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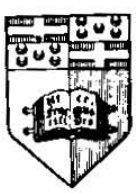

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LOVE, PITY AND REASON IN THE *TROILUS* CHAUCER'S DEBT TO DANTE

A. M. SCHEMBRI

With the *Book of the Duchess*[1] Chaucer establishes himself as the poet of Courtly Love at the court of Edward. In the *Book* Chaucer does not consider any other kind of love. Courtly Love is the pure love, the noble love, and perfectly attuned to the 'lawe of kinde' (BD 56). This certainly makes his ambivalent attitude to Courtly Love in his succeeding works, the *House of Fame, The Parlement of Fowles, The Knights' Tale,* and the *Troilus and Criseyde,* the more surprising. His reputation made with the *Book,* a work in no way inferior to any of his French contemporaries, and in many respects richer and fresher, Chaucer goes to Italy, and, he comes face to face with a more complex and variegated vision of love. Petrarch was for ever struggling to define love, and his 'S'amor non è, che dunque è quel ch'i sento'[2] (In Vita 165) is symptomatic of his inconclusiveness. Chaucer immediately spotted this sonnet for his Canticus Troili. For Petrarch, love is a passion which swells and consumes itself in 'rethorike sweete' (Ck'sT 32), and Laura remains a distant goddess. For his friend Boccaccio, love is a yearning which finds satisfaction only in the triumph of the flesh. In Dante's *Convivio*[3] alone, Chaucer discovers the maturest and most congenial treatise on love of the time. The contrasting features of the Italian scene bring home to Chaucer the torpor of French literature which still sought inspiration and nourishment from the *Roman de la Rose,* the book which until then had largely determined his own cultural luggage as well as that of his French models.

On his return from his second visit to Italy, Chaucer settles down to write the *House* and throws Courtly Love overboard with the verve of a convert. But Chaucer harboured no doubt whatsoever, that Dante's love for Beatrice in the *Vita Nova* was basically Courtly Love even if heightened and transformed to a veritable apotheosis. Following the Italian Maestro, Chaucer comes to distinguish

between the conventionally courtly and the natural; and discovers a new kind of love, the rational, the 'amor d'animo', the 'intelletto d'amore'. It is through the dramatic interplay of these loves – the courtly, the natural, the rational – that the philosophy of the *Troilus* comes to life. Chaucer might have been encouraged by Boccaccio's misogyny to ventilate his own native suspicion of women, suitably suppressed before his Italian adventure in the interests of the courtly fabrication, the Midon. Yet, from the ashes of Lady Blanche still rise other heroines in Chaucer who are adherents of the Code. But Chaucer's attitude changes. Now, if they are still non-pareil in their beauty, they are far from impeccable in their conduct. To these belong the Formel Eagle who ignores the 'conseyl'[5] (PF 633) of Reason, to some extent Emily, and most certainly Criseyde, a woman of undisputed charm and unparalleled beauty who irrevocably sins against her lover and truth[6] itself. While Courtly Love is utterly discredited in the *House* never again to be altogether rehabilitated, Chaucer proposes the new love, courtly but under the aegis of Reason, the 'amor d'animo' (Pur xvii, 91) which sustains Troilus throughout his 'double sorrowe' (TC I.1) to lead him to that 'pleyn felicite/That is in hevene above' (TC V. 1818 – 9).

In this article I shall endeavour to look at the *Troilus* against the background of Dante's thought not so much as to quantify Chaucer's debt to Dante, but more to bring out the full import of Chaucer's masterpiece. I hope it shall become manifest that Chaucer gains both in erudition and articulation since Dante provides him with well defined and fully exemplified philosophical concepts; and ironically, that Dante stimulates Chaucer's artistic autonomy by encouraging him to subordinate authority to life.

Chaucer is so taken up with Dante that the English poet immediately includes the Italian poet, a modern, in the glorious company of Virgil and Claudian in his very first work after his Italian mission (HF 445 – 50). This surely was a very bold step. Dante's name had not as yet featured in any other literature outside Italy. As E. Cavallari says, Dante's influence on the *House* 'resta sempre l'unico documento notevole della fama di Dante nel Trecento fuori dai confini italiani.' In Italy itself there was no end to the controversy, regarding his orthodoxy[7]. Besides, neither Virgil, the Christian without Christ, nor Claudian, the author of the ever-popular *De Raptu Proserpinae*, really needed any support

Also, while Virgil bears up the pious Aeneas in the Hall of Fame, and Claudian, Hell, Dante is not assigned any specific responsibility in the poem. The inclusion of Dante's name, however superfluous it might seem, is of the utmost importance because it is a clear indication that Chaucer wanted his audience to know of Dante, and also to regard the Italian poet as 'auctoritee' on a par with none other than Virgil and Claudian even if Dante was a 'modern'.

Chaucer practically winds up the unfinished *House* with an onslaught on Courtly Love – a veritable pandemonium. As Courtly Love had just touched rock-bottom, and it seemed quite clear that the last word had been said about the matter, one would have imagined the new-comer, the 'man of great auctoritee' (HF 2158) to propose an alternative and more positive kind of love. But the poem breaks off suddenly. However, in his next work, Chaucer seems to make up by immediately introducing one of Dante's[8]

> Genti...con occhi tardi e gravi, Inf.iv, 112
> Di grande autorità ne lor sembianti...

or rather his book – 'Tullyus of the drem of Scipion' (PF 31) which presents the love of the 'comoun profyt' (PF 47) which finds correspondence in the natural love of the common fowls in contrast with the sophistication of the Courtly Love of their betters, and the Formel Eagle's resistance to Reason[9] (PF 631 f). One of the terclets threatens:

> Thanne semyt it, ther must be batayle, PF 539

which is amply brought out in the next work, the hypothetical English *Teseide*[10] which was to be later suitably abridged for the Knight to tell on the way to Canterbury. The Formel Eagle's insubordination to Reason now gives way to Emily's unconditional acceptance of Theseus's[11] injunction to marry Palamon for the good of the city, the common good. And if Chaucer considers Arcite's translation to the eight sphere unjustified in the *Tesiede*, Chaucer creates a new type of hero who would be fully deserving. This new hero would not only possess all knightly qualities, but would also be a model of temperance in that his

> 'hormen' cioè appetito d'animo naturale...che de la divina grazia surge (Convivio IV, xxii, 4) (is) ... cavalcato de la ragion (Convivio IV, xxvi, 6).

It is only then, that Chaucer is ready to reward his Trojan hero with the heaven he had denied the Thebian.

Of all Chaucer's works the romance of *Troilus* is the one that comes closest to Dante.[12] It is true that there is no direct acknowledgment or even the barest mention of Dante in the poem. However, Chaucer's declaration of intent in the *House* (HF 445) does service for the whole cluster of works linked as they are through a thematic counterpoint. In the *Troilus,* the verbal echoes in the opening lines alert us to a continuing rapport. But, by not mentioning Dante at all, we suspect that Chaucer was becoming more conscious of his own autonomy than to his debt to the Divine Poet.

In Chaucer's hands Boccaccio's *Filostrato* suffers a sea-change, and this is to a large extent due to Dante's influence. Troilus's love for Criseyde is without any doubt courtly. It is the same love as propounded by Gace Brulè at the court of the Plantagent Geoffrey when he says:

> Parce qu'elle n'écoute pas ma prière, je ne l'aime pas moins finement. Ce n'est pas amour autrement, si elle va avant et arrière...Qui est bien enamouré, comment peut-il se séparer d'amour...[13]

This was somewhat exceptional, the limit; but acceptable, in theory at least, and a stage in the ritual (BD 1255f). But in the *Troilus* we have more. Troilus's love is tested under extreme conditions, and not wanting to 'unloven' Criseyde for a quarter of a day, and by his loving concern for her name to the last (TC V, 1686), Troilus goes beyond the human and the Code itself. It is the rational, the 'deitade', the 'compassioun' (TC. III. 403), which has the upper hand over the passions, which can make Troilus's attitude possible. It is a Christian attitude supported by divine Grace.

Troilus is the exponent of the lover in his love for a woman – particular love – and also in its universal sense. The Prologue to Book III.

> is exceptional in connecting the power of the Goddess (Venus) with that of Providence, echoing in the lines the verses in which Philosophy celebrates divine love in the *Consolatio.*[14]

There is no doubt that this Venus is Dante's Venus of the *Paradiso* (viii, 12). Troilus's regeneration lies in his recognition that his love for Criseyde is also the love of the 'holy bond of things'

(TC III 1261) that is Universal Love, immutable and perpetual, who like Venus herself is both love and charity (TC III, 1254), as explained in the *Convivio* (III, viii, 13).

In the *Troilus* there are many kinds of love. Pandarus talks of 'celestial' love and the love 'of kynde' (TC I, 977f). Although Chaucer upholds natural love against Courtly Love in the *Parliement*, love of 'kynde' does not adaquately describe Troilus's mature love, even, if admittedly, his initial attitude to love goes against the 'lawe of kynde' (TC I, 238). Love of 'kynde' is natural love, that is the love of all creatures who do not fall under the rule of Reason and are therefore driven by their insticts. Virgil contrasts this love, that is 'amor naturale', of which Pandarus seems to be the promoter in the *Troilus,* with 'amor d'animo' (Pur xvii, 91f), that is that love fully under the control of Reason.[15] Even for Troilus himself, Criseyde's love does not qualify, for he imagines the conflict within her bosom between 'kynde' and 'daunger' (TC I, 1374f) – 'kynde' pleading on his behalf, while 'daunger' inhibiting Criseyde from granting him mercy.

Troilus is a compendium of Dantean virtues and comes straight from the *Convivio.* He is forever the ideal. Not only has he the characteristics of Dante's practical reason – honesty, prudence, temperance, fortitude and justice (Convivio, xxii, 10f), but also answers to Dante's description of the adolescent:

> Per che è manifesto che a questa etade lealtade (truth), cortesià, amore, fortezza e temperanza siano necessarie...(which) la nobile anima tutti li dimostra, (Convivio IV, xxvi, 15)

Out of the eleven times that 'noble' comes up in the *Troilus,* ten refer in some way to Troilus.[16] Even in his most delirious moments, Troilus's desire is always and electively under control, and it does not lead to 'any harm or any vilenye' but always to that which 'myghte sownen into good' (TC I, 1033 – 5). In every instance that there is conflict between Love and Reason, Troilus obeys Reason. It is no wonder that Pandarus does not take Troilus's intentions seriously (TC I, 1038), because Pandarus simply does not understand Troilus's higher kind of love to the point of insensitivity. Pandarus tries to salve Troilus's wounds by proposing:

> And ek, as writ Zanzis, that was ful wys, TC IV, 414
> 'The newe love out chaceth ofte the olde';
> And upon newe cas lith newe avys.
> Thenk ek, thi lif to saven artow holde.
> Swich fir, by proces, shal of kynde colde;
> For syn it is but casuel plesaunce,
> Som cas shal putte it out of remembraunce.

Pandarus's love is of the same type as that advocated by the Veille in the *Roman*, and the only coin with which Troilus can appropriately pay Pandarus for his services is sensual love which could very well go for Courtly Love (TC III, 410). But the real contrast lies between the love of the hero which is natural, courteous and rational, with that of Criseyde, a neophite of the Code, whose love never rises to higher things, is *cupiditas*, and which is initially conditioned by personal concern (TC II, 470f) and winds up in betrayal. Troilus's love looks up; and once his love finds fulfilment with his desire satisfied, he reaches beatitude (Convivio III, xv, 2) and becomes 'speculativo' [17], a philosopher-lover like Dante himself. His deference to Reason leaves no doubt that his is 'amor d'animo'. He is the 'discepolo' of Reason and 'segue lo maestro' at all times. For those who do not follow Reason, Dante says:

> Potrebbe alcuno dicere: Come è morto e va? Rispondo che è morto (uomo) e rimaso bestia...levando l'ultima potenza de l'anima, cioè la ragione, non rimane più uomo, cosa con anima sensitiva solamente, cioè animale brutto (Convivio IV, vii, 14, 15). [18]

We have already referred to how in the *Troilus,* the love of the hero for a woman, like in Dante, leads to universal love. In the *Convivio* (III, viii), Dante says:

> E dico che Amore le (the lover) reca queste cose quivi sì come a luogo suo; dove si può amore doppiamente considerare. Prima l'amore de l'anima, speziale a questi luoghi (eyes and mouth); secondamente l'amore universale che le cose dispone ad amare e ad essere amate che ordina l'anima ad adornare queste parti...(13)

Dante continues that through the beauty of a woman,

> non pur a migliorare lo bene è fatta, ma eziandio a fare de la malà buona cosa...(21).

Troilus's love for Criseyde not only brings out his latent 'gentilesse' but he soon

> bicom the frendlieste wight, TC I, 1079
> The gentilest, and ek the mooste fre,
> The thriftiest and oon the beste knyght,
> That in his tyme was or myghte be.
> Dede were his japes and his cruelte,
> His heighe port and his manere estraunge,
> And ecch of tho gan for a vertu chaunge.

Even if by way of conclusion, Theseus relates human love to the fair chain, never is the conversion of vice into virtue, 'a fare de la mala buona cosa', brought up in any of the earlier works.

If Troilus's love is consummated love, Chaucer purges the love of the hero in his original of all that is vulgar or offensive. Troilus held

> in despit TC IV, 1675
> Every thyng that souned into badde,
> As rudenesse and peoplissh appetit...

Troilus's love is the dulia of the stilnovisti and he is smitten by Criseyde's beauty in truly stilnovistic fashion in the same way as Dante specifies:

> veramente quella che viene per retta linea ne la punta de la pupilla, quella veramente si vede, e ne la imaginativa si sugella solamente...

However,

> veramente l'occhio l'altro occhio non può guardare, sì che esso non sia veduto da lui; chè, sì come quello che mira riceve la forma ne la pupilla per retta linea, così per quella medesima linea la sua forma se ne va in quello ch'ello mira: e molte volte, nel dirizzare di questa linea, discocca l'arco di colui (Cupid) al quale ogni arme è leggiere. (Convivio II, ix, 4f)

Chaucer is very careful that this does not happen to Criseyde, so

> thorugh a route TC I, 271
> His eye percede, and so depe it wente,
> Til on Criseyde it smot, and ther it stente.

Chaucer's concern is evident from the way he elaborates on Boccaccio's bald statement:

> L'occhio suo vago giunse penetrando Fil I, 26
> Colà dov'era Criseide piacente.

However, it is very clear that Dante himself questions the stil novo in the Francesca episode. Beauty as the vehicle for love[19],

> Amore e 'cor gentil sono una cosa, VN. XX

is seriously rethought; and Chaucer reexamines Courtly Love as soon as he comes into contact with Dante. For both poets there cannot be true love without Reason; all other love is passion.

Dante's fifth canto of the *Inferno* must have immediately caught Chaucer's attention because of the list of 'donne antiche è cavalieri' (Inf v, 71). Chaucer had first come across these lovers who had come to grief through love in the *Roman* (13183 – 13280) long before his first visit to Italy, and Chaucer refers to them in the *Book* (325f). In the *House* (380f) he updates this same list which he now gets from Machaut and by drawing from Boccaccio's *Teseide* and Dante's fifth canto. In the *Parlement* Chaucer introduces Troilus. And in the *Troilus* Chaucer has Cassandra with the 'frape' (TC III, 410) the 'brigata' (Purg xiv, 106) possibly suggested by the word 'briga' in the *Inferno* (v, 49).

The *Troilus* is full of undertones reminiscent of the 'cerchio' of those who had 'la ragion sommettono al talento' (Inf v, 39). Troilus's invoking Mino's justice (TC IV, 1188) when he was contemplating suicide, seems to indicate that Troilus felt a close kinship to those lovers who had 'tignemmo il mondo di sanguigno' (Inf v, 90). Both Troilus and Criseyde complain in the 'weylaway that I was born' – vein, however it is very evident that Criseyde 'born in cursed constellacioun' (TC IV, 745) is the 'anima mal nata' (Inf v, 8).

Troilus is purged of the 'caldo desire' (Fil I, 39) of the original, and he never shows any inclination for 'alto piacere' (Fil 2, 19). Pandarus is suitably recast and if he exploits Criseyde's weakness, her pity, he refrains from openely exciting the heroine's 'fiamme amorose' (Fil 2, 23). A lady who would openly confess that

> A spegnare questo foco — Fil 2, 115
> Conviene a me trovare e tempo e loco,

simply did not do for the new hero. For a knight the search for his lady meant the search for his own identity.

Chaucer starts casting about for a substitute. He admired Beatrice. There is no doubt about that. But he must have felt that she did not answer to his purpose. While she was certainly the purest manifestation of beauty, virtue, and Sapience, she was far too aethereal, a soul without a body, an ideal far removed not only from Boccaccio's Criseida, but also from Chaucer's own idea of women. On the other hand, Criseida was beyond reclaim, a whore. No amount of surgery would ever have made her suitable for

Chaucer's new role. She would have damaged the very image of Troilus[20], for as St Paul says, 'Know ye not that he that is joined to a harlot is made one flesh?' (I Cor 6, 15). Even if the new heroine was eventually to become the example of 'brotelnesse' (Against Women Unconstant, 1, 15), she should never lose her dignity and always remain the lady of romance who shows

> Honour, estat, and wommanly noblesse. TC I, 287

Chaucer must have found Boccaccio's opening description of Criseide interesting enough. She,

> Sì bella e sì angelica a vedere Fil I, 11
> Era, che non parea cosa mortale.

And Chaucer adopts these lines:

> So aungelik was hir natif beaute, TC I, 102
> That lik a thing inmortal seemed she.

Then Chaucer hurriedly adds:

> As doth an hevenyssh parfit creature TC I, 104
> That down wer sent in scornynge of nature.

Scorning of nature is a very dubious compliment at the very best, and our suscpicious are realised when Criseyde proves 'unkynde' (TC IV, 18). 'Scornynge' means to bring or to drive to shame and disgrace (OED) as when Criseyde upbraids Diomede's premature advances:

> And that (your lineage) doth me to han so gret a wonder TC V, 981
> That ye wol scornen any woman so.

This scorning is of that very Nature,

> the vicaire of the almighty Lord, PF 379
> That hot, cold, hevy, lyght, moyst, and dreye
> Hath knyt by evene noumbres of accord,

the Chain of Love. Moreover one also suspects that this 'scornynge of nature' is a reaction to Dante's Beatrice who came down to earth 'a miracol mostrare' (VN XXVI). Chaucer seems to want to answer Dante by proposing a woman with heavenly looks exactly like Beatrice, who like Beatrice in the *Vita Nova* (XXVI) her 'goodly lookyng gladed al the press' (TC I, 173):

> Chè, guardanno costei, la gente si contenta, tanto dolcemente ciba la sua bellezza li occhi dè riguardatori....(Convivio III, viii, 5);

who through her native beatury elevates her lover to the vision, and yet she herself is treacherous and unnatural. No 'piove fiammelle di foco – cioè ardore d'amore e di caritade' (Convivio III, viii, 16) herald our heroine, but a smothered fire[21] (Inf xv, 117), a 'smokey rain' (TC III, 629) preludes Criseyde's capitulation and her alliance with Pandarus when she protests to Troilus's wonder:

> O mercy, God, what thyng is this? TC III, 1124
> Why do ye with yourselven thus amys?

She eggs him on by putting his very manhood in doubt:

> Quod tho Criseyde, 'Is this a mannes game?
> What, Troilus, wol ye do thus for shame?'

It is true that Chaucer wanted a heroine who would be treacherous in love, but who would also remain loveable all along. This, he could not very well find in his immediate source, nor in French literature. He seems not to have been altogether happy with Emily either by the way he suppresses her role. Now, he looks at Francesca, and he can see so many potential Francescas at the royal court. Because of the very fact that Chaucer knew that Francesca was a real person taken from life, she excited his curiosity and titillated his genius for syncretising art and life and which finds its fullest development in the *Troilus* and Chaucer's later works.

Paolo and Francesca separate from the main flock where Dido was. Dido is brought in the *Convivio* (IV, xxvi, 8, 9) in order to underline Aeneas's temperance and fortitude by giving up so much pleasure and gratificaiton in order to follow an honourable, praiseworthy and profitable path. Criseyde had like Dido in the *Inferno* 'ruppe fede al cener' (v. 62) of her dead husband. And this was not a slight fault. In Chaucer's day even a second marriage was frowned upon (WB'sT 33f); and even Criseyde herself feels that it was most unbecoming for a widow to enter a relationship, for, as she says,

> It sate me wel bet ay in a cave TC II, 117
> To bidde and rede on holy seyntes lyves.

Again she brings out her widowhod (TC V, 975) to stall Diomede's pressing advances.

Criseyde also resembles Dido by the way they both share the same concern for their name, which they express in very similar language. Dido in the *House* cries:

> O, wel-awey that I was born! HF 345
> For thorgh you is my name lorn,
> And alle myn actes red and songe
> Over al thys lond, on every tonge...
> Eke, though I myghte duren ever,
> That I have don, rekever I never.

And Criseyde:

> Allas! of me, unto the worldes ende, TC V, 1058
> Shal neyther ben ywriten nor ysonge
> No good word, for thise bokes wol me shende,
> O, rolled shal I ben on many a tongue!
> Thorughout the world my belle shal be ronge...

Chaucer seems to look at Dido with much more sympathy than Dante. And even so, Chaucer does not in any way begrudge Criseyde her love for Troilus. If there is any parallel at all between Dante's Dido and Criseyde it is in that they both betray, one the memory of her dead husband, the other jilts a perfect lover. They are both Courtly lovers. And both somehow dye the world with blood and moan their lost reputation. Chaucer approves of Criseyde's love for Troilus. It is her reluctance, her courtly resistance, useless protraction, and especially her misplaced over-prudence which makes her bargain for her honour even at the point when she is giving herself to Troilus, that make her somewhat cold and calculating. Chaucer the Narrator seems to be pulling at the reins the nearer we get to the consummation of their love. Even Francesca is more spontaneous, more geneorous to her lover. She never shows any concern for her reputation. Her account is matter of fact and she does not indulge either in apology or self-recrimination.

In the Francesca episode the courtly Amor-Virtù tandem is seriously rethought and found wanting. Love which can be so pure and innocent can be warped through courtly example and lead to passion, betrayal, and damnation. Chaucer could very well read this in Francesca's fate. And as the name of the courtly Tristram serves as a transition to introduce Francesca's love of Guinevere,

similarly the philosophy of Helen in Antigone's song visually supported by the sight of the returning Troilus from battle, ushers Criseyde into the questionable world of Courtly Love.

Chaucer's reading of Dante, particularly the *Convivio,* made him very sensitive to the word Love. Francesca uses the word 'Amor' with courtly connotations. And Criseyde does exactly the same. But Chaucer the Narrator is more careful. In his appeal to Venus, in the Proem to Book Three, that is prior to the consummation scene, no doubt influenced by Boccaccio's lines (Fil. 3, 74f), Chaucer seems to prefer 'pleasance of love' to 'Amor' which 'in gentil hertes ay redy to repair' (TC III, 3). This is reinforced with

> so techeth me devyse — TC III, 41
> Som joye of that is felt in thi servyse.

Chaucer had already changed 'Amor' to 'pitee' in the ***Knight's Tale***[22] to make the line read, 'pitee renneth soone in gentil herte' (Kt'sT 1761). Chaucer seems to distinguish between 'Amor' – love which is 'Amor d'animo', the pleasure of this same love, and Courtly Love and its instigator,pity.

Pandarus, the English 'Galeotto' (Inf v, 137), pitches his campaign against Criseyde's vulnerable and female passion which Dante defines in the *Convivio*:

> la pietade, la quale fa risplendere ogni altra bontade col lume suo...E non è pietade quella che crede la volgar gente, cioè dolersi de l'altrui male, anzi è questo uno suo speciale effetto, che si chiama misericordia ed è passione; ma pietade non è passione, anzi è una nobile disposizione d'animo, apparechiata di ricevere amore, misericordia e altre creative passioni. (II, x, 5f)

Both Criseyde and Pandarus simply understood 'pitee' or 'routhe' as the vulgar understood it 'dolersi de l'altrui male' – a passion which makes the Courtly Lady 'rewe on' the 'distress' (TC V, 1671) of her lover. This courtly pity is erroneously related to virtue by Pandarus:

> And also thynk, and therwith glade the, — TC I, 897
> That sith thy lady vertous is al,
> So followeth it that there is some pitee...

Dante himself evidently suffers from this kind of pity:

> Poscia ch'io ebbi 'l mio Dottore udito — Inf v, 70
> Nomar le donne antiche e i cavalieri,
> Pietà mi vinse, e fui quasi smarrito.

However, Chaucer the Narrator expresses the 'nobile disposizione d'animo' for all lovers when he

> write(s) hire wo, and lyve in charite, TC I, 49
> And for to have of hem compassioun,
> As though I were hire owne brother dere...

Pity is Criseyde's greatest social virtue and her greatest moral weakness. Pity is Criseyde's chink in her armour. It is that 'solo un punto' (Inf v, 132), the moment of weakness which makes her forget her responsibilities to Troilus and that leads to the irrevocable. Paradoxically, that which makes her love for Troilus possible is in fact the very germ of her betrayal.[23] Francesca expresses the inevitability of her love for Paolo with her three closely spaced lines all starting with 'Amor' which have the force of a syllogism with the second term being Capellanus's own 'Amor nil posset amori denegrari' (De Amore, rule xxvi) and is as false as the Code itself. It is a Code built on passion with nothing rational about it and consequently bound to tragic failure – the spear (PF 135).

But we must also remember that this social convention, this Amour Courtoise built on pity, represents for both Chaucer and Dante a whole culture which encompassed their very youth[24] and to which they were still emotionally tied. They both create heroines who are the ultimate in the manifestation of this culture. Dante's sensitivity does not allow him to press Francesca beyond her 'quel giorno più non vi leggemmo avanti' (Inf v, 138). Chaucer, too, on his part, never describes Criseyde's betrayal. We only come to know about it from sources which are never really identified. Even if within that same culture itself in which she loves there is so much to be said against her behaviour, yet we feel that her sin is the outcome of that pity which made it possible for the Code to function. And, though we most certainly condemn the behaviour itself, we, like Chaucer, and Dante for Francesca, do not find it in our hearts to pass judgement – certainly not on such a sensitive and tender person who

> Whan thorugh the body hurt was Diomede TC V, 1045
> Of Troilus, tho wepte she many a teere,
> Whan that she saugh his wyde wowndes blede;
> And that she took, to kepen hym, good hede;
> And for to helen hym of his sorwes smerte,
> Men seyn – I not – that she yaf hym hire herte.

Criseyde remains humble, tender, and in some mysterious way apparantly untainted even in her betrayal. She knows that she has done wrong and she does not hedge about her guilt. But she never stops being the courtly lady and retains her 'wommanly noblesse' (TC I, 287) to the very end.

Francesca's courtly position is seen also in the way she monopolises the whole scene. She is the one who does the talking while Paolo seconds her through his silent tears. She is the Midon, but one who would not resort to 'knakkes smale' (BD 1033). And so is Criseyde from the very moment of investiture, that is when she accepts Troilus's love (TC III, 175), up to the moment when she virtually winds up their relationship (TC IV, 1660f). The summing up of the rapport is hers. She has an uninterrupted hundred and sixty lines all to herself while Troilus listens silently and

> The cruele peynes of this sorwful man, TC IV, 1697
> That passen every torment down in helle.

If the love of Paolo and Francesca never rises above the 'bella persona' (Inf v, 101) and the 'piacere si forte' (Inf v, 104) their love is certainly the most delicate human love. We can see Francesca all lit up, living Guinevere's love vicariously, blushing every time her eyes meet Paolo's (Inf, v, 131), and at the same time keeping Paolo at bay. But their continuing to gaze in each others eyes and imprinting their images in each others souls deeper, it only needs Guinevere's

> disiato riso Inf, v, 133
> Esser basciato da cotanto amante,

for Paolo to take the initiative, and he

> La bocca mi (Francesca's) baccio tutto tremante. Inf v, 136

This 'riso' which Dante uses poetically for 'bocca' also carries the idea of laughter and we immediately remember Dante's own comment referring especially to his Canzone 'Amore che ne la mente mi ragiona'. Dante says:

> Che ne la faccia di costei appariscono cose che mostrano de' piaceri di Paradiso; e distingue (lo testo) lo loco dove ciò appare, cioè ne li occhi e ne lo riso...e in questi due cose si sente quel piacere altissimo di beatitudine, lo quale è massimo bene di Paradiso. (Convivio III, xv, 2)

Dante defines laughter:

> E che è ridere se non una corruscazione de la dilettazione de l'anima, cioè uno lume apparente di fuori secondo sta dentro? (Convivio III, viii, 11)

Criseyde's face, beautiful like the very image of Paradise (TC IV, 864) is particularised in 'Paradyse stood formed in her yen' (TC V, 817). It is Criseyde's gaze and her laughter which make Troilus reminisce:

> And yonder have I herd ful lustyly — TC V, 568
> My dere herte laugh; and yonder pleye
> Saugh ich hire ones ek ful blisfully,
> And yonder ones to me gan she seye,
> 'Now goode swete, love me wel, I preye';
> And yond so goodly gan she me biholde,
> That to the deth myn herte is to hire holde.

Although Chaucer is following his source quite closely, it is only in this passage of the *Troilus* that a woman's look and her laughter move the hero to eternal devotion.[25]

When the eyes of the Italian lovers meet 'scolorocci il viso' (Inf. v, 132). Criseyde too is prone to these sudden changes of colour. Pandarus imputes this to fear:

> Ne chaungeth naught for fere so youre hewe! — TC II, 303

But it cannot be fear when we are told that

> Therewith al rosy hewed tho wex she, — TC II, 1198

as soon as she reads Troilus's letter; nor when she 'wex(ed) as red as rose' (TC II, 1256) when she sees Troilus in armour returning from battle. Hers is certainly modesty just like Francesca's. Dante tells us that:

> Lo pudore è un ritraimento d'animo da laide cose, con paura di cadere in quelle, sì come vedemo ne le vergini e ne le donne buone e ne li adolescenti, che tanto sono pudici, che non solamente là dove richesti o tentati sono di fallare, ma dove pure alcuna imaginazione di venereo compimento avere si puote, tutti si dipingono ne la faccia di palido o di rosso. (Convivio IV, xxv, 7f)

Francesca's tranquility, her 'senza alcun sospetto' (Inf v, 129) seems to suggest, on the other hand, her lack of prudence. Even Criseyde with all her preoccupation about her good name openly complains

that 'Prudence allas... (of) future tyme...koude I nat seen' (TC V, 744f). As Dante would have rightly said, both heroines did not make 'buona provedenza de le future' and that it is 'impossibile è essere savio chi non è buono' (Convivio IV, xxvii, 5).

For those who lack prudence, those who do not think of the future, will like Francesca be for ever tormented by:

> Nessun maggior dolore, Inf, v, 121
> Che ricordarsi del tempo felice
> Nella miseria.

This is essentially a Boethian concept and Francesca acknowledges Dante's 'Dottore' (Inf v, 123) who can be no other than 'Boece' whose book,

> quello non conosciuto da molti libro di Boezio, nel quale, cattivo e discacciato, consolato s'avea.[26] (Convivio, II, xii, 2)

Pandarus makes this philosophy his own and dutifully imparts it to Troilus even before the love-affair has materialized (TC III, 1625 – 8). There is a prophetic ring in Pandarus's words which casts a shadow on the happiness of the two lovers. Troilus actually throws Pandarus's philosophy back at him in answer to his frivolous solutions (TC IV, 482 – 3); and predictably becomes the leitmotif in Criseyde's lamentations throughout the last book.

Paolo and Francesca are compared by Dante to a pair of

> colombe dal disio chiamate Inf v, 82
> Con l'ali aperte e ferme, al dolce nido.

The dove is the bird of Venus and certainly the symbol of lust. But in Christian symbolism the dove stands for innocence. William of Shoreham calls Mary:

> Thou art the colvere of Noe
> That broughte the braunche of olive tre. (A Song to Mary)

Francesca remains a paradox – a union of lust and innocence. And, I am sure that Chaucer would have gone with De Sanctis, the prince of the Italian romantic critics, when he says:

> La poesia della donna è l'esser vinta, invano ripugnate contro quella ferrata necessità che Dante ha espressa con rara energia nella frase: 'Amor...a null'amato amar perdona'. Ma contrastando e soggiacendo ella serba immacolata l'anima, quel non so che di molle, puro, verecondo e delicato, che è il femminile, 'l'essere gentile e puro'.[27]

These are the very qualities that inform Chaucer's Criseyde. There is no real perversion in Criseyde. Like Francesca, Criseyde's sudden capitulation to Diomede makes her sin more of an actus homini than an actus humani.[28] Francesca accepts Paolo's love before her Will and her Reason have time to come into play. And practically the same can be said of Criseyde. Like Francesca she too was holding out until the fatal 'punto' when Diomede is seriously wounded and desperately needs her love. As Francesca cannot resist Amor, Criseyde cannot resist pity, 'doloresi de l'altrui male', which makes her constitutionally[29] (TC V, 813) 'tendreherted, slydynge of corage' (TC V, 825). Dante reminds us that:

> l'uomo è degno di loda e di vituperio solo in quelle cose che sono in sua podestà di fare o di non fare: ma in quelle ne le quali non ha podestà non merita nè vituperio nè loda, però che l'uno e l'altro è da rendere ad altrui, avvenga che le cose siano parte de l'uomo medesimo. (Convivio III, iv, 6f)

Dante continues to explain that certain characteristics are absolutely beyond our control like beauty and ugliness in a person for which he has to thank or blame only nature.[30].

This yoking of passion and innocence which we have noted in Francesca can best be seen in the *Troilus* in the consummation scene. It is true that Criseyde encourages Troilus when he comes round from his swoon. But the picture we get in the *Troilus* has very little to do with the corresponding scene in Boccaccio. Troilo asks Criseida:

> sì ch'io t'abbia in braccio — Fil 3, 32
> Ignuda sì come il mio cor disia.
> Ed ella allora: ve' che me ne spaccio;
> E la camicia sua gittata via,
> Nelle sue braccia si raccolse avaccio;
> E stringendo l'un l'altro con fervore,
> D'amor sentiron l'ultimo valore.

This is not the kind of love we expect from Troilus and Criseyde. And Chaucer rises to the occasion with one of the most beautiful and most idyllic scenes in English literature. Criseyde retains that virginal quality which sublimates the sexual act:

Hire armes smale, hire streghte bak and softe, TC III, 1247
Hire sydes longe, flesshy, smothe, and white
He gan to stroke, and good thrift bad ful ofte
Hire snowisshe throte, hire brestes rounde and lite;
Thus in this hevene he gan hym to delite,
And therwithal a thousand tyme hire kiste,
That what to don, for joie unnethe he wiste.

Chaucer's accent is on beauty, the 'bella persona' (Inf v, 101) which becomes the means wherwith they 'Felten in love the grete worthynesse' (TC III, 1316). And although the phrase remains a literal translation from Boccaccio, because love is now subordinate to Reason (TC III, 1121), Troilus's love gains a Dantean dimension. In Dante 'valore' means virtue (Pur vii, 114), the Supreme Good (Pur x, 74), and God Himself (Par ix, 105).

Of course, Criseyde's other love is a totally different matter. Even if we consider that she grants her love to Diomede as a sort of reflex action, an actus hominis, precipitated by her emotions for which only Nature is responsible, fragile, constitutionally 'slydynge of corage' (TC V, 825), pathologically good suffering from a surfeit of courtly pitè, yet, as both Aquinas and Augustine agree there are things, and her betrayal we feel is one of them, which can in no way be justified; and this holds also true of Francesca, even though we, like the two poets, do not find it in our hearts to outright condemn them as we should.

Francesca becomes for Chaucer a point of departure, a 'bozzetto' for his full length portrait of Criseyde. Francesca is not like Beatrice the 'eroina d'una civiltà nuova'[31]. She is the eternal woman as understood by Chaucer and his audience; and Chaucer, the ever – gallant poet accepts her and loves her notwithstandingly. She is what the Trush describes in the medieval poem 'Though fair and mild of mien; False and fickle...'[32] But if Criseyde moves from one relationship to the other without much resistance, she does this not without great pain.

Criseyde is Chaucer's first fully realised female character. Emily, her closest is reduced by Chaucer to a simple causa belli, flat and rather uninteresting. However, Criseyde shares with Emily and the Formel Eagle certain fundamental characteristics. They all show the same lack of enthusiasm regarding their lovers' approaches. One must also remember Emily's easy transference of loyalty from

her dead lover to the 'victor' in spite of her protestations of eternal love on Arcite's death-bed. In the *Troilus,* especially for Criseyde, it seems that Troilus and Troy are one; and when Criseyde arrives at the Greek camp she is easily convinced that Troy is doomed. In her eyes Diomede becomes the new victor. It is true that of the three heroines, she is the only one who betrays a lover, and none had a lover comparable to Troilus. While no extenuating causes can ever justify, yet, her resemblence to the other ladies who come before her might somewhat explain her behaviour. One should also remember that Ypolita was won by Theseus on the field. There seems to be an unconfessed truth that women have to look after their material interests in this man's world if they are to survive.

Thumbing through the *Convivio* Chaucer comes across the motivation of love in friendship, that is 'o per utilitade, o per diletto, o per onestade' (Convivio III, xi, 8), a variant of which is wailed out by Dido in the *House* (HF 305f). Dante following Aristotle says that when friendship is founded on some advantage to be received, what the friend thinks of, is really his own good (Ethics 8, 3). Dante practically paraphrases Aristotle:

> l'amistà per diletto fatta, o per utilitade, non è vera amistà ma per accidente, si come l'Etica ne dimostra (9)... l'amistà per onestade fatta è vera e perfetta (11).

With the disappearance of the motive, love will itself fade away unless it is 'per onestade'. Ironically enough, Criseyde's foreboding of death if and when separated from Troilus, 'Rootelese moot grene soone dye' (TC IV, 770), not only remains unfulfilled, but her fear disposes her to turn to Diomede for 'governaunce' (TC III, 401).

It is Pandarus, the 'cause causyng' (TC IV, 829) who points out to Criseyde the 'utilitade' in loving Troilus by constantly relating Troilus to Hector (TC II, 158, 171, 240) when Criseyde recognises Hector as her protector (TC I, 110f). Antigone lingers on the 'diletto' of love with her song ((TC II, 827). One feels that the 'onestade' element: 'That love hym bet than he hymself' (TC IV, 900) exists only so long as the other two elements are operative. These elements depend very much on the lover's physical presence. In underlining Troilus's virtue, Criseyde declares in exemplary Midon fashion that she did not 'rewe on (his) destresse' (TC IV, 1670) because he was the son of a king, that is, in her precarious situation

particularly, for 'utilitade', nor for the 'diletto', 'ne veyn delit' (TC IV, 1667) no not for 'pompe, array, nobleye, or eke richesse', but for something intrinsic and above any criticism – moral value grounded upon truth. This all sounds very creditable, and of course this all reflects very positively on Criseyde herself, for preferring, as she says, virtue to fun and power. But what exactly does Criseyde mean by truth? In the translations of Boethius there seems to be a strong connection between truth, that is loyalty, and truth the verum.[33] But we suspect that she was more interested in the truth that served her best, loyalty. It is in Troilus that the two meanings of truth merge, when he says that God Himself furthers truth (TC V, 1707). But there is no denying that she still does service, like Beatrice herself, as an objective correlative, in that her beauty is still the image of Paradise, and that it is through his love for her that Troilus transcends the earthly. Her greatest virtue is that she seconds Troilus's love, and therefore her beauty acts as a catalyst in bringing out his love and as a consequence his gentillesse. Paradoxically, Troilus's true gentillesse is severely exercised by her transgression. It is purified by his pain, fortified by his virtue, and always under the control of his Reason.[34] And when the end comes, 'Swich fyn hath, lo, this Troilus for love!' (TC V, 1828) like the 'donne antiche e i cavalieri', his 'lighte goost' (TC V, 1808) instead of being 'al vento esser leggieri' (Inf v, 74) in the infernal 'briga' (Inf v, 48)

> ful blisfully is went TC V, 1808
> Up to the holughnesse of the eighte spere.

Troilus's love is always and uniformly 'amor d'animo'; and his Reason is never subject to the passions.

In spite of the fact that Chaucer purges the love of Troilus and Criseyde of all that is vulgar and offensive in the original, yet their love is consummated love. Chaucer shows some concern for his audience who still felt that 'spirit and flesh were fundamentally opposed'.[35] No amount of argument that they, the audience, were governed by different times and customs (TC II, 37f) would have sufficiently explained away the fleshy aspect of Troilus's love with a good section of his audience. However, Troilus being a pagan is ruled by natural morality, and it is Virgil in Dante who represents natural morality. Dante's Virgil considered to be sinful only that

which goes which contrary to Reason. Now, the state of being man cannot tolerate an imbalance between the emotions and Reason. When one totally excludes the other, as in the case of the early Troilus, man just stops being man. Virgil in the *Purgatorio* (xvii, 91) tells us that nobody is without love. And Aquinas says that passion in its broad sense

> pertains to the perfection of moral goodness that a man should be moved towards the good not only by the will but also by his sensitive appetite. (ST, Ia, Iae, 24, 3)

For Chaucer the audience must have been a formidable problem, especially because of the intimate rapport which existed between him and his listeners. It was very difficult for them to consider a pagan, and what is more in their view a fornicator, ever able to qualify for salvation through his virtue. And so Chaucer prefers to offer alternative and more familiar solutions. On the other hand, Chaucer addresses his work to Gower and Strode who were certainly as knowledgeble as the best in Europe; and whose names also served as a sort of testimonial, a guarantee of Chaucer's good intentions.

Let us consider Troilus's swoon as an example of how his audience would have reacted. Chaucer might have possibly been influenced by a passage in the *Convivio:*

> Dov'è da sapere che quanto l'agente più al paziente sè unisce, tanto più forte è però la passione, sì come per la sentenza del Filosofo in quella Da Generatione si può comprendere; onde, quanto la cosa desiderata più appropiqua al desiderante, tanto lo desiderio è maggiore, e l'anima, più passionata, più si unisce a la parte concupiscibile e più abbandona la ragione. (III, x, 2)

Chaucer's audience would have understood the part about the patient which Chaucer had already used in the *Book* (BD 39); besides, French literature was full of it. But they would have hardly been expected to associate this with Troilus's swoon. Troilus's passion robs Reason of its due regality,[36] and he, like Dante for Francesca, falls 'come corpo morto cadde'[37] (Inf v, 142). Slowly his mind and his Reason regain their ascendancy – 'bet mynde and reason to hym take' (TC III, 1121) – so that it is under the full control of Reason that Troilus feels the full worth of love. All this was beyond the comprehension of his audience because they were never really exposed to serious literature of this kind.

Troilus is incapable of any sexual initiative, and not only does he have to rely on Pandarus, but he has to be instigated by Criseyde herself. In this sense Pandarus is a humanising agent. It is true that as 'amore sensuale' it is in his very nature to overplay his hand. He gets his verve from the very love he represents. But he is, as a person 'dissimile di stato' who gives his best 'con tanta sollicitudine di prontezza' and the 'mostramento de la buona volontade' (Convivio III, i, 8) so as to preserve his friendship with Troilus and also to reduce the gap that exists between himself and his lord. So both as 'amore sensuale' and as his role, as a character in the Romance, it is he who encourages Troilus's 'appetito naturale che de la divina grazia surge...ne li uomini e ne le bestie ha similutudine' (Convivio IV, xxii, 5).

Pandarus therefore saves Troilus from a Petrarchianism, narcissistic and ineffectual which we find in the Canticus Troili, and makes the fruition of his love possible. There is a relapse after Criseyde leaves for the Greek camp, which marks the beginning of the second phase of Troilus's double sorrow (TC V, 638f). This time Chaucer improvises on Petrarch's 'Passa la nave mia...' (In Vita 189) retaining a chordic sequence of boat, stars, darkness, Charibidis, and death. It seems that Chaucer fully understood Petrarch's inertia and the way he unpacked his heart in words – words for which Chaucer had great admiration (Ck's T 31). But Pandarus presses for a conclusion and he contributes towards a symbiosis of passion and Reason which fails to materialise in the *Parlement* (PF 632), succeeds only tenuously with Palamon in the *Knight's Tale*, and triumphs in the *Troilus* –

> La vertù è una cosa mista di nobiltade (perfect according to Reason) e di passione; ma perchè la nobiltade vince in quella, e la vertù dinominata da essa, è appellata bontade. (Convivio IV, xx, 2)

Criseyde sums it all up on their final night together when she tells Troilus: 'youre resoun bridlede your delit' (TC IV, 1678) in other words the 'appetito' is 'cavalcato de la ragione' (Convivio IV, xxvi, 6). Troilus's love is therefore 'bontade'. And like Folco, we would rather remember the sin, if it be sin, as occasion for love's potency:

> Non de la colpa, ch'a mente non torna Par ix, 013
> Ma del valor ch'ordinò e provide.

This 'valor', this potency, this love's 'worthynesse' (TC III, 1316), can be no other than God Himself[38]. Love has transhumanised Troilus, and love has given him 'intelletto d'amore', Reason-in-Love, which is part and parcel of Universal Reason, that is Sapience. It is the wish of God Himself,

> that actour is of kynde — TC III, 1765
> That with his bond, Love of his virtu liste
> To cerclen hertes alle, and faste bynde,
> That from his bond no wight the wey out wiste.

The Trojan Prince in his goodness and justice must have surely made Chaucer think of Dante's glorification of Rifeo Troiano, the Trojan hero who died defending his country against the Greeks in the same way as Troilus defends the city to the very end, and as 'Scipion' Africanus for the 'comoun profyt' (PF 47). This is what Dante says of Rifeo:

> Chi crederebbe giù nel mondo errante — Par xx, 67
> Che Rifeo Troiano in questo tondo
> Fosse la quinta delle luci santi.
>
> Ora conosce assai di quel che il mondo
> Veder non può della divina grazia,
> Benchè sua vista non discerna il fondo.

Now Ripheus is mentioned by Virgil in the *Aeneid*. Chaucer like Dante must have been quite familiar with the passage:

> Ripheus fell also, he, the most just of the Trojans, who never wavered from the right; yet the gods regarded not his righteousness.[39] (BK II, 426f)

Dante's Virgil had already renounced these gods.[40] And, as DH Higgins[41] says, the god's indifference to Ripheus's righteousness 'must have tempted Dante to give it the lie, vindicating a new dimension of divine love that antiquity could not have conceived'. Chaucer must certainly have sensed this discrepancy between the pagan gods' insensitivity in Virgil and the love of the Christian God in Dante. It is more than likely that Chaucer mentally read Troilus for Rifeo Troiano. This would have considerably encouraged Chaucer to reward his pagan prince with heaven; and also would have been good reason enough to trigger off Chaucer's full-blooded condemnation of the pagan gods, their rites, and the poets who

immortalise them, before he turns to give praise to the Holy Trinity in Dante's very own words and to pray to Christ and his Holy Mother[42] to intercede on our behalf.

It has been suggested that Chaucer might have been influenced in his denunciation of the gods by Emilia's –

> O dipietati Iddii senza mercede, Tes xi, 42
> Or che è questo che vi è il piacere?
> Dov'è l'amore antico, ove la fede
> Che solevate portare a'mondani?

But there is no 'amore antico' or 'fede' in Chaucer, and his outright attack on the gods and anything that supports them, seems to owe more to Dante's unvoiced condemnation than to Boccaccio's *Teseide* to which, it is true, Chaucer owed the original idea of translating Troilus to the eighth sphere. But even when Chaucer is following a source, he does not feel bound in any way, as we can very well see by the way Chaucer handles Arcite's death with his presumed ignorance contradicting the original:

> His spirit chaunged hous and wente ther, Kt'sT 2809
> As I cam nevere, I kan nat tellen wher.

The enormity of the whole thing rested in the fact that Chaucer, as a Christian, could not justify Troilus's ascent theologically, when even Aquinas would not sanction the reward of a pagan beyond 'Elisos' (TC IV, 790). The only serious Christian precedents Chaucer knew of were in Dante; and Dante, too, was not very well known for his orthodoxy.

Chaucer raises Troilus like Ripheus, higher than the unbaptised Virgil suspended without hope but with desire (Inf iv, 34 – 5), who in Dante stands for natural morality. Ripheus was made an exception because of his honesty and justice, and God opened his eyes to our future redemption.[43] And for Chaucer, Dante was very much in the right when he says:

> Un uomo nasce alla riva Par xix, 70
> Dell'Indo, e quivi non è che ragoni
> Di Cristo, nè chi legga, nè chi scriva;
> E tutti i suoi voleri ed atti buoni
> Sono, quanto ragione umana vede,
> Senza peccato in vita od in sermoni;
> Muore non battezzato e senza fede;
> Ov'è questa giustizia che il condanna?
> Ov'è la colpa sua se, egli non crede...

The key to Troilus's salvation is, as we have previously pointed out, Reason. The *Troilus* is a Boethian tragedy with the hero battling against Fortune. But Fortune in the *Troilus* is Christian Fortune and only seemingly inimical, for, in reality, Fortune has a divinely ordained role. Troilus, himself, honours Fortune above all other gods (TC IV, 267). His pessimism is dramatically justified in that it is brought about by the conflict between Reason and desire. He is so 'with desir and reson twight' (TC IV, 572), and he is 'so fallen in despeir that day' (TC IV, 954) that it is no wonder that he becomes fatalistic. Not even Pandarus can come out with anything sensible. To his solution, 'Go ravisshe here ne kanstow nat for shame!' (TC IV, 530), Dante would have replied that, 'la forza...e la ragione par essere contraria' (Convivio IV, iv, 8). Troilus is in a double-bind situation and Chaucer gives us a true-to-life clinical picture with its concomitant symptoms of passivity and alienation of the body. Although, Fortune in the *Troilus* determines certain situations, it never really constrains anyone to react in any particular way. Chaucer might have very well chosen Strode (together with Chaucer's friend and mentor John Gower), 'to correct' (TC V, 1858) the poem, in the knowledge that Strode was on the side of free-will. Strode 'strongly contested Wycliffe's doctrine of predestination as destroying all hope among men and denying free-will'.[45] In the *Commedia* Dante turns Fortune into an independent force, an intelligence, which 'exercises' the individual for his own good (Inf vii, 61 - 96). In the *Convivio*, however, Dante refers us to Aristotle:

> quanto l'uomo più subiace a lo 'ntelletto, tanto meno subiace alla fortuna (IV, xi, 9).

It is not the absence of Fortune, but man's power to react autonomously and rationally that constitutes free-will[46]. Troilus's translation to the eighth sphere is proof enough of Fortune's providential role, and in itself constitutes a denunciation of that determinism, blind to all personal merit, of the pagan world with its 'corsed olde rites', and its 'rascaille' of gods which were given form and support in 'olde clerkis speche...poetrie...(and) bokes' (TC V, 1849f).

Troilus's love for Criseyde, however much misplaced, is in reality a search for God, and consequently carries the germ of its own destruction. (TC.V. 1824) Like Dante's pilgrim, Troilus has mistaken

the house (casa), even if it is the 'hous of houses' (TC V, 541), for home (l'albergo). But this does not make his search for the 'sommo bene' (Convivio IV, xii, 15) any less valid even if he mistakenly believes that Criseyde is the ultimate objective:

> Onde vedemo li parvuli desiderare massimamente un pomo; e poi, più procedendo, desiderare uno augellino; e poi, più oltre, desiderare bel vestimento; e poi un cavallo; e poi una donna... (Convivio IV, xii, 16);

and this goes on until the pilgrim comes to the ultimate vision. We first meet Troilus when he was very well satisfied with what he had – military glory, the 'cavallo'. But as soon as he sets eyes on Criseyde he momentari neglects his military ambitions and moans for her love. But with his love for this woman, Troilus discovers universal love, and when the woman is taken away, he is left with this great love, this charity, which is God Himself in whom he finds his 'hom fro wordly vanyte'. (TC V, 1837).

Troilus is supported by one other great virtue – humility. In the *Commedia,* humility constitutes the first cornice of the *Purgatorio*. The humble souls are like

> vermi Purg x, 124
> Nati a formar l'angelica farfalla,
> Che vola alla giustizia senza schermi.

Troilus is the humble grub who has matured to his fullest moral development and the gates of heaven open to him without defence.

Dante compares God to the craftsman who prefers his best work to all the rest:

> così Dio ama più la persona umana ottima che tutte l'altre; e però che la sua larghezza non si stringe da necessitate d'alcuno termine, non ha riguardo lo suo amore al debito di colui che riceve, ma soperchia quello in dono e in beneficio di virtù e di grazia. (Convivio III, vi, 10)

We feel all along that Troilus is God's special work. And when Troilus, from the very heights of happiness, his 'beatitude' 'which cannot co-exist with desire which is 'cosa difettiva' (Convivio, III, xv, 3', falls into the unholy grip of jealousy (Convivio III, xv, 10), he transforms the 'wikked spirit...woods jealouseye' (TC V, 1222) into 'knyghthood and ... greet myght' (TC V, 1754) in defence of

the city. This is the 'comoun profyt' (PF 47) that is in the words of Cicero himself, 'saving, helping, enlarging' the country[47]. Dante says:

> sì come dice Aristotile, l'uomo è animale civile, per che a lui si richiede non pur a sè ma altrui essere utile (Convivio, IV, xxvii, 4).

Troilus's death on the field in defence of the City qualifies him for Tully's passport to heaven, and might have helped to dispose Chaucer's audience to consider Troilus, even though a pagan, for the eternal reward. But we feel that his real merit lies elsewhere – it is Love which brings him to 'heven to solas' (TC I, 31).

Love tells the young Dante in the *Vita Nova:*

> Ego centrum circuli, cui simili modo se habent circumferente partes; tu autem non sic (XII, 15).

Love is the centre of the circle and Dante was not as yet. But what about Troilus, whose love like that of Cunizza (Par ix, 33) proceeds from Venus the authoress of love and charity? He, who had gone all through his double-sorrow for love with humility, patience and forebearance; and firmly and constantly under the unbending rule of Reason and who now, could not unloven his unfaithful woman even for a quarter of a day? Even in his just recriminations he can still feel compassion for Criseyde:

> Allas, youre name of trouthe TC V, 1686
> Is now fordon, and that is al my routhe.

Has he reached the final rung of the Scala Amoris?[48] We feel satisfied that he has.

With the ascent of the lover to heaven, Chaucer has come a long way from the time he dismissed Courtly Love as a social malaise in the *House*, and started looking for an alternative. In the *Troilus,* Chaucer accepts Dante's concept that the lover once under the aegis of Reason, passes from the love of a woman, that is particular love, to universal love, the 'holy bond of thynges'(TC III, 1261). But Chaucer does not share Dante's enthusiasm for woman as a moral guide. Chaucer does not find his heroine in *Paradiso* but in the *Inferno*. In Chaucer there is a veritable schism between the beauty of a woman and the woman herself. The woman plays an important role by simply being beautiful, consents to her being loved, and co-operates with the lover. This would send the lover into orbit,

so to speak, and he would successfuly fend on his own to the extent that his tribulations caused by his lady's inconstancy would further consolidate and refine his virtue – virtue which is the very fruit of that love provoked by the beauty of the lady herself.

In Dante's *Convivio* two roads lead to the ultimate vision. Troilus being a pagan could only take the long way home via beauty and love. But for the Christian this is neither necessary nor altogether desirable. Chaucer prays his young audience to love Christ only, that is to take the road that 'direttissimo vae a la cittade' (Convivio IV, xii, 19), if they do not want to fare like Troilus because of 'feynede love' (TC V, 1848)

With Cimabue,[49] the life-model becomes indispensibile for any form of art, and Chaucer might have embraced this notion on his travels in Italy. But it is Dante in the Francesca episode who really taught Chaucer that real life was much more complex and gripping than the conventional fiction to which he and his audience were accustomed; and also, that great art could capture one fleeting moment and immortalise it with all its pulsating vigour. Chaucer must have had a real person, a Francesca, as a model for his Criseyde whom he made live through the complexities of her own character, and react naturally to the exotic situations dictated by Boccaccio's matière.

