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# Exporting the cult of martyrs to lands of exile. The communities of banished Italians in France and Piedmont-Sardinia in the early 1850s

Pierre-Marie Delpu

## 1. Exile and martyrdom, two tools for mass liberal politicisation

The aftermath of the 1848 European revolutions saw significant increase in political exiles. The drift back towards authoritarian monarchies, coupled with the new role played by measures to take in political migrants in certain European states (France, Great Britain, and Piedmont), contributed to a massive increase in their number and the generalisation of the practice of exile. This played a key role in processes of liberal and democratic politicisation. It was a decisive phase in the process by which past political experiences were endowed with commemorative form, and on occasions reconfigured, coinciding with the often decisive impact exiles had on the cultural dynamics of their host countries.<sup>1</sup> Over the course of the long nineteenth century, revolutionary memories crystallised around political actors who had been sacrificed in the name of their political beliefs, described as *martyrs*—a term borrowed from religion. These figures were at the centre of commemorative and memorial practices performed by exiles. The 1848 revolutions revealed the central place martyrs held within politicisation processes. In the case of Italy, they are known for their discursive and literary aspects. The first patriotic martyrologies were published at the time of the revolution, described by Dino Mengozzi as “the birth of martyrology”.<sup>2</sup> They borrowed from religious ways of celebrating saints, transferring the functions the latter had in religious society to the realm of politics—namely the incarnation and legitimisation of collective mobilisation, together with political instruction rooted in a specific ethic.<sup>3</sup>

This chapter sets out to study the intersection between these two repertoires of action, elements in their own right within the mass liberal and democratic movements

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<sup>1</sup> For Piedmont-Sardinia, see Ester De Fort “Immigrazione politica e clima culturale a metà Ottocento nel Regno di Sardegna”, in Luca Lo Basso (ed.), *Politica e cultura nel Risorgimento italiano. Genova 1857 e la fondazione della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*, Genoa, Istituto Ligure di Storia Patria, 2008, pp. 193-223. For France, Sylvie Aprile, *Le siècle des exilés. Bannis et proscrits de la Révolution de 1789 à la Commune*, Paris, CNRS éditions, 2010.

<sup>2</sup> Dino Mengozzi, *Corpi posseduti. Martiri ed eroi dal Risorgimento a Pinocchio*, Manduria, Lacaïta, 2012, p. 50.

<sup>3</sup> On the function of martyrs, see Arianna Arisi Rota, “Eroi, martiri, concittadini patriotti : i necrologi come pedagogia del ricordo”, in A. Arisi Rota, M. Ferrari, M. Morandini (eds.), *Patrioti si diventa. Luoghi e linguaggi di pedagogia patriottica nell'Italia unita*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 2009, p. 143-156, Lucy J. Riall, “Martyr Cults in nineteenth-century Italy”, *Journal of Modern History*, 82/2, 2010, p. 255-287, and Fulvio Conti, *Italia immaginata. Sentimenti, memorie e politica fra Otto e Novecento*, Pise, Pacini, 2017.

that were reconfigured in the wake of the failed revolutions of 1848. But exporting the cult of martyrs to lands of exile was not a new phenomenon, as shown by the case of the Genoese democrat Giuseppe Mazzini, who, on being exiled in London in the 1840s, wrote several articles for radical British newspapers about Italian patriots who had died in combat.<sup>4</sup> Despite there being no broadly accepted definition of the notion of a martyr, Mazzini appreciated the role he could play in the service of mass democratic politicisation, as part of a larger transfer from religion to politics.<sup>5</sup> The category included dead patriots and politicians who suffered for the cause they defended, and was characterised by its emotive charge associated with the experiences of suffering and pain. In the early 1850s, the notion of a martyr was heir to these constructs. It was taken up in exile and transposed commemorative reflexes practised in the exiles' country of origin to the host community, via literary celebrations of martyrdom, its mediatisation in the press, and the adoption of ordinary practices to stage mourning for sacrificed compatriots.

The communities of Italian exiles in the Kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia and in France provide two privileged observatories for apprehending these transfers and translations. Piedmont-Sardinia, which in the words of the minister Massimo D'Azeglio wanted to act as "a sort of Italian asylum", welcomed large influxes of exiles as of 1848, most of whom came from the other Italian states, particularly Lombardy-Venetia. The Piedmont capital, described by an anonymous observer shortly before Italian unification as a "Mecca for exiles"<sup>6</sup>, subsequently saw the flow of exiled migrants stabilise, who were partially associated by the Savoy monarchy to its nation-building. They played a leading role as producers of political memory. But the case of those banished from the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies is singular. Once established in Piedmont-Sardinia they drew on their place in social networks formed in Turin and Genoa to promote a discourse built around suffering and lament, thus helping fashion the image of a Neapolitan homeland threatened by Bourbon tyranny. Martyr figures such as the former

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<sup>4</sup>Giuseppe Mazzini, "Martyrs for Italian Liberty", *People's Journal*, March-June 1846, republished in *Scritti editi ed inediti di Giuseppe Mazzini*, Imola, Galeati, 1922, vol. XXXIV.

