Routes to Modernity:
Orientalism and Mediterraneanism in Italian Culture, 1810-1910

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> As a precise place, the Mediterranean evokes a continual intertwining of diverse roots and routes.
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> – Iain Chambers

> Each time that portion of the world called "the Orient" has expanded or contracted, changing its fauna and flora, reason has given way to bias, antipathy, or fear.
>
> – Raymond Schwab

In the period that spans the Risorgimento and the first decade of the twentieth century, as well as the cultural movements of romanticism and futurism, the cultural areas of "the Mediterranean" and "the Orient" became topics of discussion in discourses of modern Italian nationhood. On the one hand, the idea that the cultural and linguistic roots of Italy were traceable to classical antiquity made it possible for this Mediterranean heritage to be considered as a valuable route to a modern Italian rebirth. On the other hand, however, a contrasting and more cosmopolitan notion of nationhood linking Europe and the Orient became popular among Italian intellectuals as a result of what Raymond Schwab called the European "Oriental Renaissance."[1] Through this "second" renaissance, the northern European nations celebrated the discovery of the Sanskrit texts in India – a discovery which marked the birth of modern European Oriental Studies, or orientalism, and that had an enormous impact on European romanticism – and moved the roots of European civilization from the Mediterranean to India and the Orient. Indeed, such discovery triggered the emergence of a broader and more inclusive humanism, which greatly fascinated the romantic faction of the Italian nationalists. More importantly, the Oriental Renaissance of northern Europe emerged in antagonism to the classical Renaissance of Italy; an antagonism that established a stronger demarcation between Northern and Southern Europe. In Risorgimento Italy, the conflictual relationship between the classicist tradition and the new European tradition of romantic orientalism gave way to the classical-romantic polemic – a polemic of geographical and aesthetic characteristics. Moreover, in post-unification Italy, the classical-romantic polemic saw a development in the antagonism between the disciplines of academic orientalism and anthropological mediterraneanism, as well as in the turn-of-the-century debates between the symbolists advocating a new "Latin Renaissance"[2] and the futurists

[1] Raymond Schwab, *The Oriental Renaissance: Europe's Rediscovery of India and the East, 1680-1880*, trans. by G. Patterson-Black and V. Reinking (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984 [1950]).

[2] For a brief account of the development of a new "Latin Renaissance" at the end of the nineteenth century, see Luca Somigli, *Legitimizing the Artist: Manifesto Writing and European Modernism, 1885-1915* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 100-03, and two articles by Shirley W. Vinall: "Symbolism and Latinity: *Anthologie-Revue de France et d'Italie* and its diffusion of French literature in Italy," *The Italianist* 26 (2006): 32-91, and "In the footsteps of D'Annunzio: *Anthologie-Revue de France et d'Italie* and the promotion of Italian culture in France," *The Italianist* 26 (2006): 274-310. For Marinetti's involvement with the periodical *Anthologie-revue* and his responses to the "Latin Renaissance," see also Luca Somigli, "The Mirror of Modernity: Marinetti's Early Criticism between Decadence and 'Renaissance Latine,'" *Romanic Review* 97.3-4 (2006): 331-52.

proposing an opposing anti-classicist sensibility inspired by a neo-romantic interest in the Orient.

My aim in this essay is to trace the gradual development of the above antagonism from the classical-romantic polemic to its post-unification avatars, both in the academy and in literature. I intend to explore how the concepts of "the Orient" and "the Mediterranean" were used to articulate that antagonism and to address ideas on civilization and aesthetic value attached to Northern and Southern Europe. The essay, methodologically, considers in equal manner a number of disciplines and authors in order to examine "the Orient" and "the Mediterranean" as tropes of modernity in Italian culture. The interdisciplinary scope seeks to show how these tropes were used in different but contiguous sectors of Italian culture. In this sense, the essay tries to avoid framing the analysis of narratives of "orientalism" and "mediterraneanism" within a single theoretical paradigm. While drawing on Edward Said's idea of "orientalism"[3] (in that it brings together the cultural engagements with the Orient of various disciplines), my discussion departs from Said's interpretation on two main levels. Firstly, orientalism in this essay is not to be interpreted necessarily as a collection of authoritative European pronouncements on the Orient within the context of colonialism. Secondly, my discussion aims to show the intertwined but at times different treatment of the Orient within diverse disciplines (i. e. academic and literary orientalism). These two distinctions serve the purpose of bringing to light the ideological intricacies and contradictions of the Italian cultural engagement with the Orient – an engagement that involves a domestication in which the Orient is both exalted and essentialized. Similarly, my consideration of mediterraneanism is not to be considered merely as a "cousin" of the Saidian kind of orientalism in which the Mediterranean is stereotyped.[4] This notwithstanding, the essay does deal with descriptions of an essentialized Mediterranean. Generally speaking, though, these descriptions are discussed within the context of degeneration and regeneration. As for the discussion of orientalism, the essay tries to distinguish between academic and literary mediterraneanism in order to show that, as in the case of the Orient, the Mediterranean is also a domesticated trope used for a variety of purposes related to the cultural renewal of modern Italy.

The "Oriental Renaissance" and Italian romanticism: from romantic orientalism to classical primitivism

The emergence in nineteenth-century European culture of the Oriental Renaissance saw the establishment of an antagonism between the Mediterranean and the Orient, which paralleled that between classicism and romanticism. As Europe moved beyond the Mediterranean to look for its roots in India, Risorgimento intellectuals reacted in different ways to the idea of a new "integral humanism" inclusive of the Orient. On the one hand, romantics such as Ludovico di Breme and Giovanni Berchet celebrated orientalism's new universal humanism and often incorporated Oriental cultures into their work. On the other, figures such as Giacomo Leopardi criticised this romantic cosmopolitanism in favor of a Mediterranean humanism in which Greece, Rome, and the "Italian national tradition" were considered as the highest models of culture and thought. What Leopardi rejected was the romantic celebration of Indian antiquity as the golden age of humankind – an age the romantics claimed to be greater and more meaningful than that of classical antiquity. While Leopardi dismissed the anti-classicism of his romantic contemporaries, he created a form of what Mario Fubini has

[3] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978).

[4] The use of the idea of mediterraneanism as a cousin of Said's orientalism is discussed by Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell in their *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), 486-87.

called "classical primitivism"[5] in which, I would add, Leopardi proposed classicist values in the guise of romantic orientalism.[6]

From its inception, the Oriental Renaissance was doomed to cause controversy in the land of the classical Renaissance. Although Raymond Schwab describes it as a phenomenon similar to that of the Italian Renaissance, the newly discovered European interest in the Orient (and its link with romanticism) did destabilise the more traditional interest in the Mediterranean (and the latter's relationship with classicism). As Schwab has argued, the term "Oriental Renaissance" refers to "the revival of an atmosphere in the nineteenth century brought about by the arrival of Sanskrit texts in Europe, which produced an effect equal to that produced in the fifteenth century by the arrival of Greek manuscripts and Byzantine commentators after the fall of Costantinople."[7] In his book, Schwab portrays the excitement that intellectuals and writers felt in rediscovering the Orient at large, and in believing that "the Romanticism of 1820 was, like the Humanism of 1520, a Renaissance."[8] Writers such as Victor Hugo, Schwab explains, lamented that the "modern age ha[d] been seen too much in terms of the century of Louis XIV and antiquity in terms of Rome and Greece" and wondered whether one might not have "a higher and broader view of the modern age by studying the Middle Ages and of the ancient world by studying the Orient."[9] What marked the exact beginning of the "second" Renaissance, according to Schwab, was the publication in 1771 of Anquetil's translation of the *Zend Avesta*.[10] This was "the first approach to an Asian text totally independent of the Biblical and classical traditions." The new approach inevitably made Marsilio Ficino's humanism appear "crippled" when compared to the inclusiveness of the humanism of Anquetil. Ultimately, if from Herodotous to Montaigne humanity had been discussed "inside a hermetic little Mediterranean room," Anquetil's work marked the beginning of the "history of languages and history through languages . . . which is also . . . the beginning of world history."[11]

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[5] The idea of a classical primitivism [*primitivismo classico*] defines the state of in-betweenness of Leopardi's notion of an ideal antiquity, that is, the age between proper primitivism and classical antiquity and, by extension, between classicism and romanticism. Mario Fubini, *Romanticismo italiano* (Bari: Laterza, 1960), 74.

[6] Leopardi was one of the many intellectual figures that reacted vigorously to the Northern European enthusiasm for the Orient and criticism of classicism. Other intellectuals such as Gian Domenico Romagnosi and Carlo Cattaneo, too, responded to orientalism by taking the defence of classicism. See, for instance, Romagnosi's commentary on his translation of William Robertson's *Ricerche storiche sull'India antica. Sulla cognizione che gli antichi ne avevano, e su i progressi del commercio con questo paese avanti la scoperta del passaggio pel capo di buona speranza di G. Robertson, con note, supplimenti ed illustrazioni di G. D. Romagnosi* (1835), and Cattaneo's *Dell'India antica e moderna* (1845). Given that the idea of classicism from the Italian Renaissance onwards constituted a considerable attempt towards the construction of a Mediterranean identity in Italy, the Risorgimento defence of classicism against romantic orientalism undoubtedly built the foundation of both the post-unification anthropological mediterraneanism of Giuseppe Sergi and the revival of Latinness of Gabriele D'Annunzio (in this case also associated with a renewed interest in the Italian classical Renaissance) and the Italian nationalists.