There is no doubt that Chaucer considered Dante as the giant with an unimpeded, far-reaching, and coherent vision. However, Chaucer, could not help recognising the several giants on whose shoulders Dante stood and towered and whom, by and large, Dante himself openly acknowledged. This might have encouraged Chaucer to consider himself an original poet in his own right. In the *House*, Chaucer, fresh from his Italian travels, declares his autonomy openly[50]:

> I wot myself best how y stonde HF 1878
> For that I drye, or what I thynke,
> I will myselven al hyt drynke,
> Certeyn, for the more part.
> As fer forth as I kan myn art,

In the *Troilus* Chaucer reaffirms his autonomy in a more complete even if more subtle way. When Chaucer 'si vuole...parlare a l'opera medesima, quasi a confortare quella' (Convivio II, ii, 15), and calls his poem proudly and endearingly 'litel myn tragedy' (TC V, 1786)

he is more than just defending his paternity. He is focusing our attention on the double sorrow and its earthly consequences, rather than the hero's translation to heaven which was essentially the most revolutionary part of the poem. Chaucer must have been well aware that his poem in its totality conformed to Dante's definition of a comedy which the title of Dante's masterpiece itself made pretty obvious. Dante writes to Cangrande:

> Comoedia vero inchoat aspertitatem alicuius rei, sed eius materia prospere terminature...

It is true that in the *Troilus*, Dante becomes Chaucer's fixed point of reference, but Chaucer turns the romance form into a vehicle for philosophic exposition. Throughout the whole poem Chaucer offers solutions perfectly intelligible to his general audience, while at the same time he posits more recondite concepts for his select circle of friends. By bringing Troilus and Criseyde together, Chaucer very ably weds the ideal to the real which constitutes the core of the dramatic interplay of ideas in the poem. He also felt that in his *Troilus*, Chaucer had effected with success the fusion of the Courtly and the Christian. The transcience of 'that blynde lust the which that may nat laste' (TC V, 1824) poetically highlighted with Pandarus' medieval topos 'farwel al the snow of ferne yere!' (TC V, 1176) is transformed through the governance of Reason into the stabile and permanent, the 'pleyn felicite that is in hevene above' (TC V, 1818), God Himself 'eterne on lyve' (TC V, 1863). Now having seen his *Troilus* through with his 'veritade e...vertude' (Convivio III, ii, 12), it suddenly dawns on Chaucer that he could also 'più virilmente poetare' (Convivio I, i, 16) yet in other ways. And remembering his Pandarus and the tradition to which he belonged, the fabliau[51], he expresses his intention to turn to comedy[52], that is laughter and mundane things, a genre not altogether congenial to the Divine Poet. The word 'comedye' (TCV. 1788) underlines the separateness of the *Troilus* from the Italian poet the term itself evokes.

And so Chaucer seems to deliberately leave out Dante from the august company (TC V, 1729) whose steps Chaucer recommends his *Troilus* ever to kiss. However, the ending of the poem taken bodily from the *Paradiso* (xiv, 28 – 30) without the least attempt to camouflage the lines, is not only a fitting conclusion to the

English Romance and to the Italian cluster as a whole but also a worthy tribute to Dante. That the *Troilus* ends with lines from Dante is also an intimation of things to come. If we consider the Dantean echoes in the *Legend of Good Women* as an overspill of the Italian cluster, we are still confronted with a corpus of reminiscences and five unequivocal mentionings of Dante by name, four of which in that very 'comedye' Chaucer was so very keen to make.

So Chaucer turns to the cruder side of love-making, and the romantic lover becomes the moony victim of the unsavoury jokes of his beloved. Chaucer seems to suppress more and more the ideal in favour of the actual. The high sentiments of the *Troilus* give way to irony, satire, and robust pranks; and Chaucer's concern in his Italian cluster about the true nature of love, to a humurous and sometimes somewhat cynical discussion on 'maistrie' (WB'sT 818) in marriage, in which at least seven pilgrims are directly involved. When Chaucer returns to romantic love in the *Franklin's Tale*, it is more to highlight the need of bringing Courtly Love within the legal confines of marriage and to lend his voice to the growing feeling of the time. But Dante had without any doubt become part of Chaucer as much as the *Roman*. And even if Dante no longer commands a central position, the Italian poet turns up from time to time with some elegant phrase, or with an episode, or as a 'modern' to brighten up some concept which had gone stale. Nowhere in the *Canterbury Tales* is there the least shadow of resistance to Dante of any kind. Chaucer for ever shows the highest esteem for the Italian poet. Whether Chaucer goes to Dante for the invocation to the Virgin Mary, or as the authority on gentillesse, regardless whether Chaucer acknowledges his debt or not, he most willingly accords the 'wise poete of Florence' (WB'sT 1125) that very same deference he has for 'Virgile, Ovide, Omer, Lucan, and Stace' (TC V, 1792).

Notes

1. Quotations from Chaucer's works are taken from F.N. Robinson (ed.), *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer,* London, OUP, Second Edition, 1957.
2. See Francesco De Sanctis, *Antologia Critica sugli Scrittori d'Italia,* a cura di Luigi Russo, Florence 1925, i, p. 297.

3. Quotations from the *Divine Comedy* are from the *La Divina Commedia* a cura di Eugenio Camerini, Milan 1878. For the *Vita Nova* from *Dante Alighieri: Vita Nuova e Rime* a cura di Guido Davico Bonino, Milan 1985. For the *Convivio, Dante Alighieri: Il Convivio* ridotto a miglior lezione e commentato da G. Busnelli e G. Vandelli con Introduzione di Michele Barbi, Florence 1964. For Boccaccio's *Filostrato,* N.E. Griffin and A.B. Myrick (eds.), *The Filostrato of Giovanni Boccaccio,* New York, 1967 and for the *Teside*, Guiseppe Antonelli (ed), *La Teseide di Giovanni Boccaccio*, Venice 1838. For Petrarch, *Francesco Petrarca, Il Canzoniere*, a cura di Maria Amalia Camozzi, Milan 1986.

4. I cannot agree with Howard H. Schless in *Chaucer and Dante, A Revaluation,* Oklahoma 1984, p. 113f, when he says: 'Nor is there any parallel in *Troilus* to "amore...d'animo", which is elective by virtue of man's free will'.

5. The validity of a counsel depended very much on the suitability and the integrity of the counsellor as is well brought out by Dame Prudence in the *Tale of Melibee.* There cannot possibly be a better counsellor than Reason itself. In the *Purgatorio* (xviii, 62) 'consiglio' stands for the 'innate power which counsels you'; in *Paradiso* (xxi, 72) 'al consiglio ch'l mondo governa', that is Divine Providence; in *Purgatorio* (i, 47) 'consiglio' means the law. And the law is the right application of Reason, that is 'la ragione scritta è arte di bene e d'equitade (*Convivio*, IV, ix, 8).

6. In the *Franklin's Tale* Chaucer emphasises the sacredness of Truth – 'Trouthe is the hyeste thyng that man may kepe' (1479).

7. See Paparelli Gioacchino, 'Dante e il Trecento'; and Tommaso Pisanti, 'Dante nell'Europa del Trecento e del Quattrocento' in *Dante nel Pensiero e nella Esegi dei Secoli XIV e XV,* Florence 1975. E. Cavallari is quoted by Pisanti on p. 466.

8. See Piero Boitani, *Chaucer and the Imaginary World of Fame,* New Jersey 1984, p. 83.

9. In all medieval literature, Reason and Nature work hand in hand. In Alanus's *Anticlaudinus*, Reason is the chief counsellor of Nature. In the *Roman* (19055f) Reason is the daughter of God, completes Nature's work by giving Man understanding and intellect which differentiates him from the mere beast, and is against that love which is 'Moore for delit than world to multiplye' (*N'sP'sT* 3345). In the *Romaunt* Chaucer translates:

> God hymsilf, that is so high, Rom 3210
> Made hir Reason after his ymage,
> And yaff hir sith sich avauntage
> That she hath myght and seignorie
> To kepe men from all folye;
> Whoso wole trowe hir lore,
> Ne may offenden nevermore.

In *Convivio* III, ii. Dante discusses the divinity of Reason:

> E quella anima che tutte queste potenze comprende, [e] è perfettisima di tutte l'altre, è l'anima umana, la quale con la nobiltade, de la potenza ultima, cioè ragione, partecipa de la divina natura a guisa di sempiterna intelligenzia (14)...Onde si puote omai vedere che è mente: che è quella fine e preziossima parte de l'anima che è deitade (19).

10. See J.L. Lowes, 'The Prologue of *The Legend of Good Women* Considered in its Chronological Relations', *PMLA*, xx, 1905, pp. 851 – 3.

11. Theseus exemplifies Dante's practical Reason which manifests itself in honesty, prudence, temperance, fortitude and justice (*Convivio*, IV, xxii, 10f). But he is also Dante's man in the third age:

> lo vecchio per più esperienza dee essere giusto, e non essaminatore di legge, se non in quanto lo suo diritto giudicio e la legge è tutto uno quasi e, quasi sanza legge alcuna, dee giustamente sè guidare...(*Convivio*, IV, xxvi, 14)

For 'legge' see note 5 above.

12. In 'What Dante Meant to Chaucer' in Piero Boitani (ed.) *Chaucer and the Italian Trecento*, Cambridge 1988, Boitani underlines Chaucer's efforts to create something equivalent to the *Commedia;* in 'The *Monk's Tale:* Dante and Boccaccio', *Medium Aevium*, xlv, 1976, p. 63, Boitani emphasises the distance between Dante's and Chaucer's audiences.

13. G. Brulè, II, 22. Quoted by Joseph Coppin, *Amour et Marriage dans la Litterature Française du Nord au Moyen-Age*, Paris 1960, p. 40.

14. Philipa Tristram, *Figures of Life and Death in Medieval English Literature*, London 1976, Ch 2, p. 50.

15. Dante also calls this kind of love 'bontade' (*Convivio* IV, xx, 2).

16. When Troilus tries to convince Criseyde that the only way out is to elope, he has to tell her what provisions they have for the future. However, he feels embarrassed to discuss money matters, and apologetically tells her: 'And vulgarly to speken of substance of tresour...' (TC IV, 1513/4). This reminds us of 'le divizie...non possono dare nobilitade...naturalmente siano vili, e per la viltade siano contrarie a la nobilitade' (*Convivio* IV, x, 9).

17. Reason is of two kinds – 'pratico e speculativo' (*Convivio* IV, xxii, 110).

18. See also Walter Clyde Curry, *Chaucer and the Medieval Sciences*, London 1960, Ch 11, p. 302.

19. See *Dante Alighieri: La Divina Commedia*, a cura di Umberto Bosco e Giovanni Reggio, Florence 1979:

> Ora egli sa che l'amore che eleva, che è segno di anima nobile, è un altro amore (not like that of Paolo and Francesca); quello che non ha bisogno di alcuna 'sensibile dilettazione', anzi addirittura di qualsiasi corresponsione: che, posto in essere dalla bellezza, è tuttavia soltanto sforzo interiore di migliorare; è insomma amore-virtù, non amore-passione; neppure una passione che si nutre, o s'illude di nutrirsi, di virtù...p. 69.

20. Dante speaks of friends and lovers:

> le passioni de la persona amata entrano ne la persona amante, sì che l'amore de l'una si comunica ne l'altra, e così l'odio e lo desiderio e ogni altra passione. (*Convivio* IV, i, 2)

21. 'La surger nuovo fummo dal sabbione' (Inf. xv. 117) brings to a close the dialogue between Dante and Bruno Latini. Latini is in Hell because of his sexual deviance.

22. See J.A.W. Bennett, 'Chaucer, Dante and Boccaccio' in *Chaucer and the Italian Trecento, op. cit.*, p. 98.

23. Dante says: 'l'amistà per onestade fatta è vera e perfetta e perpetua' (*Convivio* III, xi, 10). At the moment of crisis Troilus does not feel all that sure about Criseyde's love (TC IV, 1417 f), and ironically pitches his shakey hopes upon Criseyde's pity and her truth:

> if routhe TC IV, 1490
> Remorde yow, or vertu of youre trouthe...

24. Even if Jupiter's Eagle approves of Chaucer's commitment to Courtly Love poetry in his youth (HF 604 f).

25. See B.A. Windeatt (ed.), *Geoffrey Chaucer, Troilus and Criseyde,* London 1984, p. 119 n.

26. It is not improbable that Chaucer's attention to both Boethius and Cicero was seriously drawn by Dante (*Convivio* II, xii, 2). It is true that Chaucer had been acquanted with both as they feature in the *Roman* which Chaucer knew very well. There are also references to Boethius in the *Book* (464). But one would have expected Chaucer to have put them to some real tangible purpose in the *Book,* which was after all a consolatio, had he really been familiar with their works.

27. Francesco de Sanctis in *Antologia Critica, op. cit.,* vol i, p. 164.

28. F.C. Copleston, *Aquinas,* Harmondsworth 1955, 1963, p. 187.

29. 'hire browes joynede jfere'. (TC V. 813) Brewer says: 'The philosopher and theologian Albertus Magnus considered joined eyebrows to be a sign of a treacherous nature'. *Troilus and Criseyde* (abridged) London 1969, 1971, p. 125.

30. See also Aquinas, *ST,* Ia, 83, 1.

31. See Giovannangiola Tarugi, 'La Donna nell'Umanesimo di Dante', in *Dante nel Pensiero nella Esegi dei Secoli XIV e XV,* op. cit., p. 170.

32. *The Trush and the Nightingale*, Betty Radice (ed), Medieval English Verse, Harmondsworth 1984, p. 74 – 5.

33. See Bernard L. Jefferson, *Chaucer and the Consolation of Philosophy of Boethius,* Princeton 1917, p. 119.

34. In *Convivio* III, xi, 14, Dante also says by way of example,

> '...fine de l'amistade vera è la buona dilezione, che procede dal convivere secondo l'umanitade propriamente, cioè secondo ragione'.

35. J.W. Lever, *The Elizabethan Love Sonnet,* London 1956, ch 5, p. 135. Both Dante and Chaucer (*Convivio* I, v, 9, TC II, 23f) speak about the changes in the language. Chaucer uses this to introduce the theme that customs are determined by time and place which somewhat excuses Troilus's fleshy love in the eyes of Chaucer's audience.

36. I am echoing Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (Bk II, Canto I, 1vii) in order to highlight the medieval belief in the primacy of Reason which goes well into the Renaissance.

37. In the *Inferno* Dante arms himself against pity:

> ed io sol uno Inf ii, 3
> M'apparecchiava a sostener la guerra
> Sì del cammino e sì della pietate,
> Che ritrarrà la mente, che non erra.

Mangalotti (quoted by Eugenio Camerini, *op. cit.,* p. 31 n) translates: 's'apparechiava a far forza a suo animo per non prendere pietà dei peccatori'. Dante's emotions, that is his pity, impair his Reason, and he has a passing death, until naturally his Reason is fully restored.

38. This is the recurrent meaning of 'valore' in *Par* ix, 105, l'eterno valore' *Pur* xv, 72, *Par* xxix, 143 etc.

39. W.F. Jackson Knight (tr), *The Aeneid,* Harmondsworth 1956, 1960, p. 64.

40. See J.H. Whitfield, *A Short History of Italian Literature,* Harmondsworth, 1960, p. 63.

41. See C.H. Sisson (tr), *Dante, The Divine Comedy,* London 1981, p. 661

42. In *The Trush and the Nightengale, op. cit.,* the Trush insists on the perfidy of women. The Nightengale's only reply is:

Through whom was all this world made new?
A maiden meek and mild,
Who bore in Betlehem a Son...
She knew of neither sin nor shame,
And truly Mary was her name...

And the Trush promises, out of respect for the Virgin Mother,

That of a wife's or maiden's fame
No harm I'll ever say...

It seems to me that there is a connection somehow between the thought of the poem and Chaucer's bringing in the Holy Mother of Christ just after Dante's lines on the Holy Trinity.

43. Dorothy L. Sayers, *Further Papers on Dante,* London 1957, p. 50.

44. See Peter Munz, *When the Golden Bough Breaks,* London 1973, p. 82.

45. B.A. Windeatt, *op. cit.,* p. 563 n.

46. Marco Lombardo explains the relationship between the power of the stars, free-will and God's greater law:

Lo ciel i vostri movimenti inizia, Pur. xvi, 73
Non dico tutti, ma, posto ch'io il dica,
Lume v'è dato a bene ed a malizia,
E libero voler, che, se fatica
Nelle prime battaglie col ciel dura,
Poi vince tutto, se ben si nutrica.
A maggior forza ed a miglior natura
Liberi soggiacete, e quella cria
La mente in voi, che il ciel non ha in sua cura.

47. D.S. Brewer, *op. cit.,* p. 102 n.

48. Howard H. Schless, *op cit,* p. 147, says: 'For *Troilus*, a poem profoundly informed by the widespread image of the scala amoris, these lines from Dante (*Par* xiv, 28 – 32, TC V, 1863 – 5) seem to epitomize all that Troilus has now discovered. In the course of the poem Troilus has climbed the ladder one rung at a time, which means that each preceding rung is necessary, and necessarily left, if understanding is to rise. The upper end of the scala disappears into heaven, in the kind of *o altitudo* that Troilus experiences and that causes him to look back and reject through new understanding.'

49. See A. Lipari, 'Laura di Petrarca', *Italica,* 1948, p. 201.

50. See Piero Boitani, *Chaucer and the Imaginary World of Fame, op. cit.,* p. 207.

51. See C. Muscatine, *Chaucer and the French Tradition,* Berkeley/Los Angeles, California 1957, p. 130f.
52. John of Trevisa in 1387 uses the word comedy to mean 'a branch of drama which adopts a humorous or familiar style and depicts laughable characters and incidents' in his translation of Higden's *Polichronicon* (Rolls I, 315) – 'Þere (in Sicily) was comedy a song of gestes first i founde'. See Comedy in *OED.* Dante refers to 'le scritture antiche de le comedie e tragedie latine' in *Convivio* I, v, 7. Besides, the idea of classical comedy was kept alive in England, as can be seen in *Dame Sirth* and other plays reminiscent of the Comoedie Hortinae. See William Tydeman, *The Theatre in the Middle Ages,* Cambridge 1978, p. 29.

TAMBURLAINE AND THE MAD PRIEST OF THE SUN

DAVID FARLEY-HILLS

The possible influence of Giordano Bruno on Christopher Marlowe has for long been a subject of speculation. In *Marlowe, Tamburlaine, and Magic*[1] J.R. Howe argued that Marlowe had been influenced by Bruno in depicting Tamburlaine as a 'magus' figure, while more recently Hilary Gatti has argued for signs of Bruno's influence in *Faustus.*[2] The most recent suggestions come from Charles Nicholl's account of Marlowe's murder,[3] where new evidence is presented linking the Italian and the Englishman. Quoting this well-known passage from Robert Greene's *Perimedes the Blacksmith*, where Green refers to 'that atheist Tamburlan', Nicholl argues that, in addition to references to Marlowe, the passage contains a reference to Bruno:

> I . . . had it in derision, for that I could not make my verses jet upon the stage in tragicall buskins, everie worde filling the mouth like the farburden of Bo-Bell, daring God out of heaven with that Atheist Tamburlan, or blaspheming with the mad preest of the sonne: but let me rather openly pocket up the Asse at Diogenes hand: then wantonlye set out such impious instances of intolerable poetrie: such mad and scoffing poets, that have propheticall spirits, as bred of Merlin's race; if there be anye in England that set the end of scollarisme in an English blanck verse, I thinke either it is the humor of a novice that tickles them with selfe-love, or to much frequenting the hot house ...hath swet out all the greatest part of their wits...[4]

Nicholl plausibly suggests that in 1587, when this was written, the reference to the mad priest of the sun could be expected to remind his readers immediately of the 'mad' Italian priest from the French Embassy in London who had not long since been seeming to defend a Copernican heliocentric view of the world in public both in Oxford and London and in works recently published in London such as the *Cena de le ceneri* (1584) and *De l'infinito universo e mundi* of the same year. I find this interpretation convincing,

in spite of the inaccuracy of its description of Bruno; for the description fits Bruno well as he might have appeared to educated Elizabethans and his notorious and flamboyant intervention into English intellectual life during his residence in England between 1583 and 1585 was still fresh in people's minds when Greene wrote. To the modern reader the phrase 'priest of the sun' might well seem a misnomer in that it is fundamental to Bruno's concept of a universe of infinite extension to reject the idea of the centrality of the sun. In the third dialogue of the *Cena de le ceneri,* for instance, in reply to his questioner's query about the centrality of the earth, Bruno counters by saying that both this and Copernicus's heliocentric view of the universe are mistaken because the universe is infinite and therefore without a centre:

> ...il Nolano...vuole il mondo essere infinito, e però non esser corpo alcuno in quello, al quale simplicemente convegna essere nel mezzo, o nell'estremo, o tra que'dua termini, ma per certe relazioni ad altri corpi e termini intenzionalmente appresi.[5]

On the other hand, the *Cena* both demonstrates how central Copernicus's insight was in helping Bruno to formulate his own concept of the universe and illustrates the understanding contemporary Englishmen had of Bruno's philosophical position. In the first dialogue, for instance, Teofilo (Bruno's spokesman) describes how two men were sent by a Court nobleman (scudiero regio) inviting him to explain 'his Copernicus and the other paradoxes of the new philosophy' (per intender il suo Copernico ed altri paradossi di sua nova filosofia[6]): here Bruno is assumed to be a disciple of Copernicus. Teofilo is asked by his questioner for his opinion on Copernicus and receives the reply: 'He is inferior to no other astronomer and greater than Ptolemy':

> Lui aveva un grave, elaborato, sollecito e maturo ingegno; uomo che non è inferiore a nessuno astronomo che sii stato avanti lui, se non per luogo di successione e tempo; uomo che, quanto al giudizio naturale, è stato molto superiore a Tolomeo, Ipparco, Eudoxo e tutti gli altri...[7]

It is easy therefore to see how Bruno came to be thought of as a disciple of Copernicus in England at this time. That he acted as a priest during his stay in England has now been established by John Bossy[8] and so the description 'priest of the sun' would seem to be appropriate enough in the circumstances.

That the passage also refers to Marlowe cannot be in doubt, for not only had Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* recently become a major success on the public stage, but the pun on Marlowe's name clinches the matter (Marlowe's name is sometimes spelt Marlin or Merling in contemporary documents).[9] Nicholl also suggests that a version of *Dr Faustus* might have been in existence to explain the reference to 'the end of scollarisme in an English blanck verse'. This seems improbable as the German version of the source of *Dr Faustus,* the *Historia von D. Iohan Fausten*, was not published until 1587 and Marlowe used an English translation of this. In any case an alternative interpretation of the phrase is possible as I shall argue in due course. But we need to ask why in this passage does Greene associate Marlowe and Bruno together and why in particular does the 'atheist' Tamburlaine lead him to recall in the same sentence the mad priest of the sun? If Greene was merely looking for examples of 'tragicall buskins', that is, stage rodomontade, Bruno would hardly fit the bill in the way *Tamburlaine* clearly does. The style of Bruno's Italian is eccentric and often extravagant, but is certainly not tragic (more usually it is comic) nor generally to be associated with the stage, although couched in the form of dialogue. It is true that Bruno had ventured into play writing in the *Candelaio* published in Paris in 1583, but this is a satirical comedy, not an exercise in tragic bombast. Greene may be, probably is, identifying the 'atheist' Tamburlaine with his creator. Marlowe's 'atheism' became legendary in his lifetime and the evidence that he was a man of extreme unorthodoxy by Elizabethan standards is too strong to allow of much doubt. Atheism at this period could include mere religious unorthodoxy, depending on your religious affiliations, but Marlowe's views seem to have gone beyond the usual bounds. But here again the connection with Bruno is not obvious. At the French Embassy Bruno was the Embassy's chaplain and declared a devotion to the Catholic Church throughout his life . It is true that many of his ideas were highly unorthodox and that he was eventually (after several years of interrogation in Rome) condemned to death by the Church as a heretic, but this was well into the future. Bruno's concept of the godhead is even now not easy to grasp – and indeed is to some extent contradictory. Nevertheless to a contemporary his clearer pronouncements would have seemed acceptable enough, as for instance when he describes the stars as

'those flaming bodies (which) are the ambassadors that announce the excellence of the glory and majesty of God' (Questi fiammeggianti corpi son que' ambasciatori che annunziano l'eccellenza de la gloria e maestà de Dio[10]). Even when he goes on to add that his philosophy envisages a deity not remote from ourselves, but 'anzi di dentro, più che noi medesmi siamo dentro a noi', he strays from orthodoxy more in intention than in the letter. This would not sound impossibly strange to an audience familiar with such biblical pronouncements as 'The kingdom of God is within you' (Luke 17, 21). To Greene and his British hosts in the middle of the 1580s Bruno would probably have appeared more a Catholic of unusual views (like Copernicus himself) than an atheist, even given the flexibility with which that word was used. In any case, from a purely intellectual point of view, there is a vast difference between Bruno's essentially optimistic view of man's rational capacity and his belief in God and the world of Marlowe's plays where humanity is depicted as cruel to the point of depravity and in *The Jew of Malta* in particular, cynical and hollow.

There was indeed a close connection between the two men that has only recently been discovered, although Greene was very unlikely to have known about it. In his recent book, *Giordano Bruno and the Embassy Affair,* 1991, John Bossy has convincingly demonstrated that during his time in England and for some time after his return to Paris in the autumn of 1585, Bruno worked as a spy for Sir Francis Walsingham's espionage service under the alias of 'Henry Fagot'. Biographers of Marlowe have generally concluded that he was also working as a Walsingham spy some time before 1587 when a Privy Council memorandum records that he has 'done Her Majesty good service and deserved to be rewarded for his faithful service.'[11] The memorandum records the sending of a letter to the Cambridge authorities in June 1587 to override doubts they entertained of Marlowe's residential and sectarian qualifications for receiving his M.A. Exactly what the services to the Queen were we do not know, but as one of the Cambridge doubts concerned the rumour that Marlowe 'was determined to have gone beyond the seas to Reames' (that is, become a Catholic preparing for the priesthood by joining the English College in Rheims) it seems safe to conjecture that the service Marlowe was about had to do with spying on actual and suspected Catholics.

Nicholl has now been able to give us a likely dating for the commencement of Marlowe's employment by checking the Cambridge records. These show that while his attendance at the University was regular between 1580 and 1584, when he received his B.A., in the academic year 1584 – 5 he received less than half the grant he would have been entitled to under the terms of his scholarship had he been in full residence. This can only imply long spells of absence over this period. Yet as his College grant decreases, his expenditure, as recorded in the buttery books of his College (Corpus Christi), increases dramatically: 'In 1585 Marlowe's actual spending at the buttery leapt from a customary few pennies to lavish weekly sums of 18d and 21d.'[12] As Marlowe's full grant was only one shilling per week (12d) he had clearly found an alternative source of funding by 1585. The inference is that he was now earning money, presumably by spying for Walsingham's secret service. None of this need imply that Bruno and Marlowe knew they were working for the same spy-master and during over-lapping periods, though it does help us to understand why there should be some intellectual affinity between them. Both Marlowe and Bruno were rebels prompted as much by a desire to unsettle and challenge their respective orthodoxies as by a missionary zeal to propagate their own ideas.

Greene's association of the atheist Tamburlaine-Marlowe with the 'priest of the sun' then might be inspired by no more than the knowledge that here were two men of extreme unorthodoxy, even though the unorthodoxy took very different forms. Greene himself confesses, in *Groatsworth of Wit,* to having shared some of those unorthodox views:

> Wonder not...that Greene, who hath said with thee (like the foole in his heart) There is no God, should now give glorie unto his greatness.[13]

An allusion to Bruno, however, in a sentence where Greene is discussing tragic drama still needs some explaining and I think there is a more cogent reason why Bruno is associated with *Tamburlaine* in Greene's mind: he is suggesting a direct relationship between Bruno's philosophy and Tamburlaine's atheism.

On the face of it both parts of *Tamburlaine* is about real estate, it tells the story of a hero who is consumed with a desire for earthly power and the territory that goes with it. Part 1 demonstrates the

realisation of an essentially earthly ambition through the exercise of willpower and as such looks more like an illustration of Machiavellian *virtù* than a reflection of Bruno's fiery 'otherwordliness'. Bruno was no doubt influenced by Machiavelli, as Ciliberto has argued,[14] but there remains a strong contrast between Machiavelli's secularism and Bruno's more visionary habits of mind. Machiavelli's *Il Principe* and *Discorsi* (the latter also published in London in 1584) provide the chief intellectual inspiration of the play – Mario Praz's views to the contrary notwithstanding.[15] Greene, who knew Marlowe well, thinks of him as a disciple of Machiavelli in his *Groatsworth of Wit,* written in 1592 shortly before his death:

> Is it pestilent Machivillian pollicy that thou hast studied? O peevish follie! What are his rules but meere confused mockeries, able to extirpate in small time the generation of mankind. For if *Sic volo, sic iubeo*, hold in those that are able to commaund: and it be lawfull Fas et nefas to do anything that is beneficiall: onely Tyrants should possesse the earth, and they striving to exceed in tyrannie, should each to other be a slaughter man; till the mightiest outliving all, one stroke were lefte for Death, that in one age mans life should end. The brocher of this Diabolicall Atheisme is dead, and in his life had never the felicitie hee aymed at; but as he began in craft; lived in feare, and ended in despaire.[16]

This is not only an intelligent comment on the moral world of *Il Principe* seen from the point of view of Christian orthodoxy, it is also a shrewd account of the world of *Tamburlaine*. Marlowe attempted the same *reductio ad absurdum* of Machiavellian doctrine in his *Jew of Malta* as Greene attempts here. In *Tamburlaine*, Marlowe's study of 'pestilent Machivillian pollicy' takes on a crusading fervour more characteristic of Bruno than Machiavelli. It is as if he had combined the Machiavellian doctrine with Bruno's evangelising zeal; it is Machiavelli mythologised. Yet the intellectual framework that sustains both parts of the play comes from the Florentine. In part one Marlowe shows us a hero as ruthless and dominating as Machiavelli's hero, Cesare Borgia. Here, for instance, Machiavelli is describing Cesare's qualities as a way of illustrating what is required of a great leader:

> Chi adunque iudica necessario nel suo principato nuovo asscurarsi de'nimici, guadagnarsi delli amici, vincere o per forza o per fraude, farsi amare e temere da'populi, seguire e reverire da'soldati, spegnere quelli che ti possono o debbono offendere, innovare con nuovi modi li ordini antichi, essere severo e grato, magnanimo e liberale, spegnere la milizia infedele, creare della nuova, mantenere le amicizie de're e de'principi, in modo che ti abbino o a beneficare con grazia o offendere con respetto, non può trovare e più freschi esempli che le azione di costui.[17]

This description fits Tamburlaine well. He ruthlessly subdues his enemies by force or fraud, he rewards his friends and supporters generously, terrifying the population of whole cities (like Damascus), making himself popular with and feared by his soldiers, making alliances where it suits him.

The second part of *Tamburlaine* is similarly illustrative of Machiavellian themes. For while part one deals with the great theme of *virtù* of 'the thirst of reign and sweetness of a crown,'[18] the second part brings Marlowe to consider the other side of the Machiavellian coin, the power of Fortune as described in section 25 of *Il Principe*: 'quantum fortuna in rebus humanis possit, et quomodo illi sit occurrendum'. It is in this section that Machiavelli demonstrates the limits of *virtù*. He had earlier demonstrated the arbitrariness of fortune in the account of Cesare Borgia in section seven of *Il Principe*:

> Raccolte io adunque tutte le azioni del duca, non saprei riprenderlo: anzi mi pare, come ho fatto, di preporlo imitabile a tutti coloro che per fortuna e con l'arme d'altri sono ascesi allo imperio. Perché lui, avendo l'animo grande e la sua intenzione alta, non si poteva governare altrimenti; e solo si oppose alli sua disegni la brevità della vita di Alessandro e la malattia sua.[19]

At the height of their power both Tamburlaine and Cesare are brought down not by an avenging God, but by the inevitable consequence of being mortal. They are both inflicted with an illness that proves fatal:

> E benché fino a qui si sia monstro qualche spiraculo in qualcuno da potere iudicare che fussi ordinato da Dio per sua redenzione, tamen si è visto da poi come, nel più alto corso delle azioni sua, è stato dalla fortuna reprobato.[20]

In conventional Christian discourse such an illness is presented as a punishment for tyranny. What links Marlowe and Machiavelli here is that both studiously abstain from making any moral comment on the death of their hero.

It is because *Tamburlaine* is so clearly about 'the thirst of reign and sweetness of a crown', that Howe's attempt to associate the hero with the esoteric 'magus' figure is unconvincing. However much Bruno might have been interested in esoteric philosophies (and this is a subject of much discussion) and whatever interest Marlowe later evinces in magic and the occult in *Dr Faustus* there is little sign of such an interest in Marlowe's earlier play. Howe quotes the passage in *Eroici Furori* where Bruno argues that the heroic lover can aspire to his vision of divine beauty through a love of earthly beauty as an example of Bruno's approval of the kind of 'wordly ambition' that Tamburlaine evinces. But Bruno is not discussing wordly ambition at this point, he is employing the familiar neo-platonic argument that the appreciation of earthly beauty can lead the soul to higher spiritual things:

> Ben sai che l'amor di bellezza corporale a color che son ben disposti, non solamente non apporta ritardamento da imprese maggiori, ma piú tosto viene ad improntargli l'ali per venire a quelle: allor che la necessità de l'amore è convertita in virtuoso studio, per cui l'amante si forza di venire a termine nel quale sia degno della cosa amata, e forse di cosa maggiore, megliore e piú bella ancora; onde sia o che venga contento d'aver guadagnato quel che brama, o sodisfatto dalla sua propria bellezza, per cui degnamente possa spregiar l'altrui che viene ad esser da lui vinta e superata: onde o si ferma quieto, o si volta ad aspirare ad oggetti piú eccellenti e magnifichi. E cossí sempre verrà tentando il spirito eroico, sin tanto che non si vede inalzato al desiderio della divina bellezza in se stessa, senza similitudine, figura, imagine e specie, se sia possibile, e più, se sa arrivare a tanto.[21]

As one of his sidelines Tamburlaine does admire physical beauty in the form of Zenocrate, but such admiration is not his prime motivation, nor does it ever lead him to a contemplation of the divine, except as she is 'divine'. He is no heroic lover, but a war-lord aiming for the 'perfect bliss and sole felicity/The sweet fruition of an earthly crown' (1, II, vii, 28 – 9). Zenocrate is one of the spoils of war. Howe sees Tamburlaine as a mystic, 'the secret of whose

power is precisely that he sees into the pattern of the cosmos and understands not only how it works but why it works as it does.'[22] I see no evidence for these mystical qualities in Tamburlaine. The most obvious thing about him is the rapidity with which he turns thought into action, even if this means challenging the 'pattern of the cosmos' by defying the gods:

> His looks do menace heaven and dare the gods;
> His fiery eyes are fixed upon the earth...(1, I, ii, 156–7)

Marlowe is constantly reminding us that this lofty energy is channelled downwards to earthly aspiration. Tamburlaine does not demur when his lieutenant Theridamas prefers the earthly to the divine:

> A god is not so glorious as a king.
> I think the pleasure they enjoy in heaven
> Cannot compare with kingly joys in earth:
> To wear a crown enchased with pearl and gold,
> Whose virtues carry with it life and death...(1, II, v, 57–61)

This is his master's voice, for Tamburlaine comments: 'Will you be kings?...Why, that's well said...so would I' (67, 69). This is not a man seeing in kingship the embodiment of 'ideal virtue'[23], but a conqueror relishing the possession of the world's goods:

> shall we wish for ought
> The world affords in greatest novelty,
> And rest attemptless, faint and destitute?
> Methinks we should not...(1, II, v, 72–5)

It is *virtù* that Tamburlaine is exhibiting here, not virtue.

Yet there is one moment in the play when Tamburlaine does seem to reach out beyond earthly limits in a way highly reminiscent of Bruno. Here he even suggest that what motivates him is a vision of man's powers of intellect rather than his will to power:

> The thirst of reign and sweetness of a crown,
> That caused the eldest son of heavenly Ops
> To thrust his doting father from his chair
> And place himself in th'empyreal heaven,
> Moved me to manage arms against thy state.
> What better precedent than mighty Jove?
> Nature, that framed us of four elements
> Warring within our breast for regiment.

Doth teach us all to have aspiring minds:
Our souls, whose faculties can comprehend
The wondrous architecture of the world
And measure every wand'ring planets course,
Still climbing after knowledge infinite
And always moving as the restless spheres,
Wills us to wear ourselves and never rest
Until we reach the ripest fruit of all,
That perfect bliss and sole felicity,
The sweet fruition of an earthly crown. (1, II, vii, 12 – 29)

Howe makes much of this speech as an example of Tamburlaine's concern with inward enlightenment. But I have quoted it in full to show how clearly Marlowe places the intellectual aspiration in the context of Tamburlaine's overriding concern with political power. The speech is addressed to an enemy Tamburlaine has just overthrown and whose territory he has seized. He starts with a firm declaration that his ambition is to achieve earthly power, 'the sweet fruition of a crown'. His pattern is to be Jove, who usurped the throne of his father, and so in emulating Jove he is expressing defiance of the gods not compliance. With paradoxical brilliance Marlowe has Jove described as son of the 'heavenly' earth goddess Ops, and in this way links the rebellion to the material world. Jupiter's rebelliousness is to be the pattern of earthly ambition, whose ultimate aim is the equally paradoxical 'perfect bliss...of an earthly crown.' Between these two assertions of Tamburlaine's earthly ambitions Marlowe allows his hero's thought to soar into the Empyrean, not because that is where Tamburlaine's aims lie, but to illustrate the power and scope of man's will to dominate, to assert the energy that will make this world domination possible. Those that have read the last lines as bathetic have simply failed to follow the movement of Marlowe's thought throughout the speech. Man's ability to understand the 'wondrous architecture of the world' and the restlessness he shares with the gods is a reason for Tamburlaine's confidence in earthly success, for Tamburlaine is to realise full human potential in conceiving and executing the grand design of his global conquests.

The excursion into the world of the intellect in the middle of the speech is to some extent anomalous in coming from Tamburlaine, who elsewhere shows scant regard for 'knowledge

infinite' during most of the ten acts he is on stage. It suggests the intellectual Marlowe himself rather more than the character he is depicting, Marlowe the author of *Dr Faustus*, for instance, while the extraordinary power of the language at this point of the play suggests the poet's special engagement with his subject. This is one of the great speeches of the play and indeed of Elizabethan drama, in which the whole energy of the Italian Renaissance seems to be briefly encapsulated. It is also remarkably Brunoesque[24] in two specific ways – in its celebration of the power of the human mind to reach out into the cosmos and in its doctrine of the dynamic of contraries.

In the *Cena de le ceneri*, for instance, Bruno boasts that he has demonstrated the wonders of the universe to mankind and in so doing has released the godhead in man:

> Non è più impriggionata la nostra raggione coi ceppi de' fantastici mobili e motori otto, nove, e diece. Conoscemo, che non è ch'un cielo, un'eterea reggione immensa, dove questi magnifici lumi serbano le proprie distanze, per comodità de la participazione de la perpetua vita. Questi fiammeggianti corpi son que' ambasciatori che annunziano l'eccellenza de la gloria e maestà de Dio...ed abbiamo dottrina di non cercar la divinità rimossa da noi, se l'abbiamo appresso, anzi di dentro, piú che noi medesmi siamo dentro a noi.[25]

Here, published in London in the year Marlowe graduated, we have a supremely self-confident intellect announcing the vastness of the universe which his reason can demonstrate to his readers, coupled with an assertion of the godhead within us. It is not that Tamburlaine's speech reflects this new vision in detail, but that it reproduces the visionary excitement of Bruno's utterance and Bruno's supreme confidence in the infinite knowledge that man can aspire to. Greene, who admits he has shared Marlowe's apostacy, might well have been someone who could catch the echoes of Bruno in Tamburlaine's great speech.

Equally Brunoesque is the doctrine enunciated in the speech that humanity partakes in the universal principle of struggle expressed as a conflict of opposites. The clearest expression of this view is perhaps that of the *Spaccio de la bestia trionfante* also published in 1584 in London, in the opening lines of the first dialogue of which Bruno has Sophia (Wisdom) proclaim a central doctrine of his philosophy, that constant change is the basic principle of existence:

> Talché, se ne li corpi, materia ed ente non fusse la mutazione, varietade e vicissitudine, nulla sarebbe conveniente, nulla di buono, niente delettovole...Ogni delettazione non veggiamo consistere in altro, che in certo transito, camino e moto...[26]

Sophia goes on to relate this doctrine of constant change to a dialectical view of reality: that everything is created through a clash of opposites:

> Quello che da ciò voglio inferire, è che il principio, il mezzo ed il fine, il nascimento, l'aumento e la perfezione di quanto veggiamo, è da contrarii, per contrarii, ne contrarii, a contrarii: e dove è la contrarietà, è la azione e reazione è il moto, è la diversità, è la moltitudine, è l'ordine, son gli gradi, è la successione, è la vicissitudine. Perciò nessuno, che ben considera, giamai per l'essere ed aver presente si desmetterà o s'inalzarà d'animo, quantunque, in comparazion d'altri abiti e fortune, gli paia buono o rio, peggiore o megliore.[27]

Here then is that doctrine of restlessness and struggle which Tamburlaine also sees as the law of nature to which humanity is subject. There is even the implication in the last sentence quoted, that notions of right and wrong, good and bad are an irrelevance, a doctrine that might be expected to appeal to Marlowe's Machiavellianism and justify Greene's complaint in *Groatsworth of Wit* that he confounded *fas et nefas*. Kocher is therefore wrong, in his discussion of Tamburlaine's speech, to say that 'Bruno...(has) nothing like it',[28] as a further passage of *Spaccio* will confirm.

In the third dialogue of *Spaccio* Sophia tells how Jove (initially defined as 'intellectual light' – il lume intellettuale[29]) reasserts this doctrine of struggle as a fundamental condition of man's being, in rejecting Ocio's praise of the pre-lapsarian golden age:

> Ne l'età dunque de l'oro per l'Ocio gli uomini non erano più virtuosi che sin al presente le bestie son virtuose, e forse erano più stupidi che molte di queste. Or essendo tra essi *per l'emulazione d'atti divini* ed adattazione di spirituosi affetti nate le difficultadi, risorte le necessitadi, sono acuiti gl'ingegni, inventate le industrie, scoperte le arti; e sempre di giorno in giorno, per mezzo de l'egestade, dalla profundità de l'intelletto umano si eccitano nove e meravigliosa invenzioni. Onde sempre più e più per le sollecite ed urgenti occupazioni allontanandosi dall'esser bestiale, più altamente s'approssimano a l'esser divino. De le ingiustizie e malizie che crescono insieme con le industrie, non ti devi maravigliare...[30]

Here, then, the need for men to struggle against and overcome opposition is a stimulus to human development, for in conflict we emulate and come to participate in the divine nature. The final sentence quoted again seems to be implying that conventional morality is irrelevant to this process, because what we call evil (injustice, malice) is an inevitable consequence of our natures.

Marlowe's use of Bruno, then, in this passage would in itself justify Greene's accusation that Marlowe is here attempting to destroy 'scholarism' in his blank verse, without our needing to postulate a highly unlikely early version of *Dr Faustus*. Bruno's attacks on the traditional Aristotelianism that underpinned medieval faith had become notorious, and Greene's theme is the impious implications of Tamburlaine's stance in reflecting the new ideas. Marlowe puts Bruno's ideas to a completely different purpose by making them serve political ends. In *Tamburlaine* Bruno's ideas are subverted to serve Machiavellian arguments. Marlowe's synthesis of two such different philosophies, however, is readily understandable: from Machiavelli he gets the revolutionary view of politics as the outcome of a battle of wills – and this might be expected to appeal as much to the son of the Canterbury shoe maker as to the Scythian shepherd – but from Bruno he gets the passionate, visionary view of a dynamic world of infinite extension in which energy is the prime virtue and 'ocio', 'pedanteria', 'asinità' is the enemy.[31] It is a vision that inspires him to turn Machiavelli's clinical detachment into visionary statement. Intellectually Marlowe seems to have been attracted by Machiavelli's *real politik*, but emotionally he seems to have had more affinity with the southern Italian. The combination was as heady a mixture in the theatre as in life.

Notes

1. J.R. Howe, *Marlowe, Tamburlaine and Magic,* Athens, Ohio, 1976.
2. H. Gatti, *The Renaissance Drama of Knowledge,* London and New York 1989, chapter 4 'Bruno and Marlowe: *Dr Faustus*'.
3. C. Nicholl, *The Reckoning, the Murder of Christopher Marlowe,* London 1991, chapter 22 'The priest of the Sun'.
4. *Life and Works of Robert Greene,* edited A.B. Grossart, 1881 – 3, vii, pp. 7 – 8. Nicholl, p. 203.
5. Giordano Bruno, *Dialoghi Italiani,* third edition edited G. Aquilecchia, Florence, 1958, reprinted 1985, i, pp. 103 – 4. Aquilecchia (note 2) compares this passage with *De immenso* III, 2, ... 'tellurem non esse (cum infinitum sit universum) in medio, nisi ea, qua omnia in medio dicere possumus, ratione.'

6. *Ibid*, i, pp. 26 – 7.
7. *Ibid*, i, pp. 28.
8. John Bossy, *Giordano Bruno and the Embassy Affair*, New Haven and London 1991, pp. 79 – 80.
9. Nicholl, p. 203.
10. *Cena, Dialoghi,* i, 34.
11. Nicholl, p. 92.
12. *Ibid*, pp. 100
13. Robert Greene, *Groats-worth of Witte bought with a million of Repentance, the Repentance of Robert Greene, 1592,* edited G.B. Harrison, Edinburgh 1966, p. 43.
14. M. Ciliberto, *La Ruota del Tempo. interpretazione di Giordano Bruno,* Rome 1986, pp. 176 – 8.
15. M. Praz, 'Machiavelli and the Elizabethans', Proceedings of the British Academy, 1928, xiv, pp. 71 – 3.
16. *Ed. cit.*, pp. 43 – 4.
17. Niccolo Machiavelli, *Il Principe e Discorsi*, ed S. Bertelli, Milan 1960, 5th edition 1977, pp. 39 – 40.
18. Quotations are from the edition of J.S. Cunningham, *Tamburlaine the Great,* Manchester 1981.
19. *Principe,* p. 39.
20. *Ibid*, p. 102.
21. *De gli eroici furori, Dialoghi Italiani,* edited Aquilecchia, II, 1077.
22. Howe, p. 54.
23. *Ibid,* p. 54.
24. *Cf.* H. Levin, *The Overreacher,* 1952, reprinted Boston 1964, p. 38, where Levin briefly mentions the possibility of Bruno's influence on Tamburlaine's speech.
25. *Dialoghi*, p. 34.
26. Giordano Bruno, *Spaccio de la bestia trionfante*, edited by M. Ciliberto, Milan 1985, p. 91. Ciliberto adds the note: 'la mutazione è principe essenziale della cosmologia e dell'etica di Bruno.'
27. *Ibid*, p. 93
28. P.H. Kocher, *Christopher Marlowe, a Study of his Thought, Learning and Character,* North Carolina 1946, reprinted New York 1962, p. 72.
29. *Spaccio,* p. 79.
30. *Ibid*, pp. 227 – 8 (the italics are mine).
31. Cilberto, *op. cit.*, pp. 24 – 59.

THE ANTI-DUKES OF NORTHUMBERLAND*

HUGH TREVOR-ROPER

When I was a small child, my formal education began with the hymn 'All Things Bright and Beautiful', which I was made to learn by heart; and when I was taken for walks in the Park or the Pastures, and passed the Barbican gate, the image of an immutable, divinely ordered society, as presented by that hymn – the rich man in his castle, the poor man at his gate (Narrowgate, I assumed) – was vividly impressed on my mind. What a symbol of ancient continuity was here! North Northumberland seemed a wonderfully stable world, and here was the guarantee of its immemorial stability.

However, afterwards, when I came to study history, I had to revise this view. History, I then found, is continuous only in flux; one has to fight even to stand still. And this general rule applies even in Northumberland, even here.

For in the period of history with which I am most familiar – the 16th and 17th centuries – determined attempts were made to deprive the Percies of their position. For much of that time they were not only physically seldom in Alnwick but also politically almost always in the doghouse. Twice their earldom was extinguished, three times Dukes of Northumberland were created to overtrump or displace them. Only the accidents of mortality and the genetic toughness of Northumbrians enabled them to shake off these pretenders and create, in retrospect, that show of continuity which has been so effective a force in our history.

The story of these pretenders runs for nearly two centuries. It is a drama in two acts. The tone of the two acts is different. That of the first is indeed tragic; that of the second is lighter, with a touch of comedy; it ends, you may well say, in farce. The two acts are separated by an interlude. The first act is in Tudor times, from Henry VIII to Mary; the second in Stuart times, from James I to James II. The interlude is the reign of Elizabeth.

* The text of a lecture to the Historic Houses Association, delivered at Alnwick Castle, seat of the Duke of Northumberland, on 30 September 1992

So I begin with Act 1. But first a few words on the necessary stage machinery. In our well ordered and rational society, mature political parties rhythmically replace each other by orderly elections. In the reign of Henry VIII – and indeed afterwards – the machinery of change was different. Not political parties, but tribal groups alternated in power by exploiting two not entirely unrelated forces, religion and sex. Religion meant plumping for or against reform, or further reform, of the Church (with the understanding that privatisation of Church property was guaranteed anyway); sex meant supplying the royal demand – and keeping control of the goods supplied. Both operations were hazardous, but if the stakes were high the rewards were great, and for the losers (if they survived) there was generally a fall – back position: they could invest in what the 18th century would call 'the reversionary interest' – ie, the next heir to the throne – or as a last resort, in an alternative ruler, a pretender. While there was death there was hope.

In this continuing tribal struggle, the most persistent tribe was that of the Howards. For eighty years, from 1536, when they dangled their tempting niece Katherine before the roving eye of Henry VIII, till 1618, when (sexual tastes at the top having changed), they tried to halt their decline by pushing young Master Monson – his face daily washed with posset-curds – in front of James I, in spite of several bruising falls, they never gave up. But this last desperate operation failed; the archbishop of Canterbury's young man romped home, and the Howards retired from politics to that last infirmity of noble minds, collecting pictures. In this game of what is now called 'high politics' the only family which consistently stood up to the Howards was the Dudleys and it was they who produced the heros (or anti-heros) of my story. It begins with the great political operator who has been described as 'The ablest, most ruthless and ambitious man of the century', John Dudley.

John Dudley is a somewhat mysterious figure. No adequate biography of him has ever been written. His father had served Henry VII not wisely but too well and had been executed by Henry VIII on his accession, as a sop to the taxpayer. But this accident did not stop the rise of his son. He became one of Thomas Cromwell's young men and in the last months of Henry VIII, when

the Seymours, brothers of wife number three, challenged the Howards, uncle and cousin of wife number five, for control of the 11-year-old heir to throne, he plumped wisely for the Seymours. There is no reason to ascribe any particular religious views to him, but since the Howards were for conservative reaction (it was 'merry England', said the Duke of Norfolk 'before all this New Learning came in'), the Seymours, and Dudley with them, were for Protestant reform. The struggle was won by the Seymours; the Howards, father and son, were condemned to death; and the Seymours dominated the new reign – that is until John Dudley had put his act together, whereupon both Seymours in turn were found guilty of treason, executed and attainted, and Dudley became (in the name of Edward VI) absolute master of England. Since Edward Seymour, as Lord Protector of the Kingdom, had made himself (in due form of course) a Duke – Duke of Somerset – Dudley now did the same: he made himself (in due form of course) Duke of Northumberland.

Why Northumberland? Seymour had at least been a Somerset man, and Somerset had been a dukedom. There had never been Dukes of Northumberland, and Dudley had no lands in the North, no family connection there. But he had been there officially as the King's Lieutenant in the North, and could see the chance of a great take-over bid. The Percies were now well and truly in the dog-house. Their earldom was extinct. The late earl had died childless and since his two brothers had been attainted for joining the Northern revolt against Henry VIII, the Catholic 'Pilgrimage of Grace', he had thought it prudent to bequeath all his lands to the Crown. By 1551 the Crown was effectively John Dudley. So the lands, like the title, were his for the asking. He asked, and obtained a large slice of them for himself. His various offices which included the wardenship of all three Marches toward Scotland, gave him authority over the rest.

But why stop there? The greatest magnate in the North was not a layman but a bishop. The Bishop of Durham was a count palatine, a prince-bishop with ample estates, huge revenues and regal powers. As committed Protestants, Somerset, Dudley and their friends did not believe in rich clergy. Bishops, they thought, should be salaried officials, with modest salaries. That would leave surplus wealth for more rational distribution. Henry VIII had not intended, by his Reformation, to weaken the episcopal Church. He had meant

to strengthen it, using monastic wealth to endow new bishoprics. But Henry VIII was now dead and the new rulers had other ideas. Monastic lands having been sold, they would move on to episcopal lands. And not only lands. The Bishops, as peers of parliament, had very desirable London residences, or 'inns', mostly in the Strand, with gardens leading down to their water – gates on the Thames. Those too were now up for grabs. Somerset, having swiped the great abbey of Syon as his suburban villa, took over, and pulled down, two bishops' houses (as well as two churches) to build Somerset House as his metropolitan pad. When Dudley had liquidated Somerset, he took over Syon for himself. Then as Duke of Northumberland, he sharpened his knife for the Bishop of Durham.

The Bishop of Durham, Dr Tunstall, was a very important man: a scholar, a statesman, a privy councillor. But he was also vulnerable: rising eighty and a conservative. He was thus an easy prey. He was charged with high treason and deprived. Then Dudley turned to the vacant see. Durham House in the Strand had been leased as a residence to the King's sister Elizabeth, the future Queen. Dudley turned her out, vainly protesting, and took possession. Meanwhile he pushed through a docile Parliament a Bill to dissolve the Bishopric. There would now be two new bishoprics, Durham and Newcastle, but on the cheap: the new bishop of Durham could be the old Dean, who could then stay on in his deanery, thus liberating the castle. The bishop's castles and lands would then be shared between Dudley and the Crown – which, at the moment, were effectively the same. The Bishop's coalmines of Whickham and Gateshead, the richest coalmines in Europe, would be leased, at a price, to Dudley's allies, the merchant obligarchy of Newcastle. [1]

How fast Dudley moved! In less than two years he had set up a great new fief in the North, far greater than the Percy earldom – a ducal fief, reinforced by viceregal power, and durable too – with five sons his dynasty seemed secure – provided, of course (it was an essential proviso), that Edward VI survived. For if Edward should die childless, what then? How could the Princess Mary, daughter of wife number one, be kept out? And then – but that was a nightmare scenario, to be avoided at all costs.

As we know, King Edward did not survive and when Dudley saw him sicken, he staked all on a desperate gamble. The reversionary interest having been cornered by the Howards and their friends, the only hope of saving his dynasty, and with it the Reformation (though he may have cared less about that), was an alternative ruler, a pretender. So, after much coming and going between the neighbouring and now privatised abbeys of Syon and Sheen, the plot was cooked up. The young King, who had so tamely authorised the execution of his two uncles,now as tamely authorised the disinheritance of his two sisters. The innocent Lady Jane Grey was married – at Durham House – to Dudley's youngest son; and when the king died, Dudley hinself, as exècutor of his will, with the authority of the Council. given under the Great Seal, proclaimed her Queen. The House of Northumberland – the *new* Dudley House of Northumberland – was to replace not only the House of Percy in the North but also the House of Tudor on the throne.

Of course, as we know, the gamble failed. The reign of Queen Jane lasted only nine days. The forces of legitimacy and Catholicism struck back. Mary was carried to the throne. Duke Dudley, his brother, all five sons and the unfortunate Queen Jane were condemned to death. On the scaffold he declared himself a good Catholic. The Protestant enthusiasts who had supported his gamble fled abroad or were burnt. The Howards crept back. The Bishop of Durham was restored to his bishopric, the Percies to their earldom and their lands. End of the story? No: not quite, for there is Act 2 still to come. Brief and embryonic though it was, John Dudley's dukedom of Northumberland was a reality: a real body, stifled indeed in infancy, but refusing to be forgotten. Its ghost would hover intermittently in the distance, seeking re – incarnation, for another century. But first there is the interlude, in which we may relax, look back, and reflect.

