Britain and Italy
in the Long Eighteenth Century

Britain and Italy in the Long Eighteenth Century: Literary and Art Theories

Edited by

Rosamaria Loretelli and Frank O'Gorman

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INTRODUCTION

ROSAMARIA LORETELLI
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Europe is now one; and, in the eighteenth century, the Europe of the learned was one. Although well known and obvious, these two facts have not yet seeped into our cultural unconscious as deeply as we would like.

Guided by this awareness the Italian and the British Societies for Eighteenth-Century Studies are running a joint programme of conferences both to foster research on the eighteenth-century cultural transfers between the two countries, a field still very patchily covered, and to promote cross-cultural attitudes in the interpretation of British and Italian eighteenth-century texts. The intent is to have scholars partake of a cultural background that is not shared from the start, and cultivate, so to say, their outlook on the texts of their own tradition through perspectives coming from the other culture.

Here we publish the proceedings of the second Anglo-Italian conference, that was hosted by the Federico II University of Naples and its Linguistic Centre, directed by Annamaria Lamarra in April 2009. The essays, although short for editorial reasons, expand sectors of their authors' much wider researches, almost all recently published, or shortly to be published in book form in one of the two languages.

In this collection of essays, which range across literature, philosophy, aesthetics, music and art, the authors are motivated by a number of considerations. Several of them are deeply concerned to investigate contemporary perceptions of the world and knowledge about the world rather to construct yet further historico-empirical narratives. Indeed, several essays impinge not merely upon new ideas and novel methodologies but with new conceptions of knowledge and even with the establishment of what later periods may conceive to be new academic disciplines. Inevitably, others are anxious to explore cultural interconnections between Britain and Italy. These, it should be noted, while as fascinating as ever are, in general, found to be as elusive and as complex as ever, the materials in this collection emphasising, perhaps, the difficulties in the

way of mutual comprehension on the part of two very distinct cultures during the eighteenth century.

A comprehensive background to the subject of eighteenth-century literary and art theories is provided in this book by Rosy Colombo's "Dealing with Change in Literary and Art Theories" which spotlights the dynamics of change in the field of eighteenth-century "aesthetics," progressively emerging as the mutable outcome of the interrelations between changing forms and changing critical discourse. These complex dynamics will be a prerequisite leading to the foundation of the notion of aesthetics as an autonomous form of knowledge.

One of these changing forms is the picturesque, discussed here by Francesca Orestano in "Picturesque Reconsidered—and Preserved" not so much for its own sake as in terms of the mutable attitudes towards it from the eighteenth century to the present. Time and mutability are also at the core of "Stranded in the Present: Modernity and De Ligne's *Lettre de Parthenizza*" by Bram van Oostveldt and Stijn Bussels who convincingly present that text, issued after the French Revolution, as being on the verge of modernity. Within the frame of a picturesque aesthetics it contains, embedded, a sense of discontinuity with the past, traumatically felt as no longer a guide for the future.

Without rejecting the usual scholarly perspective which tends to look for mutual influences and for patterns of cultural migration when considering Italian and British art theories, Andrea Gatti in his "A Dialogue between the Deaf and the Dumb. Aesthetic Theories in England and Italy during the Eighteenth Century" focuses instead on the difficulties involved in their mutual understanding, relating them to relevant differences in the general philosophies of the two countries. The question of linguistic universals, still one of the recurring issues in language theory, was as is well known a widely debated theme in the Scottish Enlightenment. In "The Linguistic Turn in the Aesthetics of the Scottish Enlightenment" Daniele Niedda takes position on Dugald Stewart's thinking about language and knowledge in relation to Thomas Reid, his mentor and the founder of the "common sense" school. On the subject of the Scottish Enlightenment Suzanne Marcuzzi's "Hutcheson on Beauty and Virtue" advocates an interpretation of Hutcheson's aesthetics that sees his accounts of beauty and of morality as inextricably linked.

A facet of the eighteenth century that has only recently started to attract the attention of scholars, promising however an abundant crop, is that of the different forms of residual orality present within its culture. Within this field Ruth Perry tackles "The printed Record of an Oral Tradition: Anna Gordon Brown's Ballad," focusing on the case of a

middle-class woman born in 1747 who had learned traditional ballads as a child and who in later life sang them for transcription in what is known to be the earliest oral repertoire of ballads collected from a living person.

In the last few decades the history of publishing and book dispersal has made significant strides. From this standpoint Lia Guerra and Anna Giulia Cavagna contribute new documentary evidence of the interest of eighteenth-century Italy in the English world and map some channels of book circulation. The extent of the presence of British books in an important library in Pavia is attested by Lia Guerra's "The Circulation of British Books in Eighteenth-Century Pavia: Work in Progress"; while a complex picture appears in Cavagna's "Eighteenth-Century Italian Books in London: the Presence of Italian Regional Publishing in the Collections of the British Library." Here, after establishing the scale of books printed in Italy for rich British readers on the Grand Tour, Cavagna considers books in Italian published in London (their authors, their public, their material forms such as types of paper and of print, page layout etc.) and then, more analytically, books published in eighteenth-century Pavia and Genoa to be found in collections held by the British Library.

At the crossroads where the history of the book and of reading intersect the history of literary forms stands Rosamaria Loretelli's essay ("The Space of Time: *Fleurons* as Temporal Markers in Samuel Richardson's *Clarissa* and Ugo Foscolo's *Ultime lettere di Jacopo Ortis*") that examines the function of some graphic markers in the first editions of Richardson's *Clarissa* and of the first Italian novel, i.e. Ugo Foscolo's *Ultime lettere di Jacopo Ortis*.

Riccardo Capoferro's "Imaginary Voyages' Aesthetic Theories: Towards a Definition of the Fantastic" directs attention to Margaret Cavendish's *The Blazing World* and David Russen's *Iter Lunare*, two imaginary voyages in which the scholar highlights the attempt to establish the aesthetics of a literary mode, the fantastic, pointing out its essentially oxymoric nature, as basically unrealistic but obliged to define itself in relation to empirical and scientific protocols. The presence and function of music (the Italian opera, particularly) and of musical theory in Frances Burney's novels is the rewarding theme of Barbara Witucki's "Music, Don Quixote, and the Novels of Miss Burney." In "Talking Animals and the Instruction of Children. Dorothy Kilner's *The Rational Brute*" Silvia Granata writes a chapter of the genesis of children's literature featuring talking animals, and focuses on three aspects in particular, namely its relation to the novel as a literary genre at its outset, contemporary educational theories, and the issue of animal rights.

Among the cultural transfers between eighteenth-century Britain and Italy that are still waiting for thorough research is that of the Italian reception of the British novel, both through translations/adaptations and through imitations. Here Daniela Mangione ("Fielding and Sterne: Reception, New Debts and Echoes in the Italian Novel of the First Hundred Years") deals with the reception of Henry Fielding's and Laurence Sterne's novels and breaks new ground, pointing at passages in Francesco Domenico Guerrazzi's *Il buco nel muro* where echoes of *Tom Jones*, *Tristram Shandy* and *The Sentimental Journey* blatantly emerge. Emilio Sergio's "A British Look at Italian Poetry: Saverio Bettinelli, the *English Letters* (1766), and the Idea of Cosmopolitanism" discusses Saverio Bettinelli's *Lettere inglesi*, the report of an imaginary encounter between the two cultures, according to the model of Montesquieu's *Lettres Persanes*.

Angelo Canavesi ("Sterne and Foscolo: the Ironic Sovereignty of the Individual") focuses on the *Sentimental Journey*'s newly invented language of sensibility that he shows to be strictly related to the neuroscience of the time (occasionally pointing out at similarities with the recent discovery of "mirror neurons"). This to illustrate a consistent obstacle facing Ugo Foscolo's first Italian translation, and precisely to render the discourse of a narrating self "suspended between feeling and articulation."

The present volume is closed by James Moore's "'Marble Mad and Very Extravagant': Henry Ince Blundell and the Politics of Cultural Reputation in Britain and Italy" on eighteenth-century attitudes towards art collecting. Through an investigation of Henry Ince Blundell's approach to collecting, and focusing on his relationship with the other art collector Charles Townley—their relation to Italy and their buying Italian art items—Moore shows how the historicity of a collection and specialist knowledge was felt in the eighteenth century as increasingly important for the cultural reputation of the collector.

These essays collected here are characteristic of the state of a number of disciplines at a particular time in the early twenty-first century. Further Anglo-Italian Conferences will, no doubt, continue to work on these foundations. To these Conferences, and to the publications which we anticipate will follow them, the editors can only look forward.

DEALING WITH CHANGE IN LITERARY AND ART THEORIES

ROSY COLOMBO*

A study of literary and art theories in eighteenth-century British culture should map the complex interconnection between transformations of forms, on the one hand, and of critical discourse, on the other. It was precisely this interconnection that, parallel to the development of empiricism, contributed to the establishment of a groundbreaking notion of aesthetics as an autonomous form of knowledge and, for the first time, a discipline *per se*, which suited the demands of the age but also performed an active role in the ways of the modern world. It has been universally acknowledged that a new species of criticism—on which I shall focus later—was essential in creating an aesthetic consciousness which, in its turn, played a crucial role in the historical and epistemological transformations of the age. The eighteenth-century vision contemplated a vital shifting of boundaries between the traditionally consolidated categories of art and the beautiful; what I would like to argue in this paper is that it also initiated a more elaborate concept of creativity, which could reach beyond the prerogatives of artistic genius.[1] In the wake of Galilei and Bacon's example, creativity found a place in the empirical sciences and was appropriated as an attribute by the "new philosophers," thus transcending the literary and artistic spheres. Creativity was claimed as the enlightened foundation for the *Encyclopédie* project; it even became a feature of lifestyles newly fashioned by individual talent. An increasing concern with identity in terms of a continuous performance of an imagined self required an invention of "strategies for showing"—a concern which is at the root of today's obsession with self-image—and created the ideal terrain from which the sphere of fashion emerged as a powerful agent of change. The market of appearance encouraged individual talents to negotiate the right to "seem," to create forms of identity which were no longer supposed to reflect the stability of social codes. For the first time in history, both the

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production and the consumption of beauty began to incorporate the shadows of relativity and imperfection. In this particular sense, aesthetics was constitutive of modernity.

Against this background, it is worthwhile to consider the interplay between the various neoclassical styles which developed in the course of the long eighteenth century. Early in the century, the Augustans understood that a traditional prescriptive concept of literary and artistic production was on the wane and that parody was the only possible strategy to preserve the memory of the classics on the cultural market.[2] However, a more flexible neoclassicist mode, anticipated by *The Spectator* and formalized by Samuel Johnson, could engage in a compromise with the categories of time and individual experience. Towards the end of the century, another version of neoclassicism set in to support progress and perfectibility, values which had been incarnated by the French Revolution; however, such a rational strand of neoclassicism entailed a consciousness of the mutability of aesthetic values. It is precisely this awareness that led to the cultural hegemony of *taste*, which, as a faculty defined by subjectivity and time, implied a notion of aesthetics that could contemplate ontological relativity and accept imperfection as a feature of beauty, immanent in the aesthetic experience.

A specifically British example is provided by the cult of the picturesque that characterized landscape gardening. While rejecting the regular, geometrical patterns imposed on nature by architects from the Renaissance on (let us think only of Versailles), the picturesque played with the boundaries of nature and visual art forms, and blended the appeal of classical models of ideal beauty with the Gothic revival of the taste for ruins. Ruins could at times function as rich ornaments that bestowed prestige on the garden's owner, but, more importantly, they visually conceptualized the passing of time, thus highlighting the ephemeral condition of artistic creation, both literally and metaphorically. The scenario of the most celebrated eighteenth-century English gardens, such as Stowe, or Stourhead, is eloquent enough.[3]

But let me return to the metamorphoses of neoclassicism from a more empirical perspective. Modern novelists, for instance, though working towards variety and change, could still refer to neoclassical categories when vindicating the rights of the "mongrel forms" of their invention. Thus did Fielding; but even Richardson could refer to the Ancients—to Aristotle, to Horace, to Virgil—in his postscript to *Clarissa* to justify the heroine's tragic end to his sensitive female readers, who objected to her death.[4] Paradoxically enough, classical principles could be expanded to

deflate neoclassical stereotypes and even overturn them, as Samuel Johnson did when, in the very name of a rational "nature," he challenged the detractors (I need not mention Voltaire) of Shakespeare's irregular treatment of the dramatic unities.[5]

In France, the middle of the century saw the launch of the *Encyclopédie*'s methodical revision of knowledge in all branches of learning—significantly with no separation between Sciences and *Belles Lettres*. In Britain, a number of initiatives in the public sphere of the press took a more empirical turn, with the shift of critical writing from systematic and theoretical tracts to the more analytical and open form of the essay. A new species of literary criticism emerged, mostly published in magazines and generally focused on contemporary novels, which afforded a fruitful dialogue with the critical mode of the author's prefaces, effectively becoming a liminal paratext of novelistic writing.[6] Consider the Prefaces or Postscripts or even the chapters inserted in novels: the writers themselves not only advertised their work as a commodity (the current title for a Preface was in fact "advertisement"), but also discussed their own poetics with an eye to the reader as a consumer, no longer an abiding disciple of the Renaissance schools. In *Joseph Andrews*, three Prefaces were presented to the readers under the assumption that from time to time their metaphorical journey through the story needed a stop, which would allow them to reconsider the pleasures of their experience in a rational way: "Those little vacant spaces between our chapters may be looked upon as an inn or resting place where [the traveller] may stop and consider what he hath seen."[7] Another case in point is the memorable joint defence of the novel and of the female sex inserted by Jane Austen in *Northanger Abbey*: "Yes, novels," Austen writes,

> if the heroine of one novel be not patronised by the heroine of another, from whom can she expect protection and regard? […] "And what are you reading, Miss—?" "Oh, it is only a novel!" replies the young lady, while she lays down her book with affected indifference or momentary shame. — "It is only Cecilia or Camilla or Belinda"; or, in short, only some work in which the greatest powers of the mind are displayed, in which the most thorough knowledge of human nature, the happiest delineation of its varieties, the liveliest effusions of wit and humour, are conveyed to the world in the best chosen language.[8]

Thus a very short leap separated criticism as a constitutive part of a narrative from criticism *as* narrative. Not surprisingly, the mode of biography provided a new template for criticism, to the extent that it played a crucial

part in Johnson's invention of literary history.[9] *Lives of the English Poets* (1779-1781)[10] is significantly a history of individual poets, where the emphasis is on the "character" of each poet, regarded as the original source of his creative imagination. Such a humanization of criticism effectively bridges the gap between Johnson's critical mode and the practice of eighteenth-century novelists, who also looked at history as biography, the plot of the book being the history of the life of an individual: his/story. *Joseph Andrews*' manifesto of realism is eloquent: "Biography is real history rather than the history of England, the history of France or Spain […] *Don Quixote* is worthy of the name of a history."[11] And Johnson, in *Rambler* n. 60: "No species of writing seems more worthy of cultivation than biography."

Nevertheless, the making of a canon was a necessity of the age. Johnson's seminal work on the *Dictionary of the English Language* (1755), on the *corpus* of Shakespeare's works (*The Plays of William Shakespeare*, 1765) and on the eighteenth-century English poets set the example. He paved the way for Elizabeth Inchbald's massive publication of English dramas (as chronologically performed on the contemporary stage), and for Anna Laetitia Barbauld's first collection of *British Novelists*, complete with an extensive introductory apparatus which was meant to set the production of the eighteenth-century novel in the perspective of historical progress, in fact in a tradition of its own. Clara Reeve shared the same historical outlook in trying to define a canon for *The Progress of Romance*.[12] Neither task was easy, given the generic instability of eighteenth-century narratives.[13]

Canon-making in the eighteenth century was informed by contemporary aesthetic theories of consumption, both in an attempt to establish continuity with unprecedented formal experiments, and with a view to promoting a sense of national tradition. In this perspective, the exhibition culture of major British literary texts played an extraordinary role.

The project of John Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery, which opened in 1786 and was followed by other similar exhibitions, most importantly by John Füssli's 1799 Milton Gallery, was a new visual phenomenon which translated the action of Shakespeare's plays—in Fussli's case, Milton's *Paradise Lost*—into a series of paintings exhibited in strict reference to pages from the texts. Füssli's was a multimedial experiment in which visitors could read *Paradise Lost* visually, and an instance of how deeply visual culture was beginning to affect reading practices. Readers were

turning into spectators,[14] and this happened because a visual narrative was inserted within specific scenes of reading, encouraging an encounter between paintings and books.

The recasting of great British literature in the form of painting galleries met various needs. By emancipating Shakespeare engravings from mere reproductions of stage scenes of the 70s and the 80s, this practice offered a testimony of a superior British taste in painting, thus bolstering national pride. It also cleverly exploited marketing strategies in showcasing illustrated editions, or even single prints, which common visitors could afford. Above all, it allowed art to participate in the construction of a modern national literary canon in Britain, with Shakespeare and Milton at its centre.

Even the theoretical discourse on literature and the arts had to take into account the sphere of consumption. The dogmatic discourse on the rules imposed by Renaissance theorists on the creator of a work of art gave way to a dialogue with the reader, which was meant to improve the consumer's taste. From Addison to Burke, from Hume to Hogarth, legislative discourses on composition shifted towards modern theories inspired by an anatomy of the human mind. "Il ne suffit pas pour le goût, de voir, de connoître la beauté d'un ouvrage," wrote Montesquieu; "il faut la sentir, en être touché. Les sources du beau, du bon, de l'agréable, &c. sont donc dans nous-mêmes; & en chercher les raisons, c'est chercher les causes des plaisir de nôtre ame."[15] The pleasure of taste, added Hume, was rooted in feeling and emotions.[16] "The impression becomes irresistible when we ourselves are called to share in the action, when human dignity, human beauty, human passions […] mix in the plan […] and every image before us is reflected by a similar one within ourselves," wrote Füssli in the *Milton Gallery Prospectus* (1791), undermining the very possibility of an objective idea of beauty, and thus of "ideal beauty."

And so it happened that taste came into its own as a major feature of the age. In the second half of the century, debates on the idea of taste took a downright revolutionary turn in the non-humanistic theory of beauty elaborated by William Hogarth, the champion, along with Sterne and Edmund Burke, of irregular, unfinished forms—thus heading towards the twentieth-century consciousness that imperfection is an immanent quality of the aesthetic experience of modernity.[17] This challenge to an organic vision of form merged with the late eighteenth-century poetics of ruins, whose appeal lay not in a quest for retrieval or reconstruction of an original whole; it lay, rather, precisely in their incomplete and fragmentary nature. One way or the other, the very traces of time were beginning to be

felt as marks of beauty, thus paving the way to a phenomenological approach to literature and the arts.

One crucial issue was the ontological status of taste: was taste a special faculty, "an instinct of the heart," the ineffable French "je ne sais quoi" ("un charme invisible qu'on n'a pu définir"), which transcended a rational conception of beauty? Or was it rather an intellectual faculty, that internal sense which, in different ways, attracted philosophers from Shaftesbury to Locke and Hutcheson? "Le goût […]—argued the *Encyclopédie*—mérite plûtôt le nom de *fantaisie*."[18]

An excellent survey published in Italy a few years ago by Giuseppe Sertoli maintains that Addison's papers on "the pleasures of the imagination"[19] provided a link between Locke's empiricism and Hutcheson's epistemology, which had given a rational twist to Shaftesbury's neoplatonic formula of "sensus communis." In defining taste as an interaction between the senses, the imagination and rational judgement, Addison fathered a modern conception of aesthetics, even going as far as to separate aesthetics from ethics, in this way opening up a space for the Romantic notion of art as an autonomous sphere. Most importantly, by arguing that beauty was not an immanent quality present in an object, but an effect of the object on the spectator (hence his pseudonym of Mr. Spectator), therefore a subjective experience, Addison articulated the rights of the bourgeois consciousness.

Hume and Burke, each in his own way, proceeded in precisely this direction. To the author of *The Standard of Taste* the answer was a relativistic conception of beauty, whereas Burke took a step further by setting the experience of the sublime in a different category from that of a calm contemplation of beauty.[20] Burke's theory of the sublime entailed annihilation of the self and loss of identity (something similar to the Freudian notion of death drive) and it was therefore very different from Kant's. According to the latter the sublime actually led to an empowerment of the self, since reason could always overcome the shock produced by an overwhelming emotion. It is not surprising that to our post-Freudian mind, Burke's argument (at least before his conversion to conservativism) is much more compelling than Kant's.[21]

The increasing interest in taste was one of the consequences of the transformation of aesthetics into a mode of human experience, a necessary follow-up to the groundbreaking enlightenment project. Taste allowed middle-class consumers to rise in status: they could become "people of quality" thanks to a broadening conception of education, which now also included the learning of elegant manners. In other words, Innovation affected not only epistemological theories and critical practices, but also

the lifestyle of the nation, particularly with reference to London, no longer merely a city, but a metropolis in the making.

A number of changing attitudes—a new way of living in the city as well as a productive indulging in leisure, and (therefore) *pleasure* time—can be appreciated fully in the emerging domain of fashion: the eighteenth century was the age in which fashion became an art form. Thus the *Encyclopédie*: "Les modes se détruisent & se succedent continuellement […]. Le bizarre étant le plus souvent préféré […] par cela seul qu'il est plus nouveau." Two centuries later Coco Chanel was to give fashion a more icastic definition:"la mode est ce qui se démodé," thus voicing the paradox that to be *in fashion* automatically presupposes being *out of fashion.* The advancement of fashion gave a new twist to the old semantics of luxury, and made the traditional link between luxury and the strict *ancien régime* codes look obsolete. No longer figuring in the list of the private vices of degraded aristocrats which still prevailed in the Italian hours of Giuseppe Parini's *Il Giorno*, and not yet acknowledged by Giacomo Leopardi as the "sister" of Death,[22] fashion could thrive in the economy of the British marketplace and be considered by Adam Smith as having a positive rebound on the general welfare of the country, as well as adding a colourful touch to the identity of a nation still proud of its Puritan origins.[23] The progress of the middle classes was actively shaping the image of a refined modern gentleman, in whom "a spirit of elegance had supplanted the rapacity of wealth."[24] Someone who—in the course of time—could gradually materialize the dream of perfectibility born of the Enlightenment, and rise above his lowly origins by displaying elegance of manner and polite modes of conversation, whether on the page or in the drawing room scene. A project of self-improvement allowed individuals to become the agents of their self-fashioning and make up their own selves according to their own fancy, featuring representations which were independent of Nature's mould as well as of class and gender. The self could therefore be transformed into a "character," a *persona* on the stage of the modern world, a mask in the great feast of the collective unconscious. In England, Locke's theory of the workings of the imagination through associations of images had lent philosophical legitimacy to the priority of the visual amongst the pleasures of the imagination. The *Spectator* followed: "Our sight is the most perfect and most delightful of all our senses. It fills the mind with the largest variety of ideas."[25] London metropolitan culture was obsessed with representations of its own modernity in such places of public entertainment as the pleasure gardens. Not surprisingly, therefore, John Brewer's recent comprehensive cultural study of the eighteenth century *Pleasures of the Imagination* deals

extensively with the importance of the sphere of representation in the cultural market, as well as the crucial role of lifestyle changes.[26] And it was a reading of the eighteenth century as "the ceaseless century"[27] that inspired a 1998 New York exhibition on period costumes recreated from Watteau's paintings, along with today's remakes, produced by such unconventional "merchants of style" as Vivienne Westwood.[28]

Strategies for Showing[29] were at the core of an aesthetization (some scholars have rather suggested the term "femininization") of social life.[30] Among them were strategies and practices exploited by the marketplace to cater to the pleasure of a new species of art collector, increasingly interested in possessing of a variety of small objects, in which a feminized version of beauty challenged the "grand style" of painting (particularly the portrait): one example was the china and lacquer imported from the colonies and displayed on dressing tables (think of Belinda's), in addition to fine coffees and teas which had superseded the traditional British drinks (gin and ale).[31] The importance of the coffee house, which offered the comfort of a well-brewed cup but also an open democratic space of exchange, from good reading to pleasant conversation, cannot be overemphasized when reflecting upon the rise and development of a modern powerful public sphere.

Together with the new colonial imports, *prêt à porter* antique objects became available to the community of collectors: now the Grand Tour marketplace fully exploited the cult of antiquity and contributed to the shift of perspective from the Roman to the Greek legacy, which gained momentum as a result of the archaeological discovery of Paestum, at the end of the century.

In this way, vital negotiations of change in the sphere of the visual arts developed from the compromise between renewal and neoclassicism in its various incarnations.[32] David's neoclassicism is a typical example. He staged the different phases in history from the French Revolution to Napoleon, first by representing the Revolution as a re-enactment of ancient Republican Rome, then moving on to celebrate the imperial glory of Napoleon. Later, his vision drew on the pure, naked, original beauty of the Greeks, celebrated by Winckelmann and interpreted by Canova. Finally, he engrafted the taste of the ancients onto a taste for the archaic, epitomized by the uncontaminated, Edenic world of the American natives. In David's non-canonical view, antiquity was no longer a given, handed down for imitation at the disposal of posterity; he felt that tradition was as an invention of the present, a response of modern culture to its unstable identity.[33] The retrieval of an "ideal beauty" was in fact a project of

modern aesthetics, afflicted by a sense of loss and an existential imperfection, which Hogarth's theory of beauty expressed in the windings of an unfinished serpentine line. The dynamics of change was only partly progressive, as the current issue about the "rise" of the novel as a canonical form from the start well shows. Johnson's method could foster the historical outlook of Anna Laetitia Barbauld, and perhaps even Ian Watt's thesis of a "rise of the novel" and its linear development. Today, one is aware that there never was a darkness, a narrative night out of which, like the sun, the novel rose as an organic form;[34] nor was there ever a canonical form of the novel in the eighteenth century.[35] The novel was an experimental, "digressive" kind of writing, to which crisis was constitutive. Unstable by definition as it was, it became a natural ally of fashion, in spite of its negative representation of fashion as the quintessence of the inauthentic.

Johnson's imperfect ending to *Rasselas*, significantly a "Conclusion in which Nothing is Concluded," conveys the sense of an ontological limit, internalized by an unfinished form. Two centuries later, Samuel Beckett, who admired Samuel Johnson, was to make this imperfect vision his own.

Notes

[1] Dario Castiglione and Lesley Sharpe, eds., *Shifting the Boundaries* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1995).

[2] Among studies published in Italy, see the excellent *Rettorica dell'epica*, by Flavio Gregori (Bologna: Cisalpino, 1998).

[3] See Michel Baridon, *Le Jardin paysager anglais au dix-huitième siècle* (Dijon: Editions universitaires de Dijon, 2000).

[4] See Samuel Richardson, Postscript to *Clarissa; or the History of a Young Lady*, ed. William King and Adrian Bott (Oxford: Blackwell, 1929-1931), in which several objections that had been made to the catastrophe and to different parts of the preceding history are briefly considered.

[5] See Samuel Johnson, *Preface to Shakespeare e altri scritti shakespeareani*, ed. Agostino Lombardo (Bari: Adriatica, 1960).

[6] See Joseph F. Bartolomeo, *A New Species of Criticism: Eighteenth-Century Discourse on the Novel* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1994).

[7] Henry Fielding, *Joseph Andrews* (London: Everyman's Library, 1973), book II, 60.

[8] Jane Austen, *Northanger Abbey* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 21-22.

[9] On Samuel Johnson as the inventor of literary history, see the landmark study by René Wellek, *A History of Literary Criticism: 1750-1950*, vol. 1 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1955).

[10] See the edition by Roger Lonsdale (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

[11] Fielding, *Joseph Andrews*, book II, 143.

[12] Elizabeth Inchbald, ed. *The British Theatre* (London, 1806-1809), 25 vols.; Elizabeth Inchbald, ed., *The Modern Theatre* (1811), 10 vols.; Anna Laetitia Barbauld, *British Novelists* (London, 1810); Clara Reeve, *The Progress of Romance* [1785], in *The Progress of Romance and the History of Charoba, Queen of Aegypt*, ed. Esther M. McGill (Whitefish, Montana: Kessinger Publishing, 2007). Two recent Italian studies on Barbauld are Donatella Montini's "Anna Laetitia Barbauld's Ethics of Sentiment," in Lilla Maria Crisafulli and Cecilia Pietropoli, eds., *Romantic Women Poets. Genre and Gender* (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2007) and Silvia Granata's *The Dear Charities of Social Life: The Work of Anna Laetitia Barbauld* (Bergamo: Sestante Edizioni, 2008).

[13] On seventeenth- and eighteenth-century generic instability see Michael McKeon, *The Origins of the English Novel, 1600-1740* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1987).

[14] Thus reads the subtitle of Luisa Calè's recent study on Milton's Gallery, *Fuseli's Milton Galley: "Turning Readers into Spectators"* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

[15] "Goût," *Dictionnaire de L'Académie Française* (5th edn., 1798), vol. 7, 761-62. On this topic, see Giuseppe Sertoli, *Il gusto nell'Inghilterra del Settecento*, in Luigi Russo, ed., *Storia di un'idea estetica* (Palermo: Aesthetica, 2000). Interesting bibliographical references can be found in *Pleasure in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Roy Porter and Marie Mulvey Robert (London: Macmillan, 1996). See also Lia Formigari, *L'estetica del gusto nel Settecento inglese* (Firenze: Sansoni 1965).

[16] See David Hume, "On the Standard of Taste," in *Essays Moral, Political, and Literary* (1757), ed. Eugene F. Miller (Indianapolis: Liberty Classics, 1985).

[17] See William Hogarth, *The Analysis of Beauty: Written with a View of Fixing the Fluctuating Ideas of Taste* (Newhaven: Yale University Press, 1997). See also Umberto Eco, *Storia della bellezza* (Milano: Bompiani, 2005).

[18] "Goût," *Dictionnaire de L'Académie Française*, vol. 7, 761.

[19] See *The Spectator* no. 409 and nos. 411-421. In *The Spectator*, ed. D.F. Bond (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), vol. III.

[20] See Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757-1759), ed. James T. Boulton (London: Routledge, 1958).

[21] See Sertoli, *Il gusto nell'Inghilterra del Settecento*.

[22] See Giacomo Leopardi, "Dialogo della moda e della morte," in *Operette morali* (Milano: Garzanti, 1991).

[23] It is significant that the issue was dealt with by Adam Smith in the *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759) rather than in *The Wealth of Nations* (1776). A useful introductory study is Colin Campbell's *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987).

[24] From Frances Burney, *Cecilia* (1782), ed. Peter Sabor and Margaret Anne Doody (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 5.

[25] *The Spectator*, no 411, 21 June 1712.

[26] See John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination. English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1997).

[27] On the "Ceaseless Century" exhibition see Richard Martin, *The Ceaseless Century: 300 Years of Eighteenth-Century Costume* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000).
[28] See Christopher Breward, *The Culture of Fashion* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995); Paola Colaiacomo and Vittoria C. Caratozzolo, *Mercanti di stile. Le culture della moda dagli anni '20 a oggi* (Roma: Editori Riuniti, 2002).
[29] See Marcia Pointon, *Strategies for Showing; Women, Possession, and Representation in English Visual Culture, 1665-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997). See also Porter and Mulvey Roberts, *Pleasure in the Eighteenth Century*.
[30] See Gill Perry and Michael Rossington, *Femininity and Masculinity in Eighteenth Century Art and Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994).
[31] Not surprisingly, Burke defines beauty as feminine, in contrast to a masculine sublime.
[32] On neoclassicism, see Mario Praz, *Gusto Neoclassico* (1st. edition 1939; Milano: Biblioteca Universale Rizzoli, 1990). See also Antonio Pinelli, *Il neoclassicismo nell'arte del Settecento* (Roma: Carocci, 2005), and Orietta Rossi Pinelli, *Le arti nel Settecento europeo* (1st. edition 2000; Torino: Einaudi, 2009). On the Greek legacy, see Giuseppe Massara, "Shaftesbury e l'Antico," in *La Grecia antica mito e simbolo per l'età della Grande Rivoluzione* (Milano: Guerini Associati, 1991). An interesting aspect of the connection between antiquity and the cultural market is the success of *Etruria*, Joshua Wedgewood's firm, which manufactured reproductions and imitations of art objects.
[33] "Invented traditions are responses to novel situations. They take the form of reference to old situations, or establish their own past by repetition." See Eric Hobsbawm, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 2.
[34] See McKeon, *The Origins of the English Novel*.
[35] See Franca Ruggieri, "The Machinery of My Work," in Franca Ruggieri, ed., *Oltre il romanzo: da Sterne a Joyce* (Napoli: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1992).

PICTURESQUE RECONSIDERED AND PRESERVED

FRANCESCA ORESTANO*

Gilpin, Price, Knight: picturesque theory and its varieties

Within the long perspective of the reception of the picturesque—a word still well in use today—and in the context of recent cultural and visual studies, my contribution explores the complexities inherent in this aesthetic category which, from the second half of the eighteenth century onwards, came to be known as "picturesque beauty," "picturesqueness" or, *tout court*, "the picturesque." Even today, when looking around for interior and garden decoration, in tourist and travel guides, in fashion, photography and image-making, we do encounter this term, indicative of a degree of artistic ambition, and of a formalist attitude which is inevitably accompanied by appropriate feelings such as nostalgia for an irretrievable past, but also irreverent laughter—the ridicule and the sentimental often looming almost in unison behind it. Actually the visual notion of picturesque value goes hand in hand with the ironic awareness of its low value, marring the desirable distinction inscribed in the use of an aesthetic code with hints of affectation, vulgarity of a repetitious kind, silly display.

Let us look at its beginnings. The potential threat of the visual at the expense of morality and virtue was already there. The definition of "picturesque beauty" occurs for the first time in the context of an English landscape garden, in 1748: it is used to describe a monument which is an artificial ruin, rich in decorative, visual value, yet—unlike other monuments—deprived of all inscription or reference to well-known and instructive episodes in history or literature. In the philosophical dialogue occurring between two imaginary characters, Callophilus and Polypthon, who visit the gardens at Stowe, the appreciation of picturesque beauty already implies an ethical dilemma:

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> *Polypth*. Yes, indeed, I think the Ruin a great Addition to the Beauty of the Lake. There is something so vastly picturesque and pleasing to the Imagination in such Objects, that they are a great Addition to every Landskip. And yet perhaps it would be hard to assign a reason, why we are more taken with Prospects of this ruinous kind, than with Views of Plenty and Prosperity in their greatest Perfection: Benevolence and Good-nature, methinks, are more concerned in the latter kind.
> *Calloph.* Yes: but cannot you make a distinction between natural and moral Beauties?[1]

The dialogue points out that benevolence has nothing to do with picturesque beauty. Ethics and aesthetics do not agree. Reverend William Gilpin's concept of one different species of beauty is characterised by its exclusive emphasis on the visual, on the appetite of the eye, whetted by formal elements such as contrast and variety, and deprived of any moral project or issue, indeed not concerned with human benevolence.

In 1792, in his *Three Essays* which were already supposed to clarify all previous misunderstandings, Gilpin warns his readers:

> we admirers of the picturesque are a little misunderstood with regard to our *general intention*. […] Whereas, in fact, we speak a different language. […] We every where make a distinction between scenes, that are *beautiful*, *amusing*, or otherwise pleasing; and scenes that are *picturesque*. [...] In what, then, do we offend? At the expence of no other species of beauty, we merely endeavour to illustrate, and recommend *one* species more; which, tho among the most interesting, hath never yet, so far as I know, been made the set object of investigation.[2]

The lightness of picturesque beauty is not supposed to delve deeply into profound moral issues. It resides in the area of a different kind of language, which could be described as the pure region of design, of visible surfaces—whether scenes of nature or images—where the picturesque eye finds its reward:

> We might begin in moral style; and consider the objects of nature in a higher light, than merely as amusement. We might observe, that a search after beauty should naturally lead the mind to the great origin of all beauty […] But tho in theory this seems a natural climax, we insist the less upon it, as in fact we have scarce ground to hope, that every admirer of *picturesque beauty*, is an admirer also of the *beauty of virtue*.[3]

Amusement is the word Gilpin uses for his picturesque beauty which, as he argues, can be best captured by the genre of the sketch—a minor genre indeed—which does not require academic training nor expensive materials,

such as oils and canvas, but just an album and a pencil. Picturesque beauty can be observed and sketched in several parts of England, especially the River Wye, the Lake District, Scotland—the destinations of Gilpin's summer tours which subsequently provide him with material for his printed "Observations relative chiefly to Picturesque beauty…" illustrated by fine monochrome aquatints, in sepia or indigo.[4]

At the end of the first essay Gilpin inserts a letter from the great academic art guru, Sir Joshua Reynolds, who, on receiving a complimentary copy, had sent his comments, wondering whether "the epithet picturesque [may be] applicable to the excellences of the inferior schools" of painting, being "incompatible with the grand stile" and perhaps "synonymous to the word taste."[5] The answer of the Reverend would be that picturesque beauty is concerned with variety, not with grandeur.

From this exchange, one may already predict the applicability of the term picturesque to taste, fashion, middle-class aesthetics. Originally intended for the use of estate owners, the picturesque gains momentum as it becomes a friendly tool for non-academic amateur artists, print-makers, excursionists and tourists. Women have access to picturesque aesthetics, and learn to sketch a landscape with rapid strokes on the page of their album. In order to compose a lively sketch, full of variety and contrast, ruggedness and claro-obscuro, ruins provide the best subject because of their fragmentary condition. For Gilpin an elegant piece of Palladian architecture does not please in a picture because of its regularity and symmetry:

> Should we wish to give it picturesque beauty, we must use the mallet, instead of the chisel; we must beat down one half of it, deface the other, and throw the mutilated members around in heaps. In short, from a *smooth* building we must turn it into a *rough* ruin.[6]

These words epitomise the source of the ensuing long-lasting controversy which opposes the theory of visual values and picturesque composition against the quest for moral associations, or simply proprietary common sense.[7] Picturesque values alone "offend": the dry contemplation of the ruin has to be enhanced by becoming moral feelings. We witness the clash between two centuries, two systems of thought, between the aesthetic and the philosophical, which in the long run will endow the picturesque with the double strength arising from vision and design. But before the completion of this process, Reverend Gilpin has to be consigned to a destiny of immediate scathing criticism, followed by satire and eventually the silence of oblivion. Indeed the concept of mutilation and scattered

limbs, if acceptable as a metaphor for picturesque composition and ruggedness, means a tangible threat of destruction if literally applied to houses and flourishing gardens—not to delve upon its sadistic innuendos, rather evident within the philosophy of associations.

In the years following the publication of Gilpin's *Three Essays,* controversy against his theory flares up at first among two estate owners, Uvedale Price and Richard Payne Knight, and a landscape gardener, Humphry Repton, all equally opposed to mutilation, ruin, and decay, albeit for different reasons. Humphry Repton remarkably coins a new word, gardenesque, with the aim of promoting good, healthy plant-growing, instead of felling trees and adorning gardens with their scattered limbs. Uvedale Price objects to using the principles of painting in the context of landscape improvement[8] and refashions the picturesque as a category halfway between the beautiful and the sublime, calling it "picturesqueness." Richard Payne Knight argues that this aesthetic category is a category of taste,[9] which may best be handled, in unison, by the optical nerve and art expertise of the connoisseur. It is easy to see in Knight's theory the lure of social distinction: the connoisseur—who is also a grand tourist and art collector—is going to view with supercilious irony the asinine application of Gilpin's "little rules" for assessing and sketching domestic landscape. And not only are the class rewards of connoisseurship connected with a taste for the picturesque in art and natural scenery. Psychological associations, emotions, refined feelings find in ruins the most melancholy, attractive, evocative and picturesque object:

> The first impression made by the view of a mass of ruins can scarcely in any country have been of the pleasing kind. […] their forlorn and dilapidated condition must have excited melancholy emotions. […] Hence the refined taste of modern times, occupied at leisure in extracting from every object the whole sum of sentiment it is capable of affording, has attached to ruins a set of ideas, formerly either little attended to, or overwhelmed by acuter sensations. Not have they been only regarded as sentimental objects. The newest and most fashionable mode of considering them is with respect to the place they hold in the picturesque.[10]

The passage by John Aiken explains why the picturesque becomes the fashion of the day, the *mot juste*, a rage, a bone of contention—*vide* "The Estrangement from Wordsworth," in De Quincey's *Recollections of the Lakes and the Lake Poets*, apparently caused by the theory of picturesque beauty which the bard considered his "sacred and privileged pale."[11]

And while Romantic poets discuss the merits of mountain scenery and the Lakers start visiting the area, already in 1798 a tourists' destination,[12]

urban landscape will gradually become the centre of interest, for writers, readers, artists, its dilapidation and social ruins providing the fittest subject for sketches, both visual and verbal. The natural environment, the old village, the quaint cottage, are bound to evoke a sense of nostalgia, but will soon stimulate regional and national campaigns for their preservation.[13] Wordsworth himself, in his long career, may be seen at once as the poet of picturesque landscape and the herald of a new ecological sensibility, born out of his picturesque associations and committed to the preservation of local values, of vernacular buildings, which, in his *Guide to the Lakes*, are described as being at once aesthetic and rich in cultural value.[14]

What happens then to Reverend Gilpin, to his picturesque tours, to his rules for sketching landscape? Why is his name absent from Ruskin's *oeuvre*—apart from one telling mistake of attribution?[15] The Reverend, whose formal theory was drowned in lakes of melancholy tears over the ruins, is now threatened by peals of laughter. Gilpin does not disappear: he survives, but transformed into Doctor Syntax. When this change occurs, even the Romantic penchant for the picturesque is smothered under fear of ridicule: the subsequent five editions of Wordsworth's *Guide to the Lakes* show his progressive, careful erasure of all reference to the offending term—and to Reverend Gilpin.[16] What happens can be explained in terms of a cultural transformation. Gilpin's picturesque, unlike the sublime and the beautiful, is a surface aesthetics: unlike the sublime, it does not plumb the depths of psychology, unlike the beautiful it does not equate with reason and virtue. If the sublime makes us shiver in fright, and the beautiful soar into blissful harmonies, the sentimental picturesque is what eventually makes us shed a furtive tear, while the formalist, old-fashioned idea of Reverend Gilpin generates amusement, verbal comedy and grotesque caricature.

This is Gilpin's destiny: he becomes the hero of a comical series of picturesque adventures, under the mask of Doctor Syntax. Syntax is at once a speaking caricature of the supercilious Reverend, a type of Parson Adams, but also the Don Quixote of the Lake District, which is a clear allusion to the visual fallacy which causes his raptures in front of old ruins, shaggy asses, shrivelled old ladies, signposts covered with moss. The lolling rhyme of William Combe and the brilliant aquatints of Thomas Rowlandson provide early nineteenth-century readers with the comedy of Gilpin's picturesque.[17] Laughter is elicited by the hero's stubborn application of visual principles deprived of all feelings or sense: Rowlandson's vignettes portray his long, stumbling, awkward figure, the wig often askew, mixing with country types, rustics and peasants, often inebriated, under the shade of rugged elms, or with soldiers and sailors

dancing with the girls of the town, the fiddler drunk too. The mild sting of satire portrays the drunkenness of the gentry, "gilded coaches tumbling and trundling through the heavy and undying green tunnels of the English lanes and royal roads."[18] We laugh, whenever we see the picturesque acolyte, the picturesque traveller, the picturesque gardener, sketcher, watercolourist, falling into waterfalls, pits, ravines, bringing ruin and destruction to the territory or just idly loitering under the pealing rain to savour a scene of interesting dilapidation.

From around 1810 onwards, reaching a peak of international success in the 1830s, the *Tours of Doctor Syntax in Search of the Picturesque* raise the storm of ridicule which is going to drown the Reverend and his theory in laughter. The astringent morality of the Victorian age will do the rest. The transition has been finely caught by Osbert Sitwell in an essay on Thomas Rowlandson, whom he considers "the greatest master of pure line" England produced, and yet was dismissed by the Victorian art-loving public as a mere common print-artist, bent on portraying the slatterny Saturnalia of grotesque unbecoming subjects: "the newly-born, Port-drinking middle-classes of the nineteenth century looked back with horror at the rum-punch orgies of the eighteenth…"[19] Rowlandson's convivial types and their vices, so rich in contrasts and variety, would be drowned in the sentimental excess of the Victorian age which would brood over them with a keen sense of guilt. This did not prevent the eye from looking at scenes of ruin, or artists from portraying them, but induced the gazer to respond to them in a self-deprecating fashion, covering so to say his head in ashes, while still gazing, still scanning with the eye.

The formalist rules of composition are not forgotten by Victorian artists, but the picturesque scene of poverty has to elicit a moral sermon, a virtuous reprobation of the architectural, social, human ruin it contemplates. This is Ruskin's attitude, always at cross-purposes with the picturesque while operating in its area.[20] For Ruskin this aesthetic is "eminently a heartless one" because

> the lover of [the picturesque] seems to go forth into the world in a temper as merciless as the rocks. All other men feel some regret at the sight of disorder and ruin. He alone delights in both […] Fallen cottage—desolate villa—deserted village—blasted heath—mouldering castle—to him, so that they do but show jagged angles of stone and timber, all sights are equally joyful.[21]

Ruskin's sense of guilt for his poor starving picturesque subjects does exist together with his appetite for the visual. His *Elements of Design* provide us with a striking replica of Gilpin's "little rules"—only that

Ruskin typically calls them "laws."[22] His coinage of the term "Turneresque" reveals his divided feelings, and the typical Victorian clash between ethics and aesthetics.

Ruskin's depreciation of the "heartless" or vulgar picturesque must, however, be viewed in the context of the popular fortunes of Doctor Syntax: the other side of the story being that nineteenth century authors will in fact exploit with glee the comic potential of the picturesque mode. Picturesque aesthetics involve the risk of a moral stigma, but also imply downright ridicule. This comic mode of preserving the picturesque, when apparently at its lowest, cheapest and commonest, can be traced in the works of several authors who, by inserting ironic statements about the picturesque, reward the reader's sense of superiority, of class achievement and distinction.

In Maria Edgeworth's *The Absentee* (1812) huge sums are spent by Lady Clonbrony to decorate an apartment in London in ghastly bad taste, both picturesque and exotic; Jane Austen's *Northanger Abbey* (1818) is full of irony for the picturesque ignorance of Catherine Morland and in *Mansfield Park* (1814) she portrays the laughable and gullible character Mr. Rushwort who wants to improve his estate at a dear price, cutting down a whole avenue of ancient trees; the aesthetic disputes of Price and Knight are satirized in Thomas Love Peacock's *Headlong Hall* (1816); in E. Allan Poe's "The Domain of Arnheim" (1847) the millionaire Mr. Ellison spends his capital to improve his landscape garden but suddenly dies and cannot enjoy his architectural whims: the garden will be open to ticket-paying visitors. Who can refrain from laughing when Bouvard and Pécuchet in the eponymous novel by Gustave Flaubert (1881) decide to give a picturesque character to their rural property? Fallen trunks hit by lightning, a fake Etruscan tomb, a Chinese bridge that does not bridge any water, whole trees cut into the shape of peacocks: nothing is spared to improve their property according to fashion, and to impress their neighbours.

William Makepeace Thackeray has to be counted among Doctor Syntax's votaries. He gives to his would-be art critic, Michael-Angelo Titmarsh, an umbrella whose valuable horn-head represents Doctor Syntax; and in an 1854 review of John Leech's *Pictures of Life and Character*—a book "better than plum-cake at Christmas"—the reader is referred back to the funny pictures of Rowlandson's Doctor Syntax: "Doctor Syntax in a fuzzy-wig, on a horse with legs like sausages, riding races, making love, frolicking with rosy exuberant damsels" who would "tumble off the towers or drown, smiling, in the dimpling waters."[23] Art criticism, connoisseurship and its jargon elicit very different responses

from Ruskin and Thackeray, which we may list under the sentimental or the ironic reaction.

Victorian authors view the picturesque as a commodity—useful for interesting sketches of urban dilapidation, necessary to enliven descriptions of Italian landscape in the popular Murray and Baedeker guides,[24] handy whenever a pinch of comicality has to be added to serious matters, to boring art connoisseurship. The Romantic feeling for picturesque landscape, instead, specifically applied to the Lake District but providing a useful model for territorial implementation, will gradually inspire the foundation of institutions for the preservation of natural beauty: out of the meetings of the Wordsworth Society we can trace the birth of the National Trust.

The picturesque, a cultural mapping

But the reception of the picturesque cannot simply be described as the sequential chronological development of an aesthetic fashion which starts in 1748 and gradually spreads from the visual to the verbal, and from formalism into the moral lessons art must convey.

In fact, within the historical map of three centuries, at least three different varieties of the picturesque idea coexist and interact—often at cross-purposes, or in parallel, and requiring further consideration. The first version of it, Gilpin's formalist aesthetic attitude, which enjoys a sustained genre success with the popular practice of sketching,[25] can be detected in the art of early modernism; the second version, namely the sentimental picturesque bent upon national ruins and their associations, will bear upon architectural versions of Englishness, and will enhance the Romantic feeling for landscape and its vernacular buildings: a feeling which will bring about ideas of collective amenity, the task of preservation, which will be inherited by Clough Williams-Ellis[26] and by Nikolaus Pevsner's concept of national taste.[27] Third, the cultural reading attached to picturesque images has been revived in recent times by E.H. Gombrich[28] who invites the reading of landscape in art through the social sciences; but we may also count Raymond Williams's relevant study *The Country and the City*, and Susan Sontag's essay on Camp, which traces critical inroads from eighteenth-century aesthetics into the area of contemporary fashion, design, film-making, in ways that indicate the contemporary revival of picturesque taste and its aesthetic culture.[29]

Picturesque reception therefore has to be viewed across the high and the low areas of culture, stretching from the exclusive club of connoisseurs and acolytes to the wild oats of popular—and pop—culture; ensconced

within the space of amateurish art, but also directly feeding into its technological reproduction, through aquatint and magic lantern slides, photography, the cinema, mass-visual culture.

In order to make this point, the changing attitudes towards the first picturesque object, the ruin, provide a full variety of useful cases. After describing the picturesque ruin at Stowe, Gilpin had stated that "in a moral view the industrious mechanic is a more pleasing object than the loitering peasant. But in a picturesque light, it is otherwise."[30] If we seek descriptions of picturesque ruins—whether architectural or human—how many types of loitering peasants have we met, idly decorating the English landscape? Wordsworth's paupers and vagrants visually belong to the type; and the sentimentally picturesque British virgins mentioned in Ugo Foscolo's *Dei Sepolcri* deserve a mention:[31]

> Pietosa insania, che fa cari gli orti
> De' suburbani avelli alle britanne
> Vergini, dove le conduce amore
> Della perduta madre… (vv. 130-132)

The ornamental grounds and tombs of the celebrities at the Pére Lachaise in Paris are absolutely picturesque, and rightly deserve a visitors'guide: equally so, guides will be printed for many American rural cemeteries.[32] Dickens's *Old Curiosity Shop* provides varieties of the picturesque, both in the shop where gothic fragments are collected, and with the many tramps and gypsies to be met on the road.[33] Charlie Chaplin's early silent movies revive the type of the archetypal tramp as a comic target for heartless laughter based upon the popular genre of merciless slapstick; the same Chaplin provides a sentimental tramp with the protagonist of *The Kid*, equally picturesque, albeit in lachrymose fashion. Wyndham Lewis starts his career as a writer and draughtsman with his short stories about tramps, whom he describes and sketches as "wild bodies," meant to elicit with their mechanic soulless features a dark laughter—indeed the master of the modernist line saw Thomas Rowlandson as his model.[34]

In 1948 Evelyn Waugh with *The Loved One, An Anglo-American Tragedy*, illustrated by Stuart Boyle, provides another darkly comic version of the picturesque ruin, set in Hollywood: in the cemetery for the rich and famous called "Whispering Glades," funereal monuments of eclectic kind are scattered around a lake, with an island, and along box walks, "a sunken herb-garden, a sundial, a bird-bath and fountain, a rustic seat and a pigeon-cote."[35] The same eclectic choice of decorative monuments is described by Malcolm Bradbury in the academic novel *Stepping Westwards* (1984), as featured in a modern university campus,

crammed with picturesque buildings. The landscape grounds of a campus are, with rural cemeteries and public gardens, the American context where picturesque notions of landscape design directly migrate and thrive. Disneyland and similar parks can be seen, so far, as the final destinations of picturesque eclecticism applied to landscape architecture.

More recently, Peter Sellers has revived the British type of the picturesque Reverend in the comic movie *Heavens Above* (1963): Sellers gives a modern version of Doctor Syntax, the Rev. John Smallwood, who is sent by mistake to Orbiston Parva and plays havoc with the village, the stately home, and the vicarage, opening the grounds to gypsies and vagrants. Even LP covers provide instances of picturesque stereotypes, as with the image placed by the Rolling Stones on their LP *Beggars' Banquet*. This list is by no means exclusive. Picturesque ruins can be comical, sentimental, culturally provocative, unashamedly stale and *déja-vu*.

But apart from the innumerable practical instances of an interest in the artistic and cultural capital provided by the ruin, both visual and sentimental, the critical reception of the picturesque confirms that its aesthetic discourse is nowadays preserved in all its cultural varieties.

In the 1930s with the exception of the brilliant work by Christopher Hussey, *The Picturesque: Studies in a Point of View*[36] where the connection between landscape painting and mass visual culture was made, the critical appreciation of this category clashed against the emphasis placed upon the beautiful and the sublime, two clearly-cut categories which seemed easier to trace back to the original texts that defined them in the eighteenth century. Theorists such as Walter John Hipple in *The Beautiful, the Sublime, the Picturesque in Eighteenth-Century Aesthetic Theory* tried to "restore the theories of the picturesque to some measure of philosophic respectability,"[37] but of Gilpin he notes the omissions and remarks that "Gilpin had left picturesque theory involved in paradox."[38] On the whole Hipple seems to consider the picturesque less interesting and respectable than other "pure" or "higher" aesthetic categories, such as the beautiful and the sublime. The picturesque bears the stigma of impurity because, especially after Price, it appears to be a hybrid category, halfway between the beautiful and the sublime. Hipple registers the cacophony of litigation undergone by its protagonists in chapters devoted to the Price-Repton controversy and to the Price-Knight controversy—but he fails to appreciate its varieties.

Another aspect inviting aesthetic depreciation is the picturesque contamination with practical activity, such as landscape gardening, excursion and tourism, print-making, photography. Typically, the excellent study by

Carl Paul Barbier, still very useful in order to follow Reverend Gilpin in his several callings, while devoting a chapter to his picturesque prints—"Illustrations for the Printed Tours"[39]—does not stress the advantage of technological reproduction which was attained by Gilpin, at the end of the eighteen century, with the aquatint process—a feature which disseminates picturesque images all over England, and Europe as well.

One has to acknowledge that cultural studies have opened up a critical avenue which bypasses the response which penalised the hybrid at the expense of the pure: the study of culture invites investigation of aspects which do not stay within the pure realm of aesthetics. In the case of the picturesque, the scenario thus disclosed was studied by Raymond Williams who maintained in *The Country and the City* that "like the landscaped parks, where every device was employed to produce a natural effect, the wild regions of mountain and forest were for the most part objects of aesthetic consumption."[40] Simon Pugh would follow the same line, with a collection of essays on landscape in its connection with economics and technological reproduction.[41] The cultural investigation of landscape would be pursued by John Barrell,[42] Ann Bermingham[43] and Anne Janowitz.[44] Specifically, the book edited by Stephen Copley and Peter Garside, *The Politics of the Picturesque*, put a seal on the uncomfortable role the picturesque had played in territorial politics, and so did the work of Stephen Daniels on the English landscape.[45]

Cultural studies also brought along a renewed interest in the phenomenon of tourism. The pioneering study was Malcolm Andrews's *The Search for the Picturesque*, which actually argued: "the truth is that the picturesque phase has never really ended."[46] This was followed by James Buzard's *The Beaten Track*. Buzard identifies the cult of the picturesque with the visual practices of tourism, as described by John Urry in *The Tourist Gaze*.[47] The tourist's appetite for the picturesque is indeed a kind of blindness, as Roland Barthes had already suggested in his chapter on the "Guide Bleu" in *Mythologies*.[48]

Last but not least, especially when dealing with the picturesque which from the very beginning spans across the visual and verbal sketch, scholars working in the area of visual studies have connected the picturesque with illustration, photography and the spectacular media, thereby also inviting new ways of looking at fiction:[49] memorably Lindsay Smith's study of Victorian photography[50] and Nancy Armstrong's *Fiction in the Age of Photography* have investigated the picturesque as a cultural tradition affecting photography in its relationship with art criticism, poetry, and the representational strategy of the realistic novel.[51]

This has been, in synthesis, with all its turns, returns, complex and transversal net of responses and criticisms, often more revealing than praise, the intricate map of the reception of the picturesque in the last decades. The reasons for former criticism have sometimes generated elements of appreciation, and the reverse; fields once restricted to pure art and aesthetic discourse have opened up to hybridisation, to cultural studies, to mass visual culture. There is indeed ample material to speak about the picturesque as a subject to be reconsidered—and preserved.

Notes

[1] (William Gilpin), *A Dialogue upon the Gardens of the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Cobham at Stow in Buckinghamshire (1748)*, introduction by John Dixon Hunt (The Augustan Reprint Society), 176; (Los Angeles: The University of California Press, 1976), 5.

[2] William Gilpin, *Three Essays* (1792; ed. 1794) in Malcolm Andrews, ed., *The Picturesque. Literary Sources and Documents*, 3 vols. (Mountfield: Helm Information, 1994), vol. II, 5-60.

[3] Ibid., 21.

[4] For a complete bibliography of Gilpin's tours see Carl Paul Barbier, *William Gilpin. His Drawings, Teaching and Theory of the Picturesque* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963).

[5] Gilpin, *Three Essays*, 18. Letter from Sir Joshua Reyolds to Rev. W. Gilpin, 19 April 1791.

[6] Ibid., 8.

[7] See Stephen Copley and Peter Garside, eds., *The Politics of the Picturesque. Literature, Landscape and Aesthetics since 1770* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

[8] Uvedale Price, *Essays on the Picturesque, As Compared with the Sublime and the Beautiful, and on the Use of Studying Pictures for the Purpose of Improving Real Landscape* (London, 1810).

[9] Richard Payne Knight, *The Landscape. A Didactic Poem* (1794), and then Richard Payne Knight, *An Analytical Enquiry upon the Principles of Taste* (1805) (London: Payne and White, 1808).

[10] Archibald Alison's *Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste* (1790; 1811; 1812; 1815; 1817; 1825;1842) exert a strong influence on John Aiken, who maintains "With respect to the sentimental effect of ruins, they are all referable to the principle of association, which connects animate with inanimate things, and past with present by relation of place. There cannot be finer topics." John Aiken, *Letters from a Father to His Son on Various Topics, Relating to Literature and His Conduct of Life* (1793), in Andrews, ed., *The Picturesque*, vol. II, 61-63.

[11] Thomas De Quincey, *Recollections of the Lakes and of the Lake Poets* (1834-1840; Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1980), 375-76: "But there were fields of thought or of observation which he seemed to think locked up and sacred to himself... One

of these, and which naturally occurred the most frequently, was the whole theory of picturesque beauty, as presented to our notice at every minute by the bold mountainous scenery amongst which we lived... Now, Wordsworth and his sister really had, as I have before acknowledged, a peculiar depth of organic sensibility to the effects of forms and colour... But, not content with this....To everybody standing out of this sacred and privileged pale Wordsworth behaved with absolute insult."

[12] Norman Nicholson, *The Lakers. The Adventures of the First Tourists* (London: Robert Hale, 1955), 1: "The Lakers are those persons who visit the beautiful scenes in Cumberland and Westmorland by distinction styled the Lakes," *European Magazine* 34, 1798. Malcolm Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque. Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760-1800* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1990).

[13] Francesca Orestano, "Pictures of Modernity, the Modernity of the Picturesque: a Chiasmus," in *Pictures of Modernity: The Visual and the Literary in England, 1850-1930*, eds. Loretta Innocenti, Franco Marucci, Enrica Villari (Venezia: Cafoscarina, 2008), 103-18; Francesca Orestano, "Il Pittoresco nel paesaggio della cultura occidentale: valore attuale di una risorsa estetica," in *Paeasaggi culturali/Cultural Landscapes. Rappresentazioni, esperienze, prospettive*, ed. Rossella Salerno, Camilla Casonato (Roma: Gangemi Editore, 2008) 51-57.

[14] William Wordsworth, *Guide to the Lakes (1835)*, ed. Ernest de Selicourt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984).

[15] Francesca Orestano, "The Revd. William Gilpin and the Picturesque, or, Who's Afraid of Doctor Syntax?" *Garden History, Journal of the Garden History Society* 31.2 (2003): 163-79.

[16] William Wordsworth, *Guide to the Lakes*. Gilpin is only mentioned once in reference to the colour of cottage walls.

[17] William Combe, *The Tour of Dr. Syntax in Search of the Picturesque* (1809) in William Combe, *Doctor Syntax Three Tours in Search of the Picturesque, Consolation, and a Wife* (London: John Camden Hotten, n.d). After appearing in the *Poetical Magazine* in 1809-1811, Combe's poem becomes a success, illustrated by 30 aquatints by Thomas Rowlandson, and printed by Rudolph Ackermann. In 1819 nine editions have already been published; Ackermann reprints it in 1828, 1838, 1844, 1865. Other publishers get hold of it: Daly (c. 1848), Nattali & Bond (1855); Chatto & Windus (1868), Murray (1869), Warne, Methuen (1903); Doctor Syntax is translated into French (1821), German (1822), Danish (1820). See Harlan W. Hamilton, *Doctor Syntax, A Silhouette of William Combe, Esq. 1742-1823* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1969), 260.

[18] Osbert Sitwell, "Thomas Rowlandson," in *Sing High! Sing Low! A Book of Essays* (London: Macmillan, 1944) 117-35: 131.

[19] Ibid., 132.

[20] Francesca Orestano, "Across the Picturesque: Ruskin's Argument with the Strange Sisters," in *Strange Sisters: Literature and Aesthetics in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Francesca Orestano, Francesca Frigerio (New York and London: Peter Lang, 2009), 99-122.

[21] *The Works of John Ruskin*, ed. Edward T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, 39 vols., (London: G. Allen, 1903-1912), vol. VI, 19.
[22] As argued in "Pictures of Modernity, the Modernity of the Picturesque: a Chiasmus."
[23] *The Works of William Makepeace Thackeray, with Biographical Introductions by His Daughter, Anne Ritchie*, 13 vols. (London: Smith & Elder, 1907) vol. XIII, *Ballads and Miscellanies*, 480-90: 481-82.
[24] For the assessment of picturesque travel guides see James Buzard, *The Beaten Track. European Turism, Literature and the Ways to Culture, 1800-1918* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).
[25] As shown by Richard C. Sha, *The Visual and Verbal Sketch in British Romanticism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998).
[26] Clough Williams-Ellis, *England and the Octopus* (1928; London: Geoffrey Bles, 1996).
[27] Nikolaus Pevsner, "The Genesis of the Picturesque," *The Architectural Review* 96 (1944): 139-46; Nikolaus Pevsner, "Richard Payne Knight" (1949), in *Studies in Art, Architecture and Design. From Mannerism to Romanticism* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1968); Nikolas Pevsner, *The Englishness of English Art* (1955; Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1997).
[28] Ernst H. Gombrich, *The Image and the Eye. Further Studies in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1982). Also see W.J.T. Mitchell, "Gombrich and the Rise of Landscape," in Ann Bermingham and John Brewer, eds., *The Consumption of Culture, 1600-1800. Image, Object, Text* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 103-18.
[29] Susan Sontag, "Notes on 'Camp'" (1964), in *Against Interpretation* (London: Vintage Books, 2001), 275-92.
[30] William Gilpin, *Observations on Cumberland and Westmorland* (1786), 2 vols. (New York: Woodstock Books, 1989), vol. II, 44.
[31] Ugo Foscolo, "Dei sepolcri," in *Tragedie e Poesie di Ugo Foscolo* (Milano: Sonzogno, 1905), 211-24.
[32] Francesca Orestano, "The Picturesque: English and American Capabilities" *Culture di lingua inglese a confronto. Il Centauro anglo-americano. Atti del XVII Convegno della Associazione Italiana di Anglistica*, ed. Raffaella Baccolini, Carla Comellini, Vita Fortunati (Bologna: Clueb, 1998), 135-47.
[33] Francesca Orestano, "The Magic Lantern and the Crystal Palace: Dickens and the Landscape of Fiction," in *Dickens: The Craft of Fiction and the Challenges of Reading*, ed. Rossana Bonadei, Clotilde De Stasio, Carlo Pagetti, Alessandro Vescovi (Milano: Unicopli, 2000), 249-69.
[34] Francesca Orestano, "Arctic Masks in a Castle of Ice: Gothic Vorticism and Wyndham Lewis's 'Self-Condemned'," in Andrew Smith and Jeff Wallace, eds., *Gothic Modernisms* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), 167-87.
[35] Evelyn Waugh, *The Loved One. An Anglo-American Tragedy* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1948), 55.
[36] Christopher Hussey, *The Picturesque. Studies in a Point of View* (London: Putnam, 1927).

[37] Walter John Hipple, Jr.,. *The Beautiful, the Sublime, & the Picturesque in Eighteenth-Century British Aesthetic Theory* (Carbondale: The Southern Illinois University Press, 1957), 191.
[38] Ibid., p. 202.
[39]Carl Paul Barbier, *William Gilpin. His Drawings, Teaching and Theory of the Picturesque*, 67-85.
[40] Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (London: Paladin, 1975), 160.
[41] Simon Pugh, ed., *Reading Landscape: Country-City-Capital* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990).
[42] John Barrell, *The Dark Side of Landscape: The Rural Poor in English Painting, 1730-1840* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1980); John Barrell, *The Political Theory of Painting from Reynolds to Hazlitt* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1989); John Barrell, "The Public Prospect and the Private View: the Politics of Taste in Eighteenth-Century Britain," in Pugh, 19-40.
[43] Ann Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition, 1740-1860* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); Bermingham and Brewer, eds., *The Consumption of Culture 1600-1800.*
[44] Anne Janowitz, *England's Ruins: Poetic Purpose and the National Landscape* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990).
[45] Copley and Garside, eds., *The Politics of the Picturesque. Literature*, see note 7 above; Stephen Daniels, *Fields of Vision. Landscape Imagery and National Identity in England and the United States* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1993).
[46] Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque*, 239-40.
[47] Buzard, *The Beaten Track*; John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze. Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (London: Sage Publications, 1990).
[48] Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1957).
[49] Norman Bryson, Michael Ann Holly and Keith Moxley, eds., *Visual Theory. Painting and Interpretation* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1991); James Krasner, *The Entangled Eye: Visual Perception and the Representation of Nature in Post-Darwinian Narrative* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); W.J.T. Mitchell, *Picture Theory. Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1994); Stephen Melville and Bill Readings, eds., *Vision and Textuality* (London: Macmillan, 1995); Chris Jenks, ed., *Visual Culture* (New York and London: Routledge, 1995).
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STRANDED IN THE PRESENT, MODERNITY AND DE LIGNE'S *LETTRE DE PARTHENIZZA*

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The *Lettre de Parthenizza*, published in 1801, is considered as a key work in the oeuvre of Charles Joseph de Ligne (1735-1814), a Brussels born prince of the Holy Roman Empire, writer, military man, garden lover and above all one of the most cosmopolitan figures of the late eighteenth century.[1] In this letter, de Ligne combines eighteenth-century esprit of the *salonard* with an emerging sentimental introspection and melancholic state of mind that foreshadows the romantic experience of history as loss as one of the first and major expressions of modernity. Precisely this status of the *Lettre de Parthenizza* as a literary work that is on the threshold of modernity will be of central concern in our reading of the letter. We will address questions of how modernity can be considered as a traumatic experience of loss that, according to contemporary historians and philosophers of history, came into being after the French Revolution and that alienates the subject to nature, history and society.[2] And if so, what are the figures, metaphors and images used here in order to evoke those feelings of loss? To answer those questions, we will relate the *Lettre de Parthenizza* to a network of other contemporary texts such as Schiller's *Über die naïve und sentimentalische Dichtung* from 1795, Diderot's *Salon de 1767*, Volney's *Les Ruines, ou meditations sur les revolutions des empires* from 1791, Cousin de Grainville's *Le dernier homme* from 1805 and finally to the emerging discourse of modern Orientalism as it was diagnosed by Edward Said. Within this network of other texts we will argue that de Ligne's generally acknowledged status of a typical eighteenth-century writer who was famous for his aphorisms and his wit, should be nuanced. As a privileged witness of the revolutionary and Napoleonic era, de Ligne can also be seen as a writer who mourns the loss

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of eighteenth-century aristocratic culture in such terms that it reveals a profound affinity with the Romantic generation.