[7] Schwab, *The Oriental Renaissance*, 11. A crucial aspect of the new Indic discoveries was a new Indo-European theory of languages that derived from the study of the affinities among Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit, as well as those between the modern languages of Europe, and which inaugurated comparative philology. For a detailed account of the development of the Indo-European or Aryan idea in Britain and Germany see Thomas R. Trautmann, *Aryans and British India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

[8] Camille Jullian, *Questions historiques. De l'influence de l'Egypte sur le monde antique*, cited in Schwab, *The Oriental Renaissance*, 15.

[9] Hugo, *Les Orientales*, cited in Schwab, *The Oriental Renaissance*, 12.

[10] Abraham Hyacinthe Anquetil-Duperron, trans. *Zend-Avesta, ouvrage de Zoroastre* (Paris: Tilliard, 1771).

[11] Schwab, *The Oriental Renaissance*, 16-17.

The spiritual trends that characterised the Oriental Renaissance claimed that the original "universal revelation" of the Christian truth had taken place within Hindu mythology.[12] Through the use of Indic orientalism and medievalism, the European romantics assessed European progress and undermined the role of the classical Mediterranean humanism. However, with romantic orientalism, the Mediterranean took on an even new dimension: through a Mediterranean orientalism centred on Turkey and Egypt, the romantics also celebrated a non-progressive spirituality that allowed them to discuss the question of irrational feeling. For the romantics, thus, the Mediterranean mattered as the Oriental Mediterranean of Turkey and Egypt rather than as the classical Mediterranean of the Graeco-Roman world. As will be seen later in this essay, Marinetti's futurism will also reject Mediterranean classicism in order to celebrate a Mediterranean orientalism.

The enthusiasm for an Oriental Renaissance among Italian romantics was felt with regard to both India and the Orient at large (and thus including the Mediterranean Orient). The two leading romantic figures in Italy, Giovanni Berchet and Ludovico di Breme, translated and wrote essays on both ancient Oriental texts and European romantic works on the Orient. Berchet, on his part, exalted the romantic literature of France and Germany in his essay *Lettera semiseria di Grisostomo* (1816) and Indian literature in *Sul dramma indiano*: La Sacontala: *Saggio di Giovanni Berchet*, originally published in *Il Conciliatore* in 1818 and then published once again in 1819 by Vincenzo Ferrario.[13] Similarly, di Breme dealt with both Europe and the Orient in his *Osservazioni* (1818) on Lord Byron's poem *The Giaour*, in which Byron addressed the "Eastern Question" in Turkish-occupied Greece.[14] Indeed, both authors addressed the geographical as well as the aesthetic dimension of romantic orientalism.

Berchet was a prominent figure in Italian romanticism and his work addressed what can be termed a "patriotic cosmopolitanism." Berchet was one of the first Risorgimento intellectuals to embrace the anti-classicism of romantic orientalism and to look beyond the Mediterranean for a broader universalism. In *Sul dramma indiano*, he pays particular attention to the state of nature in which Indians live as "un popolo a cui tutte le bellezze della natura sono eterno spettacolo."[15] In the tradition of romantic orientalism, Berchet lays emphasis on the relationship between humans and nature, and the idea of human "feeling" is associated with a sensuous nature. Thus the burning sunrays, the voluptuous freshness of shades, and, most importantly, the mild sweetness of the moonlight are for the Indian man all suggestive of the idea of "feeling."[16] However, while the senses of nature parallel the feelings of humans, Berchet does not humanize nature as in the classicist tradition. What is more, in the absence of the senses of nature, there emerges human pain. The idea that nature "feels" and creates feeling without being humanized is, of course, a leitmotif in the aesthetic conceptualization of romantic poetry (and criticism of classicism) in Risorgimento Italy. It is indeed the notion on which Berchet, but also the other prominent figure of Italian romanticism, di Breme, based their anti-classicist vision.

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[12] The idea that the mythology of the Vedas contained the original revelation of the universal truth of Christianity was put forward by F. W. J. Shelling and Friedrich Schlegel and became very popular in German and European romanticism. See Schwab, *The Oriental Renaissance*, 216-21.

[13] Giovanni Berchet, *Sul dramma indiano* La Sacontala*: saggio di Giovanni Berchet* (Milan: V. Ferrario, 1819).

[14] Lodovico Di Breme, *Osservazioni: "Il Giaurro": Frammento di novella turca scritto da Lord Byron e recato dall'inglese in versi italiani da Pellegrino Rossi* (Ginevra, 1818), in Carlo Calcaterra ed., *Polemiche* (Turin: Unione Tipografico-editrice Torinese, 1923). Berchet, too, composed a poem on the Turkish occupation of Greece: *I profughi di Parga* (1820).

[15] Berchet, *Sul dramma indiano*, 11.

[16] Indeed, the moonlight in particular, as will be seen with Leopardi and Marinetti, takes on a primary connotation in the discussion of literary aesthetics from romanticism to futurism.

Like Berchet, Di Breme engaged with the integral humanism that emerged in the aftermath of the Oriental Renaissance. His essay, or *Osservazioni*, on Lord Byron's poem *The Giaour: A Fragment of a Turkish Tale* is another example of how European romantic orientalism was used in Italy to challenge classicism.[17] Di Breme's major criticism of classicism concerns the way in which classical mythology had humanized natural phenomena. According to di Breme, nature is life in many guises, all of which can be used by the imagination to create an aesthetic feeling. This is the basis of the poetic power of humans. However, as natural phenomena are given human shapes in classical mythology, humans are deprived of their poetical potential as phenomena become uniform, and the richness of life is no longer interpreted in all its possible forms but only in human ones. He thus exalts fantasy in the romantic literature of Byron – that is inspired by the mystic Orient of Persia but is set in the Mediterranean of Turkish-ruled Greece – in which the English poet recounts, in a sensuous and voluptuous manner, the love between the nightingale and a rose:

> Dalla Persia è venuta un'amabile novella che racconta degli amori dell'usignolo colla rosa. Byron non se l'è lasciata sfuggire. . . . Questa frangranza attribuita al sospiro della rosa, è una pratica occasione che qui mi si presenta onde dimostrare per un nuovo lato la vanità poetica della mitologia, in confronto di quella che ho fin qua chiamato poesia moderna.[18]

Di Breme's essay on Byron's poem – and his discussion of modern poetry with particular reference to romantic orientalism's concepts of feeling and humanization – was attacked by the poet Giacomo Leopardi in an essay written in the early 1820s (but never published during his lifetime) and entitled *Discorso di un italiano intorno alla poesia romantica*. The dispute between the two figures constituted the core of the classical-romantic polemic – a polemic that addressed the geography and aesthetics of humanism and in which the Mediterranean and the Orient were discussed in conjunction with the northern and southern expressions of European civilization.

Leopardi fiercely criticised the romantic attempt to move beyond classicism and the Mediterranean by means of orientalism (but also medievalism). However, his thought and work cannot be labelled as truly classicist (he stood somewhere between classicism and romanticism). Leopardi stubbornly rejected the ancient Orient as barbarian and defined classical antiquity as the golden age of mankind. Following this classical age, civilization became corrupt and degenerated into modernity (a strand of thought which defined his historical pessimism). Leopardi was keen to show that the Orient – and India in particular – could add nothing to the lessons of classical antiquity. He attempted to achieve this – as my subsequent analysis of the poem *Canto notturno di un pastore errante dell'Asia* will show – by subverting the ideas of romantic orientalism and addressing them through classicism.

Leopardi's interest in India and Sanskrit was not the result of the enthusiasm of discovery, but rather a reaction to the "excessive" enthusiasm that this discovery had created in Europe. He wrote about Sanskrit in his *Zibaldone* but never considered it a language

[17] Byron's poem deals with love and hatred, with passion and violence, and with desperation and redemption. The story narrates that a Christian (*Il Giaurro*) seduces a women from the harem of the Muslim Hassan, who kills her but is killed, in turn, by the Giaour, before the latter finally finds shelter in a monastery. The setting is Turkish-ruled Greece and the question of Greek nationalism is another element that di Breme found of relevance to Italian romanticism and to the Risorgimento. As in Berchet, the poem addresses a sensuous nature that is capable of feeling, and thus celebrates Byron's depiction of the souls of flowers, plants, animals and humans alike.

[18] Di Breme, "Il Giaurro," in *Polemiche*, 103.

greater than Greek.[19] Nor was he willing to accept the romantic idea, as Hugo and the Oriental Renaissance had demanded, that in order to have a broader view of antiquity, one should turn to the study of the ancient Orient instead of classical antiquity. For Leopardi, Greece and Rome remained the model *par excellence*, the ideal age.

Leopardi's classicism, though, is not the classicism of the Enlightenment with its excess of rationalism. Indeed, he believed classical antiquity to be closer to an uncorrupted nature (antiquity as the youth of mankind) in a Rousseaunian sense rather than in a traditional classicist one.[20] This nostalgia for the "state of nature," and the polemic against the classicist excess of rationalism (which resulted in modern *infelicitá*), however, did not lead him to seek religious or spiritual alternatives. On the contrary, he rejected all the spiritual currents of his time, above all those linked with the ancient Orient and the Middle Ages (Leopardi rejected these ages as corrupt). He made a distinction between the "state of nature" and "barbarism": he addressed the first as a "healthy primitivism" and associated it with classical antiquity and with the idea of *magnanime illusioni*; and the second as "corruption," which he linked to the ancient (and contemporary) Orient and the Middle Ages, whose superstitious character was contrary to both nature and reason. Leopardi calls the civilization of healthy primitivism a *civiltà mezzana*.[21] This is not absolute primitivism, which is the state that he associates with the barbarism of Orientals, but a stage that is "higher" and characterised by a balance between nature and reason.

