33.

8 Salvatore Nigro, “Capaccio, Giulio Cesare,” *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 18: 374-80 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1960-).

9 Giulio Cesare Capaccio, *Il Forastiero* (Naples: Gio. Domenico Roncagliolo, 1634), 1.

interrogative request asks “who are the most virtuosi Neapolitans.”¹⁰ The dialogue then catalogues the many distinguished Neapolitans and numerous disciplines in which they excel, not only from ancient times but into the present.¹¹ Whether in poetry, oratory, music, or philosophy, Naples has been called “Mother of Studies.”¹² In Latin and vernacular poetry as well as the principles of nature, the Neapolitans are illustrious. Even Neapolitan women receive the highest praise for writing poetry. Whether in epic, lyric, or tragic poetry, Neapolitan poets such as Giovan Battista Basile and Giovan Battista Marino “have fame throughout all of Europe.”¹³ The same is true in music and painting, law and medicine, philosophy and theology. For Capaccio, Naples was not only home to virtuosi—individuals with the most outstanding technical skills in the arts and sciences—but these virtuosi were also exemplars of the highest *virtù*.¹⁴ “All the virtues of the world, you have here in Naples; there is no need to search for them elsewhere.”¹⁵ Naples, a model City of the Sun, was a school for the arts and sciences because they provided moral instruction for its citizens.

The cultural world of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Naples did not exist and develop in a vacuum, but reflected the stability of the sixteenth-century Pax Hispanica in Italy and the prestige of being the largest city in the Spanish Empire. Beginning in the late sixteenth century, however, crop failures after 1585 and famine 1590-1593, bank failures in the 1590s, and the devastation of wool, cheese, and meat production from the death of 69 percent of the sheep wintering in Puglia in the harsh weather of 1611/1612 shook the economic and fiscal foundation of the Kingdom.¹⁶ Spanish Naples was also threatened by the changing European political situation—instability in the papacy with five popes in less than a year and one-half between August 1590 and January 1592, the recovery of France under Henry IV after he took Paris in 1593 and his coronation in 1594, the Ottoman westward expansion with the capture of the last imperial fortress at Bihac on Croatia’s Una River in 1592 and the invasion of Hungary in 1593, and the political transition in the Spanish Empire itself after the long reign of Philip II with his death in 1598.¹⁷ Millennial visions at the end of the century were a prelude to the coming Thirty Years’ War and seventeenth-century crisis. At the same time, the cultural sphere in Naples was also reaching its apogee in the first half of the seventeenth-century, before the sharp decline in mid-century following the fiscal squeeze of the 1630s and 1640s, the 1647 revolt of Masaniello, and the plague of 1656. Being at the high point of the economic growth cycle and Spanish power in Italy before the decline and restructuring of the seventeenth-century crisis, the early seventeenth century is a good vantage point to look backward and forward in time on the material and cultural world of Naples.¹⁸

10 *Ibid.*, 2.

11 *Ibid.*, 2-7.

12 *Ibid.*, 3

13 *Ibid.*, 4.

14 The concept of *virtù* and the its adjectival form *virtuosi* (which as a noun means “those who have *virtù*”) carries the multivalent meaning employed by Machiavelli of “action involving both mind and body,” thus, capacity, strategy, virtue, courage, power, efficacy, qualities, strength, talent, resources, capability, or ingenuity. See Mark Musa, “Introduction,” in *Machiavelli’s The Prince. A Bilingual Edition*, trans. and ed. Mark Musa (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1964), xv.

15 *Ibid.*, 7.

16 Peter Burke, “Southern Italy in the 1590s: Hard Times or Crisis?” in *The European Crisis of the 1590s: Essays in Comparative History*, ed. Peter Clark (London: Allen and Unwin, 1985), 177-190.

17 John A. Marino, “An Anti-Campanellan Vision on the Spanish Monarchy and the Crisis of 1595,” in *A Renaissance of Conflicts: Visions and Revisions of Law and Society in Italy and Spain*, ed. John A. Marino and Thomas Kuehn (Toronto: University of Toronto Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2004), 367-393.

The Disciplines of the Arts and Sciences in Naples

As the call for this thematic issue emphasizes, the disciplines of the arts and sciences should be understood as branches of knowledge that organize and foster theory and practices (including aesthetic practices) both inside and outside formal institutions. They constitute the ideas and methods that structure, define, inspire, and limit knowledge systems (from the Latin *scientia* or knowledge) and the production of art (from the Latin *ars* or skill) as much as they anathematize dissent and punish deviance. The goal of this thematic issue is, then, to recapture the people, ideas, problems, and possibilities of the city of Naples from the Middle Ages to the present in order to resituate Naples in the larger cultural history of Italy and Europe in general and to trace the transition from medieval to early modern to contemporary forms of representation, expression, and experience.

What we see most clearly in the production of knowledge and creativity in the arts and sciences in Naples are continuities and change in the patterns of patronage, emphasis and de-emphasis in the various disciplines, and the central place of learning, language, and culture in Neapolitan history and the history of Italy. Latin learning still held sway in university education and the professions of law, medicine, and theology in 1600; but throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Latin continued to lose ground as philosophical concepts and major literary works found their expression more and more in the vernacular and outside the university.

