

SPUNTI E RICERCHE

Volume 34 2019 (pub. 2021)

Il Gattopardo: Sicily, Italy and the Supranational Cultural Imaginary



*Edited by
Gregoria Manzin
Mark Nicholls
Annamaria Pagliaro*

SPUNTI E RICERCHE VOL. 34

2019 (Pub. 2021)

*Il Gattopardo:
Sicily, Italy and the
Supranational
Cultural Imaginary*



Editors

Annamaria Pagliaro – Gregoria Manzin – Mark Nicholls

Editorial Board

Carolyn James (Monash University) – Gregoria Manzin (La Trobe University)
Annamaria Pagliaro (Monash University) – Antonio Pagliaro (La Trobe University) – Barbara Pezzotti (Monash University)

Advisory Board

Margaret Baker (Flinders University)
Mark Chu (University College Cork)
Antonio Di Grado (University of Catania)
Konrad Eisenbichler (University of Toronto)
Nicola Ferrari (University of Genoa)
John Gatt-Rutter (La Trobe University)
Margherita Ganeri (Università della Calabria)
Martin McLaughlin (Magdalen College, Oxford)
Brian Moloney (University of Hull)
David Moss (Australian National University)
Nerida Newbiggin (University of Sydney)
Daragh O’Connell (University of Cork)
Desmond O’Connor (Flinders University)
Domenico Pietropaolo (University of Toronto)
Olga Zorzi Pugliese (University of Toronto)
Gabriella Romani (Seton Hall University)
John Scott (University of Western Australia)
Luca Somigli (University of Toronto)
Giuseppe Traina (University of Catania)

Spunti e Ricerche publishes only original material. Articles submitted are refereed by external experts in their relevant fields prior to acceptance.

Published by members of the Italian Studies staff
at La Trobe University and Monash University

© *SPUNTI E RICERCHE* 2019 (published 2021)

Supported by: ACIS Research Group



Front cover artwork: *Mosaic fragment of a Sicilian lion, Syracuse Church of St John, Sicily (Norman workshop 12th century).* Photographer: Gregoria Manzin.

Desktop published by: Veronica Peek, Camberwell, Victoria 3124.
Printed by: BPO Intelligence Pty Ltd, Level 2/315 Ferntree Gully Rd,
Mount Waverley, Vic. 3149.

Spunti e Ricerche vol. 34

Abstracts 4

Articles

Gregoria Manzin Mark Nicholls Annamaria Pagliaro	A complex game of liberation and domination: <i>Il Gattopardo</i> , Sicilian oblivion, and Simonetta Agnello Hornby	8
Caroline A. Ellsmore	The Leopard, the Bear and the Album-leaf: Giuseppe Verdi's <i>Waltz in F Major</i> in <i>Il Gattopardo</i>	22
Giacomo Girardi	The Anti- <i>Gattopardo</i> : Lionardo Vigo's <i>Protostasi sicula</i> . Archaeology, History and Politics	38
Miriam La Rosa	Sicily and the Game of Hospitality: How Contemporary Art Can Break the Marriage that <i>Il Gattopardo</i> Made	52
Giulia Lombardi	The Post-Unitarian "Uomo Nuovo": On the Ironic Treatment of History in Federico De Roberto's <i>I Viceré</i> and Giuseppe Tomasi di Lampedusa's <i>Il Gattopardo</i>	69
Mark Nicholls	The Flower of San Remo. <i>Il Gattopardo</i> on Location	90
Karin Schulz	Spatial Visions in <i>Il Gattopardo</i> . Literary Representations of (De)Construction of Emotional State	107
Brian Zuccala	The Marquis vs. the Many. Verso una rilettura 'Wolochiana' di 'Spazi-'— e 'Sistemi-personaggio' nella Sicilia capuaniana	118

Reviews

Dino Bressan	Bertone, Manuela e Barbara Meazzi, cur. <i>Curiosa di mestiere. Saggi su Dacia Maraini</i> . Pisa, Edizioni ETS, 2017.	144
Mirna Cicioni	Barbara Pezzotti, <i>Investigating Italy's Past through Historical Crime Fiction, Films, and TV Series. Murder in the Age of Chaos</i> , New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.	147

Abstracts

Gregoria Manzin, Mark Nicholls, Annamaria Pagliaro, “A complex game of liberation and domination: *Il Gattopardo*, Sicilian oblivion, and Simonetta Agnello Hornby.”

This article stands as a preamble to the collection of essays contained in the present issue of *Spunti e Ricerche*. The 60th anniversary of the publication of *Il Gattopardo* (1958) offered the occasion to call on scholars for a discussion on Sicily as a *locus* to explore trans-historical issues of political and social cohesion. The novel and Visconti’s film were not the sole focus of the resulting 2018 symposium; they were equally deployed as an opening into a broader discourse on Sicilian matters. This contribution examines Simonetta Agnello Hornby’s novel *La Mennulara*, in its three versions: the original debut novel (2002), the expanded edition (2019), and the graphic novel created by Massimo Fenati (2008). It serves to highlight how the narrative work of Agnello Hornby, as a contemporary Sicilian writer, exemplifies the intertextuality and importance of place of the Sicilian literary discourse: her continuation and rupture with the celebrated Sicilian historical novel speaks for a culture of resilience and resistance; a place where the tension between domination and liberation never fade from view.

Caroline Ellsmore, “The Leopard, the Bear and the Album-leaf: Giuseppe Verdi’s *Waltz in F Major* in *Il Gattopardo*.”

Giuseppe Verdi, and Giuseppe Tomasi di Lampedusa’s great-grandfather, Giulio Fabrizio, Prince of Lampedusa, (memorialized as ‘Don Fabrizio, Prince of Salina’, with his ‘Leopard’ family crest) were connected as contemporaries during the Italian *Risorgimento* and Unification. They were also connected by allusions to Verdi’s *La traviata*, in Lampedusa’s novel. Giuseppe Verdi, like the composer Nino Rota, not born to great wealth, spent his life as a dedicated artist. While also known for his generosity, he lacked social grace and was nick-named “The Bear of Busseto”. Rota’s art and the aristocratic Luchino Visconti’s direction, in their re-creation of the era, brought back to life a long-lost album-leaf, Verdi’s *Waltz in F Major*. Verdi and ‘Don Fabrizio’, both autocrats temperamentally bemused by their times, were separated by the ineffable artistry of Verdi’s music. This artistry was exemplified in that one mysteriously resurrected sheet of paper, containing triple rhythms so reminiscent of the music in *La traviata*. The film, *Il Gattopardo*, drew Verdi from his camouflaging terrain while also revealing Visconti’s affectionate nostalgia for the beauties of a lost world. It ultimately brought together artists and aristocrats, revolutionaries and

reactionaries through the dance's musical evocation of a doomed campaign to salvage the old by subverting the new.

Giacomo Girardi, "The anti-*Gattopardo*: Lionardo Vigo's *Protostasi sicula*. Archaeology, History and Politics."