The periodization and geographical demarcation of human history and civilization are thus problems that fascinated Leopardi as the Mediterranean basin lost its civilizational primacy. For the romantics, the modern age began with Christianity, the fall of the Roman empire, and the death of paganism. However, Leopardi criticised the view that considers the Middle Ages the beginning of modern civilisation and the age "liberatrice dell'Europa dallo stato antico." He argued that the Middle Ages were barbarous and described the Italian Renaissance as the "Risorgimento . . . dalla barbarie de' tempi bassi." The Italian Renaissance is thus the moment of liberation from the "corruption" of classical antiquity, that is, from the Middle Ages: "la civiltà, le scienze, le arti, i lumi, rinascendo, avanzando, e propagandosi non ci hanno liberato dall'antico, ma anzi dalla totale e orribile corruzione dell'antico. In somma la civiltà non nacque nel quattrocento in Europa, ma rinacque."[22] For Leopardi, the modern age began with the Renaissance, when classical civilization was re-born after the barbarous Middle Ages. The myth of classical antiquity is therefore used to challenge both orientalism and medievalism. He makes this clear in his *Zibaldone* on April 4,1821, when he set the magnanimous illusions and the "state of nature" of the people of classical antiquity against the superstitions of the "barbarous" Orientals:

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[19] Although Leopardi made several notes on Sanskrit in his *Zibaldone* (928,955, 975, 979, 983-84, 995-96, 1010, 2351, 2746, 2783-84, 2822, 3017, 3941), he expresses thus his skepticism about the idea that Sanskrit is the language mother par excellence and more perfect than Greek: "Che una lingua per ricca, varia, libera, vasta, potente, pieghevole, docile, duttilissima ch'ella sia, possa ricevere, non solo l'impronta di altre lingue, ma per così dir, tutte intiere in se stessa tutte le altre lingue; . . . delle lingue teutoniche, slave, orientali, americane, indiane; questo, dico, non può umanamente accadere, se in una lingua che non abbia carattere. Non è accaduto alla greca ch'è stata ed è la più libera, vasta e potente . . ." Giacomo Leopardi, *Zibaldone*(2846-7), in *Tutte le opere*, ed., W. Binni, 2 vols. (Florence: Sansoni, 1969), vol. 2, 718.

[20] Mario Fubini, *Romanticismo italiano* (Bari: Laterza, 1960), 87.

[21] Leopardi, *Zibaldone* (421-22), in *Tutte le opere*, vol. 2, 153.

[22] Leopardi, *Discorso sopra lo stato presente dei costume degli italiani*, in *Tutte le opere*, vol.1, 978. Leopardi in this *Discorso* pays particular attention to the idea of difference between Northern and Southern Europe and claims that the modern age is a northern age while antiquity a southern one: "Sembra che il tempo del settentrione sia venuto. Finora ha brillato e potuto nel mondo il mezzogiorno. Ed esso era fatto veramente per brillare e prepotere in tempi quali furono gli antichi. E il settentrione viceversa è propriamente fatto per tenere il disopra ne' tempi della natura de' moderni." (983).

> E la causa per la quale i Greci e i Romani soprastanno a tutti i popoli antichi, è in gran parte questa, che i loro errori e illusioni furono nella massima parte conformissimi alla natura, sicchè si trovarono ugualmente lontano dall'ignoranza e dal difetto di questa. Al contrario dei popoli orientali le cui superstizioni ed errori, che sebbene moderni e presenti, si trovano per lo più di antichissima data, furono e sono in gran parte contrarie alla natura, e quindi con verità si possono chiamar barbare.[23]

Leopardi's attack on the Orient is, above all, an attack on the romantics. In his *Discorso di un italiano intorno alla poesia romantica*, Leopardi explicitly addresses Di Breme's *Osservazioni* on Byron's *The Giaour* in order to outline his criticism of romantic orientalism. Leopardi's response has both a geographical and aesthetic dimension. The geographical dimension associates classical antiquity with national boundaries and the idea of patria. Leopardi's idea of patria is inclusive of both Greek and Roman antiquity, and to Di Breme's claim that the cultural engagement with classical antiquity was no longer fruitful in the modern age, he responds by outlining how the romantics "non consentono che si pigli materiale di poesia dall'antichità nostra" and yet "la pigliano dall'Asia e dall'Africa."[24]

On an aesthetic level, Leopardi criticises the sensuousness that characterises the world of romantic orientalism and its allure. Leopardi establishes a clear contrast between the classical and the romantic idea of feeling as he compares "la delicatezza la tenerezza la soavità del sentimentale *antico e nostro* [my italics], colla ferocia colla barbarie colla bestialità di quello dei romantici propri."[25] To di Breme's claim that the humanization of natural phenomena in classical mythology corrupts nature, Leopardi thus responds that the human consideration of feeling can only occur by means of the humanization of nature: "Forsechè veruno di noi si può figurare nessuna vita diversa da quella umana? Forsechè nell'animo nostro non è, non dico facile, ma possibile concepire l'idea d'un sentimento d'un affetto d'un pensiero non umano?" [26]

Yet, Leopardi does not take a truly classicist stance. As already seen, Leopardi's position is one of classical primitivism. Through this position, Leopardi is able to contest the romantic tendency to resort to the Orient in order to seek a primitive source of spiritual and cultural renewal. That source is within the Mediterranean: it is classical antiquity. It must be stressed that the Mediterraneaness of this primitive source is suggested by the more frequent references to Greece rather than Rome – a source that Leopardi appropriates and considers somewhat Italian. In devising his classical primitivism, Leopardi blends the aesthetics of romanticism and classicism. Such a blending becomes evident in the way in which he exalts emotions in his appreciation of Homer's poetry.[27] When in the *Zibaldone* he uses the *Iliad* in order to outline his own aesthetic vision of poetry, his vision is imbued with romantic ideas of spirit and passion:

> si pel corso del poema, si massimamente nel fine, e durando in esso dopo la lettura quel vivo contrasto di passioni e di sentimenti, quella mescolanza di dolore e di gioia e d'altri similmente contrari affetti che dà sommo risalto agli

[23] Leopardi, *Zibaldone*, in *Tutte le opere*, vol. 2, 268.
[24] Leopardi, *Discorso di un italiano*, in *Tutte le opere*, vol. 1, 934.
[25] Leopardi, *Discorso di un italiano*, in *Tutte le opere*, vol. 1, 939.
[26] Leopardi, *Discorso di un italiano*, in *Tutte le opere*, vol. 1, 943.
[27] Walter Binni, "Leopardi poeta delle generose illusioni e della eroica persuasione," in W. Binni ed., Leopardi, *Tutte le opere*, vol.1, xiii.

> uni e agli altri . . . e cagiona nell'animo dei lettori una tempesta, un impeto, un quasi gorgogliamento di passioni.[28]

Leopardi thus discusses classical antiquity in terms of romantic sentimentalism, and such a combination constitutes the essence of his classical primitivism. Feeling, however, is here humanized (and connoted by harmony and gracefulness) as in the tradition of classicism.

The concept of feeling is indeed the means Leopardi employs to create a classicist poetry with romantic overtones. In his *Discorso di un italiano*, Leopardi associates di Breme's idea of feeling with the "horrific" and claims that such feeling is of little relevance to the human experience. He contrasts it to the ennobling and delicate nature of the classical idea of feeling, and quotes the following passage from Homer in which the Greek poet deals with the feeling of joy aroused in a shepherd by the sight of the moon and of the starry sky:

> Sì come quando graziosi in cielo / Rifulgon gli astri intorno alla luna, / E l'aere è senza vento, e si discopre / Ogni cima de' monti ed ogni selva / Ed ogni torre; allor che su nell'alto / tutto quanto l'immenso etra si schiude, E vedesi ogni stella, e ne gioisce / Il pastor dentro all'alma. [29]

While referring to the feeling aroused by the beauty and immediateness of the shepherd's vision, Leopardi inquires about the sentimentalism of classicism: "Come dunque diranno i poeti antichi non sono sentimentali, quando la natura è sentimentale, e questi imitano e per poco non contraffano la natura?"[30]

Leopardi put into practice his idea of classical primitivism in his "orientalist" poem *Canto notturno di un pastore errante dell'Asia*. This poem is believed to have been inspired by the work of a Russian aristocratic traveler, M. De Meyendorff, entitled *Voyage d'Orenbourg à Boukhara* (1820), in which the Russian describes a nomadic people of one of the regions bordering the former Ottoman empire, the Kirkis.[31] This Russian text, published in French when Paris was one of the leading centers of orientalism, is typical of romantic orientalism. It is, therefore, interesting that Leopardi drew inspiration from it to compose his *Canto*. Given his literary sympathies, his dependence on a text of romantic orientalism stands out immediately as untypical of the poet. My contention here is that this poem points to Leopardi's subtle criticism of romantic orientalism and in particular of di Breme's "interest" in Byron's Turkish tales. I argue that Leopardi appropriates romantic orientalism in order to build a new type of hybrid poetry that rehabilitates classicism within romanticism. In fact, if we compare this poem to that of Homer quoted by Leopardi in his *Discorso di un italiano*, it is possible to discern a number of similarities (the shepherd, the stars, the moon, the idea of feeling), which suggest that this poem was inspired by the Russian work only on the surface, while its content is a reworking of Homer's poetry. Thus in Leopardi's poem, the tenets of romantic orientalism are subverted in favor of a "romantic classicism" or, to use Fubini's expression, a classical primitivism (which will find a legacy in D'Annunzio's symbolist classicism but will be dismissed by Marinetti's futurist orientalism/mediterraneanism). The setting is that of Asia as the romantics demanded, while the content deals with ideas of feeling and nature closer to the classicism of Homer. The shepherd in both poems holds the key to Leopardi's engagement with romantic orientalism, classical primitivism, and modern pessimism. As opposed to romantic poetry, in fact, Leopardi's emphasis is on the