In classical Latin, the word *disciplina* carried the multivalent meanings of the practice or exercise by a disciple as opposed to doctrine or abstract theory, from its etymology as teaching or learning for the *discipulus* (pupil); the object of instruction; a particular field of knowledge; and a custom or habit.¹⁹ The word and its meanings were easily carried over to Italian and Middle English in the late thirteenth century.²⁰ This practice of learning or teaching was extended to mean the fields or branches of knowledge themselves; training that corrects, molds, or perfects one's mental or moral character; the orderly conduct and actions resulting from such training; a rule or system of rules governing conduct or activity; the control or force applied to facilitate compliance and order; and by the fifteenth century, the correction or punishment used in the method of teaching and learning.

This last definition of discipline and punish,²¹ especially under monarchical rule, makes the seventeenth-century painting attributed to Carlo Coppola of the former twelfth-century Norman Castel Capuano a perfect icon for the theme of this issue (**Fig. 1**). Castel Capuano had previously been one of the city's royal palaces (residence of Alfonso d'Aragona duke of Calabria and home to Charles V during his 1535/1536 winter in Naples) and became under Spanish rule the palace of civil and criminal justice with its council chambers, law courts, and subterranean jail. When Viceroy Pedro de Toledo began the reform and consolidation of the kingdom's judiciary in 1537, he commissioned the remodeling of the Castel Capuano. It was dedicated in

18 See "AHR Forum: The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century Revisited," *American Historical Review* 113: 4 (October 2008): 1029-1099.

19 In Latin, "disciplina," in Charlton T. Lewis; Charles Short [1879], *A Latin Dictionary; Founded on Andrews' edition of Freund's Latin dictionary* (Oxford: Trustees of Tufts University). <http://artflx.uchicago.edu/cgi-bin/philologic/getobject.pl?c.3:1923.lewisandshort>, accessed 12/09/12.

20 In Italian, "disciplina," in *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana. Fondato da Salvatore Battaglia*, 9 vols. (Turin: Unione tipografico-editrice torinese, 1961), 4: 604-607. In English, "discipline," in *The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971): 1: 415-416.

21 Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1977) is the most famous reference to the later changes wrought by technology on torture and incarceration.

1540 as the Vicaria, a palace of justice for the recently moved and centralized fiscal and judicial tribunals of Spanish government in Naples—the Sacro Regio Consiglio (the supreme court), the Regia Camera della Sommaria (the council overseeing the treasury and finances), the Gran Corte Civile e Criminale della Vicaria (the judiciary court of appeals), the Tribunale della Zecca (jurisdiction over the mint, weights, and measures), and the Tribunale della Bagliva (the court for minor crimes).²² The image of the imposing institutional palace with its double-headed imperial eagle on the façade over the main entrance looms ominously behind a figure being tortured by strappado above on the right, five empty gallows along the base of the building on the left, and a large public square filled with the bustling activity of three vendor's stalls and open tables, some thirteen carriages, three sedan chairs, and groups of people milling about. The juxtaposition of order and confusion, high and low, rich and poor, prosecutors and plaintiffs, street hawkers and window gawkers, bowing magistrates and begging cripples, soldiers and prisoners, and criminals and punishment captures the extremes and the banality of daily life in the early modern city. Viceregal power and legal structures impose their discipline by arms and by laws over a freethinking city in the censorship of its inhabitants' circles of intellectual ferment.



Fig. 1. Attributed to Ascanio Luciani or Carlo Coppola, *Castel Capuano or Il Tribunale della Vicaria* (17th century). Napoli, Museo di San Martino.

²² On the judicial reform, see Carlos José Hernando Sánchez, *Castilla y Nápoles en el siglo XVI. El Virrey Pedro de Toledo* (Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, Consejería de Cultura y Turismo, 1994), 228-41.

The study of Naples is an active field of research. This thematic issue of CIS Volume 3, Issue 1, is the first of three new collections of essays on Naples that will be published in English within the year. A topical overview synthesizing the state of contemporary knowledge edited by Tommaso Astarita, to be published in 2013, provides a survey of the current state of knowledge with twenty essays on a wide range of topics in early modern Neapolitan history.²³ A historiographic volume with ten essays on the interpretive tradition in Neapolitan history and art, edited by Melissa Calaresu and Helen Hills, will also be published in 2013.²⁴ The intellectual excitement and Neapolitan network generated in all three of these collections reflects the continuing engagement of scholars in this regional sub-field of Italian Studies.

The present collection of twenty-six research articles on the disciplines of the arts and sciences in Naples focuses on specialized questions relating to the underlying themes of innovation and identity formation in Naples.²⁵ The volume is divided chronologically into three parts in order to focus on common structures and identify change across time by moving from the formative forging of identity in Medieval and Renaissance Naples (Part One), to Early Modern Naples' construction of images and representation of realities in scientific Academies and the Baroque aesthetic through Enlightenment reform and the period of the Grand Tour (Part Two), to modern and contemporary Naples' blurring of fiction and non-fiction on stage and in print from the early Belle Époque in post-Unification Italy through Fascism and post-World War II reconstruction to the first decade of the twenty-first century.

The essays in this volume could also be read thematically according to their disciplines or fields of theoretical knowledge (sciences) or practical skill (arts), such as language, literature, history, philosophy, political theory, and art (painting, sculpture, and architecture). With this thematic perspective, the early seventeenth-century literary world once again grabs our attention as a midpoint for reflection back and forth in time by employing the classical trope of a visit to the home of the gods of creativity and the arts in order to muse upon poetic traditions, contemporary exemplars, and future aesthetics in works such as Giulio Cesare Cortese's 1621 *Viaggio di Parnaso* and Basile's 1630 *Monte di Parnaso*.²⁶ Thus, Apollo and the Muses judge contemporary Neapolitan poets and literati harshly for their decadent plagiarism and mannered rhetoric in Cortese and praise the great tradition of Neapolitan arts and learning in Basile.