This article aims to introduce the figure of the Sicilian erudite, writer and politician Lionardo Vigo (1799–1879) with a specific focus on his book *Protostasi sicula o genesi della civiltà*. The volume could be seen as the cultural and literary manifesto of a large group of men, so widespread in Sicily, who fought against the Italian unification under the aegis of the House of Savoy. It is a militant text, inserted into the political climate of the time and supported the concrete need of the island to self-govern or at least to obtain a particular administrative consideration in the new State's construction. The article argues that there is a huge difference between Vigo and the Prince of Salina: Salina had the acumen to understand that his own survival, together with that of his entire class, was linked to a compromise with the new political order, an aspect that Vigo, a real *anti-gattopardo*, firm on his position, failed to grasp.

Miriam La Rosa, "Sicily and the Game of Hospitality: how contemporary art can break the marriage that *Il Gattopardo* made."

Sixty years after the publication of the novel *Il Gattopardo* (1958, *The Leopard* 1960), by Giuseppe Tomasi di Lampedusa, this article is a pretext to engage in a reflection on contemporary Sicily that combines the author's personal and professional experience of the island with historical considerations. The reader should be warned that the rhythm and tone of writing reflect this mingling of subjective and objective concerns. The core points raised in the article revolve around the notion of hospitality as understood in philosophy and history, including references to the manifestation of the rules of hospitality in the specific context of Sicily, and in the structure and politics of its contemporary art field. In this attempt to discuss the present without discarding the looking glass of the past, the socio-political message behind *Il Gattopardo* plays an important role. With the intention to overcome the often-pessimistic approach adopted in the discourse around Sicily and Sicilian-ness, the article advocates for a re-evaluation of the understanding of artistic development in this contested corner of the Italian south. Turning tables and, with them, dated depictions, the proposed image of Sicily is no longer that of a sleeping beauty, but of an alert and resilient actor.

Giulia Lombardi, "The Post-Unitarian 'Uomo Nuovo': On the Ironic Treatment of History in Federico De Roberto's *I Viceré* and Giuseppe Tomasi di Lampedusa's *Il Gattopardo*."

The immediate, controversial and continuous success of Giuseppe Tomasi di Lampedusa's *Il Gattopardo* (1958) brings to the reader's attention another novel, which was published about half a century before: Federico De Roberto's *I Viceré* (1894). Both novels present

Abstracts

explicit analogies, but they also show some differences, which are worth investigating. One of those is the narrative strategy used to convey the common theme of both novels, which is the political change taking place in Sicily at the time of Risorgimento. The article's emphasis is on how the image of the so-called 'uomo nuovo' (a social phenomenon emerging in the new Italian State, on the cusp between an authoritarian monarchy and a liberal state) is observed with irony by both narrators. The narrative perspective in *I Viceré* emphasizes primarily on the general historical, social, moral and anthropological premises that will lead to the fall of a political system and the rise of a new one. In the case of *Il Gattopardo*, the narrative perspective observes the progress of the political change and its magnitude. The article argues that the irony of the narrating instances on the precise historical moment of Risorgimento should not be read as mere "anti-historical", but as revealing instead a direct confrontation with history.

Mark Nicholls, "The Flower of San Remo. *Il Gattopardo* on Location."

Considering the production of *Il Gattopardo* in Sicily, and some pre-production business, this article seeks to account for the substance of this particular encounter and to expand our understanding of the issues that are raised when a visiting, foreign film company comes to town and endeavours to tell a story which purports to be about local histories and cultures. These issues are explored by way of a creative practice analysis which stands as a useful method in understanding the somewhat neglected and frequently mythologised pursuit of social history within the creative arts. The article focuses on the most detailed and comprehensive accounts of the production provided in the work of Tommaso Cima (1963), Alberto Anile and M. Gabriella Giannice (2013) and in the documentary film *A Dying Breed: The Making of The Leopard*, produced as part of the Criterion Collection DVD release of 2004. From these accounts and the primary evidence that they provide, it offers an overview of the production of the film in Sicily and assesses the extent to which it engaged with local places and people. In doing so, it reflects on what this encounter tells us about how significant Sicily itself was to *Il Gattopardo*. The article offers an analysis of these events and encounters and considers what the standard business of location filming, such as location scouting, negotiating with individuals and institutions, building and renovation works, on-set improvisation and adaptation to local conditions and cultures, tells us about this production's commitment to Sicily.

Karin Schulz, "Spatial Visions in *Il Gattopardo*. Literary Representations of (De)Construction of Emotional State."

In *Il Gattopardo* views of the Sicilian landscape and natural spaces are recurrent moments of Don Fabrizio's self-reflection, mapping his own ideas and moods while facing backgrounds of unavoidable social transformation. Natural and spatial persistence contrast experiences of irreversible changes and therefore constitute a stable and timeless projection space for emotions. While spatial based reflections facilitate a deconstructive

process of inner hidden emotions, they also build a literary figure and representation mode of the complex and self-conflicting personality of Don Fabrizio. The article focusses on the literary representation of space in *Il Gattopardo*—its constructive and deconstructive modes—to reflect the protagonist’s emotional identity in light of contemporary social revolution. It outlines traditional literary romantic aesthetics of melancholic nature and space and their modern turn of individual self-perception and mental strength in order to reconsider the cultural challenge of modern social alienation.

Brian Zuccala, “The Marquis vs. the Many. Verso una rilettura ‘Wolochiana’ di ‘Spazi’ e ‘Sistemi-personaggio’ nella Sicilia capuaniana.”

Partendo dalla distinzione proposta da Kindt tra teoria narratologica ‘pura’ e un più applicato “narratologically informed criticism” (39), questo saggio si occupa innanzitutto del secondo. È un esercizio di critica capuanista, volto—sulla scia della recente ‘riscoperta’ di Capuana (non solo ma anche) nell’Anglosfera—ad arricchirne il profilo intellettuale di ulteriori sfumature ideologico-letterarie, attraverso la rilettura e rivalutazione di alcune fra le sofisticate strategie narrative messe in atto nella sua produzione. Sul piano più teorico-metodologico, il contributo intende rappresentare il primo passo di un mio progetto complessivo volto ad ‘importare’, ad uso dell’italianistica la cornice metodologica elaborata in ambito anglista da Alex Woloch in *The One vs. the Many* (2003), per esaminare su basi “socionarrative” la tensione tra protagonismo e minorità, all’interno della prosa realista ottocentesca. Il saggio si struttura in due parti. Nella prima si introduce la cornice metodologica in questione, motivando le ragioni e le consonanze per le quali tale cornice appare particolarmente atta ad essere utilizzata su testi della tradizione letteraria italiana, e in particolare quella verista ottocentesca, nello specifico capuaniana. Nella seconda si mostra come tale cornice possa produrre risultati esegetici interessanti sul *case study* de *Il marchese di Roccaverdina* (1901), risultati che mostrano come le dinamiche socioeconomiche e formali esibite dal testo—da qualcuno considerate di matrice postcoloniale (Re; Basile; Bouchard; Virga)—siano efficacemente analizzate attraverso le categorie wolochiane di ‘spazio-personaggio’ e ‘sistema personaggi’.

