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FACOLTÀ DI SCIENZE LINGUISTICHE E LETTERATURE STRANIERE
UNIVERSITÀ CATTOLICA DEL SACRO CUORE

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THE SHELLEYS IN MILAN, 1818-2018

Guest editors:
Marco Canani and Valentina Varinelli

Foreword

Francesco Rognoni
Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore

"Milan [...] was a very pleasant city large and populous yet quiet". This is what Mary Shelley wrote to Leigh and Marianne Hunt from "noisy mercantile" Leghorn on 13 May 1818[1]. Was Milan perhaps *too* quiet for us to celebrate the bicentenary of the Shelleys' arrival in the city? Maybe, and yet I believe that there is much to discover about this neglected episode in their life and in the history of tourism in northern Italy.

We have all the clues that we need to picture Percy and Claire in a *gondola* crossing the Laguna in the pouring rain, or to imagine Mary drawing in the Borghese Gardens. But what do we see in our mind as we read in the Shelleys' Milanese journal: "ride out on the Corso"?[2] Even after perusing Jacopo Ortis's letters from Milan, and examining Stendhal's topographic sketches in his *Vie de Henry Brulard*, I still have a vague understanding of what was then called the "Corso" in Milan. Will the articles in this issue help us form a clearer mental image of the Shelleys' rides? Will the authors locate the Locanda Reale where Percy and Claire used to play chess in the evening, while Mary read *Pamela* and *Clarissa* in Italian?[3]

A few years ago, Michael Rossington and I spent hours inside the Duomo, trying to identify the "solitary spot [...] behind the altar" where Percy Shelley would read his Dante in the "dim & yellow" light "under the storied window"[4]. We are not quite sure that we have found it. What we did find is Marco d'Agrate's statue of Saint Bartholomew with his skin wrapped around his shoulders like a mantle, which has stood in the right transept of the cathedral since the seventeenth century. Could Shelley have missed this hellish sculpture, which, as Addison informs us, "is esteem'd worth its weight in Gold"?[5] The artwork is not mentioned in Shelley's lengthy description of the Duomo in his letter to Thomas Love Peacock of 20 April 1818. Still, it seems possible to me that this decidedly disturbing Catholic icon was hovering in his mind over a year later, when taking notes on the sculptures in the Uffizi, he described the punishment of the satyr Marsyas, similarly flayed alive

[1] M. Shelley, *The Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley*, B.T. Bennett ed., 3 vols, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore 1980-1988, Vol. 1, p. 67.
[2] M. Shelley, *The Journals of Mary Shelley 1814-1844*, P.R. Feldman – D. Scott-Kilvert ed., 2 vols, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1987, Vol. 1, p. 205.
[3] C. Clairmont, *The Journals of Claire Clairmont*, M. Kingston Stocking ed., Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA 1968, pp. 91-92; M. Shelley, *Journals*, Vol. 1, p. 205.
[4] P.B. Shelley, *The Letters of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, F.L. Jones ed., 2 vols, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1964, Vol. 2, p. 8.
[5] J. Addison, *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy &c. in the Years 1701, 1702, 1703*, Tonson, London 1705, p. 28.

by Apollo, as "one of the few abominations of the Greek religion [...] as bad as the everlasting damnation" of the God of the Old Testament[6].

When Byron was in Milan in the autumn of 1816, the faithful Hobhouse chronicled all his friend's movements in his journal. Ludovico di Breme invited his Lordship to dinner and kept Madame de Staël posted with almost daily letters. Vincenzo Monti – who could not read English – volunteered to translate some of his poetry as he had done with Homer, skilfully versifying a literal rendering of the original[7]. Henri Beyle, who met Byron at La Scala on 16 October, and saw him a few more times in the following weeks, captivated him (and Hobhouse) with made-up anecdotes on Napoleon's campaigns[8]. Although Stendhal's numerous accounts of his meeting with Byron are full of inaccuracies and fabrications, there had been a real acquaintance and a genuine understanding between them. But Stendhal's claim that he had had "l'honneur d'accompagner" Shelley – "ce grand poète, cet homme si extraordinaire, si bon et si calomnié" – is pure fantasy[9]. In fact, by an ironic coincidence, the self-styled Milanese left Milan for Grenoble on 2 April 1818 and returned on 11 May[10], missing the whole period of the Shelleys' residence in the city.

Apparently, no one took notice of the Shelleys in Milan, where their enthusiasm at being in Italy – the country of Dante and Tasso, of azure skies, and the opera – must have been tempered by their much more concrete worries about the choice that Claire was going to make in relation to her daughter Allegra. Actually, we should not say *Allegra* (the Venetian name that Byron so ominously chose for his unfortunate child), but *Alba*, as this is what the Shelleys and Claire almost invariably called her.

In one of the holograph manuscript notebooks that Shelley scholars today quote as frequently (and sometimes as inaptly) as his critics of the 1980s cited Jacques Derrida and Paul de Man, I find what looks like the outline of a poem dedicated to Alba that Shelley never wrote:

> To Alba. eyes. depth. amiableness, like
> Albè. better with me than him. Infants
> don't know their father from a stranger
> The Mother a mist — a torrent cinctured spot
> mountain tops — scattered by the storm[11].

[6] P.B. Shelley, *Notes on Sculptures in Rome and Florence together with a Lucianic Fragment and a Criticism of Peacock's Poem "Rhododaphne"*, H. Buxton Forman ed., Printed for Private Distribution, London 1879, p. 34.
[7] L. Di Breme, *Lettere*, P. Camporesi ed., Einaudi, Torino 1966, pp. 386-388.
[8] M. Crouzet, *Stendhal ou Monsieur Moi-même*, Flammarion, Paris 1990, p. 219; J.C. Hobhouse, *Hobhouse's Diary*, P. Cochran ed., p. 243, https://petercochran.wordpress.com/hobhouses-diary/ (last accessed September 1, 2019).
[9] Stendhal, *Voyages en Italie*, V. Del Litto ed., Gallimard, Paris 1973 (Bibliothèque de la Pléiade), p. 394.
[10] Stendhal, *Œuvres intimes*, V. Del Litto ed., 2 vols, Gallimard, Paris 1982 (Bibliothèque de la Pléiade), Vol. 2, p. ix.
[11] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodleian MS. Shelley e. 4, fol. 6^{v}.

These few words effectively convey Shelley's feelings for the little girl, and hint at the difficulties of being a father, which are all the greater when the mother is "a mist" (as certainly was the case with Claire). Shelley could have jotted down these notes at any time during his use of the notebook (probably from winter 1817 to summer 1819), but it is very tempting to suggest that they were written in Milan, perhaps on the very day (28 April) in which Allegra left with her nanny, Elise[12], to meet a father who was still a stranger – who perhaps would remain a stranger to her...

Delivering Alba to her father was the main reason why the Shelleys had stopped in Milan and had looked for a house on Lake Como. Similarly, Claire's need for distraction after her daughter's departure was the principle motive "which led [them] to forego the divine solitudes of Como", as Percy put it in his letter to Peacock of 30 April. (In the same letter, a five-line paragraph about "little Alba" is so heavily scratched through as to result illegible[13].) On 1 May, the Shelleys "set out from Milan"[14] on a tour of Italy that would inspire some of their major works. The following articles will establish in what measure the Milanese experience contributed to them.

[12] M. Shelley, *Journals*, Vol. 1, p. 207.
[13] P.B. Shelley, *Letters*, Vol. 2, p. 16.
[14] M. Shelley, *Journals*, Vol. 1, p. 207.

Introduction
Books, Ballets, and Puppets: The Shelleys' Milanese Experience

Marco Canani and Valentina Varinelli

On 11 March 1818 Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley (then 20) and Percy Bysshe Shelley (25) set off from their lodgings in Great Russell Street, London, on the journey that would lead them to their Italian exile. They were accompanied by their two children, the two-year-old William and the newborn Clara, Mary's stepsister Claire Clairmont, Claire's daughter by Lord Byron Allegra (aged 1), a nursemaid, a female servant, and "the choice society of all ages"[1], i.e. a trunk full of books. The next day the party crossed the Channel to Calais and, avoiding Paris, sped through France and Savoy, where the books were confiscated. Their destination was Milan, where they arrived on the evening of 4 April, and remained for about a month[2].

Over twenty years later, Mary Shelley recalled that the "principal motive" for their emigration "was the hope that [Shelley's] health would be improved by a milder climate"[3], but Percy's chronic ill health was not their sole reason. An additional motive was his fear of being deprived of his children by Mary following the Lord Chancellor's decision to deny him custody of Ianthe and Charles, his children by his late first wife, Harriet Westbrook. Shelley had expected the court to acknowledge his parental rights, and indeed the decision "set a legal precedent which is still cited" today[4]. As Shelley wrote to Byron in July 1817, he felt that "the tyranny, civil and religious, under which this country groans, has visited me somewhat severely". If the "interference exercised by Chancery" were to be extended to William, and, implicitly, the baby whom Mary was expecting, he would leave England with his family[5]. In Italy Percy could also escape his many creditors and improve his financial situation thanks to its "boasted cheapness". However, he soon discovered in Milan that "the English

[1] P.B. Shelley, *The Letters of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, F.L. Jones ed., 2 vols, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1964, Vol. 2, p. 20.

[2] The Shelleys' journey to Italy and the vicissitudes of their life abroad are recorded in Mary Shelley's and Claire Clairmont's journals: M. Shelley, *The Journals of Mary Shelley, 1814-1844*, P.R. Feldman – D. Scott-Kilvert ed., 2 vols, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1987; C. Clairmont, *The Journals of Claire Clairmont*, M. Kingston Stocking ed., Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA 1968.

[3] M. Shelley, "Note on the *Prometheus Unbound*", in P.B. Shelley, *The Poetical Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, Mrs. Shelley ed., 4 vols, Moxon, London 1839, Vol. 2, p. 129.

[4] K. Everest, *Shelley and His Contemporaries*, in *The Oxford Handbook of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, M. O'Neill – A. Howe ed., Oxford University Press, Oxford 2013, pp. 513-529 (p. 529). On Shelley's Chancery suit and its impact on his works see also L. Chapin, *Children as Subject and Object:* Shelley v. Westbrook, in *Romanticism and the Object*, L.H. Peer ed., Palgrave Macmillan, New York 2009, pp. 37-49.

[5] P.B. Shelley, *Letters*, Vol. 1, p. 547.

as usual are cheated in a way that is quite ridiculous, if they have not their wits about them"[6]. The last, important factor in the Shelleys' decision to leave England was the impossibility of finding a "responsible person" who would safely convey Allegra to her father in Venice[7]. By accompanying Allegra to Italy and relocating there themselves, the Shelleys hoped that she would still see her mother, at least occasionally. They could also remain close to the child, who was as dear to them as if she were their own. As Julian (Shelley) said of Maddalo (Byron)'s daughter, "With me / She was a special favourite: I had nursed / Her fine and feeble limbs when she came first / To this bleak world" ("Julian and Maddalo", ll. 150-153)[8].

For nearly two years, the Shelleys restlessly criss-crossed the Italian peninsula to visit popular destinations and attractions. After leaving Milan, they stopped in Pisa on their way to Leghorn and saw the Cathedral and the Leaning Tower. From Leghorn they moved to the then fashionable resort of Bagni di Lucca. In August they visited Byron in Venice, where little Clara died in September, and they borrowed the villa that Byron had rented in Este, on the Euganean Hills. In November they set off for Naples on one of the major routes of the Grand Tour. They passed through Ferrara (where they saw Tasso's and Ariosto's manuscripts and visited Tasso's cell), Bologna (renowned for its art galleries), Terni (where they admired the Cascata delle Marmore), and Rome. As was customary with British tourists, they wintered in Naples and moved back to Rome in time to attend the Easter celebrations. When William also died in Rome in June 1819, they returned to Leghorn, and then moved to Florence for the winter. At the beginning of 1820 they finally settled in Pisa, where they resided for the following two years, spending the warm months in nearby Bagni di Pisa (today San Giuliano Terme) and, fatally, San Terenzo in the Bay of Lerici in the spring of 1822.