23 *A Companion to Early Modern Naples*, ed. Tommaso Astarita (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

24 *New Approaches to Naples, c.1500-1800: The Power of Place*, eds. Melissa Calaresu and Helen Hills (Farnham, Surrey [England]: Ashgate, 2013). These essays are the fruit of three conferences organized in 2009 in England (two at the University of Cambridge and one at the University of York): "Exoticizing Vesuvius? The historical and intellectual formation of Neapolitan historiography"; "Topography and Piety: Naples Afflicted"; and "Objects of Collecting in Naples and Naples as Object of Collecting."

25 Twelve of the articles had their beginnings in two conferences in 2010. We would like to thank all the participants who delivered papers and gave comments as well as our hosts at UCLA's Clark Library and the RSA in Venice: "The Arts and Sciences in Naples: Discovering the Past, Inventing the Future" at the UCLA Center for Seventeenth- & Eighteenth-Century Studies and the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library; and "The Neapolitan Renaissance" in six panels at the Renaissance Society of America Annual Meeting in Venice, Italy.

26 Giulio Cesare Cortese, *Viaggio di Parnaso: poema* (Venice: per Nicolò Misserini, 1621); and Giambattista Basile, *Monte Parnaso. Mascarata da Cavalieri Napoletani* (Naples: n.p., 1630).

I. Medieval and Renaissance Naples: Forging Neapolitan Identity through History, Literature, Philosophy, and Art

It is most appropriate that the first three essays in Part I on medieval and Renaissance Naples concern the role of patronage in cultural transmission through language and art, with links that can be traced back from the tenth century to the Lombard Duchy of Benevento at the time of Charlemagne, with deep roots in French and Provençal under Angevin rule, and in the cult and frescoes of the Angevin patron-protectress Mary Magdalen. Alessandra Perriccioli's essay, "Un modello beneventano per il Virgilio altomedievale di Napoli," discusses the hypothesis that evidence in the oldest Beneventan manuscript of Virgil's works (a mid-tenth-century manuscript of the *Aeneid* now in the National Library in Naples, and once belonging to Teodora, the wife of the Byzantine duke of Naples, Giovanni III, around 951), suggests its derivation from an earlier exemplar. Similarity between the tenth-century manuscript's drawings and rare extant eighth-century frescoes in the church of Santa Sofia in Benevento points to an intermediate exemplar that could have been written and illuminated in the second half of the eighth century for the wife of duke Arechi II, Adelperga, who was a pupil of Paul the Deacon and a patron of culture. The two-century line back from Teodora's copy to the cultural patronage of Adelperga and this lost exemplar, reinforces our understanding of the important role of women in art and learning from the time of the early successor states of Rome in Italy, the unifying thread running through this essay.

Angevin rule in Naples (1266-1442) was gained and maintained through the intervention of the pope and with the support of the Guelph orbit in Italy. A papal grant in 1262 gave the Kingdom of Sicily to Charles of Anjou, who established his dynasty by conquest in 1266 after the defeat of Manfred, the natural son of Frederick II, at Benevento, and moved the capital from Palermo to Naples. Charles I (r. 1266-1285) and his successors patronized Latin and French culture in Naples through the dynasty's two-century reign. Nicola De Blasi, "Storia urbana e innovazioni lessicali a Napoli in epoca angioina," provides numerous examples of the influence of French and Provençal language in Angevin Naples. After considering the *Neapolitan Letter* by Giovanni Boccaccio, he traces words in one of the most important literary texts of the Angevin period, the *Libro de la destructione de Troya*, to establish influence on Neapolitan dialect through phonetics, suffixes, and everyday speech. This diffusion of French and Provençal language and culture into Neapolitan language and thought over two centuries provides an interesting insight into the relationship between the history of language (internal history) and cultural history (external history). Many of these words and ideas disappeared with the passing away of Angevin Naples' medieval knightly and military culture, but recovering their use in texts and speech reveals much about the habits and times before, during, and after their use. Likewise, the article by Sarah Wilkins on "Imaging the Angevin Patron Saint: Mary Magdalen in the Pipino Chapel in Naples," offers important insights on Angevin identity and its insertion into Neapolitan culture, here through patronage and art. After the 25-year old prince Charles (the son of Charles I and the future Charles II [r. 1285-1309]) discovered what was purported to be the body of Mary Magdalen in Provence in 1279, the Magdalen soon became the venerated protectress of the Angevin family and state. Three extant Magdalen cycles are located in Naples: the Magdalen Chapel in S. Lorenzo Maggiore (1295), the so-called Brancaccio Chapel in S. Domenico Maggiore (1308-1309), and the Pipino Chapel in S. Pietro a Maiella (1340s or before 1354). The Pipino Chapel cycle presents the most complex case for Angevin authority in Naples with its

emphasis on the legendary life of Mary Magdalen, her links to Provence, and her protection of the Angevin dynasty. The chapel's frescoes show how much their unknown patron not only pledged allegiance to the Angevins, but was also clearly committed both to the propagation of the Magdalen cult and the promotion of the Angevins. The Pipino Chapel makes Mary Magdalen a virtual member of the House of Anjou by anointing her the *de facto* founder of their dynasty and declaring that the ancestral saint guaranteed their sacred right to kingship in Naples. Language, art, and patronage of the religious cult of the Magdalen were the public vehicles of Angevin propaganda to establish their sacred lineage and their legitimacy to secular authority.