<sup>5</sup>Simon LevisSullam, "Mazzini and Nationalism as Political Religion", in Christopher A. Bayly, Eugenio F. Biagini (eds.), *Giuseppe Mazzini and the Globalization of Democratic Nationalism 1830-1920*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2009, p. 107-124.

<sup>6</sup>A. Nobody, *La Mecca e le sue delizie : schizzi sul vivo*, Turin, s.n., 1859. For an overview about exiles from Piedmont, see Ester De Fort, "Esuli in Piemonte nel Risorgimento. Riflessioni su di una fonte", *Rivista Storica Italiana*, CXV, 2003/3, p. 648-688.

Neapolitan deputy Carlo Poerio, imprisoned since 1849, fed this patriotic tale.<sup>7</sup> In France, the exile community was more composite, made up of successive waves of migration of increasing size and diversity. The influx of mainly Spaniards and Italians in the 1820s and 1830s was supplemented, though not superseded, by people banished from Germany, Poland, and Hungary.<sup>8</sup> The asylum policy implemented under the July Monarchy helped attract liberal exiles, even though it was progressively reined in by the conservative policy of the Parti de l'Ordre as of 1849. This foreign presence was distributed unevenly around the country, being concentrated around refugee depots, but was particularly noticeable in Paris, where the tradition of welcoming exiles dated back to the Restoration, and in Marseille, one of the key places of passage in migrations over at times greater distances. According to the main liberal newspaper in the town, the *Sémaphore*, a little over 2000 exiles were present between the moment the February revolution broke out and the end of April 1849.<sup>9</sup> Both of these communities had a sizeable Italian component, with differing degrees of integration into local social networks, and only representing a small fraction of the total number of exiles. The martyr cults they developed initially arose between 1848 and 1850 within fraternal groups of European revolutionaries. They then became more tightly focused around national themes, fed by literary and journalistic evocations of martyrs in the form of patriotic pantheons, which only started being systematically taken up by genuine politicisation strategies as of the mid-1850s.

## **2. Italian martyrs in transnational martyrologies(1848-1850)**

Celebrations honouring martyrs by Italian exile communities initially occurred within transnational fraternities based around the cause of oppressed peoples. They were promoted by political protagonists seeking to give commemorative form to *their* experience of martyrdom, and by other exiles staging the suffering inflicted on the national community to which they belonged. While martyrdom went on to become a central archetype of the Italian revolutionary mentality, it first emerged within a

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<sup>7</sup> Marta Petrusiewicz, *Come il Meridione divenne una Questione. Rappresentazioni del Sud prima e dopo il Quarantotto*, Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino, 1998.

<sup>8</sup> Delphine Diaz, *Un asile pour tous les peuples ? Exilés et réfugiés étrangers dans la France du premier XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, Armand Colin, 2014.

<sup>9</sup> *Le Sémaphore de Marseille*, 28 April 1849, p. 1. On migration in Marseille, see Céline Regnard, "Marseille, port de transit pour les émigrants italiens (1860-1914)", *Archivio storico dell'emigrazione italiana*, 11/15, 2015, p. 20-29.

fraternal community heir to the transnational liberal movements of the early decades of the nineteenth century. In 1836, the Tuscan priest Atto Vannucci planned to write a *Martirologio italo-polacco* comparing the lives of patriots sacrificed for Polish and Italian independence. He considered that the parallel was justified by the concomitance of the uprisings by these two communities in the early 1830s and resultant flow of exiles across part of Europe.<sup>10</sup> This work was not completed, but it shows the perspective in which the cult of martyrs was envisaged, as exemplars of a community of resistance to the authoritarianism of princely Europe. Some of these exiles turned to the press and other forms of publication to tell of experiences of martyrdom, presented as a transnational and convergent phenomenon. Newspapers were published drawing on exiles' pre-existing skills, particularly those of former booksellers and printers such as the Neapolitan Marquis Diego Soria, who settled in Turin in 1845 and was involved in publishing printed fascicules about martyrs to the Italian cause.<sup>11</sup> But while the exile press was primarily community-based, the social networks the two communities under study took part in were such that cosmopolitan newspapers appeared, based on the idea of the fraternity between peoples. Such was the case of the *Tribune des Peuples* published in Paris from 15 March 1849 by a group of exiles based around the Pole Adam Minckiewicz, and the *Ligue des Peuples* directed by the French socialist Eugène Charpentier, who turned martyrdom into a collective spirit grounded in a propensity for sacrifice for a political cause.<sup>12</sup>

The community these writings gave to see was based on the idea of fraternity between largely self-contained exile communities, revealing a complex geography of martyrdom centred on France and Italy. The defence of Italy threatened by Austrian domination was a central part of the project for the *Tribune des Peuples*, launched in July 1848 after Minckiewicz had sought to establish a legion of Polish volunteers in Milan to defend the Italian uprising.<sup>13</sup> One of the main contributors was the Neapolitan Giuseppe

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<sup>10</sup> On Vannucci, see Gisella Borghi, *Il patriottismo di Atto Vannucci nella vita e nelle opere*, Florence, Seeber, 2001. On earlier forms of internationalism and ties between Italy and Poland, see Maurizio Isabella, *Risorgimento in Exile? Italian Émigrés and the Liberal International in the Post-Napoleonic Era*, Oxford-New York, Oxford University Press, 2009 and Walter Bruyère-Ostells, "Internationale libérale ou contre-monde libéral? Des degrés et des espaces d'opposition aux Restaurations", in Jean-Claude Caron, Jean-Philippe Luis (eds.), *Rien appris, rien oublié? Les Restaurations dans l'Europe post-napoléonienne 1814-1830*, Rennes, PUR, 2015, p. 365-378.