John Dudley, it must be admitted, was rather a cad. Most of those men were: revolutions breed cads. But he was also a remarkable man, the ablest of a group of men who changed the direction of English history. It was during his brief reign that Protestantism took root and that English overseas expansion began. Merchant adventurers, encouraged by him, penetrated Russia and West Africa.[2] The ruthless privatisation of Church lands launched a

minor industrial revolution. The great merchant banker Sir Thomas Gresham, the founder of the Royal Exchange, was his friend and *guru*. Intellectually too these man marked a change. They were sophisticated Renaissance men who, like their master Thomas Cromwell, looked to Italy, the Italy of Machiavelli. They were patrons of that 'New Learning' which the Howards so deplored. The great houses which they built on their secularised church lands – Somerset House, Syon, Longleat, Sudeley – were classical, not gothic.[3] They were italianised Englishmen. An Englishman italianate (it was said) is the devil incarnate. This phrase could certainly be applied to John Dudley. It would remain applicable to his heirs, who through the next century, would become progressively more Italian, though perhaps less diabolical.

They did not take long to emerge. For the reign of Mary lasted only five years, and when Elizabeth quietly succeeded her, it was all change again. The time-servers turned about: they had become supple with practice. The excluded politicians crept out of their holes, the Protestant exiles returned from abroad. It was the return of the Dudleians: Elizabeth started again where John Dudley had left off. And who are these two elegant young men who are so welcome at the new court? Who indeed but two sons of John Dudley, who, though condemned to death, have somehow survived: the only male survivors of the family. Queen Mary has pardoned them: perhaps she was not so bloody after all. And now Queen Elizabeth is devoted to them. Their attainders are reversed. To the elder, Ambrose, she will restore his father's earldom of Warwick. The younger, Robert, she will make Earl of Leicester. She will also restore to Somerset's son his earldom of Hertford But she will not restore the dukedoms, either of Somerset or of Northumberland. She did not like dukes – any dukes: in all her reign she created none and she got rid of those whom she had inherited. In her last thirty years there would not be a single duke in England.

In her love life Queen Elizabeth was much more constant than her father. She was in love with Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester: in love with him all his life; and he knew it and hoped great things from it. If she ever married anyone, he told the Spanish ambassador, it would be him. She married no one, but in case she should change

her mind he took care to keep himself available: how conveniently his first wife Amy Robsart perished, found dead at the bottom of the stairs of Cumnor Place! Did she fall or was she pushed? We shall never know. Sometimes he goaded her too, making her jealous. But though she showered him with gifts, lands and offices she never surrendered, and in the end he gave up and married his mistress, Lettice Countess of Essex, whose young husband had died suddenly, and conveniently for the purpose: too conveniently it was said: for people always put the worst construction on such episodes. Leicester, it was noted had an Italian doctor, which was very sinister, and Italian tastes; he was too well read in 'the Florentine' – that is, Machiavelli; and Italian doctors were regarded as very skilful poisoners.

Like his father, Leicester was evidently rather a cad. Nevertheless, we have to admit that he encapsulates, as no other prominent politician did – certainly not the Howards, or even Lord Burghley, or the Queen herself – what we see as the essential character of the Elizabethan age: a forward policy in church and state, in Europe and overseas, navigation, exploration, commerce and industry. He was the head of the party that made the running, a party consisting of his nephew Sir Philip Sidney, his stepson the Earl of Essex, his kinsman Sir Francis Walsingham. He and his brother Ambrose were patrons of the great seamen – of Frobisher, Drake, Hawkins, Cavendish. Poets and scholars, radical Protestants, economic entrepreneurs were encouraged by him. He also continued – but more cautiously – some of his father's interests in the North, depriving the Percies of their mining rights at Keswick and the Bishop of Durham of those coalfields, which had been recovered under Mary but were now leased once again, for 99 years, to the Newcastle merchants. Many an ancient Northumbrian county family owes it distant rise to that hugely profitable act of privatisation.

When Leicester died in 1588, just after the defeat of the Armada, he was (said a foreign ambassador) deeply mourned by the Queen, but by no one else. Indeed, the Queen locked herself in her room and refused to speak to anyone till her privy councillors, in despair, broke down the door. Two years later his brother Ambrose died, childless. All their titles and claims died with them, for Leicester left only one son, the only surviving grandson in the male line of John Dudley, and he was, as his father himself insisted, illegitimate. This son, Robert Dudley, is the hero of Act 2 of my drama.[4]

Young Robert, like all Dudleys was well educated. He was sent to Oxford University, of which his father was chancellor – to Christ Church, an excellent college, then flourishing in all modern subjects: mathematics, natural science, navigation, cosmography. His cousin Philip Sidney had been there, and Richard Hakluyt, the publisher of the great Elizabethan voyages. Dudley became expert in all the sciences, not only theoretically but practically, From boyhood, he afterwards wrote, he had 'a natural sympathy for the the sea'. He got to know sea – captains, shipwrights, cartographers and pilots, learned how to design, build and sail all kinds of ships, invented new instruments, new methods of calculation. At the same time he was a cultivated and sophisticated man of the world, 'a complete gentleman in all suitable employments' as he is described, 'an exact seaman, a good navigator, an excellent architect, mathematician, physician, chymist and what not': in short, an Elizabethan virtuoso who, like Sir Walter Ralegh, lived on – into a less sympathetic, post-Elizabethan age.

When he was seventeen, Robert Dudley financed a ship to sail, with the great seaman Thomas Cavendish, to 'the South Seas, the Philippines and China'. He tried to go himself, but the Queen forbade him – which was just as well as the expedition was a disaster: Cavendish himself died on it. Undeterred, at nineteen Dudley decided to build a little fleet of his own. He wished to circumnavigate the globe like Drake and Cavendish; but again the Queen interposed her ban; so he set out instead, in a joint enterprise with Ralegh, to Guiana, that ever-beckoning mirage of the time. He got there first (which did not please Ralegh), planted the English flag on Trinidad, sailed up the Orinoco, named one of its tributaries Rio Dudliano and an island in it Dudleya, and then returned, challenging, fighting and pursuing Spanish ships wherever found on the way. In the following years he took part in the capture of Cadiz by his half – brother Essex and was knighted by him, and sent two ships to the Far East hoping to break into the closed empire of China: the still unrealised ambition of Columbus. This was another disaster: both his ships were lost off the Malay coast. Only one man lived to tell the tale. Having crossed the Indian ocean in a native canoe, he was found by Dutch sailors four years later on the uninhabited island of Mauritius, having kept alive, I suppose, on roast dodo: a sitting bird.

Meanwhile, in England, another great tribal contest was being fought. It was the usual scenario: the approaching end of a reign. Queen Elizabeth was now old; she had reigned 45 years; who would succeed her? Once again Howards and Percies stirred in the political wilderness in which they had spent the last thirty years. Both invested in King James, but not together; so they fared differently. Lord Henry Howard, a practised intriguer, joined forces with Sir Robert Cecil. That proved a very sound move: it would bring the Howards back to wealth and power. The Earl of Northumberland – the famous 'Wizard Earl' – allied himself with his friend Sir Walter Ralegh. That was a mistake. Soon he was compromised – no doubt unjustly – in the Gunpower Plot. So back again to the dog-house. He was condemned to a huge fine and life-imprisonment in the Tower, where he would have leisure to study mathematics with his three *magi* and read the many books he had collected. They included *samizdat* texts of the forbidden works of Machiavelli, which perhaps he should have read more closely before involving himself in Jacobean politics.

That was in 1605 – 6. By chance, in that same year, Sir Robert Dudley was also on trial. He had discovered, or thought that he had discovered, an important fact: that he was not, after all, illegitimate; his parents had been married, secretly indeed, but legally, correctly, by an orthodox parson, before known witnesses; and so by a necessary consequence, their son was now Earl of Warwick, Earl of Leicester, and – if his grandfather's attainder were reversed (and why not, now that the guilty generation had passed away and the Percies were again in trouble?) – Duke of Northumberland.

Could it be true? It seemed improbable. Why should Leicester have concealed his marriage and so bastardised his son, of whom he was clearly fond and to whom he would bequeath his estate? Of course, it could be answered, because at that time he was still hoping against hope to marry the elusive Queen Elizabeth; therefore any other marriage had to be disavowable at need. But why then did he continue to disavow it even when that hope had evaporated? Of course, it could be replied, because neither Robert Dudley's mother, now Lady Stafford, nor Leicester's own widow, the Countess Lettice, now Lady Blount, wished to find themselves involved in bigamy. If hard evidence of the secret marriage could

be produced, mere improbabilities could be explained away, resolved by the particular circumstances around them: the personalities of the parties and the complex relations between Leicester and the Queen.

Dudley produced hard evidence. He mobilised surviving witnesses of the marriage, persuaded his mother to break her silence, and sought a ruling, from a church court, that his parents had been legally married and his own birth legitimate. His wife's family seem to have been the driving force in this enterprise. They were the Leighs of Stoneleigh, a rich merchant family of plebeian origin, eager to rise in society, and it was at their country house at Stoneleigh, in Warwickshire, that the evidence was collected and the case prepared. But Dudley embraced the cause and defended it vigorously: perhaps he was convinced. However, strong forces were ranged against him, and more than titles was at stake: in particular, the manor and castle of Warwick, which would go with the title, if inherited. Leicester's nephew, Sir Robert Sidney, Philip Sidney's brother, had no wish to be cut out by a more direct heir. Leicester's widow was a formidable lady: if her husband had been a bigamist, her status would be affected. These parties were influential at court. They drew together and hired the greatest, and toughest, lawyer of the time, the attorney-general Sir Edward Coke. He contrived to turn the case round. Instead of a petitioner in a provincial church court, Dudley found himself a defendant charged with libel in the Star Chamber, a political court. And he lost. The judges in the Star Chamber decided that there had been no such marriage: Dudley's witnesses it was said, had been suborned; and therefore they were disqualified for life. The evidence was sealed up. The case was closed and could not be raised again.

Was Dudley really legimate or not? The case has been argued, *pro* and *con.*, ever since. His biographers loyally insist that he was legitimate, that his father cynically denied it for his own machiavellian purposes, and that his opponents were animated entirely by self – interest. But strong arguments have been adduced on the other side and it must be admitted that the balance of probability is against his claim.[5] However, if we accept those arguments, we have to face the necessary consequence: that the hard and precise evidence on which Dudley relied was (as the Star Chamber judges decided) fabricated: that there had been a deliberate

conspiracy of forgery and fraud; and that the organisers of this conspiracy were most probably Lady Dudley and her family at Stoneleigh. Snobbish though they undoubtedly were, can we believe that they were capable of such fraud? On so serious a change perhaps it is best to suspend judgment for a few minutes and meanwhile continue the narrative of fact.

Insulted (as he believed) in his honour, blocked in his hope of redress, Dudley quietly laid his plans. He applied for leave to travel abroad for three years. That being granted, he left England with the usual equipage: servants, horses, grooms and a page. On arrival in Calais, the page changed clothes and emerged as Dudley's cousin Elizabeth Southwell, the most beautiful and admired of the new Queen's maids of honour. This was scandal enough; it was made worse when both of them declared themselves Roman Catholics and, having obtained from the Pope a dispensation from the rules of consanguinity, were married at Lyon. When applying for this dispensation, Dudley prudently did not mention that he had left a wife and five infant daughters in England – a touch of the old Dudley caddishness here. When the Pope discovered this he was at first rather put out; but he soon found means to dispense with that little difficulty too. Leicester may or may not have been a bigamist; his son certainly was.

From Lyon, Dudley prepared his next move. Through an English Catholic renegade – 'the greatest scoundrel who existed, or who ever had existed in the world' in English eyes – he offered his services to the Grand Duke of Tuscany. As a bait, he promised to reveal a new technique in the manufacture of silk. Presumably he had engaged in some industrial espionage in Lyon, the centre of the French silk industry. Then, having received an encouraging reply, he set out for Italy. Meanwhile, on secret orders from him, a ship – his ship – left England for the Mediterranean. It was fully manned and gunned and carried expert shipwrights and valuable instruments. He was moving his whole naval establishment to Italy to place it, with himself, at the disposal of the Grand Duke.

He knew his man. Ferdinando de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany, was an enterprising ruler who was determined to make Tuscany a Mediterranean sea – power. Twenty years ago, he had contributed a galleon, fully equipped, to the Spanish Armada. Now he welcomed Dudley, put him in charge of his fleet and his

dockyards, and of the port and arsenal of Livorno. Dudley set to work at once. He enlarged and fortified the harbour, built a great Mole, drained the marshes between Livorno and Pisa, and persuaded the grand Duke to declare Livorno a free port, with spectacular results. From a provincial port it became 'one of the best harbours in Europe', the commercial centre of the Mediterranean, the main port of call for the English companies trading to the East. Meanwhile relays of sailors, carpenters, pilots, engineers, recruited in England, came to Livorno to work under him, building and sailing the ships that he designed: ships of a new kind, *gallizabras* he called them, well armed with fifty guns, but of light draught, longer and faster than any known before. Thanks to him, Tuscany became formidable at sea, able to fight and defeat the Turks and their allies, the Barbary corsairs. He tried to make it a colonial power too, organising an expedition, under an English captain, to Guiana – once again competing with Sir Walter Ralegh; but the mirage of that Eldorado would deceive all its pursuers.

When James I heard of these goings-on from his ambassador in Venice (the only English ambassador in Italy), he was not pleased. He sent Dudley a stiff letter – a 'Privy Seal', to be delivered by the ambassador – reminding him that his three years' leave had expired and ordering him to return to England. Dudley refused to receive the document as improperly addressed; for he had now assumed the titles of Earl of Warwick and Earl of Leicester: they were his by right, he maintained – he did not recognise the judgement of the Star Chamber – and were recognised by the Grand Duke and the Pope. James I responded by confiscating his property in England: his father's estate and castle of Kenilworth, which had been bequeathed to him.

However, Dudley did not, as yet, destroy his bridges with England. James I might be hostile, but there was always the 'reversionary interest'. Like Ralegh and other post – Elizabethans, he cultivated the Prince of Wales, Prince Henry. Like Ralegh, he wrote papers for the Prince, advocating a blue-water policy and offering to make England invincible at sea with a shock-force of his new fast long galleys. Even when the Prince died – a fatal blow to Ralegh and many others – he did not despair. He wrote a secret state-paper for King James making the same offer, and also going a little further. He suggested a series of new taxes, on the Tuscan

model, so that the Crown, by combining financial independence with a standing naval force, could 'bridle the impertinency of Parliaments'. James was having trouble with his parliament at that time, but he shrank from so provocative a remedy. Dudley's paper was buried; but as there are moles even in the best archives, it would afterwards be discovered and leaked to the opposition under Charles I. This caused a great scandal which would reverberate till the eve of the Civil War. This despotic streak in his character reminds us of his grandfather John Dudley. The episode would be long remembered: over a century later, Horace Walpole – a sound whig, though he admired Dudley – would write that 'considering how enterprising and dangerous a minister he might have made, and what variety of talents were called forth by his misfortunes, it was happy both for him and his country that he was unjustly deprived of the honour to which his birth gave him pretensions.' For Walpole did not doubt that he was legitimately born and even legitimate Duke of Northumberland.[6]

The final breach was provoked by James I. In 1618 – the same year in which he sent Ralegh to the block – James evidently decided to snub Dudley. He created, on the same day, four new earldoms, two of them calculated to mortify him: for they were the earldoms of Leicester and Warwick, precisely those which Dudley claimed and had assumed, and he bestowed them on Dudley's hated rivals: his cousin Robert Sidney and the son-in-law of his step – mother, the old Countes of Leicester. Thus provoked, Dudley struck back. He appealed to the Grand Duchess. She in turn, appealed to her brother the Emperor. The Emperor then promulgated a formal diploma recognising Dudley as rightful Duke of Northumberland. The Pope followed suit, and, to add a little body to an otherwise insubstantial title, authorised Dudley to recover 8 million ducats, as damages for his lost ducal property in England, by preying on English merchants, provided they were Protestants, 'wherever they may be found'. In short Dudley supplied, himself with papal 'letters of marque', implying a state of war against England. The Grand Duke did not like this idea of holy privateering: it was hardly the way to draw English traders to Livorno; and the letter of marque appears to have remained a dead letter.

We may note, in passing, that the Emperor made it clear, in his diploma that he was not creating a new imperial dukedom but recognising, in his dominions, the hereditary English dukedom conferred 'inconfiscabiliter', in recognition of his great virtues and services, on 'your paternal grandfather', John Dudley.[7] Since the Emperor was the champion of the Catholic cause in the Thirty Years War, now begun, this spontaneous tribute to the greatest villain in the rogues' gallery of the English Catholics is rather surprising. But perhaps the bureaucrats in Vienna were not well briefed in English history.

So Robert Dudley at last found himself Duke of Northumberland – at least on the Continent. He now signed himself 'Il Duca di Northumbria' and his eldest son, to whom he passed on his assumed earldom of Warwick, was 'Principe di Northumbria'. Not everyone was impressed by this new grandeur. The Tuscan envoy in London, whom the Grand Duke had instructed to serve Dudley's interests there, complained that 'this strange humour of calling himself Duke of Northumberland' did not help. I wonder what the real Earl of Northumberland – the Wizard Earl, still in the Tower – thought of the news. Probably not much. I would like to think that these two proud aristocratic intellectuals felt a certain mutual sympathy. Both were interested in mathematics, chemistry, fortification; both were out of tune with their time, indifferent to established orthodoxy, victims of a jealous government – one a prisoner, the other an exile. However, I fear that that is improbable. History had dug a gulf between those two families.

One person on whose reactions to the news we may speculate is Dudley's abandoned wife, now living as *femme seule* and Lady Bountiful to the clergy at Dudley House in London and in her family's house at Stoneleigh. With her aristocratic aspirations, it must have been mortifying for her to hear that her errant husband was a Duke in Europe but that the title of Duchess belonged only to his bigamous, not his legal wife. However, in due course she would find a remedy for this wound.

Dudley never returned to England. He lived altogether 43 years in Tuscany, the perfect Englishman italianate, with a house in Florence, in the via della Vigna Nuova, near the Palazzo Strozzi, and a villa in the country, near the Medici villa of Petraia: councillor and friend of three successive Grand Dukes, Grand Chamberlain

to three successive Grand Duchesses, the most important Englishman in Italy, in the tradition of Sir John Hawkwood, the 14th-century *condottiere* whose equestrian fresco adorns the Duomo of Florence, or Sir John Acton, the 18th-century prime minister of the kingdom of Naples. To visiting Englishmen, too, he was something of an institution, sought out and courted by the royalists and men of fashion who, increasingly, found a grand tour of Italy more agreeable than civil war at home.[8] And he could teach them a thing or two. He took out a patent for that new process in the manufacture of silk which he had floated before the Grand Duke Ferdinand. Medical men praised his *catholicon,* 'the Earl of Warwick's powder', which like Sir Walter Ralegh's cordial, was said to cure all fevers: he himself claimed 100% success in 600 cases, though it failed on the young son of the Earl of Pembroke, who died in his house. Sportsmen knew him as 'the first of all men who taught a dog to sit in order to catch partridges'. That at least would recommend him in Northumberland. And in the end, by a curious twist of fortune, without any move by him, indeed without his knowledge, his ghostly dukedom acquired, if not body, at least a little enlivening colour in England.

For in May 1644, if we can believe what we are told, in the middle of the Civil War, which he still hoped to win, Charles I took a remarkable step. Yielding to the petition of Dudley's deserted wife and her two surviving daughters, who, by now, had strategically placed husbands (one of them the king's solicitor), he re – opened the case which had been so emphatically closed forty years ago by the judges of the now abolished Star Chamber, caused the evidence to be re-examined, and coolly set aside the judgement. That judgement, he now decided, had been wrong: Dudley's parents had been legally married after all; his birth was therefore legitimate; and the 'great injustices' done to him ought to be redressed. However, when it came to the details of redress, logic, as so often in politics, yielded to compromise. In letters patent apparently put out under the Great Seal, the King declared himself unwilling to disturb the mistaken but no doubt well – intentioned grants of his father – that is, the grants of the earldoms of Warwick and Leicester to Dudley's rivals – and so, instead, he simply recognised in England, from its 'creation' in 1620, the dukedom granted to him by the Emperor. Dudley was declared

unambiguously a Duke and his abandoned wife, from the same date, a Duchess. She was to be known as Duchess Dudley; her daughters were to enjoy the style and precedency of a duke's daughters; and the Earl Marshal, Heralds and Officers of the College of Arms were ordered to take note of this award and register it in their offices 'as they do tender our displeasures and will answer the contempt thereof at their perils'. Those who drafted the Patent evidently thought that they were merely adopting a foreign 'creation' in England. If they had read the imperial diploma with which they pretended familiarity they would have found that they were going much further: implicitly the patent restored John Dudley's hereditary dukedom of Northumberland.[9]

Curiously, this public document, addressed to 'all Archbishops, Dukes, Marquesses, Earls, Barons, Bishops.... and all other our loving subjects', seems never to have been seen, in the next sixteen years, by anyone at all. It was not recorded in the Patent Office. It was not seen by the heralds who were so sternly ordered to record and execute it; not even by Sir William Dugdale, the great Warwickshire antiquary, a friend of the Dudley ladies, who at that moment, as Chester Herald, was residing at the court at Oxford. In the following years, when he was working on his *Antiquities of Warwickshire,* Dugdale was in regular contact with the Dudley ladies and was able to give, in that work, a full and sympathetic account of the unfortunate Star Chamber case of 1605, but strangely showed no knowledge of the Letters Patent of 1644, which so happily reversed it. It was not till 1660, eleven years after her husband's death that Lady Dudley, now rising eighty, produced the document from her *escritoire* and, with her daughters, petitioned the newly restored king to confirm it; which, after his initial suspicions had been exorcised by two judiciously bribed courtiers, he obligingly did, thus enabling, the ladies to glory in their ducal status for the rest of their lives – and indeed beyond that, in the funeral eloquence of their dependent clergy, the complacent-inscriptions on their fine tombs, and the ultimate seal of social grandeur-in Sir William Dugdale's *Baronage,* the *livre d'or* of the English nobility, the Debrett of the next century.[10]

Did the pious Duchess then forge the document? No biographer will even contemplate such a thought. 'Its genuiness', says the latest of them 'is beyond question'.[11] But alas, the conclusion is

inescapable. The document itself is an absurdity 12. But once the King had approved it, the heralds had no option. Lady Dudley had got away with it. Frustrated in 1605 – for now surely we can make up our minds about that famous Star Chamber case – she had pulled it off at last. Just as John Dudley, in 1551, had made himself a Duke, so she, a century later, made herself a Duchess. And when she died, aged 90, her corpse was carried from Dudley House to her coroneted tomb at Stoneleigh with full ducal honours, escorted by Garter King of Arms and a troop of heralds, 'in very great state'. And so Robert Dudley, posthumously and incidentally, as an adjunct to his abandoned wife, was legitimised and ennobled in his abandoned country.

Would he have cared? I think not. In 1644 – the date ascribed to the bogus patent – he was 70 years old; he had been Duke of Northumberland, in his own eyes, for quarter of a century; and now, in his old age, he was preparing a greater title to fame: he was writing a book.

The book was written in Italian and entitled *Dell'Arcano del Mare,* the Secret of the Sea. What a marvellous book it is! An encyclopedia into which he poured the sum of all his knowledge and experience of marine geography, cartography, ship – building, navigation, harbours, dockyards, fortification, naval strategy, all lavishly, illustrated with elegant engravings of 'naval architecture', nautical and astronomical instruments, battle formations, maps and ships: in particular, the designs of his own ships – his 'galleys royal' his 'counter – galliasses', his great flagship the *San Giovanni Battista*, 'the Terror of the Turks', with its 64 guns, and the famous *gallizabras* which, he believed, would make a prince absolute at home and invincible abroad. The work was dedicated to the reigning Grand Duke and published in Florence in 1646 – 7 in three volumes, the last of them a maritime atlas of the whole world, the first of its kind. It was this splendid work, which I first lit upon many years ago, in the library of this house, that first led me to study the extraordinary career of its author: hence my choice of topic on returning here. Twelve years after Dudley's death – he died in 1649, a few months after the execution of Charles I – a second edition of the book was published, even grander then the first. This second edition was prefaced by a facsimile of the imperial diploma of 1620, recognising the author as legitimate, hereditary Duke of Northumberland.

That document had presumably been supplied by Dudley's eldest surviving son, Don Carlo di Northumbria, as public proof of the ducal title which he had inherited and was now using in Italy. And why not in England too? Already in 1657 he had applied for denization of his whole family in England – with what success, I do not know.[13] That was in the time of Oliver Cromwell. But by now Charles II had been restored: might he not feel some sympathy with a fellow exile whose father too had been deprived of his rights? The omens must have seemed good at that time. One of Charles II's first acts, after his restoration, had been to restore the dukedom of Somerset to the Seymour family; so why not that of Northumberland to the Dudleys? The two dukedoms stood on exactly the same footing. Of course there was still the Percy earldom; but that, as Carlo would point out, was not a real obstacle – there were good precedents – and anyway a few years later, in 1670, it was removed: the Percy earldom once again became extinct, this time from natural causes. So the way was cleared; and sure enough , in that year Carlo wrote to Charles II, signing himself as 'Duke Dudley of Northumberland' and setting out his claim to his English dukedom and his seat in the House of Lords.[14]

It was a reasoned and persuasive letter – if only it had come from someone else. For unfortunately, Carlo's past history was rather checkered. It included burglary, armed robbery, brigandage, and time spent in a Florentine prison. However, his letter was difficult to answer, and so Charles II as usual took the easy way out: he did not answer it. But Carlo did not give up. Seven years later he came to England, turned up at the House of Lords, and, in the presence of the King, demanded his seat. Some good-tempered badinage followed but 'the mad duke of Northumberland, as he calls himself' was not admitted.[15] He returned to Florence, where he would die, nine years later,once again in prison. By that time Charles II had acted. He had made his own illegitimate son Earl, and then Duke, of Northumberland. That blocked the Dudley claim, but at the risk for the Percies, of establishing a new dynasty of anti-dukes.

Early in the 18th century the Dudley claimants died out. But it would have been against their nature to die out quietly. Their last members exhibited, severally, the various characters of that remarkable family: ruthlessness, *panache,* amorous irregularity,

ducal aspirations. Duke Carlo's daughter was 'the famous adventuress' Cristina di Northumbria, whose erotic escapades scandalised and delighted the chattering classes of all Italy. Her daughter Adelaide ended as a genuine English Duchess – Duchess of Shrewsbury. Her son Ferdinando was hanged for murder at Tyburn – in a silken cord with gold threads, having driven to the gallows in proper style, as a nobleman, in his own armigerous coach.

Meanwhile the other threats to the Percy family had evaporated. Charles II's new Duke of Northumberland had conveniently died without heirs. So had the disreputable Jacobite Duke of Northumberland created by James II after his deposition. James Percy the trunkmaker, who had been giving trouble by his claims since the extinction of the earldom, had been finally crushed by the heavy hand of the House of Lords – condemned to stand in Westminster Hall with a label pinned to his breast describing him as 'the false and scandalous pretender to the earldom of Northumberland'.[16] That was in 1689, the year of the Glorious Revolution which made the world safe for aristocracy. Soon, while the Italianised dukes, in Tuscany as in England, were almost completely forgotten[17] a new line of Percies, their days in the dog-house over, having clung to most of their estates and seen off all their rivals, would return at last to their long abandoned and almost derelict castle of Alnwick, take advantage of the rising tide of gothic romanticism popularised by their chaplain Dr Thomas Percy (*né* Piercy from Bridgnorth), and assume their place, which they have kept ever since, as authentic and uncontested Dukes both of and in Northumberland.

Notes

1. I have examined the case of John Dudley, the bishopric and the coal-mines in my article 'The Bishopric of Durham and the Capitalist Reformation', *Durham University Journal,* March 1946; reprinted *ibid.*, April 1967.
2. On this see J.A. Williamson, *Maritime Enterprise 1485 – 1558, 1913.*
3. See James Lees-Milne, *Tudor Renaissance,* 1951, ch. IV; John Summerson *Architecture in Britain*, 1953, ch.II; Maurice Howard, *The Early Tudor Country House*, 1987.
4. For the career of Robert Dudley, see (Vaughan Thomas) *The Italian Biography of Sir Robert Dudley,* 1856; J. Temple Leader, *The life of Sir Robert Dudley Earl of Warwick and Duke of Northumberland,* Florence 1895; Sir George Warner, *The Voyage of Sir Robert Dudley to the West Indies*, Hakluyt Society 1909; Arthur Gold Lee, *Son of Leicester,* 1964. 'A.M. Crinò, 'Il Duca di Northumbria in Toscana', *English Miscellany*, xvi, 28 – 29, Rome 1981, pp. 19 – 59.

5. The case against Dudley's claim is set out in Sir N.H. Nicolas, *Report of Proceedings in the claim to the Barony of de l'Isle* (1829); Warner *op. cit.*, Introduction; and summarised in G.E.C[okayne]. *Complete Peerage,* VIII, 550 – 1. *s.v.* Leicester, Earl of.
6. Horace Walpole, *A Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors of England* (1758).
7. The imperial diploma is printed in full in Vaughan Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 85 – 9, and J. Temple Leader, *op. cit.*, pp. 173 – 9.
8. Among those who reported personal visits to him are Lord Herbert of Cherbury (The Life of Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury, 1770, pp. 106 – 7); The Rev John Bargrave, (in *Pope Alexander VII and the College of Cardinals,* Camden Soc. 1867) and an unnamed friend of Sir William Dugdale, as reported by him in a letter among the Leveson MSS., p. 175. (Hist. MSS. Commission, *5th Report,* Duke of Sutherland's MSS., p. 175).
9. The alleged patent is printed in full in Sir W. Dugdale, *Baronage of England* (1676) ii, p. 225. from the original shown to him in 1670, after the 'Duchess's' death, by her only surviving daughter and sole executrix, Katherine Lady Leveson. It is reprinted by J. Leader Temple, *op. cit.*, pp. 173 – 7.
10. For the petition of Lady Dudley and her daughters, see *Cal.S.P. Dom.* 1660 – 1. For its reception by Charles II, see the confidential reports of Sir William Dugdale to Mr Langley, the agent of Sir Richard Leveson (the 'Duchess's' son-in-law) in HMC *5th Report,* pp. 177 – 8. The daughters, Dugdale reported, were 'highly pleased' with the success of the operation and took advice from him on ducal etiquette, but were disappointed that they were not entitled to coronets. For further details see W. Hamper (ed), *The Life, Diary and Correspondence of Sir William Dugdale* (1829), pp. 131, 386 – 7. The inscriptions on the tombs set up by the Duchess are given by Vaughan Thomas *op. cit.* Thomas was rector of Stoneleigh and dutifully commemorated the benefactions of the Duchess and her daughters; but even he was taken aback by their snobism: as he remarks of one of the daughters, 'it seems as if the desire of recording noble connection had got the better of all her right recollections' (p.104). See also the article of Horace Round, 'The True Story of The Somerset Patent', in *Academy,* 8 Dec 1883.
11. Lee, *op. cit.*, p. 220.
12. It is absurdly unprofessional in form and also contains errors of fact unimaginable in a genuine patent of 1644. Not only is the imperial diploma materially misunderstood: in claiming that it has been 'perused by our late Earl Marshal and heralds' it ascribes to Charles I an anachronism. The only Earl Marshal who could have perused, before 1644, a document issued in 1620 was the Earl of Arundel. In 1644 he was not 'late': he was still alive (though in Italy) and still Earl Marshal. Charles I would have known that.

The fraudulency of the patent is further indicated by the fact that Sir Edward Walker (Garter King of Arms) and Sir Edward Nicholas (Secretary of State), who, for whatever reason, supported the petition to Charles II, could not persuade him that it was not, as he believed should 'a counterfeit'. Since both had been in Oxford, in those offices, in 1644, their authority would have been decisive. Clearly they were unable to back their present support with that authority, and the King yielded in the end to a different kind of persuasion.

Servant of God, well done, well has thou fought
The better fight, who single hast maintained
Against revolted multitudes the cause
Of truth, in word mightier than they in arms;
And for the testimony of truth hast borne
Universal reproach, far worse to bear
Than violence: for this was all thy care
To stand approved in sight of God, though worlds
Judged thee perverse...[3]

Turning to the case of Baroque Italy, then, the need may also be less for some generalised concept of the Baroque, as Roston and others have given us, than for attention to specific individuals who may offer comparison to Milton. One of these, I believe, is Salvator Rosa, unquestionably Baroque in style, both as writer and painter, but also with strongly individual attitudes on such questions as war. I do not want to claim anything like an identity of views, but Rosa's essentially critical response to seventeenth century Italian society may help us to understand Milton's own mingled responses - composed in part, as I have argued elsewhere,[4] of a satirical association of Baroque Rome with satanic militarism.

An initial justification for the *rapprochement* is their crossing of paths in 1639. As Arthos relates, Rosa was responsible for 'one of the most famous affairs in the Carneval Milton would have seen' in that year.[5] He appeared at the head of a *commedia dell'arte* troupe composed of friends and associates in the Neapolitan mask of Coviello, playing the role of charlatan, mocking a famous contemporary Roman physician by dispensing joke medical compounds with 'so much geniune wit, such bitter satire and exquisite humour... that other representations were abandoned,' writes Lady Sydney Morgan. 'All Rome', she tells us 'was from this moment... "filled with his fame".'[6] It is interesting to catch this glimpse of Milton's possible exposure to Rosa, to Italian satire, and to popular burlesque tradition.

A second, more substantial but treacherous connection lies in their frequent bracketing, amongst Romantic and Pre-Romantics, as first parents of the sublime and pictureque taste. To explore the artists studied in Marcia Pointon's *Milton and English Art* - Fuseli, Thomas Jones, Loutherbourg, Mortimer, Alexander Runciman, or Joseph Wright - is to discover that their passion to illustrate Milton

is twinned with devotion to the cult of Salvator Rosa.[7] Mortimer, for instance, the man who according to John Sutherland 'most closely identified himself and his art with Salvator Rosa and the myth of his personality', and who produced a fine etching of the artist, also collaborated with Thomas Jones in an enthusiastic representation of Milton's house at Chalfont St. Giles.[8] The two 'saints' of the sublime were so conventionally linked that in 1824 Lady Morgan could claim explicitly that 'in genius, character and political views, (they) bore no faint resemblance to each other.'[9] Unfortunately her biography of Rosa contains so much colourful fiction (It is perhaps surprising that, alongside Rosa's supposed childhood sojourn with Abruzzese bandits, or membership of a revolutionary 'Compagnia della Morte', she does not conjure up a meeting between the pair, to furnish seventeenth-century artists with a subject comparable to their favourite 'Milton meets Galileo'[10]) that it has suffered rather unjustified neglect and discredit, and the suggestion of relationship (shorn of its trappings of legend and Romantic ideology) has not been followed up.

Rosa was a man of undistinguished origin (his father was a builder), which may have dogged his career and personality. Born in Naples in 1615, and thus Milton's junior by seven years, he may have felt at least as foreign in Baroque Rome as the English poet. Certainly he made powerful enemies there, in particular through a satiric tilt at Bernini's theatrical representations that forced him to seek recognition elsewhere. Florence was more congenial, partly because of the friendship with Ricciardi that offered the possibility of periodic *villegiature* at Strozzavolpe, but the pattern of combativeness and frequent clashes with authority and convention was established. Rosa was both an individualist, breaking almost single-handedly with the seventeenth-century pattern of dependency upon patronage, and an idealist, seeking to establish himself as a moralist and philosopher. After the Florentine period of the 1640s, Rosa seeks increasingly to identify himself with the subtleties of the Renaissance iconographical tradition and to emancipate himself from stereotyping as a *genre* painter. His series of seven satirical poems commences with three devoted succesively to music, poetry and painting, and the degeneracies of taste into which he felt Italian culture had descended as a consequence of the Baroque Maecenas who ruled in his 'Babylon' - Rome.[11]

It is from this perspective that Rosa's battle paintings and etchings may be approached. Battles were in vogue in Rome, enabling Rosa and others like the Frenchman Jacques Courtois, who settled in Rome and became known as Giacomo Cortese or Il Borgognone, to earn a living and gain a reputation.[12] Yet Rosa appears to have been 'not sedulous by nature' to paint wars; having successfully fulfilled an important commission in 1652 from the papal nuncio in France for a battle-scene to be offered to Louis XIV, he writes to Ricciardi that he is no longer prepared to produce such works unless he is paid at the rate of Titian and Raphael. [13] Though in his Satire 'La Pittura' he reserves much of his scorn for the low mimetic representations of street life of the so-called *bamboccianti,* followers in Rome of the Dutchman van Laer (nicknamed 'Il bamboccio' - the 'fat toddler' - because of his deformities), he also seems to have looked down on battle-painting as merely a superior form of genre work.[14]

Rosa's attitudes, albeit extreme in their commitment to the idea of the 'genius's freedom from enslavement to conventional subject matter, point to complexities in the history of seventeenth-century battle painting in Italy. Assuming the dominance of 'norms', one might expect that the Roman noble families who commissioned battle scenes, themselves on the sidelines of the major conflicts of the time, would dictate baroque grandeur and heroic idealisation to their dependent war artists. The reality is less simple: already in the work of Aniello Falcone, who was Rosa's teacher in Naples and who introduced battle paintings of unnamed combatants into Italy, there are pointers in another direction. In a distinguished article of 1939, 'The Battle Scene without a Hero: Aniello Falcone and his Patrons,'[15] F. Saxl describes a distinctive emphasis upon the anonymity of war, remarking how battle paintings by Falcone in Madrid and Burghausen represent conflicts between Christians and Turk (heavily ideological, in the Counter-Reformation era) without discriminating between the two sides: 'dramatic events, heroic characters may be the subject of Falcone's art, but the pictures which he paints are neither heroic nor dramatic.' Even when illustrating his beloved Tasso, Falcone appears uninterested in the representation of heroism; in *The Conquest of Jerusalem* in Brescia, for example, the foreground is full of unimportant combatants, whilst the central figures are to be found only in the

background, almost as tiny as the lone figure of St. Michael in the sky. Again, this hardly seems like Counter-Reformation iconography. Saxl comments of Falcone's work in general that 'the epic deals with noble and illustrious deeds whereas Falcone's pictures are concerned with retreat of subordinate activities', and adds in a footnote that 'it would be worthwhile to write a history of the seventeenth-century battle scenes from this aspect, including the marine paintings.'[16]

But Rosa, in his writing at least, went a good deal further than unheroic representation of battle. His fourth satire, the first to move beyond the subject of the arts and take on broader themes, is 'La Guerra', and its tone is quite unequivocal: 'il tema ... è l'odio per la guerra', Limentani states flatly. [17] It attacks a wide range of contemporary ills - the rising tension between France and Spain in Italy, the role of Italian mercenaries in international conflicts, the contributions of scientific inventions to newer and deadlier forms of warfare - and lays the blame for all of them at the door of the institution of monarchy:

> Più no badano i re quanto può nuocere
> D'un huom la morte; pur che stian lontani,
> Restin vedove, e figli, e madri, e suocere.[18]

Writing in the summer of 1647, at the precise moment at which Masaniello's revolt against the Spanish imposition of stiff taxes on basic foods to support the military had broken out, Rosa breaks off from his catalogue of military tyrants to insert a memorable celebration of his native city as a world upside down, where a fisherman now lords it over tyrants:

> Mira l'altro ardimento ancor ch'inerme!
> Quante ingiustizie in un sol giorno opprime
> Un vile, un scalzo, un pescatore, un verme!
> Mira in basso natale alma sublime,
> Che per serbar de la sua patria i fregi
> Le più superbe teste adegua a l'ime![19]

The news from Naples, short-lived though Masaniello's exploits were to prove, naturally also warmed the hearts of those in the Protestant north engaged in their own struggles with monarchical tyranny (Saxl mentions a medal struck in Holland in 1658 with Cromwell's head on one side and Masaniello's on the other). [20] But

Milton, like Rosa, surely only accepted and celebrated the necessity of courageous armed resistance and militancy in certain times and places, and as a consequence of others having initiated violence or tyranny (so that the conditions of the concept of the 'just war' were fulfilled). 1647 was also the date of his letter to Dati in Florence, earlier that year, with its mention of the evils of the time, 'so many battles of a civil war, slaughters, flights, seizures of goods', placing the pursuit of literary labour in jeopardy.[21] In the summer of 1648, praising Fairfax during the siege of Colchester, the emphasis falls again not on the military victories themselves but upon the work of reform that must follow the necessary armed response to violence:

> O yet a nobler task awaites thy hand;
> For what can Warr, but endless warr still breed,
> Till Truth and Right from Violence be freed...[22]

Thus the hypothesis of Milton's essential aversion to war, and the possibility of a satiric reading of the War in Heaven, may gain a degree or two of further plausibility from a consideration of the context provided by Salvator Rosa and some of the seventeenth-century Italian battle painters. It is Satan of course who starts the War in Heaven, for the significant reason that he detests change ('New laws thou seest imposed')[23] - 'grateful vicissitude' being in fact part of the pleasure principle that sustains immortal life in heaven. It is he too who fuels the satiric exchanges, exulting at the minimal gains achieved by the introduction of cannon, aided and abetted in his debasement of language by the leaden puns of Belial:

> ... they changed their minds,
> Flew off, and into strange vagaries fell,
> As they would dance, yet for a dance they seemed
> Somewhat extravagant and wild, perhaps
> For joy of offered peace: but I suppose
> If our proposals once again were heard
> We should compel them to a quick result.
> To whom thus Belial in like gamesome mood,
> Leader, the terms we sent were terms of weight,
> Of hard contents, and full of force urged home...[24]

Yet it is he also who is the satiric butt, comically revealing his incapacity for lateral thinking, his military tunnel vision that is essentially narrow, native, and funny:

> ...now we find this our empyreal form
> Incapable of mortal injury
> Imperishable, and though pierced with wound,
> Soon closing, and by naïve vigour healed.
> Of evil then so small as easy think
> The remedy; perhaps more valid arms,
> Weapons more violent, when next we meet
> May serve to better us, and worse our foes.[25]

So that, to permit a momentary indulgence of 19th-century biographical fantasy, one might perhaps imagine Salvator Rosa, in a Morganatic portrait of him reading the War in Heaven, chuckling over the discomfiture of this 'idol of majesty divine', or finding grist to identify himself with Abdiel in his mockery of Satan's papal absolutism:

> ... I alone
> Seemed in thy world erroneous to dissent
> From all: my sect thou seest, now learn too late
> How few sometimes may know, when thousands err.[26]

And conversely, in the companion piece of the diptych, where Milton opens 'La Guerra', it would be hard to imagine, however stern the disapproval of Rosa's capricious and even quixotically wilful self-dramatisations, that the poet's face would not be lit with some admiring recognition of the Neapolitan's fortitude and uncompromising radicalism.

Notes

1. Samuel Johnson, 'Milton,' in *The Lives of the English Poets,* London 1906, i, p.133; Arnold Stein, *Answerable Style,* Minneapolis 1953; James A. Freeman, *Milton and the Martial Muse*, Princeton, N.J., 1980; Stella Revard, *The War in Heaven: Paradise Lost and the Tradition of Satan's Rebellion,* Ithaca, N.Y. 1980; Robert Fallon, *Captain or Colonel: The Soldier in Milton's Life and Art,* Columbia, Missouri 1984; Murray Roston, *Milton and the Baroque,* London 1980.
2. Fallon, *op. cit.,* p. 128.
3. *Paradise Lost,* ed. Alastair Fowler, London 1971 vi, 29 – 37.
4. In 'Milton and the Baroque,' *English Studies,* ix, 1979, pp. 138-147.
5. See *Milton and the Italian Cities,* London 1968, pp. 61-2.

6. *The Life and Times of Salvator Rosa,* London 1824, 2 vols. i, pp. 250,252.
7. See especially chapter 3, 'Milton and the Precursors of Romanticism: 1784-1800', in Pointon, *op. cit.,* Manchester 1970.
8. For Sunderland's comments on Mortimer, see *Salvator Rosa,* London 1973 the catalogue of an exhibition at the Hayward Gallery, 17 October to 23 December, 1973, p. 78; for Mortimer's etching, see Richard Wallace, *The Etchings of Salvator Rosa,* Princeton, N.J. 1979, p. 13; for Mortimer's etching, see Richard Wallace, *The Etchings of Salvator Rosa,* Princeton, N.J. 1979, p. 13; for the Mortimer/Jones collaboration see Pointon, *op. cit.,* pp. 64-7.
9. *Op. cit.,* i, 173.
10. Pointon offers a useful explanation of the popularity of this subject, and lists some examples: '... the combined fascination of an alien country, early scientific pioneer and prison setting - not to mention the implications of English progressive liberty opposed to Italian, Popish intolerance - clearly exerted a strong influenced on nineteenth-century artists. Versions of the subject were exhibited by Charles Lucy (1840), Solomon Hart (1847) and Eyre Crowe (1859), all with long descriptions and explanations attached.' (*op. cit.,* pp. 253-254).
11. This paragraph is indebted to: Morgan, *op. cit.;* Wallace, *op. cit.*; the Salvator Rosa exhibition and catalogue of 1973 (see n. 8 above); Uberto Limentani, *La Satira nel Seicento,* Milan / Naples 1961, chapter 5; and Francis Haskell, *Patrons and Painters,* New Haven 1980.
12. For Borgognone see Edward L. Holt, 'Borgognone', *Apollo*, lxxxviii, 1969, pp. 212-223.
13. See Morgan, op. cit, ii, p.258. But in the 1973 Salvator Rosa exhibition catalogue Helen Langdon adds that 'at the same time he refused Ricciardi's request to send the latter the drawings for the Louvre painting, explaining that he needed them to avoid repetition in the future' (*op. cit.*, p. 29).
14. For 'La Pittura' see Limentani, *op. cit.,* pp. 163-179; for the *bambocciantí,* see Haskell, *op. cit.,* pp. 132-138.
15. Published in *The Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* iii, 1938-9, pp. 70-87.
16. *Ibid.,* 74.
17. *Op. cit.*, p. 181 ('the theme is hatred of war').
18. *Ibid.,* p.184 ('Kings don't care how much harm can come from a man's death - as long as widows, sons, mothers, and mothers-in-law stay out of their sight' - 'La Guerra', 295-297). I am indebted for help with this and the following translation to Fiorella Carra.
19. *Ibid.,* p. 181 ('Behold the high courage of an unarmed man! This base and barefoot fisherman, this worm, overthrows so many injustices in a single day! Behold a sublime soul of low birth saving his country's honour by bringing down the mightiest heads to the level of the lowly!').
20. *Op. cit.,* 75n. *Cf.* articles by P. Burke and R. Villari in *Past and Present,* xcix and c.
21. Quoted from *The Student's Milton,* ed. Frank Allen Patterson, New York 1930, p. 1085.
22. Quoted from Sonnet XV, *Milton's Sonnets,* ed. E.A.J. Honigmann, London 1966.
23. *Paradise Lost, ed. cit.,* v, p.300.
24. ibid., vi, 613-622, p.339.
25. ibid., vi, 433-440, p.331.
26. ibid., vi, 145-148, p.318.

FROM ARLECCHINO TO HARLEQUIN: ITALIAN ACTORS ON THE ENGLISH STAGE

VICKI ANN CREMONA

The history of the Commedia dell'Arte is characterized partly by the extensive travelling accomplished by the actors. Italian professional companies set out from the different towns and city states and practically covered the whole of Europe in search of work and a livelihood, offering the only thing at their disposal: their ability, techniques and training, and in this way, exporting their theatre far and wide. The suppleness of their art, the fact that it was not confined within rigid structures, but was continually re-elaborated, made it easy to link with different local theatre forms. Progressively, new characteristics and new genres evolved from this alliance, acquiring a recognized statute within the particular country.[1]

Nothing, it would seem, appeared to daunt these travelling bands of actors. As Fletcher puts it: 'The extent of their travelling has been measured by the fact that they penetrated even to England'.[2] Their presence in England is due to two channels: on the one hand, Italian companies came over directly from Italy, generally to entertain royalty and their courts, on the other, Italian Commedia dell'Arte was 'imported' from neighbouring France, the companies being made up not only of Italian but also French actors who had teamed up with the Italians in Paris or were familiar with their techniques. The popularity of Italian masked types and their rapid diffusion in the country is attested by their presence in English comedies, to the extent that names like Harlequin and Scaramouche even appear in the titles. This kind of popularity indicates that as in other countries, English audiences were attracted to Commedia dell'Arte plays because of the outstanding quality of the actors who took up the various roles.

At present, the number of studies dealing with the history of the Italian actors in England is rather limited. These works do not always focus on the identity of the actors present on the London

stages. The aim of this article is therefore to re-examine the various studies and try to throw new light upon the actors, so as to give a more complete historical picture of this form of theatre. In order to do this, certain hypotheses shall be advanced regarding who exactly the actors were, as their ability and fame would certainly have motivated theatre goers to watch them. Their presence would also help to explain why Commedia dell'Arte developed in England, giving life to the processes of imitation, re-elaboration and creation of new forms especially in the fields of dance, music and mime, finally giving birth to a new genre, pantomime.

The first recorded instances of Italian troupes in England can be traced as far back as Henry VIII;[3] a first date is quoted as 1546-47, but no indications regarding the company or its repertory are given.As a matter of fact, little information has as yet been found regarding companies performing in Italy itself during this period, it generally being limited to names of actors and roles, or in many cases simply to the mysterious phrase: 'Si recito' la commedia'[4].

In 1565, among the various Italians at the court of Elizabeth I, we find Petruccio Ubaldini, a man of letters, who plans a 'piacevol commedia italiana'. In 1573, Italians are touring the provinces, entertaining the local gentry, as in Nottingham where they perform 'before Maister Meare and his brethen' and are paid five shillings for their work[5]. The same year, the Privy council seems to have difficulty in convincing the Lord Mayor to 'permit liberty to certain players', and probably foots their bill.[6] In 1574, Italian companies are at Windsor and later at Reading. In 1576, Italian players are at court where they collaborate with Elizabeth's favourite musician, the Bolognese Alfonso Ferrabosco.

It is in 1578 that we find the first indication that provides us with a clear idea of the quality of the Italian actors visiting the country, even though the fact that previous reference to them is usually connected to Court or landed gentry may already lead us to suppose that it must be fairly high. Mention is made of one Drousiano and his wife Angelica. As K.M. Lea points out, the actor referred to is most certainly Drusiano Martinelli.[7] This actor, whose fame must have spread among various European courts, appears at different periods, in some of the best Italian companies of the time, such as the Confidenti,Desiosi and Accesi. He was with ther latter company, together with the most renowned actors of

his times when it was sent to Paris in 1600 by the Duke of Mantua to entertain Henry IV and Maria de Medici at their wedding. Before that, he had even led his company to the Spanish court and in the course of his various travels entertained lords in their castles. Therefore, the fact that Elizabeth and her courtiers watch and applaud Drusiano (and possibly, other noteworthy actors and actresses) shows clearly that the English public witnesses some of the best acting of the time. High-quality performances would obviously constitute a major attraction to this kind of theatre and explain its popularity and success. That this is probably already the case in Elizabethan England can be shown by the numerous references to this theatre in plays of the period, proving the public's familiarity with Commedia dell'Arte, and moreover, indirectly collaborating to its cultural diffusion. K.M. Lea states that:

There are some half dozen Elizabethan comedies which may well owe something to the resources of the Commedia dell'Arte. These are the anonymous *Wit of a Woman, Englishmen for my Money* by Haughton, *Jack Drum's Entertainment* by Marston, *Ram Alley*, by L. Barrey, Greene's *Tu Quoque* by Cooke, and Robert Taylor's *'The Hog hath lost his Pearl'*.[9]

Confirmation of the fact that Elizabethan playwrights (and, therefore, Elizabethan public) were well-familiar with and appreciative of Commedia dell'Arte can be found in the various references to the character types. Shakespeare's mention of Pantaloon, Zany, Magnifico show his (and his public's) identification of the types and their roles. Certain of his plays reveal that already at this stage, Commedia dell'Arte influence has begun to permeate English comedy, in the plots as well as the dances. The plot of the Tempest closely resembles that of certain Italian scenarii. [10] In *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* Bottom proffers a Bergomask dance.[11]

Attraction to Commedia dell'Arte prevailed even among English gentlemen travelling in Italy, who wrote home to describe what they saw, sustaining the interest of their readers at court.[12] During the reign of Charles I, entertainers of the kind to be found in Italian squares and public places, that were formerly described in letters home, are watched by an English public. This may indicate that attraction for Commedia dell'Arte has spread to the lower classes. In 1630 the Master of Revels grants a warrant to Francis Nicolini and his troupe to dance on ropes, use interludes and masks, and sell powders and balsams.[13] Let us compare this to Coryate's description of a show in Piazza San Marco in Venice, in 1611:

...These Mountebanks at one end of their stage place their trunke, which is replenished with a world of new- fangled trumperies. After the whole rabble of them is gotten up to the stage, whereof some weare visards being disguised like fooles in a play, some that are women (for there are divers women also amongst them) are attyred with habits according to that person that they sustaine... while the musicke playes, the principall Mountebanke which is the Captaine and ring-leader of all the rest, opens his truncke, and sets abroach his wares... he maketh an oration...wherein he doth most hyperbolically extoll the virtue of his drugs and confections...though many of them are very counterfeit and false...[14]

We may be certain that in England as elsewhere, Italian actresses must have proved a major crowd attraction to Commedia dell'Arte performances. British women do not appear on stage until the Restoration, when their presence becomes indispensable: due to the closing down of the theatres during the Commonwealth, no young boys had been trained for female parts. Possibly, recollections of Italian actresses (and perhaps, also of French actresses among the nobles who had gone into exile) made it easier for players to introduce 'woemen' into their ranks.

Royal predilection for Italian companies prevailed at the English court under Charles II, and the King's patronage was extended to Italians performing at the fairs.[15] Charles had probably watched Italian actors triumph at the French court during his exile there. He most certainly knew Tiberio Fiorilli, the great Scaramouche, who was a great favourite of Louis XIV, Charles' cousin.[16] In 1661, the year of Charles' coronation, his sister Henriette married Philippe, Duke of Orleans, brother to Louis, who that same year became the royal protector of the newly-installed Italian troupe in Paris, which in a short time grew to comprise the best and most famous Italian actors of the century.[17] The English King must have been well aware of their qualities and keen to have them at his court. In 1667, the prologue of *Tanigo's Wiles*, quoted by A. Nicoll, mentions: 'A Trivolino or a Skaramuchio that's dextrous at making of mouths will sooner raise a clap than a high flown Fancy.'[18]

Although there is, as yet, no definite historical proof of Fiorilli's presence in London before 1673, this quotation indicates that both Scaramouche and Trivelin were familiar names to London audiences. This possibility may lead us to suppose that not only

Fiorilli (Scaramouche), but also Domenico Locatelli (Trivelin), had visited England prior to this date. A further indication of this is the reference to the 'making of mouths': one of Fiorilli's characteristics was, in fact, to pull faces and because of this, he did not wear a mask, but only powdered his face. In his *Theatre Italien*, containing the plays given by the Italians in their Parisian theatre, Gherardi gives a vivid description of Fiorilli's technical abilities in a mute scene in the play *Colombine avocat pour et contre* in which Scaramouche pretends to have had a fright, and states that through his facial expressions, the actor was able to keep an audience in fits for a quarter of an hour, without proffering a single word.[19] This description corresponds to the English quotation, and thus indicates that not only is the 'Skaramuchio' in question no other than Fiorilli, but confirms his fame in the country as early as 1667.

Trivellino was the character type played in France by Domenico Locatelli, who created the prototype for the future French Harlequin, 'a cunning intriguer, sometimes adventurer, sometimes valet.[20] Like Fiorilli, the actor was in Paris around 1644. He too was popular at court, and therefore must have been familiar to the English prince in exile. If it is true that both actors were present around 1667, we may well suppose that they were accompanied by other members of the Italian troupe in Paris.

When Fiorilli comes (or rather returns) to England in 1673, he is not alone. As Nicoll informs us, on 4 September 1673, the King ordered a chain of gold and a medal to be delivered to Scaramouche and Harlequin, and a chain and medal to four other actors of the company.[21] Since Locatelli had passed away in 1671, two years previously, and the role of 'premier meneur d'intrigue' had now passed on to Domenico Biancolelli, well-renowned for his rendering of Harlequin, we may wonder if it is who has so delighted the King, together with other able companions from the Paris troupe. Such a hypothesis would also make clear why besides Scaramouche. Harlequin becomes the other main figure in Restoration comedies and farces. Playwrights having watched the best two actors of all time would not have easily forgotten either one or the other.