Not unlike the Angevin kings, who needed to legitimate their authority in their new capital of Naples, the young Boccaccio, who resided in Naples as a Florentine apprentice at the Bardi bank from 1327-1340/41, needed to establish his legitimate authority as a poet. Poetic authority consisted of authenticity, veracity, and a poetic genealogy. Boccaccio's education and his turn from accounting to poetry between the ages of fourteen and twenty-seven in the milieu of the Angevin court in Naples is captured in the next two essays. Giancarlo Alfano's "The Image of Naples and the Foundation of Poetry in Boccaccio's Early Works" demonstrates how Boccaccio placed himself in a Neapolitan landscape and topography as a descendent of a great poetic tradition. Alfano examines the site and image of Naples in Boccaccio's early works to show how the equation of landscape/gardens/tranquility and love/peace/chivalry are transposed from the hills and valleys of the countryside to the streets and squares of the city. Boccaccio authorizes himself as a descendant of Virgil, whose tomb rests outside Naples. Virgil's tomb becomes a sustained point of reference for the burial sites of other poets and legitimates the world outside the city gates. This suspension of the opposition of city and countryside opens up the whole of the Campi Flegrei and the Bay of Naples as part of the idealized city constructed in Boccaccio's writings. This fictional "city of paper" was conceived in the milieu of the Angevin court and employs the chivalric ideal of courtesy to make space and time, literature and love, landscape and poetry converge as one. Concetta Di Franza's "Modelli scolastici nel Boccaccio napoletano" shows how the formal logical-dialectical method of scholastic disputation studied in Naples was the rhetorical means by which Boccaccio establishes poetic truth. Boccaccio appropriates the scholastic *disputatio*—insofar as its goal is persuasion through the dramatic presentation of an intellectual dual—as the basis for his narrative strategy. He thus infuses his stories with scholastic language and techniques to create an aura of authenticity, to present diverse points of view, and to play with ambiguities in the service of finding hidden meanings and underlying truths. The culture of Angevin Naples in its unique sites and landscape, in its connection with the ancient poets and saints, as a repository of university learning, and with its chivalric traditions of love and arms presents itself as the seedbed for literary and artistic authority for medieval Naples and beyond.

History as a genre, especially vernacular history, also has a formative place in Angevin Naples. Samantha Kelly adds a chapter to her recent critical edition of the *Cronaca di Partenope* and its influence up to 1490 with an essay on its impact on early modern Neapolitan historiography through the seventeenth century.²⁷ The *Cronaca*, one of the earliest works in the Neapolitan vernacular, presents the first comprehensive civic history of Naples from its ancient founding to 1343. The first two parts of the *Cronaca* were composed 1348-1350 by Bartolomeo Caracciolo-Carafa; an enlarged *Cronaca* was printed three times (1486-90, 1526, and 1680). It had a significant impact both on forming the genre of long-term histories of the city and on

27 Samantha Kelly, *The Cronaca di Partenope: An Introduction to and Critical Edition of the First Vernacular History of Naples (c. 1350)* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

shaping the interpretive assumptions which drove such histories. Kelly traces the prehistory of early modern Neapolitan historiography, explains the complicated relationship between manuscript traditions and printed texts, and, through an exposition of their commonalities, explodes the myth of difference between “foreign” and “native” histories and between “amateur”/“unofficial” and “professional”/“official” histories of Naples. Kelly demonstrates how this medieval text was mined and manipulated to fit the interpretations and interests of later historians as they rewrote and reinvented the history of Naples. From its recounting of founding myths, heroic legends, military prowess, saints’ miracles, sacred spaces, independence from Rome, noble heritage, and royal lineages, the *Cronaca* established the ideological core and the broad parameters of Neapolitan interests and identity as a civic tradition at the center of a kingdom-wide history.

Four articles draw our attention to the second half of the fifteenth century and the humanist movement within the newly established Aragonese court (1442-1503), especially the contributions and persona of Giovanni Pontano, the key figure in the second generation of Neapolitan humanists. Matthias Roick contributes to our understanding of “the beginnings of Neapolitan Humanism” in two ways by addressing the question in a historiographically informed and nuanced essay. First, he clears the field of past misconceptions and argues in the vein of much current scholarship on the Italian South that paradigms imported from the Florentine Renaissance and the Northern Italian communes distort the history of Naples, which must be studied on its own terms. Roick then argues that Neapolitan humanism did not arise out of a commonly shared approach to philosophical questions, but rather that it developed out of disputation and intellectual conflict among its resident humanists and their often polemical relationship with the humanist movement as a whole. Roick examines some of these controversies involving the first generation of humanists at court (Antonio Beccadelli [1394-1471], known as Panormita; Bartolomeo Facio [c. 1400-1457]; and Lorenzo Valla [c. 1405-1457]) and traces their influence on Pontano (1428-1503). With Pontano, Neapolitan humanism adopted a renewed Latin philosophy based on Aristotle.