The *Lettre de Parthenizza* and modernity as loss

The *Lettre de Parthenizza* is the fifth of nine letters de Ligne wrote to Marquise de Coigny during his visit in spring and early summer 1787 to the Crimea. De Ligne was there in the company of Catherine the Great and Joseph II to celebrate the newly conquered Crimea from the Turks in 1783.[3] For his services to Catherine and because of their intimate friendship de Ligne was gifted with an enormous domain at Parthenizza that overlooked the Black Sea and included fifty-six Tartar families. On the fourth of June 1787, after escaping the opulent festivities that accompanied the conquest of the Crimea, de Ligne arrived at Parthenizza and was totally enchanted by the landscape he saw. To describe this beautiful landscape, de Ligne made extensive use of a picturesque repertoire that was typical for the late eighteenth-century aesthetic experience of nature.[4] He structured the experience of nature along the lines of an aesthetics of the picturesque and thus provided the landscape with a range of affective capacities that evoked within the viewer feelings of reverie and self reflection.[5] This is also the case when de Ligne, sitting on a Turkish carpet and overlooking the shores of the Black Sea at sunset, is suddenly overwhelmed by a melancholic and introspective state of mind by which he passes a judgment on his own life:

> I feel myself another being […] I ask myself where I am, by what good chance I am here, and then, without my intending it, a recapitulation of all the inconsistencies of my life passes through my mind. […] I ask myself why, not liking restraint, or caring for honours, money, or favours, having enough of all to make little account of any, *why* I have, nevertheless, spent my life at all the Courts of Europe.[6]

The melancholic state of mind occurs within a movement of distancing the self from society. As such, this reverie also functions as a negative example of the old topos of *theatrum mundi* in which the theatricality of court and city is juxtaposed against the honesty, simplicity and naturalness of rural life.[7]

What is more important to us, is that on several occasions in the *Lettre*, de Ligne's melancholic reflections transcend the existential or the moral and become an expression of a specific experience of history that came into being with the French Revolution. In this experience of history it is

felt that past and present are suddenly and fundamentally disconnected producing the effect that history is no longer caught up in a continuum, but, as Peter Fritzsche states, becomes an apt and pressing figure in which feelings of loss, alienation and strangeness are expressed:

> [S]omething quite new develops around 1800, in the decades around the French Revolution: the perception of the restless iteration of the new so that the past no longer served as a faithful guide to the future, as it had in the exemplary rendering of events and characters since the Renaissance. […] The past was conceived more and more as something bygone and lost, and also strange and mysterious, and although partly accessible, always remote.[8]

The enormous and devastating events of the Revolution and their general impact by shattering the lines of social continuity resulted in the feeling that the past was cut off from the present. Although there is no general consensus on a definition of modernity, this particular relation to time and history is regarded by many scholars as one of its defining characteristics. The Revolution, as Reinhart Koselleck states, was immediately experienced as the beginning of a new and totally different future in which the gap between "spaces of experiences and horizons of expectations" was steadily increasing.[9] Modernity is not only defined as a process of continuous change and transformation. As Neville Morley rightly argues, modernity's internal changeability is foremost marked by its dialectic relation to an unchanging past: it rests upon an implicit image of the past as timeless and stable.[10]

Precisely this juxtaposition between the stability of the past and the instability of the present and the lack of continuity between the two is decisive for the modern subject. Because of this rupture in the continuity of past, present and future, modern man is not only cut off from earlier customs and traditions. The speed with which these transformations occur, also threatens him to alienate to modern society as well.[11] This feeling of estrangement to the past as well as to the present society produces an affective quality that Peter Fritzsche characterizes as nostalgic and melancholic. Because they draw on the painful consciousness that the past is irretrievably lost, nostalgia and melancholy are precisely such apt figures to describe this general feeling of estrangement that define the revolutionary and Napoleonic era. Reading exile literature of revolutionaries and counterrevolutionaries between 1789 and 1815 reveals how history became a shared and almost "embodied" experience that "opened up imaginative possibilities for building subjecthood [that] were premised on the experience and evidence of loss."[12] It is exactly the construction of this

particular kind of subjecthood that is clearly at stake in de Ligne's *Lettre de Parthenizza*.

Although the *Lettre* was written in 1787, it remained unpublished until 1801 and only became widely known when in 1809 Madame de Staël edited and revised an anthology of the writings of de Ligne, including the *Lettre de Parthenizza* and the other letters to Marquise de Coigny.[13] By that time, de Ligne had found himself an identity that was constructed around the type of *emigré* that embodied this irreversible loss. After the annexation of the Austrian Netherlands in 1795, de Ligne had to flee his estates in Beloeil (in present day Belgium) and took refuge in Vienna. His house on the Mölkerbastei quickly became a meeting point for other French noble *émigrés* that reminded them and other visitors of a salon of thirty years earlier. The tone of conversation, the gallantry and especially the regular visitors such as the Marquis de Bonnay, who painted his face white and was called the "Spectre of the Ancien Régime," made the Hôtel de Ligne a *lieu de mémoire* of pre-revolutionary times.[14] The feeling of the exiles of being stranded in the present and having become strangers to society was central in all de Ligne's post-revolutionary writings and in his revisions of earlier works such as the *Lettre de Parthenizza*.

The performance of his identity as an *émigré* was conducted via a range of figures and metaphors playing on the notion of the living dead and the absolute stranger that expresses the irreversible loss that came with the Revolution. In 1797, for instance, he starts his memoirs with the words "To you speaks a dead man," while in the *Lettre de Parthenizza*, he also makes allusions to this turbulent future to come and pretends to foresee this alienation and sense of loss, that will turn him into this living dead. He writes that in a state of exaltation he has the feeling that the future wants to reveal itself to him. It makes him tremble and predicts a terrible loss from which he will never recover:

> My tears will not be stanched. Is it the presentiment of some heart-rending loss that I shall some day suffer? […] it seems to me as though the Future desires to unveil herself to me. Enthusiasm, exaltation are so nearly allied to the power of interpreting oracles.[15]

Here, he refers to the death of his beloved son Charles, who was killed in the service of the princely armies in 1792. It is a loss of which de Ligne will never recover.[16] As such, the shores of the Black Sea, with its antique ruins and Orientalist imagery function as a palimpsest in which the memories on pre-revolutionary times are violently overwritten by the devastating experience of the Revolution itself. For de Ligne, like many

others, the experience of the Revolution is clearly caught up within a historical narrative in which the relation between past and present is of a fundamental and shocking discontinuity. Looking with astonishment to the debris and ruins of history, but driven into the unknown and unfamiliar future, the post-revolutionary subject and his experience of modernity can be seen here as the first example of what Walter Benjamin called a *catastrophic* view on history.[17]

Sentimentality and melancholy as the affective symptoms of loss: Schiller

Within this catastrophic view on history, the landscape at Parthenizza can be read as a metaphor for a distanced past, exemplifying David Löwenthal's famous phrase that "the past is a foreign country."[18] The distance in temporality that is now ascribed to Parthenizza is also reinforced by the aesthetics of the picturesque. The experience of Parthenizza is here mediated by an image, a *picture*, that gives de Ligne the opportunity to conceive this place as a locus in which the past, in an alliance with nature, is idealized. As such it recalls Friedrich Schiller's *Über die naïve und sentimentalische Dichtung* from 1795.[19]

The central idea in *Über die naïve und sentimentalische Dichtung* is the fact that the modern poet's attitude towards nature and the past is a necessary sentimental and melancholic one since it deals with loss and differs totally from the classic attitude towards nature.[20] In modernity, Schiller states, "nature […] has disappeared from humanity," it is a quality that can only be ascribed to the past, here represented by classical Greece. The Greeks, he writes, "are what we were," because:

> [T]he Greek had not lost nature in humanity, so could he also not be surprised by it outside of the latter and could have no such pressing need for objects, in which he found it again. At one with himself and happy in the feeling of his humanity, he had to stop with the latter as his maximum and take pains to make all else approach the same; while *we*, at variance with ourselves and unhappy in our experiences of humanity, have no more pressing interest, than to fly away from the same and to remove from our sight such an unsuccessful form. The feeling, of which we are here speaking, is therefore not that which the ancients had; it is rather of the same kind as that which we *have for the ancients.* They felt naturally; we feel the natural. […] Our feeling for nature resembles the feeling of the sick for the healthy.[21]

Nature and classical art appear here as synonymous and is called naïve. For us moderns however Schiller sees this naivety or this obvious connection of nature and culture as something lost and belonging to the past. It is now replaced by a sentimental approach that is characterized by a longing for what is no more and might never have existed. The modern elegiac poet then "seeks nature, but as an idea and in a perfection in which it has never existed, although he weeps over it as something that has existed and now is lost."[22] This idealization of nature and the past by the modern poet must also be seen as the necessary transcendence of a particular and personal loss into a more universal feeling of transitoriness that haunts the modern subject.[23] Here we not only see how modernity is again caught up in the experience of difference, estrangement and discontinuity. What is more important is that Schiller tries to define the affective symptoms of this experience in terms of melancholy and nostalgia that surpasses the anecdotic and results in a sentimental and idealistic seeking of a lost nature and a lost past.

In de Ligne's *Lettre* the sentimentality that is evoked by looking at this specific landscape at the Crimea is a direct consequence of this imagined and idealized past and of our difference with that past. This can be noticed on a double level. Firstly, de Ligne's introspection and his melancholic state is closely connected to his reshaping of Parthenizza's past as an important place in antiquity. Not only does he want to believe that Parthenizza is the place Ovid was exiled to,[24] while in reality this was more than 250 miles to the south-west, or, that Parthenizza is the region were the Ancient ruins of king Mithridate's city of Eupatori can be located. He even begins the letter with stating that he is writing beneath the cliffs where one can still see a remaining column of Diana's temple where Iphigenia almost sacrificed her brother Orestes:

> 'Tis […] at the foot of a rock on which still stand a column, sad relic of the temple of Diana, so famous for the sacrifice of Iphigenia, to the left of the rock were Thoas hurled strangers […] that I write this words.

And later on:

> Perhaps it was here that Ovid wrote; perhaps he sat were I sit now. His elegies were from Ponte, and there lies the Euxine. […] This is the famous cape Parthenion where so many things have happened; it is here that mythology exalts the imagination. […] If I quit, for an instant, fable for history I discover Eupatoria, founded by Mithridates; nearby Kherson, I pick up fragments of alabaster columns, I find the remains of aqueducts and citywalls inclosing a greater space then Paris and London put together.[25]

By playing on classical literature, history and even mythology de Ligne reshapes Parthenizza's past and gives it an imagined and ideal pedigree.

Secondly, this idealized past of Parthenizza evokes sentimental and melancholic feelings precisely because of the fact that only the ruins of this past are remaining. As an incomplete and inscrutable representation of an idealized antiquity, the ruins of Diana's temple or the ruins of Mithridate's city act as media that help to express the experience of modernity like an existential experience of difference and alienation. For de Ligne, just like for Schiller, the images of ruins ultimately define the sentimental cult of antiquity as the interiorization of loss: "My reflections which remind me of the ravages of time," de Ligne writes, "make me also think of my own losses."[26]

The Poetics and Politics of Ruins: Diderot, Volney, de Grainville

To see the ruin as a medium in which one can experience the mechanisms of history, we should go back in time to Diderot. In his *Salons* of the 1760s and especially in his *Salon de 1767*, Diderot was the first to draw up a *poetics of ruins* in which the ruin became emblematic for the transience of time that is revealing for Schiller's and de Ligne's sentimental approaches to nature and to the past.[27] Important here is Diderot's expansion of the notion of the ruin in a radical way: the ruin no longer mirrors the past, but changes its direction and anticipates the future as well. Thus ruins, as Roland Mortier states, evoke less ideas on what was, than on what will come, or better, on what will not be there anymore.[28] In his writings on Hubert Robert in the *Salon de 1767*, Diderot expresses explicitly this notion of the ruin as anticipation of the future. Regarding Robert's painting *Ruine d'un arc de triomphe, et autres monuments* he writes:

> The effect of those compositions, good or bad, is to leave you in a state of sweet melancholy. Our glance lingers over the debris of a triumphal arch, a portico, a pyramid, a temple, a palace and we retreat into ourselves. We contemplate the ravages of time, and in our imagination we scatter the rubble of the very buildings in which we live over the ground; in that moment solitude and silence prevail around us, we are the sole survivors of an entire nation that is no more. Such is the first tenet of the poetics of ruins.[29]

De Ligne clearly is indebted to Diderot's poetics of ruins in more then one way. Just like Diderot, de Ligne's reflections on ancient ruins and nature

evoke this melancholic introspection that is also characteristic for Schiller's modern approach to antiquity and to nature. But Diderot's poetics of ruins also transcend and complicate Schiller's sentimental cult of antiquity as a mourning of the past from which emerges this poetry of the self. As the double-face of Janus that is also directed towards the future, the ruin for Diderot opens up the possibility of a future that will only consist of ruins and in which man will linger alone. We already saw how de Ligne plays with this combination of the ruin and the future, and how this constituted a feeling of the uncanny. Sitting at the shores of the Black Sea, surrounded by the ruins of an idealized past, de Ligne arouses in himself a state of exaltation in which a catastrophic future is revealed that will fulfil Diderot's prediction that he will be the only one left of an entire nation that is no more.

Because of this capacity of the ruin as an imagination of the future, Diderot does not only provide us with a poetics of ruins, one could also state that he paves the way for politicizing the ruin as well. Regarding two oil sketches of ruins by Hubert Robert, *Ruines* and *Autres ruines*, Diderot writes in his *Salon de 1767* that the ruins of palaces and obelisks speak to him and "awaken him to the horror of a monster who gloried in having slit the throats of three million men […]. The palace reminds me of tyrants, of debauched and idle men, of slaves."[30]

But the first who will really turn this poetics of ruins into a genuine politics of ruins is Constantin de Volney.[31] In *Ruines, ou Méditations sur les Révolutions des Empires*, published in 1791 and by 1800 one of the biggest commercial successes in the book business, Volney describes the ruins at Palmyra in Syria and ultimately defines them as severe and sublime illustrations of *égalité* and *liberté*. Solitary ruins, divine tombs and silent walls become the inescapable symbols of wrath that haunt all despotic regimes, past and future.[32]

Although similar approaches in which the ruins are politicized as a symbol for revolutionary ideas are commonplace, as in André-Joseph Canolle's *Délices de la solitude* from 1795,[33] ruins equally function as media to express counterrevolutionary ideas. Such is the case in Jean Baptiste Cousin de Grainville's *Le dernier homme* (1805). In this book, Cousin de Grainville uses again the ruins of Palmyra as a departure for his description of a post-revolutionary world in which everything is destroyed and in which all human life has disappeared.[34] The book is generally acknowledged to be the first novel in which the fantastic theme of the Last Man on Earth appears. It portrays the story of Omégare and his wife Sydérie, the last couple on earth. It is predicted to them that the child

Sydérie bears, will not only kill both his parents but that its descendants will be condemned to live in a society in which they will devour each other. Not willing to contribute to such a future world, they finally commit suicide. But before doing so, the ruins of Palmyra function as the starting point of Omégare's solitary travels in this ruined and deserted world. When Omégare reaches Paris, he reports that:

> Paris was no more: the Seine did no longer flow amidst its walls; its gardens, its temples, its Louvre have disappeared. Of the great number of buildings that covered its heart, there was not even a little cabin left where one could rest. The place is but a desert, a great plain of dust, the stay of death and silence […] Are those the remains of this superb city of which the slightest movements agitated both worlds? I did not find a ruin, not even a stone over which I could shed my tears.[35]

Although the mental image of the ruin as a place of mourning is still here, it is revealing that in Cousin de Grainville's story the ruins of modern Paris have disappeared as if they do not deserve to be remembered. Instead they are replaced by the sublime imagery of a silent desert into which Paris has turned now. In this place of death that is unbearable in its loneliness, there is only one thing that has survived: the statue of Napoleon amidst the smoking ashes of what once was the centre of his empire. In *Le dernier homme*, the classical ruins of Palmyra unleash fantasies of total destruction as the logical outcome of modern emerging imperialism.

This particular mechanism in which looking at classical ruins evokes future modern ruins, is also to be found in de Ligne. The ruins of Eupatoria and Kherson in Parthenizza, their aqueducts, demolished walls and their broken columns, they all predict for de Ligne the catastrophic future of Paris and London:

> Those two cities (Paris and London) will pass away like these (Eupatoria and Kherson); in all, the same intrigues of love and politics; each believing that it makes a vast sensation in the world, while the very name of this land that these lost cities stood on, disfigured now into Tartary and Crimea, is passing to oblivion: a fine reflection for the self-important.[36]

This poetics and politics of ruins in which the classical ruins of Palmyra or Parthenizza achieve their final goal in evoking the future ruins of Paris and London, show us how Schiller's sentimental approach to antiquity is an affective state of mind that is equally apt to express the feelings of loss that are rooted within the experience of modernity itself. The ruin then not only evokes a world which is no longer, it also becomes a pressing image of a world in which many no longer belong. As such the ruin has become

more than a *memento mori*. At its feet one now can encounter the figure of the "living dead" which suffers from the melancholy of history.

In Volney's *Ruines*, Cousin de Grainville's *Le dernier homme* and de Ligne's *Lettre de Parthenizza*, we notice how eighteenth-century picturesque aesthetics and its fascination for the ruin is pushed to its outer limits. No longer functioning as the symbol for the inevitable decay of all things that reaffirms the eternal and reassuring cycle of nature, the concept of the ruin is now reframed as a disturbing remnant of the past that haunts the present. As such, they are the pressing images of what François Hartog has termed a new regime of historicity in which the continuity of past, present and future is radically broken up.[37] In 1835, Alexis de Tocqueville, in his effort to understand the fundamentally modern character of the revolutionary age, plays on this ruinesque state of the present. He concludes *De la démocratie en Amérique* by stating that "the past no longer enlightens the future, the mind is wandering in darkness."[38] In this darkness of modernity's disconnection from the past, the ruin operates as an ambiguous and almost perverse sign of modernity's displacement. Perverse in the sense that within nineteenth-century archaeological and museological practices, the ruins are exploited and cherished as the silent witnesses of an irreversibly lost past. But in their silence they act as metonymy for that past, making this past painfully "present" and evoking within the beholder a longing that, as Schiller wrote, "resembles the feeling of the sick for the healthy."[39] In *Sublime Historical Experience* (2005) Frank Ankersmit diagnoses this feeling of having lost the past and being constantly reminded of the lack this loss creates as a traumatic historical experience. This trauma causes a pain that can be described as the pain of Prometheus. It is the ever recurring pain of a civilization that "is permanently aware of the social idylls of the 'lost worlds' that it was forced to surrender in the course of its long history and that will never be returned to it, however strong the nostalgic yearning for these lost paradises may be."[40]

Disorienting Time

What is striking here is that the melancholy of history, evoked by the antique ruin, is also geographically marked. For de Ligne, Volney and Cousin de Grainville the antique ruin that evokes this feeling of loss is always situated within and juxtaposed against the Orient. This juxtaposition marks a difference between East and West that is constitutive for modern Orientalism. In his analysis of modern Orientalism as "a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction between 'the

Orient' and […] 'the Occident'."[41] Edward Said focuses on how Orientalism functions as a complex set of strategies that allows the West to manage, restructure and finally dominate the East. The fundamental condition in which Orientalism can achieve this is by turning the Orient into an object of knowledge that is detached from the Western knowing subject. "The Orient," Said writes, "is *watched* […]; the European, whose sensibility tours the Orient, is a watcher, never involved, always detached, always ready for new examples of what the *Description de l'Egypte* called 'bizarre jouissance.' The Orient becomes a living tableau of queerness."[42] What is not accentuated in Said's account, however, is how nineteenth-century Orientalism is also marked by this specific Western experience of time and history. One of the defining characteristics of the Orient as a "living tableau of queerness" is precisely its pretended pastness. In the Orient, the Western subject who suffers from the melancholy of history searches for the lost continuity between past and present. In this sense the Orient becomes the locus of pre-modernity, a fascinating place in which the unaffected past can be visited, studied and maybe experienced. As such we can inverse David Löwenthal's famous phrase and speak of the foreign country as the past.

In Goethe's *West Eastern Divan* (1814), inspired by the pre-Islamic poems of the Mu-alla Kat and by the Persian poet Hafiz, this idea of the Orient as the past that is unaffected by modernity, immediately sets the tone in the first poem *Hegire*: "North, West and South disintegrate/Thrones burst, empires tremble./Fly away, and in the pure East/Taste the Patriarch's air."[43] The Orient as a mental landscape of the past was already a topos in German Romanticism. In 1799, for instance, Friedrich Schlegel declared in his *Rede über die Mythologie* that it is in the Orient that one will find the highest degree of Romanticism. The Orient becomes the expression of a search for new origins, surpassing the mediterranean world of Greco-Roman antiquity and culminating in studies like Schlegel's *Über die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier* (1808) or Joseph Görres' *Mythengeschichte der asiatischen Welt* (1810).[44]

Of course this reshaping of the Orient as the plain where one can visit the past does not happen overnight. One still sees how at the turn of the century the Orient is moulded on eighteenth-century conceptions of the Middle East. In Montesquieu's *Lettres persanes* (1721) and in his *De l'esprit des lois* (1748) the East is defined as the natural geography of despotism, while Diderot describes it in *Les bijoux indiscrets* (1748) as an eroticized place full of sexual decadence. It is precisely this eighteenth-century topos of the Orient as an eroticized place, that is used by de Ligne

as the introduction to his own Orientalist experience. In the letter preceding the *Lettre de Parthenizza* he describes his arrival at Bathchesaraï as entering the world of "One Thousand and One Nights". He immediately tells how he is sexually aroused during his night in the abandoned and luxurious harem of the last Khan of the Crimea.[45]

Although this vision of the Orient as an eroticized space will haunt the next century as well, we can also notice how de Ligne reshapes the Orient as a place of the past that is unaffected by modernity. While wandering through the palace of the last Khan and while riding through this Oriental landscapes with its deserts and Asian villages, he writes, "I do not know where I am, nor in which century I am."[46] In the *Lettre de Parthenizza*, the idea of the Orient as a different time is constructed around a specific opposition of life and death. Death can be found here in the remains of antiquity: the ruins, the aqueducts, the literary, historical and mythological references by which de Ligne idealizes Parthenizza. They all are the attributes of the West appearing as metaphors for a sudden and violent rupture that, in its discontinuous experience of time and history, constitutes the modern Western subject.

But there is also another symbol of death in de Ligne's text, which is to be found in his interest in the Islamic cemetery he perceives in the landscape and of which he admires the simplicity.[47] Here, death is not disturbing but reflexive. In the Islamic cemetery, death is less a sign of rupture. It is more a sign of transgression, a liminal space that reintegrates death and life within the eternal and cyclist temporality of nature and thus functions as a nostalgic attempt to cure the traumatic experience of history. This symbiosis between life and death is noticeable when de Ligne let the image of the cemetery appear by an image of indolent Oriental men who sit on the roofs of their houses and overlook the landscape and the cemetery while smoking their pipes. This cliché of Oriental wisdom and acceptance is used again by the Ligne immediately after his apocalyptic vision of Paris and London as future ruins. Sitting on their roofs they seem to be unaffected by this vision. They are only looking at it as if it were a spectacle in which they are not involved:

> Turning round, I see my Mussulmans on their roofs with feet and arms crossed, and I applaud their laziness. I find among them an Albanian who knows a little Italian. I tell him to ask them if they are happy, and if I can be of use to them; also, whether they know that the empress has given them to me. They make answer that they know in general that they have been parcelled out, but they do not wholly understand what it means; that they are happy now, and if they cease to be so they shall embark on the

> two vessels they have built for themselves and take refuge with the Turks in Rumania.[48]

The Oriental subject is portrayed as not being affected by history. Even if history would affect him, it is suggested that he has the possibility to take refuge in a society in which the continuity between past and present is not (yet) threatened. For the Western modern subject, however, the landscape at Parthenizza always revives a traumatic historical experience, while the Oriental subject is to be believed to have no clue of this "pain of Prometheus" and only sees the landscape as the scenery of the eternal cycle of nature. Here we can see how the nineteenth-century mythology of the eternal Orient as the opposite of the historicized West comes in to being. Beside the fact that the idea of the Orient as a locus of pre-modernity is a prerogative to "civilize" and to colonize it,[49] it also constitutes the phantasma of a place in which one tries in vain to escape civilization and the traumatic experience of modernity. The Orient then starts to function as the alternative for a lost antiquity.[50] But despite the attempts to find in this new antiquity a cure for the pain of Prometheus, the Western modern subject remains an exile of that past. He can only watch this "living tableau of queerness" while he receives a new stab of pain, precisely because of this watching.

This specific phantasma of the Orient is not only to be found in the *Lettre de Parthenizza*. In his post-revolutionary writings, de Ligne expresses time and again how he is fascinated by the Orient as the place that escaped modernity. The Orient has become an idealized locus of comfort. This is particularly noticeable when as an exile in Vienna, he builds in an old ruin on the Kahlenberg, the place where the Turks were finally defeated in 1683, a small pavilion which he calls *Mon Refuge*. It was decorated, "with precious divans, cushions in the most lavish materials from the East, luxurious ceilings […] quotations from the Koran in gilded lettering and gaudy pyramidlike mantelpieces. I have assembled and outdone the finest things I saw in those small parts of Turkey and the Crimea that I visited."[51] It is his place for meditation, in which the memories on former times are unravelled and revived while overlooking the picturesque landscape of Vienna and the Danube plain that as far as the eye reaches extends towards the East. Within this Orientalist setting de Ligne not only writes most of his memoirs. It is also here that he is buried after his death in the middle of the Congress of Vienna in 1814.

Conclusion

Although Charles Joseph de Ligne is generally remembered as one of the exemplary exponents of aristocratic and cosmopolitan eighteenth-century culture, he is also a privileged witness of the collapse of that culture. His memoirs and letters do not only give a vivid account of that lost culture, above all they express a profound mourning of this loss that culminated in the feeling of being stranded in the present. Precisely because of this expression of mourning, ruined and exiled from his beloved estates in Beloeil, he becomes in his old age a European literary celebrity who is revered by romantic writers such as Madame de Staël, Benjamin Constant or Rahel Varnhagen.[52] In the *Lettre de Parthenizza* we can see how within the frame of picturesque aesthetics, de Ligne idealized antiquity and like Schiller used it metaphorically to describe the modern *condition humaine* as a melancholic and traumatic experience of loss. With this melancholy of history, the post-revolutionary subject enters a new regime of historicity that will haunt the experience of modernity throughout the entire nineteenth and even twentieth century. It is a regime of historicity in which the past no longer serves as guide for the future, while the present witnesses in total astonishment how "all that is solid melts into air." Even the Orient can be seen as a product of Western preoccupations with its own and so-called "lost" past. In an attempt to overcome this violent disconnection from the past, from former customs and traditions, the Orient is conceived as the locus of pre-modernity, as the plain in which the past can be visited, watched and studied. But despite all those attempts to revive this past, it remains lost, and every new memory of it only increase the pain. The fact that memories can cause heavy pain is something de Ligne was well aware of:

> Have I ever spoken of the pain one suffers from memories? The dinner bell of the chateau here has the same sound as that of the Chateau of Beloeil. That has the same effect on me as the cries of some peacocks in the Prater […] Oh! God! God! God! What is life? How few moments of happiness there are! And how short they are![53]

Notes

[1] For a recent biography on Charles Joseph de Ligne, see Philip Mansel, *Prince of Europe. The Life of Charles Joseph de Ligne* (London: Phoenix Paperback, 2005). On the *Lettre de Parthenizza* and its place in the oeuvre of Charles Joseph de Ligne, see Jean Pierre Guicciardi, "Préface," in Charles Joseph de Ligne, *Lettres à la marquise de Coigny* (Paris: Les Editions Desjonquières, 1986), 7-30. When we

cite the *Lettre de Parthenizza*, we use the 1902 English translation: Charles Joseph de Ligne, transl. Katharine Prescott Wormeley, *Prince de Ligne. His Memoirs, Letters, and Miscellaneous Papers* (Boston: Hardy Pratt and Company, 1902).

[2] Among others (and used here) are Peter Fritzsche, *Stranded in the Present. Modern Time and the Melancholy of History* (Cambridge, Mass., and London: Harvard University Press, 2004); Frank Ankersmit, *The Sublime Historical Experience* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005); Reinhart Koselleck, *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985). For the romantic characteristics of this melancholy of history see also Rüdiger Safranski, *Romantik. Eine deutsche Affäre* (München: Carl Hanser Verlag, 2007).

[3] For the Russian conquest of the Crimea see Alan W. Fischer, *The Russian Annexation of the Crimea* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), and Daniel Brower and Edward J. Lazzerini, eds., *Russia's Orient: Imperial Borderlands and Peoples 1700-1917* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997). For de Ligne's travel to the Crimea see Mansel, *Prince of Europe*, 123-47, and Hans Joachim Lope, "Charles Joseph de Ligne et la Mer Noire," *Nouvelles Annales du prince de Ligne* VIII (1994): 143-67.

[4] For a general view on picturesque garden theory see John Dixon Hunt, *Gardens and the Picturesque. Studies in the History of Landscape Architecture* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT-Press, 1994) and John Dixon Hunt, *The Picturesque Garden in Europe* (London and New York: Thames and Hudson, 2002), 16-20. For de Ligne's contribution to the picturesque see Basil Guy, "Introduction," in Charles Joseph de Ligne, *Coup d'oeil sur Beloeil and a Great Number of European Gardens*, ed. and transl. Basil Guy (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991), 1-66.

[5] Bram van Oostveldt, "*Ut pictura hortus/ut theatrum hortus*: Theatricality and French Picturesque Garden Theory in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century," *Art History* 33, no. 2 (2010).

[6] de Ligne, *Prince de Ligne. His Memoirs*, 24.

[7] See van Oostveldt.

[8] Fritzsche, 5.

[9] Reinhart Koselleck, *Futures Past: on the Semantics of Historical Time* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 275-76.

[10] Neville Morley, *Antiquity and Modernity* (Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2009), 13-15.

[11] See Safranski, 42-46.

[12] Friztsche, 8. See also Ankersmit, 326-28.

[13] Mansel, *Prince of Europe*, 264-69. See also Félicien Leuridant, *Le Prince de ligne, Mme de Staël et Caroline Murray* (Brussels: s.n., 1920), 11-13; John Isbell, "Les premiers succès littéraires du prince de Ligne dans la presse brittanique en 1809," *NAPL* XI (1997): 141-85.

[14] Mansel, *Prince of Europe*, 196-208; and Philip Mansel, "Le prince de Ligne et les émigrés, " *NAPL* X (1996): 9-21.

[15] de Ligne, *Prince de Ligne. His Memoirs*, 30.

[16] "Everything I most loved, two thirds of myself, the most perfect of beings was taken from me. […] I can still see the spot where Marshall Lacy told me that my poor Charles was no more. I can see my poor Charles himself arriving every day at the same time with his good and cheerful face looking for mine […]. It was on 25 September, a Friday, that I learnt this terrible news which would have made me desire the end of my existence, if another more precious than my own, that of my perfect Christine, was not attached to it." Charles Joseph de Ligne, *Fragments de l'Histoire de ma vie*, quoted in Mansel, *Prince of Europe*, 171-72. See also Georges Englebert, "La mort du prince Charles Antoine de Ligne," *NAPL* IX (1995): 193-206.

[17] Just like Benjamin's Angel of History, the post-revolutionary subject seems to be willing "to pause for a moment so fair [*verweilen*, a reference to Goethe's Faust], to awaken the dead and to piece together what has been smashed. But a storm is blowing from Paradise," driving the Angel of History that is looking at the past "irresistibly into the future." Walter Benjamin, *On the Concept of History*, www.marxists.org/reference/archive/benjamin/1940/history.htm. This catastrophic view of history is developed in Walter Benjamin's famous 9th thesis in *On the Concept of History* (1940) where he interprets Paul Klee's *Angelus Novus* as the Angel of History that has its face turned towards the past looking at the catastrophe of history. See also Howard Caygill, "Walter Benjamin's Concept of Cultural History," in David S. Ferris, ed., *Cambridge Companion to Walter Benjamin*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 73-96.

[18] David Löwenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

[19] Although de Ligne never explicitly refers to Schiller's philosophy, he was certainly acquainted with his work. De Ligne even made his own version of Schiller's *Don Carlos*. It is also possible that they have met at Rahel Varnhagen's salon in Berlin that both of them frequented. See Gabrielle Soares, "Les écarts d'un traducteur, Ligne et ses tragedies d'après Don Carlos de Schiller et Saul d'Alfieri," *NAPL* XVI (2002): 181-228; and Cecil Roth, *The Jewish Contribution to Civilization* (New York and London: Harper & Brothers, 1940), 129.

[20] See Gillen D'Arcy Wood, *The Shock of the Real. Romanticism and Visual Culture, 1760-1860* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 121-24.

[21] Friedrich Schiller, "Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung," in *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 5 (Stuttgart: Fackelverlag, 1985), 401 (Transl. William F. Wertz), http://www.schillerinstitute.org/transl/Schiller_essays/naive_sentimental-1.htm.

[22] Ibid., 418.

[23] Ibid.

[24] It is remarkable that Schiller in *Über die naïve und sentimentalische Dichtung* describes Ovids *Tristia* written during his banishment at the Black Sea as negative examples of great poetry. However touching they may be, their actual subject remains Ovid's personal loss and do not transcend its own situation to a more general existential feeling of displacement. Ibid., 417.

[25] de Ligne, *Prince de Ligne. His Memoirs*, 23 and 27.

[26] Ibid., 30.

[27] Although Diderot's *Salons* were addressed to a very limited number of people, among others Catherine the Great, and were only published in 1798, de Ligne, because of his intimate friendship with Catherine, was probably aware of Diderot's ideas before publication. Even in his first version of *Coup d'oeil sur Beloeil* we can find allusions to what Diderot called this poetics of ruins. See de Ligne, *Coup d'Oeil*, 80-82, 239.

[28] Roland Mortier, *La poétique des ruines en France. Ses origines, ses variations de la Renaissance à Victor Hugo* (Genève: Droz, 1974), 93.

[29] Denis Diderot, *The Salon of 1767*, transl. John Goodman (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), 196-97.

[30] Ibid., 213-14.

[31] For the life and ideas of Volney see Jean Gaulmier, *Un grand témoin de la Révolution et de l'Empire: Volney* (Paris: Hachette, 1959).

[32] "Hail, ye solitary ruins, ye sacred tombs, and silent walls! 'Tis your auspicious aid that I invoke; 'tis to you my soul, wrapt in meditation, pours forth its prayers! What though the profane and vulgar mind shrinks with dismay from your august and awe-inspiring aspect; to me you unfold the sublimest charms of contemplation and sentiment, and offer to my senses the luxury of a thousand delicious and enchanting thoughts! […] When oppressed humanity bent in timid silence throughout the globe beneath the galling yoke of slavery, it was you that proclaimed aloud the birthright of those truths which tyrants tremble at while they detect, and which, by sinking the loftiest head of the proudest potentate, with all his boasted pageantry, to the level of mortality with his meanest slave, confirmed and ratified by your unerring testimony the sacred and immortal doctrine of Equality. Musing within the precincts of your inviting scenes of philosophic solitude, whither the insatiate love of true-born Liberty had led me, I beheld her Genius ascending, not in the spurious character and habit of a blood-thirsty Fury, armed with daggers and instruments of murder, and followed by a frantic and intoxicated multitude, but under the placid and chaste aspect of Justice, holding with a pure and unsullied hand the sacred scales in which the actions of mortals are weighed on the brink of eternity." Constantin François Chasseboeuf, comte de Volney, *The Ruins, or, Meditations on the Revolutions of Empire* (New York: s.n., 1913), IX. See also Mortier, 136-41.

[33] Mortier, 154-57.

[34] For Cousin de Grainville and his *Le Dernier Homme* as a counterrevolutionary account of ruins, see Mortier, 159-62, and Katia Sainson, "Le regenerateur de la France: Literary Accounts of Napoleon's Regeneration: 1799-1805," *Nineteenth-Century French Studies* 30, nos. 1-2 (2001-2002): 9-25.

[35] Jean Baptiste Cousin de Grainville, *Le Dernier Homme*, cited in Mortier, 161 (our translation).

[36] de Ligne, *Prince de Ligne. His Memoirs*, 27-28.

[37] François Hartog, *Régimes d'historicité. Présentisme et expérience du temps* (Paris: Le Seuil, 2003), especially chapter 3, "Chateaubriand: entre l'ancien et le nouveau régime d'historicité," 77-107.

[38] "Quoique la révolution qui s'opère dans l'état social, les lois, les idées, les sentiments des hommes, soit bien loin d'être terminée, déjà on ne saurait comparer ses œuvres avec rien de ce qui s'est vu précédemment dans le monde. Je remonte de siècle en siècle jusqu'à l'Antiquité la plus reculée: je n'aperçois rien qui ressemble à ce qui est sous mes yeux. Le passé n'éclairant plus l'avenir, l'esprit marche dans les ténèbres." Alexis de Tocqueville, *De la démocratie en Amérique* (Paris: Flammarion, 1981), 399, cited in François Hartog, 106.
[39] Schiller, 401. For the concept of presence in historiography see Eelco Runia, "Presence," *History and Theory. Studies in the Philosophy of History* 45, no. 1 (2006): 1-29. Here he questions representationalism as the dominant method of current historiography, instead of focusing on ways how history can be thought of in terms of presence and experience.
[40] Ankersmit, 325.
[41] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (1978, reprint. London: Penguin Books, 2003), 2.
[42] Ibid., 103.
[43] Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *West-Eastern Divan*, http://www.archive.org/details/westeasterndivan00goetuoft.
[44] See Safranski, 155-58.
[45] de Ligne, *Lettres à la marquise de Coigny*, 49.
[46] Ibid., 50 (our translation).
[47] "Behind me I see, amid the leafage, an amphitheatre of dwellings, those of my Tartar savages, who are smoking on their flat roofs, which they use for salons. I see their cemetery, the site of which, always chosen for the purpose by the Mahometans, reminds me of the Champs Elysées. This particular cemetery lies along the bank of the brook I mentioned; but just were the rocks and pebbles obstruct its course the brook widens a little on one side, flowing peacefully among fruit-trees, which give to the dead their hospitable shade. This tranquil resting place is marked by stones surmounted by turbans, some of which are guilded, and by cinerary urns, coarsely cut in marble." de Ligne, *Prince de Ligne. His Memoirs*, 23-24.
[48] Ibid., 28.
[49] Almost two decades before Napoleon's great expedition to Egypt, Catherine the Great's expedition to the Crimea of 1787 is explicitly legitimized as an operation that brings "civilization and Enlightenment" to the Orient. See Fischer, 128-52.
[50] Safranski, 155-58.
[51] de Ligne, *Coup d'Oeil*, 131.
[52] See Mansel, *Prince of Europe*, 266-69; and Ellen Key, *Rahel Varnhagen, A Portrait* (New York and London: The Knickerbocker Press, 1913), 213.
[53] Charles Joseph de Ligne cited in Mansel, 232.

A DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE DEAF AND THE DUMB: AESTHETIC THEORIES IN ENGLAND AND ITALY DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

ANDREA GATTI*

Despite what the title might suggest, this essay** is not meant to conceal the idea of a structural shallowness in the supposed relations between Italian and English culture in the eighteenth century, nor does it remotely wish to raise any doubts about the legitimacy of dealing with those relations in a positive light. My purpose is actually much more moderate and orthodox and my aim is simply to argue that, in the fervent exchanges between Italy and Great Britain in the eighteenth century, there were *also* certain points of divergence. My suggestion is that these could be as significant and useful as the points of convergence in providing an accurate definition of those exchanges, and a more composite and possibly more realistic picture of eighteenth-century intellectual history.

So, instead of focusing on the common themes, on the evidence and documents showing mutual influences, and the patterns of cultural migration and its main actors, I have thought it useful to examine certain clear difficulties arising between Italy and Great Britain in the mutual understanding of their respective aesthetic theories and the way these were received in the two countries, and to show that in some cases, the dialogue between the two cultures was lively and fruitful *in spite of* the diversity which tended to inhibit such dialogue.

The history of ideas is an insidious field, founded as it is on assessments confined in the limbo of probabilistic thinking, and frequently lacking in conclusive proof. On the one hand, studying the history of ideas requires

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conclusions to be drawn in the absence of documents or factual evidence, and relying on a host of suggestions, references or presumed links. An example of this way of proceeding is to state that one author influenced another on the basis of formal or thematic similarities which cannot actually be conclusively demonstrated except through claims to that effect by the author putting them forward. On the other hand, where the documents are actually available, they cannot be assumed to be totally reliable. The fact that John Locke kept a text by Abelard in his library suggests influences that are still confined to the realm of mere probability, since we all know that our library shelves can be the repositories of volumes destined to remain uncut. These are just the most obvious examples. Indeed, it is by no means rare for formal letters to contain opinions that are more diplomatic than sincere; or for accounts to contain inaccuracies or forced interpretations on the part of the writer for the most wide-ranging reasons; and even for autobiographies to be more often masterpieces of fiction than monuments of truth.[1]

Nevertheless, the risks arising from intellectual historiography can be avoided by relying less on particular facts and more on causal links, shifting from the historical to the theoretical level. I will not, in fact, be concentrating on individual testimonies of mutual deafness and dumbness on the subject of artistic theory in Italy and England, but seek out the implicit reasons for the lack of dialogue, and examine the historical and cultural framework in which any possible lack of mutual understanding may have come about. In doing this, I will be using a deterministic perspective which interprets the two different positions as derivatives or fragmentary expressions of a broader movement whose general features paint a more unitary picture that will hopefully be less subject to exceptions and variants than the one suggested by focusing on its particular effects.

The goal of my paper is to demonstrate, firstly, that Italian and British aesthetics, in spite of the undeniable influence of the former on the latter in practical terms, were running along different tracks; and secondly, that the misunderstandings depended not only on the different state of the arts in the two countries, but from the dissonance between England and Italy at the philosophical level. Italy showed itself on various counts to be *deaf* to the speculative approaches coming in from the other side of the English Channel. Italian philosophy, for its part, had little effect on the English, if not actually unknown to them: in this respect, we might say that it was *dumb*.

The English eighteenth century is commonly defined as “the long eighteenth century,” not only for historiographical reasons—justifying the

inclusion in the eighteenth century of the homogeneous and coherent historical and social timeframe spanning from the Glorious Revolution of 1688 to the Battle of Waterloo in 1815—but *also* for the quantity and frequency of its cultural experiences, which were so varied and numerous as to give the impression of a timespan stretching beyond that of a single century. In the figurative field, England moved from the vaguely baroque style of Richardson and Hogarth to the full-blown neoclassicism of Reynolds and the Royal Academicians; from the Gothic revival to Turner's art of the sublime; from the luminarism of Wright of Derby to the landscape painting of Gainsborough and Constable, down to the pre-romantic ferments of Füssli, Blake and Barry. In literature, the inspiration was equally diversified, with the bourgeois novel of Henry Fielding, the sepulchral elegies of Young and Gray, and the naturalism of the *Lyrical Ballads*. In the midst of so many changes, aesthetic theory nevertheless shows a degree of uniformity in terms of its thematic lines; and its underpinnings (at least those that concern my argument) remained substantially unvaried while expressive forms and artistic trends were undergoing such major changes. This allows us to draw general inferences without the risk of excessive generalization.

It is not my intention, however, to deal with the tangible historical-artistic aspects that divide the two countries, nor analyse political, religious and socio-cultural issues, but to concentrate instead on the purely theoretical aspects that characterised the relationship between Italy and Great Britain in the eighteenth century. I do not really think we need add further investigations to the numerous and accurate existing ones on this subject.[2] The intense travel flows and the excellence of the visitors are surely incontrovertible signs of Italy's power to attract Englishmen, who considered the so-called "Garden of Europe" as a crucial part of the aesthetic and intellectual background of the scholar and the gentleman; and equally, after travelling to Italy, the artistic conceptions of various authors, Lord Shaftesbury and Joseph Addison foremost among them, seemed in fact to undergo perceptible changes. Furthermore, in their travel accounts, English visitors showed far greater interest in Classical and Renaissance Italy than in the Italy of their own times; indeed, there is an extensive critical literature dealing with the various *Remarks* on the Grand Tour expressing in no uncertain terms the distress and disapproval felt by Englishmen for the political, religious and cultural situation in eighteenth-century Italy.[3]

What does seem interesting in my view, is that it was precisely the apparently privileged meeting ground between the English and Italians, namely the beauty and art so pervasive in Italy—for Italy was first and

foremost the place of aesthetic experiences—which actually concealed elements of lack of understanding and distance between them. In spite of the fruitful exchanges of experiences, the intellectual intercourse and the mutual interactions between the two countries, it seems that their underlying positions on the specific subject of nature and the purposes of art as well as on the perceptive and creative processes of art remained at odds with each another. Let me enumerate some aspects and, possibly, the relevant causes, that led the dialogue between Italy and Great Britain on aesthetic issues to be less fluid and conciliatory.

One of the major causes for the lack of mutual understanding was the fact that the empiricist doctrine had become firmly established in England: as is well known, this doctrine found hardly any advocates in Italy, where this particular school of thought was frequently regarded as an example of speculative teratology and was dismissed as an eccentric philosophical fashion, destined to die out fairly quickly due to its shallowness and theoretical excesses.[4]

In the field of metaphysics, Italian thought—between scholastic drifting and hints of renaissance Neoplatonism—aroused little or no interest among British authors who took the rationalistic-empiricist line, starting from Francis Bacon down to the Scottish School. This line of thinking was totally focused on gnosiological research based on a decidedly epistemic structure, with investigations on the psychology of perception, and experimental and scientific methodologies. Ultimately, the Italian men of the Enlightenment in the second half of the eighteenth century—who were certainly more determined to fit into the European philosophical mainstream—approached foreign philosophy moved by interests that were more sociological and political than metaphysical in nature. They welcomed Locke's contractualism, for example, but forcefully rejected his critique of Innateness. Among these Italians was Ludovico Muratori, who defined Lockean philosophy as *un sottile veleno* ("a subtle poison");[5] besides, the first book of his treatise *Sulla forza dell'intendimento umano* (1745)—with clear reference to Locke's masterwork—was devoted to confuting the supposed fallaciousness of the senses. Nor did Berkeley's solipsism or Hume's radical scepticism enjoy better fortunes in Italy.[6]

In the artistic scene, the differences were even more obvious. Leaving value judgements aside, it is a fact that during the long eighteenth century, art in Italy (in painting and literature) did not show as much power of investigation nor did it enjoy such wide-ranging intellectual ferment as it did in Britain, as I mentioned earlier.

So, if Italy and England were building up such dissimilar experiences in the artistic and philosophical domains, the question arises: was there a relationship between those two domains? Could the difficulties in *artistic* dialogue be explained by the deafness and dumbness in the *philosophical* domain? Did the lack of understanding in metaphysics contribute to the difficulties experienced in the aesthetic dialogue between Italy and Britain? There are good reasons to think that they did, and to believe that the different conceptions concerning nature, the experiential dynamics and the purposes of art were rooted in the different philosophical options of the two countries. The effects of these differences can be perceived quite clearly if we examine, for example, how the two schools of aesthetics conceived the relationship between art and nature—a relationship whose difference was based on Italy's rejection of English empiricist assumptions.

I would like to examine the *causes* of those differences, starting by illustrating the different meanings of "art" and "nature" in the two cultures and looking at *how* the relationship between art and nature was understood differently in the two countries, before going on to consider *why* this was so, with consequences that I shall be elaborating in due course. I believe the reasons for those differences can be discovered by analysing not so much the individual concepts of art and nature, but what lies between the two, that is, the artist's *inspiration* or *idea*, the vision that acquires a perceptible shape in the work of art. I think that the very concept of inspiration or idea was understood so differently by the Italians and the British that their conceptions of art were irreconcilable as a result.[7] This is quite odd, because not only were the premises of the English Theory of Inspiration set out in Italy itself, but they had actually appeared in the highly successful *Lives of the Modern Painters*, written by Bellori (1672).

Bellori in fact forestalled a subject—the intellectual character of inspiration and art—that was completely disregarded by Italians, but featured strongly in British empiricist thinking. In the second half of the seventeenth century, Bellori found himself facing a dilemma not unlike the one faced by British theorists in the following century, namely, that of defining the relationship between art and reality, and establishing the ontological status of the work of art.

Bellori's predecessors had adopted two different approaches. One made art into an amended form of nature, which meant creating a form that would gather all the best elements of a particular class of objects: Italian Renaissance theorists from Michelangelo to Vasari had followed this approach. The other approach saw the artwork as the fruit of inspiration, a divine gift, as it were: this was the position adopted by the late mannerists from Lomazzo to Armenini.

These two positions, however, presented difficulties. The first placed art at a lower level than nature, since from this perspective, the artist was dependent on the physical world for his creations, and thus remained essentially a copyist. The second did not consider the artist as being completely autonomous since, if his creation was produced independently of his will and under the rapture of a higher power, it is not clear what his merit consisted of. Bellori, by contrast, made an intellectual product out of the idea, a deliberate and conscious mental process designed to render the perfect beauty and truth which empirical nature aspires to without ever achieving. To Bellori, the artist reconstructs the divine idea, both archetypal and Neoplatonic, which on embodying itself in material form, would inevitably corrupt its own perfection.

By and large we can say that this theory was echoed by the aesthetics of eighteenth-century England.[8] This, however, kept God and nature in the background and concentrated on the mental processes inherent in the development of the idea. By contrast, Italy's eighteenth-century aesthetics (at least as far as its major representatives were concerned) saw artistic vision as a *furor creativus* or *enthusiasm*—from Gravina to Spalletti and Vico. Indeed, the latter argued that poetry was not the product of the most evolved form of culture, but of the most primitive one, and associated poetry with the childhood of humanity, when man's vision and description of the world was instinctive and sentimental, not mediated by knowledge. This position was echoed by Wordsworth in his preface to the *Lyrical Ballads* (1798); but we should recall that he was writing at the dawn of the nineteenth century and therefore outside the cultural domain we are dealing with here, in which, at any rate, the "learned" and rational position had been insistently embraced.

The different ways of conceiving the artist's inspiration inevitably fall back on the concept of *Nature*. In this regard, one should bear in mind the prior consideration that in the eighteenth century the concept was actually attributed many different meanings: Arthur O. Lovejoy enumerated about fifty of them.[9] I will confine myself to considering "nature" in terms of its most common meaning, namely, as the world of physical and material objects. Given the concept of inspiration I mentioned, it is therefore inevitable that to Italians, "nature" was not an essential feature of the creative process, since they focused their interest on the inner vision blown into the mind of the artist by God. In this case, nature performs its most important task only at the completion of the artwork. It is essentially a normative task, to the extent that nature established the limits of verisimilitude (*seeming truth*); i.e., it draws boundaries which the artist's imagination cannot push beyond, and if it does, then it becomes whim,

incongruence, and falseness.

To the English, by contrast, (going as far back as Sir Francis Bacon), nature lay at the origin of artistic *poiesis*: it was the source of images to be stored in man's memory and then rearranged by a process of association, involving the joint action of mental faculties such as memory, imagination or intellect, and bringing about, as Bacon himself said in 1623, "unlawful marriages and divorces between things" (*De dignitate et augmentis scientiarum* II 4).

From this, it becomes clear why the distinction between fancy and imagination was crucial in the eighteenth-century debate on aesthetics. These terms were not synonymous but there was actually a strong dialectic tension between them throughout the period under examination. If *fancy* is free, uncontrolled creativity, and *imagination* is a meditated combination of mnemonic factors (based on the distinction drawn in the eighteenth century and subsequently codified by Coleridge at the beginning of the following century),[10] then by considering the one and the other it becomes possible to glimpse the fabric of English and Italian aesthetic attitudes toward artistic creation. By appealing to *imagination*, the English reaffirmed their rational conception of art, while by invoking *fancy*, Italians wished to preserve the mysterious fascination of art, and to assert the idea of art as an almost esoteric practice, a creative miracle connected with an ineffable and undefinable *je ne sais quoi*.

The difference can also be captured by looking at the origins of empiricist theory. To Locke, the beautiful is a *complex* idea, a mixed mode; it belongs to the realm of ideas that are not the result of simple perceptions, but of a mental process (*Essay Concerning Human Understanding* II 2, 19). Hence, the processes of creation and appreciation of the beautiful concern the mind itself. Even Lord Shaftesbury, whose strong adversity to Locke's philosophy sprang from his Neoplatonist inclinations, held nonetheless that art is the product of a mental process, and consequently argued that only the mind and not the immediate sensibility can properly and fully recognize the value of a particular artwork. Drawing a distinction between innate *aesthetic sense* and cultivated *taste*, he pointed to the latter as being the true and sole faculty fit to appraise the beautiful. English authors rarely talked of *furor poeticus* as the Italians did, because to the English, the mystery of creativity or inspiration was to be considered within the limits of reason. Blake was alone in talking about art in terms of mystical inspiration and indeed it is no accident that in his time he was considered an eccentric visionary and was held at a distance from the artistic mainstream.

This brings us to the opposite end of the problem which we started out from: after nature, *Art*. The most obvious remark, starting from the English conception of "nature," is that perceptible reality, the world of physical objects, includes artistic productions, among other things; and that in the world of possible experiences, a painting by Michelangelo has the same degree of objective and representative quality as a tree or a vase of flowers. Accordingly, for the English, art can provide materials to artistic creation in exactly the same way as nature can. Italians, on the other hand, given their mystical conception of inspiration, rejected that conclusion and, as we saw earlier, kept art and nature on separate planes. The reasons can be explained in both historical and theoretical terms. Italians could not include art among the subjects of artistic developments with the same nonchalance as the English, because they had lived through the depression of mannerism, and thus harboured an unconditional mistrust of art that imitates art. The English, on the other hand, appeared on the artistic scene at time when the mistakes of the past were already known, so they could travel to Italy and marvel at the vision of Michelangelo, Raffaello, Reni and Carracci already aware that mannerist efforts had been in vain, and were therefore able to adapt those suggestions in a different way. Moreover, this adaptation conformed to their rational conception of ideas, thanks to which the object of their imitation was the *invention* itself and not the formal aspects of art. This was the very principle on which Reynolds largely based his fame, helped by the fact that during his time, the emphasis on the intellectual character of art was such that the greatness of a painter was measured, among other things, on the basis his figurative culture and his artistic erudition.

I have confined my analysis mostly to the philosophical and theoretical aspects of the lack of dialogue between Italy and England, being nonetheless well aware that there are also other factors characterizing the irreconcilable nature of the two positions that would justify further scrutiny. One might, for example, investigate the contrast between the focus on the "characteristic" (or the particular) by Italians[11] and on the "central form" (the universal) by the English. One might consider the distinction between the instinctive appreciation of Italians (*furor* can be as *receptive* as it can be *creative*)[12] and the cultivated taste of the English, and the different purposes they attributed to art, i.e. social to the English, and individual to Italians. In this particular connection, one might have emphasized the link between art and the public: to the English, art was included in the plan for social reconstruction and citizenship education which they were able to pursue successfully in the wake of the Glorious

Revolution (1689). The same could not be done in Italy, broken up, divided and tormented as it was by constant inter-state struggles. On the subject of the connection between social conditions and visions of art, Matteo Borsa wrote in 1783, in his essay entitled *I vizi più comuni e osservabili del corrente gusto italiano in belle lettere*:

> Dante e Miltono annebbiano delle oscurità teologiche i lor poemi in secoli tutti ispidi di teologia. Camoens trasporta nel suo l'entusiasmo recente delle scoperte americane e Voltaire e Akenside e tant'altri fanno echeggiar ne' loro versi la legge naturale, il deismo e gli altri dogmi anche troppo famosi della corrente filosofia. Che più? Come da specchio gli oggetti, così dal carattere della letteratura quello altresì rappresentato ci viene che una nazione contrae dalla situazion sua morale religiosa e politica.

Neither is it surprising that Borsa, the self-appointed interpreter of a widespread feeling, criticised the way in which philosophy "was polluting the letters"[13] precisely at a time when, across the English Channel, the British considered art observation as a philosophical subspecies: this was simply another case of dialogue between the deaf and the dumb.

Notes

[1] On the problem of so-called documentary evidence, in terms of history of ideas, I would refer you to my essay "Per una storia intellettuale dell'età augustea in Inghilterra. Il *Catalogue* della biblioteca di Joseph Addison," *Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei-Rendiconti*, Class of Moral Sciences, s. IX, XIV (2003): 239-324.

[2] The available literature on the Grand Tour is obviously vast. Some useful recent bibliographical references can be found in Daniele Niedda, *Joseph Addison e l'Italia* (Roma: Bulzoni Editore, 1993), 132-36; Andrea Gatti, *Inglesi a Napoli nel Viceregno austriaco: Joseph Addison, Lord Shaftesbury, George Berkeley* (Napoli: Vivarium, 2000), 42-51; another useful source is still Richard Sidney Pine-Coffin, *Bibliography of British and American Travel in Italy to 1860* (Firenze: Olschki, 1974).

[3] A useful account of the physical and intellectual distress suffered by English grandtourists travelling to Italy is provided by Cecilia Powell, *Italy in the Age of Turner. "The Garden of the World"* (London: Dulwich Picture Gallery, in ass. with Merrell Holberton Publ., 1998), and in my review "La forza dei deboli: Thomas Gainsborough, Angelica Kauffmann e gli altri," *Ateneo Veneto* CLXXXVI, no. 37 (1999): 113-35.

[4] On the general features of the intellectual relationship between Great Britain and Italy see Arturo Graf, *L'anglomania e l'influsso inglese in Italia nel secolo XVIII* (Torino: Loescher 1911); Franco Venturi, *Italy and the Enlightenment. Studies in a Cosmopolitan Century*, transl. Susan Corsi, ed. Stuart Woolf (London: Longman,

1972); Andrea Gatti and Paola Zanardi, eds., *Filosofia, scienza, storia. Il dialogo fra Italia e Gran Bretagna* (Padova: Il Poligrafo, 2005); Gatti, *Inglesi a Napoli nel Viceregno austriaco*.

[5] Ludovico Antonio Muratori, *La filosofia morale esposta e proposta ai giovani* (1735), in *Dal Muratori al Cesarotti*, I. *Opere di Ludovico Antonio Muratori*, ed. Giorgio Falco and Fiorenzo Forti (Milano and Napoli: Ricciardi, 1964 [La letteratura italiana. Storia e testi, 44/I]), 817-62: "Il Locke, sottilissimo filosofo inglese, ma che ha anche sparso nel suo libro dell'*Intendimento*, o sia dell'intelletto umano, un sottile veleno a cui non tutti fanno riflessione, pretende che l'uomo non abbia innato nella mente sua alcun principio o sia regola di morale" (821).

[6] On the Italian reception of English empiricism, see Andrea Gatti, "Filosofi, virtuosi, umanisti. Italia e Inghilterra nel XVIII secolo," in Gatti and Zanardi, eds., *Filosofia, scienza, storia*, 67-90.

[7] Guido Morpurgo-Tagliabue (*Il Gusto nell'estetica del Settecento*, ed. Luigi Russo and Giuseppe Sertoli, Palermo: Aesthetica, 2002, 25-27), on the other hand, contrasts Italian and English aesthetics on the basis of the deeper interest in creation of the former and in aesthetic appreciation of the latter.

[8] On the Neoplatonic trends flourishing in England throughout the eighteenth century, see *Platonism and the English Imagination*, ed. Anna Baldwin and Sarah Hutton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 179-98; see also my *Et in Britannia Plato. Studi sull'estetica del platonismo inglese* (Bologna: Clueb, 2001), 63-129.

[9] On the various acceptions of Nature in eighteenth-century England, see Arthur O. Lovejoy, "Nature as Aesthetic Norm," *Modern Language Notes* XLII (1967): 444-50.

[10] See Samuel T. Coleridge, *Biographia Literaria, or Biographical Sketches of My Literary Life and Opinions* (1817), ed. George Watson (London: J.M. Dent, 1993), 50, 167.

[11] See Giuseppe Spalletti, *Saggio sopra la Bellezza* (1765), ed. Paolo D'Angelo (Palermo: Aesthetica, 1992), 63-64: "La caratteristica, per la quale una cosa differisce dall'altra in maniera, che non possiamo né pur per una simile ingannarci, è quella la quale ci fa formare le varie idee de' varii oggetti, che nella natura osserviamo […] e quello che con la vera genuina caratteristica di una data cosa saprà rappresentare, per abilissimo osservatore della natura sarà senza fallo reputato […]. E questo è l'unico mezzo di cui i diligenti artefici delle prose, e delli versi allora quando han voluto eccitare ne' loro uditori il pianto, o le risa, l'allegrezza, o la tristezza, l'amore, o l'odio ecc., essersi serviti si fa assai manifesto a chi all'analisi delle loro composizioni con purgato occhio può attendere."

[12] See Vincenzo Gravina, *Della ragion poetica tra' Greci, Latini ed Italiani* (1708; Londra: Becket & Bulmer, 1806), 11: "quando l'immagine della cosa assente o futura non si esclude da un'altra immagine contraria, che tiri a sé 1'assenso nostro, ella da noi si riceve come presente e reale, o corrispondente alla certa esistenza del vero. Onde le passioni tutte […] che occupano quasi l'intero sito della nostra fantasia vengono a generare dentro di noi un delirio, siccome ogn'altra passione

più o meno suol fare, secondo la maggior o minor veemenza degli spiriti da' quali è 1'immaginazione assalita: perché tenendosi lungi dalla fantasia nostra 1'immagine della distanza di tempo o di luogo; e rimovendosi tutte quelle ch'esprimono l'assenza dell'onore, o del sembiante, per le passioni suddette rappresentato; la mente in quel punto abbraccia la dignità e la bellezza immaginata come vera e presente. Donde avviene che per lo più gli uomini sognano con occhi aperti."

[13] Emilio Bigi, ed., *Dal Muratori al Cesarotti*, IV. *Critici e storici della poesia e delle arti nel secondo Settecento* (Milano and Napoli: Ricciardi, 1960 [La letteratura italiana. Storia e testi, 44/IV]), 707-43: 712.

THE LINGUISTIC TURN IN THE AESTHETICS OF THE SCOTTISH ENLIGHTENMENT: DUGALD STEWART

DANIELE NIEDDA*

Human universals and language

The numerous exhibitions and cultural events celebrating the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of *The Origin of Species* have enhanced the interest in Charles Darwin's character and works, now the centre of attention in the field of humanities. Some literary critics have made evolution the foundation of their approach; conversely, evolutionist scientists with an interest in the arts have examined the human inclination for art and literature as a true evolutionary problem. An instance of this alternative paradigm occurs in a book entitled *The Literary Animal: Evolution and the Nature of Narrative*, where scientists and humanists in complete unison contribute to what the editors call a "pioneering" project. Ian McEwan's quote presented in the back cover of the book well serves to condense the enterprise:

> That which binds us, our common nature, is what literature has always, knowingly and helplessly, given voice to. And it is this universality which the biological sciences, now entering another exhilarating phase, are set to explore further.[1]

This focus on common nature and universality rather than on cultural relativity is significant. Close-reading of texts seems to give way to a renewed interest in the question of general forms, which has inspired courses and seminars in PhD programs of prestigious universities.[2] Among the many who have lately raised the issue of comparative morphology in literary studies, Franco Moretti has repeatedly expressed his intention to move away from comparative literature in the direction of *Weltliteratur*.[3]

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Directly or indirectly inspired by Noam Chomsky's programs, today's linguistics revives an ancient philosophical tradition, i.e. the study of universals. A group of leading generative and functional linguists have recently investigated the somewhat paradoxical matter of linguistic universals in their diachronic dimension.[4] In marked contrast to Chomskyan formalism, cognitive scientists of the second generation have identified linguistic universals in a series of conceptual figures which constrain common and literary discourses, thus advocating a deeply embodied vision of the human mind. To put it briefly, the sensory-motor system of the brain is supposed to shape human conceptual structures as well as the mechanisms regulating human reason.[5]

Italian scholar Lia Formigari argues that the problem of linguistic universals is one of the recurring issues which is continuously re-elaborated in different historical terms by language theorists belonging to the whole Western tradition.[6] A widely debated issue indeed it was in the Scottish Enlightenment, and in particular in the works of its "inventor" and canonizer, Dugald Stewart.[7] It is on this very notion that the difference between the founder and master of the "common sense" school, Thomas Reid, and his student Dugald Stewart is revealed. On the one hand, this is a *vexata quaestio* debated at length by Scottish philosophy scholars.[8] On the other, I think that the disagreement between Reid and Stewart on the related issues of language and human/non human intelligence need more elaboration, especially in consideration of the recent developments in language theories.[9]

Reid's works were published in the second half of the eighteenth century, whereas Stewart's fall mostly into the nineteenth, which is why he is generally considered a nineteenth- rather than an eighteenth-century figure.[10] There are two notable exceptions, however: the first volume of *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind* and *Outlines of Moral Philosophy*, published in 1792 and 1793 respectively. Here Stewart's controversy on universals with Reid flares up. In the part dedicated to *abstraction*, Stewart follows the history of the notion *idea* distinguishing the parties of Realists, Nominalists and Conceptualists. Both Nominalists and Conceptualists, Stewart maintains, agree in rejecting the doctrine of the Realists about the existence of universal essences. However, Stewart finds no reason to abandon the Nominalist account of knowledge as the most important members of the Conceptualist school, John Locke and Thomas Reid, had done. For Stewart all the difference between Nominalists and Conceptualists amounts to this proposition endorsed by the Conceptualists: "the mind has the power of reasoning concerning genera, or classes of individuals, *without* the mediation of language."[11]

The Nominalists on the contrary believe that the mind has the power of reasoning concerning universals *only via* the mediation of language. Of course, by mediation of language Stewart means the Nominalist explanation, in particular Adam Smith's genetic theory. Smith conjectured that general names or appellatives are the result of a gradual and insensible process. Through this process proper names formerly attributed to individuals came to denote a multitude of individuals (to use Smith's own terms). Consequently, Stewart is aware that "a talent for reasoning must consist in a great measure in a skilful use of language as an instrument of thought."[12] By which he means that language is an essential device which enables the mind to perform its operations.

According to Stewart, Reid focuses on the distinction between *conception* and *imagination*. Reid thinks that universals can only be the object of conception, because they are not the objects of experience which can only appeal to imagination. Stewart admits that this is quite a hard point for him to understand and his explanation of Reid's expression "conceiving universals" does nothing but reinstate his Nominalist creed, leaving the question of language universals unsolved:

> That we cannot conceive universals in a way at all analogous to that in which we conceive an absent object of sense, is granted on both sides [that is, the Nominalist and the Conceptualist]. When we speak of conceiving or understanding a general proposition, we mean nothing more than that we have it in our power at pleasure to substitute instead of the general terms some one of the individuals comprehended under them.[13]

He concludes that "without the use of language or of signs we should never have been able to extend our speculations beyond individuals."[14] No wonder the elderly Reid's response to Stewart was a disparaging formula, "The author a nominalist," in a manuscript which Stewart almost certainly knew.[15]

However narrow and sometimes erroneous, as Daniel Robinson has shown, Stewart's interpretation of Reid demonstrates that he preferred to adhere to the Nominalist camp because he sensed the danger of psychological realism lurking in Reid's position. In answer to Hume's scepticism Reid reintroduces aspects of the medieval theory of notions, probably mediated by William Ockham and John Mair.[16] In particular the theory of the mental act (*actus intelligendi* or *intentio*) by which the mind relates to external objects directly without any sort of representation. In this way the claim that mental *species* are formed without the mediation of signs or images becomes a plausible statement. But whatever kind of mental entity linguistic universals turn out to be, Stewart counters, they

will always be psychological realities previous to perception. This Stewart could never accept on account of his profound anti-innatism. Sir William Hamilton, editor of both Reid's and Stewart's complete works, tried to solve the controversy by tracing it back to the fact that British philosophy lacked the Leibnitzian distinction between *intuitive* and *symbolical* knowledge and between *Begriff* and *Anschauung*, the latter pair merging in a set of terms including *idea*, *notion* and *conception*. Although Hamilton shows a preference for Reid, in this case he agrees with Stewart that the opposite parties of Conceptualists and Nominalists are substantially at one.[17] However, I think there is a difference, a remarkable one.

According to the analysis of the late George Davie, Reid distinguishes two cognitive moments, which he dubs *primitive* and *mature*.[18] Just as primitive manufacture does a rough job in the absence of proper tools, Reid says, so primitive cognition produces only a "rough judgment" without having proper, that is clear and distinct, ideas. Ordinary judgments, that is commonsensical, do not presuppose an initial experience of a set of clear-cut nameable atoms, but rather presuppose an initial experience of a vague, nameless something. This is a crucial point, on which Reid reintroduces the specific distinction between human and non-human understanding which in his opinion Berkeley and Hume had obliterated.

> There is, therefore, an indistinct notion of resemblance when we compare the objects only in gross: and this I believe brute animals may have. There is also a distinct notion of resemblance when we analyse the objects into their different attributes, and perceive them to agree in some, while they differ in others. It is in this case only that we give a name to attributes wherein they agree, which must be a common name because the thing signified by it is common. […] When I compare clean linen with snow, I perceive them to agree in colour; and when I apply the name of *white* to both, this name signifies neither snow nor clean linen, but the attribute which is common to both.[19]

Conceptual vagueness appears here to condition semantic procedures; it precedes verbal language. Reid extends this conceptual vagueness to animal intelligence, while marking the difference between human and non human intelligence. The mental operations concerning word formation seem to involve a superior cognitive power, which is responsible for the mature and finished judgments of distinct resemblance.

Both Reid and Stewart agree of course that there is discontinuity between human and non human intelligence; where they diverge is in locating this discontinuity. Reid believes vagueness logically precedes

language, while Stewart thinks that language is permanently imbued in semantic vagueness. To use modern categories, Reid remains a representationalist *malgré lui*, notwithstanding his demolition of the Empiricist "way of ideas"; Stewart, on the contrary and somewhat paradoxically, is an avowed anti-representationalist while remaining in the Empiricist and Nominalist background. In my opinion Stewart managed to advance his original theory of context-dependent meaning only insofar as he was able to defend that territory.

By 1810 Stewart's emphasis is firmly placed on use and comprehension rather than on the origin of meaning. Against the antiquarian quest for truth that Stewart envisions in Horne Tooke's ideological philology, context comes to assume an essential role in understanding the linguistic act: "The function of language is not so much to *convey* knowledge from one mind to another, as to bring two minds into *the same train of thinking*, and to confine them as nearly as possible, to the same track."[20] The construction of meaning depends on the situation in which the linguistic act is performed more than on the uniformity of the interlocutors' mental contents. Meaning is something that happens rather than something that is; it occurs in a dimension of dialogue as a function of the communicative relation. It is a temporary construction to be negotiated each and every time language is used and thus it is freed from any criterion of absolute definition. From this viewpoint, there is no need to resort to mental entities to explain linguistic practices.

> Even in conversing on the plainest and most familiar subjects, however full and circumstantial our statements may be, the words which we employ, if examined with accuracy, will be found to do nothing more than to suggest *hints* to our hearers, leaving by far the principal part of the process of interpretation to be performed by the mind itself.[21]

In the sense of a coincidence between mental contents, communicational understanding is mere utopia. More practically, communication always functions "more or less." For Stewart all that is required for language to work is that similar mental operations be set in motion, independently of analogy between contents.

Indeterminacy in language and aesthetics

Dugald Stewart's contribution to the history of aesthetics weighs heavily on his reflections on language. His last work written in the eighteenth century gives us an early indication of what will follow in *Philosophical Essays* (1810). Stewart ends *Outlines of Moral Philosophy*

(1793) significantly on the question of human creativity and distinguishes between human and non-human intelligence in qualitative terms: it is a "difference not in degree, but in kind." Animal instinct "is distinguished from [human] Art by two circumstances: 1. By the uniformity with which it proceeds, in all individuals of the same species; and 2. By the unerring certainty with which it performs its office, prior to all experience."[22]

Stewart is self-conscious of the exceptionality of his findings when measured with the standards of scientific observation. For this reason he cautiously adds that "perhaps this is the single instance, in which that regular gradation, which we everywhere else observe in the universe, fails entirely." In a way, this sounds like an awkward confirmation of the Cartesian vision of animals as mere machines, particularly because it comes from a Baconian background (Stewart quotes from the *Advancement of Learning* to endorse his concept of Art). In another way it fosters a connection between language and aesthetics which is formed on the common ground of semantic indeterminacy.