The Shelleys' travels in Italy are recorded in their rich correspondence with their English friends, beginning with the letter that Percy Bysshe Shelley wrote to Thomas Love Peacock upon his arrival in Milan. This letter contains one of the poet's rare puns: "We have no Miss Millani here – in every other respect Milan is unquestionably superior"[9]. Shelley was playing on the name of Mademoiselle Milanie, a ballet dancer he had seen on the London stage who had "enchanted" him[10]. His sophomoric pun is a sign of the new-found light-heartedness, the almost physical relief at leaving behind the oppressive and repressive atmosphere of Regency England that Shelley had lamented earlier in the same letter:

> no sooner had we arrived at Italy than the loveliness of the earth & the serenity of the sky made the greatest difference in my sensations — I depend on these things for life

[6] P.B. Shelley, *Letters*, Vol. 2, p. 8.

[7] P.B. Shelley, *Letters*, Vol. 1, p. 584.

[8] P.B. Shelley, *The Poems of Shelley*, Vol. 2, K. Everest – G. Matthews ed., Pearson Education, Harlow 2000 (Longman Annotated English Poets), p. 671. On the question of Allegra and Claire see I. Origo, *Allegra*, Hogarth Press, London 1935, and, more recently, F. Rognoni, "Shelley, Byron e l'ostinata follia: attorno al *Julian e Maddalo* di P.B. Shelley", in P.B. Shelley, *Poemetti veneziani*, F. Rognoni ed., Mondadori, Milano 2001, pp. vii-xxxii.

[9] P.B. Shelley, *Letters*, Vol. 2, p. 4.

[10] *The Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley, as Comprised in The Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley by Thomas Jefferson Hogg, The Recollections of Shelley & Byron by Edward John Trelawny, Memoirs of Shelley by Thomas Love Peacock*, H. Wolfe ed., 2 vols, Dent, London 1933, Vol. 2, p. 330.

> for in the smoke of cities & the tumult of humankind & the chilling fogs & rain of our own country I can hardly be said to live[11].

It was, then, an unusually cheerful and carefree Shelley who arrived in Milan on 4 April 1818. The crossing of the Alps had already furnished him with the fundamental inspiration for *Prometheus Unbound*, which he began later that year, and the *coreodrammi* by Salvatore Viganò that he saw at the Teatro alla Scala further influenced the final act of his "lyrical drama"[12]. The Shelleys' stay in Milan, however, had a more profound impact on their works. The few weeks that they spent in the city mark the beginning not only of their four-year residence in Italy, but also of their lifelong immersion in Italian culture, epitomised by Percy's habit of reading Dante's *Divine Comedy* inside the Duomo, Milan's iconic cathedral[13]. The impressions that they then received of the Italian landscape, history, literature, and performing arts influenced all their future works. It is in Milan, for instance, that Percy became fascinated with the life of Torquato Tasso. He read Pierantonio Serassi's biography, *La vita di Torquato Tasso* (1785)[14], and planned a never-completed tragedy on Tasso's madness as his contribution to the construction of the Romantic myth of the Ferrarese Renaissance poet. As he wrote to Peacock on 20 April 1818, the "subject" seemed to him, "if properly treated, admirably dramatic & poetical"[15]. In later works, namely Percy's "Ode to Naples" and "Ode to Liberty" and Mary's *Valperga*, the Shelleys engaged with the political history of Milan. A trip to nearby Lake Como inspired, by contrast, the settings of Percy's eclogue *Rosalind and Helen*, and some scenes in Mary's novel *The Last Man* and the 1831 edition of *Frankenstein*.

Compared to the wealth of information available about the Shelleys' sojourn in other Italian cities and towns, remarkably little is known of their daily life in Milan in April 1818. Likewise, the influence of this brief but seminal period on their works beyond Percy's *Prometheus Unbound* has not been much investigated. In his *Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, Edward Dowden writes that a "few days [...] at Milan sufficed for the first inspection of its objects of beauty and historical interest", while the "later days [...] went by in uneventful fashion"[16]. Owing perhaps to the small number of letters that the Shelleys sent from Milan, and the relatively short entries in Mary's and Claire's journals of that period, even later biographers, such as Glynn Grylls (1938), White (1940), Holmes (1974), Sunstein (1989), Gittings – Manton (1992), Seymour (2000), Bieri (2004-05), and Worthen (2019)[17], dedicate only

[11] P.B. Shelley, *Letters*, Vol. 2, pp. 3-4.

[12] See M. Shelley, *Journals*, Vol. 1, p. 200; L.M. Crisafulli, *"A Language in Itself Music": Salvatore Viganò's* Ballet en Action *in Shelley's* Prometheus Unbound, in *The Romantic Stage: A Many-Sided Mirror*, L.M. Crisafulli – F. Liberto ed., Rodopi, Amsterdam 2014, pp. 135-159.

[13] P.B. Shelley, *Letters*, Vol. 2, p. 8.

[14] M. Shelley, *Journals*, Vol. 1, p. 203.

[15] P.B. Shelley, *Letters*, Vol. 2, p. 8.

[16] E. Dowden, *The Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, 2 vols, Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., London 1886, Vol. 2, pp. 192, 198.

[17] R. Glynn Grylls, *Mary Shelley: A Biography*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1938; N.I. White, *Shelley*, 2 vols, Knopf, New York 1940; R. Holmes, *Shelley: The Pursuit*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London 1974; E.W. Sunstein, *Mary Shelley: Romance and Reality*, Little, Brown and Company, Boston 1989; R. Gittings – J. Man-

a few paragraphs to the first month of their residence in Italy. While multiple studies have been devoted to the Shelleys' experience and representation of Pisa, Naples and Campania, Venice, and Este[18], there is no analogous bibliography relating to their stay in Milan. Even the principal studies of the Shelleys' travels abroad – Rossetti Angeli (1911), Giartosio De Courten (1923), Cline (1952), Weinberg (1991), Crisafulli (1998), Colbert (2005), Schoina (2009), Marino (2011), Pite (2013), and Stabler (2013)[19] – have focused on other moments of their Italian exile, and have left the Milanese period unexplored.

The articles in the present issue aim to fill this gap. They were first presented at a two-day conference celebrating the bicentenary of the Shelleys' arrival in Milan that was jointly organised by the Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore and the Università degli Studi di Milano in April 2018 to coincide with the publication of the new Italian edition of Percy Bysshe Shelley's works[20]. Each contribution investigates a different aspect of Mary and Percy Shelley's experience of Milan, from their first impressions of the Italian states to the influence of this period on their artistic development. Taken as a whole, the articles in this issue demonstrate that the Shelleys' reading, the places they visited, the encounters they made, and the cultural atmosphere they experienced in and around Milan in early 1818 left an indelible mark on their later works.

In the opening article, Kelvin Everest suggests that Percy Shelley's literary activity during the first few months in Italy was more intense than critics have usually argued. As his notebooks reveal, the period was marked by an often unnoticed experimentation with various forms of composition. However, his principal activity consisted in translations from Greek, particularly a version of Plato's *Symposium*, which shaped his "Discourse on the Manners of the Ancient Greeks Relative to the Subject of Love". The translation of such a subversive text – which celebrates spiritual love, but also includes an apology for homoeroticism – should be read in the context of the Shelleys' decision to leave England and

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ton, *Claire Clairmont and the Shelleys*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1992; M. Seymour, *Mary Shelley*, Murray, London 2000; J. Bieri, *Percy Bysshe Shelley: A Biography*, 2 vols, University of Delaware Press, Newark 2004-05; J. Worthen, *The Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley: A Critical Biography*, Wiley-Blackwell, Hoboken, NJ 2019.

[18] *Paradise of Exiles. Shelley and Byron in Pisa*, M. Curreli – A.L. Johnson ed., ETS, Pisa 1988; E. Marino, *I coniugi Shelley in Campania*, "Rivista di Scienze del Turismo", 2, 2011, 1, pp. 99-116; K. Kroeber, *Experience as History: Shelley's Venice, Turner's Carthage*, "English Literary History", 41, 1974, 3, pp. 321-339; M. Wilson, *Travellers' Venice: Some Images for Byron and Shelley*, "University of Toronto Quarterly", 43, 1974, 2, pp. 93-120; F. Rognoni, *Byron e Shelley: da Arquà a Este*, "Terra d'Este", 18, 1999, pp. 27-38; *Isole in fiore. Mary e Percy B. Shelley tra Este, Venezia e i Colli Euganei*, F. Selmin ed., Cierre edizioni, Sommacampagna 2017.

[19] H. Rossetti Angeli, *Shelley and His Friends in Italy*, Methuen, London 1911; M.L. Giartosio De Courten, *Percy Bysshe Shelley e l'Italia*, Treves, Milano 1923; C.L. Cline, *Byron, Shelley, and their Pisan Circle*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA 1952; A.M. Weinberg, *Shelley's Italian Experience*, Macmillan, Basingstoke 1991; *Shelley e l'Italia*, L.M. Crisafulli Jones ed., Liguori, Napoli 1998; B. Colbert, *Shelley's Eye: Travel Writing and Aesthetic Vision*, Ashgate, Aldershot 2005; M. Schoina, *Romantic "Anglo-Italians": Configurations of Identity in Byron, the Shelleys, and the Pisan Circle*, Ashgate, Farnham 2009; E. Marino, *Mary Shelley e l'Italia: il viaggio, il Risorgimento, la questione femminile*, Le Lettere, Firenze 2011; R. Pite, *Shelley and Italy*, in *The Oxford Handbook of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, pp. 31-47; J. Stabler, *The Artistry of Exile: Romantic and Victorian Writers in Italy*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2013.

[20] P.B. Shelley, *Opere poetiche*, and Id., *Teatro, prose e lettere*, F. Rognoni ed., Mondadori, Milano 2018 (I Meridiani).

their first, rather solitary weeks abroad. As Everest argues, Shelley's translation foregrounds "a mind freed from all constraint of custom and propriety, and thus free to go where intellect alone was leading" (p. 23). From this perspective, the *Symposium* marks a double watershed in Shelley's growth as a man and as a poet, granting him that "striking new confidence" (p. 34) which would find its first expression in *Prometheus Unbound*.

In the following essay, Will Bowers further investigates Shelley's translations from Greek with a focus on his response to A.W. Schlegel's *Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature* (1815). Percy read passages from the *Lectures* to Mary and Claire as they were crossing the Alps in March 1818, and the book provided "a spur and a foil to his dramatic thought" (p. 35). Bowers documents the influence of Schlegel on Shelley's response to Salvatore Viganò's *coreodramma*, *Otello*, at La Scala. He also illustrates the ways in which Shelley's maturing Hellenism progressively departed from Schlegel's views, as exemplified by his attitude towards Euripides. In particular, Shelley's translation of *The Cyclops* manifests his desire to offer a complete picture of Greek life and society in direct opposition to more prudish conceptions of Hellenism. Interestingly, such an intention surfaces in his lexical choices and his use of stichomythia, in an attempt to recreate the "domestic diction" (p. 42) of the Greeks.

The following three contributions by Carla Pomarè, Marco Canani, and Valentina Varinelli retrace the geography of the Shelleys' journey through Northern Italy, investigating their experience of Savoy, Milan, and Lake Como. As Pomarè argues, the Kingdom of Sardinia was a "transit zone", and like "most Romantic travellers" the Shelleys "registered their experience of stepping across [its] borders [...] as something distinct from the experience of entering Italy" (p. 47). Pomarè's article discusses the Shelleys' impressions of the "Stati Sabaudi" in the context of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century travel writing, emphasising how recent scholarship has foregrounded the ideological aspects embedded in such views. Moreover, the author suggests that Percy's opinion of the Sabaudian States as a political entity marred by despotism, bigotry, and degeneration may indicate that he was familiar with J.C.L. Simonde de Sismondi's *Histoire des républiques italiennes du moyen âge* (1815-1818) prior to March 1818.

In his article, Canani focuses on the four weeks that the Shelleys spent in Milan so as to map the places that they visited and the acquaintances that they may have made in the city. The hotel where the Shelleys stayed, the Albergo Reale, suggests that they experienced a more culturally lively and up-market area of town than the poet's correspondence indicates. Owned by one of the leading neoclassical architects of the time, Luigi Cagnola, the Reale had been the lodgings of Caroline of Brunswick and possibly hosted J.M.W. Turner during his first Italian tour. Despite the difficulty in establishing the existence of an actual 'Milanese Circle', Canani moves from some brief notes in Mary's and Clare's diaries and letters to shed light on the Shelleys' contacts with Giuseppe Marietti, a banker and impresario involved in Queen Caroline's trial in 1820, and Domenico Mombelli, a renowned tenor and Salvatore Viganò's brother-in-law. As a final point, the article discusses Shelley's references to Milan in "Ode to Naples" (1820) and *Hellas* (1822) as "political" and "transhistorical" (p. 69) allusions to post-Napoleonic Italy.

