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Paola Paoloni
Rosa Lombardi *Editors*

Advances in Gender and Cultural Research in Business and Economics

4th IPAZIA Workshop on Gender Issues
2018, Rome, Italy

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Preface

The New Challenges of Gender Studies: Some Thrilling Insights

Gender studies are a relevant research field in the international scenario. Thus, scholars are increasing their interest in gender issues adopting a multidisciplinary approach. If we find for “gender studies” and “gender issues” on Scopus (www.scopus.com), results are interesting with respectively over 3400 documents and 7700 documents retrieved in all research fields. Although the first documents appear on Scopus in 1976–1977, the exponential trend in publishing on “gender studies” and “gender issues” is retrieved after 2000s. At least the 30% of documents come from USA and UK. Additionally, results by Google Scholar using the same search words are impressive and promising (respectively, over 190,000 and 500,000 documents).

Our investigation field is mainly in business, management, and accounting perspectives without excluding a multidisciplinary approach. Particularly, the investigation on gender strategies adopted and tested by companies as well as the impact assessment for subsequent dissemination is the aim of IPAZIA as Scientific Observatory for Gender Studies (www.questionidigenere.it). Thus, the aims of IPAZIA are to define an updated framework of researches, services, and projects, and all initiatives related to women and gender relations at the local, national, and international. In order to achieve this objective, the Observatory aims to implement the literature on gender studies, to organize, and promote relevant scientific initiatives (e.g., workshops, seminars, conferences, studies, and scientific laboratory) on these issues at national and international level adopting an interdisciplinary approach.

This book includes the results of researches on gender studies presented at the Annual Workshop of IPAZIA 2018 of Rome in Italy (9th March 2018). Thus, this book will provide innovative and rigorous analysis with the purpose of advancing the understanding of the gender researches in the light of previous contributions. This book is structured in four sections each of which addresses a specific theme on gender studies as follows.

Part I

Women in Academia and in the University Contexts: A Trans-disciplinary Approach

The purpose of this section is to analyze women's role in Academia and in the University contexts and the relationships between women and men referring to governance, scientific, and career processes. This topic aims to enhance the research field about gender issues in Academia by promoting the submission of papers both empirically and theoretically based. Conceptual papers, as well as case studies, that embrace diverse methodologies, using diachronic perspectives and different disciplinary sides, and combine two or more disciplinary perspectives, are included in this section. Moreover, proposals from academics and practitioners, as well as comparative analyses of different countries are included too. Additionally, topics included within the track mainly cover the following issues:

- Women in Academia corporate governance;
- Women in Academia in different countries;
- Women scholars career and crystal cliff;
- Women and universities planning;
- Women and sustainability in academia;
- Women and methodology of research;
- Women and scientific visibility.

Part II

Gender Issues, Corporate Social Responsibility and Reporting

Several ideas, concepts, and recommendations for improving corporate reporting have risen over the past two decades. The relevance of companies providing more nonfinancial information (Eccles et al. 2011) has been recognized by all different approaches to communicate a fair picture of current and future business activities. Gender-related information are included into the more general topic of diversity by the European Commission that requires (all European large companies and groups) to disclose nonfinancial and diversity information by the fiscal year 2017 (EU/95/2014). Moreover, stock markets and investors are encouraging listed companies to adopt diversity objectives and policies to support gender equality in workplace recommending the reporting on different diversity metrics (www.SSEinitiative.org). The shift from voluntary to mandatory disclosure on gender information can influence not only corporate financial performance but also social or environmental performance. Thus, gender disclosure can be useful to enhance Corporate Social Responsibility and legitimize business activities to the firm's stakeholders.

This section points the following topics keeping contributions by academics and practitioners empirical and conceptual levels:

- Gender issues and nonfinancial information: voluntary *versus* mandatory disclosure;
- Gender-related information and international regulations or best practices;
- Gender disclosure indicators and information quality;
- Gender issues in sustainability and integrated reports;
- Gender-related information and corporate governance disclosure;
- Gender-related information and financial performance;
- Gender-related information and social/environmental performance;
- Gender and Corporate Social Responsibility practices;
- Gender, sustainability and Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), in particular SDG 5 Gender Equality.

Part III

Woman in Business and Female Entrepreneurship

The purpose of this section is to examine the convergence among entrepreneurship organizations, relationship, creativity, and culture from a gender perspective in woman in business. So far the male perspective has been widely dominant inside organizations; however, the extant literature has identified the existence of some differences between men and women entrepreneurs in terms of propensity to innovation, approach to creativity, decision-making, resilience, creativity, and co-creation. We wonder if these differences may affect women's approach towards information and communication technologies, the new knowledge architecture, and the fundamental features to cope with the increasing complexity and turbulence of today's business landscape.

This topic aims to contribute to research into gender issues in a woman in business and female entrepreneurship. Although we encouraged the submission of empirical or conceptual papers with different research methodologies, theoretical streams, and disciplines by academics and practitioners, the contributions are on the following themes:

- Female entrepreneurship;
- Corporate governance;
- Relational capital;
- Glass ceiling;
- Women in business and social media.

Part IV

Women in Family Business

Family firm is the oldest business model and continues to be a dominant organizational form all over the world. Family businesses are deeply characterized by the interaction of the family and the business, two systems that are highly interconnected and influencing each other. According to Ridgeway (2011), gender effects are especially noticeable in the spheres of work and home, which are the main domains of family businesses. Thus, traditional gender-based family roles and rules are often reproduced in the business affecting the status of women involved in the firm.

Consequently, gender represents a highly topical issue in the family business research, particularly in the age of growing women's involvement in the ownership, management, and leadership of family firms. However, only few scholars have started to deal with this topic and important gaps in the literature persist. Several authors (Hytti and Heinonen 2011; Hytti et al. 2016; Nelson and Constantinidis 2017) pointed out that a male perspective still prevails and call for further research in order to better understand how women's participation in the ownership, management, and leadership of family business may influence its behaviors, goals, resources, strategies, and performance.

This section includes submission from academics and practitioners, which addresses these topics also adopting different theoretical perspective and disciplines. Both empirical and conceptual papers based on diverse research methodologies are included in order to shed light on our latest understanding of women in family business. In this perspective, topics included in this section are the following:

- Female-led family businesses;
- Gender and leadership in family businesses;
- Gender and family business performance, innovation, internationalization and growth;
- Matriarchal succession;
- Gender and succession process in family firms;
- Gender and culture in family firms;
- Gender identity construction within family firms;
- Gender stereotypes in family business context;
- Gendered methodological challenges in researching family firms.