[28] Leopardi, *Zibaldone*, in *Tutte le opere*, vol. 2, 786.
[29] Leopardi, *Discorso di un italiano*, in *Tutte le opere*, vol. 1, 934.
[30] Leopardi, *Discorso di un italiano*, in *Tutte le opere*, vol. 1, 934. Leopardi here refers to di Breme's criticism of classicism discussed earlier.
[31] Leopardi makes mention of this work in the *Zibaldone*, in *Tutte le opere*, vol. 2, 1189.

impossibility of considering nonhuman feelings without humanizing them in a classical sense.

In the *Canto*, Leopardi wonders whether humanizing nonhuman nature can lead to a greater understanding of the idea of feeling. The poem begins with only the shepherd capable of feeling: what he feels is the pain of existence. Eventually, however, the shepherd questions whether the moon, the thunder, or the sheep are also capable of feeling. While, at first, these nonhuman elements seem unable to feel, there is no definite answer as to whether they have a feeling potential. Later in the poem, the shepherd speculates that even if nonhuman things were capable of feeling, all they would feel is the pain of existence.

Leopardi thus renders the idea of the impossibility of perceiving nonhuman feeling by creating the image of unintelligibility (and therefore of impossible communication) between humans and nonhumans and between mortals and non-mortals. The question of communication and of human perception is addressed in greater detail when Leopardi dwells on the peculiarly human faculty: language. The shepherd hypothesizes the possibility that animals speak and, still addressing the moon, makes a comparison between nonhuman beings and humans with regard to the question of feeling: "Se tu parlare sapessi, io chiederei: / Dimmi: perchè giacendo / A bell'agio, ozioso / S'appaga ogni animale; / Me s'io giaccio in riposo, il tedio m'assale?"[32] Leopardi concludes that it is the capability of feeling attached to consciousness that leads to unhappiness. However, he also wonders whether the lack of consciousness can really lead to happiness or any feeling intelligible to humans. Leopardi thus implicitly addresses di Breme's idea of "furor poetico"[33] and raises questions regarding the purpose of the celebration of nonhuman feeling when this resides outside human consciousness.

If the poem exists within the shell of romantic orientalism in order to appropriate and implicitly criticize its host, the modernity of the *Canto* is established by means of the contrast between Homer's and Leopardi's shepherds with regard to pessimism. On the one hand, Homer's shepherd inhabits the classical primitivism characterized by the balance between the state of nature and reason. The shepherd is capable of delighting in the moon, and his observation of nature is characterized by reason. He enjoys the beautiful and not the sensuous: "Sì come quando graziosi in cielo / Rifulgon gli astri intorno alla luna." More importantly, it is the clarity of vision metaphorically associated with reason and nature that gives happiness to the shepherd: "allor che su nell'alto / tutto quanto l'immenso etra si schiude, E vedesi ogni stella, e ne gioisce / Il pastor dentro all'alma." On the other hand, Leopardi's shepherd is depicted as pondering on the possibility of achieving a joyful feeling: the moon is a source of confrontation rather than a source of joy – which points to a modern pessimism in contrast to the balance between reason and nature that marks Homer's shepherd. There is no clarity or beauty in the vision of Leopardi's shepherd, and his condition is typical of a modern age removed from the state of nature where reason is only tantamount to pessimism.

Leopardi's aesthetic and philosophical ideas come together at the close of the poem. First, with the romantics in mind, he ironically remarks on the possibility of achieving happiness by becoming nonhuman: "Forse s'avess'io l'ale / Da volar su le nubi . . . O come il tuono errar di giogo in giogo, / Più felice sarei, dolce mia greggia / Più felice sarei candida luna." However, it is clear that nonhuman feeling is unintelligible to humans, and Leopardi can only speculate that perhaps the nonhuman condition is similar to that of mankind and

[32] Giacomo Leopardi, *Canto notturno di un pastore errante dell'Asia*, in *Tutte le opere*, vol. 1, 30.

[33] Leopardi here addresses di Breme's claim that the "furor poetico" or the "patetico" explores the greatest depths of feeling, or delves "nel profondo e nella vastità del sentimento." Leopardi, *Discorso di un italiano*, in *Tutte le opere*, vol.1, 934

therefore characterized by pessimism: "O forse erra dal vero, / mirando all'altrui sorte, il mio pensiero: / Forse in qual forma, in quale / Stato che sia, dentro covile o cuna, / È funesto a chi nasce il dì natale."[34] To the appropriation and implicit criticism of romantic orientalism's ideas of feeling and their humanistic and cosmopolitan implications, Leopardi thus adds classicist aesthetics and modern pessimism to construct his own (anti-cosmopolitan) poetry and cosmic vision. Indeed, as will be seen in the last section of this essay, it is Marinetti who will defeat pessimism and modern decadence by murdering the moonlight and by conceiving the primitivist bird-like mechanical superman that combines human, nonhuman, and technological elements.

Italian academic orientalism: reconciling Indian and classical antiquity and Northern and Southern Europe

Despite the problematic reception of the Oriental Renaissance in early nineteenth-century Italy, by the middle of the century there emerged an Italian expression of the new European orientalism. The first contribution in Italian was the translation by Gaspare Gorresio of the Indian epic poem *Ramayana,* published between 1843 and 1858. In 1852, Gorresio became professor of Sanskrit at Turin University; an event that marked the official establishment of Italian academic orientalism (although the discipline developed mostly in the post-unification period and in conjunction with positivism).[35]

Gorresio shared some of the anti-classicist views of European romantic orientalism, and he too moved beyond the Mediterranean in search of a broader humanism. For Gorresio, classicism was no longer sufficient to understand human experience. In a letter that he later wrote to another prominent orientalist, Angelo De Gubernatis, Gorresio clearly spelt out what attracted him to India: "il conoscere che quanto alla favella, ai miti, alle origini, alle idee specialmente religiose, la Grecia non aveva in sè tutti gli elementi necessari a renderne ragione, che tutto in essa indicava un'età più lontana . . . perciò dallo studio della Grecia volli penetrare nella conoscenza dell'India."[36] The presence of romantic ideas in Gorresio's orientalism is made evident in the preface to his translation of the Indian epic. Here, Gorresio addresses the notions of "nature" and "humanization" already at the center of the classical-romantic polemic with di Breme and Leopardi and replicates the romantic idea that while Greek poetry betrays a greater concern with human faculties in their relation to the graceful aspects of nature, Indian poetry deals more with nature in its entirety and clearly transcends mankind. He thus concludes that Indian poetry is more profound than Greek poetry.[37]

Italian post-unification orientalism, although still primarily influenced by German orientalism, witnessed a general change of views as it became informed by positivist philosophy. The Italians also revisited the relationship established by German orientalism between Indian and classical antiquity, on the one hand, and Northern and Southern Europe, on the other. Although the Germans included ancient Greece together with India when reconstructing the route to modernity of the Germanic race, all the genealogical links with the Latin and Semitic cultures and peoples were treated with ambivalence if not cut off

[34] Leopardi, *Canto notturno*, in *Tutte le opere*, vol. 1, 30

[35] R. M. Cimino and F. Scialpi, *India and Italy: Exhibition organized in collaboration with the Archeological Survey of India and the Indian Council for Cultural Relations* (Rome: Is.M.E.O., 1974), 138-41. Another chair of Sanskrit at the same university was established the following year for Giovanni Flechia, who went on to write the first Sanskrit grammar in 1856. See also Giovanni Flechia, *Grammatica sanscrita* (1856).

[36] Letter from Gaspare Gorresio to Angelo De Gubernatis, quoted in Angelo De Gubernatis, 'Cenni sopra alcuni indianisti viventi', in *Rivista europea*, 1872. 4, 57.