Guido Cappelli analyzes Book IV of Pontano’s *De obedientia* (1470) as one of the foundational texts of political humanism. In support of the Aragonese monarchy in Naples, Pontano employs the ancient metaphor of government based on the representation of society as an organic body with the king as its head and each member performing their assigned task.²⁸ Pontano sustains monarchy as the best form of government because this organic *unitas* of the body insures that each part functions for the whole and makes the concept of obedience a matter of nature and reason. Consequently, the related virtues of *liberalitas* and *fides* are expressed in loyalty to the sovereign and to the homeland. Thus, the construction of the humanist state is founded on the stability and cohesiveness of the rule of the prince according to the political theory of Aristotle and Cicero and the lessons of Roman law.

Bianca de Divitiis makes some observations on “Inscriptions and Artistic Authorship in the Pontano Chapel” in Naples. Built between 1490 and 1492 along the *decumanus maior* (Via Tribunale) as a monument after the death of his wife, the chapel became a mausoleum for Pontano and his family. De Divitiis argues that Pontano himself was the chapel’s architect and that his repeated signing of the pavement of the chapel with an unequivocal PONTANUS FECIT is the key to understanding the building and its builder. Pontano’s study of the use of signatures in antiquity and his exact quotation from Pliny’s preface to the first book of the *Naturalis*

28 On the tradition of the metaphor of the political body, see Ottavia Niccoli, “Images of Society,” in *Early Modern History and the Social Sciences: Testing the Limits of Braudel’s Mediterranean*, ed. John A. Marino (Kirkville, MO: Truman State University Press, Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies, v. 61, 2002), 108-111.

Historia shows both his humanist learning of an ancient tradition and his interest in providing instruction for the artistic culture of his time. Pontano identifies himself as both author and patron of the chapel, and asserts his judgment on the building's perfection.

Joana Barreto studies all known portraits of Giovanni Pontano and Jacopo Sannazaro, two humanists closely allied with the Aragonese court in Naples, in order to understand the genre of portraiture as it developed in principalities as opposed to republics. The iconography of portraits in royal courts was determined by conventions appropriate to the royals, but non-nobles by right of their artistic or poetic ability might partake of this privilege in some way within and outside these codes.

Diana Robin's provocatively titled essay on "The Breasts of Vittoria Colonna," takes us to Ischia in the Bay of Naples at the time of the Sack of Rome and engages with the problem of the forging of identity. Robin provides a reevaluation of the dominant image of the poet-widow Vittoria Colonna as a "secular nun," a penitential figure who was devoted to the memory of her late husband, Ferrante Francesco d'Avalos, and to her faith. The starting point for this reconstruction of Colonna is Paolo Giovio's Latin dialogue *De viris ac foeminis aetate nostra florentibus*, as presented in Kenneth Gouwens' translation and edition, the first in English. In Giovio's verbal portrait of Colonna's face and body, with accompanying praise of the host d'Avalos family, we see the playful spirit and amusing creativity in this Ischia literary circle. A more nuanced and lively Vittoria Colonna emerges in Giovio's panegyric of the ideal elite woman, who was a worldly, pleasure-loving participant in the elegant setting and entertaining pastimes of mixed company, court society feasting, dancing, conversation, and story-telling.

Sonia Scognamiglio's essay examines the sumptuary laws, dress, and the idea of luxury as they apply to the Neapolitan elite in the sixteenth century. Scognamiglio begins with a juridical and politico-institutional analysis of sumptuary laws in order to understand the aesthetic codes and social mentality of elite dress against the backdrop of war and in the context of Charles V's and Philip II's near century-long reign in Naples. Sources are drawn from archival inventories, contemporary chronicles, literature, portraits, sculptures, and other visual evidence. The interplay between the Church and state, French and Spanish fashion, black and colored garments are discussed in a comparative frame to see how the external person reflects the internal self. As in all of the essays in Part I, the central theme of the creation and representation of identity for individuals in and around Naples and for the city itself comes to the fore.

II. Early Modern Naples: Image/Realities from Scientific Academies and the Baroque to Enlightenment and the Grand Tour

Knowledge (*scientia*) was still a unified subject into the seventeenth-century; philosophers and scholars studied both nature (natural philosophy) and artificial, man-made things (arts). Learned men were students and practitioners of what we would call both the arts and the sciences, and they congregated in academies to share their knowledge. The first four essays in Part II examine these academies, their academician scholars and literati. The ambiguities of an animated society and culture warring between the traditions of the ancients and the novelties of the moderns are highlighted under Spanish rule.

Giambattista Della Porta (1535-1615) is a perfect example of the master of this unified practice of *scientia*. His writings on Natural Magic and Physiognomy went hand in hand with

some seventeen successful works for the theater. Sergius Kodera's essay emphasizes Della Porta as a "master of secrets" and how his plays offered the opportunity to dramatize his natural philosophy. With contemporary political and religious details as the setting of his dramas, Della Porta sought a unified presentation of the literary and philosophical worlds.

Lorenza Gianfrancesco, a member of the research project on Italian Academies at the British Library/Royal Holloway, provides a broad overview of Neapolitan academies in the context of the intellectual milieu of the city. Discussions and disputations ranged from literature to science, from politics to religion, and from court life to public events. Academies commissioned performances of literary works and of scientific experiments, published books, orchestrated religious celebrations and public ceremonies, promulgated political and religious propaganda, exchanged information with other academies inside and outside of Italy, hosted visiting academicians from other cities and countries, and promoted new ideas and knowledge in science, literature, and the visual arts.