Rome, Italy

Paola Paoloni
Rosa Lombardi

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Part I
Women in Academia and in the University
Contexts: A Trans-disciplinary Approach

Chapter 1

The Exiled Queen Maria Casimira Sobieska in Rome: Gender, Culture and Politics



Giulia Vincenti

Abstract This paper is about the figure of the Polish Queen Maria Casimira Sobieska, widow of King Jan Sobieski, the winner of the battle of Vienna, 1683. After her husband's death, in 1696, she moved to Rome, where she cleverly integrated into the political and cultural context. The focus is Maria Casimira Sobieska's cultural and political activity in a gender perspective, as she was one of the first two women admitted to the Academy of Arcadia. The intellectual activity of the Arcadia is presented trying to evaluate women's involvement. The political character of Maria Casimira's travel is closely related to her cultural activity in Rome, and her "pilgrimage-exile" is investigated in order to highlight its significant political implications. It is essential to examine the figures of female travellers especially if, as in the present case, they have significantly affected the political and cultural life of their time. Their travels, that were often undertaken because of or after their marriage, are fundamental to raise awareness and understanding of the role played by these travellers once they settled down in the places where they were headed. Travel itself has a pivotal role in historical and political transformations, more specifically in the development of the identity and inclusion–exclusion processes concerning different social groups and gender dynamics. The practice of voyage has radically evolved over time. Travel experience changed in space and in time, from the epic of Gilgamesh or Odysseus to the modern idea of tourism. Ancients valued travel as an explication of human fate and necessity; for modern people it is an expression of freedom and an escape from necessity and duty. The history of travel is the study of a force—mobility—that has shaped human history and that is clearly still influencing our present. However travel appears to be, with its historical, economic, cultural and political implications, and in its evolution, a male prerogative. This is the reason why the present work examines women's weight in culture and politics proposing an alternative point of view.

Keywords Travel history · Female travels · Maria Casimira Sobieska
Academy of Arcadia

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1.1 Travel and Female Mobility

The history of travel and travellers gives us the opportunity to observe how mobility affected social realities and territories and the connections between them at economic, political and civic level.

The desire to discover what is hidden beyond the borders of daily life, the concrete need to create new economic, social, political and cultural relations, and also the will to visit sacred places are only some of the many reasons that always pushed “mankind” to undertake arduous journeys in order to reach faraway destinations and meet the “other”.¹ For centuries the travelling dimension has been quite far from the female world. The outside world and the public dimension are in fact reserved to men, and mobility is their prerogative, while women are bound to remain confined in houses or nunneries.

The anthropologic view of the classic world, as well as that of Christianity, that codified the nature and the roles of our western culture, had its basis on this kind of dichotomies: masculine/feminine; movement/stillness; activity/passivity; external/internal.² Nevertheless the experience of mobility is universal, in fact we often rely on it to express ideas linked to the human condition. We refer to death as a “passage”, to the structure of life as a “journey” or as a “pilgrimage”. Thus travel is the ultimate metaphor of human action, and with its destinations, its records and its various forms, provides essential elements for the in-depth investigation of the multiple aspects that characterize a certain place—historical, social, geographical, anthropological, or cultural. However, the history of travel, an experience of otherness, both on the spatial and on the cultural level, has an underlying paradox: despite its universality it is reported to us only by the narration of male experiences, mediated by male models.

This paradox is fully exemplified by the wanderings of Ulysses, his long and dangerous journey to return in his homeland represents the personification of both human restlessness and the eternal search for one’s self. Opposite to Ulysses we find Penelope, that perfectly embodies the model of waiting. Emmanuel Lévinas³ drew a parallel between Ulysses and Abraham, the latter, in symmetrical opposition to the Homeric hero, undertakes an exodus not towards home, he is headed “elsewhere”, that turns out to be the Promised Land. Abraham’s wife, Sarah,

¹«Il desiderio di scoprire cosa si nasconde oltre i confini della propria quotidianità, la pratica necessità di aprire a nuovi rapporti economici, sociali, politici e culturali, oltre al desiderio di andare verso i luoghi della fede, sono le ragioni (ma ne potremmo menzionare altre) che hanno spinto da sempre “l’uomo” a mettersi in cammino per impervie strade pur di raggiungere mete lontane e incontrare “l’altro”» (Platania 2003, 15) on the matter of journey cf.: Leed, E. J. (1991), *The mind of the traveler: From Gilgamesh to global tourism*. New York: Basic Books.

²«Su tali polarità maschile/femminile; movimento/stasi; azione/passività; esterno/interno ha trovato fondamento la visione antropologica del mondo classico, così come dell’elaborazione cristiana, che ha codificato nature e ruoli nella nostra cultura occidentale» (Silvestre and Valerio 1999, VIII).

³See in this respect Lévinas, E. (1979), *La traccia dell’altro*, trad. it. Fabio Ciarraelli, Pironti, Napoli.

accompanies her husband and has a role in this journey, but she is not the protagonist, and she is not the addressee of the divine promise. Two opposite views, two ways of conceiving the path of life, that affect western spirituality and culture in which women appear marginal, if not unrelated. Many other examples can be made. Throughout Dante's *Divine Comedy*, Beatrice plays the role of a supporter and mediator.

Yet many women in different times have undertaken a journey in search for the "Elsewhere" leaving records in travel literature.⁴

As for the period in consideration, the end of the seventeenth century and the first years of the eighteenth century, it is necessary to emphasize how travelling essentially involved men. Despite Antoni Mączak underlined that travelling for pleasure or for tourism was not an activity suitable to "the weaker sex", modern age women have travelled even though they did so mainly because they had to follow their fathers, husbands and sons.⁵ There have been cases of women protagonists of journeys, but they were not cultural or leisure trips. They were journeys made for political reasons, and/or they were also cases of exile of important European noble female figures, predominantly sovereigns.⁶ Some Princesses from the geopolitical area of central and Eastern Europe have, for example, undertook long and uncomfortable journeys to reach Italy in order to find asylum or to get married. This was the case of the Polish-Saxon Princess Maria Amalia Wettin (1724–1760) who, at the age of fourteen, left Dresden to reach Naples in order to marry Charles of Bourbon, the new sovereign of the emerging kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Despite the highly political nature of her journey, Maria Amalia seized the opportunity to be a "tourist" visiting Sant'Antonio in Padua and the Holy House of Loreto, typical devotional destinations of traditional religious itineraries.

Maria Casimira Sobieska (1641–1716) nicknamed Marysienka, wife of Jan III King of Poland and the liberator of Vienna, took a forced political journey. In 1696, at the death of her husband, she had to abandon the kingdom as a result to the intrigues of the interregnum and contrasts with the powerful magnate families.⁷ So she forcedly fled away from the Kingdom, although it was apparently recorded as an explicit choice of the sovereign.