<sup>11</sup> Archivio di Stato di Torino (hereafter ASTo), Sezioni Riunite, Emigrati, I, m. 64, *ad nomen*.

<sup>12</sup> *Les martyrs, confesseurs de la vérité démocratique. Publication de la Ligue des peuples*, Paris, 1850, p. 1.

<sup>13</sup> Rafael Mondragón, "Anticolonialismo y socialismo de las periferías. Francisco Bilbao y la fundación de la *Tribune des Peuples*", *Latinoamérica. Revista de estudios Latinoamericanos*, 56, 2013/1, p. 11-62.

Ricciardi, a figurehead of the 1848 radical southern current,<sup>14</sup> but experiences of martyrdom were also evoked by other exiles such as the Spaniard Ramon de la Sagra, the Pole François Grzymala, and the Vlachs Golescoand Voïnestro. The course taken by Italian military campaigns in spring 1849 led them to establish parallels between the national situations they felt they represented and the Italian case, considered as the archetypal martyred nation exposed to authoritarian powers. The Italian case showed that “these martyrs are the peoples”,<sup>15</sup> allowing them to accord martyrdom its true place in the formation of democratic movements, while denouncing the capture of national movements by monarchies. Italy endowed the category with meaning, inheriting the fraternal and universal dimension of Christian martyrdom in late antiquity. From this point of view, evocations of martyrs took their place within the evangelical and providential constructs championed by certain European democrats in 1848, explaining why such references were especially prevalent during religious festivities such as Good Friday. While most references were to martyred peoples in general, forming collective and horizontal pantheons that fitted neatly with democratic ideas, these evocations took up the emotive constructs of early-nineteenth-century European romanticism to focus on the blood and pain of martyrdom.<sup>16</sup> Additionally, in the wake of an idea developed by Giuseppe Mazzini in the 1840s,<sup>17</sup> there were many references to “living martyrs”, mainly democrats. On the strength of published testimony—such as a previously unpublished manuscript that Ricciardi contributed to the *Tribune des Peuples* in early May 1849<sup>18</sup>—several exiles set out the many different forms martyrdom could take, insisting on the persecutions, wrongful imprisonment, harassment of prisoners, and physical injury inflicted on priests accused of overstepping their prerogatives by supporting revolutionaries.

These evocations, common to all European peoples submitted to the post-1848 conservative turn, provide a general picture of the reaction which set in after the

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<sup>14</sup> See the article by G. Ricciardi in *Tribune des Peuples*, I, 6, 20 March 1849, about his history of the Italian revolution. On Ricciardi, see Marta Petrusiewicz, “Giuseppe Ricciardi: ribelle, romantico, europeo”, *Archivio storico per le provincie napoletane*, Naples, 1999, p. 235-261

<sup>15</sup> “Vendredi saint”, *Tribune des peuples*, I, 23, 6 April 1848, p. 1

<sup>16</sup> *Tribune des peuples*, I, 12, 26 March 1849, p. 2 : “The revolution is betrayed from the inside and from the outside, and the blood of victims who, responding to the example and call of France, wished to break their chains, flows profusely”. On the place of emotions in Italian discussion of martyrdom, see D. Mengozzi, *Corpi posseduti...*, *op. cit.*, p. 66

<sup>17</sup> L.J. Riall, “Martyr Cults in Nineteenth Century Italy”, art. cité. The notion of living martyrs, as shown by current research by Elena Bacchin, was applied particularly to political prisoners in the aftermath of 1848.

<sup>18</sup> Giuseppe Ricciardi, “Fragments d’un écrit inédit de M. J. Ricciardi”, *Tribune des peuples*, I, 51, 5 May 1849 p. 4.

revolutionary wave swept over Europe, reducing peoples to the status of *martyrs*, without any real differentiation between their specific situations. In this context, writings by exiled democrats treat martyrdom more as a revolutionary archetype than a social reality. Martyrs to the Italian cause thus take their place alongside European figures of revolutionary sacrifice. The exile press in France presented international figures of martyrs drawn from different political and national contexts. In October 1850, the *Revue de la Ligue des peuples* ran a series of nine portraits of European patriots, published by exiles based in Paris who wrote of the sufferings to which these protagonists were exposed. Costabile Carducci from Solano, executed by the Bourbon army of Naples during repression of the Cilento uprising on 2 June 1848, was used to represent the case of Italy. He appeared alongside other European protagonists such as Robert Blum from Baden, Adolphe de Truetzschler from Saxony, and the Hungarian M.-V. Maderspach, all executed for rallying to the cause of revolution<sup>19</sup>. This inclusion within a European pantheon built up around fraternal bonds places Italian martyrs alongside other political protagonists from national movements crushed by reaction. In 1850 in Piedmont-Sardinia, an anonymous exile from Romagna published a political pantheon composed of Italian, Hungarian, and Polish martyrs drawing on the same emotional codes and exemplifying the same experience of a useful death serving the cause of their homeland.<sup>20</sup>