To give this transition of language into aesthetics a modern and Italian critical perspective I suggest that we consider the work of Emilio Garroni, late professor of aesthetics at "Sapienza" University (Rome), who also addresses the problem of semantic vagueness. In his contribution to a book of essays in honour of the philosopher of language Tullio De Mauro, Garroni shapes the paradox of language, as he calls it, in a typically Kantian antinomy expressed in a thesis and an antithesis. He chooses to model his antinomy of language on Kant's antinomy of taste rather than on the antinomies of pure reason, because like all "dynamic antinomies," those concerning language and taste are not entirely comprehensible. Unlike "mathematical antinomies" whose theses and antitheses are both false, the parts forming "dynamic antinomies" are both true; they hint at the paradoxical condition which inheres to philosophy in general. To put it briefly, our thirst for knowledge is unquenchable because there will always be something which escapes human comprehension. More specifically, the connection between language and taste is established on the belief that the antinomic condition of language reduplicates the antinomic condition of taste because a conflict between determinacy and indeterminacy is present in both.

Let me quote Garroni's argument:

> Thesis: The use of language *first and foremost* presupposes the definition of its units and rules *prior to* its indeterminate possibility; for otherwise we could not use it and would not reach an agreement in using it.

> Antithesis: The use of language *first and foremost* presupposes its indeterminate possibility *prior to* the definition of its units and rules, for otherwise we could not even define the units and rules which allow its use and our understanding.[23]

The thesis repeats Rorty's pragmatism and its reduction of language to determinate uses, whereas the antithesis revives Heidegger's essentialist interest in the origin of language and assumes the prominence given to silent hearing as the only way to recapture the indeterminacy of primitive *Sage*. Garroni appeals to *Gemeinsinn* as the special knowledge which makes us feel "the internal indeterminacy of the determinate" and thus accounts for the double nature of language, its Janus-like dimension, as he calls it. Intersecting semiotics with aesthetics, Garroni pays an interesting homage to De Mauro for his excellent treatment of semantic indeterminacy. Beyond the reach of semantics, De Mauro argues in fact, vagueness is a semiotic condition affecting both signifier and signified, that is both aspects of the sign belonging to what he calls the "fifth family of codes." Rather than defining accurately a class of signals capable of conveying the senses belonging to a class equally accurately defined, this type of sign is the instrument of a game in which the players work out an agreement on how to approach a group of senses by the use of related signals. Thus a relationship is established between families rather than classes, a family or level of content and a family or level of expression. The non-computability of synonymies that occurs in this family of codes is the effect of the permanent disposition to innovate and manipulate codified forms.[24] Garroni supplements De Mauro's semiotic description with the concepts of language metaphoricity and rule-changing creativity, which he takes from Hjelmslev and the early Chomsky, respectively, and concludes that indeterminacy is the special quality distinguishing human language from all other codes in zoosemiotics.[25]

Stewart's theory of language is indisputably groundbreaking. Of course he lacks the conceptual framework which after Saussure twentieth-century linguistics will make available for the formulation of Garroni's radical concept of human creativity. However, with all the limitations of his time Stewart had a similar insight into the nature of human knowledge in the course of a reflection upon aesthetic subjects. More precisely, while discussing beauty Stewart discovers a method of categorizing which bears a striking analogy with the notions of semiotic *vaghezza* and semantic *indeterminatezza* put forward by De Mauro and Garroni, respectively. But this will be dealt with shortly. For the moment the different perspective offered by the American scholar Dabney Townsend is well worth a small detour.

Townsend plays down Stewart's intuition on family resemblance and prefers to single out Stewart's consideration for taste as a real mental faculty. All things considered, Townsend is right in saying that Stewart's aesthetics is very unexciting.[26] No wonder Stewart's aesthetic essays have attracted hardly any scholarly attention.[27] After all, it was Stewart himself who admitted that he did not have anything like "a new theory of [his] own" to substitute to those of his predecessors.[28] Townsend, however, thinks that Stewart's discussion of taste is an important exception that sets Stewart apart from the eighteenth-century tradition, which mostly sees taste as a sense or an ability, and moves him towards nineteenth-century aesthetics, which attributes aesthetic response to a separate mental operation. The shift towards a more autonomous aesthetics is a consequence of Stewart's important revision of Reid's "principles of common sense," one of the tenets of Common-sense philosophy. Stewart's preference for the expression "fundamental laws of belief" entails his concern for faculties (attention, conception, abstraction, memory, imagination etc.) intended as specific mental operations. To put it in modern cognitive terminology, Stewart is interested in mental processes rather than mental products and clearly states his case: "Many authors have spoken of the wonderful *mechanism of speech*; but none has hitherto attended to the far more wonderful *mechanism* which it puts into action behind the scene."[29]

Even this innovation, however, puts Stewart to considerable inconveniences, as Townsend himself admits. To understand taste in terms of imaginative associations implies the apparent difficulty of having artists believe in the phenomenal existence of the objects that they represent in their works. In Stewart's cognitive system the function of conception is to present "an exact transcript" of sense data to imagination and the function of imagination is to manipulate those data for "new combinations."[30] The difficulty arises precisely from locating conception before perception and thus limiting creativity to work with particulars. This is why Stewart is forced to conclude that "the exercise both of conception and imagination is always accompanied with a belief that their objects exist. When a painter conceives the face and figure of an absent friend, in order to draw his picture, he believes for the moment that his friend is before him." The peculiarity of this statement is such that Stewart is forced to add that the "belief, indeed, is only momentary; for it is extremely difficult, in our waking hours, to keep up a steady and undivided attention to any object we conceive or imagine; and as soon as the conception or the imagination is over, the belief which attended it is at an end."[31] As is well known, writing approximately at the same time the poet Samuel Taylor Coleridge tells quite a different story about belief and disbelief.

Personally, from the quicksands of a cognitivist interpretation of Stewart's aesthetics I would prefer to revert to the more solid grounds of his linguistic turn. From the scores of pages Stewart dedicates to aesthetic subjects I'd rather save the passages on beauty which happen to tie in strongly with his theory of context-dependent meaning. Here the scene is set for all the following things Stewart has to say on the sublime, the picturesque and taste. The very beginning of Stewart's treatment of the beautiful marks the linguistic turn that he gives to aesthetics. Beauty, as well as the other aesthetic categories, poses the problem of the meaning of a word and not surprisingly leads Stewart to restate his distinction between human and non-human minds:

> The word Beauty, and, I believe, the corresponding term in all languages whatever, is employed in a great variety of acceptations, which seem, on a superficial view, to have very little connexion with each other; and among which it is not easy to trace the slightest shade of common or coincidental meaning. It always, indeed, denotes something which gives not merely *pleasure* to the mind, but a certain *refined* species of pleasure, remote from those grosser indulgences which are common to us with the brutes; but it is not applicable universally in every case where such refined pleasures are received, being confined to those exclusively which form the proper objects of intellectual Taste.[32]

Along this line Stewart follows the article dedicated to the beautiful in the *Encyclopédie* up to the point where Diderot deplores all previous attempts "to ascertain the common quality or qualities which entitles a thing to the denomination of *beautiful*" and thus to capture the essence of beauty. Here Stewart breaks his agreement with Diderot and declares himself unhappy with the *philosophe*'s conclusion "That Beauty consists in the perception of Relations."[33] Nor can Stewart be satisfied with the addition of the attribute *agreeable* to the term *Relations* which Diderot made in a later article, because it was the very nature of these relations which remained obscure.

For this reason Stewart sets himself to explore the mechanisms that regulate the relations between beautiful objects. The method he works out to explain the special experience that produces pleasure of the *refined* and *intellectual* sort, as he calls it, is strikingly reminiscent of modern family resemblance theories:

> I shall begin with supposing that the letters A, B, C, D, E, denote a series of objects; that A possesses some quality in common with B; B a quality in common with C; C a quality in common with D; D a quality in common with E;—while, at the same time no quality can be found which belongs in

> common to any *three* objects in the series. Is it not conceivable, that the affinity between A and B may produce a transference of the name of the first to the second; and that, in consequence of the other affinities which connect the remaining objects together, the same name may pass in succession from B to C; from C to D; from D to E? In this manner, a common appellation will arise between A and E, although the two objects may, in their nature and properties, be so widely distant from each other, that no stretch of imagination can conceive how the thoughts were led from the former to the latter.[34]

Given beauty's factual elusiveness, an absolute definition appears impossible to all intents and purposes. So amazingly intricate is the network of resemblances and differences that not a single feature in common can be detected among the items. All that is required to enter such a flexible group is only that each member has at least some feature in common with some other member. Recast in modern terms, the necessary condition governing families is that one feature is to be shared by at least two members and at the same time no feature is to be shared by at least two members. In short, it is the same principle operating in the family of non-computable codes.[35]

Family resemblance is the important affinity perceived by Stewart between language and aesthetics. Figurative processes take place in both; more interestingly, figuration is the basic scheme humans adopt to convey sense to the world. The experience of beauty only exhibits more openly the general mechanism of unlimited semiosis. Stewart identifies the indefinite extension of meaning in the process he terms "transference" or "transition" and describes it as a "gradual and insensible process" continuously at work in mental life.

Stewart's non-definitional approach to beauty may well be read as another episode in the eighteenth-century Scottish controversy on linguistic universals. In answer to Reid's faith in universal grammar, truly universal may be called according to Stewart only the very general figurative processes that give common forms to underlying thought, but still find different expression in different languages. A far cry from the old—and new—fervent believers in the existence of a universal language.

Notes

[1] Jonathan Gottschall and David Sloan Wilson, eds., *The Literary Animal. Evolution and the Nature of Narrative* (Evanston: Norwestern University Press, 2005). Ian McEwan's quoted lines end his contribution to the book, "Literature, Science, and Human Nature," 3-19.

[2] For instance, the recent PhD course on the theory of literary forms at "Sapienza" University of Rome and the previous Columbia and Stanford seminars on the future of comparative literature.

[3] Franco Moretti has corroborated his view in a talk given at "Sapienza" University (Rome, January 15, 2007). See his "Conjectures on World Literature," *New Left Review* 1 (2000), http://www.newleftreview.org/A2094 and "More Conjectures," *New Left Review* 20 (2003), http://www.newleftreview.org/?view=2440#_edn1.

[4] Jeff Good, ed., *Linguistic Universals and Language Change* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

[5] For an overall presentation of these topics see Raymond W. Gibbs, Jr., *The Poetics of Mind. Figurative Thought, Language, and Understanding* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) and *Embodiment and Cognitive Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

[6] Lia Formigari, "Il linguaggio tra teoria e storia della teoria," in *Il linguaggio. Teoria e storia delle teorie. In onore di Lia Formigari*, ed. Stefano Gensini and Arturo Martone (Napoli: Liguori, 2006), 12.

[7] This definition is given by Paul B. Wood in "Introduction: Dugald Stewart and the Invention of 'Scottish Enlightenment'," in *The Scottish Enlightenment: Essays in Reinterpretation*, ed. Paul B. Wood (New York: University of Rochester Press, 2000), 1-35. Linguistic universals were a favourite subject of discussion at the Aberdeen Philosophical Society. The major confrontation between Thomas Reid and George Campbell is studied by Alexander Broadie ("George Campbell, Thomas Reid, and Universals of Language," in *The Scottish Enlightenment*, 351-71). In addition to Reid and Campbell contributions to the debate also came from James Beattie (*The Theory of Language: I. Of the Origin and General Nature of Speech; II. Of Universal Grammar*), James Dunbar (*Of Language, as an Universal Accomplishment*), John Gregory (*A Comparative View of the State and Faculties of Man, with those of the Animal World*) and Alexander Gerard (*On Taste* and *On Genius*). See H. Lewis Ulman, ed., *The Minutes of the Aberdeen Philosophical Society 1758-1773* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1990).

[8] Scholarly studies dealing with Stewart's theory of language may be roughly divided into two major groups. The first emphasizes anti-representationalist and pragmatic elements that anticipate Saussure's linguistics and Wittgenstein's philosophy of language. Among others it includes: Stephen K. Land, *From Signs to Propositions. The Concept of Form in Eighteenth-Century Semantic Theory* (London: Longman, 1974) and *The Philosophy of Language in Britain. Major Theories from Hobbes to Thomas Reid* (New York: AMS Press, 1986); Patrice Bergheaud, "Language, Ethics and Ideology: Dugald Stewart's 'Common Sense' Critique of Empiricist Historical and Genetic Linguistics," in *Studies in the History of Language Sciences*, ed. Hans Aarsleff (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John

Benjamins, 1987), 399-413; Talbot J. Taylor, *Mutual Misunderstanding. Scepticism and the Theorizing of Language and Interpretation* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1992), 117-38; Brigitte Nerlich and David D. Clarke, *Language, Action and Context. The Early History of Pragmatics in Europe and America, 1780-1930* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1996), 111-14. The second group reviews Stewart's image following a closer comparison with Reid, who is seen as the more original and interesting. This set of studies includes: Daniel N. Robinson, "Thomas Reid's Critique of Dugald Stewart," *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 27 (1989): 405-22; George E. Davie, *The Scotch Metaphysics. A Century of Enlightenment in Scotland* (London: Routledge, 2001), 98-116; Emanuele Levi Mortera, "Dugald Stewart's Theory of Language and Philosophy of Mind," *The Journal of Scottish Philosophy* 1 (2003): 35-56. According to the latter; Stewart's problem is substantially to understand Reid properly and therefore decide on Reid's collocation in Scottish philosophy. Stewart's original theory of contextual meaning is discounted and more general philosophical problems are considered. Levi Mortera and Davie, in particular, draw attention to the full development of Stewart's theory of language and see its final stage as an attempt to reconcile Stewart's nominalist—and pragmatic—position with Reid's cognitive approach.

[9] The final pages of Formigari's recent *History of Language Philosophies* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2004), 204-5, captivatingly summarize the biologist Terrence Deacon's co-evolutionist solution to the puzzle of reconciling the unbroken continuity between human and non-human minds and the singular discontinuity between brains that use human language and brains that do not. The key to unlock the "unique anomaly" that is human language is found in the specifically human process of co-evolution of language and brain, a reciprocal adaptation between respective structures. Although language universals are categorically universal, their influence on the superficial structures they realize in the different languages is extremely weak. This conclusion makes the theory of a grammar instinct not very plausible and offers a possible solution to the *grounding problem* of explaining the adequacy of thoughts and words to the multifarious realm of experience.

[10] An authority such as George Davie (*The Scotch Metaphysics*) puts Dugald Stewart together with Thomas Brown, William Hamilton and James Frederick Ferrier into the quartet of nineteenth-century Scottish philosophers that continue the "metaphysical" work of their eighteenth-century countrymen Francis Hutcheson, David Hume, Adam Smith and Thomas Reid. Other scholars prefer to consider Stewart as a bridge figure between the two centuries.

[11] Dugald Stewart, *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind I*, in *The Collected Works of Dugald Stewart*, vol. II, ed. William Hamilton (Bristol: Thoemmes, 1994), 189.

[12] Ibid., 186.

[13] Ibid., 192.

[14] Ibid., 193.

[15] Robinson, 421.

[16] John Haldane, "Reid, Scholasticism and Current Philosophy of Mind," in *The Philosophy of Thomas Reid*, ed. Melvin Dalgarno and Eric Matthews (Dordrecht: Kluver Academic Publishers, 1989), 285-304; Maurizio Maione, *Scienza, linguaggio, mente in Thomas Reid* (Roma: Carocci, 2001); Maurizio Maione, "I segni naturali nella riflessione post-lockiana. Dalla protopragmatica alla pragmatica cognitiva," in *Il linguaggio*, ed. Gensini and Martone, 162-77.
[17] William Hamilton, ed., *The Collected Works of Thomas Reid*, vol. I (Bristol: Thoemmes, 1994), 412.
[18] Davie, 41-50.
[19] Thomas Reid, *Essays on the Intellectual Powers of Man*, in *The Collected Works*, 411-12.
[20] Dugald Stewart, *Philosophical Essays*, in *The Collected Works of Dugald Stewart*, vol. V, ed. William Hamilton (Bristol: Thoemmes, 1994), 156. Probably Stewart's most important work, *Philosophical Essays* follows immediately the two eighteenth-century works already mentioned. Stewart himself recommends reading his major works in the following order: *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind I* (1792); *Philosophical Essays* (1810); *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind II* (1814); and *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind III* (1827). I added in parenthesis the year of first edition.
[21] Stewart, *Philosophical Essays*, 153.
[22] Dugald Stewart, *Outlines of Moral Philosophy*, in *Collected Works*, vol. I, 36. Though no more than a preparatory manual for philosophy students, *Outlines* had quite an impact in Italy. It was translated twice and widely reviewed in the periodical *Antologia*. The first translation is due to a certain Pompeo Ferrario (who also translated Henry MacKenzie's *Man of Feeling* and Friedrich Schiller's *Maria Stuart*) and is certainly from the English: *Compendio di filosofia morale del signore Dugald Stewart* (Padova: Tipografia della Minerva, 1821). It was reviewed in *Antologia* 2, no. 4 (1821): 3-41. The second is from the renowned and versatile man of letters Niccolò Tommaseo, who based his translation on the French version edited by his Sorbonne friends, the *Eclectiques* Théodore Jouffroy and Victor Cousin: *Principi di filosofia morale all'uso degli studenti d'università di Dugald Stewart* (Lodi: Tipografia Orcesi, 1831). It was reviewed in *Antologia* 54, no. 132 (1831): 49-52.
[23] Emilio Garroni, "L'indeterminatezza semantica: una questione liminare," in *Ai limiti del linguaggio. Vaghezza, significato e storia*, ed. Federico Albano Leoni et al. (Roma and Bari: Laterza, 1998), 52. In Kant's third *Critique* taste exhibits a conflict between the determinate sphere of *Urtheilskraft* and the indeterminate sphere of *Vernunft*. The former, the faculty of judgement, is concerned with what is agreeable and disagreeable to the senses, whereas the latter, the faculty of reason, is responsible for the claim of taste to *a-priori* universality. Kant's famous solution is to refer the term "concepts" to understanding in the thesis and to reason in the antithesis. In his reading of Kant's solution Garroni emphasizes the role played by *Gemeinsinn* which ensures the universal communicability of the judgements of taste.

[24] Tullio De Mauro, *Minisemantica dei linguaggi non verbali e delle lingue* (Roma and Bari: Laterza, 2000), 95-105.
[25] Chomsky has notoriously given more emphasis to his twin concept of rule-governed creativity. Garroni adds that it was an unfortunate move on Chomsky's part.
[26] Dabney Townsend, "Dugald Stewart on Beauty and Taste," *The Monist* 90 (2007): 285.
[27] For instance, Dabney Townsend himself has not included Stewart in his collection of British aesthetics (*Eighteenth-Century British Aesthetics*, Amityville: Baywood Publishing Company, 1999). Nor is Stewart mentioned in the comprehensive study dedicated to taste in eighteenth-century Britain by Italian scholar Giuseppe Sertoli ("Il gusto nell'Inghilterra del Settecento," in *Il gusto: storia di un'idea estetica*, ed. Luigi Russo, Palermo: Aesthetica, 2000, 79-125). With the exception of Townsend's cited article, only recently has the name of Dugald Stewart appeared in an anthology of British aesthetics (Jonathan Friday, ed., *Art and Enlightenment: Scottish Aesthetics in the Eighteenth Century*, Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2004). Even the new publication of Stewart's *Selected Philosophical Writings* (Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2007) contains a selection of scarcely ten pages on taste, although the editor Emanuele Levi Mortera unexpectedly values "his aesthetic theory one of the most rich and interesting subjects within his philosophical speculation" (10).
[28] Stewart, *Philosophical Essays*, 280.
[29] Ibid., 156.
[30] Stewart, *Elements I*, 145-46.
[31] Stewart, *Philosophical Essays*, 150-51.
[32] Ibid., 191.
[33] Ibid., 192.
[34] Ibid., 195-96.
[35] I have borrowed Garroni's formulation as it appears in the article cited above ("L'indeterminateza semantica," 58).

HUTCHESON ON BEAUTY AND VIRTUE

SUZANNE MARCUZZI*

That the eighteenth century was a time of major developments in aesthetic theories, and that the figures of what has come to be known as the Scottish Enlightenment made major contributions to the emergence of modern aesthetics, is beyond doubt. During this period aesthetics began to be studied as a discipline unto itself. There is debate as to which work is rightly termed the "first" work entirely devoted to aesthetics: Joseph Addison's *Spectator* papers, "The Pleasures of the Imagination" (1712),[1] the Abbé Du Bos's *Critical Reflections on Poetry, Painting and Music* (1719),[2] and Francis Hutcheson's *Inquiry into the Original of Our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue* (1725) are all contenders for the title.

I will focus on the latter work here. While Hutcheson does indeed devote a full treatise of his *Inquiry* to beauty and the aesthetic sense, discussions of his aesthetic theory tend to neglect the wider scope of his work. Hutcheson does examine the sense of beauty in great detail, but his account of beauty is inextricably linked with that of the moral sense. In this respect it is misleading to present Hutcheson as one of the first philosophers to study aesthetics as a discipline unto itself;[3] a closer examination of the *Inquiry*, especially the second treatise, clearly shows that Hutcheson fails to separate his theories of beauty and virtue, especially in his discussion of love.

At the opening of the *Inquiry*, Hutcheson tells us that "There is no part of Philosophy of more importance, than a just Knowledge of Human Nature, and its various Powers and Dispositions."[4] The primary value of this knowledge, and indeed all truth, is in its ability to contribute to man's happiness. Thus in the *Inquiry* Hutcheson seeks to examine the pleasures that man is capable of experiencing. As I will discuss below, on Hutcheson's view all feelings of pleasure and pain arise in response to "Forms, or Ideas which occur to our Observation" through our senses.[5] By

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examining the sources of sensory pleasure and pain, and of the desire or aversion they evoke, Hutcheson aims to show "That Human Nature was not left quite indifferent in the affair of Virtue, to form to it self Observations concerning the Advantage, or Disadvantage of Actions, and accordingly to regulate its Conduct."[6] Indeed, Hutcheson describes this as the "principal Design" of the work.[7]

Given that Hutcheson's aim is to show that human nature is not "indifferent to Virtue," it is curious that the first treatise of the *Inquiry* focuses on the pleasures of beauty, order, harmony, and design. Indeed, the word virtue only appears three times in the first treatise. Perhaps this is what has inspired so many scholars to consider this treatise as a stand-alone work on aesthetics. Yet the goal of the treatise on aesthetics is connected to Hutcheson's larger goal: both the moral sense and the sense of beauty are based on sensory perception, and in this respect they are both objective and universal. Our reactions to, and evaluations of, moral actions and beauty are immediate and unmediated; they are not the product of reason, self-interest, or calculation but are innate responses to external stimuli of different kinds. The pleasure that arises in us from observing beauty and virtue is disinterested.

To see how Hutcheson manages to uphold this argument, let us first turn to his account of perception and sensation. Following the cognitive models of John Locke and Lord Shaftesbury, Hutcheson maintained that ideas are raised in the mind by external objects. Such ideas, which we perceive through our senses, Hutcheson termed "sensations." We are capable of a great variety of perceptions and our different senses are capable of receiving perceptions that are different in kind. For example, our sense of sight can receive perceptions of colour, while our sense of hearing can perceive different sounds. We know that sound and colour are entirely different perceptions because they require different powers to receive them (our eyes cannot hear and our ears cannot see). The human mind is also capable of abstraction. It can compound ideas, compare objects, enlarge and diminish them, and consider separately a number of simpler ideas that may have been received simultaneously.[8]

Although the focus in such a theory is necessarily upon how external objects are perceived by the subject, this does not mean that sensations are subjective. We cannot control the sensations we experience: "We find that the Mind in such Cases is passive, and has not Power directly to prevent the Perception or Idea, or to vary it at its reception."[9] If we assume that all human beings have the same mental structures, then it follows that we will all experience the same sensations from the same objects.

Hutcheson's discussion of mental structures is closely linked with his

interest in human happiness: "Many of our sensitive Perceptions are pleasant, and many painful, immediately, and that without any knowledge of the Cause of this Pleasure or Pain, or how the Objects excite it."[10] There is no need for knowledge, education or reason in this process. Knowledge can lead to rational pleasure, but the pleasure we get from our senses is instantaneous. The pleasure or pain that arises is therefore also independent of whatever "further Advantage or Detriment the Use of such Objects might tend."[11]

It is only after this general discussion that Hutcheson turns to the topic of beauty. Beauty is yet another idea that may be raised in the mind by external objects.[12] While beauty (and its parallel in sound, harmony) can be perceived by the external senses, such as sight and sound, Hutcheson treats the perception of beauty as a different sort of experience from these. Thus in the *Inquiry* "the Word Beauty is taken for the Idea rais'd in us, and a Sense of Beauty for our Power of receiving this Idea."[13] The sense of beauty is an "internal sense," and a "superior Power of Perception"[14] which is capable of giving us vastly greater pleasures than those evoked through the external senses alone. Like sight and hearing, the internal sense of beauty is rightly called a sense because it is immediate and does not rely on knowledge, reason, or calculation. The pleasure we get from beauty is an innate and involuntary response.[15]

It is likely that Hutcheson emphasises the necessity and immediacy of the pleasure evoked from beauty in an indirect attempt to refute the egocentric theories espoused by Mandeville and Hobbes. Hutcheson again reiterates that "as in the external Sensations, no View of Interest will make an Object grateful, nor View of Detriment, distinct from immediate Pain in the Perception, make it disagreeable to the Sense."[16] Regardless of threats or rewards to ourselves, our perceptions of beauty and deformity remain constant. Hutcheson concludes that "some Objects are immediately the Occasions of this Pleasure of Beauty, and that we have Senses fitted for perceiving it; and that it is distinct from that Joy which arises from Self-love upon Prospect of Advantage."[17] The beauty of an object is distinct from its usefulness to us; thus, the pleasure that beauty evokes is also distinct from its usefulness. With this theory of beauty, therefore, Hutcheson is able to demonstrate that human beings are capable of at least one sort of disinterested pleasure.

Hutcheson's definition of beauty reinforces this argument. There are two sorts of beauty, absolute (or objective) and relative (or comparative). Absolute beauty denotes "only that Beauty, which we perceive in Objects without comparison to any thing external, of which the Object is suppos'd an Imitation, or Picture."[18] The examples he gives include landscapes and

the other beauties of nature, artificial forms, figures, and theorems. In contrast, comparative beauty is, as Caroline Korsmeyer states succinctly, "pleasure taken in mimesis, in objects which imitate some subject."[19]

According to Hutcheson, all objects of absolute beauty are characterised by "a compound Ratio of Uniformity and Variety."[20] It is the balance between these two elements that makes an object beautiful to us or a piece of music pleasant to our ears. The examples Hutcheson gives make it clear that he considers this rule to be mathematically definitive. On his theory, therefore, a square is more beautiful (i.e. gives us more pleasure) than an equilateral triangle because it has the same level of uniformity as the triangle, but with more variety (presumably the extra side and extra vertex). An equilateral triangle is more beautiful than a scalene triangle because though both have the same variety (three sides), the former has a greater level of uniformity (because all sides are the same length). Likewise, and perhaps surprisingly, he asserts that a sky with clouds is more beautiful than a clear blue one because it is more varied.

With this rule of uniformity amidst variety Hutcheson bolsters his argument against allegations of relativism. It *is* only in the mind of the perceiver—without a subject to feel the pleasure of beauty it is not there—but that does not mean that beauty is *subjective*. Beautiful objects have the effect they do on us, and thus are beautiful, because they conform to the compound ratio and because our minds are structured to take pleasure in objects with these proportions. In constructing this theory of absolute beauty, therefore, Hutcheson also demonstrates two larger points: that pleasure can be disinterested, and that certain sources of pleasure can be identified based on a simple formula.

It seems clear that Hutcheson considers art to fall under the category of comparative beauty. For Hutcheson, all art, including poetry, is based on imitation and is representational. The pleasure we get from artistic works can therefore be as simple as the pleasure we get from a well-made copy, even when the original is ugly or unpleasant. In the same way, the beauty of poetry and literature lies in description, and the ability to represent manners and characters as they are in life. These, Hutcheson adds, are more powerful ideas (and evoke more powerful responses) than descriptions of abstract, unrealistically virtuous heroes who do not resemble anyone actually living. Artists can even depart from the compound ratio and the rules of absolute beauty in their work. In such cases, we may experience the pleasure of beauty in the "correspondence to intention" of the artist's work.[21]

Korsmeyer is right to point out that Hutcheson's theory of comparative beauty is "quite untidy," and that he is primarily interested in proposing a

uniform standard of taste that corresponds to an inner sense.[22] To this end, Hutcheson also suggests that comparative beauty can be measured by the absolute principle of uniformity amidst variety. Comparative beauty "is founded on a Conformity, or a kind of Unity between the Original and the Copy."[23] But Korsmeyer is also quite right to insist that this attempt to ameliorate the differences between absolute and comparative beauty is unsuccessful. She claims that Hutcheson insists that comparative beauty adheres to the rule of uniformity amidst variety in order to argue that comparative beauty is also immediately perceived by the inner sense.[24]

However, if the pleasure of comparative beauty arises from the relationship between a copy and an original, such pleasure *cannot* be immediate. While we can respond to the presence of uniformity amidst variety in nature without any thought or reasoning, to make the same assessment of a work of art requires comparison with the original and therefore cognition. Korsmeyer rightly points out that Hutcheson seems aware of this problem. Her evidence of this is incontrovertible. Hutcheson states that morally perfect individuals fail to appeal to our inner sense in the same way as naturally flawed figures because morally perfect heroes "really never occur to our Observation" and "consequently we cannot judge exactly as to their Agreement with the Copy."[25] But, as Korsmeyer says, "An object of judgment is different from an object of the inner sense."[26] Korsmeyer's critique of Hutcheson's account of comparative beauty goes further, but the other problems with the theory are not central to the current discussion.

While Korsmeyer's critique of comparative beauty is compelling, Hutcheson's motivations in constructing the theory as he has remain obscure unless we return to his own account of the purpose of the *Inquiry* and his definition of the moral sense.[27] As we have seen, the purpose of the book is twofold. First, Hutcheson seeks to identify the sources of pleasure available to man. Second, he aims to show that human nature is not entirely self-interested—that man has an innate propensity to approve of virtuous acts even when they do not affect his own well-being. Man's pleasure in virtue (like beauty) is not accidental; rather, it is part of God's design.

In *The Fable of the Bees*, first published in 1714 and including his 1705 poem *The Grumbling Hive*, Bernard Mandeville made the shocking assertion that all human actions are motivated by self-love and self-interest. He argued that human beings, like animals, "are only solicitous of pleasing themselves, and naturally follow the bent of their own Inclinations, without considering the good or harm that from their being

pleased will accrue to others."[28] The only sentiment with the power to counter this self-love is flattery. Social and moral rules reign in and redirect selfish interests by playing upon our senses of pride and shame. No action is ever truly benevolent; even actions that seem to be sacrifices come with the rewarding pleasure of a positive image (whether internal or external).[29] All seemingly selfless actions thus arise not from altruism but from love of pride or fear of shame. Yet Mandeville's is not a wholly negative account: often, fortuitously, private vices and public virtues overlap. As he famously said, all public virtue is born of private vice.

Given that he was a committed follower of Shaftesbury, and given his own philosophical and religious convictions,[30] it is easy to see why Hutcheson was committed to debunking egoistic theories, and especially *The Fable of the Bees*. Thus the second treatise of the *Inquiry* is on "the Original of our Ideas of Virtue or Moral Good"[31] and several sections are specifically devoted to a refutation of Mandeville's *Fable*. As with beauty, Hutcheson builds the elements of his theory into the very definition of the term "moral goodness":

> The Word Moral Goodness, in this Treatise, denotes our Idea of some Quality apprehended in Actions, which procures Approbation, and Love toward the Actor, from those who receive no Advantage by the Action.[32]

While beauty is a quality we perceive in objects or people, moral goodness is a quality we perceive in actions. Actions which evoke feelings of approbation in observers are morally good. Those which harm others are evil and evoke aversion or hatred towards the actor, even when those observing are in no way harmed or inconvenienced by them.

Like our responses to beauty, our responses to morally relevant actions are involuntary, immediate, and disinterested—the product of an innate moral sense: "it is plain that we have some secret Sense, which determines our Approbation without regard to Self-Interest."[33] By making moral evaluations the product of an internal sense, Hutcheson also renders them pre-rational and universal. Like beauty, "Perception of moral Good is not deriv'd from Custom, Education, Example, or Study."[34] Yet our appreciation of virtue, like our appreciation of art, may be enhanced by education and habit. We instinctively know right from wrong, but we often need training in order to act in accordance with the dictates of our moral sense.

With this account of the moral sense, Hutcheson counters effectively the egoistic argument that we obey moral rules out of self-interest (either because they bolster our pride or because they protect us from negative sanctions from lawgivers). Hutcheson also deviates from the accounts of

"other Moralists" such as Shaftesbury who argue that moral actions are a source of pleasure to actors in and of themselves.[35] The focus in Hutcheson's theory of moral goodness is shifted from the agent to the observer, just as it shifted from the object to the observer in his theory of beauty. In each case the real interest is not in the qualities in the action or object itself, but in the pleasure or aversion that we feel when confronted with it.

The core of Hutcheson's theory lies in the distinction between moral good and natural good (or advantage). The sentiment we have towards a generous friend, for example, is different in kind to the sentiment we feel towards a "commodious Habitation."[36] We do not have the same sentiments towards inanimate objects as we do towards rational agents precisely because our sentiments arise in reaction to the perceived *intention* of the actor: inanimate beings "have no Intention of Good to us; their Nature makes them fit for our Uses, which they neither know nor study nor serve."[37] The actions of rational agents, in contrast, can be (and unavoidably are) evaluated morally precisely because agents are capable of studying our interests and acting out of benevolence. We value moral goodness not for its utility, but because it shows a benevolent nature in the actor. The focus of our moral sense is on intention and not consequence.

Hutcheson accepts that man is not generally the best judge of his own case. When we evaluate actions that have a direct impact upon our own lives, there is a tendency to mix the ideas of natural and moral good.[38] Presumably it is for this reason that Hutcheson emphasises the disinterested pleasure we get from actions that benefit others in the *Inquiry*. At the same time, the moral sense can also be turned, disinterestedly, upon our own actions. In this way "our Sense shall operate even where the Advantage to our selves does not hold."[39] We can therefore approve of the justice of a sentence passed against us, even when it is clearly to our own disadvantage. This is not to say that we always act morally; self-interest can often cloud our judgement. But for Hutcheson, when we act wrongly, we are aware of it, just as we are easily able to identify wrong actions when we see them.[40]

Despite the fact that humans possess an innate ability to discern and evaluate the moral qualities of actions, moral decisions are not always easy. (Perhaps there is a parallel to beauty here as well. Just as there is room for discussion and debate in ethics, so too there is in art.) Hutcheson suggests that there is a formula for this: "That action is best, which procures the greatest Happiness for the greatest Numbers; and that, worst, which, in like manner, occasions Misery."[41] In deciding the right course of action, therefore, we must combine our moral sense with our rational

faculties. The focus moves from the intention of the agent (for clearly the agent wishes to do good) to the consequences of the action through a calculation of how the agent can best achieve her intention. Hutcheson is even more stringent in his formula for the greatest happiness than he was in his formula for beauty. The first three editions included lengthy mathematical calculations to help determine the best course of action.[42] As with the formula for beauty, a tension arises here since it is unclear why we need the moral sense (and why intention is so important) if moral actions can be calculated with abstract formulae.

The common point between the two treatises is obviously Hutcheson's interest in the structures of the human mind and in human pleasure. The focus in both cases is not on the objects or actions themselves, but upon how they are perceived. But because Hutcheson bases his entire theory on the idea of a benevolent designer, and a universal design of man, he is also able to set out universal definitions for both beauty and morality, thus creating a theory that is empirical and not subjective. Whether Hutcheson's theory does avoid relativism is another question altogether.

But how do the two treatises fit together? In studying the work as a whole it becomes clear that the two treatises are fundamentally linked, and that the work represents a coherent and tightly-knit system of philosophy. Again, in order to see this, we must go back to Hutcheson's stated intentions. The *Inquiry* is an investigation of the powers and dispositions of human nature in order to identify those things which give men the "greatest and most lasting Pleasure." The wisdom that arises from this study gives us "a Capacity of pursuing this End by the best means."[43] But it is far from being an egoistic or hedonistic theory. Hutcheson constructs a hierarchy of the senses and of the pleasures they are capable of perceiving. The moral sense is ranked highest, for it "gives us more Pleasure and Pain than all our other Facultys."[44] The pleasures we achieve from taste, smell and touch are fleeting; the pleasures that arise from beauty, order, and harmony are more noble pleasures, "yet how cold and joyless are they, if there be no moral Pleasures of Friendship, Love, and Beneficence."[45]

If Hutcheson ranks aesthetic pleasure below moral pleasure, then it is reasonable to assume he also ranks the study of aesthetics below the study of virtue. The quotation on the title page of the second treatise bears this interpretation out. In translation it reads:

> We discuss matters which concern us more, and of which it is harmful to be in ignorance—whether wealth or virtue makes men happy, whether self-interest or uprightness leads us to friendship, what is the nature of the good and what is its highest form.[46]

The study of the moral sense is more important than aesthetics because it can aid us in making ethical decisions and in preventing us from doing harm. Secondarily, it also helps us to identify higher, more lasting pleasures by directing us to the good in its highest form, that is, benevolence.

Not only is the aesthetic secondary to the virtuous in Hutcheson's theory, but the boundaries between the two disciplines are consistently blurred. The natural love of virtue is a "*moral* Sense of Beauty in Actions and Affections."[47] In this way, not only does Hutcheson draw a direct parallel between the pleasure of beauty and the pleasure of virtue, but he combines the terms together:

> Our Gentlemen of good Taste can tell us of a great many Senses, Tastes, and Relishes for Beauty, Harmony, Imitation in Painting and Poetry; and may we not find too in Mankind a Relish for a Beauty in Characters, in Manners?[48]

Given Hutcheson's definition of beauty, how can there be a beauty in characters or manners? Here we must assume that Hutcheson is operating with his most basic definition of beauty as a disinterested and immediate pleasure that arises in an observer. This pleasure is involuntary and dictated by the structures of the human mind: God has designed us to take instinctive pleasure in forms which display uniformity amidst variety. Likewise, God has designed the human mind to respond with pleasure upon witnessing benevolent actions, and these actions are often referred to as "moral beauty."[49]

God's purposeful design of man is the essential link between beauty and virtue in Hutcheson's theory; indeed, it is the central assertion of Hutcheson's philosophical system as a whole. As we have seen, we find correspondence with intention—that is, the successful expression of one's intentions—beautiful. This holds not only for the artist's intention in a painting, but also for God's intentions in creation. In a lengthy part of the fifth section of the first treatise, Hutcheson explains how orderly, regular, and similar forms cannot arise by chance, and must be from design. These qualities can only arise because of a directed force—the benevolent will of the creator. Not coincidentally, they also have the features of objects that are beautiful: variety amidst uniformity. In viewing the order of God's creation, therefore, human beings have been designed to see beauty. The relationship flows the other way as well, since we may "prove Reason and Design in any Cause from the Beauty of the Effects."[50] All orderly and regular objects are evidence of God's existence and benevolence.

Not only are all instances of beauty proof of God, but morality itself is beautiful to man because it too is proof of a well-ordered system. We get

pleasure from seeing "any Design well executed by curious Mechanism" such as a watch's many parts all working together towards a particular function.[51] So too can we see beauty in nature "by considering how the Mechanism of the various Parts known to us, seems adapted to the Perfection of that Part, and yet in Subordination to the Good of some System or Whole."[52] While such assertions about beauty seem curious when read out of context, they in fact illustrate just how intricately connected the elements of Hutcheson's theory are. The best way to adjudicate between options when making a moral choice is by turning to utility: the greatest happiness for the greatest number. Viewing such actions is directly pleasurable because they appeal to our moral sense; such actions are also beautiful because they show individual men operating in accordance with the purpose of God's design, and to the benefit of God's system as a whole.[53]

The quotation from Cicero's *De officiis* on the title page of the book clearly summarises this position and the purpose of the *Inquiry*:

> And so no other animal has a sense of beauty, loveliness, harmony in the visible world; and Nature and Reason, extending the analogy of this from the world of sense to the world of spirit, find that beauty, consistency, order are far more to be maintained in thought and deed. It is from these elements that is forged and fashioned that moral goodness which is the subject of this inquiry […] You see here the very form and as it were the face of Moral Goodness; and if it could be seen with the physical eye, it would awaken a marvellous love of wisdom.[54]

There is another, more practical way in which beauty and virtue appear to be confused in Hutcheson's theory. In viewing the face of another person, we perceive certain virtues and vices embodied within the countenance. The most positive of these are termed the "Characters of Beauty," such as sweetness, dignity, and tenderness, which "are natural Indications of such Virtues, or of Abilitys or Dispositions toward them."[55] The appearance of such virtues in the external beauty of another is a "powerful Charm above all other kinds of Beauty."[56] It is unclear in this discussion whether the moral sense or the sense of beauty is operating here. Hutcheson does not tell us whether we can correctly assess a person's virtue from her countenance. If we can, then both senses seem to be operating in conjunction. However this seems like a foolish claim since, undoubtedly, people can exhibit the external beauty of virtue without being truly virtuous. Perhaps the moral sense is operating in a mistaken fashion: we are programmed to respond to the appearance of benevolence, and what appear to be benevolent actions wherever we see them. But

Hutcheson's theory leaves us as observers; we cannot truly know whether an action is benevolent as we cannot know the intentions of another person.

Not only do beauty and virtue get confused at a superficial level, but their objective elements are also lost when dealing with interpersonal relationships: feelings and inclinations cloud our judgements of both virtue and beauty. Men have "different Fancys, or Relishes of Beauty. The Mind of Man, however generally dispos'd to esteem Benevolence and Virtue, yet by more particular Attention to some kinds of it than other, may gain a stronger Admiration of some moral Dispositions than others."[57] Just as men have varied tempers, so too do they "differ in their Relishes of Beauty, according as it denotes the several Qualitys most agreeable to themselves."[58] All people, then, are attracted to virtue, but different sorts of virtue (such as courage, sweetness, and humility) will appeal to different people according to their varied temperaments.

Moreover, the relativity of Beauty in "virtuous Love" goes beyond any abstract definition given in the first treatise. For the Lover, "there may be the greatest Beauty, without the least Charm to engage a Rival. Love it self gives a Beauty to the Lover, in the Eyes of the Person belov'd, which no other moral is much affected with."[59] It is unclear how the beauty of the lover can be compatible with Hutcheson's original definition of beauty. The beauty of a lover cannot be absolute, for it must be mediated by knowledge. Yet it is also unclear how this sort of beauty can be comparative. It is also possible that Hutcheson is referring to beauty in a metaphorical sense, but this interpretation does not hold either, for he clearly emphasises the *countenance* of the beloved and not her character. The beauty of beloved is not merely a projection of virtuous love. Beauty is pleasing because it raises associated ideas about the virtues of the beloved's personality.

In all of these instances, Hutcheson insists on linking beauty and morality. From this is clear that the second treatise of the *Inquiry* does not deserve to be designated as the first work to treat aesthetics as an independent discipline. The text does not bear out this interpretation; nor does it correspond with Hutcheson's stated intentions. Here it is worth noting John Bishop's observation that philosophical analysis was not Hutcheson's only, or even primary, motivation in writing.[60] However, I do not mean for my thesis to be wholly negative. If Hutcheson is not the first to present a stand-alone aesthetic theory, and if his moral theory owes much to Shaftesbury, what is his place in the study of the history of ideas? From a purely historical perspective, Hutcheson stands out as one of the most prolific and discussed British moralist writers of the first half of the

eighteenth century. Indeed, William Frankena has conjectured that "if the writers of the period had been asked to designate who among them was the most original and important they would have picked Hutcheson, even though they could not yet know how much he was to influence Hume and Adam Smith."[61] Hutcheson's *Inquiry* is of more than historical interest. Standing as it does on the cusp of modern aesthetic theory, it encourages us to look backwards and to consider the relationship between the good and the beautiful, both in theory and in everyday life.

Notes

[1] Addison's articles on "The Pleasures of the Imagination" appeared in *Spectator* nos. 411-421 (1712).
[2] Du Bos's *Critical Reflections* was first translated into English in 1748 by Thomas Nugent.
[3] Many outstanding Hutcheson scholars make this claim, including Carolyn Korsmeyer, "The Two Beauties: A Perspective on Hutcheson's Aesthetics," *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 38 (1979): 146, and Peter Kivy, "The 'Sense' of Beauty and the Sense of 'Art': Hutcheson's Place in the History and Practice of Aesthetics," *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 53 (1995): 351.
[4] Francis Hutcheson, *An Inquiry into the Original of Our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue*, rev. ed., ed. Wolfgang Leidhold (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund Press, 2008), 7. Hereafter this work will be cited as *Inquiry.* This modern edition corresponds to Hutcheson's second edition of the work, published in 1726, with notations identifying subsequent alterations of the text.
[5] Ibid., 8.
[6] Ibid., 9.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid., 20.
[9] Ibid., 19.
[10] Ibid., 20-21.
[11] Ibid., 21.
[12] I am skirting the question of whether the idea of beauty is simple or complex. For the debate on this topic see Dabney Townsend, "Lockean Aesthetics," *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 49 (1991): 349-61; Peter Kivy, "Hutcheson's Idea of Beauty: Simple or Complex?" *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 50 (1992): 243-45; and Dabney Townsend, "Hutcheson and Complex Ideas: A Reply to Peter Kivy," *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 51 (1993): 72-74.
[13] *Inquiry*, 23.
[14] Ibid., 25.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Ibid., 27.

[19] Korsmeyer, 146.
[20] *Inquiry*, 29.
[21] Ibid., 45.
[22] Korsmeyer, 147.
[23] *Inquiry*, 42.
[24] Korsmeyer, 148.
[25] *Inquiry*, 43.
[26] Korsmeyer, 148.
[27] This is doubtless because in her article Korsmeyer is concerned exclusively with Hutcheson's aesthetic theory.
[28] Bernard Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees, or Public Vices, Publick Benefits*, ed. F.B. Kaye (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1988), 1, 41. The book went through many editions. The Liberty Fund edition is based upon the last edition published during Mandeville's lifetime, in 1732. The Liberty Fund edition also notes the differences between editions. It is worth noting for our purposes, however, that the first mention of Shaftesbury occurs in the 1723 edition of the *Fable* and that Hutcheson used the 1724 edition.
[29] Ibid., 51.
[30] A particularly insightful discussion of the tension between Hutcheson's moral values and his philosophical method in his early writings is John D. Bishop, "Moral Motivation and the Development of Francis Hutcheson's Philosophy," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 57 (1996): 277-95.
[31] *Inquiry*, 83.
[32] Ibid., 85.
[33] Ibid., 92.
[34] Ibid., 99.
[35] Ibid., 87 and 110-12. Many of the differences between Hutcheson and Shaftesbury are often overlooked, and a discussion of them is unfortunately beyond the scope of this paper. An excellent exposition of the differences can be found in Stephen Darwall's chapter on Hutcheson in his *The British Moralists and the Internal "Ought": 1640-1740* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 207-43, esp. 207-10 and 219-21. Darwall argues for close intellectual links between Hutcheson and Richard Cumberland.
[36] *Inquiry*, 89.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Ibid., 91.
[39] Ibid., 99.
[40] Ibid., 115.
[41] Ibid., 125. Hutcheson defines happiness as "natural good."
[42] Ibid., 128-31.
[43] Ibid., 7.
[44] Ibid., 163.
[45] Ibid., 164.
[46] Ibid., 83. The quotation is from Horace, *Satires, Epistles, and Ars Poetica*, trans. H. Rushton Fairclough (Cambridge, Mass.: Loeb Classical Library, 1970), 216.

[47] Ibid., 9. My emphasis.
[48] Ibid.
[49] See for example, Ibid., 116, 124, 127, 132, and 161.
[50] Ibid., 45.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid., 122.
[54] Cicero, *De officiis*, trans. Walter Miller (Cambridge, Mass.: Loeb Classical Library, 1975), 14-17.
[55] Ibid. 167-68.
[56] *Inquiry*, 167.
[57] Ibid., 169.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Bishop, 277.
[61] William Frankena, "Hutcheson's Moral Sense Theory," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 16 (1955): 356.

THE PRINTED RECORD OF AN ORAL TRADITION: ANNA GORDON BROWN'S BALLADS

RUTH PERRY*

Intellectuals have long been interested in the preservation and transmission of certain song traditions, especially ballads, because of their literary qualities. Samuel Johnson, who never liked music, mocked the antiquarian interest in old ballads in his day. In *Rambler* 177, he invented a set of absurd virtuosi, of whom Cantilenus, "turned all his thoughts upon old ballads," for he considered them

> the genuine records of the national taste. He offered to show me a copy of The Children in the Wood, which he firmly believed to be of the first edition and by the help of which the text might be freed of several corruptions…

The notion of a first edition of so apparently trivial a text as a broadside of "Children in the Wood," was ridiculous to Johnson, and he lampoons his imagined antiquarian who prized such cheap ephemera. He was also mocking an old *Spectator* column, for in 1711 Joseph Addison had described seeing such a printed page pasted up on the wall of a cottage, which he said gave him "exquisite pleasure." "My Reader will think I am not serious," continued Addison,

> when I acquaint him that the Piece I am going to speak of was the old Ballad of the *Two Children in the Wood*, which is one of the Darling Songs of the Common People, and has been the Delight of most *Englishmen* in some Part of their Age.[1]

Addison went on to analyze the emotional power of this "pretty Tragical story"—its language, its incidents, and its ornaments—and his column is

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perhaps the first example of literary criticism of a ballad text.

Francis James Child, Harvard's first professor of English literature and founding father of modern ballad studies, set out to collect every known ballad from England or Scotland that had been carried in popular tradition—that is, every ballad that had actually been sung and transmitted orally at some point in its history. He thought of ballads as our "earliest known poetry," whose "historical and natural place is anterior to the appearance of the poetry of art."[2] No one is sure how far back ballads go historically, although for some there is evidence of a medieval provenance; but they have been carried forward in a tradition that is intermittently oral, with words occasionally printed as broadsides, in cheap chapbooks, or written down on scraps of paper, and occasionally even in commonplace books.

The appeal of oral traditions, perhaps especially for intellectuals, lies in their imaginative embodiment of face-to-face communities in touch with one another directly rather than through the mediation of print or electronic access: words spoken between people who could smell, touch, and see one another. Such contact presupposes the kind of world we feel nostalgic about, cherished in domestic life, or glimpsed in our relationships with the people at the place where we regularly buy our coffee or our bread. We treasure our family's stories, the scraps our parents told us about their grandparents, and all kinds of kinship lore. The notion that people sang ballads to one another, preserving them for centuries, is exciting because it seems to put us in touch with people from another era who sang the same songs we can hear today. Cecil Sharp commented on the "amazing accuracy" of oral transmission over two hundred years, after hearing a Robin Hood ballad sung almost "word for word the same as the corresponding stanzas of a much longer black-letter broadside preserved in the Bodleian Library."[3] Such feats lodge the power of memory—and hence the capacity to confer a kind of immortality—in ordinary human beings, rather than in the huge media machines that nowadays calculatedly generate fame. We wish we knew more about oral traditions, how ballads and tales and songs were kept alive over the centuries in the telling and singing, generation upon generation. But most of what we have to go on are moments from the past glimpsed in letters and memoirs, and the printed records of these traditions as they were written down.

Not until the later eighteenth century did intellectuals think to collect ballads from living people, rather than in the form of printed broadsides as Johnson's caricatured antiquarian does. The earliest oral repertoire to be so collected was that of Anna Gordon Brown, a middle-class woman from

Aberdeen who had learned her ballads before she was ten—from her mother, her maternal aunt, and from a maidservant who had worked in her mother and aunt's natal home. Some of the ballads she learned from her maternal aunt came from Braemar, in upland western Aberdeenshire, where this aunt's married life was spent, sung by local people there and possibly by migrant workers called "tinkers" or "travelers." Anna Gordon Brown was born in 1747, and her mother and aunt presumably learned their ballads in *their* youth; hence her repertoire of ballads must date back to at least the early eighteenth century and probably earlier. Child said of her songs that "There are no ballads superior to those sung by Mrs. Brown of Falkland in the last century."[4]

It was her father's friend, William Tytler, who cared deeply about Scottish music and wrote a treatise on it, who first occasioned the writing down of Anna Gordon Brown's ballads. Her father, a professor at King's College—now part of the University of Aberdeen—mentioned in conversation to Tytler that his youngest daughter knew a great many ballads, and Tytler entreated that they be copied down for him. So together with her nephew, Robert Eden Scott, Anna Gordon complied. "Both the words & strains were perfectly new to me" wrote Thomas Gordon of the result of this effort, "& proceeded upon a system of manners, & in a stile of composition, both words & music, very peculiar, & of which [I] could recollect nothing similar."[5] These were probably not, then, ballads sung everyday on the streets of Aberdeen, but were a collection from the wider bounds of the North East of Scotland, probably from a specifically woman's singing tradition, previously unknown to this professor of Greek and Latin and Natural Philosophy from King's College in Aberdeen, but now of particular interest to him and to his friend, William Tytler.

After that, Mrs. Brown was importuned several more times for ballads, including by William Tytler's son, her childhood friend, Alexander Fraser-Tytler; and manuscript copies of her ballads were handed around among the major collectors of the day: Joseph Ritson, Robert Jamieson, Matthew Lewis, and Walter Scott. The correspondence about these ballads as well as what is written on the edges of the manuscripts—the marginalia, the bits and pieces of lore that were part of the oral tradition but that never made it into print—this ephemera gives us some insight into the process of oral transmission and its transfer into print.

Ballad texts, whether oral or written/printed, are surrounded by such lore. Every ballad singer, then and now, has information about each ballad that they carry with them—such as where they learned it and how they interpret it—historical information that informs their knowledge of the ballad that they have gleaned at some time or another. The recordings that

Alan Lomax made of Jeannie Robertson's singing, that legendary ballad singer from the environs of Aberdeen, include her background information about the ballads she sings. For example, she tells him that "My Son David," which is her version of "Edward," or Child 13, "is a true song, that it really happened. As far as I've heard the story," she continues,

> John wanted to be the master but David was the oldest. And he was master, you see. And both of them was a rich man's sons. And of course, John was headstrong and he wanted his way. And David couldn't think of it, you see, so the two of them fought. So David had killed him.

Or speaking of "The Handsome Cabin Boy," in which a cabin boy turns out to be a woman and has a baby, she tells Lomax that her mother, who taught the ballad to her,

> said it was really a girl all the time, but she wanted to travel by seas. Her mind was set on travelling by sea. And of course, she dressed herself up as a boy. Cut off her hair, and dressed herself up as a boy and went on as a cabin boy, you see. Of course, the captain—he must have found out, you see.

When Anna Gordon wrote down "Thomas Rhymer" for Alexander Fraser-Tytler, the ballad which a hundred years later became Child #37, she gave it the full name she knew it by—"Thomas Rymer & Queen of Elfland"—and included the following introductory remark on the first page:

> The tradition concerning this ballad is. that Thomas Rymer when young. was call'd away by the Queen of Elfland or fairyland. who retain'd him in her service for seven years. during which period he is supposed to have acquir'd all that wisdom which afterwards made him so famous.

We may suppose that this was what she had heard about it from whoever taught it to her and what she might have said about it to people when she sang it to them. Undoubtedly this understanding informed her singing of the ballad. She also wrote down for Alexander Fraser-Tytler the translation of two terms occurring in the song: "Lillie leven" which she translated as "flowery lawn" and "fairlies" which she translated as "wonders." Whether these were localisms that she felt impelled to explain to a man from Edinburgh, or archaic terms that she thought he might not know, I cannot tell. But they were ballad words familiar to her that she thought Alexander Fraser-Tytler might not know—part of an oral tradition that she felt had to be explained to him. What she did not write down,

because everyone of her day knew it, is that the color "green" is the color of fairies—the color of the Queen of Elfland's skirt and the shoes she gives Thomas Rhymer at the end of the ballad. That is a bit of Scottish oral tradition that did not need to be written down. She did not divide the text into stanzas in her manuscript.

True Thomas lay oer yond grassy bank
And he beheld a Ladie gay,
A Ladie that was brisk and bold
Come riding oer the fernie brae
Her skirt was of the grass green silk
Her mantel of the velvit fine,
At ilka tett of her horse's mane
Hung fifty silver bells & nine.
True Thomas he took off his hat,
And bow'd him low down till his knee:
All hail, thou mighty queen of heaven
For your peer on earth I never did see
O no O no, True Thomas she says
That name does not belong to me
I am but the queen of fair Elfland
And I'm come here for to visit thee
But ye maun go wi me now Thomas,
True Thomas ye maun go wi me,
For ye maun serve me seven years
Thro weel or wae as may chance to be
She turned about her milk-white steed
And took true Thomas up behind
And ay wheneer her bridle ran,
The steed few swifter than the wind
O they rade on and further on,
Until they came to a garden green
Light down light down ye Ladie free
Some of that fruit let me pu. to thee
O no O no, true Thomas she says
That fruit maun not be touchd by thee
For a' the plagues that are in hell
Light on the fruit of this countrie.
But I have a loaf here in in my lap
Likewise a bottle of claret wine
And now ere we go farther on
We'll rest a while and ye may dine
When he had eaten & drunk his fill
The Ladie sayd ere we climb yon hill
Lay down your head upon my knee

And I will show you fairlies* three
O see not ye yon narrow road,
So thick beset wi thorns and briers
That is the path of righteousness
Tho after it but few enquires
And see not ye that braid braid road
That lyes across yon Lillie leven**
That is the path of wickedness,
Tho some call it the road to heaven
And see not ye that bonny road,
Which winds about the fernie brae
That is the road to fair Elfland
Whe[re] you & I this night maun gae
But Thomas ye maun hold your tongue,
Whatever you may hear or see
For gin ae word you should chance to speak
You will neer get back to your ain countrie
For forty days and forty nights
He wade thro red blude to the knee
And he saw neither sun nor moon
But heard the roaring of the sea
He has gotten a coat of the even cloth
And a pair of shoes of velvet green,
And till seven years were past & gone
True Thomas on earth was never seen

* wonders
**flowery Lawn

The "seven years" of Thomas Rhymer's servitude in Elfland, mentioned by Anna Gordon in her introductory note, is there in the fifth verse and also in the last two lines: "And till seven years were past & gone/ True Thomas on earth was never seen." But the fact that it was in Elfland that "he acquired the wisdom that he was famous for," as she puts it, and that he was reputed to have wisdom in the first place, this additional information is not in the ballad. Thomas the Rhymer was a legendary figure with a reputed prophetic capacities whose dates are usually given from 1220-1297. He hailed from Earlston (then called "Erceldoune") in Berwickshire, on the Scottish border, and it is said that he was given the sobriquet "true" because he never lied. All this is implicit in the introductory note that Anna Brown wrote out for Alexander Fraser-Tytler when copying the ballad, an ephemeral note as it happens, never picked up in Child nor in Walter Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (1802-1803). But Anna Gordon Brown obviously considered it part of the lore

that went with the ballad, and the note along with her translation of a few odd words are the residual signs of an oral tradition that attended the ballad into an era of writing and print.

"Child Waters" is another ballad that Anna Gordon Brown wrote out for Alexander Fraser-Tytler in her own handwriting, and the manuscripts we have of it provide further insight into the intersection of oral and print traditions. First, "Child Waters" is the name Francis James Child gives the ballad—which is what the hero is called in the version printed in Percy's *Reliques of Ancient Poetry* (1765). Anna Gordon Brown's version is entitled "Lord John and Burd Ellen"—"burd" being a poetic word for a woman, usually a young woman, sometimes a wife. Robert Jamieson, one of Mrs. Brown's collectors and from the northeast of Scotland himself, wrote in 1808 that "[b]urd is still used as an appellation of complacency by superiors to women of lower degree."[6] So the title, "Lord John and Burd Ellen" may imply a difference of class between the two main characters.

In the first written transcript of this ballad from the oral tradition, Anna Gordon's nephew took it down from her singing or recitation. The second time Anna Gordon Brown herself took pen in hand and wrote it out for Tytler's son, Alexander Fraser-Tytler, when he requested her to do so in 1800. He was delighted with this and the other ballads she sent him and replied thus:

> Some of them are highly beautiful, and all of them curious and interesting as specimens of our antient popular Poetry—The only one of which I had any previous acquaintance is *Love Gregor*, of which several Stanzas are printed in a collection published at Edinr by one Mr. Herd about 20 years ago—but your Edition is much more complete—Those which please me most are *Fase Fontrage*, *the Bonny Footboy* and *Bird Ellen*. They are indeed consummately beautiful and I regard them as a high acquisition to the Stock of our Old National Poetry—The Music is a valuable addition—You say my dear Madam that you *may have fragments of others*—It is unconscionable in me to take your politeness thus severely; but I own the desire I feel to rescue from Oblivion those precious morsels of Genius and Feeling which are perhaps preserved in the memory of one or two of the present generation, who like yourself, have taste to cherish them, is a strong inducement with me to urge you to a new exertion of your kindness in committing to Paper for me, such even of those imperfect & detached fragments as your happy memory can recall—To assist you in this, I will send you *Mr. Herd's Collection*.[7]

As Alexander Fraser-Tytler's response demonstrates, intellectuals of the day regarded these ballads as "antient national poetry." He calls them

"precious morsels of Genius and Feeling which are perhaps preserved in the memory of one or two of the present generation, who like yourself, have taste to cherish them." By "one or two of the present generation," Fraser-Tytler means people of his (and Mrs. Brown's) own class; neither he nor his father had thought to tap the memories of laborers or artisans as collectors did subsequently. Indeed, it may be that Anna Gordon Brown's ballads received more attention from the literati of her day *because* she was one of them, of their class, and they knew how to find her.

Commenting nearly a hundred years later on the class of people who knew and carried ballads, Child posited that before the coming of book culture, before educated people read as a leisure activity and before the "the poetry of art" appeared, people of all classes had known these ballads, had sung and listened to them. But once the distinction between high and low art began to appear, popular poetry was "no longer relished" by the upper classes, and was "abandoned to an uncultivated or not over-cultivated class—a constantly diminishing number."[8] By the end of the eighteenth century, ballads were carried mostly in the memories of the laboring classes, as can seen by those who taught Anna Brown's mother and aunt their ballads—a maidservant, and in rural Braemar, farm workers, "and nurses and old women in the neighborhood." In a modern poem called "The Quiet Grave" and dedicated to Cecil Sharp, the poet U.A. Fanthorpe wrote about the class of people who carried folk music in England in the beginning of the twentieth century. The kingdom she refers to is the kingdom of folk music:

> Who held the keys to the kingdom?
> Unfriendly old men in workhouses;
> Bedridden ninety-year-olds terrorized
> By highhanded grandchildren; gipsy women
> With the long memories of the illiterate;
> Old sailors who could sing only
> Within the sound of the sea. These
> Held the keys to the kingdom.[9]

In 1800, when Alexander Fraser-Tytler told Anna Brown that she was only one of a handful of people who knew the old ballads and had the taste to cherish them, he was recording his impression that people of the educated classes were no longer learning and singing these ballads as they once had. He sent her David Herd's *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs*, whose subtitle is *Heroic Ballads, etc. collected from memory, tradition and ancient authors* (1769; second edition, 2 vols. 1776) to jog her memory and encourage her to write down more of the ballads she had

learned as a child. Up to this time, as she wrote to Fraser-Tytler, she had never seen any of the old ballads in print or manuscript but had relied only upon her own memory after learning them orally as a child.

The first time "Lord John and Burd Ellen" was written down was when Robert Eden Scott took it down from Anna Gordon's oral recitation in 1783. The second time it was written down, in 1800, Mrs. Brown was her own scribe, writing the words out and looking at what she had written as she went, a process as much like composing as like remembering and speaking or singing. The differences between the two versions are instructive and folklorists have debated whether or not they furnish evidence of imperfect memorization—after all these notations were seventeen years apart—or whether they are evidence of the oral formulaic method of composition, in which the ballad is re-created anew each time it is sung, and what is remembered is not individual words but word clusters and a sense of the shape of the whole. Did Anna Brown imperfectly remember the ballads she had learned so many years before as a girl, or did she, like the epic singers of Yugoslavia studied by Albert Lord,[10] re-create the ballad each time she sang it, choosing from a large store of variant verses and formulaic phrases as the mood suited her, and varying the rhyme words as the lines of each quatrain came out? As this process is described by David Buchan, the singer—who is an oral poet of sorts—is not fixated on particular words as are literate poets who insist on one correct sequence of words for their poems, "but instead works through sounds and word-groups."[11] In other words, the story is an idea that can be spun out of a variety of materials and does not rely on a particular memorized text. The specific language is ephemeral, although the essence of the tale is not.

Burd Ellen[12]

1. I warn ye all ye gay ladies That wear scarlet an brown
That ye dinna leave your father's house To follow young men frae town.

2. here am I a lady gay That wear scarlet and brown
Yet I will leave my father's house And follow Lord John frae the town.[13]

3. Lord John stood in his stable door Said he was bound to ride
Burd Ellen stood in her bow'r door Said she's rin by his side.

4. He's pitten on his cork-heal'd shoon[14]An fast awa' rade he
She's clade hersel in page array An after him ran she

5. Till they came till a wan[15] water An folks do call it Clyde
Then he's lookit o'er his left shoulder Says Lady can ye wid.[16]

6. O I learn'd it in my father's house [superscript: wi my bowerwomen] I learn't it for my weal
Wheneer I came to a wan water To swim like any eel.

7. But the firstin stap the Lady stappit The water came til her knee
Ohon alas! said the Lady This water's oer deep for me.

8. The nextin stap the lady stappit The water came till her middle
An sighin' says that gay Lady/ I've wet my gouden girdle

9. The nextin stap the Lady stappit The water came till her pap[17]
An the bairn that was in her two sides For caul[18] began to quake

10. Lye still lye still my ain dear babe Ye work your mither wae
Your father rides on high horseback Cares little for us twae

11. O about the midst o' Clydes water There was a yeard fast stane[19]
He lightly turn'd his horse about An took her on him behin

12. O tell me this now good Lord John An' a word ye dinna lee
How far it is to your Lodgin' W=whare we this night maun be

13. O see you nae yon castle Ellen That shines sae fair to see
There is a lady in it Ellen Will sunder you and me.

14. There is a lady in that castle Will sunder you and I
Betide me well betide me wae I sal go there & try

15. O my dogs sal eat the good white bread An ye shall eat the bran
Then will ye sigh and say alas That ever I was a man

16. O I sal eat the good white bread An your dogs sal eat the bran
[superscript: Sin food that love is fed upon is neither bread nor bran;]
And I hope to live an bless the day That ever you was a man

17. O my horse shall eat the good white meal An ye shall eat the corn
Then will ye curse the heavy hour That ever your love was born.

18. O I shall eat the good white meal An your horse shall eat the corn
[superscript: I may, I may, Lord John what eer I eat Or meal or corn]
An I shall bless the happy hour That ever my love was born.

19. O four & twenty gay Ladies Welcom'd Lord John to the ha'
But a fairer Lady than them a' Led his horse to the stable sta'

20. An four & twenty gay Ladies Welcom'd Lord John to the green
But a fairer Lady* than them a' At the manger stood alane[20]

21. Whan bells were rung & mass was sung An a' man boun to meat
Burd Ellen at a bye table Among the footmen sat

22. O eat an drink my bonny boy The white bread an the beer
The never a bit can I eat or drink My heart's sae full of fear.

23. O eat an drink my bonny boy The white bread an the wine
I canna eat nor drink master My hearts sae full o' pine

24. But out it spake Lord John's mother An a wise woman was she
Whare met ye wi that bonny boy That looks sae sad on thee?

25. Sometimes his cheek is rosy red An sometimes deadly wan
He's liker a woman big wi bairn Than a young lords serving man

26. O it makes me laugh my mother dear The words to hear frae thee
He is a squires ain dearest son That for love has follow'd me. [superscript: That I got in the high countree]

27. Rise up rise up my bonny boy Gi my horse corn and hay
O that I will my master dear As quickly as I may.

28. She's ta'en the hay under her arm The corn intill her han'
An she's gane to the great stable As fast as e'er she can

29. O room ye roun my bonny brown steeds/ O room ye near the wa'[21]
For the pain that strikes me thro my sides Full soon will gar me fa

30. She's lean'd her back against the wall Strong travail seiz'd her on
An even amo the great horse feet Burd Ellen brought forth her son

31. Lord John mither intill her bow'r Was sitting all alone
When in the silence o the night She heard fair Ellen moan

32. Won up won up my son She says Go se how all does fare
For I think I hear a womans groans An a bairn greeting sair

33. Oh hastily he gat him up Stay'd neither for hose nor shone
An he's taen him to the stable door Wi' the clear light o' the moon

34. He struck the door hard wi' his foot/ An' sae has he wi' his knee
An iron locks an' iron bars. Into the floor flung he
Be not afraid Burd Ellen he says Thers none come in but me

35. Up he has taen his bonny young son An gard wash him wi the milk
An up has he taen his fair lady Gard row[22] her i the silk

36. Cheer up your heart Burd Ellen he says Look nae mair sad nor wae
For your marriage & your kirkin [23]too Sal baith be in ae day

This magnificent ballad cannot be fully apprehended if one simply reads the words on the page. The pace set by the melody, the relentlessness of the tale, the way it unfolds, the way the language rhymes and reverberates—these require it to be heard rather than read. There are a few oddities in the manuscript that never found their way into print. For example, in the fifth verse, the one about swimming like an eel, the line "wi my bowerwomen" is written in as an alternative above "I learned it in my father's house" which scans better; both are in Robert Eden Scott's handwriting in the original manuscript. Anna Gordon apparently sang it both ways. Verse 26, too, has an alternative line penned in above the one first thought of. It looks as if Anna Gordon first sang "That for love has followed me" as part of Lord John's assertion to his mother that his young page is a squire's own dearest son and not a pregnant woman. It is a dramatic line, because it is so close to the truth but without revealing Burd Ellen's sex. The superscript "That I got in the high countree" is more non-committal, a formulaic and forgettable line. There is no way of knowing if Anna Gordon learned it both ways to begin with, or if she composed the better line, or if she heard it after learning the more conventional one and felt compelled to include the latter on this occasion when formally committing the ballad to paper.