Varinelli's essay illustrates the significance of Percy and Mary's visit to Lake Como in early April 1818. Although the shores of the lake are represented in Percy's *Rosalind and Helen* (1819), they left a stronger impression on Mary Shelley, who revisited its sites with her son, Percy Florence, in the summer of 1840. References to Villa Pliniana and Lake Como occur in her essays for the *Lives of the Most Eminent Literary and Scientific Men of Italy, Spain and Portugal* (1835-37), where historical accuracy arguably conflates with autobiographical experience, in the 1831 edition of *Frankenstein*, and in *Rambles in Germany and Italy in 1840, 1842, and 1843* (1844), where the author's memories seem to reflect her "new-found religiosity" (p. 78). Yet, it is in *The Last Man* (1826) that topography clearly voices, as Varinelli observes, "Mary Shelley's disillusionment with a country that may well have seemed like paradise to the English exile until she lost her children and, later, her husband there" (p. 75).

As Percy's, Mary's, and Claire's correspondence and journals amply document, the theatre was their favourite pastime in Milan. On 5, 7, 20, 21, and 29 April they went to La Scala[21], and on 13 April they saw a puppet show at "the Theatre of Marionetti"[22], i.e. Teatro Fiando or "Gerolamo", the only puppet theatre in town. In their contributions, Alberto Bentoglio and Anna Anselmo examine the important cultural role that the theatre had in post-Napoleonic Milan with a focus on the performances seen by the Shelleys. Thanks to its former status as the capital city of Napoleon's Kingdom of Italy, Milan could boast an extremely vibrant theatre life that was unrivalled in the rest of the peninsula. In his essay, Bentoglio illustrates the threefold theatrical organisation of the city, which included two theatres financed by the government, the Teatro alla Scala and the Teatro alla Canobbiana, two private theatres operating in the evenings and offering melodramas and "well-made plays", as well as two amphitheatres which were especially popular among the lower classes. After illustrating the historical and cultural reasons for the popularity of the theatre in Milan, Bentoglio examines the shows on the bill in April 1818, and discusses the contemporary reception of Salvatore Viganò's *Otello* and *La spada di Kenneth*.

Anselmo focuses on Claire Clairmont's experience of Milan, which occurred at a poignant time of her life, as she was about to be separated from her daughter Allegra. In this context, Anselmo's article connects Claire's reading in Milan, which suggests "a strong interest in comedy rather than the tragic music of the opera house" (p. 93), with the puppet show that she saw at the Teatro Fiando, *Girolamo e Argante nell'isola incantata dalle streghe di Benevento*. After drawing on archival evidence to reconstruct the probable plot and structure of the performance, the essay traces the history of Gerolamo – the Milanese puppet *par excellence* – and investigates the possible reasons for which Giuseppe Fiando's work appealed to Claire in light of her intellectual dialogue with Percy and Mary Shelley, i.e. its interplay of politics, music, and dancing.

Milan is not only the first stop in what was going to be the Shelleys' exile in Italy. Their arrival in the city also marks the beginning of a period of personal and artistic development

[21] P.B. Shelley, *Letters*, Vol. 2, p. 4; M. Shelley, *Journals*, Vol. 1, pp. 203, 205-207; C. Clairmont, *Journals*, pp. 89, 92. See also the Appendix to J. Mulhallen, *The Theatre of Shelley*, OpenBook Publishers, Cambridge 2010, p. 250.
[22] C. Clairmont, *Journals*, p. 91.

which spanned the next four years and crystallised, as Antonella Braida and Lilla Maria Crisafulli show, in both Mary's and Percy's aesthetic reflection and writings. In "A Philosophical View of Reform" (written between November 1819 and January 1820), Percy Shelley praised "the undisputed superiority of Italy in literature & the arts", extolling the "union of energy & of beauty" of Dante's poetry, and the "restlessness of fervid power" of Italian painting, sculpture, and architecture[23]. Braida documents the constant presence of Dante in the Shelleys' reading in Italy starting from the Milanese period. After examining their "cosmopolitan" approach to Dante, which was mediated by their reading of Schlegel, Sismondi, Mme de Staël, and Henry Francis Cary's "Life of Dante" in *The Vision* (1814), the article argues that the *Divine Comedy* should be viewed as the common hypotext of Mary Shelley's *Matilda* (written in 1819), *Valperga* (1823), "Giovanni Villani" (1823), and *Rambles in Germany and Italy*. Focusing on Mary's 1844 travelogue, Braida maintains that the "references to Dante contribute to her need to negotiate genre" (p. 113) in response to the current changes in travel writing as an increasingly popular and tourist-oriented form. The article also foregrounds Mary Shelley's contribution to the changing reception of Dante in Britain, and connects her interest in the poet with the development of her "identity as a woman writer, claiming the greater freedom of a composite Anglo-Italian identity" (p. 118).

Focusing instead on Percy Shelley, Crisafulli argues that in Italy he not only reached his poetic maturity, but also developed a "holistic" aesthetic system which reconciled his empiricism with his idealism, and his political commitment with his poetic project. In "A Defence of Poetry" (1821) Shelley articulated "a poetics that worked by extension", and identified poetry as "a hyper-genre" (p. 122) encompassing all other genres and all other arts. It is because of its linguistic nature that Shelley viewed poetry as "necessarily conditioned by contingency and contiguity". In this sense, as Crisafulli illustrates, his conception of poetry is grounded in metonymy. This perspective explains Shelley's conflation of genres in works such as *The Mask of Anarchy* (1819) and *Oedipus Tyrannus, or Swellfoot the Tyrant* (1820), and reveals an organicist aesthetic system that is most evident in *Prometheus Unbound*, a work that foregrounds "Italy as a privileged metonymic referent of Shelley's poetry and poetics" (p. 129). Bringing us back to Milan and La Scala, Crisafulli demonstrates the influence of the "inter-artistic experience" offered by Viganò's *coreodrammi* on the last two acts of Shelley's "lyrical drama".

It is often forgotten that the Shelleys had thought of visiting Italy in the summer of 1816. Claire Clairmont convinced them instead to travel to Geneva, bringing her with them, so that she could be reunited with her then lover Byron[24]. In the last essay, Michael Rossington revisits the Geneva summer in his reconstruction of the afterlife of some manuscripts and early editions of Percy Shelley. The article focuses on three lifetime editions of the poet once owned by the Keats editor and bibliophile Richard Monckton Milnes, which are now preserved at Trinity College, Cambridge, and Princeton University Library. The first is a copy of *Posthumous Fragments of Margaret Nicholson* (1810) that Milnes received

[23] P.B. Shelley, "A Philosophical View of Reform", in *Shelley and His Circle, 1773-1822*, 10 vols to date, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA 1961-2002, Vol. 6, D.H. Reiman ed., p. 964.
[24] P.B. Shelley, *Letters*, Vol. 1, pp. 450, 470; M. Shelley, *Journals*, Vol. 1, p. 107.

from Henry Hart Milman, a fellow student of Shelley's at Oxford, and bears the handwritten dedication of the author. Milnes also acquired a copy of *The Revolt of Islam* (1818) that contained a leaf from the visitors' book of an inn in Chamonix where in July 1816 Shelley infamously described himself as "αθεος". The leaf with Shelley's Greek inscription, which Rossington examines afresh, is reproduced on p. 141. The third item discussed in the essay is a first edition of *Adonais* (1821) with autograph corrections, which "came direct from Italy" (p. 139) and contains a holograph fair copy of Shelley's poem beginning "Swifter far than summer's flight".

The articles in this special issue of "L'Analisi Linguistica e Letteraria" contribute to Romantic scholarship by shedding light on a moment of the Shelleys' Italian exile that has been hitherto only marginally examined. However, they do not intend to be the final statement on the Shelleys' residence in Milan and the contribution that their first months in Italy made to their artistic maturity. Further debate on both the biographical and literary aspects of their Milanese experience is certainly desirable, especially at such a time as the present, when the bicentenary celebrations of the Romantics offer fruitful opportunities for scholarly research and exchange.

This project would not have been realised without the commitment of Giovanni Iamartino of the Università degli Studi di Milano and Francesco Rognoni of the Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, who first had the idea for the conference that was held in Milan in April 2018. We are profoundly grateful to both for their work as conference directors as well as for their constant generosity, trust, and encouragement. The 2018 event was supported by a number of institutions, which contributed in a fundamental way to its success. The conference was generously funded by the Dipartimento di Scienze linguistiche e letterature straniere at the Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, the Dipartimento di Lingue e letterature straniere at the Università degli Studi di Milano, and "Romantic Bicentennials", an initiative of the Keats-Shelley Association of America and the Byron Society of America. Liceo Classico Manzoni, Milano, promoted the event among their students and hosted a preliminary talk on the Shelleys in Italy by the indefatigable Francesco Rognoni. Moreover, the conference was organised under the auspices of the Comune di Milano, Newcastle University, the research centre "Romanticismo and Romanticismi" at the Università degli Studi di Milano, the Centro Interuniversitario per lo Studio del Romanticismo (CISR) at the Università di Bologna, and the Italian Association of English Studies (AIA). We wish to thank all these institutions for their help and support.

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"Newly Unfrozen Senses and Imagination": Shelley's Translation of the *Symposium* and His Development as a Writer in Italy

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Shelley's major effort during his first months in Italy in 1818 was a rapid and brilliant translation of Plato's *Symposium*. A translation of that particular work, with its overt and central celebration of homosexuality, was, in an English context, a daring and potentially dangerous undertaking at that time. Shelley's work on the translation had two highly significant effects. Firstly it brought him up against the limits of freedom in personal conduct and intellectual experiment, given the legal and cultural realities of his native social world. Thereafter, Shelley's behaviour undergoes a tempered maturation which becomes steadily more noticeable through the four years of his Italian exile. Secondly, the Platonic text exposed Shelley to a sophisticated dialogic and dramatic form which makes an immediate and transformative impact on his major poems of the Italian period. The translation of the *Symposium* thus plays a pivotal role in the development of Shelley's mature style, opening the way to his emergence as a major poet.

Keywords: Percy Bysshe Shelley, *Symposium*, translation, love, drama

Shelley left England for the last time on Thursday 12 March 1818, making his way through France and Savoy across the Alps to arrive in Milan on 4 April. He travelled with a large trunk full of books. He also carried a number of notebooks. It was of course Shelley's practice to compose directly into notebooks; he seems to have carried one with him at all times, for he used them constantly, in every kind of setting, in the study but also out of doors, in a carriage, even on horseback. At least three notebooks carried from England already contained work from the months preceding his departure. He bought new notebooks soon after arriving in Italy[1].

[1] For a detailed account of almost all of Shelley's surviving notebooks, including their contents and dates of use, see the exhaustive descriptive catalogue by B.C. Barker-Benfield, *Shelleyan Writing Materials in the Bodleian Library: A Catalogue of Formats, Papers, and Watermarks*, in *The Bodleian Shelley Manuscripts*, Vol. 23, Garland, New York 2002, pp. 7-68. It is not known how many of the notebooks used in England Shelley brought with him to Italy, but it is certain these included the notebooks now shelf-marked in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, as Bodleian MS. Shelley e. 4, Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 12, and Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 15 (and probably also Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 16). Immediately upon arrival in Italy he acquired at least notebooks Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 6 and Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 11.

Given his constant use of such notebooks there is an interesting question as to what, if anything, he was actually writing in the first few weeks and months of his life in Italy. There is no scholarly consensus about this. Between late March and mid July, we do not know for certain that Shelley wrote anything at all except for one brief scrap of verse obviously composed while crossing the Apennines[2]. Such inactivity would have been highly unusual, virtually unique in fact in the context of his adult writing career. True, he was travelling a great deal and without a settled residence for much of the time, but that did not stop him at various other comparably unsettled periods of travel and disruption.