⁴On female mobility refer to: Silvestre and Valerio (1999), Mazzei (2009).

⁵On this matter see Maczak et al. (1995). Platania, G. (1999), in Silvestre and Valerio (1999), op. cit. p. 130.

⁶As Gaetano Platania (1999) properly highlights these women were not used to personally write down feelings and turmoil that characterised their experiences, except for the case of Lady Ann Fanshawe (1625–1680) and of the Countess Marie-Catherine d'Aulnoy (1650c–1705).

⁷The liberation of Vienna from the Ottoman siege in 1683 had been a landmark event in European history, universally acknowledged as a success of the glorious John III Sobieski. This event represented one of the highest moments of the political and military path of the Polish king. On the history of the kingdom and its Sovereign after the liberation of Vienna refer to: De Caprio, F. (2014), *Il tramonto di un regno: Il declino di Jan Sobieski dopo il trionfo di Vienna*, Sette Città, Viterbo. About the episodes related to the succession refer to Platania, G. (1992), *Venimus, vidimus et Deus vicit: dai Sobieski ai Wettin: la diplomazia pontificia nella Polonia di fine Seicento*, Periferia, Cosenza.

It is to be pointed out that Maria Casimira, born de la Grange d'Arquien,⁸ when she was a child, had embarked on a long and difficult journey as a young escort lady, following the French princess Maria Ludovica Gonzaga Nevers (1611–1667), who was travelling to Warsaw in order to marry Ladislaus IV Wasa. Maria Ludovica arrived in the country of the European Sarmatians, soon becoming the protagonist of the political society. Maria Casimira, grown in the Kingdom of European Sarmatians, on the advice of Maria Ludovica Gonzaga Nevers, in 1658 married the aged Palatino of Sandomierz, becoming one of the richest women in the country. Being soon widowed, she remarried Jan Sobieski, the great Hetman of the Kingdom, and it was rumoured he had been her lover. A happy union that will be rewarded in 1674, when he became King of Poland.

1.2 Maria Casimira Sobieska's Journey to Rome

After Jan Sobieski's death, Maria Casimira had to leave Poland. But the widow Queen could not return to France, at the court of Louis XIV, nor to Vienna, at the court of Leopoldo I of Hapsburg, because her "natural" inclination to control and to interfere in diplomatic issues made her an illustrious but also a troublesome guest. She resolved to go to Rome, under protection of Pope Innocent XII Pignatelli.

All the details about her journey to Rome are well known, thanks to the detailed account of Antonio Bassani from Padua, canon of Varmia, who was part of the entourage of people accompanying the sovereign widow of Poland in the long journey to the Pope's capital. This travel report, published in Rome in 1700, and dedicated to Carlo Barberini, Cardinal protector of the Kingdom, is one of the main sources on the details of the journey of Maria Casimira. Other sources are the contemporary accessory reports and/or the "notices", that were both printed or handwritten: a consistent documentation that offers detailed news about the movements of the Court while travelling through Central and Eastern Europe, and Italy.

Moreover there is a vast collection of letters, that are very important at a political-diplomatic level, sent from Apostolic Nuncios in Warsaw, Vienna, Venice, and papal legates in Ravenna, and Bologna who, in accordance with a precise order given from Rome, minutely reported all the news on the needs of the sovereign and her large entourage. There is also a paper codex, from the archives of the Capuchin friars of Florence, written by friar Filippo Bernardi, and named *Viaggio a Roma della Sacra Reale Maestà di Maria Casimira Regina di Polonia*. It appears as some sort of compendium of contemporary texts reporting on the same subject and it takes inspiration, as the title suggests, from Bassani's work that was evidently well

⁸Maria Casimira de la Grange d'Arquien, daughter of Henri (1613–1707) and Françoise de la Châtre de Brillebant, was born in Nevers on 28th June 1641 and died in Blois on 30th January 1716. For more biographical information see: M. Komaszynsky (1984).

known by the Capuchin friar. This document is particularly interesting, not only because of the text itself, but also because of the reasons that pushed the Tuscan friar to revise and leave the record of a rare and uncommon event, the journey throughout Europe undertaken by a major figure like Maria Sobieska. The reasons behind the friar's work are not only linked to the fact that a queen, specifically Maria Casimira, went to Rome in the occasion of the Jubilee, but they are also linked to a political interest coming from the Holy See. In fact the Kingdom of the European Sarmatians, had always been considered as an *antemurale Christianitatis* (bastion of Christianity), but in that period it seemed that the Kingdom was neglecting its traditional anti-Islamic and anti-schismatic role, in fact its focus was on the events in the Baltic sea area where the Polish king was trying to seal a political-military agreement with the orthodox king Peter of Russia⁹ (at least this was the political strategy undertaken by Augusto Wettin II, the new sovereign elected of Poland).

We have records that Maria Casimira Sobieska arrived in Rome on the 23rd March 1699. Innocent XII, promptly informed, ordered the papal court to exit from Porta del Popolo to pay respects to the sovereign. Visits and meetings followed one another, from the Sacred College, the religious orders, to the nobility and diplomatic representatives. Once she found adequate accommodation in an apartment set in the palace of don Livio Odescalchi, in piazza SS.mi Apostoli, the widow queen paid particular attention to the arrangement of the public meeting with the Pope, planned for the 22nd June 1699. It was not a traditional courtesy meeting or a sign of "obedience", as with the foreign ambassadors. The meeting with Pope Innocent XII was a way to highlight the political role Maria Casimira had played in Poland, and her hope of maintaining it in Rome. Together with the highly political reasons, the journey to Rome of the widow queen had also the purpose, as mentioned before, of participating in the Jubilee announced by Pope Pignatelli.¹⁰ As formerly underlined, several reports state the particular consideration reserved to the first period of the Roman stay of Maria Casimira Sobieska,¹¹ from the religious, cultural, and "touristic" point of view.

⁹Cf.: Platania, G. (1999), op. cit. pp. 135. For more informations about Maria Casimira's voyage to Rome see also Platania, G. (1995). *Maria Casimira Sobieska a Roma. Alcuni episodi del soggiorno romano di una regina polacca*. In *Il Viaggio*. Roma: Istituto Nazionale di Studi Romani; Platania, G. (2009). *Donne al potere donne di potere*. Viterbo: Sette Città; Platania, G. (2016). *Polonia e Curia Romana. Corrispondenza di Maria Casimira Sobieska regina di Polonia con Carlo Barberini protettore del regno (1681–1699) e il soggiorno romano di una famiglia polacca in esilio*. In *Collana Acta Barberiniana* 3 (pp. 10–279). Viterbo: Sette Città.

