forbidden in her father's house. "O freedom! O my Florence!" The ULTRAVIOLENT, where they lived, on the south side of the ARNO, provides a welcome adagio amidst the con fusso of the tourists in the central city. VIA MAGGIO leads from the PONTe SANTA TRINITA up to PIAZZA SAN FELICE and no. 8 CASA GUIDI (where the couple moved after lodging first in the VIA DELLE BELLÉ DONNE between PIAZZA SANTA MARIA NOVELLA and PIAZZA SANTA TRINITA). Originally "Palazzo" Guidi until the democratic-minded Mrs. Browning renamed it, the house is marked with a plaque that shows Elizabeth's love for Italy did not go unquenched: "Here wrote and lived Elizabeth Barrett Browning... whose poems forged a golden ring between Italy and England." Her residence can be visited on Monday and Wednesday afternoons, the decor and furnishings having been restored in the appearance they had in the Browning's time. Visitors may sit and use the library in Elizabeth's drawing room/study—she had no room of her own—the windows of which face out on the church of SAN FELICE. From the music school on the PIAZZA SAN FELICE the sound of singing, mentioned in her poetry, can still be heard from within the church's pretty interior, where Elizabeth attended services.

Further along the VIA ROMANA (the extension of Via Maggio), leaving the PITTI PALACE behind, is the ANNALENA ENTRANCE TO THE BOBOLI GARDENS (perhaps the best maintained park in Italy), where the Browning and Petronella walked (their rent, a guinea a week, included admission to the Garden's), passing the gates of Adam and Eve, further along, at the end of an avenue of tall hedges, is the charming and secluded ISOLOTTO, a small lake surrounding an island of roses and statues.

At the end of Via Romana, through the PORTA ROMANA, is the uphill turn and narrow road to BELLOSGIORNO, another beautiful hillside neighborhood (like SAN MINATO AL PONTE and PREGILE), more accessible by bus (number 42 from Porta Romana) than on foot. It is described in the preceding poem "Bellosguardo," and in Aurora Leigh and was visited frequently by the Browning, Nathaniel and Sophina Hawthorne, and, in later years, Henry James and Violet Trefusis. Florence Nightingale, named after the city of her birth, was born in Bellosguardo.

From the small terrace outside the drawing room windows of Casa

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George Eliot

"There has been a crescendo of enjoyment in our travels," said George Eliot/Marian Evans ("Polly" to her life partner, G. W. Lewes) in a letter of 1860. "For Florence, from its relation to the history of modern art, has roused a keener interest in us even than Rome, and has stimulated me to entertain rather an ambitious project. The project was Romanza, a historical novel based on the life of the Florentine Dominican friar Savonarola (1453–1498) who, in fiery sermons between 1491 and 1494, attached the impiety of Florentines, the power of Lorenzo de' Medici, and the corruption of Pope Alexander VI. For a while Savonarola was something of a religious hero, then the mood changed, and after his excommunication by the
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pope for hours, the prior of San Marco was hanged and then burned at the stake in Piazza della Signoria. Romola (1862), a success in its time, is nearly read today. Henry James complained that it "smelled of libraries." (That critic John gazeley believes that in the underived Romola, Eliot is her most perceptive about the relations between men and women and that the wife, Romola, more than Dorothea Brooke in Middlemarch, was in James's mind when he wrote the character of Isabel Archer in The Portrait of A Lady.)
The novel's prologue, composing Florence as dawn from the hill of San Miniato, can stand alone as evidence of the power that the city's beauty—and history—held over Eliot's imagination.

FROM ROMOLA

MORE than three centuries and a half ago, in the mid springtime of 1592, we are sure that the angel of the dawn, as he travelled with broad slow wing from the Levant to the Pillars of Hercules, and from the summits of the Caucasus across all the snowy Alpine ridges to the dark nakedness of the Western isles, saw nearly the same outline of firm land and unstable sea—saw the same great mountain shadows on the same valleys as he has seen to-day—saw olive mounts, and pine forests, and the broad glans green with young corn or rain-freshened grass—saw the domes and spires of cities rising by the river-sides or mingled with the huddle-like masts on the many-curved sea-coast, in the same spots where they rise to-day. And as the faint light of his course pierced into the dwellings of men, it fell, as now, on the rosy warmth of nestling children; on the haggard waking of sorrow and sickness; on the hard uprising of the hard-handed labourer; and on the late sleep of the night-student, who had been questioning the stars or the sages, or his own soul, for that hidden knowledge which would break through the barrier of man's brief life, and show its dark path, that seemed to bend no whither, to be an arc in an immeasurable circle of light and glory. The great river-courses which have shaped the lives of men have hardly changed; and those other streams, the life-currents that ebb and flow in human hearts, pulsate to the same great needs, the same great loves and terrors. As our thought