It can be argued that Shelley was in fact trying out various kinds of composition during that period of more than three months. He had with him two potentially significant works begun in England. The fragmentary poem now known as "Athanase" had been conceived in 1817, and he continued to work on it in Italy. Mary Shelley says it was drafted in December 1817, but parts strongly suggest the influence of an Italian spring, and Shelley could still have been working on it as late as December 1819. Similarly, *Rosalind and Helen* had been started much earlier, perhaps in the Geneva summer of 1816, and then resumed later in 1817. The published poem's opening however was clearly composed after Shelley and Mary visited Lake Como, and it was then further worked on at Bagni di Lucca, from where Shelley sent the finished poem back to England[3].

Shelley was twenty-five when he left England. Leaving out of account the several works produced in his teenage years, he had published *Queen Mab* privately, *The Revolt of Islam* under difficult circumstances, and a volume containing *Alastor* and some shorter poems. As with his various more or less fugitive prose publications, none of these volumes had attracted significant notice, except in the context of vilification, public and private, of his activities as a political radical, a blaspheming atheist, and an adulterer. And apart from two shorter poems we now think of as important in themselves and in heralding his later development ("Mont Blanc", and "Hymn to Intellectual Beauty"), his identity as a poet was relatively unformed.

The unfinished poems, "Athanase" and *Rosalind and Helen*, cannot have taken up much of Shelley's extraordinary creative energies. Other writing projects were almost certainly conceived in preparation for his imminent immersion in Italian literature and history. "Athanase" is in *terza rima*. The aborted fragment "Mazenghi" is also in an Italian form, *sestina narrativa*. This poem is usually dated later than the first weeks in Italy, but its source in Sismondi's *Histoire des Républiques Italiennes* suggests preparatory reading for Italy, and the position of the draft in one of Shelley's English notebooks, together with some topographical and other details in the text, suggest that he worked on it soon after arriving in Italy, and probably during his stay with the Gisbornes in Leghorn in May[4]. He had also signalled his ambition to attempt a drama on the life of Torquato Tasso, and was doing background biographical reading in both England and Italy in the spring. A start

[2] See "Listen, listen, Mary mine –", in P.B. Shelley, *The Poems of Shelley*, Vol. 2, K. Everest – G. Matthews ed., Pearson Education, Harlow 2000 (Longman Annotated English Poets), pp. 351-352.

[3] See the headnotes to *Rosalind and Helen* and "Athanase", *Ibid.*, pp. 266-269, 311-313.

[4] See the headnote to "Mazenghi", *Ibid.*, pp. 352-354.

on one scene survives, positioned adjacent to the "Mazenghi" draft[5]. Drama was a new departure for Shelley, and his reading in May and June included a series of Elizabethan and Jacobean dramas which were no doubt undertaken to help develop his sense of the demands of dramatic writing[6].

But most significantly, just before leaving England he had been working on translation from Greek, and also on a lesser scale from Latin. His translations of six of the so-called Homeric Hymns were made in January 1818, in a notebook he went on using in Italy for more than two years[7]. They are a fine achievement in themselves, but they also anticipate what were very probably a series of efforts in translation which bridge the transition from London in January 1818 to the first Italian summer at Bagni di Lucca. Immediately following the notebook draft of "Mazenghi" is a series of translations, firstly short pieces from Virgil, and then a complete translation of Euripides' satyr-play *The Cyclops*[8]. These works probably represent the main literary activity undertaken by Shelley through May, June and early July of 1818. His Greek studies with Peacock, Thomas Jefferson Hogg, Leigh Hunt and others at Marlow throughout 1817 had immersed him in the language and many major authors and works of Greek antiquity. Before leaving England he was working on translation, and during the coach journey across northern Europe he read aloud from an English version of August Wilhelm Schlegel's *Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature*. In that work Schlegel discusses *The Cyclops*, commenting favourably on aspects of the play but noting its rarity as the uniquely surviving specimen of its genre, and also, most interestingly, deploring its coarseness and crudity, containing as it does earthily ribald representations of cannibalism, rape, drunkenness, physical violence, swearing, and sodomy.

Shelley would have been attracted to *The Cyclops* by these very qualities, because he wanted, through translation, to show his countrymen what the ancient Greeks were really like. The appeal of a rare and unusual genre, dealing with themes and content impossible to represent publicly in Regency England, motivated him to a rendering of Euripides' play which is startlingly brilliant. It stands today as one of the greatest of all English versions of any Greek drama, capitalising on a sustained period of reading and study which clearly enabled a practised fluency in Shelley's handling of Greek into English which prepared the ground for a still greater achievement, his translation of Plato's *Symposium*.

During the first period of his life in Italy Shelley's experience was paradoxical and contradictory. He had freed himself from the tribulations and threats of his notoriety in the eyes of polite English society. He had also left behind the cold and dullness of English winter for the burgeoning brilliance of an Italian spring. For English travellers to the South the first experience of Italy was almost a cliché of paradisal weather and flora, mingled with the glorious remains of antiquity. This, up to a point, was how Shelley found it. He wrote

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 365-370.

[6] For detailed daily records of Shelley's reading see M. Shelley, *The Journals of Mary Shelley 1814-1844*, P.R. Feldman – D. Scott-Kilvert ed., 2 vols, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1987.

[7] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 12.

[8] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodleian MS. Shelley e. 4.

to Peacock from Bagni di Lucca in July of his "newly unfrozen senses and imagination"[9]. And yet this 'paradise of exiles' was shadowed by persisting personal troubles carried from England with the baggage. He and Mary knew no Italians, and it would be a long time before Shelley developed any meaningful relationships with Italian natives. This isolation, contrasting with the external warmth of the environment, was compounded by a matching isolation from their own countrymen, who were plentiful around Bagni di Lucca in the summer. It is a period in which Shelley seems to drift deracinatedly through a gorgeous but alien social and natural world. So his companions were essentially books, those books in the large trunk carried on the carriage. The trunk had been impounded by customs officials at the Savoy border at Chambery, but had apparently at last arrived back with Shelley by 10 July, as on that day he wrote from Casa Bertini in Bagni di Lucca to the Gisbornes:

> We have spent a month here already in our accustomed solitude [...] and the choice society of all ages which I took care to pack up in a large trunk before we left England have revisited us here[10].

This "choice society of all ages" were the books he had with him, and it was in that immaterial and transhistorical realm of pure mind where Shelley now found himself. The trunk must have been very large indeed, because just going on the books we know he, and Mary, were reading at Casa Bertini, they seem to have numbered at least some one hundred volumes (though some of them must presumably have come from the Gisbornes' library in Leghorn). In this state of abstraction from immediately pressing social and cultural realities, and following on from his work on Euripides, Shelley turned to the most important translation of his life, Plato's *Symposium*. Shelley was exceptionally gifted as a translator, perhaps the greatest of all English poets in that regard. But his translation of the *Symposium* stands out even against that background. He accomplished it over just ten mornings, a most prodigious feat of intellect, indeed genius. The *Symposium* is more than 25,000 words long in English, so Shelley must have worked at the rate of more than 2,500 translated words each morning, an all but literally incredible achievement. The finished work left an indelible and abidingly central influence on Shelley's poetry and thought, accompanied as it was by reflections developed in the essay he titled "A Discourse on the Manners of the Ancient Greeks Relative to the Subject of Love", obviously intended as a preface to the translation itself. It also prompted the brief but immensely important essay "On Love", which is clearly shaped by elements of the Platonic work[11]. It is very important to under-

[9] P.B. Shelley, *The Letters of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, F.L. Jones ed., 2 vols, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1964, Vol. 2, p. 25.
[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.
[11] The discussion which follows does not consider in any detail Shelley's extraordinary stylistic achievement in the prose of his translation; for a brilliant account of that achievement see M. O'Neill, *Emulating Plato: Shelley as Translator and Prose Poet*, in *The Unfamiliar Shelley*, A.M. Weinberg – T. Webb ed., Ashgate, Farnham 2009, pp. 239-256. There is also a wealth of interesting detailed analysis of Shelley's handling of the Greek in S. Nelson, *Shelley and Plato's Symposium: The Poet's Revenge*, "International Journal of the Classical Tradition", 14, 2007, pp. 100-129.

stand just how radical a project this was for Shelley, especially given the circumstances in which he had left England, and in the context of that isolation from both English and Italian society. It is the project of a mind freed from all constraint of custom and propriety, and thus free to go where intellect alone was leading.

On 25 July he wrote to Peacock:

> I have lately found myself totally incapable of original composition. I employed my mornings, therefore, in translating the *Symposium*, which I accomplished in ten days. Mary is now transcribing it, and I am writing a prefatory essay. I have been reading scarcely anything but Greek, and a little Italian poetry with Mary[12].

The hopelessly unreliable Thomas Medwin claimed that Shelley first encountered the *Symposium* at Eton, but this seems extremely unlikely[13]. He probably first read it in English translation during his brief time at University College, Oxford. Thomas Jefferson Hogg's biography is unusually precise in recalling the actual Platonic texts Shelley used at that time[14]. Then through the months of immersion in Greek authors at Albion House in 1817 Shelley read the *Symposium* in Greek and will undoubtedly have discussed it in a serious and sustained way with Peacock, Hogg and others. This goes some way to explaining his decision to translate the work into English. But that decision was more unusual than critics, scholars and biographers have tended to recognise, so it is worth considering carefully why he turned to the *Symposium* when he found himself "totally incapable of original composition".

The *Symposium* is of course concerned with love. Its essential argument is that the most basic kind of love is aroused by the stimulus of visual beauty. This is love as a relationship between two people who express their mutual feeling physically including through sexual intercourse. This kind of love is treated by Plato as a special case. It embodies, at a low level in philosophical terms, the higher force which impels humanity to seek understanding of the eternal, immutable 'form' or 'idea' of 'the beautiful itself'. So it is that in the long speech by Socrates which articulates the culminating arguments of the dialogue, Plato explains how he has learned from the prophetess Diotima that love ascends by stages from a low physical mode, via a series of increasingly generalised and abstract steps, to a purely intellectual and abstract love of beauty, understood as identical with goodness, and representing the achievement of true wisdom, the goal of philosophy itself. One can easily understand how this doctrine would have appealed to Shelley, offering a natural affinity with the 'Intellectual Beauty' he had already celebrated in verse as shadowing our perception of reality. He was disposed to think of experience as suggesting an ideal realm lying just beyond our

[12] P.B. Shelley, *Letters*, Vol. 2, p. 26.

[13] T. Medwin, *The Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, H. Buxton Forman ed., Oxford University Press, London 1913, p. 33.

[14] T.J. Hogg, *The Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, 2 vols, Moxon, London 1858, Vol. 1, p. 103. Shelley and Hogg read Plato at Oxford in the French translation of selected dialogues by André Dacier (1699), and in an English translation of Dacier; for full bibliographical details see J. Notopoulos, *The Platonism of Shelley: A Study of Platonism and the Poetic Mind*, Duke University Press, Durham, NC 1949, p. 33.

perception of the material world, driving the constantly deferred figurations of his distinctive poetic manner.

There were however also less abstract factors attracting Shelley to an account of love in its physical expression as something from which the mind might ascend to higher and purely intellectual insight. He had abandoned his first wife Harriet in 1814, and eloped with the sixteen-year-old Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin. At the time Harriet was the mother of his baby daughter Ianthe, and pregnant with his son Charles. By the summer of 1818 this unhappy episode was far from receding into the past. Harriet Shelley committed suicide in December 1816, some two years after Shelley had left her. At almost the same time, Mary Shelley's half-sister Fanny also committed suicide, in obscure circumstances which may well have involved, among other things, her sense of an unrequited passion for Shelley. Shelley was shaken to the core by these appalling tragedies, and in a real sense it was a crisis which permanently changed him, away from the reckless impetuosity and single-minded determination with which he had been living out the implications of his intellectual convictions.

There were also consequences. Harriet's family pursued Shelley in the courts for custody of his two children by her, both of whom had been cared for by them following her death. The Lord Chancellor's formal order determining against Shelley's custody of his own children was made on 27 March 1817. This decision was a dreadful blow to Shelley, based as it explicitly was on the Westbrooks' case that, in addition to his failure to act responsibly towards his children while their mother was still alive, Shelley's published works revealed him as an avowed "revolutionist" in politics, and in religion an atheist and a blasphemer. The judgment also referred to the Lord Chancellor's understanding that if Shelley were to be awarded custody of his children, it was his intention "to educate them as he thinks proper", in other words to raise them as atheistical revolutionaries. The Lord Chancellor's decision was not the end of the matter, as there still had to be a judgement regarding "a proper plan for the maintenance and education of [the children]" including a determination as to who exactly would take charge of their upbringing. Shelley and his legal counsel made a proposal of a married couple that he considered suitable, and Harriet's family made a counter-proposal. The matter was reported on by an official of the Lord Chancellor on 1 August 1817, but further legal exchanges took place until a final decision was reached on 28 April 1818, and presumably communicated to Shelley in Italy[15].