In any case, Tiberio Fiorilli is again in England for the summer of 1675. This time at least, he must have charged a high fee, which is probably the reason behind the King's assent to charging an

entrance fee to court performances. This uprecedented initiative must have created quite a hubbub at court, judging by the indignation expressed by John Evelyn:

> saw the Italian *Scaramucchio* act before the King at White-hall; People giving monye to come in, which was very Scandalous, and never so before at Court Diversions: having seene him act before in *Italy*, many yeares past, I was not averse from seeing the most excellent of that kind of folly.[22]

Fletcher maintains that in 1683 negotiations for an ulterior visit by Fiorilli broke down, probably because the King owed the actor money from previous visits. Considering that Fiorilli was at the time best paid actor in France, and given the remarks about his previous recorded visit, we may suppose that this price must have been very stiff.

No such luck prevails with the visiting company sent by the Duke of Modena in 1678-79 to entertain the King, as well as the Duke's own sister, Maria d'Este, wife of the future James II. The troupe includes at least six other future actors of the Italian troupe in Paris. Unluckily, the actors arrive right in the middle of the troubles fostered by Titus Oates' accusations of a Catholic plot against the King, and hardly anyone at court has any time for them.[23] A few years later, the renown of the Modena actors who have joined the Italian troupe is spread all over Paris.

We may therefore affirm that, in a way, it was the King's fascination for anything going on in Paris that brought the Italians over to England. This attraction to things French can be seen at various levels in the theatre. The newly re-opened theatres adopted French fashions, both in their construction as well as in the order governing the companies. Therefore, it was only natural that French and Italians perform in England, both at court and in the streets, and because the Commedia dell'Arte in Paris had reached heights as regards quality of actors and shows, all other companies in Paris, and consequently in London, will try to emulate it.

As a matter of fact, the Italians' success, especially that of Scaramouche, takes the English theatres by storm. Already in 1676, English playwrights and actors start imitating the foreign actors. In Shadwell's *Virtuoso* we find a masquerade 'in Scaramouche's habit' as well as a dance by Scaramouche and clowns[24]. Plays conceived 'after the Italian manner' abound. The very title of

Ravenscroft's comedy, *Scaramouche a Philosopher, Harlequin a Schoolboy, Bravo, Merchant and Magician* staged in 1667 at Drury Lane, shows to what extent Fiorilli (and probably Locatelli as well as the rest of the cast) have captured the enthusiasm and imagination of his English audience. As Fletcher points out, parts of the text are in Italian, and the play contains many of the typical characters.[25] The names of Scaramouche and Harlequin, in fact, appear in many of the titles of English plays of the period, as for example in Mountfort's *The Life and Death of Doctor Faustus, with the Humours of Harlequin and Scaramouche*, produced in 1685 at the Dorset Garden Theatre.

Not only have the British appreciated these two character types on their own stages, but they are very much aware of their successes across the channel. Two plays given at the Italian theatre in Paris, *Harlequin Empereur dans la Lune* and *La Magie Naturelle,*[26] are taken up by English playwrights who adopt the same title and re-elaborate the plays: Aphra Behn, author of the *Emperor of the Moon* (which appears in 1687, three years after the one in Paris), and Peter Motteux, whose play *Natural Magic* contains characters from the cast in Paris, such as Pasquarel, Mezzetin and Columbine, and is presented in 1697, the very year the Italians are expelled from their theatre. Mrs. Behn justifies the choice of her subject in the following manner:

> 'Tis now much alter'd, and adapted to our English Theatre and Genius, who cannot find an Entertainment at so cheap a Rate as the French will, who are content with almost any Inchoherences, howsoever stuffled together under the Name of a Farce.[27]

Nationalistic feelings apart, what is interesting here is the fact that Commedia dell'Arte, already plied to suit a French public, is taking on a new status on the English stage by adapting itself to local mentality, taste and theatre forms. In their plays, the English authors slowly begin to re-elaborate the pliable codes within the Commedia and use not only Italian [28] but also British actors to incarnate the Commedia types.

It is interesting to note that the most famous of these have probably collaborated with the Italians either in England, or in France and Italy. A case in point is that of the actor Jo Haynes. In February 1670, the actor had entertained Louis XIV with English songs and dances during the 'Divertissement Royal' where the Italians had also taken part, and Moliere had presented his play:

Les Amants Magnifiques. He is again at court in October, this time at Chambord, during the first showing of *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, again with Italians probably present. In 1672 he is again in France, having been sent by Thomas Killigrew to study stage machinery - the latest rage in Paris, brought over once again by the Italians. He must have worked with the famous Carlo Vigarani, who was responsible for the scenic effects not only at the Opera but also in the Italian theatre, where great use was made of machines. That same year, Vigarani concluded with Lully the 'Acte de Societe' giving rise to the Royal Academy of Music, and the following one obtained the exclusive patent to create theatre machinery. Besides these probable contacts, Haynes also claimed to have entertained Cosimo III in Florence in 1685, where he would have most definitely come across Commedia dell'Arte performances. In England, he was one of the first actors to take up the role of Harlequin, and his popularity was such that in one play, he was actually cast as himself.[29] Another famous actor, Thomas Jevons, who also played Harlequin, was part of the Duke's Men, the Duke being no other than the husband of Maria d'Este. It can therefore be supposed that in some way, he too was exposed to Italian influence.

The English continued to look toward Paris for their models of inspiration even after 1697 when the Italian troupe was expelled from the city, after having announced the staging of the play *La Fausse Prude*, which presumably made fun of Mme. de Maintenon. However, the public's attraction to the Commedia dell'Arte was not easily stifled and many of the Italian actors took to the fairs, where they started working with French booth owners and actors. Two Italians in particular, Jean Baptiste Constantini and Joseph Giaraton, who had both visited England, became booth owners themselves. This new alliance with French fairground actors created new theatrical forms stemming from Commedia dell'Arte, but relying more heavily on acrobatics, dancing and singing. The popularity of this theatre is attested by the crowds it drew, which incurred the jealousy of the Comedie Francaise, and is consequent persecution of fairground theatrical companies by invoking its exclusive rights and patents. The ensuing battle was fought in the theatres. Harlequin, Scaramouche, Pierrot and the other types of the Commedia dell'Arte became the defenders of the very right

to act, and plied their techniques to the constant search for new theatrical possibilities, in order to evade the vetoes imposed upon them by the actors at the Comedie. French and Italian actors together fought one ingenious battle after another to defend their right to be on stage and created many new forms of theatre, such as vaudeville, monologue, revue and many others.

The London stage does not remain indifferent to these new kinds of entertainment. On the contrary, this new form of commedia is exported to England by foreign companies from the fairs, containing mixed casts of Italians and Frenchmen, who visit the country regularly, bringing with them the new forms of theatre they have elaborated. In fact an anonymous spectator objects violently to watching the Allard brothers, who owned a booth in the Parisian fairs, perform at court: 'Rogues that show at Paris for a Groat a Piece and here they were an entertainment for the Court and his late Majesty'. [30]

Many French troupes visited England between 1701 and 1728, including famous names such as the Harlequin Francisque (who had launched the famous French playwright Piron), Jean Antoine Romagnesi, who in France formed part of J.B. Costantini's troupe, and then joined the Comedie Italienne, Marc Antoine Lalauze, who worked for Alard and later Costantini, and acted lovers' parts, ar[illegible] especially Giovan Battista Nicolini Grimaldi, who moved on to England from the French fairs and whose family raised generations of mimes and acrobats, as well as the first clowns. Their repertories included old successes from the times of the Italian troupe in Paris, plays by Moliere, a few tragedies, and plays they performed at the fairs. Sometimes English actors joined in their entertainments, and after 1727, small groups of foreigners tended to join forces with English companies in the leading theatres.[31] The foreign performers must have been rather successful, judging from the number and length of their visits, as well as from the fact that on two occasions, in 1720 and later 1726, two troupes were brought over by popular subscription. It is interesting to note that the second troupe, which is advertised as being Italian, includes French actors, some of whom are already familiar with London stages, as well as a Mrs Constantin who Viola Papetti identifies as being Teresa Corona Sabolini, who dies in Palermo in 1730, wife of J.B. Costantini.[32] If we take into consideration the fact that the actress

was part of the Modena troupe that toured England in 1679, it would appear that in 1726 she would have been rather old to still be on the stage. I am inclined to think that the actress concerned is her daughter, Anne Elisabeth Constantini, who in 1708 had married one of the actors of King's Italian troupe, Charles Virgile Romagnesi, and who in 1726 was back in Paris after having toured the provinces in the company of Joseph Giaraton. It is interesting to note that during performances, which are in Italian, the actors supply their audience with booklets describing the action and bearing the following title: 'For the better Information of those who do not throughly understand Italian language, A Book with the Argument and Explanation in English, of what is transacted in every Scene...'[33] May we be led to think that the company feels it is not getting through readily enough to its audience? In the presence of language problems, actors would have resorted to visual, rather than speech elements, giving predominance to movement, mime and spectacular scenery. This was very much the case at the French fairs, where the technical restrictions imposed on the actors made them revert to the old scenic effects of the Commedia dell'Arte,as well as those produced in opera and court ballets, and integrate these into new forms of entertainment.

Be this as it may, we can conclude that the Commedia now gets to England through a new channel. The original Italian Commedia has been manipulated to suit French tastes, French necessities and uses French actors, whose principal aim is not to entertain royalty, but the masses who flock to the fairgrounds. After William's peaceful revolution in 1688, fairs in England start developing too. English actors, who possess techniques of mime, acrobacy and dancing (and who, in certain cases, play Commedia dell'Arte characters), also own booths at the fairs at St Bartholomew's and Southwark.[34] Collaboration between English and French actors and entrepreneurs becomes more intense. Not only do the French come to England, but English actors acquire considerable fame at the French fairs. Such is the case for Roger and Baxter.

The Parfaict brothers are full of praise for Baxter's talents, and describe him as follows:

> Baxter, Acteur Forain, Anglois de Nation, etoit d'une taille et d'une figurer tres jolie sous le masque et en habit d'Arlequin, role qu'il adopta en debutant chez Nivelon, assez bon danseur et extremement leger.[35]

He is very much involved in the life of the Paris fairs and in fact, together with Sorin (who will later perform with him in London), he agrees to lend his name to his employer's company, since the latter is crippled with debts.

In England, Baxter appears again as Harlequin at Drury Lane in *A Night between Scaramouche and Harlequin.* In 1716 he appears in a play which he imports to England from France: *La Guinguette, or Harlequin turned tapster.* The interest of this play is that it is a 'piece a ecriteaux', created in answer to the veto enforced by the Comedie Francaise to use words on the stage, by bringing down a placard held by two children disguised as angels containing the words of the play, which the audience will sing out to the music of a popular tune. Baxter brings this stratagem to the London stage, and presents it as a new form of entertainment to the English public. Its popularity can be seen by the fact that it is still used in pantomimes today.

Campardon describes Roger as an 'acteur forain' who in 1698 is working as Pierrot for Alexander Bertrand[36] who had substituted puppets with humans in his show. The actor later moves on to the Opera-Comique. He is part of various foreign companies who visit England. In London, the actor, renowned as a dancer and a mime, collaborates with John Weaver, whose aim is to create shows which take into account the neo-classic traditions of ballet elaborated by the French dancing-masters. In 1717 Roger helps him to remodel *Andromeda*, which had proved a total failure, into a successful play where mythological characters are flanked by Commedia dell'Arte types.

It appears clear that the foreign troupes, as well as the English actors working abroad, bring along new forms of theatre which attract not only audiences but actors and theatre entrepreneurs as well. Many start off their careers acting as Commedia dell'Arte characters. John Thurmond is known for his renderings of Scaramouche and Mezzetin, John Rich, popularly known as Lun, for his roles as Harlequin. Yet these men do not stop there. Not only do they take in all that foreigners have to offer, but they re-elaborate the different techniques and create their own type of performance, pantomime. John Weaver created the first English pantomime in 1702,*The Tavern Bilkers,* using the 'grotesque characters' of the Commedia dell'Arte. The genre was taken up

by the other impresarios. Thurmond, fascinated by the grotesque, introduced tragical elements into his pantomimes. John Rich, who was called 'God of pantomimes, Jubilees, and Installations'[37] created comic adventures around the loves of Harlequin and Columbine. The plots contained many basic elements from their commedia, with Pantaloon thwarting the lovers' plans. His plays included many scenic effects and on the spot changes of scenery, as well as musical accompaniment. In his performances, great attention was paid to the Harlequinades, where Lun developed Harlequin's acrobatic, mimic and dance qualities. His silent Harlequin was in sharp contrast to Henry Woodward's interpretation, who not only spoke, but adopted more traditional postures.[38]

Pantomime in England, which emerged from the Commedia dell'Arte, was the product of a constant collective search into technical and aesthetic aspects. It was taken up by some of the most famous actors of the day, who bestowed it with its characteristics and brought it to fame and popularity. Their efforts were the end result of a long theatrical tradition, which had started off with the coming of high-quality Italian actors who attracted interest by their inventiveness and versatility. The need for these qualities, and that of proven techniques to imitate and elaborate upon, was very much felt in England especially after the twenty-year interruption in theatre practice. The adoption of French models, which had been forged by the very same actors who had come to England, led to a revival of this kind of theatre and progressively, to a search for new forms stemming from it.

Even today, creative theatre is forever searching into new dimensions and prospects. In order to do this, its actors, like those of the past, know no barriers or frontiers and transport their trade far and wide, adapting it continually to new exigencies and integrating new finds. In this, they follow the steps of their forefathers, who with their masks and costumes and in company of their fellow-actors, travelled throughout Europe sowing their heritage, which today has penetrated collective imagination, and passed to the world of myth.

Notes

1. Suffice it to think of Hanswurst in Germany, Pierrot in France.
2. *Cf.* I.K. Fletcher, 'Italian Comedians in England in the Seventeeth century', *Rivista di studi teatrali*, no. 9/10, 1954, p. 127.

3. *Cf.* K.M. Lea, *Italian Popular Comedy,* Oxford 1934, ii, where activities of Italians in England during the sixteeth century have been recorded.
4. *Cf.* F. Taviani and M. Schino, *Il segreto della Commedia dell'arte,* Casa Usher, Florence 1984, p. 90.
5. *Cf.* K.M. Lea, *op. cit.,* pp. 352-353.
6. *Cf.* M. Willson Disher, *Clowns and Pantomimes,*London 1968, p. 67.
7. *Cf.* K.M. Lea op. cit. and also her article: 'Connections and contrasts between Commedia dell'arte and English Drama', *Rivista di Studi Teatrali,*no. 9/10, 1954, p.116.
8. The troupe included such names as Vittoria Piissimi, Flaminio Scala, Pier Maria Cecchini. *Cf.* F. Angelini entry Martinelli Drusiano, *Enciclopedia dello Spettacolo,* vii, Le Maschere, Rome 1975.
cf. B.Brunelli, entry: *Accesi, ibid,* vol I.
9. *Cf.* K.M. Lea, *Connections...op. cit.* p.119.
10. K.M. Lea quotes Prof. Neri as being responsible for the original association of the *Scenarii delle Maschere in Arcadia* (printed 1913) with the play. See her article p.122.
11. Act V, scene I.
12. K.M. Lea, *op. cit.,* p.344.
13. *Cf.* I.K. Fletcher, *op. cit.,* p. 127.
14. *Cf.* K.M. Lea, *op. cit.,* p. 344.
15. Tiberio Fiorilli was in Paris in 1644, when his third son was baptised at St. Germain; *Cf.* E. Campardon, *Les Comediens du Roi de la troupe italienne,* entry: *Fiorilli,* Paris 1880.
16. In 1680 the company passed under the protection of the king, and became known as La troupe ordinaire des Comediens Italiens du Roi.
17. Fletcher, op. cit., pp. 128-129 recounts that the King gave his protection to John Devoto, an Italian puppet showman, who was arrested for not paying the stage players' tax, presumably meaning that he had used human actors. Devoto continued giving shows at Charing Cross and later on at the Bartholomew Fair definitely until 1676.
18. A.Nicoll, *Restoration Drama,* Cambridge 1952, p.250.
19. Evaristo Gherardi, *Le Theatre Italien,* Vol.i, *Colombine avocat pour et contre,* Act II, scene VII, Paris 1700.
20. D'Origny, *Annales du Theatre Italien depuis son origine jusqu'a ce jour,* Paris 1788, p. 8.
21. A. Nicoll, *op.cit.,* p.250.
22. I.K. Fletcher, *op. cit.,* p.130, and Evelyn's *Diary*, ed. E.S. de Beer, iv, p. 75.
23. These are: G. Lolli (Cinthio), G. Tortoriti (Pasquariel), C. Costantini (Mezzetin), J.B. Constantini (Octave) and their wives. Antonio Riccoboni, who is also part of the troupe, is the father of Luigi Riccoboni (Lelio) who will re-open the Italian theatre in Paris in 1716. In a letter to the Duke of Modena, Lolli complains of having given only six performances, which probably meant a loss of income and of any eventual presents by the King or courtiers; *cf.* A. L. Bader, 'The Modena Troupe in England', *Modern Language Notes,* June 1935, pp. 367-369.
24. *Cf.* M. Willson Disher, *op. cit.,* p. 73.

25. *Cf.* I. Fletcher, *op. cit.*, p. 134.
26. The play *La Magie Naturelle* escaped scholars' attention probably because it is not included in the final edition of *Theatre Italien,* published in 1700, but is listed in the *Supplement au Theatre Italien,* Brussels 1697, and in the *Theatre Italien,* Braakman, Amsterdam 1698.
27. Quoted in V. Papetti, *Arlecchino a Londra,* Napoli 1977, p.19.
28. *Cf.* Aphra Behn's play, *The Rover,* presented in 1681 were the real Italian Harlequin was introduced into the second part of the play, spoke Italian and probably extemporised his part.
29. Aphra Behn's *HarlequinThe emperor of the moon.*
30. *Cf.* V. Papetti, *op. cit.*, p. 70.
(31) cf. E.L. Avery, 'Foreign Performers in the London theatres in the early eighteenth century', *Philological Quarterly,* 1937, p. 107.
32. *Cf.* V. Papetti, op. cit., p. 22.
33. *Cf.* E. L. Avery, op. cit., p. 114.
34. *Cf.* V. Papetti op. cit., p. 23, where the author lists the following actors who were also booth owners: William Pinketham, James Spiller, Thomas Dogget, William Bullock, Josias Miller, John Harper, John Hippesley, Tony Aston, Lacy Ryan, Thomas Chapman.
35. *Cf.* V. Papetti, *op. cit.*, p. 22.
36. *Cf.* E. Campardon. *Les spectacles de la Foire,* Paris 1877, p.329.
37. *Cf.* V. Papetti, *op. cit.*, p.49.
38. Actor and author, Henry Woodward was also known as Lun Junior, and worked for Garrick at Drury Lane for a long period of time, before going back definitively to Covent Garden.

PROUD TO CATCH COLD AT A VENETIAN DOOR: POPE AND PALLADIANISM

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The history of English Palladianism is well known.[1] That history has always seen the English movement as part of a classical and neoclassical continuum stretching from Vitruvian Rome, by way of the Veneto to Jones and Burlington. Pope's villa at Twickenham, which pays ostensible tribute to the architectural language of Burlington's Chiswick Villa, has an important role in English Palladianism by moralising the inherited language of architecture. The symbolism of Twickenham was elaborated by the poet both in verse (itself founded on neoclassical formal and ideological precedents) and in his extensive correspondence (carefully rewritten for publication, again on classical models).[2] English Palladianism in its inception and conception appears to possess a coherent historical, aesthetic and ideological programme, of which Pope is the heir, and also a potent force in cultural transmission.

In descriptions of this 'movement' an alternative iconographical language has been passed over. It is that of the English vernacular. The vernacular was never entirely displaced as a 'style' (turning up in constant 'Gothic' allusion before the 'Gothic revival'); and, as an ideological topos, the 'old English house' remains a recurrent motif in the verse and prose of Pope, even at his most Palladian. For Pope and his circle, that tradition was always latent, although it was, at times, deliberately concealed within their architectural programme. Its contrary pressure creates a strong undertow, complicating, even contradicting, their declared intentions.

These tensions may be *seen* in the architectural development of three of the most familiar icons of English Palladianism from the circle of Pope: the poet's own villa at Twickenham; the villa of his friend Lord Burlington at Chiswick; and Stowe, the ideal house of Pope's patriot opposition. At Stowe, in the iconographical gardens, both Inigo Jones, England's foremost Palladian architect, and Pope, the poet of the movement, are celebrated in the Shrine of British Worthies, and linked programmatically to the Temple of Ancient Virtue.

All three houses (Twickenham, Chiswick, Stowe) use an identikit series of motifs which may be termed Palladian, but the catch-all word obliterates major functional (and hence ideological) differences between the buildings. These differences suggest that, even at its most coherent, English Palladianism was motivated by different imperatives. Pope's Twickenham villa was little more than a suburban box set in a few acres of suburban garden. He clapped a portico onto this as an act of homage to Burlington, and as a status symbol which any twentieth-century British domestic builder would recognise. But Burlington's villa is in essence the Villa Rotonda, transported from its hilltop at Vicenza like an eighteenth-century House of Loreto, and set down in a landscaped park at Chiswick. Although, in general, it might be called Palladian, in detail it is a kind of reference encyclopedia of Renaissance Italian motifs. Stowe, in its final remodelling, is of a different order of magnitude. A number of villas were strung together as separate units along a facade as if each were seeking a certain modesty of scale, but in combination they suggest more a palace than a country retreat. As a 'power house', Stowe is in direct competition with Walpole's 'Palladian' Houghton, where the expenditure was so colossal that the cunning First Minister destroyed his accounts.

Although each house from Pope's circle is making a moral statement through its classic Palladianism, that statement is different in each case. Pope's villa is the most programmatic house in English literature. He lived here, he would have it believed, like those 'ancient sages' celebrated by Palladio (in his *Quattro Libri,* Book II, xiix,) who commonly used to retire to such places; where being oftentimes visited by their virtuous friends and relations, having houses, gardens and fountains, and such like pleasant places, and above all their virtue, they could easily attain to as much happiness as can be attained here below. In pursuing this Palladian ideal, Pope combined the imitation of Horace with the Christian humanism of a Petrarch.

Burlington's Chiswick, on the other hand, is preeminently a sign of 'taste' and a temple to the arts. The villa was not intended primarily as a place in which to live, but as a casino for entertainment, a repository for my lord's books, statuary and pictures, and as a sumptuous garden ornament. It is a sign of the good life as conceived by a connoisseur, a latter day Pliny or a Pollio

Felix enjoying the efflorescence of the Roman empire. It was also a declaration of cultural Jacobitism, for Lord Burlington's devotion to Inigo Jones is an act of homage to the architect of Stuart absolutism. So, one of the great portraits a visitor to the villa would see, was of Jones's patron, Charles I himself.[3]

Stowe's main function was not aesthetic. It was to serve as a great power house, though Cobham had retired from office. It stands as a reproach to a 'corrupt' Court and Ministry who undervalued Cobham. This is a rallying point for the so called 'patriot' opposition planning to resume office. State rooms within the villa are prepared for the reception of the monarch in more favourable times. The iconography of house and garden celebrated the great political and military achievements of the family. If this is a villa of the ancients, it recalls Scipio or Cicero and the virtues of the Roman republic harnessed now for the British *imperium.*[4]

Palladianism is being put to very different ends, therefore. In the process something remarkable occurs in each case to the original house upon the site. We do not know what Pope's villa looked like before he leased it, but it was certainly not Palladian. In 1719 – 20 he employed the Catholic, Tory architect James Gibbs to remodel the building along Palladian lines, but its essential iconographic feature was not incorporated until about 1735 when the riverside portico was clapped upon the facade. 'The Zeal of my Portico has eaten me up,' Pope wrote to Burlington, and he was unwilling to go forward with any detail of this 'Outward Facade' until he had the sanction of the arbiter of taste, Burlington himself.[5] The phrase 'outward facade' raises the question – what did the facade conceal? The Palladian 'sign' has been laid upon the body of an older architectural form.

Burlington was rich enough to construct a villa from the foundation up. He did not need to conceal older architecture behind an outer facade. But what he does conceal is the original Jacobean house upon the site, screened from the villa by a plantation of trees, and usually suppressed in representations of Chiswick in the eighteenth century. This was the real country house and original dwelling for the family, linked to the Villa by a long passageway. But the old house is something Lord Burlington does not wish to emphasise. As at Twickenham, there is a new 'facade' presented to the world-and an old house suppressed iconographically.

The fate of the original dwelling at Stowe is more remarkable yet. It was totally enclosed within the Palladian improvements to the place, and once ingested, digested by remodelling inside.

This process of imposing a Palladian facade upon an older English country house is as much part of the significance of these villas as the declared and diverse programmes of virtue, taste and politics of their owners. For the old country house had a moral and social signification of equal weight, and its concealment is not a merely aesthetic act. The word 'taste' has moral and social resonances as Pope, the satirist of the bad taste of a Timon, well knew.

That older tradition of the vernacular country house has been as fully explored as the history of Palladianism[6]. But such is the effect both of the periodisation and specialisation of literary study, that the tension between two major architectural ideologies in eighteenth-century Palladianism has tended to be suppressed. The attempt to create a sense of 'period', or of 'movement', inevitably calls for the creation of boundaries between epochs, and distinguishing criteria for style, thus providing a drive towards hegemonic systematisation rather than a dialectal debate. Thus, any history of Pope's Palladianism will (via Burlington) return historically to Inigo Jones in the seventeenth century and via Jones to Italy. Yet, on the other hand, any history of the ideology of the country house in 'the seventeenth century' itself (the 'period' in which Pope was born) will tend to ignore Jones as a temporary and peripheral phenomenon, and concentrate on the so called 'genre' of the country house poem, a 'genre' traditionally constructed as part of the history of the tribe of Ben, a line which stretches from Jonson, via Carew and Herrick, to Marvell in their poems to Penshurt, Saxham, Wrest, and Appleton House.

If one were to choose an architectural sign to represent this alternative ideological programme, and to set against Chiswick, Twickenham and Stowe, then the privileged house would be Penshurst Place, the medieval home of the Sidneys in Kent. It is the topic, or rather topos, of a panegyric by Ben Jonson, which poem is regarded as the English *fons et origo* of the genre of the English country house poem. It is a house hard by the village and the village church, the centre of an agricultural estate. The most striking feature of the architecture of the house, compared with the iconography of the Palladian villa is the absence of a unifying

facade – and Jonson's quarrel with Palladio's disciple, Inigo Jones, is well known. Penshurst is a conglomerate of buildings, almost a little village itself, which has grown up over the centuries in response to the needs of a diverse community. There are the crenellations of a vestigial earlier fortified dwelling, pointed Gothic arches and Tudor fenestration. This historical diversity is unified by being built from the local stone, and it is dominated by the Great Hall. That Hall, as can be seen even from outside, is the focus of the entire building.

Jonson's celebration of the pious and chivalrous family who entertained him there had been set in the Great Hall. The hearth is at the centre of the Hall, and the Hall is at the centre of the community:

> And though thy walls be of the country stone,
> They are reared with no mans ruin, no mans groan,
> There's none, that dwell about them, wish them down;
> But all come in, the farmer and the clown:
> And no one empty-handed to salute
> Thy lord and lady, though they have no suit.

This is a celebration of open handed 'old English hospitality' as it was often called, where lord and even the meanest tenant are reciprocally united, both giving gifts one to the other as their means allowed, all eating of the self-same meat either in hall, or in charitable dispensation at the door. The 'clown' here is as much a welcome guest as the King himself, who one day drops by unexpectedly, yet finds all prepared for the guest. To each according to their need; from each according to their ability. It is a form of feudal socialism.

Pope's reading in the poetry of the seventeenth century would inevitably make him aware of this tradition. He would be aware, too, that much of what Jonson wrote was founded in classical literature. Indeed, parts of *To Penshurst* are a *catena* of translations from writers like Horace and Martial who are also the foundation stones of Pope's own poetry, and the strength of Jonson's art is to unite the real presence of the vernacular English house with the prestige and ideology of classic origins. Although, in Jonson's hands, that unification appears natural and homogeneous, in fact we are touching here again upon dialectical rather than hegemonic structures, for the classical, Latin tradition evolved from a debate

between an idealised conception of the pristine Italian homestead – the paternal farmstead of the *Urvolk* – and the villas of the new, cultured (and Greek) elite. So too Jonson contrasts *English* Penshurst with the ostentatious pride of the new houses of those who call in '*foreign* architects' (the architects of the Italian Renaissance in general, and Palladio in particular).

Pope's own position towards the vernacular tradition is ambiguous. It is praised, but only indirectly as a regretted absence. The theme of the 'old English hospitality' is taken up in the portrait of Cotta in the Epistle to Lord Bathurst, 'Of the Use of Riches':

> Like some lone Chartreux stands the good old Hall,
> Silence without, and fasts within the wall;
> No rafter'd roofs with dance and tabor sound,
> No noontide-bell invites the country round;
> Tenants with signs the smokeless tow'rs survey.
> And turn th'unwilling steeds another way;
> Benighted wanderers, the forest o'er,
> Curse the sav'd candle, and unop'ning door;
> While the gaunt mastiff growling at the gate,
> Affrights the beggar whom he longs to eat.
> (187 – 96)

The same view of the hospitality of the old English country house also informs, *sotto voce,* the criticism of Timon's monstrous feast in the Epistle to Burlington where bad taste and bad manners are equally morally reprehensible:

> Is this a dinner? this a genial room?
> No, 'tis a temple, and a hecatomb,
> A solemn sacrifice, perform'd in state,
> You drink by measure, and to minutes eat.
> (155 – 58)

But this is to define the old ideal only by negatives. It was not like this. Burlington is not like Timon. But Chiswick villa is not described. It does not even appear in the Epistle. The reason is self-evident. A connoisseur's temple to his taste and the arts could not fulfill the role of Penshurst Place. On the contrary, to differentiate Burlington from Timon would be a matter of nice discrimination within the contemporary English Augustan parameters of 'Taste'.

It seems as if the old English country house is not available to Pope as a moral centre for his poetry, though it was what poetic tradition required. Despite the moral imperative of the old

literature, in practical, contemporary terms when Pope's advice was sought on the refurbishment of Raleigh's old home at Sherborne, the poet urges *not* the preservation of the antiquity of the hall, but rather the immediate imposition of a classical facade on the ancient country house as the sign of true, and new, taste. It was what he himself did at Twickenham. Likewise, at Stanton Harcourt Pope found the preservation of the 'high and spatious' great hall ridiculous. In any case, the place was now the haunt of owls, he claimed, and the whole house a rambling, leaking, smoking, creaking, mouldering, smelling hotch potch inhabited only by the distressed poet, a crazy old steward, the ghost of Lady Francis and grey-haired rats so hungry that they are nibbling the few remaining books in the library. It is a sign for Pope of the crazy design of the house that the entrance leads into the kitchens. It is a blunder of taste to enter by the screens passage.

> By the blackness of the walls, the circular fires, vast cauldrons, yawning mouths of ovens and furnaces, you would think it either the forge of Vulcan, the cave of Polypheme, or the temple of Moloch. The horror of this place has made such an impression on the country people, that they believe the witches keep their Sabbath here, and that once a year the Devil treats them with infernal venison, a roasted tiger stuffed with ten-penny nails. (? September, 1718)

This brilliant comic description refuses to take seriously the *actual* architectural structure of the old English house. The ancient communal feast in hall is now reduced to a folk tale of a witches' Sabbath. When Pope was working purely imaginatively, as with the portrait of Cotta's 'old hall' or Timon's villa, the idea of communal hospitality still served as a moral touchstone, but when his mind is engaged with the functions of a real building, architectural form and ancient ideal detach themselves from one another.

It is not surprising, therefore, that Pope was unable to find a real country house of his own time where the old hospitality subsisted, where 'feeding the hungry, and giving alms to the poor, do yet make a part of good house-keeping'. He found the architecture which embodied that social order absurd, though it was what Jonson had celebrated at Penshurst Place. Nowhere, among Pope's circle, was there now an answerable house. So important was the

ideal, as an abstact concept, that he composed a formal, but slightly comic letter in praise of 'antiquated charities, and obsolete devotions', but it remains in his correspondence without a determinate addressee now to be sent to one, now another, but eventually left free-floating.[7] The very architecture of Palladianism shows why. Chiswick is not a communal hall but a monument to taste; Stowe, as a palace of Whig imperialism, is deliberately isolated from the community in its great landscaped park which is a sign of wealth, power, control. Despite Pope's praise of the owners' virtue, both Burlington and the Cobhams have this in common with Timon. They are proud of their Venetian houses.

The most effective architectural symbol for Pope was his own villa, for here the poet could both control the architectural form of the house, and the interpretation of the icon through his writings.[8] His success in these twin aims was immense. The multiplication of images of the house in painting and engraving in the eighteenth century goes hand in hand with repeated editions of his verse and correspondence. The villa became a focus for tourism, or even for a kind of reverential pilgrimage. One image may stand as representative: Parr's engraving after Rysbrack. It shows the house post 1735, after the imposition of the Palladian portico. The depiction of the house from the river became the standard icon, and the other front, on the London road, was suppressed. One reason is clear. Pope wished to show the portico, which has no 'use' – to employ one of his own moral terms – but is there only as a sign, a guarantee, of Burlingtonian taste and Palladian morality imposed upon the carcase of an older English house.

The scene depicted is one of hospitality. The poet is seen before the entrance to his grotto, protected by his dog Bounce. A party of visitors is arriving by boat, either to meet the poet, or to explore the natural delights of his garden, the house being emparked in a miniature paradise. The image does not show the houses of Pope's suburban neighbours, or the busy main road. The villa has become an isolated and tiny house.

To explain the scene, favoured lines from Pope's Imitations of Horace are inscribed beneath the engraving:

Know, all the distant din the world can keep
Rolls o'er my grotto, and but sooths my sleep.
Content with little, I can piddle here
On broccoli and mutton round the year;
But ancient friends (tho' poor or out of play)
That touch my bell, I cannot turn away.
'Tis true, no turbots dignify my boards,
But gudgeons, flounders, what my Thames affords:
To Hounslow-Heath I point, and Bansted Down,
Thence comes your mutton, and these chicks my own:
From yon old walnut tree a show'r shall fall:
And grapes long-lingring on my only wall...
Then cheerful healths (your mistress shall have place)
And, what's more rare, a poet shall say grace.

The engraved image and the lines, however, are not entirely consonant. There is no relationship between Pope and the visitors. They are certainly not touching the bell, which would be on the front door on the other side of the house. They are not even looking at their putative host, but gazing about them. They resemble a party of sight-seers, and it is for such, presumably, that Parr's engraving is intended. They have certainly arrived by the sight-seeing route. This is the way visitors would begin their tour of Twickenham as is made clear by the well known *Epistolary Description of the Late Mr Pope's House and Garden* (1747)[9]. The eye is orientated upon two symbolic approaches to the villa, one above, the Palladian portico, and the other beneath, the entrance to Pope's grotto, celebrated in the accompanying lines. But the grotto, in fact, was *not* the entrance to the house, but passing beneath it (and the London Road) emerged in Pope's emblematic garden. How this might appear to an actual visitor is explained by the *Epistolary Description* which fastens iconographically (as Pope would wish) upon his symbolic Palladianism:

> Over the Front Entrance into [his] Grotto lies a balustraded Platform, and serves the Building both as a Vestible and Portico; for a Balcony projecting from the middle Window of the second Story, and supported by Pillars resting upon the Platform, makes so much of it resemble a Portico; but the Platform extending without these Pillars, becomes more a Vestible: Add to this, the Window opening into the Balcony being crowned with a Pediment, gives the several Parts an Air of one Figure, or whole, and adds an inexpressible Grace to the Front.

This elaboration of Pope's embellishment shows the effectiveness of the motif. The visitor's eye is fixed upon it. The poet's taste works upon the visitor's sensibility. We see how the diverse elements of the structure are harmonised in the design, and feel how the symmetry creates an inexpressible feeling of grace. Two entrances are offered to us: one leading *into* this symbolic, miniaturised country house, the other *through* it to the garden 'estate' beyond. The 'Vestible' is the product of Palladian architecture, the grotto, which leads to the garden, suggest the foundation of the whole in Nature. It is small wonder that Pope found it ridiculous at Stanton Harcourt to be precipitated at once into the kitchens. This is a far more regulated and graduated progress: 'But soft – by regular approach – not yet...' as Pope wrote, though not of himself but of proud Timon. He might not have attacked Timon so much for false ceremony were he not aware how merely ceremonial his own domestic iconography is. (Attack is the best form of defense). The very language of the *Description* becomes entangled in this symbolic ceremonial, for the writer betrays an extraordinary confusion between the function of the facade as 'Vestible' and 'Portico'. The trouble is that the Palladian sign is not exactly either. It is not the covered entrance to the house, nor, more evidently a 'vestible' or hallway. As in Parr's engraving, the tradition of the open house is suggested in the *Description*. 'All come in' to the common hall, as Jonson wrote. But the sign and the communal function are at odds.

The *Description* later assembles a *catena* of quotations from Pope's verse which spells out the poet's intentions in the community. Pope's is a house dedicated to friendship, hospitality and an attendant philosophical freedom.

> To Virtue only and her friends a friend,
> The world besides may murmur or commend.
> Know, all the distant din that world can keep,
> Rolls o'er my grotto and but soothes my sleep.
> There my retreat, the best companions grace,
> Chiefs out of war, and statesmen out of place.
> There St. John mingles with my friendly bowl,
> The feast of reason, and the flow of soul.

But the abstracted idea, if translated into architectural function, is odd, like the vestibule/portico. The place of this symposium is neither the 'hall', as the old English vernacular tradition would have

it, nor Pope's 'great parlor' as would be the case in fact. The shift from hall to parlour is obscured, even mystified, by making the setting instead Pope's grotto, whose mysterious entrance is always shown in images of the house from the river, leading beneath the Palladian portico, yet supporting it.

> *There* my retreat, the best companions grace.
> Chiefs out of war, and statesmen out of place.

Rather than describe how his house functioned, Pope prefers a synecdoche – a part of the house stands for the whole (just as one might call an old manor house a 'hall'). Now the grotto stands for the house. This is the place where Pope, reflectively retiring into himself, also described himself as creating poetry. It is the sign of his hermit-like withdrawal from society. It is appropriate, therefore, that the writer of the *Epistolary Description* does not enter the house itself. That is irrelevant iconographically. Instead he enters the open passage before him which led directly into the grotto,a region, he records full of 'Deception' and 'Mirrors' reflecting the natural spring and the ores and minerals within, and giving glimpses of the world without between river and garden, so that 'by a fine Taste and happy Management of Nature, you are presented with an indistinguishable Mixture of Realities and Imagery.'

The author 'holds the mirror up' to Pope's intentions. That balance between architectural reality and ideological imagination, is exactly what this villa is about. The groundwork is the divine rationality of things, God as expressed through the creation and creativity of Nature. The rocks beneath the house, gathered lovingly by Pope and arranged as a natural history museum and as a cave of the Muse, are literally the foundations of the villa which rises upon them like a restored ruin of Rome from the engravings of Piranesi or Domenico Cunego. Metaphorically, this is also a sybil's cave, a realm of poetic prophecy, or like that grotto where the nymph Egeria was said to have taught religion and wise policy to Numa.

But you still do not get into the house. The tour, inevitably, comes out in the garden beyond, dominated by the pious obelisk dedicated by Pope to his mother. Indeed, if it were not for the inventory taken after Pope's death, we would know almost nothing

about the interior of Twickenham, and since this is one of the most programmatically iconographic houses in English literature, that combination of continual outer statement and total inner privacy is extraordinary. The community are held outside as onlookers upon a poetic sight/site.

What Twickenham is really 'about' is, in essence, a Palladian facade, and it is like Chiswick and Stowe, among the great houses of Pope's circle, because that facade by insisting on one kind of architectural ideology conceals another. The old English vernacular statement was about the house as a 'hall', a centre of communal living in the centre of a rural community. The very absence of that word from the *Description,* and its replacement by the term 'vestible', a *hallway,* itself is indicative of a major change in the function of the house. The portico at Twickenham is a sign of what Pope wants to say about his taste, his political allegiances, his morality and culture. But it is a sign without use. It is a status symbol. In this it is like Timon's Palladian door. It is a statement of pride, not of the old community.

'Yes, I am proud,' wrote Pope in the 'Epilogue' to his *Satires.* These is a proper pride in virtue, he claims, and in the possession of a circle of virtuous friends. It would be absurd to criticise Pope from some 'politically correct' line for departing, as it were, from the proto-socialism of the old English community to the elitist circle of his own dinner parties (a sign of private property and the capitalist ethic!). The concern of this argument is rather to emphasise the latent presence of the old architectural ideology which obstinately lingers, however suppressed or concealed. Architecturally, the older style disappears behind a facade, or is excluded from the picture; textually it vanishes in elisions where, for instance, both 'hall' and 'parlor' slide into the symbolic 'grotto'. But it is always an implied presence, noticed most in its absence from Cotta's 'hall' or Timon's villa, but spelled out even in a letter for which there was no living correspondent.

This obstinate, residual presence of an old ideology may explain something of the spasmodic history of Palladianism in England. The Palladian style seems now, visually, so much of the received experience of the English country house, that an act of the historical imagination is necessary to realise how utterly foreign, revolutionary, even bizarre the Queen's House at Greenwich or

Burlington's Chiswick villa first appeared. Palladianism had to be imported *twice* from Italy, first by Jones for the somewhat alien Stuart court with its Catholic leanings and overseas connections, then by Burlington, a cultural Jacobite bearing with him the trophies of his two Italian Grand Tours. *English* Palladianism is, in some measure, a contradiction in terms. It is rather a declaration of the cultural status of an Italian/Roman tradition by architectural sign, and that sign is alien from the vernacular tradition. Pope was historically correct when he wrote that the English Timon was 'Proud to catch cold at a Venetian door', both in his insistence on cultural self-gratulation, and on the foreigness of its origin (not least in the unsuitability of the architecture of the summer villas of the Veneto for the English situation).

Hence the short-lived development of Palladianism even on its second importation, and even when underwritten by a Pope and Burlington, a Cobham or a Walpole. It is, as it were, a facade imposed upon a residual architectural ideology. Even before the English country house order was radically challenged by continental (foreign) Jacobinism at the end of the century, the Palladian style was being replaced by alternatives, of which, for this argument, the neo-Gothic is the most important. For the Gothic is seen as vernacular, and the vernacular is national, natural to England, and communal. In strict terms of architectural history, the identification of Gothic (an international style) with national identity is absurd. But the language of signs has often little to do with scholarship. In the 1790s, at a time of radical assault upon the country house order, Palladianism is ostentatiously the language of a Timonesque elite, and Pope's poetry goes out of fashion at the same time as his kind of facade. By Disraeli's time, the term 'Venetian oligarchy' is a term of abuse even from a Tory, whose aim was to reunite one nation in one community.

This is a broad, hegemonic, generalisation, obviously in need of qualification in terms of the continuance of Palladianism itself as a residual ideology. The most striking example of that residual survival is the *third* emergence of Palladian motifs in British architecture at this very moment. Any upmarket suburban development today is likely to show signs of a Palladian architectural grammar, now totally detached from its classic and Italian origins, but read as a sign of 'the English country house.'

To clap a 'portico' on a suburban box, over the front door, or even over a garage, is a cheap and easy way to declare status and taste off the peg. It suggests that *this* property is not cheap, but luxurious; that the purchaser has sufficient 'use of riches' to move upmarket. In this respect, Pope's villa stands at an historical crossroads.[10] He himself was emulating, in miniature, the country houses or villas of the great lords he was proud to call his friends. His garden was the sign of an estate. There is a complex iconography embodied in this architecture. But the Twickenham facade, so easy to reproduce, is now a ritual motif whose ideological history is quite lost. Pope's Twickenham is typical English suburbanism. In its third emergence Pope's Palladianism has now become a ritual sign. It is pure swank.

Notes

1. I am particularly indebted to James S. Ackerman, *Palladio*, Harmondsworth 1966, and *The Villa: Form and Ideology of Country Houses*, London 1990; John Harris, *The Palladians*, London 1981; Christopher Hussey, *English Country, Houses: Early Georgian,* London 1955; and *English Country Houses: Mid Georgian*, London 1955; James Lees-Milne, *Earls of Creation*, London 1962; Bernhard Rupprecht, 'Villa: Zur Geschichte eines Ideals', *Wandlungen des Paradiesischen and Utopischen: Studien zum Bild Eines Ideals*, Berlin 1966; John Summerson, 'The Classical Country House in 18th Century England', *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts,* cvii, pp. 539 – 87 and *Architecture in Britain 1530 – 1830,* Harmondsworth 1953 etc. and *Inigo Jones,* Harmondsworth 1966; Rudolf Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism* New York 1971, first published 1949 and *Palladio and English Palladianism,* London 1974.
2. The major study of the ideology of Pope's villa is Maynard Mack, *The Garden and the City* London 1969. For the relation of Twickenham to contemporary architecture see specifically Charles Beaumont, 'Pope and the Palladians,' *Texas Studies in Literature*, 1975, pp. 461 – 79; Howard Erskine-Hill, 'Heirs of Vitruvius: Pope and the Idea of Architecture', *The Art of Alexander Pope*, ed. Howard Erskine-HIll and Anne Smith, London 1979; William A. Gibson, 'Three Principles of Renaissance Architectural Theory in Pope's *Epistle to Burlington', Studies in English Literature,* 1971, pp. 487 – 505; Avril Henry and Peter Dixon, 'Pope and the Architects: A Note on the *Epistle to Burlington', English Studies* 1970, pp. 437 – 41; John Dixon Hunt, 'Pope's Twickenham Revisted', *Eighteenth-Century Life*, viii, 1984, pp. 26 – 35. More generally see Morris R. Brownell, *Alexander Pope and the Arts of Georgian England*, Oxford 1978; Peter Martin *Pursuing Innocent Pleasures: The Gardening World of Alexander Pope*, Hamden, Connectitut, 1984.
3. The best introduction to the villa is Richard Hewlings, *Chiswick House and Gardens*, London 1989, with good bibliography.

4. *Apollo* (xcvii, 1973) is devoted to the history and iconography of Stowe. See also Christopher Hussey, *English Gardens and Landscapes 1700 – 1750,* London 1967; Lawrence Whistler, *Stowe: A Guide to the Gardens,* Buckingham 1968 and John Martin Robinson, *Temples of Delight*, London 1990.
5. Quoted in Brownell (n. 8 below), p. 7.
6. I particularly indebted to G. R. Hibbard, 'The Country House Poem of the Seventeenth Century', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* 1956, pp. 159 – 74 (a seminal article); William Alexander McClung, *The Country House in English Renaissance Poetry*, Berkeley 1977. I have also used Paul M. Cubeta, 'A Jonsonian Ideal: 'To Penshurst',' *Philological Quarterly,* 1963, pp. 14 – 24; Heather Dubrow, 'The Country-House Poem: A Study in Generic Development', *Genre* 1979, pp. 153 – 79; Alastair Fowler, 'The 'Better Marks' of Jonson's 'To Penshurst'', *Review of English Studies*, n.s., 1973, pp. 266 – 82 and 'Country House Poems: The Politics of a Genre', *The Seventeenth Century*, 1986, pp. 1 – 14; Jeffrey Hart, 'Ben Jonson's Good Society', *Modern Age*, vii, 1963, pp. 61 – 8; Mary Ann McGuire, 'The Cavalier Country-House Poem: Mutations on a Jonsonian Tradition', *Studies in English Literature,* 1979, pp. 93 – 108; Charles Molesworth, 'Property and Virtue: The Genre of the Country-House Poem in the Seventeenth Century', *Genre,* i, 1968, pp. 141 – 57; Richard S. Peterson, *Imitation and Praise in the Poems of Ben Jonson,* New Haven 1981; Isabel Rivers, *The Poetry of Conservatism 1600 – 1745,* Cambridge 1973; Harold Tolliver, 'Householding and the Poet's Vocation': Jonson and After', *English Studies,* 1985, pp. 113 – 22; Don E. Wayne, *Penshurst; The Semiotics of Place and the Poetics of History,* Wisconsin 1984.
7. ?24 December 1724.
8. See Morris R. Brownell, *Alexander Pope's Villa*, London 1980, the catalogue for the Marble Hill House exhibition of images of Pope's villa. More recently Michael Charlesworth has argued that the underlying plan of villa and garden is modelled on Palladian church architecture – a specific development from the pervasive influence of Italian architecture at the time. As Charlesworth points out 'The whole ambience of English architecture in Pope's time was Italian; between 1563 and 1715 no book on architecture was written by an Englishman for Englishmen.' If Pope's plan for the garden is in fact modelled on Palladian church architecture (and on neo-Palladian harmonics as understood both from Palladio and Robert Morris), then Pope is marrying to the foreign and Italian influence a Roman Catholic symbolism also. The contrast with the Gothic/English tradition could not be more marked. See Charlesworth, 'Alexander Pope's garden at Twickenham: an architectural design proposed', *Journal of Garden History*, 1987, pp. 58 – 72.
9. Reprinted in *The Genius of the Place: The English Landscape Garden 1620 – 1820,* ed. John Dixon Hunt and Peter Willis, London 1975. See also Malcolm Andrew, 'A New Description of Pope's Garden, *Journal of Garden History*, 1981, pp. 35 – 6.
10. For the suburban development of the country villa see John Summerson, 'The London Suburban Villa', *Architectural Review,* civ, 1948, pp. 63 – 72; Dora Wiebenson, 'Documents of Social Change: Publications about the Small House', *Studies in Eighteenth-Century British Art and Aestetics,* ed. Ralph Cohen, Berkeley 1985.

THE ACCOMPLISHED MARIA COSWAY: ANGLO-ITALIAN ARTIST, MUSICIAN, SALON HOSTESS AND EDUCATIONALIST (1759 – 1838)

STEPHEN LLOYD

Maria Cosway, seen in her arresting 1787 self-portrait engraved by Valentine Green, was one of the most remarkable women of the later eighteenth century and earlier nineteenth century, yet today she is little known (Fig. 1).[1] An Anglo-Italian, she won recognition in London not only as a highly determined artist, but also as a talented musician. She was a notable society hostess, and the correspondent to an international circle of friends, that included artists and architects such as David, Lawrence and Soane; the collectors, publishers and antiquarians – Townley, d'Hancarville, Ackermann and Douce; as well as men of power – General Paoli, Jefferson, Melzi and Cardinal Fesch. In the second part of her life, mainly spent in France and Italy, she established herself as an educationalist.[2] All these elements of her life are interlinked, and it is this versatility that distinguishes her from other notable women of the later Georgian and Romantic period. The serious reassessment of Maria Cosway has only recently begun, but here her personality and achievements will be examined within a biographical and cultural context. Despite her strong French connections, her outlook was essentially Anglo-Italian.

Born of English parents in Florence amidst the milieu of the Grand Tour and raised a Catholic, after her marriage in 1781 she enjoyed social and artistic success in London and Paris. Her beauty and fame ensured that not only was she portrayed many times by her husband Richard Cosway, but that she also sat to Reynolds, the sculptor Thomas Banks, and the miniaturist John Smart.[3] After the death of her only child, Louisa Paolina (whose godparents were appropriately General Pasquale Paoli and Louisa de Stolberg, Countess of Albany), there followed a separation from her husband; but in 1803 she embarked on a second career, founding and running two schools for girls, first in Lyons, and after 1812 at Lodi (under

two schools for girls, first in Lyons, and after 1812 at Lodi (under the patronage of Cardinal Fesch and Duke Melzi d'Eril respectively). She collaborated with the engravers Rosaspina and Lasino, as well as corresponding with, among others, Canova, Ugo Foscolo, and the family of Alessandro Manzoni whose daughter Vittoria she educated. Such was the reputation of her *Collegio*, that in 1834 it led to her being created a Baroness by the Austrian Emperor Francis I.

A full study of her life and career would need to ask to what extent her artistic and social achievements were either compromised or enhanced by her status as a woman, while married to an artist who was highly successful, and later notoriously bizarre. In fact was the unusual phenomenon of this artistic marriage, a boost or hindrance to her? And to what degree did the complex matrix of her reputation as pretty young emigré, salon hostess and pious Catholic effect and determine her various careers and the motivations behind them?

The 1787 *Self-Portrait* was painted and then published when Maria Cosway was in her late twenties, at the height of the early phase of her success. In the portrait she projected an air of calm and of forthnight determination. This was an aspect of Maria's character noted by Northcote – the assistant and biographer to Joshua Reynolds – who cited her as the only individual apart from his master, who was superior to circumstances:

> I knew her when she was in the greatest distress; I knew her afterwards when she was in high prosperity, and visited by the Prince of Wales, but at both periods her behaviour was exactly the same.[4]

Maria also depicted herself wearing a cross at the end of a dark ribbon choker, tied at the front of the neck with a heart shaped locket. This was an overt reference to her Catholic faith, the complex impact of which provides a key to many aspects of her life and character.

But it was Maria's beauty that captivated many of her admirers, as was noted by an essayist who praised her beauty with hyperbole in comparison with her diminutive husband:

> However deficient might be the vain limner in stature and personal appearance, the weight in the scale of the connubial firm, was made up by the gifts which nature had bestowed on his fair partner. Had Rubens modelled the charmer, Prometheus would have pronounced it his masterpiece, and sending for his torch, would have set it alive for love. Maria certainly was a magnificient specimen of humanity[5].

To Hazlitt, despite her birthplace, she was the most lady-like of Englishwomen'.[6] The painter James Northcote, who knew Maria in Italy during the 1770s, recalled in later life that she was:

> ...not unhandsome, endowed with considerable talents, and with a form extremely delicate and a pleasing manner of the utmost simplicity. But she was withal, active, ambitious, proud, and restless: she had been the object of adoration of an indulgent father, who unfortunately for her had never checked the growth of her imperfections...[7]

Maria Louisa Caterina Cecilia Hadfield was born in Florence, most probably in 1759.[8] Her parents were Charles and Isabella Hadfield, who managed a chain of three hotels for visitors on the Grand Tour.[9] Among the guests over the years were royalty, members of the aristocracy, writers, connoisseurs and artists.[10] Charles Hadfield himself was portrayed while serving punch to English guests at one of his hotels, in a friendly caricature painted in oil by Thomas Patch.[11] According to an English guide on Italy of 1775, Hadfield had been running his business in Florence since the late 1740's:

> The Inns at Florence are at Carlo's one Charles hadfield who has kept it these twenty and eight years and where most of the English Nobility and Gentry have lodg'd, who have been abroad in that time. It is. and has always been a house in very great Esteem in a genteel part [of] the town a few doors from the English Envoy. and near the Palace and gardens of great Duke. he has three houses (one of them situated on the river arno) quite near each other.[12]

In her autobiograpical letter of 1830 to Sir William Cosway, Maria recalled her family's origins as well as her early life:

> My father, Charles Hadfield, was from Manchester of very rich merchants and manufacturers. I took particular informations and was told no one existed but an old rich lady who lived in the country, the last of the name died very rich but had no family, and no one could say who had been his heir. My father travelling thro Italy found very bad accomodations for travellers particularly the English, this induced him to take a large house and fitted it up quite in the English manner, this brought all the English, and was inducd to take two more houses for the same people. Sir, [in] the one on the Arno I was born.[13]

She went on to describe a series of disturbing events, in which a number of her elder siblings were killed by a deranged nurse. This trauma was probably formative on Maria's intense religious outlook as well as her later interest in the upbringing of children:

> – from that in short my father said I should be brought up a Catholic and all his Children were also. When four years Old I was put into a Convent, under the protection of the Grand Duke and the grand Duchess of Tuscany.

But Maria soon began to show her artistic and musical talents, to such a degree that she was considered a youthful prodigy. She received encouragement from her father, and training from a number of artists, as she continued to relate in her autobiographical letter of 1830:

> Being perceived I had natural dispositions I was immediately put to learn music and at six and more at ten years of age did what I since have thought extraordinary. At eight years I began drawing, having seen a young lady draw I took a passion for it more than I had for Music. I was taken home and put under the care of an old Celebrated lady, whos[e] portrait is in the Gallery. I had a number of Masters but painting had my preference. This lady soon found I could go further then she could instruct me, and Mr Zofani being at florence my father ask'd him to give me some instructions. I went to study in the Gallery of the Palazzo Pitti, and Copied many of the finest pictures.