¹⁰The Holy Year, announced in 1700 by Pope Innocenzo II in the papal bull «Regi saeculorum», turned out to be very peculiar. The Pope, due to his illness, did not manage to personally open the Holy Door in San Pietro and he also did not see the end of the Jubilee: the Holy Door, for the first time, was opened by a Pope and closed by another. Pope Pignatelli, in fact, died on 27th September 1700 during the jubilar period.

¹¹A special area was reserved to the Sovereign in order for her to peacefully and comfortably attend the religious service. Moreover it was published a perfect itinerary, *Relazione fatta dall'Illustrissimo Signor Canonico Pisani alla Sacra Maestà Reale della Regina di Polonia di tutte l'antichità di Roma*, with the aim of guiding the widow queen in the visit of the most famous

Marisienka's stay in Rome, that lasted for fourteen years, has different aspects. Maria Casimira Sobieska was firmly committed to play an active role in the Roman political and international life. Therefore, (in Rome) she had honours and privileges, only similar to those reserved in the Papal capital to another great sovereign, Christina Alexandra of Sweden (1626–1689). The comparison with the Swedish queen appears in a pasquinade,¹² on 28th August 1700, which ironically ridicules the scarcely noble birth of the Polish queen and her low political and cultural profile compared to the Swedish queen, the Arcadian par excellence. The episode shows how Maria Sobieska was the subject of violent satire because she was accused of squandering money and of an excessive participation to social life. Actually the role played by Maria Casimira Sobieska in the political and cultural life of Rome was analogous to that of Christina of Sweden, who had been traveller for necessity,¹³ just like the widow queen. They proved to be authoritarian, arrogant, intrusive, imposing a new life-style on the inactive papal court, although the Roman nobility, and common people too, not always accepted Maria Casimira's rules and caprices. Maria Sobieska, though, never gave up on the public figure role she had covered during her reign, she was sure she could have played a determining role in Rome as well, affecting the political life and the diplomatic and political intrigues concerning, in this case, the Holy See.¹⁴ However, her obstinate political interfering, a difficult debt situation, together with the shocking rumour about the liaison her two sons, Alexander and Constantine, had with the prostitute Vittoria Tolla, put an end to the idyllic situation initially created between Maria Casimira and the eternal city. In 1714 the old queen had to leave Rome for Blois, in France, where she died on 30th January 1716.

and interesting monuments in Rome. This report is not a vademecum of jubilar itineraries, it rather has the features of an academic text with historical and artistic information about the monuments and references to literary debates and quotations of scholars regarding the ancient times.

¹²Pasquinades were brief satirical rhymes used to criticize important figures of the time. «Nacqui da un gallo semplice gallina vissi tra li pollastri e fui regina venni a Roma cristiana e non Christina»: I was a simple chick born from a rooster, I lived among chickens and I was queen, I came to Rome as a Christian not as Christina.

¹³Christina of Sweden in 1654, after having renounced Protestantism and abdicated in favor of her cousin Charles Gustav, departed for Rome. The former sovereign had been a pivotal figure for the papal political strategy: Roman diplomatic representatives were hoping to re-establish contacts, through her, with those European countries that after the Lutheran Reform had drifted away from the Catholic Church. On Christina of Sweden and the events that took place during her stay in Rome see: Platania, G. (2002). *Viaggio a Roma e sede d'esilio. Sovrane alla conquista di Roma (secoli XVII-XVIII)*. Istituto Nazionale di Studi Romani, Roma, pp. 21–60; De Caprio, F. (2004). *Il viaggio d'esilio di Cristina di Svezia nell'opera del Festini*. In *Esilio, pellegrinaggio e altri viaggi*, Mancini, M. (edited by), Sette Città, Viterbo, pp. 249–266; d'Onofrio, C. (1976). *Roma val bene un'abiura: storie romane tra Cristina di Svezia, Piazza del Popolo e l'Accademia d'Arcadia*. Roma: Fratelli Palombi.

¹⁴ «La Sobieska non volle però mai rinunciare al ruolo di personaggio pubblico che aveva rivestito durante gli anni di regno, certa di poter giocare anche a Roma un peso determinante sulla scena politica e incidere concretamente nei maneggi diplomatici e politici legati, questa volta, alla Sede Apostolica» (Platania 1999, 140).

1.3 Maria Casimira Sobieska and the Arcadia

It would be misleading to think that Maria Casimira Sobieska's stay in Rome had exclusively influenced politics, and that she was just an opulent guest involved in complex political intrigues. On the contrary she was well introduced in the Roman cultural context and together with Prudenza Capizucchi Gabriella, niece of Cardinal Guido Gabrielli and sister-in-law of Cardinal Galeazzo Marescotti, she joined the Academy of Arcadia becoming one of the first two women admitted. Christina of Sweden had chosen her palace as the prestigious meeting place for poets, musicians, and artists.¹⁵ Maria Casimira had the privilege of being admitted through public acclaim, previously reserved to male affiliations only. Therefore the figure of the widow queen has to be also analysed in the context of the contribution of women to the academic and cultural world.

Before the admission of Maria Casimira and Prudenza Capizucchi Gabriella, aggregations of women at the Arcadia had mainly had a representative value, and the admission to the prestigious Academy was an honour granted for patronage, parental, or diplomatic reasons. The formalization in an academic institution of the frequentation of both sexes¹⁶ confirmed a new cultural attitude that started at the end of the Seventeenth Century. From a diplomatic point of view the presence of Casimira at the papal court had been a unique event, she was an illustrious exile widow queen who tried to repeat, even in the academic context of the Arcadia, the role played by Christina of Sweden. The former queen of Poland maintained a privileged relationship with the Pope, and foreign ambassadors, she had at her disposal a court that could compete with those of the Cardinals, and she considered all these relations as fundamental tools for her political projects. In addition the Arcadia offered Maria Casimira two advantages: a strengthened prestige, and, subsequently, an extended network of relationships all over Rome, on the other hand the Academy could make use of the prestigious rooms of her residence. Undoubtedly the presence of Maria Casimira Sobieska at the Academy was transitory, but she amended the male chauvinism of the papal court by managing the selection of the invitations and the tone of the ceremonies held in her princely residence. The admissions to the academy of Countess Prudenza Capizzucchi had important effects too not only for the future organisation of Arcadia, but also for the new contribution of women to culture and poetry. Her Salon became the centre of aggregation for the first women of Arcadia. Among these, Petronilla Paolini Massimi and Faustina Maratti, who became in their turn supporters of literary salons.