The Anti-*Gattopardo*

Lionardo Vigo's *Protostasi sicula*. Archaeology, History and Politics

INTRODUCTION

In 1958, one year after Giuseppe Tomasi di Lampedusa's death, and after arduous editorial decisions, Giangiacomo Feltrinelli accepted the manuscript of *Il Gattopardo*, enriching his catalogue with a milestone in modern Italian literature (Lanza Tomasi, "Premessa" 7–28).¹ In 1858, a hundred years before, in Acireale, a town perched on an upland along the Sicilian east coast, not far from Catania, the Marquis Lionardo Vigo (1799–1879) began writing his most ambitious but unfinished work, called *Protostasi sicula o genesi della civiltà*:² he was a curious figure, an antiquarian, historian, linguist and archaeologist, who seemed to belong to a novel by Sir Walter Scott.³

Lionardo Vigo represents the symbol of a crucial page of the political and cultural history of nineteenth-century Italy (Bonanzinga 17–84; Girardi 272–274). It is hard to imagine a man so distant from Prince Fabrizio di Salina, Tomasi's protagonist, although both shared a similar personality:

un temperamento autoritario, una certa rigidità morale, una propensione alle idee astratte che nell'*habitat* molliccio della società palermitana si erano mutati in prepotenza capricciosa, perpetui scrupoli morali e disprezzo per i suoi parenti e amici che gli sembrava andassero alla deriva nel lento fiume pragmatistico siciliano (Tomasi di Lampedusa 33).

Furthermore, they shared a similar education, interests and opinions:

First, there is Prince Fabrizio Salina, the cosmopolitan nobleman whose interest in astronomy goes beyond a dilettante's avocation, with scientific ties that extend well beyond Sicily to London and to the Sorbonne in Paris. Yet at the same time he is exquisitely insular, sceptical of the new political forces, conscious of the limitations of his peers and the Bourbon king [...] (Noether 26).

Although he is a character born of the author's imagination,⁴ the Prince of Salina, "extremely astute observer of the changes wrought by the passage of time" (Rubino 18), traditionally represents the image of the group of Sicilian notables—the *Gattopardi*—that, in the difficult years of the *Risorgimento* when the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies passed from the Bourbon's sceptre to that of the Savoy dynasty,⁵ had the capacity to save their privileges and to re-interpret and re-invent Sicily's political role. These nobles and their heirs thus

integrated, often painfully, into the new Italian social contest, emerging from its subordinate position with respect to Naples. It was an extraordinary intuition, for with the renunciation of a bright—but distant—past of independence, this political class managed to play a leading role in the construction of the new unitary State.

The noble from Acireale, however, was not a member of this group. As a part of the Sicilian aristocracy, the Marquis Vigo had participated in the Sicilian revolutionary events of 1848: an important contribution to the development of the idea of Sicily's independence from the centralizing government of the Neapolitan Bourbons (Romeo 288–351). Indeed, after the failure of the revolutionary experiment, Vigo came back from Palermo to his hometown, where he dedicated himself to the study of Sicily's traditions, history and antiquity. Through these subjects, Vigo started his own poetical and political battle, first against Neapolitan, and then against Italian mistreatment, claiming there to be a desire in Sicily for independence and freedom and presenting an ulterior option, fundamentally different to Tomasi di Lampedusa's outlook.⁶

PROTOSTASI SICULA: ANTIQUITY

In 1874, seventeen years after the publication of his most famous work, the *Canti Popolari siciliani*, Lionardo Vigo edited the second edition of the collection, revised, enriched, and published with the ambitious title of *Raccolta amplissima di canti popolari*. Through that weighty volume, the writer aimed at making Sicilian language—in his opinion not just a dialect but the root of all the other languages of the peninsula—the most effective way to define the specificity of the island's history and its primacy in the regional context of Italy.

Vigo's *Raccolta amplissima*, an apologia for Sicily's qualities, its history and inhabitants, lacked critical precision and philological care. The author, a seventy-five-year-old man, became an easy target for controversy. The scientific and academic world recognized Vigo as a learned intellectual, but naive and even fanciful. He was once defined as an "archaeological type", referring to his passion for antiquity, but also to his attitudes in study and research (Capuana 189–194). Despite the general disapproval, Vigo's political and literary project would not end with the publication of the *Raccolta amplissima*, in which he referenced several times another book he had promised to deliver, once again, to the publisher in charge of printing the *opera omnia* of the Sicilian Antiquary. It was the *Protostasi sicula o genesi della civiltà*, almost five hundred pages to which the author had worked sporadically at least since 1858–1859 and that represent the culmination of his long literary and political activity. These two works, the *Raccolta* and the *Protostasi*, both inspired by the same purpose—the exaltation of the political and cultural primacy of Sicily—were actually profoundly different: with the *Raccolta*, Vigo had inaugurated a genre, the studies on Sicilian folklore, which would enjoy a stable recognition until the beginning of the twentieth century and that would assure him the reputation as an eminent scholar among the cultural environment of the time, consecrating his fame well beyond the island's

borders.⁷ *Protostasi's* aim, instead, was to go beyond the studies on folklore and ethnology, and the work is an essay devoted to ancient and medieval history, archaeology, philology, linguistics and antiquarianism, that emphasized the extraordinary peculiarities of Sicily and demonstrated, “storicamente e archeologicamente che una civiltà sicula anteriore alla greca e alla etrusca era fiorita colà” (Capuana 196). With his last work, composed as a “chiarimento di queste buie origini [italiane]” (*Raccolta amplissima* 13), Vigo wished to amplify the discourse on the Sicilian peoples' history, politics and culture which, particularly during the *Risorgimento*, became highly apposite topics. For the occasion, Vigo insisted on the Sicilians' ancient roots which evolved throughout the centuries from their most ancient ancestors—the Atlantean-Sicilians or Atlantean-Pelasgians—inhabitants of Sicily since it was, always according to Vigo, the most prosperous part of the immense island of Atlantis. Vigo and Don Fabrizio approach Sicilian past and history very differently: the role of history is one of the major divergences between Vigo and the Prince. In Vigo's works, Sicilians' roots assume a great importance, whereas Don Fabrizio's comments on this subject are quite the opposite. He reflects on the inevitable fate of the Sicilians and identifies the reason for their inability to find redemption in their own history:

Siamo vecchi, Chevalley, vecchissimi. Sono venticinque secoli almeno che portiamo sulle spalle il peso di magnifiche civiltà eterogenee, tutte venute da fuori già complete e perfezionate, nessuna germogliata da noi stessi, nessuna a cui abbiamo dato il là (Tomasi di Lampedusa 178).