The more interesting examples of afterthought lines written in with a superscript in this manuscript, though, come in verses 16 and 18, in that sequence of rapid exchanges between Lord John and Burd Ellen that are like the stichomythia of archaic drama. The lines penned in above the ordinary verse lines construct an alternative persona for the heroine. Lord John has threatened her with feeding better food to his horses and dogs when they reach the castle—white bread—while feeding her only bran. Her reply is feisty and combative; "O no you won't" she retorts in essence. The alternative lines, written in above, show her deflecting this challenge rather than meeting it—putting herself above—or beyond—it: "food that love is fed upon is neither bread not bran." It does not matter what I am

fed she says, rather than the original cocky comeback "O I sal eat the good white bread An your dogs sal eat the bran."

That difference is echoed in the incomplete superscript line in verse 18—a line that Robert Eden Scott either didn't quite catch, for it is not metrically complete, or that his aunt Anna Gordon could not quite remember. But there too, Burd Ellen responds to Lord John's repeated threat of bad treatment—"O my horse shall eat the good white meal An ye shall eat the corn"—by putting herself beyond it: "whateer I eat or meal or corn"—presumably meaning that it does not matter what I eat, whether meal or corn. Again, one does not know when or where these additional lines were learned, nor if Anna Gordon wrote them, whether she ever sang them, or which sense of the heroine was primary for her.

A comparison between the words contained in the so-called Jamieson-Brown ms. of 1783 and the version that Mrs. Brown wrote down herself in 1800 for her old playfellow, Alexander Fraser-Tytler, yields largely trivial differences. At the beginning, "O here am I a gay Ladie That wear scarlet and brown / Yet will I leave my fathers Castle" occurs instead of "leave my father's *house*." Or "my horse shall eat the baken meat And you shall eat the corn" rather than "my horse shall eat the *good white meal*" (italics added). Everything is a bit higher class in the later version. And Lord John's mother is on the stair, not in her bower, when she hears Burd Ellen's moan from the stable. That is, she had stairs, and hence more than one floor; in other words, she lived in a great house rather than a rural cottage.

But the ending is fuller and more dramatic in the later 1800 version that Anna Brown penned. For when Lord John bursts into the stable

> The never a word spake that Ladie/As on the floor she lay
> But hush'd her young son in her arms/And turn'd her face away

She expects nothing—she turns away—which dramatizes the verse that follows about how Lord John washes his son in milk and rows his lady in silk, and gives it the added quality of relenting and release. And there are two final verses as well, both different from the version as Anna Gordon sang it to her nephew in 1783.

> And smile on me now bird Ellen/And cast awa your care
> For I'll make you Ladie of a my Lands/And your Son shall be my heir

> Bless'd be the day sayd bird Ellen/That I follow'd you frae the town
> For I'd rather far be your foot page/Than the quean that wears the crown

Did she know these verses the first time she sang the song to be recorded but had forgotten them or chose not to sing them? Did she learn them, hear them, read them, or dream them up in the interim? Did she write them on the spot? Just how ephemeral are these verses?

That line "And your Son shall be my heir" is an interesting addition to find here. Morganantic marriage was what unequal marriages were called during the Middle Ages, the kind of marriage that was an intermediate form between matrimony and concubinage. Morganantic marriages were lawful unions between a noble man and a lower class woman, but neither the wife nor children could inherit his goods or title, nor succeed to his estate, although they usually had an allowance settled on them. The children were legitimate, although they could not inherit. Such niceties are absent from Anna Gordon's earlier, sung, version of the ballad. Lord John simply tells Burd Ellen

> Cheer up your heart Burd Ellen he says Look nae mair sad nor wae
> For your marriage & your kirkin too Sal baith be in ae day

Nothing about the shape of the family or the meaning of the marriage in the earlier last verse. But when Anna Brown came to write down the ballad later in her life, she specified that Burd Ellen's son would be a legitimate heir. Moreover, "Bless'd be the day," she says, "That I follow'd you frae the town." And this later version gives us the supererogatory faithful puppy-dog lines:

> For I'd rather far be your foot page/Than the queen that wears the crown

And these are the last words she gives her brave and daring heroine in the version that she wrote out later in life! Does the difference record a cultural shift in gender relations? A change in personal circumstances? A late remembered version from her youth?

When Anna Gordon first sang the ballad for her nephew to take down for her father's friend, she was an unmarried woman of thirty-six, living in her father's house. When she wrote out these verses for Alexander Fraser-Tytler seventeen years later, she was a married woman, a minister's wife, living in makeshift accommodations in the semi-ruined Falkland Palace in Fife, for the parish never built her husband a proper manse. When I think of her sitting and writing out these verses quietly to herself, it seems appropriate that there would more consciousness of class and upward mobility and more wallowing in romantic love—subjects more consonant with writing and literacy and heightened private consciousness. One is almost inclined to believe that these verses were set down under the

influence of writing itself. Whereas the final verse of the earlier version that she dictated or sang, that quick last verse about kirkin and marriage both being on one day, that verse which returns the couple and their child to the parish through the public ceremonies of baptism and marriage—that verse feels as if it is from an older culture. It re-integrates the individuals into the larger community, as befits a song from an oral tradition, and returns us to a kind of *status quo ante* before the action of the ballad began. This movement, returning the audience to the real workaday world after dwelling in the world of imagination, is characteristic of the final verses of many popular ballads.

We cannot ask Anna Gordon Brown to account for the difference between these versions, and we cannot even be sure that the earlier one is closer to the way she first learned it, but that is my hunch; and the difference between the two versions demonstrates how a ballad might evolve and change within the tradition in the hands of a skilled and confident practitioner, whose life experiences change the psychological terms of the story for her. But it might also be an illustration of what happens to an oral text as it modulates into writing, when the conventions and predispositions of literacy begin to overlay and alter it, when it is culturally updated by a mind no longer just singing it from orally-fashioned memory, but also creating it anew, silently, on the page.

The story of Anna Brown's versions of this ballad ends here, but I cannot resist a coda involving the manuscript of the ballad itself. Robert Jamieson composed a few spurious final verses to this great ballad, which he wrote down on this manuscript sometime before 1799. They clearly come from his heavy pen for the diction is far from that of popular ballad idiom.

37. She heavit up her droopin head, O but her face was wan
And the smile upon her wallowt[24] lips Wad mellit heart o' stane

38. "O blissins on thy couth,[25] Lord John! Well's me to see this day!
For mickle hae I dane and dreed; But well does this repay!

39. And Oh, be to my bairnie, kind, As I hae luvit thee!"—
Back in his tremblin arms she sank, And cald Death closed her ee!

These verses are soooooo nineteenth century! The pale, drooping maiden, her sickly blessing on her undoer, her physical weakness—this was the woman who swam halfway across the Clyde, pregnant!—her inevitable death following sexual relations without marriage: these are familiar to us from the melodramatic fictions later in the nineteenth century. This

sentimental treacle is only noteworthy in being slightly earlier historically than one would have expected to find it.

Jamieson was proud of his additions, however, and printed them in his *Popular Ballads and Songs* (1806) where he gives the reader entire freedom to accept or reject them.

> Whether the catastrophe is rendered more affecting by the three stanzas I have added at the end; or whether I may expect praise or blame for having sacrificed poetical justice to what appeared to me to be natural probability, is what I cannot determine; different readers will probably be of different opinions; and such as prefer the piece in its original state [may pass] over such lines as […] not authentic.

But what does "authentic" mean in a tradition where everything seems so ephemeral, where there are no fixed forms, where the same singer makes and unmakes verses, shuffles and re-shuffles them, and where different singers carry still other variants of a ballad. This is a fluid tradition, which if it lives, is always changing. Child lists ten variants from different sources for the ballad he calls "Child Waters" and the versions from Anna Gordon Brown that I have been comparing here only constitute one of them.

And yet there is a reason that Anna Brown's ballads are considered "superior." The ballads that belonged to an oral tradition have certain formal characteristics, and one can distinguish them. The diction is simple, direct, and unsentimental. We move among a few vivid scenes, recounted in the third person or in dialogue. Descriptions are formulaic, as in fairy tales; no judgments are given. Jamieson's maudlin verses are interesting historically, written in Jamieson's handwriting on the manuscript he obtained from Robert Eden Scott, but they are out of keeping with the rhetorical world of Anna Gordon's beautiful ballad. Francis James Child remarks in his essay on "Ballad Poetry" that popular ballads "are extremely difficult to imitate by the highly-civilized modern man, and most of the attempts to reproduce this kind of poetry have been ridiculous failures."[26] It takes a restrained hand and a sensitive ear to write "folk music"—that oxymoronic genre favored by modern singer-songwriters who all copyright their material yet whose compositions will probably prove to be "ephemeral" in the long run for all that they are written down.

Anna Gordon Brown's ballads, on the other hand, imbibed from the deep stream of oral song culture flowing through the northeast of Scotland in the eighteenth century, are still being sung and passed around and enjoyed two hundred years after her death. We must be grateful to her, as Alexander Fraser-Tytler was, for learning them and for having "the taste to

cherish them." We all owe a debt, too, to those collectors who wrote them down for us, who preserved for us this ephemera of the past, who made a printed record of an oral tradition, for it allows us a glimpse at the aural art of another age.

Notes

[1] *The Spectator* 85, dated Thursday, June 7, 1711.
[2] Francis James Child, "Ballad Poetry," in Johnsons's *New Universal Cyclopedia*, vol. 1, ed. Frederic A.P. Barnard *et al.* (New York: A.J. Johnson & Son, 1877), 365-68, and reprinted in vol. I of the Loomis House edition of *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (2001), 5 vols., xxvii.
[3] *English Folk Song: Some Conclusions*, quoted in Ruth Finnegan, *Oral Poetry*, (published originally by Cambridge University Press, 1977, but updated and enlarged for Indiana University Press, 1992), 138.
[4] Francis James Child, Advertisement prefacing volume I of *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1882-1898), 10 vols.
[5] Letter from Thomas Gordon to Alexander Fraser-Tytler, January 19, 1793. NLS Acc 3639 and also William Tytler Brown ms. Harvard University.
[6] John Jamieson, *The Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language*, 2 vols. 1808.
[7] Alexander Fraser-Tytler from his estate of Woodhouselee, April 28, 1800. NLS Acc 3639 ff. 244-45.
[8] These quotations are from Child's essay "Ballad Poetry," which appeared in Johnsons's *New Universal Cyclopedia* , vol. 1, 365-68.
[9] U.A. Fanthorpe (1929-2009), an revered English poet, was appointed a CBE in 2001. Thanks to Susan Morgan who first introduced me to this poem and this wonderful poet.
[10] Albert Bates Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960).
[11] David Buchan, *The Ballad and the Folk* (1972; reprint. Tuckwell Press, 1997), 158.
[12] This is an exact transcription of Ms Laing III 473 in the Edinburgh University Library.
[13] This first person narrative stance is very unusual in a ballad.
[14] Cork-heeled shoes are made for show and not for wear. They are a symbolic sign of wealth.
[15] "dark"
[16] "wade"
[17] "breast"
[18] "cold"
[19] "stone stuck in the mud"
[20] "alane" is literary Scots in this context, according to Dr. William Donaldson (in conversation). The implication is that Robert Eden Scott—or Anna Gordon—had

familiarity with the conventions of written Scots because this is a Southern form and does not fit the rhyme scheme nor would have been conversationally used in the northeast where “aleen” would have been the expected form.
[21] “To move aside in order to make room/ make a space around me near the wall.”
[22] “enfold tenderly,” “wrap around”
[23] “churching,” i.e. when a woman is formally re-admitted to the church community after the symbolic defilement of childbirth.
[24] “withered,” “faded”
[25] “amiability,” “kindness”
[26] Child, “Ballad Poetry.”

THE CIRCULATION OF BRITISH BOOKS IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY PAVIA: WORK IN PROGRESS

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The cautionary phrase in the title, "work in progress," is meant to account for the vastness of the enterprise and for the littleness of what has been completed so far. I will therefore describe the general plan of the project, and then illustrate what has been done and what remains to be done.

The historical period under scrutiny is the second half of the century, namely Maria Theresa (1750-1780) and Joseph II's (since 1765) "reform years," the geographical area Pavia and its University. This latter, by the end of the century, emerges as an example of extraordinary cultural impulse; by comparison, the subsequent gradual decline of such excellence after the Restoration appears all the more striking.[1] Pavia has been chosen as a case study due to the absolutely unique position its University came to acquire during those "reform years."

A series of essays published in 2001 as *Proceedings* from a conference (Pavia, December 2000) have diffusely expounded on the role played by the University in the second half of the eighteenth century. The period is defined as one of the highest peaks of civil and cultural achievement, with imperial reforms explicitly meant to educate a class of efficient subjects, in short as "the second golden age" of the University[2] (the first being in the fifteenth century, the only period in which Pavia was actually part of a European circuit). The reform process was triggered by the Austrian government in Lombardy, in the belief that education was of paramount importance within a project of transformation calculated to free education itself from the monopoly of the Church[3] and to train proficient officers for the renewed institutions. The foremost goal of the imperial reform was, as a matter of fact, to reestablish the prestige of the University of Pavia, one of the most ancient in Italy, founded in 1361. The cultural decadence

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characterizing the city in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (with no more than one hundred students enrolled at the beginning of the eighteenth century)—contrasted with the superb role played by the two private Colleges Ghislieri and Borromeo founded at the end of the sixteenth century—is testified in many travellers' pages,[4] and was accompanied by the progressive reduction of the territory of the city due to three wars of succession.

The declining of attraction experienced by the city and its University can partially be explained with the quality of the city itself. Devoid of ruins of antiquity and of Mediterranean landscapes, quiet and elegant, Pavia never complied with either the myth of classicism of eighteenth century Grand Tourists or more recent picturesque expectations. What had really mattered for the city had always been the presence of the University. During the "lean times" higher education continued to be offered by other kinds of institutions, such as religious orders, colleges, professors' private houses. But the resurrection of the University is the result of Maria Theresa's projected reforms, starting with the passing of two fundamental Plans which actually amounted to a kind of encyclopaedic manifesto of enlightened monarchy.[5] They definitely changed the state of the institution itself and made Pavia a national centre for education under Joseph II, certifying to the emergence of a new city, culturally central within a polycentric project including Milan, Cremona, Mantova and later Lodi and Como.[6]

In order to effect such a momentous change, infrastructures such as laboratories, theatres, buildings, and, of course, libraries had to be created or renewed. The imperial project actually intended to establish a net of libraries in Lombardy, each one functional to the kind of education provided by the different cities, and open for public use. As to the relationship between Pavia and Milan, Brera was established in 1770 as a "general" library hosting printed books and rare and precious editions (the Ambrosiana was instead mainly renowned for its manuscript collection), while Pavia was meant to collect books, both recent and updated, necessary for scientific research, together with periodicals and serial publications from the main Societies and Academies in Italy and Europe.

The Biblioteca Universitaria (BU) was established in Pavia as one of the necessary instruments for a cosmopolitan University. The name Biblioteca Universitaria began to be used in official documents only after 1778, when the books were actually moved to the present site, the beautiful "Salone Teresiano" in the main University building. Before that date, the library had been materially accomodated in Collegio Ghislieri, as "Regia Ghislieriana Biblioteca dell'Università," also established by the

Austrian government in 1768. From the Ghislieri, in 1771, the books migrated to Casa Malaspina and finally in 1778 to the present site:

> [by 1778] the Library of Collegio Ghislieri could boast a notable group of books of relatively recent acquisition, the result of a "campagna acquisti" ["transfer season"] financed by the Austrian government since 1768.[7]

After the migration of the books to the University building, the Collegio decided to set up a special fund to be budgeted every year, in order to reestablish its own private library. Most of the eighteenth-century editions now in the above-mentioned Catalogue of the Library of the Collegio were actually acquired in the last two decades of the century by the same Gregorio Fontana, who was to be in charge of the BU as well, and by his followers in that position within the Collegio.

Fontana was a Scolopian Father, Professor of Logic and Metaphysics, and like other professors in Pavia, he kept *conversazioni serali* at his residence in Collegio Ghislieri, as testified by some of the students,[8] but my interest in him is connected to his role as librarian.[9] Quite obviously, he mostly bought books of mathematics and natural sciences, but he also appreciated literature, read English well and translated from the English language.

The politics of acquisition of books for the University, established by the central government through Anton von Kaunitz, Chancellor of State and Minister of Foreign Affairs, and supported in Lombardy by the progressive Carlo Firmian, Maria Theresa's plenipotentiary resident Minister, demanded that professors from the University be consulted as to which books were necessary for teaching and research, since the Library was meant to be connected to scholarly work. Ordering books, therefore, implied supporting the existing Faculties.[10] A second requirement was that only really useful books had to be bought, together with the most outstanding and updated collections of *Acta* from the main scientific societies all over the world. Consultation with important institutions like Brera and Ambrosiana in Milan was deemed necessary in order to avoid repetitions: all doubles had to be exchanged with other libraries in Lombardy. Thus the politics of acquisition can mirror the range of interests and the "circulation of ideas" in this period.

A similar strategy guided the establishment of the little library in Collegio Ghislieri under the guidance of the same Gregorio Fontana: many academic periodicals were bought, Brera provided doubles, while other channels were offered by books formerly held by the Jesuits and bought almost "in bulk" after the suppression of the order, especially those titles

not involving religious matters. “Belles letters” is the largest group, as a browsing of the catalogue testifies.

The BU grew steadily over the years, generously supported by the government,[11] and by the end of the century it could boast the largest collection of serial publications in different languages from both Italian and foreign Academies and Scientific Societies. The uniqueness of the enterprise is evidenced by the presence of the publications of the most ancient institutions since their foundation.[12] In his position as a librarian, Fontana was followed by Costantino Gianorini (1786), who also knew English very well: through his insistence the acquisition was effected, in 1788, of part of an interesting and rich “Catalogue of English books” belonging to Carlo Firmian.[13] Since the 1790s, the activity of the librarians in Pavia was supported by an improved typographical industry, as Anna Giulia Cavagna has widely documented.[14]

At the same time the project of new buildings brought a renewal in the architecture of the city and involved the construction of modern scientific structures: besides the Biblioteca Universitaria, the Botanic Garden, the Museums of Natural History, of Pathology and Anatomy, the Physics Theatre and the Anatomic Theatre.[15] The picture was completed with the arrival of eminent scholars, the renewal of teaching methods in scientific subjects and the general financing of the University that brought it to European excellence.[16] Once again it is through the pages of travellers—who started to add Pavia to their itineraries over the last decades of the eighteenth century—that changes of this kind are registered and acknowledged. The admiring tone of many reports testifies to the prestige the University had achieved, attracting visitors and scholars eager to meet the eminent teachers and to stop for more than the usual full day or two. Johann Bernoulli, Director of the Astronomic Observatory in Berlin for Frederick II of Prussia, travelled to Pavia in 1775 in order to meet mathematician Gregorio Fontana. The Swiss traveller eagerly acknowledges Fontana’s wide knowledge of both classic and modern languages, as well as his interest in literature which also guided his choice of books to be acquired for the new library.

> He is careful to endow the library with only the best books from all over the world, and the means are generously provided by the imperial court that seems to have a particular attention for it. The plenipotentiary Minister in Milan has a special eye for the University of Pavia and I do not doubt but in a short time this Library, that has only recently been founded, will become one of the most important in Italy, mainly on account of the intrinsic value of the books and their real utility.[17]

Another good example is offered by James Edward Smith, botanist and medical doctor, travelling through Europe in 1786-1787, who defined the University of Pavia "the most celebrated University in Italy, and perhaps better furnished with able professors, men of real genius and activity than most at present existing in the world." He actually met "the celebrated Scopoli" but also Scarpa, Volta, Spallanzani and Fontana.[18] Other travellers in the 1790s praise the uniqueness of the Library collections as to natural sciences and academic *Acta*.

Such an international exchange is further testified by a series of letters (collected in the State Archive of Pavia),[19] sent by Firmian and Ambassador Joseph von Wilczeck to the Rectors of the University in the years 1781, 1783 and 1786 announcing the arrival of eminent professors from different courts, interested in visiting the scientific institutions. The most famous local scholars were invited to meet and entertain them in order to illustrate the scientific establishments of the University. The visitors' tour usually included the newly built "Theatre of the Four Knights" (now Teatro Fraschini), opened in 1773, after Bibiena's project, and perceived by most travellers as one of the architectural treasures of Maria Theresa's Lombardy. Being part of the Empire, Pavia was of course attracted by German culture, and German language and literature were well known in town (besides French, which obviously was the *lingua franca* for a great part of the century). Carlo Denina, a Piedmontese but also a Berliner academic who over the past few years had been close to Frederic II, in 1792 found the University of Pavia comparable to Göttingen and noticed how widespread the knowledge of German authors and language was.[20] Halle and Göttingen were excellent sites for medicine and the natural sciences and perhaps the first examples of modern Universities since the beginning of the century, characterized by freedom of teaching and freedom of learning, independent as they were of theological Luteran faculties. Pavia could benefit from this state of affairs that expanded from Protestant Germany to German Catholic states, to Austrian universities.[21]

How much English was spoken and read in Pavia is more difficult to ascertain; our work on the main libraries of the city is intended to clarify at least which books were available in English and which books by English authors were present in translations (into French, Latin or Italian) so as to map the amount of knowledge of English matters among the educated population living in Pavia in the last decades of the century. Careful research carried out by Alessandra Ferraresi on the organization of foreign language teaching in Pavia has precisely documented a few circumstances: first of all the lively encouragement of the government to spread knowledge of foreign languages, although without a precise plan of

feasibility and without any financial investment; the government's support to a policy of gradual substitution of Latin and French with Italian in the teaching practice; the obvious success of the German language, and finally the relative diffusion of English, mainly through private teachers.[22]

Anglomaniac and bibliophile Firmian certainly contributed to the increasing popularity of the English language in Lombardy: although no regular teaching of English was ever instituted, a number of people knew it, among them the librarians already mentioned. Fontana both translated the texts to be used in his teaching activity and, solicited by the imperial government to fight democratic French ideas, turned Arthur Young's *The Example of France. A Warning to Britain* into *L'esempio della Francia. Avviso e specchio all'Inghilterra*, published in Pavia in 1794 and dedicated to the count of Wilczeck. In the Preface (VII-XXXIII) and Notes, Fontana violently attacked the French revolutionaries—a move that was to be used against him when in 1796 the French entered Lombardy and he promptly sided with them. But Fontana was not the only one to change sides among the teachers, as Emilio Gabba has pointed out.[23]

English books circulated in the institution and in private houses; English texts were frequently used in the faculty of Medicine, and privately by language teachers: this is at least what emerges from memoirs of students who took private lessons, in groups or singularly, from the rather famous Gaudenzio Clerici, active in Pavia in the 1790s. Apparently he mainly based his lessons on the great English authors (Milton, Lady Montagu, Swift, Sterne), provided by himself or by his pupils. A chart of the 23 professors active at the University in 1814, when the city was back under the Habsburg dominion, documents the knowledge of foreign languages among them: 7 out of 23 declared that they knew English.[24]

The final goal of my research is the description of books and periodicals of British interest present in the BU and in the Library of Collegio Ghislieri relative to the eighteenth century, in view of the impending printing of a catalogue.[25]

Books

Both the large bulk of paper files of the BU and the Ghislieri printed Catalogue have been examined. Hopefully the result of these enquiries will help to define not only the amount of eighteenth-century books of British interest available in Pavia but also the fields of interest they cover. In both cases the entries have been filed under 4 different headings:

1. books by English authors in English;

2. books by English authors in translation (into Latin, French, German or Italian);
3. books written in languages different from English published in England;
4. books dealing with English matters.

GHISLIERI EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY CATALOGUE: within this Catalogue, a selection of books of British interest was isolated, out of the 1758 entries printed. A browsing of the selection immediately reveals some interesting points, namely that:

- only 20 out of the total (=1.13%) belong in category 1 and of these only 7 are in the field of sciences, while 14 fall in the area of "Belles Lettres," with a shared presence of history, philosophy, and poetry. A few titles are worth mentioning: a 1788 Basil edition of Hugh Blair's *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*; Bolingbroke's complete works; Adam Ferguson's *Essay on the History of Civil Society* in the Dublin edition of 1767; David Hume's Basil 1793 edition of *Essays and Treatises*; William Robertson's *History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V* Basil edition of 1788; William Shakespeare's theatrical works in 12 volumes of Theobald's 1772 edition (1st ed. 1733); James Thomson's *Works*, 1768; Dryden's 1697 translation of the works of Virgil in a 1772 edition, together with six volumes of *Poems* "by several hands" published in 1770 and collecting "poems over the last fifty years." Two books in this category bear the inscription "Lascito," followed by the name of the donor: since all donors for this Library are twentieth-century ones, the books have been only recently accessed and have not therefore been calculated.

- 62 (=3.52%) belong in category 2 (British authors in Latin, French, German or Italian translation): 22 of these are translated into Italian, 14 into French, 24 into Latin, 2 into German, namely Arthur Young's *Französische Revolution*, and William Black's medical treatise. Most of the translated titles fall into the category of sciences. 19 more titles in this group are inscribed as "Lascito" and therefore have not been calculated.
- 18 (=1.02%) belong in category 3; 9 more are inscribed as "Lascito."
- 9 (=0.51%) belong in category 4; 3 more are inscribed as "Lascito."

BIBLIOTECA UNIVERSITARIA CATALOGUE: the number of paper files searched in the BU fills 390 drawers, and has provided a list of 1,566 titles for eighteenth-century books in the four categories considered. This part of the research is taking a long time and still calls for careful controls. So far a general comparison is already feasible between the percentage of

different categories in the two libraries, which confirms the policy of acquisitions. Briefly, if the sum total of eighteenth-century books hosted in the BU is 1,566, 580 (=37%) belong in category 1, 678 (=43,29%) in category 2; 280 (=17,87%) in category 3 and 20 (=1,27%) in category 4.

As a matter of fact, category 1 (books by English authors in English) and 2 (books by English authors in translation) show that the books owned by the two parallel institutions are rarely doubles. Even when the two libraries possess the same authors, different works or different editions or translations of the same work are filed. Comparing the Ghislieri list given above and the BU list, the following results can be reported: for Hugh Blair's *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* the BU has the same English edition as Ghislieri, plus a French translation of 1797; Bolingbroke's *Works* are also present in the same English edition in BU, together with a *Letter to Sir W. Windham* on taxes and both Italian and French translations of *Letters on History*; for Adam Ferguson's *Essay on the History of Civil Society* the BU provides two Basil editions (of 1789 and 1791) and both the original and a French translation of the *History of the Progress and Termination of the Roman Republic*, 1784-1791; David Hume's edition of *Essays and Treatises* is represented by the London 1767 Millar edition in BU, where an Italian translation of the history of the Gunpowder Plot and six French editions of historical and philosophical works are also filed; William Robertson's *History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V*, Basil edition of 1788, is also in BU, where four French and two Italian translations of his historical books are also present; as for William Shakespeare's theatrical works, BU has a precious 1632 second folio edition by Cotes, a French 1768 translation of *Marchand de Venise* and a Rowe's 1769 edition (1st ed. 1709), besides a French translation in 20 volumes, 1776-1783; for James Thomson's *Works* BU has a London edition of *The Seasons* of the same year 1768 as Ghislieri, plus an Italian translation of *La primavera* by Tolomei, 1791, and finally for Dryden BU provides *Fables.*

As a further comment, of the 580 items present in BU for category 1 (plus about 10 with no date that are probably eighteenth-century editions as well) only 106 can be included within the group of "Belles Lettres," and of these a relatively large number, 28, are travel books, mainly to distant continents, even if Northern Europe also figures frequently, together with 5 titles on Scotland, while only 1, namely Smith's tour of the continent discussed in the first section of this paper, includes Italy, together with Swinburne's travel to the two Sicilies. Although quite scarse, the field of Literature makes up for many blanks in the Ghislieri Catalogue, for category 1, particularly with the presence of the works of Addison,

Barbauld, Gray, Pope, Richardson, the *Spectator* (1748 Dublin edition) and Sterne's *Works* in the 1775 edition. As for category 2, BU files Addison in both French and Italian translations (namely an early Italian version of his *Cato* by Salvini); the French translation of Baretti's *Les Italiens* (Ginevra 1773),[26] a third edition of the Italian translation of E. Chambers' 1728 *Cyclopaedia* (*Dizionario universale delle arti e delle scienze* 1770-1775); two Italian translations of Thomas Gray (*Il Bardo* e *L'Elegia*, 1792 and 1793); the anonymous 1761 Italian version of Hogarth's *Analisi della bellezza* (the English text was issued in 1753); Milton's *Paradise Lost* in Paolo Rolli's version; Pope's Italian *Riccio rapito* and French versions of the complete works; a German edition of Sterne's *A Sentimental Journey* and a 1800 Paris edition of the same work. The 1768 Italian version of a biography of Dr. Swift, two French translations of his historical writings (*Histoire du regne de la Reine Anne* 1765 and *Apologie de la reine Anne* 1769) and an Italian translation of his Sermon on king Charles II's martyrdom constitute all that the Pavia libraries possess regarding Jonathan Swift. For Samuel Johnson, only *Rasselas* is recorded both in the French translation by Baretti and in an Italian translation of 1764 (while his friend James Boswell's report on Corsica is in both a French and an Italian translation): surprisingly, the famous *Dictionary* by doctor Johnson is listed only in a nineteenth-century edition, and of the celebrated *Lives of the Poets*, which contributed to establish a canon for British authors, only a French translation of the life of Milton is recorded in BU in a 1797 edition. As for the novelists, no eighteenth-century original editions of Defoe and Fielding are recorded (Defoe's *Robinson* is in BU in a French translation of 1792), while Richardson's *Sir Charles Grandison* is the only original English work, also present in a French translation, like *Pamela*, which also figures in an early Italian translation of 1744-1746 and in a late French one of 1793.

What is absent in both libraries is the debate on taste and the ideas of the beautiful, the picturesque and the sublime: neither Akenside nor Burke nor Gilpin are present (as for Burke, only his historical work on the French revolution is entered in the BU catalogue in two French editions of 1791 and 1792, while his *Philosophical Enquiry* published in 1756 is nowhere to be found, although a mention of it is contained in the review of periodicals).[27]

These random comments are all that can be provided since my analysis is still in progress. More is expected to emerge when the search is concluded and all the books are singularly examined in order to check—whenever possible—the time of acquisition, and afterwards proceed to compile a Catalogue.

For category 2 in particular the amount of translations into Italian (*vs* other languages) will have to be weighed—as has been done with the Ghislieri—, translators identified and eventually the quality of translations assessed.

Periodicals

Since no separate catalogue is available in the BU for eighteenth-century periodicals, the first step was to draw up a list including all eighteenth century published journals and serial publications. The largest part of this list is made up of scientific papers, in keeping with the main scientific interests of the University, as described above. This list can be crosschecked against a precious *Inventario degli Atti Accademici*, published in 1990 on the basis of a manuscript Inventario of 1900, that deals mainly with sciences and medicine, but does not account for "Belles Lettres." Now that a complete list of the BU periodicals has been appointed, "literary" journals are being searched, with the aim of stressing the presence of reviews, notices and/or summaries ("Estratti") of English publications in the field of Humanities, in order to highlight the degree of attraction of British culture in this area over the last part of the century. The approximate number of periodicals entered is over 350 and within this number less than 130 deal with the Humanities. My search will mostly take into consideration those Italian papers published in the second half of the century entered in the BU. The printed Catalogue of Collegio Ghislieri shows that the titles owned by this private institution (a much more limited number), are for the most part of scientific interest, only less than one third being related to "Belles letters." The titles that are being checked in the BU and counterchecked in the printed Ghislieri catalogue are, in chronological order:

- the *Estratto della letteratura europea* (*ELE*), from 1767 printed in Milan by Galeazzi with contributions from the old group of *Il Caffè*. BU possesses years 1758 to 1769, (Berna/Yverdon) a. I-XII (78 H 6). Missing: 1763 v. II; 1764 v. IV, 1766, v. II; 1768, v. I; 1769 v. I and IV; Ghislieri has 1762 to 1769 (A 44. 1.1) completely overlapping the BU, but providing missing items. The variety of topics is indeed large and Great Britain plays a relevant role;

- the weekly *Gazzetta letteraria di Milano* (*GLM*), also printed by Galeazzi. BU possesses the whole years 1772 to 1776, a. I-V (196 G 6), Ghislieri has 1775-1776 (A 43. 8.2), just like the BU. The main interests of the paper are economics, geography and history;

- the *Giornale letterario di Milano* (*GILM*), running from 1786 to 1792), fortnightly. BU owns only 1792, I-VIII (167 C 4). Not in Ghislieri;

- the *Giornale de' libri nuovi delle più colte nazioni d'Europa (GLN)* 1789 and 1792 in BU (194 G 8). Not in Ghislieri;

- the counter-revolutionary *Giornale della letteratura straniera* Mantova (*GLS*), 1793-1795. BU owns only 1793, v. I.II (195 E 4). Not in Ghislieri;

- the *Giornale enciclopedico letterario di Milano* (*GELM*). BU owns only 1787 XII-XXII¸ 1788 I, II (167 C 3). Not in Ghislieri.

In spite of the insistence on the "literary" quality of all these titles, as far as we have been able to ascertain, history and the sciences are the most commonly represented subjects, followed by English poetry. English and especially Scottish historiography is generally recognized as a model: Hume, Robertson, Ferguson and Goldsmith are in all the papers, as well as scientists like John Hill the botanist, William Cullen, Arthur Young and Joseph Priestley, Alexander Hunter and Alexander Monro. Isaac Newton dominates all scientific discourses well into the century.

From the scrutiny of quantity data, the predominant interest in scientific literature is the first conclusion that can safely be advanced. Both the programmatic intent of the central Authorities, through the institution of libraries aimed at enhancing the existing Faculties of the University, and the personal involvement of the Librarians appointed, thus receive further validation. Pavia University clearly emerges as a competitive insitution and as the seat of important advancement in the fields of medicine and natural sciences, backed by the infrastructures described above. The attention to English culture in these fields is well known and has been described extensively in many papers. The analysis unfolded so far and documented here, has however provided perhaps a worthy addition to the scenario, in so far as it has ventured to add a few data on the degree of cosmopolitan exchange in fields that have received less attention, pointing for instance to a widespread curiosity for English historiography, philosophy, poetry and travel literature on the one side and to amazing absences for what regards the great phenomenon of the English novel and aesthetics on the other.

When the search of the periodicals is also concluded, and the quality and quantity of the debate aroused on literary themes is ascertained, a more complete picture of the interest stimulated by British culture within late eighteenth-century Pavia will certainly emerge.

Notes

[1] The phenomenon is documented in Carlo Capra, Valerio Castronovo and Giuseppe Ricuperati, *La stampa italiana dal '500 all''800* (Bari: Laterza, 1986), and convincingly explained in Emilio Gabba, "La cultura a Pavia negli anni 1773-1805," in *Esortazioni alle storie*. Atti del Convegno "*…parlano un suon che attenta Europa ascolta*," Pavia, 13-15 dicembre 2000, ed. Angelo Stella and Gianfranca Lavezzi (Milano: Cisalpino, 2001), 3-9.

[2] Giulio Guderzo, "Presentazione" to *Esortazioni alle storie,* ix-x (my translation).

[3] The suppression of the Jesuit order in 1773 was matched by the abolition of ecclesiastical censure on philosophical/scientific disciplines.

[4] Two famous examples are provided by Maximilien Misson's *Voyage d'Italie* (La Haye: 1691), and by Joseph Addison's *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy* (London, 1705).

[5] What changed completely was the role of the University that moved from the model of "Guilds qualifying for the professions of theology, law, medicine/physics" typical of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to a new pattern of "Advanced Higher Teaching." The distinction is thoroughly analysed in Elena Brambilla, "L'Università di Pavia dalle riforme teresiane all'età francese: alcune linee d'interpretazione," in *Esortazioni alle storie,* 25-42. The Austrian project intended that the unique power of conferring degrees within Lombardy be vested in the University, and that the titles thus awarded be necessary for public offices.

[6] Alessandra Ferraresi, "Dalla periferia al centro. Pavia e la sua università nella seconda metà del Settecento," *Annali di storia pavese* 28 (2000): 87-104.

[7] Ilaria Rizzini, introduction to *Catalogo del Fondo antico della biblioteca del Collegio Ghislieri di Pavia. Edizioni del XVIII secolo*, ed. Marinella Ceretti, Giuseppina Motta and Ilaria Rizzini (Pavia: Ibis, 2004), 12 (my translation).

[8] An interesting piece of evidence is Giuseppe Mangili's diary, discussed in Giovanni Bonera, "La vita universitaria pavese alla fine del XVIII secolo nelle memorie di Mangili e Bozzi Granville," in *Esortazioni alle storie*, 11-23, and particularly 15.

[9] For information on Fontana, see Filippo Salveraglio, "Gregorio Fontana come bibliotecario," *Archivio Trentino* XX, II (1905): 3-11; Annibale Zambarbieri, "Lumi, religione, rivoluzione: Appunti su Gregorio Fontana (1735-1803)," *Archivio Storico Lombardo* CXX (1994), ser. XII, I: 243-303.

[10] This is testified by the first Catalogue Fontana drew up, according to the different classes of subjects to be found in the University Library. Cristina Selva, "La Biblioteca universitaria di Pavia nella seconda metà del Settecento," *Bollettino della società pavese di storia patria* XCIV (1994): 195-228, par. 3.

[11] The government was also responsible for a peculiar system of State patronage, supporting authors in their publishing activity in selected fields, such as sciences, economics, historiography and literature. Marco Paoli, "Spallanzani e l'editoria. Ricorso al mecenatismo e 'mestiere d'autore'," in *Esortazioni alle storie,* 481-86.

[12] This is clearly stated in the introduction to the *Inventario degli Atti Accademici della Biblioteca Universitaria di Pavia*, ed. Armida Batori, Flavio Bevilacqua and Lia Rotolo (1990), which testifies to the large number of *Acta* acquired by the BU from all over the world. The following is an alphabetical list of all the foreign scientific societies whose proceedings are possessed by the BU: the Society instituted at Bath for the encouragement of agriculture, arts, manufactures and commerce (1788-1799), the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in Boston to the year 1783, the Society instituted in Bengal for inquiring into the histories and antiquities, the arts, sciences and literature of Asia in Calcutta (1788-1836), the Dublin Society for the Advancement of agriculture and manufactures (Glasgow, 1756), the Royal Irish Academy of Dublin (1787-1838), the Academia Edinensis (Edinburgh, 1778-1785), the Philosophical Society in Edinburgh (French translations are provided for the years 1740-1747; 1759; the original English for the year 1771), the Royal Society of Edinburgh (1788-1839), the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (1792), the Society of Physicians in Edinburgh (1774-1795), the London Association for promoting the discovery of the interior parts of Africa (1791), the London Humane Royal Society (1787-1789), the Linnean Society of London (1791-1926), the Medical Society of London (1787-1805), the Royal Society of London (1665-1893), with both English, French and Italian versions of many volumes; the London Society for the encouragement of arts, manufactures and commerce (1789-1837), the London Society for the improvement of medical and chirurgical knowledge (1793-1800), the literary and philosophical society of Manchester (1785), the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia (1771-1802). In 1772 Fontana bought the 49 volumes of the *Philosophical Transactions* which included Summaries in Latin for those who could not read English. In *Estratto della letteratura europea* (1758), t.1: 216, the decision to translate the *Philosophical Transactions* into Latin, under the direction of Haller and Bernoulli, had been reported and praised.

[13] This was added to a block of 7000 books from the same Firmian, bought at his death in 1782. Selva, "La Biblioteca universitaria di Pavia…"

[14] Anna Giulia Cavagna, "'Il produrre testo proprio stampato è impegnarsi con tutto il mondo': produzione libraria, editoria e letture nel secondo Settecento pavese," *Annali di storia pavese* 21 (1992): 307-27; Anna Giulia Cavagna, "Università: dalla tipografia all'editoria," *Annali di storia pavese* 28 (2000): 57-66, and, more recently, Anna Giulia Cavagna, "Settecentine alla British Library: rapporti librari, competenze linguistiche e viaggiatori fra Pavia e Londra," in *Testo e immagine nell'editoria del Settecento*, ed. Marco Santoro and Valentina Sestini (Pisa and Roma: Serra Editore, 2008), 367-403.

[15] A fascinating and rich survey of the architectural features of the city in the second half of the century together with a census of public and private housing is in Luisa Erba, "Il rinnovamento della città tra Austriaci e Francesi," in *Esortazioni alle storie*, 43-79.

[16] For a report on scientific teaching in Pavia, see Alessandra Ferraresi, "La fisica sperimentale tra università e ginnasi nella Lombardia austriaca," *Studi settecenteschi* 18 (1999): 279-319. Augusto Bozzi Granville's *Autobiography*,

published in English (London, 1874), registered his stay in Collegio Borromeo in the year 1799 and left an interesting portrait of some famous professors (Spallanzani, Scarpa, Rasori, Volta) and of their connection with English scientific culture: Spallanzani confuting Needham's theory of spontaneous reproduction of animal life, Volta's position on the subject, or Rasori's fascination with the theories of Scottish physician John Brown, Cullen's antagonist. On Bozzi Granville, see John Meddemmen, "1796. Libertà e uguaglianza a Pavia: due vite contrapposte," *Bollettino della società pavese di storia patria* (1997): 385-406.

[17]Jean Bernoulli, *Lettres sur différens sujets, écrites pendant le cours d'un voyage par l'Allemagne, la Suisse, la France méridionale et l'Italie, en 1774 et 1775…* (Berlin: Decker, 1779), 3 vols., quoted in Alida Fliri Piccioni and Paola Resegotti Sacchi, *Pavia da ricordare. Pagine di viaggiatori stranieri dal '500 al '900* (Pavia: Ponzio, 2002), 134 (my translation).

[18] James Edward Smith, *A Sketch of a Tour on the Continent, in the Years 1786 and 1787* (London: Davies, 1793), 3 vols. The Library is highly valued, "open to everybody every day" although "the professors alone have the privilege of borrowing books" (69). The travelbook is in the BU, coll. 3 B 51; the quotations are from vol. III, 63 and 69. Smith's scientific works are also present in Latin.

[19] Cart 152.

[20] Gabba, 4.

[21] Brambilla, 28-29.

[22]Alessandra Ferraresi, "Diffusione, uso e insegnamento delle 'lingue straniere' a Pavia dopo l'*Encyclopédie*," in *Esortazioni alle storie*, 497-526.

[23] Gabba, 7-9.

[24] Ferraresi, "Diffusione, uso e insegnamento…," notes 28 and 29, 503. The interest in English obviously diminished after the French invasion and the Habsburgic one afterwards.

[25] The suggestion for this work actually came from the successful activity of Pavia Hispanist scholars, who have thoroughly searched the BU in order to record the presence of sixteenth- and seventeenth-centuries Spanish books. Their achievements were celebrated in the BU with two exhibitions, held in 1998 for sixteenth-century editions and in 2000 for seventeenth-century editions. A Catalogue of books of Spanish interest for the two centuries owned by the BU is about to be published.

[26] Samuel Sharp's *Letters from Italy* (1767), which occasioned Baretti's reaction, is not among the books owned by either library, although many of Sharp's medical treatises are owned both in the original and in translations by the BU.

[27] Gilpin's absence cannot be justified with the "regional" interest his books display, since, as foregrounded above, quite a number of travel books around the British Isles and Scotland figure in the BU.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ITALIAN BOOKS IN LONDON: THE PRESENCE OF ITALIAN REGIONAL PUBLISHING IN THE COLLECTIONS OF THE BRITISH LIBRARY

ANNA GIULIA CAVAGNA*

There is no better symbol, at least in typographical and bibliographical terms,** of Italian interest in the English world than the edition of *The Castle of Otranto* published in Parma in 1791.[1] It had been commissioned by a London bookseller and, like the work's first edition, which was not sold but published privately by the author who distributed copies to his friends, this Parma edition too was intended for a restricted public for whom the high cost of the book would have been no obstacle.[2]

It is the sixth edition from the Bodoni press in which the printer and typographic designer applies the reformed rules of a new typography, with elegant page layouts and ample margins, as part of his campaign for a return to a classical typographical style. As Bodoni himself was the first to admit, his stylistic innovations drew mainly on the ideas and the experiences of the French printers Firmin Didot and Pierre Simon Fournier, but there were also connections to the English approach. Bodoni's entire professional strategy aimed at placing Italian printing in the context of the reforms taking place across Europe in type and page design, in England, for example, of Baskerville's work: "It is not my desire," says Baskerville

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** The Chicago Manual style reference forms have been adopted in giving titles, places of publication, and imprint; unlike the Italian norms, which treat early books as historical documents, these do not transcribe the original form of the titles and imprints as they appear on title-pages [*Author's note*].

> to print many books; but such only, […] of intrinsic merit, or established Reputation, and which the public may be pleased to see in an elegant dress, and to purchase at such a price, as will repay the extraordinary care and expence that must necessarily be bestowed upon them.[3]

In the second half of the eighteenth century the rise of an aesthetics based on line and restraint saw the equivalent values of the essential and the linear, harbingers of modern functionality, being prized in book production. Such features also appeared to characterise the English political constitution, which not by coincidence won the plaudits of Italian travellers to the country and political theorists. The typographical restraint employed by the "lodato" ("esteemed") Baskerville is thus expressly recalled and supported by Bodoni, especially for the design of title pages in luxury editions.

Baskerville's refusal to use ornamentation is echoed in Bodoni's conviction that "più un libro è classico tanto più sta bene che la bellezza dei caratteri vi si mostri da sola" ("the more a book aims to be classical the better it is that the beauty of its type stands alone"). The commissioning publisher in England was certain of finding noble customers for an edition which celebrated simplicity and refinement of design and he bought many copies; he also continued to sell Bodoni editions with the same classicizing design in the years to come.[4]

It was in this way that Bodoni became known as a leading printer among British bibliophiles and connoisseurs; he was given his own entry in Lemoine's *Typographical Antiquities*, which came out only shortly after the appearance of *The Castle of Otranto*, and remained prominent in historical and bibliographical dictionaries into the nineteenth century.[5]

Bodoni's *Castle of Otranto* marks the end of a series of Italian editions published over the century and in various places,[6] of books which have some connection—the language, the author, the content, the publisher—with England and its culture.[7] It was a minor and episodic aspect of Italian publishing in this period, with significant differences between the various regions where the editions appeared, but it was also a steadily increasing phenomenon in the course of the second half of the eighteenth century.[8]

Today these local editions of English interest are little studied as part of the national retrospective bibliography, yet, together with imported English books, they provide new documentary evidence for the history of Italy's perception of English culture and of the admiration Italians expressed in certain periods, such as the eighteenth century for example, for certain English institutions.

Already by the middle of the century, among intellectuals and in literary histories, we can find praise for the freedoms and advantages which English printers and the book trade in general enjoyed, together with an appreciation of the resulting political, cultural and economic effects which arose from this, not least the possibility for writers to earn an independent living from their writing. For example, Carlo Denina, in his account of publishing in London, where he had lived for a long time, identifies travel literature as a source of intellectual, historiographical and cultural renewal, and as such, the most remarkable feature of British publishing.[9]

His acute observations reflect the contemporary English debate on the educational and cultural usefulness of the Grand Tour, such as we find in Richard Hurd's *On the Uses of Foreign Travel*, at a time when a conflict was perceived to exist between the claims of civility and polished manners—men and womens's relations with their fellows—and the more urgent and inward demands of self-development.[10] Despite this conflict, the concept of educational travel remained strong among the English for the rest of the century, and its manifestations extended into the bookbuying of the middle classes, since continental editions, including Italian ones, formed a substantial part of the second-hand book trade in London.

Moving our focus from the material production of books to the more abstract aspect of the collections which housed these editions, the most complete Italian account of contemporary libraries in England from the eighteenth century is—to my knowledge—a brief but astute text written in 1776 by a half-forgotten scholar. His work, distributed through subscription, reached many booksellers, including in Genoa (one of the two centres we will look at).[11]

The author believes libraries and their catalogues to be fundamental for the use and conservation of books, and he structures his fairly extended description of English libraries as a well organised account which shows a good knowledge of the relevant bibliographical sources. He refers to several London collections, as well as to those in Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, and Dublin. In London, besides the Royal Library in Westminster, the 1734 catalogue with which he is acquainted, Sion College,[12] and the Royal Academy,[13] he also refers to several well known private collections open to the public, volumes which subsequently entered the British Museum Library.[14]

Thanks to such works of bibliography and bibliographical theory English books started to appear in private Italian libraries; in the early

nineteenth century they are a notable feature of the book collections held by public institutions.[15]

Shifting our focus across the Channel, to London, the best evidence for the enduring if episodic English interest in Italian books, the result of a centuries long cultural attachment to and sharing of the same artistic ideals, are the books themselves, whether imported into England or published there.

The eighteenth century saw the second important wave of books printed in Italian in England.[16] The first one took place in the late sixteenth century, in the wake of the literary, historiographical and architectural interests which arrived from Italy. London printers produced counterfeit editions of religiously and politically suspect texts, either by Italian authors or in Italian;[17] Italian literature was cultivated in certain circles and entered private collections.[18] English architects read Italian manuals and Italian merchants resident in the city put up the money both for the design of temporary structures in processions and for the single sheet descriptions which were sold to a vast and unexpected public.[19] The final flowering of publishing in Italian in England took place in the nineteenth century, which was less intense and less characterized by purely aesthetic interests; by this time, besides, there were independent Italian booksellers established in London, unlike the branches of bookselling firms based in Italy which had been typical in earlier periods.

Over the course of the eighteenth century the overall number of editions published in the Italian language in London—about 200 or so[20]—is higher than in other periods but from the point of view of literary or printing history the phenomenon was still minor and sporadic, although the varying reasons which lay behind the publication of each edition can be of great social interest. In the second half of the century the production of Italian books was part of a nationwide increase in the number of printers and publishers, an expansion which also led to the employment of Italians skilled in various branches of the trade, such as engravers. It can be traced in commercial guides of the period specialising in this sector, which list the names and addresses of booksellers both in London and elsewhere.[21]

The Italian authors published in London in the eighteenth century are well-known figures of the time (Scipione Maffei, Pietro Metastasio), on occasion controversial or marginalised figures in their own country, such

as Aurelio de' Giorgi Bertola, a university teacher from Pavia who wrote erotic verse and whose work was published posthumously in 1799. Frequently they were exiles in England who undertook a variety of activities—language teaching, translating, providing librettos—and who produced editions of their own works or of the Italian classics (Tasso, Ariosto, Tassoni), books on antiquities, numismatics,[22] or astronomy,[23] as well as more occasional writings.[24] Sometimes they set up as booksellers or publishers themselves to fill a gap in their career, such as Mozart's librettist Lorenzo Da Ponte did at the very end of the period we are considering.[25]

In the early years of the century a journal entitled *La staffetta italiana. The Italian Post*[26] appeared but proved shortlived. The Italian books most commonly published in London belonged to a variety of genres—history, poetry, literature, bilingual dictionaries—and enjoyed considerable success, with, in at least a dozen cases, lists of subscribers which included Italians living in Italy or resident abroad as well as English readers.[27]

The public for these books was not confined to the capital city, as can be deduced from, among other things, the remarkable variety of the dedications found in them, of the dedicatees to which they are addressed, of the information contained in the prefaces. The public readership envisaged by the authors, evident in the first instance in the dedications and occasionally in the titles of the books was restricted, prosperous, cultivated, interested in Italian culture and in the classics.[28] It was often a female readership but there were also significant links to mercantile circles in the city for whom Italian books were useful teaching tools: in the Levant and beyond—in Turkey for example with the centuries-old presence of the Venetians and the Genoese, or, a century later, in Malta—Italian was a *lingua franca* and people intending to work in clerical and commercial positions in that part of the world needed to acquire a knowledge of the language.[29]

A purely bibliographical analysis of these editions, as products of the printing press, tends to confirm their ephemeral or occasional status. They are sporadic products and never form part of a consistent publishing programme; their typographical design is limited, often employing the then old-fashioned device of two-colour printing, and initial letters formed of decorative or floral motifs mostly set against a black background; the imprint details are often rather comically translated into Italian. The paper is seldom of excellent quality and the inking defective; formats tend to be

the smaller ones, with narrow margins to cut down costs. The type is small, especially in books set out in columns or in parallel text editions. The rules of design which were so prized by those who were trying to reform eighteenth-century printing and which aimed for a balance between the blacks and whites on the page, used elegant type and set spacious margins, are on occasion sacrificed for the sake of economy, although the overall *mise-en-page* remains harmonious.

Compositorial practices often follow the English style rather than attempting to imitate Italian customs: the signatures are numerical or use asterisks and are placed on the same line as the catchword, the number of the volume is given at the foot of the page, a space is left preceding a comma or a colon.[30] Occasional spelling mistakes might indicate that the compositors were ignorant of Italian.[31] English readers were interested in these books essentially for their content and not for their printing qualities, even though there are some examples of fine printing.

Although the books of artistic quality, containing illustrations and frontispieces, were few, those published were important.[32]

The prices of these Italian editions reflect their status as "average" products of the printing press and are in line with other publications of the period. Librettos, short theatrical pieces and guides sold for one shilling,[33] the unillustrated 1792 edition of the *Gerusalemme liberata* sold for seven shillings. The two volumes of Altieri's dictionary sold for the high price of £1/10s/0d and Baretti's dictionary for more than £2, while the same author's Italian grammar and conversation manuals were priced at 5 and 6 shillings respectively.[34]

English grammars and schoolbooks, in the final two decades of the eighteenth century, sold for between one and nine shillings. The same range of prices applies to imported Italian books, in no way comparable to the high prices reached in the second half of the nineteenth century by fifteenth and sixteenth-century editions of the Italian classics and of other Italian literary authors. (These later prices are an indication of the way bibliophily had by this time become predominantly a matter of taste controlled by the logic of the market and the market itself becomes a contributory factor in shaping the appreciation of early printed Italian books).[35]

Generally speaking, the Italian editions published in London were not publications in which the publishers or printers invested a great deal of money; they acted more as mere distributors or promoters[36] since the books were financed either by subscription or directly and explicitly by the

author or editor if living, or by Italians living in Italy, or by publishing firms based in Italy but with branches in London.[37]

Yet Italian books were not only printed in London; they were also, as we have seen, imported, though not always through the normal commercial channels, and ended up in private and public libraries, by the end of the eighteenth century, many of them had already become part of the British Museum Library.

In the eighteenth century there were more than a hundred Italian associates of the Royal Society, exchanging gifts and books, Italians worked as secretaries for learned academies, and they were writing books in English: it is therefore unsurprising that the history of the Italian book in London is also a history of the book trade and of the founding of the first great libraries in the city.[38] English travellers on the Grand Tour or on diplomatic missions to Venice or Rome, as they went about from carnivals to markets to archaeological sites, accumulated books from the houses of religious orders in decline or noble families in straitened circumstances; they collected these books partly as bibliophiles but also with professional motives, since diplomats and travellers wished to find out about the country for reasons to do with politics, trade or mere pleasure and to bring back home valuable records and mementoes of their visit.

Tracing the Italian books amassed by English collectors would involve following a myriad links between the holdings of private libraries and the printed and manuscript catalogues which describe them, a project for an entire research team; I would like to focus, instead, on some of the eighteenth-century Italian books which are to be found today in the British Library, and which have arrived there over the course of its history from its foundation in 1753, with the public donation of Sir Hans Sloane's library. By sampling various sections in the latter, it is possible to estimate that in the seventy or so years between the 1750s and the publication of the first printed catalogue of the collection in the 1810s about 2000 Italian editions entered the Library's collections during these decades.[39] I have further narrowed down my focus to concentrate on the editions published in two Italian cities: Pavia and Genoa.

These two middling sized centres belonged to a broadly similar area of production and shared the same distributive networks; in the eighteenth century both cities also had institutional contacts, of a scientific, social and commercial nature, with the English world; visits and exchanges also took

place on an individual level, and on occasion there were political or diplomatic concerns in common.[40]

In the case of Genoa, the nature of the city's contacts with England is highly various, at times superficial, at times significant, but in the course of the century there is no one edition which has the prominence and importance of the memorial miscellany published in 1600 on the death of Orazio Pallavicino, the Genoese banker and merchant and political advisor to Elizabeth I.[41] But many factors connect the Italian city and the English capital: the presence of newsheets and pamphlets on political crises and world events;[42] episodes of espionage;[43] economic interests linked to the increase in trading relations;[44] the influence of the model of English scientific empiricism through visitors or English residents in the city;[45] and, among the Republic's noble families and its ambassadors posted to London, a taste for works of English manufacture and design.[46] Diplomatic relations on an official level also served to strengthen the ties between the two places: Genoa had ambassadors and agents in London, some of whom were book collectors who sold their libraries in the English capital.[47] Another of their traditional roles in the city was to find out and purchase editions for wealthy bibliophiles back home in Liguria.[48]

In the case of Pavia, at that time ruled by the Habsburgs from Vienna, the contacts with London are almost entirely of an intellectual nature, because the professors who taught in the scientific faculties of the city's university, many of whom spoke English, had colleagues, followers, correspondents and friends in the English capital; they went to stay, in Scotland as well as England, visiting libraries and institutions where scientific research was carried out, and making contacts with the most advanced scientists of the day: they contributed the results of their own up-to-date researches, which in some cases, were published in England.[49]

Out of a total of over twenty thousand eighteenth-century Italian editions in the British Library's collections, there are about 180 Genoese editions (many of them opuscules, for the most part of a legal nature) and 100 editions from Pavia, all monographic works, some in several volumes, in large format, with illustrations. These figures represent respectively a little over 10% of each city's entire publishing output over the course of the eighteenth century; taken together they represent about 1% of all the eighteenth-century Italian editions in the British Library.

How did these editions reach the British Library, and above all when? Were they acquired out of a professional bibliographical interest in Italian books, the equivalent so to speak in institutional terms of the commercial interest in such books shown by the London book trade? In other words, were they bought by the Library as part of a coherent programme of acquisitions or do they reflect a prevailing cultural interest in Italian publications? Or are they merely the results of random collecting? That is to say, were these books collected for their illustrations, the quality of their printing, and other refined aspects of their production—assuming of course that they are editions which belong to this category—or were they acquired by a process of random accumulation or at least with no traceable criteria which are evident to us now?

The import of Italian books into England began in the sixteenth century when editions were sought out for their content; there were not only, as we have seen, architectural treatises, but also works, bought systematically by university students, in the fields of philosophy, astrology, medicine, grammar, rhetoric, and Latin classics printed for the most part in Venice and Padua.[50] In the seventeenth century Italian editions reached England through the building up of important private collections.[51] In order to verify whether eighteenth-century criteria were prevailingly aesthetic or utilitarian, we must examine the subject matter of the editions now in the British Library and the circumstances of their acquisition.[52]

The subjects of the editions coming from the two cities show a marked difference: in the case of the Genoese editions, the subject matter is miscellaneous, whereas those from Pavia are mostly scientific.

The largest subject category in the Genoa editions is represented by law—works of jurisprudence but also documents relating to specific court cases (the opinions given by lawyers in civil cases, court sentences, the laws and constitutions of the Republic). This category is followed in decreasing order by the number of editions of medicine, antiquarian erudition, history and annals, literary and dramatic texts; then miscellaneous topics—geology, educational theory, commerce, official encomia; finally there is a small number of religious works, homilies and saints' lives. The Genoa material accurately reflects the miscellaneous and often local nature of the city's publishing output, which was not remarkable for its originality and, as modern research has shown, with a lack of systematic investment, managed to play only a minor role in the panorama of Italian book production.[53]

The works from Pavia are almost all scientific or university texts, products of the new intellectual ferment in the city's university, a consequence of the institutional, economic and cultural reforms promoted by the Habsburgic government.[54] They are typographically elegant, produced by the modern presses and types of the local printers. The consequence of a brilliantly effective government policy to reform and modernise Pavia's manufacturing resources, and of the new urban printing industry meant to have state relevance.[55]

By examining the books themselves for material evidence—the traces left by those who produced and read them—and recording marks of ownership, library stamps, notes of acquisition, it is possible to identify the date of entry into the British Library for more than a third of these editions.[56] In the context of a private collection such an exploration might lead to understanding the ways in which material objects like books, designed for the purpose of storing and increasing knowledge, could become symbolic or representative entities; such an exploration may also be possible in the case of the British Library which is in large part formed of the contents of former private libraries.[57]

Using a recent and highly detailed study on the British Library's accession stamps, which distinguishes their forms and variants in terms of colour, shape, lettering and words, it has been possible to extract information from the physical volumes which shows that these editions from Genoa and Pavia arrived in six different ways, corresponding to the periods when they became part of the London collections.[58]

Taking the Genoese editions first: four books, on medicine and law, were acquired in the mid-eighteenth century since they came from Sir Hans Sloane who donated his library and museum to form the foundation collections of the new institution in 1753.[59] Sloane was a member of the Royal Society, a prominent figure who received many volumes in gift as well as acquiring Italian books during his journey to the country. Three other books, of scientific and literary interest, were, to judge from the accession stamps, probably also acquired in the eighteenth century.[60] Three books show the stamp of Montague House, the building which first housed the collections, and must therefore have entered the Library in the second half of the eighteenth century or in the 1800s; the colour of the stamps or the details of the bookplates suggest that two were donated[61] while the third was purchased.[62] Seven volumes come from the library of George III, and therefore entered the British Museum Library after 1823,

the year in which the royal collection was given to the national institution: three are works of history or on ecclesiastical antiquities, three are legal texts, concerning administrative law and the legislature of the Genoese republic, while the seventh volume is a theatrical work.[63]

Leaving aside half a dozen editions which were acquired in the twentieth century, the majority of the books from Genoa entered the Library in the nineteenth century, in two main clusters, in the 1840s and again after the 1860s: they were second-hand copies, either from previous Italian owners who had marked them or bound them together with works on related subject matters, or from English readers who were interested in Italy.[64] One volume has the ownership inscription of the clergyman George Nott, who translated the *Book of Common Prayer* into Italian in 1831 and had also published some of his own works in Italy where he lived for many years.[65] In some case the books have had several former owners and have passed from an Italian owner to an English one before reaching the British Museum Library.[66]

Apart from direct bequests to the Library from collectors, it is likely that books were selected and acquired by consulting the printed book catalogues issued by specialised London booksellers or the main bibliographical reference works.[67] In 1747 Samuel Baker the founder of Sotheby's auction house, sold the collection of the Genoese resident in London Giambattista Gastaldi, which included, for example, Altieri's expensive Italian-English dictionary (the copy in the British Library may possibly come from this collection). Similar examples are the bookseller Bent's 1786 catalogue which includes many Italian editions, or one issued by Edwards in 1796 which has hundreds of Italian titles.[68]

Turning to Pavia to see if the patterns of acquisition traced for Genoese books are repeated, a first difference emerges: in Pavia, during the last three decades of the eighteenth century, works by a dozen or so English, Scottish, Irish authors and scientists were published in Latin or in Italian or French translation; the Pavia editions of these writers are not present in the British Library collections.[69]

There are about a hundred eighteenth-century Pavia editions in the British Library. They fall into the following subject groups, in descending order of size: chemistry, physics, mechanics, mathematics, vulcanology, medicine, neurology, surgery, epidemiology, child rearing, botany, veterinary science, civil and health legislation, public law and legal

procedure; there are also school grammars, bibliographies and literary histories, taxonomies and university theses in theology. The Pavia university teachers who wrote these books tend to come from outside the city or from abroad, with a knowledge of other languages besides Italian and Latin. From a typographical point of view, the editions are of above average quality, with some really excellent products among them; in several cases the copious illustrations executed with the refinement and restraint demanded by the taste of the time would have made them sought after as examples of fine printing. Almost all the editions date from the second half of the eighteenth century.

It is possible to date the entry for over two-thirds of the copies into the British Library collections. About ten books have the earlier Montague House shelfmark and therefore came in to the Library at some time in the second half of the eighteenth century and the early decades of the nineteenth (half of these certainly arrived in the latter period). Only three editions are listed in the rearrangement of the Library's collections which began in the 1790s and must therefore have been present before that date. In the first two decades of the nineteenth century about a dozen Pavia editions, on science and political history, arrived with the donated libraries of the botanist Joseph Banks and of George III. All the rest, about sixty editions, apart from a handful of donated books or twentieth-century acquisitions, were purchased separately by the Library from the 1850s to the end of the century.

One can speculate about the reasons for purchase: the new accessions perhaps added to certain subject areas or themes in the collection and perhaps reflect an interest in the reformist and anti-papal Jansenism which flourished in Pavia under the Habsburg government and which gave rise to much interest in the use of experimental methods in science; they perhaps simply enhanced the representative value of the collections, in this case, of the holdings of Italian books or of editions from minor centres of printing within the country or of the genre of illustrated books; or new studies from Pavia served to reinforce new trends in British scientific research—above all in the field of electricity.

It is interesting to note that even though the number of eighteenth-century Genoese editions in the British Library is slightly higher than for those from Pavia, it is harder to date their entrance in the collections.

The Genoese copies are almost never donated or bequeathed to the Library; most of them come in the mid-nineteenth century when Italian political exiles (the Genoese Mazzini first among them) were living in

London and spreading their ideas about the new Italy among the British public; the Pavia editions on the other hand come in regularly if only on a small scale through into the twentieth century and were clearly chosen for their content or for their representative value for the collections. There are frequently marks of former owners in the copies of the Genoese editions, showing the passages from at least one Italian owner before the English purchaser and the entry into the Library, whereas the Pavia copies are often either personal gifts from their authors to English colleagues or suggest there was a common context of scientific and medical research which the librarians who were acquiring the material wished to strengthen.

Information about books was widespread in London at the end of the eighteenth century. Even ordinary readers were kept informed, in a general periodical like the *London Magazine*, on the legal transfer of important private collections, or entertained with anecdotes in which books often played a role; thus a certain familiarity with the world of books and the various issues connected with it was created, which subsequently prepared the way for a greater public consciousness of the needs for national library provision. In the early nineteenth century the *London Magazine*, alongside polemical pieces on the contemporary excess of reading matter, published a sardonic and well-argued attack on the inefficiencies of the British Museum Library, which after a period of uncontrolled growth needed to be put on a new footing. It was not long before the necessary measures to reorganise the institution, in terms of both its management and its collections, were taken.[70] This was also the period when the young Italian Antonio Panizzi, who was eventually to become the Library's director, joined the institution; the acquisition of eighteenth-century Italian material over the course of the nineteenth century must have been part of his vision of the function of a national library and of the prominent public role such an institution should play.

The history of the eighteenth-century editions from Pavia and from Genoa which had reached London by the end of the nineteenth century is not a well-defined one: narrowly bibliographical interests interweave with wider cultural and aesthetic concerns, moving continuously between the private and the public spheres.

A question still to be explored is whether these findings in the case of editions from Pavia and Genoa can be extended to the rest of the eighteenth-century Italian imprints in the British Library. We may also enquire whether they reached the Library as acquisitions or donations and whether the interest in them was purely bibliographical, as examples of printing and publishing. In other words, were those eighteenth-century

editions which were without obvious scientific interest and lacked the modern cultural relevance of the Pavia publications acquired merely in order to increase the Library's holdings of Italian publications or to provide examples and a reasonably representative overview of the characteristic features of Italian printing and publishing in the eighteenth century?

Related questions are whether the Italian scientific publications now present in the London collections originate from numerous centres of printing throughout Italy or come only from the larger and more important cities and whether the subjects covered by this material range over the whole of science or are limited to those areas which were followed with particular interest in Great Britain.

Furthermore, it would be interesting to explore whether the continual interweaving of the public and private spheres[71] which is so marked a feature of eighteenth-century history and culture can also be found in the composition of the collections in the British Library. This interweaving conditions the way we explore the development of these very extensive collections.

Finally, we need to explore the intellectual or educational role played by the Library's collections, in so far as they are broadly representative of publishing in Italy during this period, in shaping people's tastes and cultural preferences as well as in influencing other libraries of the time which were acquiring Italian eighteenth-century material.

For example, let us take the library of the London Institution, founded with funds raised by subscription in 1805 by the city's merchants and whose initial collections were therefore largely made up of eighteenth-century material. The library published a catalogue of its holdings in the 1830s in which many rooms and a part of the east gallery are described as housing hundreds of Italian editions on miscellaneous subjects: in addition to the classics of Italian literature there are many works by forgotten authors and from obscure printers which today strike us as minor, such as the *Memorie degli uomini illustri di Lodi*, published in 1776 in a small country town near Pavia.[72] There are, however, no scientific books from Italy in the London Institution library; in the nineteenth century, collecting in this subject and language area appears to have been confined to the British Museum Library with, from the twentieth century onwards, books on the medical sciences going to the Wellcome Library, reflecting a division between science and humanities, the assumptions behind which would also be worth exploring.[73]

Notes

[1] Horace Walpole, *The Castle of Otranto* (Parma: printed by Bodoni, for J. Edwards bookseller in London, 1791). Bodoni's edition includes the complete texts of the prefaces as they appeared in the first and second editions of the work; it won the enduring approval of connoisseurs: see Thomas Frognall Dibdin, *The Bibliographical Decameron* (London: printed for the author by W. Bulmer and Co., Shakespeare Press, 1817), *Ninth day*, 115: "one of the most beautiful and fine specimens of a modern book printed upon vellum. The edition was printed by Bodoni at the expence of Mr. Edwards who had six copies taken off upon Italian vellum from each of which the sheets were carefully selected to render this copy as perfect as possible. Purchased by the duke of Devonshire."

[2] James Edwards, a bookseller and collector who also travelled in Italy, see William Younger Fletcher, *English Books Collectors*, ed. Alfred Pollard (London: Kegan, Trench, Trübner, 1902), 122; Gerald Eades Bentley, "The bookseller as diplomat: James Edwards, Lord Grenville, and Earl Spencer in 1800," *Book Collector* 33 (1984): 470-85; his obituary in *The Gentleman's Magazine* (1816): 180-81; Rosa Edwards, "James Edwards, Giambattista Bodoni, and the Castle of Otranto: some unpublished letters," *Publishing History* 18 (1985): 5-48. On the sale of his collection see Dibdin, *The Bibliographical Decameron*, 112-30. John Brewer, *La cultura inglese del Settecento* (Roma: Carocci, 1999), 157.

[3] Daniel Berkeley Updike, *Printing Types. Their History, Forms, and Use. A Study in Survivals* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1922), 110.

[4] Giuseppe De Lama, "Edizioni bodoniane," part II, in *Vita del cavaliere Giambattista Bodoni tipografo italiano, e catalogo cronologico delle sue edizioni* (Parma: Stamperia ducale 1816) 65, 67, 147. Bodoni, who also corresponded with Benjamin Franklin, received other commissions from English and Scottish nobles; there were several English subscribers to the edition of Bodoni's *Vita.*

[5] Henry Lemoine, *Typographical Antiquities. History, Origin, and Progress of the Art of Printing* (London: S. Fisher, 1797), 94-96: "Several editions have been produced of this curious book by different booksellers […]. But the best is that of Bodoni of Parma, in 4to; with a view of the Castle in its present state"; Dibdin, *The Bibliographical Decameron*, 396, also refers to a *Memoir* published in the *Monthly Magazine*, December 1816.

