

## Panel 1.3 Abstracts

***Intellectuals, Politicians and Rhetorical Political Analysis: Machiavelli à la carte in the Italian Parliament 1861-1994*****Matteo Cesare Mario Casiraghi**

University of Milan (Italy)

Contact: [matteo.casiraghi@unimi.it](mailto:matteo.casiraghi@unimi.it)**Francesco Testini**

University of Milan (Italy)

Contact: [francesco.testini@unimi.it](mailto:francesco.testini@unimi.it)

What are the rhetorical manifestations of powerful political ideologies? How do politicians employ a famous intellectual's theories and authority to support their political arguments? Rhetorical political analysis recently became a lively field, yet scholars devoted little attention to study how politicians employ intellectuals' theories and figure in their discourses. We offer directions to navigate this territory, with an innovative and original approach. We investigate the influence of Machiavelli on Italian politicians' rhetorical arguments in the Italian Parliament from 1861 to 1994. Our contribution is to demonstrate that different politicians and parties employ different images of Machiavelli. Between 1861 and 1918, the left uses Machiavelli to support republicanism, realism and military activism, while the right inclines to diplomatic approaches in foreign affairs. After 1945, the right appropriates the realist Machiavelli, as the neo-fascists endorse Machiavelli's realism, especially in foreign policy, while the communists and the Christian democrats depict a more negative and non-realist picture. Finally, we provide an original dataset and a new paradigm for future explorations of intellectuals' rhetorical influence on politics.

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***Machiavelli and Contemporary Italian Populist Politics: The Prince and The Discourses*****Andrea Di Carlo**

University College Cork (Ireland)

Contact: [andreadicarlo89@gmail.com](mailto:andreadicarlo89@gmail.com)

If Machiavelli were still alive, last year's Italian general election would constitute, for him, a real case study. Luigi Di Maio's Five-Star Movement, a left-wing (?) populist party, and Matteo Salvini's League, a right-wing populist party, won the election but, without a clear majority, decided to create a coalition government. How does Machiavelli fit into this chaotic frame? This paper aims to show how the larger-than-life Matteo Salvini can be made sense of in accordance with Machiavelli's political hermeneutics in both *The Prince* and *Discourses*. Salvini's demeanour, before and after his resounding win in the recent election, can be explained by relying on Machiavelli's advice to his archetypal prince in the 18th chapter of his *Prince*. Leaders should resort to religion (something that Salvini has been doing thanks to his emphasis on the Gospel, rosary beads, and his imploration to the Virgin Mary). At the same, as Machiavelli puts it in the 17th chapter of *The Prince*, they should do their utmost to be both feared and loved. This is proved by Salvini's attempt to pose as a law-and-order politician but, at the same time, he cannot escape emphasising the close bond he has with his electorate. However, this paper also tries to show that Salvini may not have taken the development of history into account. Five years ago, the former Italian PM Matteo Renzi won the European election with another resounding majority, but he had to resign after a brief stint, in the aftermath of a defeat in the referendum on controversial plans for a constitutional reforms. If one relies on Machiavelli's cyclical development of history in his *Discourses*, then it is possible to argue that history teaches through examples. Ultimately, this paper will prove that the ideas outlined in the writings of Machiavelli provide crucial insights not only into the author's own early modern political climate but also into contemporary trends in European politics, especially in the outcome of the European election in Italy.

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***A Thinker for the Crisis Moments: Political uses of Machiavelli's Thought from French Revolution to the Second Republic*****Giuseppe Sciara**

University of Turin (Italy)

Contact: [giuseppe.sciara@unito.it](mailto:giuseppe.sciara@unito.it)

Considered at the same time mentor of dictators and revealer of their secrets, inspirer of unscrupulous politicians and guide for the peoples, cynical theorist of success and brilliant political scientist, Machiavelli was brought into play during the history especially in moments of political and institutional crisis. The paper will focus on the uses of Machiavelli's figure and thought in three of the most turbulent periods of French History.

The first one is from the birth of Directory to the Coup of 18 Brumaire (1795-1799). During this period the Thermidorians, distancing themselves from Robespierre's republican interpretation, considered Machiavelli a champion of political realism: they used his name to oppose Jacobins and to justify a moderate approach to politics and a strong executive power. The second one is from the first to the second Restoration (1814-1816): denouncing Bonaparte's authoritarianism, the Ultraroyalistes considered Machiavelli a symbol of a ruthless politics but at the same time they used his figure to reclaim the restoration of the ancient French monarchy. The third one is the period of the Second Republic (1848-1851): thanks to the revival of republican culture, Machiavelli is read in the light of the 1848 Revolution. Giuseppe Ferrari, for example, states that behind the classic image of a perverse Machiavelli there is a ""secret"" Machiavelli who speaks to the people.

In short, in this paper the analysis of machiavellism in its various forms is a precious paradigm to interpret the complex dynamics of power in the first phase of French contemporary history, but also a key to understand how Machiavelli becomes, during the moments of crisis, an instrument to defend and justify a specific political project.