In Vigo's reconstruction, the history of Sicily began with the mythological sinking of the fabulous homeland of all the Gods, which had abruptly closed a fundamental chapter in the world's civilization. This, however, could return to flourish, according to Vigo, first starting from Sicily, where the *siculi*, “pelasgi e originarii dell'isola” (Vigo, *Protostasi* 195) and the *sicani*, “residuo dei sommersi atalanti” (Vigo, *Protostasi* 201) had their roots and developed. Vigo defined the myth of the ancient Italian people's autochthony. For centuries these two populations lived together, one on the coast, the other inland, until they were both overwhelmed by the arrival of the Greeks, then called *sicelioti*, who inaugurated another era of splendour for Sicily: destined to become the cradle of poetry, literature, theatre, architecture and music and to surpass the same motherland in grandeur and magnificence. The subsequent Roman invasion of the island and the daring, but vain, defence of the Sicilian cities—rendered immortal by the betrayal and the vile assassination of Archimedes at the siege of Syracuse—marked the irreversible beginning of Sicily's long misrule, confirmed in the following centuries by the ravages of barbarians, Byzantines, Arabs and Saracens, who “passarono come lava sull'Italia” (Vigo, *Protostasi* 323–324) up until the Normans.

Though writing about Italy's ancient times, specifically in starting from the Sicilian mythical origins, was not original, yet Vigo's efforts were peculiar in his attempt to go beyond previous works, as his text rested on a reconstruction which drew “il vero dal mito,

la storia dalla favola, la civiltà dell'antichissima Sicilia dalla leggenda" (Grassi Bertazzi 401). Vigo affirmed the exceptional nature of the island, from which came the light of progress, which shone towards Italy's regions, Greece, Egypt, Mesopotamia and even to the remote Indian subcontinent.

Vigo's book, therefore, had its roots in such a long-standing cultural tradition, widespread throughout all the European continent, which since the sixteenth century had characterized the historic works, fuelling a debate divided between patriotic pride, municipal interest and dynastic primacy. The phenomenon found new vigour during the eighteenth century, when in Italy numerous hypotheses about antiquity and the origins of the Etruscan people began a veritable scientific movement, aptly named *Etruscheria*, which induced intellectuals to reconsider the origins of Italians, starting from a pre-Roman world, seen as a model in the search for Italians' virtues (De Francesco, "Introduction" 1–18). Later on, into the nineteenth century, intellectuals from every part of Europe began to reflect on their nation's ancient past, starting from what was written by the authors of the previous century.⁸ The origins for this questioning could be found in Revolutionary and Napoleonic France, when Celtic and Roman worlds were connected in an ideological framework which, "inventing an ethnic pride and mingling this with institutional models, aimed to provide a cultural basis for French supremacy in Europe" (De Francesco, "Introduction" 5). Both identities, legitimizing the politics of the time, rapidly encouraged wider dissemination in continental Europe under the dominion of the French armies. By proudly referring to the peoples of ancient Europe—Batavian, German, Ligurian, Cisalpine, Helvetic and Illyrian—the far-distant past of individual territories was brought into play to construct new political identities. In the Napoleonic years, these nationalisms, born out of contrast, rapidly opposed the French Imperial model on grounds that were very similar to one another: all rejected French supremacy, and all called on Anti-Romanism.⁹ So, archaeologists, historians, anthropologists, philosophers, scholars, most of the scientific community, became interested in the phenomenon of national antiquity, giving a new boost to the nation-building of those years. The idea of the people's autochthony made its appearance in that moment, traced in the myth and history of pre-Roman populations.

In the *Protostasi*, the references to this tradition recurred quite frequently and allowed Vigo to support the existence of a line of continuity between the inhabitants of Sicily, the Etruscans and the modern Italian people: the Etruscans, sons of the ancient Pelasgians progenitors, great navigators, contributed to the civilization of the entire Mediterranean world, preceding the Greeks, which only later could have landed on the coasts of Italy. For this purpose, Vigo used the extensive documentary material provided by the rich catalogues of Luigi Lanzi (1789), Scipione Maffei (1749), Mario Guarnacci (1767–1772), Anton Francesco Gori (1731–1766; 1737) and debunked the theories of a Nordic or Asian ancestry of the Etruscans, that had been proposed by scholars such as Nicolas Fréret (1796), Barthold Georg Niebuhr (1832–1833), Karl Otfried Müller (1824).

The Anti-Gattopardo

According to Vigo, the magnificent era of the ancient Italic populations—in addition to the Etruscans, the Sabines, the Samnites, the Ligurians and many others—had ended, tragically, with the Roman expansion: the political and military role played by ancient Rome, at first republican and then imperial, put an end to the independence of the peninsula's numerous peoples, geographically and politically divided, yet united by the same, strong desire for freedom.

Many Italian intellectuals of the *Risorgimento* recovered texts such as *Platone in Italia* by Vincenzo Cuoco (1770–1823), published between 1804 and 1806, which supported the unity of the peninsula by referring, once again, to the historical example of the Etruscan people, considered to be the first civilizers of Italy and of the entire Mediterranean world. Another work widely utilized in this period was *L'Italia avanti il dominio dei romani* by Giuseppe Micali (1768–1844) written in 1810, which was deeply influenced by eighteenth-century erudition. Unlike Cuoco, Micali claimed that the Italian peninsula had always been inhabited by a crucible of deeply divided and diverse populations, allowing one to view nationality as a mosaic; not taking this into account meant not having understood the history of the country. In the *Protostasi* there is no reference to these two important and widely (ab)used books. Cuoco's work did not please Vigo, since he, in opposition to the role of the Celts—and therefore of the French cultural world—insisted on the value of the Etruscans and other ancient Italian peoples, whom he considered autochthonous and useful in defining the natural Italian propensity for unity. In addition, within Cuoco's volumes there is no reference to the Sicilians and, for this reason, it was unusable by Vigo. He held the same regard for Micali and his book, as he did for Cuoco. Micali had challenged the role of the Greek past in Italian civilization, but at the same time, he insisted on the plurality and diversity of Italian peoples, stating that none of these peoples were superior to the others. According to Vigo, this was a serious mistake, because the supremacy of the Sicilians was unquestionable.