Of the eight people in Shelley's Italian party, five were adults: Shelley himself, Mary, Mary's stepsister Claire Clairmont, and two female servants. The other three were very young children. Shelley's two surviving children with Mary were William, aged just over two, and Clara, six months old. The third child was Claire's one-year-old daughter Allegra, fathered by Byron. The importance of children has a special place in the argument of the *Symposium*. For Diotima explains to Socrates that Love is, in the words of Shelley's own translation, "the desire of generation in the beautiful, both with relation to the body and

[15] The Chancery Papers relating to Shelley's children by Harriet were published in T. Medwin, *Life*, pp. 463-486.

the soul" (206b, *BSM* 389)[16]. When Socrates responds that he finds that difficult to understand, Diotima explains as follows, again in the words of Shelley's translation:

> The bodies and the souls of all human beings are alike pregnant with their future progeny, and when we arrive at a certain age, our nature impels us to bring forth and propogate. This nature is unable to produce in that which is deformed, but it can produce in that which is beautiful. The intercourse of the male and female in generation, a divine work, through pregnancy and production, is, as it were, something immortal in mortality (206c, *BSM* 119).

In other words, even the lowest form of love, that response to visual beauty which stimulates sexual attraction, is akin to the higher forms which lead ultimately to immortality of the soul, because for mortals, limited to the gross material world of the senses, producing children is a kind of immortality, a mode of the self's transmission forward through time. It is one form of the immortality which, for example, Shelley was to celebrate for Keats three years later in *Adonais*, the immortality conferred by the creation of art. This is the progeny of the soul, generated by intercourse with the beautiful, just as children are the progeny of the body, generated by physical intercourse.

Notwithstanding his tortured relations with his children by his first wife Harriet, and the circumstances of the terrible deaths of both Clara and William, Shelley seems to have related to little children with powerful affection and affinity[17]. In the spring and early summer of 1818 the children must have been a great pleasure in the dislocated isolation of their first weeks and months as exiles. But, more than that, the children were a main part of why Shelley, Mary, Claire and the children were there at all. Part of Shelley's motivation in travelling to Italy was a serious concern for his health. In December of 1817 he wrote of his fear that he had a consumptive disease which necessitated a southern climate[18]. He claimed that in devoting half a year to the composition of *Laon and Cythna* he had "felt the precariousness of my life, and [...] engaged in [the] task resolved to leave some record of myself". Much of *Laon and Cythna*, he said, had been written "as the communications of a dying man"[19].

But another major reason for the move to Italy was Shelley and Mary's concern that the Lord Chancellor's decision to deprive them of the custody of his children Ianthe and Charles by Harriet might also threaten their custody of William and Clara. This worry had been with them since at least the middle of 1817, when Shelley wrote to Byron from

[16] References to the *Symposium* are to the Stephanus pagination, standard in modern editions. Where Shelley's translation is cited, references are to the sole known surviving source, Mary Shelley's fair copy in the notebook shelf-marked as Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. d. 8, reproduced with facsimile and transcription in *The Bodleian Shelley Manuscripts*, Vol. 20, M. O'Neill ed., Garland, New York 1994, henceforth referred to as *BSM*.

[17] See for example Peacock's account in his *Memoirs of Percy Bysshe Shelley*: "Shelley was extremely fond of his children. He was pre-eminently an affectionate father" (*The Halliford Edition of the Works of Thomas Love Peacock*, H.F.B. Brett-Smith – C.E. Jones ed., 10 vols, Constable & Co., London 1924-34, Vol. 8, p. 70).

[18] P.B. Shelley, *Letters*, Vol. 1, p. 573.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 577.

Marlow of his fears that a criminal suit against him would grow out of the Chancery proceedings over custody:

> I suppose you know that the tyranny, civil and religious, under which this country groans, has visited me somewhat severely. I neither like it the worse nor the better for this. It was always the object of my unbounded abhorrence. But it may become necessary that I should quit the country. It is possible that the interference exercised by Chancery in the instance of my two children might be attempted to be extended to William. Should this be the case, I shall depart[20].

This anxiety proved unfounded. But the very possibility of such a proceeding is extraordinary in itself, reminding us just how extreme was Shelley's notoriety in England. The Lord Chancellor's decision to deprive Shelley of the custody of his own children set a legal precedent which is still cited today. *The Necessity of Atheism*, the pamphlet which led to his expulsion from Oxford, was amongst the very first openly titled atheistical works to be published in England. Perhaps even more exceptional was Shelley's proposal, just after his expulsion, to relinquish the entail on a portion of his inheritance. To his father at least, this was a more terrible extremity of conviction even than atheism. It would have been the first example in English legal history of such an act, let alone with its associated condition that the inheritance should revert to the female line[21]. All of these extremes of behaviour and conviction had most recently been compounded by the explicit themes of *The Revolt of Islam*. This of course was the title under which a revised version of *Laon and Cythna* had been published as Shelley was leaving England. He had been obliged to accept the need for revisions to conceal the original poem's representation of incest and blasphemy. His publisher Ollier had first accepted the work for publication without realising its potentially dangerous content, but the book's printer alerted him to the possibility of prosecution. Ollier could as publisher very easily have been arrested and prosecuted for blasphemous libel. Incest was not then a civil crime under English law though it could theoretically be prosecuted by an ecclesiastical court. But a poem positively celebrating incest would have been highly controversial, not least because of the rumours swirling around Shelley's known association with Byron and his supposedly incestuous relationship with his half-sister Augusta Leigh, and public suspicions about the alleged 'league of incest' at Geneva in the summer of 1816, and the reputed 'seraglio at Marlow' in 1817.

All these factors bear on Shelley's decision to translate Plato's *Symposium* into English. He will of course have been motivated by the appeal of the abstract Platonic argument, that love proceeds in an upward ascent from physical love to the soul's intuition of the good and the beautiful; the ascent from Venus Pandemos to Venus Urania. But the reason he actually cites is different. On 10 July he wrote to the Gisbornes:

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 547.

[21] See K. Everest, *Shelley and His Contemporaries*, in *The Oxford Handbook of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, M. O'Neill – A. Howe ed., Oxford University Press, Oxford 2013, pp. 513-529.

> I am employed just now having little better to do, in translating into my fainting & inefficient periods the divine eloquence of Plato's Symposium – only as an exercise or perhaps to give Mary some idea of the manners & feelings of the Athenians – so different on many subjects from that of any other community that ever existed[22].

Shelley's scheme "to give Mary some idea of the manners & feelings of the Athenians" was not primarily intended to provide insight into Diotima's theory of the higher love. It was rather designed to show her the homoerotic culture of male Athenian aristocratic society in the fifth century BC, the cultural elite of which Plato was himself a member. In writing to Peacock from Bagni di Lucca Shelley reported his translation work, in a prose style that tiptoes elliptically round the actual content of the *Symposium*:

> I have translated, and Mary has transcribed, the Symposium [...] and I am proceeding to employ myself on a discourse, upon the subject with reference to the difference of sentiments respecting it, existing between the Greeks and modern nations; a subject to be handled with that delicate caution which either I cannot or I will not practise in other matters, but which here I acknowledge to be necessary. Not that I have any serious thought of publishing either this discourse or the *Symposium*, at least till I return to England, when we may discuss the propriety of it[23].

The "subject to be handled with [...] delicate caution" was ancient Greek homosexuality, something not simply present, quite unmistakably, in the *Symposium*, but completely central both to its cultural ethos, and its arguments. Shelley's "Discourse on the Manners of the Ancient Greeks Relative to the Subject of Love", explains how

> there is no book which shows the Greeks precisely as they were; they seem all written for children, with the caution that no practice or sentiment highly inconsistent with our own manners should be mentioned, lest those manners should receive outrage and violation. But there are many to whom the Greek language is inaccessible who ought not to be excluded by this prudery to possess an exact and comprehensive conception of the history of man; for there is no knowledge concerning what man has been, and may be, from partaking of which a person can depart without becoming in some degree more philosophical, tolerant, and just[24].

Shelley would have encountered in his recent reading of Schlegel, of Barthelemy's *Travels of Anacharsis*, and the novels of Wieland, plenty of examples of this "prudery" in evading or concealing the importance of homosexuality in Plato's social and intellectual world. When however Shelley remarks to Peacock that he has no "serious thought of publishing" either the "Discourse" or the *Symposium*, "at least till I return to England", we should consider the real implications of any such possibility. The "delicate caution" needed to circumvent what

[22] P.B. Shelley, *Letters*, Vol. 2, p. 20.
[23] *Ibid.*, p. 29.
[24] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 11, pp. 31-32; cp. the text in P.B. Shelley, *Shelley's Prose: or, The Trumpet of a Prophecy*, D.L. Clark ed., University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque 1954, p. 219.

he calls the "prudery" of his own times was most definitely a highly necessary attitude. He had throughout the preceding seven years, since his expulsion from University, disdained to employ any such caution as a betrayal of his deepest convictions, political, religious, or sexual. But in this context, he admits a need for circumspection. Why was this special circumspection acknowledged, even by the fearlessly dauntless radical Shelley?

In 1818, as we have noticed, blasphemous libel was a civil crime, punishable by a fine and, in serious cases, even imprisonment. Incest was a crime only before an ecclesiastical court, and rarely prosecuted. The sexual aspect of homosexuality, however, was a capital offence in English law; the sole prescribed punishment was death by hanging. The crime of sodomy was regarded as the most vilely abhorrent of all offences, as is clear from Sir William Blackstone's *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, published in 1769 and in Shelley's day the supreme legal authority. Blackstone explains that, working from biblical precedents, the historic legal punishment for sodomy in western Europe had been death by burning. That punishment was still being inflicted, in France for example, in the 1780s. The punishment in English law of death by hanging was still being carried out beyond Shelley's lifetime, although the last executions took place in 1835. In 1861 the death sentence for the crime that could not be named in an English court was abolished, but replaced by life imprisonment[25]. One can only speculate what the public reaction in England might have been to a published work openly representing homosexuals and homoerotic sexual practices. It would presumably have been prosecuted under the obscenity laws. These laws had been a real threat to publishers and printers since the successful prosecution of Edmund Curll in 1727, which set a much-cited legal precedent. As a matter of interest, a defence of literary merit in the case of an obscene publication was only established in English law in the 1960s, during the controversy surrounding the publication of D.H Lawrence's novel *Lady Chatterley's Lover*. But there was never any test case in Shelley's lifetime, or before it, because no-one would ever have considered such an outrage to public decency to be viable, or indeed possible[26].

[25] "What has here been observed, especially with regard to the manner of proof, which ought to be the more clear in proportion as the crime is more detestable, may be applied to another offence, of a still deeper malignity; the *infamous crime against nature*, committed either with man or beast. A crime, which ought to be strictly and impartially proved, and then strictly and impartially punished. But it is an offence of so dark a nature, so easily charged, and the negative so difficult to be proved, that the accusation should be clearly made out: for, if false, it deserves punishment inferior only to that of the crime itself. / I will not act so disagreeable a part, to my readers as well as myself, as to dwell any longer upon a subject, the very mention of which is a disgrace to human nature. It will be more eligible to imitate in this respect the delicacy of our English law, which treats it, in its very indictments, as a crime not fit to be named; '*peccatum illud horribile, inter christianos non nominandum*' [that horrible sin not to be named among Christians]" (W. Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England. Book the Fourth, with the last corrections of the author, and with notes by J.T. Coleridge*, Cadell, London 1825[16], pp. 214-215). Each year of Shelley's life saw several executions for the crime of sodomy in England, against a background of virulent homophobia sustained by converging religious, legal and cultural factors; see L. Crompton, *Byron and Greek Love: Homophobia in 19th-Century England*, Faber and Faber, London 1985, especially pp. 1-62.