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follows close in the slow wake of the dawn, we are impressed with the broad sameness of the human lot, which never alters in the main headings of its history—hunger and labour, seed-time and harvest; love and death.

Even if, instead of following the dim daybreak, our imagination pauses on a certain historical spot and awaits the fuller morning, we may see a world-famous city, which has hardly changed its outline since the days of Columbus, seeming to stand as an almost unviolated symbol, amidst the flux of human things, to remind us that we still resemble the men of the past more than we differ from them, as the great mechanical principles on which those domes and towers were raised must make a likeness in human building that will be broader and deeper than all possible change. And doubtless, if the spirit of a Florentine citizen, whose eyes were closed for the last time while Columbus was still waiting and arguing for the three poor vessels with which he was to set sail from the port of Palos, could return from the shades and pause where our thought is passing, he would believe that there must still be fellowship and understanding for him among the inheritors of his birthplace.

Let us suppose that such a Shade has been permitted to revisit the glimpses of the golden morning, and is standing once more on the famous hill of San Miniato, which overlooks Florence from the south.

The Spirit is clothed in his habit as he lived: the folds of his well-lined black silk garment or luceo hang in grave unbroken lines from neck to ankle; his plain cloth cap, with its berettino, or long hanging strip of drapery, to serve as a scarf in case of need, surrounds a penetrating face, not, perhaps, very handsome, but with a firm, well-cut mouth, kept distinctly human by a close-shaven lip and chin. It is a face charged with memories of a keen and various life passed below there on the banks of the gleaming river; and as he looks at the scene before him, the sense of familiarity is so much stronger than the perception of change, that he thinks it might be possible to descend once more amongst the streets, and take up that busy life where he left it. For it is not only the mountains and the westward-bending river that he recognises; not only the dark
sides of Mount Morello opposite to him, and the long valley of the Arno that seems to stretch its grey low-topped luxuriance to the far-off ridges of Carrara; and the steep height of Fiesole, with its crown of monastic walls and cypresses; and all the green and grey slopes sprinkled with villas which he can name as he looks at them. He sees other familiar objects much closer to his daily walks. For though he misses the seventy or more towers that once surmounted the walls, and encircled the city as with a regal diadem, his eyes will not dwell on that blade; they are drawn irresistibly to the unique tower springing, like a tall flower-stem drawn towards the sun, from the square turreted mass of the Old Palace in the very heart of the city—the tower that looks none the worse for the four centuries that have passed since he used to walk under it. The great done, too, greatest in the world, which, in his early boyhood, had been only a daring thought in the mind of a small, quick-eyed man—there it raises its large curves still, silhoueting the hills. And the well-known bell-towers—Giotto's, with its distant hint of rich colour, and the graceful-spired Badia, and the rest—he looked at them all from the shoulder of his nurse.

"Surely," he thinks, "Florence can still ring her bells with the solemn hammer-sound that used to beat on the hearts of her citizens and strike out the fire there. And here, on the right, stands the long dark mass of Santa Croce, where we buried our famous dead, laying the laurel on their cold brows and fanning them with the breath of praise and of banners. But Santa Croce had no spire then; we Florentines were too full of great building projects to carry them all out in stone and marble; we had our frescoes and our shrines to pay for, not to speak of rapacious condottieri, bribed royalty, and purchased territories, and our façades and spires must needs wait. But what architect can the Frati Minori have employed to build that spire for them? If it had been built in my day, Filippo Brunelleschi or Michelozzo would have devised something of another fashion than that—something worthy to crown the church of Arnolfo.*