In 1700, ten years after its foundation, female aggregations in Arcadia had become about twenty, and the ladies that were actually resident in Rome had contributed to a reform of the meetings. The dispute about women in the academy

¹⁵On female participation in the Arcadia also refer to: Graziosi (1992) and Findlen et al. (2009).

¹⁶However, it has to be pointed out that virgins of marriageable age were excluded, they had to remain firmly secluded in educational institutions inside religious houses until they married or took vows.

was then publicly debated, and it was ratified, for everybody, a minimum age of twenty four years and noble morality. Nevertheless, men were required «to be well-read at least in one of the main scientific subjects» while ladies, in addition, were asked «to be performing poetry in that moment», that is to say participation to, fruition and social use of culture. The Arcadia therefore admitted, but also excluded. In this work of selection of feminine models it must be underlined that, while education was very difficult to access for a sex excluded from regular courses of study, universities and, up to that moment, academies, poetry writing was nearly an obligation in social life, just like an artisan skill.

Since it was not conceivable that a young farm girl, over a period of ten years, could become a poetess, it is important to point out that they started a new tradition in other academies and publishing firms. The reorganization of the literary life under the Arcadia created a kind of literary circle that favoured the diffusion of poetry, which, until that moment, was confined within domestic walls or could have their place in limited editions only.

In the eighteenth century Italy recorded an increasingly numerous and active female presence in the cultural and academic fields. In Bologna, for example, the bourgeois Laura Bassi not only graduated at the renowned local university, but she was also admitted into the local cluster¹⁷ of the Accademia d'Arcadia in 1732. Foreigners travelling on their Grand Tour were openly surprised for the presence of women in Italian culture. Charles De Brosse, author of famous *Lettres d'Italie*, describes his discussions with Laura Bassi, the famous doctor to whom university had assigned a lecture on philosophy, but prevented her, as a woman, from giving regular lessons.

The long and complex history of the Academy of Arcadia and of the contribution that female members gave to its tradition appears to be linked not only to the imposing figure of its founder, Maria Cristina of Sweden, but also to that of Maria Casimira Sobieska.

In conclusion, usually the Polish sovereign is still remembered just as the wife of the invincible liberator of Vienna, even though she had definitely been a much more relevant figure, as outlined in the present work.

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Chapter 2

Emilia Morelli: A Historian in Italian Academics During the Second Post World War Period



Silvio Berardi

Abstract The present research aims to reconstruct the academic career of Emilia Morelli, the first woman to win a public competition in History of the Risorgimento in 1955, declared by the University of Cagliari. Her teaching activity took place until 1964 in Palermo and, from that year until 1988, at the University of Rome “La Sapienza”. As a student of Alberto Maria Ghisalberti, Morelli graduated in 1935 at the University of Rome, becoming his assistant since 1942. Forced in an environment extremely wary about female university teaching, Morelli managed to overcome these skepticisms not only through her wide-ranging scientific production, dedicated mainly to Mazzini’s studies, but also through her strong propensity to the leadership that allowed her to hold positions of primary importance in the scientific field: in 1951 she was, for example, general secretary of the Institute for the History of the Risorgimento, while from 1st November 1977 she became director of the Institute of Modern History, taking over from Rosario Romeo. Therefore, Emilia Morelli was among the first to open the gradual and strenuous insertion of female historians not only in the academic world, but also in the governance of the same one.

Keywords Emilia Morelli • Contemporary History • Risorgimento
Italian Academy • History of the university in Italy

2.1 Introduction

Emilia Morelli was born in Pavia on the 2nd November 1913, daughter of the affirmed TBC specialist Eugenio Morelli, important contributor to the successful battle against TBC in Italy in the 20 years between the two world wars. Congressman from 1924 and then Italian Regno’s Senator from 1924, Eugenio Morelli occupied a central role in his daughter’s life whom admired him deeply and

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often accompanied him to the congresses he was invited to, allowing her to come into contact with the vast cultural world frequented by her parent.

She graduated in Literature at the University of Rome on November 28th 1935, discussing History of the Risorgimento thesis with Alberto Maria Ghisalberti about Mazzini's exile in England, dissertation that would end up inaugurating her studies on the Genoese patriot and revealing her passionate interest for Risorgimento. That same passion for Risorgimento's studies, perhaps initially linked to a sort of romantic sentimentality, became for her constant commitment in the on-going search of sources, archival documents, in an attempt to reconstruct that world to which she felt deeply attracted to. She perceived the history of the Risorgimento as national history, in which the true Italian patriotism was celebrated and of which the Great War represented the last great epilogue. Such values had always been deeply shared within her family and with her Teacher, the aforementioned professor Ghisalberti that had fought in that war (Ghisalberti 1982) «considered it intimately tied to the Risorgimento elected to subject of study»¹ (Ghisalberti 1995, p. 592). Immediately after graduating, thanks to him, she became vice-director of the "Istituto di Storia del Risorgimento Italiano al Vittoriano" (Vittoriano's history of Risorgimento institute), where she remained her whole life, contributing profoundly to its transformation in a scientific organism, designated for researching and studying national history. In the mean time her academic career began: she was an assistant professor from October 29th 1941 to June 30th 1948, without tenure, but by 1942 she had obtained habilitation. During the German occupation of Rome she helped to hide and avoid the seizure of part of the army's historical archive; after September 8th, she hosted in her home, for a few days, Mrs. Marcella Ghisalberti and her son Carlo affected by the racial laws. The same Carlo Ghisalberti remembered these events with great emotionality and simultaneous gratitude:

In the aftermath of September 8th, 1943, with the Nazis entered in Rome, invited by Milla [Emilia Morelli] and affectionately welcomed by her family, the Morelli's home was the first refuge for my mother and I, forced for nine long, interminable months to abandon our home for safety reasons. And of these facts, now that mine are no more, I alone remain to testify, grateful for what Milla and her family did in very hard times for us.² (Ghisalberti 1995, p. 593)

Once the war was over, from 1946 from 1949, she taught as adjunct assistant professor in Cagliari's university; in 1950 she became assistant professor in Rome. A year after she was nominated secretary general of the Vittoriano's history of Risorgimento institute, while Ghisalberti became its president. At the end of that same year the Italian Institute of culture in London summoned her to contribute to the organization of an important exhibition that was inaugurated on December 6th

¹«[L']aveva considerata intimamente legata al Risorgimento eletto a motivo di studio».