[37] Gaspare Gorresio, "Prefazione" in *Ramayana: poema sanscrito di Valmici. Traduzione italiana con note dal testo della scuola gaudiana per Gaspare Gorresio*, vol. VI (Paris: Dalla Stamperia Reale, 1847), vii.

completely.[38] Romantic intellectuals influenced by German orientalism – from Johann Fichte through to Friedrich Schlegel, Johann Herder, and Georg Hegel – had de-Judaized Christianity and had given it Indian origins, thus providing the intellectual support "to visualise the progress of culture (or civilization) as a movement from East to West across Asia, conceived in racial terms, with the Germanic peoples as the carriers of the purest or highest manifestation of the divine spirit."[39] Comparative philology was called Indo-Germanic (as a variation of Indo-European or Aryan) as the Germans claimed "that they represented, in modern times, the pure continuation of the superior race, having inherited their language directly, notably from the Persians."[40] The new comparative philology, as opposed to the classical philology of the Italian Renaissance, denied the Mediterranean affinity of the Greeks, Latins, and Europeans with the Semites and Egyptians. By establishing direct kinship with India, German intellectuals attempted to overcome the idea of a Latin/Mediterranean-centred Europe and shifted the center of Europe to the north and in particular to Germany. Such progressivist rhetoric, however, not only treated Rome with ambivalence as regards the Aryan route, but it also pointed to the idea of Latin degeneration. Even German classical philology discussed these ideas of Latin degeneration. While for such classicists as Ernst Curtius, for instance, Greece and its culture were appreciated as a source of imitation without much controversy, the history of Rome and the Latin world immediately aroused anxieties with regard to the questions of Germany's autonomy, identity, and role in the history of civilization.[41] Friedrich Nietzsche himself suggested in his Hellenist work *The Birth of the Tragedy* (1872) that Romance culture should be eradicated from German culture. Eventually, however, even Greece is rejected; and this time Nietzsche abandons the Mediterranean to resort to the East. As Suzanne Marchand argues, "Nietzsche chose Zarathustra to be his philosopher hero chiefly to slap the face of his Greek counterpart, Socrates."[42]

Thus, German orientalism, through its essentializing of the Mediterranean, was creating a "mediterraneanism" of the kind Michael Herzfeld compared to the Saidian interpretation of "orientalism."[43] According to German orientalists, as Robert P. Goldman points out, the civilization that had emerged from the Italian Renaissance and the European Enlightenment "had lost its original purity and been deformed by Latinate and Semitic influences."[44] Italian academic orientalism, this time in a positivistic mode, gradually attempted to reestablish the genealogical links between Roman and Indian antiquity and developed in this way a new Indo-European route to modernity, which included the ancient Indian-Graeco-Roman path.

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[38] German orientalism was also very influential in the racial theories of Arthur De Gobineau, according to whom the Italian Renaissance had been possible because the Germanic incursions that took place after the collapse of Rome had rejuvenated Italy. Dante, Michelangelo and Raphael were all Germanic. In nineteenth-century Italy, the degeneration of the Latins was particularly visible in the southern Italian regions. This was due to the smaller number of Germanic migrations that had reached the south, as well as to the Semitic (i.e. Muslim) incursions and settlements in that area. See Arthur De Gobineau, *Essai sur l'inegalité des races humaines*, 4 vols. (Paris: Didot Frères, 1853-55), vol. 4, 163-64.

[39] George W. Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology* (New York and London: Macmillan, 1987), 25.

[40] Some German orientalists went so far as to claim that classical antiquity, too, was the result of Indo-Germanic civilization. Schwab, *The Oriental Renaissance*, 184.

[41] Suzanne L. Marchand, *Down From Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750-1970* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996), 156.

[42] Suzanne L. Marchand, "German Orientalism and the Decline of the West," in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 145:4 (December 2001), 469-70.

[43] Michael Herzfeld, "Practical Mediterraneanism: Excuses for Everything, from Epistemology to Eating," in W. H. Harris, ed., *Rethinking the Mediterranean* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 58.

[44] Robert P. Goldman, "Indologies: German and Other," in D. McGetchin, P. Park and D. SarDesai (eds.), *Sanskrit and "Orientalism": Indology and Comparative Linguistics in Germany, 1750-1958* (New Delhi: Manohar, 2004), 33.

Rome, and its progress through the empire and the Church, came thus to occupy a central role in European civilization – the very role the Germans aimed to challenge.

The claims of Germanic prominence within the Indo-European or Aryan narrative, coupled with those of Latin/southern/Semitic degeneration, led to a mixed reception of Aryanism in Italy. While some commentators borrowed the Aryan idea and developed a specifically Italian Aryanism; others, like Giuseppe Sergi, criticised it and elaborated a contrasting theory of mediterraneanism that found its origins in the Pythagorean myth as elaborated by Giambattista Vico in *De antiquissima Italorum sapientia* (1710), and that had also inspired such works as Vincenzo Cuoco's *Il platone in Italia* (1806) and Angelo Mazzoldi's *Origini italiche* (1840). Already during the Risorgimento, Italian intellectuals and nationalists tended to look to Vico and to classical philology as the basis of modern Latin regeneration. The idea of a third "reborn" Rome of united Italy, the heir of imperial and papal Rome (but also of the Renaissance), also involved a rebirth of the Pythagorean myth,[45] which saw the Italics as peoples indigenous to Italy and of Euro-African or Mediterranean (and not of Indo-European) derivation.[46] As will be seen in the next section, by linking classical philology and race science, the anthropologist Giuseppe Sergi continued to develop the notion of the autochthonous origins of the Italics in his idea of a Mediterranean race.

Italian orientalists, however, no longer considered the proposals of classical philology as satisfactory on account of the "discovery" of Sanskrit manuscripts in India. They developed a rhetoric that focused on Italy's privileged place within the ancient Greek-Indo-Italic Aryan unity, while adopting the idea of the third Rome. Italian orientalists promulgated the "Aryan-Roman" idea to elaborate a rhetoric of Aryanism that centred on Rome and its progressive and leading role within European-Aryan civilization.[47] However, Sergi's emerging mediterraneanism, with its criticism of orientalist ideas and in particular of German orientalism and anthropology, quickly had an impact on Italian orientalism. The Italian orientalist Francesco Lorenzo Pullè, writing just after Sergi's publication of *Arii e Italici* (1898), acknowledges the new Mediterranean idea but also criticizes it by stressing that even if the Latins, a branch of the Italic peoples, were the Mediterranean branch of the Aryan family that had eventually unified the whole of Italy, Europe, and the Mediterranean, they appeared to have entered Italy from the north and were, therefore, not of Mediterranean but of Indo-European or Aryan (via Germany) origins.[48] Latin civilization was thus separated from Semitic civilization in terms of origins, and it became Mediterranean as a result of Rome's expansion.

The diatribe between orientalism and Sergi's anthropological mediterraneanism was of course an avatar of the classical-romantic polemic with new connotations. Orientalism had reconciled Aryanism and *Romanità* by compromising with German orientalism on the northern origins of Rome. Such assertion aimed to counter the claims of Latin and Italian

[45] According to the Pythagorean myth, the origins of the Italic culture, thought and race were traceable to the "Italic" school of Pythagoras in Kroton, in the southern Italian region of Calabria. For a comprehensive study of the Pythagorean myth in Italy, see Paolo Casini, *L'antica sapienza italica: cronistoria di un mito* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1998).

[46] Sebastiano Timpanaro, "Giacomo Lignana e i rapporti tra filosofia, linguistica e darwinismo nell'Italia del secondo ottocento," *Critica storica* 16 (1979), 406-503, 414.

[47] See De Gubernatis' following works: *Storia comparata degli usi nuziali in Italia e presso gli altri popoli indo-europei* (Milan: Treves, 1869); *Mitologia comparata* (Milan: Hoepli, 1880); *Storia comparata degli usi funebri in Italia e presso altri popoli indo-europei* (Milan: Treves, 1890); *Roma e l'Oriente nella storia, nella leggenda e nella visione* (Rome: Alighieri, 1899); *Vita e civiltà vedica (confrontate con la vita degli antichi romani)* (Rome: Forzani, 1906).

[48] As Francesco Pullè explained, "Gl'Itali, uno de' rami più schietti del tronco indo-europeo, penetrarono nella valle del Po o dai passi orientali o dai valichi alpini centrali." Francesco Lorenzo Pullè, "Profilo antropologico d'Italia," in *Archivio per la antropologia e la etnologia*, 28 (1898), 19-168 (45-46).

degeneration with a rhetoric of Roman progress and to restore the place of classical antiquity and of Italy within European civilization. However, Sergi became increasingly critical of orientalism; he was keen to show that Rome, as well as Europe, had Mediterranean origins and that, paradoxically, the answer to the question of Latin degeneration lay not in a revival of classicism but in the birth of anthropological mediterraneanism.