At this the Spirit, with a sigh, less his eyes travel on to the city walls, and now he dwells on the change there with wonder at these modern times. Why have five out of the eleven convenient gates been closed? And why, above all, should the towers have been leveled that were once a glory and defence? Is the world become so peaceful, then, and do Florentines dwell in such harmony, that there are no longer conspiracies to bring ambitious exiles home again with armed bands at their back? These are difficult questions; it is easier and pleasanter to recognize the old than to account for the new. And there flows Arno, with its bridges just where they used to be—the Ponte Vecchio, lean like other bridges in the world, laden with the same quaint shops where our Spirit remembers lingering a little on his way perhaps to look at the progress of that great palace which Messer Luca Petti had set a building with huge stones got from the Hill of Botoli close behind, or perhaps to transact a little business with the cloth-dressers in Cifarneto. The exorbitant line of the Petti roof is hidden from San Miniato, but the yielding of the old Florentine is not to see Messer Luca's too ambitious palace which he built unto himself; it is to be down among those narrow streets and busy humming Piazzes where he inherited the eager life of his fathers. Is not the anxious滚动

with black and white beans still going on down there? Who are the Prior in these months, eating soberly regulated official dinners in the Palazzo Vecchio, with removes of tripe and boiled pattriches, seasoned by practical jokes against the ill-fated bust among those potent signors? Are not the significant banners still hung from the windows—still distributed with decent pomp under Orcagna's Loggia every two months?

Life had its zest for the old Florentine when he, too, trod the marble steps and shared in those dignities. His politics had an area as wide as his trade, which stretched from Syria to Britain, but they had also the passionate intensity, and the detailed practical interest, which could belong only to a narrow scene of corporate action; only to the members of a community that in close by the hills and by walls of six miles' circuit, where men knew each other as they passed in the street, set their eyes every day on the memorials of their commonwealth, and were conscious of having not simply the right to vote, but the chance of being voted for. He loved his honours and his gains, the business of his counting-house, of his guild, of the public council-chamber; he loved his eminities too, and
fingered the white bean which was to keep a hated name out of the borsa with more complacency than if it had been a golden florin. He loved to strengthen his family by a good alliance; and went home with a triumphant light in his eyes after concluding a satisfactory marriage for his son or daughter under his favourite loggia in the evening cool; he loved his game at chess under that same loggia, and his biting jest, and even his coarse joke, as not beneath the dignity of a man eligible for the highest magistracy. He had gained an insight into all sorts of affairs at home and abroad: he had been of the "Ten" who managed the war department, of the "Eight" who attended to home discipline, of the Priori or Signori who were the heads of the executive government; he had even risen to the supreme office of Gonfaloniere; he had made one in embassies to the Pope and to the Venetians; and he had been commissary to the hired army of the Republic, directing the ignoblesse battles in which no man died of brave breast wounds—tornioli colpi—but only of casual falls and trampling. And in this way he had learned to distrust men without bitterness; looking on life mainly as a game of skill, but not dead to traditions of heroism and clean-handed honour. For the human soul is hospitable, and will entertain conflicting sentiments and contradictory opinions with much impartiality. It was his pride besides, that he was duly tinctured with the learning of his age, and judged not altogether with the vulgar, but in harmony with the ancients; he, too, in his prime, had been eager for the most correct manuscripts, and had paid many florins for antique vases and for dismembered busts of the ancient immortals—some, perhaps, francis maritus, wanting as to the nose, but not the less authentic; and in his old age he had made haste to look at the first sheets of that fine Homer which was among the early glories of the Florentine press. But he had not, for all that, neglected to hang up a waxen image or double of himself under the protection of the Madonna Annunziata, or to do penance for his sins in large gifts to the shrines of saints whose lives had not been modelled on the study of the classics; he had not even neglected making liberal bequests towards buildings for the Frati, against whom he had levelled many a jest.