Maria was initially made a pupil of Violante Cerroti, and it is known that she occupied at the Uffizi from 1773 to 1778.[14] Among the works Maria studied, were those by Trevisani, Reynolds, van Meiris and Correggio,[15] the latter under Zoffany's supervision.[16] At least three such copies survive in Lodi, painted after works by Raphael, Correggio and Rubens.[17] By 1778, at the age of eighteen, Maria had reached a standard of proficiency sufficient to be elected a member of the Florentine *Accademia del Disegno*.[18] But her artistic education in Italy was to develop, as she recounted in her letter of 1830 to Sir William Cosway:

> Wright of darby [sic] passed only few days at florence and Noticing my assiduity and talent for the Art, sprang me to the higher branch of it. My father had a great taste and knowledge of the Arts and Sciences therefore in every way contrived to furnish my mind. He meant to go to England with all his family. As he wished I should see Rome, Mrs. Gore the Mother of the Lady Cowper took me with her. There I had an op[p]ortunity of knowing all the first living Artists intimat[e]ly; Battoni [sic], Mengs, Maron, and many English Artists. Fusely [sic] with his extraordinary visions struck my fancy. I made no regular study, but for one year and half only went to see all that was high in painting and sculpture, [and] made sketches.

On the visit to Rome from 1778 to 1779, Maria spent much of her time with English artists, on whom she made a great impression.[19] She stayed with the sculptor, Thomas Banks who was resident in Rome together with his wife from 1772 to 1779.[20] Northcote, who was in Rome from 1777 to 1780, described her in a letter as a potential successor to Angelica Kauffmann:

> We have now in Rome a Miss Hadfield, who studies painting. She plays very finely on the harpsichord, and sings and composes music...and will be another Angelica.[21]

Northcote spent some time in Maria's company, on an artists' trip from Rome to see the sights in and around Naples during 1779:

> In the month of April following I went to Naples in the company of a party of friends (artists), amongst whom were Maria Hadfield, Thomas Banks the sculptor, Prince Hoare, Henry Tresham, Alexander Day, the miniature painter and dealer in paintings Mrs. Banks, and others. After tarrying about a month and seeing whatever was curious in that country, I returned again to Rome.[22]

Maria also kept up a correspondence with the miniaturist, Humphry, who was studying in Rome from 1773 to 1777.[23] Her letters mainly comprised gossip about artists, musicians and visitors to Florence, who include Townley, as well as the painters Zoffany, Edwards and Tresham. Among these papers is a letter of early 1777 from the musician William Parsons to Isabella Hadfield, requesting the hand of her daughter.[24] From Isabella's stern letter to Maria it is clear that the latter was dissuaded from this course.[25] Another artist, Prince Hoare, who was studying in Rome from 1776 to 1779, had also taken to Maria. A letter of 1781 by Northcote then in Plymouth, written to Hoare soon after his return to London from Italy, stated that as Maria was about to marry Cosway, Hoare had been so pitied by his friends that it had been arranged for Banks to break this news to him gently.[26]

Maria was clearly causing some emotional havoc among the younger English expatriates in Florence and Rome. But it was also a time of considerable turmoil for herself, as she later recalled:

> ...my mother recalled me [from Rome] to Florence to go with her to England. My inclination from a child had been to be a Nun. I wished therefore to return to my Convent, but my mother was miserable about it and I was persuaded to accompany her.[27]

The reason for Isabella Hadfield's decision to pack up the family business in Florence is not known, but her husband had died in November 1776.[28] It was probably that she was tired after running the hotels on her own for two and a half years, and she may also have been looking to make a suitable match for her talented and attractive elder daughter.

Maria and the rest of the Hadfield family travelled to London in the summer of 1779, accompanied by the Bankses.[29] A year earlier Maria together with her mother, three of her brothers and sisters, and what was probably one of the family's servants, had been issued with passports in Florence.[30]

Once installed in London, the Hadfield family would have had few problems with introductions, considering the Anglophile nature of their hotel business in Florence, in addition to Maria's own social and artistic contacts. As she stated later: 'I had letters from Lady Rivers for all the first people of fas[h]ion: Sir J. Reynolds, Cipriani, Bartolozzi, Angelica Kauffmann'.[31] According to Northcote however, circumstances went against the family to such a degree that a prosperous marriage for Maria became imperative:

> [Maria] was filled with the highest expectations of being the wonder of the nation like another Angelica Kauffmann. But alas! these expectations failed; the money which the father gained in Florence was quickly spent in England, and the family were soon in some degree of distress. This change, to her so very great, she bore with remarkable fortitude and magnaniminity, but in the end, after having refused better offers in her better days, she from necessity married Cosway the miniature painter...[32]

It is likely that Isabella Hadfield was looking to arrange a handsome marriage settlement for her precocious daughter, and that Cosway made the best offer. As Maria put it: 'I became acquainted with Mr Cosway, his offer was Accepted, my brothers wishes gratified and I married tho' under Age'.[33] It has been asserted that Cosway settled £2800 on Maria[34], and evidence has come to light to support this large figure, which gives an indication of his wealth and status at that time.[35]

Richard Cosway (1742 – 1821), who had been born in rural Devon, was seventeen years older than Maria (Fig. 2). His career was one of the most successful of any artist based in London during the last two decades of the eighteenth century. He was well known

as a *macaroni* or dandy, and was extremely vain, priding himself on his ultra-fashionable appearance. However Cosway was also witty and loquacious – Walpole was amused by his 'glibity', and commented once after dining with the artist, whose daughter had recently died, that he 'was romancing with his usual vivacity'.[36] As a painter Cosway was ambitious, exhibiting portraits and subject oils at the Academy, many of which were engraved, and he developed the most fashionable portrait miniature practice for the London élite . He soon became rich and lavishly decorated his house in Berkeley Street with 'objects of taste and *vertu*'.

Two events in particular, occurring in 1780, propelled Richard Cosway towards the pinnacle of fashionable success. In that year he first painted the young Prince of Wales, then aged eighteen, who was setting out to enjoy the pleasures of high society in London. Cosway rapidly became the Prince's favourite artist, being appointed his *Primarius Pictor* from 1785, and continuing to enjoy this Royal patronage up until 1808.

Also 1780 was most probably the year when Cosway was introduced to Maria. Soon the couple became engaged, and were married by special licence at the fashionable church of St George's, Hanover Square,[37] where they signed the register book in the presence of Thomas Banks and Isabella Hadfield.[38] The sculptor Banks, who was a friend of both the bride and groom, was almost certainly the best man, and it may have been he who first introduced the couple.[39] Certainly another manual friend was the collector of classical sculpture, Charles Townley, who may have given the bride away, in the absence of her father.[40]

Throughout the first phase of their relationship from 1781 until 1790, when their only child was born, the Cosways enjoyed great success and considerable critical attention.[41] Despite their differences – in age, temperament and experience – during the 1780s the marriage appeared to be successful. Each artist benefited from the close proximity of the other. Richard would have enjoyed the publicity that his new wife brought; while Maria was able to develop her own reputation as a musical hostess and painter.

From 1781 to 1789, Maria Cosway exhibited over thirty paintings at the Academy, and she showed works there again in 1796 and 1800 – 1801.[42] These included some notable 'in character' portraits, but they were principally ambitious subject pictures

drawn from mythology and literature, in particular from Spenser's *Faerie Queene* and the *Works of Ossian*, the fictitious epic by James Machperson.[43] Generally Maria received very mixed reviews, but some of her more imaginative subject compositions, such as the *Sampson* of 1784, the *Deluge* of 1785 and the *Vision* of 1786, despite being heavily influenced by Fuseli's style, were generally considered failures. More successful were the portraits, whether 'in character' such as that of the *Duchess of Devonshire* as Cynthia in 1782; or straightforward and direct as with the *Self-Portrait* of 1787 (Fig. 1). But despite the critical uncertainty Maria was able to display her work at the Academy every year. Of the forty-two paintings exhibited, over a third were reproduced as prints, many by Valentine Green, one of the foremost mezzotint engravers in Lonodn. Richard Cosway was likely to have encouraged his new wife's painting, and certainly would have assisted her in exhibiting at the Academy, as well as finding engravers. But it appears that he did not allow her to paint professionally;[44] and she admitted that this effected the quality of her work.[45] However any assessment of the actual merit of Maria's pictures is difficult, in that they have mainly disappeared, or are untraced. A number were listed in the Cosways' inventory of 1820, indicating that some had remained unsold from the Academy exhibitions, if indeed they had been offered for sale.[46] At any rate Maria was eventually frustrated in her attempt to establish herself as an independent painter.

If Richard Cosway limited his wife's potential as an artist, he compensated for this through his promotion of her. This was partly done through the publication of a number of engraved images of Maria or of her together with himself.[47] The culmination of this double projection can be seen in his self-portrait with Maria, which was engraved in stipple by Thew and published in 1789 as *Mr and Mrs Cosway* (Fig. 2). It is based on a close study of Van Dyck's double portraits and Rubens's domestic scenes. Richard Cosway shows himself as if presenting Maria to the viewer. In seventeenth century fancy dress, he conceals his lack of height by placing himself a step below Maria. She stands calmly, while holding a prayer book, and with a cross hanging from her waist. The emphasis on this detail and part of the intention behind this image are revealed in the inscription of the print's rare first state: *Abelard and Eloisa in the Garden of Fulbert's Country Residence at Corbeil.* The effect was completed by the artist showing himself with an elegant moustache, albeit removed from the second state.

The romantic and tragic legend of the medieval lovers was sustained by the publication and translation of their correspondence. Numerous editions of the *Letters of Abelard and Heloise*, were brought out in England during the eighteenth century, reaching a peak of interest in the 1780s, when five editions were published. That of 1781 had a frontispiece of Abèlard and Héloise holding hands in Fulbert's garden, where they used to meet secretly.[48] It is highly likely that the Cosway knew of this traditional iconography of the lovers, and that he based his image on it. So too it is probable that he owned a copy of the story or the letters. In the portrait Cosway reduced the religious tone to a minimum, but the choice of subject may be seen as significant in light of Maria's ostentatious Catholicism and his profound if often bizarre interest in the spiritual.[49]

The title, *Abelard and Eloisa*, was also relevant in that the Cosways professed to own relics of the unhappy lovers. In 1797 the diarist Farington noted Northcote's account of an incident when he had asked to borrow a skull belonging to the Cosways:

> Traits of Cosway and Mrs Cosway were shewn on the occasion. Mrs Cosway sent to desire Northcote would take care of the Skull as 'it reminded her of immortality'. Cosway expressed a similar wish because it was 'the Skull of Abelard'.[50]

Hazlitt, after a visit to Stratford Place at the end of Cosway's life, also recorded that among his numerous relics, curiosities and talismans, the artist owned 'the crucifix that Abelard prayed to' and 'a lock of Eloisa's hair'.[51]

Through such images Cosway was drawing attention to the novelty of a successful artistic couple. This was done, not only deliberately through the paintings they exhibited as well as with the help of his concerted image campaign, but also involuntarily through the negative criticism from satires and caricatures. However much their artistic reputations were enhanced or damaged at this period, the Cosways attracted even more comment on their social activity during the 1780s. The fact that the receptions they held became so fashionable, advanced their social status and hence their visibility as artists. A commentator noted:

> ...he and Mrs Cosway kept house in style, in a sort of co-partnership, of so novel a character, as to surprise their new neighbours, astonish their old friends, and furnish wonderment for the table-talk of the town...[52]

In these fashionable concerts and soirées which she organised, Maria found a happier and more stable outlet for her talents as a musician and hostess, in contrast with the difficulties she encountered in establishing herself as an artist. Both their houses in this decade were used for these parties, firstly at 4 Berkeley Street, where Richard Cosway had been living since 1768, and then after 1784 in the central section of Schomberg House in Pall Mall.[53] The latter was known as a residence for successful artists, with Gainsborough living in the West wing from 1774 until his death in 1788. Prior to the Cosways' tenancy in 1784, the centre part of the house had been occupied by the notorious quack and sex-therapist, Dr James Graham, who for three years lectured on 'the Grand Celestial Bed' which adorned his 'Temple of Health and Hymen'.[54]

William Blake, in his unpublished play, 'An Island in the Moon', a sharp satire on London society of the mid-1780s, enviously noted the Cosways' rise in status after their move to Pall Mall. He caricatured them as 'Mr and Mrs Jacko', in reference to famous monkey then performing at Astley's circus at Westminster Bridge.[55] Cosway, who had owned a baboon in the early 1770s, which later bit him in the leg and had to be put down, was also teased for resembling an ape.[56] Blake (alias 'Quid') had another character, the gossipy 'Miss Gittipin', describe all the comings and goings:

> And I hardly know what a coach is, except when I go to Mr Jacko's. He knows what riding is [and he does not *(deleted)*] and his wife is the most agreeable woman. You hardly know she has a tongue in her head, and he is the funniest fellow, and I do not believe he'll go into partnership with his master, and they have black servants lodge at their house. I never saw such a place in my life. He says he has six and twenty rooms in his house, and I believe it, and he is not such a liar as Quid thinks he is [but he is always Envying *(deleted)*].[57]

Blake's details were correct. Cosway was rich enough to have a black servant (called Pompey), a coach, which was rare for artist, while the central section of Schomberg House would have had between twenty and thirty rooms on its four floors. The 'master' about whom Blake speculated, was probably the Prince of Wales, who was about to appoint Cosway his *Primarius Pictor* in 1785.

At these concerts Maria was the centre of attention, whether singing, or playing the harp and pianoforte. Among these appearing were top Italian professional musicians such as Rubinelli, Tenducci and the male soprano Luigi Marchesi.[58] As Maria wrote: 'my exercise in Music made my evenings very agreeable'.[59] She later recalled the many ladies of fashion who attended these soirées, as well as other visitors:

> General Paoli, the Foreign Ministers, the distinguished foreigners, Lord Sands, Mr Erksine...until they become great concerts of the first professors. H.R.H. the Prince of Wales honoured [them] constantly.[60]

Indeed the London *bon-ton* flocked to the salons. They comprised a mix of the younger royalty, members of the Whig aristocracy and political opposition, together with artists, musicians, writers, scientists and the curious. There were also foreigners, whether royalty, diplomats or emigrés. The tenor of these occasions can be gathered from some of the accounts. The scientist Tiberius Cavallo writing to Prince Hoare in 1788 described one evening:

> Mrs Cosway, alias Mary Cosway, alias Lady Mary Cosway, alias the Goddess of Pall-Mall, alias la decima Musa, alias the Magnetic Muse, and her sister Charlotte were very glad to hear something of you, and desire their compliments. – Magnetism is, at least apparently out of fashion there. Two evenings in the week, viz: on monday and thursday, Mary the great sits in state; but at other times she is not at home. On Monday last amongst a great variety of people she had Mr De Calogne and the French Ambassador, persons peculiarly remarkable for being in one room at the same time, The performances in these stated evenings consist of music, flattery, scraping, bowing, puffing, shamming, back biting, sneering, drinking tea, &c. &c.[61]

A year later in 1789, Gouverneur Morris, the American envoy in London, was struck by the formality of these occasions, as he noted in his diary:

> Visit by Appointment at Mrs Cosway's; a genteel Company, Dutchess [sic] Dowager of Bedford among them. Music very good. The arrangement of the Company however is stiff and formal. There must be in all this as in all other Countries the Ways and Means of bringing People together even to Intimacy, but it seems at the first Aspect to be rather difficult.[62]

Horace Walpole, a regular visitor over the years 1786 – 1791, left some of the more interesting accounts of these evenings. He was not particularly close to either of the Cosways, but did show them round Strawberry Hill personally in 1784. He was a rather reluctant visitor to the concerts, which he once described as like 'Charon's boat';[63] and where, in a letter of October 1787, he warned Lady Lyttelton to expect 'a babel of compliments, that will be made to you on your good looks by the representatives of all the princes in Europe at Mrs Cosways' Diet'.[64] Yet Walpole could not resist the opportunity of watching the activities of the various foreigners and emigrés at play. In a letter dated 20 May 1786 to Sir Horace Mann at Florence, Walpole described meeting the Anglo-Florentine Earl Cowper at the Cosways', and described both him and the concert in unflattering terms:

> Well: you may find I have seen your principled Earl. Curiosity carried me to a great concert at Mrs Cosways t'other night – not to hear Rubinelli, who sung *one* song at the extravagant price of ten guineas, and whom for as many shillings I have heard sing half a dozen at the opera house: no, but I was anxious to see an English Earl who had passed thirty years at Florence.[65]

A few months earlier in January 1786 Walpole wrote to Lady Ossory about another memorable evening, where he encountered the mademoiselle la Chevalière d'Eon de Beaumont, former French diplomat and spy in London, as well as a notorious transvestite who also gave fencing displays. Walpole continued his letter with an account of other eminent personalities he met that evening:

> Nor was this all my entertainment this evening. As Mlle Common of Two reserve is a little subsided, there were other persons present, as three foreign ministers besides Barthélemy, Lord Camarthen, Count Oghinski, Wilkes and her daughter, and the chief of the Moravians. I could not help thinking how posterity would wish to have been in my situation, at once with three such historic personages, as D'Eon, Wilkes, and Oghinski, who has so great a share in the revolution of Poland, and was king of it for four-and-twenty hours.[66]

Boswell was also drawn to Schomberg House in the later part of his life.[67] Yet this was more for the company of his hero, the emigré Corsican patriot, General Paoli, whose close friendship he had to share with Maria. However Boswell was not beyond flirting

with Maria, as he revealed in a letter of 1785, written to her mainly in Italian, asking her (successfully) to accompany him to the fashionable circus of performing animals run by Astley:

> ...chi, tutto contrario a li, da alle cane un simiglianza umana, mentre che lei (per servirmi del linguaggio d'Inghilterra) treat men like dogs...[68]

But of a considerably more complex nature was her long and close relationship with Paoli himself, who had been exiled in England from 1769. Perhaps the finest depiction of Paoli, was that painted by Richard Cosway and exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1798 (Fig. 4).[69] Despite the sitter being in exile, the artist portrayed Paoli in a heroic Titianesque mood, as a Renaissance warrior, with glittering armour – a helmet and a breastplate adorned with the Medusa's head. It has been aptly described as an image full of 'high character and grandeur in air and manner', revealing 'a man of emotional intensity, dignity and claim to power'.[70] The portrait may well have been painted specifically for Maria Cosway, as it hung in her room at Stratford Place.[71] A treasured possession in Lodi, she bequethed the painting to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and it hangs today in the Pitti Palace.[72]

It seems that Paoli and Maria were introduced sometime in 1783 possibly at one of the Cosways' salons.[73] The basis of their relationship was that they were both exiles from Italy. Maria detested the cold and depressing London climate, and yearned to return to Italy together with her husband.[74] Maria was comforted by Paoli's company. He was witty, sympathetic, and understood the deeply pious and melancholy nature beneath her gay exterior. Paoli in turn was captivated by her beauty and talent. Clearly there was a deep bond between the two. When the Cosways' only child was born in 1790, they gave their daughter the middle name of Paolina in honour of her godfather.[75] From this date Paoli addressed Maria affectionately as 'mia Signora Comare'. The extensive correspondence in Italian from Paoli to Maria, dating from 1784 to 1803, attests to their mutual attraction.[76] Another mark of their friendship was a gift in 1789 from Paoli to Maria of a casket of precious stones, which she bequeathed to the Grand Duke of Tuscany.[77]

However Maria's most famous relationship – and indeed love affair – was with Thomas Jefferson, then the American envoy in Paris[78]. She met him there in 1786, on a visit with her husband who had been asked to paint portraits of the family of the duc d'Orléans (later known as Philippe-Egalité), at that time a friend of the Prince of Wales[79]. It was John Trumbull, the American painter, who had first introduced Maria and Jefferson, and then acted as personal courier for many of their love letters between London and Paris. Mysteriously the account of the weeks when Jefferson and Maria were inseparable is missing from Trumbull's detailed diary[80]. Maria's own miniature portrait of Jefferson was painted specifically for her by Trumbull in 1788 (Fig. 3).[81]

Richard Cosway must have been fully aware of the amount of time that Maria spent with Jefferson; and indeed he accompanied them on outings to pleasure gardens at St Germain and the Desert de Retz at Marly. On one trip Jefferson broke his wrist in a still unexplained accident. Shortly afterwards the Cosways left for Flanders, and a few days later Jefferson in great physical pain and emotional confusion wrote his famous love-letter, known as a 'Dialogue between my Head and my Heart'. The latter may be considered to have the upper hand, as it not only has the last word, but also opens the dialogue by describing his feelings after the separation from Maria:

> I am indeed the most wretched of all earthly beings. Overwhelmed with grief, every fibre of my frame distended beyond it's natural powers to bear, I would willingly meet whatever catastrophe should leave me no more to feel or to fear.[82]

There has been speculation about the exact nature of their relationship, but this should be tempered by recalling Jefferson's words to Maria, which he wrote in a letter of 21 May 1789:

> Adieu, my very dear friend. Be our affections unchangeable, and if our little history is to last beyond the grave, be the longest chapter in it which shall record their purity, warmth and duration.[83]

Maria returned to Paris on her own in 1787, but she and Jefferson failed to rekindle the intensity of their relationship from the previous year. However their correspondence continued up until his death in 1825, towards the end of which they exchanged information on their educational projects – her *Collegio* at Lodi and his University in Virginia.

While in Paris during 1787 Maria renewed her friendship with the painter Jacques-Louis David and the antiquarian Baron d'Hancarville.[84] Highly imaginative and somewhat disreputable, d'Hancarville – who had produced the publication of the Hamilton collection of vases, worked as a librarian for Charles Townley, and published his own notorious *Recherches* in 1785 – became entranced by Maria, addressing her flatteringly as 'ma très aimable, ma très obligeante, ma très interessante amie'.[85] His letters to Maria are not only a mine of information on Parisian cultural circles in the years leading up to the Revolution, but reveal the crucial role he played in promoting both the Cosways' reputations in Paris, not only during but also after their visits.

D'Hancarville reported the comments by leading Parisian artists, led by David, praising Richard Cosway's magnanimous gift to Louis XVI of four huge tapestry cartoons then attributed to Raphael and Giulio Romano.[86] David welcomed the Cosways, who played a significant role in his projected but unfulfilled 1788 visit to London.[87] Two letters written by David to Maria in that year attest to their close relations, which continued for at least another fifteen years.[88] Greetings and introductions for visiting friends and relatives were exchanged, while prints and drawings were sent back and forth. David also praised in extravagant and flattering terms Maria's composition of *The Hours,* as he saw it in the engraving of 1788 by Bartolozzi:[89]

> On ne peut pas faire un poësie plus ingénieuse et plus naturelle. Courage Madame Cosway, à la gloire, à la gloire, sans génie on est rien et avec du génie on est ce que vous êtes.[90]

In the coming years Maria witnessed David's attempts at clemency during the Terror. She received close instruction from him on her own painting, but in turn was to be critical of his slavery to the model, as well as of his late style.[91]

With the exception of her husband, David was rare among Maria's male admirers in that he was interested in her activity as an artist. She had already broken a number of suitors' hearts in Italy and England, during the years leading up to her marriage; and it was strongly implied by the satirist, Anthony Pasquin, that she had attracted the attentions of the Prince Wales.[92]

Fig. 1. Valentine Green after Maria Cosway, *Mrs. Cosway*, 1787, mezzotint engraving, 41.9 × 32.8 cm, Windsor Castle, Royal Library c 1992, Her Majesty the Queen. This print is after an untraced oil on canvas (probably exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1787, no. 251).

Fig. 2. R. Thew after Richard Cosway, ***Portraits of Mr & Mrs Cosway,*** 1789, stipple engraving, 38.1 × 26.2 cm, Fondazione Cosway, Lodi. The first state was titled *Abelard and Eloisa.* The original drawing is unlocated.

Fig. 3. John Trumbull, *Thomas Jefferson*, 1788, oil on panel, 12.1 × 7.6 cm, The White House collection (on loan to the National Portrait Gallery, Washington DC). This was painted at the request of Maria Cosway, and remained in Lodi until 1976, when presented by the Italian State as a bicentennial gift to President Gerald Ford.

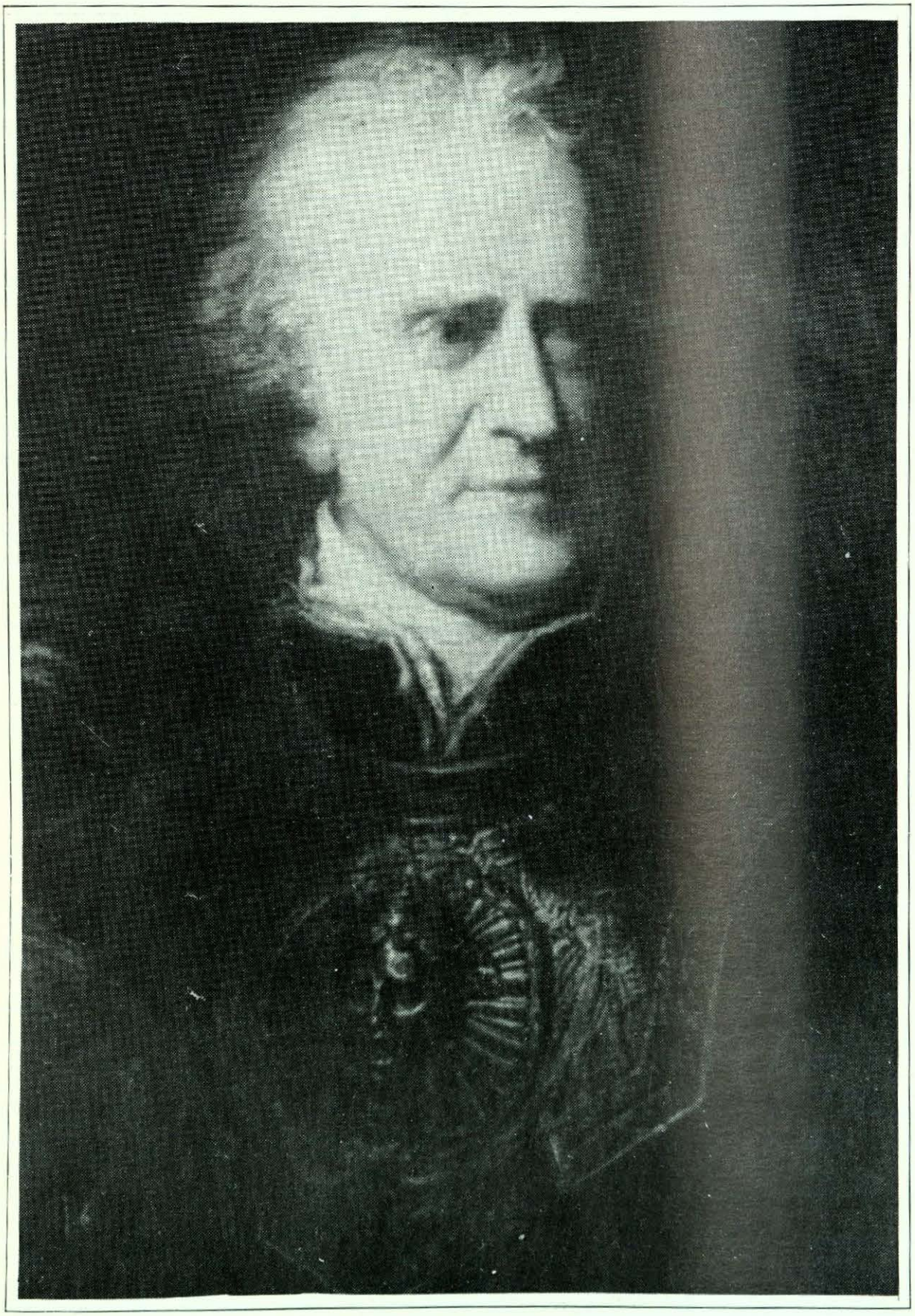

Fig. 4. Richard Cosway, ***General Pasquale Paoli,*** 1798, oil on panel, 69.0 × 45.5 cm, Pitti Palace, Florence. This was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1798, no. 71.

Fig. 5. Antonio Canova, ***Cardinal Joseph Fesch***, 1807, gesso bust, 57 cm high, Gipsoteca, Possagno. Maria Cosway corresponded with Canova about him making a portrait of Fesch for herself.

Fig. 6. Attributed to Giovanni Battista Comolli, *Il Duca Francesco Melzi d'Eril,* c. 1802 – 1803, marble bust, 45 cm high, Fondazione Cosway, Lodi.

Fig. 7. A view from the South-West of the Church of S. Maria delle Grazie, including the chapel where Maria Cosway is buried, and an adjoining part of the former Collegio Cosway, Lodi, photograph taken c. 1985.

Fig. 8. Gabriele Rottini, *Maria Cosway, surrounded by sisters and pupils, listening to an oration by Vittoria Manzoni*, c. 1835 – 1836, oil on canvas, 147 × 205 cm, Fondazione Cosway, Lodi.

Tiberius Cavallo's description of Maria as 'the Magnetic muse' was a clear reference to the Cosways' whole-hearted embracing of Animal Magnetism or Mesmerism.[93] In the late 1780s they paid fifty pounds each to become 'perpetual students' to the 'science', presented in lectures given by John Bonniot de Mainauduc – a pupil of Mesmer himself.[94] Richard Cosway's engraved miniature portrait of de Mainauduc was included as a frontispiece to the posthumous volume of the magnetist's lectures[95]. Cosway himself became even more deeply committed to mesmerian, to the extent of joining forces with his fellow-painter and mystic, Philippe-Jacques de Loutherbourg, who practiced as a magnetic healer from his home in Hammersmith.[96]

It was this involvement which probably led to the initial separation of the Cosways. When in a letter of 1816, Maria complained bitterly of her husband that 'he gave himself to Hammersmith', this must refer to the magnetic involvement at de Loutherbourg's; and not as has been postulated as a reference to a male lover called 'Hammersmith'.[97] There is no evidence that Cosway was homosexual (or bisexual), while any marital infidelities with women are as difficult to establish as the claims for Maria's adultery with Jefferson, Paoli and even her later patron Cardinal Fesch.[98] Indeed before he married, Richard Cosway was part of a racy London set – centred on his friend Charles Townley, the well-known collector of Classical sculpture – that bragged of their sexual pursuit of Italian women.[99]

Maria, who was fluent in Italian, French and English – and whether in London or Paris – moved at ease among the European cultural and political élite. She was not only drawn to powerful personalities of either sex, but had the ability to attract their attentions – and establish close relationships. In her autobiographical letter, among her 'most intimate friends' she only reveals the names of women, including the sculptress Mrs Damer, as well as from the English aristocracy, Lady Lyttelton, the Countess of Alesbury and the Marchioness of Townshend.[100] She was also close the Louisa de Stolberg, Countess of Albany; enjoyed the confidence of Letizia Ramolino, mother of Napoleon; and corresponded with Isabella Teotochi Albrizzi, one of most notable society hostesses in Italy, and the friend and biographer of Canova[101].

The year 1790 was a turning point for the Cosways' marriage. After suffering an extremely difficult confinement Maria gave birth to her only child. A few weeks later she travelled to Italy without Louisa in order to recuperate.[102] The nature of Maria's departure from London caused some comment, as typified by Walpole: 'surely it is odd to drop a child and her husband all in a breath!'.[103] Little is known of Maria's activity on her first visit back to Italy, except that she spent time copying old masters in Venice, and later applied for admission to a convent in Genoa.[104] She did not return to London for another four years.

On 29 July 1796 after Maria had spent only two years with her daughter, Louisa died at the age of six after catching a sore throat.[105] This tragic event had a serious effect on both the parents: Maria confined herself in her room at Stratford Place, while Thomas Banks was commissioned to sculpt a sarcophagus for the embalmed body of the child, which was then installed in the back drawing room.[106] Maria's Catholicism became even more overt. She had an Italian confessor in attendance. She attended Mass regularly, sometimes at the Portugese chapel in London, often with Paoli. And she made plans to set up a school for girls in Knightsbridge run on religious lines. She also returned to painting, executing 'several large pictures for chappels [sic]'.[107]

Maria was also busy with other artistic projects, mainly under the auspices of Rudolph Ackermann and his influential printselling business, the *Repository of Arts* on the Strand.[108] He published many of her individual designs such as the triumphantly original *Birth of the Thames.*[109] Two years earlier Ackermann had published a drawing book of Richard Cosway's, entitled *Imitations in Chalk*, which was etched by Maria.[110] In the same year Ackermann also published her twin series of designs, the *Progress of Female Virtue* and the *Progress of Female Dissipation.*[111] These two series were influenced by Hogarth's moral histories, such as *A Harlot's Progress*. But Maria's most original project was Ackermann's 1803 publication of her illustrations to 'Perdita' Robinson's pathetic autobiographical poem *The Winter Day.*[112] For the latter Maria's designs (etched in acquatint by Caroline Watson) successfully illustrated the contrast between 'the evils of poetry and the ostentatious enjoyment of opulence'.[113]

The number of artistic projects Maria was involved in around 1800 is notable. But perhaps the most ambitious and demanding scheme was that she undertook in Paris between 1801 and 1803, with the support and encouragement of her husband. This was to copy and etch the picture arrangement as organised by Vivant Denon in the Musée Central based in the Louvre which was being filled with Napoleonic art loot.[114] This work was a joint venture by Maria with Julius Griffiths, an unscrupulous speculator who was to write the texts and publish the plates by subscription either coloured or in monochrome.[115] Maria gained support for the project by creating an album of her etched and coloured copies of the old masters, which she then showed to prospective clients. This album was signed by most of the Bonaparte family, large numbers of the Parisian élite, the English aristocracy and other visitors to Paris.[116] In her diary for the years 1802 – 1803 Maria conceded the artistic weakness of these copies, where the draughtmanship can be seen to be defective and the colouring rudimentary.[117] However despite these difficulties and the fact that Griffiths wrested control of the project, two issues of the *Gallery* with seven full plates were published.[118]

Maria's diary of her stay in Paris provides a vivid insight into her activities there, as well as *aperçus* on those she met.[119] Based in an appartment at the Hôtel Marigny near the Louvre, she 'had the opportunity of knowing intimately all the then reigning family'.[120] Foremost was Napoleon's uncle, Joseph Fesch (1763 – 1839), who was about to be made Cardinal Archbishop of Lyons. He and Maria developed a close friendship, and their mutual admiration extended to his promising her a portrait bust by Canova (Fig. 5).[121] But Fesch enjoyed showing her his fabulous art collection; for which she in turn acted as a guide to the English artists, politicians and aristocrats, visiting Paris during the short-lived Peace of Amiens in 1802.[122]

Fesch had also made a promise to Maria, that he would pave the way for her 'to found a College for young ladies'.[123] With his appointment as Archishop this began to become a reality, and she did set up and run a school in Lyons from 1803. However the project was beset with difficulties, as her extensive correspondence with Fesch testifies.[124] The school was closed in 1809 and she had settled near Milan two years later.[125]

Looking to found another school, Maria was approached by Francesco Melzi d'Eril (1753 – 1816), Vice-President of the Cisalpine Republic and later Duke of Lodi. Maria had met Melzi on her visit to Paris in 1786, when he became another admirer of hers. A marble portrait bust of him, is still at the *Collegio* in Lodi (Fig. 6).[126] According to Maria's autobiographical letter, Melzi who 'was anxious to have in Italy an establishment as the same as that formed at Lyons', 'bought a convent at Lodi' where she was able to set up a school for girls aged six to twelve.[127]

The convent which formerly housed the *Padri Minimi*, was attached to the church of Santa Maria delle Grazie (Fig. 7).[128]. Initially established under secular authority, in 1830 it came under the religious order of the *Dame delle Inglesi*. Maria wrote that she was 'consolidating the establishment which has the reputation of being the first in Italy', and that she was 'following a vocation' she 'always had, occupied in a good work to the benefit of young ladies'.[129] The *Collegio*'s reputation attracted visits from the Austrian Emperor and Empress, with the consequence that some years later in 1834 Maria Cosway was made a Baronessa by Francis I.[130] The *Collegio* was held in particularly high regard throughout Lombardy, and many daughters of the élite were educated there. But the best known pupil was Alessandro Manzoni's daughter, Vittoria, who was taught there from 1830 to 1836.[131] Her presence at the *Collegio* was commemorated in a large oil painting by Gabriele Rottini, which depicted Vittoria reading aloud to the elderly Maria, watched by some of the other sisters and pupils (Fig. 8). Vittoria's attendance at the *Collegio* may have been recommended by Alessandro Manzoni's mother, Giulia Beccaria, who as a friend of Maria Cosway, was portrayed by the artist on at least two occasions.[132]

Despite the educational demands in Lodi, Maria returned to London in 1815 and from 1817 to 1822, in order to nurse Richard Cosway through the delusions from 1817 to 1822, in order to nurse Richard Cosway through the delusions and paralytic strokes he suffered in the last years of his life.[133] It is clear that Maria's separations from her husband were caused by his increasing distance from her, partly owing to his fanaticism for the occult, as well as to his probable unfaithfulness. In the 1780s he had already shown enthusiasm for Swedenborgianism and Animal Magnetism,

but from the time of Louisa's death, he began to pursue his esoteric and mystical studies even more vigorously. Ugo Foscolo, who had been introduced to Maria by Isabella Teotochi Albrizzi in 1817, described Richard Cosway in a letter of the following year to the Countess of Albany, and compared him to Cosway's fellow mystic, the engraver William Sharp:[134]

> un pittore più bizzarro (e gli è tutto dire) di esso Sharp, e più fantastico, e più profetico, e però sono amicissimi, e fanno tra loro spesso certe Astrologie e Teologie, e predizioni di finimondi.[135]

Before and after his death in 1821 Maria arranged – through the auctioneer, George Stanley, and with the help of Thomas Lawrence, John Soane and the antiquarian Francis Douce – a series of five sales of her husband's extensive and curious collections: old master pictures, prints and drawings, objects of taste and *virtù* as well as the extensive library[136]. The auctions raised about £12,000 at least a third of which Maria used to endow the *Collegio*.[137]

Maria's care for her husband in his last years, and then after his death, the preservation of his memory, were carried out with great sincerity. She commissioned a memorial from Westmacott for Marylebone New Church, which she replicated in a shrine at Lodi.[138] She attempted unsuccessfully to sell Richard's Cosway's own beautiful subject drawings, first sending them to George IV at Brighton, later organising an exhibition at Stanley's in Bond Street (April 1822), and also finding Thomas Lawrence's offer unsatisfactory.[139] Taking this collection back to Italy, she promoted it tirelessly, having fifteen of the drawings engraved by Paolo Lasinio at Florence in 1826.[140] Maria also transferred a number of old master paintings to Lodi, which had originally been collected by Richard Cosway. These, together with some of his and her own paintings, were seen by visitors to Lodi and the *Collegio*[141]. With many of the books that she had collected throughout her life – as well as a few of her late husband's – she also established the core of the *Collegio* library.[142]

Maria Cosway died at Lodi on 5 January 1838, and she was widely mourned in Lombardy.[143] In a final portrait Rottini drew the Baroness on her deathbed, holding a crucifix, an image which was then reproduced as a lithograph. She was buried in the church of Santa Maria delle Grazie, and a fine neoclassical monument was erected there to her memory. A marble bust was carved and

installed in the *gran salone* of the *Collegio*, at the expense of the citizens of Lodi. Yet in England, Maria was virtually forgotten, having outlived all her friends, correspondents and even both her executors, Sir John Soane and Prince Hoare. Two years later a protracted and expensive law suit was fought by the *Collegio* in the London courts, so as to secure the endowment from an unscrupulous executor of her English will.[144] The *Collegio* itself continued, under varying administrations, as a girls school until its closure in 1978.[145]

This essay has set out to provide a narrative framework for Maria Cosway's life and work, which have been unjustly ignored by posterity. Indeed this neglect may well have been because of Maria's wide range of talents – she was often referred to as 'accomplished'.[146] Her reputation has also suffered from the fact that her significant achievements took place in three countries, England, France and Italy; and that she herself was an Anglo-Italian, never feeling entirely settled when away from the land of her birth.

Despite not being fulfilled as an artist and suffering considerable unhappiness as a wife and mother, Maria did find contentment in later life, reflecting in 1830:

> my elevated and happy station could but produce envy, malice and enemies, these I pass over unworthy of a thought – proofs will be one day in the hands of my friends to make me worthy of their friendship.[147]

When fully studied, Maria's extensive correspondence will probably be her most significant testament. But despite her pessimism, Maria's artistic production also deserves to be taken more seriously.[148] The assessment of its quality raises questions about the difficulties faced during the late eighteenth century by talented women in acquiring professional status, especially within a marriage to another artist. It is perhaps inevitable that this artistic side of Maria will be overshadowed by her remarkable life, which sheds new light on so many of her famous contemporaries. But whether studied as a 'muse', an artist, musician or educationalist, it is important that all aspects of her life be considered within her unusual status both as a versatile semi-professional woman, and as an Anglo-Italian. As she wrote in old age to Sir William Cosway, her late husband's cousin – while 'Mr C[osway]'s memoirs' would be short, her own 'would be perhaps too long, but very full of interesting matters'.[149]

Notes

1. This article is based on a paper read in May 1992 at the seminar for Italian history and culture (1500 – 1900), chaired by Robert Oresko, at the Institute of Historical Research, Senate House, University of London. I am grateful for comments made by John Brewer, Edward Chaney, Michael Kitson and Kim Sloan. Maria Cosway will be discussed more fully in my doctoral thesis on Richard Cosway, to be submitted to Oxford University. Study at Lodi has been supported by Tino Gipponi and Valerio Manfrini of the Fondazione Cosway, the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, London, and a travel scholarship from the British School at Rome.

2. For the essential biography on Maria Cosway, see the autobiographical letter of 24 May 1830 to Sir William Cosway (a cousin of Richard Cosway), London, Victoria and Albert Museum, National Art Reference Library, MS (Eng.) L. 961 – 1953; G.C. Williamson, *Richard Cosway, R.A., and his wife and pupils, Miniaturists of the Eighteenth Century,* London 1897; G.C. Williamson, *Richard Cosway R.A.,* London 1905; John Walker,'Maria Cosway, an undervalued artist', *Apollo*, cxxiii, 1986, pp. 318 – 324; and Elena Cazzulani and Angelo Stroppa, *Maria Hadfield Cosway: Biografia, Diari e Scritti della Fondatrice del Collegio delle Dame Inglesi in Lodi*, Orio Litta 1989. Many of Maria's papers, her library and art collection are preserved at the Fondazione Cosway in Lodi – referred to below as Lodi (FC) – a selection of which is being prepared for a forthcoming exhibition and catalogue at Lodi in October 1993. A collection of secondary importance is in the Biblioteca Comunale Laudense, Lodi – referred to below as Lodi (BCL). More material is also in Lodi at the Archivio Storico Lodigiano.

3. Banks portrayed her in a mould and a terracotta, and exhibited a marble bust at the Academy in 1783, no. 427, cf. Thomas Banks, *The Annals of...,* ed. C.F. Bell, Cambridge 1902, p. 56. She sat to Reynolds in 1784 (Sitter's Books, 10 February and 17 April), cf. A. Graves and W.V. Cronin, *A History of the Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds P.R.A.,* London 1901, iv, p. 1286. A miniature, dated 1784, by John Smart in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, has traditionally and plausibly been identified as of her, cf. G.C. Williamson, *The History of Portrait Miniatures*, London 1904, ii, pl. 1xxi no.2.

4. *Conversations of James Northcote R.A. with James Ward on Art and Artists,* ed.E. Fletcher, London 1901, p. 79.

5. [Anon.], 'Recollections of Richard Cosway, Esq. R.A.', *Library of Fine Arts,* London 1832, iv, p. 186.

6. *The Complete Works of William Hazlitt,* ed. P.P. Howe (after A.R. Waller and A. Glover), London and Toronto 1933, xviii, p. 180.

7. James Northcote, *Memorials of an Eighteenth Century Painter...*, ed. S. Gwynn, London 1898, p. 149.

8. According to her marriage documents of January 1781 she was a minor, and thus under twenty-one; see below n. 37.

9. For Anglo-Florentine relations in the eighteenth century see Brian Moloney, *Florence and England,* Florence 1969; Mary Webster, *Firenze e l'Inghilterra: rapporti artistici e culturali dal XVI al XX secolo,* exh. cat., Palazzo Pitti, Florence

1971; Jane S. Whitehead, 'The noblest collection of curiositys: British visitors to the Uffizi, 1650 – 1789', *Gli Uffizi: quattro secoli di una galleria* (Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Florence, 20 – 24 September 1982), eds. P. Barocchi and G. Ragionieri, Florence 1983, i, pp. 287 – 307.

10. Information on Charles Hadfield and accounts of visitors to his hotels in Florence can be found in his file at the Brinsley Ford archive of British Visitors to Italy in the Eighteenth Century, the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, London. Among the known visitors were Karl Friedrich, the Margravine and Elector of Palatine (May 1750); Mrs George Craster (c. 1761 – 1762); Dr John Morgan (1764); Edward Gibbon (June 1764); James Martin (December 1764); James Boswell (July 1765); a member of the Farington family (March 1765); Sir Lucas Pepys (December 1767); Sir Watkin Williams-Wynn (October 1768); Charles Edward Stuart 'The young pretender' and Duke of Albany, who was prevented from staying at Carlo's by Sir Horace Mann (August 1770); Charles Townley (January 1772 and December 1773), who corresponded with Charles Hadfield in 1768 over the negotiations for the purchase of pictures and sculptures; a member of the Winchelsea family (December 1772); Patrick Home (August 1776 to April 1777); the landscape painter Thomas Jones (November 1776); the Duke and Duchess of Gloucester (April 1777); T. G. Caulet (1778); Joseph Mercer (November 1778); and the noted travel writer Henry Swinburne (May 1779).

11. *The Punch Party,* signed FLORENCE 1760/PATCH PINXIT, oil on canvas, Dunham Massey, the National Trust (Stamford Collection). See F.J.B. Watson, 'Thomas Patch (1725 – 1782); notes on his life, together with a catalogue of his known works', *The Walpole Society*, xxviii, 1940, p. 32 no. 1, pl. IX.b; *The Treasure Houses of Britain*, ed. G. Jackson-Stops, exh. cat., National Gallery of Art, Washington DC 1985 – 1986, pp. 277 – 278, no. 197.

12. *A Brief Account of the Roads of Italy...* 2nd ed., London 1775 (1st ed. 1774), p. 25. The copy quoted from is that at Lodi (FC), acc. no. 9 – A – 10. This was one of a number of travel and guide books, belonging to Maria Cosway, that remain in the former *Collegio's* library.

13. V&A, MS (*cit.* n 2 above), fols. 1r – 1v; Williamson 1897, pp. 10 – 13, and 1905, pp. 12 – 15. Sir William Cosway clearly showed this letter to Allan Cunningham, who quoted from it extensively in his account of the Cosways in *The Lives of the Most Eminent British Painters...*, London 1846, vi, pp. 9 – 20.

14. Fabia Borroni Salvadori, 'Artisti e viaggiatori agli Uffizi nel Settecento', *Labyrinthos: studi e ricerche sulle arti nei secoli XVIII e XIX* (part i), iv, 1985, pp. 3 – 72 and *op. cit.* (part 2), vi, 1986, pp. 38 – 92, where references to Maria Cosway and other copyists are published from the archives of the Uffizi.

15. *Ibid.,* (part 1), pp. 47, 53, 56 and 51.

16. *Ibid.,* (part 1), p. 55.

17. After Raphael's *Large Cowper Madonna,* (now in the National Gallery of art, Washington), oil on panel; after Correggio's *Madonna with St Jerome,* (now in the Galleria Nazionale, Parma), oil on canvas; and after Rubens *'Four Philosophers',* (now in the Galleria Palatina, Pitti Palace, Florence), oil on canvas. The copies after Raphael and Rubens can be identified in the list of contents a 20 Stratford Place, located in Marai Cosway's room on the second floor, cf.

unpublished MS 'A Catalogue, Schedule or Inventory of the Household Goods...in a certain Indenture of Assignment, bearing date the 15th day of April, 1820, and made between Richard Cosway, of Stratford Place...', fol. 188r, Lodi (FC). Referred to below as the Inventory, it will be partially published by *The Walpole Society* in 1994.

18. 'Hadfeild [sic] Maria Pittrice Inglese', was elected on 27 September 1778 (Florence, Archivio di Stato, archives of the *Accademia del Disegno*, MS 153, s.v., post G), cf. Michael Wynne, 'Members from Great Britain and Ireland of the Florentine Accademia del Disegno 1700 – 1855', *The Burlington Magazine,* cxxxii, 1990, p. 537.

19. Lindsay Stainton, *British Artists in Rome 1700 – 1800,* exh. cat., Kenwood, London 1974.

20. Cf. William T. Whitley, *Artists and their Friends in England 1700 – 1799,* London and Boston 1928, ii. p. 312. Thomas Banks in a letter from Rome, dated 13 December 1777, to Ozias Humphry in London, mentions Maria's comments on musical events in Florence and Rome, cf. Bell, *ed. cit.* (n.3 above), pp. 21 – 23.

21. Whitley, *op. cit.*, (n. 20 above), ii. p. 312.

22. Gwynn, *ed. cit.* (n. 7 above), p. 164.

23. The letters, dating from 1775 to 1777, are retained among the Humphry MSS in the library of the Royal Academy, London, HU/2/33, 36, 38, 40 – 41, 42 and 68.

24. *Ibid.,* 4 February 1777, HU/2/51. Parsons, a professor of music, became Master of His Majesty's band in 1786, and was later knighted by King George III.

25. *Ibid.,* 8 March 1777, HU/2/55.

26. Whitley, *op. cit.,* (n. 20 above), ii, pp. 312 – 313.

27. V&A, MS *(cit.* n. 2 above), fol. 1v.

28. See the letter dated 10 December 1776, from Sir Horace Mann, Envoy Extraordinary to the Tuscan Court, to Sir John Dick, from the Dick MSS correspondence, quoted in the Charles Hadfield file, at the Brinsley Ford Archive of British Visitors to Italy in the Eighteenth Century, the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, London.

29. In a letter, probably written in December 1778, from Elizabeth Banks in Rome to Ozias Humphry in London, it is noted that Isabella Hadfield 'leaves Florence for certain in the Spring', (London, Royal Academy, MS Upcott II.75), cf. Bell, *ed. cit.* (n. 3 above), pp. 37 – 38. For the Hadfield and Banks families travelling together, cf. *ibid.,* p. 24. A letter from one of Maria's two brothers, William, written in Italian to Prince Hoare in Florence, dated 11 July 1779, advises that Maria's temporary address is in Paris, cf. New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Osborn MS files.

30. The Hadfields were issued with passports in Florence on 14 June 1779, 'Hadfield [sic] Vedova Elisabetta, Giorgio, Maria, Carlotta e Elisabetta suoi figli, e Elisabetta Obuon' (Florence, Archivio di Stato, MS Esteri-Passaporti 2741, s.d.), cf. Wynne, *op. cit.* (n. 18 above).

31. V&A, MS *(cit.* n. 2 above), fol. 1v.

32. Gwynn, *ed. cit.* (n. 7 aboe), pp. 149 – 150.

33. V&A, MS *(cit.* n. 2 above), fol. 1v.

34. Williamson, *op. cit.* (n. 2 above), 1897, p. 17, and 1905, p. 20.

35. The sum of £2800, in the form of 3 per cent consolidated Bank annuities, is the subject of a legal indenture, a 'Declaration of Trust', dated 11 July 1822. This document is at Lodi (FC), together with Richard Cosway's will and other legal papers concerning his estate. In the document Maria Cosway, arranged for the interest to be divided between the spinsters Elizabeth and Jane Cosway, cousins of her late husband, as well as with Elizabeth Maddison, the Cosways' housekeeper at Stratford Place.

36. *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence,* ed. W.S. Lewis, London and New Haven 1944, xii, pp. 213 and 203 (letters of 14 December and 16 August 1796 to Mary Berry).

37. The licence of the Archbishop of Canterbury was issued through the Faculty Office on 3 January 1781 (London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS F.O. 3/1/1781). The licence was needed because Maria Hadfield was still a minor. Both the allegation, or application for marriage by licence, as well as the bond of the same date were signed by Richard Cosway and Isabella Hadfield. Also cf. London, Victoria Library, City of Westminister Archives Department, St. George's Hanover Square Parish Registers (microfilmed), xvii, Marriages 1777 – 1785, January 1781 no. 30. The original document is illustrated in Williamson 1897, p. 17, and 1905, p. 21, cf. *op. cit.* (n. 2 above).

38. Isabella Hadfield, lived at the house which was later occupied by Thomas Phillips, R.A. a Professor of Painting to the Royal Academy, cf. J.T. Smith, *Nollekens and his Times,* London 1828, ii, p. 394.

39. 'Banks the Sculptor & his family with Miss Hatfield Set off for England as did Hardwicke and Henderson on the 26th May 1779, *cf.* A.P. Oppé, 'Memoirs of Thomas Jones', *The Walpole Society,* xxxii, 1951, p. 89. For the relationship between the Banks and Hadfield families in the 1770s, cf. Bell, *ed. cit.* (n. 3 above), pp. 21 – 25.

40. Williamson, *op. cit.,* (n. 2 above), 1897, p. 17 and 1905, pp. 20 – 21. Townley's role in the wedding may become clearer when the diaries among his papers become available for study. These were sold at Sotheby's, London, 23 July 1985, lot 560: re-offered for sale (but unsold) at Sotheby's, London, 21 July 1992, lot 334, and have recently been acquired by the British Museum.

41. Louisa Cosway was born on 4 May 1790. She died of a fever at the Cosways' house in Stratford Place on 29 July 1796, *The Gentleman's Magazine,* lxvi, part 2, 1796, cf p. 705.

42. Williamson, *op. cit.* (n. 2 above), 1897, p. 143, and 1905, pp. 132 – 133; and Walker *op. cit.,* (n. 2 above), p. 324. Also see A. Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts: a complete Dictionary of Contributors and their work from its foundation in 1769 to 1904,* London 1905, ii, pp. 174 – 175.

43. Cf. Hanna Hohl and Hélène Toussaint, *Ossian,* exh. cat., Grand Palais, Paris, and Kunsthalle, Hamburg 1974, esp. pp. 11 – 38.

44. V&A, MS (*cit.* n. 2 above), vols. 1v – 2r.

45. Cunningham stated that Cosway was too proud to permit Maria to paint professionally, 'this no doubt was in favour of domestic happiness, but much against her success in art', *cf. op. cit.* (n. 13 above), pp. 10 – 11.

46. Inventory, *op. cit.* (n. 17 above), fols. 188r, 192r, 204, 211r and 213r.

47. Frederick B. Daniell, *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Engraved Works of Richard Cosway, R.A.*, London 1890, pp. 9 – 11.
48. *Letters of Abelard and Heloise. With a particular account of their Lives, Amours, and Misfortunes: extracted chiefly from Monsieur Bayle, by John Hughes, Esq. To which are added four poems by Mr Pope and other hands.*, London 1781. Surprisingly no title concerning Abélard and Héloïse can be identified in Cosway's library list, cf. Inventory, *op. cit.*, (above n. 17).
49. For instance see Maria's *Self-Portrait* of 1787 (Fig. 1)
50. Joseph Farington, *The Diary of...*, eds. K. Garlick, A. Macintyre and K. Cave, New Haven and London 1979, iii, p. 763, 4 February 1797. Farington recorded the story again on 1st May 1809, *Ibid.*, 1982, ix, p. 3445.
51. Hazlitt, *op. cit.* (n. 6 above), p. 179).
52. 'Recollections...', *op. cit.* (n. 5 above), p. 186.
53. *Survey of London, volume xxix, the Parish of St James Westminster, part one, South of Piccadilly,* ed. F.H.W. Sheppard, London 1960, pp. 368 – 377.
54. For a typical lecture advertisement by Graham, cf. *The Public Advertiser,* 28 April 1783, p. 1. Also see Roy Porter, 'The sexual politics of James Graham', *The British Journal for Eighteenth Century Studies,* v, 1982, pp. 201 – 206.
55. R.J. Shroyer, 'Mr Jacko "knows what riding is" in 1785: dating Blake's *Island in the Moon', Blake: An Illustrated Quarterly,* xii, 1979, pp. 250 – 256.
56. For a letter, dated 6 August 1773, from John Towneley [sic] to his nephew Charles Townley in Rome, Townley MSS, British Museum, London, see n. 40 above.
57. Blake's original manuscript is at the University of Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, cf. *William Blake: An Island in the Moon, a facsimile of the manuscript,* ed. M. Phillips, Cambridge 1987, ch. 8, lines 37 – 44 (MS fols. 4v – 5r).
58. For Marchesi see *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers and other stage personnel in London, 1660 – 1800,* eds. P.H. Highfill Jr., K.A. Burnim and E.A. Langhans, Carbondale and Edwardsville 1984, x. pp. 89 – 91. There is no evidence to support the assertion that Maria Cosway fell in love with Marchesi and followed him to Italy in 1790.
59. V&A, MS *(cit.* n. 2 above), fol. 2r.
60. *ibid.*
61. The MS letter, dated 2 February 1788, is at New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Osborn MS files, partially published in J. Murdoch, J. Murrell, P.J. Noon & R. Strong, *The English Miniature,* New Haven and London 1981, pp. 184 and 222 n. 37 (ch. 4 by Noon). Charlotte Hadfield married William Combe, the writer of the popular verse series based on the character *Dr Syntax,* which were published by Ackermann with illustrations by Rowlandson.
62. Entry for 26 August 1789 in the diary of Gouverneur Morris, *A Diary of the French Revolution,* ed. B.C. Davenport, Boston 1939, i, pp. 197 – 198. Morris called frequently on Maria Cosway between August 1789 and June 1790.
63. For the letter to Mary Berry at Florence dated 8 June 1791, cf. Lewis, *ed. cit.* (n. 36 above), 1980, xl, p. 285. The Cosways' visit to Strawberry Hill was on 17 August, cf. *ibid.*, 1944, xii, p. 228.