Giuseppe Sergi: anthropology, mediterraneanism and regeneration

Sergi expressed his skepticism about the Aryan idea and about orientalism's conclusions in his most famous work, *The Mediterranean Race* (1901).[49] As W. H. Harris maintains, Sergi was one of the pioneers of the Mediterranean concept.[50] According to him, the cradle of European civilization was not in India but in Africa. He thus challenged the Aryan bias of narratives of origin by proposing a different geography of the history of civilization. He claimed that European civilization was not Indo-European but Eurafrican. Although Sergi believed that the races of Europe were a mixture of "Eurasics" (or Aryans) and "Eurafricans" (or Mediterraneans), according to him the contribution of the former consisted chiefly in the linguistic sphere, whereas that of the latter in those of civilization and culture. The Eurafrican "species" had not come from the north and Asia, but from Africa and the Mediterranean south. The *Homo eurafricus*, Sergi argued, had three "varieties": the African, the Mediterranean, and the Nordic. Both Mediterraneans and Nordics were subset races of the Hamites, and they had all originated in the Horn of Africa. The Eurafrican had created all the major civilizations of the Mediterranean and of Europe, from the Egyptian to the Graeco-Roman, and from that of the Renaissance to the contemporary.[51]

Sergi's primary focus in his Eurafrican narrative was, of course, on the Mediterranean race and the Italics. In his *Arii e Italici* (1898), he explained that the Italics were an indigenous ethnic group of Italy and Latium, and that Rome was not Aryan but exclusively the creation of Mediterranean civilization.[52] Sergi argued that the Aryans who had come to Italy were not the Italics and that there had never been a branch of the European-Aryan family called Italic. The Aryans that had arrived in Italy from the north (and from Asia) were the barbarians who were then assimilated into the Mediterranean civilization. Their influence was confined mainly to the imprint they had left on the languages of Europe. In this way, Sergi inverted the orientalists' assertions that the Italic languages were a branch of the Aryan family of languages (and races). As opposed to the orientalists, though, he argued that this influence was confined to northern Italy as the Romans (or the Italics) had managed to contain the Aryan domination to the northern part of the peninsula. In Sergi's narrative, in fact, the whole of the peninsula was already inhabited by Italics, the autochthonous race that fought against the Aryans.[53] In short, as he argued in a later book entitled *Italia. Le origini* (1919), "la città di Roma è una vittoria dei mediterranei indigeni d'Italia, dopo la loro elevazione per mezzo della cultura mediterranea, sui barbari Arii."[54]

The question of the Latin or Italic heritage in Sergi's overall rhetoric is ambiguous. On the one hand, Sergi attempts to recover this heritage. On the other, he is adamant that the

[49] Giuseppe Sergi, *The Mediterranean Race: A Study of the Origins of European Peoples* (London: Walter Scott, 1901).
[50] W. H. Harris, "The Mediterranean and Ancient History" in W. H. Harris ed., *Rethinking the Mediterranean* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 1.
[51] Sergi, *The Mediterranean Race*, pp. 8-21. Sergi, among others, criticises Theodor Penka's assertions that classical and Mediterranean civilization had its roots in the North and in Scandinavia in particular.
[52] Giuseppe Sergi, *Arii e Italici. Attorno all'Italia preistorica* (Turin: Bocca, 1898), 221.
[53] Sergi, *Arii e Italici*, 172
[54] Giuseppe Sergi, *Italia. Le origini* (Milan-Turin: Bocca, 1919), 440-41.

future of Italy should not be seen merely as a Latin regeneration. On the contrary, in his mediterraneanism he comes to give Latinism negative connotations and to devise an idea of anti-Latinism connoted by scientism to discuss Italy's cultural future. In order to reconstruct Sergi's rhetoric, it is necessary to go back to the roots of his thought.

In his elaboration of the Mediterranean idea of race, Sergi made reference to the "national" philosophical tradition dating back to Vico and based on the Pythagorian "Italic" myth. Sergi contributed to the development of this tradition in a philosophical book which predates his career as an anthropologist.[55] A Darwinist and a positivist, Sergi had been concerned with race and the questions of racial degeneration and national decadence since his youth. His early philosophical work, entitled *Usiologia, ovvero scienza dell'essenza. Rinnovamento dell'antichissima filosofia italiana* (1868), aimed to show the harmonious interplay between science and philosophy and how the "Italic" philosophy had been best representative of such harmony.[56] In this book, he shows his early disapproval of pan-Germanism and condemns Italian intellectuals for relying too heavily on modern German thought. He claims that the great merit of the Germans is that of taking classical and Italian thought as their starting point in their study of contemporary matters and of thus doing exactly what Italians had failed to do on account of the condition of cultural decay in Italy. His focus is on how Pythagorism had been the source of all philosophical thought in Italy.[57] Even the principles of positivism, on which Sergi's thought is based, are dealt with as if they were strains of thought deriving from Pythagorism. Sergi does not make explicit claims about the derivation of positivism from Pythagorism, but his remarks on the scientism and empiricism of Pythagorism, as well as the overall context in which he wrote, are suggestive of the link. Sergi, in fact, argues that

> i pitagorici più di tutti gli altri intesero che la scienza non dovesse essere come lettera morta, ma l'animatrice della vita pratica. . . . Per giungere dunque alla vita pratica, alla politica, dovettero necessariamente contemplare gli ordini scientifici, se non si vuol credere che sieno stati empirici.[58]

As already mentioned, the engagement with Pythagorism had been widespread in Italy since the Risorgimento. Sergi developed the Pythagorism of the earlier nationalists in

[55] This is Sergi's only book with a philosophical approach. Most of his other works are pseudoscientific works on anthropology. Indeed, by the turn of the century Sergi had established himself as the most authoritative anthropologist of race in Italy, and his work was mentioned and quoted in the most important anthropological works of the time. See, for instance, William Ripley, *The Races of Europe: A Sociological Study* (London: Paul Kegan, 1899); and Isaac Taylor, *The Origins of the Aryans: An Account of the Prehistoric Ethnology and Civilization of Europe* (London: Walter Scott, 1889).

[56] According to Sergi, the philosophy of Pythagoras, which he calls the "Italic" philosophy, was a truly harmonious philosophy combining the ideal with the real, as well as theory with practice. He writes: "L'elevazione dello spirito sulla materia, il concepimento d'un unità reale e quindi dell'unità scientifica, l'applicazione della scienza al fatto, alla politica, alla civiltà tutta sono i caratteri dell'antichissima filosofia italica . . . e la civiltà degli italioti, decaduta per troppa mollezza, fu sorretta ancora un poco dalla propaganda della filosofia civile di Pitagora." Giuseppe Sergi, *Usiologia, ovvero scienza dell'essenza. Rinnovamento dell'antichissima filosofia italiana* (Noto: Morello, 1868), vii-viii.

[57] Sergi writes: "Gli eleati quindi i Pitagorici possiamo riguardare essere i sapienti che piantarono in Italia i germi della filosofia, che dai suoi caratteri possiamo chiamare italiana . . . Potrei dimostrare . . . che tutte le filosofie posteriori a tutte le creazioni del genio italogreco sieno state imitazioni e generalmente sviluppi della filosofia antica e che solo modificazioni si sieno introdotte secondo la natura dei cultori e la civiltà crescente. La stessa filosofia cristiana, che alcuni vogliono credere creata nuova, non è che la più buona parte della filosofia pagana, aggiuntovi il principio di creazione e qualche altro che può dirsi veramente cristiano. Né può considerarsi nuova la filosofia tedesca – i tedeschi hanno un merito grandissimo sopra gl'italiani; consiste nello studiare profondamente la lingua e la civiltà italogreca." Sergi, *Usiologia, ovvero scienza dell'essenza*, viii.

[58] Sergi, *Usiologia, ovvero scienza dell'essenza*, xx.

"scientific" terms, by linking philosophy with race science. Race and religion, with particular regard to European liberal thought, were the parameters used to assess the progress of a people. Italy was no exception; the question of decadence in Italy became a question of racial degeneration defined by Aryanism. Sergi dealt with Aryanism by challenging it and by developing an opposite mediterraneanism connoted by a rhetoric of regeneration.

In *La decadenza delle nazioni latine* (1900), Sergi attempted an anthropological account of the reasons for this Latin decadence while also outlining a path to regeneration. The rhetoric of Latin regeneration is articulated through two narratives: on the one hand, in line with his criticism of Aryanism and orientalism, he continues to frame his discussion within a narrative of mediterraneanism according to which even the civilization of Northern Europe is the achievement of the Nordic subset of the Mediterranean race (albeit with a slight Aryan contribution with regard to order and discipline); on the other, however, he elaborates a criticism of Latinism, which is in contrast to his mediterraneanism. Most interestingly, Sergi's criticism of Latinism seems to anticipate Marinetti's criticism of the same concept. The obsession with regeneration for both Sergi and Marinetti is in fact coupled with a distancing from the Latin/classical past and a looking towards the future by means of scientism.

According to Sergi, the Italians' "peccato originale" is to perpetuate the idea of a classical renewal. The nation's life needs to be based on an ideal which reflects the present condition of that nation and people, that is, on that condition which reflects the reality of the "disagi e bisogni non soddisfatti nel momento storico."[59] Utopianism can be useful like any ideal. However, it is important that the ideal is not a "falso ideale di rinnovamento del passato, di risurrezione di ciò che è morto." Sergi warns against those ideals which are not concerned with the "avvenire" and do not bring a "mutazione continua delle forme sociali, che è vita." Such ideals produce only "immobilità nel pensiero e nel sentimento" and lead to a "decadenza finale."[60] During the Renaissance, the Italians had indulged in the "sentimento di rinnovare la cultura classica," as if "quella sola potesse rialzarli e renderli superiori." However, the real "gigante" of that age was Galileo Galilei and "non i Marsili Ficini" or "i Poliziani," who were "esumatori di una coltura sepolta da secoli."[61]

The other immobilizing force in Italy that was linked to Latinism is Roman Catholicism. Sergi does not refrain from admitting that the peoples and nations that have emancipated themselves from the sovereign power of the Catholic Church "possono liberamente muoversi nell'orbita della loro attività di ogni carattere, senza pericolo di offendere il sentimento religioso, più puro e più elevato." This is not the condition of the Latin and Catholic nations of Europe. When accommodating the demands of Catholicism, the Catholic people "devono urtare . . . con la libertà scientifica, con le applicazioni scientifiche, con lo spirito di ricerca e infine con la tendenza perenne al progresso."[62] Thus, subjection to the Catholic Church constitutes servitude, opposition to intellectual and moral freedom, immobilisation of the human spirit, and resistance to progress. Rome, instead of having "l'aureola del Risorgimento, della risurrezione di un popolo che si era dibattutto in mezzo a molteplici catene di servitù secolare," is nothing else but the capital of the Catholic world "nella quale si tessono quelle maglie sottilissime e invisibili di servitù dell'anima."[63] Catholicism and Latinism, according to Sergi, are the two main obstacles to Italian progress. They are like diseases that will inevitably lead to death:

[59] Giuseppe Sergi, *La decadenza delle nazioni latine* (Turin: Bocca, 1900), 19.
[60] Sergi, *La decadenza*, 23.
[61] Sergi, *La decadenza*, 63.
[62] Sergi, *La decadenza*, 72.
[63] Sergi, *La decadenza*, 73.