[6] Occasional or propagandistic publications date back to the seventeenth century, for example, John Michael Wright's *Ragguaglio della solenne comparsa, fatta in Roma gli otto di gennaio 1687 dall'illvstrissimo, et eccellentissimo signor conte di Castelmaine* (Roma: Ercole Domenico Antonio, 1687); or *Ragionamento fatto dal Re della Gran Bretagna al Parlamento, Parlamento ne la Città di Londra, a' 15. di Febraro del presente anno 1622* (Bracciano: Benvenuti Marcantonio, Fei Andrea, 1622).

[7] The phenomenon of Italian editions which have "London" as a false place of publication but are in fact produced elsewhere is of course extraneous to this field of study and to any assessment of the importance of Italian interest in English culture. The use of "London" as a false place of publication was found in Italy for editions of authors such as Tommaso Crudeli or Cesare Beccaria; in Venetian

production alone it was used for the works of Edmund Burke, Simon Nicolas Linguet, Thomas Littleton, Charles Louis de Montesquieu, William Robertson, Gabriel Sénac: Marino Parenti, *Dizionario dei luoghi di stampa falsi, inventati o supposti in opere di autori e traduttori italiani* (Firenze: Sansoni, 1951); Patrizia Bravetti and Orfea Granzotto, eds., *False date. Repertorio delle licenze di stampa veneziane con falso luogo di edizione (1740-1797)*, intr. by Mario Infelise, (Firenze: Firenze University Press, 2008). For France see C.-J. Mitchell, "La fausse rubrique 'Londre' durant la Révolution Française," *Mélange de la bibliothèque de la Sorbonne* 9 (1988):157-64.

[8] See Alfred Pollard, *Old Picture Books with Other Essays on Bookish Subjects* (London: Methuen, 1902) 106-24. In Milan were published at the same time as their London editions: Daniel Wildman, *Guida perfetta per governare le api* (Milano: Giuseppe Galeazzi, 1775); John Pringle, the London editions of whose works now in the Braidense library in Milan have several bookplates of formers owners, "Lettera sulla vita delle cavallette," in *Opuscoli scelti* (Milano: Giuseppe Marelli, 1781), 427-28; John Pringle, "Discorso sopra le differenti specie d'aria," in *Scelta di opuscoli interessanti* (Milano: Galeazzi 1781), 35-47; Giacomo Wyart, "Lettera… ad un suo amico a Londra in cui gli dà ragguaglio di un suo viaggio al Polo," in *Scelta di opuscoli interessanti* (Milano: Galeazzi, 1786), 289-90. On occasion texts refer to the English world—in generic but socially interesting ways—as a source of curiosity: *La ritornata di Londra: dramma giocoso per musica* (Milano: Bianchi, 1767); *Il Ritorno di Londra, dramma giocoso per musica da rappresentarsi in Genova nel Teatro delle Vigne nel Carnevale dell'anno 1759* (Genova: Franchelli, 1759), of which there is a copy in the British Library.

[9] Carlo Denina, *Discorso sopra le vicende della letteratura* (Napoli: Giuseppe Maria Porcelli librajo, e stampatore della R. Accad. Militare, 1792), vol. II, 218-20 (1st ed. Torino: nella Stamperia Reale, 1761); Franco Arato, *La storiografia letteraria nel Settecento italiano* (Pisa: ETS, 2002), 331-63. With a different, less modernizig tone, but reaching similar conclusions, see Giuseppe Baretti, *Aristarco Scannabue, La frusta letteraria, tomo I che contiene dal numero I sino al XII*, (2nd ed. Carpi: Carlo Fernardi, 1799), 224-42.

[10] Edward Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour. Anglo-Italian Cultural Relations Since the Renaissance* (London: Frank Cass, 1998).

[11] Francesco Tonelli, *Biblioteca bibliografica antica e moderna d'ogni classe, e d'ogni nazione* (Guastalla: Salvatore Costa, 1782), 30-34.

[12] *Sion College, founded by Thomas Whit* (London: Richard Clay, 1859).

[13] Tonelli mistakes Genoa for Geneva in misattributing the edition of Thomas Sprat, *L'histoire de la Societe royale de Londres, establie pour l'enrichissement de la science naturelle escrite en Anglois* (Genèue, pour Iean Herman Widerhold, 1669).

[14] The author cites Robert Cotton, on whom see Colin G. C. Tite, *The Early Records of Sir Robert Cotton's Library. Formation, Cataloguing, Use* (London: The British Library, 2003) and a certain Gilbert Noorth (sic!) perhaps from the same family as the later celebrated collector Frederic North (1766-1827), on both see Fletcher, *English Books Collectors*, 32 and 130. A certain Gilbert North

Wroxton is mentioned as the brother of Dudley Lord North and Gentleman-Usher to Charles I, in *The Tenth Volume of the Walpole Society 1921-1922*, ed. A.J. Finberg, issued only to subscribers, (Oxford: Walpole Society by Frederick Hall at the University Press, 1922), 14.

[15] See for example the section of English books recorded in the great collection owned by Cardinal Garampi, *Bibliotheca Josephi cardinalis Garampii catalogus:* tomo V-*Storia* (Roma: de Romanis bibliopola venundantur administrante, 1796), 178-80. Further evidence of the diffusion of interest in English culture is the vast section of English books found in the Rivani library which later became part of the collection of the Società accademica fiorentina La Colombaria founded in 1735: *Catalogo della libreria di Alessandro Rivani* (Firenze: Luigi Pezzati, 1836). This includes the *Storia universale… scritta da una compagnia di letterati inglesi… illustrata con carte geografiche, rami, note, tavole cronologiche… tradotta dall'inglese* (Firenze: presso Domenico Marzi e Compagni, 1771-1790; 1st ed. Amsterdam, 1771), see Guido Abbattista, "Un dibattito settecentesco sulla storia universale (Ricerche sulle traduzioni e sulla circolazione della "*Universal History)*" *Rivista Storica Italiana* 101, no. 3 (1989): 614-95.

[16] Stephen Parkin, "Italian Printing in London," in *Foreing-Language Printing in London, 1500-1900*, ed. Barry Taylor (Boston Spa and London: The British Library 2002), 133-74.

[17] Denis B. Woodfield, *Surreptitious Printing in England 1550-1640* (New York: Bibliographical Society of America, 1973); Clifford C. Huffmann, *Elizabethan Impressions: John Wolfe and His Press* (New York : ASM Press, [1988]).

[18] Julian Roberts and Andrew G. Watson, *John Dee's Library Catalogue* (London: The London Bibliographical Society, 1990).

[19] J. Alfred Gotch, *Early Renaissance Architecture in England. A Historical & Descriptive Account of the Tudor, Elizabethan, & Jacobean periods, 1500-1625* (London: B.T. Batsford, New York Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901), 140 and Chapter 2. On the engraving of the triumphal arch see James Orchard, *A Hand-list of the Drawings and Engravings Illustrative of the life of Shakespeare, Preserved at Hollingsbury Copse, Near Brighton* (Brighton: [J.G. Bishop, printer] For private circulation only, 1884).

[20] See Stephen Parkin, "Le dediche nei libri italiani," in *Dintorni del testo. Approcci alle periferie del libro*, ed. Marco Santoro and Maria Gioia Tavoni (Roma: Accademia editoriale, 2005), 439-45.

[21] John Pendred, *The London and Country Printers, Booksellers and Stationers Vade Mecum* ([London], 1785) and Graham Pollard, *The Earliest Directory of the Book Trade* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1955). The Florentine engraver Francesco Bartolozzi came to England in 1764 at the request of the Royal bookseller Richard Dalton, see the useful list, compiled by Ian Maxted, of those working in the London booktrade and where they had their premises, at the website address Exeter working papers in British book trade history; "Exeter Working Papers in British Book Trade History; The London book trades 1775-1800: a preliminary checklist of members. Names B," http://bookhistory.blogspot.com/2007/01/london-1775-1800-b.html (accessed August 2009).

[22] One edition of the Flemish painter Bonaventura van Overbeke, *Degli avanzi dell'antica Roma* (Londra: Tommaso Edlin, 1739) with a translation by Rolli, contains numerous attractive engravings including an imposing one of the Colosseum. Nicolò Francesco Haym's *Del Tesoro Britannico parte prima. Overo il Museo Nummario. Ove si contengono le medaglie greche e latine in ogni metallo e forma, non prima pubblicate* (In Londra; per Giacob Tonson a spese dell'Autore, 1719-1720) also has engraved plates, vignettes and other illustrations; this was the first systematic description of the ancient coins housed in English numismatic collections and the accurate engravings reproduce also the defects of the original pieces. It was issued by subscription among the English nobility and other notables. A Latin edition was published, with new engravings copied from those in the London edition, in Vienna in 1763.

[23] The *Teatro fisicosmografico* by the hitherto unidentified F.A. di C. (Londra: per J. Bettenham, 1724), containing many beautiful engravings, reached the British Museum Library before 1814 because it is recorded in the printed catalogue of the library which was published in that year, see *Librorum impressorum qui in Museo britannico adservantur catalogus*, ed. Henry Ellis and Henry Hervey Baber (London: British Museum. Dept. of Printed Books, 1814) *ad vocem*.

[24] Giacomo Rossi, whose librettos were set by Handel, published several works of this kind, among which there was the ode *La Gran Bretagna* (Londra: s.t. li 30 Octobre, 1733 "*To be distributed gratis*") see George E. Dorris, *Paolo Rolli and the Italian circle in London 1715-1744* (The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1967), 70.

[25] While in London he also published among other things an edition of Tasso's *Rinaldo*, 1801; it is recorded at the website http://bookhistory.blogspot.com/2009/05/britain-1784-1811-t-u.html, which houses the research findings of the Exeter working papers in British book trade history "The British book trades 1784-1811: a tabulation of national directories." Da Ponte had been put on trial in Venice in 1776 for a political work on relations between America and Europe.

[26] *La Staffetta Italiana: or, The Italian Post* (London: Tho. Edlin, and sold by James Roberts in Warwick-Lane, [1728-1729?]) see Frederick Wilse Bateson, *The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1941), 719.

[27] Ferdinando Altieri, *Dizionario Italiano ed inglese. A dictionary Italian and English. Containing all the words of the vocabulary della Crusca… with proverbs and familiar phrases* (London: Printed for William and John Inns, at the west end of St. Paul's, 1726).

[28] See Antonio Malatesti, *La Tina equivoci rusticali… regalati al grande poeta inghilese [sic] Giovanni Milton* (Londra: alle spese di Tommaso Edlin, 1757); Vincenzo Martinelli, *Istoria d'Inghilterra* (Londra: Pietro Molini, 1770-1773), with a dedication to Thomas Walpole, who financed the edition.

[29] The Italian dedication of the *Dizionario* is addressed (cc. a2-[a3]v.) to "Giacomo Bridges duca di Chandos… governatore della compagnia di Turchia" and to "Guglielmo Dunster, sottogovernatore" as well as to the members of the Company who are all described as being "benemeriti della favella italiana" since Italian, as a *lingua franca* for traders and merchants, was known in England and "nelle più

remote provincie dell'Asia." On the author see Thomas Frank, "The first Italian grammars of the English language," *Historiographia Linguistica* X, no. 1-2 (1983): 1-25, available at the website http://www.fedoa.unina.it/1150/1/T.F.1983. In the second half of the seventeenth century the Genoese, under the terms of a treaty negotiated by the then Genoese ambassador in London, replaced the English in the silk trade in the Levant via Constantinople: see Gigliola Pagano De Divitiis, *Mercanti inglesi nell'Italia del seicento. Navi traffici egemonie* (Venezia: Marsilio, 1990), 30.

[30] Donald F. McKenzie, "Stretching a Point: Or the Case of the Spaced-out Comps," *Studies in Bibliography* XXXVII (1984): 112-30.

[31] For example, in John Milton, *Del Paradiso perduto poema inglese di Giovanni Milton traduzione di Paolo Rolli* (Londra: Carlo Bennet, 1735) the dedication to Frederick Elector of Hanover is signed by the translator with lower-case initials.

[32] See for example, notes 22 and 23 and Haym's volumes on numismatics or an edition of Tasso which takes its inspiration from the illustrated sixteenth-century Genoese edition (the London publication is perhaps a late echo of the interest in Tasso which the English had shown since Milton journeyed to Naples in 1638 and met Giovanni Manso, the poet's then elderly former patron); Torquato Tasso, *La Gierusalemme liberata con le figure di Bernardo Castelli. Aggiuntavi la vita dell'autore scritta da Gio. Battista Manso… e con due aggiunte e correzioni* (Londra: Giacob Tonson e Giovanni Watts, 1724); Torquato Tasso, *La Gierusalemme liberata... Con le figure di Bernardo Castelli, e le annotationi di Scipio Gentili, e di Giulio Guastavini* (Genova: Gerolamo Bartoli, 1590).

[33] The prices are shown on the title-page; see note 22, and Antonio Salvi, *Arminio* (London: G. Woodfall, 1760); Antonio Salvi, *Attalo* (London: G. Woodfall, at the King's-Arms, Charing-Cross, [1758]).

[34] *A catalogue of the entire library of Signor Battista Gastaldi, late resident from the republic of Genoa, among which are a large Collection of scarce Italian books* (London: Baker, 1757); my study on this catalogue is forthcoming. See also *A general catalogue of Books in all languages, arts and sciences* (London, printed for W. Bent, 1786), items Tasso and Macchiavelli; Giuseppe M.A. Baretti, *A dictionary of the English and Italian languages* (London: C. Hitch and L. Hawes, R. Baldwin, W. Johnston, W. Owen, J. Richardson, G. [1760]) the 1778 reprint is less expensive at only 7s; Giuseppe M.A. Baretti, *A grammar of the Italian language, with a copious praxis of moral sentences* (London: C. Hitch and L. Hawes, ... [1762]); Giuseppe M.A. Baretti, *Easy phraseology, for the use of young ladies* (London: G. Robinson, and T. Cadell, [1775]).

[35] *A catalogue of the entire library of Signor Battista Gastaldi*, and also *A catalogue of a very selected collection of books in all languages… now on sale*, (London: at James Edwards, 1794), nn. 5032-5701; *a Catalogue of books in all languages… collected from various part of Europe… now on sale* (London, at James Edwards, 1796) nn. 6748-7326. An employee in a printing shop earned about 2 shillings a day, a labourer less than 1 shilling; a seat in the gallery of a theatre cost more than 1 shilling, see Jeffrey G. Williamson, "The Structure of Pay in Britain, 1710-1911," *Research in Economic History* 7 (1982): 1-54. Henry B.

Wheatley, *Prices of books. An inquiry into the changes in the price of books which have occurred in England at different periods* (London: George Allen, 1898), 190-92. Prices for compositor's work are discussed in Ellic Howe, *The London Compositor. Documents relating to wages, working conditions and customs of the London Printing Trade 1785-1900* (London: The bibliographical Society, 1947).

[36] They were also distributors for the English provinces: see Guido Bentivoglio, *Raccolta di lettere* (Cambrigi, Ove si vendono appresso G. Thurlbourn, ed in Londra appresso G. Groenewegen e N. Prevost, 1727).

[37] Subscription editons include the following: G. Boccaccio, F. Geminiani, J. Milton, G. Ruccellai, J. Sannazzaro, A. Scarlatti; others, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, came out with the publishers Molini, Secchi-Vivo, J. Edwards; also *Saggi di prose e poesie de' più celebri scrittori d'ogni secolo* (Londra: per Cooper e Graham. Stampato a spese degli editori; e si vende da G. Polidori e Co., 1796-98) with a list of subscribers in volumes 1 and 6; Luigi Grillo, *Favole Esopiane* ([London]: Stampate a spese di G. Polidori, 1800); Francesco Sastres, *Saggi sulla Gran Bretagna* ([Londra]: Stampato a spese dell'autore, e trovasi vendibile da J. Robson, R. Faulde, 1793).

[38] Marie Boas Hall, "The Royal Society and Italy 1667-1795," *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 37, no. 1 (1982): 63-81; the English works of Giuseppe Baretti, see the catalogue in *Scritti scelti, inediti o rari* (Milano: G.B. Bianchi, 1822), 1-41, earned him the position of secretary for foreign correspondence in the Royal Academy of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture; see Antonio Lombardi, *Storia della letteratura italiana nel secolo XVIII*, vol. IV (Modena: tipografia Camerale, 1830), 274; Norbert Jonard, *Giuseppe Baretti, L'homme et l'oeuvre* (Clermont-Ferrand: G. De Bussac, 1963).

[39] *Librorum impressorum qui in Museo Britannico adservantur catalogus*, vol. III (Londini: 1813) letters G, H, I K; vol. V (Londini: 1817) letters Pac- Quo; vol. VII (Londini: 1819) Tabo-Y; I have counted the editions printed in four cities, Venice, Milan, Bologna, Rome: there are about 200 in volumes V and VII, over 100 in vol. III. A cautious estimate, which included the books produced elsewhere in Italy, might be that there are 300 Italian editions recorded in each volume of the catalogue.

[40] English interest in the developments of Italian science dates back to at least 1697 when a posthumous edition of Marcello Malpighi's works was published in London, see Davide Arecco, *Lo Stato e i Moderni. Storia politica della scienza piemontese 1685-1815* (Novi Ligure: Centro studi "In novitate," 2006), 20. In the eighteenth century the works of Francesco Algarotti, who was a member of the Royal Society, were printed in London, with Samuel Johnson correcting the proofs, with much success. In 1715 George I appointed the Paduan scientist Antonio Conti, who happened to be in London to observe the solar eclipse, to arbitrate in the controversy between Newton and Leibniz; see Giuseppe Vedova, *Biografia degli scrittori padovani* (Padova: coi tipi alla Minerva, 1831), 279.

[41] Michael Wyatt, *The Italian Encounter with Tudor England: a Cultural Politics of Translation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 144-45.

[42] *A compleat and authentick account of the late Revolution in Genoa comprehending a succinct view of the history, government and forces of that Republick* (London: J. Roberts 1746); Giovanni Assereto, "Il mal della pietra. L'insurrezione genovese del 1746 e la controversia su Balilla," *Studi Settecenteschi* 17 (1997): 335-66. In January 1772 *The British magazine and general review of the literature employment and amusement* (London: Evans, 1772), 90, gave the news of the sudden death of the Genoese resident in Paris during an official dinner.

[43] With the permission of the Republic's Secretaries of State, the consul John Collet was able to observe the arrivals and departures of ships in the port of Genoa during the period of the American revolution, an issue of some concern for the Genoese government. See the note from the Republic to Ageno its own consular representative in London, dated 28 June 1777 in Archivio di Stato di Genova, Archivio segreto cart. 2293 and Pierangelo Castagneto, "Genova egli Stati Uniti, al tempo di Franklin e Canefri," in *Cesare Canefri e la cultura scientifica nell'Europa del Settecento,* ed. Davide Arecco and Andrea Sisti (Novi Ligure: Centro studi "In novitate," 2004), 21-41.

[44] Exports to England (playing cards, foodstuffs and flowers) increased notably from the 1770s onwards, see Edoardo Grendi, "Gli inglesi a Genova," *Quaderni Storici* 115, a. XXXIX, no. 1 (2004): 241-78; *Report on the decline of the port of Livorno compared with Genoa XVII sec*. in British Library, Mss. Add. 48796 (*Trade and Commerce*) f. 197.

[45] The physician and chemist William Batt taught in Genoa for many years; the botanist and founder of Linnean Society James Edward Smith visited the city and met during his stay the scientists Canefri and Pratolongo; he also saw Giacomo Filippo Durazzo's Museum of Natural History, in which the minerals were classified according to the scheme proposed in the *Sciagraphia* by T.O. Bergan; see Juan Andrés, *Dell'origine, progressi e stato attuale di ogni letteratura,* tomo V*: Dell'origine, de' progressi e dello stato attuale delle scienze naturali* (Venezia: Giuseppe Antonelli editore, 1832), 218 (1ª ed. Parma: Bodoni, 1782-1799); Edoardo Grendi, "Fonti inglesi per la storia genovese," *Atti della società ligure di Storia Patria* n.s. XXVI (1996), fasc. II: *Studi e documenti in onore di don Luigi Alfonso per il suo 85° genetliaco*, 356; Davide Arecco, "Scienze naturali e istituzioni in Liguria tra Sette e Ottocento," *Nucius. Annali di storia della scienza* XVII (2002): 547-65; and the entry on him (by an unknown author, revised by Claire E.J. Herrick) in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography... from the earliest times to the year 2000*, ed. H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, vol. 4 (Oxford, 2004), 370, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101001707.

[46] Osvaldo Raggio, *Storia di una passione. Cultura aristocratica e collezionismo alla fine dell'ancien régime* (Venezia: Marsilio 2000).

[47] See note 34 above and Gastaldi, *Letter to the Republic of Genoa 1752*, British Library, Add. MS. 32838 f. 19. The diplomat, correctly described as *Genoese Minister* in the British Library catalogue, is strangely described as a Venetian ambassador by Ronald S. Crane, "The Diffusion of Voltaire's Writings in England, 1750-1800," *Modern Philology* 20, no. 3 (1923): 271.

[48] Alberto Petrucciani, "Bibliofili e librai nel Settecento: la formazione della biblioteca Durazzo: 1776-1783," *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria* a. 98, n.s. 24 (1984): 291-22; Durazzo also collected Baskerville's editions. On the Genoese Resident in London see Salvatore Rotta, *Celesia Pietro Paolo*, entry in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Roma: Fondazione Treccani, 1960), 380-86; Franco Venturi, *Settecento riformatore*, vol. IV: *La caduta dell'antico Regime (1776-1789)* vol. 1: *I grandi stati dell'Occidente* (Torino: Einaudi, 1984), 177; Pierangelo Castagneto "La prima missione diplomatica di Francesco Maria Ageno ministro della serenissima a Londra 1759-1766," *Studi Settecenteschi* 17 (1997): 187-226. On the English informers resident in Genoa in the seventeenth century, *Letters to British residents at Genoa from H. Coventry 1674-1680*, British Library, Add. MS. 2512.

[49] For example, Volta, a professor at Pavia university, received the prestigious Copley Medal in 1794, thus helping to promote the study of electricity among English scientists, see Marie Boas Hall, "La scienza italiana vista dalla Royal Society," in *Scienza e letteratura nella cultura italiana del Settecento* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1984), 62-63.

[50] They encouraged the growth of a lively market in second-hand books, sold on each time students left the university or the country; see Elisabeth Leedham-Green, *Books in Cambridge Inventories. Book-lists from the Vice-chancellor's Court Probate Inventories in the Tudor and Stuard Periods*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

[51] Some of the Genoese editions dispersed from the collection of Giovambattista Grimaldi (+1612 ca.) ended up in the library of the Duke of Sutherland; see Anthony Hobson, "La biblioteca di Giovanni Battista Grimaldi," *Atti e memorie della Società Ligure di Storia Patria* XX (XCIV), fasc. II (1980): 108-19.

[52] Philip Rowland Harris, *History of the British Museum Library 1753-1973* (London: The British Library, 1998), Philip Rowland Harris, "The Move of Printed Books from Montagu House," in *The Library of the British Museum*, ed. Philip Rowland Harris (London: The British Library, 1991), 75-101.

[53] Anna Giulia Cavagna, "Tipografia ed editoria d'antico regime a Genova," in *Storia di Genova*, vol. 3, ed. Dino Puncuh (Genova: Società Ligure di Storia Patria, 2005), 355-448.

[54] *Economia, istituzioni, cultura in Lombardia nell'età di Maria Teresa*, ed. Aldo De Maddalena, Ettore Rotelli and Gennaro Barbarisi (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1982).

[55] Anna Giulia Cavagna, "'Il produrre testo proprio stampato è un impegnarsi con tutto il mondo.' Produzione libraria, editoria e letture nel secondo Settecento pavese," *Annali di storia pavese* 21 (1992): 309-27; Anna Giulia Cavagna, "Milano-Napoli: editorie e tipografie del Settecento," in *Editoria napoletana del Settecento*, ed. Anna Maria Rao (Napoli: Liguori, 1998), 285-307.

[56] A groundbreaking study was David Pearson's *Provenance Research in Book History*, 2ª ed. revised (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press; London: British Library, 1998).

[57] Krystof Pomian, *Collezionisti amatori e curiosi. Parigi-Venezia XVI-XVIII secolo* (Milano: Il saggiatore, 1989), 15-60; Fabio Massimo Bertolo, "002.075

Bibliofilia," in *Biblioteconomia guida classificata*, diretta da Mauro Guerrini, condirettore Gianfranco Crupi, ed. Stefano Gambari, Vincenzo Fugaldi, Luigi Crocetti (Milano: Editrice Bibliografica, 2007), 44-47.

[58] Philip Rowland Harris, "Identification of Printed books acquired by the British Museum 1753-1836. A Guide to Stamps and Institutional Marks of Ownership," and Arnold Hunt, "Libraries in the Archives: Researching Provenance in the British Library," in *Libraries within the Library: A History of the British Library's Printed Collections*, ed. Giles Mandelbrote and Barry Taylor (London: The British Library, 2009). My thanks to the authors and editors for allowing me to read these essays in advance of publication.

[59] The following books have the former owner's bookplate or the Library stamp is a black octagonal one or a brown octagonal one: Dominique Anel, *Observation singulière sur la fistule lacrimale* (Genova: Giovanni Battista Scionico, 1713); Giuseppe Lorenzo Casaregis, *Ragioni del n. Gio Andrea Varese le quali provano nulla l'elezione del n. Carlo Facchinetti in sindaco della Gabella* (Genova: Per Antonio Scionico, 1713); Matteo Giorgi, *Dell'arte piccola di medicare* (Genova: stamperia Franchelli 1709); Matteo Giorgi, *Summa supremæ partis philosophiæ bipartita, seu de homine libri duo* (Genova: Stamperia Antonio Casamara, 1713).

[60] A red octagonal stamp is found in Giovanni Guidiccioni, *Opere* (Genova: presso Bernardo Tarigo, 1767); Nicolò Olivari, *Piano della Scuola Clinica* (Genova: Repetto, 1789); Giovanni Battista Pratolongo, *Discorso sulla simfiseotomia* (Genova: Casamara, 1783).

[61] Identified by the brown stamp: P.F., *Relation de la Révolution de Geñes* (Genes: J. B. Caffarelli 1797); or by the presence of a bookplate belonging to the former owner Frederick North, Earl of Guilford: M. Zignago, *Instituti et ordini militari* (Genova: Giovan Battista Casamara, 1722).

[62] Identified with the red stamp used until about 1813: Gabriello Chiabrera, *Alcune poesie* (Genova: Caffarelli, 1794).

[63] Vincente Bacallar, y Sanna, *Comentarios de la Guerra de España*; the Library possesses two editions of this work: from an unnamed printer and publisher, Genova, 1730 (1725?) and Genova: Por Matheo Garvizza, 1790-1793. Both editions, also owned by many European libraries and catalogued with different thypographical notes, show possible false imprints; they are a bibliographic puzzle on which I will return on other occasion. The copy from George III's library has a curious manuscript note "Giacomo Lanzavecchia Negrini per gli vicariati di Polcevera e Chiavari"; Filippo Maria Casoni, *Annali della repubblica di Genova*, two editions (Genova: Antonio Casamara 1708; Genova: stamperia Casamara 1799): one came from the collection of the late eighteenth-century antiquarian and historian Richard Colt Hoare who gave his books to the British Museum Library in 1825, the other was in George III's library; Gaetano da S. Teresa, *Il Catino di smeraldo orientale, gemma consagrata da N. S. Gesu Christo* (Genova: Franchelli, 1726); *Gionta contro banditi commissionata dal Sereniss. Senato della... republica* (Genova; Nicolo' e Paolo Scionico, 1729); *Grida proihibitiva dell'armi da fuoco* (Genova: Adamo Scionico, 1742); *Leggi delle Compere di S. Giorgio* (Genova: Antonio Scionico 1720); *Raccolta delle Leggi ed Atti del Corpo Legislativo della*

Repubblica Ligure (Genova: Franchelli 1798); the work *La regina di Macedonia. Dramma per musica* (Genova: Antonio Casamara, 1708) with a black octagonal stamp and bound together with a copy which certainly comes from the library of Hans Sloane.

[64] For example a 1764 Genoese publication on a subject of local interest, Andrio's *Sulle processioni dette Casacce*, is bound together with another Genoese work by Stefano Franchi on a related subject.

[65] Francisco Lampillas, *Risposta… intorno al saggio storico-apologetico della Letteratura Spagnuola* (Genova: Presso il Repetto, 1778) see Rosemary Mitchell's entry on "George Frederick Nott, (1767-1841)" in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography... from the earliest times to the year 2000*, edited H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford, 2004), vol. 41, 213-14, http://www.oxforddnb.com/ index/101001707.

[66] The British Library copy of Giuseppe Saporiti, *Istruzione sovra i sagri riti cerimonie e disciplina de' cori e delle chiese 1766* (Genova: Bernardo Tarigo 1766) has an Italian ownership stamp "D.F. Pozzolini" and the bookplate of the scottish Sir Thomas North Dick Lauder H.C.G. Matthew, "Lauder, Sir Thomas Dick, seventh baronet (1784-1848)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16118 (accessed September 3, 2009).

[67] *List of the original catalogues of the principal libraries which have been sold by auction by Mr. Samuel Baker, from 1744 to 1774… and Mr. Sotheby, from 1816 to 1828* (London: Compton and Ritchie, 1828). The whole forming a series of one hundred and forty-six volumes in quarto, with prices and purchasers' names. The *Effemeridi Letterarie* was a bibliographical review which had a regular column on the London book market; in 1787 it included a notice of a medical opuscule published in Genoa in 1786 by the already mentioned G. Pratolongo; a copy of this edition is in the British Library.

[68] James Edwards, *A Catalogue of the Valuable Library* (London: R.H. Evans, 1815); in Italy he had acquired the library of Maffeo Pinelli, which was sold in London in 1789, and part of the Viennese library of Eugenio of Savoy.

[69] Anna Giulia Cavagna, "Settecentine alla British Library: rapporti librari competenze, linguistiche e viaggiatori tra Pavia e Londra," in *Testo e immagine nell'editoria del Settecento*, ed. Marco Santoro and Valentina Sestini (Pisa and Roma: Serra, 2008), 367-95; the authors discussed are G. Atwood, G. Bull, W. Cullen, S.F. Simmons, T. Thomson, C. Wintringham, J. Andréé, Th. Girdlestone, J. Brown, T. Beddoes, J. Swift, W. Fordyce, and the Irishman J. Lanigan.

[70] I have examined various annual volumes, published in the eighteenth century, of *The London Magazine*, extracting anecdotes related to the booktrade in different ways and in different contexts, both English and European. I have examined the volumes for 1784 and the first half of 1785. The anonymous article on the "Library of The British Museum" argues that "the subject of the inutility of the Library of the British Museum, as it is at present managed, became the subject of animadversion in the public newspapers." See *The London magazine new series*, vol. III, September-Dicember 1825 (London: Baldwin, 1825): 533-36. Reviews

and bio-bibliographical articles can also be found in the *London magazine enlarged and inproved.*

[71] Barbara M. Benedict, "Recent Studies in the Restoration and Eighteenth Century," *Studies in English Literature* 42, 3 (2002): 619-74.

[72] *A catalogue of the library of the London Institution* vol. I *The General Library*, ([London], 1835) under the heading Molossi. Many of the titles present in the catalogue are also included in Robert Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica or General Index to British and Foreign Literature*, 2 vols. (London and Edinburgh: Constable, 1824), a bibliographical guide which shows what was still considered to be of interest in Italian literature in the London of the industrial age.

[73] In this Wellcome Library there are for example a dozen eighteenth-century editions on medical topics from Pavia, all valid scientific contributions and well printed.

THE SPACE OF TIME: *FLEURONS* AS TEMPORAL MARKERS IN SAMUEL RICHARDSON'S *CLARISSA* AND UGO FOSCOLO'S *ORTIS*

ROSAMARIA LORETELLI*

Book history is no longer a bare trunk rising alone in the field of research but has sprouted several long branches, including editorial history, the history of the material supports of texts, the history of book dispersal[1] and the history of reading.[2] The latter started out by mapping the development of literacy, understood as the bare capacity to sign one's name. It was, however, soon discovered that people able to produce a signature were not necessarily able or indeed disposed to read books. This led to a partial shift of focus towards reception and cultural studies on the one hand and the cognition of reading on the other.[3]

There is, however, a branch that has yet to sprout, despite the abundance of space on the trunk for it to grow, in the area where the histories of reading and the book intersect with the history of literary forms and genres. In other words, very little attention has been paid so far to the relations between literature, the material supports of texts and reading practices from the early modern era to the end of the nineteenth century.[4] What the book historian David McKitterick wrote in 2003 still holds true: "the chasm of understanding between the implications of how texts are produced, multiplied and changed, and how they are received and reinterpreted, remains only imperfectly bridged."[5]

It is my intention here to suggest a possible connection between these three fields of historical study and indicate the place where the foundations might be laid for a bridge joining them, where the knowledge built up on the material aspect of printed books might prove conducive to an understanding of the linguistic, structural and aesthetic characteristics of texts.

I shall take as my starting point another book published in 2003, namely *Graphic Design, Print Culture, and the Eighteenth-Century Novel*

* Università di Napoli "Federico II."

by Jeanine Barchas, where the author discusses the presence and functions of "printer's flowers" or *fleurons* in a number of eighteenth-century narrative texts. Reference will be made in particular to the findings of a chapter whose title clearly heralds its content: "The Space of Time. Graphic Design and Temporal Distortion." Barchas informs us here that the early editions of Samuel Richardson's *Clarissa* contained a large number of *fleurons* and then goes on, through examination of the first and third editions, to identify the function of these non-pictorial ornaments, namely to interrupt the printed text by creating pauses.

Non-pictorial ornaments such as *fleurons*—she says—were used in the eighteenth century not only by Richardson but also quite commonly by other writers. Very soon, however, they were tacitly eliminated in later editions and have since been considered inessential not only by publishers but also by literary historians, who dismiss them as bibliographical "accidentals."[6]

On the contrary, *fleurons* were anything but unimportant and far from purely decorative elements in the eighteenth century. Barchas goes on to tell us that in *Clarissa*, where they appear more than two hundred times, they were visual markers of time indicating interruptions and temporal duration, something modern editions have lost with their disappearance. *Fleurons* mark both a pause in the character's letter writing "and a meditative pause in reading requested of her fictional reader. This same reflective pause is invited of Richardson's real world reader."[7]

In conclusion, according to Barchas, *fleurons* structured "within the *visual space* of the printed page the *temporal space* of the fiction"[8] in *Clarissa*, serving visually to interrupt highly charged moments of conflict and emotion.[9]

Let me repeat this: *fleurons* (mimetically) represent an emotionally important interruption in the writing and reading of the characters within the story, and their presence is also designed to influence the real readers' reading experience by causing a break in the narrative flow. Richardson was therefore trying to make readers experience at least some of the emotions felt by the characters.

What were these emotions? Obviously those connected with temporality and in particular with the future, namely impatience, the tension of waiting and fear. And also suspense, according to Barchas.

As I hope to show in the following pages, albeit in a necessarily brief form, what Barchas states here is of great interest and constitutes a cornerstone for our understanding of one of the possible points of intersection between book history, the history of literature and the history of reading.

I shall start by noting that the author's hypothesis is not only susceptible of first-hand verification through examination of the earliest editions of *Clarissa* but also borne out by two known external facts, namely that Richardson was a publisher/printer, and hence very familiar with the different print types, and that he had always proclaimed an interest in the narrative representation of time.

Given Richardson's familiarity with printing, it is plausible to suggest that he might have tried out different ways of representing time mimetically through the elements of graphic design offered by the printing press in his day. This "omniscient editor," as he has been called,[10] took great care over the printing of his works.

He himself recounted the publishing history of *Clarissa* as follows in *The Case of Samuel Richardson, of London, Printer*,[11] an in-folio "declaration" printed to protest against the appearance of a pirated edition of *The History of Sir Charles Grandison*:

> The Editor of the History of Sir Charles Grandison had intended to send the Volumes of it, as he did those of the History of Clarissa Harlowe, to be printed to Ireland, before he published them himself in London. Accordingly, when he had printed off so considerable a Part of his Work, as would have constantly employed the Press to which he purposed to consign them, he sent over 12 Sheets of his First Volume to Mr. George Faulkner; intending to follow it with the rest, as Opportunity offered.

There is no reason not to believe what Richardson says here. He had been directly involved in the printing of *Clarissa* and the novel's two "first" editions—both appearing in the same year, one in London and the other in Dublin—were actually published as stated in the above complaint.[12] The insertion of *fleurons* can therefore be credibly attributed to Richardson himself, not least in view of the fact that, as I have ascertained, their locations are the same in both the first editions.

As to the other fact, namely Richardson's interest in the narrative representation of time, confirmation is provided by the many explicit statements to be found in his letters and elsewhere in his writings.

Widely known and often quoted are Richardson's statements concerning the emotional effect created by the "writing to the moment" of his novels in letters. And there are many other occasions on which he revealed his interest in narrative time, both in terms of mimetic fidelity and of the characters' and real world readers' emotional responses.

The following passage from the preface to the third London edition of *Clarissa*[13] provides a telling instance and may suffice here, given the limited space available:

> All the Letters are written while the hearts of the writers must be supposed to be wholly engaged in their subjects (The events at the time generally dubious): So that they abound not only with critical Situations, but with what may be called *instantaneous* Descriptions and Reflections (proper to be brought home to the breast of the youthful Reader); as also, with affecting Conversations; many of them written in the dialogue or dramatic way.
>
> *Much more* lively and affecting, says one of the principal characters (Vol. VII. p. 73) must be the Style of those who write in the height of a *present* distress; the mind tortured by the pangs of uncertainty (the Events then hidden in the womb of Fate); *than* the dry, narrative, unanimated Style of a person relating difficulties and dangers surmounted, can be; the relater perfectly at ease; and if himself unmoved by his own Story, not likely greatly to affect the Reader.

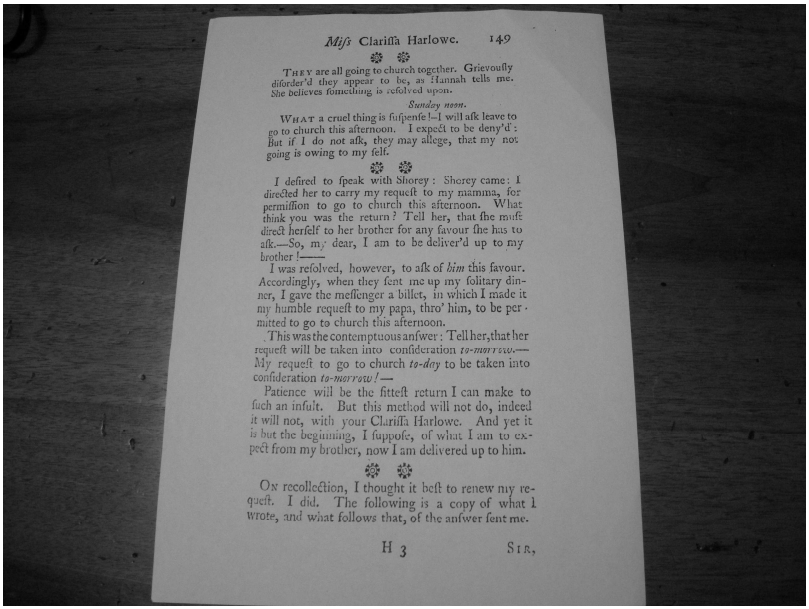
In this passage Richardson's argument revolves around two pivots, one being the emotions and the other time. He mentions the "hearts" of the characters writing the letters and the "breast of the youthful reader" (the real reader of his novel) as well as "affecting conversation" and "affecting style." As regards time, he not only refers to "*instantaneous* Descriptions" and "*present* distress" but also uses italics in both cases to emphasize the words with a temporal content.

There is, however, much more in this passage than bare references to the emotions and time. What is pointed out here is the existence of a relationship between time and the emotions that involves both the characters caught up in the events of the story and people in real life, including readers. We find phrases such as "at the time the events being dubious," "critical Situations," "*instantaneous* Descriptions and Reflections," and "affecting […] the Style of those who write in the height of a *present* distress; the mind tortured by the pangs of uncertainty (the Events then hidden in the womb of Fate)." Projection towards an unknown future is referred to by Richardson as a source of emotions.

We can now have a clearer understanding of what Richardson was really after when he used such signs as *fleurons*, asterisks, and long straight lines to represent intervals of time. He was in fact experimenting with the novel, the "new species of writing" that he felt he had invented, a kind "that never yet had been done."[14] The relationship between time and the emotions was one of the linchpins of his narrative experimentation, and since he was a printer he probably conceived the idea of trying out also non-linguistic characters in order to indicate time and arouse his readers' emotions.

The reproduction of a page from *Clarissa*'s first London edition will make matters clearer (Fig. 1). This page is not to be found in Barchas and I

have chosen it because it contains more *fleurons* – rosettes in this case – than most of the others in the novel. Here we can see how they are introduced to represent time.



Miſs Clariſſa Harlowe. 149

THEY are all going to church together. Grievouſly diſorder'd they appear to be, as Hannah tells me. She believes ſomething is reſolved upon.

Sunday noon.

WHAT a cruel thing is ſuſpenſe!—I will aſk leave to go to church this afternoon. I expect to be deny'd: But if I do not aſk, they may allege, that my not going is owing to my ſelf.

I deſired to ſpeak with Shorey: Shorey came: I directed her to carry my requeſt to my mamma, for permiſſion to go to church this afternoon. What think you was the return? Tell her, that ſhe muſt direct herſelf to her brother for any favour ſhe has to aſk.—So, my dear, I am to be deliver'd up to my brother!——

I was reſolved, however, to aſk of *him* this favour. Accordingly, when they ſent me up my ſolitary dinner, I gave the meſſenger a billet, in which I made it my humble requeſt to my papa, thro' him, to be permitted to go to church this afternoon.

This was the contemptuous anſwer: Tell her, that her requeſt will be taken into conſideration *to-morrow*.—My requeſt to go to church *to-day* to be taken into conſideration *to-morrow!*—

Patience will be the fitteſt return I can make to ſuch an inſult. But this method will not do, indeed it will not, with your Clariſſa Harlowe. And yet it is but the beginning, I ſuppoſe, of what I am to expect from my brother, now I am delivered up to him.

ON recollection, I thought it beſt to renew my requeſt. I did. The following is a copy of what I wrote, and what follows that, of the anſwer ſent me.

H 3 SIR,

Fig. 1. *Clarissa*, first London edition (1748), vol. I, 149.

This is a letter from Clarissa to Miss Howe (xii, vol. I), dated Sunday morning, March 5. Clarissa has refused to marry Mr. Solmes and is carrying on a secret correspondence with Lovelace. She would like to break this off but fears that by doing so she might give even more power to her family, who have already confined her to her bedroom. This is the content of her letter, and the words on the previous page, before the first two rosettes, are as follows:

> Whose advice can I now ask but yours?
>
> All my relations are met. They are at breakfast together. Solmes is expected. I am excessively uneasy. I must lay down my pen.

Then come the two rosettes, symbolising an interruption in the writing of the letter and a pause. As can be seen in the reproduction, the second

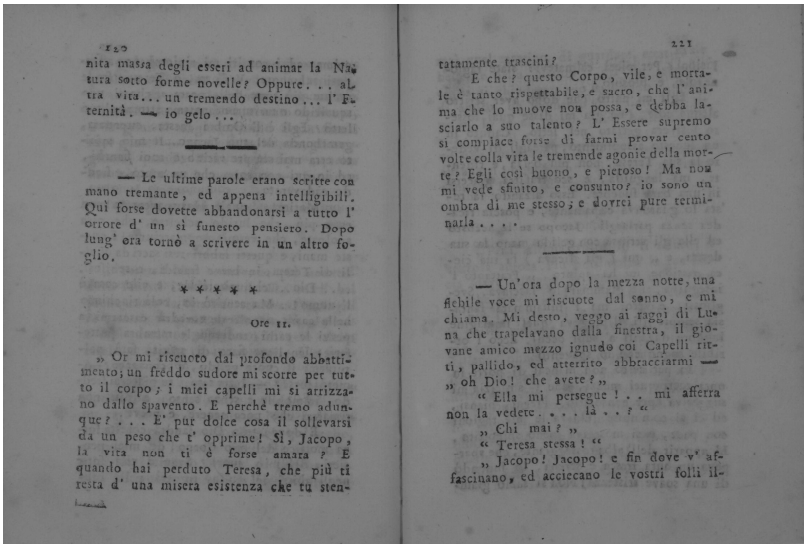
group of rosettes also represents an interval during which, as Clarissa explains in the subsequent passage, she asks for permission to go to church. Another follows, now marked by a long dash, while she waits for dinner to be brought to her. She then gives a "messenger" a note for her brother to ask for permission to go to church. The third group of rosettes again represents a period of time, during which the protagonist takes a decision and carries it out.[15]

This is how *fleurons* represent time everywhere in Richardson's *Clarissa*, serving as marks of temporal realism, indicating interruptions in the characters' letter writing and requesting the real readers to pause in their reading.

It was, however, not only in England that *fleurons* performed this function but also in Italy, one example being *Ultime lettere di Jacopo Ortis*, the first Italian novel.

As is known, the editorial history of this novel is controversial and partly conjectural, with some aspects still shrouded in darkness.[16] There is no need to go into all the details for the purposes of this essay, and a few pieces of information will suffice. While the first edition to be officially acknowledged by Ugo Foscolo came out in the year 1802, four earlier editions had already appeared with a partly different text.[17] All of these were published in Bologna by the publisher/printer Marsigli and repudiated by Foscolo as not his own work but only vaguely based on some of his manuscripts. He later said that they contained material written by "a certain" Angelo Sassoli.[18] Although recent scholarship tends to see Foscolo's contribution as greater than he cared to admit, the question of how much can be attributed to him and how much to others is still debated amongst critics. According to Pino Fasano, Marsigli himself was involved more than one would expect of a publisher, being most probably responsible for assembling the material and filling in some of the gaps.

All this is of interest here in that it may help to explain the presence of *fleurons* in these first four editions and the function to be attributed to them. If Marsigli was directly involved in the writing of these books, he might have decided to make use of non-verbal printing characters (to which he had more immediate access than other authors) in order to represent time. Here is a page of the book where we can see once again how rosettes are used to represent an interval fraught with emotion, just as they are in *Clarissa* (Fig. 2).



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nita massa degli esseri ad animar la Natura sotto forme novelle? Oppure... altra vita... un tremendo destino... l' Eternità. — io gelo...

— Le ultime parole erano scritte con mano tremante, ed appena intelligibili. Qui forse dovette abbandonarsi a tutto l' orrore d' un sì funesto pensiero. Dopo lung' ora tornò a scrivere in un altro foglio.

* * * * *

Ore 11.

» Or mi riscuoto dal profondo abbattimento; un freddo sudore mi scorre per tutto il corpo; i miei capelli mi si arrizzano dallo spavento. E perchè tremo adunque? . . . E' pur dolce cosa il sollevarsi da un peso che t' opprime! Sì, Jacopo, la vita non ti è forse amara? E quando hai perduto Teresa, che più ti resta d' una misera esistenza che tu stentatamente trascini?

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E che? questo Corpo, vile, e mortale è tanto rispettabile, e sacro, che l' anima che lo muove non possa, e debba lasciarlo a suo talento? L' Essere supremo si compiace forse di farmi provar cento volte colla vita le tremende agonie della morte? Egli così buono, e pietoso! Ma non mi vede sfinito, e consunto? io sono un ombra di me stesso; e dovrei pure terminarla . . . .

— Un' ora dopo la mezza notte, una flebile voce mi riscuote dal sonno, e mi chiama. Mi desto, veggo ai raggi di Luna che trapelavano dalla finestra, il giovane amico mezzo ignudo coi Capelli ritti, pallido, ed atterrito abbracciarmi — » oh Dio! che avete? »

« Ella mi persegue! . . mi afferra non la vedete. . . . là . . ? «

» Chi mai? »

« Teresa stessa! «

» Jacopo! Jacopo! e fin dove v' affascinano, ed acciecano le vostri folli il-

Fig. 2. *Vera storia di due amanti infelici, ossia Ultime lettere di Jacopo Ortis*, Bologna, Marsigli (1799), 220-21.

Fleurons disappeared from the 1802 edition of *Ultime lettere di Jacopo Ortis*, the first to be acknowledged by Foscolo as his. There the function of representing emotional pauses was taken up by dashes and long series of small asterisks, the number of which decreased, however, in the subsequent editions.

As we have seen, *fleurons* were used to symbolise emotively charged periods of time in the early editions both of *Clarissa* and of *Ultime lettere di Jacopo Ortis*, where the text is, however, not entirely Foscolo's work and the publisher Marsigli appears to have intervened.

But why were these signs abandoned? Why did Foscolo (who was, incidentally, familiar with Richardson's *Clarissa*)[19] not retain them in the edition of 1802? The answer, in my view, is that the *fleurons* did not produce the desired effect. They were supposed not only to serve as graphic *symbols* of temporality but also to recreate a temporal *experience* in the reader, to constitute a pause, to interrupt the reading and hence the flow of information, arousing in the reader the same emotions as the delay and protraction of events aroused in the characters. In other words, they were supposed to trigger some form of anxiety also in the reader, the anguish of an impending and unknown future: in short, suspense.

The *fleurons* produced this effect, however, only to a certain degree. As we can easily ascertain ourselves by reading the pages reproduced above, the eye skips over the *fleurons* in reading almost without noticing their presence and certainly without slowing down the flow of information. In short, the characters' experience of temporality in the scenes is in no way recreated in the modern reader.

This was certainly the case also in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when the modern type of quick, individual and silent reading became widespread. The situation had been, however, different in the earlier stage[20] up to and including the first part of the eighteenth century, before the new way of reading was fully established as general practice. Reading aloud in groups and often in the family was still customary in the eighteenth century.

In this situation, the symbol indicating a pause could easily be translated into real time by halting the flow of words to create a momentary silence of the voice reading for everyone or even an actual break in the reading, to be continued the following day. In the type of reading that became widespread soon afterwards, all the readers have instead direct and individual access to the printed text, which they read quickly with their eyes, going directly to the sense with no lingering over the graphic signs. The material form of the page had become transparent to perception.

We can thus guess why *fleurons* were first introduced as temporal markers and then quickly discarded. We can, however, do this precisely because we are combining the history of the material supports of text with the history of reading and of literary forms, as promised at the outset. We are combining the presence and disappearance of *fleurons* as temporal markers, the eighteenth-century reading revolution and the "invention" of the novel.

Fleurons were jettisoned because eighteenth-century narrative experimentation soon realised that they failed to produce the desired effects in readers, namely to slow down the time of reading and to arouse the emotions that depend on temporality. It was realised that other ways would have to be found to arrive at this result. The novel discovered that no graphic design would achieve a delay in the flow of information, and that no *fleuron* would arouse curiosity and anxiety in readers who had interiorised print. A pause or delay would henceforth have to be achieved exclusively through words, a long series of words on the pages of a printed book to be read silently. But this is another and much longer story.[21]

Notes

[1] As is known, the bibliography stemming from Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin's *L'apparition du livre* (1971) has become immense. A comprehensive and still fascinating overview of different lines of research can be found in Henri-Jean Martin, *Histoire et pouvoir de l'écrit* (Paris: Librairie Academique Petrin, 1988).

[2] Two overviews of the history of reading from ancient times to the present are Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier, eds., *A History of Reading in the West* (Cambridge, Mass.: University of Massachussetts Press, 2003) and Steven Roger Fischer, *A History of Reading* (London: Reaktion Books, 2003).

[3] The bibliography is too vast to be accounted for here. For the first line of research, let us mention only three outstanding authors, namely Hans Robert Jauss, Roger Chartier and Robert Darnton. For the second, although somehow different, Wolfgang Iser's *The Act of Reading. A Theory of Aesthetic Response* (London and Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978), the empirical studies of reading, and Paul Saeger, *Space between Words. The Origin of Silent Reading* (Stanford-California: Standford University Press, 1997) and Jesper Svenbro, *Phrasikleia: An Anthropology of Reading in Ancient Greece* (Ithaca-New York: Cornell University Press, 1993).

[4] With the exception of Donald F. McKenzie's books and articles and Roger Chartier's *Inscrire et effacer. Culture écrite et littérature (XIe-XVIIIe siècle)* (Paris: Seuil/Gallimard, 2005).

[5] David McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order: 1450-1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 217. This is of course true for the period considered by McKitterick and not for the Middle Ages, for which a scholarly combination of the historical and the cognitive viewpoints has long been established, not least under the influence of Paul Zumthor.

[6] Jeanine Barchas, *Graphic Design, Print Culture, and the Eighteenth-Century Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 119.

[7] Ibid., 135.

[8] Ibid., 120.

[9] Ibid., 122.

[10] Kevin L. Cope, "Richardson the Advisor," in *New Essays on Samuel Richardson*, ed. Albert J. Rivero (London: MacMillan, 1996), 22.

[11] "*with regard to the/ Invasion of his Property/ in/ The History of Sir Charles Grandison,/ Before Publication,/ By Certain Booksellers in Dublin.*" The reference in the British Library is 813. m. 12/53.

[12] This is the title page of the London edition: "CLARISSA/or, the/ HISTORY/ of a/ YOUNG LADY:/ Comprehending/ The *most* Important Concerns *of* Private LIFE./ And particularly shewing,/ The DISTRESSES that may attend the Misconduct/ Both of PARENTS and of CHILDREN,/ In Relation to MARRIAGE./ *Published by the* EDITOR *of* PAMELA./Vol. I./ LONDON:/ Printed for S. Richardson:/ And Sold by A. MILLAR, over-against *Catharine-street* in the *Strand*:/J. and JA. RIVINGSTON, in *St. Paul's Church-yard*:/ JOHN OSBORN, in *Pater-noster Row*;/ And by J. LEAKE, at *Bath*./ M.DCC.XLVIII."

The Dublin edition, though printed on paper of poorer quality, has the same frontispiece, apart from the name and location of the publisher, which is "Dublin:/ Printed by George Faulkner in Essex Street,/ M,DCC,XLVIII."

[13] Published in 1751. Barchas opens her chapter with a quotation from this preface but attributes it incorrectly to the first edition. The passage I quote is from page 5 of the 1751 London edition.

[14] The first definition is in a letter to Aaron Hill (5. 1.1746/7), reprinted in *Samuel Richardson's Published Commentary on Clarissa (1747-65*), Vol. I, *Prefaces, Postscripts and Related Writings*, introduction by Jocelyn Harris, text edited by Thomas Keymer (London: Pickering and Chatto, 1998), 23. The letter, translated from Anna Laetitia Barbauld's *The Correspondece of Samuel Richardson* (printed for Richard Phillips, 1804), is also in a recent Italian collection of selected letters by Richardson with introduction, translation and notes by Donatella Montini (*Samuel Richardson, Lettere su Clarissa*, Viterbo: Settecittà, 2009, pp, 114-5). The second definition is in the "Postscript" to *Clarissa*. On a subject different from the one addressed here but still within the broader context of Anglo-Italian relations, I would like to draw attention to an Italian book that discusses the translations of *Pamela* into Italian and identifies the source of some new material that the author added to the novel in subsequent editions: Ilenia De Bernardis, *"L'illuminata imitazione". Le origini del romanzo moderno in Italia: dalle traduzioni all'emulazione* (Bari: Palomar, 2007).

[15] I do not intend to discuss the different types of *fleurons* appearing in the different volumes and editions here. Suffice it to note that while the *fleurons* are not differentiated in the first book of the London and the Dublin editions of *Clarissa*, they may differ in relation to the character writing the letter in the following volumes of the first London edition and throughout the second edition (1749). This does not always happen, however. Moreover, the different volumes see changes in the type of *fleuron* attributed to the different characters. In the third London edition, on the contrary, the differentiation is much more precise.

[16] See Giovanni Gambarin's introduction to Ugo Foscolo, *Ultime lettere di Jacopo Ortis*, ed. Giovanni Gambarin (Firenze: Le Monnier, 1955); and Pino Fasano's introduction to Ugo Foscolo, Angelo Sassoli, *Vera storia di due amanti infelici, ossia Ultime lettere di Jacopo Ortis*, ed. Pino Fasano (Roma: Bulzoni Editore, 1999).

[17] *Ultime lettere di Jacopo Ortis*, Bologna, Marsigli, M.DCC.XCVIII; *Vera storia di due amanti infelici, ossia Ultime lettere di Jacopo Ortis*, Bologna, Marsigli, M.DCC.IC; *Vera storia di due amanti infelici, ossia Ultime lettere di Jacopo Ortis*, Bologna, Marsigli, M.DCC.IC (but 1800); and *Vera storia di due amanti infelici, ossia Ultime lettere di Jacopo Ortis*, M.DCCC.I.

[18] An expression used by Foscolo in a reference to one of the Bologna editions: "questa misera rapsodia romanzesca fu compilata da certo Angelo Sassoli che adulterò il mio manoscritto mentre io viaggiava fuori d'Italia." Also: "rifeci bensì verso quel tempo le lettere di Ortis, ed erano tutte disquisizioni filosofiche e politiche sul suicidio. Cominciai a stamparle, e pentito di nuovo, interruppi l'edizione […] Mentre io col mio reggimento partiva d'Italia, affidai le mie carte e

i miei libri a un ospite […] estraendo da' miei scartafacci e dagli abbozzi delle mie lettere molti squarci di filosofia, di politica e di amore, e raccozzandoli all'edizione interrotta, e annacquandoli con molte note acciocché non offendessero chi governava, e rimpastandoli a un'istoria tutta sua, vi aggiunse del proprio una seconda parte, mezza versi e mezza prosa, e pubblicò due volumetti, la Vera storia di due amanti infelici, ossia Ultime lettere di Jacopo Ortis" (Foscolo, letter 667 of 29 September 1808 to Jacob S. Bartholdy). Both quoted in Pino Fasano's introduction to Ugo Foscolo, Angelo Sassoli, *Vera storia di due amanti infelici*, 9-10. For an interpretation of these statements, see Giuseppe Nicoletti, *Il "metodo" dell'*Ortis *e altri studi foscoliani* (Firenze: La Nuova Italia, 1978).

[19] Matteo Palombo, "Le *Ultime lettere di Jacopo Ortis*: il sistema del romanzo" and "Le *Lettere scritte dall'Inghilterra*: Foscolo pittore della vita moderna," in *Saggi sulla prosa di Ugo Foscolo* (Napoli: Liguori, 1994).

[20] Benedetta Craveri, *La civiltà della conversazione* (Milano: Adelphi, 2001); Kevin Sharpe and Steven Zwicker, eds., *Reading, Society and Politics in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Harold Love, *The Culture and Commerce of Texts. Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998).

[21] I address this subject in hopefully convincing terms in a forthcoming book entitled *L'invenzione del romanzo. Dall'oralità alla lettura silenziosa* (Bari and Roma: Laterza, 2010).

IMAGINARY VOYAGES' AESTHETIC THEORIES: TOWARDS A DEFINITION OF THE FANTASTIC

RICCARDO CAPOFERRO*

Usually regarded as the century in which the novel was born, the eighteenth century also saw the formation of what we now call "the fantastic":[1] under the influence of empirical culture, genres such as apparition narratives and imaginary voyages came into being. Like the novel, these genres deployed a style dense with concrete details; on the level of content they were, however, radically different from the novel, since they included descriptions of ghosts, monsters, and non-existent countries. In an innovative fashion, the early works of the fantastic used a circumstantial style to describe objects whose existence was increasingly questionable: they placed supernatural events in the real world. The coexistence of the real and the unreal served to perform a variety of functions: first and foremost, it solved on the aesthetic level problems that had been determined by the rise of the new science, mediating between the traditional religious view and the new materialism. In apparition narratives, for instance, ghosts are taken as evidence of the existence of God, threatened by the growing emphasis on direct experience.

Although an overarching category that accounted for these innovations was not coined, the rise of the new genres went along with an intense critical work. Readers and authors of the period assessed the formal and ontological characteristics of "romances" such as *Gulliver's Travels* and *The Castle of Otranto*. In 1786, Lord Monboddo wrote that the main achievement of *Gulliver's Travels* was its style, which managed to give an air of truthfulness to the monstrous and the improbable.[2] In his second preface to *The Castle of Otranto*, Horace Walpole stated that his work was based on the combination of the ancient and the modern romance: the "probability" typical of the novel was used to make credible the reactions of characters facing exceptional circumstances. In both cases, the existence of a new code able to make the unreal look real is acknowledged, and both

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genres—the Gothic and the imaginary voyage—are framed as hybrid formations that combine credible and incredible entities, a realistic verisimilitude and wild inventions.

The theorization of the fantastic was, in many cases, attempted by fiction itself. In this period a broader redefinition of the aesthetic occurred: the ambition to portray truth went along with a specification of the idea of the fictive: the newborn novel often styled itself "history," declaring its ability to describe things as they are, but at the same time it was not afraid to draw attention to its artificial quality. Fielding, for instance, reflected on the form, functions, and limits of the new province of writing, and in the second half of the eighteenth century novels grew overtly fictional, reproducing well-established conventions and reflecting on their representational range. Thus, the novel came to present itself as self-consciously aesthetic.

Even the fantastic reflected on its fictional status. This only marginally happened in apparition narratives—but happened in the Gothic, which incorporated them—and happened, I shall argue, in imaginary voyages. The self-consciousness of imaginary voyages derives from a variety of factors: first of all, from their models. Although in the seventeenth century fake empirical travelogues were produced—they included both reliable data and medieval monsters—imaginary voyages were more deeply influenced by the utopian tradition and the tradition of Menippean satire, characterized by a strong self-reflexive component and mediated by Cyrano's *Comical History*. Already in the second half of the seventeenth century, we can find imaginary voyages that display the degree of self-consciousness typical of satirical and utopian writing. One of these is, I shall argue, Margaret Cavendish's *The Blazing World*—published in 1666 as an appendix to Cavendish's own *Observations Upon Experimental Philosophy*—which, besides solving contradictions of Cavendish's epistemology, reflects on its own identity. Another self-conscious imaginary voyage is David Russen's *Iter Lunare*, published in 1704, which investigates the potential and limits of an aesthetic representation that is not strictly subordinated to experience. Both texts constitute, as we shall see, sophisticated attempts to establish the range and functions of a literary mode that, in spite of its unrealistic quality, is obliged to define itself in relation to empirical protocols. And both texts ultimately theorize the prerogatives of the realm of the aesthetic.

Directly inspired by Cyrano's *Voyages*, Margaret Cavendish's *The Blazing World* displays an overt unrealistic quality. While most authors of early imaginary voyages reproduced the language of pseudo-scientific

travelogues, using empirical protocols to generate an air of truthfulness, Cavendish defines her work as a product of "fancy," free, therefore, from the restraints that shape her serious writing. In fact, *The Blazing World* is fundamentally different from Cavendish's epistemological work, since it is intended to reconcile its self-contradictions, to solve the problems it poses and fails to solve. Cavendish's thought is characterized by a tension between the valorization of individual agency in the production of knowledge, partly inspired by empiricism, and a more conservative view, which values authority and rejects an excessive reliance on experience. In *The Blazing World*, the solution to this tension emerges as a product of the text's fictional quality: the unrealistic, paradoxical ontology of the Blazing World allows Cavendish to elude the constraints imposed by philosophical discourse.

To assess the characteristics and purposes of *The Blazing World*, it is useful to focus on Cavendish's serious writing, starting from her *Philosophical Letters*, in which she defines a cosmology inspired by the vitalist movement, active in England in the 1650s and influenced by the philosophy of Paracelsus.[3] In the view of vitalist natural philosophers, matter is alive and endowed with free will. Reworking the main tenets of vitalism, in her *Letters* Cavendish states that three types of matter exist—rational, sensible, and inanimate—and that they are interconnected in an organic whole. Within this whole, the rational matter is pre-eminent, and operates as an organizing power.

In spite of her unorthodox conceptions, however, Cavendish has a rather conservative epistemological approach. In her *Observations upon Experimental Philosophy*, she condemns experimental knowledge as useless, and prefers speculation to experience. She strongly condemns the use of the telescope or the microscope, regarding it as unproductive, as all "art" (namely, technology) ultimately is. Her devaluation of the material world bespeaks a deep resistance to empiricism, that derives from both religious and political factors (her political preoccupations clearly emerge if one considers her royalist affiliations). According to Cavendish, the notion of a purely immanent universe presents disturbing moral implications:

> it is a great error in man to study more the exterior faces and countenances of things, than their interior natural and figurative motions, which error must undoubtedly cause great mistakes, insomuch as man's rules will be false, compared to the true principles of nature; for it is a false maxim to believe, that if some creatures have power over others, they have also power over nature; it may as well be believed, that a wicked man […] has power over God […].[4]

On the other hand, Cavendish's work also bespeaks the influence of the new science. By resorting to vitalism she in fact tries to mediate between a materialistic and a transcendent world-view, facing questions caused by the rise of empiricism. Furthermore, her emphasis on unrestrained speculation seems to perpetuate the reaction to traditional authority that is typical of the new epistemology. Her ambivalent attitude towards the new science is shown by this passage from her preface to *Observations upon Experimental Philosophy*, which views her own participation in the production of knowledge as potentially dangerous:

> It is probable, some will say, that my much writing is a disease […] I confess, there are many useless and superfluous books, and perchance mine will add to the number of them; especially it is to be observed, that there have been in this latter age, as many writers of natural philosophy, as in former ages there have been of moral philosophy; which multitude, I fear, will produce such a confusion of truth and falsehood, as the number of moral writers formerly did, with their over-nice divisions of virtues and vices, whereby they did puzzle their readers so, that they knew not how to distinguish between them. The like, I doubt, will prove amongst our natural philosophers, who by their extracted, or rather distracted arguments, confound both divinity and natural philosophy, sense and reason, nature and art, so much as in time we shall have, rather a chaos, than a well-ordered universe. (7-8)

Cavendish is both fascinated with, and worried by, the new science's valorization of the individual. On the one hand, she is trying to form an innovative epistemology that is independent of the authority of ancient philosophers; on the other hand, she fears the overproduction of "natural philosophy" that derives from an individualist approach to knowledge—she is afraid that natural philosophers may "confound […] divinity." Cavendish fears, in other words, that the proliferation of empirically-oriented arguments may generate cosmological and ethical disorder.

The tension between a desire for cognitive freedom and nostalgia for a stable order is crucial in *The Blazing World*, which rearticulates, and at the same time supersedes, some of the problems of its age, as well as the contradictions of Cavendish's own system. And, in doing so, it formulates, as we shall see, a theory of fiction, implying that "fancy" should enter a dialogue with epistemological writing, solving its intrinsic problems. The purpose of *The Blazing World* is evident in the preface, where Cavendish highlights its links with her *Observations upon Experimental Philosophy* (which was published in the same volume) and suggests that the world she has created transcends the material world: "I chose such fiction as would be agreeable to the subjects treated of in the former parts; it is a

description of a *new world*, not such as *Lucian*'s, or the French-man's world in the moon, but a world of my own creating."[5]

Moreover, Cavendish underlines fiction's ability to combine apparently incompatible elements, and establishes a neat distinction between fancy and reason. While the former's products are not subordinated to the limitations imposed by nature, and are intended to generate pleasure, the latter is used to produce concepts whose value should be measured against the empirical world:

> If you wonder, that I join a work of fancy to my serious philosophical contemplations; think not that it is out of a disparagement to philosophy […] *fictions* are an issue of man's fancy, framed in his own mind, according as he pleases, without regard, whether the thing he fancies, be really existent without his mind or not; so that reason searches the depth of nature, and enquires after the true causes of natural effects; but fancy creates of its own accord whatsoever it pleases, and delights in its own work. (123)

Cavendish's reflection on the prerogatives of fiction is further developed in the body of the text: in the last section of *The Blazing World*, Cavendish implies, with a complex metafictional gesture, that fancy is able to supersede the problems posed by philosophical inquiry. As we have seen, on the one hand Cavendish values individuality and freedom, on the other hand she fears the chaos generated by free inquiry, and epitomized by the divorce between "art" and "nature," a dichotomy informing both her *Observations upon Experimental Philosophy* and *The Blazing World*. In both works, "art" has a broad range of meanings: it refers to aesthetic production, scientific and technological practice, and, implicitly, to every kind of individual product: all forms of human creativity participate in the dangerous multiplication of perspectives that Cavendish highlights in her *Observations upon Experimental Philosophy*. Conversely, "nature" indicates all those entities that interact harmoniously in a whole, entities that are characterized by their subordination to a system. (In *Observations upon Experimental Philosophy* Cavendish states that nature has the form of "one Body […] ordering her self-moving parts with all facility and ease, without any disturbance, living in pleasure and delight, with infinite Varieties and Curiosities, such as no single part or Creature of hers can never attain to," 48).

In *The Blazing World*, the contrast between art and nature is superseded: unrestrained creativity is able to lead to a final understanding of the basic principles of the vitalist cosmology, which—in light of both the *Observations upon Experimental Philosophy* and previous sections of

the text—emerges as authoritative and reliable. This occurs when the Duchess decides to generate *her own world* by means of her imagination, thereby replicating and highlighting Cavendish's composition of *The Blazing World*. The Duchess's world is based on individual principles: she discards various ancient philosophies because her mind-generated dramatization of the world they describe evinces an imperfect logic, resulting in chaos. While philosophers of the past did not produce a reliable model of the universe, the Duchess's world is stable:

> At last, when the Duchess saw that no patterns would do her any good in the framing of her world, she resolved to make a world of her own invention, and this world was composed of sensitive and rational self-moving matter; indeed, it was composed only of the rational, which is the subtlest and purest degree of matter; for as the sensitive did move and act both to the perceptions and consistency of the body, so this degree of matter at the same point of time (for though the degrees are mixed, yet the several parts may move several ways at one time) did move to the creation of the imaginary world; which world after it was made, appeared so curious and full of variety, so well ordered and wisely governed, that it cannot possibly be expressed by words, nor the delight and pleasure which the Duchess took in making this world of her own. (188)

This world is well organized but accommodates variety, therefore also singularity. It is, besides, created by imagination, and seems analogous to the cosmos of the vitalist doctrine. In other words, individual creativity is conducive to a full understanding of the harmonious cosmos that Cavendish describes in her serious writings. Cavendish's desire for a speculation that is so unlimited as to verge on pure creativity is ultimately reconciled with her desire for an orderly cosmology.