In the nineteenth century, against the common notion of an Etruscan people as the first Italian civilization, some southern intellectuals supported the civil primacy of continental *Mezzogiorno's* population, of Greek origin and allied to the Romans (De Francesco, "La nazione impossibile" 479–498). Southern Italy, at this time, was experiencing a period of archaeological development, mostly due to Winckelmann's influence (Ferrari, Ossanna Cavadini), and many were convinced that an ancient invasion of the Pelasgians and the consequent civil progress of Greeks created a deep and lasting cultural identity, which made Campania the epicentre of the entire peninsula's cultural development. The Sicilian tradition responded in opposition to the assumptions coming from the Parthenopean capital, proposing its own historical exceptionality. Vigo's work, therefore, placed itself in an ideal continuity with his predecessors' works, all convinced of the Sicilian historical specificity. Domenico Scinà, Vigo's teacher, was the first of these historians and scholars to definitively reject the Neapolitan cultural model. In this contest, Vigo "reaffirmed all his own regionalism: only the ignorance of other Italians could lead them

to assume Sicilians and Neapolitans were the same” (De Francesco, *The Antiquity of the Italian Nation* 109). Thus, Vigo used his predecessor’s arguments to support and vigorously justify his positions, taking to extremes the discourse about Sicily’s antiquity. He identified the first Italian inhabitants in the ancient populations of the island as the ancestors of the Etruscans, who would later make the history of Sicily and the entire Italian peninsula great. Based on his well-known experience as a linguist, Vigo argued that the Sicilian language was at the root of every other Italian language. The antiquarian of Acireale did not change his mind even after the annexation of Sicily to the new Kingdom of Italy in 1861; indeed, thanks to its ancient history and to the cultural traditions of Sicily, and recalling the effort made by the Sicilians for the liberation of the island from the Bourbons alongside Garibaldi’s Thousand, Vigo continued to argue for the superiority of Sicily in the Mediterranean context, even in light of the changed political situation.

PROTOSTASI SICULA: POLITICS

This opposition—against Naples until 1860, and then against the new Italian Kingdom—also had a political dimension that emerged strongly during the years of the *Risorgimento* and represents the background for the argument made here: the suggestion that the Sicilian cultural world was rapidly divided into two divergent positions, with those who accepted the new Italian and national reality—as was the case with Tomasi’s characters—and those, on the other side, who recognized the island’s primacy and strongly fought against the idea of a destruction of the local peculiarity (Romeo 317–388). Obviously, also after the achievement of Italian Unity, Lionardo Vigo placed himself in the second group.

In the *Protostasi*, which was not only an erudite exercise of history, archaeology, literature, poetry, but also a work full of political and contemporary content, Vigo mentioned all the great Sicilian historians, scholars, antiquarians, and linguists whom, from different perspectives, dealt with the island’s history. His mentor Domenico Scinà (1765–1837) studied the history of ancient Sicilian literature during the Greek years, with the clear purpose to “reassert how only with the arrival of the Doric colonies did a civilizing process begin that would protect Sicily from Roman conquest” (De Francesco, *The Antiquity of the Italian Nation* 102). Even before Scinà, Rosario Gregorio (1753–1809), esteemed as one of the founding fathers of modern Sicilian historical studies, proposed the topic of the island’s antiquity to define a uniqueness between Sicily and ancient Rome, and alternatively Sicily and contemporary Naples. The exceptionalism of the island also marked Niccolò Palmieri’s (1778–1837) and Vincenzo Natale’s (1781–1855) writings. Palmieri, the “aristocratic nationalist”, an historian and heir to a long-standing and conservative tradition, in 1834–1840 edited a history of Sicily in five volumes, depicting the ancient history of the island, influenced by the Greek tradition; for this reason Sicily was profoundly different from the Neapolitan past, which was closer to the Roman customs of centralisation that the Bourbon king aimed to rebuild in the nineteenth century. He believed strongly that Sicily deserved full recognition of its political

and institutional prerogatives, and he urged his compatriots not to give any kind of trust to the Neapolitans, with the suggestion to dedicate renewed attention to Sicilian antiquity, useful for the purpose of demonstrating that Naples was none other than the heir of ancient Rome returned, according to a tradition which always seemed destined to renew itself, to colonize and plunder the island. These were all works resolutely against Naples and its sovereigns, in which the Parthenopean capital is seen as a new, cruel and barbaric form of Rome, ready to sacrifice the other city's history, customs, aspirations and outlook. But if ancient Rome put together populations in a large project of civilization, "Naples's unity was only by brutal annexation" (De Francesco, *The Antiquity of the Italian Nation* 102).

Vincenzo Natale, distinguished for his sharply democratic positions, in 1843 published the *Storia antica della Sicilia*, in which he recovered the theory that in ancient times the island was inhabited by populations which, well before the arrival of the Greek colonists, were organized into advanced political structures with an increasingly distinct democratic character. Natale alluded to the Sicels, the people who had made a significant contribution—even larger than the Sicanians—to the glories of Sicily and who were symbolic of the fight against the Romans for an independent island.

Palmieri and Natale were an authentic benchmark for Vigo's historical reconstruction of Sicilian past, along with the younger Michele Amari (1806–1889) and Isidoro La Lumia (1823–1879). Amari was one of the major intellectuals of the nineteenth century, raised in the Scinà school; founder of Arab studies in Italy; senator and minister of the new-born Kingdom of Italy; Vigo's friend and rival; a true *Gattopardo*, able to understand and take advantage of the uncertain political circumstances of the time. La Lumia, belonging to another generation, chose to take a different route to that of Amari: he fought against the Bourbon troops in 1848 and then in 1860, and finally obtained a long series of official awards, becoming a prominent public figure. He was director of the *Giornale ufficiale di Sicilia*, director of the State Archive of Palermo, and superintendent of the Sicilian Archives. However, while accepting and strongly supporting the Unification of Italy, La Lumia always supported the necessity to preserve, within the new political context, his island's specific history, through a political, but above all, an historical and literary recognition.

Several years before, in 1842, Michele Amari had published *Un periodo delle istorie siciliane del secolo XIII*, better known as *Storia della Guerra del Vespro*. The volume described the Sicilians' ancient episode of heroism, in which the population had taken up arms against the misrule of Charles I of Anjou, giving rise to a revolt that sanctioned the expulsion of the Angevins and the attribution of the crown to the kings of Aragon. Amari's purpose was obviously to read, through the past, the events of the present, and to transform the *War of the Sicilian Vespers* into a struggle of the Sicilian people against the oppressor, easily recognised in context as the King of Naples. Amari, therefore, wrote a story of modern Sicily, composed to justify the political reasons for the separation from the new southern State founded by the Bourbons after the Congress of Vienna, the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, with

Naples, once again, as capital. From the pages of the *Vespers*, Amari was sending an appeal to the Sicilian people for a revolt (Gabrieli, Romeo 637–654). With origins in the separatist and independence movements, which had forced him into exile in Paris, Michele Amari quickly moved to more favourable positions of unifying his native island to the rest of Italy, becoming Senator of the Kingdom in 1861, and the following year Minister of Education.¹⁰

In 1872–1874 La Lumia published *I Romani e le guerre servili*, a book in which the reference to the ancient Roman world, and more specifically to the events of the slave revolts against the capital, became, once again, a clear reminder to the new contemporary political and cultural reality. Despite the collapse of the Bourbon regime, and the passage of large parts of the Sicilian intellectual and political class to the national culture, La Lumia showed that the regional spirit was still intense. Finally, the writer oscillated between a belated defence of Sicilian specificities and an inevitable opening toward Italian homogenisation, a position in which a part of the Sicilian population would remain for a long time within the overall centralizing spirit of the politics of the new Italian state.