For the Unseen Powers were mighty. Who knew—who was sure—that there was any name given to them behind which there was no angry force to be appeased, no intercessory piety to be won? Were not gems medicinal, though they only pressed the finger? Were not all things charged with occult virtues? Lucrétius might be right—he was an ancient, and a great poet; Luigi Pulci, too, who was suspected of not believing anything from the roof upward (dal tetto in su), had very much the air of being right over the supper-table, when the wine and jests were circulating fast, though he was only a poet in the vulgar tongue. There were even learned personages who maintained that Aristotle, wisest of men (unless, indeed, Plato were wiser?) was a thoroughly irreligious philosopher; and a liberal scholar must entertain all speculations. But the negatives might, after all, prove false; nay, seemed manifestly false, as the circling hours swept past him, and turned round with grover faces. For had not the world become Christian? Had he not been baptised in San Giovanni, where the dome is awful with the symbols of coming judgment, and where the altar bears a crucified Image disturbing to perfect complacency in one's self and the world? Our resuscitated Spirit was not a pagan philosopher, nor a philosophising pagan poet, but a man of the fifteenth century, inheriting its strange web of belief and unbelief; of Epicurean levity and felicitous deed; of pedantic impossible ethics uttered by rote, and crude passions acted out with childish impulsiveness; of inclination towards a self-indulgent paganism, and inevitable subjection to that human conscience which, in the unceasing of a new growth, was filling the air with strange prophecies and presentiments.

He had smiled, perhaps, and shaken his head dubiously, as he heard simple folk talk of a Pope Angelico, who was to come by-and-by and bring in a new order of things, to purify the Church from simony, and the lives of the clergy from scandal—a state of affairs too different from what existed under Innocent the Eighth for a shrewd merchant and politician to regard the prospect as worthy of entering into his calculations. But he felt the evils of the time, nevertheless; for he was a man of public spirit, and public spirit can never be wholly immoral, since its essence is care for a common good. That very Quarresima or Lent of 1492 in which he died, still in his erect old age, he had listened in San Lorenzo, not without a mixture of satisfaction, to the preaching of a Dominican.
Friar, named Girolamo Savonarola, who denounced with a rare boldness the worldliness and vicious habits of the clergy, and insisted on the duty of Christian men not to live for their own ease when wrong was triumphing in high places, and not to spend their wealth in outward pomp even in the churches, when their fellow-citizens were suffering from want and sickness. The Frate carried his doctrine rather too far for elderly ears; yet it was a memorable thing to see a preacher move his audience to such a pitch that the women even took off their ornaments, and delivered them up to be sold for the benefit of the needy.

"He was a noteworthy man, that Prior of San Marco," thinks our Spirit; "somewhat arrogant and extreme, perhaps, especially in his denunciations of speedy vengeance. Ah, Iddio non paga il Sabato—the wages of men's sins often linger in their payment, and I myself saw much established wickedness of long-standing prosperity. But a Frate Predicatore who wanted to move the people—how could he be moderate? He might have been a little less defiant and curt, though, to Lorenzo de' Medici, whose family had been the very makers of San Marco: was that quarrel ever made up? And our Lorenzo himself, with the dim outward eyes and the subtle inward vision, did he get over that illness at Careggi? It was but a sad, uneasy-looking face that he would carry out of the world which had given him so much, and there were strong suspicions that his handsome son would play the part of Rehoboam. How has it all turned out? Which party is likely to be banished and have its houses sacked just now? Is there any successor of the incomparable Lorenzo, to whom the great Turk is so gracious as to send over presents of rare animals, rare relics, rare manuscripts, or fugitive enemies, suited to the tastes of a Christian Magnifico who is at once lettered and devout—and also slightly vindictive? And what famous scholar is dictating the Latin letters of the Republic—what fiery philosopher is lecturing on Dante in the Duomo, and going home to write bitter invectives against the father and mother of the bad critic who may have found fault with his classical spelling? Are our wiser heads leaning towards alliance with the Pope and the Regno, or are they rather inclining their ears to the orators of France and of Milan?

"There is knowledge of these things to be had in the streets below, on the beloved marmi in front of the churches, and under the sheltering Loggie, where surely our citizens have still their gossip and debates, their bitter and merry jests as of old. For are not the well-remembered buildings all there? The changes have not been so great in those uncounted years. I will go down and hear—I will tread the familiar pavement, and hear once again the speech of Florentines."

Go not down, good Spirit! for the changes are great and the speech of Florentines would sound as a riddle in your ears. Or, if you go, mingle with no politicians on the marmi, or elsewhere; ask no questions about trade in the Calimala; confuse yourself with no inquiries into scholarship, official or monastic. Only look at the sunlight and shadows on the grand walls that were built solidly, and have endured in their grandeur; look at the faces of the little children, making another sunlight amid the shadows of age; look, if you will, into the churches, and hear the same chants, see the same images as of old—the images of willing anguish for a great end, of beneficent love and ascending glory; see upturned living faces, and lips moving to the old prayers for help. These things have not changed. The sunlight and shadows bring their old beauty and waken the old heartstrings at morning, noon, and eventide; the little children are still the symbol of the eternal marriage between love and duty; and men still yearn for the reign of peace and righteousness—still own that life to be the highest which is a conscious voluntary sacrifice. For the Pope Angelico is not come yet.