64. The letter is dated 28 October 1787, *cf. ibid.*, 1980, xlii, p. 200.
65. *Ibid.*, 1952, xv, p. 646.
66. For the letter to Lady Ossory, dated 27 January 1786, cf. *Ibid.*, 1965, xxxiii, pp. 510 – 511. François Barthélemy (1747 – 1830) was secretary to the French embassy in London from 1785 to 1787 and minister plenipotentiary from 1787 to 1788. Michal Kasimierz (1731 – 1800), Prince Oginski and hetman of Lithuania, was a candidate for the throne of Poland in 1764. The head of the Moravians in England 1765 – 1786, was the Rev. Benjamin Latrobe (c. 1728 – 1786). Letters to Maria from d'Ageno, the Genoese envoy in London, dating from the mid-1780s, are at Lodi (FC).
67. *Boswell, The Applause of the Jury, 1782 – 1785: The Yale Edition of the Private Papers of James Boswell,* eds. I.S. Lustig and F.A. Pottle, New Haven 1981, diary entries for May to September 1785, pp. 286 – 287, 306, 315 – 317, 332, 337 and 342; *Boswell, The English Experiment, 1785 – 1789: The Yale Edition of the Private Papers of James Boswell,* eds. I.S. Lustig and F.A. Pottle, New Haven 1986, diary entries for 15 November 1786 and 18 March 1787, pp. 98 and 122 ('Drank tea at Cosway's placidly with Cavallo').
68. *Private Papers of James Boswell from Malahide Castle in the collection of Lt. – Colonel Ralph Heyward Isham,* eds. G. Scott and F.A. Pottle, New York 1934, xvi, pp. 278 – 279 (letter dated 28 July).
69. Richard Cosway had earlier portrayed Paoli in a portrait miniature or drawing (unlocated), which was engraved in stipple by C. Townley in 1784, *cf.* Daniell, *op. cit.* (n. 47 above), p. 29 no. 113.
70. Joseph Foladare, *Boswell's Paoli,* Hamden 1979, p. 107.
71. Inventory, *op. cit.* (n. 17 above), fol. 188r.
72. Webster, *op. cit.* (n. 9 above), no. 40.
73. Foladare, *op. cit.* (n. 70 above), pp. 138 – 146, 225 – 227 and 232 – 233.
74. It is a paradox that Richard Cosway, in many ways one of the most Italianate of English artists, never visited Italy. After his death Maria promoted his 'old-master' style drawings in Milan, Parma and Florence with some success. Later she arranged the folio publication of fifteen of her husband's subject drawings, *Raccolta di Disegni originali scelti del Portafogli del celebre Riccardo Cosway R.A. e primo pittore del serenissimo Principe di Wallia, posseduti dalla di lui vedova la Signora Maria Cosway, e intagliati da Paolo Lasinio Figlio,* Florence 1826.
75. She was christened Louisa Paolina Angelica Cosway. Louisa de Stolberg was the godmother. See her letter of acceptance (undated but must be 1790), University of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Eng. Lett., C. 411., fol. 53r.
76. I am grateful to Frances Vivian for permitting me to read the chapter on their relationship from her as yet unpublished biography of Paoli. The correspondence is at Lodi (FC). Also cf. Williamson, *op. cit.* (n. 2 above), 1897, pp. 72 – 75, and 1905, pp. 94 – 98.
77. This was originally given to Paoli in 1774 as a mark of friendship by the Elector of Saxony, Frederick Augustus III.
78. H.P. Bullock, *My Head and my Heart, a little history of Thomas Jefferson and Maria Cosway,* New York 1945; and *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson,* ed. J.P. Boyd, Princeton 1954 – 1961, x-xvi, *passim.* For the most recent account for their relationship, which should be treated with caution, *cf.* Fawn Brodie, *Thomas Jefferson: an Intimate History,* London 1974, pp. 199 – 227.

79. Philippe Bordes, 'Jacques-Louis David's anglophilia on the eve of the French Revolution', *The Burlington Magazine,* cxxxiv, 1992, pp. 482 – 484.
80. *The Autobiography of Colonel John Trumbull, Patriot-Artist,* ed. T. Sizer, New Haven 1953, p. 120.
81. *The Eye of Thomas Jefferson,* ed. W.H. Adams, exh. cat., National Gallery of Art, Washington DC, 1976, p. 196 no. 339. This portrait was bequeathed by Maria to her *Collegio* in Lodi, and remained there until 1976 when it was requisitioned by the Italian Government as a bicentennial gift for President Ford.
82. Bullock, *op. cit.,* (n. 78 above), p. 30; and Boyd, *ed. cit.,* (n. 78 above), 1954, x, p. 444.
83. *Ibid.,* Bullock, p. 115; and Boyd, 1958, xv, p. 143.
84. Francis Haskell, 'The Baron d'Hancarville: An Adventurer and Art Historian in Eighteenth-Century Europe', *Oxford, China and Italy: Writings in Honour of Sir Harold Acton,* eds. E. Chaney and N. Ritchie, Florence 1984; republished in F. Haskell, *Past and Present in Art and Taste: selected essays,* New Haven and London 1987, pp. 30 – 45.
85. The MS correspondence, dating from 1787 to 1791, is at Lodi (BCL). This was mainly published by Emma Ferrari, 'Di alcuni documenti riguardanti Riccardo Cosway nella biblioteca di Lodi', *Archivio Storico per la città e comuni del circondario di Lodi,* xxxii, 1913, pp. 171 – 186, and xxxiii, 1914, pp. 25 – 48 and 75 – 93. The greeting quoted is from a letter of 21 April 1789, *ibid.,* xxxiii, p. 85.
86. See d'Hancarville's letter to Maria dated 22 November 1787, *cf. ibid.,* p. 41. Also see Stephen Lloyd, 'Richard Cosway, RA: the artist as collector, connoisseur and *virtuoso' 'Apollo*, cxxxiii, 1991, pp. 398 – 405.
87. Bordes, *op. cit.* (n. 79 above), pp. 484 – 485.
88. For the most recent publication of the letters (the originals of which are currently untraced), *cf.* Philippe Bordes, *Le Serment du Jeu de Paume de Jacques-Louis David: Le peintre, son milieu et son temps de 1789 à 1792,* Notes et Documents des Musées de France, 8, Musée national du Château de Versailles, Paris 1983, pp. 132 – 134.
89. In fact this illustration of Gray's 'Ode to Spring' for Thomas Macklin's illustrated publication of *The Poets Gallery,* was a conventional treatment with the dancing figures borrowed from Guido Reni's famous composition *Aurora,* cf. T.S.R. Boase, 'Macklin and Bowyer', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* 1963, p. 151.
90. Bordes, *op. cit.* (n. 88 above). For an illustration of *The Hours, cf.* Bordes, *op. cit.* (n. 79 above), p. 485 fig. 4.
91. Whitley, *op. cit.* (n. 20 above), ii, p. 101; Cazzulani and Stroppa, *op. cit.* (n. 2 above), pp. 67 – 68; and letter dated 19 February 1823 from Maria to the antiquarian Francis Douce, cf. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce d. 24, fols. 126r – 127v.
92. Anthony Pasquin [John Williams], *The Royal Academicians: a Farce. As it was performed to the Astonishment of Mankind by his Majesty's Servants, at the STONE HOUSE, in UTOPIA, in the summer of 1786,* London 1786, pp. 20 – 25 and 34 – 41.

93. Noon, *op. cit.* (n. 61 above). Also see Robert Darnton, *Mesmerism and the End of the Enlightenment in France,* Cambridge (Mass.) 1968; and Roy Porter,if 'Under the Influence': Mesmerism in England', *History Today,* xxxv, September 1985, pp. 22 – 29.
94. 'List of the Students to Doctor J:B: de Mainauduc's Science', at London, Royal College of Surgeons, MS.42.e.1 (no. 39 'Mrs M. Cosway; no. 50 R. Cosway Esqr.'). M. Keith Schuchard kindly informed me of this document.
95. *The Lectures of J.B. de Mainauduc, M.D., Member of the Corporation of Surgeons in London, Part the First,* London 1798, frontispiece.
96. Notices (without newspaper sources), dated 3 July, 17 July, 25 July, 7 August, 17 September, 13 November, 30 December, all from 1789, in first of 2 volumes of art-related cuttings from the London press (1731 – 1852), London University, Courtauld Institute of Art (acc. no. ZO. CABS*).
97. MS copy letter written from Lodi to Mrs Chambers in London, dated 29 May 1816, Lodi (FC). *Cf.* Brodie, *op. cit.,* (n. 78 above), pp. 201 and 519 n. 10.
98. *Cf.* Foladare, *op.cit.* (n. 70 above), pp. 140 – 144; and Walker, *op. cit.* (n. 2 above), pp. 322 – 323.
99. See two letters from Richard Cosway to Townley, dated 24 February 1772 and 20 November 1776, among the Townley MSS, see n. 40 above.
100. V&A, MS *(cit.* n. 2 above), fol. 2r.
101. Letizia Ramolina, Napoleon's mother, is frequently referred to in Maria Cosway's MS diary at Lodi (FC), entries for 1802 – 1803, when she was in Paris, cf. Cazzulani and Stroppa, *op. cit.* (n. 2 above), pp. 61 – 69. A few letters from Abrizzi to Maria are also at the Lodi (FC).
102. She went out with her brother, George Hadfield (1763 – 1826), who had won the gold medal for architecture at the Royal Academy, and who later designed government buildings in Washington under the patronage of Jefferson. 'George Hadfield', *Macmillan Encyclopedia of Architects,* ed. A.K. Placzek, New York and London 1982, ii, p. 293 (entry by D.D. Rieff).
103. Lewis, *ed. cit.* (n. 36 above), 1944, xi, p. 285, letter to Mary Berry in Florence, dated 8 June 1791.
104. Two copy letters from Maria to her husband are at Lodi (FC), the first from Venice dated 13 June 1791, the second from Genoa written on 1 March 1793.
105. Maria described her relationship with Louisa at length in a letter, a contemporary copy of which is at Lodi (FC), cf. 'Lettera sull'educazione practica dei piccoli fanciulli dai quattro anni ai sei: risposta ad una lettera di M.G. sopra l'educazione data dalla Baronessa Maria Cosway, fondatrice del Collegio Dame Inglesi in Lodi', *Archivio Storico per la Città e i Comuni del Circodario e della Diocesi di Lodi,* xlv, 1926, p. 36 – 51.
106. In 1791 Richard Cosway moved from Pall Mall to 22 Stratford Place, a fashionable address off Oxford Street. Three years later he moved two doors down to number 20 in the same Place, where he lived until the year of his death. Cf. Inventory, *op. cit.* (n. 17 above), fols. 180r – 217r.
107. V&A, MS *(cit.* n. 2 above), fol. 2r. Only one of these altarpieces has come to light, a *Lamentation* painted around 1800 for the chapel at Croxdale Hall in County Durham, of which there is a smaller version at Lodi (FC).

108. John Ford, *Ackermann 1783 – 1983: the business of art,* London 1983, *passim.*
109. This painting, which was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1800 (no. 23), was engraved in stipple (1802) by Tomkins, a pupil of Bartolozzi. John Brewer has informed me that the picture is now in an Irish private collection.
110. *Imitations in Chalk, etched by Mrs Cosway from original drawings by Richard Cosway,* London 1800.
111. *Progress of Female Virtue, engraved by A. Cardon from original drawings by Mrs Cosway,* London 1800: and *Progress of Female Dissipation, engraved by A. Cardon from original drawings by Mrs Cosway,* London 1800.
112. *The Winter Day, written by Mrs Robinson, designed by Mrs Cosway, and engraved by Miss Caroline Watson,* London 1803.
113. *Ibid.,* pp. 2 – 3.
114. Paul Wescher, *I Furti d'Arte: Napoleone è la nascità del Louvre,* Turin 1988 (1st ed., Berlin 1976).
115. Farington, *op. cit.* (n. 50 above), 1979, v, p. 1826, 3 September 1802, p. 1826; and v, p. 1909, entry for 8 October 1802.
116. The album, titled the 'Musée Central, ou Galerie du Louvre à Paris', is now at Lodi (FC). It was a treasured possession of Maria and the *Collegio*, being signed by notable visitors, such as Garibaldi in 1852.
117. Maria was assisted in the etchings by Francesco Rosaspina. Her letters to him in Bologna, dated 1803 – 1833, are preserved at Forli, Biblioteca Comunale (Collezioni Piancastelli), MS 395, nos. 472 – 503.
118. *Gallery of the Louvre, represented by etchings executed solely by Mrs Maria Cosway, with an historical and critical description of all the pictures...by J. Griffiths, Esqre.,* Paris 1802.
119. Maria's diaries and letterbooks (dated 10 June 1802 to 27 July 1817), are at Lodi (FC), cf. Cazzulani and Stroppa, *op. cit.* (n. 2 above), pp. 23 – 51 and 59 – 104.
120. V&A, MS *(cit.* n. 2 above) fol. 2r.
121. A *gesso* bust was discussed in Canova's letter to Maria, dated 24 April 1807, cf. Lodi (BCL), cartella autografi XVIII-XIX, MS 446; and also in the three letters written to Canova in 1807 by Maria in Lyons, dated 9 February, 24 March, 25 May, cf. Bassano, Museo Civico, Manoscritti Canoviani, III.301, nos. 2929 – 2932. It is not known whether Maria received the bust. A marble by Canova is at the Musée Fesch in Ajaccio, while a plaster *modello* is at the Gipsoteca, Possagno.
122. Dominique Thiébaut, *Ajaccio, Musée Fesch, les primitifs italiens,* Inventaire des collections publiques françaises 32, Paris 1987, pp. 5 – 47.
123. V&A, MS *(cit.* n. 2 above), fol. 2v.
124. MS correspondence, dated 1802 – 1836, from Fesch to Maria, as well as Maria's copy-letters, are at Lodi (BCL and FC). Also cf. Cazzulani and Stroppa, *op. cit.* (n. 2 above), pp. 31 – 39 and 71 – 81; and P. Barghazi,' Dalla Corrispondenza di lettere con madama Baronessa Maria Hadfield Cosway', *Archivio Storico per la Città e i Comuni del Circolario e della Diocesi di Lodi,* xliv, 1925, pp. 107 – 120.
125. V&A, MS *(cit.* n. 2 above), fol. 2v, 'the Change of Government suspended this'.

126. Hugh Honour has kindly suggested the attribution to Comolli.
127. V&A MS. *(cit.* (n. 2 above), fol. 2v. For Melzi's relationship with Maria, see Cazzulani and Stroppa, *op. cit.* (n. 2 above), pp. 40 – 46, 81 – 92 and 97 – 104.
128. Maurizio Lozzi and Angelo Stroppa, *Il collegio Cosway ieri e oggi,* Lodi 1985, pp. 9 – 24.
129. V&A MS. *(cit.* n. 2 above), fol. 2r.
130. Francis I visited in 1816, cf. *op. cit.* (n. 2 above), Cazzulani and Stroppa, p. 45; and Maria Carolina in 1825, cf. Lozzi and Stroppa, *op. cit.* (n. 128 above), pp. 12 – 13. The vellum document with its seal, conferring Maria as *Baronessa,* is preserved at Lodi (FC).
131. Vittoria (1822 – 1892) was the seventh child of Alessandro and his first wife Enrichetta Blondel. In 1823 Maria drew a delicate portrait in red chalk of the Manzonis' sixth child, Clara (1821 – 1823), which is now at the Villa Manzoni, Brusuglio, cf. *Manzoni: Il suo e il nostro tempo,* exh. cat., Palazzo Reale, Milan 1985 – 1986, no. 15. The romantic oil portrait (*c.* 1805) of Alessandro Manzoni in the Centro Nazionale di Studi Manzioniani, Milan, is not by Maria Cosway, cf. *Ibid.,* no. 1.
132. For Rottini's group portrait, see *L'Officina dei Promessi Sposi,* eds. D. Isela and F. Mazzocca, exh. cat., Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense e Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan 1985, pp. 110 – 111 no. 162. Maria's unfinished oil portrait of Beccaria as a younger woman is in the Biblioteca Braidense, Milan, cf. *op. cit.* p. 107, no. 161, and Archibald Colquhoun, *Manzoni and his Times,* London 1951, illus. between pp. 21 – 22. For Maria's drawing of Beccaria in old age (c. 1823), cf. *Manzoni Intimo, I, Vittorio e Matilde Manzoni: Memorie di Vittoria Giorgini-Manzoni,* ed. M. Scherillo, Milan 1923, illus. opp. p. 16. For family letters sent to Vittoria when at the *Collegio,* cf. *Ibid.,* pp. 8 – 31.
133. For the chronology of these visits, see Maria's correspondence to Annette Prudon from 1811 to 1834, preserved at Lodi (BCL), cf. Ferrari, *op. cit.* (n. 85 above), xxxiii, pp. 25 – 28. Prudon (1794 – 1867), who is almost certainly the Sister depicted in the centre of Rottini's painting (Fig. 8), was a loyal teaching assistant of Maria's, who travelled with her from Lyons to Lodi. She later ran the *Collegio* in Maria's absence, and joined Maria in England after Richard Cosway's death.
134. *Edizione Nazionale delle Opere di Ugo Foscolo XX, Epistolario, VII,* ed. M. Scotti, Florence 1970, p. 226 no. 2187, letter from Albrizzi in Paris to Foscolo in London, dated 5 September 1817. For a letter from Foscolo to Maria, probably dated 1819, cf. Antonio Manfredi, 'Una lettera inedita di Ugo Foscolo nell'archivio Cosway', *Archivio Storico Lodigiano* cvii, 1988, pp. 5 – 12.
135. For the letter dated 6 September from Foscolo, then in England, to the Countess of Albany, see Scotti, *ed. cit.,* (n. 134 above), p. 368 no. 2295.
136. Lloyd, *op. cit.* (n. 86 above), p. 405. Francis Douce (1757 – 1834) and the writer and traveller Sir John Carr (1772 – 1832) were the executors of Richard Cosway's estate.
137. Legal documents concerning the estates of both Richard and Maria Cosway, are preserved at Lodi (FC).
138. The only component of the memorial at the *Collegio* that has survived is Westmacott's plaster roundel bust portrait of Richard Cosway, cf. Williamson, *op. cit.* (n. 2 above), 1897, illus. opp. p. 58, and 1905, illus. opp. p. 78.

139. Bodleian Library, MS Douce d. 24, fols. 32v – 33r, letter of 22 April 1822 from Maria to Douce. She corresponded with the antiquarian from 1821 to 1824. For the letter from Maria to Soane, dated 19 August 1830, cf. London, Sir John Soane Museum, priv. corresp. III, c. 4. 32, fol. 1v. Maria's correspondence with Soane, dating 1820 – 1835, has been partially published, cf. A.T. Bolton, *The Portrait of Sir John Soane, R.A. (1753 – 1837), set forth in letters from his friends (1775 – 1837)*, London 1927, *pp. 334 – 339, 465 – 470, 472 and 484.*

140. *Raccolta di Disegni Originali scelti dai portafogli del celebre Riccardo Cosway R.A., e primo pittore del Serenissimo Principe di Wallia, posseduti dalla di lui vedova la Signora Maria Cosway e intagliati da Paolo Lasinio figlio,* Florence 1826. Over 600 of Richard Cosway's drawings are preserved at Lodi (FC), and are currently being catalogued by the author.

141. Cleto Porro, *Guida della Regia Città di Lodi compilata per uso de'forestieri,* Lodi 1833, pp. 20 – 21; and for another local description, 'I quadri appartenenti a Maria Cosway conservati nel Collegio della Beata Vergine delle Grazie in Lodi', *Gazetta della Provincia di Lodi e Crema,* 29 January, 12 March, 25 June and 2 July, 1825, cf. Cazzulani and Stroppa, *op. cit.* (n. 2 above), pp. 107 – 110. The paintings and furniture that decorated her room in London are listed in the 1820 Inventory, *op. cit.* (n. 17 above), fols. 188r – 191r.

142. This today is still at Lodi (FC). Maria's books are listed in the 1820 Inventory, *op. cit.* (n. 17 above), fols. 165r – 178r.

143. 'Cenni Biografici sopra la Baronessa Maria Hadfield Cosway...', (a pamphlet inserted in the) *Gazetta Privilegiata di Milano,* 11 February 1838.

144. After Maria's death, her estate in England was claimed by her last English executor, Newbold Kinton. The *Collegio delle Dame Inglesi* in Lodi, led by its head, Annette Prudon, as well as by Gaetano Giudici, the specific legatee, fought the case to reclaim this particular sum, as well as the rest of the estate in England; see MS 'Prodon [sic] v. Kinton, General Report', December 1840, fol. 28r; and MS 'Giudici v. Kinton, Brief Answer', 15 – 16 November 1841, fol. 7r, unpublished MSS at Lodi (FC). For other details of Richard Cosway's estate, see n. 35 above.

145. Lozzi and Stroppa, *op. cit.* (n. 128 above), pp. 15 – 20.

146. For instance see such criticism by Juninus, 'Conversations on the Arts', *The Repository of Ats, Literature, Commerce...,* vii, 1812, pp. 195 – 197. For descriptions of Maria as 'accomplished', cf. Anthony Pasquin [John Williams,] *An Authentic History of the Professors of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture...,* London 1796, p. 118; and Cunningham, *op. cit.* (n .13 above), p. 20.

147. V&A MS. *(cit.* n. 2 above), fol. 2v.

148. A fuller treatment of Maria Cosway as an artist will be published in *Apollo* (summer 1993). Her manuscripts and books of music preserved at Lodi (FC) would provide a starting point for an investigation of her musical career, especially significant in London during the 1780s.

149. V&A, MS *(cit.* n. 2 above), fol. 2v.

WYNDHAM VERSUS BONAPARTE: THE TUSCAN CRISIS OF 1796 – 7

WILLIAM COLLIER

'Papa dined at Mr Wyndham's where he got so thoroughly drunk that he was obliged to get into bed as soon as he returned home.'[1] Betsey Wynne's father, here described in her diary, had brought his family from Ireland on an extensive grand tour of Europe which, keeping always one step ahead of the French revolutionary armies, landed them in the early summer of 1796 at Florence, there to find themselves almost the only British visitors. Hence they received more than the usual share of attention given to visiting compatriots by George III's minister to the Tuscan court, William Frederick Wyndham.* In addition to putting up with a drunken dinner guest, he presented Betsey's parents to the Grand Duchess and lent them his box at the Teatro Nuovo[2]. These attentions were understood to be part of an envoy's duties; indeed one of his predecessors, Sir Horace Mann, accredited to Tuscany for over forty years, found that acting as host to the English and the Florentines absorbed most of his time and all his income. But the warfare and revolutionary turmoil in northern Italy, which had driven the Wynnes south to the safety of neutral Florence, was presenting British diplomacy with new problems. There seemed to be two worlds in uneasy juxtaposition: the old world of the Grand Tour with a morality still strict about the outward observance of religion, in other ways lax, a society where opera going and court functions loomed large and the poorer classes counted for very little; by contrast a menacing new world of plots, widespread unrest, a prospect of society turned upside down at the cost of bloodshed, heralding an order barely distinguishable from anarchy. Wyndham had somehow to cope with both these worlds.

*The Hon. William Frederick Wyndham, 1763 – 1828, youngest son of the second Earl of Egremont, was British envoy to the court of Tuscany 1794 – 1801; married 1784 Frances Mary Harford, natural daughter of the sixth and last Lord Baltimore.

His immediate concern was the Tuscan port of Livorno (Leghorn) with its small but active colony of wealthy British merchants. Even before his arrival in Tuscany two years earlier, the foreign secretary Grenville had stressed the need to keep a watchful eye on the port and try to stop the trade in corn for southern France.[3] Soon after he reached Florence, however, in late March 1794, a French counter move was reported to him by the Grand Duke Ferdinand's foreign secretary: their fleet off Toulon was said to be preparing to elude the watch kept by the British squadron based on Corsica and sail direct to Livorno, launching an attack which would reap not only corn but British merchantmen and their cargoes.[4] Despatches at the foreign office which Wyndham had to read before leaving London recorded that forty-five English ships docked during one month in 1793 and that British property in Livorno was estimated at one and a half million pounds sterling.[5] Their sole protection, once a foreign fleet managed to appear offshore, would be by a Tuscan land force, since its navy had been abolished as a measure of economy by Ferdinand's father, the Grand Duke Peter Leopold. If retrenchment at sea was total, how far had parsimony prevailed on shore ? Wyndham commissioned a survey of the town's defences by a British army captain, who reported that it could be secured against sudden attack if the guns were ready and the ammunition and powder sufficient but as yet no precautions had been taken.[6] Throughout the summer and autumn Wyndham and the British naval commander Admiral Hood warned the Grand Duke and his minister Serristori to very little effect of the risks to Livorno of such inactivity. It became increasingly clear, from the secret sources of information efficiently organised by Wyndham, that the young Grand Duke Ferdinand listened less to his aged minister and more to the *éminence grise* of Tuscan politics, his chamberlain and former tutor, the Venetian born Marquis Manfredini.[7]

Neutrality for Tuscany was Manfredini's secret aim. He allowed Serristori to reassure Wyndham that Ferdinand would continue in the alliance against France but privately negotiated with an unofficial French agent and, via an intermediary, with the French envoy at Genoa. But both his methods and his policy soon met with difficulties. It was useless to expect the French diplomatic service to keep secrets when delation was so much a part of its system: secretaries of embassies and legations were encouraged to

report to Paris without telling their heads of mission and the foreign minister's secret agents were required to spy on the diplomatists as well as on the enemy.[8] Betrayal could too easily become a habit and neither Wyndham nor the British minister at Genoa was kept for long in ignorance of Manfredini's double dealing. They even obtained copies of the correspondence.[9] And whilst his intended policy of neutrality might look reasonable, it too was flawed; a weak state such as Tuscany needed friends and only alienated potential allies by refusing to adhere to either side. Already in September 1794 a despatch to Grenville from Florence gave warning of a small cloud on the horizon which would in time overshadow Manfredini's optimistic, fair weather plans: 'General Buonaparte...is General of Artillery in the French Service and a Corsican by birth; he is represented to be a man of uncommon Capacity and Courage, and of a very bold and enterprizing spirit.'[10]

It was a year and a half before Napoleon set foot in Tuscany. The breathing space, however, was far from tranquil, for although the Grand Duchy reverted early in 1795 to the neutrality in force before October 1793, both sides in the war, French and Allied, continued to be plagued by uncertainities which had wide repercussions. With Livorno the great entrepot for grain from all over the Mediterranean, the French could never be sure of their food supplies in the Midi so long as they had to rely on small cargo boats creeping along the coastal shallows out of reach of British men-of-war. Wyndham would receive reports that their troops along the Riviera were half starving. Yet the next week he would hear that their fleet was poised to run the British blockade and head for Livorno or Corsica or Elba with its fortified but virtually undefended Tuscan harbour of Porto Ferraio. The English Livorno traders dared not send their ships out to sea unescorted, to be preyed upon by privateers from the Genoese (and thus nominally neutral) island of Capraia, so they were forced to assemble convoys of up to a hundred merchantmen.[11] The fleet of vessels bringing fish from Newfoundland was particularly at risk when food shortages affected most of the Grand Duchy. In May 1795 Wyndham reported that 'the poor of Tuscany, extremely discontented by the high price and bad quality of bread, have rioted seriously at Arezzo, Cortona and other small places, seized corn

and bread belonging to individuals, carried them to the market places and dealt them out indiscriminately at their own price.' He noted that leaders of the riots whom troops had imprisoned were unlikely to be charged for fear of further 'Commotions'.[12]

The poor of Tuscany in the coastal towns included a group of new arrivals for whom Wyndham had special responsibility. Of over ten thousand refugees from Toulon taken on board merchantmen and allied warships to escape the republican massacre, many were landed on Corsica and at various Italian ports. Some disembarked at Piedmontese Oneglia, others at Papal Civitavecchia but most went to Porto Ferraio and Livorno where, on instructions from London, Wyndham arranged for their subsistence by payments in cash and in kind through the distribution of flour. The exact number of these émigrés is not easy to determine because many were soon on the move again. Of the original estimated 2,000 at Porto Ferraio, only 229 were left by June 1795, the rest having decided either to venture back to France or to join the main group at Livorno.[13] There the governor complained of the host of extra mouths to feed, a problem for which Wyndham, aided by the consul, provided a neat solution. His cousin William Windham, secretary at war, sent Colonel Edward Dillon to Florence with a letter of introduction and recommendation, explaining that he was to raise a regiment in Corsica which could have some émigré French officers. At about the same time Sir Gilbert Elliot, viceroy of Corsica, authorized the levy of a Free Company of French émigrés. Together these two additions to the British Mediterranean forces promised to absorb quite a few of the refugees who might otherwise be unemployed and a burden on the British exchequer.[14]

There was just one snag. Tuscan law expressly prohibited any recruiting of soldiers by foreign powers and Seratti, governor of Livorno, was particularly sensitive to possible French accusations that the neutrality of Tuscany was being infringed. Livorno itself as a free port had since the seventeenth century been declared by the Grand Dukes to have permanent neutrality. Fortunately article thirteen of the declaration conceded that all foreign powers at war could engage men for their ships provided they took none from Tuscan ones. Accordingly the consul hired a small local ship to ride at anchor just outside the harbour where potential recruits

could be embarked and sent 'as occasion offer'd' to Bastia, the nearest Corsican port.[15] When Seratti heard and complained, he was told by Elliot that this was not recruiting, just encouraging poor émigrés to go to Corsica out of his way. Immigrants would be employed in works, in agriculture and 'if they so wish, His Majesty does not believe he would harm the rights of neighbouring nations in enrolling them in his troops or entering them on his ships.'[16]

Privately Wyndham shared Seratti's view that the French would be glad of an excuse to attack Tuscany. He warned Grenville and in January 1796 made a special journey to reconnoitre Elba and the Maremma coastline[17]. Early in March came signs that his forebodings were correct: Miot, the French envoy, alleged that the presence of a British frigate off Porto Ferraio on the look-out for a privateer constituted a blockade[18]. The incident was so minor that it could hardly in itself form a convincing pretext but it coincided with a more serious one: Manfredini, hoping to ingratiate himself with the French, told Miot that Naples was asking for reinforcements to be allowed to march across Tuscany on their way north to join the Austrians, a permission which the Grand Duke would refuse. Incautiously he added that the Neapolitans might try to force their passage. Miot at once offered French troops to help defend Tuscany and suggested Livorno as a suitable place for them to garrison. Manfredini, much embarrassed, hastened to refuse this generous offer, at which Miot said ominously that he would inform Paris. Within a few days Wyndham was able, by means of his well-placed secret agents, to obtain a long account of the conversation, of which he had heard an outline very soon after it occurred.[19]

He was now in a peculiarly frustrating situation. The last two years of uncertainty and suspense had been easily endurable compared to this new sense of simultaneous knowledge and powerlessness. It was his first diplomatic posting, he had only arrived in Florence less than two years ago and he possessed neither the seniority nor the influence to do more than notify his diplomatic colleagues and those men in key posts who could authorize action: the foreign secretary, the naval commander in the Tyrrhenian and the viceroy of Corsica. In writing to Grenville he was always very much aware of his subordinate rank and dared not, at this early

stage in his career, make proposals on policy; though he could and did ask for a transfer to a more active posting, guessing that Grenville would do nothing to disturb Tuscan neutrality.[20] In this he was right, for the foreign secretary was busy with other matters and failed to reply. With Captain Nelson he had slightly more success, in that Sir William Hamilton at Naples was asked by Nelson if he could get the Neapolitans to send ships to help the British squadron.[21] Hamilton, however, though on good terms with King Ferdinand and his prime minister Acton, had very little influence with them over questions of policy, where they looked for guidance to Queen Maria Carolina. Again nothing was done. From Corsica Sir Gilbert Elliot made what sounded like one of his shrewd suggestions: why not ask the Tuscan government for a declaration that it would oppose a French invasion?[22] Wyndham could easily imagine how much weight Bonaparte or any other French general would attach to such a declaration from a state with an army of less than three thousand men.

By late March, as Bonaparte's army of Italy waited to receive its commander and begin the spring and summer campaign, Wyndham wrote back to Elliot suggesting that British forces might do well to forestall the French and occupy Livorno themselves.[23] Elliot's response was that of the cautious Scots politician: better not.

A set-back for the allies now seemed inevitable. But Wyndham did not allow political considerations to monopolize his thoughts or determine his movements. He had written to Elliot from Montevarchi in the upper Arno valley: 'Having been unwell, I have thought fit to change the air of Florence for a few days for this place about twenty-six miles distant from the Capital'.[24] This was not quite the whole truth and could even be regarded as a shade disingenuous but then he was writing to somebody who was very much a family man. In fact since Wyndham's wife Fanny had eloped with Lord Wycombe some fifteen months ago, he had embraced the national custom of *cicisbeatura,* for which there was a degree of diplomatic precedent. Even Sir Horace Mann, a confirmed batchelor, recognized the need for a female companion on social occasions, though when twitted by Horace Walpole he admitted: 'I am not quite a *cicisbeo.*'[25] Wyndham, however, was, in the fullest sense of the term. His *cicisbea*, Alessandra Mari of Montevarchi, would play a conspicuous part in Tuscan politics a few years later.

Meanwhile, although Wyndham's private and social life continued along traditional lines, he had an urgent task ahead to deal with what must have seemed an insoluble political problem. As Bonaparte proceeded during the spring and early summer to conquer most of northern Italy, the threat loomed ever closer of a French incursion, if not to the whole of Tuscany then at least to Livorno and perhaps to Elba and the Maremma, with the aim of reconquering Corsica. Hence April saw a flurry of diplomatic activity. Manfredini went to Vienna to justify Tuscan neutrality to Ferdinand's brother, the Emperor Francis, but was told that Tuscany could not be neutral because it was a fief of the empire.[26] When the Austrian army fell back before the French onslaught, Wyndham appealed directly to Hamilton to persuade the Neapolitans to send as much help as possible because the allied forces were in a 'deplorable state.'[27] Throughout May secret information and close cooperation with the Russian minister to Florence, Mocenigo, provided Wyndham with a check on the Grand Duke's constant assurances 'of undoubted Security from French Invasion or Oppression of any Nature whatever.'[28] Ferdinand was probably and understandably afraid that his country would become a battleground, with the French invading from one side and the British from the other. And French intentions were not quite as clear or as certain as Wyndham supposed. An element of doubt persisted, because although the Directory had issued instructions that a French column should occupy Livorno with the specific object of taking British ships and merchandise, the final decision had to come from Bonaparte. His own preference was to concentrate on the campaign against Austria and in his reply of the 29th Floreal (18 May) to the Bureau militaire in Paris he rejected the plans drawn up by Carnot, the director with particular responsibility for the armed forces. The revised instructions of the 2nd Prairial (21 May) were less peremptory, insisting only that no advance to the Tyrol should take place before the tasks already laid down for the centre and south of Italy were achieved.[29] It remained to be seen whether Bonaparte would keep to this compromise.

The decisive step came in June when he turned south to the Romagna. Entering Bologna, he demanded that ten thousand troops should be allowed to march into Tuscany, ostensibly on their way

to the southern Papal states west of the Apennines. Manfredini hurried off to a meeting with Bonaparte to see if he could get the plans cancelled or at least postponed but the only concession he could obtain was for the troops to avoid Florence. Wyndham meanwhile had been absent from the capital for nearly three weeks, probably at Montevarchi (Alessandra Mari gave birth to a daughter that year),[30] but returned on the 20th, just before Manfredini left for Bologna and in time to receive the usual reassurances from him and the prime minister Seratti, that Livorno was quite safe, its neutrality would be respected. Wyndham wrote off immediately to Admiral Sir John Jervis informing him that on the contrary, there could now be no doubt that the French would head straight for Livorno and suggesting that such frigates as could be spared should remain there to carry away 'persons and merchandise' as needed[31]. For further proof he sent a certain Pietro Pozzolini to mix with the troops and find out their destination. Seratti with the same idea ordered the Tuscan General Strasoldo to meet the commanders of the advancing French force; they told him, quite unconvincingly, that they did not know the route they were to take after the northern Tuscan town of Pistoia. Wyndham, when told, realized that this was an obvious lie, revealing Livorno as their destination. Pozzolini added his confirmation.[32] Still Seratti, desperate to avert British intervention, tried to convince Wyndham that the French were to march not to Livorno but to Papal Perugia. He admitted they were due to arrive that day, 23 June, at Pistoia, though only the day before he had solemnly assured Wyndham that he had no reason to fear that Tuscan neutrality would not be religiously respected by the French.[33] Wyndham bore him no grudge for these transparent deceptions, knowing him to be at heart an honest man using his best endeavours for his country. It was not his fault that verbal manoeuvres were all he could employ.

The message to Jervis produced quick results. By the 23rd Captain Fremantle's frigate, the oddly named H.M.S. Inconstant, anchored at Livorno. Wyndham had not forgotten the Wynnes, who were seen on board next day: 'Mr W. and Mr P[enrose, secretary of legation] were as civil and as kind as it is possible to be',[34] wrote Betsey. Getting the English merchants moving was more difficult, for though at Wyndham's instigation they met that day and heard

his warning, they came to no conclusion. He sent another message the next day to confirm that the French were at Pistoia and two the day after, the first to stress that the Tuscan government was convinced some 'great blow' was intended by the French and the second to warn the merchants that they should lose no time embarking.[35] By then they had at last taken heed and started shipping their goods on as many vessels as they could find: twenty-three sail of square rigged and fourteen of the smaller single-sail tartanes. Fremantle heard that the French troops would reach Pontedera, some ten miles away, late on the 26th, passing the night there, and accordingly ordered the convoy to get under weigh out of the harbour at daybreak. It was midday before the enemy marched into the town.

Bonaparte went to the gun emplacements on the harbour mole. From there he could see, just out of firing range, the assembled convoy, its naval escort joined since mid morning by Nelson with two extra warships. Royal naval food supplies, normally obtained from Livorno, were guaranteed for some time to come by the cargoes on eight of the tartanes. The remaining ships carried much valuable merchandise, the entire colony of English traders and those émigrés who had not already dispersed. Together they gave Bonaparte a second opportunity to appraise a rescue operation by the British navy. At Toulon he and Nelson had been in subordinate posts and the rescued were French townspeople whom the republican government must have counted no great loss to their country; at Livorno Bonaparte, commanding the invading army column, saw himself cheated of valuable spoils, both merchandise and merchant hostages. His immediate response was to order the officer commanding the battery to fire on the English; on the officer's saying that he had no orders, he struck him on the chest and called him a scoundrel. A few shots were exchanged which did no damage.[36]

Bonaparte vented more of his anger on the town governor. Spannocchi's one misdemeanour, in French eyes, was to warn the allied consuls very early that morning of the imminent arrival of the troops. To his government he defended himself as acting in good faith and in accordance with international law, '*diritto delle genti*'.[37] Two days earlier he had scrupulously carried out his government's policy by announcing that rumours of the French

troops at Pistoia being destined for Livorno were false 38. Only hours before the French entry he issued a proclamation from Murat that the French came as friends who, in conformity with the neutrality of the port, would respect worship, religion, sovereignty, persons and property. But, as Seratti told Wyndham, Bonaparte was determined to pick a quarrel and upbraided him: 'So, Sir, it is you who have given such Protection to the English, and you are a great Scoundrel.' Spanocchi replied: 'You address me, General, as if you were my Master and I your Servant but know that this will not do.'[39] He was imprisoned and sent to Florence, to be tried and acquitted some months later when the French were otherwise preoccupied.

Wyndham learnt more about his adversary's character when Bonaparte left Livorno. After two days there he rode off, accompanied by his staff officers and a detachment of hussars, and headed for Florence via the town of San Miniato, where he and his entourage dined with Canon Filippo Buonaparte, of a noble family with which he claimed kinship.[40] At Florence his reception by the Grand Duke was recorded by Wyndham, spared attendance at court but kept informed by well placed agents. Grenville learnt from him of the extraordinary spectacle of a republican general, whose troops had just marched into Tuscany, being welcomed with apparent cordiality and many outward marks of esteem by a hereditary sovereign against whose brother, the Emperor Francis, he was currently waging war. There were some awkward moments, as when Bonaparte, at Ferdinand's dinner table, announced that he intended very soon to force his way to Vienna via the Tyrol. Azara, the Spanish envoy, warned Wyndham 'that as he knew the Ferocity and unprincipled Character of Buonaparte, no Dependence was to be placed in him.'[41] Yet here was a young revolutionary, with a well deserved reputation for ruthlessness, asking the Grand Duke to bestow the cross of the Order of San Stefano on the Canon, 'an obscure Priest'[41] to whom in fact he was not related.

Wyndham was retailing mere straws in the wind. They could even so suggest the likely future condition of Italy as a country that would have room for princes and priests. If its fate were to depend on this seemingly all-conquering general, forecasts might need revising. The stereotypes which develop in times of conflict had led many British diplomatists and commanders to think of the

French in terms of wholesale murderers, vindictive pursuers of fugitive men and women, rabid opponents of religion and social order. Wyndham had been no exception to this general attitude, almost as easily adopted in the semi-isolation of a foreign capital as on board a man-of-war. But it might no longer be tenable or even plausible, since here was a nominal republican, the servant of a state where regicides ruled and official documents bore the slogans *Liberté* and *Egalité*, who was content to dine with a Grand Duke or priest and who seemed to value family connections, however tenuous, and the status of a nobleman more highly than equality and the brotherhood of man.

At Livorno, too, people could now take stock of French republicanism at close quarter. With a revolutionary army established in Tuscany's second city and principal port, it was surely time for all those fears of murder and anarchy to be realised. Would the townsmen, or at the very least all the poorer classes, not renounce their allegiance to the Grand Duke and welcome the prospect of liberty and equality? And would the result not be persecution for the minority who failed to follow suit? Livorno's sizable Jewish community, of about 8,800 out of a population within the walls of rather over 43,000,[42] might be expected, given the discrimination against Jews in the rest of Tuscany, to take the lead. But the crisis through which the country was passing, with its sharpening of enmities, had distorted judgements on all sides, causing both expectations and fears to be exaggerated. The French had looked forward to more booty than they got; their sympathizers turned out to be far less troublesome than was thought likely. A dead calm settled on the port as Nelson enforced a blockade which killed all trade by sea, allowing only the fishermen out of harbour to supply the inhabitants with some food. For the armed forces on either side, the situation might have become a stalemate if Bonaparte had not left the way open for a further move by the British; his seizure of Livorno gave Elliot the chance to justify a counter-move, the taking of Porto Ferraio on 10 July.[43] At much less cost in manpower than the occupation of a mainland town, the British gained a base near enough to the Tuscan coastline to ensure easy access to a whole series of small harbours where provisions could be shipped out to the navy.

A further plan was broached. Now that Livorno's trade was, in the words of the British consul, totally ruined and 'not likely to be soon recovered', Britain might buy Elba from its different owners, – the Grand Duke, the Prince of Piombino and the King of Naples, – and declare Porto Ferraio a free port.[44] He pointed out that it had a good harbour and fortress and could be easily defended. There was iron ore capable of ten times the existing rate of extraction, good tunny fishing and 'other fish in great plenty'. The Neapolitans who fished for coral off the north African coasts brought it to Porto Ferraio, as did the African Company of Marseilles, who also went to the coasts of Algeria and Tunisia but had ceased to sell their catches at their home port. The idea failed to interest Grenville and appears not to have been put to Elliot, intent on an expedition to take Livorno. He assembled an expeditionary force of three thousand men, including a thousand Corsicans and five hundred marines and seamen; but Wyndham, seeing that this might provoke a French occupation of other areas of Tuscany, with Florence particularly endangered, urged postponement until either the Austrians or the Neapolitans could advance to cover the capital.[45]

He decided to find out for himself what, if anything, the Neapolitans would be prepared to do and in mid August travelled south for talks with Hamilton and Acton. He suggested that those states not already overrun by Bonaparte's army, – Naples, Tuscany and the Papal States, – should act together and put the same point to Elliot: 'nothing but union and exertion can save Italy'. Acton agreed in principle, seeing 'more ruin likely to ensue from supiness than activity'. But the plan soon started to fall apart. The Neapolitans preferred to patch up a peace with Bonaparte and the Grand Duke's advisers divided into two camps led by Seratti and Manfredini, making any constructive policies impossible. The government of the Papal States lacked both the means and the will to take the lead, though Wyndham noted after his journey south that a warlike strain in the inhabitants could be used in harness with their religion against the French, as indeed was to happen spontaneously when the Roman Republic was set up under French protection less than two years later.[46]

He was kept on tenterhooks meanwhile by news of Bonaparte's plans. In mid August he heard from Drake, the British minister to Genoa who had taken refuge in Venice, that all Corsican officers

in the Army of Italy were ordered to go at once to Livorno where, by early September, the many arrivals included three generals, Cervoni, Casalta and Galleazzi. By this time a small fleet of transports and eighteen privateers had been assembled and fitted out for the purpose of carrying their troops to Corsica.[47] In a separate but coordinated move to cut off British naval sources of supplies, a French army column set out in late September for Volterra, spreading out from there to occupy and garrison the Maremma ports and watch-towers from Cecina to Castiglione della Pescaia. As the British prepared to meet this new challenge, Wyndham received a message in cypher from Elliot:

> It is with the utmost concern I am to acquaint you of positive orders having been received by the Admiral and myself to retire with the Fleet and Troops from the Mediterranean. I cannot help feeling the Fatality of this Measure to Italy: but no choice is left to us and we are preparing to carry it into immediate Effect. The Measure was decided on in London on the Expectation of a Spanish War, and on the Opinion that everything was lost in Italy. If the present Circumstances were known in England, I should hope for a Revocation, or at least a Suspension of these Orders ...This Country [*i.e. Corsica*] was never in so good a State as at this Moment.[48]

The British evacuation of the island began within a week, though it is clear from Elliot's message to Wyndham that no direct French action in or near Corsica had any influence in bringing this about.

Wyndham wrote off immediately to Grenville to point out the disadvantages that would result. There would no longer be any remote chance of resolute opposition to the French from either Rome or Naples. If Mantua, under siege from Bonaparte's army, could hold out until the arrival of reinforcements from Austria, Italy might yet be saved. In Tuscany the people of the Maremma were eager to rise against the French. The Grand Duke and his Secretary of State 'intreated me but 2 days since not to give the Signal [for a revolt]. I could unite, if expedient, a considerable force for the Preservation of the Great Duke and the Tuscan state and the total extermination of the French, provided Mantua should be relieved. I was on the point of writing this to Sir Gilbert Elliot when His Excellency's letter No. 1 reached me.'

His claim that the French could be driven out of Tuscany looks at first sight exaggerated. It was based, however, on information that few troops were left in Livorno and many dispersed in small

units which could easily be forced to retreat or surrender. When Elliot sailed from Corsica to Porto Ferraio, Wyndham, evading the French coastal blockade, went to meet him, writing afterwards from Florence to reiterate his arguments for a direct British attack on the French. He suggested 'a descent on the opposite coast helped by the weak state of the enemy and the Sentiments of the Inhabitants of the Maremma, who have made serious propositions to me of driving the french [*sic*] from their province and have positively already acted hostilely against them.' Warming to his theme, he continued:

> by possessing Piombino and its environs, the Maremma may be cleared of the Enemy and a sufficient quantity of provisions may be easily obtained for the Service of His Majesty's fleet and the British troops...The correspondence that I have considered it my duty to keep up with persons in Leghorn [*Livorno*] and other parts of Tuscany invaded by the french troops, gave me the latest Intelligence of the very weak State of the French in the Great Duke's dominion... [Though] it was impossible for me to collect in detail the precise number of french troops in each particular place, owing to the System employed by them, of marching and counter-marching and perpetually changing their position to keep the Tuscan government in ignorance of their real numbers and force, yet I am fully convinced that ... the whole number of their forces in Tuscany does not exceed 800 men, and those in the Maremma were not a few days ago above 140 men dispersed in various parts for the sake of pillage and intercepting the communication through the country. At Grosseto there were about 50 french, at Castiglione not much less number and small parties were distributed among the other Towns and along the coast. Most of the Towers on the Coast of the Tuscan Maremma are possessed by the french but they keep in them only 3 or 4 men, and evidently are there merely to keep a watch for intelligence, but have not a means of defence...At present there is little chance of their detaching any troops from Leghorn to the assistance of those in the Maremma as they are very weak at Leghorn, and they imagine the number of His Majesty's troops at Porto Ferraio to be more than double what they really amount to.[49]

Elliot was convinced and next day, 6 November, sent an expedition to take Piombino. By the 25th of the month the enemy posts along the coast south of Livorno had been secured and enough grain found in the fortresses of Grosseto and Castiglione della

Pescaia to supply both fleet and army for at least six months 50. The French in Livorno managed to recruit three hundred and fifty Tuscans as reinforcements but they were not enough to allow an attack on the British at Piombino and Campiglia.[51] At last it dawned on the Directory in Paris that their troops were serving no useful purpose in Tuscany and early in December Wyndham learnt from Russia's envoy Mocenigo that Bonaparte had been given *carte blanche* to act as he thought fit.[52] The French consul proposed one positive gain: before leaving, why not complete the ruin of Livorno's trade and help its rival Marseilles by filling in the harbour with earth?[53] Bonaparte was more interested in military and territorial advantages. After some haggling, he struck a bargain with the Tuscan government, that the French would leave Livorno if the British left the Maremma and Elba. The treaty, signed on 10 January 1797 by Bonaparte and Manfredini, left the onus of persuading the British on the Tuscans.[54]

Wyndham saw that the treaty favoured Britain. Ferdinand had refused to close Livorno to British ships, so that once the French withdrew the port could be used again for naval supplies. The troops tied up on Elba and along the Maremma could be put to greater use elsewhere; but it was with the British military that he had the greatest difficulties. Officers who knew no Italian were too easily hoodwinked, particularly if they happened to resent Wyndham's role as negotiator with the Tuscan government. Colonel Wemyss, commanding at Castiglione, employed as commissary an unreliable Corsican, Savelli, and favoured some dubious locals who had worn the French cockade during the enemy occupation. When complaints were made about them and about the behaviour of British troops, Wemyss started to write directly to Seratti, alluding critically to Wyndham, who had to go to Grosseto and sort matters out, a process which involved the imprisonment of Savelli, the punishment of undisciplined troops and the banishment of the local turncoats.[55] No sooner were these problems settled than General De Burgh, commanding the British forces, started to create further ones. Having graciously consented, 'as a friendly gesture to the Grand Duke', to withdraw the last mainland garrisons from Castiglione and Piombino, he complained that the French had not yet left Livorno. In his view they were procrastinating. Wyndham was to tell Seratti that 'I have never

pledged myself not to act against the French in any Quarter whatever, except in the Event of an *immediate* Evacuation of Leghorn, in which case the Grand Duke's territories shall remain unmolested.'[56] By early February, suffering from a bad case of wartime paranoia, he was convinced that the plot had thickened: he had heard 'of the decided intention which the French have of occupying this place [*Porto Ferraio*] when I quit it, and of gaining the perpetuity of it by treaty.'[57] The General wrote to London about his discoveries, alleging that Wyndham was being duped by Seratti, secretly in league with the French. This letter was not made known to Wyndham but, having better sources of information than De Burgh, he nevertheless found out about it and sent an effective rebuke:

> Mr Orsi has informed me that you have dispatch'd to London a Letter, in which you have stated in general that my Sentiments in this affair have been erroneous, that it is your full opinion that Serratti is not playing an open part and that as I am a dupe to his Cunning, it will not be advisable to accede to my proposals nor give ear to my assertions. I really can hardly conceive you have done so without apprising me of it, as I most candidly had the honour to leave all my Correspondence open to you and I was fully convinced that in regard to whatever related to the late Tuscan negotiations you would have done the same by me.
>
> I am, however, very happy to be judged by you, and do not fear being completely vindicated in your opinion of either misconduct or false judgement in the whole of this proceeding. I had not an idea that Major Smith was charged with Dispatches to that purpose or I should have thought it my Duty to my Sovereign to have dispatched likewise my fullest conviction of His Royal Highness's [*i.e. the Grand Duke's*] noble conduct, the honourable Character and Disposition of the Chevr Serratti, and the benefits that may accrue from an acquisition to His Royal Highness's request, fully convinced that my own conduct will bear the nicest and [most] ample scrutiny.[58]

De Burgh replied, rather lamely, that he could not reveal his sources. It was mid April before he could be induced to embark with his troops for Portugal and a month later that the French garrison left Livorno by sea, their departure delayed when a frigate sighted offshore was taken to be British. Wyndham was asked to supply a collective passport for the troops and obliged: the ship then turned out to be from Algiers.[59] It made no attempt to stop

the French and both Wyndham and the inhabitants congratulated themselves on having gained a respite. Bonaparte's promise to respect Tuscan neutrality can have carried little weight but, as Wyndham noted, his 'having deposited very large sums of money in this state, there is every appearance that he has an interest to preserve it and that perhaps may be its greatest Security.'[60]

The British Livorno merchants ventured to return. They found a difficult situation awaiting them, since the town had suffered almost complete economic collapse for the better part of a year. As early as the previous September, Wyndham reported 'the inhabitants of Leghorn and the whole Tuscan coast deprived of their trade, in consequence merchants breaking daily and the boatmen, ship builders, porters &c without labour.'[61] As well as supporting a French garrison and the troops assembling to invade Corsica, eventually amounting to over 1,000, probably nearer 1,500,[62] the townspeople were subjected to thinly disguised expropriation. Bonaparte had issued orders during his short stay that an inventory should be compiled of British stores and rewards be paid to those pointing out enemy merchandise.[63] But the French commissaries, finding insufficient British property to confiscate, required all traders to hand in their account books where debts were entered for goods bought from the British. They then declared these purchases forfeit; if the traders wanted compensation, they should seek it from Britain. In response to their complaints, the commissaries kept the account books and closed the town gates to stop all trade. These actions produced a compromise settlement whereby the Tuscans were allowed their account books and their goods at the cost of a fine of 2,200,000 Tuscan lire, equivalent to £55,000, well below the value of the merchandise, amounting, according to the British merchants' claim received by Wyndham, to over £76,000.[64]

Only the commissaries were content with the outcome of this contest. Their takings from all sources paid for most of the costs of the occupation, including the preparations for the expedition to Corsica, but left a mere £75,000 over to send to army headquarters. Bonaparte was naturally exasperated that the venture on which such hopes of spoil had been placed was turning out so unprofitably. Given the readiness of some of his own generals to line their pockets, it was not at all difficult for him to think ill of

the commissaries and the consul Belleville, for whom opportunities were always present. In November, taking advantages of a lull in the campaign, he descended on Livorno and demanded from Belleville a vast sum which the consul was quite unable to find. Returning north, Bonaparte kept up the pressure with a series of menacing letters which may well have contained veiled accusations against the commissaries Saliceti and Garrau. Certainly in late November Garrau urged Belleville to guard against enquiries from Paris by submitting a detailed statement of his accounts to the Ministry of Finance.[65]

News of the French confiscations soon spread to England. It led to a meeting of London merchants attended by delegates from Leeds, Halifax, Liverpool, Birmingham and Exeter who chose a committee, ten from the provinces, twelve from London, to lobby the Foreign Secretary. They complained that Spannocchi's proclamation denying that the French troops were heading for Livorno had dissuaded the English from saving more of their property and had been issued with the authority of the Tuscan government, which should compensate them. They also asked for the navy to be kept in the Mediterranean to preserve trade with Italy, on which, they asserted, depended the employment of over '200,000 Manufacturers, who might be otherwise deprived of subsistence: and of enabling the Merchants of England to import many essential Raw Materials.'[66]

Wyndham, transmitting the demand for compensation in January, 1797, was told that English property sold by the French could be reclaimed via the Tuscan law courts.[67] It later turned out that a different arrangement had been agreed between the deputies of the Livorno chamber of commerce and the authorities in Florence. The Livorno traders were determined to recover the money taken from them by the French without losing the goods bought from the English and they accordingly devised a most effective scheme: a forced lottery would be instituted to which the British on their return were to subscribe. The total of what they might, with luck, win was nearly equal in value to the French fine, though considerably less than that of the English property. A few might recoup their losses, others get nothing. Further, the number of tickets and their price would provide a large extra sum, nearly two-thirds the value of the prizes, for the organisers of the lottery as

a bonus on top of recouping the amount of the fine. When the Grand Duke gave his assent to the plan, on 29 October 1796, the law courts were ordered not to hear claims by British subjects. It was only some months after the merchants returned that the full implications of these ingenious arrangements became clear to them and to Wyndham.[68]

He protested vigorously against them to no avail. The entire country was suffering from loss of trade as well as from the French looting and the situation was not improved by two secret clauses in the treaty with Bonaparte for evacuation of the occupying troops. Manfredini weakly agreed that in return for their recall the Tuscan state would pay one million *livres tournois* and cancel French debts incurred during the occupation to the tune of another million.[69] The loss to Tuscany was equivalent to over £83,000, though Bonaparte was left with a net gain of only half that. With the £75,000 already sent by the commissaries, it was his sole monetary profit from the whole enterprise.