But the references—although rich and detailed—delimited to the Sicilian cultural tradition, would not be enough for a project that strived to define a future history of the world. Like Diodorus Siculus—the famous Greek historian of the first century B.C. who had written the monumental *Bibliotheca historica*, a history of the ancient world that starts from Sicily—Vigo intended to describe an imposing history of humanity by utilizing the history of Sicily. Although he often complained about his cruel fate of isolation, without wise advice and without books in far-flung Acireale, Vigo was able to gather an extraordinary number of texts, poems, philosophical and historical works from ancient to modern times. More than his predecessors, Vigo recognised and used copious French and German volumes, showing a deep personal culture and openness to foreign literature and historiography. Alongside the most renowned authors of his time, such as Cesare Cantù (1804–1895), Vincenzo Gioberti (1801–1852), Cesare Balbo (1789–1853), Vigo found a real point of reference in Angelo Mazzoldi (1799–1864), who in Milan, in 1840, had published another weighty work regarding Italian primacy in the civilizing process of the ancient world, *Origini italiche*, which went on to be reprinted in several editions. It is, therefore, not strange that Vigo heavily relied upon one of the most imaginative essays concerning the origins of the Italian people. Mazzoldi, indeed, announced an end to the topic regarding the antiquity of the peninsula and its populations by writing a history of the Pelasgians, the mythical people who after the cataclysms—the reference to the dramatic collapse of Atlantis—became the only keepers, and guardians, of a huge world of civilized values. Only thanks to the Pelasgians' perseverance, could the light of progress spread from the Mediterranean throughout the rest of the European and Asian continents.

In a meticulous rehabilitation of Mazzoldi's ideas, Vigo proposed, approximately 25 years later and following a crucial event (the collapse of the Bourbon regime and the birth of a new State, the Kingdom of Italy), to underline the superiority of his island with regard

The Anti-Gattopardo

to other Italian regions. His book brings out a man quite different from that group of Sicilian notables, Michele Amari, surely, but also Tomasi di Lampedusa's character, that Prince of Salina who had the courage and the intuition to understand the practical and resolute words of his nephew Tancredi: "Se vogliamo che tutto rimanga com'è, bisogna che tutto cambi" (Tomasi di Lampedusa 50). The Prince also affirmed: "Noi fummo i Gattopardi, i Leoni; quelli che ci sostituiranno saranno gli sciacalletti, le iene; e tutti quanti, Gattopardi, sciacalli e pecore, continueremo a crederci il sale della terra" (Tomasi di Lampedusa 185). He thought that the golden age of the Sicilian aristocracy was about to end with the transfer of power between the élites (from the feudal aristocracy to the new bourgeoisie) as well as the entire ancient and glorious history of the island. The Prince pointed out an element of weakness in the character of the Sicilians, "che rimane così condizionato da fatalità esteriori oltre che da una terrificante insularità di animo" (Tomasi di Lampedusa 180). The same insularity of mind that was, according to Vigo, the main reason for Sicilian superiority. Don Fabrizio also thought that the Sicilian self-awareness was another insurmountable problem and rejected Vigo's opinion about the greatness of the island and its people, considering it as an "illusion":

noi siamo dèi [...] I Siciliani non vorranno mai migliorare per la semplice ragione che credono di essere perfetti: la loro vanità è più forte della loro miseria; ogni intromissione di estranei sia per origine sia anche, se si tratti di Siciliani, per indipendenza di spirito, sconvolge il loro vaneggiare di raggiunta compiutezza, rischia di turbare la loro compiaciuta attesa del nulla; calpestati da una diecina di popoli differenti essi credono di avere un passato imperiale che dà loro diritto a funerali sontuosi" (Tomasi di Lampedusa 183).

In other words, Vigo and Don Fabrizio disagree on the origins of Sicilian decadence: a political collapse, due to foreign forces, in Vigo's perspective, an endemic social crisis for the Prince (Baldini 24–66).

Therefore, during the fall of the Bourbon southern State, many members of the former ruling-class quickly realized that the milestone of 1860–1861 marked a point of no return that would destroy the ancient world—with all its rules, traditions and attitudes. That being said, the Marquis Vigo was not alone: he was part of a large group of old aristocrats and landowners that thought only independence and Sicilian political autonomy was favourable for the island. After centuries of political slavery, that group of men wanted a return to their origins, when the island was a place of political and cultural development, upon which the entire Mediterranean balance depended. Following the passage from Naples to Turin, in 1861, the position of Lionardo Vigo did not change; even in the years of Italian unification when the distinctive traits and the glories of Sicily appeared to the new ruling class as a distant and inadequate topic in the collective effort of building a new State. Furthermore, the new Italy's centralizing efforts ended up disappointing some Sicilians

who, after having given their support to Garibaldi and his *Mille's* landing and the consequent conflict against the Bourbon sovereign in view of the Risorgimento, still had hoped that Sicily would be recognized as a particular—and separate—administrative body. But we must admit that at this juncture, Vigo held a contradictory position, poised between a proud will to remain intransigent on Sicily's ancient positions, and cautiously open towards the new state of things. In this regard, it is interesting to underline that Vigo, together with Camillo Cavour, believed that Giuseppe Garibaldi should be part of the pantheon of illustrious Italians, and sit among Caesar, Napoleon, and Dante. With regard to General Garibaldi and his thousand soldiers, Vigo recognized the high value of having freed the island from Bourbon domination, but this did not prevent him from promptly making his voice heard in relation to a political situation that he was unable to accept. Faced with the general lack of interest in the extraordinary efforts undertaken by the island, which dangerously approached the attitude of the Savoy court as though it were that of the Bourbons, he wrote that “la vita nova è intolleranda, la Sicilia sarà deserta peggio della Sardegna” (Romeo 374). The *Protostasi* was started at the end of the 1850s, when the Bourbon House still reigned on the island of Sicily, but the text did not lose its militant character even when the *Risorgimento* had been completed. Even if one may consider it really to be an anti-*Gattopardo* work, if there was in Lionardo Vigo an opening, however limited, towards the new political situation, this must be traced in the *Protostasi*, where the marquis, apparently leaving aside his plans of autonomy for the island, stubbornly proposed a new political order: a federalised system that insisted on a division of the regions of Italy encompassed within the greater national unity. Yet, once again demonstrating a line of thought that struggled to keep up with the times, Vigo traced the ideal model for the construction of the new modern state through the Etruscans, an enlightened people and, according to him, still strictly contemporary.