The Duchess's creation of a world that reflects and to some extent highlights the basic principles of the "real" one seems to imply the cognitive power of art, but in fact represents fiction's ability to overcome the problems posed by philosophical speculation: the theory Cavendish sketches in her preface emphasizes that the products of fancy are free from the limitations imposed by reason, which is, conversely, the only instrument suitable for the investigation of natural processes. In other words, *The Blazing World* is intended to be not epistemologically reliable but purely fantastic—Cavendish's work has aptly been described as "metafictional" and self-consciously aesthetic.[6]

Another imaginary voyage that attempts a redefinition of the prerogatives and boundaries of fiction is *Iter Lunare*, by David Russen (1703), which, occupying an ambivalent position, evinces both a strong

fascination with scientific and empirical inquiry and a profound respect for the values inherited from tradition. *Iter Lunare* is characterized by a tension between the potential for an open universe that can be investigated by means of the new epistemology and the need to preserve the ontological and epistemological boundaries associated with the traditional religious world-view. Russen overcomes such tension by presenting literature, in particular imaginary voyages, as an intrinsically conjectural mode of writing, in which pseudo-scientific hypotheses that are inconsistent with orthodox religion can be pursued unrestrainedly.

Imitating the tone of Godwin's *The Man in the Moone*, and thereby bespeaking a fascination with empiricism, in *Iter Lunare*'s opening pages Russen criticizes the moon-blind intellects who are unable to understand his book. Immediately afterwards, however, he emphasizes that, although they may doubt that the moon is inhabited, his readers have known the story of the man in the moon since their infancy. In doing so, he playfully suggests that his narrative, which presents itself as a commentary of Cyrano's *Voyages* (Russen calls Cyrano's work a "treatise" and "a most rational history of the Government of the Moon")[7] is only a tale for children.

Russen's irony persists as his arguments unfold, manifesting his real intentions. For instance, his overview of possible techniques of space-travel seems a satire of the ambition of projectors. After describing Cyrano's voyage to the moon, Russen hypothesizes that one could facilitate one's trip by climbing to the top of a mountain. He also discusses Domingo Gonsales's use of birds as vehicles in *The Man in the Moone*, and concludes by considering the usability of flying chariots propelled by a spring. The veil of irony suddenly disappears once these reflections are undermined by the admission that Gonsales's journey is an invention, and that all accounts of voyages to the moon, including Cyrano's, are "fake relations, which teach probable, yet doubtful, principles" (61). Assuming an anti-modernist attitude, Russen states that divine providence ultimately forbids moon-travelling (62).

Russen is, however, unable to assume a stable position on modern science and its applications. He is reluctant to endorse the new epistemology, regarding the senses as unreliable (102), but a few pages later he seems to value Copernicus, and emphasizes that Cyrano's voyage ends in Rome, the place where the principle of authority is oppressively imposed. And while he seems to condemn ancient learning, such as Stoic theories on the organization of the universe (130), thereby implying a deeper trust in empiricism, he does not seem to believe in progress—the reason that moon-travelling is impossible is also that humans are too

corrupt to build efficient machines (44) and that all civilizations ultimately tend to collapse (50). Besides, he asserts that moments of progress have been due not so much to man as to spirits.

If, resorting to early eighteenth-century categories, one tries to frame *Iter Lunare* in terms of the controversy between the ancients and the moderns, Russen seems to side with the ancients, but at the same time shows a deep interest in the values and methods of the moderns. For Russen, however, this interest cannot be channeled into actual scientific and technological practice. The possibility of charting other areas of the universe such as the moon—which, as we have seen, he regards as unreachable—should be pursued not so much by empirical investigation as by literary representation. For Russen, Cyrano's *Comical History* is made of "feigned relations […] that teach us probable, yet doubtful principles" (61), principles that can never be verified, because providence has established clear-cut limits for empirical inquiry. In books such as Cyrano's *Voyages*, one can investigate a variety of worlds that are in fact unknowable, and develop a virtual sense, but not a real perception, of God's creativity.

In other words, *Iter Lunare* theorizes the role of imaginary voyages, regarding them as able to provide a representation of what transcends direct experience: for Russen, imaginary voyages allow us to imagine other worlds and ontological regimes, affording a compensation for a rational inquiry that is essentially impossible. In doing so, *Iter Lunare* participates in the theorization of what we now call the aesthetic, viewing it as a realm where one's interest in the perspectives that the new science has opened up can range unrestrainedly. As Paul Alkon has noted, for Russen "the space voyages are a literature of conjecture that is based often enough upon scientific extrapolation rather than mere fantasy to be aptly described […] by our term 'science fiction'."[8]

Both *The Blazing World* and *Iter Lunare* show that imaginary voyages participated in the redefinition of the idea of the fictive that occurred between the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. Like the novel, the genres of the fantastic tended to define their boundaries and to articulate their functions in an explicit fashion. Another highly self-conscious imaginary voyage is, in fact, *Gulliver's Travels*, in which the parody of the conventions of travel writing—present, for instance, in the paratextual apparatus—goes so far as to undermine the text's own credibility, and the description of the improbable is evidently informed by artificial criteria (consider the symmetry between Lilliputians and Brobdingnagians). As many other works of the fantastic, imaginary voyages strengthen the distinction between fact and fiction that is crucial to modern conceptions

of the aesthetic; they implicitly reflect on their relationship with experience, the touchstone against which most intellectual activities tend now to assess their worth.

Notes

[1] This essay condenses an argument I make in a study entitled *Empirical Wonder. Historicizing the Fantastic, 1660-1760*, forthcoming with Peter Lang.

[2] James Burnett, Lord Monboddo, *Of the Origins and Progress of Language*, 2nd ed., (London, 1786), vol. 3, 195-96. I draw the quotation from Kathleen Williams, *Swift: The Critical Heritage* (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1970), 192.

[3] For a reconstruction of the history and influence of vitalism see John Rogers, *The Matter of Revolution* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996). Rogers explores the political meanings of science, identifying the egalitarian implications of vitalism. Cavendish's fascination with vitalism, he argues, derived from her desire to escape gender constraints. On Cavendish and vitalism see also Steven Clucas, "The Duchess and the Viscountess: Negotiations between Mechanism and Vitalism in the Natural Philosophies of Margaret Cavendish and Anne Conway," *In-Between: Essays and Studies in Literary Criticism* 1-2, no. 9 (Mar-Sept. 2000): 125-36, and Richard Johnson Sheehan and Denise Tillery, "Margaret Cavendish, Natural Philosopher: Negotiating between Metaphors of the Old and New Sciences," in *Eighteenth-Century Women: Studies in Their Lives, Work, and Culture*, ed. Linda Troost (New York: AMS Press, 2001), vol. 1, 1-18.

[4] Margaret Cavendish, *Observations upon Experimental Philosophy* (London, 1666), 203. Further references will appear in the text.

[5] Margaret Cavendish, *The Blazing World*, in *The Blazing World and Other Writings* (1666; London: Penguin, 1994), 124. Further references will appear in the text. On Cavendish's literary intentions and relation to her models see Sarah Hutton, "Science and Satire: The Lucianic Voice of Margaret Cavendish's *Description of a New World Called the Blazing World*," in *Authorial Conquests. Essays on Genre in the Writings of Margaret Cavendish*, ed. Jacqueline Pearson (London: Associated University Press, 2003), 161-78.

[6] See Richard Nate, "'Plain and Vulgarly Express'd': Margaret Cavendish and the Discourse of the New Science," *Rhetorica* 19, vol. 4 (Autumn 2001): 414-15.

[7] David Russen, *Iter Lunare* (London, 1703), 6. Further references will appear in the text.

[8] Paul Alkon, *Origins of Futuristic Fiction* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1987), 57.

MUSIC, DON QUIXOTE, AND THE NOVELS OF MISS BURNEY

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> Rambling this all over Europe after a single art will perhaps be thought by some a greater madness than that of which the Chevalier Quixote was guilty of in strolling only thro' the kingdoms of Spain after a single imaginary Mistress.
>
> (Charles Burney to the Baron d'Holbach, 2 June 1772) [1]

John Wilson Croker's often cited review of *The Wanderer; or Female Difficulties* criticizes Burney's novels as being repetitious and self-imitative:

> The characters and incidents of *Evelina*, *Cecilia*, and (though somewhat more diversified) of *Camilla*, have too much resemblance. In each, the plot is a tissue of teasing distresses all of the same class and in each, are repeated, almost to weariness, portraits of the same forms of fashionable frivolity and of vulgar middle life.[2]

He says that these characteristics "were excused in *Cecilia* and tolerated in *Camilla*, amid the general splendour of these delightful pieces. But in *The Wanderer* there is no splendour, no source of delight to dazzle criticism and beguile attention from a defect which has increased in size and deformity exactly in the same degree that the beauties have vanished. *The Wanderer* has the identical features of *Evelina*—but of Evelina grown old; the vivacity, the bloom, the elegance, "the purple light of love" are vanished; the eyes are there, but they are dim; the cheek, but it is furrowed; the lips, but they are withered."[3] In this critique, Croker notes a repetitious similarity between the four novels, while also suggesting that there are surface differences.

Since all four novels have become accessible in modern editions, scholars have increasingly investigated the similarities and repetitions between the novels. They have traced and analyzed motifs and themes that

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range from violence, aggression, and suicide, to the farcical, grotesque, and macabre;[4] from scenes of poverty to those of festivity.[5] The heroines "are mistaken for prostitutes, thieves, madwomen; they are embarrassed by vulgar companions who cling like burrs; they are entangled in compounding debt; they are 'caught' accepting the attention and assistance of one man when those of another are earnestly wished."[6] The absence, subordination, or multiplication of male authority figures,[7] and the recurring motifs of pet animals, sea-bathing, and seaside resorts have been traced throughout the novels.[8]

This paper argues that two motifs not previously investigated, music and Don Quixote, hold a key to Burney's style.[9] Burney sets her fiction in the world she knows and, as she is the daughter of Dr. Charles Burney Sr., musician, music teacher, and music historian, the presence of music throughout her novels may perhaps seem too obvious to warrant consideration. I suggest, however, that Burney subtly changes the way she incorporates references to music and to Don Quixote in each of the novels so that by the last novel, *The Wanderer; or Female Difficulties*, she has given a portrayal of the different types of music critic as described by Dr. Burney in the "Essay on Musical Criticism," included at the beginning of Volume 3 of his *General History of Music*.[10] As a music critic, Dr. Burney followed the example set by Charles Avison, who, in his *Essay on Musical Expression*, focused on the expressive rather than the mimetic power of music.[11] Dr. Burney defines music and the music critic:

> As music may be defined as the art of pleasing by the succession and combination of agreeable sounds, every hearer has a right to give way to his feelings, and be pleased or dissatisfied without knowledge, experience, or the fiat of critics [...]. Criticism in this art would be better taught by specimens of good composition and performance than by reasoning and speculation. But there is a certain portion of enthusiasm connected with a love of the fine arts, which bids defiance to every curb of criticism; and the poetry, painting, or Music that leaves us on the ground, and does not transport us into the regions of the imagination beyond the reach of cold criticism, may be correct, but is devoid of any genius or passion. There is, however, a tranquil pleasure, short of rapture, to be acquired from Music, in which intellect and sensation are equally concerned.[12]

Every listener responds to music, i.e., is a critic of music, but there are different levels of criticism. If music does not transport the listener, Dr. Burney says, reason and taste still remain as critical tools.[13] Through the use of taste foremost, but also of reason, trained and tempered by experience, a listener can judge, in Burney's words, the "ingredients" of music: "Melody, harmony, modulation, invention, grandeur, fire, pathos,

taste, grace, and expression."[14] Dr. Burney speaks being able to "decompound" these component parts from a musical composition by a "kind of chemical process."[15] All people can judge on the basis of their own reaction to a musical piece as a whole, but only those who have knowledge and experience can make a judgment of the component elements relying on more than personal taste.

As he worked on the writing of his *General History of Music*, Dr. Burney was frequently ill and suffered crippling rheumatism in his hand that forced him to rely on others for the actual writing. His daughter, Frances Burney, was his most frequent amanuensis.[16] I suggest that in her four novels Frances Burney illustrates Dr. Burney's ideas on music criticism through the incorporation of the following ideas: Don Quixote, the power of music, and the divide between unskilled and skilled musical taste. By the way in which she incorporates references to musical experiences, Burney works through the different levels of music criticism set up by her father in the course of her four novels.

The four novels do more than merely illuminate Dr. Burney's comments on music criticism. The repetition of themes, motifs, and characters from novel to novel are not a weakness, as Croker suggested, but rather a further reflection of the musical world and taste of Dr. Burney. Taken as a whole, the four novels present a literary representation of Dr. Burney's definition of "taste":

> *Taste*, the adding, diminishing, or changing a melody or passage, with judgment and propriety, and in such a manner as to *improve* it; if this were rendered an invariable rule in what is commonly called *gracing*, the passages, in compositions of the first class, would seldom be changed.[17]

For an eighteenth-century performer, "the ability to embellish compositions was not merely a pleasant addition to his talents, but an integral part of them. Without knowledge of graces and ornaments one could not perform at all. In France, according to Rousseau, "most of the young students in music used therefore to have two masters, one in music and one for taste, called *Maitre de Gout-de-chant*," who taught the embellishing *agrémens*."[18] Contrary to Croker, the resemblances and repetitions between the novels are crucial to their aesthetic foundation. Each repetition has been subtly changed, or ornamented. Only a connoisseur is able to distinguish and appreciate the skill Burney used in applying the graces and ornaments that distinguish each novel from the other.

In addition to music, references to Don Quixote, and to quixoticism, also surface in all of the novels. Though a note to *The Wanderer* states, "References to Cervantes' work abound in Burney's works,"[19] the

references in *Evelina* and *Camilla* are few. It is only in *Cecilia* and *The Wanderer* that references to Don Quixote appears frequently. Though *The Wanderer* is the novel in which the patriarchal figure is lacking and in which the heroine has no mentor, it is the novel over which the spirit of Dr. Charles Burney, Sr. hovers the most. It is also the novel with the greatest dependence on the metaphoric Don Quixote. If Dr. Burney considered himself Don Quixote chasing his Dulcinea, music, throughout Europe as his letter to the Baron d'Holbach quoted in the epigram suggests, this Don Quixote can be said to find his Dulcinea in the Juliet of *The Wanderer*. Juliet is not so much an Evelina grown old and decayed, as a mature Evelina. Juliet is an Evelina who has skill as well as appreciation, and experience instead of naïveté. Just as Dr. Burney saw himself as Don Quixote chasing his mistress, music, so Don Quixote keeps re-appearing throughout the novels of Frances Burney until he, in the person of Mr. Harleigh, is united with the muse of Music shown in all of her component parts as Miss Ellis in *The Wanderer*.

The Novels of Miss Burney[20]

In *Evelina or the History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World*, music functions as one of many forms of entertainment Evelina experiences in the public places of London. She attends the theatre, the Opera, Ranelagh, the Pantheon, Vauxhall Gardens, and Cox's Museum. In each of these, music is mentioned as one element of the whole experience. At her first trip to Ranelagh, for example, she and Maria Mirvan "stopt to hear a singer" (37); when they go to the Pantheon, she writes that "there was an exceeding good concert" (105). Occasionally she adds the name of a singer or performer, but no further information about the performer or performance. There are a few exceptions to this, however, that draw attention to her experience of the music and its power to move and transport her. Though Evelina is indifferent to attending the opera for the first time, her reaction to it is anything but indifferent:

> The music and the singing were charming; they soothed me into a pleasure the most grateful, the best suited to my present disposition in the world […] I wish the opera was every night. It is, of all entertainments, the sweetest, and most delightful. (36-37)

Her comment echoes Dr. Burney's remark, "There is, however, a tranquil pleasure, short of rapture, to be acquired from Music."[21]

On her second visit to the opera, Evelina says, "I could have thought myself in Paradise, but for the continual talking of the company around

me" (38), and on her later visit with the Brangtons she describes a song of Signor Millico in the second act, "This song, which was slow and pathetic, caught all my attention" (93). Dr. Burney had noted "the delicate and pathetic style" of Millico.[22] When she returns to London to stay with her grandmother, Evelina attends Vauxhall and, a few days later, Marylebone Gardens with the Brangtons. In each instance there is a concert. Burney develops only a single moment from these concerts, but in that single moment she re-iterates Evelina's pleasurable response to music. At Vauxhall, Evelina writes, "There was a concert, in the course of which, a hautbois concerto was so charmingly played, that I could have thought myself upon enchanted ground, had I had spirits more gentle to associate with. The hautboy in the open air is heavenly" (193). While at Marylebone, she heard "a concerto on the violin by Mr. Barthelemon, who […] seemed [to her] a player of exquisite fancy, feeling, and variety" (232). In describing her reaction to music, Evelina at first speaks as one of Dr. Burney's unskilled critics who is pleased, moved, and perhaps transported. When describing the playing of Mr. Barthelemon, however, she begins to note the different elements of his playing that can be distinguished without training: fancy, feeling, and variety.

Don Quixote, too, appears in *Evelina*. In the midst of Mrs. Selwyn's attempts to get Sir John to recognize Evelina as his daughter, Lord Orville declares himself to Evelina, still called Miss Anville. Mrs. Selwyn, at this point, calls Lord Orville, "an excellent subject for Quixoticism […] he is almost as romantic as if he had been born and bred at Berry Hill" (369). Though it seems no more than a random comparison at the time, quixoticism, as well as music, reappears with growing frequency and detail in the later novels.

In Burney's second book, *Cecilia, or Memoirs of an Heiress*, Cecilia, staying with the Harrel's in London, experiences the same entertainments that Evelina had as she is swept up into a life of pleasure. Cecilia first experiences opera through attending a rehearsal of a new serious opera:

> This was the first Opera she had ever heard, yet she was not wholly a stranger to Italian compositions, having assiduously studied music from a natural love of the art, attended all the best concerts her neighbourhood afforded, and regularly received from London the works of the best masters. But the little skill she had thus gained, served rather to increase than to lessen the surprise with which she heard the present performance,—a surprise of which the discovery of her own ignorance made not the least part. Unconscious from the little she had acquired how much was to be learnt, she was astonished to find the inadequate power of written music to convey any idea of vocal abilities: with just knowledge enough, therefore, to understand something of the difficulties, and feel

> much of the merit, she gave to the whole Opera an avidity of attention almost painful from its own eagerness. (64)

Cecilia's greatest pleasure at this rehearsal lay in the emotions excited by a superior singer. In the midst of her enjoyment, however, she realized that "though not half the excellencies of that superior singer were necessary either to amaze or charm her unaccustomed ears, though the refinement of his taste and masterly originality of his genius, to be praised as they deserved, called for the judgment and knowledge of professors, yet a natural love of music in some measure supplied the place of cultivation, and what she could neither explain nor understand, she could feel and enjoy" (64-65). Like Evelina, Cecilia finds music a soothing and enrapturing experience. Unlike Evelina, however, to some extent she recognizes the practice and training that precede the public performance through her own slight training. Cecilia is a more sophisticated music critic than Evelina because of her greater training in music. As Dr. Burney wrote, "To judge minutely of *singing* for instance, requires study and experience in that particular art."[23]

In writing about Cecilia, Burney stresses her heightened appreciation of music while at the same time stressing her delight in simple melody:

> The pleasure she received from the music was much augmented by her previous acquaintance [with it]; yet, as to all noviciates in science, whatever is least complicated is most pleasing, she found herself by nothing so deeply impressed, as by the plaintive and beautiful simplicity with which Pacchierotti uttered the affecting repetition of *sono innocente*! His voice, always either sweet or impassioned, delivered those words in a tone of softness, pathos, and sensibility, that struck her with a sensation not more new than delightful. (65)

In the opening sentence, Burney rephrases the thought of her father, "The most easy, simple, and natural is new to youth and inexperience."[24] She also echoes his description of Pacchierotti's voice, "The natural tone of his voice is […] interesting, sweet, and pathetic," and of Pacchierotti's uncommon feeling and sensibility.[25] Dr. Burney particularly praises Pacchioerotti for his power "of inventing new embellishments, which as far as my [Dr. Burney's] musical reading and experiences extended, had never then been on paper, [and which] made him, during his long residence here, a new singer every time I heard him."[26] The same melody seems forever new through the embellishments added, just as Burney makes the same elements in her novels forever new through the way she employs them.

At that opera rehearsal, Cecilia becomes aware of a man whom she later came to know as Mr. Albany. He voices his unskilled and yet enraptured response to music, a response with which Cecilia empathizes: "One indulgence alone from time to time I allow myself,—'tis Music! Which has power to delight me even to rapture! It quiets all anxiety, it carries me out of myself, I forget through it every calamity, even the bitterest anguish" (708-9). Burney here echoes the description her father gives of the power of music in the introduction to his musical tour in France and Italy: "[Music] alleviates labour and mitigates pain."[27]

In *Cecilia*, Burney incorporates the idea of a quixotic character more fully through having Mr. Belfield dress as Don Quixote at the Harrel's masquerade, "accoutered with tolerable exactness according to the description of the admirable Cervantes; his armour was rusty, his helmet was a barber's basin, his shield, a pewter dish, and his lance an old sword fastened to a slim cane" (108). This Don Quixote pledges himself to Cecilia in a characteristic speech and tries to protect her from the attentions of a devil, as though he were indeed Quixote himself. Slightly later in the novel, Belfield (the Don Quixote of the masquerade) tries to protect Cecilia from the unwanted attentions of Sir Robert Floyer, and, in doing so, finds himself challenged to a duel. The masquerade Quixote, who had acted in character for half a dozen pages, becomes a literal Quixote who is seriously injured fighting for the sake of Cecilia. Towards the end of the novel, this same Belfield—who realizes that his love for Cecilia will never succeed—takes up the trade of a writer after unsuccessfully trying a variety of occupations. Mr. Monckton mocks him and says that he is turning "Knight-errant to the Booksellers" (736). Belfield responds by saying, "'Tis a knight-errantry […] which however ludicrous it may seem to you, requires more soul and more brains than any other. Our giants may, indeed, be only windmills, but they must be attacked with as much spirit, and conquered with as much bravery, as any fort or any town…" (736) Belfield lays a claim that man needs to strive, and goes on to state that not only corporeal but also spiritual hungers must be satisfied:

> Man [treated as an automaton, and] considered merely with respect to his bodily operations, may indeed be called dependent, since the food by which he lives, or, rather, without which he dies, cannot wholly be cultivated and prepared by his own hands; […] will you brand him with dependency merely because the Grazier feeds his meat, and the Baker kneads his bread? […] but considered in a nobler sense, […] speak of [man], then, as a being of feeling and understanding, with pride to alarm,

> with nerves to tremble, with honour to satisfy, and with a soul to be immortal! (734-35)

Dr. Burney, in defending against the charge of music being nothing more than "a charming resource, in an idle hour, to the rich and luxurious," cites "humane purposes to which it has been applied." Music has been used to open the purses of the affluent to raise money for a variety of noble causes, it forms an important part of divine worship and military discipline, and it is integral to theatrical success.[28] Music has a practical and a spiritual role in the life of man. Belfield, who segues in and out of the character of Don Quixote, raises the issue of the transcendent spirit of man that must be nurtured and nourished. He expresses the same fundamental need in man that Don Quixote had when Don Quixote had characterized the name Dulcinea as "musical and magical and meaningful."[29] Quixote later explained to Sancho Panza that "the poets themselves invent most of [their mistresses] to have something to write their poetry about, and to make people think that they are in love and that have got it in them to be lovers. And so it is enough for me to be convinced that the good Aldonza Lorenza is beautiful and virtuous […] for me she is the greatest princess in the world."[30] It is this spirit of transcendence and beauty that Dr. Burney associates with music.

Cecilia also introduces the day-to-day employment of music by the non-professional, an idea referred to by Dr. Burney who claimed "that there is hardly a private family in a civilised nation without its flute, its fiddle, its harpsichord, or guitar."[31] Cecilia asks Mr. Monckton to send her a Piano Forte of Merlin (460). Slightly later, Lady Honoria, in conversing with Cecilia, describes her own education by saying that "she sung a little, played the harpsichord a little, painted a little, worked a little, and danced a great deal" (464). Early in *Camilla*, Miss Margland, Indiana's governess, gives all of the qualifications necessary for a young lady: "a little music, a little drawing, and a little dancing; which should all, she added, be but slightly pursued, to distinguish a lady of fashion from an artist" (46). In this description, Burney gives the essence of the first third of *The Wanderer*. The fair Incognita (later to be known as Miss Ellis and then by her true name, Juliet Granville) finds herself in a solitary and impecunious state. She strives to gain a living through the female skills she has acquired, which, though somewhat above average, are not of professional calibre as she herself knows.

In *Camilla or A Picture of Youth*, Burney gives a brief glimpse of music in the home. When distraught over Miss Margland's accusation that she is trying to lure Edgar Mandlebert away from Indiana, Camilla tries to amuse herself in her own rooms. She went to her piano-forte, but was too

distressed to play (156). Somewhat later, when the women are all together in the parlour, Camilla listens "to the piano-forte, upon which Indiana, with utmost difficulty, played some very easy lessons" (178). Camilla, though no expert herself, by dint of her greater skill becomes a music critic of Indiana.[32] Like Evelina and Cecilia, Camilla also experiences music in public venues. Lionel squires his sisters Camilla and Eugenia together with their cousin Indiana to a ball at Northwick. When they enter, the dancing has not begun, but "the sprightly violins were employed to quicken their motions" (60). A few days later, when Camilla has breakfast with Mrs. Arlbery, "French horns and clarinets were played during the repast" (258). The details seem superfluous, but Burney is becoming more and more specific with her details. She is beginning to decompound the musical performances she mentions through this specificity. Camilla, however, is also said to attend the same types of public performances as Evelina and Cecilia, which serve as the setting for a particular scene. Here too Burney generally focuses on the crowds and the talking, not the music.

Don Quixote also haunts the text of *Camilla*. Edgar Mandlebert, in his concern for Camilla's increasing friendship with Mrs. Arlbery, takes it upon himself to make enquires about her. He repeatedly calls it "a Quixotic sort of enterprise" and says that a "spirit of knight-errantry" accompanies him (297). He says that his quixoticism has seemingly taken possession of his intellects and scrambled them (298) the same way that "everything [Don Quixote] read in his books took possession of his imagination."[33] Mandlebert takes up the mantle of Lord Orville in being the protector of the woman he loves, as Mr. Belfield was for Cecilia. Mandelbert and Lord Orville gain the women they love; Belfield does not. Thus, Belfield is more true to the literary Don Quixote who needed an ideal for whom, or for which to strive. The idea of a beloved, in its multitude of forms, takes on the name of "Dulcinea" in *Camilla*. Mrs. Arlbery and Sir Sedley label Camilla a "languishing dulcinea" (367). When the various characters discuss the love interests of the officers of the militia, they say the officers "have a new dulcinea wherever they newly quarter" (458). Not only is Don Quixote present, but the name of Dulcinea is also included for the first times in Burney's novels.

The combined use of Don Quixote and Dulcinea segues into *The Wanderer; or, Female Difficulties*. In the opening scene on the boat off the coast of France as a small group of English are fleeing from France, Mr. Harleigh insists that an unknown woman, whom they hear calling for help, be allowed to join them. Elinor says to Harleigh, "I wonder what sort of dulcinea you have brought among us," and calls him a complete "knight-errant" and "the very disciple of Cervantes" (12). She continues using this

terminology towards Harleigh throughout the Incognita's stay in her aunt's house. As described in her disguise, the Incognita is no more attractive than Aldonza Lorenza is as described by Sancho Panza once he realizes that this is Don Quixote's Dulcinea.[34] And yet, prior to presenting the transformed Incognita to him, Elinor says to Harleigh, "I believe you dream of nothing but that dismal Incognita" and asks if he "has really taken pains to go to that eternal inn again, to enquire after this maimed and defaced Dulcinea" (49-50). Elinor evokes the spirit of the literary Quixote, who joins the idea of all-powerful imagination and sublimity with knight-errantry. She mocks Harleigh, who has not recognized the dark-skinned woman he had rescued when he sees her for the first time with light skin:

> Nevertheless, imagination is all-powerful; if therefore you have taken the twist to believe in such sublimity, you may, perhaps, be seriously persuaded, that your heart would have been more stubborn to this dainty new Wanderer, than to your own walnut-skinned gypsey […]. Even so, noble knight-errant, even so! (52)

The Incognita's transformation from light skinned to dark skinned, and from maimed to uninjured echoes the transformation of Aldonza Lorenza, "a good-looking peasant girl," to the most beautiful princess.[35]

The ideas suggested in the three earlier novels seem to be fully developed here. The hero is no longer a metaphoric Don Quixote or a masquerade Don Quixote, but he is Don Quixote in his actions throughout the novel. In addition to Harleigh, three other Don Quixote figures appear as protectors of Juliet: the Admiral, Mr. Giles Arbe, "a very absent, but worthy old man" (277), and Sir Jaspar Herrington, who thinks that he is being pursued and harassed by malicious elves. All three of these quirky older men act as the protector of Juliet. Though never called Don Quixote, each of them fits the paradigm of the literary character more fully than Harleigh. They aid Juliet, an unprotected woman, against whatever wrongs they can without seeking anything in return. Harleigh, however, wins Juliet in the end; Don Quixote finds the Dulcinea he has been searching for.

Music, too, grows in importance in *The Wanderer*. It becomes critical to the plot. Lady Honoria in *Cecilia* and Miss Margland in *Camilla* suggested different aspects of music, singing and playing, suitable for a woman. In the person of the Incognita, Burney investigates these aspects in complete detail. Singing and playing provide the material for the story in the opening chapters of *The Wanderer*. In each description of performance, no matter how slight, Burney stresses the parts that make up the performance as well as the emotion that the performance produces. It

is, indeed, the Incognita as Miss Ellis, who proves herself to be the consummate amateur. Returning home one evening, Miss Maple, Elinor, Selina, and Harleigh are surprised by the sound of music.

> They stopped, and distinctly heard a harp; they listened, and found that it was played with uncommon ability […] A new movement was now begun; it was low and pathetic, and played with so much taste and expression, though mixed with bursts of rapid execution, that the whole auditory was equally charmed and surprised […] An Arpeggio succeeded followed by an air, which produced alternately, tones sweet, yet penetrating, of touching pathos or impassioned animation; and announced a performer whom nature had gifted with her finest feelings, to second, or rather meet the soul-pervading refinement of skilful art. (73-74)

This description reveals taste and appreciation based on experience and knowledge, and could be the words of Dr. Burney himself. The familiar ideas of sweet tones and pathos are joined to an awareness of execution. In the "Essay on Musical Criticism," Dr. Burney mentions *arpeggios* in discussing instrumental performance and rapidity of execution, and he makes the reader aware of the different movements within a larger work.[36] Burney echoes those elements cited as significant by her father.

When Ellis plays for Lady Aurora, she is playing upon a piano-forte which is in Lady Aurora's private room, just as Cecilia and Camilla had instruments in their private quarters. Ellis "performed, in so fine a style, a composition of Haydn, that Mrs. Howell, who, though by no means a scientific judge of music, was sufficiently in the habit of going to concerts, to have acquired the skill of discriminating excellence from mediocrity, […] Lord Melbury, who was himself a tolerable proficient upon the violincello, was enraptured […] and Lady Aurora, whose whole soul was music, was enraptured" (115). Here are three different levels of music critic, each responding according to their level of skill, as Dr. Burney had delineated them: one who has learned judgment through the experience of concerts, another who has learned it through experience on an instrument, and finally one, as presented here, who is the listener without knowledge or experience.

The acquisition of musical skill and the mechanics of the musical art become the substance of the early books of the novel. Miss Ellis seeks to support herself by teaching a group of students, and then by putting on a subscription concert. As Burney describes Miss Ellis working with her students, she could be describing her father, who taught throughout his long career. In the *General History of Music*, Dr. Burney had stressed music as a "work of art, exercise, and experience" that needs labour and

attention.[37] The seamless whole of music, which frequently serves as nothing more than a backdrop for society, turns out to be filled with a multitude of components, and to need care and attention to flourish. The details of Miss Ellis's lessons, and the description of the skill and temperament of each of her students, followed by the details of the rehearsals for the planned "private" concert series illustrate the interior of the musical experience. Working with Miss Arbe, Miss Ellis goes over fingering and they "try that sweet adagio" because Miss Arbe wants "vastly to conquer the horrid long bars of that eternal cadenza" (274).[38] Miss Ellis, in turn, notes that had the ladies who were patronizing her not had engagements at night, they would have consumed all of her time so that she "could not have found time to keep herself in such practice as her new profession required" (240).

She reflects on the nature of teaching and disseminating knowledge to others:

> To clear that which is obscure, and explain that which is difficult; to make what is hard appear easy, to give facility to the execution of what is abstruse to the conception; to lighten the fatigue of practice, to address method; to shorten what requires study, by anticipating its result… (288)

Beyond that, she reflects on the necessity of "divulging the secrets of embellishments" (288). Burney stresses the element of the musical art—ornamentation—that characterizes the music her father valued most, the element, or embellishment, as this paper argues, that she incorporates into her novels through repetition and variation so that they are, to a discriminating reader, what a musical performance in the modern style is to a discriminating listener.

Despite the degree of specialized knowledge that she reveals in the novels, Burney still calls music "that elegant, grateful, soul-soothing art" (275) in *The Wanderer* much as she had Albany describe it in *Evelina*, "[Music] quiets all anxiety, it carries me out of myself, I forget through it every calamity, even the bitterest anguish" (708-9). The experience of the music, for one who truly listens, does not change across the novels from *Evelina* on. For those, Miss Ellis produces tones "sweet, yet penetrating, of touching pathos or impassioned animation" which announce "a performer whom nature had gifted with her finest feelings," a performer who seconds "or rather to meets the soul-pervading refinement of skilful art" (73). Though Burney takes care to present Ellis as a tradesman, totally dependent on her patrons and students and as liable to catastrophe from their dilatory payment as any other tradesman, she also highlights the significance of that trade as nourishment for the soul. Miss Ellis, during

her period of teaching, is no different, in a worldly way, from the tradesmen turned away without payment by Mr. Harrel in *Cecilia*, and those that Camilla cannot pay.

By showing the mechanics behind the art, Burney paints the art of music as nothing more than a trade. When Miss Blydel questions Mr. Giles Arbe, who is trying to help Miss Ellis, "Why you are calling all the young ladies to account for not paying this young music-mistress, just as if she were a butcher, or a baker; or some useful tradesman," he responds, "For so she is ma'am, so she is. […] For if she does not feed your stomachs, she feeds your fancies; which are no better than starved when you are left to yourselves" (323). He takes up the issue of luxury, the luxury of such things as going to the opera, and says that they are only luxury for those who attend them, but that a singer or a musician who presents them is not a part of that luxury: "All he does is pain and toil to himself; learnt with labour, and exhibited with difficulty. The better he performs, the harder he has worked. All the luxury and all the ease are yours" (325). Throughout her four novels, Burney has drawn a succeedingly more graphic picture of music and musicians. Dr. Burney called music "an innocent luxury." He wrote, "It has doubtless often been said of music, that it is indeed a charming resource in an idle hour, to the rich and luxurious part of the world; but, say the sour and worldly, what is its use to the rest of mankind?"[39] It takes man out of himself; it provides the motivation to live. Through her characters, motifs, and themes, Burney developed and illustrated the ideas of her father in her novels.

What then, do the references to Don Quixote add to the illustration of the musical art? Mr. Belfield's rant in *Cecilia* foreshadows Mr. Giles Arbe's harangue in *The Wanderer*. He alluded to the need for meat and bread to satisfy the cravings of the body, and thus the need for graziers, butchers, and bakers. But, he alluded to an equal need to satisfy one's spiritual cravings. It is this second need that Mr. Arbe so eloquently propounds in *The Wanderer*. Belfield was the masquerade Don Quixote at the beginning of *Cecilia*, and the Don Quixote of arts and letters at the end. In each endeavor he was striving to protect the weak and innocent, and the dreams and aspirations so necessary for life.

Through the novels, Burney displays the components of a musical performance and all the mechanics behind it. *The Wanderer* leads the reader into the heart of the world of the musician as tradesman, while reminding the reader that music itself satisfies fancy and the need for dreams. Mr. Arbe eloquently and defiantly expresses the need humans have for dreams and for a hopeful purpose in life. Thus, through the use of music in her four novels, Frances Burney puts on the mantle of Cervantes.

The first innkeeper Don Quixote met sent him back home to get saddlebags with provisions and clean clothes. Don Quixote is stunned because none of his romances had ever mentioned the need for clean clothes, but the innkeeper assures him knights-errant do carry supplies, they are just not mentioned.[40] The belief in the illusion is necessary, but so too is the reality underpinning it. Dr. Burney seems to exhort the unskilled auditor to enjoy music according to his taste, but he also describes how pleasure is deepened through experience and knowledge. Evelina appreciates music, Cecilia and Camilla play a little, but Juliet is a consummate amateur musician whose skill has enhanced her appreciation. She is compounded from Evelina, Cecilia, and Camilla. Rather than an Evelina grown old, she is a mature and tempered Evelina. Music is the stuff of dreams even after it has been stripped down to its component elements. Juliet, unlike Evelina, can be run through the gauntlet of social disgraces and emerge unscathed. She is Mr. Harleigh's dream whether she appears in the guise of a poor native woman or a wealthy heiress. As the consummate musician, she is portrayed as the personification of music. Dr. Burney as Don Quixote finds his Dulcinea in *The Wanderer*. He finds his musical taste personified throughout the four novels of his daughter. What Croker called a repetitious similarity in the novels of Miss Burney is not their weakness, but rather their greatest strength. Taken together the novels serve as a reflection of eighteenth-century musical taste.

Notes

[1] Alvaro Ribeiro, ed., *The Letters of Dr. Charles Burney* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 114.
[2] John Wilson Croker, review of *The Wanderer; or, Female Difficulties*, *The Quarterly Review* XI (1814): 124-25.
[3] Ibid., 125-26.
[4] Margaret Anne Doody, *Frances Burney. The Life in the Works* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1988), 3.
[5] Margaret Anne Doody, "Burney and Politics," in *The Cambridge Companion to Frances Burney*, ed. Peter Sabor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 104, 105.
[6] Claudia L. Johnson, *Equivocal Beings. Politics, Gender, and Sentimentality in the 1790s. Wollstonecraft, Radcliffe, Burney, Austen* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 165.
[7] Kevin Jordan, "Men of Feeling: From Alexandre d'Arblay's Strength to Albert Harleigh's Weakness" (74-86) and Helen Cooper, "Persuasion and Power: the Significance of the Mentor in Three Novels by Frances Burney," in *A Celebration*

of Frances Burney, ed. Lorna J. Clark (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007), 112-23.

[8] Barbara K. Seeber, "Monkeys, Bullfinches, Cats, and Dogs in Frances Burney's Fiction" (100-111) and Hester Davenport, "Fanny Goes Dipping—*Evelina* Does Not: Burney's Attitude to the Pursuit of Sea-Bathing in Her Life and Writings," in *A Celebration of Frances Burney*, ed. Lorna J. Clark (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007), 158-70.

[9] There have been two studies of the influence of opera on *Cecilia*: Sarah Gore, *Sonorous Bodies: Music in the Novels of Diderot and Burney*. Ph.D. Thesis. Harvard University (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI, 1994) and Leya Landau, "'The Middle State': Italian Opera in Frances Burney's *Cecilia*," *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 17.4 (2005): 1-34.

[10] Charles Burney, *A General History of Music* (New York: Dover, 1957), II.7-11. Referred to hereafter as *GHM*.

[11] Kerry S. Grant, *Dr. Burney as Critic and Historian of Music* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1983), 17-19.

[12] *GHM*, II.7.

[13] Grant, 19.

[14] *GHM*, II.8.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Roger Lonsdale, *Dr. Charles Burney. A Literary Biography* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1965), 167.

[17] Lawrence Lipking, *The Ordering of the Arts in Eighteenth-Century England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), 290. Lipking is quoting *Dr. Burney's Musical Tours in Europe. Volume I. An Eighteenth-Century Musical Tour in France and Italy* ed. Percy Scholes (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), xxxiv. Hereafter referred to as *Tours*.

[18] Ibid., 11-12.

[19] Frances Burney, *The Wanderer; or, Female Difficulties*, ed. Margaret Anne Doody, Robert L. Mack, and Peter Sabor (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 911 n. 12.

[20] The following editions of the novels have been used throughout the paper: *Evelina or The History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World*, ed. Edward A. Bloom (Oxford: Oxford World Classics, 1982); *Cecilia, or Memoirs of an Heiress*, ed. Peter Sabor and Margaret Anne Doody (Oxford: Oxford World Classics, rpt 1990); *Camilla or A Picture of Youth*, eds. Edward A. Bloom and Lillian D. Bloom (Oxford: Oxford World Classics, 1983).

[21] *GHM*, II.7.

[22] *GHM*, II.894.

[23] *GHM*, II.8.

[24] *GHM*, II.11.

[25] *GHM*, II.887-88.

[26] *GHM*, II.887.

[27] *Tours*, I, xxvi.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Don Quixote*, trans. John Rutherford (New York: Penguin, 2001), 29.
[30] Ibid., 216. Cited hereafter as *Don Quixote*.
[31] *Tours*, I, xxvi.
[32] It is interesting to note the mention of multiple instruments in a single household with individuals having their instrument in their own room.
[33] *Don Quixote*, 27.
[34] *Don Quixote*, 214-15.
[35] *Don Quixote*, 29. The transformation also echoes Don Quixote's image of the prostitutes at the inn as fine ladies (32-35), and Maritornes, "an Asturian lass with broad jowls, a flat-backed head, a pug nose, blind in one eye and not very sound in the other" (122) as a beauteous maiden (126).
[36] *GHM*, II.10-11.
[37] *GHM*, ii.285.
[38] Dr. Burney devotes a separate paragraph to adagios in the "Essay on Musical Criticism," in *GHM*, II.10.
[39] *Tours*, I, xxvi.
[40] *Don Quixote*, 37.

TALKING ANIMALS AND THE INSTRUCTION OF CHILDREN: DOROTHY KILNER'S *RATIONAL BRUTES*[1]

SILVIA GRANATA[*]

Recent criticism has displayed a keen interest in juvenile literature featuring talking animals. Observations concerning this topic have been advanced in a number of articles, essays and books, and in a variety of approaches.[2] Still, the peculiarities of the genre seem to defy a strict genealogy. Although the talking animal story partakes of features belonging to various traditions, it certainly also profited by reflections on the novel as it was being theorized during the eighteenth century. I mean to focus on the interplay between elements shaping the novel as a genre (such as its tendency toward realism and its reader-oriented approach), current educational theories and the issue of animal rights. The final goal is to explore the impact of such cooperative exchange on children's literature at the end of the eighteenth century. This paper does not aim at creating a new label for these stories, but at better understanding their richness and complexity. The belief in the power of education to shape model citizens induced eighteenth-century authors to a profound self-awareness. This is a further reason why juvenile literature is so culturally relevant, providing as it does a vivid and surprisingly articulated image of how eighteenth-century society wished to be.[3]

Moreover, by this time children's literature had not only become a national concern, it was also a nation wide business and a literary phenomenon. Even though books for the entertainment of children had been published before, the second part of the eighteenth century saw for the first time the emergence of a lucrative market for juvenile literature: the genre sold very well, providing work for a growing number of specialized educationalists, printers, engravers and illustrators. The commercial success of John Newbery in this field was so stunning that a

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number of publishers started to invest in it: among others, Stockdale of Piccadilly, Joseph Johnson, Dean and Munday, Vernor and Hood, Longman and Rivington.[4] Simultaneously, a new kind of writer for children emerged:

> not a schoolmaster, or a moral fanatic, or a hack trying to make money, nor yet an eager sincere philanthropist who had a notion of making philanthropy pay its way. Except the Puritans […] the writers of children's books hitherto, such as they were, had not been men of high culture or of a quickly established rank. Nor had they—again with some exceptions—been women.[5]

Thus children's literature starts to become a respectable, highly valued enterprise, while authors become more and more attentive, on the one hand, to the moral aptness of their production, on the other, to its commercial value and its capacity to reach a wider public. For both goals, the novel appears to be the inspiring model. The most evident analogy between the novel and juvenile fiction of the late eighteenth century is the growing tendency towards realism. In some ways, however, books for children are even more concerned with realism than the novel. As a matter of fact, if they deviated too much from a faithful account of reality, they were thought to lose their primary function of useful instruction; besides, since the child-reader was less competent than the adult one in telling the real from the fictitious, a higher degree of attention was necessary.

Since the very beginning of the genre, novelists were extremely aware of the relation between the text and the reader; with yet stronger reason, the question "what happens in the mind of the reader when he reads," was a first and foremost preoccupation in juvenile books.[6] These concerns were further emphasized by new ideas about childhood and education: children were seen as raw subjects, and it was believed that education would literally shape their future character—and so their life as well. It must be observed that this set of assumptions was not unanimously shared: Dr. Johnson, for instance, doubted that education could really achieve the goals envisaged by his contemporaries. On the whole, however, most educationalists (and parents) trusted the importance of the issue, and were very careful in the choice of educational materials. But the preoccupation with realism at times clashed with the principle that instruction, in order to hit the goal, should also be amusing, as discussions of the make-believe issue clearly testify. The distrust in fantastic entities as a means of instruction, espoused by Locke in his *Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693), was shared by all the most famous educationalists of the time.

In the light of these observations, the proliferation of moral tales

featuring talking animals might seem difficult to explain, as they clashed with received assumptions about realism, and ran the risk of confounding the child-reader, instilling false ideas about the natural world.[7] And yet, in spite of all this, the genre was much exploited by authors. The reasons behind this apparent contradiction are, in the first place, the good sales of the talking-animal story; from a narratologic point of view, the near-impossibility of creating a plot whatsoever with an animal as the main character without endowing it with human features such as the capacity to talk, to decide, or to think. Furthermore, the suitability of the "talking animal story" for the discussion and promotion of animal rights must be considered. Representations of animals in books for children were not only influenced by literary theories, they were also determined by current ideas on real animals, like the new concerns for animal welfare, or an extension of the concept of sensibility. Moral tales often espoused the cause of animal rights (even though with different degrees of involvement), and aimed at teaching children to respect the brute creation. Authors felt that the best way to deter children from cruel behavior was to show that animals can suffer, by letting them express their feelings, thus encouraging the young reader to identify with them. But how to reconcile the need for realistic accuracy with the necessity to arouse empathy with the animal-protagonists? Most authors chose to adopt narrative devices such as the creation of frames, interventions of the narrator or of the characters themselves, reminding the reader that the talking animal was only a fictional device, and should not be confused with reality. In Tess Cosslett's words:

> To allow one's animal characters to talk, then, is for these writers the most effective way to amuse and instruct a juvenile audience, and to arouse their sympathy and benevolent instincts, but these purpose conflict with the aim of accuracy and natural historical truth: animals in the real world cannot talk. This is why we have these protestations of the fabular and make believe nature of the material, which, on another level, is meant to be taken seriously.[8]

In fact, the only transgression allowed to fictional animals was language, even though with many cautionary remarks. Such warnings show the authors' awareness of the tension between the need for useful instruction and the narrative requirements of their text. The most famous story of the period, Sarah Trimmer's *Fabulous Histories* (1786), is quite emblematic of the trend. The idea that the talking animals are only a fictional device is emphasized at the beginning, where Trimmer explains that the book does not contain the "real conversations of birds, (for that it is impossible we

should ever understand)" but consists only in "a series of *fables*, intended to convey moral instruction."[9]

One author was remarkably aware of conventional narrative devices: Dorothy Kilner (1755-1836). She is known as the "inventor" of animal autobiography: her *Life and Perambulations of a Mouse* (1783) was a huge success, and a forerunner of many similar books. In this text, a mouse dictates its own autobiography to the human narrator. Kilner therefore adopts a feature more common in fairy tales than in moral tales, that of animals conversing with humans. However, the author sticks to the typical strategy based on cautionary remarks when she underlines that the history "is made believe to be related by a mouse," repeating the same warning through the words of the narrator:

> Before I proceed to relate my new little companion's history, I must beg leave to assure my readers, that in earnest, I never heard a mouse speak in all my life, and only wrote the following narrative as being far more entertaining, and not less instructive than my own life would have been.[10]

The idea that, in this way, the story will be "far more entertaining" points to an important aspect in which juvenile fiction adjusted theories of the novel to its own aims and needs. Differences derived mainly from the kind of fruition that novels and books for children were meant to have. Both agree on the fact that the unity of the text derives from the continuity of the reader's emotion, but while this was a predominant concern for novelists, the issue was more complicated for authors of children's literature. As observed by Loretelli, eighteenth-century ideas of narrative unity mainly derived from assumptions about fruition and changes in the way people read.[11] Collective reading was no longer the most common way of approaching a text; adult readers were thus free to interrupt, continue or abandon the book whenever they wanted. Digressions, comments by narrators or multiple stories were often adopted to create suspense, prompting the reader to proceed. In fact, one of the problems faced by eighteenth-century novelists was exactly this: how to arouse emotion in a subject reading alone in silence.

This however is only partially true for juvenile literature, especially when directed at small children. Almost all these books include a narrative frame in which a mother tells stories to children. This is not only a way of distancing little readers from the content of the story (which might include for instance talking animals). Most of the prefaces and frames also had a clearly prescriptive value: they were meant to indicate the ideal fruition of the book, that is, an adult reading to children or, in some cases, children reading aloud under the supervision of an adult. The adult presence was

seen as necessary not only to supervise the contents of the book, but also to integrate it with his knowledge and to answer possible questions. The most significant example of this are Barbauld and Aikin's *Evenings at Home* (6 vols. 1792-1796). The subtitle—*The Juvenile Budget Opened*—refers to the narrative frame in which the stories are set: in the preface it is explained that the Fairborne family used to produce stories, fables or fictional dialogues to instruct and amuse children and to deposit them in a special box. All members of the family, at times even guests, were invited to contribute, and the stories were read aloud to the Fairborne children and their little friends;

> After the pieces were once read over, they were carefully deposited by Mrs. Fairborne in a box, of which she kept the key. None of these were allowed to be taken out again till all the children were reassembled in the holidays […] One of the least children was sent to the box, who putting in its little hand, drew out the paper that came next, and brought it into the parlour. This was then read distinctly by one of the older ones; and after it had undergone sufficient consideration, another little messenger was dispatched for a fresh supply, and so on, till as much time had been spent in this manner as the parents thought proper.[12]

The idea of the box is not only an expedient to link different stories together; its prescriptive value is clear from the insistence on the strict rules that govern the fruition of the budget. Instruction was not only meant to come from the written words, but also from discussion aroused by the pieces. Allusions to the ideal fruition of children's literature, together with the metanarrative warnings about its contents, are pervasive in juvenile books of the late eighteenth century. However, since authors always kept in mind the need to entertain, these were used sparingly within the book, either concentrated at the beginning (in a Prologue or Introduction) or dispersed within the plot, in order not to "spoil" the fun. The cautionary remarks, attentively dosed, still allowed the reader to identify with the characters, but only within the boundaries of the narrative itself.

A text however seems to contradict this trend, and to push the convention for narrative frames and metanarrative warnings too far. This text is Dorothy Kilner's *Rational Brutes; or, Talking Animals* (1799). Here, Kilner chooses to emphasize the frame to detriment of the plot, drawing attention to the most concrete aspect of the story—including both its fruition and its material support. A first element that echoes conventional features and at the same time disrupts them is the frame: as in other coeval moral tales, it both invites disbelief and reproduces the typical utilization of these books—a mother (Mrs. Benfield) reading a

story to her children. The author stresses the attention that Mrs. Benfield dedicates to the education of her sons and daughters, underlining that her stories are always realistic:

> Mrs. Benfield, who was an exceeding good woman, took as much pains to please and amuse her children, as she did to instruct and teach them to behave well […]. She took care that the stories which she told them, should be such as might *instruct*, as well as *amuse* them; and if she could think of any thing which had really happened, that would be of that nature, she preferred it to what is called *make-believe* stories.[13]

Quite typically, the narrator within the story—Mrs. Benfield—reinforces the ideas expressed by the author: one evening, her children ask insistently for a story, but she cannot think of any which corresponds to her standards of realism and useful instruction. The only thing that comes to her mind is an old book she owed when she was a child, which contained a story about talking animals. But she defines the book as "foolish," and is very reluctant to use it, even though she cannot find anything better:

> I was now thinking of a little silly book that I had, when I was a little girl; but it was a very foolish one, for it supposed that birds and beasts, and fish, could talk and reason, which you know is quite impossible [...]. It was called, The Gossiping Assembly of Dumb Animals.[14]

However, the mother takes the book and starts reading it, thus mimicking within the narrative the kind of fruition these books often had. The novelty lies in the fact that the reference to the book as a material object (made of ink and paper), here is never abandoned during the story, becoming a pervasive source of questions and comments by the characters. This emphasis is further reinforced by the fact that the mother describes the beautiful pictures in the book; the children come round her to look at the images, which are amazing and puzzling at the same time, anticipating as they do the content of the story:

> She shewed them the first, and George enquired what all the different beasts and birds were doing? "They are all supposed," replied Mrs. Benfield, "to meet together, to converse and amuse themselves, by relating different histories, and telling what they had seen and heard in the various families in which they lived." [...] "Pray mamma," enquired George, "Do the gold and silver fish ever speak?" "O yes," replied Mrs. Benfield, "the fish talk just as well as all the other animals, and you must remember, George, that it is only *make-believe* as you call it, for you know it is

> impossible for dumb beasts to speak." "To be sure mamma, I know that" said George. [15]

Another element of novelty in Kilner's book is the way she balances narrative frame and unity of content. Children's books often had a narrative frame, but it either provided a clear unifying plot in which digressions could be inserted, or was just a device to hold together short stories of various kind. The stories narrated in *The Rational Brutes* instead are all "variations" on the same theme; the animals assemble at night, and narrate their problems with their human owners. Each complains of ill-treatment, either intentional or unconscious. The episodes themselves closely echo those reported in other books aimed at teaching respect for animals, but the frame within the frame (the mother reading a story in which each animal narrates a story) produces a strong distancing effect in the reader. The animals do not move, do not interact with humans (they only tell other animals about their interaction), and they do not get involved in any kind of action apart from talking. The result is that there are no children-characters in the book with whom real readers could identify, besides Mrs. Benfield's sons and daughters. However, they do not act in the story, they just listen to it. This is quite at variance with the common tendency of these books, where "the reader's ability to recognize him or herself in the text" was always prominent, a "key to the reformatory purpose of the British moral tale."[16] Here instead readers can recognize themselves only as users of literature.

A third element which creates an estranging effect in the reader is the frequency with which warnings about the untruthfulness of the story are inserted. As previously stated, most authors were careful not to exaggerate with cautionary remarks, and these were often directed at fictional children in the form of explanations by an adult. The sons and daughters of Mrs. Benfield instead are quite skilled in pointing out to their mother inconsistencies in the story even before she can say something:

> Here little George interrupted his mamma, by enquiring, Why, if the horse was supposed to talk, he could not tell his old master how his sons behaved. "Because," said Mrs. Benfield, "though the animals are *made-believe* to converse together, yet it was not imagined to be in any language that mankind could understand."[17]

These interruptions are quite frequent, openly breaking the natural flow of the narrative; their effect is more ironic than explicative, and denotes a high degree of confidence with the conventions of the genre. However, the most original element used by the author to distance her readers from the

content of the book is its very ending. It has already been mentioned that Mrs. Benfield's volume is old and broken; more than this, some pages are missing. This abruptly reminds the reader that what he is reading (or being read) is only words on paper. The issue is pointed out by Henry, who asks his mother how the animals could contrive to meet together: she answers that the solution was in that part of the book which is torn out, and she cannot remember it.

> "Will you be so obliging as to inform us how the different beasts and birds you have been reading of, all contrived to leave their different houses and cages and meet together?" "upon my word, my dear," replied his mother, "it has been puzzling me as much as it has you; nor can I at all recollect how it was supposed to be done. I know that part of the book which is torn out, accounted for the different animals meeting together, though I quite forget in what way. But, however, if you have been entertained with their conversation when they were assembled, we will not mind by what means they got together. But now, my dear children, it is quite time you should all go to bed; indeed some of you ought to have been there a long while ago. So good night to you all; and let the several complaints of my poor dumb animals teach you never to teaze [*sic*] or torment any living creature: for the Bible tells us, that a merciful man will be merciful to his beast."[18]

In an exasperated mimicry of the real act of fruition of this kind of literature, the children cannot finish the book at their pleasure because it is incomplete, and their mother sends them to bed. Of course, this brilliantly avoids the need to provide even a fictional explanation for the capacity of these animals to talk.

Two last elements further mark the distance between the moral intention of the story and its narrative development. It has been noted that Mrs. Benfield's children were amazed by the beautiful pictures portraying the assembly of animals. It is thus significant that the real title page does not reproduce the assembled talking animals (which might induce fantasies about their existence) but a boy playing with a dog, thus alluding not to the narrative frame, but to the anti-cruelty message of the book. Moreover, besides exploiting a warning in the title (twice repeating an adjective in contrast with its noun: *Rational Brutes; Talking Animals*) Kilner's title is different from the title the mother reads, "The Gossiping Assembly of Dumb Animals." The oxymoron remains, but here the term "gossiping" undervalues the words of the animals, dismissing them as mere chitchat.

All the narrative choices analyzed above are both emblematic and deviant from the "rules" of the genre; emblematic, since Kilner exploits all the metanarrative devices already adopted by other authors to combine

amusement with instruction in an acceptable way; deviant, because she exasperates these devices, achieving an effect which is both ironic and estranging. Kilner's narrative choices thus distance her book from most coeval moral tales, as does its very content and message.

Even though most talking animals in moral tales complain about human cruelty, they seldom question hierarchies in general; they usually suggest that some individual is not fair, but implicitly agree with man's belief in his own superiority. Kilner's *Rational Brutes* instead push their complaints to their logical conclusion: they question the justness of man's superiority, and at times even suggest a revolution. They are presented as conspirators, plotting to overthrow the government of man. Their assembly indeed resembles both a trial and a conspiracy (they meet while man sleeps, by night). After each animal has told its story, opinions on man are discussed: for instance, the Ass clearly parallels boys to pests, and asserts that "it would be the happiest thing for this nation […], if some plan could be contrived to destroy every boy upon the island."[19] The Hog receives loud applause for his harangue against man, in which he claims the animals' right to "be wild, sullen, or mischievous"[20] in response to man's abuse. It is true that some of the animals tend to a milder approach: the Pigeon for instance suggests a distinction, observing that "because some of the species are bad, is it not just to condemn the whole." This is what men do, but animals, superior in understanding, can do better: he says "let us not imitate them in this part of their character. Let us, my friends, be just. Let us be generous. We have no reason to wish that all boys were destroyed from off the island; but only that the bad ones, the cruel ones were removed."[21] In general though, none of the animals is satisfied with the treatment received, and the mood is one of boiling rage. Much is said on the arrogance and stupidity of humans who wrongly consider themselves better than other creatures.

Inversions of roles, animals criticizing man, or episodes in which children are punished for their cruelty to animals featured in almost all late eighteenth-century moral tales, but here the idea of inverted-roles is exploited in a slightly different way. Animals usually plead for the acknowledgment of their rights, or express a desire to be better treated, thus implicitly accepting man's power to make decisions and their dependence on him. *Rational Brutes* instead evokes a kind of mock-trial in which animals are the jury, and man—the defendant—is not even there to justify himself.[22]

The pervasive presence of trials and juries in the news (and also in fictional works) of the nineties might surely have influenced the author, but a debt seems to be traceable also to other subgenres of children's

literature, like papillonades and topsy-turvy poems. These were usually ironic, short compositions in which "the humor comes from a carnivalesque inversion of proper order, as animal imitate humans."[23] As in the carnivalesque tradition, the reversal of roles was often meant to reinforce the official hierarchy. In pieces like those contained in Ann and Jane Taylor's *Signor Topsy-Turvy's Wonderful Magic Lantern* (1810) animals rebel against human practices like hunting, fishing or eating meat, and usually end in brutally killing the offender. The inversion of roles is so exaggerated that the effect is mainly comic; animals killing humans represent a grotesque exaggeration which ultimately reinforces the assumed superiority of man. *Rational Brutes* reformulates some elements belonging to this tradition (like the idea of the world turned upside-down), creating a kind of animal jury judging man. But upside-down tales were characterized by strong sense of play and a scarce attention to moral teachings. Kilner's book instead, although possibly inspired by this tradition, still complies with the "rules" of that children's literature dominated by didacticism. The upside-down world she depicts, with the mock jury of animals, is not meant to have a comic effect. The stories narrated by her rational brutes are realistic and moving; the reader is clearly meant to empathize with the sufferers. Moreover, while in the short upside-down poems a shocking, absurd ending produces a comic effect of distortion, here the ending is missing, leaving the reader wondering whether the animals will decide to do something about their situation or not.

Rational Brutes can thus be seen as a site of cultural struggle, where different traditions intersect, an attempt to negotiate between different needs. On the one hand, the author complies with Lockean requirements concerning realism and educational techniques, which she however seems to question, pushing the use of cautionary devices to its utmost limit, almost ridiculing them. On the other hand, she enacts the idea of the inversion of roles in an original, almost disturbing way; this inversion, however, cannot reach its conclusion (as the book itself), due to Kilner's choice to remain—at least formally—on the "safe" terrain of eighteenth-century didacticism. Moreover, she does not only question the words usually attributed to animals, she also questions the genre itself, highlighting its limitations and idiosyncrasies from within, launching into an experiment which reveals the complexity of issues underlying this kind of literature.

Notes

[1] Before starting my discussion, a cautionary bio-bibliographical remark is due. The book titled *The Rational Brutes; or, Talking Animals* was published in 1799 by Vernor and Hood. The title page attributes it to "M. Pelham, author of The Rotchfords, The Village School, and Various other Publications for the instruction of children." Most scholars agree that M. Pelham was a pseudonym used by Dorothy Kilner, to whom the book is thus usually ascribed. According to *The Oxford Companion to Children's Literature* for instance, "when Dorothy began to publish she used the initials of her place of residence, 'M.P,' as a pseudonym, elaborating this to 'Mary Pelham' when pressed by her publisher to name herself." See Humphrey Carpenter and Mari Prichard, eds., *The Oxford Companion to Children's Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 292. Dorothy Kilner is indicated as the author of *Rational Brutes* also in The Hockliffe Project (http://www.cts.dmu.ac.uk/AnaServer?hockliffe+0+start.anv) and in most libraries' records. The identification "M. Pelham"-Kilner is accepted for instance in the catalogue of the Bodleian Library, which possesses both the 1799 copy (Vernor and Hood) and another one "Printed for J. Harris, and by and for Darton and Harvey" (1803). The British Library catalogue though, which records four copies (1779, 1803, 1807, 1816), has: "PELHAM, Mary, pseud. [i.e. Sir Richard Phillips.]," Sir Richard Phillips (1767-1840) being author, bookseller and publisher. This attribution coincides with the entry in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, which lists "Mrs. Or Miss Pelham" among Sir Phillips' various pseudonyms. See *The Dictionary of National Biography* (London: Oxford University Press, 1917), vol. XV, 1096. However, following most recent research, the identification Kilner-"M. Pelham" has been accepted in this paper.

[2] Tess Cosslett, *Talking Animals in British Children's Fiction, 1789-1914* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); Lynn Festa, "The Moral Ends of Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Object Narratives," in *The Secret Life of Things. Animals, Objects, and It-Narratives in Eighteenth Century England*, ed. Mark Blackwell (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2007), 309-28.

[3] As observed by Matthew Orville Grenby, "Many moral tale authors also envisaged their books as possessing the power to reform, even perfect, society as a whole. According to some readings, the moral tale was essentially an ideological weapon wielded by the bourgeoisie," which, among other things, sought to erase the "lower-class lottery mentality" characterising chapbooks and fairy tales, substituting it with middle-class ideas of commitment to work, frugality and prudence. Matthew Orville Grenby, *Children's Literature* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), 72.

[4] See Frederick Joseph Harvey Darton, *Children's Books in England: Five Centuries of Social Life*, 3rd ed., revised by Brian Alderson (London: The British Library; New Castle [USA]: Oak Knoll Press, 1999), ch. VIII.

[5] Ibid., 143.

[6] Rosamaria Loretelli, "The Aesthetics of Empiricism and the Origin of the Novel," *The Eighteenth Century. Theory and Interpretation* 41, 2 (2000): 84.

[7] This preoccupation was expressed for instance by Thomas Bentley in a review of Barbauld's *Lessons for Children:* "Why will this good lady go contrary to nature, and persist in making dumb creatures speak?—However innocently and usefully fabulous, allegorical, and poetic language may be applied to animate natural descriptions, and to enforce lessons of wisdom when addressed to persons of riper years; we humbly conceive that as the bodies of children should be nourished with the food of nature, so their tender minds should be fed and replenished with simplicity and truth." Bentley's comments appeared in the *Monthly Review* 60 (1779): 448. Quoted from William McCarthy, *Anna Letitia Barbauld. Voice of the Enlightenment* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2008), 206.
[8] Cosslett, 39.
[9] Sarah Trimmer, *Fabulous Histories. Designed to the Instruction of Children, Respecting their Treatment of Animals* (London: Longman, 1786), ix-xi.
[10] Dorothy Kilner, *Life and Perambulations of a Mouse* (London: Marshall, 1783), xii.
[11] Loretelli, 93.
[12] Anna Laetitia Barbauld and John Aikin, *Evenings at Home; or, the Juvenile Budget Opened, consisting of a Variety of Miscellaneous Pieces, for the Instruction and Amusement of Young Persons* (London: J. Johnson, 1795, 3rd ed.), vol. I, 2-3.
[13] Dorothy Kilner (with the pseud. of M. Pelham), *The Rational Brutes; or, Talking Animals* (London: Vernor and Hood, 1799), 1-2.
[14] Ibid., 4.
[15] Ibid., 6-7.
[16] Grenby, 70.
[17] Kilner, 12.
[18] Ibid., 150-52.
[19] Ibid., 18.
[20] Ibid., 29.
[21] Ibid., 32.
[22] As the concern for animal rights became more widespread, literature witnessed a growing presence of animal juries, not only in texts specifically aimed at children. One instance is Letter XV of *The Citizen of the World;* Goldsmith narrates the story of Kabul, a glutton who, once dead, is judged by the souls of all the animals he had exterminated. Oliver Goldsmith, "The Citizen of the World," in *Collected Works of Oliver Goldsmith*, ed. Arthur Friedman (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966).
[23] Cosslett, 51. Among the most famous were Roscoe's *The Butterfly Ball* (1807) and Catherine Ann Dorset's (sister of Charlotte Smith), *The Peacock at Home* (1809). As observed by Matthew Grenby, "it is possible that the work was a little too anarchic for contemporary audiences. Certainly, when taken at face value, the central theme of the work—the inversion of the normal hierarchies of society—was more subversive than the standard content of early nineteenth century children's literature. Many of the episodes deal with rebellions against the prevailing social order." However, "If such a miscellaneous collection of episodes have one recurring theme, it is the rather conservative idea that one should not try

to get above one's proper station." Matthew Orville Grenby, "Introductory Essay to Signor Topsy-Turvy's Wonderful Magic Lantern," The Hockliffe Project Website, http://www.cts.dmu.ac.uk/AnaServer?hockliffe+0+start.anv. The Taylors' book was also a source for many of Alice's episodes. See Ronald Reichertz, *The Making of the Alice Books. Lewis Carroll's Uses of Earlier Children's Literature* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), Chapter IV.

FIELDING AND STERNE: RECEPTION, NEW DEBTS AND ECHOES IN THE ITALIAN NOVEL OF THE FIRST HUNDRED YEARS

DANIELA MANGIONE*

My essay is organized according to a series of ever smaller though not concentric circles. The first three circles present some needed introductory remarks about some data still under study which have also been changing in recent years.

The first metaphorical circle is a partial reflection on comparisons between Italy and England—partial insofar as it is limited to the literary eighteenth century. Comparative literary analysis of the Italian and English eighteenth century has not yet been the object of *homogeneous* investigation. Existing studies are quite specific, and very little solid general knowledge has been developed. For example, after an important study of the relationship between the *Spectator* and Italy's literary reviews,[1] there has been no systematic follow-up.[2] We still have no methodically gathered and digitized data on the reception of English works in Italian eighteenth-century literary reviews.

The second circle is thematically drawn around the relationship of the Italian novel (in general, I mean, not only eighteenth-century works) and the English eighteenth-century novel. There have been some interesting studies recently on the reception of Laurence Sterne[3] and Jonathan Swift,[4] while some Italian research has begun on the translations of English works—on French translations, as in Italy English novels used to be translated primarily in French—which attempts to account for the way English works were received.[5] But interest in the relationship between the Italian novel of the last two centuries and the eighteenth-century English novel is related to the twentieth-century discovery and then rediscovery of Sterne (there are two clusters of Italian reception studies of Sterne, the first

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in the early part of the century[6] and the second in its last 30 years)[7] which appeared with an almost inevitable lag time, since the first complete Italian translation of *Tristram Shandy* was published in 1922.[8]

It must be emphasized, therefore, that as the studies of Sterne's presence and influence in Italian literature is strictly and strongly tied to twentieth-century circumstances, they have been carried out within the conceptual framework of "modernity" and "post-modernity." Moreover, thanks to this perspective, and to the belated publication of the first complete Italian translation of *Tristram Shandy*, there has been a gradual discovery of the more "shandian" rather than sentimental Sternian influence on the nineteenth-century Italian novel. There has been a reaction "against" the bastion constituted by Foscolo's translation of *Sentimental Journey*, which had dominated nineteenth-century thinking and reception,[9] by attempts to demonstrate how *Tristram Shandy* had also been received into the novelistic conventions of the nineteenth and than twentieth century.[10]

Turning now to the next circle, which is strictly limited to the relationships between Italian and English novels of the long eighteenth century, I cannot help but underline how this century has been considered an era too *unripe* for the consideration of possible Sternean influences on Italian narrative literature. If we then consider that the knowledge of English language was scarce on the Italian peninsula, and that the translations of Sterne were in French and characteristically cleansed the narratives of their metadiegetic parts,[11] and if we consider than that the Italian critical tradition has only recently granted space and interest to the eighteenth-century novel,[12] thus ensuring the void of research in the field, it is not difficult to understand why so little is known about the influence of English narrative aesthetics on Italy's eighteenth-century fiction. Even recent studies of Sterne's reception in eighteenth-century Italy make only limited and vague mention of Sterne's interaction,[13] concentrating sometimes on his physical presence in Italy and his acquaintance with the brothers Verri.[14]

In the case of Henry Fielding, moreover, which I have not yet addressed, and specifically with regard to *Tom Jones*—the same limitations held true, reinforced, however, by the overwhelming twentieth-century stature of Sterne which helped to further ostracize both Fielding and his works. The twentieth-century rediscovery of Sterne, in other words, stifled inquiries into the influence of Fielding in Italy.