²«All'indomani dell'8 settembre 1943, con i nazisti entrati a Roma, invitati dalla Milla [Emilia Morelli] ed accolti affettuosamente dai suoi, casa Morelli fu il primo rifugio per mia madre e per me, costretti per nove lunghi, interminabili mesi ad abbandonare la nostra abitazione per ragioni di sicurezza. E di questi fatti, ora che i miei non ci sono più, resto solo a testimoniare, riconoscendo per ciò che la Milla ed i suoi fecero in tempi difficilissimi per noi».

1951, about Italy and England during the Risorgimento. In 1955 she became the first woman to obtain tenure first of History of the Risorgimento and then of Contemporary History, teaching as a full professor in Palermo and, finally, in 1964 as Ghisalberti's chair successor in Rome. In 1970 she was appointed *pro tempore* director of the Institute of Modern History in replacement of Rosario Romeo, which she officially succeeded only on November 1st 1977. Availing herself of the collaboration of a group of young graduates, by the autumn of 1970, she finally managed to open to the public the Central Museum of the Risorgimento, whose opening had been hypothesized at the beginning of the century but never achieved. In 1982 its rooms hosted a major exhibition for the centenary of Garibaldi's death. In 1983 she became president of the Institute of Modern History. Her political outlook was monarchical and for this reason she was repeatedly hosted in Cascais by the former king Umberto II, who in 1982 nominated her as a member of the 'Commission for the delivery to the Italian State of Her Majesty Umberto di Savoia's Historical Archives'. She died in Rome on January 13th 1995; particularly touching the words of Carlo Ghisalberti in remembering this event:

On 13th January of this year I was scheduled to consult, with the help of Milla, the correspondence between Francesco Salata and Agostino D'Adamo, which she had organised, and which was also needed by one of my pupils, Ester Capuzzo, for a talk in a conference in Trieste about the work performed by Salata for the New Provinces. When we arrived at the Institute, I learned that Milla had left shortly before because she had felt ill. Knowing her strength of will and her temperament, I was worried about it because I thought that the pain must have been very bad to have induced her to miss an appointment. I phoned her house and was told that it was over, as she drove her car back into the garage, she was stroked dead by the heart attack that had hit her in her usual work place. I felt then very strong grief, realizing that a dear, old friendship was lost.³ (Ghisalberti 1995, p. 597)

2.2 A Constant Dedication to Scientific Research

Research and study were the core values of Morelli's entire existence, without excluding the commitment to the Institute in which she worked feverishly to give life to congresses, conferences and publications. As Giuseppe Talamo rightly sustained:

³«Il 13 gennaio di quest'anno dovevo consultare con l'aiuto della Milla la corrispondenza tra Francesco Salata e Agostino D'Adamo, da Lei ordinata, che doveva servire anche ad una mia allieva, Ester Capuzzo, per una relazione ad un convegno triestino sull'opera svolta da Salata per le Nuove Province. Quando giungemmo all'Istituto, seppi che la Milla se ne era andata poco prima perché si era sentita male. Conoscendo la sua forza d'animo ed il suo temperamento, ne fui preoccupato in quanto pensavo che il male dovesse essere assai forte per averla indotta a mancare ad un appuntamento. Telefonai a casa sua e seppi che era finita, mentre rientrava con la sua macchina in garage, stroncata dall'attacco cardiaco che l'aveva colpita sul suo abituale posto di lavoro. Provai allora un dolore fortissimo, comprendendo che era venuta meno una cara, antica amicizia».

The preliminary and perhaps most important observation that must be made of the long and generous activity carried out by Emilia Morelli in the Institute for the history of the Italian Risorgimento is that it did not represent a (how to put it?) bureaucratic activity, extraneous to her scholar's activity and almost opposed to it, but it constituted its completion and its almost natural continuation.⁴ (Talamo 1995, p. 436)

In some ways, her activity within the Institute was the direct prosecution or rather the corollary of her studies on the Risorgimento world and on the significance that that world had in the national history development. When Alberto Ghisalberti left the Institute it seemed impossible that another scholar could replace him as president: Emilia Morelli, even if with great anguish and trepidation, succeeded in this burdensome task, comforted by the trust that Ghisalberti himself had always placed in her and also thanks to the esteem of all her collaborators. Taking over the Presidency of the Institute, as well as the direction of the «Rassegna storica del Risorgimento» (Historical Review of the Risorgimento), she immediately started working with great fervour and already on November 7th 1984, the 52nd Congress of History of the Risorgimento took place in Pescara. The congress was centred around the *Administration of justice and police powers in the pre-unification States at the fall of the Right*, an absolutely new theme, as Morelli herself pointed out in the conference's inaugural speech and which confirmed the scientific rigor with which it was necessary, in her opinion, to address the history of the Risorgimento (Morelli 1986).

The scarcity of state contributions made the activity of the Institute very complex; moreover, with the death in 1986 of Ghisalberti the great guide that Morelli had always had from her mentor disappeared. Nonetheless, the Institute's scientific initiatives were not reduced: during Congresses the Lombard scholar was fond of pointing out that despite the financial difficulties, the projects she had put in place would not come to a halt. In Sorrento, for example, on December 6th 1990, at the 55th Congress dedicated to *Institutional problems and reforms of the Crispin age*, Emilia Morelli explained very clearly the financial conditions of the Institute that were not at all prosperous, but that however could be compensated by the large number of members thanks to which it was also possible to publish its magazine (Talamo 1995, p. 439). Morelli dedicated a particular and constant attention to the «Rassegna storica del Risorgimento» (Historical Review of the Risorgimento), both as general secretary and, above all, as President, to preserve the traditional richness of collaboration from Italian and foreign scholars and the high level scientific rigor. As president of the Institute she was also President of the Commission responsible for publishing the writings of Giuseppe Garibaldi. Of the nine volumes of the *Epistolario* (Garibaldi 1983, 1986, 1991, 1992) published up until her death, the last four went to print during her presidency. Even the relationships with the foreign colleagues were always cared for and cordial, because for Morelli the

⁴«L'osservazione preliminare e forse di maggior rilievo che bisogna fare sulla lunga e generosa attività svolta da Emilia Morelli nell'Istituto per la storia del Risorgimento italiano è che essa non rappresentava un'attività (come dire?) burocratica, estranea alla sua attività di studiosa e quasi contrapposta ad essa, ma ne costituiva il completamento e quasi la naturale prosecuzione».