Drawing on international constructs of the 1820s and 1830s, these comparisons lend support to the idea of a diplomacy of peoples, in which martyrs play a dual role as instrument and incarnation. As Renaud Meltz has shown for the 1830s, this diplomacy gave full scope to what ordinary protagonists expressed in the press, petitions, and written accounts of personal experience, in order to generate sufficient media pressure to weigh indirectly on international decision-making mechanisms.<sup>21</sup> In Paris, the *Tribune des Peuples* followed this course in its programme associating the “emancipation of Italy”, a “fraternal pact with Germany”, and the “reconstitution of free independent Poland”. It was thus ties of fraternity which structured these concomitant intentions,

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<sup>19</sup> *Les martyrs, confesseurs...*, op. cit., p. 38-42 on Costabile Carducci.

<sup>20</sup> C.P., *I martiri italiani, ungheresi e polacchi al tempio dell'immortalità. Fantasia di un Romagnolo*, Vigevano, Vincenzo Vitali, 1850. On martyr pantheons, see Eveline Bouvers (ed.), *Public Pantheons in Revolutionary Europe. Comparing Cultures of Remembrance c. 1790-1840*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

<sup>21</sup> Renaud Meltz, *Vers une diplomatie des peuples ? L'opinion publique et les crises internationales de 1830 à 1848*, Paris, Vendémiaire, à paraître. On the construction of political fraternities in exile, see Sylvie Aprile, Catherine Brice (eds.), *Exil et fraternité en Europe au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Pompignac, Bière, 2013.

defined in reference to fraternal mutual assistance between early Christians in the days of the first Catholic religious martyrs.<sup>22</sup> References to the remembrance of martyrs by exile communities justified subscriptions to improve their lot. One such subscription set up in Marseille to support Italian refugees was reported in the *Tribune*.<sup>23</sup> Accounts of the suffering of patriots such as Niccolò Accame and Costantino Reca, published by the newspaper to coincide with the subscription, explains the many messages of sympathy they immediately received, including from exiles from other communities. These fraternal ties explain why protagonists in post-1848 exile received a fair degree of attention. Such was notably the case for the Hungarian Lajos Kossuth, whose passing through Marseille in September 1851 reportedly triggered “unseemly demonstrations” by Italian exiles who saw him as a model patriot, due to his experience as a martyr for the cause and “illustrious outcast”.<sup>24</sup> But at the very beginning of the 1850s, this interest for the figure of foreign martyrs in exile became the exception, when celebrations honouring political victims becoming refocused on the nation.

### **3. The construction of national hagiographies in exile**

In the early 1850s, the dissemination of experiences of martyrdom mainly took the form of martyrs’ lives published by Italian exiles to demonstrate their status as exemplary patriots and thus enhance their merit amongst the burgeoning national community. They borrowed the religious model of hagiographic celebration, transferred to the political realm. One instance of this is Angelo Fiandra’s account about his compatriot from Romagna Ugo Bassi, executed on 8 August 1849.<sup>25</sup> In 1851, Francesco Carrano’s account of his Neapolitan compatriot Florestano Pepe, alongside whom he had fought in Venetia in 1848, was in similar vein, relaying his ceaseless struggle against Bourbon tyranny, stretching back to the time of the 1799 revolution.<sup>26</sup> Both these biographies foreground their protagonist’s continual exposure to pain and suffering for political reasons, their wounds and bloodshed, their illustration of patriotic virtues, and participation in decisive combats for the freedom of their homeland. These accounts

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<sup>22</sup> *Tribune des peuples*, I, 23, 6 April 1848, p. 1.

<sup>23</sup> *Tribune des peuples*, I, 31, 14 April 1849, p. 2.

<sup>24</sup> *Le Peuple. Journal du Midi*, 29 and 30 September 1851.

<sup>25</sup> Angelo Fiandra, *Il martire di Ugo Bassi. Narrazione storica*, Turin, Favale, 1850.

<sup>26</sup> Francesco Carrano, *Vita di Florestano Pepe*, Turin, 1851. For an overview of the protagonists in *Mezzogiorno* liberal circles, see Pierre-Marie Delpu, *Un autre Risorgimento. La formation du monde libéral dans le Royaume des Deux-Siciles (1815-1856)*, Rome, École française de Rome, 2019.

resonated with a conception of the Italian nation that chimed with that sought by the Piedmont elites, and were hence relayed in Turin journals linked to Piedmont circles of power. In 1850, the jurist Cesare Oliva, exiled in Turin where he was close to Cavour and Massimo D'Azeglio, devoted several commentaries in the *Rivista Italiana* to accounts of martyrdom, including the chronicle published that same year by Guglielmo Pepe, and the political martyrology by the Tuscan Atto Vannucci, which had been republished in Turin where it circulated in exile circles.<sup>27</sup>