It is my belief, however, that there were already some significant signs of Italian responses to English narrative aesthetics in the eighteenth century. The importance of such responses/receptions is twofold: on the

one hand they represent and deepen evidence of cultural exchange; on the other, they highlight a dialogue which is articulated in harmony with peculiarly national characteristics, tics, and shortcomings—and therefore they help to better define the prevailing novelistic climate in Italy.

I believe, therefore, that there is a Fielding function in the Italian novel, and its inception dates back to the eighteenth century. I am not referring here to functions concerning plot—which may indeed have also been present, if it is true that the first and most visible, already recognized, contact between Italy and *Tom Jones* is constituted, beyond the dispute over the translations,[15] by the dramatic trilogy by Pietro Chiari, who would subsequently become an important novelist. I refer instead to the Fieldingian *tone*, to his *idea* of the novel—so incisive that whoever had the opportunity to read it in the original English could not be left unaffected.

There is a *publishing story* in Italy, from the second half of the eighteenth century, that speaks to us of Fielding's "aesthetic" influence on Italian narrative. More specifically, it speaks to us of how Italy's literary production began to elaborate on *Tom Jones*.[16]

It must first be recalled that the short novel to which I am referring was written by the most active early eighteenth-century promoter of English culture in Italy,[17] Francesco Algarotti, who had earlier popularized the ideas of Newton in Italy with his *Newtonianismo per le dame*[18] and who had been accused of "Lockeanism" in the early 1730s by the Accademia delle Scienze di Bologna,[19] where he studied and worked. He was in London in 1736 and 1739, and he was a friend of Lord Hervey to whom he dedicated his *Viaggi di Russia*.[20] He was in contact with Hume, conducted epistolary exchanges with William Pitt and Thomas Gray, and not least, he was the lover of Lady Wortley Montagu, who was, among other things, Henry Fielding's cousin.

In 1745 Algarotti published an allegorical novel of manners, *Il Congresso di Citera*.[21] The book had several editions and translations throughout Europe.[22] It told the story of three women—one French, one English, one Italian—called to the island of Cythera by Cupid to discuss the customary practice of love in their respective countries. In the book's last edition, completed in 1762 and published in early 1763,[23] readers were offered a plot enriched by the addition of a new final part entitled *Giudicio d'amore sopra il Congresso di Citera*. The new addition contained a sort of continuation of the story in which it was feigned that criticisms had been raised against the narrative. The addition, which thus proposed a critique of the story recounted just a few pages earlier, offered itself as a

sort of self-criticism by the author concerning the nature of his narrative. There also appears in the addition, seesawing with the figure of the author and that of his audience, the figure of the "*historian* of the *Congresso di Citera*." There had not been so much as a trace of this historian in previous editions (neither the role nor the word) nor by the way in the final edition of the narrative. His appearance, therefore, seems strongly allusive: it seems highly probable that this bringing into play of the "historian," cited 15 times in 15 pages, is an echo of Fielding's ironic reflections in his disquisitions on the *Writer* and the *Historian*. Both the figure of the *historian* and the *ironic way* in which he appears in the narrative pages resonate with the novelistic aesthetics in which Fielding played a central role. Algarotti cites, that is, precise episodes in the history of the novel, and, in particular, he seems to be *playing* on ambiguity, on the fact that in Italy no one can say, as Fielding wrote in *Tom Jones*, "I'm the founder of a new province of writing, so I am at liberty to make what laws I please herein."[24]

Over the course of two decades, and the same ones that saw the publication of *Tom Jones*, a novel which had started its career in the mid 1740s as a confrontation of customs had been transformed, at the hands of a leading literary mediator with England, into a metaliterary reflection.[25]

In 1767, again in Venice, was published by Francesco Gritti a novel with the title of *Memorie del Signor Tommasino*.[26] It was dedicated to "signor Carlo Sackville inglese," an important cultural mediator who had brought Macpherson's *Fragments* to the attention of Melchiorre Cesarotti.[27] The pages of this novel also show evidence of what we might call an English narrative style: the chapter titles are Fieldingesque; the *Prefazione* "sarà letta da pochi e forse da nessuno,"[28] there are chapters "in cui si addormentano i benigni lettori"[29] or of which "è permesso a chi legge di dir la propria opinione"[30] or "del quale l'autore non osa render ragione"[31] or yet again "che l'autore avrebbe potuto dispensarsi di scrivere come il pubblico può dispensarsi di leggere."[32] The reader encounters a chapter "che pare espressamente scritto perché si legga ma che poi non merita di essere letto";[33] and allusion is made to the "doveri di uno storico che ambisca com'io l'onorevole attributo di esatto, sincero e fedele."[34]

The delight in digression smacks of *Tristram*: the *Prefazione* runs more than twenty-five pages, digressive and self-deprecating notes punctuate the entire text, which has no ending; and there is also a chapter dedicated to the moustaches of (recent) shandian memory. I would point out that these typically English narrative features are often complemented by a ferocious critique of the peninsula's literary practices.

Another connection to English writing practice is the author's way of relating to his readership, with whom he adopts an ironic pose. The relationship between author and reader enacted on the pages of novels is decidedly different between Italy and England; specifically, I believe it can be said that the Italian novel is particularly *reticent* with regard to the visibility and solidity of that relationship[35]—which is strongly dependent on the author's assertiveness. It could actually be said that the Italian novels which are modeled on English fiction—for example, *I viaggi di Enrico Wanton* by Zaccaria Seriman[36]—are the ones more "affected" by that relationship, the ones that elaborate it in a more tangible way.

At this point it is important to note that between the 1770s and the first half of the 1790s, the Italian novel experiences a sort of "normalization." But it is a normalization which, rather than bring forth works which move toward a definitive liberty of invention, gives rise to novels which conform to the dictates of the intellectuals. Toward the end of the century Italian novelistic writing opens up to experiences that are allegorical and totally removed from daily life: there begins a sort of repression of what had been most popular among readers (the novels of Pietro Chiari[37] and Antonio Piazza, which recounted the stories of eighteenth-century women, men, actresses). Beginning in the 1780s, legitimacy is granted to novels that are unreal, cultivated, lacking in realism[38] (and they will continue to have a place in critical history). Then, in 1798, with the publication of Ugo Foscolo's *Le ultime lettere di Jacopo Ortis*—a novel whose historical gloss will make it more "acceptable"—the Italian novel starts to see the road open up toward legitimacy for novelistic invention. This legitimacy, however, will be attained thanks to the safe-conduct pass, to the control of history.

In light of all this, it is particularly interesting to come upon the "two lines" of the English novel, the Fieldingian and the Sternean, in an Italian novel that will be published well into the nineteenth century, at the height of "Manzonism."

This episode is even more curious because this novel, entitled *Il buco nel muro*,[39] is by a writer, Francesco Domenico Guerrazzi, who had already written extraordinarily successful historical novels.[40] As the title indicates, the novel turns around a hole in the wall of a room, the *deus ex machina* of the story, responsible for the protagonist's falling in love. The hole in the wall is also, however, and at the same time, a reference to the metadiegetic dimension which is constant in the book. Throughout the course of the narrative Fielding and Sterne turn out to be the models

around which the narrative aesthetics of the novel are constructed. *Il buco nel muro* is presented to the reader replete with allusions to the two English authors. The following table (Tab. 1) presents some of the novel's linguistic and thematic intersections with the works of Fielding and Sterne,[41] subdividing them between the two sources:

Francesco Domenico Guerrazzi, *Il buco nel muro*, 1862 [*BM*]	
Henry Fielding, *Tom Jones*, 1749 [*TJ*]	Laurence Sterne, *Tristram Shandy*, 1760-67 [*TS*]; *Sentimental Journey*, 1768 [*SJ*]
•Domestic setting. •An adopted orphan then thrown out of the house by his adoptive father . •The orphan is the adoptive father's nephew. •Chapter titles "alla Fielding." •The title of the novel *Il buco nel muro* is cited in *TJ*: "the famous hole in the wall," *TJ*, Book I, Chapter VIII and taken from Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act V. •The protagonist of *BM* is named Orazio (Horace), and the Roman writer Horace in often cited in *TJ*.	•The *Prologo* contains a clear allusion to Shakespeare's and Sterne's Yorick. •The protagonist Orazio opens the novel "without a wig and with yellow slippers" as in *TS*, Book IX, Chapter I. •Author's appeal to/quarrel with female readers in *BM* Chapter IV as in *TS*, Book I, Chapter XX. •The "Angioli scribi" appear in *BM* Chapter IV, recalling the "recording angel" in *TS*, Book VI, Chapter VIII. •The anathema directed at the printer Tappati *in genitalibus* (*BM* Chapter VI) recalls the anathema directed at Obadiah (*TS*, Book III, Chapter XI). •There is a Tobia (a dog full of virtues, dressed as a *Giandarme*) that recalls the uncle Toby in *TS.* •The tobacconist's (*SJ*, "The Snuff-box") is the emblem of fiction without any obligations to history (*BM*, Chapter IV).

Tab. 1

There is, furthermore, also a cup of tea which becomes an object around which the action turns and pauses.[42]

Fielding, Sterne, the historical novel, Manzonism, history and fiction do not come together by narrative coincidence. This is also demonstrated by the presence, within the novel itself, of a section dedicated to humorous reflections on the novel, placed, interestingly enough, in its central

chapter, titled "Vita e miracoli del romanzo." Here we learn, near the end of a story which has recounted the stages in the development of the novel genre, calling it the child of Bacchus and Terpsichore, that the Novel

> per ricrearsi venne in Italia, e si aggirò pei colli della Brianza, dove conobbe Renzo e Lucia, e prese tabacco nella scatola di padre Cristoforo; un degno frate in verità, ma il Romanzo dentro un orecchio ai suoi amici sussurrava sommesso che tre quarti delle virtù del frate Cristoforo, Alessandro Manzoni le aveva tolte a nolo da lui Romanzo, con promessa di riportargliele finito il lavoro, e poi gliele aveva negate; egli avere taciuto e tacere per non fare scandalo […] Basta! contentarsi per ora, che i *Promessi Sposi* si chiamassero romanzo; caso mai si attentassero battezzarli storia, egli era capitale da citare il signor conte davanti il giudice civile, ed a un bisogno anche criminale.[43]

The image of the Novel taking "tobacco in the box of Father Cristoforo" alludes to a Sternean episode from the chapter of *Sentimental Journey* entitled "The Snuff-box."[44] Manzoni himself had alluded to it in chapter XXXVI of *I promessi sposi*. Guerrazzi's allusion to Manzoni citing Sterne serves here to underline not so much the debts that the Manzonian character of Fra Cristoforo owed to *Sentimental Journey* but the debts that Manzoni owed to the novel genre ("whispered softly that three quarters of brother Cristoforo's virtues had been taken by Alessandro Manzoni for hire by him Novel"). The charter of fiction, therefore, was much more central to *I promessi sposi* than Manzoni himself was willing to admit, preferring to rely on the idea of the "historical novel" and to the engine of "Providence" for the development of the action ("and then he had denied them to him"). That is why the conclusion has Novel threatening to cite before the "criminal" judge anyone who denied the personal connection between *I promessi sposi* and Novel by attributing that connection instead to *History*.[45]

The continued presence of Fielding and Sterne, therefore, more than a century later, during the high tide of "Manzonism," and in the work of an author of historical novels, shows how, over the course of a century, the English presence had come to establish its own critical *function vis-à-vis* the orthodox system of Italian narrative. Fielding and Sterne are recalled in order to contest, to correct the Manzonian position; they are alluded to in an effort to "touch" the question, still unresolved in Italy, of "free invention" with the autonomous rules proper to a new "province"; authors punch "holes" in the page in the English manner in order to try out that formerly untried "strong" relationship of the author with his own readers

that had been glimpsed in the English novel and which was still perceived as a model. Between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, therefore, the Fielding-Sterne "function" seems necessary to investigations of a new, less rigid, way of narrating, which was—which could be—finally free to invent, unencumbered by the chain-mail of History.

Notes

[1] Rosa Maria Colombo, *Lo Spectator e i giornali veneziani del Settecento* (Bari: Adriatica Editrice, 1966).

[2] See now Lia Guerra, "Giambattista Biffi and his role in spreading English culture in eighteenth-century Lombardy," *Eighteenth Century Studies* (forthcoming).

[3] Olivia Santovetti, "The Sentimental, the Inconclusive, the Digressive: Sterne in Italy," in *The Reception of Laurence Sterne in Europe*, ed. Peter de Voogd and John Neubauer (London: The Continuum International Publishing Group, 2004), 193-220; see also Olivia Santovetti, "The Adventurous Journey of Lorenzo Sterne in Italy," *The Shandean* 8 (1996): 78-97; Alessandra Calvani, *Il viaggio italiano di Sterne* (Firenze: Cesati, 2004) and Ilenia De Bernardis, "Il 'caso Sterne' nel primo Novecento," *Rassegna europea di letteratura italiana* 23 (2004): 65-83; Francesca Testa, *Tristram Shandy in Italia: critica traduzioni, influenze* (Roma: Bulzoni, 1999), 61-157.

[4] Flavio Gregori, "The Italian Reception of Swift," in *The Reception of Jonathan Swift in Europe*, ed. Hermann J. Real (London and New York: Thoemmes-Continuum Press, 2005), 15-56; Francesca Saggini, "Il cannibale dell'anima: Swift tradotto per Carabba," in *La casa editrice Carabba e la cultura Italiana tra Otto e Novecento*, ed. Gianni Oliva (Roma: Bulzoni, 1999), 509-21. But see also Carlo Pagetti, *La fortuna di Swift in Italia* (Bari: Adriatica, 1971).

[5] Clotilde Bertoni "Il filtro francese: Frénais e C.nie nella diffusione europea di Sterne," in *Effetto Sterne. La narrazione umoristica in Italia da Foscolo a Pirandello*, ed. Giancarlo Mazzacurati (Pisa: Nistri-Lischi, 1990), 19-59; Ilenia De Bernardis, *"L'illuminata imitazione". Le origini del romanzo moderno in Italia: dalle traduzioni all'emulazione* (Bari: Palomar, 2007), 57-96.

[6] See for instance Giovanni Rabizzani, *Lorenzo Sterne* (Genova: Formiggini, 1914).

[7] An important reference are the studies of Giancarlo Mazzacurati. See especially the collection of essays *Effetto Sterne: la narrazione umoristica in Italia da Foscolo a Pirandello* and *Il fantasma di Yorick* (Napoli: Liguori, 2006).

[8] This first translation was by Ada Salvatore, *La vita e le opinioni di Tristano Shandy* (Roma: Formiggini, 1922). It would be followed by Antonio Meo, trans., *La vita e le opinioni di Tristram Shandy gentiluomo*, preface by Carlo Levi (Torino: Einaudi, 1958).

[9] The nineteenth century rediscovered especially the Sterne of *Sentimental Journey*, thanks to the translation by Ugo Foscolo in 1813. Some parts of *Tristram*

were published in a translation by Carlo Bini as early as 1829 (*L'indicatore livornese* 12-13).

[10] See Testa, 61-157; Calvani; De Bernardis, 65-83; and Santovetti, "The Sentimental, the Inconclusive, the Digressive: Sterne in Italy." See also Mazzacurati, *Il fantasma di Yorick*: particularly "Segnali e tracce di Sterne nell'opera di Ippolito Nievo. Nievo e il 'Sentimental humor'," 106-16.

[11] See Roger Poirer, *La Bibliothèque universelle des romans. Redacteurs, Textes, Public* (Geneve: Droz, 1977), 85; and Bertoni, 55-58.

[12] See Elvio Guagnini, "Rifiuto e apologia del romanzo nel secondo Settecento italiano," in *Letteratura e società. Scritti di italianistica e critica letteraria per Giuseppe Petronio*, vol. I (Milano: Palumbo, 1980), 291-309; Luca Clerici, *Il romanzo italiano del Settecento. Il caso Chiari* (Venezia: Marsilio, 1997); Carlo Alberto Madrignani, *All'origine del romanzo in Italia. Il "celebre abate Chiari"* (Napoli: Liguori, 2000); Tatiana Crivelli, *"Né Arturo né Turpino né la Tavola rotonda". Romanzi del secondo Settecento italiano* (Roma: Salerno, 2002).

[13] See Testa, 15-60.

[14] Santovetti, "The Sentimental, the Inconclusive, the Digressive: Sterne in Italy," 194-95.

[15] The translation has been the object of study from both the English and the Italian perspective—especially in publishing terms: see Luisa Giari, "Le peripezie delle prime traduzioni del *Tom Jones* tra Francia e Italia," *Problemi di critica goldoniana* 9 (2003): 229-49, and Hugh Amory, "Fatum libelli: *Tom Jones* in Italy," *Harvard Library Bulletin* XIX, no. 1 (1981): 44-70. Still to be explored is Fielding's legacy in Pietro Chiari's fiction.

[16] See Madrignani, 16-18 and 249-51.

[17] See Francesco Viglione, "Algarotti e l'Inghilterra," *Studi letterari italiani* XIII (1922): 59-190.

[18] The first edition was published in 1737; it would be followed by three others before the definitive last edition of 1752.

[19] See Walter Tega, "Mens agitat molem. L'Accademia delle Scienze di Bologna," in *Scienza e letteratura nella cultura italiana del Settecento*, ed. Renzo Cremante and Walter Tega (Bologna: il Mulino, 1984), 65-10, and Marta Cavazza, *Settecento inquieto. Alle origini dell'Istituto delle Scienze di Bologna* (Bologna: il Mulino, 1990).

[20] Francesco Algarotti, *Viaggi di Russia* (Livorno: Coltellini, 1764); now ed. William Spaggiari (Milano: Garzanti, 2006).

[21] Francesco Algarotti, *Il Congresso di Citera* (Napoli, 1745).

[22] It was translated into German, French and English.

[23] Francesco Algarotti, *Il Congresso di Citera* (published in Venice but with "Londra" on frontispiece: Novelli, 1763), now ed. Daniela Mangione (Bologna: Millennium, 2003).

[24] Henry Fielding, *Tom Jones*, ed. John Bender and Simon Stern (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 68.

[25] The dissembling of the *labor limae* and of meaningfulness, which are resolved in homage to *brevitas*, are central to Algarotti's poetics.

[26] Francesco Gritti, *La mia Istoria, ovvero Memorie del signor Tommasino scritte da lui medesimo, opera narcotica del dottor PifPuf, etc. Edizione probabilmente unica* (Venezia: Bassaglia, 1767-1768); now *Memorie del Signor Tommasino*, ed. Roberto Damiani (Roma: Curcio, 1979).
[27] See *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana 2002), *ad vocem.*
[28] "it will be read by few and perhaps not by anyone": quoted from Gritti, *Memorie del signor Tommasino*, 19.
[29] "in which the benign readers fall asleep": Ibid., 102.
[30] "the reader is permitted to give his own opinion": Ibid, 92.
[31] "of which the author dares not render reason": Ibid., 96.
[32] "that the author could have dispensed himself from writing just as his audience can dispense itself from reading": Ibid, 119.
[33] "that seems to have been written expressly to be read but then doesn't deserve to be read": Ibid., 106.
[34] "duties of a historian who aspires as I do to be called honourable, sincere and faithful": Ibid., 105.
[35] See also Daniela Mangione, "Ruoli e funzioni di autore e lettore nel dibattito settecentesco italiano sul romanzo," in *La riflessione sul romanzo nell'Europa del Settecento*, ed. Rosamaria Loretelli and Ugo M. Olivieri (Milano: Franco Angeli, 2005), 103-17.
[36] Zaccaria Seriman, *Viaggi di Enrico Wanton alle terre incognite australi, ed al paese delle scimie, ne' quali si spiegano il carattere li costumi e le scienze, e la polizia di quegli straordinari abitanti. Tradotti da un manoscritto inglese* (Venezia: Tagier, 1749); *Viaggi di Enrico Wanton alle terre incognite australi, ed ai regni delle scimie, e de' cinocefali nuovamente tradotti da un manoscritto inglese* (Berna 1764); *I viaggi di Enrico Wanton*, ed. Gilberto Pizzamiglio (Milano: Marzorati, 1977).
[37] See Madrignani.
[38] I'm referring to Alessandro Verri, *Le avventure di Saffo poetessa di Mitilene* (Padova: Manfrè, 1780); now ed. Alfredo Cottignoli (Napoli: Salerno, 1991); Alessandro Verri, *Le notti romane al sepolcro degli Scipioni* (Roma: Filippo Neri, 1792), now in *I romanzi*, ed. Luciana Martinelli (Ravenna: Longo, 1975); Ippolito Pindemonte, *Abaritte. Storia verissima*, (Londra 1790); now ed. Edoardo Villa (Genova: La Quercia, 1980) and ed. Angiola Ferraris (Modena: Mucchi, 1987).
[39] Francesco Domenico Guerrazzi, *Il buco nel muro* (Torino and Milano: Guigoni, 1862); now ed. Daniela Mangione (Bologna: Millennium, 2003).
[40] Francesco Domenico Guerrazzi, *La battaglia di Benevento. Storia del secolo XIII* (Livorno: Bertani, Antonelli & c., 1827-1828); Francesco Domenico Guerrazzi, *L'assedio di Firenze* (Parigi: Baudry, 1836).
[41] About Guerrazzi and Sterne see also Giovanni Rabizzani, *Sterne in Italia. Riflessi nostrani dell'umorismo sentimentale* (Roma: Formiggini, 1920), 125-40.
[42] It is introduced in the title of the first chapter, but, by now turned cold, is left on the tray. It shows up again in the fourth, smoking hot, while Orazio, who doesn't drink it, waits. At the beginning of the fifth chapter it becomes an exhilarating co-

protagonist: when Orazio, overcome with emotion, finally decides to re-embrace his nephew but presses down on the tray holding the smoking hot tea, sending it flying. Remade, in the sixth chapter, it turns cold again, until, when the situation requires a decision and Orazio leaves for Milan, there it is again, finally hot, and in the end, it gets drunk, with some rum. See Daniela Mangione, introduction to *Il buco nel muro*, 52-53.

[43] "Then to recreate itself came to Italy, and it roamed the hills of Brianza, where it met Renzo and Lucia, and took tobacco in the box of Father Cristoforo, a worthy friar in truth, but the Novel whispered softly into the ear of his friends that three quarters of brother Cristoforo's virtues had been taken by Alessandro Manzoni for hire by him Novel, with the promise to bring them back to him when the work was finished, and then he had denied them to him; he had kept quiet and continued to keep quiet so as not to cause scandal [...] Enough! Be content for now that *I promessi sposi* were called novel; should they ever attempt to baptize them history, he was able to cite the signor count before the civil judge, and if need also criminal." Guerrazzi, *Il buco nel muro*, 52-53.

[44] See Salvatore Nigro, *La tabacchiera di Don Lisander* (Torino: Einaudi, 1996), 8.

[45] See also note 48 in Guerrazzi, *Il buco nel muro*, 184.

A "BRITISH" LOOK AT ITALIAN POETRY: SAVERIO BETTINELLI, THE *ENGLISH LETTERS* (1766), AND THE IDEA OF COSMOPOLITANISM

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In the last decades, a number of scholars have devoted thorough attention to the concept of cosmopolitanism. Starting from classical sources, it has been analysed in its historical development, from the Humanistic and Renaissance period to the late eighteenth century.[1] As to the socio-historical changes of the concept in Enlightened Europe, and the geopolitical transformations in the Western world, scholars and researchers have produced a notable series of studies.[2] A field equally interesting is the study of cosmopolitanism in the Italian context, considered from the point of view of its relationships with the foremost countries of modern Europe, such as France and Britain. Scholars may benefit from several works related to the history of philosophical historiography, with particular reference to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[3] However, among them, only a few have focused on the role of Italian cosmopolitanism linked to the building of its cultural identity, from the eighteenth century up to the Romantic, pre-unitarian period.[4]

Besides, in recent years some scholars have been profitably working on the mutual influences and contacts between Italian and British culture. This subject inevitably draws attention to the problem of the interactions between the mainstream and the marginal in eighteenth-century Europe.[5]

Granted this, I have chosen to consider the issue of the contacts—both real and ideal—between British and Italian culture, through a minority thinker from Italian Enlightenment, i.e. Saverio Bettinelli, the Jesuit author of the *English Letters* (*Lettere inglesi*, 1766), who is a good example of a certain idea of cosmopolitanism in Italian culture.

Let me draw a brief sketch of the author and his work. The *English Letters* were written at a turning point of Bettinelli's life: they were published in Venice, in 1766, and were probably written some years

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before, when Bettinelli lived in the Republic of Venice, at Avesa, near Verona. However, a rough draft of the work had probably been set down almost a decade earlier. Towards the end of 1757, Bettinelli anonymously published *Ten Letters by Virgil to the Arcadia in Rome*, an argumentative work, of which the *English Letters* are a sort of conclusion. In the same period, Bettinelli went on a Grand Tour across Germany, France and Switzerland. He went to Paris; during his journey to France he met Rousseau and Helvétius, and, in December 1758, in Switzerland, he met Voltaire.[6]

As regards that meeting, two simple observations need to be made. Voltaire gave Bettinelli a famous book, his *Essay on the Manners and Customs of the Nations* (1756), which Bettinelli will take into consideration in his writings. In his turn, Bettinelli gave Voltaire the text of *Virgil Letters* which had been printed in 1757, in the collection entitled *Versi sciolti di tre eccellenti moderni autori*.

It is well known that Voltaire's library was bought by Katherine II, the Czarina of Russia. Voltaire's library reached St. Petersbourg in 1779, and the next year was placed in Katherine's private collection, at the Hermitage. In 1982 A.A. Poliakina found Bettinelli's work in the Hermitage section at the State Library Mikajl Saltykov-Chtchédrin of Leningrad.[7] The volume hid, on the left side, behind the title-page, a little ticket written by Bettinelli, with the following verses: "All'unico Voltaire omaggio e serto / Italo Pindo, ad offerir vien meco: / L'Anglo Ibero German già l'hanno offerto, / E offerto avrianlo anco il Latino e il Greco."[8] The verses are a quatrain composed by Cesarotti; it was the same one that Bettinelli sent to Voltaire some years later.

That meeting was an important step in Bettinelli's life: in the following months, Bettinelli had a correspondence with Voltaire, and, some years later, before writing the *English Letters*, he dealt with some typical issues of Voltaire's thought, such as freethinking, the ideal of a cosmopolitan man of letters, the relationship between erudition, scholarship and philosophy, the quest for the customs of the nations, the quarrel between the ancients and the moderns, the critique against Dante's poetry.

It is enough to say that, although the *English Letters* were not openly addressed to a French audience, they were translated into French, together with the *Virgil Letters*. The *Virgil Letters* were translated for the first time in 1759, by Langlard, a Jesuit scholar. However, in 1778, more than a decade after the Italian edition of *English Letters*, a French edition appeared in Paris under the title of *Lettres d'un Anglais, sur la littérature et la poésie italienne*.[9]

Both *Virgil* and *English Letters* have in common a fictional dramatic

structure: the *Virgil Letters* are supposed to be sent from Virgil to the members of Arcadia in Rome; hence, a classic author sends some assessments and critiques to modern Italian poets. In the *English Letters*, the work takes the form of epistles sent from an imaginary British traveller, who expresses his point of view on the manners and culture of the country he has visited, comparing them to those of his own country. In those letters (which are written in perfect Italian, imbued with two dozen anglicisms), the English traveller offers his critique to the moderns. His point of view is not that of a common traveller: he is a British literate, with fine manners and good taste, fully immersed in the European, cosmopolitan, open-minded context of the Republic of Letters; he has lived in Italy for a long time, and learned everything about Italian and French cultures.[10]

The dramatic structure of the *English Letters* is quite complex. I consider that Bettinelli had adopted at least three perspectives or points of view: 1) a *British* point of view, to say, *how* a British traveller looks at Italian manners, customs, culture and good taste; therefore, *how* Italian culture appears to the eyes of a British man; 2) an *Italian* point of view, that is, *how* an Italian traveller looks at British culture, customs, and so on; therefore, *how* British culture appears to the eyes of an Italian. In both cases, the foreign and the Italian points of view agree with Bettinelli's perceptions, that is, with Bettinelli's understanding of British perceptions of Italy and Italian perceptions of Britain. However, I also found 3) *another* point of view, a third perspective, since the *English Letters* were quite likely addressed, not only to an Italian reader, but also to a *British reader*, in order to set before him, or provide him with the most correct or suitable view, or a reader key on Italian culture and customs, that any English traveller could wish for, on his Italian journeys.

It is important to say that, at the end of 1760, during Bettinelli's stay at Avesa, a noteworthy Italian literate and pamphleteer, Giuseppe Baretti (1719-1789), came back to Italy, escorting a British traveller, young Edward Southwell. During his stay in Italy, Baretti did not get a chance to read the *English Letters*: he left Venice in the summer of 1765, lived near Ancona until the early months of 1766, and after a Tour to France and Spain, went back to London in November of the same year. Bettinelli probably read some issues of the *Frusta letteraria*, the famous journal Baretti published during his stay in Italy, in which Baretti himself attacked the *Virgil Letters*. However, what is notable is that, two years after Baretti went back to London, a work quite in agreement with the "third point of view" of Bettinelli's work appeared. In 1768, Baretti published in London a work entitled *An Account of the Manners and Customs of Italy, with Observations on the Mistakes of Some Travellers, with Regard to the*

Country, in two volumes. Baretti's work was probably written without knowing Bettinelli's *English Letters*, and a lot of differences characterized their works; but it would not be less interesting, in my opinion, to read Baretti's text bearing Bettinelli's *English Letters* in mind.[11]

The *English Letters* are a kind of pivotal work in Bettinelli's literary production. On the one hand, the fictional structure of the work gives to the author a surprising freedom in order to express his critique of the cultural and historical conditions of Italian poetry. On the other hand, by means of this work, Bettinelli just unveiled some issues, concerning literary studies, arts, poetry and customs, which he will try to inquire into some years later, in his works on the historical origins of Italian culture. In the *Italian Risorgimento* that he published in 1775, but had conceived twenty years before, under the charge of *Lector Historiae* at the Collegio de' Nobili of Parma (1752-1759), he realized a critical approach to historiography, unveiling his expectations for cultural renewal, in order to offer an effective, open-minded education to the new ruling class. It is precisely in the *Italian Risorgimento* that he takes into consideration the problem of the national identity of Italian literature, the same issue he suggested, in 1766, in the *English Letters*.[12]

Bettinelli's critique is supported by a concept of cosmopolitanism to which he acceded through his contacts with French culture, in which he also recognized, after all, a British style. In that sense, Bettinelli did not much differ from the *Englishness* the young Voltaire initially showed in his *Lettres philosophiques* (1734).[13]

As regards the relationship between cosmopolitanism and the project of a reform of Italian poetry (as it was formerly suggested in the *English Letters*), Bettinelli considered cosmopolitanism a necessary step in the making of a national identity. However, among the reasons of his later aversion towards Voltaire (as it was attested in the *Italian Risorgimento*), we certainly find the reaction against the general diffusion of French culture in Italy, which had much more influence than British culture did. Undoubtedly, in the *English Letters* Bettinelli pointed out that French culture represented the main medium for the transmission of *British style*.[14]

I will not be dwelling on those aspects of the *English Letters* towards which some recent scholars have directed their attention, such as Bettinelli's use of anglicisms, his approach to the history and theory of the Italian language, the weakness and obscurities of his aesthetic theory, and so on.[15] I am interested, above all, in highlighting one particular aspect of the *English Letters*, which consists in its role as a cultural and political program for the renewal of literature and arts in the Italian context. In that

sense, through the imaginary eye of a British traveller, the *English Letters* uncovered a thorough attention to those aspects of social communication which, in the cultural framework of eighteenth-century Europe, will become a key requirement for recognition of cultural identity. Bettinelli considered literature as a fruitful occasion to realize a liberal, freethinking form of cultural citizenship.

Bettinelli dealt with a typical eighteenth-century phenomenon, concerning the changing market of literary works. The new literary production was no longer promoted by a single patron usually belonging to the ruling class, but by a large mass of readers.[16] In those urban contexts, like Paris and London, where culture homogeneously flows into all social classes, the increased number of readers does not diminish the artistic quality of the works. But when, just as in Italian countries, cultural communication does not equally flow into all social contexts, the increased number of customers accelerates a sort of cultural fragmentation, producing the decay of social values, customs and good taste.

The *English Letters* were also the description of what cultural changes occurred in the social and geopolitical context of eighteenth-century Italy. Bettinelli rightly observed how social and economic changes, and the transformation of the publishing market in such nations as France and Britain, had been a promising occasion for a cultural renewal. In the *English Letters*, the foreign traveller pointed out that the expanding of the market did not produce the same effects everywhere. However, what he claimed for Italy was the achievement of the same urban, cultural and political framework, that travellers admire and perceive, when visiting the big cities of Northern Europe, for example London and Paris. Let me quote an important passage of the *English Letters*, where Bettinelli suggested as follows:

> Parigi e Londra sono appunto città ove respira e si colorisce ognun facilmente per averci unione di molti e molta unione di tutti. Andate nelle botteghe: ci troverete un tratto, una disinvoltura, una cultura, e quasi erudizione, che non facilmente incontrasi nella nobiltà provinciale, e perché? Perché quegli artefici son dentro anch'essi di quell'atmosfera, benché siano all'estremità. Mi rappresento questa comunicazione di una gran città in una cascata d'acque, che, da un gradino all'altro scendendo, e d'una in un'altra conca versandosi, ogni parte più bassa ne irrigano: così dalla corte al primo rango della città, da questo al secondo, indi a' mercanti, agli artieri ed al popolo si diffonde il pensare, il parlare, le opinioni e il buon gusto. Quindi avviene che nelle nostre metropoli difficilmente si veggano certe opinioni stravaganti, che nelle vostre provincie ardiscon mostrarsi, a dispetto del secolo illuminato.[17]

According to Bettinelli, London and Paris are the true examples of widespread diffusion of culture among all social classes, by means of the most simple medium of social communication, that is, language. In that picture of Paris and London we feel Bettinelli's perception of culture like a lively, dynamic phenomenon in change. Just like an organism, the culture of the nation flows from the center to peripheral areas. And just like a world system, the capital city, the center of the nation, can boast a great number of talents and wits.[18]

So we have finally reached the core diagnosis of the *English Letters*: they are the condemnation of the decay which had distressed both culture and politics, in Italy. It was a decay having deep roots,[19] whose first effect, from the point of view of social communication, was the lack of a distinctive national culture, of a "national taste" and of an "Italian literature." The problem of cultural decay is only one aspect of a greater problem: the decay in politics. Thus the *English Letters* are the cosmopolitan manifesto for the political and cultural change of Italy, which will have to be achieved, if she is to acquire a national identity, and to attain a closer connection between literature and social life, a manifesto attributing to the former a social and educational function, in a shared relationship with the life of the State.[20]

The *English Letters* are a good example of an imaginary perception concerning the general features of British culture, on the part of an eighteenth-century Italian scholar. The fictional author of the work was shaped in the context of the cosmopolitan ideal of the European literate; and, in particular Bettinelli's insisting on the renowned aspects of British humour and freethinking as a way to highlight how the true intellectual—a man who travelled, and learned the customs of the nations—brings together the best qualities of every culture.

Notes

[1] Julia Kristeva, *Étrangers à nous-mêmes* (Paris: Fayard, 1988); Peter Coulmas, *Les Citoyens du monde. Histoire du cosmopolitisme* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1995); Derek Heater, *World Citizenship and Government. Cosmopolitan Ideas in the History of Western Political Thought* (Houndmills and London: Macmillan, 1996); Willem Frijhoff, "Cosmopolitismo," in *L'Illuminismo. Dizionario storico*, ed. Vincenzo Ferrone and Daniel Roche (Roma and Bari: Laterza, 1997), 21-30; Lorenzo Bianchi, ed., *L'idea di cosmopolitismo. Circolazione e metamorfosi* (Napoli: Liguori, 2002); Luca Scuccimarra, *I confini del mondo. Storia del cosmopolitismo dall'antichità al Settecento* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2006).

[2] Daniel Droixhe and P. Gossiaux, eds., *L'homme des Lumières et la découverte de l'autre* (Bruxelles: Editions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 1985); Gonthier-Louis

Fink, ed., *Cosmopolitisme, Patriotisme et Xénophobie en Europe au Siècle des Lumières* (Strasbourg : Imprimerie intégrée de l'Université des Sciences Humaines, 1987); Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th-18th Century* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992); René Pomeau, *L'Europe des Lumières. Cosmopolitisme et unité européenne au dix-huitième siècle* (Paris: Pluriel, 1995[2]); Philippe Roger, ed., *L'Homme des Lumières, de Paris à Petersbourg* (Napoli: Vivarium, 1995); Giuseppe Ricuperati, "Pour une histoire des Lumières du point de vue cosmopolitique," *XVIIIe siècle* 30 (1998): 127-41; Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin Books, 2003[2]).

[3] Giovanni Santinello *et al*., *Storia delle storie generali della filosofia*, 4 vols. (Brescia: La Scuola, 1981, 1979; Padova, Antenore, 1988, 1995); Luciano Malusa, *L'idea di tradizione nazionale nella storiografia filosofica italiana dell'Ottocento* (Genova: Tilgher, 1989); Alberto Asor Rosa, *Genus Italicum. Saggi sulla identità letteraria italiana nel corso del tempo* (Torino: Einaudi, 1997); Paolo Casini, *L'antica sapienza italica* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1998); Ilario Tolomio, *Italorum sapientia. L'idea di esperienza nella storiografia filosofica dell'età moderna* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 1999).

[4] Dino Carpanetto and Giuseppe Ricuperati, *Italy in the Age of Reason: 1685-1789* (London: Longman, 1987); Stefano Gensini, "La varietà delle lingue da Babele a Cosmopoli," in Bianchi, ed., *L'idea di cosmopolitismo*, 127-58; Luigi Lotti and Rosario Villari, eds., *Universalismo e nazionalità nell'esperienza del giacobinismo italiano* (Roma and Bari: Laterza, 2003).

[5] Marie-Christine Skuncke, ed., *Centre(s) et périphérie(s): Les Lumières de Belfast à Beijing / Centre(s) and Margin(s): Enlightenment from Belfast to Beijing* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2003); Giuseppe Ricuperati, "Definir les Lumières: centres et péripheries du point de vue européen, cosmopolite et italien," *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 10 (2005): 303-21, 343-44; Giuseppe Ricuperati, *Frontiere e limiti della ragione: dalla crisi della coscienza europea all'Illuminismo*, ed. Duccio Canestri (Torino: Utet, 2006). On the mutual relationships between Britain and Italy, see the Proceedings of the 1st Anglo-Italian Conference of the British and Italian Societies for Eighteenth Century Studies, *Mutual Perceptions of Britain and Italy in the Eighteenth Century*, University of York (September 29-30, 2006). The concepts of the mainstream and the marginal will be the subject of the 3rd Anglo-Italian Conference on Eighteenth Century Studies, *The Marginal and the Mainstream in Eighteenth Century Britain and Italy*, Centre for Eighteenth Century Studies, University of York (September 12-14, 2011), promoted by Frank O'Gorman and Lia Guerra.

[6] Bettinelli remarked on this meeting in the *Lettere a Lesbia Cidonia sopra gli epigrammi* (1792), in *Opere di Francesco Algarotti e Saverio Bettinelli*, ed. Ettore Bonora (Milano and Napoli: Ricciardi, 1969), Letter III, 1191-92. See F.M. Arouet Voltaire, *Documents biographiques*, XLIX, *Bettinelli aux Délices. 1758*, in *Oeuvres complètes* (Paris: Garnier, 1883), t. I, 336-41.

[7] Larissa L. Albina, "I libri italiani della biblioteca di Voltaire nella biblioteca Saltykov-Chtchdrin a Leningrado," *Lettere italiane* 40, no. 4 (1988): 557-64, esp. 557-58.

[8] Gosudarsvennaja Biblioteka "Mikajl Saltikov Ščédrin," St. Petersburg. Ref. library: 6.19.4.50 (S. Bettinelli, *Versi sciolti di tre eccellenti moderni autori, con alcune lettere non più stampate*, Venezia: Bassaglia, 1758).

[9] *Lettres d'un Anglais, sur la littérature et la poésie italienne, traduites de l'Italien, par M. de P********, A Florence, *et se trouve* A Paris, Chez Cailleau, 1778. The title-page of both works was *Lettres sur la littérature et la poésie italienne*. The *Lettres d'un Anglais* were translated by a French aristocrat, François-René-Jean de Pommereul (1745-1823). The translator immediately finds out the Voltairean character of the work, since, having dedicated his translation to his cousin, Mme de P***D.G**, he defends the value of the work, affirming that it will make all but a bad impression on her *toilette*, on which she kept both modern and ancient authors, such as Voltaire, Virgil, Lucrece & Buffon (Épitre dédicatoire, vij).

[10] Saverio Bettinelli, *Dodeci lettere inglesi sopra varii argomenti, e sopra la letteratura italiana* (Venezia: Pasquali, 1766), in *Opere di Francesco Algarotti e Saverio Bettinelli*, Letter I-III, 693-710. See Appendix.

[11] Bettinelli explicitly critiques the habit of young British travellers to give accounts of Italian culture: *Lettere inglesi*, Letter III, 705-6. See Appendix.

[12] Saverio Bettinelli, *Risorgimento d'Italia negli studi, nelle arti e ne' costumi dopo il Mille* (Bassano: Remondini, 1775), ed. Salvatore Rossi (Ravenna: Longo, 1976).

[13] F.M. Arouet Voltaire, *Lettres philosophiques* (Amsterdam: E. Lucas, 1734). The same work had formerly appeared under the title *Letters Concerning the English Nation* (London, 1733), and afterwards as *Lettres de Londres sur les Anglois et autres sujets* (Basle, 1734). It is useful to say that in his later works (e.g., *Dictionnaire philosophique*, 1764), Voltaire amended his earlier cosmopolitanism, conferring it an ironic value. On the relationship between Voltaire and British culture, see Norman L. Torrey, *Voltaire and the English Deists* (Hamden: Archon Books, 1967); Ahmad Gunny, *Voltaire and the English Literature: A Study of English Literary Influences on Voltaire* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1979); Joséphine Grieder, *Anglomania in France, 1740-1789* (Genève: Droz, 1985).

[14] Bettinelli, *Lettere inglesi*, Letter III, 702-3 (see Appendix). However, Bettinelli's perception of British culture was drawn both from French authors he had the chance to meet (Voltaire, Rousseau, Helvétius, Condillac), and from those Italian *anglophiles* he become acquainted with (like, e.g., Pietro and Alessandro Verri). On the subject, see Elvio Guagnini, "Sul Bettinelli 'inglese'," in *Saverio Bettinelli. Un gesuita alla scuola del mondo*, ed. Ilaria Crotti and Ricciarda Ricorda (Milano: Bulzoni, 1998), 149-63; and Gianni Francioni and Sergio Romagnoli, eds., *Il caffè (1764-1766)*, 2 vols (Torino: Bollati Boringhieri, 1998).

[15] Maria Teresa Marcialis, "Arte e società nell'opera di Saverio Bettinelli," *Rivista di estetica* 3 (1969): 361-81; Maria Teresa Marcialis, *Saverio Bettinelli. Un contributo all'estetica dell'esperienza* (Palermo: Aesthetica Pre-print, 1988); Maria Teresa Marcialis, "Comunicazione ed espressione in Saverio Bettinelli," in Crotti and Ricorda, eds., *Saverio Bettinelli*, 49-65; Stefano Gensini, "Le idee linguistiche di Saverio Bettinelli: proposte per un riesame," in Crotti and Ricorda, eds., *Saverio Bettinelli*, 13-48; Anna Mura Porcu, "Bettinelli e le lingue straniere: il problema del prestito," in Crotti and Ricorda, eds., *Saverio Bettinelli*, 67-94.

[16] Rosamaria Loretelli and Ugo Maria Olivieri, eds., *La riflessione sul romanzo nell'Europa del Settecento* (Milano: Franco Angeli, 2005).

[17] "Paris and London are exactly those cities where everybody easily breaths and gets a certain color, being there the union of many individuals and a strong unity between them. Go into the shops: there you will find such a style, confidence, culture, and erudition too, which is not too easily found in the rural aristocracy, and do you know why? Because those craftsmen belong to the same atmosphere, although they are on the fringe. I see this communication in a big town as a waterfall, which, step by step, going further down, and pouring from one sink to another, irrigates each side down below; that is what happens from the court to the first rank of the city, and from the first to the second one, and so on down to the merchants, the artisans, and to all the people, as for the spreading of thoughts, speech, opinions and good taste. In our metropolis one hardly sees some overstated opinions, which in your provinces dare to be shown, in spite of the Enlightened century." Bettinelli, *Lettere inglesi*, X, 765.

[18] Bettinelli, *Lettere inglesi*, Letter II, 698. See Appendix.

[19] Francesco De Sanctis, *Storia della letteratura italiana* (Torino: Utet, 1981), 709, 718-19.

[20] Hence, we understand why Bettinelli aimed at replacing the old style of Dante's poetry and of Aristotle's poetics with the novelty and the genius of Addison and Pope. As regards the problems of education and communication, Bettinelli made reference to some important sources, such as Johann Georg Sulzer's *Allgemeine Theorie der Schönen Künste* (4 vols., 1771-1774), a work he probably read in the French edition (*Théorie générale des Beaux Arts*).

APPENDIX

Extracts from *Lettere sopra vari argomenti di letteratura scritte da un Inglese ad un Veneziano* (1766), in *Opere di Francesco Algarotti e Saverio Bettinelli*, ed. Ettore Bonora (Milano-Napoli: Ricciardi, 1969), Letter I-III.

Letter I

Voi m'invitate ad esercitarmi per lettere nella lingua italiana. Ve n'ho dell'obbligo, perché amo lei e voi. Ricordatevi che io sono inglese, né voglio suggezione. L'indipendenza è la mia passione anche nelle parole, e qualche inglesismo mi si dee permettere, che sarebbe in Italia delitto di lesa Crusca e scandalo de' grammatici. La patria vuole il suo dritto, e sento con l'aria di Londra addensarsi il mio capo e il mio pensare, come accade ai Romani tornando da Tivoli e da Frascati. Chi sa che non vi scriva ancora in veneziano? Libertà, in somma, questa faccia la base del nostro trattato di commercio. […]

Ma quale argomento mi date per le mie lettere? E voi volete ch'io vi dica il mio pensiero sopra gl'Italiani, massime letterati? Oh questo sì che mi può far ridicolo! È ben vero che gusto le buone lettere, le unisco alla musica, alla pittura, al teatro, ai casini: [*694*] i letterati mi facevano la loro corte, mentre io la faceva alle virtuose, mi ricordo quel giorno, in cui mi paragonaste, colla vostra malizia italiana, alla signora principessa di W…, che passa la giornata tra il suo nano, la sua scimia, il suo pappagallo, e il precettore del principino. È vero che i letterati m'hanno dato occasion di conoscergli, poiché io studio l'uomo volentieri. Ma per questo? Io ho studiato questa specie d'uomini ed ho trovato, come madama Cencin,[*] una nuova specie di bestie. Fan molto bene in Italia i veri uomini di lettere a fuggir il titolo di letterati, come un affronto; poiché è avvilito da tanti pedanti, da tanti fanatici e peggio. Vedete a qual pericolo mi mettete con tale argomento, se mai si sapesse il nostro carteggio, e la mia libertà di pensare inglese, e un poco prussiano, su questi pregiudizi[**] nazionali. Voi stesso, che siete filosofo, il sareste voi abbastanza, sentendomi criticare le

[*] Mme de Tencin, i.e. Claudine-Alexandrine Guérin de Tencin (1682-1749), is d'Alembert's mother.

[**] The gallicism *pregiudizio* is a key term in Bettinelli's work. It occurs more than fifty times (Letter I, II, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII).

opinioni e le pazzie degl'Italiani? L'amor della patria è un amor proprio sotto altro nome ed è un pregiudizio, una puerilità, quando crede il bene e la gloria del suo paese dipendere da una commedia, da un sonetto. Questa pazzia, sapete, è la pazzia più dominante d'ogni nazione. Ho visto Parigi in tumulto, in sedizione, perché un bell'ingegno aveva detto male della musica francese. […]

Al mio arrivo in Londra, ho trovati due gran partiti e furiosi; io credea che si trattasse della libertà o del commercio [*695*] tra questi nuovi Wighs e Torys: trattavasi d'una critica fatta da un bell'umore[***] d'alcuni passi di Milton e di Shakespear […]. Egli aveva, veramente, criticati insieme con quegli antichi due o tre poeti moderni, servili imitatori di quei maestri e adoratori dei loro difetti, e questi erano i suoi accusatori e i difensori della patria e della maestà, com'essi dicevano, della nazione. Pensate come io mi divertii di questa scena. E Londra è pur l'emporio del pensar libero e contiene un milione di cervelli indipendenti e sovrani ciascun nel distretto[****] del suo cranio. In mezzo, dunque, al regno della libertà e della filosofia, si vedono tali commedie. Che sarà in Italia? Poveretti! Siete ancor bamboli, in paragone di noi, giganti nella sublime filosofia spregiudicata. Ci vuol altro che ripetere a mente qualche passo di *Lettera persiana* o della *Pulcella* e citare Toland e Tindal! Siete sempre copie, noi siamo originali; i barbieri e i calzolai di Londra vi ponno far da maestri in questa filosofia. La ragione, la filosofia, la libertà di pensare, questo è il linguaggio d'un parlamentaio e di un marinaio. L'uno sedendo legislatore nelle due Camere, l'altro calafattando la nave, detestano i pregiudizi. Che direbbono gl'Italiani, che ne sono sì schiavi, di me [*696*] forestiere, che giudicargli ardisco? Vi ricordate dello stupore che dimostrò, visitandomi, quel cavaliere poeta? Vide sul mio tavolino Dante e Petrarca insieme con Pope e con Adisson. Mi vide gustare que' suoi poeti e talora anteporli ai miei. Quante carezze mi fece! Sebbene, bentosto cambiò stile, quanto

[***] *Bell'umore* seems the translation of *wit*; but it also hints to *humour*. In the Letter XII, 780, Bettinelli uses the anglicism *humor*, about which he states that: "Questa voce, che pronunziamo *iumor*, vuol dire più cose, ma in generale significa una disposizione di animo inquieto e malinconico stranamente" (note *b*). The wit, that is to say, the unexpected, amusing, pleasant, fanciful, and humorous combining of ideas and expressions in conversation, literature, poetry, is also a basic element for Bettinelli's theory of "transfusion," on which he gives an account in *Dell'Entusiasmo delle belle arti* (1769). On the subject, see Marcialis, "Comunicazione ed espressione in Saverio Bettinelli" (see note 14 above), 49-65. The expression *umor nero* occurs in the Letter III, 705.

[****] Bettinelli points out in note *c*, 695: "Frase inglese, come molte altre, le quali non è necessario notare al lettore avveduto."

parlai di qualche critica di quei due maestri suoi perfettissimi, secondo lui, e impeccabili. […] Ciò m'è accaduto più volte; e, per verità, i vostri letterati che trattano coi forestieri di tali materie rispettano poco l'ospitalità. Lasciamoli dunque ne' lor pregiudizi e ridiamo tra noi. Siate discreto, ed io sarò libero a dirvi il mio parere. Ho diritto a questa libertà. Son tornato inglese perfetto con pochi mesi di Londra. Se io sentenzio i prìncipi o i re, a tavola, o al caffè, se peso l'Europa sulle bilancie dell'equilibrio, ben posso alzar tribunale tra i letterati e i poeti. E poi non ho io patente autentica di legittimo giudice in fatto di lettere italiane? Mi giovi almeno a questo il diploma d'Arcadia, che fui costretto a prendere a Roma, e che mi era dovuto, secondo il parere e le proteste di que' molti letterati, poiché io sapeva qualche aria di Metastasio, e spendea qualche guinea. Ed era il primo mio viaggio in Italia, onde ancora vivea con gl'Inglesi e scorticava i versi vostri e la prosa; pur quai lodi non mi davano per la mia pronunzia, per l'orecchio fino e il gusto delicato della mia lingua italiana, quando erano a pranzo da me! In ogni città mi volevano ammettere in qualche accademia, ed io gli ammetteva intanto alla mia tavola. Qui dibattevansi i punti primari della letteratura, e con le bottiglie si numeravano le decisioni. Mi si offerivano sonetti e dediche da ogni parte, e sono uscito d'Italia ben conoscendone il genio letterario, perché avea ben pagati i miei maestri. Addio.

Letter II

Non posso dissimulare che di tutte le nazioni, quanto alla letteratura, m'ha la vostra annoiato più di nessuna. I Francesi e i Tedeschi hanno de' gran pregiudizi, ma non così incomodi come quelli degli Italiani. In Francia la letteratura è frivola, ma diverte; la varietà stessa di tante stampe, che nascono e muoiono il dì medesimo a Parigi, fa un divertimento; e sopra tutto la critica v'ha un'aria di civiltà, o almeno di scherzo, che vi solleva da qualche noia. Quell'esservi un centro di tutto il regno, dove fan capo tutti i capricci e gl'ingegni della nazione, presenta un mercato universale, dove ognuno può scegliere, e forma un sistema riunito e raccolto di pensare, per cui sapete, presso a poco, il giudizio dei più e dei migliori; ma in Italia ogni provincia ha un parnaso, uno stile, un gusto, e secondo il genio del clima un partito, una lega, un giudizio separato dall'altre. Napoli, Roma, Firenze, Venezia, Bologna, Milano, Torino e Genova, son tante capitali di tante letterature. Un autore approvato in una è biasimato nell'altra; e il più grand'uomo, l'oracolo, di questa provincia, appena si nomina in quella. A Palermo, a Padova, a Pisa, a Lucca, a Verona, a Brescia, ho trovato principii diversi, diverse maniere di pensare, studi

diversi. […] Mi pareva ben dilettevole andar cambiando nazioni e costumi cambiando i cavalli da posta, e trovare della novità, ch'è il premio d'un viaggiatore, ad ogni passo. Ma [*698*] mi noiava eziandio il non saper mai dove fosse l'Italia, e dove prenderne giusta idea. Roma pretende dar legge a tutti, il suo nome le basta. Firenze ha la Crusca, e ha avuti i Medici; ma Bologna è la madre degli studi, ed ha l'Istituta, che val ben più d'ogni accademia; ma Torino, Padova e Pisa hanno università; ma Venezia ha dell'ingegno, de' librai, e de' torchi più d'ogni altra; ma Napoli e Genova han de' danari, Milano delle buone cucine e l'Ambrosiana, Verona l'anfiteatro e Maffei, e tutte alcun titolo, alcuna ragione e diritto, per incoraggire i suoi letterati e dar pascolo alla lor vanità. Ognuna alza il suo tribunale, ha il suo parlamento letterario e comanda nel suo distretto quanto Londra all'Inghilterra, Parigi alla Francia, in materia d'opinioni, sovranamente. A dire il vero, io penso che, se in fatti l'Italia tutta avesse un centro, un punto d'unione, sarebbe più ricca d'assai nell'arti, nelle lettere e forse nelle scienze, che non qualunque altra nazione. Ma questo disgregamento, che produce poi la discordia, la gelosia, l'opposizione d'un paese coll'altro, fa parere, a chi non esamina, che gl'italiani siano più poveri che non sono, e più ridicoli. Perché di ciò nasce che i più piccoli pedantucci, i sonettisti, fanno figura e autorità nelle piccole loro letterarie combriccole, onde è piena l'Italia di tai letterati plebei, di veri insetti della letteratura. E al contrario gli uomini dotti e di merito non vi hanno quel credito che lor si dovrebbe, anzi spesso si trovano esposti alla critica, cioè agl'insulti e alle insolenze d'ogni più vile scrittore. Quindi son timidi, circospetti, e non fanno quel bene alle lettere, che farebbero, co' loro studi, se fossero più sicuri e avessero la conveniente autorità. Là dove in Londra e in Parigi, dove sono raccolti tanti grand'uomini e posti in luogo elevato, onde tutta la nazione vede la loro luce e la rispetta, essi fanno, dirò così, un corpo difeso e unito, onde non temono fuorchè i loro pari, e intanto la plebe de' poetastri, de' gazzettieri, de' libercolanti va strisciando nel suo fango e non giunge a noiarli. Costoro son fuochi fatui, che spariscono subito senza far torto ai pianeti, sono effumazioni, che il sole dilegua e strugge. Ma in Italia, dove non è un sole, dove i pianeti sono radi o troppo [*699*] dispersi, un vapore diventa una nuvola, e si fa un turbine, una tempesta, d'ogni piccola esalazione. Questo male è comune in Italia a molte classi e generi di persone.

Letter III

Voi mi sfidate, amico, a dipingervi la mia nazione per vedere se io sono così neutrale e filosofo in casa mia come il sono in quella degli altri. Mi

verrebbe un sospetto, che voi foste offeso della mia libertà nel giudicar gl'Italiani, e che il vostro amor proprio, questa volta, v'avesse burlato, facendo perdervi quell'indifferenza che un buon filosofo deve avere per ogni cosa, quando cerca la verità. Saldo, mio caro, tenete fermo, vi prego, e, se da me volete l'esempio, io ve l'offro in questa mia, e nel carattere che vi presento della mia nazione.

Egli è vero che l'Inglese da qualche tempo in qua è venuto alla moda, e abbiamo l'onore anche noi di servir d'esemplari all'Europa. I nostri vestiti, gli abbigliamenti, la letteratura per fino, han trionfato della Francia, nostra rivale un tempo, oggi nostra discepola, ed è questa nostra vittoria la più bella di tutte quelle che [*703*] abbiam riportate sopra di lei, né le provincie conquistate tanto ne allettano, quanto d'aver renduto tributario del nostro il gusto dominatore di questa bella nemica. Montesquieu e Voltaire sono stati i due ammiragli o marescialli che in questa rivalità han militato e trionfato, al nostro soldo e sotto le nostre bandiere, contro la loro patria, deprimendola sempre nelle loro opere ed esaltando la mia. Mi son trovato a Parigi quando era pieno di questo entusiasmo inglese da loro inspirato ai loro compatrioti, né potrei ben dirvi, se io più rideva, o compiangeva, nel segreto dell'animo mio filosofico, le follìe che io vedeva intorno a me stesso, che, non so come, era divenuto una persona importante e ricercata dalle dame ed assemblee più brillanti, unicamente perché avea l'onore d'essere inglese, quando era questo un disonore pochi anni prima a Parigi. Vedea le persone più amabili andar a gara per rapirmi, e beata quella che mi dava la cena, quella che mi teneva in carrozza, o al passeggio delle Tuglierìe. Gli uomini più brillanti si guardavano bene di venir al confronto, e, se si trovavan con noi per necessità, bello era il vedergli stare attenti ai nostri modi, ai nostri cenni, per ricopiargli, studiare il nostro andamento, prendere il nostro tuono, insomma farsi inglesi per essere alla moda. Chi non avea fatto un giro in Inghilterra era negletto, si divoravano i nostri libri, e se ne studiava la lingua, si traducevano, si stampavano tutti, anche i cattivi, e n'era sicuro lo spaccio e il guadagno, e tutti abbiuravan la patria per un fanatico inglesismo. Io vi confesso che mi piaceva molto questa moda, perché mi dava un vantaggio e mi procurava delle fortune, ed anche in Italia l'ho trovata con grande piacere, dopo che la riceveste di Francia, secondo il solito.

Ma non per questo non mi sono accecato a credere la mia nazione così perfetta e degna d'essere il vero modello delle altre, come queste me lo volevano persuadere. Sicché sono in istato di farvene il carattere, senza prevenzione e senza illusione. Sono stato grand'uomo qualche anno presso al pubblico invaso e ubbriaco dalla moda, ma con un amico qual voi mi siete parlerò in confidenza, di me e della mia nazione, spogliandomi

dell'eroismo imprestatomi sul teatro, e comparendovi nell'abito mio privato. […]

[*704*] Prima dirovvi ch'è difficile fare il carattere dell'Inglese, che propriamente non ha carattere uguale e universale per una perpetua contraddizione di sé con se stesso, e per una differenza notabile tra uomo e uomo, anzi tra lo stesso uomo in vari tempi. Ma forse questo può essere appunto il suo carattere, se n'ha alcuno, cioè il dar negli estremi. […] Volete voi il nostro ritratto? Leggete i nostri libri, ove noi stessi ci dipingiamo, andate al nostro teatro, ove rappresentiamo noi stessi. Quella è l'immagine di tutti noi la più somigliante, e vale a dire 'gran pregi e gran difetti'. Niente è mediocre. Leggete massimamente i nostri romanzi inglesi, dei quali provvediamo tutta l'Europa, vi troverete questo contrasto di oppostissime qualità. Avventure sublimi e stravaganti, gran pensieri e frivoli bisticci, passioni eccelse e discorsi insipidi, scene di tenerissimo cuore e di furor sanguinario, grandi bellezze infine e grandi mostruosità. Il nostro carattere produce questi romanzi, e questi, poi, rinforzano il nostro carattere. Quindi è che han tanta voga tra noi, e tutte le case, l'età, i sessi, avidamente gli leggono, e principalmente nell'ozio della nostra vita solitaria e di campagna, ove sì volentieri viviamo, piacendone di star soli, nodrendo colla [*705*] meditazione l'umor nero, e fuggendo gli uomini, che noi non possiamo soffrire perché appunto somigliano a noi.

Il quadro che vi presento mi par che non sia tinto dell'amor nazionale, e più di buon grado ve l'offro. Udrete i nostri Inglesi dispregiar tutte le nazioni e stimare la propria solamente, ma credetemi pure che in cuor loro senton lo stesso, benché non osino confessarlo. E questa io penso che la ragione sia del vedersene tanti fuor d'Inghilterra, e per tutta l'Europa, non solo viaggiatori, ma fissati per molti anni; cioè la noia in che vien loro la patria, quando ne hanno provato tutti i difetti e gl'incomodi sopraddetti. Ma qui troverete un'altra strana contraddizione, che portano seco anche fuor di paese, ed è quella bizzarra usanza del vivere insieme tra Inglesi in mezzo alle altre nazioni, come se uscissero d'Inghilterra non per vivere con gli altri popoli affin di conoscergli e d'istruirsi, ma per godere la compagnia degl'Inglesi, onde vien, poi, che tanti nostri giovani tornano a casa, dopo aver fatto il giro di Francia, d'Italia, di Germania, istrutti a maraviglia delle vicende, degli amori, de' caratteri de' loro compatrioti, e niente delle leggi, de' costumi, delle arti degli altri popoli. […] [*706*] Io n'ho conosciuto uno, di tali Inglesi, il quale, impegnato in una amicizia, pagava ogni mattina un de' vostri ciceroni, che andasse a veder per lui le rarità delle pitture, dei palazzi, delle chiese, e con gli occhi di questo esaminò molte città d'Italia, e con la critica di questo e col suo stile fece un libro da stampare in Inghilterra, né vedeste mai persona più contenta di

quel che fosse suo padre, benedicendo il denaro che suo figlio avea speso sì bene. […] Piuttosto vi divertirà il conoscere la nostra solidità di pensare, che anch'essa ha gran credito presso voi e i Francesi: vero è che non siam sì leggeri e sì frivoli come questi, né sì creduli e semplici come gl'Italiani. Ma quante volte ho dovuto filosofare anche su questo, al veder quanto poco ci vuole a girar queste teste sì salde e sì forti! […] Ma credereste voi che l'Inglese, spregiudicato ed incredulo, si lasci talora trasportar dagli astrologhi, dagl'indovini, e corra dietro ai miracoli, come un fanciullo? […] [*707*] Ridete pure, che ne avete ragione, e concludete meco che l'Inghilterra ha i difetti dell'altre nazioni e che gl'Inglesi somiglian gli altri uomini, e solamente se ne distinguono con la stravaganza maggiore e con più grandi eccessi.

STERNE AND FOSCOLO: THE IRONIC SOVEREIGNTY OF THE INDIVIDUAL

ANGELO CANAVESI*

In *A Sentimental Journey through France and Italy* one can observe a particular phenomenon, namely the rise of sympathetic attitudes which we assume under the headings of benevolence and good-heartedness and which are so obviously decisive in the make-up of a polite society whose prerequisite is indeed a general harmony of feeling. If any reliance is to be placed on a story handed down from one sensation to the next, this issue is not apart from the concrete, irreducible experience of an individual and his elocution. Foscolo's mindset did not fail to grasp that "free," "whimsical," and "witty" qualify Sterne's authority as individual and writer alike, and that his "character"[1] (not his lockean personality) is sincerely transfused into the wording and turns of style of the book. To inquire into what this means is the object of the present study. As a matter of fact, the sentimental matrix is what I am about to discuss in terms of protomorality whose subtext Foscolo had been in all probability at a loss to translate, or rather, it was difficult for him to foist a meaning where other "sentimental" meanings were overt and obvious; working and re-working on the original English pages between 1804 and 1813 he jotted down a number of drafts until he came up with the final version published in that year. Literality did not concern him and in the preface to the 1805 version, wearing the mask of Didimo Chierico (the most overt level of identification with Sterne who adopted Yorick as his alter ego), he made a point of emphasising that the book's novelty required a considerable amount of sophistication on behalf of the reader, who had to comply with the constant tensions of the protagonist's faculties.

Yorick's story, in effect, is two things in one, notably the account of how a man can realize he is a sovereign individual, and a progression of discrete situations during which his own body is a free-for-all of signals

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and crossed mental (neuronal) wires. So protomorality is taken to mean all that arises from the consciousness of the capabilities inherent in the human body at a time when an "emergent sentimental body image came to dominate."[2] That the concept of sensibility had been in the process of definition in the course of the eighteenth century cannot be doubted;[3] there is no denying, moreover, that the bedrock of its language is to be found in the previous century when the biological revolution was gaining pace alongside the social, political, and cultural upheavals which had transformed Britain into a modern country. Such overlapping of issues is no mere coincidence; actually it comes down to a mosaic of influences which leap off the page to the alert reader of *A Sentimental Journey through France and Italy* too, since the transfusion of the author's "character" involves the "intimate combination" of body and soul, and of one of their components: i.e. the nervous system.

In like manner, that Sterne himself is hitched to the language of sensibility and its immediate agency within the narrative is made directly explicit in one of the apostrophes which punctuate the story:

> Dear Sensibility! Source inexhausted of all that's precious in our joys, or costly in our sorrows! Thou chainest thy martyr down upon his bed of straw–and 'tis thou who who lifts him up to HEAVEN—eternal fountain of our feelings! 'tis here I trace thee—and this is thy divinity which stirs within me—not, that in some sad and sickening moments, '*my soul shrinks back upon herself, and startles at destruction*'—mere pomp of words!—but that I feel some generous joys and generous cares beyond myself—all comes from thee, great, great SENSORIUM of the world! Which vibrates, if a hair of our heads but fall upon the ground, in the remotest desert of thy creation—Touched with thee, Eugenius draws my curtain when I languish—hears my tale of symptoms and blames the weather for the disorder of his nerves. (98)[4]

The site of the soul is not the heart, not even the pineal gland or the pylorus; it is the "sensorium," the centre of perception in the brain where all nerves converge. On this scientific basis, it is tempting to sum up the content of the whole book in just one word, "flutter," whose synonyms widen the scope of its meaning and purport ("quiver," "vibration," "excitement," "contraction of the heart's muscle," "oscillation of sound"—and "bet"). There is a second related temptation, however, as several phrases leap out, forming a subtext that glows like an apparition, and then with the clarity and solidity of a system couched in the rhetoric of sensibiltiy as protomorality or, if you like, as the precondition of morality. What the vocabulary suggests most tellingly inclines one to make much of its signifying import. The voice-over narration relating the story is

contiguous with a sort of offscreen voice telling another story or rather completing the principal one. They are, respectively, the discourse of sensibility and the idiom of the nervous system.

The "language of the heart," in sum, points to a specific concept worked out in an equally specific scientific and cultural context. It is taken for a fact, today, that the production of ideas occurs in the nervous cells of the cortex; they are billions and are interconnected by fibres known as dendrites and axons. An idea is thus a neuronal circuit which, like DNA, can generate copies of itself within the bodies of different individuals. Natural selection and cultural evolution are grounded on such sternean principles as variation, novelty, and uniqueness. Our currrent knowledge of the "heart" is nowhere better exposed than in the following passage by David Foster Wallace:

> Never before have there been so many gaping chasms between what the world seems to be and what science tells us it is. "Us" meaning laymen […] we know […] that our love for our children is evolutionarily preprogrammed […] That our thoughts and feelings are really just chemical transfers in 2.8 pounds of electrified paté.[5]

Now, at Foscolo's and Sterne's time, the chemical transfers in 2.8 pound of electrified paté used to be the animal spirits over whose function there had been much speculation between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The work of Thomas Willis, among others, implicitly denied the idea of the "superaddition" of the soul and, as Thomson argues, his discoveries were used to support "heterodox positions" [6] envisaging thought as produced by living active matter. In Oxford he had been busy forming a system, yet, when it came to suit the facts to it, he realized there were some theological shortcomings. One of his concerns had effectively been to comprehend the natural origin of the human soul and the biological roots of its faculties (John Locke attended his lectures and took down notes which would eventually help him conceive of ideas as sensational forms). His medical and cultural legacy is far-reaching. He pioneered the treatment of mental disorders as he made the daring attempt to cure diseases hitherto ascribed to disorders of the soul as medically treatable disfunctions. In the process he coined new words for phenomena which would not fit any of the old classifications (the word "neurologie," for one, first appeared in the English translation of *Cerebri Anatome* by Samuel Pordage). Above all else, he identified the "animal spirits" as neuro-chemical messengers—indeed he explains their issue in terms of fermentation[7] and distillation of subtle particles of blood subsequently absorbed by the brain; such particles are finally purified and distributed

through the nerves to reach the muscles through specialised networks or pathways. Heart and brain had vied for centuries over the exact site of the functional centre of the human body and one of Willis's concerns was in fact the location of the soul. He also realized that the convolutions of the brain could account for the complexity of man, including emotions as "forms of intelligence and adaptation,"[8] the survival-related sensitivity of the hands. The belief in living active matter and the apt distinction between a "thing kindled" and a "thing unkindled" follow from this. In sum, he found out that the spirits are not merely "the vehicle of the soul."[9]

To make a long story short, Willis understood that "bodily sensibility reflects the myriad ways in which the brain is involved in information processing"[10] independently of "humours" and the stars.