For the Literary Traveler

Whether or not the reader/traveler reads beyond the prologue of Romolo is beside the point. The setting of its overture, SAN MINIATO AL MONTE, at any time of day or night, is possibly the most beautiful place in Florence. The walk up the mountain from the PONTE VECCHIO contributes a feeling of pilgrimage to the experience of the Tuscan
Romanesque basilica, with its exquisite interior and exterior. (Bus 13, following a roundabout route from Stazione di Santa Maria Novella, takes as long—about half an hour—as the hike.) Descending, one can rest in the PIAZZALE MICHELANGELO, viewing another magnificent panorama of the city—its "great dome, the greatest in the world," in Eliot's words—and the distant peaks of the Apennines.

Below San Miniato, in the historic city, the novel's settings are many. The PIAZZA and MUSEO DI SAN MARCO preserve the monastery where the visionary painter Fra' Angelico (1387–1455) was a monk—his frescoes appear throughout the buildings—and Girolamo Savonarola; the novel's historical focus, was made prior in 1491. Lewes took notes on the place for Marian since women were not admitted to the cloister. Savonarola's monastic cell (number 12) can be seen in the DORMITORY. (Lewes obtained a copy of a San Marco fresco by Fra' Angelico because "Polly" wished to hang one of his works before her as she wrote.) In the PIAZZA DELLA SIGNORIA, where Savonarola had once performed a bonfire of the vanities—observed by Eliot's protagonist Romola in vivid detail—a porphyry disc in the pavement in front of the huge NEPTUNE FOUNTAIN marks the site of his incineration.

Happier associations with this heart of Florence are found in the letters of Elizabeth Barrett Browning, who liked to sit in the Loggia of the piazza's PALAZZO VECCHIO and admire the statue of PERSEUS by Benvenuto Cellini (born behind San Lorenzo in Piazza dei Mercato). And Elizabeth Spencer's novel A LIGHT IN THE PIAZZA uses the Piazza della Signoria as a metaphor of the crisscrossings and spaces of memory itself.

city sit for its portrait." Other critics concurred with the praise: "A triumphant jewel of a book," one said, "about one of the rarest jewels in Italy's unique collection of cities." Carol Brightman, McCarthy's biographer, defines the strength of her Florentine portrait as "the vigor of its characterizations of both the artists and the art of the Italian Renaissance." Michelangelo and "the tyranny of genius," da Vinci, Donatello, Brunelleschi, and their relations with the popes and power families of their times, all receive cold-eyed scrutiny. The Florentines invented the Renaissance, she declares, "which is the same as saying that they invented the modern world." Seeing Florence from Mary McCarthy's many-angled perspective enlarges the reader/traveler's appreciation of both the city and its prominence within the history of art. Her contribution to the art of travel writing is an impressive mix of art history, social commentary, criticism, and gossip. Her attention to the "jewel's" particularities signals her affection.

FROM THE STONES OF FLORENCE

The Florentines, in fact, invented the Renaissance, which is the same as saying that they invented the modern world—not, of course, an unmixed good. Florence was a turning-point, and this is what often troubles the reflective sort of visitor today—the feeling that a terrible mistake was committed here, at some point between Giotto and Michelangelo, a mistake that had to do with power and megalomania, or gigantism of the human ego. You can see, if you wish, the handwriting on the walls of Palazzo Pitti or Palazzo Strozzi, those formidable creations in bristling prepotent stone, or in the cold, vain stare of Michelangelo's David, in love with his own strength and beauty. This feeling that Florence was the scene of the original crime or error was hard to avoid just after the last World War, when power and technology had reduced so much to rubble. "You were responsible for this," chided a Florentine sadly, looking around the Michelangelo room of the Bargello after it was finally reopened. In contrast, Giotto's bell tower appeared an innocent party.

But the invention of the modern world could not be halted, at Giotto's bell tower or Donatello's San Giorgio or the Pazzi Chapel