What conclusions can be drawn from the events of these years? One strong impression left is of people behaving, not altogether surprisingly, according to the social patterns of their different nations. The British came from a society with a fair degree of cohesion in its upper ranks and we find Wyndham, Elliot and Nelson working well together; the only person to make difficulties is De Burgh, more, one suspects, from stupidity than malice. The deeply divided society of revolutionary France, on the other hand, had brought to the fore some strongly ambitious characters of many talents and few scruples: Saliceti was judged one of the sharpest men of his time, Miot was more than a match for Manfredini. And can we perhaps see in Bonaparte's actions in Tuscany the first signs of his impatience with Republican ideals and a decided hankering after an extended family network along traditional Corsican lines? He may already have felt that relations were more reliable than revolutionaries, certainly than some of his more slippery associates.

Tuscan society would seem to have been quite as closely knit as British. Serratti stands as an example of the type of public spirited man it could produce in a time of crisis. Unfortunately he had to cope with a vacillating sovereign in Ferdinand of Habsburg-Lorraine and with a courtier from the Veneto in Manfredini, whose loyalties were to the ruler rather than to the state and whose abilities were unequal to his ambition.

Yet these influences, important though they were, are not a complete explanation. Even with the fullest cooperation, what mattered more was whether the right decisions were taken – and that depended on sound judgement, based on close attention to public affairs and some experience in forecasting the course of events. In the dispute with De Burgh, Wyndham rightly emphasised his knowledge of Tuscan politics when reporting to Grenville. He readily conceded that De Burgh was honest and sensible, but after three years' 'intimate and constant residence at this Court', he could pledge Seratti's 'loyal attachment to his Sovereign and his advice [to the Grand Duke] to act with dignity of mind and character.[70] It was the same knowledge of the men with whom he was dealing that enabled Wyndham to see clearly and in good time where the invading French army column was heading. Bonaparte, by contrast, when ordering his troops to occupy Livorno, did not think ahead sufficiently or he would have realised that the British would organize an escape by sea, particularly as he had already witnessed one such exercise at Toulon. An intelligent young envoy could outwit a soldier of genius merely by ascertaining facts and taking some simple precautions. Underestimating the pitfalls of diplomacy was one of Bonaparte's recurrent failings. Wyndham was perhaps the first to find this Achilles' heel.

Notes

1. A. Fremantle ed., *The Wynne Diaries*, 3 vols., London 1935 – 38, ii, p. 94.
2. Ibid., pp. 85, 93.
3. Public Record Office, Foreign Office (hereafter PRO FO) 79/10, Grenville to Wyndham, 5.2.1794.
4. *Ibid.*, 21.4.1794.
5. Wyndham Archives (hereafter WA), Lord Hervey to Grenville, 5.2.1793. I am much indebted to Dr Katherine Wyndham for generous permission to consult and quote from the archives, an invaluable documentary source for the career of W.F. Wyndham.
6. WA, report from Captain Drinkwater, 2.7.1794.
7. WA, letters, despatches and intellligence reports, 27.4 – 2.10.1794.
8. R. Guyot, *Le Directoire et la paix de l'Europe des traités de Bâle à la deuxième coalition,* Paris 1911, pp. 84 – 9.
9. WA, received 18.10.1794.
10. PRO, FO 28/9, despatch from F. Drake, envoy to Genoa, to Grenville, from Florence, 7.9.1794.

10. PRO, FO 28/9, despatch from F. Drake, envoy to Genoa, to Grenville, from Florence, 7.9.1794.
11. PRO FO 79/12, despatch 3.8.1795.
12. *Ibid.*,despatch 12.5.1795.
13. WA, Elliot to Serratti, 2.6.1795.
14. *Ibid.*, Elliot to Serratti, 14.5.1794.
15. PRO, FO 79/12, despatch 11.12.1795.
16. WA, Elliot to Seratti, 14.5.1795, replying to letter 6.5.1795.
17. WA, letters from Grosseto, 5.1.1796, and after visiting Elba, 7.1.1796.
18. PRO FO, 79/14, despatch 5.3.1796.
19. *Ibid.*, WA, letter to Worsley, Venice, 5.3.1796; British Library Additional Manuscripts (hereafter BL Add Mss) 39793, fol 217, Hamilton to Wyndham 15.3.1796.
20. WA, letter, 5.3.1796.
21. PRO, FO 79/14, despatch to Grenville mentioning Nelson's request to Hamilton, 15.3.1796.
22. WA, letter, 13.3.1796.
23. WA, Wyndham from Montevarchi to Elliot, 22.3.1796.
24. *Ibid.*
25. W.S.Lewis ed., *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence,* 48 vols., New Haven 1937 – 83, xix, p. 322.
26. BL Add Mss 39793 f. 221 – 2, Morton Eden, Vienna, to Wyndham, 14.4.1796.
27. *Ibid.*, fol. 219 – 20, Wyndham to Hamilton 26.4.1796.
28. PRO, FO 79/14, despatch 30.5.1796.
29. Guyot, *op. cit.*, p. 171.
30. Fremantle, *op. cit.*, p. 95; P. Peruzzi, *Personaggi e vicende della famiglia Mari dal medioevo all'unità d'Italia* (privately printed, Florence, no date). I am indebted to Signor Marino Mari for drawing this monograph to my attention.
31. PRO, FO 79/14, despatch 22.6.1796: letter to Jervis, 21.6.1796.
32. WA, letters recommending Pozzolini for employment, 28.5 and 16.6.1797.
33. PRO, FO 79/14, Seratti to Wyndham, 22.6.1796; Wyndham to Grenville 23.6.1796.
34. Fremantle, *op. cit.*, p. 95.
35. PRO FO 79/14, Captain Fremantle to Jervis, 30.6.1796.
36. Ibid., Nelson to Jervis, 30.6.1796, retailing oral account by Gianni Neri, fisherman.
37. C. Mangio, *Politica toscana e rivoluzione Momenti di storia livornese 1790 – 1801,* Pisa 1974, p. 121.
38. PRO, FO 79/14, Proclamation by Major-General Spannocchi Piccolomini, 25.6.1796.
39. PRO, FO 79/14, despatch 28.6.1796.
40. D. Carrington, *Napoleon and his Parents,* London 1988, pp. 109 – 1, quoting Las Cases, *Mémorial de Saint-Hélène,* Paris 1823, i, p. 81.
41. PRO, FO 79/14, despatch in cypher, date wrongly decyphered as 2.6.1796, in fact 2.7.1796; despatch 30.7.1796.
42. G. Pardi, 'Disegno della storia demografica di Livorno', *Archivio storico italiano,* lxxvi, I, Florence 1918, pp. 55 – 61.

43. WA, Elliot's order to Major Duncan to take Porto Ferraio, enclosing Summons to the governor; copy of Proclamation to the people of Porto Ferraio; PRO, FO 79/14, Nelson to Jervis, 10.7.1796.
44. PRO, FO 79/14, Consul Udny to Grenville, 17.8.1796.
45. *Ibid.*,despatch 3.9.1796; WA, Elliot to Wyndham, 10.8.1796.
46. BL Add Mss 39793, ff. 269, 271 – 4, 279 – 82: PRO, FO 79/14, letter to Elliot, 29.8.1796, despatch 13.9.1796; WA, Elliot, 14.8.1796.
47. WA, Drake to Wyndham 14.8.1796; PRO, FO 79/14, despatch 3.9.1796.
48. PRO, FO 79/14, Elliot to Wyndham 9.10.1796.
49. *Ibid.*, despatch 14.10.1796; WA, letter to Elliot, 5.11.1796.
50. WA, Colonel Wemyss to Wyndham from Castiglione, 25.11.1796; Elliot from Porto Ferraio, 6.11.1796.
51. WA, Wemyss to Wyndham, 29.11,1796.
52. WA, Mocenigo to Wyndham, 3.12.1796.
53. Mangio, *op. cit.*, p. 120.
54. WA, advance notice of treaty from Seratti, acknowledged 30.12.1796; further letters exchanged 9 – 14.1.1797. PRO, FO 79/15, despatch 14.1.1797.
55. WA, letters to Wemyss and De Burgh, 15 – 30.12.1796: PRO, FO 79/14 despatch 13.12.1796, letter to Tuscan foreign secretary 17.12.1796.
56. PRO, FO 79/15, De Burgh to Wyndham 3.1.1797. WA, ditto, 20.1.1797.
57. WA, ditto 5.2.1797.
58. PRO, FO 79/15, Wyndham to De Burgh 4.2.1797; extract of letter, De Burgh to Duke of Portland, 13.1.1797.
59. *Ibid.*, despatch 16.5.1797.
60. *Ibid.*, despatch 25.2.1797.
61. *Ibid.*, despatch 13.9.1796.
62. *Ibid.*, ditto 21.5.1797.
63. F. Pera, *Curiosità livornesi inedite o rare,* Livorno 1888, pp. 441 – 8.
64. WA, undated Memorial from the British Livorno merchants to Wyndham recounting events during the French occupation and detailing their losses.
65. J. Godechot, *Les Commissaires aux Armées sous le Directoire*, 2 vols., Paris 1937, i, pp. 466 – 77.
66. PRO, FO 79/14 John Turnbull, Chairman of committee of merchants and manufacturers, to Grenville, 29.11.1796
67. WA, Tuscan government *memoria* to Wyndham, 27.1.1797.
68. *Ibid.*, despatches 15.8 and 23.9.1797.
69. PRO, FO 79/15, despatch 14.1.1797.
70. *Ibid.*, despatch 5.2.1797.

COLERIDGE'S TRANSLATIONS OF GABRIELLO CHIABRERA

ARNOLD CASSOLA

Kathleen Coburn has shown that before leaving England for Malta in April 1804 Coleridge 'had almost certainly read very little Italian literature in the original, though he had made a beginning in the language.'[1] During his stay in Malta he improved his knowledge of the Italian language and this was probably also due to the fact that, contrary to what Coburn maintains (Coleridge-*Notes* 1962: 397), the island was 'almost completely isolated from [*anything but*] Italian culture'! Ever since 1249, the year the Arab dominators were expelled from the island, and in particular after 1530, when Malta was taken over by the Order of the Knights of St. John, the cultural life on the island was almost totally dependent on what was forthcoming from the nearby peninsula. This was also the case at the time of Coleridge's stay in Malta.

In November 1804 he was quite capable of understanding spoken Italian; at the beginning of 1805 he was definitely having a few conversations with Vittorio Barzoni, one of the first Italian exiles to set foot in Malta, in the Italian tongue and in 1806 he could distinguish between the Tuscan and Roman variants of Italian (Coleridge-*Notes* 1962:398). A few years later, he even devoted some of his time to translating Italian authors, amongst whom was Gabriello Chiabrera, a lyric poet he found incomparable (Coleridge-*Notes* 1962: 401). The Chiabrera translations can provide an approximate but reliable checkpoint on Coleridge's knowledge of Italian in the years 1808 – 1810.

The first time Coleridge mentions Chiabrera is in the following notebook entry (n. 2365), dated 21 December 1804:

> 2365 22.13 Jupiter & the Poet -cut your
> throat & come to me? in Chabrerta- Jupiter
> divided the world -The Poet came in after the
> division- he had been gazing on the Heaven-&-[2]

'Chabrerta' for 'Chiabrera' could be a slip of the pen, as suggested by Coburn (Coleridge-*Notes* 1962:[2364]), but the more or less-contemporaneous error 'Bassoni' for 'Barzoni' (Coleridge-*Notes* 1962:398) leads me to suggest that in late 1804 – early 1805 Coleridge's mastery of written Italian was still quite approximate.

The first three Chiabrera odes which Coleridge partly transcribed were *Per l'Altezza Serenissima di Ferdinando II, Gran Duca di Toscana, Loda il gran Duca di Toscana: Ferdinando II* and *Per Cristoforo Colombo.*[3] These extracts were reproduced from the 1782 Venetian edition of Chiabrera's *Opere*, which Coleridge possessed.[4] His being very faithful to the Italian original (Coleridge-*Notes* 1973:[3318]) is an indication of laudable philological accuracy, but his reproducing even the misprints of the 1782 edition, such as *Ne* for *Ne'* at line 5 of the following extract[5], proves that his approximate knowledge of Italian prevented him from fully understanding the meaning of these texts:

Columbus

Certo, da cor, ch'alto destin non scelse,
Son l'imprese magnanime neglette;
Ma le bell'alme alle bell'opere elette
Sanno gioir nelle fatiche eccelse;
Ne biasmo popolar, frale catena,
Spirto d'onore/il suo cammin raffrena.

Così lunga stagion per modi indegni
Europa disprezzò l'inclita speme:
Schernendo il vulgo (e *seco* i Regi insieme)
Nudo nocchier promettitor di Regni;
Ma per le sconosciute onde marine
L'invitta prora ei pur sospinse al fine.

Qual uom, che torni alla gentil consorte,
Tal ei da sua magion spiegò l'antenne;
L'Ocean corse, e i turbini sostenne,
Vinse le crude immagini di morte,
Poscia dell'ampio mar spenta la guerra,
Scorse la dianzi favolosa Terra.

Allor dal cavo Pin scende veloce
E di grand'Orma il nuovo Mondo imprime;
Nè men ratto per l'Aria erge sublime
Segno del Ciel, insuperabil Croce;
E porge umile esempio, onde adorarla
Debba sua Gente;

(Coleridge-*Text 1973:* [3318 – 3318])

Coleridge actually published this same extract ten years later in his *Essay on the Principles of Method,* contained in Volume III of the 1818 issue of *The Friend.*[6] Whilst the omission of the apostrophe at 1.20 ('grand Orma') and the reduction of double *mm* to *m* at 1.16 ('imagini') might indicate a certain amount of distraction on the author or the printer's part, the introduction or removal of capital letters (1.1 'Destin'; 1.15 'ocean'; 1.20 'mondo'), the integration or adaptation of the definite article (1.1 'dal cor'; 1.13 'al gentil') and the change of tense from present to perfect (1.23 'porse') could point towards a better knowledge of the Italian language and a greater degree of familiarity with the style of Italian poetry on Coleridge's part in 1818.[7]

The third Chiabrera entry in the *Notebooks* dates back to July-September 1809. Coleridge here transcribes the first stanza of Chiabrera's *Canzone eroica* no. XXVII, entitled *Per Francesco Sforza Duca di Milano* (Coleridge-*Text* 1973: 3578]). This stanza was published without any significant changes, together with a literal translation, in *The Friend*, no. 4, 7 September, 1809:[8]

I semplici pastori
Sul Vesolo nevoso
Fatti curvi e canuti
D'alto stupor son muti
Mirando al fonte ombroso
Il Po con pochi umori;
Poscia udendo gli onori
Dell'urna angusta e stretta,
Che 'l Adda, che 'l Tesino
Soverchia in suo camino
Che ampio al mar s'affretta,
Che si spuma, e si suona,
  Che gli si da corona!*
  [. . .]

**Literal Translation.* 'The simple Shepherds grown bent and hoary-hearded on the snowy Vesolo, are mute with deep astonishment, gazing in the o'ershadowed fountain on the Po with his scanty waters; then hearing of the Honors of his confined and narrow Urn, how he receives as a Sovereign the ADDA and the TESINO in his course, how ample he hastens on to the Sea, how he foams, how mighty his Voice, and that to Him the Crown is assigned'. N.B. I give literal translations of my poetic as well as prose translations, because the propriety of their introduction often depends on the exact sense and order of the words: which it is impossible always to retain in a metrical version.

(Coleridge 1969, v. II:55)[9]

The author's note on literal translations sheds light on his theory of translation: in order to capture the 'exact sense' that a foreign literary work conveys to the native tongue reader, Coleridge is ready to sacrifice the outward 'form', and therefore even to limit the intrinsic artistic value of the literary product. Consequently, in the case of translations, 'meaning' is more important to him than 'artistic appreciation'. Despite Coleridge's intentions, the last part of this literal translation is not at all faithful to the Chiabrera original! At lines 9 – 12, he even goes against his maxim which stresses the importance of retaining the 'order of the words'. This is due to his non perfect knowledge of Italian. First of all, he confuses the Italian relative pronoun *che* ['that'] with the adverb *come* ['how']. This in turn leads him to perceive *soverchia*, the present tense of the third person singular form of the verb *soverchiare* ('to overflow'), as a noun (he translates it as 'Sovereign'). Finally, his inability to distinguish the difference between *si* reflexive (as in 's'affretta') and *sì* ('thus'; in such a way') with an accent (as in 'sì'spuma' and 'sì'suona') renders the latter part of his translation a completely different text from the original.[10]

Another Chiabrera poem that inspired Coleridge was the 'Epitaffio VII' entitled *Per il Signor Ambrosio Salinero*. In fact, as Coleridge himself points out, '*Tis true, IDOLOCLASTES SATYRANE,* which appeared in issue no. 14 of *The Friend* (23 November 1809), was 'Imitated, though in the movements rather than the thoughts, from the VIIth. of Gli Epitafi of *Chiabrera:* [...]' (Coleridge 1969, v.II:184). Of the Chiabrera original, Coleridge actually gives a more or less faithful poetic translation of lines 8 – 12:

E fu forte a seguir le belle Muse.
Non è chiuso sentier che meni all'ombra
Dell'amate foreste di Parnaso,
Che a lui fosse nascosto; e non è calle,
Che sorga a' puri rivi d'Ipocrene,
Che a lui non fosse aperto. [...] [11]

which take up lines 20 – 24 of the English text:

The Citadel unconquer'd, and in joy
Was strong to follow the delightful Muse.
For not a hidden path, that to the shades
Of the belov'd Parnassian forest leads,
Lurk'd undiscover'd by him; not a rill
There issues from the fount of Hippocrene
But he had trac'd it upward to its' source
Thro' open glade, dark glen, and secret dell,
Knew the gay wild-flowers on its' banks, and cull'd
Its' med'cinable herbs. [...]

While lines 20 – 23 of Coleridge's version do not in any way depart from the Chiabrera original at lines 8 – 11, the last part of line 23 and line 24 present the reader with three significant changes. Coleridge translates *calle* ['path'], *sorga* ['rises'] and *rivi* ['brook', 'stream'], with respectively, *rill, issues* and *fount*. Obviously, one might reason out that Coleridge, being a creative artist himself and having openly declared that his was more of an 'imitation' rather than a proper translation, felt free to produce his own 'original' poem. However, internal evidence leads me to suspect that the changes in these two lines were not the result of a 'free' choice on his part, but of a misunderstanding of the Italian original.

The key to my supposition lies in the verb *sorga*. This is the third person singular form in the subjunctive mood of the verb *sorgere*. The corresponding meaning of *sorgere* in English is 'to rise'. However, the Italian verb can be used both literally and figuratively. Thus, one could say: 'Il sole sorge alle cinque' ['The sun rises at five'], implying a literal meaning, and 'Il Reno sorge dalle Alpi' ['The Rhine rises in the Alps'], with an obvious figurative one. Coleridge's translation indicates that in 1809 he was not yet able to distinguish between the two uses of the Italian verb. In fact, Chiabrera meant *sorga* to literally convey the meaning 'rises', while Coleridge renders in English the figurative one: *issues,* in fact, conveys the idea of 'to come forth', 'to emerge'. His interpretation might have possibly been further complicated by another factor: the similarity (visual, but not semantic!) between *sorga* ['rises'] and *sgorga* [issues] (<v. *sgorgare*).

Obviously, if one were to interpret *sorga* in its figurative sense, it would be quite out of context in the Chiabrera epitaph. This is possibly what happened to Coleridge, and especially so if he did not really know what *calle*, which is usually only made use of in a poetic context, meant. Thus, because of his limited knowledge of Italian, he probably found himself reorganizing the two lines in such a way as to shift attention from what was the central image in the Italian version (*calle* ['the path by the Hippocrene fount']) to the 'fount of Hippocrene' itself. In this 'new' poetic context, with a different central image, Coleridge feels fully authorized in making the three alterations (even *rivi* ['brook', 'stream'] is modified into a *fount*) since this vocabulary is more pertinent to the immediate context.

The two Chiabrera translations here reproduced bear witness to the concept that creative genius cannot be in any way constrained within certain boundaries: Coleridge's limited knowledge of Italian might have been the initial reason for his modifying the original Italian versions; the end products however, i.e. the English versions, prove that successful translations are in fact those that, whilst departing from a set point (the text in the original language), give birth to a 'new', autonomous text. Ironically enough, in this case, the fact that Coleridge did not fully master the Italian language did not constitute a drawback. On the contrary, it proved to be a spark powerful enough to set alight his creative genius.

Notes

1. *Cf.* S.T. Coleridge, *Notebooks*, v.II, *Notes* (1804 – 1808), ed. by Kathleen Coburn, London 1962. p. 399.
2. *Cf.* S.T. Coleridge, *Notebooks*, v.II, *Text* (1804 – 1808), ed. by Kathleen Coburn, London, 1962, p. 264].
3. *Cf.* S.T. Coleridge, *Notebooks*, v.III, *Text* (1808 – 1819), ed. by Kathleen Coburn, London, 1973, pp.[3318 – 3318]. The date on the manuscript is not clear at all but, according to K. Coburn, 1808 seems to be the most likely year (Coleridge-*Notes* 1973: [3318 – 3318]).
4. *Cf.* S.T. Coleridge, *Notebooks*, v. III, *Notes* (1808 – 1819), ed. by Kathleen Coburn, London, 1973, p. 3315].
5. Contrary to what K. Coburn suggests (Coleridge-*Notes* 1973:[3318), *il* (1.6) is correct and should not be emended into *in*.
6. *Cf.* S.T. Coleridge, *The Friend*, ed. by Barbara E. Rooke, v. II, London, 1969, pp. 480 – 481. I shall refer to this volume as Coleridge 1969 v. II and to volume I as Coleridge 1969 v. 1.
7. Obviously, his appreciation of certain nuances is far from perfect: 'al gentil consorte' is grammatically correct in Italian, but since the subject of the sentence is *uom*, it stands to reason that the neuter noun *consorte* ['spouse'] can only refer to a female spouse. In this context, therefore, the feminine qualifying article *alla* could never be changed into the masculine one, *al*.
8. In the published version, Coleridge corrects 'ampiao' into 'ampio' (1.11), inserts a comma after 'canuti' (1.3) and an exclamation mark after 'corona' (1.13), eliminates the comma after 'cammino' (1.10) and changes the full stop after 'suona' (1.12) into a comma.
9. The same extract is published again in 1812 and in 1818. Coleridge changes the phrase 'prose translations' into 'prose quotations'. Cf., e.g., Coleridge 1969 v.I: 65 – 66.
10. Lines 9 – 12 should read: 'That Adda and Tesino/it [the urn] overflows in its course/that ample hastens to the sea/that foams and roars in such a way'.
11. Cf. *Delle Opere di Gabriello Chiabrera*, Tomo, ii, contenente le canzonette amorose, e morali, scherzi, sonetti, epitaffi, vendemmie, egloghe, e sermoni, in Venezia, 1805, p. 177.

VIAGGIATORI PUGLIESI IN INGHILTERRA

FEDERICA TROISI

La restaurazione borbonica segnò una battuta d'arresto nello sviluppo culturale del Mezzogiorno, e quindi anche pugliese.

Così dice il Lasorsa a proposito della stampa in Puglia: 'Prima del 1860, Bari non ebbe giornali nè quotidiani, nè periodici; la ragione va ricercata nell'indole dei tempi e nella forma di governo che allora imperava nei nostri paesi,'[1] Ed infatti fu propio la stampa, dopo la caduta dei Borboni, il segno dei tempi nuovi.

All'indomani della unificazione nazionale, in seguito all ripresa dei contatti con le altre regioni italiane e con l'astero, già detto in precedenza, la cultura pugliese perse il suo carattere provinciale, trovando nella stampa il suo fondamentale veicolo di divulgazione. Nella seconda metà dell'Ottocento ci fu in tutta la nostra Regione, ed in particolare nel Salento,[2] un fiorire di giornali e di pubblicazioni periodiche in risposta alla domanda di arricchimento spirituale e promozione sociale da parte di un pubblico colto sempre più numeroso. Alcune riviste persero presto il carattere di cronaca locale per aprirsi alle nuove idee.E questo il caso del *Gazzettino Letterario,* pubblicato a Lecce dal 10.luglio 1878, che per primo accolse recensioni di libri d'oltralpe, convogliate, poi, l'anno successivo, in una rubrica fissa di Letteratura Straniera: diventano così noti anche in Puglia autori francesi, tedeschi ed inglesi, come Nerval, Baudelaire, Flaubert, Heine, Poe attraverso traduzioni e presentazioni curate da Rubrichi, Nutricati, Brigati e Muscogiuri.

L'arrivo a Trani del tipografo emiliano Valdemaro Vecchi segna una pietra miliare nella storia dell'editoria e della stampa barese. Dopo un breve impegno editoriale e carattere giuridico-amministrativo, *Il Circondario di Barletta* come afferma Dell'Aquila, 'il tipografo fidentino imboccava decorsamente la strada dell'ambizioso progetto aggregante di tutte le forze intelletuali in Puglia intorno ad una grande rivista di diffusione non solo regionale'.[3] Nel gennaio del 1884 prende così l'avvio prima a Trani, poi a Bari, La gloriosa *Rassegna Pugliese,* laprima rivista di risonanza nazionale, portavoce anche d'idee e di opere d'oltralpe e d'oltre oceano.

Se si parla di viaggiatori inglesi in Puglia, altrettanto dicasi, pur con le dovute differenze, di viaggiatori pugliesi nella Terra d'Albione.

Ciò che incuriosisce anche il più sprovveduto lettore della *Rassegna Pugliese* sono le lunghe note di viaggio di Salvatore Bacile, un turista aristocratico del Salento, delle cui scorribande in Italia, Francia, Inghilterra, il periodico pugliese dà puntuali e precisi resoconti.

Limitandoci, ovviamente, ai contributi d'interesse anglosassone, in *La Notte a Londra,* del 1891, l'autore fa una descrizione tipicamente vittoriana della capitale inglese: 'Londra è infatti un miscuglio ignobile di birra e di evangelio, di bibbia e di gin, d'ubriachezza e di ipocrisia, di fango sordito e di lusso insolente, di poveri cui manca il necessario e di ricchi orgogliosi che nuotano nel superfluo'; e tale contraddizione viene riscontrata in tutti gli aspetti e i monumenti della città con esasperato linguaggio ora esclamativo, ora moralista, privilegiando comunque l'antropomorfismo dei luoghi e dehli oggetti, come già in Dickens. Il nobile turista salentino è infatti colpito dalla maestosità del Palazzo di Westminster, ed in particolare della torre del Big Ben, definita, '...sentinella avanzata che misura il tempo che è moneta, e con occhi di fuoco, ...vigila i grandi destini della Nazione e veglia sopra quelle mura, tra le quali si discutono le leggi del commercio universale' ed ancora Hyde Park: 'sfavillante' nella sua veste diurna, 'misera ed immonda' in quella notturna.

Questa duplice, contraddittoria valenza di Hyde Park è interessante perchè Bacile, volendo dare maggiore spessore morale ai suoi rilievi di ordine paesaggistico, fa appello alla pittura ed alla narrativa: 'Quei grandi alberi di quercia, quelle aiuole fiorite, quelle verdi praterie, che, alla luce del sole, sarebbero servite come di fondo a un quadro luminoso ed elegante di De Nittis, si trasforma la notte nel teatro della prosa più volgare a darebbe campo a studi veristi - troppo veristi - pei nuovi romanzi di Emilio Zola'.

Parole, queste, che suggeriscono, indirettamente, la scelta dell'autore nei riguardi di tali differenti poetiche.

Londra, dunque, cittàs tentacolare, viene definita 'un inferno', secondo una citazione shelleyana ('Hell is a city much like London'), non priva di altrettante immagini infernali, come le buie stazioni della metropolitana che scorre in un 'budello di tenebre a fumo

fra due pareti nere e bituminose'. Ma tutto viene riscattato dal fatto che, secondo Bacile, Londra è sì un mostro ma '...del lavoro affannoso e dell'ardimento umano; mostra delle cento braccia... orgogioso nelle battaglie e modesto nelle vittorie; va innanzi a traverso gli oceani, a traverso le ardenti solitudini dei deserti, nelle foreste del nuovo mondo... piantando in ogni angolo della terra la bandiera del lavoro che è la bandiera della civiltà'.

Si sente in questa impennata finale, lo stile magniloquente per le 'magnifiche sorti e progressive' di chiara connotazione vittoriana, linguaggio che ritroviamo negli altri due articoli: *Il Castello e il Parco di Chatsworth e I Monti e i Laghi della Scozia.* Il primo contiene alcune 'curiosità' sia di carattere generale (la serra di Chatsworth e il Palazzo di Cristallo per l'Esposizione del 1851 ebbero lo stesso progettista, Mr Paxton, di qui la somiglianza fra le due opere), che personale (la citazione di Washington Irving, a proposito del carattere degli inglesi, fa presupporre una certa dimestichezza dell'autore salentino con la letteratura americana).

Il secondo contributo, *I Monti e i Laghi della Scozia,* e più vario: partendo da Edimburgo, definita *l'Atene moderna,* Bacile va alla ricerca di leggende e fatti letterari legati al paesaggio scozzese: così si passa dagli antichi Bardi a Maria Stuart, da Walter Scott a Byron, con una brevissima incursione nel sociale a proposito dei distretti minerari. Ma tutto viene sublimato nel fraseggio finale, in cui '...talvolta si sente... un pò di lirismo soverchio; talvolta, anche, le impressioni potrebbero essere significate in una forma un po' più soggettiva', sottolinea obiettivamente Montoncini, recensendo, nel 1895, il volume *Vita Nomade,* la raccolta di tutte le note di viaggio di Salvatore Bacile.

Se Moroncini rileva l'indubbia utilità di tali *Note,* esse hanno per noi anche il notevole pregio d'introdurre due personalità pugliesi, quasi coeve, che stabilirono stretti contatti con l'Inghilterra: mi riferisco al pittore barlettano Giuseppe De Nittis es al Senatore Giacomo Lacaita di Mandurai, entrambi viaggiatori 'impegnati', anche se diverse furono le loro motivazioni.

E noto che De Nittis, già affermato pittore a Parigi, si recasse in Inghilterra in un momento di crisi della sua fortunata e folgorante carriera artistica. Il soggiorno londinese 'di questo meridionale che vedeva inglese più di qualsiasi altro inglese', come ricorda Raffaello Causa, [4] non fu un momento felice perchè De Nittis non riuscì a

fare breccia nell'alta società inglese, nonostante i buoni uffici del banchiere Kaye Nnowles, una delle poche persone che '...comprese e amò la (sua) arte'.[5] La generosità del suo mecenate, leggiamo nei *Taccuini,* era disarmante, ma altrettanto sconvolgente fu lo spettacolo della degradazione umana offerta da Londra al pittore barlettano più che da ogni altra città: 'Quando vado a Rottern-Row, provo la crudele sensazione che lì l'uomo senza beni di fortuna, senza l'orgoglio dei grandi nomi e dellla ricchézza, non è che un atomo disperso, un non valore schiacciato dalle ruote delle carrozze...e, scosso come sono, se cedessi ai miei nervi, non resisterei all'impulso di prendere il treno i di fuggire... Parigi non conosce la degradazione umana e la disperata miseria dei bassifondi di Londra. Con il sole e la gaiezza i poveri del mio paese restano ottimisti, perfino allegri; l'aria, il cielo, la luce sono di tutti... Ma le miserie e le disperazioni di Londra sono in inferno che nemmeno Dante arrivò ad immaginare: se avesse conoscuito i bassifondi di Inghilterra vi avrebbe collocato i dannati dell'ultimo girone'.[6] Parole che fanno pensare a Dickens, dettate dal raccapriccio dell'uomo e dell'artista dinanzi ad uno spettacolo cui si potrebbe rispondere soltanto con la fuga. E questa condizione di spirito traspare da tutte le *vedute* del periodo londinese, destinate a dei calendari, improntate ad una certa mestizia e nebulosità, ben lontane sia dalla *solarità* prevalente in tutta la produzione denittisiana, sia dal *pittoresco,* secondo il dettato della *calendar art.*[7]

L'altra personalità introdotta dalle *Note di Viaggio* di Bascile,è Sir James Lacaita, di cui è nota la lunga permanenza a Londra, punteggiata da successi sociali e mondani e da amicizie molto influenti, come quella con Lord Russell, o con Gladstone, di cui divenne segretario, quando questi fu eletto presidente della Commissione d'inchiesta per le Isole Ionie. Meno nota è, forse, sia la sua attività di docente di lingua italiana presso l'Istituto filosofico di Edimburgo ed al Queen's Collece di Londra, sia il ruolo determinate esercitato sul governo inglese per favorire l'Impresa dei Mille ed offrire protezione agli esuli italiani. Lacaita fu anche uno dei più importanti sostenitori ed azionisti della Anglo – Italian Bank, fondata a Londra nel 1864, per contribuire al finanziamento delle grandi infrastrutture affrontate all'indomani della unificazione nazionale. [8]

La fortuna di questo *Italian Englishman,* di questo pugliese alla Corte d'Inghilterra, 'è una dimostrazione eloquente di una storica disposizione al colloquio ed alla frequentazione europea del migliore e più vivo Mezzogiorno': così Galasso introduce il volume *Un Italo-Inglese Sir James Lacaita, Senatore del Regno d'Italia-1813-1895,* Manduria, 1983, la prima traduzione italiana della biografia scritta dal figlio e pubblicata a Londra nel 1933, con il titolo *an Italian-Englishman.* A questo personaggio va riconosciuta una magica mescolanza, scrive ancora Galasso, 'di cultura e di spirito, onestà e spontaneità fi vomportamento, abilità pratica e professionale, capacità di farsi una posizione e di darsi un ruolo'. Ruolo che, da modestissime origini, come leggiamo nella commemorazione di Gigli apparsa sulla *Rassegna Pugliese* del 1910, ebbe inizio a Napoli grazie proprio alla sua conoscenza della lingua inglese. Rientrato in Italia dopo l'unificazione nazionale, e nominato Senatore del Regno, costruì a Leucaspide, fra Taranto e Massafra dimora di campagna, meta d'obbligo, dopo quella fiorentina, dei più illustri viaggiatori d'Europa: qui si fermarono, oltre le più note personalità politiche inglesi, l'imperatrice Vittoria di Germania, Luigi Bonaparte, ma anche Janet Ross, l'autrice di *The Land of Manfred,* dedicato, appunto, a Giacomo Lacaita.

Grazie ai buoni uffici quest'ultimo, beneficiarono della protezione di Gladstone anche due viaggiotori 'politici' pugliesi: Sigismondo Castromediano ed Edoardo Fusco.

Il primo, letterato e patriota leccese, condannato all'ergastolo per i fatti del 1848, riuscì ad evadere ed a raggiungere l'Inghilterra. Nella sue *Memorie,* pubblicate postume, accanto a raccapriccianti descrizioni della carceri borboniche, ci sono degli squarci di sereno offerti dal paesaggio naturale (i tramonti a Napoli, a Gibilterra, in Africa) e da quello umano: egli è particolarmente colpito da Londra, non nella precedente versione dickensiana, ma in quella che si addice ad una città dinamica, '...onesta, laboriosa, ricca di fucine e di gente positiva',[9] che opera in un clima politico sconosciuto in 'italia. In questa ottica, a differenza dei precedenti viaggiatori pugliesi, Castromediano vede soltanto l'aspetto innovativo della industrializzazione, tanto da inneggiare alle 'alle magnifiche sorti e progressive' dell'Inghilterra vittoriana. Tuttavia, una volta rientrato in Italia, e dopo una deludente esperienza parlamentare, egli stranamente sottolinea, in una lettera alla rivista salentina *Il*

Giusti, la sua immutata posizione idealisticorisorgimentale di vecchio patriota moderato e moralista, contrario as ogni 'pericolosa' innovazione veicolata da una incontrollata informazione libraria.[10]

Diversa l'esperienza del secondo viaggiatore 'politico' pugliese: Edoardo Fusco. Patriota e pedagogista tranese, implicato anch'egli nei fatti del'48, come si legge in un articolo di Cutinelli sulla *Rassegna Pugliese* del 1891, riparò prima in Grecia e poi in Inghilterra, dove soggiornò per lunghi periodi, ricoprendo cariche di grande prestigio: primo collaboratore italiano dell'Enciclopedia Britannica, gli fu conferita per concorso la cattedra di Letteratura Italian apresso la Scuola di Eton, poi al Queen's College di Londra, indi al Trinity College di Dublino. E di carattere culturale sono le poche, ahimè troppo poche, tracce manoscritte sulla prima esperienza londinese di questo importante intellettuale del Sud, rinvenute presso la Biblioteca Comunale di Tranio, sua città natale.

Nel *Giornale di Viaggio,* uno sibaldone pieno di note, appunti, riflessioni di ogni genere, c'è un capitolo intitolato 'In Inghilterra-1854: quadro di ciò che merita esser veduto a Londra, Musei, e Belle Arti'. Quadro, purtroppo, rimasto in fase propositiva, così come le annotazioni di numerosi ed interessantissimi progetti di lavoro, forse troppo faraonici, sui rapporti culturali, economici e politici fra l'Inghilterra ed il mondo intero. Pur da queste esigue tracce si evince l'approccio da 'intellettuale', la cui vasta e profonda cultura, al di là del contingente, consente al patriota tranese di vedere il ruolo-guida svolto dall'Inghilterra vittoriana nell'economia e della politica mondiale.

Notes

1. S. Lasorsa, *'La Stampa Barese dal 1860 al 1888',* in *Archivio Pugliese del Risorgimento Italiano,* 1915.
2. W. de Nunzio-Schilardi, *Puglia Letteraria,* Manduria 1988.
3. M.Dell'Aquila, 'Le specificazione e i livelli della cultura', Atti VI Conv. 'Studi sul Risorgimento in Puglia', Bari, 1989. Dello stesso autore: *Humilemqu Italian,* Roma, 1985; *Puglia e pugliesi tra Riforma, Rivoluzione ed Unità, Galatina, Congendo, 1982 e Parnaso di Puglia nel '900, Bari, Adda, 1983.*
4. R. Causa, *Giuseppe de Nittis*, Bari 1974
5. G. de Nittis, *Taccuini,* Bari, 1967, p. 120.
6. G. de Nittis, *op cit.,* p. 45.
7. *Cottage art e Calendar art,* intese come degenerazione del *pittoresco*, ved. M. BILLI, *Il Gotico Inglese,* Bologna, 1986.
8. Questa Banca con capitale misto aprì cinque sportelli in Italia e precisamente a Milano Torino, Venezia, Firenze, Roma e Napoli – come leggiamo in C. DE CUGIS (a cura di) *Italia e Inghilterra un secolo fa,* ed. Banca Commerciale Italiana, Milano 1967.
9. S. Castromediano, *Memorie,* Lecce 1985.
10. W. de Nunzio-Schilardi, *Puglia Letteraria,* Manduria 1988.

CROCE, PRAZ E L'ANGLISTICA ITALIANA*

VITTORIO GABRIELI

Con qualche trepidazione mi accingo a evocare i due maestri che, 'lucida sidera', rifulsero all'orizzonte culturale della mia generazione di anglisti quasi erme, come Cecchi scrisse di Croce e di Pascoli, 'nel punto dal quale prendemmo la via'.[1] O forse dovrei dire, quasi vertunni o déi che col loro 'lume' presiedettero idealmente alla maturazione dei nostri frutti, più o meno sapidi, nel variar delle stagioni. Fu il mio il cammino d'uno studioso tanto poco versato nella 'scienza del concetto', nel 'rigoroso pensamento delle categorie'[2] quanto alieno dalle 'glosse degli scoliasti' che la poesia rifiuta 'con orrore'.[3]

La cultura letteraria della Gran Bretagna, a differenza di quella filosofica, ebbe una limitata influenza formativa, a mio giudizio, su Croce; specialmente in confronto con la profonda conoscenza e familiarità ch'egli ebbe della letteratura tedesca, francese e spagnola. Pur inchinandosi al suo 'alto ingegno', Praz affermò addirittura, con polemica esagerazione, che esso aveva 'trovato scarso alimento nella letteratura inglese'.[4]

Non saprei dire quanto ci sia di vero in una osservazione di Cecil Sprigge circa l'influsso che avrebbe esercitato lo studio degli economisti inglesi sulla perspicuità del suo stile, nella fase 'marxista' o meglio dell'interesse crociano per i problemi della economia.[5] Dalla introduzione a *La Critica* (Novembre 1902) in cui Croce si compiace di 'ricordare ancora una volta il bel motto' di Bacone, 'citius emergit veritas ex errore quam ex confusione' – che é poi il 'filo conduttore' della storia della filosofia, 'che mostra la verità rinnovarsi di perpetuo e crescere sugli errori e attraverso gli errori'[6] – si penserebbe piuttosto che fu la saggistica filosofica britannica ad assolvere quell'ufficio. Non va tuttavia dimenticato che il giudizio di Croce, nella *Storia d'Europa*, sul pensiero dei filosofi e degli economisti radicali inglesi (Malthus, Bentham,

*An abridged version of this paper was read at a conference on 'Croce e l'Europa' held at the Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Filosofici, Naples 14 – 15 December 1992.

Ricardo) fu alquanto riduttivo. Egli riteneva che costoro avessero mantenuto nel liberalismo dell'Ottocento 'molto di quell'astrattismo e utilitarismo che derivava dal razionalismo settecentesco', senza dialettizzarlo e storicizzarlo 'come richiedeva il pensiero del nuovo secolo'.[7]

E tuttavia, i *Taccuini di lavoro* (Arte Tipografica, Napoli 1987) attestano dal 1906 le ampie letture crociane di letteratura inglese, accanto alla frequenti recensioni di opere storiche e di critica di poesia, e alle revisioni di traduzioni dall'inglese in italiano ed anche di traduzioni in inglese di opere sue. Mi piace qui ricordare le sue pagine sulla versione del *Pentamerone* che Norman Penzer condusse sul testo crociano del *Cunto de li cunti* e le osservazioni sullo studio che C.A.J. Armstrong pubblicò nel 1936 del *De Occupatione Angliae* (l'usurpazione del trono d'Inghilterra da parte di Riccardo Terzo) di Domenico Mancini: preziosa testimonianza sincrona richiesta dall'umanista Angelo Catone per Federico d'Aragona nell'anno 1483 (Croce, *Aneddoti di varia letteratura,* I, Bari 1953, pp. 144 – 6).

Le lettere a Fortunato Pintor e ad altri bibliotecari del Senato, pubblicate recentemente su la *Nuova Antologia* (ott. dic. 1992) e con le quali Croce chiedeva loro di acquistare e 'fargli trovare sul tavolino' opere di filosofia e periodici contemporanei inglesi, confermano che egli continuò a tenersi al corrente della più viva cultura britannica. Dai *Taccuini* apprendiamo altresì che continuò anche a segnalare all'editore Laterza, per traduzione, opere di critica letteraria (ad esempio, i Saggi di Matthew Arnold) e di storia politica o analisi ideologica (Laski), nonché di autobiografia (Henry Adams).

Limitati per durata furono i contatti diretti di Croce con l'Inghilterra: dal primo soggiorno d'un mese, nel 1891, quando l'amico poeta Salvatore Di Giacomo lo descrive 'tutto occupato a perlustrare Londra...tra le nebbie del Nord' (citazione da L. Russo, *La critica letteraria contemporanea*, iii, Bari 1943, p. 365), a quello del 1923 a Oxford, per ricevere il dottorato onorario dell'università, al 1930, sempre a Oxford, ove lesse il suo polemico intervento al congresso internazionale di filosofia, sull''antistoricismo'. Nei *Taccuini* (9 dicembre 1930), egli ricorda che la sua 'piccola conferenza' fu denunciata pubblicamente da G. Gentile ed additata 'alla vendetta' del regime fascista.

Il suo salvataggio da una minaccia tedesca di catturarlo e di servirsene come ostaggio, com'egli stesso racconta nei *Taccuini*[8], fu dovuto all'opera di un reparto navale britannico, al comando del tenente inglese, oriundo spagnolo, Adrian Gallegos, in 'un motoscafo italiano' che il 15 settembre 1943 lo scortò con parte della famiglia da Sorrento a Capri.

Con buona pace di Bertrand Russell, il quale escluse dalla sua Storia della Filosofia Occidentale l'opera di Croce, come del resto anche quella di Gentile[9], la ricezione del suo pensiero in Inghilterra non fu trascurabile. Bernard Bosanquet il quale definirà Croce 'genio autoritario e quasi privo di scrupoli', affermando che la sua opera era dominata dagli 'allettamenti della unicità singola',[10] nella corrispondenza privata riconobbe 'the high mastery and merited prestige' dell'opera d'un 'so great and famous a critic as yourself'. I *Nuovi Saggi di Estetica* inviatigli da Croce lo avevano deliziato: 'your thought and style are most excellently clear and make your works delightful to read'.[11]

La voce 'Aesthetics' nella 14a edizione della *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1929) si deve alla penna di Croce (il testo italiano è la *Aesthetica in nuce*). La sua presenza nella nuova critica estetica, con la sua 'sconcertante terminologia', s'era rivelata e largamente affermata negli anni Venti anche in Gran Bretagna, come attestò Frank Swinnerton nel suo studio *The Georgian Literary Scene* (1935). Del resto Orsini segnalò un 'insospettato predecessore' del concetto crociano di intuizione lirica nel poeta S.T. Coleridge[12]. Non insospettato, però, da Croce, il quale proprio lo additò fra i predecessori della teoria poetica di E.A. Poe, che 'ne pose a principio la bellezza.[13]

Le traduzioni in inglese delle opere crociane, per concludere su questo capitolo della sua ricezione in Gran Bretagna, ammontano a circa trenta, sulle 65 opere originali dell'autore; ultimissima una nuova traduzione della *Estetica* dopo quella imperfetta di D. Ainslie (1909, 1921, 1922, 1953), che si annunzia, ad opera di Colin Lyas per la Cambridge University Press. Pressoché lo stesso numero delle traduzioni tedesche; ed io mi permetterò fra breve di svelarne una, inedita, di Praz, segnalando a un tempo, del compianto amico Cecil Sprigge, la traduzione dell'opera che illuminò e rincuorò le nostre coscienze nelle tenebre della dittatura, *La storia come pensiero e come azione (History as the Story of Liberty*, Londra 1941) alla

quale il traduttore fece seguito col breve e lucido studio *Benedetto Croce, the Man and the Thinker, 1951* (trad. italiana di G. Manganelli, Ricciardi 1956). Nel frattempo Sylvia Sprigge aveva tradotto il diario di Croce *Quando l'Italia era tagliata in due* col titolo *Croce, the King and the Allies* (1950).

Circa i rapporti di Croce col pensiero e la tradizione liberale inglese, mi restringerò qui a sottolineare l'apprezzamento del filosofo per il 'molto' fatto dalla Gran Bretagna, nei secoli, per la indipendenza e la civiltà dei popoli, per i valori primari della libertà di coscienza e della tolleranza contro l'assolutismo politico ed ecclesiastico. Nella *Storia del regno di Napoli* (1925) egli aveva individuato chiaramente la differenza fondamentale fra il baronaggio meridionale italiano, fazioso, brutalmente individualista e antistatale e quello medievale inglese che, pur difendendo gli interessi particolari della classe e delle singole famiglie feudali, aveva chiamato alleato tutto il popolo nella lotta contro il potere regio e 'si formò sin da allora un nazione inglese', e fu promossa grazie ad esso l'opera della civiltà. Analogamente nella *Storia d'Europa* (1932) Croce colse acutamente, come caratteristiche della 'anima inglese', il genio del compromesso, il senso di responsabilità individuale e, nei contrasti e conflitti politici, la disposizione allo 'equitable adjustment'. Diverso discorso meriterebbe l'atteggiamento del vecchio filosofo, prima rattristato dal 'pacifismo' inglese nell'Europa insidiata dal nazismo e poi ferito nel suo risorgimentale patriottismo e nell'orgoglio nazionale dalla dura politica del governo britannico nel primissimo dopoguerra verso l'Italia sconfitta (si vedano i *Taccuini*, vi; ad esempio 16 agosto 1946).

Alla mia generazione, che ha ammirato lo stoico coraggio dei londinesi sotto il Blitzkrieg nazista degli anni Quaranta, sia lecito ricordare ciò che Croce ebbe a scrivere a proposito di G.F Biondi, lo storico secentesco italiano della feroce contesa dei Lancaster e degli York per la Corona d'Inghilterra alla metà del Quattrocento: 'La storia di quelle guerre civili se mostrava i malefici effetti che producono gli stati divisi pareva a lui che mostrasse anche 'come la natura, per formare questa gente valorosa, le levò l'impressione del morire: che é ciò che tutti sentono ancor oggi nel leggere i drammi di storia inglese dello Shakespeare.'[14] Né va dimenticata la famosa pagina di Milton citata da Croce nella *Storia d'Europa* acconciamente 'negli incunaboli della moderna libertà.'[15]

Di Croce e la letteratura inglese hanno scritto analiticamente in Italia, dopo un breve accenno di Praz, in un saggio del 1926, alla risonanza internazionale del suo studio su Shakespeare (1919),[16] G. N. Giordano Orsini nella *Rassegna d'Italia* (I, 1946) e in altri studi poi confluiti nel suo volume in lingua inglese *Benedetto Croce Philosopher of art and Literary Critic* (South Illinois University Press, Carbondale 1961); vi ha dedicato un saggio Agostino Lombardo sulla *Rivista di Letterature Moderne* (Firenze 1953): 'La Letteratura inglese nella critica di B. Croce', e di nuovo Praz stesso nel Terzo Programma della Rai, pel centenario della nascita: 'Croce e la letteratura inglese' (1966).

Non molto numerosi furono gli interventi critici crociani sulla cultura letteraria inglese. Prescindendo dai saggi maggiori (Shakespeare, Hopkins), essi o vertono su problemi di estetica, filosofia, storia e storiografia, o si configurano, per lo più, come rapide osservazioni, generalmente tempestive e aggiornatissime (ne *La poesia*, ad esempio, 1936, egli rinvia allo 'studio recente' di G. Foà su *Lord Byron* del 1935) e come commenti marginali su singoli autori: in maggioranza – ma non esclusivamente – poeti romantici e scrittori dell'Ottocento (nella *Poesia* e in altri studi critico-letterari Croce discusse anche aspetti della poesia di Pope e di Housman, o del romanzo settecentesco di Fielding e di Sterne). Di tali interventi si può scorrere l'elenco analitico nella mirabile bibliografia di Silvano Borsari: *L'opera di Benedetto Croce* (Napoli 1964).

Fra i più noti e notevoli conviene menzionare il saggio su 'l'ammirato poeta e romanzatore' scozzese Walter Scott.[17] Croce ne ridimensiona la statura, giudicandolo autore prosaico, dalla 'esigua vena poetica': un genio della 'intrapresa industriale', in quanto fornì al mercato dei lettori che richiedevano diletto e istruzione i prodotti della sua immaginazione storica.

Anche del Lawrence romanziere Croce penetrò uno dei nuclei centrali di pensiero, additando il 'torbido misticismo' della sua ideologia che ravvisava il 'vero valore della vita' nel sangue e nel sesso, e definendola una forma di degenerazione religiosa.[18] Non è poi da trascurare la sua acuta individuazione dei limiti della convenzionalmente esaltata poesia shelleyiana in *Epipsychidion* e di quello che Cecchi chiamò 'il vaporoso sublimismo dei romantici.'[19] Il poemetto per Emilia Viviani é caratterizzato da

Croce con 'prodotto d'una immaginazione riscaldata (e usa a riscaldarsi) che non disdegna le immagini trite e si effonde nell'enfasi e si sperde nella verbosità.'[20] Torna anche alla memoria il bel commento ai *Tre Saggi* sulla Poesia, di Poe, volti in italiano e 'bene introdotti e presentati dal traduttore Elio Chinol' (Padova 1946). Le originali intuizioni del poeta americano sulla natura dell'arte, scrisse Croce, 'mi hanno recato quella gioia che é delle cose belle.'[21] Mi piace infine ricordare, fra gli ultimi interventi, quello su *1984* di George Orwell, del quale i *Taccuini* registrano la lettura (19 agosto 1949): 'come romanzo non ha importanza, ma l'analisi dello spirito distruttivo e antiumano del bolscevismo e del totalitarismo mi pare seriamente condotta.' Il saggio, 'La nuova disciplina del pensiero', apparve poi sul *Mondo.*

In una breve recensione crociana della traduzione del *Macbeth*, di Alessandro Di Stefani (1922), va segnalato il significativo apprezzamento dei recenti studi di letterature straniere, e quindi di anglistica, in Italia: 'più estesi e più seri' e superiori al livello d'un Federico Garlanda, primo titolare della cattedra d'Inglese all'università di Roma e autore d'una monografia *Guglielmo Shakespeare, il Poeta e l'Uomo* (1910), dal Carducci sopravvalutato come 'modello di critica d'un soggetto importante'. Croce si rallegrava che con lo studio del Di Stefani sul 'più intenso e più puro' dei poeti, si fosse 'usciti finalmente dal consueto modo superficiale e dilettantesco di trattazione del tema.'[22]

Uno specifico interesse per le letterature straniere si manifesta in Croce dopo gli studi sulla contemporanea *Letteratura della nuova Italia* (1914 – 15), nei quali volle verificare, esemplificare e illustrare i principi della sua estetica. Della filologia e della critica letteraria di studiosi italiani di anglistica, accademici o meno, egli ebbe tuttavia rare occasioni di occuparsi. Della *Storia della Letteratura Inglese nel secolo XIX* (1915) di Emilio Cecchi, Croce elogiò, in una lettera privata all'autore, la 'critica ricca di penetrazione poetica e morale.' Nella estetica del maestro, Cecchi aveva per altro pubblicamente rilevato, con riserva, il discutibile divieto di 'cercar la poesia nella derivazione storica d'un'opera, perché ogni opera vale assolutamente' e perché quella ricerca non poteva fornire che 'elementi estrinseci' al valore artistico.[23]

La 'postilla' del 1931 su *La Carne la Morte e il Diavolo nella letteratura romantica* di Praz merita particolare commento, che svolgerò più avanti; ma, se non ho letto male gli indici della

imponente bibliografia del Borsari, Croce trovò poco da dire e scrivere sull'opera di altri anglisti italiani. Qualche ironica osservazione ho notato su un articolo di Sergio Baldi del 1946, 'Concetto di poesia popolare,' che 'avrebbe spiantato dalle radici' la estetica del Maestro, nella quale la poesia popolare era distinta da quella d'arte soltanto da minore complessità e da correlativa semplicità di tono. Alla versione di Baldi del 'Naufragio del Deutschland' Croce aveva fatto riferimento, senza commenti, in una nota del suo saggio su G.M. Hopkins,[24] alludendo insieme alla 'notizia' che delle liriche del poeta gesuita F. Olivero aveva dato nel suo studio sulle *Correnti mistiche della letteratura inglese moderna* e lodando la 'ben diversa penetrazione del loro carattere e valore artistico' nel saggio di Giuseppe De Luca apparso sulla *Nuova Antologia* del 16 aprile 1934.