Nancy Canepa's study of Giulio Cesare Cortese lets us see everyday life and popular culture in Naples beyond the rarified world of elites and intellectuals. In his mock-heroic poems *La Vaiasseide* (The Epic of the Servant Girls, 1612) and *Micco Passaro 'nnammorato* (Micco Passaro in Love, 1619), this founding father of the Neapolitan tradition of dialect literature shows why he was a leader in early Neapolitan experiments with language, genre, and representation. Nothing is sacred or hidden here in the satiric assault on high culture and the exploration of alternate paradigms of decorum. The invention of a new literary tradition documented and described in proto-ethnographic fashion an alternate reality to official culture and helped to create the effervescent cultural identity of the Baroque city.

The novel *Successi di Eumolpione* (Naples, 1678) is examined in Corinna Onelli's study of society and culture in late-seventeenth-century Naples. The novel satirizes its model Petronius' *Satyricon*, the genre itself, and the exponents of Lucretian Epicureanism in Naples. It had three main contemporary targets: the Academy of the Investiganti in the person of one of its founders, Leonardo Di Capua; the academy's support of atomism and experimentation; and the rule and decadent, pleasure-seeking life of the Viceroy Marchese di Astorga (1672-1675).

Three art historical essays draw us into the experience of the Baroque aesthetic and the material life of artistic patronage and production. Helen Hills attempts to explain the human experience of viewing and being immersed in Baroque architecture from the period eye, not the rationalist description of architecture as the representation or actualization of an idea but rather as sensual, affective, and emotive response.²⁹ Hers is an art history not external to the object of study, but rather an art history inside and engaged with the materiality of the object through the senses. To describe what leaves viewers speechless and how it does that is the goal of her study of the Treasury Chapel of San Gennaro in the Naples Duomo. Nick Napoli focuses on a different kind of materiality and immateriality, the legal contract and one's reliance on faith or trust. Archival sources preserve the payments and contracts of artists—painters, sculptors, architects, embroiderers, and silversmiths—engaged in the massive building and decoration campaigns of seventeenth-century Neapolitan churches in quantity and detail greater than any other industry or occupation. The records of the Carthusian monastery of the Certosa di San Martino regarding the artist contracts of Giovanni Battista Caracciolo, Jusepe De Ribera, and Cosimo Fanzago are here employed to interrogate the unspoken exchange of promised obligations. Following the philosophical concept of trust in exchange by Paolo Mattia Doria and the early modern contract theory of the Neapolitan lawyer Giovanni Battista De Luca, this bond between patron and client

29 See Helen Hills, ed., *Rethinking the Baroque* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2011).

is tested in the real world, especially in a forty-year law suit (1660-1700) between the Carthusians and the leading sculptor-architect in Naples, Cosimo Fanzago. Finally, art historian Silvana Musella Guida takes materiality in another direction in her study of “The Business Organization of the Bourbon Factories,” the Capodimonte porcelain works (1740-1759) and the textile production of the Royal Silk Factory at San Leucio (1789-1860). The applied arts in Naples under the Bourbon monarchy in the eighteenth century offer a wealth of objects for consideration and admiration. Understanding the production of these objects helps us appreciate the systematic innovation in organization and production strategies adopted to accommodate the changing technologies of the factory system. For the Neapolitan economic thinkers of the eighteenth century, developing manufacturing and establishing and maintaining commerce would create a stable society and would render civil life possible.

The political scientist Filippo Sabetti studies civic theory and civic practice. His inquiry into the political thought of the Neapolitan Enlightenment reformers places “The Rise of Political Economy in Naples in a Comparative Perspective.” Antonio Genovesi was the holder of the first Italian university chair in and founder of the new discipline of political economy. It had deep roots in moral philosophy and joined ethics, economics, and politics together so that social relations—reciprocal confidence, public trust, mutual assistance, and friendship—were an integral part of ideas about civil society, commerce, and exchange. Neapolitan political economy’s emphasis on trust and its promotion of public happiness had an independent trajectory while at the same time its exponents were in contact with other theorists across Europe. The goal was to establish a way of life in which all men would benefit, a truly democratic society where the well-being of all its members ruled, and economic growth was not inimical to public happiness, nor civil virtue contrary to private interest.

The last essay in Part II looks at Naples during Goethe’s 1787 visit to the city, and the consequent self-realization it engendered in him. Denise Spampinato’s sensitive and evocative essay is as much about Goethe’s visit to Naples as it is establishing criteria to describe and evaluate cities in general. Her key to Goethe’s description of Naples is linking it to his quest for the origins of civilization, the Primal Plant and his opinions on the First Poet, Homer. Goethe finds ambiguity, paradox (what he calls the “mystery of Naples”), and impossibility in the chaotic and non-rational contradictions of the city and in his encounter with it. Anarchic order and unresolvable conflicts, the failure to find the one and only operative metaphor or explanatory rule is what makes his account so compelling and the complex city so much a world of difference and discovery. From the analytical rationalism of academicians juxtaposed with the sensual extravagance of the Baroque aesthetic, to Enlightenment reform juxtaposed with Romanticism’s discovery of the contradictions in nature, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Naples maintained its link with the past as it explored a better future.