exchange of bibliographic and archival information was key to an increasingly rich and multifaceted research. Much energy was also spent on the rebirth of the Central Museum of the Risorgimento at the Vittoriano, injecting, in all her activities, optimism and enthusiasm as well as the perfect knowledge of archival funds that she had begun to inventory and reorganize as far back as 1936, when she received as mentioned, the position of Deputy Director of the Museum. For her, the Museum essentially was and always would be, an archive. She wanted that the organization itself of the exhibition itinerary inside the Museum to ideally follow the drafting of a paper

where the documents constituted both the premise and the indispensable support: as in a traditional volume of history the text (with the notes) came first, the illustration could be there, it was useful, but not indispensable. For her, history was essentially a product of men, hence her attention to biographies; while on the museum side she placed particular attention to setting up rooms and sections dedicated to great figures: Mazzini, Garibaldi, Vittorio Emanuele II and Cavour.⁵ (Arpino 1995, pp. 444–445)

She wished, in fact, to attract visitors by showing them the objects belonging to a certain character; in this way they could recreate, even if partially what had been his world, his tastes, his habits, his way of life. Just two years after the inauguration in 1970, on the occasion of the centenary of the death of Giuseppe Mazzini, the exhibition dedicated to him opened on April 28th 1972 in the ground floor rooms adjacent to the Museum's entrance (Ghislaberti 1972; Ferretti 1974). The closure of the Museum in '79, due to the recurrence of damage to the building and the lack of funding, could not obscure her usual optimism and her tenacity. The subsequent exhibition for Garibaldi in fact took place in two locations: the historic part at the Vittoriano and the artistic part at Palazzo Venezia. In March 1982 the texts and photographs for the catalogue were already delivered to the editor and the damages of the 1979 accident were repaired at the Vittoriano; unfortunately, however, after the exhibition on Garibaldi, the Museum could not be re-fitted and re-opened to the public.

However, in 1985 Morelli succeeded in setting up the exhibition *One against the other armed*, which remained open until March 1986. The scholar continued, even in the 90s, in all offices, to plead the Museum's cause, even if her determination reached a lucid realism; however, she continued to work on the sector of the museum, most suited to her, namely the Archive: until her last day, that is until January 13th 1995, her activity was tireless.

⁵«Di cui i documenti costituivano insieme la premessa e l'indispensabile supporto: come in un volume tradizionale di storia prima veniva il testo (con le note), l'illustrazione poteva esserci, era utile, ma non indispensabile. Per lei la storia era, essenzialmente, prodotto di uomini, di qui la sua attenzione alle biografie; mentre sul versante museale poneva una cura particolare all'allestimento di sale e sezioni dedicate a grandi figure: Mazzini, Garibaldi, Vittorio Emanuele II e Cavour».

2.3 Between Cagliari and Palermo

Alongside the archival activity, Emilia Morelli combined the academic one: her first assignment, in the year 1945–1946 was, as mentioned, in Cagliari, a city devastated by the war and by the Allied bombing of 1943. Reaching the island at the time wasn't a simple task due to the reduced and not easy transport by sea and as for those by plane they were entrusted to old and battered seaplanes. She arrived in Sardinia with the fame of a great scholar of Risorgimento's history: she had already published, in fact, two volumes on *Nino Bixio's letters* (Morelli 1942a), the *Domenico Farini's Diary* (Morelli 1942b) and many of her essays had appeared on the «Rassegna storica del Risorgimento» (Historical Review of the Risorgimento), like the one about Jessie White Mario (Morelli 1938a) or Nicola Fabrizi (Morelli 1938b). In particular, in the Diary of Domenico Farini, the scholar, while not emphasizing Farini's stature, who certainly was not a central figure in the Risorgimento and post-Risorgimento Italy, stressed, however, how he played a not insignificant role in the parliamentary history of the nineteenth century.

In the forties, the University of Cagliari, despite the inconveniences of various kinds, had a very lively intellectual life, with teachers of great importance in the different cultural fields, such as, for example, Mario Toscano, Ernesto Sestan and Ludovico Geymonat. Morelli had her first teaching assignment in History of the Risorgimento at the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy and, later, taught Modern History in the Political Sciences degree course. Her academic commitment, conducted together with her colleagues, allowed the University of Cagliari to significantly increase the enrolment numbers and to promote the cultural progress of local youth.

In the 1949–1950 academic year, Emilia Morelli passed to the University of Palermo, for the purpose of a progressive approach to her Roman headquarters, but never forgot the years spent in Sardinia; when in 1986 the LIII Congress of the Risorgimento was held in Cagliari, «she was really happy to return to the Cagliari offices, after forty years away, as she began in the congress opening speech, as the new president of the Institute»⁶ (Orrù 1995, p. 449). She occupied Palermo's seat for eight years, until, in 1964, she was called, as mentioned, by the University of Rome.

The contact with the Sicilian reality was for Morelli fundamental in her historiographical research on Risorgimento Sicily. Thanks, above all, to the “Società siciliana della storia patria” (Sicilian society of the homeland history), which at that time had as president De Stefano (1937, 1938), ordinary of Medieval History in the same University of Palermo, Morelli was integrated into the Sicilian cultural fabric and was so able to satisfy her needs as a scholar. Particularly in the Congress that took place at the premises of the “Storia Patria” in January 1948, on the exact anniversary of the 1848 revolution, Emilia Morelli's talk was of great interest

⁶«Fu veramente felice di quel ritorno alla sede cagliaritano, dopo quarant'anni di lontananza, come esordì nel discorso di apertura dei lavori, in qualità di neopresidente dell'Istituto».

especially for the innovative vision on the debated relationship between Mazzini and Sicilia (Morelli 1939, 1941, 1950). According to the Lombard scholar, in 1847 Mazzini still didn't believe that it would be possible to begin the unification of the peninsula from a southern initiative, let alone from a Sicilian initiative. Even in '48 he remained firm on this position, convinced of the insufficiency of the revolutionary initiative of the South. He also believed that the South's movement would not lead to a unitary but federative result; nevertheless, he had to accept the Palermo triumph of January 12th and set aside the mistrust of the revolutionary capabilities of Sicily. On February 12, he went further and said that Sicily had overcome its disagreements in the continuation of the revolutionary drive and, for this reason, he offered his solidarity and urged her not to break away from the rest of Italy. In fact, he no longer saw the claim of secular rights carried on by the island, but the triumph of Italian law carried on by the people of Palermo on the '48 barricades. Mazzini, therefore, according to this interpretation, did not see any localism, but the proclamation of a common nationality. Morelli remained firm on these convictions, firmly convinced that even the advent of the Roman Republic, did not deter the Exiled from the Sicilian problem: while reiterating the need for unity, he granted the island the possibility of benefitting from an administrative autonomy capable of guaranteeing its consolidated financial rights, except those damaging to the political link with the Italian nation, and its economic interests. Naturally, the pressing of events determined, in her opinion, changes in the Exiled thoughts; the failures of Pisacane in Sapri and Bentivegna in Sicily led him to observe the events with greater realism: the Sicilians alone could not operate a revolutionary plan and after the action of Cavour in the Marche and Umbria regions, he returned to London to re-assess the complex problem of the South. Morelli accepted in this regard what Francesco Crispi had said: Mazzini on the island had friends, but not followers. The scholar wanted to highlight the reasons for the Sicilian's poor response to the message of the apostle: first of all, the opposition of the island nobility and clergy to the Bourbon monarchy aimed more at regaining the privileges lost in the era of absolutist pressure than to truly demolish the dynasty and its institutions, while the bourgeoisie, which could have given the greatest contribution to Mazzini's cause, did not come to Sicily to perform its typical functions of dynamic and intermediate class, but rather tended to fit into the upper class structure, with the obvious consequences of political nature (Ganci 1995, pp. 455 ff.).