[26] The legal situation in Italy in 1818 was less overtly oppressive; Rome was the acknowledged "gay capital of Europe" in the eighteenth century (see L. Crompton, *Byron and Greek Love*, p. 45), and Byron's experiences

It has often been noted that not only did Shelley make no attempt to publish either his translation, or his introductory essay, but that when it was finally published in 1840, in Mary Shelley's edition of his prose, both the essay and the translation were edited by Mary together with Leigh Hunt in order to remove all the explicit passages which had in fact been the main purpose of the translation in the first place[27]. Unbowdlerised texts were not to be published for almost another century, in a privately printed edition of 1931 limited to 100 copies[28]. At that time of course sodomy was still a serious crime in English law, and would continue to be so until finally decriminalised, albeit conditionally, in the 1960s[29].

There are two aspects that should then strike us about Shelley's decision to translate the *Symposium*, and to translate it specifically in order to acquaint everyone not having classical Greek with the facts of homosexuality as an integral part of the dominant male ruling elite in ancient Athens. On the one hand, it opens the possibility that Shelley's detailed study of the Platonic account of the highest form of love was in fact a by-product of the more immediate polemical motivation, even though considered retrospectively it was an interest with profound implications for his development. On the other hand, the ten days he spent on his translation at Bagni di Lucca in July 1818, the first piece of extended serious literary work he produced in Italy, brought him hard up against the limits of what even he could accept as legitimate public intervention. Taking these two aspects together we could argue that this moment brought a kind of termination to the habits of behaviour which had brought him such damaging notoriety, and which had brought chaos and tragedy to the lives of people close to him. At the same time, it opened an intellectual and artistic way forward which enabled him to become a great poet.

Plato was not a well-known, widely read or widely studied classical writer in the England of Shelley's day. He was not taught in the ancient Universities until the second half of the nineteenth century, and some of the dialogues were not translated into English until

in Venice included the relaxed and open countenance of homosexuality. Tommaso Sgricci, the *improvvisatore* of the Shelleys' acquaintance in Pisa in 1821, was openly homosexual. Sodomy had been decriminalised across most of western Europe by the *Code Napoleon*, but in 1818 Tuscany had fallen back under the more restrictive Prussian legal code enforced by the Austrian occupation. At the time of the Shelleys' residence at Bagni di Lucca the Duchy of Lucca had been recently carved out of Tuscany by the Congress of Vienna, which installed the Bourbon Queen Maria Luisa, a fiercely religious Catholic who nevertheless supported enlightenment values. Shelley's writings in the summer of 1818 convey no sense at all of his impression of local Italian politics or cultural mores, and his translation of the *Symposium* seems to have been undertaken in what he thought of as an English cultural context.

[27] P.B. Shelley, *Essays, Letters from Abroad, Translations and Fragments*, Mrs. Shelley ed., Moxon, London 1840. Richard Holmes notes how the bowdlerised early printed texts of Shelley's translation were actually taken as evidence of Shelley's "suppressed homosexuality", on the inference that there were passages he could not face translating (R. Holmes, *Shelley: The Pursuit*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London 1974, p. 432).

[28] P.B. Shelley, *Plato's Banquet, Translated from the Greek by Percy Bysshe Shelley*, Sir J. Shelley-Rolls – R. Ingpen ed., Privately printed, 1931. Shelley's translation first became widely available in J. Notopoulos, *The Platonism of Shelley*, pp. 414-460; see also *The Symposium of Plato: The Shelley Translation*, D.K. O'Connor ed., St Augustine's Press, South Bend 2002.

[29] It is remarkable to note how circumspectly defensive a tone it was still felt necessary to adopt by Kenneth Dover in the Preface to his magisterially scholarly study *Greek Homosexuality*, Duckworth, London 1978.

decades after Shelley's death[30]. There is no doubt that this relative neglect was in significant measure a response to what was perceived as the inappropriate sexual mores informing some of Plato's major works. By the end of the eighteenth century, throughout the whole of Europe, about two thirds of the dialogues had been translated into one or more languages. But the only translation into any language of Plato's complete works was that of the great Florentine Renaissance scholar Marsilio Ficino, whose Latin translation was published in 1484. The Bipont edition of Plato which Shelley used included Ficino's translation, which he consulted as he worked on the Greek. There was however in the whole of Europe no other translation of the complete works after the end of the sixteenth century until one appeared in Italian in 1742. This was followed in 1804 by Thomas Taylor's *Works of Plato*, the first translation into English of the complete corpus. Thomas Taylor the Platonist, as he was known in his own lifetime, was a self-taught scholar whose boundless enthusiasm for Plato and the Neo-Platonists was mainly responsible for the surge of interest in Platonic philosophy in the English Romantic period. His work had severe limitations, combining together elements from widely diverse and historically separate ancient philosophers into an all-purpose 'Platonism', and, as Coleridge remarked, offering in his translations "difficult Greek transformed into incomprehensible English"[31]. But his edition of Plato's works in English did include a translation of the *Symposium*, although it was not by Taylor himself but by Floyer Sydenham, an eighteenth-century scholar who had died in debtors' prison in 1787 after beginning a translation of the Platonic dialogues, which Taylor's own translation brought to completion. Sydenham's translation of the *Symposium* was the very first into English, but it is interesting to note that in his introduction to it Taylor laments the fact that Sydenham declined to translate the final speech of Alcibiades. In that speech Alcibiades – like all the speakers in the *Symposium* a character based on a real person, Alcibiades, the charismatic political and military protégé of Pericles – drunkenly elaborates on his sexual passion for Socrates and recounts his several attempts to get Socrates to have sex with him. That was enough to persuade Sydenham, in Taylor's words, "to abandon the design of publishing his translation of this speech [...] thinking that some part of it is so grossly indecent that it may offend the virtuous and encourage the vicious". Taylor deplores this omission and provides his own culturally acceptable gloss on the meaning of Alcibiades' speech:

> This apparent indecency is introduced conformably to the machinery of the mysteries, with no other view than to purify the reader from every thing indecent, and to liberate him, in short, from vulgar love, by exciting the amatory eye of intellect to the vision of objects ineffably beautiful and truly divine[32].

[30] See F.B. Evans III, *Platonic Scholarship in Eighteenth-Century England*, "Modern Philology", 41, 1943, pp. 103-110.
[31] Cited in J. Notopoulos, *The Platonism of Shelley*, p. 503.
[32] *The Works of Plato*, F. Sydenham – T. Taylor trans., 5 vols., Printed for Taylor, London 1804, Vol. 3, p. 438.

Taylor's rendering of the Platonic text however is only made conformable with this interpretation by silently changing male to female pronouns and by a judicious omission or alteration of key passages and phrases. This distortive purifying of the "grossly indecent" Greek is exactly what Mary Shelley and Leigh Hunt felt understandably obliged to perpetrate on Shelley's accurate and mostly inclusive translation. We can follow the process exactly because the printer's copy for the 1840 text survives as our only manuscript source for Shelley's *Symposium*. One excellent example of their work is the passage in which Aristophanes gives his famous account of the origin of human desire for sexual and spiritual union with another.

He explains in true Aristophanic spirit that humans were originally spherical beings each with two sets of limbs, two sets of genitals and two faces one on either side of a long neck. These spherical humans were divided into three sexes, male, female, and androgynous. They proved troublesome to the Gods, even threatening their dominion, and were punished by being split in two by Zeus "as people cut eggs before they salt them, or as I have seen eggs cut with hairs" (Shelley's translation of Stephanus 190d7, *BSM* 89. Thus punished, humans have ever after suffered a longing to be reunited with their lost half. Individuals who were once half of a male being long for union with another male, those who were female seek a female, and only those who were originally androgyne seek completion in union with the opposite sex. Shelley's translation of the speech is characteristically brilliant, catching perfectly the playful earthiness and humour of Aristophanes while also delicately expressing the underlying note of sadness in desire for a lost wholeness:

> These are they who devote their whole lives to each other, with a vain and inexpressible longing to obtain from each other something they know not what; for it is not merely the sensual delights of their intercourse for the sake of which they dedicate themselves to each other with such serious affection; but the soul of each manifestly thirsts for, from the other, something which there are no words to describe and divines that which it seeks and traces obscurely the footsteps of its obscure desire (192c-d, *BSM* 92).

In fact Shelley's translation of Aristophanes' speech is influenced by his sense of what could not be risked in the face of contemporary notions of propriety. Plato's Greek explains that conventional heterosexual intercourse, in order to propogate, was a consequence of splitting the spherical beings. But Shelley omits the sentence following this:

> So Zeus moved their genitals round to the front of their bodies and thus introduced intercourse between two human beings, with the man as the agent of generation taking place within the woman. His reasons for doing this were to ensure that, when couples embraced, as well as male-female relationships leading to procreation and offspring, male-male relationships would at least involve sexual satisfaction, so that people would relax, get on with their work and take care of other aspects of life (191c, R. Waterfield trans.)[33].

[33] Plato, *The Symposium*, R. Waterfield trans., Oxford University Press, Oxford 1994, p. 27.

The final eight words of the passage in the preceding quote from Shelley's translation, "traces obscurely the footsteps of its obscure desire", are his rendering of a single word in the Greek (*ainit-testhai*) meaning 'to speak enigmatically or indirectly', as if in the manner of an oracle, and suggest how intently Shelley must have brooded over the phrasing of his translation. The passage assumes the normality of sexual relations whether they be male/female, male/male, or female/female, and was therefore unpublishable in an unambiguous translation, in 1818, 1840, or indeed for another century and more. That fact of the culture of fifth-century Athens was, as we have seen, a primary motive in undertaking the translation. But the Aristophanic parable in the *Symposium* will also have resonated powerfully for Shelley. Three years earlier his first major long poem, *Alastor*, had represented the fate of a poet who, obsessed with a search for an ideal beyond materiality, projects his longing onto a female 'other' who could complete his selfhood. In *Alastor* the search leads to a sterile commitment to seek beyond nature for the ideal, culminating in a fatal failure of relationship with real people and present realities. The resonance would not have been confined to poetry and intellectual idealism, for as we have seen Shelley's early insistence on living fearlessly by difficult convictions had wrought havoc in his own and other lives. The newly exiled Shelley, chastened by experience, discovered in his close study of the *Symposium* a relaxedly adult and humanely comical perspective on sexual relations, which nevertheless carries a note of sadly frustrated longing for union with a kindred soul. The Platonic account made a profound and enduring impression, registered in the essay "On Love" which Shelley drafted immediately after completing his translation. There he writes:

> If we reason, we would be understood; if we imagine, we would that the airy children of our brain were born anew within another's; if we feel, we would that another's nerves should vibrate to our own, that the beams of their eyes should kindle at once and mix and melt into our own, that lips of motionless ice should not reply to lips quivering and burning with the heart's best blood. [...] We are born into the world and there is something within us which from the instant that we live and move thirsts after its likeness. [...] We dimly see within our intellectual nature a miniature as it were of our entire self, yet deprived of all that we condemn or despise, the ideal prototype of everything excellent or lovely that we are capable of conceiving as belonging to the nature of man[34].

The thought merges various themes of the Platonic text in a way that seems to clarify for Shelley, as if for the first time, isolated in the hills above Lucca, a hitherto dangerously destructive disposition to project idealising fantasies onto real people, and in particular onto real women. In the short years that remained to him he wrestled continuously with this tendency, becoming ever more aware of his potentially disturbing ability to blend actual relationships with the search for an embodied ideal. It points forward to the extraordinary achievement of *Epipsychidion*, and to the subtle and enigmatic beauty of the late poems to Jane Williams.

[34] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 11, pp. 4-5; cp. P.B. Shelley, *Shelley's Poetry and Prose*, D.H. Reiman – N. Fraistat ed., Norton, New York 2002, pp. 503-504.

There is also another dimension of the *Symposium* which we can understand as creating a new inflection in Shelley's development as a poet. The *Symposium* is in essence a dramatic work. Its difficult and beautiful Greek is rhetorically various, and carries an action which consists in speeches by different characters, set within the dramatic frame of a conversation in which one character invites another to recall the events of a philosophical drinking party which had in fact taken place some years earlier. There are seven speeches in all, first a series of five given in turn by Phaedrus, Pausanias, Eryximachus, Aristophanes, and Agathon. These speeches play off one against another, and characterise their speakers while observing various formalities of Greek prose style. There is then a long and very important speech by Socrates, in which he explains the account of love he has received from the prophetess Diotima involving the notion of an ascent from the Pandemian to the Uranian Aphrodite, from sexual love to absolute love of abstract wisdom. Finally the atmosphere is completely changed with the late arrival of the drunken Alcibiades, who extols Socrates' sexual attractions with unrestrained frankness and energy. Shelley handles the shifting styles, voices and tones with a wonderfully assured fluency that catches the atmosphere of animated exchange better than any other English translation.