In addition to focusing on the martyrs themselves, these writings gave much space to those responsible for their sacrifice, of whom the most emblematic seemed to be Ferdinand II, King of Naples due to the ill-treatment he meted out to the people of South. Described by the *Tribune* in 1849 as a tyrant and the “last national despot”, in the terminology prevalent among liberal circles in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies,<sup>28</sup> he was frequently mentioned up until 1856 when the Neapolitan liberal Mariano D'Ayala published a biography setting out the charge sheet against him.<sup>29</sup> But much of these accounts focuses on those who had inflicted suffering on martyrs. Thus in 1851 Francesco Carrano evoked two of the leading figures in Neapolitan reaction in 1799, the monk Fra Diavolo and the miller Gaetano Mammone, mentioning their habit of drinking human blood from the skulls of those they had executed in person.<sup>30</sup> For Mazzini, it was Italian priests who were responsible for sacrificing patriots, because, he argued, they followed *en masse* the conservative turn taken by Pope Pius IX in summer 1848.<sup>31</sup>

But the influence of exile on accounts of martyrdom resides particularly in the circulation and formalisation of a specific literary genre for commemorative purposes. The pantheons of martyrs which sprang up in the aftermath of the 1848 revolutions were based, first, on the martyrology of the Tuscan Priest Atto Vannucci, which was widely read among the community of Italian exiles in Turin who called for its republication in 1850,<sup>32</sup> and, second, on the initiative of a French Bonapartist, Lucien

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<sup>27</sup> Cesare Oliva, “Atto Vannucci. I martiri della libertà italiana”, *Rivista italiana. Nuova serie*, I, 3, 1850, pp. 402-403, and Id., “L'Italia negli anni 1847, 48 e 49. Continuazione delle memorie di Guglielmo Pepe, e Della difesa di Venezia negli anni 1848 e 1849. Narrazione di Francesco Carrano”, *Ibid.*, pp. 459-461.

<sup>28</sup> “L'Italie et l'Autriche”, *La Tribune des Peuples*, I, 19, 2 April 1848, p. 1.

<sup>29</sup> Mariano D'Ayala, *Vita del re di Napoli*, Turin, s.n., 1856.

<sup>30</sup> F. Carrano, *Vita di Florestano Pepe*, p. 24. The reference to anthropophagy, while surgery is on this point, see the ongoing research by Luca Addante into martyrdom and anthropophagy during the 1799 Neapolitan revolution.

<sup>31</sup> Giuseppe Mazzini, *Al clero italiano*, Genoa, Dagnino, 1850

<sup>32</sup> Atto Vannucci, *I martiri della libertà italiana dal 1794 al 1848*, Florence, 1848. On the political pantheon as a form, see E. Bouvers (ed.), *Public Pantheons in Revolutionary Europe...*, *op. cit.*

Bessières, who in 1848 wrote a *Panthéon des martyrs*, a sweeping historical portrait of freedom fighters from ancient Greece through to the early nineteenth century.<sup>33</sup> Bessières's work met with sufficient success to be republished twice, in 1848 and in 1850; additionally, a translation into Italian was brought out in 1851 by Carlo Perrin, one of the leading publishers in Turin at that time. The Italian version is enhanced by lithographs depicting the sufferings inflicted on martyrs and supplemented with chapters integrating the Italian patriots of 1848 into Bessières's pantheon. An adaptation by various exiles was published in 1851 and 1852 under the title *Panteon dei martiri per la libertà italiana*. This was the work of a private company set up for this purpose. It was comprised mainly of people banished from the south and grouped around the Neapolitans Gabriele D'Amato and Mariano D'Ayala, forming part of the vast web of associations set up by exiles who had settled in Turin.<sup>34</sup> Its members hailed from diverse political positions, including, for instance, the moderate liberal Enrico Poerio and the democrat Giovanbattista La Cecilia. It built up an economic network capable of publishing and assembling martyrs' lives; and in the space of two years distributed 90 booklets, republished in 1892 as a two-volume collection of nearly 1000 pages intended initially for an Italian readership. The work had the backing of a publisher, the Neapolitan Marquis Diego Soria who had settled in Turin in 1845, together with that of a private organization, the *Opificio Nazionale Ligure*, founded in Genoa where it saw to the printing and distribution of copies.<sup>35</sup> It was put on sale in the *Libreria Patria*, a bookshop-cum-reading room in Genoa founded by a Neapolitan priest, Giuseppe Del Re, who had arrived from Marseille in 1849.<sup>36</sup> This distribution circuit was rooted in networks of social ties pre-dating exile, grounded in a strong community dynamic and the redeployment of professional skills already exercised in the country of origin. Soria, for instance, was a former Neapolitan publisher, and Del Re, who frequented Neapolitan literary circles during their renewal in the 1840s, had been one of the main editors of the scholarly journal *L'Iride*, together with Giuseppe Ricciardi and Mariano D'Ayala.<sup>37</sup> The limits specific to this network, based around the two exile communities of Turin and

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<sup>33</sup> Lucien Bessières, *Panthéon des martyrs de la liberté, ou histoire des révolutions politiques et des personnages qui se sont dévoués pour le bien et la liberté des nations*, Paris, Penaud, 1848-1850, 5 vol.