2.4 A Rigorous Study of the Risorgimento

For Morelli the years in Palermo were milestones that allowed her to make valuable experiences in the cultural and educational fields, experiences that were very useful in the Roman university, a chaotic university due to the large number of students enrolled and for the lack of information available, especially for freshmen. But, as Romano Ugolini, who was a collaborator of Morelli in the Sapienza (Rome

university), remembered, the students of her course were very lucky because on established days

every Monday, Wednesday and Friday from nine to one o'clock you could enter the Institute door and go to the second door to the right. Miss Morelli would have been invariably there to answer any questions, from the near graduate's specific ones [...] to the more general ones of the freshman's [...] the rhythm flowed simple and perfect, with a punctuality totally worthy of the Kantian meticulousness.⁷ (Ugolini 1995, pp. 478 and 480)

Many students sat in her courses, attentive to her words, she preferred the monographic courses: only during the years of the great protests she followed an institutional course path. The student was at the centre of her thoughts, he was never considered as a number, but as a person, to be defended and protected; «for her the University had to be together a School of moral formation and a Laboratory for the knowledge of the scientific method»⁸ (Ugolini 1995, p. 483). The student had to enter the University leaving his ideological convictions out of the door: it was inside that he had to form them, gradually during his years of study. This was perhaps the vision of an aristocratic university separated from civil society; but in the middle of the 60s the generation born at the end of the war entered the universities, a generation that grew up in the Italy of the reconstruction up to the economic boom enjoyed in adolescence, a generation that read, watched television and travelled throughout the world with little money: this generation could not accept Morelli's message, who, despite the many disputes received, maintained the moral duty she believed in and that she was always consistently faithful to: in delicate moments such belief always gave her assurances of balance and serenity. Precisely because of this high sense of morality she devoted herself to the Mazzinian studies: although monarchical, the common denominator with the Genoese republican was the moral tension that Morelli saw emanating from the two institutions, the monarchy and the republican.

Among the many intellectuals, object of Morelli's studies, particular attention was given to Pope Benedict XIV, one of the most significant popes in the history of the papacy in modern times (Morelli 1955, 1955–1984). Benedict XIV was, in fact, above all a man of study and it was this reason that explained «his benevolent affection for all those Italians and foreigners, Catholics and non-Catholics, who were seriously and deeply concerned with science»⁹ (Morelli 1955–1984, vol. I,

⁷ «Il lunedì, mercoledì e venerdì dalle nove all'una si poteva varcare la porta dell'Istituto e dirigersi alla seconda porta a destra. La signorina Morelli sarebbe stata immancabilmente lì a rispondere a qualsiasi domanda, da quelle specifiche del laureando [...] a quelle più generali della matricola [...] il ritmo scorreva semplice e perfetto, con una puntualità del tutto degna della meticolosità kantiana».

⁸ «Per lei l'Università doveva essere insieme una Scuola di formazione morale e un Laboratorio per la conoscenza del metodo scientifico».

⁹ «Il suo benevolo affetto per tutti coloro, italiani e stranieri, cattolici e acattolici, che si occupavano seriamente e profondamente di scienza».

p. 3). He was in fact proud of his intellectual abilities and for this reason «felt different from the world around him, different even from his predecessors on the Chair, different, he dared to prophecy, from his successors»¹⁰ (Morelli 1955–1984, vol. I, p. 3). However, he had an overbearing humanity (Morelli 1955–1984, vol. I, p. 10) and «he also knew how to forgive those who offended him directly, as he knew how to defend, with unsuspected violence (against) all those whom he considered to be his friends and of the Church»¹¹ (Morelli 1955–1984, vol. I, p. 45). Morelli Interpretation of the pontiff was therefore highly positive, however, in historiography, especially recent, he has not always reported favourable judgments (Greco 2011).

The approach to the historiographical studies on 1831 revolution began in 1946, when in Italy the interests towards the constitutional problems had increased, as the citizens had to choose between the monarchical and the republican system, and had to elect a Constituent Assembly, able to deliberate on the type of republic to be established. A special Ministry promoted a series of historical studies for the Constituent, which included a small volume of the scholar on the *Assembly of the United Italian Provinces of 1831* (Morelli 1946). In the volume she spoke mainly of the Bologna movements in their constitutional aspect and, although not adhering to that part of historiography that considered such movements the prelude of the unitary idea, Morelli appreciated «the noble effort that the Vicini and, it must be said in their honour, the Bolognese in general, to smooth the corners, to reduce the frictions, to make the Assembly, which met in Bologna, the parliament of a state and not the meeting of delegates of many provincial states»¹² (Morelli 1946, p. 17). The archival sources available to the scholar for this work were few and fragmented, yet she managed to outline a fairly precise picture of that complex situation. Her study ended with a benevolent note about those men who were part of the Commission for the implementation of the Constitution, representatives of all the liberated provinces, who knew how to «really separate good from evil, to expose the defects of the new regime, to look for the remedies, even if they were necessarily provisional»¹³ (Morelli 1946, p. 39).

¹⁰«Si sentiva diverso dal mondo che lo circondava, diverso persino dai suoi predecessori sulla Cattedra, diverso, azzardava la profezia, dei suoi successori».

¹¹«Sapeva anche perdonare a chi lo offendeva direttamente, come sapeva difendere, con insospettata violenza contro tutti coloro che considerava amici suoi e della Chiesa».

¹²«Il nobile sforzo che il Vicini e, bisogna dirlo a loro onore, i bolognesi in genere fecero, per smussare gli angoli, per ridurre gli attriti, per fare della Assemblea, che si riuniva a Bologna, il parlamento di uno stato e non la riunione di delegati di tanti statarelli provinciali».

¹³«Veramente sceverare il bene dal male, esporre i difetti del nuovo regime, cercarne i rimedi sia pure necessariamente provvisori».