Protostasi allows us to rediscover and understand the figure of Lionardo Vigo, the last heir of a long-standing cultural and political tradition, which survived unharmed through a large portion of the nineteenth century, aspiring to establish a new and independent island. Even in 1861, when many prominent Sicilian scholars and politicians had abandoned the utopian idea of an autonomous Sicily, beyond the ranks of the new political élite, a stronghold endured. Against all the *Gattopardi*—traitors in his mind—from his headquarters in Acireale, the house where he spent the last years of his life, the Marquis Vigo proudly defended the ancient origins of Sicily: not a daughter but a mother of Italy. He continued to suggest that project, political and cultural, founded on a Sicilian identity which had changed its profile over the centuries, but remained the only means of redemption for a people whose glorious past he wished to return in full force to the present.

NOTES

- 1 See also Ferretti (2008).
- 2 The volume was published for the first time in December 2017, thanks to a partnership between the Department of Historical Studies, University of Milan and the Accademia degli Zelanti e dei Dafnici in Acireale, where the original manuscript is kept.
- 3 The reference is to Jonathan Oldbuck, laird of Monkbarns, the leading character in Sir Walter Scott's 1816 novel *The Antiquary*.
- 4 About Salina's identity, Tomasi wrote in a letter to Enrico Merlo di Tagliavia (May 30, 1957), that Don Fabrizio is based on the historical figure of his great-grandfather Giulio: "è superfluo dirti che il principe di Salina è il principe di Lampedusa, Giulio Fabrizio mio bisnonno; ogni cosa è reale: la statura, la matematica, la falsa violenza, lo scetticismo, la moglie, la madre tedesca, il rifiuto ad essere senatore" (Lanza Tomasi, "Premessa" 9). Many friends asserted that the Prince is a self-portrait of the same Tomasi di Lampedusa and Lansing wrote that Don Fabrizio is Tomasi's "portavoce and alter ego" (409). See, for more information, Gilmour's biography (1988) and Lanza Tomasi ("Il Gattopardo: un romanzo" 3–15).
- 5 On the events that marked the passage of Sicily from the Kingdom of Naples to that of Italy, see the old but valuable works, all focusing on Giuseppe Garibaldi's role, by Trevelyan, G. M. (1909 and 1911) and the more recent Mack Smith, D. (1957; 1985); Finley, M. I., Mack Smith, D., Duggan, C. (1986); Riall, L. (1998; 2013) and Lupo, S. (2011).
- 6 In this essay, *Il Gattopardo* is considered just as a work of fiction and not as a chance to develop a literary, social or political discussion of his author's aims (on these aspects, see Forgacs 17–29). However, some reflections and some traits of the main character, Don Fabrizio, are highlighted with the aim to place the Prince within a purely historiographic analysis—as a comparison with Lionardo Vigo—and therefore consider him as the representation of the archetype of a group of Sicilian aristocrats between the end of Bourbon monarchy and the beginning of the Italian Unitary State. The word *gattopardismo* is here considered, according to the traditional meaning, as the behaviour of those who, having been part of the dominant class in a previous regime, adapt to new political, social and economic situations.
- 7 In the same years the Sicilian folklorist Giuseppe Pitrè (1875) edited a collection of fairy and folk tales, which obscured Vigo's literary fame, becoming arguably the benchmark in Sicilian folkloric studies.
- 8 See Manias and the second part of the essay by Smith, devoted to the origins of Nations.
- 9 The French Empire was seen at the time as a new Roman Empire and Napoleon as a new Roman Emperor.
- 10 From 1854, Amari had edited the edition of his *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, with which he rediscovered a period, that of Muslim domination, long sacrificed in historical studies to other more fortuitous moments. In the seventh chapter of the *Protostasi*—entirely dedicated to the history of Sicily during the Barbarian, Byzantine and Muslim dominations—Vigo used Amari's work as an essential source of reference, a veritable mine of information for a careful

reconstruction of the period. However, the Marquis relegated in a strongly polemical and dissimilar manner from that proposed by Amari, who considered the period of Muslim domination as a golden age of Sicilian history. Hence, Vigo dismissed any validity which may have existed in Amari's work, overturning his theses and seeking to demonstrate how the Islamic period was among the darkest of the island's long historical experience.

WORKS CITED

- Amari, Michele. *Un periodo delle istorie siciliane del secolo XIII*. Palermo, Poligrafia Empedocle, 1842.
- . *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*. Florence, Le Monnier, 1854.
- Baldini, Alessio. "Il Gattopardo di Lampedusa come saga familiare: realismo modernista ed erosione dell'orizzonte della famiglia patriarcale." *Allegoria. Per uno studio materialistico della letteratura*, no. 71–72, 2015, pp. 24–66.
- Bonanzinga, Sergio. "Lionardo Vigo, un pioniere dell'etnografia siciliana." *Lares—Quadrimestrale di studi demoetnoantropologici*, vol. 81, no. 1, 2015, pp. 17–84.
- Capuana Luigi. *Lettere inedite a Lionardo Vigo (1857–1875)*. Edited by Luciana Pasquini, Roma, Bulzoni, 2002.
- Cuoco, Vincenzo. *Platone in Italia*. Edited by Antonino De Francesco and Annalisa Andreoni, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2013.
- De Francesco, Antonino. *The Antiquity of the Italian Nation. The Cultural Origins of a Political Myth in Modern Italy, 1796–1943*. Oxford, Oxford UP, 2013.
- . "La nazione impossibile. Antiquaria e preromanità nella politica culturale delle Due Sicilie." *Mediterranea ricerche storiche*, no. 41, XIV, 2017^a, pp. 479–498.
- . "Introduction." *In Search of Pre-Classical Antiquity. Rediscovering Ancient Peoples in Mediterranean Europe (19th and 20th c.)*. Edited by Antonino De Francesco, Leiden, Boston, Brill, 2017^b.
- Ferrari, Stefano, Nicoletta Ossanna Cavadini, eds. *J. J. Winckelmann (1717–1768). Monumenti antichi inediti. Storia di un'opera illustrata—History of an illustrated work*. Milan, Skira, 2017.
- Ferretti, Gian Carlo. *La lunga corsa del Gattopardo. Storia di un grande romanzo dal rifiuto al successo*. Turin, Nino Aragno, 2008.
- Finley, Moses I., Denis Mack Smith and Christopher Duggan. *A History of Sicily*. London, Chatto & Windus, 1986.
- Forgacs, David. "The Prince and His Critics: the Reception of *Il Gattopardo*." *Il Gattopardo at Fifty*, edited by Davide Messina, Ravenna, Longo, 2010, 17–42.
- Fréret, Nicolas. *Oeuvres complètes de Fréret*. Paris, Dandré, an VII (1796).