The iconography of William Hogarth's engraving, "Credulity, Superstition, and Fanaticism" is an important, uncomplicated link between Sterne and the scientific knowledge about the brain which circulated in the eighteenth century and whose foundation was laid by Willis. There is the strong likelihood that Sterne could not be in ignorance of it. Although the picture of the brain itself would not be recognized by many at the time, it sits on the right lower corner of the engraving and its range of suggestibility goes beyond the limits of the allegory set up to attack methodism and enthusiasm. The drawing is modelled on Cristopher Wren's representations of the brain we can find in Thomas Willis's *Cerebri Anatome* (1664) [11] to illustrate the results of the scientist's collaborative experiments in dissection. On his part, it is interesting to notice, Wren would analyse brain specimens through the lenses of a microscope; the evidential detail was further improved when he injected dyed ink to see the pattern of blood vessels at the base of the brain. His source of insipiration, then, was as scientifically accurate as Willis's anatomies. In fact, the description of this very experiment, which disclosed the existence of what has been called the "circle of Willis" ever since, is in *Cerebri Anatome*. Hogarth's work is indeed the "fixative" which permitted the brain no to liquefy and lose its solid quality.

It is there, inescapable.

Just as the literary effort, in Sterne as well as in Foscolo, cannot be divorced from a sentimental commerce whose vocabulary is consistent with the paradigm of sensibility, on reading *A Sentimental Journey* we learn that culture is founded on physically felt experience. What is more, Hogarth's indirect rendition of the brain is a seed planted in our imagination and the ink adopted to show the tangle of blood vessels provides an apt metaphor of our reading ability as eavesdropping on the hero's neuronal processes. The author's transfusion, Yorick, can be

reduced to his own "fine-spun web" of electrified paté, relentlessly transmitting and receiving information thus housing, in the process, ideas such as generosity, benevolence, and liberty. The following paragraphs interweave examination of the physiological vocabulary in moments of "sentimental blockage" (where sensibility is used in a broad but not imprecise meaning), with the loose or self-reflexive perception of the nervous system. In order to chart some of the topic's implications I wish to give a distinct place to three episodes; discussing the first one, I take up the exact timing of a moral choice and the cognate transition from "sentiment," through "sensation," to "sentiment" again. With the second and third episodes, I turn to notions which further epitomize protomorality; to achieve this I examine in detail some concepts and then raise questions about their readability.

In all three cases, the hero establishes principles of conduct.

The first chapters of volume 1 relate a series of incidents chronicling the hero's acquisition of sympathetic feelings. A little more than an hour ticks by, but the situation made apparent to us in this interval of time can be discerned only if the reader is as minutely accurate as Sterne. So, at the very beginning we understand that Yorick, in spite of the grim implications of the French law, is well disposed and open to whatever "friction" with the real comes up. About the Bourbon family, in effect, he says: "there is a mildness in their blood. As I acknowledged this, I felt a suffusion of a finer kind upon my cheek—more warm and friendly to man than what Burgundy […] could have produced" (4). Yorick's sentimental stance together with his spiritual as well as physical well-being are depicted by a language cloaked in the vocabulary of biochemistry involving the microscopic wriggling of axons and dendrites. The idea of the king's goodness activates a peripheral innervation leading up to the sentiment of universal brotherhood which is triggered, so it is made explicit, by the electrochemical impulses known at the time as animal spirits: "what is there in this world's goods which should sharpen our spirits, and make so many kind hearted brethren of us fall out so cruelly as we do by the way?" (4). Van Sant would argue that "heart-felt thought,"[12] namely sentiment, has caused an organic sensation. Yorick, in fact, is so literally moved by the idea of generosity he pictures forth in his own mind that he suits action to words by holding out a purse and compressing it:

> In doing this, I felt every vessel in my frame dilate—the arteries beat all chearily together, and every power which sustained life, performed it with so little friction, that 'twould have confounded the most physical precieuse in France: with all her materialism, she could scarce have called me a machine. (4)

Yorick abhors materialism while at the same time phrasing his proprioceptive experience in the physiological terms of the blood circulation and the nervous system. It is only a seeming paradox, however, and can be easily explained by referring to the framework of his reasoning provided by the distinction between dead passive matter (and the inherent mind/body duality) and living active matter; here and elsewhere, it justifies the vocabulary he so consistently employs echoing in all probability Glisson's viatlist stance[13] and his denial of the superaddition of the soul.

At any rate, the ensuing chapter counterpoints the hero's just acquired fervency and demonstrates that for the time being Yorick cannot live up to the ideals of sentimentalism. His feelings towards the monk, who is begging for alms, are unmistakably dictated by prejudice (say, misplaced ideas) and, as such, utterly unsympathetic. Bias works deeper than sentiment: with no suffusion or dilating, the same purse he was holding out is soon put into his pocket and Yorick shuts himself off. He lectures Father Lorenzo on industry and justice and unequivocally dismisses him. Yorick is not in tune with the "spontaneous sensations" arising from the subjective (and impersonal) form of his senses so that other possibilities are put aside and out of his mind as unworthy of serious consideration. One feels he is expressing someone else's thoughts, not his own, as if he were an actor repeating words which have been written for him in advance. It is the beginning of his journey, after all, and as yet he is a sort of "unborn" sovereign individual who must learn to be exact (ex-actu) and take off his outfit of conventionality. Still, the encounter has left some residue, for every syllable of his disgraceful address to the monk is heard again and the very figure of the man seems to re-enter the theatre of his mind. Studying the man's face, moreover, Yorick discovers it is not unforgiving and remote; quite the contrary, since the traits of his face are penetrating (equipped, one may add, with sophisticated broadcast channels to which Yorick begins to be sensitive).

The miniature chronicle goes on accumulating odd details and depicting, in chapter 9, Yorick's miniature "convolutions." The layer of sensibility left by the encounter is a feeling of inadequacy which turns out to be the right mood for business. We see him discuss the terms of a deal with Mr. Dessein, the owner of the hotel in Calais. The "base passion" of the economic transaction (and its values) does not bar Yorick from the direct "sentimental commerce" with a woman he saw in company with father Lorenzo and who has just followed him and Dessein in the remise "unperceived." That same passion, as can be noticed, enacts Yorick's involuntary "rotation" (animal spirits issued in the cerebellum, Willis

would point out), and this "proprioceptive feedback"[14] directs his miniature acrobatics. The inner "rotation" match up perfectly with the sudden turn-about at the end of which he starts, because the words uttered by the woman enter his ears, hardly at all his understanding.

But the point is that the odd conjunctions of chance has put them in a particular contingency, a moment of blockage: within the remise, both their faces are turned to the door, Yorick holds the woman's gloved hand, and for a short while they live off their organisms, as it were, because with all references to the environment eliminated, their bodies become the centre of the world:

> Now a colloquy of five minutes, in such a situation, is worth one of as many ages, with your faces towards the street: in the latter case 'tis drawn from the objects and the occurrences without—when your eyes are fixed upon a dead blank—you draw purely from yourselves. (13-14)

The sentimental dealing takes over from the bargain about the chaise with Mr. Dessein, and it is not an artificial construction of the understanding, as noted earlier; it is a sensuous perception, actually a "pleasurable ductility" that is bound to replace the contempt shown to the monk so that Yorick is accordingly appeased: "I felt a pleasurable ductility about her, which spread a calmness all over my spirits" (14). It is the knowledge absorbed from her in this guise, i.e. through the neuronal circuits, which leads to the "sentiment" of benevolence, and not the other way round. Yorick is not confusing thoughts with deeds; he effectively feels the energy coursing along her skin: the palm and the fingers of her hand are the link to the woman's authentic self and are a metonym of urges and cogitations likely to be transmitted and received. Their loss would be a kind of death: that is, not being kindled or "sharpened," his spirits would be insensitive: "I was mortified with the loss of her hand" (16). Lost to him, in short, would be the knowledge of the heart or, it is now needless to add, of the nervous system.

As they keep conversing (the issue is love and the divide between reason and heart), the sentimental communion goes on along with the meticulous account of the neurochemical workings of the body; although the woman's hand is inert, the exchange does not come to a standstill, for the brain sends spirits to the peripheral nerves embroidered in Yorick's hands: "the spirit which had animated the reply was fled—the muscles relaxed" (16), but "The pulsation of the arteries along my fingers across hers, told her what was passing within me" (16). Now, just as the neuronal circuitry traverses the body, further on the monk reappears in the guise of an "idea" that crosses Yorick's mind; within a matter of seconds the man

in the flesh equally shapes up. Embarassment puts a blush on Yorick's cheek. Yet, there follows a silent "contention" between the two; it is an informal treaty of peace which turns out to be: "so sweet and pleasurable a thing to the nerves" (17). They exchange their snuff-boxes. On this occasion, the narrator wins the complicitous audience over to his side inviting "the few who feel to analyse" (17) the index of feeling after the appeasement signified by the exchange of snuff-boxes. Silence is not a refusal so much as a method. The reader is allowed into a tiny aperture of meaning and has to take a scientific approach to the blush so that it can be interpreted as the result of an ongoing transmission of ideas and sensations (the scientific nature of blushes will be dealt with later).

The snuff-box is the foundation of his being, a portable monument and the emblem of a precedent enshrined in his individual constitution. Upon this foundation he moves on to other adventures. What authority Yorick is likely to recognize from this moment on is derived from this object which sums up a span of time and a complex of situations narrated by the writing self:

> I guard this box, as I would the instrumental parts of my religion, to help my mind on to something better: in truth I seldom go abroad without it; and oft and many a time have I called up by it the courteous spirit of its owner to regulate my own. (17-18)

The object itself is "authoritative" because it has "initiated" something—namely the chronicled acceptance of sympathy and benevolence—which is bound to be part of who Yorick is. Its authority stems from whimsical circumstances in which the intimate combination of his being acts and responds to stimuli since what regulates the flow of "animal spirits" precedes and informs the snuff-box regulating his conduct. Therefore, it is no mere coincidence that this chapter ends with another sentimental topic, the feminisation of the male hero, i.e. Yorick's protestation of being "as weak as a woman" (18). He is self-consciously receptive to embodied information processes which, like emotions and feelings, do not require the slightest pause for thought. In the course of another eccentric twist which occurs again in the remise, Yorick kisses the woman's hand and realizes that blood and animal spirits "croud back to her" (18). The accurate choice of words is intriguing, for it enacts a pattern of parallelism: the phonemes of his first address to father Lorenzo, in fact, "crouded back" in like manner and penetrated his mind alerting Yorick to what really prejudiced him against the poor man.

What follows from this is that blood and spirits, not unlike phonemes in linguistic communication, are treated as the discrete units of meaning

which constitute a "meme" or information processing. Later on, Yorick sets up a "private" morality play within the theatre of his own mind and eventually dismisses "restraint," i.e. the personifications of avarice, caution, cowardice, dicretion, and hypocrisy as much as their ongoing dispute; they are "cabals" which might "encompass the heart with adamant" (19), whereas he generally acts "from the first impulse" (19). Such impulse has Yorick "turn about" once more, this time to discover that also the woman is not dissimilar to an idea which physically comes and goes in a flutter: "But she had glided off unperceived" (19). The circular trajectory of the movement brings us back to their first encounter and more particularly to his spatially defined inward and outward acrobatics so strongly reminiscent of the convoluted streaks forming the brain. It is only on condition that Yorick's heart is not "locked up" that he can also enjoy the prerogatives of individual sovereignty as the political vocabulary—on a par with the scientific idiom—makes it clear:

> having been in love with one princess or another almost all my life, and I hope I shall go on so, till I die, being firmly persuaded, that if I ever do a mean action, it must be in some interval betwixt one passion and another: whilst this interregnum lasts, I always perceive my heart locked up. (28-29)

The rhythm of syntax (so similar to a stammer) innervates the argument with physiology, psychology, and ethics. As long as the living active matter of the body is inert and unknowing, "sentiment" would precede sensation and embarassment would accordingly put a blush on Yorick's cheek before the snuff-box, as has been noted, betokens the erosion of Yorick's anti-French and anti-Catholic bias which actually ruled during the "interregnum" of the beginning. The access to mutual benevolence and its very possibility along the routes of sensation are almost microscopically related in all their flutters and vibrations.

The setting of the next episode is Paris. This time Yorick communes with a humble girl and although the incident might seem of too common a kind to excite great interest, it is not lost on Foscolo's complicitous reader for at least two reasons; firstly, because it is another link in the sequence of accidental encounters, and secondly, because it offers again a unique insight into the underlying logic of protomorality, thus confirming the parameters of what has been discussed so far. The episode, or rather, the situation is made up of "nonsensical minutiae" to comprehend which one has to inject the dyed ink of scrutiny and eavesdrop on Yorick's neuronal as well as moral circuitry. What is at stake in the conclusive chapters of volume 1 is the realization that the opacity of social ties can be mitigated by translation, namely a sympathetic attitude or the exercise of a new

susceptibility which does not imply making a leap of faith, pure and simple, but being receptive to what happens. The volume thus ends with a new information process embodied by the French officer who "open'd a door of knowledge which I had no idea of—" (52) and which is crystallised into a particular "shorthand" whose making comes about by degrees and, most important, in concert with bodies and objects.

At first, the "interregnum" dictates that Yorick be alone and inert as he contemplates the huge spectacle of the city from the window of the hotel where he is lodging. The thought of being a collection of random particles of matter makes him utterly sad. On his way to the Opera Comique, however, a face hits his fancy: a grisset's. The exchange that follows is just another instance of communing with the bodies (more exactly with the wrist and the extremities of the nervous system) beginning with the "commerce" of facial expressions and passing through a phenomenon which agrees well with the current "mirroring neurons"[15] theory.

So, what irradiates from the "character" of the humble girl puts an end to the inertia and the melancholy of the interregnum; her manner of speaking flows from earnestness, sincerity and we notice, moreover, that "tones and manners" do have a meaning to Yorick, albeit a non-semantic one. It is a novel manifestation of authority he is about to recognise and absorb from her. Such acknowledgement could not be articulated without recourse to the language of the nervous system overlapping the metaphorical stand-in of the heart. The subtext of protomorality shows, for instance, when Yorick expresses his gratitude for the information about the way to the theatre: "I remember, when I told her how much I was obliged to her, that I looked very full in her eyes—and that I repeated my thanks as often as she had done her instructions" (43). Language has never been accessible to Yorick the way it is now.The word "thanks" is just a word; far from being an exercise in remembrance and imagination, it is a refrain within the rhythm of the grisset's turn of speech: his primary tool of communication—the mouth—lets the nerve endings do the talking. Actually, a small idea flickers through him and by the time the phonemes come to his lips they are nothing more than reflex action. It does not come as a surprise, then, that the girl's instructions are soon forgotten. The voice-over narration tells this is just a pretext, a petty excuse contrived to linger on and enjoy her company a little longer; the off-screen voice, however, lets us know that he is seeking for admittance to another level of perceptual acuity, hence of communication and knowledge.

Conjectures can neither be proved nor disproved, but evidential detail of the subtext informing the story through the off-screen voice surfaces throughout the "libricciuolo," and it is relatively easy to follow the route

from sensation to nuanced feeling—that is, the workings of the animal spirits which incline him to "emancipate" her—while Yorick probes into the girl's physical self, indeed also her phalangeal individuality, as a doctor would:

> if it is the same blood which comes from the heart, which descends to the extremes, I am sure you must have one of the best pulses of any woman in the world—Feel it, said she, holding out her arm. So laying down my hat, I took hold of her fingers in one hand, and applied the two forefingers of my other to the artery. (44)

He feels the subtle tissue of nerves which clusters in the area of the hands and courses through the wrist to the digits. The pulse is "trouble-prone"[16] because it has too much going on in its narrow channel. Anyway, something so apparently simple can explain very much (and answer to the question posed by Foscolo in his preface as he wondered what allows us to grasp the minds of other people): counting the throbs of her pulse one by one, he comes to the full recognition of the grisset's individuality, irrespective of social ranks and hierarchy. Sympathetic feelings, benevolence and the spirit of democracy are naturally derived from the mechanisms underlying the reflex action ability to dissolve the barrier between the self and others. Besides, one cannot help observing that later on Yorick's gaze scrutinizes the inner recesses of the girl and that, in so doing, he individuates the contractual nature of relationships and the subsequent trespassing of social divides.

To use today's scientific parlance, feeling is the evolutionary precursor of morality. The political implication is made overt when Yorick learns that "the legislative and executive powers of the shop" (45) do not rest in the husband, who remains "commerceless" in a "dismal room behind"; it is the woman who runs the business, keeps the money coming in (and circulating) so that she becomes like a pebble:

> The genius of a people where nothing but the monarchy is salique, having ceded this department, with sundry others, totally to women—by a continual higgling with customers of all ranks and sizes from morning to night, like so many rough pebbles shook long together in a bag, by amicable collisions, they have worn down, and not only become round round and smooth, but will receive, some of them, a polish like a brilliant. (45)

So, within the linguistic and conceptual domain of the simile (a beautiful and effective one), the grisset is likened to an object, something which occupies space and is in someone else's way all the time; in this

capacity, and thanks to "amicable collisions," she has been modified by commerce with people and turned into a stone which, despite the hierarchical, i.e. vertical, flow of information implicit in a political system based on absolute monarchy, is porous to intercourse.

She is an authoritative figure in one-to-one transmission of ideas; accordingly, language cannot keep pace with the rhythm of neuronal semiotics, or, to paraphrase Willis, with the flow of the subtle particles of blood being metamorphosed into animal spirits by the convoluted streaks of the brain:

> There are certain combined looks of simple subtlety—where whim, and sense, and seriousness, and nonsense are so blended that all the languages of Babel set loose together could not express them—they are communicated and caught so instantaneously, that you can scarce say which part is the infecter. (46)

The author of such oxymoronic "simple subtlety" is the impersonality of nature whose agents, irrespective of any superaddition, are the cells located in the cerebral cortex and known today as mirroring neurons. This is confirmed shortly afterwards when silence, as happened earlier, is a method. Yorick and the girl respond to one another only by means of reciprocal gazes and gestures thus providing a figurative and kinetic representation of the mechanism activated as soon as mirror neurons come into play and which relies on the strict, intimate relation subsisting between action and perception:

> The beautiful grisset look'd sometimes at the gloves, then sideways to the window, then at the gloves—and then at me. I was not disposed to break silence—I follow'd her example: so I look'd at the gloves, then to the window, then at the gloves, and then at her—and so on alternately. (46)

In this chiasmatic set up, observing is followed by performing, and vice versa, so it is difficult to ascribe any overt intention to one of them until the parasite vocabulary of love comes in in the guise of military tactics and the artillery of seduction apparently deployed by the girl:

> I found I lost considerably in every attack—she had a quick black eye, and shot through two such long and silken eye-lashes with such penetration, that she looked into my very heart and reins—it may seem strange, but I could actually feel she did—(46)

On closer inspection, the possibility begins to arise that even such inherited, conventional language goes somewhere else. In effect, she reads

his naked, authentic humanity as though handling a scalpel that cuts through his fibres or, to put it otherwise, observing the dance of dendrites and axons, of nerves and flexor tendons which direct his movements. As the woman in Calais was functional to his appeasement with father Lorenzo, the grisset in Paris enhances (the right verb, she is an author) his sensitivity and sensibility. The chapter entitled "The Translation Paris" is a minute disquisition about the subtle craft of decyphering gestures and acts in order to give currency to the meaning thus foisted on them. Love is a long and scrupulous act, the poet says; another chronicle of a display of benevolence is accurately rendered as Sterne approaches the end of volume 1. It is the refined act of politeness carried out by the French officer who is sitting in the same box as Yorick and who does all to be sympathetic and to commune with him. The irreducible dumb language of gestures subsuming emotions and intentions is a "shorthand" with which the hero is thereafter conversant. He has learned another practical lesson, namely that witnessing the same emotion as experienced by others is the first step towards knowing himself.

Yorick's unique capacity as sentimental traveller is to connect the random through the subtle tissue of his nerves. Unencumbered by his former life, the writing self observes the spectacle of his own recent past. With the residual feeling of the new knowledge gleaned from the French officer and its grammar enshrined in the particular shorthand he carries around with himself, the fille-de-chambre part shows how and to what extent the idea of liberty is dependent on contingency and the mechanisms of living active matter responding to stimuli. In the chapters culminating in the "history" of the bird in the cage, the starling,[17] liberty as emancipation, in fact, occupies the mental space of reader and narrator alike. The impersonality of the nervous system, it bears repeating, dictates the tempo of this realization and gives flesh to an otherwise abstract notion, whose literality is here testified by its contextual contrary, the physical confinement of the Bastille and of the cage. On its part, the etymological meaning of "emancipation" (from "mancipatio") is actual, physical freedom from the hands that used to signify the owner's possession in the Roman world. Equally concrete, it is interesting to notice, is the sense of family likeness Yorick comes to feel in respect to the girl, the fille-de-chambre he meets outside the bookshop at the beginning of volume 2. "'Tis sweet to feel by what fine-spun threads our affections are drawn together" (56), he remarks; it is no volatile harmony of feeling and, what is more, no one is pulling the threads but anonymous neurons trading signals ("the conviction of consaguinity" and the apparent bond of marriage—a

common law marriage perhaps—with the lady in volume 1 are ties which are not socially ascribed but which are nonetheless concrete).

That the encounter with this girl is also tinged with erotic innuendoes would hardly need noticing. Yet, what he calls "virtuous convention" deserves some scrutiny since allusions to a mercenary deal suggest the contrary. Leaving irony to one side, we have to remember that each and every action performed by Yorick, as happens here, shows the hardware of his emotions and feelings (what I have called so far the subtext of protomorality), and that the probably self-conscious effort to actuate the language of the nervous system within the framework of the discourse of sensibility is revealing and conducive to some sort of explanation as that supplied further on:

> If nature has so wove her web of kindness, that some thread of love and desire are entangled with the piece—must the whole web be rent in drawing them out?—Whip me such stoics, great governor of nature! Said I to myself—Whenever thy providence shall place me for the trials of my virtue—whatever is my danger—whatever is my situation—let me feel the movements which rise out of it, and which belong to me as man—and if I govern them as a good one—I will trust the issues to thy justice, for thou hast made us—and not we ourselves. (78)

The convoluted shape of the brain, so Willis found out, was responsible for the complexity of its functions as much as of our ideas and humanity. Where mention of "web," "thread," and "entangled" is made, also Yorick's wording points out such consciousness which is consistent with a metanarrative wardrobe analogy: to displace love, desire, or virtue, all inherent in the spongy fabric of the brain, would thus mean to mutilate it of some of its organic constituents.

As noted by McGann: "the languages of the feelings and of the heart […] sought to expand their expressive range by developing their non-semantic and transconceptual resources."[18] The convention is "virtuous" to the exent that it entails the opening of doors through the sensory gates thus expanding the scope of knowledge. Yorick and the girl are not detached and indifferent to what is around them. Take one of the most trite emblems of the eloquent body, the somatic sign of the blush in the moment when Yorick has trouble telling where his body stops and the world begins. The circumstance or, to be more precise, the contextual environment provokes a sensation and this causes a certain degree of connectedness, or series of associations:

> It was a fine still evening in the latter end of the month of May—the crimson window curtains (which were all of the same colour as those of the bed) were drawn close—the sun was setting and reflected through them so warm a tint into the fair fille de chambre's face—I thought she blushed—the idea of it made me blush myself. We were quite alone; and that super-induced a second blush before the first could get off. (76-77)

It seems he is turning the visible world into a reflection of his own thoughts; in reality, while capturing modes of feeling peculiar to a certain time and to a certain place, through the off-screen voice he conducts an inquiry into what the orchestrated mixture of bodies, objects and minds is induced to mean with a limited provision of stimuli. This allows the reader into the mechanisms of his thoughts which grow up inside one another out of mere contingency. The sun, the window and the bed curtains induce the perception of the chromatic blush in the girl's face imbued with the particles of colour permeating the atmosphere. Then Yorick or, to phrase it with a scientific mindset, sheer neuronal imitation pours not one but two blushes over his cheeks because crimson is available to his senses while fancy regulates the flow of images and ideas (just as Willis's brain sieves the distillation of the blood). From this perspective, the rest of the passage constitutes a nicely argued disquisition on the nature of blushes (it is taken for a fact today that they occur because transimission of signals is an expensive business and cells need the supply of oxygen rushing in whenever it is needed):

> There is a sort of pleasing half guilty blush, where the blood is more in fault than the man—'tis sent impetuous from the heart, and virtue flies after it—not to call it back, but to make the sensation of it more delicious to the nerves—'tis association. (77)

The emblem of feeling is meticolously contextualized; firstly, scruples oblige him to hold a moral stance expressed by "half guilty" and undermined by the other qualifier "pleasing": but why should he feel guilty, one may ask, given that nothing stands in the way of his promiscuities? One of Willis's finds provides the answer to this question, namely the discovery that "a special sort of spirit flows through both the brain and the testicles"[19] since the two organs are surrounded by a dense filegree of blood-vessels: information passes through the genitals and is not independent of the other workings of the brain and of the nervous system. Secondly, the duality of mind and body is accepted but only to a point: "man" is self-conscious reason opposed to the vital flame of the heart, all right, yet he is no master of himself and gives his sovereignty up to the "blood," i.e. the prime cause of the fresh supply crimsoning his face.

Hogarth's thermometer sprouting from the brain would measure and confirm a certain amount of foolishness in this. Willis's and Wren's legacy, however, suggests something else. Virtue, Yorick goes on to say, takes over from the dance of signals to which the reddening bears witness. Such proof is further sustained by a line of argument borrowed in all probability from Hartley: the neuronal vibration and its association with virtue stand in a relation of cause and effect. Bodily sensitivity is metamorphosed into sentiment. They match up perfectly. The blush is therefore pleasing because it signals the free propagation of vibrations along the nerves and Yorick's direct dealing with the real.

The present study may be concluded with some general observations about the connection among diverse influences which were at work in Sterne's mind as, facing the fear of impending death, he set out to take a journey and write its account. They are individuated by Foscolo, not only in the preface mentioned at the start, but also in writings he would publish later on. His remarks indicate what seems to be special about Sterne and expose the assumptions which underlay his views about literature and language at large. In one of his Pavia lectures of 1809,[20] for instance, Foscolo asserts that the office of literature is ultimately to kindle feelings in order to eschew any affectation of manners which might freeze the energy of our own thoughts. The norms of style, he goes on to say, are originated in the sensory as well as intellectual organs of man; as such they are intimately related to the "whimsical" rules of circumstances and of the "parole." In Sterne's book, as has been noted, the style bears the imprint of the hero's fleeting sensations and in the course of paradigmatically sentimentalised scenes such as those involving the woman and the monk in Amiens, and then the grisset as well as the fille-de-chambre in Paris, we see that his brooding silences underline situations ripe with possibilities, especially when the features of the contextual environment are drenched. From one perspective these moments of blockage replicate sentimental patterns; from another standpoint, however, Sterne seems to be affected by Willis's influence since they enable him to represent information processing systems which, as Schulkin explains, are "embedded in action and are not removed from discerning events in real time."[21] It is only after some time, in point of fact, that Yorick can articulate the odd conjunctions of chance as social bonds (he binds the woman and the grisset to himself, respectively, by the ties of marriage and kinship).

Nor are these the only similarities. A state of near savagery, Foscolo argues, favours the rise of vigorous passions which sustain the language: as the senses acquire energy and power by means of impressions, and the "inner powers" can thus conceive ideas, the physical tools of

communication—the speech organs—become stronger in the process and more flexible or ductile. Likewise, we learn that Yorick's feelings are not necessarily delicate; they may be coarse, not yet cultivated by self-reflexive refinement.

Notes

[1] Didimo Chierico, preface to Laurence Sterne, *Viaggio Sentimentale di Yorick lungo la Francia e l'Italia*, nella traduzione di Ugo Foscolo, ed. Giovanni Puglisi (Milano: Edizioni Università I.U.L.M., 2005), 55-56.
[2] Paul Goring, *The Rhetoric of Sensibility* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 13.
[3] Ann Jessie Van Sant, *Eighteenth-Century Sensibility and the Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 8.
[4] All citations are from Laurence Sterne, *A Sentimental Journey and Other Writings* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).
[5] David Foster Wallace, *Everything and More* (London: Phoenix, 2003), 22.
[6] Ann Thomson, *Bodies of Thought. Science, Religion, and the Soul in the Early Enlightenment* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 67.
[7] Mauro Simonazzi, *La Malattia Inglese. La melanconia nella tradizione filosofica e medica dell'Inghilterra moderna* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2004), 203-52.
[8] Jay Schulkin, *Bodily Sensibility: Intelligent Action* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 31.
[9] Thomson, 74.
[10] Schulkin, 8.
[11] Carl Zimmer, *Soul Made Flesh. How the Secrets of the Brain were Uncovered in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Arrow Books, 2005), 175-76.
[12] Van Sant, 7.
[13] Thomson, 70.
[14] Schulkin, 26.
[15] Giacomo Rizzolatti and Corrado Sinigaglia, *So quel che fai. Il cervello che agisce e i neuroni specchio* (Milano: Raffaello Cortina Editore, 2006).
[16] Michael Sims, *Adam's Navel. The Weird & Wonderful Story of the Human Body* (London: Penguin Books, 2003).
[17] Markman Ellis, *The Politics of Sensibility. Race, Gender and Commerce in the Sentimental Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 71-79.
[18] Jerome McGann, *The Poetics of Sensibility. A Revolution in Literary Style* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 3-4.
[19] Zimmer, 266-67.
[20] Ugo Foscolo, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, Saggi raccolti e ordinati da Mario Alighiero Manacorda (Torino: Einaudi, 1979), 3-34.
[21] Schulkin, 14.

"MARBLE MAD AND VERY EXTRAVAGANT": HENRY INCE BLUNDELL AND THE POLITICS OF CULTURAL REPUTATION IN BRITAIN AND ITALY

JAMES MOORE*

"Every man has his price."[1] Henry Blundell's assertion of Robert Walpole's truism seems to sum up many aristocratic British attitudes towards the collecting of antiquities in the eighteenth century. Superficially Blundell seems to be one of the worst examples of an ill-educated Englishman using his wealth to pillage foreign collections for domestic social prestige, even admitting that he feared he would be viewed as "marble mad and very extravagant" by his peers.[2] His infamous decision to modify an antique marble hermaphrodite into a venus did little to suggest that he had a serious interest in antiquity or had much respect for the historicity of the items he collected. Yet the activities of Blundell, perhaps the foremost collector in the north of England, raises important questions about why men like Blundell were prepared to invest so much social and economic capital in acquiring such objects. The mere pursuit of public prestige seems an inadequate answer, not least in the case of Blundell, who seemed little interested in publishing a public catalogue of works or entertaining the general visitor.[3] It also raises questions about how relatively ill-educated collectors sought to acquire genuine historical knowledge through collecting and to what extent contact with scholars helped to change their behaviour and develop a more sophisticated understanding of the items they acquired. Again the assumption that antique objects that were acquired and displayed mainly for narrow aesthetic purposes is difficult to substantiate when most collectors felt it necessary to publish historical catalogues of their collections, often at the cost of significant time and expense. Evidence suggests that the historicity

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of a collection was increasingly important for the cultural reputation of the collector.

This article will investigate Blundell's approaches to collecting and, in particular, his relationship with Charles Townley, his better educated friend and historical tutor. Both were members of the Catholic gentry in Lancashire and both founded major collections. Blundell built a dedicated sculpture hall, modelled on the Roman pantheon, while Townley transformed his London home into a palace of antiquity. Both collections long outlived their donors. Townley's marbles passed to the British Museum in 1805, where they remain today. Blundell's marble and statuary collection remained largely untouched in its original pantheon, until the mid-1950s, when it was acquired by the Liverpool museum service.[4] The collections remain as rare examples of eighteenth-century English collections of antiquities that have survived sale or dispersal.

Background: The Lure of Italy

Interest in classical sculpture and inscriptions has, of course, a long history in mainland Europe. For around three hundred years Rome was both the major source and market for classical antiquities. As early as the fourteenth century the papal authorities took a leading interest in antique sculpture. Pope Sixtus IV founded the first municipal museum for sculpture when he transferred the papal collections to the civic palace on the Conservatori, while in 1503 Pope Julius II commissioned a special statue court in the Vatican, a walled garden adjoining the papal palace, for newly discovered statues.[5] Yet the papacy had a somewhat ambivalent relationship with the sculpture of the ancient past, partly because of its often pagan subject matter and partly because of fears that men may be led astray by the beauty inherent in its works. Andrea Fulvio, writing in 1527, found himself forced to deny an apparently malicious old story that Pope Gregory the Great had "ordered that all the most beautiful statues […] should be thrown into the Tiber so that men, captivated by their beauty, should not be led astray from a religion that was still fresh and recent."[6] The accession of the austere Pope Pius V in 1566 marked a change in attitude towards sculpture collections and one of the first targets of the zealous new pope was the Belvedere collection.[7] Yet despite these official attitudes the Roman aristocracy continued to collect antiquities and over the next century and a half the major Roman families of Aldobrandini, Barberini, Borghese, Mattei, Pamphili and others became renowned for their public collections, with the major palaces become important destinations for grand tourists.[8] By the early eighteenth century the first

guidebooks for these magnificent collections were already appearing. Maffei published details of the most famous pieces from the major Roman collections in 1704, in his widely circulated *Raccolta di Statue antiche e moderne*,[9] while the Richardsons produced the first major English language guide in 1722.[10] The Richardson guide was not only regarded as the most accurate guide to the art of Italy but it provided detailed listings of the key elements within each princely collection, together with, where appropriate, interpretative notes. In particular it contained details of the Mattei and Borghese collections, which were later to attract the interest of both Blundell and Townley and from which both men were to obtain items for their own collections.

By the early eighteenth century papal attitudes towards classical sculpture were again beginning to change. The period saw a decline in the fortunes of the great Roman families who were increasingly putting their antiquities on the market for the benefit of foreign buyers. Alarmed at the haemorrhaging of art to northern Europe, in 1734 Pope Clement XII bought over four hundred pieces of sculpture from Cardinal Albani for a new museum on the Capitol, the famous Museo Capitolino.[11] The rest of the century saw greater Papal supervision of antiquity exports, with many notable pieces refused export licenses. Needless to say this created a grey market in the smuggling of antiquities with even respected antiquarians, such as Townley, resorting to smuggling in some cases.

British interest in the collecting of classical sculpture was influenced by a number of contemporary developments in the human sciences and the growing fashion for travel.[12] From the mid-seventeenth century Italy had become central to the Grand Tour and naturally, the aesthetic, political and historical values of Rome were absorbed by British travellers. In many cases grand tours marked the beginning of a lifelong passion for collecting. Richard Mead's interest in collecting manuscripts, statuary and gems seems to have begun with his rediscovery, in the 1690s, of supposedly Egyptian tablets among the lumber of a museum in Turin.[13] Similarly Roger Newdigate's first Grand Tour of 1738-1740 was certainly extremely important in beginning his lifelong passion for purchasing ancient marbles and casts from the antique. Newdigate was an active collector for over forty years and bought several important pieces from Piranesi on his second Grand Tour of 1774-1775.[14]

Most of the stimulus for research and publication came from private societies, such as the Society of Antiquaries, formally established in 1718 and the Society of Dilettante in 1732. The Society of Dilettante sponsorship of Stuart and Revett's expedition to Greece in 1751-1753 produced the landmark *Antiquities of Athens* which led to a revolution in taste for Greek

art and architecture.[15] It not only drew European attention to just how much classical architecture still remained in what was essentially a "lost" city, but, as Clarke indicates, practically founded modern standards of archaeology.[16] Revett later joined Richard Chandler and William Pars in another Dilettante-sponsored expedition to the eastern Mediterranean in 1764, a journey that led to the equally impressive *Antiquities of Ionia*, the first volume of which appeared in 1769.[17] Some went even further afield. Cambridge academic Robert Wood toured Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine and Egypt, discovering the astonishing ruined cities of Palmyra and Baalbec. Although his subsequent publications were less famous than those of Stuart and Revett, the illustrations and paintings of his expedition fired the imagination of antiquarians.[18]

Thus, when Townley and Blundell began collecting, the interpretation of material objects from the classical past was an established cultural activity with emerging canons of scholarly practice. Increasingly, the public was aware of collections and objects not through direct experience but through the medium of interpretative publications. By the end of the eighteenth century most major antiquarian collections were published in some form. In some cases there were commercial reasons for publication—merely by placing antiquities before the public their value could be raised. The publication of Sir William Hamilton's Neapolitan collection of antique vases is a good example of such a phenomenon, raising both the commercial and intellectual standing of antiquities.[19] A specialist collection could now only be properly appreciated if publication was accompanied by a historical or aesthetic commentary which highlighted the importance of the items within a set of scholarly standards.[20] It was no longer enough simply to put a collection on display; collectors needed access to specialist knowledge and scholarship if they were to use a collection to demonstrate their cultural sophistication and taste.

Blundell's Educator: The Townley Influence

Blundell's friend and tutor Charles Townley shared Blundell's Catholic aristocratic background and suffered from the same religious prejudices that came with it. Townley's rise to national cultural prominence is particularly remarkable given his family associations with Jacobitism and illustrates the power of collective activity in overcoming political handicaps and in enhancing social prestige. For much of the first half of the eighteenth century the fear of Jacobitism gripped the Hanoverian British establishment. Townley's grandfather Richard had been a leading Stuart sympathiser and joined up with the Jacobite forces as

they took control of Preston.[21] After being forced to surrender and taken into custody, he was very lucky not to face execution after being forced to face a London jury.[22] In the rebellion of 1745 Charles Townley's distant cousin Francis was considerably less fortunate. After joining the Jacobite forces after their arrival in Manchester, he was left to fight a hopeless rearguard battle at Carlisle and soon captured. Despite declaring that he was a naturalised French citizen and a prisoner of war, he was hung, drawn and quartered and his head displayed on Temple Bar.[23]

Inevitably the family's associations with Jacobitism had fundamental implications for Charles' youth and education. In 1745 he was sent to the south of England, no doubt in the hope that he would avoid the hostilities in the north of England. It seems likely that he went to Hampshire with the intention of attending the Roman Catholic school at Twyford, but the school was forced to close in 1745 as a result of the general suppression of Roman Catholic organisations.[24] Consequently Charles was educated at the English Catholic school of Douai in France, founded by the Lancashire Catholic priest William Allen.[25] In 1753 he was withdrawn from the school and placed under the supervision of his father's friend John Turberville Needham in Paris, with whom he visited Italy in 1755. His associations with the antiquarian Needham may have stimulated his lifelong interest in historical pursuits and it is possible that Needham was responsible for Townley's introduction to the art dealer and excavator, Thomas Jenkins, during his first visit to Rome twelve years later.[26] There were, however, a number of other important influences over the young Townley. While in Paris he was closely associated with his father's uncle, John Towneley, who he saw regularly. John was a close personal friend of the celebrated antiquarian James Dawkins who had accompanied Robert Wood on his expeditions to the near east and who shared with Wood the distinction of discovering Palmyra.[27] Dawkins lived in Paris in the early 1750s and, given the family connections, it seems likely that Townley would have met Dawkins on a number of occasions. Dawkins may even have introduced Townley to his own antiquarian contacts in Rome. Following the publication of the *Ruins of Palmyra* Dawkins was one of Britain's most celebrated travellers and his friendship would have been particularly useful to the young Townley. Townley combined a love of scholarship and travel with a sociable personal life in metropolitan society. Victorian biographers noted how, following his father's death he "plunged, at once, into the gaieties and temptations of Paris."[28] Similarly, on his return to London, a friend's letter made reference to his penchant for gambling and brothels.[29]

Townley's first grand tour began in 1767, beginning in Paris before travelling to Italy. In many respects he followed the traditional route of the Grand Tour, visiting Naples, Rome and Florence, while making occasional excursions into Magna Grecia. On arrival in Italy he almost immediately began to make antiquarian purchases. Initially many of the objects chosen were well-known pieces with an established provenance. His first important work, bought in 1768, the statue of a boy playing a game of tali, was already very famous, having been a feature of the Barberini Palace in Rome for more than a century.[30] Other early acquisitions illustrate Townley's ambition to obtain some of the best known pieces in the eternal city. From the collection of Victor Amadei, he obtained an important circular urn with figures in high relief, previously illustrated in the celebrated first volume of Piranesi's *Raccolta di Vasi Antichi*.[31]

Townley had arrived in Rome at a fortunate time. Many of the great Roman families had experienced economic decline and were willing to dispose of antiquities, yet there were few major buyers in the market. Before 1770 only the Russian general Ivan Shuvalov, acting for Catherine the Great, was a serious rival to Townley. However within five years the Roman market for antiquities had changed. This was partly because of competition from the Papal authorities who demanded the retention of the best specimens for the development of the Museo Clementino. Also by then a large number of new British collectors had also entered the market, including figures such as the Duke of Dorset, Mansel Talbot, Smith Barry and, of course Henry Blundell. The expansion of the market was partly a function of growing cultural philhellenism across Europe in the period, but it was also driven by a number of important and successful excavations, several of which were supported by Townley.[32]

In 1769 Gavin Hamilton began his first speculative excavations in part of Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli. It seems unlikely that Townley was offered any items directly from Hamilton's early excavations as he was not an established client at this stage. However, on his return to Rome in 1772 he began to have more serious dealings with Hamilton. Over the next five years he became an important client supporting excavations and buying freely.[33] On his return to England Townley then began to concentrate on domestic sales of antiquities including the sales of Anselm Beaumont (1777), Thomas Wyndham (1777) and Lyde Browne (1778).[34] By 1781 Townley's London residence could be regarded as complete. The centrepiece of his house—the library—was celebrated in the famous John Zoffany picture of that year.[35] Many Royal Academy students of the period, including Nollekens, were employed on the Townley collections to make drawings for his portfolios. Townley's Sunday dinners were

attended by leading artists, including Zoffany and Reynolds and even King George III was said to have accepted an invitation to visit Park Street.[36]

Townley's long term plans seemed to be to move the collection from the capital to his country seat. This might in part have been a response to fears stimulated by the 1780 Gordon riots in the capital, which targeted the property and homes of prominent Catholics. During the riots Townley was forced to make a rapid escape in a carriage, taking with him only his most prized bust—that of Clytie, whom he jokingly called his wife.[37] Townley certainly had plans to add a rotunda for statuary to his Lancashire home, perhaps influenced by that constructed by Robert Adam for William Weddel's country seat at Newby in Yorkshire. Ultimately it seems that the reasons for not building a gallery at Townley Hall were primarily pecuniary.[38] His inability to fulfil this desire partly explains his enthusiasm for Blundell's plans for a sculpture gallery and his eventual decision to donate his collection to the British Museum.

Blundell: Assembling the Collection

Townley's influence over the fellow Lancashire Catholic collector Henry Blundell ensured that the north of England soon became home to the largest private collection of classical antiquities in Britain. The fame of Townley helped enhance the reputation of Blundell's collection but also exposed Blundell to the unwanted scrutiny of public commentators and critics. Like Townley, Blundell came from an old Lancashire Catholic family and was given a classical education by the Jesuit order in France, however in Blundell's case it appears to have been limited in scope.[39] Little is known about Blundell's early life and, unlike Townley, he does not appear to have undertaken a Grand Tour in his youth, or begun serious collecting until the death of his first wife in 1767. There is some evidence that Blundell was associated with London artistic circles before then—his wife sat for a portrait by Reynolds in 1764—but important acquisitions of historic art do not appear to have been purchased before 1770. In 1772 he obtained his first significant old master work, the studio replica of Andrea del Sarto's *Madonna with Child and St. Elizabeth and the Youthful Baptist*, purchased from the Carthusian Convent in Paris. A year later, after the death of his father, he acquired, among other items, two Venetian scenes by Canaletto and a river landscape by Ruysdael. At this stage he does not appear to have shown any great interest in antiquity. However, on the recommendation of Edward Penny, he did order four Italian scenes from Richard Wilson, which were painted, according to Farington, in the years 1763-1767.[40] There is then, some evidence of an interest in Italy

before he met up with Townley in Rome during the autumn of 1776. Blundell and Townley spent a considerable time together in Rome and Naples visiting the traditional venues of the Grand Tour and Townley seems to have exercised a very significant influence over Blundell's early purchases, including the very first item of classical sculpture, a statuette of a philosopher, now thought to be Epicurus.[41]

The two men were fortunate to be in Rome when large amounts of sculpture from the Villas Mattei and D'Este were coming onto the market. Indeed it is possible that Blundell was aware of major sales before coming to Italy, either through Townley, Jenkins, or the Jesuit priest who was to later to act as his agent, Father Thorpe. Certainly the nucleus of Blundell's great collection came from these two major sources. Notable pieces from the Villa D'Este included the Bythinia statue, for many years a celebrated part of the Duke of Modena's collection, from whom it was purchased. Originally it was called a Cybele, but Visconti, using comparative numismatics, regarded as an important symbolic piece representing a Roman province. Found at Hadrian's Villa, such was its importance that Blundell had great difficulty obtaining an export licence.[42] Many of the other items Blundell obtained from these sources were already known to antiquarians, such as the bust of Hadrian, bought from the Mattei villa and published in the second volume of the Mattei marbles.[43] Similarly, the nymph Anchyrrhoe, bought out of the Villa D'Este was highly regarded by Visconti in the third volume of *Museum Clementinum*.[44] Although the Mattei and the D'Este provided the nucleus of the collection, many of the other major villas in Rome also provided important specimens, with the villas of Altieri, Borioni, Capponi, Lante and Negroni all contributing to the Blundell collection.[45]

Although, like Townley, most of Blundell's early works were purchased in Italy, he continued to collect right up until his death in 1810. The later purchases seem to indicate a growing sophistication and discrimination, even at a time when the availability of important items was limited by international conflict and market conditions. The war with France closed off much of the European market for antiquities so in the final years of his life he looked increasingly to British sales in order to complete his collection. It was in the years 1800-2 that Blundell was particularly active in the sales rooms, purchasing items from all the major sales of the period. Items bought from Lord Cowdor's sale in June 1800 included a life-sized statue of Faustina, a Galatea brought from Greece and a large bas-relief of a battle. Another purchase from London sales during this time was a bas relief from Tivoli, formerly in the garden of the Villa D'Este. Blundell had originally purchased this for £10 from the D'Este estate, but was prevented

from exporting the item by the Pope, to whom it was originally presented. However, following the plunder of the papal apartments by the French, it was eventually sold to a London merchant who put it up for sale. This time Blundell was forced to pay £260 to obtain the relief, illustrating how much more had to be laid out for sales in London in 1800 than in Rome twenty years earlier. Blundell continued his acquisitions at the Roehampton sale the following year, obtaining a number of items formerly in the collection of Lord Basborough, including a large statue of Apollo and the soon to be infamous sleeping hermaphrodite. After the summer of 1801 Blundell appears to have been less active in the London salerooms, although he did acquire a number of items at Lord Mendip's sale in Twickenham the following May, including an Egyptian idol, a bust of Marcus Aurelius, a pair of columns, a cinery urn and a copy of a bust of Homer from that formerly in the Farnese palace, Rome.[46]

The extent to which Blundell exercised any degree of refinement in his purchases had long been a source of debate. There can be little doubt that Townley's guiding scholarly hand helped him identify items of importance from the major sales. Visconti, who knew Blundell very well, praised his discriminating taste. Michaelis was less kind noting that "a vigorous weeding-out could only have heightened the value of the collection, and the praise expended by Visconti on the collector is misleading."[47] Recent research on the collection has tended to highlight some of the limitations of Blundell's critical eye. In general Blundell demanded much more comprehensive restoration of statuary than his friend Townley. Rarely did he display fragments and, in general even heavily fragmented pieces were restored into complete busts.[48] Fejfer's study of the Roman male portraits has illustrated how a number of apparently important pieces are deliberate forgeries. The over life size portrait of Claudius, supposedly found near some ruins on the Palatine Hill, has been identified as a deliberate fake, as has a portrait bust of Caesar. Similarly three full-sized porphyry busts, seemingly purchased from collections in England are now known not to be originals, but instead are, in all probability, early seventeenth-century fakes.[49] Other items in the Blundell collection may be regarded as somewhat over-restored, among them the Bacchanalian vase, found in a cave near Monticelli, which was considerably reworked by the hand of Piranesi.[50]

The alleged limitations of Blundell's collecting practices do, however, have to be understood in the context of eighteenth-century fashions and purchasing methods. Few collectors displayed fragments in this period, believing that restoration could best display and explain the features of the original. This was also the period in which Piranesi was at his most

influential and, in Italy at least, had become a key arbiter of restoration practice and display and it was by no means unusual for Piranesi to make extensive alterations to the objects before him in the guise of adding to both their historicity and aesthetic value. The problem of forgeries was one which affected collectors with a much wider education than Blundell and sharp practice was a systemic part of the market for antiquities. James Dallaway's *Anecdotes of the Arts in England* suggests that even the relationship between Hamilton and Townley was marred by misunderstanding and mistrust.[51] Moreover the suggestion that the collection could benefit from judicious "weeding" was an oft-repeated truism that could be applied to most collections of the period.

By the end of the 1780s Blundell's correspondence with Townley reveals the extent to which he was taking advice on new purchases and how he was, quite self-consciously, aware of the need to discriminate in his purchasing practices. On returning from Naples in 1790 he declared to Townley that "I have daily had in my eyes yr. kind advice to buy rather one good thing, than a multitude of mediocre…"[52] Far from buying indiscriminately, Blundell often seemed frustrated that the increasingly competitive market for antiquities meant that few good pieces became available for sale, particularly in Great Britain. Blundell noted that "but few good things are seldom to be met with on sale at home" and expeditions to Naples and Rome were increasingly necessary to obtain new items of sufficient standing to add to the collection.[53] Far from being naïve, Blundell was an experienced and shrewd businessman who, while being prepared to pay over the market rate for pieces he regarded as important, was alive to the questionable dealing of many agents and dealers. In particularly important sales, such as his failed attempts to secure ancient capitals from the Duke of Albans collection in 1801, he relied on his friend Townley to provide both advice and make the formal bids.[54] Where this was not possible and where he had to use commercial agents, he used agents recommended by other close friends, precisely because he was aware that agents were liable to mis-describe works in the hope of securing a deal.[55] While it is not possible to know how many works Blundell viewed before making a purchase, his frequent visits to Italy suggest that a significant number of works were viewed before a deal was struck. His estate management commitment and business interests in the north of England seem to have limited his ability to attend the major English sales of the period, however in all these Townley appears to have acted as his agent. This was more a reflection of his faith in Townley than a sign of indiscriminate purchasing. Indeed Blundell recommended in his

private correspondence that all collectors should "buy with their own eyes" or risk becoming duped by fraudsters.[56]

Yet not all of Blundell's collecting practices met with the approval of the wider antiquarian community. Blundell was at his most eccentric in his decision to rework an antique hermaphrodite, purchased in Britain from the famous Roehampton sale. When purchased Blundell took a great dislike to the figures of small children laying on its body—the "three little brats crawling about its breast."[57] Apparently without considering the historic or documentary value of the statue, Blundell called in the "restorers" to turn it into a Venus. Blundell wrote:

> The figure was unnatural and very disgusting to the sight; but by means of a little castration and cutting away the little brats, it became a sleeping Venus, and as pleasing a figure as any in this Collection. Its easy attitude in a sound sleep, and the fineness of the sculpture, are much noticed by the connoisseurs.[58]

Yet this is a curious incident as it does not seem to be typical Blundell's general approach to his collections. The reasons for the original purchase of the hermaphrodite are unclear, but it was certainly not a object that was bought on a whim. Blundell disliked travelling to London and the south during the winter months and could not recall much information about the Roehampton antiquities, having not visited the collection for several years.[59] It seems highly unlikely, therefore, that he could remember much about the hermaphrodite or that he viewed it before purchase. Townley acted as his agent at the sale and Blundell left the final choice about whether to bid on the hermaphrodite to his friend.[60] Blundell was initially delighted by the purchases but the catalogue comments clearly reveal that he had developed a serious aversion to the subject matter.[61] Having, in all likelihood, bid a sum well in excess of the piece's market value, modification offered itself as a solution to the aesthetic offence caused.

Condemned by a Catalogue?

Despite his eccentricities, Blundell was probably as much interested in the historic value of his collection as Townley and only really made substantial changes to items he regarded as excessively damaged or aesthetically repulsive. His interest in collecting Roman portraits shows the importance he placed on portraits as historic documents and as illustrative of the great figures in ancient literature. It is true, as Fejfer observes that Blundell's own historical knowledge had significant

limitations and this was exposed cruelly in some of his catalogue remarks. He mixed up Julia Titi with Caesar's daughter Julia and he provided a commentary on Philip II of Macedon as the caption to a portrait of Phillipus Minor.[62] Yet it is important to recognise that Blundell was well aware of the limitations of his own knowledge and the bound volumes that he published were only produced for a few close friends in his own antiquarian circle. Indeed the catalogue seems to have been assembled mainly through the urgings of Townley, who clearly felt it was important to document this increasingly important collection. Blundell, for his part, found it a "tedious piece of work" and aimed to keep it as short as possible.[63] The issue caused tension between the two friends. Blundell intended to arrange the catalogue by typology of object, a common practice in the period, while Townley felt they should be arranged by their "classical or mythological affinity."[64] Townley wanted a publication for wider scholarly circulation while Blundell make it clear that he wanted a simple catalogue for friends and guests that would avoid the necessity of repeated verbal explanations.[65] A Manchester copy of the first volume of *Engravings and Etchings* contains a letter of February 1810, in which he notes that only seven copies remained, suggesting that the total production was very small.[66]

Blundell was aware of his scholarly limitations and did not attempt to conceal them in what was supposed to be a private publication. He admitted in the frontispiece that there were "so many bad impressions and so many errors and mistakes" and they were only sent to learned societies in London on the insistence of Townley.[67] This should not however be taken to indicate a lack of interest in the historicity of the collection. Evidence from correspondence suggests that Blundell travelled widely in Italy in search of historical locations and read widely on classical and medieval Italian topics. Montfaulcon's *Antiquities* was a particularly favoured source of information about Italy and classical mythology for Blundell and many of his mythological references seem to be drawn from this source.[68] He was linked to Townley's own scholarly circle in London and frequently read the work of Townley's friend Baron D'Hancarville. His catalogue descriptions are clearly influenced by the work of D'Hancarville and those wanting more detailed information are directed by Blundell to D'Hancarville's own publication.[69] He was certainly a critical reader and, unlike Townley, refused to accept some of the more fanciful theories put forward by the controversial Frenchman.[70] Blundell also had interests in the post-classical period. Through his regional connections he was acquainted with the Liverpool historian William Roscoe, whose *Life of Lorenzo de' Medici*, had become a celebrated

history of the period. Here again Blundell was a critical reader questioning how Roscoe could collect reliable "anecdotes" for the work without actually travelling to Italy.[71] Although assembling a complete picture of Blundell's reading patterns is an imprecise art, his work on the catalogue suggests that he went beyond the standard historical and mythological dictionaries of the period to read original works of scholarship.

Arguments between Blundell and Townley on the nature of the catalogue were mainly associated with practical questions rather than scholarly ones. Initially Blundell commissioned a local draughtsman to produce the main plates, but these proved to be so ineptly designed as to be unsuitable for publication.[72] This episode appears to have caused a number of disagreements between the two friends. Blundell was reluctant to spend a large sum of money on the publication and refused to allow foreign artists into his home, preferring instead to use little-known local draughtsman, who then sent their work to London for engraving.[73] Townley oversaw the engraving of the plates, but was then surprised and somewhat annoyed, to see Blundell publish an unillustrated catalogue in 1803 rather than wait for the completion of the plates. It was not until 1809 that a two volume illustrated folio catalogue finally appeared.

Blundell's urgency may be explained by the popularity of his collection and the number of visitors, especially from the Liverpool area, who visited Ince Blundell Hall. After the Townley collection passed into the hand of the British Museum, Blundell's was the largest private collection of its type in the country and its reputation grew. The "many large parties" who attended during the summer were noted by Blundell to cause "no small trouble and inconvenience" and, perhaps inevitably he was forced to restrict admission.[74] Groups were required to book in advance and to provide their names "in order to prevent the admission of many improper people."[75] Unlike Townley, Blundell showed little interesting in using the collection to enhance his public and cultural reputation. Indeed there was tension between Blundell's desire to allow others to enjoy the collection and the desire to protect his personal privacy. However it was never Blundell's intention to prevent respectable visitors studying the collection. The large number of visitors in the house was clearly somewhat inconvenient and therefore plans were put in hand to provide display space for the collection away from the domestic quarters of the house. Firstly a neo-classical garden temple was constructed, designed to house some of the free standing statuary. Later a circular temple, based upon the Pantheon in Rome, was designed to take the main body of the sculpture collection and provide the principal display space. The Blundell Pantheon was again influenced by the advice of Charles

Townley although, perhaps for financial reasons, the new gallery was not completed until shortly before Blundell's death in 1810.[76]

Blundell never produced a public treatise on the purpose of his collection.[77] However the discussion about his plans for the catalogue and visitors reveal that its intended function was complex. It was for private pleasure, a semi-public asset for artists and antiquarians, and a permanent memorial to his love of Italy and status as a private collector. In an era when some of the most important collections of the day were being broken up or sold abroad, Blundell was keen that his collection should stay at the family seat and be looked upon as a permanent part of the family estate.[78] Shortly before his death Blundell had witnessed the failure of Townley's trustees to provide a permanent museum in Townley for his collection, and no doubt feared for the future of his own collection. It does not appear that Blundell ever seriously considered donating his collection to the British Museum. This may have partly been because he feared that his collection may be subsumed into that of his friend, who, after all, was well known in London circles and had a formidable scholarly reputation. Blundell, in contrast, was a thorough Lancashire man, little known in London circles, and with no pretensions to being a serious scholar. He had no significant involvement in the British museum and there were, of course, no similar provincial institutions to which such a collection could be left. Therefore preserving the collection at the family seat seemed the most secure option.

Blundell's main problem in securing a future for the collection was that he had a very difficult relationship with his only son Charles, with whom he often quarrelled. Worse still Charles was unmarried and seemed unlikely to produce a legitimate heir. Charles was by no means uninterested in art and he began to develop a reputation as a collector in his own right after purchasing 161 drawings from the sale of William Roscoe.[79] However Charles seems to have shown little interest in the classical world and seems to have resented the fact that his father left him in relative poverty, while spending heavily on antiquities. In March 1809 he noted how his father "spent large sums in Italy" arguing that he "would have done better to have put me in a respectable situation on my first coming into life."[80] Henry was clearly worried that his collection was not safe in his son's hands and made careful provision in his will for the protection of his antiquities. His will stated that all pictures, drawings, books, prints and marbles of all kings should be regarded as heirlooms, to be enjoyed by his son, but to be passed on to his successors. Although the legal status of this provision in the will was a little uncertain, it essentially meant that Charles could not dispose of any of his father's antiquarian collection without the threat of legal action from his sister's families.[81]

Worse still, Henry made his sons in law trustees of the unentailed estates and executors of his will, infuriating his son and further limiting the control he could exercise over his father's bequest.[82] Charles later wreaked revenge on his in-laws by leaving the majority of the Blundell inheritance, not to his sisters and their husbands, but to his cousin Thomas Weld of Lulworth.[83] Somewhat ironically, Charles's determination to outmanoeuvre his in-laws therefore helped secure the future of the collection at Ince as Thomas Weld took on the Blundell name and acted as heir to the Lancashire estate.

Conclusion: The Politics of Collecting and Social Reputations

Blundell's collecting practices reveal much about antiquarian cultures at the end of the eighteenth century. Not all collectors collected primarily to enhance their personal cultural reputation. Blundell's collection was promoted publicly more by Townley than the reluctant Blundell. Moreover cultural reputation depended as much on the display of knowledge as the display of objects. Yet this knowledge was not easy to acquire, especially for those with limited time or limited access to metropolitan networks. The popularity of the Grand Tour, new archaeological explorations and the dissolution of major Italian collections gave British collectors access to the acquisition of a wealth of ancient sculpture. Yet information about these opportunities relied on access to scholarly and antiquarian networks. The collector also needed a rounded classical education and an ability to absorb the latest ideas in both history and epistemology. In order to make sense of material objects with limited verifiable provenance, specialist knowledge and advice was required—and even then it was sometimes difficult to know which advice to trust. Blundell was a northern landowner and investor with limited formal education. He was therefore dependent largely on the classical scholarship of his friend Townley to develop his collection. This dependency made it difficult to establish himself in the world of connoisseurship despite his engagement with Townley's own literary and artistic networks and the obvious popularity of his own collection.

Although well read and often discriminating in his purchasing practice, occasional errors of judgement that may have been ignored in others left Blundell vulnerable to charges of being ignorant or unsophisticated. His personal correspondence reveals a man unwilling to place his own research into the public gaze for fear of public criticism or ridicule. Blundell was a man more at home managing his family estates than with

the world of the London literati and his disdain for London society in winter was well known.[84] However, it was Italy, and particularly Naples, which fired his imagination and which was his spiritual home. His fear that he might be seen as "marble mad and very extravagant" remained a concern in managing a public image but in practice he seemed little concerned about the views of Townley and his London circle, even quarrelling with Townley when he failed to meet the expectations of that circle. This, then, may explain Blundell's cavalier attitude towards scholarly and antiquarian convention. Just as he declined to produce a catalogue in the form Townley wished, he failed to consider the possible reaction of others to the castration of the hermaphrodite. However modification and "restoration" of antiquities was common in this period and other major collectors committed similar "errors." It should not be taken to represent ignorance or superficiality. The evidence from Blundell's personal papers indicates a private man but one well-read and one with wide-ranging interests in Italian history from classical times through to the Medicis. Scholarly errors and misattributations were made but these do not appear to have been picked up even by the much better educated Townley, who was otherwise quick to criticise Blundell's draft catalogue.[85] The massive investment Blundell made in the construction of his Pantheon and the care he took to secure its future suggests not a passing fad but a man intimately interested in Italy and the classical world. Failure to seek social prestige in London society meant that his reputation could never be firmly secured but his collection, now in the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, remains a testament to his personal Italophilia, desire for self-improvement and belief in the artistic and historic value of the remains of antiquity.

Notes

[1] Letter, Henry Blundell to Charles Townley, 2 January 1787, Townley Collection, British Museum [hereafter TC], 1316.
[2] Letter, Blundell to Townley, 11 April 1801, TC, 1333.
[3] Letter, Blundell to Townley, 18 March 1802, TC, 1352.
[4] Blundell collection numbered 599 pieces at this death in 1810; 400 are thought to be ancient. The pantheon building survives in private hands.
[5] Donna Kurtz, *The Reception of Classical Art in Britain* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2000), 17.
[6] Quoted in Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, *Taste and the Antique* (Yale: Yale University Press, 1981), 14.
[7] Ibid., 13-14.
[8] Kurtz, 18-19.

[9] Paolo Alessandro Maffei, *Raccolta di Statue antiche e moderne* (Roma, 1704).
[10] J. Richardson Snr and Jnr, *An Account of Some of the Statues, Bas-reliefs, Drawings and Pictures in Italy, &c with Remarks* (London, 1722).
[11] Kurtz, 19.
[12] Edward Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour* (London: Routledge, 1998), Clare Hornsby, *The Impact of Italy: the Grand Tour and Beyond* (London: The British School at Rome, 2000), Hugh Tregaskis, *Beyond the Grand Tour: the Levant lunatics* (London: Ascent Books, 1979).
[13] These tablets, called the Tabula Isiaca, have since been shown to be a Roman forgery or copy from the time of Hadrian. See "Mead, Richard, M.D.," in *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xiii, 181-87.
[14] Michael McCarthy, "Sir Roger Newdigate and Piranesi," *Burlington Magazine* 114 (1972): 466-72.
[15] James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, *Antiquities of Athens*, 4 vols. (London, 1762-1816).
[16] Martin Lowther Clarke, *Greek Studies in England, 1700-1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1945), 175.
[17] Nicholas Revett, Richard Chandler and William Parrs, *Antiquities of Ionia* (London, 1769-1797).
[18] Robert Wood, *Ruins of Palmyra* (London, 1753), Robert Wood, *Ruins of Baalbec* (London, 1757).
[19] Michael Vickers, "Value and Simplicity: Eighteenth-Century Taste and the Study of Greek Vases," *Past and Present* 116 (August 1987): 98-137.
[20] Suzanne L. Marchant, *Down from Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750-1970* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 7-10.
[21] T. Wilkinson, *The Townleys of Towneley: An Historical Fragment* (Burnley, 1896), 13. There are several different spellings of Townley; the one most commonly used in the later eighteenth and nineteenth century is used here.
[22] Leslie Chapples, *A Towneley chronicle of historical fact, marriage links and notable family associatons* (Burnley: Published Privately, 1987).
[23] Wilkinson, 20-24.
[24] Gerard Vaughan, "The Collecting of Classical Antiquities in England in the 18th Century: A Study of Charles Townley (1737-1805) and his circle," University of Oxford Phil thesis 1988, 8. Vaughan mistakenly calls Twyford school Twycross.
[25] Chapples, 28.
[26] Vaughan, 10-12.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Edward Edwards, *Lives of the Founders of the British Museum* (London, 1870), 371.
[29] Vaughan, 13-15.
[30] Edwards, 372. This piece was found among the ruins of the Baths of Titus during the Pontificate of Urban VIII.
[31] Ibid.
[32] For a discussion of these issues see Vaughan, 75-80.
[33] Ibid., 238-40.

[34] Contemporary interpretations of this piece varied considerably. Dallaway viewed it as the front of the sepulchral cippus of the father of Pericles. Askew and D'Hancarville regarded it as a votive portrait of Xanthippus, presenting a foot as an offering to Aesculapius for the cure of his wound, supposedly sustained at the Battle of Mycale, 479 BC. Henry Ellis, *Townley Gallery*, (London, 1846), 107.
[35] B.F. Cook, *Townley Marbles* (London: British Museum Press, 1985), 30.
[36] John Thomas Smith, *Nollekins and his Times* (London, 1828), 126-27; Cook, 46-47.
[37] *Dictionary of National Biography*, XIX, 1025.
[38] Susan Bourne, *An Introduction to the Architectural History of Towneley Hall* (Burnley: Burnley Borough Council, 1979), 20-22.
[39] Jane Fejfer and Edmund Southworth, *The Ince Blundell Collection of Classical Sculpture*, vol. 1, part 1 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1991), 11.
[40] For details see *Pictures from Ince Blundell Hall* (Liverpool: Liverpool City Council, 1960), 5-6.
[41] This item is recorded by Blundell as "much recommended by a friend," presumably Townley. Henry Blundell, *An Account of the Statues, Busts, Bass-Relieves, Cinery Urns, and other Ancient Marbles, and Paintings, at Ince, Collected by H.B.* (Liverpool, 1803), 28.
[42] Blundell, *An Account*, 12.
[43] Ibid., 42.
[44] Henry Blundell, *Engravings and Etchings of Sepulchral Monuments, Cinery Urn, Gems, Bronzes, prints, Greek Inscriptions, Fragments Etc in the Collection of Henry Blundell at Ince*, vol I, (1809), 16
[45] Fejfer and Southworth, vol. 1, part 1, 12.
[46] Blundell, *An Account*, 179-88.
[47] Quoted in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 5, 727.
[48] Jane Fejfer, *The Ince Blundell Collection of Classical Sculpture*, vol. 1, part 2, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1997), 3-4.
[49] Ibid., vol. 1, part 2, 10-12.
[50] Blundell, *An Account*, 92.
[51] James Dallaway, *Anecdotes of the Arts in England* (1800), vol. III, 727.
[52] Letter, Blundell to Townley, 4 May 1790, TC, 1320.
[53] Letter, Blundell to Townley, 2 January 1787, TC, 1316.
[54] Letter, Blundell to Townley, 4 May 1801, TC, 1338.
[55] Letter, Blundell to Townley, 18 April 1801, TC, 1334.
[56] Letter, Blundell to Townley, 25 November, 1318.
[57] Blundell, *Engravings and Etchings*, vol. 1, 41.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Letters, Blundell to Townley, 18 January 1791, 1 February 1801, TC, 1322, 1329.
[60] Letter, Blundell to Townley, 4 April 1801, TC, 1331.
[61] Letter, Blundell to Townley, 11 April 1801, TC, 1333.
[62] Fejfer, vol 1, part 2, 12.
[63] Letter, Blundell to Townley, 30 October 1801, TC, 1343.

[64] Letter, Townley to Blundell [copy], 25 February 1902, TC, 1347.
[65] Letter, Blundell to Townley, 7 March 1802, TC, 1350.
[66] Letter, Henry Blundell to Nicholas Carlisle, 24 Feb 1810 [copy?], in Blundell, *Engravings and Etchings*, vol. 1, copy in the John Rylands University Library of Manchester.
[67] Blundell, *Engravings and Etchings*, vol. 1, frontispiece.
[68] Letter, Blundell to Townley, 3 April 1796, TC, 1326.
[69] Blundell says of the figures and ornaments: "To explain them minutely, one must be endued with the fertile imagination of a D'Ankerville [sic], whose work abounds so much with pagan allusions and mystical erudition." Blundell, *Engravings and Etchings*, vol. 2, 1.
[70] Letter, Blundell to Townley, 5 November 1787, TC, 1317.
[71] Letter, Blundell to Townley, 3 April 1796, TC, 1326.
[72] Vaughan, 433.
[73] Fejfer and Southworth, vol. 1, part 1, 20.
[74] Blundell, *Engravings and Etchings*, vol. 1, 1.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Fejfer and Southworth, vol. 1, part 1, 16.
[77] There is none in his published work or any evidence of draft versions in his personal correspondence.
[78] For examples of the break-up of major British collections in this period see Nancy H. Ramage, "Sir William Hamilton as Collector, Exporter, and Dealer: The Acquisition an Dispersal of his Collections," *American Journal of Archaeology* 94 (1990): 469-80; O. Neverov, "The Lyde Browne Collection and the History of Ancient Sculpture in the Hermitage Museum," *American Journal of Archaeology* 88 (1984): 33-42.
[79] Xanthe Brooke, *Mantegna to Rubens: The Weld—Blundell Drawings Collection* (London: Merrel Holberton, 1998), 18-19.
[80] Letter, Charles Blundell to Henry Blundell, 8 March 1809, Blundell Letters [copies], Liverpool Record Office, MD 87-1.
[81] Case for the Opinion of Mr. Horne, 5 September 1810, Lancashire Record Office DDIn 55/187.
[82] Letter, Charles Blundell to Henry Blundell, 24 January 1809, Blundell Letters [copies], Liverpool Record Office, MD 87-1.
[83] A decision that was upheld after a bitter dispute in the Court of Chancery between 1837-1848. Brooke, 19.
[84] Letter, Blundell to Townley, 18 January 1791, TC, 1322.
[85] Letter, Blundell to Townley, 2 April 1802, TC, 1355.

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