It also produces a work utterly unlike anything that Shelley had managed up to that point. It is a work which proceeds by engaging with opposed ideas and voices through a dynamic of dramatic exchange between contrasting perspectives. We recall that Shelley had arrived in Italy with the idea already in mind for a drama on the life of Tasso, but in writing to Peacock about the project he had sounded a self-sceptical note:

> I have devoted this summer and indeed the next year to the composition of a tragedy on the subject of Tasso's madness, which I find upon inspection is, if properly treated, admirably dramatic and poetical. – But, you will say I have no dramatic talent. Very true in a certain sense; but I have taken the resolution to see what kind of a tragedy a person without dramatic talent could write[35].

It is ironic that the failure to make meaningful progress on this Tasso project brought on what Shelley spoke of as a block on original poetic creativity which provided the occasion for the Plato translation, something he later remarked to Peacock he had begun only because he found himself "totally incapable of original composition". His immersion in the *Symposium* opens a channel to the great poetry he was about to produce, heralding the emergence of a newly sophisticated sceptical orientation. The major works of Shelley's maturity are informed by the play of unresolved contraries, elusively self-undermining tensions, sometimes framed in a specifically dramatic genre, sometimes present more generally in implicitly contradictory poetic structures. These are qualities which we find everywhere in the major poetry of the Italian years, whether it be the underlying dubiety of political optimism in *Hellas*, the sense of strain between real women and idealised beings in *Epipsychidion*, or the tensed balance of opposed meanings for life within *The Triumph of Life*.

[35] P.B. Shelley, *Letters*, Vol. 2, p. 8.

The first new original work which Shelley produced after July 1818 and his translation of the *Symposium* were the poems he began between late August and early October, first while staying with Byron in Venice and then at I Cappuccini in the Euganean Hills. "Lines Written among the Euganean Hills", the first complete poem he wrote after the *Symposium*, clearly bears the marks of the terrible personal calamities which had continued to befall Shelley and his family, but it also shows a striking new confidence in its poetic voice, and is able to bring for the first time a sustained perspective on Italy itself, albeit again employing a long temporal overview and a transnational sense of the movement of history. That new confidence finds its most powerful expression, however, in the first act of *Prometheus Unbound*, which was begun around the same time. Shelley's conception of his poetic drama embodies with extraordinary richness the transhistorical and Greek-influenced perspectives developed in the weeks at Bagni di Lucca, in the company of that "choice society of all ages" he had unpacked from his book trunk. It also ushers in a new scale of poetic achievement. The opposed terms of perennial problems in human history, tyranny and democracy, ideals and reality, temporality and the immutable truths of experience, are given a new kind of life in characterised voices whose dialogue carries philosophical and historical debate. There is also a new dynamic of causality, a sense of the plot of history, which complements the sustained fluent density of the verse. It is a Greek conception turned brilliantly to serve Shelley's artistic and intellectual purposes as he embarked on his creative maturity. It is hard to see how such a remarkable leap forward would have been possible without the *Symposium*.

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"Shelley reads Schlegel"

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Shelley read Schlegel's lectures *Über dramatische Kunst und Literatur* on his journey to Italy in 1818, and they provided both a spur and a foil to his dramatic thought, and specifically to his ideas on Greek drama. By placing Shelley's reading of Schlegel at his crossing of the Alps and his time in Milan, we can reconsider his labour in the spring and summer of 1818, a strangely unproductive time for the poet, which only produced a few lyrics, some scenes for the incomplete play *Tasso*, *Mazenghi*, and the translation of Euripides' *Cyclops*, but which also contained what Kelvin Everest has called a "period of sustained immersion in Greek" that laid the foundation for *Prometheus Unbound* and the "Discourse on the Manners of the Ancient Greeks".

Keywords: Percy Bysshe Shelley, Schlegel, translation, drama, Euripides

In the spring of 1816 August Wilhelm Schlegel's 1808 lectures *Über dramatische Kunst und Literatur* were the talk of Regency literary culture. Following an 1815 English translation by John Black, Schlegel's work garnered much praise in the major Romantic periodicals including the "Augustan Review", "Edinburgh Review", "Monthly Review", and the "Literary Panorama"[1]. In the wake of these positive reviews, Shelley read Schlegel on his journey to Italy in 1818, and the lectures provided both a spur and a foil to his dramatic thought, and specifically to Shelley's ideas on Greek drama. Shelley had been able to read Greek since his time at Eton, and Hogg relates that at Oxford he had "read more Greek than many an aged pedant"[2]. Following his expulsion Shelley questioned the value of a classical education, most stridently in an 1812 letter to William Godwin, which Jennifer Wallace argues is a reaction against "his school-enforced intellectual diet"[3]. At Marlow in 1817, under the aegis of Leigh Hunt, who was writing the poems on Greek subjects that became *Foliage* (1818), and Thomas Love Peacock, whom Mary Shelley described as "talk-

[1] A.W. Schlegel, *A Course of Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature*, J. Black trans., 2 vols, Baldwin, Cradock & Joy, London 1815. All further references are given as *Lectures* or given in parenthesis in the text by volume and page number. "Augustan Review", March 1816, pp. 297-308; "Monthly Review", October 1816, pp. 113-128; "Edinburgh Review", February 1816, pp. 67-107; "The Literary Panorama", November 1818, pp. 3785-3793.
[2] T.J. Hogg, *The Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, 2 vols, Moxon, London 1858, Vol. 1, p. 127.
[3] J. Wallace, *Shelley and Greece: Rethinking Romantic Hellenism*, Palgrave, Basingstoke 1997, p. 32. See P.B. Shelley, *The Letters of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, F.L. Jones ed., 2 vols, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1964, Vol. 1, pp. 315-319.

ing of nothing but Greek letters & type"[4], Shelley's attitude appears to have softened. But Shelley was not yet the philhellene he became in Italy, and his interaction with Schlegel provides part of the explanation for the centrality of both things Greek and things dramatic to Shelley's next six years. By placing Shelley's reading of Schlegel at his crossing of the Alps and his time in Milan, we can reconsider his labour in the spring and summer of 1818, a strangely unproductive time for the poet, which only produced a few lyrics, some scenes for the incomplete play "Tasso", "Mazenghi", and the translation of Euripides' *Cyclops*, but which also contained what Kelvin Everest has called the "period of sustained immersion in Greek" that laid the foundation for *Prometheus Unbound* and the "Discourse on the Manners of the Ancient Greeks"[5]. I will begin by establishing the primary sources that impacted on Shelley's reading of Schlegel; I will then trace how Shelley appears to have been influenced by these lectures, before finally considering Shelley's pronounced disagreements with Schlegel in 1818, and how these disagreements manifest themselves in Shelley's maturing Hellenism.

The evidence for Shelley's reading of Schlegel comes from six entries in Mary Shelley's journal, which begin on 16 March 1818 ("Shelley reads Schlegel aloud [to] us – We sleep at Rheims") and end on 21 March ("~~we~~ Shelley reads ~~Schlgel~~ Schlegel aloud – we arrive at Lyons at half past eleven")[6]. These sparse entries are revealing: first, they show that the communal reading that had been central to the Geneva summer was continued in the group's next trip abroad (and would continue into the Pisan circle of 1822); second, they make it almost certain that Shelley was reading aloud from Black's English translation, as neither Claire Clairmont nor Mary Shelley could understand German at this point. In six days on bumpy roads Shelley could not have read aloud all two volumes of *A Course of Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature*, as it runs to more than 600 pages and covers drama from Aeschylus to Alfieri. What part of Schlegel was he reading? Although there is no way of knowing for certain, there might be a clue in Mary Shelley's journal six days later. As the party reaches Les Échelles and the Chartreuse massif rears up before them, Percy Shelley writes in his wife's journal, "The scene is like that described in the Prometheus of Aeschylus"[7]. Aeschylus' play had been on his mind for at least two years: Thomas Medwin claims Shelley extemporised a translation of *Prometheus Bound* to Byron in Geneva in 1816, and there is also an extant translation of *Prometheus Bound* ll. 1-134 in Mary Shelley's hand that is thought to be a transcription of Shelley's extemporising at Marlow in 1817[8]. A letter to Hogg from Milan shows that Aeschylus was not the only dramatist on

[4] M. Shelley, *The Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley*, B.T. Bennett ed., 3 vols, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore 1980-1988, Vol. 1, p. 10.

[5] P.B. Shelley, *The Poems of Shelley*, Vol. 2, K. Everest – G. Matthews ed., Pearson Education, Harlow 2000 (Longman Annotated English Poets), p. 372.

[6] M. Shelley, *The Journals of Mary Shelley 1814-1844*, P.R. Feldman – D. Scott-Kilvert ed., 2 vols, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1987, Vol. 1, pp. 198-199.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 200.

[8] T. Medwin, *Medwin's Conversations of Lord Byron*, E.J. Lovell Jr. ed., revised edition, Princeton University Press, Princeton 1966, p. 156. See F. Rognoni, *Appunti sul mito di Prometeo nel romanticismo inglese*, "Aevum Antiquum", 12-13, 2012-2013, pp. 317-322.

Shelley's mind during the crossing: "I have read some Greek but not much on my journey – two or three plays of Euripides – and among them the 'Ion,' which you praised and which I think is exquisitely beautiful"[9]. One of the other plays was probably the *Cyclops,* which was in the same volume of Shelley's three-volume Euripides as the *Ion*, and which he would translate in the summer of 1818[10]. So, on his journey to Italy Shelley was reading Euripides and thinking about Aeschylus: both authors, and these specific works, are discussed in Schlegel's first five lectures.

If Shelley did read from these opening lectures on the drama of ancient Greece during his journey, it would go some way to explaining his description of a ballet at La Scala in his first letter from Milan:

> The manner in which language is translated into gesture, the complete & full effect of the whole as illustrating the history in question, the unaffected self possession of each of the actors, even to the children, made this choral drama more impressive than I should have conceived possible[11].

Shelley's slightly odd appreciation of a ballet based on *Othello* as a "choral drama" suggests he had been watching with Schlegel in mind, especially the section in Lecture 3 when the German laments that we "have no suitable singing or dancing" (1, 80) to realise the choral drama in modern tragedy. The language of this description is one of a number of instances in 1818 in which Shelley's thoughts on drama show his reading of Schlegel. Some of the similarities between Shelley's and Schlegel's writings are commonplaces in Romantic thought on Greek culture, such as the analogy they share between Greek sculpture and Greek drama[12]. But a more singular example of Schlegel's influence is found in some remarks that Shelley placed in the blank half page at the close of the *Agamemnon* in his copy of Aeschylus:

> This, & the two following plays, may be considered as the distinct acts of one great drama – the two first end with an expectation – in the first the wicked triumph & the reader is excited to a desire of moral & poetical justice[13].

In these jottings Shelley clearly remembers his Schlegel, and is in part paraphrasing the German's remarks at the opening of Lecture 4 on the *Oresteia* as "a complete trilogy" (1, 94) in which he claims: "we may consider the three pieces, which were connected together even in the representation, as so many acts of one great and entire drama" (1, 96). Shelley accepts Schlegel's claim that the *Oresteia* was not formed simply for all-day entertainment,

[9] P.B. Shelley, *Letters*, Vol. 2, p. 15.
[10] Shelley read Euripides in *Euripidis Tragoediae Viginti cum variis lectionibus*, J. Barnes ed., Bliss, Oxford 1811[-1812], 6 vols bound as 3, and these two plays appear in Vol. 3.
[11] P.B. Shelley, *Letters*, Vol. 2, p. 4.
[12] Cp. Schlegel, *Lectures* 1, 67, 91; P.B. Shelley, "A Discourse on the Manners of the Ancient Greeks Relative to the Subject of Love", in *Shelley's Prose; or, The Trumpet of a Prophecy*, D.L. Clark ed., Fourth Estate, London 1988, p. 217.
[13] *Æschyli tragœdiæ*, C.G. Schütz ed., Bliss, Oxford 1809, p. 276. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodleian Shelley adds. g. 1 Aeschylus.

but also to provide a sustained dramatic narrative whereby "several tragedies may be connected together by means of a common destiny running throughout all their actions in one great cycle" (1, 94). With these parallels and the earlier description of the ballet in mind, a new inflection can be given to Shelley's second letter from Milan,

> I have devoted this summer & indeed the next year to the composition of a tragedy on the subject of Tasso's madness, which I find upon inspection is, if properly treated, admirably dramatic & poetical[14].