<sup>34</sup> *Panteon dei martiri della libertà italiana*, Turin, Fontana, 1851-1852, 2 vol. On writing and publishing conditions, see P.-M. Delpu, *Un autre Risorgimento...*, *op. cit.*, p. 386-390.

<sup>35</sup> ASTo, Sezioni Riunite, Emigrati, I, 64, *ad nomen*.

<sup>36</sup> ASTo, Sezioni Riunite, Emigrati, I, 23, *ad nomen*.

<sup>37</sup> Fortunato Mattarese, *Giuseppe Del Re. Patriota e letteratore pugliese del Risorgimento (La famiglia, la vita, l'opera)*, Palo del Colle, Liantonio, 1983.

Genoa, explain why the work was little distributed outside Piedmont, leading Mazzini to envisage exporting it to Great Britain in 1853, where local sympathy for the Italian cause was on the rise in the wake of the 1848 revolution. He found an outlet, the liberal London bookshop Muidie, but did not manage to send the planned copies, and so the work was not known outside the limited circle of Turin exiles.<sup>38</sup>

However, the publication of the *Pantheon of Martyrs* added to the resonance that the theme of martyrdom had amongst Piedmont liberal circles, many of whom were exiles. This explains why, in 1850, the Turin publisher Ferrero e Franco republished an expanded edition of Atto Vannucci's martyrology with a sizeable section about the south. Vannucci had stayed briefly in Paris after the collapse of the Tuscan revolutionary regime in 1849, before settling in Turin in 1850 where he joined exile social networks.<sup>39</sup> The presence in Turin of large numbers of Italian exiles was the reason for this expanded version, covering a more diverse range of local situations, whilst according greater space to sacrifices prior to 1830, of which many cases were to be found in the *Mezzogiorno*. This adaptation of martyr pantheons in the light of experiences of exile raises the question of the vectors driving the transmission of cults, in the context of social practices enacted by exiles in the states that took them in. This was the reason behind a collective initiative in 1852 by several Neapolitan subjects based in Turin and Florence, who approached people in possession of unpublished writings by their compatriot Alessandro Poerio, who had died fighting Austria in Venice in 1848, in order to publish a work revealing his exemplary commitment to the Italian cause.<sup>40</sup> The republishing of texts portraying the martyrdom inflicted on ordinary people—such as Gladstone's letters about Naples published in an Italian translation by southerner Giuseppe Massari in Turin in 1851—supplemented this martyrology, depicting the abuses perpetrated by a derelict monarchy against its political prisoners. One such who attracted particular attention was Carlo Poerio, the son of one of the leading Neapolitan liberal lawyers in the early years of the nineteenth century, brother of the martyr Alessandro, and a former member of the Naples parliament, who came to embody

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<sup>38</sup> Roland Sarti, *Dear Kate. Lettere inedite di Giuseppe Mazzini a Katherine Hill, Angelo Bozzi e altri italiani a Londra*, Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino, 2011, p. 192 (letter dated December 1853) and 196 (letter dated 30 December). On British Italophilia, see Elena Bacchin, *Italofilia. Opinione pubblica britannica e Risorgimento italiano 1847-1864*, Turin, Carocci, 2014.

<sup>39</sup> ASTo, Sezioni Riunite, Emigrati, I, 71, *ad nomen*.

<sup>40</sup> *Poesie inedite di Alessandro Poerio*, Florence, Le Monnier, 1852, preface.

Bourbon misrule in the eyes of international observers.<sup>41</sup> These figures of political martyrdom, maintained amongst exile communities, were a media instrument for presenting experiences of oppression, hence a tool for international opposition to authoritarian monarchies. Because they were intended for a wide readership, including political decision-makers, particularly in Piedmont, they sought to serve liberal mass movements which would revenge the martyrs. But these high-profile literary celebrations coexisted with other forms of martyr cults, conducted in more informal manner by various protagonists.

#### **4. Ordinary experiences of celebrating martyrs**

In addition to the growing body of literary and written commemorations of Italian revolutionary martyrs, memory of their lives was transmitted through ordinary social networks, via oratorical portrayals of the sufferings undergone. Revolutionary priests in exile played a central role here, redeploying the practice of public sermons which had been current during the 1848 Italian revolutions. In Marseille the Neapolitan abbot Francesco Paolo Accolti pronounced public sermons in 1850 about the sufferings he had undergone for having supported the revolution, in a form reminiscent of itinerant preaching which had been a widespread practice among southern clergy.<sup>42</sup> However, unlike literary commemorations among exile communities, his words were intended solely for a public of Italian exiles settled in Marseille. As the authorities noted in October 1850, he only spoke in Italian, like most Italians settled there whose social networks were based primarily on members of their own community. This community-centred approach also transpired in a small number of theatrical performances honouring Italian martyrs. While theatre was one of the main tools for mediating experiences of exile, as shown by Delphine Diaz for the case of France,<sup>43</sup> the Marseille newspaper *Le Peuple* reported in September 1850 on an evening of improvisation by the Genoa exile Niccolò Accame in honour of the Romagna martyr Ciro Menotti, in the salle Boisselot, a venue frequented by Marseille Italians. The performance focused on the last moments of Menotti's life before his execution, with the audience was composed almost entirely of Italian exiles. *Le Peuple* regretted how small the audience had been, noting that the evening would do little to publicise Italian experiences of martyrdom, even

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<sup>41</sup> Giuseppe Massari, *Il Signor Gladstone ed i casi di Napoli*, Turin, De Lorenzo, 1851.