III. Modern and Contemporary Naples: Blurring Fiction and Non-Fiction on Stage and in Print

The massive changes in science and technology that transformed society in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have created a new and deep tension between tradition and modernity that has spawned revolution and reaction from armed and unarmed prophets promising what might be heaven or turn out to be hell. Journalists, dramatists, novelists, and film-makers who have represented these visions in words and images blur the lines between opposites—stasis and

change, true and false, reality and illusion, fact and fiction—and turn the where and when into a house of mirrors, in order to try and see through the distorted representations' deeper truths and realities. What we see in these five articles on modern and contemporary Naples is the continuity of interest in the indeterminacy of time and space, the testing of the limits of truth and reason, and the breaking of the boundaries of propriety and accessibility.

Matilde Serao (1856-1927), the Greek-born Italian journalist, founder of the Naples daily *Il Mattino*, and novelist of everyday life, is presented here in an introduction by Jon Snyder to his translation of six short pieces. Four of the selections (“What They Eat,” “The Lottery,” “More on the Lottery,” and “Farewell”) are taken from *Il ventre di Napoli* (1884). “To the Tenth Muse” (dated Christmas 1878) from *Dal vero* (1879) describes the abundance of Christmas time foods in the market. “The Legend of the Future” (first published, 1881) foretells the destruction of the city in an eruption of Vesuvius. Food and famine, poverty and plenty, dreams of a lottery jackpot, disease and death in the wake of the cholera epidemic of 1884, all under the ominous threat of inevitable volcanic destruction of the city are the stuff of an acute eye for detail, daily life, and class division. Her hybrid journalistic and novelistic style lays bare the contradictions between the bourgeoisie and the urban underclass in post-Unification Naples.

Mario Musella's article on “Francesco Cangiullo e il ‘suo’ *Teatro della Sorpresa* (1921)” reviews the poet Cangiullo's engagement with the Futurist experimental theater of surprise from its founding until the end of its 1924 Italian tour. Cangiullo had met Marinetti in Naples in 1910 and had become a militant avant-garde poet by 1912. Cangiullo is credited as the “inventor” and was the director of the first performance of this new Futurist theater in Naples in 1921. The breaking of theatrical conventions, introduction of the unexpected, and creation of managed chaos aimed at disorientation and involvement of the audience, distortion of reality, and in the diverting confusion, the eruption of laughter.

Two controversial post-War novels, Curzio Malaparte's *La pelle* (1949) on post-Liberation Naples and Anna Maria Ortese's *Il mare non bagna Napoli* (1953) on the dark side of poverty and exploitation in Naples after the war, have been praised for their perceptive and innovative insights or condemned for their false representations and distortions of history and reality. Marisa Escolar's reading of Malaparte draws upon contemporary translation theory to analyze the novel's truth-claims and to get into the skin of the marginalized characters (the *soldato negro*, the Moroccan *goumier*, and the “virgin”). Escolar's conclusion emphasizes the uncertainties and indeterminacies wrought by war's bringing new actors to Italy, “an anxiety about the presence of foreign bodies in Italy and, at the same time, the difficulty of narrating the transitional moment of liberation without the racial and moral categories of black and white.” Lucia Re's reading of Ortese hones in on the book's first story, “Un paio di occhiali” and analyzes Ortese's steering metaphor of myopia. In both cases the distortions of fact and vision allow us to see Naples with new eyes, not the prophetic blindness of the classical poets, but the hard realities that come from looking up close, as Re writes, in order to “restore authenticity and humanness to vision . . . Ortese therefore refuses to be a “realist,” not in the sense of refusing to see, but refusing passively to accept reality as it is defined and represented by power.”

Valentina Fulginiti turns her critical gaze on the representation of China and its comparative relationship with Naples in two recent non-fiction novels, Ermanno Rea's “La dismissione” (2002) and Roberto Saviano's “Gomorra” (2006). The port of Naples is the entry for goods and capital from globalization that has decimated the fragile post-War industrialization and led to the collapse of local heavy industry. In the change generated by an alien and strange new world, the Camorra has filled the unemployed space with links to the Chinese garment

industry and to the global counterfeit market. This new presence of foreigners in Naples and the connections of Naples with foreign worlds have turned exoticism into a kind of orientalism that makes Naples itself the alien within Italy.

Innovation and Discipline in Naples?

There is a long-standing, prejudicial counter-argument to the idea of innovation and modernization in Naples that is grounded in the stereotype of the city as suffering under bad government and its people undisciplined and without culture, except for a very thin layer of cultivated elites.³⁰ Such a misguided view would find innovation and creativity *alla napolitana* and the contribution of Naples to Italian culture an oxymoron. This stereotype of Naples would present as a primary example the fact that in 1839 Naples saw the first railroad built in Italy, but the Neapolitan twist, of course, was that this first rail line went almost nowhere, only 8 kilometers from Naples to the king's palace at Portici.³¹ By 1859, the Neapolitan railroad had expanded to 124 kilometers compared to the 807 kilometers of track in Piedmont, 200 in Lombardy, 308 in Tuscany, and 20 in the Papal States; and the greater part of it joined Naples to the king's palace at Caserta and the army garrison at Nola. Or again moving forward another 200 years from the example of the eighteenth-century railroad to post-War Naples, city government in Naples managed to replicate the personal aggrandizement and short-term greed that had characterized medieval, Renaissance, and Old Regime monarchies. The political machine of Naples' mayor Achille Lauro (the Neapolitan shipping magnate, neo-Monarchist, and ex-fascist) and its successor controlled by Silvio Gava (the transplanted Venetian Christian Democratic Senator) and his sons oversaw the exploitative industrialization and piecemeal modernization of the city in what became a political and criminal failure.³² When the causes of the city's present poverty and violence is simplistically pushed back past the erroneous notion of a flawed project of unification in the nineteenth century or even deep into the early modern and medieval periods, such anachronistic readings of the history of Naples and Italy take us to the myth of the "lost occasion" that missed Naples' "appointment with destiny,"³³ the misconstrued idea of a lost opportunity which fails to see Naples in historical context in its own terms.