> Il latinismo non ci fa vedere il futuro, ma il passato, impedisce ogni ideale di un'epoca tramontata, che non può ritornare, e immobilizza, come il cattolicismo, ci oscura la visione della realtà e paralizza le energie; la decadenza prima, la morte poi devono essere il risultato finale di tale condizione.[64]

The future lies in the rejection of classicism and Christianity as the universal norms and the embracement instead of science as the only force of progress. Interestingly, Sergi addresses even art's need to look to the future rather than the past:

> Gli artisti moderni devono anch'essi comprendere che l'arte moderna non deve essere una riproduzione dell'antica con idee e sentimenti antichi; ma deve manifestarsi in forme nuove e per bisogni e sentimenti nuovi, perchè la vita dei popoli si svolge continuamente e lascia il passato per l'avvenire.[65]

Once again, Sergi's rhetoric anticipates Marinetti's. However, as opposed to Marinetti, whose art and thought are based on violence and militarism, Sergi considers militarism as barbarous. According to Sergi, military might represented an early phase of civilization that the Latins, as opposed to the Germanics, had long surpassed. Sergi's belief that regeneration must be carried out through scientific means is also demonstrated by his being a central figure in the establishment of eugenics in Italy during the 1910s. Sergi's idea of Mediterranean "regeneration" was of course linked to racial improvement.[66]

Sergi's reaction to Aryanism and orientalism thus gives way to an anti-classicist Mediterranean idea that links Africa with Europe and focuses on a regeneration to be carried out through science. Sergi rejects the classicist and Catholic past of Italy, while of the Italian Renaissance he embraces the scientific aspects only. This suggests that Sergi inherited orientalist ideas. Through these ideas, Sergi had first spelt out Mediterranean degeneration, while now he used them to propose his own route to regeneration and modernity. Although Sergi's influence is particularly evident within anthropological thought, some of the concepts that he first outlined no doubt paved the way for the emergence of Italian futurism in the midst of a resurgence of neo-romantic and anti-classicist currents of thought.

Filippo Tommaso Marinetti: orientalism, mediterraneanism and the birth of futurism

From the turn of the century, the Orient and the Mediterranean – as well as the ideologies of orientalism, anti-classicism and mediterraneanism – converged and mingled in the early work of Filippo Tommaso Marinetti and futurism. As the romantics of the Oriental Renaissance, Marinetti celebrated the Orient (in the Mediterranean and beyond) and disregarded classicism. He reacted against the symbolist tradition of classicism embodied by Gabriele D'Annunzio, which called for a new "Latin Renaissance" (considered as a rebirth of the

[64] Sergi, *La decadenza*, 79.
[65] Sergi, *La decadenza*, 84.
[66] Claudio Pogliano, "Eugenisti, ma con giudizio," in Alberto Burgio (ed.), *Nel nome della razza: Il razzismo nella storia d'Italia* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1999), 429-30. This process of racial/cultural Mediterranean regeneration would be continued by one of Sergi's followers during fascism, the scientist Nicola Pende, who pioneered the science of orthogenesis and cultivated mediterraneanism in conjunction with fascism's ambitions in the Mediterranean. See Nicola Pende, *Bonifica umana e razionale e biologia politica* (Bologna: Cappelli, 1933).

Italian Renaissance).[67] Marinetti was particularly inspired by the renewed interest in idealism and the wave of irrationalism that had pervaded turn-of-the-century Europe – a wave which had brought with it a revival of Oriental cultures and religions and that had triggered a neo-romantic orientalism.[68] My contention here is that Marinetti, in line with this wave of neo-romanticism and as part of the project of conception of futurism, subverted the classicist connotations of the Mediterranean and gave it new dimensions that recall orientalist and mediterraneanist ideologies. In so doing, he also created links between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean (as well as between Europe, Africa and India) and forged a new ahistorical and cosmopolitan sensibility in which European modernity and Oriental/African primitivism harmoniously co-exist. Three of Marinetti's early works – the symbolist poetry collection *Destruction* (1904), the symbolist-futurist novel *Mafarka le futuriste* (1909), and the futurist manifesto *Uccidiamo il chiaro di luna!* (1909) – are relevant to my purpose. In these works, Marinetti stages a mythology in which the "sea" – both the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean – is called upon for the destruction of the *passatismo* associated with tradition and classicism. In *Mafarka* and *Uccidiamo* in particular, the end result of such destruction is the birth of futurism and regeneration. In the two works, there also echoes of the already seen Eurafrican and Indo-European concepts. In *Mafarka*, the symbol of regeneration is Gazourmah (the "orientalist" Icarus), the bird-like metallic man conceived with the help of the African sun – the symbol of avant-garde vitalism – that arises out of the putrefaction of the sea of history and flies towards the "future." In *Uccidiamo,* on the other hand, where the setting is the Indian cradle of the world, regeneration and the "future" are accomplished by restoring the power of the decaying European sun with the help of the Indian Ocean, a train, and a military railroad. These two works also mark a contrast with the classical primitivism of Leopardi explored in an earlier section. Gazourmah is the figure that annihilates the pessimism of the shepherd of *Canto notturno di un pastore errante dell'Asia* by becoming a bird and a symbol of affirmation. In both works, but particularly in *Uccidiamo*, Marinetti also attacks the moonlight – Leopardi's symbol of romantic sentimentalism and pessimism. Although Marinetti constructs his mythology in the mode of romantic orientalism, his poetics transcend mankind in a new "avant-garde" mode and nonhuman nature becomes at one not only with human nature but also with technology.

Before moving on to explore Marinetti's mythology, it is useful to dwell for a moment on the neo-romantic climate that inspired him. Benedetto Croce described the turn of the century as a time characterised by a "spirito tra romantico e mistico che rendeva intollerabile il grossolano semplicismo positivistico."[69] This renewed interest in spiritualism triggered the emergence of esoteric and mystic trends in Italy. In 1898, Arturo Reghini formed the Italian Theosophical Society in Rome, a branch of the Theosophical Society founded by Madame Blavatsky and Annie Besant in India and London. In 1905, he also created the *Biblioteca*

[67] The idea of the turn-of-the century "Latin Renaissance" was a reaction to the widespread discussions of Latin degeneration put forward by German orientalism (as a legacy of the Oriental Renaissance). Indeed, D'Annunzio and Sergi, while sharing many influences of thought, addressed the same problem in different ways. As Jared M. Becker has argued, D'Annunzio was influenced by some of Sergi's mentors – such as Cesare Lombroso, Max Nourdau and and Enrico Ferri – and their ideas on Latin degeneration. However, as opposed to his contemporary D'Annunzio, Sergi did not deal with the idea of Latinness due to its association with Roman and Catholic history. In this sense, Sergi was closer to Marinetti than D'Annunzio. Moreover, another important difference between Sergi and D'Annunzio is the influence of Nietzsche on the latter and D'Annunzio's consequent development of the idea of the Nietzschean superman within a classicist context. See Jared M. Becker, *Nationalism and Culture: Gabriele D'Annunzio and Italy after the Risorgimento* (New York: Peter Lang, 1994), 137.

[68] For a detailed account of mysticism, irrationalism, and esoterism in futurism see Simona Cigliana, *Futurismo esoterico. Contributi per una storia dell'irrazionalismo italiano tra Otto e Novecento* (Naples: Liguori, 2002).

[69] Benedetto Croce, *Storia d'Italia dal 1871 al 1915* (Bari: Laterza, 1977), 225-26.

Filosofica in Florence, which offered collections of mysticism, history of religions, psychical sciences, magic, the occult, and Christian Science.[70] While most trends dismissed classicism and Catholicism, many celebrated the Indian Veda as the golden age of humankind.[71] Moreover, they also blended science and religion and developed some positivist ideas within idealism. Marinetti's early work, while being heavy influenced by the French cultural climate, also typifies these cultural and intellectual trends.