Ho accennato al favorevole rilievo di Croce sulla traduzione-introduzione-presentazione dei *Tre Saggi* del Poe sulla poesia, per cura di Elio Chinol. Tra i minimi interventi crociani nella mia disciplina, mi sia consentito menzionare la sua commossa noterella su Francis Otto Matthiessen, il grande critico americano del quale mi sforzai di delineare un ritratto 'con giudizi appropriati', per dirla col Croce, sulla rivista *Belfagor* (1950). L'autore del *Rinascimento americano,* che s'era suicidato 'per irrefrenabile tristezza sul corso delle cose politiche e per la difficoltà di conciliare le sue aspirazioni socialistiche con la libertà', vi era elogiato dal filosofo come 'un compagno di lavoro', d'accordo con 'la scuola italiana di critica letteraria' ed anche per aver escluso dalla sua vasta indagine sulla storia letteraria americana dell'Ottocento 'l'abbondante e soverchiante biografismo alla Sainte-Beuve.'[25]

È lecito, se pur futile, rammaricarsi che Croce non spendesse molte parole sull'opera di altri anglisti italiani, neppure di quelli che, come Orsini, si rifecero alla sua estetica e ne applicarono fedelmente i metodi critici.[26] Egli fu bensì pronto a segnalare il merito d'un antiquario irlandese del Settecento, Joseph Cooper-Walker, 'intelligente studioso della nostra poesia', per aver saputo riconoscere, sulle orme di William Roscoe, la superiorità artistica della versione originaria dell'*Orlando Innamorato* – ristampato per la prima volta a Londra dal Panizzi – rispetto al più popolare ma poeticamente povero rifacimento o 'travestimento' del Berni.[27] Nello stesso spirito, Croce rilevò con elogio le osservazioni sui *Promessi Sposi* d'un 'innamorato del Manzoni', Archibald Colquhoun.[28]

Su la parsimoniosità degli interventi crociani nei prodotti della anglistica italiana influirono forse i rapporti fra i due maestri 'antagonisti' della mia giovinezza, le cui date di nascita e di morte sono separate da trenta anni esatti. Nel contributo, 'Praz in Inghilterra: 1923 – 34', al volume commemorativo della *English Miscellany* (1984) ho abbozzato un discorso sul problematico atteggiamento, che altri potrebbe definire di 'odio-amore', di Praz verso Croce. Mi studierò ora di approfondirlo, da discepolo, poi amico e collega del maestro della anglistica italiana: con formula tacitiana, se mi é consentito, 'sine gratia aut ambitione bonae tantum conscientiae pretio.'

Seguace, come mi considero del metodo storico-filologico ed erudito – del quale Croce, com'é noto, si professò 'fautore' nella Introduzione al primo fascicolo de *La Critica* (1903), mi sento e riconosco profondamente tributario – al pari di tutta la mia generazione – verso l'alto magistero educativo, etico-politico e storiografico di Croce. Praz stesso, come vedremo, non lo disconobbe mai del tutto, malgrado la sua accanita volontà di differenziarsi dalla estetica del filosofo napoletano, che egli volle giudicare 'agli antipodi' della propria, 'pur risentendo qua e là... del metodo del Maestro che ha dominato la critica di questo cinquantennio.'[29] In conto di tale sforzo di differenziazione andrà anche messo, penso, il radicale scetticismo di Praz sul senso della storia, che serpeggia in tutta la sua opera e che é probabilmente connesso con quello 'sgomento esistenziale' di cui ha parlato Agostino Lombardo commemorando il nostro maestro, l'8 maggio 1992, all'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei.

Per tale atteggiamento Praz avrebbe certamente sentito maggiore affinità con Sir Lewis Namier (1888 – 1960), il grande storico inglese, di nascita ucraina (Galizia orientale), che poté forse conoscere all'università di Manchester ove avevano ambedue insegnato negli anni Trenta e che certamente incontrò a Cambridge il 13 giugno 1957, quando furono entrambi insigniti della laurea onoraria di 'Dottori in Lettere' in quella università.

In un saggio sulla storia d'Europa nel secolo decimonono, Namier espresse sinteticamente la propria desolata filosofia della storia, in netto contrasto con la 'disposizione cosmico-religiosa' caratterizzante, secondo Sasso,[30] la visione crociana nella *Storia d'Europa*. Egli dubitava che la storia degli uomini fosse governata

da una superiore razionalità e che avesse maggiore significato del mutamento delle stagioni o del moto delle stelle, convinto com'era che, se pur alcuno ne avesse avuto, esso sfuggiva alla percezione umana.[31] Si capisce, sia osservato per inciso, che Namier non apprezzasse particolarmente l'opera di Croce, il quale in quel secolo decimonono aveva celebrato l'affermazione delle idee e delle istituzioni liberali come un trionfo dello spirito creativo degli uomini e del loro sforzo progressivo di accrescere e innalzare la civiltà, creando nuove forme di vita alla luce degli ideali di libertà. Al duro pragmatismo britannico del Namier, la fede crociana che la 'missione' dell'umanità fosse di 'tessere l'eterno poema della storia', – la quale 'non può non essere continuo svolgimento e arricchimento,'[32] – e la sua convinzione che 'la sostanza vera della storia d'un popolo,' di quella che conta, della storia per eccellenza, sia soltanto 'quella etica o morale e, in senso alto, politica,'[33] dovettero apparire poco convincente retorica, quasi 'carmen solutum,' insufficientemente attente all'azione dei protagonisti del dramma storico.

Nella *English Miscellany,* la rivista di letteratura, storia e arte fondata da Praz nel 1952 e da lui diretta sino alla morte nel 1982, ho cercato di precisare l'importanza fondamentale che gli studi e la decennale esperienza inglese ebbero nella formazione e nella maturazione della personalità culturale del mio maestro, già scolaro a Firenze, sia pur 'infedele', di Ernesto Giacomo Parodi, il filologo, dantista e critico 'crociano', nonché devoto ammiratore, nel sodalizio di Roma gravitante attorno a *La Cultura,* del suo 'mentore' Cesare De Lollis. Di quest'ultimo Praz evocò commosso la 'buona e cara immagine paterna' e 'l'istinto meraviglioso', sia negli scritti che in cattedra, 'nel subito avvertire dove più intenso vibrava il ritmo della vita.'[34]

Sui rapporti personali con Croce, conosciuto a Napoli nel 1925 – dopo che *La Critica* aveva pubblicato nel 1923 il suo studio su alcune fonti dannunziane – e rivisto per l'ultima volta nel 1943, sono da leggere le pagine riassuntive (pp. 255 – 63) de *La Casa della Vita* (1958): otto, in confronto alle venti dedicate alla scrittrice anglo-fiorentina Vernon Lee, e alle quattro sulla sua amicizia con

Montale. Ma i documenti più significativi e i testi più illuminanti sulle sue divergenze di carattere teorico dalle posizioni mentali di Croce, documenti dell''anticrocianesimo' di Praz, sono contenuti nella Avvertenza premessa alla seconda edizione de *La carne, la morte e il diavolo nella letteratura romantica* (1942), nel saggio 'Come si legge Shakespeare in Italia' (in *Ricerche Anglo-Italiane,* 1944), e nel capitolo introduttivo de *La Casa della Fama* (1952) dedicato a una discussione sulle storie della letteratura. Le maggiori riserve di Praz sulla filosofia dell'arte crociana furono ribadite nella radiotrasmissione del 1966 su 'Croce e la letteratura inglese.'

Non si può negare che alla signorile cortesia e benevolenza del Croce nei rapporti personali ed anche nei dissensi 'scientifici' o teorici con Praz, questi non corrispose in analoga misura, ma presto lasciò andare a reazioni beffarde e mordaci. Dopo i primi sinceri tributi di gratitudine all'opera crociana sul Seicento italiano, che 'aveva reso tanto più agevole la via agli studiosi di quel secolo presso gli altri popoli europei,'[35] l'anglista trascorse ad esprimere il suo disaccordo dal pensiero del 'fondatore della estetica moderna,'[36] in toni irriguardosi e talora parodistici: non soltanto nei confronti del filosofo, 'sole della critica estetica che splende tra noi di vivi raggi, mentre non rischiara che debolmente i britanni,'[37] quanto verso i seguaci del maestro, a cominciare dalla 'pittoresca schiera,' degli amici napoletani di Croce, che Praz definisce ne *La Casa della Vita*, 'raffinati parassiti', allievi pedissequi, 'vaccarielli'.

I dissensi, sia pur limitati, erano reali, ma non vertevano sul riconoscimento della autonomia dell'arte, sul suo valore di verità, sul carattere autotelico della facoltà poetica: convinzioni condivise fondamentalmente da Praz. Riguardavano bensì la funzione che le indagini filologiche, lo studio delle fonti e della biografia dello artista, che non consiste solo di fatti, delle tradizioni e convenzioni stilistiche, del 'lumeggiamento dell'ambiente culturale,' assolvono nella formazione del giudizio estetico. Praz riteneva che, nella sua estetica Croce avesse trascurato, se non negato come 'stravaganti collegamenti,'[38] i punti d'intersezione fra la vita, l'opera e la personalità dell'artista, il suo *moi profond*, per dirla col Proust,[39] l'unico 'io reale.' Accusava Croce di ignorare la rifrazione delle emozioni, sia intelletuali che sensuali, nella creazione dell'opera d'arte.

Come é noto, Croce in realtà annoverò fra 'le storditezze e le ribellioni ridicole', l'asserzione che la poesia, per esser gustata 'non abbia bisogno degli aiuti della filologia e di cognizioni storiche.'[40] Ma l'imputazione praziana al filosofo di trascurare quei nessi non stupirà se si tiene presente l'importanza primaria che la critica letteraria inglese, di profonda radice illuministica, ha sempre attribuito all'elemento biografico, alla realtà psicologica, alla persona dell'artista. Influenzato da quella tradizione, Praz attribuiva grande peso allo studio della psicologia, della cultura, dell'ambiente dell'artista; delle poetiche e delle tecniche espressive. Laddove Croce, pur riconoscendo i diritti della filologia nella 'preparazione ermeneutica' alla rievocazione della poesia (*La poesia*, p. 166), giudicava quelle conoscenze ed indagini aggiunte estrinseche, allotrie al giudizio estetico, da non ipostatizzare come categorie del giudizio stesso. Le assegnava, come De Sanctis, al 'mondo intenzionale, dell'artista, considerandole come 'documenti di storia extrapoetica,' se non 'anfanamenti' di letterati che 'non sempre sono riflessivi né scavano in profondo'[41]: tutt'alpiù, per dirla col Cecchi, come 'i bassorilievi sotto la statua,'[42] non strumenti necessari per intendere, interpretare e apprezzare l'opera d'arte.

Che Croce non s'era mai sognato di negare l'utilità delle indagini filologiche, storiche e testuali per il chiarimento dei testi poetici stava ad attestarlo tutta la sua opera. Come avrebbe altrimenti potuto dichiarare a Orsini[43] che, preparando il suo saggio su Shakespeare, egli aveva avvertito il bisogno di consultare i 50 volumi dello *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch,* la rassegna annuale internazionale della letteratura critica sul drammaturgo? Basta rileggersi, per esempio, la pagina del saggio in cui analizza e scioglie una nota *crux* o passo controverso del secondo In-quarto dell' *Amleto* (IV, vii, 192) facendo ricorso non soltanto alla immaginazione, sibbene anche alla filologia e alla storia della lingua inglese.

Con capricciosa e stravagante incoerenza Praz poté giungere, dopo aver definito Croce nella sua *Storia della Letteratura Inglese* (Firenze 1937) 'il più grande critico moderno italiano che si sia occupato di Shakespeare', alla paradossale affermazione che, per non aver 'compreso il linguaggio sensuale, che non escludeva il fervore religioso, dell'età barocca', Croce avrebbe dato di quell'età una interpretazione 'peggio che sfocata, ottusa e arrogante.'[44] Se

aveva, a mio giudizio, qualche buon fondamento contestare la sentenza crociana, nella monografia su Shakespeare, che questi fosse 'uno dei poeti più chiari e più evidenti per comprensibilità anche ad uomini di scarsa, elementare cultura', suona gratuita parodia ed irrilevante ironia quella dell'anglista su 'l'empireo filosofico puro e insaporo come l'acqua distillata,' che egli accosta alla estetica della 'Liricità Assoluta e Unica Poesia...che é universale come il sole che dora con la sua luce le campagne...che ha un solo linguaggio – moderno sempre – lo parli Dante o Shakespeare o Alfieri.'[45]

Segni d'un siffatto dispettoso risentimento si rintracciano anche nella sbrigativa recensione de *La Storia come Pensiero e come Azione* che Praz pubblicò sul *Times Literary Supplement* del 10 settembre 1938. La nobile opera crociana v'é giudicata una sterile predica liberale. Con una punta di cinismo – e fors'anche di opportunismo – politico, se si tien conto del momento di imperante fascismo in Italia, il recensore notava fra l'altro come singolare il fatto che il regime avesse consentito la stampa di un'opera, che dal principio alla fine, era una aperta condanna dei suoi principi.

In queste come in altre allusioni di Praz, più o meno caustiche o corrosive, al filosofo e al critico crociano 'seduto in trono come giudice in un Giudizio Finale',[46] si avverte qualcosa di più di quella 'bizza e stizza – aveva già scritto Croce recensendo la versione di Di Stefani del *Macbeth* – 'che é ormai usuale presso coloro che pur accettano i miei pensieri e le mie fatiche.' E tuttavia, per la franchezza che sempre lo contradistinse Praz non ricorse mai a quella 'criptografia' ironicamente rilevata da Croce, nel 1938, in taluni 'accademici' come Giorgio Pasquali, i quali con 'strane circonlocuzioni' evitavano cautelosamente di pronunciare il suo nome: 'segno dei tempi'.[47]

Possiedo un curioso autografo del mio maestro, vergato a matita su due buste che ho trovato fra le sue carte concernenti il Pen Club. Si tratta della versione inglese d'un messaggio inviato da Croce al ventunesimo Congresso Internazionale del Pen Club che fu tenuto a Venezia nel settembre 1949. Sotto forma di lettera a Francesco Flora, Croce ribadiva in esso i suoi principi sulla critica letteraria – il tema ufficiale del convegno – che voleva fondata su una coerente dottrina estetica e sulla 'sensibilità della fantasia'. Ebbene, Praz non soltanto intitola il messaggio da lui integralmente e fedelmente

tradotto (evidentemente per il pubblico inglese presente al convegno), 'Croce's Pastoral Address', quasi fosse un indirizzo del Papa rivolto ai fedeli, ma lo postilla infine con una aggiunta beffarda: 'Benedico Vos, etc. in nomine sancti Crucis', e con un disegnino d'una croce raggiante, ovviamente allusiva al nome dell'autore del messaggio.

Varrà la pena, per curiosità, di scorrere il resoconto che Lionello Fiumi dette, sul napoletano *Giornale*, dell'intervento polemico di Praz in chiave anticrociana al convegno di Venezia. Con 'la sua faccia basettuta di toreador madrileno', rivolgendosi ai congressisti nella 'lingua di Albione', il mio maestro rivendicava le proprie convinzioni circa la legittimità delle storie letterarie come storia di epoche culturali che permettono di vedere nella loro giusta luce anche opere originali, in quanto si differenziano dall'ambiente, evitando, così concludeva con sarcastica allusione alla crociana distinzione poesia-non poesia, una 'indigestione di pan degli angeli'.[48]

Le avvisaglie dell'anticrocianesimo di Praz si manifestano già prima del 1931 – data della postilla di Croce a *La carne la morte e il diavolo*. In una nota sugli studi di Orsini intorno alla Poesia del Tennyson ed a Milton, egli elogiò 'il giovane e valente studioso di letteratura inglese,' che aveva saputo 'adagiare assai destramente il soggetto [la poesia di Tennyson] negli schemi del saggio critico di tipo crociano'. Nello studio su Milton, tuttavia, Orsini aveva esemplificato 'i difetti di codesta scuola critica...; la monotona aria di famiglia che essa conferisce ai più disparati soggetti, la elegante e speciosa facilità con cui imposta e risolve problemi critici, il distacco dalla viva persona dell'artista e la disinvoltura con cui dati biografici e processo di sviluppo sono riassunti e consegnati al lettore in uno stile lapidario da cenotafio'.[49] Praz concludeva che neppure a un 'critico filosofico' era lecito 'ignorare gli studi di biografia e di fontistica' nella valutazione d'una opera d'arte.

La svolta decisiva nell'atteggiamento di Praz verso Croce mi sembra tuttavia che fu segnata dal 'giudizio fondamentalmente poco favorevole'[50] che il filosofo, a suo avviso, aveva pronunciato sulla sua opera più originale, in quella postilla de *La Critica* del 20 marzo 1931, una breve ed urbana disamina (nei *Taccuini* il 3 gennaio 1931, Croce annota d'aver scritto un 'cenno di un libro del Praz') che fu poi ristampata sotto il titolo di 'morbosità romantiche' in

Conversazioni Critiche, iii, Bari 1951, pp. 380 – 82. Riconosciuta la 'grande perizia' di Praz nelle 'tre letterature', d'Inghilterra, Italia e Francia, e concesso il merito della esaustiva ricerca 'nel campo che le é proprio, quello non delle creazioni di bellezza, ma della vita morale europea dalla fine del settecento ai principi del novecento', Croce formulava alcuni misurati – ma non 'semplicistici'[51] come Praz doveva poi asserire – rilievi sulla indebita riduzione che, a suo giudizio, l'autore aveva operato nell'ambito della sensibilità romantica, confinandola negli angusti termini delle sue espressioni patologiche.

Queste, Croce osservava, caratterizzarono in realtà la 'seconda epoca' del romanticismo, ossia la sua degenerazione nel decadentismo. Pur pensando 'nitidamente' ed esponendo 'con ordine e chiarezza,' Praz non aveva tenuto conto, nella sua 'raccolta di curiosità e stranezze,' degli alti ideali e valori morali del romanticismo 'che si frammischiavano alla sua patologia sessuale, e talora ne erano maculati e tal'altra ne traevano fuori le bianche ali'. Indicando la necessità d'un più ampio discorso sul tema, Croce preannunciava implicitamente il proprio approfondimento del fenomeno storico del romanticismo ne *La Storia d'Europa*, che vide la luce l'anno appresso.

Nella 'Avvertenza' alla seconda edizione de *La carne*, Praz rivendicò la legittimità critica dell'angolo visuale prescelto nella sua ricerca sulla sensibilità erotica e la algolagnia romantica, nella fase 'agonica' che fu tuttavia uno svolgimento storico del romanticismo nella letteratura europea: carattere chiaramente denotato dalla intitolazione *Romantic Agony* con cui la versione inglese dell'opera, per cura di Angus Davidson, apparve nel 1933 presso la Oxford University Press. Egli non aveva inteso esplorare il fenomeno del romanticismo in tutta la sua storica complessità. La sua ricerca verteva su 'stati d'animo' e 'costumi' e, soltanto indirettamente, poteva interessare l'estetica, essendosi proposta di 'fissare il modo col quale si effettuò da uno all'altro artista la trasmissione di temi' (p. xvi).

Ma non aveva proprio Croce assegnato al critico della poesia l'ufficio di concentrare la mente nella ricerca dello 'stato d'animo fondamentale' dell'autore (*La poesia*, p. 136), pur criticando la 'pretesa' dei filologi di disporre le opere poetiche 'in catena...in un ordine biblico di generazioni' (*ibid.*, p. 121)? La ribellione di

Praz alla estetica e alla critica letteraria crociana si fece, in seguito, più risentita su altre questioni, oltre che sulla natura del romanticismo: tra le altre, sulla possibilità, negata dal Croce (malgrado avesse una volta almeno progettato egli stesso di scrivere 'una breve storia della letteratura italiana contemporanea': *Taccuini,* febbraio 1911) d'una storia della letteratura che non fosse solo una silloge di monografie critiche su singoli autori ma anche analisi e narrazione continuata e organica dello svolgimento e processo di sviluppo di poetiche, generi letterari e tecniche formali. Il saggio introduttivo de *La Casa della Fama* é dedicato per l'appunto a tale problema e Praz vi contesta lo stesso concetto crociano di individualità e unità artistica.

Praz giudica il concetto d'individuo 'una compatta astrazione', non meno astratta dei 'detestati' generi letterari, 'uno spettro ideale che é la rifrazione di tutte le opere di quell'artista, e alla stregua di quello spettro, a seconda che si avvicinano o meno alla sua qualità quintessenziale, giudichiamo le opere partitamente.'[52] Nello stesso individuo-artista, infatti, ha concretezza soltanto il singolo componimento poetico, osserva Praz; né può postularsi unità, sia pur dialettica e non statica, di svolgimento nell'opera sua, che in alcuni casi é discontinua e differenziata da ispirazione diversa, a seconda degli individui i quali non sono sempre uniformi a se stessi e costanti.

Croce aveva parlato d'unità di stati d'animo fondamentali che si alternano nel poeta e che il critico unifica dialettizzandoli (*La poesia,* pp. 136 – 7). Praz obietta rilevando che se le varie 'maniere' in un pittore si distinguono come nel poeta 'le varie personalità susseguentisi o alternantisi' (pp. 168 – 9), bisogna di conseguenza 'ammettere, insieme al loro variare, le altre varietà che si notano nelle 'epoche culturali, e cioé fare le storie della letteratura di tipo consueto, secondo la legge dello svolgimento.' A tale 'deduzione critica' Croce doveva replicare, in un breve 'schiarimento', che 'il concetto di svolgimento non ha luogo nella storia della poesia', il cui svolgimento 'coincide con l'avvenimento della sua nascita'.[53] Praz, il quale aveva imputato a Croce non profonda conoscenza della lingua inglese[54] finirà con l'accusarlo di 'scarsa sensibilità' per la forma artistica, convinto che nella poesia egli apprezzasse sopratutto 'il contenuto rispondente ai suoi ideali morali e filosofici di uomo sano'.[55]

L'idea shelleyana che 'il lampeggiamento dell'ispirazione poetica' fosse prodotto soltanto da immediatezza e spontaneità di sentimento é rifiutata da Praz come un preconcetto, se non addirittura un 'feticcio' romantico. Egli sembra assimilarla all'idea del genio solitario e incomunicabile come una monade nella sua intuizione lirica o in quella che Croce chiama 'ritmazione dell'universo' (*Poesia.*, p. 167). Ma Croce nell'atto creativo, alla naturalezza e alla spontaneità aveva congiunto la disciplina, alla 'natura' 'l'arte' (*ibid.*, p. 147). In termini, a mio parere, alquanto nebulosi, Praz amò richiamarsi ad una concezione influenzata da T.S. Eliot e dal mito critico, ormai screditato, della 'dissocazione della sensibilità' nel Seicento. Essa predicava l'arte come 'resa integrale della vita',[56] inclusiva di tutta la realtà in cui si compenetrerebbero passione e ragione, intelletto ed emozione formalmente rielaborati. Altrove, egli accenna, senza chiarire e precisare, alla hegeliana concezione dell'arte come 'conciliazione' (*Versöhnung)* con la realtà.

Egli non tenne sempre conto, a mio giudizio, che Croce aveva costantemente dichiarato la propria convinzione che i poeti non derivano, sia pure per dialettica filiazione, da altri poeti; che la poesia nasce dalla vita la quale, come la madre terra, tutto assorbe, anche la cultura e la pòesia precedente;[57] per dirla col Leopardi dello *Zibaldone* (V. 215), che essa scaturisce da 'ispirazione e da fantasia spontaneamente mossa', non dalla volontà. Con Croce, Praz nondimeno conveniva nell'accostamento dell'arte alla storia, risalente al Vico, in quanto entrambe attività rivolte alla conoscenza del particolare: la prima mediante l'immagine dell'ideale, del possibile, nella fisionomia individua con cui l'intuizione-fantasia dà forma al sentimento, la seconda operante nel quadro del reale accertato, dell'attuale accaduto.

Rammento l'occasione in cui Praz menzionò espressamente la posizione che Croce aveva delineato nel saggio 'inglese' del 1924 sul filosofo settecentesco Shaftesbury, nel quale riconobbe uno dei precursori del concetto romantico dell'arte come conoscenza del particolare immaginario, trovando nel suo pensiero il germe della intuizione capitale della estetica moderna. Fu nel Seminario di Studi Americani che si tenne a Salisburgo nella estate nel 1947, e l'intervento di Praz su questo punto provocò incredula quanto ignorante sorpresa nell'uditorio internazionale di una lettura di poesia al Castello di Leopoldskron che ospitava il Seminario[58].

Sicuramente Praz concordava altresì con Croce nel giudicare l'immagine, nella poesia, non come 'la ciliegina sulla torta', giusta l'ironica figura del poeta C. Day Lewis,[59] bensì come essenza e cellula originaria dell'organismo poetico, della trasfigurazione formale d'un affetto o stato d'animo profondo. Egli poneva però l'accento sul fatto che nella *invenzione* creativa l'artista non poteva non fare ricorso alle *convenzioni* espressive e stilistiche della tradizione.

In verità i dissensi critico-estetici da Croce sembrano a me meno radicali in Praz di quanto a lui apparissero o che egli volesse fare apparire, estrapolando dai testi crociani singole proposizioni avulse dal loro contesto. Il più serio e motivato resta, a mio giudizio, quello nella valutazione della età barocca come un'età di 'depressione spirituale e aridità creativa' e del barocco nell'arte come una 'particolare forma di bruttezza', e del gusto barocco come 'aberrazione', difformazione o perversione artistica, esteticamente negativa (*La poesia*, p. 142). Il maestro degli anglisti italiani ebbe buongioco ad additare e sottolineare come il gusto barocco nella letteratura inglese non fosse una aberrazione ma avesse dato forma ad alte opere d'arte, liriche e drammatiche, ben superiori agli artifici stilistici del barocchismo letterario, del marinismo e del concettismo secentesco italiano. Meno convincente appare oggi la sua rivalutazione della letteratura delle imprese e degli emblemi, che Croce giudicava 'trastulli': una letteratura, cioé rispondente al 'bisogno di pascere l'occhio e di scuotere l'immaginazione, non potendo alimentare cuore, intelletto e fantasia'.[60]

Quanto poco fondamentale fosse il disaccordo teorico fra i due 'antagonisti' mi pare confermato dall'atteggiamento di Croce verso Praz anche dopo ch'egli ebbe in qualche modo preso le distanze da lui in seguito agli sfoghi polemici dell'anglista. Da un lato questi, autentico 'Dipsychus' nei confronti di Croce, – come il personaggio centrale dell'omonimo poema vittoriano di Arthur Clough – condusse negli ultimi anni della sua vita una battaglia 'crociana' sia contro l'arte della cosiddetta avanguardia, 'ultrasonica', informale e astratta, considerandola un deprecabile *descensus Averno*, di ardua risalita, sia contro ogni sorta di sofisticato cerebralismo critico 'postmoderno' che menava diritto, come egli si espresse, alla 'estromissione della Bellezza', anima della letteratura e di ogni forma d'arte.[61] Alcuni penseranno senza

dubbio che, anche nel suo caso, si trattasse di quella 'diffidenza verso il nuovo per troppo affetto all'antico' che Croce menziona fra gli impedimenti al retto esercizio del giudizio critico, pur avendo proclamato la sua 'disistima e odio per la cosiddetta poesia moderna o poesia pura'.[62]

Croce, da parte sua, dichiarò bensì che tra lui e Praz non poteva esserci 'contrasto', in quanto non c'era mai stato 'contatto', giacché l'anglista, come molti letterati e professori, era affetto da una 'disposizione mentale afilosofica' e da 'animo diffidente'.[63] Ciononostante ne seguiva il lavoro e ne discuteva i giudizi, sia nel campo della letteratura degli emblemi sia sempre sul terreno del romanticismo, come quando si richiamò a una formula del 'comparatista' ne *La carne*, ove Hugo e D'Annunzio erano ravvicinati, il primo 'potendo esser chiamato il D'Annunzio del romanticismo, e il D'Annunzio il Victor Hugo del decadentismo'.[64]

Praz, per altro, continuò a battagliere a distanza contro Croce e il suo 'spirito intento alla contemplazione degli universali'.[65] Il suo bersaglio specifico era qui probabilmente la controversa tesi sul 'carattere di totalità dell'espressione artistica' con la quale il filosofo, anche a giudizio dei suoi ortodossi seguaci come Orsini, coi *Nuovi Saggi di Estetica* aveva introdotto nella sua concezione d'origine hegeliana dell'arte come individualizzazione dell'Universale, ovvero intuizione del particolare concreto e individuale, un elemento intellettualistico contraddittorio. Almeno in questo, l'anglista mostrò a modo suo, inconsapevolmente forse, di ottemperare all'invito di Croce ad essere giudicato 'secondo l'ordine di svolgimento del *suo* pensiero' (*Taccuini*, 12 settembre 1918).

E tuttavia, al 'gran nome' di Croce, Praz lasciava, ne *La casa della vita,* l'ultima parola nell'annosa vertenza in cui il suo ingegno di studioso, 'ondoyant et divers' sul piano critico, si appagava di 'approssimazioni', senza cercare certezze assolute, costanti e coerenti. Il pervicace antagonismo di Praz contro 'il fondatore dell'estetica moderna' derivò, io penso, sì dal risentimento per l'inadeguato riconoscimento crociano della propria opera e vocazione letteraria, nonché del suo singolare interesse per l'eccentrico, il bizzarro, l'insolito e lo stravagante, il morboso nella letteratura e nella vita: interessi quanto mai alieni, come l'ironico

distacco di Praz anche dalla letteratura, dalla profonda serietà e sanità morale e dalla sensibilità di Croce. Esso fu però potentemente alimentato da una ossessiva esigenza di sottrarsi e scostarsi dalla egemonia culturale del filosofo napoletano, sia pure non più, negli anni Trenta, sfolgorante in solio, ma da molti contestata e detestata.

Per affermare la propria personalità umorale e le proprie idee di studioso indipendente e saggista originale – 'forse il maggiore italiano di questo secolo'[66] – contro lo scolastico conformismo e le 'sistematiche pre-fabbricate elucubrazioni di quanti crociani siano mai esistiti',[67] Praz fu trascinato a distorcere e snaturare il pensiero di Croce in alcune articolazioni essenziali della sua estetica. Egli poté così sostenere polemicamente nel 1966, con evidente forzatura del pensiero critico-letterario crociano, che alle 'vecchie categorie retoriche' Croce aveva sostituito 'una casistica dei sentimenti – (ne *La poesia* questi aveva, in realtà, ragionato di 'indagine dei moti del sentimento') – riducendo la critica alla 'contemplazione degli universali', quasi ad una ascesa, nelle parole dello stesso Croce, 'a un cielo da cui la terra é sparita'.[68]

La intelligenza di Praz, egli stesso confessò, richiamandosi a un saggio del suo prediletto Charles Lamb, appartenne alla categoria di quelle 'intelligenze imperfette' che 'si contentano di frammenti e ritagli di verità'[69]: asistematiche, fornite di facoltà piuttosto intuitive che comprensive, prive di 'impalcatura filosofica'. E tuttavia nel saggio 'Mythopoeic Criticism', egli rese omaggio alla tradizione critica che 'é stato il contributo distintivo dell'Italia al pensiero europeo nella prima metà di questo secolo, particolarmente grazie agli scritti di Benedetto Croce'.[70]

Non é forse troppo azzardato suggerire che la diffidenza di Croce nei riguardi di Praz e della idiosincrasia dei suoi gusti letterari sia da leggere alla luce della inveterata polemica che egli condusse contro i cattedratici, i professori, i letterati, per non parlare del decadentismo e delle tendenze irrazionali e amorali della natura umana che forse vide riflesse nell'indifferentismo etico, nelle estrose ibridazioni di vita e di arte e nel peculiare interesse dell'anglista per 'le perversioni della sensibilità', per il satanico, il macabro, la sadomasochistica algolagnia, ed 'altrettali dilettazioni....tutt'insieme enormi e stupide'.[71] Croce rimase poco sensibile, se non indifferente, ai meriti scientifici e di elegante saggista del principe degli anglisti italiani, fondatore d'una scuola universitaria di studi

inglesi su basi filologiche mai prima esistita nel nostro paese, internazionalmente stimato e acclamato, dal Public Orator dell'Università di Cambridge, come un prodigio della letteratura europea. Nel florido stile della accademica occasione (il conferimento della laurea onoraria di Dottore in Lettere il 13 giugno 1957) Praz fu elogiato come studioso 'memoria insuper praeditus poene incredibili, totius Europae litteras praeter omnes scit comparare, scrutari, iudicare'.[72]

Il 'libertino erudito' come André Chastel ha definito Praz nel volume d'omaggio, che celebra la sua opera più originale, *La carne*, come 'un capolavoro',[73] si dichiarò ossessionato dai 'discorsi di poesia e non poesia e di ciò che é vivo e ciò che é morto...nomenclatura troppo categorica perché nulla in verità può dirsi morto. *Multa renascentur quae jam cecidere*'.[74] L'ironia delle cose ha voluto ch'egli prognosticasse che 'la parte più viva di Croce sarà trovata nella sua arguta e vasta erudizione di storico e aneddotista'.[75] Sarebbe stato interessante conoscere il pronostico di Croce, se si fosse data la briga di formularlo, circa la sopravivvenza dell'opera di Praz e del suo nome 'nel grande parco della rimembranza' dei posteri. Ma è domanda che, ovviamente, non si dovrebbe neppure pronunziare in assenza dei due maestri.

Mi piace piuttosto immaginare il sorriso agrodolce di Praz nel trascrivere in uno dei suoi saggi, il giudizio d'un critico britannico. Nel recensire un libro d'un nostro collega Giuliano Pellegrini sul barocco inglese, questo critico associò il nome del comune maestro a quello di Croce fra gli influssi diffusi nella valutazione del barocco: influssi per altro giudicati fenomeni culturalmente 'nocivi' e 'transitorî'.[76]

Per render giustizia al tema della ricezione, eredità o 'ricaduta' dell'estetica crociana fra gli anglisti più giovani di me e, naturalmente di Praz, nel periodo del consueto *slump* post-mortem o declino della egemonia culturale di Croce, sarebbe necessario un discorso troppo lungo e analitico mentre qui deve essere assai breve e sommario.

Nessuno degli anglisti della più giovane generazione fu discusso da Praz nel saggio del 1950 su 'Gli studi di letteratura inglese in Italia' incluso nel secondo volume di omaggio per gli 80 anni di Croce (*Cinquant'anni di vita intellettuale in Italia*). Chi scrive ne trattò, sono ormai molti anni, nella rivista *La Cultura* (1, 1976)

tracciando alcune linee, nel quadro degli studi inglesi in Italia, dei 'my friends' portraits', se m'é lecito evocare per analogia i ritratti menzionati da Yeats in *Municipal Gallery Portraits*. Ora però delle nuove leve di anglisti conosco soltanto in minima parte i volti, e le loro opere, che non ho più il dovere professionale di leggere, mi riescono per lo più impenetrabili, anche se sicuramente dotte e impegnate: talvolta 'spellbinding', affascinanti nelle loro strategie trasgressive e glosse polisemiche.

Si tratta spesso di sottigliezze scolastiche estranee ai miei interessi, di analisi e distinzioni che finiscono 'col metter insieme un miserando mucchietto di frantumi inanimati', per dirla con Croce (*La poesia*, p. 114). Lungi dall''appendere i suoi nidi o le sue ragnatele sul tronco crociano', nella felice immagine continiana[77], la più recente anglistica italiana ha preferito ancorarsi, nei suoi 'new approaches', ad altri maestri ed abbracciare diverse ideologie e metodologie critiche, attecchite nel nostro paese specialmente dopo la morte di Croce. Oggigiorno é 'politically correct' secondo la ortodossia prevalente parlare e scrivere ancora (ma per quanto?) piuttosto di epistemologia e semiologia e poststrutturalismo, di 'deissi', 'attanza' e 'intertestualità', di 'subtesto' e di critica psicanalitica, piuttosto che di critica estetica o stilistica o storica: certamente più di Bachtin, Todorov, Lacan, Foucault, Barthes, Greimas e Derrida che non di Croce; di formalisti russi, neocritici americani, linguisti e decostruzionisti francesi più che di Praz o Orsini, o di Russo, Fubini o Petrocchi. Ma Dante ci ha ricordato che 'l'uso de' mortali é come fronda/in ramo, che sen va e l'altra viene'.

Nelle nuove leve degli anglisti tra i cattedratici sulle quarantina non mi sembra si possa facilmente trovare traccia dell'influsso formativo dell'opera di Croce, come del resto neppure dell'opera di Praz. Ma si sa, i cànoni mutano!

Per concludere, ho l'impressione che le opere di Croce, di estetica e di critica letteraria, gli anglisti italiani delle generazioni più giovani, specialmente 'di sinistra' (a differenza degli italianisti che, come Barberi Squarotti, pur dichiarandosi lontani dalla crociana 'concezione romantica dell'arte', ne discutono incessantemente le idee, e ne attestano così la vitalità), se anche le hanno lette e giudicate lo hanno fatto, come Sasso ha osservato[78] di tutta la cultura italiana degli ultimi decenni, prevalentemente attraverso

la critica di Antonio Gramsci, l'autore del *Materialismo storico e la filosofia di Benedetto Croce* (Roma 1948). È singolare che anche tra gli anziani cultori di arte e di letteratura, qualcuno come il complianto Antonello Trombadori, si professasse ancor oggi 'di cultura neocrociana (storicista e marxista)'.[79]

È da dubitare, del resto, che anche le opere di Praz siano lette da molte delle nuove leve accademiche della mia disciplina. La sua 'presenza', come quella maestosa 'robe pontifical' evocata dall'Enrico IV shakesperiano, é rara e tanto più da ammirare nella sua eccezionalità.[80] Nella ossessione postmodernista si può ignorare la tradizione dei nostri 'maggiori' e indulgere non dico sempre a 'sofismi di nuovo conio', quali quelli deplorati da Croce,[81] ma ad esercitazioni e teorizzazioni dell'intelletto astratto, a quella 'digladiation about subtilities' che Bacone lamentava nell'*Advancement of Learning*.[82] Non mi sembra tuttavia che nella loro 'circumloquacità'[83] discorsiva esse abbiano molto a che vedere con quelle indagini di 'nuove modulazioni del sentimento' e tonalità diverse di poesia, che Contini, 'maître à-penser' dei postmoderni, assegnava come còmpito ai critici postcrociani, sia pure nei 'correttivi' desanctisiani, stilistici, filologici e gramsciani della una volta dilagante influenza del pensiero crociano.

Non é forse inutile tornar a meditare l'antica metafora dell'oro e della polvere con cui l'Ulisse shakesperiano, in *Troilus and Cressida* esorta Achille a non ritrarsi dalla lotta perché dimenticato dai greci, tutti infatuati di Aiace e della sua effimera nomea. 'Giacché il tempo é come un anfitrione di mondo, che stringe sbrigativamente la mano all'ospite che se ne va, ed accoglie a braccia aperte, quasi volesse volare, quello che arriva'. Tutti lodano a una voce i trastulli di nuova invenzione, anche se modellati su oggetti antichi, e mostrano maggiore apprezzamento per la polvere, appena indorata, che non per l'oro, sia pur coperto di polvere (atto III, scena 3, vi, 165 – 79).

Notes

1. E. Cecchi, *Ricordi Crociani,* Milano-Napoli 1965, p. 15.
2. B. Croce, *La poesia*, Bari 1996, p. 105.
3. E. Montale, *Satura 1962 – 70,* Milano 1971.
4. M. Praz, 'Croce e la letteratura inglese', *Terzo Programma,* 2, Rai 1966, p. 115.
5. C. Sprigge, *Benedetto Croce. The Man and the Thinker,* Londra 1952, p. 28.

6. Croce, *Storia del Regno di Napoli,* Bari 1966, p. 192.
7. Croce, *Storia d'Europa nel secolo decimonono,* Bari 1965, p. 89.
8. Croce, *Quando l'Italia era tagliata in due,* Bari 1948. Cfr. anche *Taccuini di lavoro 1937 – 1943,* Napoli 1987, pp. 444 – 5.
9. In una ironica noterella sul primo volume della *Encyclopedia of Philosophical Sciences* a cui Croce aveva collaborato, Russell segnalò bensì l'atteggiamento, a suo giudizio, sprezzante di Croce verso i nuovi metodi di studio della logica, a cominciare da quello di Giuseppe Peano: 'Egli non ha studiato questi metodi ma sa che sono perniciosi e ne parla come parlano del postimpressionismo i soci della Royal Academy...La Filosofia, egli dice a ragione, é essenzialmente *Amor Dei Intellectualis*; ma purtroppo il suo contributo mostra più *odium hominis* che *Amor dei*; B. Russell, *The Collected Papers,* viii, *The Philosophy of Logical Atomism and Other Essays 1914 – 19,* a cura di G. Slater, Londra 1986, pp. 94 – 5. Croce mostrerà nondimeno di apprezzare la 'professione di fede' pacifista e sopranazionale del Russell recensendo il volume *Living Philosophers* (1937). Si veda *Conversazioni Critiche* V., Bari 1951, p. 252.
10. Sprigge, *op. cit.,* p. 20: 'L'incontro con la scienza'.
11. Croce, *Aneddoti di varia letteratura,* iv, Bari 1954, pp. 403 – 12.
12. G.N. Giordano Orsini, *Benedetto Croce Philosopher of Art and Literary Critic,* Carbondale 1961, p. 34.
13. Croce, *Letture di poeti e riflessioni sulla storia e la critica letteraria,* Bari 1950, p. 213.
14. Croce, *Nuovi saggi sulla letteratura italiana del seicento,* Bari 1968, p. 40. Biondi coniò per il cosiddetto 'despotismo Tudor' in Inghilterra la formula calzante di 'aristodemocratica monarchia'.
15. Croce, *Storia d'Europa,* p. 40 e John Milton, *Areopagitica* (1644), in *The Complete Prose Works,* a cura di E. Sirluck, New Haven 1959, pp. 492 – 3. Del poeta del Paradiso Perduto Croce scrisse in termini generici, definendone la grande epopea religiosa 'un lavoro di nobile umanismo in versi squisiti e a volte poetici' e additando in altre opere del poeta 'luoghi molto belli' che 'producono in noi un rapimento' affine all'effetto suscitato di 'poeti nostri anche minori del Cinquecento in latino e italiano'; *La poesia,* p. 288.
16. Praz, 'English Studies in Italy', in *English Studies,* Amsterdam, febbraio 1926, p. 14: 'Croce's essay, which is perhaps the only Italian book on English literature commanding universal attention'. Il Saggio, riletto dal Croce nel 1945, in occasione d'un articolo di critica shakesperiana inviatogli da V. Capocci, fu da lui giudicato uno 'dei più adatti per la divulgazione, contenendo per implicito tutti i miei concetti estetici, storici, morali e politici' (*Taccuini,* 27 aprile 1945). Nel 1948 (*Taccuini,* 24 gennaio), egli rivide le bozze di una nuova edizione dello *Shakespeare,* 'col commento aggiuntovi da Giordano Orsini'.
17. Croce, *Poesia e non poesia,* Bari 1950, p. 59
18. Croce, *Pagine Sparse* III Bari 1960, pp. 9 – 11.
19. Cecchi, *op. cit.,* p. 22.
20. Croce, *Conversazioni Critiche,* v. , Bari 1939, pp. 152 – 6. Sulla concezione shelleyiana della poesia, esaltata romanticamente dal poeta come 'scaturigine di tutte le forme della vita civile', Croce espresse riserve nella sua conferenza del 17 Ottobre 1933 a Oxford, 'Difesa della poesia. Variazioni sul tema di Shelley'.

21. Croce, *Lettura di poeti*, pp. 299 – 315.
22. Croce, *Conversazioni Critiche,* v, Bari 1953, p. 378 ('Letture Straniere')
23. Cecchi, *op. cit.*, p. 27.
24. Croce, *Poesia antica e moderna*, Bari 1951, pp. 421 – 46.
25. Croce, *Quaderni della Critica,* Bari 1951: 'Francis Otto Matthiessen'. Del Sainte-Beuve, per altro, Croce citò in *La poesia* (p. 117) un 'motto famoso e assai più profondo che egli non pensasse...; che la critica é l'arte di insegnare a leggere'.
26. Croce menziona tuttavia nei Taccuini con implicito compiacimento 'il commento' aggiunto da Orsini alla nuova edizione del suo saggio su Shakespeare del 1919.
27. Croce, *Poeti e scrittori del tardo Rinascimento,* ii, Bari 1945, p. 261: 'Di un rinfrescamento dei quadri della storia letteraria italiana'. Cfr. anche *Taccuini* 6 febbraio 1941.
28. Croce, *Terze Pagine Sparse,* ii, Bari 1955, pp. 60 – 1. Dello storico vittoriano Macaulay, viceversa, Croce indicò la inconsistenza dell'iperbolico elogio di Vincenzo da Filicaia, definito dal M., nel saggio su Addison, 'the greatest lyric poet of modern times'. Nel proprio commento Croce esemplifica la 'totale nullità poetica' dell'autore. *Nuovi saggi di letteratura italiana del Seicento*, Bari 1968, pp. 318 – 25.
29. Praz, 'Gli studi di letteratura inglese in Italia', in *Cinquant'anni di vita intellettuale italiana, 1896 – 1946.* Scritti in onore di B. Croce per il suo ottantesimo anniversario, a cura di C. Antoni e R. Mattioli, vol. ii, Napoli 1950, p. 13.
30. G. Sasso, *Benedetto Croce. La ricerca della dialettica,* Napoli 1976, p. 592.
31. Lewis Namier, 'Basic Factors in XIX century European history', in *Personalities and Power,* Londra 1955, p. 105.
32. Croce, *Storia d'Europa*, p. 36. Nello stesso senso, metaforico ovviamente, Croce aveva sottolineato il carattere di 'poema' della storia d'Italia, 'mossa dal sentimento politico, anzi etico, nazionale' (*Storia della storiografia italiana nel secolo decimonono,* Bari 1964, p. 103). Si veda anche *Letture di poeti* (p. 262) e *Storia del Regno di Napoli* per 'la maggior forza' che Croce attribuisce ai 'processi storici generali' rispetto alle 'opere e gli avvenimenti peculiari dei singoli paesi e popoli' (p. 72).
33. Croce, *Storia del Regno di Napoli,* p. 26.
34. Praz, 'Cesare de Lollis', in *Abruzzo,* Roma 1964, p. 64.
35. Praz, *Secentismo e marinismo in Inghilterra,* Firenze 1925, Prefazione.
36. Praz, *La casa della fama,* p.3 .
37. Praz, *Ricerche Anglo-Italiane,* Roma 1944, p. 173.
38. Croce, *La poesia* p. 69.
39. Marcel Proust, *Contre Sainte-Beuve,* Gallimard, Parigi 1954, pp. 157 e 162. Secondo Proust, pur ammettendo che non sempre esiste una connessione necessaria fra l'opera e le circostanze della vita dell'autore, Sainte-Beuve ignora, nella sua costante preoccupazione di 'chercher l'homme dans l'ouevre', l'io profondo e più reale dell'artista.
40. Croce, *La poesia,* p. 255.
41. Croce, *La poesia, p. 69.*

42. Cecchi, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
43. Orsini, *op. cit.*, p. 240.
44. Praz, 'L'estro del Bernini', in *Il giardino dei sensi,* Milano 1975, p. 253.
45. Praz, *Ricerche Anglo-Italiane,* p. 195.
46. Praz, *Cronache letterarie anglosassoni,* i, Roma 1950, p. 84.
47. Croce, *Aneddoti di varia letteratura,* ii, p. 253, n. 2.
48. L. Fiumi, 'La torre di Babele sulle rive della laguna', in *Il Giornale, Quotidiano indipendente,* Napoli, 16 settembre 1949. Il testo italiano della lettera tradotta da Praz si può leggere, assieme alla lettera successiva al Flora sulla stessa questione, in Croce *Terze Pagine Sparse*, i, Bari 1955, pp. 261 – 68. L'intervento di Praz al convegno di Venezia appare ne *La casa della fama:* 'Della storia letteraria'.
49. Praz, Nota su *La poesia di Tennyson,* e *Milton e il suo poema* di G.N. Giordano Orsini, in *La Cultura,* marzo 1929. Analoga critica alla 'fissità di andamento esegetico e di ricerca' nella critica di tipo crociano rivolge oggi G. Barberi Squarotti nel 'Devoto omaggio a Giovanni Getto', in *Le colline, i maestri, gli dei,* Treviso 1992, p. 15.
50. Praz, *La casa della vita*, Milano 1968, p. 260.
51. *Ibidem.*
52. Praz, *Letterature moderne,* settembre 1950, pp. 188 – 205.
53. Croce, *Terze Pagine Sparse,* ii, p. 178 – 9.
54. Praz, *Croce e la letteratura inglese*, Rai 1966, p. 116. E tuttavia, nel saggio su 'Il Cunto de li Cunti di G.B. Basile', Praz aveva ammesso che il traduttore inglese, Norman M. Penzer, s'era giovato 'del consiglio di Croce che ha scorso la sua versione', egli stesso autore d'una 'nitida versione italiana' del testo. *Il giardino dei sensi,* pp. 210 e 208.
55. Praz, *Croce e la letteratura inglese*, cit.
56. Praz, *Il giardino dei sensi,* p. 178.
57. Citato da Cecchi in *Ricordi Crociani*, da una lettera di Croce dell'11 dicembre 1911 (p. 86). Si veda anche Croce, *La poesia* p. 147: 'nel sentimento del poeta si racchiude la storia e insieme col pensiero vi freme dentro la poesia dei secoli, che si trasfonde e trasfigura in nuova espressione'. Praz avrebbe tuttavia gongolato se avesse potuto leggere nei *Taccuini* di Croce (5 settembre 1944) che, polemizzando con U. Calosso sul 'nuovo' che viene 'dal basso', gli obbiettava che 'perfino nella storia della letteratura non si crede più nelle origini popolari della poesia, la quale nasce sempre sulla tradizione poetica e sulla scuola'.
58. Praz rievocò l'occasione nel saggio, pubblicato postumo, 'Gabriele Baldini Discepolo e Amico', in *Journal of Anglo-Italian Studies*, i, Malta 1991, pp. viii – xv.
59. C.D.Lewis, *The Poetic Image*, Londra 1954, p. 18.
60. Croce, *Storia dell'età barocca in Italia,* Bari 1929, p. 489, e *La poesia*, p. 11. Croce utilizzò e discusse, nel saggio 'Imprese e trattati d'imprese', gli *Studi sul Concettismo* (1934) di Praz, 'collezionista e bibliofilo', lodandone la 'larga informazione' ed annunciando il secondo volume dell'opera 'che dovrebbe dare una completa bibliografia della letteratura degli emblemi' e che apparve nel 1964, *Studies in Seventeenth Century Imagery,* Roma. Cfr. Croce, *Poeti e scrittori del pieno e del tardo Rinascimento,* i, Bari 1958, pp. 352 – 64.
61. Praz, 'Parabola dell'esplorazione interiore', in *Ulisse,* novembre 1956.

62. Croce, *La poesia,* p. 102.
63. Croce, *Poesia antica e moderna,* p. 388.
64. Croce, *Terze Pagine Sparse*, i, pp. 172 – 3.
65. Praz, 'Croce senza delizia', *Il Giornale,* Milano 30 gennaio 1980 (in polemica con C.L. Ragghianti) e *La casa della vita*, p. 263.
66. Alvaro Gonzales-Palacios, 'Un vero maestro', in *Il Giornale,* Milano, 23 marzo 1992.
67. Praz, *La casa della vita,* p. 282.
68. Croce, *La poesia,* p. 78.
69. Praz, *I saggi di Elia* (trad.) Lanciano 1924, pp. 86 – 7: 'Simpatie imperfette'.
70. Praz, 'Mythopoeic Criticism', in *English Studies Today,* Roma 1966, p. 3.
71. Croce, *Storia d'Europa*, p. 49.
72. *Cambridge University Reporter,* Acta, 13 giugno 1957.
73. A. Chastel, 'Pour Saluer Mario Praz', in *Mario Praz,* Cahiers pour un temps, Parigi 1989.
74. Praz, 'Dandismo architettonico', in *I volti del tempo*, Napoli 1964, p. 50. Egli ammetteva, ciononostante, che una 'rigorosa selezione' fosse necessaria per 'l'accumularsi della produzione letteraria e artistica nei secoli'. Si veda Praz, *Perseo e la medusa,* Milano 1979, p. 107.
75. Praz, *La casa della vita,* p. 262.
76. Praz, Prefazione a *Voce dietro la scena*, Milano 1980.
77. G. Contini, *Altri esercizi: 1842 – 72,* Torino 1972, p. 67.
78. G. Sasso, *Variazioni sulla storia d'una rivista italiana: La Cultura 1882 – 1935,* Bologna 1992, p. 176.
79. A. Trombadori, lettera a E. Macaluso, *La Stampa*, Torino, 16 luglio 1992.
80. Si veda Shakespeare, *1, Henry IV,* atto III, scena 2°, vv. 56 – 7. Argutamente Croce rinviò lo statista Carlo Sforza, nel 1943, al verso del drammaturgo, nell'esortarlo a rendere più ammirata la sua apparizione in pubblico diradandone la frequenza. *Cf.* Croce, *Taccuini*, 25 dicembre 1943.
81. Croce, *La poesia,* p. 106.
82. F. Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning,* i, Oxford 1956, p. 33.
83. Tale attributo assegna al teorico del decostruzionismo francese uno scherzoso editoriale dell'*Economist* del 16 maggio 1992: 'Derrida Derided'.

CROCE'S PASTORAL ADDRESS

It would be a great pleasure to me, if I could take part to the proceedings of the PEN congress, for I am still very keen on problems of literary criticism, that is on problems relating to poetry, literature and the arts, in the aspects they take in our time. It is a kind of research I have never interrupted since my school days: in fact my first literary steps consisted of four articles which I wrote in 1882, when I was sixteen (reprinted since as 'curiosities'), which were not unworthy of the devoted pupil I was then of Francesco De Sanctis. Since then, how much have I discussed, defined demonstrated, on the theory of Art criticism, down to the renewed general formulation I have given in my book on *Poetry*! A year ago, invited to a congress of literary criticism in America I sent a report

on the subject and I spoke of Italians in particular, as of the country which more vigorously than any other contributed to the creation of that branch of learning (I wonder whether this is universally known and accepted): from our theorists and controversialists of the XVI century (one might say from Dante of the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*), from our bold thinkers and innovators of the XVI century, down to the great Vico and later to Foscolo and Scalvini, and finally to Francesco De Sanctis. Today Italy still actively fosters the fruits of this work of her past and is able to hold her ground among the cultured nations with a clear conscience of her achievements. If I could be present at your congress, I would perhaps insist, in the discussion which will take place, on a capital point: namely that the aesthetic judgement demands, as a fundamental premise, the *sensibility of the imagination,* what De Sanctis called the sacred moment of the 'direct impression', the fresh and lively appreciation of the work of art, the moment of re-evocation answering to that of creation which, once it is missed or lost sight of, everything is lost; but, on the other hand, one must not forget that the aesthetic judgement never actually takes place, in a critical and historical way, unless it is accompanied by that clearness of ideas which only the philosophy of art, i.e. Aesthetics, elaborates and consolidates and enriches, and unless it is integrated by a non-superficial knowledge of the human soul in its folds and recesses – a knowledge which is indispensable in order fully to understand the message of the poets. There have recently arisen in other countries, often as a result of hasty improvisations, erratic and arbitrary theories of poetry and criticism which in my opinion represent a negation of the genuine aesthetic judgement. To such theories Italy opposes a stubborn mental resistance, and if something of them penetrates in our midst, it is of little moment and causes only a slight damage. Why, then – you will say – don't you come personally? Because I must work (and work also on literary criticism, as I have always done); and when one is eighty four one works well only thanks to a wise economy of time: this very economy of time compels me to renounce the pleasure of tours and congresses, which I mildly envy to those who are young or less old than I am. I beg therefore to be excused and I ask you to accept my best wishes for a fruitful exchange of ideas among critics of literature and the arts.

Benedico vos, etc., in nomine sancti Crucis. (An addition, of course, of Praz.)

Il testo inglese, eccettuato il titolo, é la traduzione della lettera del l'11 agosto 1949 inviata da Croce a Flora da Pollone (Biella) ristampata in B. Croce, *Terze Pagine Sparse,* i, 1955, pp. 261 – 68.