<sup>42</sup> Archives Départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône (hereafter ADBDR), 4 M 2358.

<sup>43</sup> D. Diaz, *Un asile pour tous les peuples ?...*, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

though these could be put to use in the combats of French democrats.<sup>44</sup> It thus urged Accame to pursue his efforts to disseminate the memory of Italian martyrs. Other theatrical reconstructions existed, without necessarily giving rise to any performances, notably in Piedmont-Sardinia where theatre was used to disseminate the memory of martyrs within exile communities. Such was the case of the Turin patriot David Levi, who wrote a play in 1852 about the “martyrs of Naples”, taking up a theme energetically relayed by Southern exiles. He felt it was emblematic of the “national drama” specific to all Italian states, identifying it with the figures of other patriots sacrificed as martyrs in the 1799 revolution. Equally the Lombard Silvio Pellico wrote an autobiography in 1832 describing his experiences in prison.<sup>45</sup> Drawing on the melodramatic social imaginary of the nation, which was strongly present in the speech and practices of his contemporaries, David Levi linked the defence of political freedoms to that of the freedom of the theatre, using his evocation of Neapolitan martyrs as a pretext to advocate building a national theatre in Turin, on the model of those in Paris and in Rome. The theme of the martyr as redeployed in this work by a Jewish author is entirely secularised, cut off from any original Christian substrate, and used to further the needs of the political cause he was defending.

Many commemorations were however conducted by exiled priests, continuing the role they had assumed in 1848 as intercessors for the revolution. Their subsequent mobilisation in the early 1850s to serve martyr cults was partly in response to Mazzini’s call in 1850 to rediscover their commitment to serving the national cause, in the name of their capacity to honour “all the martyred saints of humanity”.<sup>46</sup> In 1852, exiled priests, such as the Tuscan Nicola Rossi who had settled in Genoa where he frequented the community of exiled democrats, occasionally celebrated masses in honour of martyrs. He regularly celebrated masses in honour of the Tuscan martyrs of 1848, both those mentioned by Atto Vannucci in his martyrology and those commemorated during local civic festivities, of which one of the most significant instances was the *Parentali* in

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<sup>44</sup> *Le Peuple* I, 96, 11 September 1850, p. 3, and about the links between French and Italian Democrats, see Anne-Claire Ignace, “Giuseppe Mazzini et les démocrates français : débats et reclassements au lendemain du Printemps des Peuples”, *Revue d’histoire du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 36, 2008/1, p. 133-146.

<sup>45</sup> David Levi, *Emma Liona o I martiri di Napoli. Drame storico in cinque atti e otto quadri*, Turin, G. Benedetto, 1852, p. 8. On Levi, see Alessandro Grazi, “David Levi. A Child of the Nineteenth Century”, *Quest. Issues in Contemporary Jewish History*, 8, November 2015.

<sup>46</sup> G. Mazzini, *Al clero italiano*, op. cit., p. 10.

Pistoia.<sup>47</sup> In France, Italian priests in exile established a link between sacrificed Italian democrats and French figures of political martyrdom. For instance, the Florentine priest Angelo Mario Renzi, who had settled in Paris in 1822 where he worked as a language instructor, published a biography of the Calabrese exile Francesco Saverio Saffi.<sup>48</sup> In a series of sermons he published in 1855 under the title *Jeanne Darc, sa mission et son martyre*, he linked the sacrifice inflicted on Joan of Arc, known to Italian exiles through Bessières's pantheon in which she was one of the leading figures, and that of martyrs for the Italian cause, at a time when the attention of certain international observers had been drawn to the situation in Italy due to the Crimean War.<sup>49</sup>

The function of these practices was to draw the attention of political society to the fate of the civilian victims for the Italian cause. They found an outlet in letters sent by certain exiles to the authorities of the states where they resided, whom they sought to alert to the hardships specific to their condition. For instance, in Turin, Marquis Soria wrote in December 1851 to Massimo D'Azeglio, the prime minister of the kingdom, informing him of the continuous harassment he encountered from the Piedmont police, who viewed him as one of many banished southerners who continued their seditious activity in exile.<sup>50</sup> But most requests pertained to the exiles' social and economic situation, arising from their desire to remedy the shortcomings of the assistance schemes viewed as unfair in the way subsidies were attributed, such as that set up by the Milanese priest Cameroni in 1850.<sup>51</sup> There was a constant flow of such requests, such as that formulated by the Neapolitan Gabriele D'Amato in January 1850 to obtain assistance for his family, or that by Luigi Archinti, a Milanese priest and teacher looking to obtain subsidies for his brother Giuseppe, who had settled in Turin in 1855.<sup>52</sup> Both set out their constancy in serving the Italian cause and the involvement of their relatives in the 1848 War of Independence. The poverty of exiles was thus a central element in these evocations, associated with the Christian figure of the martyr, taking on special significance for populations considered as vulnerable at that time, such as women and

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<sup>47</sup>ASTo, Sezioni Riunite, Emigrati, I, 58, *ad nomen*. On the Pistoia *Parentali*, see Bruno Bruni, "Come nacquero in Pistoia i Parentali ai Grandi Italiani", *Bollettino Storico Pistoiese*, III, 1, 1961, p. 10-22.