The present essays, on the contrary, call into question such myths and stereotypes by emphasizing the content and context of the practice of the arts and sciences in Naples. Evidence on the power and creativity of Naples over the long term testify to the city's transformative character. From the medieval period as cited in Alfano's "Paper-town" on Angevin Naples, Boccaccio attests to Naples as a wonderful place replete with "teatri, templi e altri abituri" and

30 The anti-Neapolitan myth is closely tied to *antispagnolismo*, as preached by Italian nationalist historians of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. See Aurelio Musi, ed., *Alle origini di una nazione: Antispagnolismo e identità italiana* (Milan: Guerini e Associati, 2003), whose numerous essays review the *spagnolismo/antispagnolismo* myth/antimyth in the formation of Italian identity in Naples and across Italy from the sixteenth- to eighteenth-century foundation and assumptions of *antispagnolismo* through its nineteenth- to twentieth-century political applications and revisions in terms of "bad government," "the military arm of the Counter-Reformation," "oppression of all liberties," and "the apotheosis of a formal, external civic culture."

31 Ricardo De Sanctis, *La nuova scienza a Napoli tra '700 e '800* (Bari: Laterza, 1986), 244-245 and figs. 55-56.

32 P. A. Allum, *Politics and Society in Post-War Naples 1945-1970* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973).

33 Anna Maria Rao, "'Missed Opportunities' in the History of Naples," in *New Approaches to Naples*, eds. Calaresu and Hills.

he calls it the “virgiliana Neapolis,” a city of delights. Under Spanish rule, Naples enjoyed its place as the largest city in the Spanish empire as a vibrant intellectual and cultural center through its academies and art. In the late eighteenth century, Spampinato’s “Goethe in Naples” quotes Goethe’s famous encomium on the city’s intoxicating effect on his own self-awareness.

And in our own day, John Turturro, who in his film *Passione* (2010) is narrator and guide to Naples and its music, succinctly sums up the city’s eternal fascination and magnetic power: “There are places you go to, and once is enough. And there’s Napoli.” The authorization of a writer such as Boccaccio, the staging of Della Porta’s dramas and science, the birth of self-consciousness in a writer such as Goethe, and the passion of a film-maker such as Turturro are not accidental aberrations. Over centuries, the Siren’s allure to Naples is as much reality as myth. The reason for this electrical charge of authenticity, insight, and pleasure is the city’s organic transmission of tradition, contagious energy, and creative inspiration.

In his “Discourse About the True Ends of the Arts and Sciences” (1753), Antonio Genovesi argued that the goal of the arts and the sciences was to refine civilization, which he understood to be in perpetual need of betterment. The reform project for the perfection of human beings and the improvement of society through the arts and science was a process always in actualization. Thus, there was always hope for the civilizing process, as society turned thought into action, theory into practice, and enlightenment into reform. Genovesi emphasized the need to turn knowledge and education into realities, “Reason is not useful, unless it has become practice and reality.” As Sophus Reinert explains, “‘Reason’ was ‘the universal art,’ the key to uniting Genovesi’s disparate interests, theory and practice, moral philosophy and political economy.”³⁴ The production of knowledge in the venues of learning and by the voices of artists and scientists constructed the walls of Campanellan public education.

By Way of Conclusion

Matilde Serao’s short “Farewell” (1884), written more than a century ago in the year of the cholera epidemic in Naples, is a poignant envoi. She pleads and reminds us not to forget or abandon Naples and the unfinished project of the disciplines of the arts and sciences. It yet may be the best *welcome* to Naples even today:

Here ends this brief study of truth and suffering. It is too small to hold the whole truth of Naples’ poverty: too small, if I may be allowed to say so, to contain the modest, deep love of my Neapolitan heart. It is the unfinished work of a reporter, not of a writer; it is a cry that came from my soul; may it serve as a reminder and as a plea. May it serve to plead with those who can, and to remind those who should: do not abandon Naples, now that the cholera outbreak is over.

Do not abandon Naples again, when you are caught up in politics or business; do not leave this place—which we all must love—once more to its death throes. Of all the beautiful and good cities of Italy, Naples is the most graciously beautiful

34 Sophus A. Reinert, *Translating Empire: Emulation and the Origins of Political Economy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011), 192-193 and the Genovesi quotation in Antonio Genovesi, *Autobiografia e Lettere*, ed. Gennaro Savarese (Milan: Feltrinelli Editori, 1962), “Discorso sopra il vero fine delle lettere e delle scienze,” 245.

and the most profoundly good. Do not leave Naples in poverty, filth, and ignorance, without work and without help: do not destroy, in her, the poetry of Italy.³⁵

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35 Matilde Serao, "On Naples, 1878-1884: Six Translations," trans. Jon R. Snyder, *CIS* 3:1, 12. <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/7492w5hs>, accessed 12/09/12.