The Anti-Gattopardo

- Gabrieli F., Romeo R. "Amari, Michele Benedetto Gaetano". *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*. Roma, Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, vol. 2, 1960. [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/michele-benedetto-gaetano-amari_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/michele-benedetto-gaetano-amari_(Dizionario-Biografico)/)
- Gilmour, David. *The Last Leopard. A Life of Giuseppe Tomasi di Lampedusa*. London, Quartet books, 1988.
- Girardi, Giacomo. "Vigo, Leonardo". *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*. Roma, Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, vol. 99, 2020. [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/lionardo-vigo_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/lionardo-vigo_(Dizionario-Biografico)/)
- Gori, Anton F. *Museum Florentinum exhibens insignora vetustatis monumenta quae Florentiae sunt Ioanni Gastoni Etruriae magno duci dedicatum*. Florentiae, Francisci Moücke, 1731–1766.
- . *Museum Etruscum exhibens insignia veterum Etruscorum monumenta*. Florentiae, Caietanus Albizinius, 1737.
- Grassi Bertazzi, Gian Battista. *Lionardo Vigo e i suoi tempi*. Catania, Giannotta, 1897.
- Guarnacci, Mario. *Origini italiche o siano Memorie istorico-etrusche sopra l'antichissimo Regno d'Italia, e sopra i di lei primi abitatori nei secoli piu' remoti*. Lucca, Leonardo Venturini, 1767–1772.
- La Lumia, Isidoro. *I romani e le guerre servili in Sicilia*. Turin, Loescher, 1874.
- Lansing, Richard. H. "The Structure of Meaning in Lampedusa's *Il Gattopardo*." *PMLA*, vol. 93, no. 3, 1978, pp. 409–422.
- Lanza Tomasi, Gioacchino. "Il Gattopardo: un romanzo quale soluzione della discrepanza fra realtà e desiderio." *Forum Italicum: A Journal of Italian Studies*, vol. 21, no. 1, 1987, pp. 3–15.
- . "Premessa." Tomasi di Lampedusa, G. *Il Gattopardo*. Milan, Feltrinelli, 2002.
- Lanzi, Luigi. *Saggio di lingua etrusca e di altre antiche d'Italia*. Roma, nella stamperia Pagliarini, 1789.
- Lupo, Salvatore. *L'unificazione italiana. Mezzogiorno, rivoluzione, guerra civile*. Rome, Donzelli, 2011.
- Mack Smith, Denis. *Garibaldi*. London, Hutchinson, 1957.
- . *Cavour and Garibaldi 1860. A Study in Political Conflict*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Maffei, Scipione. *Museum Veronense*. Veronæ, Typus seminarii, 1749.
- Manias, Chris. *Race, Science, and the Nation. Reconstructing the Ancient Past in Britain, France and Germany*. London, New York, Routledge, 2013.
- Mazzoldi, Angelo. *Delle origini italiche e della diffusione dell'incivilimento italiano all'Egitto, alla Fenicia, alla Grecia e a tutte le nazioni asiatiche poste sul Mediterraneo*. Milan, Tipografia Guglielmini e Redaelli, 1840.

- Micali, Giuseppe. *L'Italia avanti il dominio dei romani*. Firenze, presso Guglielmo Piatti, 1810.
- Müller Karl. O., *Die Dorier, in Geschichten hellenischer Stamme und Stadte*. Breslau, im Verlage von Josef Max und Komp., 1824.
- Natale, Vincenzo. *Sulla storia antica della Sicilia. Discorsi di Vincenzo Natale*. Naples, per i tipi di F. Del Vecchio, 1843.
- Niebuhr, Barthold G. *Storia romana*. Pavia, Bizzoni, 1832–1833.
- Noether, Emiliana P. "The Old Order Confronts the Risorgimento: *the Leopard* as History." *Forum Italicum: A Journal of Italian Studies*, vol. 21, no. 1, 1987, pp. 26–35.
- Pitrè, Giuseppe. *Fiabe, novelle e racconti popolari siciliani*. Palermo, Pedone Lauriel, 1875.
- Palmieri, Nicolás. *Somma della storia di Sicilia*. Palermo, Stamp. F. Spampinato, 1834–1840.
- Riall, Lucy. *Sicily and the unification of Italy. Liberal policy and local power, 1859–1866*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1998.
- . *Under the Volcano. Revolution in a Sicilian town*. Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 2013.
- Romeo, Rosario. *Il Risorgimento in Sicilia*. Rome-Bari, Laterza, 1950.
- Rubino, Carl A. "A bomb manufactured in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Past, present, and future in *The Leopard*." *Forum Italicum: A Journal of Italian Studies*, vol. 21, no. 1, 1987, pp. 16–25.
- Scott, Walter. *The Antiquary*. Edinburgh, James Ballantyne and Co, 1816.
- Smith, Anthony D. *The Antiquity of Nations*. Cambridge, Polity Press, 2004.
- Tomasi di Lampedusa, Giuseppe. *Il Gattopardo*. Milan, Feltrinelli, 2002 (originally published in 1958).
- Trevelyan, George M. *Garibaldi and the Thousand*. London, Longmans Green and Co., 1909.
- . *Garibaldi and the making of Italy*. London, Longmans Green and Co., 1911.
- Vigo, Lionardo. *Canti popolari siciliani*. Catania, Tipografia dell'Accademia Gioenia di C. Galatola, 1857.
- . *Raccolta amplissima di canti popolari siciliani*. Catania, Tipografia Galatola, 1870–1874.
- . *Protostasi sicula o genesi della civiltà*. Edited by G. Girardi. Rome, Arbor Sapientiae, 2017.

SPUNTI E RICERCHE

NOTES TO CONTRIBUTORS

1. Material submitted for publication should be in electronic form (preferably in Word format) and submitted as an attachment to the editor.
2. The author's name and institutional affiliation should appear at the end of the article, followed by endnotes. Bibliographic details are not given in the notes but in a subsequent list of works cited.
3. The list of works cited is ordered alphabetically by author's last name, and should follow the guidelines specified in the *MLA Handbook for Writers of Research Papers* (2016). However please retain the place of publication of books where practicable. The following are examples.

Book:

Signorelli, Amalia. *Migrazioni e incontri etnografici*. Palermo, Sellerio, 2006.

Edited book:

Ackley, Katherine A., ed. *Misogyny in Literature. An Essay Collection*. New York & London, Garland Publishing, 1992.

Alaimo, Emma, a cura di. *Ferdinando Di Giorgi. Lettere a Federico De Roberto*. Catania, Fondazione Verga, 1985.

Chapter or article in a collection of essays, conference papers or similar:

O'Connell, Daragh. "Degenerative Genre: Federico De Roberto and His Sicilian Legacy." *The Risorgimento of Federico De Roberto*. Eds Julie Ashwood and Margherita Ganeri. Oxford, Peter Lang, 2009. pp. 13–63.

Article in academic journal:

Dewhirst, Catherine. "Historical Turns in the Historiography of Italians in Queensland." *Spunti e Ricerche*, vol. 24, 2009. pp. 133–153.

SPUNTI E RICERCHE

c/- Dr A. Pagliaro, Italian Studies
School of Languages, Literatures, Culture and Linguistics
Building 11, 20 Chancellors Walk
Clayton Campus
Monash University
Vic 3800, Australia