<sup>48</sup> Archives Nationales de Paris, F7 6655, *ad nomen*.

<sup>49</sup> Angelo Mario Renzi, *Jeanne Darc, sa mission et son martyre*, Paris, published by the author, 1855.

<sup>50</sup> ASTo, Sezioni Riunite, Emigrati, I, 64.

<sup>51</sup> On this point, see Gian Biagio Furiozzi, *L'emigrazione politica nel Piemonte nel decennio preunitario*, Florence, Olschki, 1979, and E. De Fort, "Esuli in Piemonte nel Risorgimento. Riflessioni su di una fonte", art. cité.

<sup>52</sup> ASTo, Sezioni Riunite, Emigrati, I, 22 and I, 3.

children. In 1857, the Austrian democrat Karl Rosenfeld, who had passed through Lombardi where he supported the pro-Mazzini faction, wrote a tract denouncing the poverty of exiled Lombard women, some of whom, he noted, were reduced to prostitution.<sup>53</sup> Independently of the various forms martyrdom could take, these requests to the authorities formed part of an economy of gratitude specific to a post-crisis situation, explaining the increased number of initiatives to integrate martyrs into Italian nation-building.

This ambition explains the more general integration of celebrations honouring martyrs into a national discourse increasingly influenced by the Piedmont monarchy. Whereas the 1851 *Panteon dei Martiri* had been deemed seditious, causing the members of the company which had published it to be expelled from the kingdom in December 1852,<sup>54</sup> certain of its authors sought to present the democratic martyrs as compatible with the monarchic course taken by Italian nation-building. The place certain exiles sought to give these martyrs within festivities honouring the Piedmont monarchy is emblematic of this, as illustrated by the celebrations in March 1853 to mark the fifth anniversary of the Albertine Statute. Gabriele D'Amato, the former compiler of the *Panteon*, prepared an *Almanacco Reale* to the glory of the monarchy and the nation, in which the patriots sacrificed for the national community were to be included.<sup>55</sup> The most significant case remains the opuscle *Non ti scordar di loro* published by the Neapolitan Mariano D'Ayala, who wished to associate remembrance of martyrs with the glorification of the Piedmont monarchy. He drew up a list of 2460 patriots, all from Piedmont, whom he presented as responsible for the success of the nationalisation policy pursued by the patriots of the *Risorgimento*. Drawing on the standard mechanisms of martyrological discourse, particularly the military valour and spirit of sacrifice of the commemorated victims, the work was devised to build upon the *Panteon* and to act as the starting point for a new publishing monument, entirely focused on Piedmont. He wished to illustrate the massive scale of patriotic sacrifice, based around the eighteen battles which broke out in Piedmont and Lombardy between March and August 1849, with the battle of Novare on 23 March 1849 being presented as the most costly in terms of men, leaving eight dead and twenty-four wounded. D'Ayala's ties with the Piedmont authorities, particularly Massimo D'Azeglio, did much to further the

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<sup>53</sup> ASTo, Sezioni Riunite, Emigrati, I, 58.

<sup>54</sup> G.B. Furiozzi, *L'emigrazione politica...*, *op. cit.*, p.92-104.

<sup>55</sup> ASTo, Sezioni Riunite, Emigrati, I, 22.

distribution of the memory of martyrs. Those D'Ayala sought to promote were intended to be compatible with the political directions taken by the Piedmont monarchy, emphasising the role of the nobility and hierarchy as constitutive elements of martyrdom. Among the 87 officers to have died, D'Ayala distinguishes between those who fell on the field of battle and those who died of their wounds, while no such distinction is made for regimental soldiers. Equally, the short biographies he gives of the origins and merits of martyrs are only about officers, with no equivalent for members of the ranks. D'Ayala's memorial thus illustrates the commemorative transfers which occurred in exile, applying to the host society a commemorative tool that had hitherto been used to show the role of local experiences of martyrdom.

In the aftermath of the 1848 revolutions, the dissemination of martyr cults within the communities of banished Italians thus reveals the role exile plays in the circulation of political cultures. But the place martyr cults played in national and community dynamics changed over time. Whereas they initially drew on fraternal bonds between exiles to serve the diplomacy of peoples, in the early 1850s there was a re-centring on the nation, with national pantheons published by exile communities. These practices were relayed in ordinary social networks, in which, however, they were used to express economic demands rather than to support any real political mobilisation. In the longer term, exile communities were one of the laboratories in which Italian patriotic martyrology was formed, which went on to acquire more precise form after unification. Exile played a role in these changes by allowing those banished from different pre-unification states to mix, and some of them to establish ties with circles of power in Piedmont. Once again, continuing commitment by political protagonists is a key factor. It was the Neapolitan exile Mariano D'Ayala who penned one of the main post-unification martyrologies, whose pages are filled by the dead of the 1859-1860 War of Independence.