The spiritual revival that saw a greater European engagement with Eastern religions certainly appealed to a cosmopolitan figure like Marinetti. Raised between Alexandria in Egypt, Italy, and France, he embodied the encounter between north and south and the Mediterranean and the Orient. Alexandria itself, with its strategic position between the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean, became the symbol of a cosmopolitan modernity on which Marinetti erected his early work. As Lucia Re explains, Alexandria for Marinetti was "a model of metropolitan civilization that incorporated elements of both Europe and Africa, effectively decentering both and thriving on the multiple contrasts between the two."[72] During the period between 1890s and 1920s, as Chris Bayly and Leila Fawaz have shown, the region spanning from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean witnessed the impact of global modernity. Although the various contacts occurred mainly through the network of colonialism, the cultures and societies of the region appropriated, adapted, or resisted European modernity, thus blurring the distinctions between East and West. The results of these exchanges were, on the one hand, cultural fluidity and cosmopolitanism and, on the other, anti-colonial nationalism.[73]

The spiritual and geographical contexts that shaped the life of the young Marinetti are also reflected in his early works' depictions of the "sea" as a mythological figure and as a poetic element of destruction. Indeed, as has been shown by Claudia Salaris, the sea "costituisce la figura-cardine nella poetica marinettiana e la proiezione stessa dello scrittore, che ironizzando sull'omofonia tra il suo nome e il mare amava definirsi 'Marinetti nettamari delle alghe morte.'"[74] For Marinetti, the sea is a sort of alter-ego: the I-mythical figure projected on to water.[75] In *Destruction, Mafarka le futuriste,* and *Uccidiamo* the sea is, in fact, summoned to obliterate a degenerated tradition. However, it is not until *Uccidiamo* that the regenerative powers of the sea are clearly asserted. The sea to which Marinetti refers in *Destruction* is predominantly the Mediterranean Sea of the Alexandrian shores. In the poem "Le babeli del sonno," he talks of the "spiagge cupe e deserte" of the "Africa strega," in which the sea, in harmony with symbolist aesthetics, is sensual and associated with a semi-naked woman. The perspective is clearly that of an Oriental Mediterranean as he calls the sea a "ballerina orientale," while the image of devastation is crafted with the allusion to the red "poppe del sangue di tutti i naufragi!" If the Mediterranean, as a unifying discursive trope, had been traditionally associated with classicism, Marinetti now gives it different connotations. The new perspective features African primitivism as the sea is portrayed as "schiumante e selvaggio" and as celebrating a magic ritual: "pazzo adirato, / in sussulti di

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[70] Giovanni Papini, *Franche spiegazioni (A proposito di rinascenza spirituale e di occultismo)*, in *Leonardo*, Anno V (April-June 1907), 129-43.

[71] See, for instance, Carlo Formichi and Fernardo Belloni-Filippi, *Il pensiero religioso e filosofico dell'India* (Florence: Biblioteca Filosofica, 1912).

[72] Lucia Re, "Alexandria Revisited: Colonialism and the Egyptian Works of Enrico Pea and Giuseppe Ungaretti," in Patrizia Palumbo, ed., *A Place in the Sun: Africa in Italian Colonial Culture from Post-Unification to the Present* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 169.

[73] Leila Tarazi Fawaz and C. A. Bayly, "Introduction: The Connected World of Empires," in Fawaz and Bayly eds., *Modernity and Culture: From the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 1.

[74] Claudia Salaris, *Marinetti: Arte e vita futurista* (Rome: Editori Riuniti, 1997), 4.

[75] Salaris, *Marinetti*, 8.

rabbia agitavi / le tue braccia d'avorio, ticchettanti d'amuleti, / e digrignavi i denti, ghiaia rimossa dall'onda . . . / mentre la notte, piovra colossale / dalle ventose d'oro, / conquistava lenta la spiaggia."[76] The idea of the shipwreck coupled with African magic is suggestive of how cultural tradition and classicist *passatismo* are to be destroyed by the youthfulness of primitivist aesthetics.

In *Destruction*, the work of annihilation is also accomplished by means of two other poetic elements closely associated with the convergence of the Mediterranean and the Orient: the train and the lava. As Claudio Fogu shows, these are central constituents of futurist *mediterraneità* and also point to links between Africa and Italy/Europe. The two elements appear in later works by Marinetti such as *Zang Tumb Tuuum* (1914), where the birth of futurist poetry is signalled by the train ride through the lava of the volcano Etna.[77] Although no birth or process of regeneration takes place in *Destruction*, the train ride in *Zang* is resonant with the one of *Destruction* and is suggestive of the embryonic stage of the futurist project in this early work. Here, the train and the lava are used only to carry out devastation on the African shores. As opposed to *Zang*, where the two elements join forces to conceive the birth of futurist poetry, in *Destruction* the power of the train is hindered by the lava running from the top of the mountain – which is indicative of the pessimism characterising this late symbolist work. As Marinetti's train comes across "una bava rossiccia di lava,", in fact, it is imprisoned "nell'orrido intrico dei binari scintillanti" and "s'arresta . . . sbuffante ansimante."[78]

It is in *Mafarka* that the idea of destruction is paralleled to that of regeneration. On the one hand, the idea of shipwreck is again a metaphor for the annihilation of tradition. Alexandria's gulf takes centre stage in the shipwreck of history, and Marinetti portrays it with classicist and Christian undertones, that is, as an "immenso anfiteatro" in which "i velieri neri, crocifissi e palpitanti sulle punte delle rocce . . . agonizzavano in balia delle onde sonnecchianti."[79] On the other hand, however, the sun gives birth to Mafarka's son, Gazourmah, who rises from the putrefied sea of the past through flight to exert his will to power. His birth takes place without "woman", and as Marinetti makes clear in the dedication of the book, such an event aims to defeat the romantic sentimentalism symbolised by woman and the moonlight. The contrast between the sun and the moonlight is symbolic of the transition from romanticism-symbolism to futurism: the African sun provides the vitalism and the seminal liquid for the conception of Gazourmah, that is, for the creation of avant-garde aesthetics and futurism.[80]

The Mediterranean and Oriental connotations of the conception of Gazourmah are established through the imagery of solar energy, volcanic eruption, lava, and the implicit reference to the subversion of the myth of Icarus. It is to the sun – described as the "cratere di vulcano" – that Mafarka asks the seminal liquid to conceive Gazourmah: "versami sul cuore la tua lava! . . . Inesauribile fonte di coraggio, inondami!"[81] The ultimate aim is to put an end

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[76] Filippo Tommaso Marinetti, *Distruzione*, trans. by Decio Cinti (Milan: Edizioni futuriste di "Poesia," 1911), 37-41.

[77] Claudio Fogu, "Futurist Mediterraneità between Emporium and Imperium," in *Modernism/modernity* 15:1 (2007), 6-7.

[78] Marinetti, *Distruzione*, 122-28.

[79] Marinetti, *Mafarka*, 219.

[80] As Barbara Spackman has pointed out, "the orientalist notion that the West will be reborn, revitalized, by returning to the East" does indeed appear in the "narrative setting" of Marinetti's early writings and particularly of *Mafarka*. See Barbara Spackman, *Fascist Virilities: Rhetoric, Ideology, and Social Fantasy in Italy* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 53.

[81] Filippo Tommaso Marinetti, *Mafarka il futurista*, trans. by D. Cinti (Milan: Mondadori, 2003 [1910]), 21.

to the "miserabile passato," which Gazourmah defeats by tearing the "velo del . . . futuro."[82] Gazourmah, "come il nuotatore che con la mano batte l'onda."[83] is able to fly towards the sky and overcome Icarus, classicism, and Christianity. Alexandria, as the setting of this futurist mythology, is now associated with Islam. Through Gazourmah's birth and flight, in fact, Mafarka hopes that "la mia città, gonfiando le sue cupole come vele, galleggi ancora nell'azzurro infinito, sotto i suoi superbi minareti rosati e cullati dall'ebrezza delle vittorie, nel gran grido oltremarino dei *muezzin*."[84]

Marinetti's engagement with a vitalist Orient, however, is not confined to Islam or Africa. In *Uccidiamo*, the sources of renewal are Asia and India. War and destruction are once again part of the process of creation: the epic struggle depicted in this work takes place on the Himalayas, the cradle of the world, and has the purpose of creating a "fusione d'un nuovo globo solare" in place of the "vecchio sole europeo".[85] While in *Mafarka* the futurist sun is African, in *Uccidiamo* Marinetti's heroes return to the place of Indo-European origins – India and the Himalayas – in order to give birth to a new solar globe by destroying the moonlight as well as the world of the dead of Paralisi and Podagra. As Simona Cigliana points out, the moonlight, like in the Indian epic *Mahabharata*, is the light of the declining world that needs to be destroyed in order to give way to the rebirth of the sun. According to her, in fact, "l'avanzata dei futuristi" depicted by Marinetti in *Uccidiamo* "richiama . . . l'avanzata mitica dell'esercito di Rama . . . dalle porte dell'Himalaya al cuore dell'India."[86] The process of destruction/regeneration is articulated by the military activity of the Indian Ocean and technology, and of the madmen and the ferocious beasts; all of whom are guided by the futurists themselves. The first step is to "far saltare per aria tutte le tradizioni, come ponti fradici!" Destruction on the one hand, but construction on the other: war is paralleled by the building of a railroad which is now, as opposed to *Destruction*, a symbol of regeneration: "Noi costruiremo il Binario sulle cime di tutte le montagne fino al mare!"[87] Thus, Marinetti celebrates a primitivism resonant with orientalist and mediterraneanist ideologies in order to create a new culture autonomous of and in antithesis with classicism and tradition. The convergence of European technology and Hindu mythology, but also the Mediterranean links between Europe, Islam and Africa, point in this way to yet a new and cosmopolitan discourse of cultural and aesthetic rebirth which ultimately defines the futurist route to global modernity.

[82] Marinetti, *Mafarka*, 21.
[83] Marinetti, *Mafarka*, 223.
[84] Marinetti, *Mafarka*, 21.
[85] F. T. Marinetti, *Uccidiamo il Chiaro di Luna!,* in *Teoria e invenzione futurista* (Milan: Mondadori, 1998), 14-15.
[86] Cigliana, *Futurismo esoterico*, 194.
[87] Marinetti, *Teoria e invenzione*, 19.

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