A number of critics have reflected on this letter, but their usual focus has been on the figure of Tasso and his earlier significance in Byron's *Lament of Tasso* (1817), or on the theme of madness that is central to *Julian and Maddalo* written in early 1819[15]. But of equal importance to the subject and themes of this proposed work is the ambition to write a drama at all, and in considering what might be a "proper treatment" for it Shelley had some guidance from Schlegel.

Schlegel got Shelley thinking, and rethinking. Angela Leighton has gone as far as to argue that the language of the *Lectures* "prefigures" moments in "A Defence of Poetry" and that Shelley's choice of "A Lyrical Drama" as the subtitle to *Prometheus Unbound* was inspired by Schlegel[16]. But, as was often his way, Shelley also contested a number of the central tenets of the lectures, and these discernable points of friction produce the creative spark for much of his mature thought on drama and on Greece. In a fine example of what Michael O'Neill has called Shelley's urge "always towards a fusion or redefinition"[17], we see Shelley accepting elements of Schlegel's arguments but then recasting them to come to an opposite, and more radical, synthesis. One telling difference is found by comparing Schlegel's and Shelley's statements on their audience's relative unfamiliarity with the Greek language. Schlegel takes a rigid view on the need for language learning in his second lecture:

> In the majority of my hearers, I can hardly suppose an immediate knowledge of the Greeks, derived from the study of the original language. Translations in prose, or even in verse, which are nothing more than dresses in the modern taste, can afford no true idea of the Grecian drama [...]. So long as we have to struggle with difficulties, it is impossible for us to have any true enjoyment of art. To feel the ancients as we ought, we must have become in some degree one of themselves, and breathed as it were the Grecian air (1, 44-45).

Shelley takes up this point in his "Discourse on the Manners of the Ancient Greeks":

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[14] P.B. Shelley, *Letters*, Vol. 2, p. 8.

[15] See, for example, C. Baker, *Shelley's Major Poetry*, Princeton University Press, Princeton 1948, pp. 127-134; A.M. Weinberg, *Shelley's Italian Experience*, Palgrave Macmillan, London 1991, pp. 57-68.

[16] A. Leighton, *Shelley and the Sublime: An Interpretation of the Major Poems*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1984, pp. 76-77.

[17] M. O'Neill, *Emulating Plato: Shelley as Translator and Prose Poet*, in *The Unfamiliar Shelley*, T. Webb – A.M. Weinberg ed., Ashgate, Aldershot 2008, pp. 239-255 (p. 241).

> Let us see [the Greeks'] errors, their weaknesses, their daily actions, their family conversation, and catch the tone of their society [...]. There is no book which shows the Greeks precisely as they were; they seem all written for children, with the caution that no practice or sentiment highly inconsistent with our present manners should be mentioned lest those manners receive outrage and violation. But there are many to whom the Greek language is inaccessible, who ought not to be excluded by this prudery to possess an exact and comprehensive conception of the history of man[18].

Shelley agrees with Schlegel's first and last points – that many people don't know Greek and that there is a need to show the Greeks as they were – but the difference between them, as to whether translation can or cannot convey a real or genuine sense of Greek literature, is a sharp distinction. Schlegel's Hellenism is conditioned by his need "to feel the ancients as we ought", and he goes on to suggest that there must be something morally beneficial in studying a culture whose "elevated character is imperishable", especially if those studying are "a noble race of men related to the Greek (which the European undoubtedly is)" (1, 45). Shelley's approach is much more flexible and eccentric: he suggests we should attempt to appreciate the entire gamut of Greek life, and he cautions us to avoid only those works of Hellenic culture that serve to instruct "present manners".

A simple way Shelley challenges Schlegel's staid and somewhat prudish views of Greek literature is in the texts that he chooses to read, study, and translate. *Prometheus Bound* and the *Persae* inspire Shelley's two longest Hellenic works, *Prometheus Unbound* and *Hellas*, but neither work is typical. For Schlegel the lack of dramatic action in the *Persae* produces "undoubtedly the most imperfect of all the tragedies of the poet that we possess" (1, 111), and the Romantic reception of *Prometheus Bound* saw it as an impure tragedy with its satirical chorus and "the entrance of the crazy old maid Io [who] must have been intended for comic effect"[19]. The Euripides that Shelley read on his journey, and which he found "exquisitely beautiful", is a particular point of contention: for Schlegel the *Ion*, with all its self-referential tricks and lack of tragic force, "can hardly be satisfactory to our feelings" (1, 174), and the *Cyclops* "is a mixed and secondary species of tragic poetry" (1, 186), which is too coarse to be good. These plays display a generic mixing that Schlegel is firmly against: he rails against Euripides because this mixture results in representations of the Greeks "as they actually were" (1, 144). Shelley's desire to see the Greeks' "errors, their weaknesses", makes Euripides a particularly important source for his Hellenism, and in notes relating to the "Discourse" he refutes Schlegel's attitude to Euripides:

> One of the chief objections to Euripides, & the reason why Sophocles was considered so holy and chaste a person – a circumstance which the learned critic Schlegel c[oul]d hardly have been ignorant of when he abuses Euripides for his licentiousness was, as Athanaeus tell us φιλομεῖραξ δὲ ἦν ὁ Σοφοκλῆς, ὡς Εὐριπίδης φιλο γύνης[20].

[18] P.B. Shelley, "A Discourse", p. 219.

[19] *Monthly Review*, October 1816, p. 116.

[20] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 6, p. 68. The quotation is from Athenaeus, *The Learned Banqueters*, Book 13.603e. "Sophocles was partial to boys, in the same way that Euripides was partial

Shelley's quotation addresses Greek attitudes towards pederasty, which he would discuss in more detail in the "Discourse", but he also raises the third-century biographical myth that the licentiousness in Euripides' plays was a dramatization of the playwright's own life. Shelley mocks Schlegel for being blind to the life of Sophocles while he "abuses Euripides": is it reasonable that chastity is retained in sexual relations with boys but lost with women? By calling Schlegel "learned" we see a rebuke wrapped in complimentary terms, as it is in this stanza when Nature addresses Wordsworth in "Peter Bell the Third":

> 'Tis you are cold – for I, not coy,
> Yield love for love, frank, warm and true:
> And Burns, a Scottish Peasant boy, –
> His errors prove it – knew my joy
> More, learned friend, than you (ll. 323-327)[21].

In this delaying sarcastic refrain, Nature makes clear that to be learned is to be prudish, and to be preoccupied with intellectual pursuits over the physical pleasures that characterize Burns. For Shelley, Schlegel is too learned a critic, who cannot comprehend the full extent of what the Greeks can be: moving beyond the formal heroism of *Agamemnon, Ajax,* or *Electra*, allows a reader not only to observe, as Schlegel did, but to enjoy "the light way of living of the Greeks [...] the hilarity of disposition, so foreign to everything like stately dignity" (1, 188).

Shelley's Hellenism – in its eccentricity and wit – is in direct opposition to the "learned" Schlegel. The rest of this essay will be devoted to how this opposition expresses itself in the translations and original compositions that Shelley wrote in Italy. That the first of these was a translation from Greek drama, Euripides' *Cyclops*, is in keeping with Shelley's claim in the "Defence" that the drama was the form "under which a greater number of modes of expression of poetry are susceptible of being combined than any other"[22]. Michael Rossington has discussed how this claim gives an "elevated position to dramatic poetry"[23], and this remark recalls Schlegel's claim that the ideal dramatist "does not lower himself to a circumscribed reality, but elevates it on the contrary to a higher sphere" (1, 107). But Shelley's line from the "Defence" might also be read as a levelling ambition, and read in this way his attitude towards the drama can be seen in similar terms to his attitude to the Greek language in the "Discourse", which "in variety, in simplicity, in flexibility, and in copiousness excels every other language in the western world"[24]. Shelley's focus in the "Discourse", and that of his subsequent critics, is on the Greek "manners" mentioned in the title, but critics have

to women" (Athenaeus, *The Learned Banqueters*, S. Douglas Olson trans., 8 vols, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA 2007-12 (Loeb Classical Library), Vol. 7, p. 53).

[21] P.B. Shelley, *The Poems of Shelley*, Vol. 3, J. Donovan – C. Duffy – K. Everest – M. Rossington ed., Pearson Education, Harlow 2011 (Longman Annotated English Poets), pp. 116-117.

[22] P.B. Shelley, *Shelley's Poetry and Prose*, D.H. Reiman – N. Fraistat ed., Norton, New York 2002, p. 521.

[23] M. Rossington, *Tragedy:* The Cenci *and* Swellfoot the Tyrant, in *The Oxford Handbook of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, M. O'Neill – A. Howe ed., Oxford University Press, Oxford 2012, pp. 299-308 (p. 299).

[24] P.B. Shelley, "A Discourse", p. 217.

reflected little on what Shelley thought was the Greeks' manner (the way in which they spoke, and what their sense of humour was). One way that Shelley attempts to mimic this manner is in his construction of blank verse dialogue, in particular his preponderance for stichomythia (dialogic exchanges in which the actors speak in alternate lines). It was a technique that Euripides mastered and that was much disliked by Schlegel, who complained of its "immoderate length" in which "questions and answers, or objections and reflections, fly about like arrows, and many of them so unnecessary that the half of these lines might well be spared" (1, 151). The *Ion*, which Shelley read on his crossing, contains the most stichomythia of any extant Greek drama, and its longest example displays the potential for play and suspense as Xuthus and Ion learn of their familial bond (*Ion* ll. 517-562). It is a type of dialogue that Shelley delights in during the translation of the *Cyclops*, particularly in the long stichomythia at the first meeting of Silenus and Odysseus (ll. 94-155). In this passage Shelley rarely diverges from the content of Euripides' original, but he is also careful to show his fidelity to the manner of their exchange, as he tightly controls the pace, through questions and awkward interruptions, to keep in flux who controls the argument. The technique of quick alternating blank verse that Shelley had appreciated in the *Ion*, and had mastered as a translator of the *Cyclops*, became part of his original poetry. In the fragments of Shelley's incomplete drama on the life of Tasso, which he struggled with between May and June 1818, there is an extant scene that begins:

Pigna Who denies access to the Duke?

Albano His Grace
Is buried in deep converse with the dead.

Maddalo No access to the Duke! You have not said
That the Count Maddalo would speak with him?[25]

Although this is a rough draft, Shelley is trying to replicate the power dynamics and modulation of tone that he had seen and translated in his Greek studies. In Shelley's own Greek lyrical drama, *Prometheus Unbound*, this technique is used to powerful effect. Shelley begins *Prometheus Unbound* II, iv with Asia and Panthea reaching the cave of Demogorgon. The dreadful omnipotence of Demogorgon is proven by his ability to deaden the panicked Asia's questions with short and metrically complete responses: it is through Demogorgon's cold command of stichomythia that Shelley maintains the agency of the nameless God[26].

Shelley was just as concerned with the language and register of his Hellenism as he was with being true to how the Greeks spoke. A small but telling way that Shelley takes up his own challenge to show the Greeks "precisely as they were" is his choice to transliterate Greek in the *Cyclops*. During the first meeting of Odysseus and Silenus, in which Odysseus offers him a drink from his wineskin, Shelley chooses to render the Greek exclamations into a Latin alphabet with great success:

[25] P.B. Shelley, *The Poems of Shelley*, Vol. 2, p. 367.
[26] *Ibid.*, pp. 555-558.

παπαιάξ, ὡς καλὴν ὀσμὴν ἔχει.
Oh my, oh my! What a fine bouquet it has! (Kovacs)
Papaiapax! What a sweet smell it has! (Shelley)

βαβαί· χορεῦσαι παρακαλεῖ μ᾽ ὁ Βάκχιος.ἁ ἁ ἁ.
Oo la la! Bacchus invites me to the dance! Tra la, tra la, tra la! (Kovacs)
Babai, great Bacchus calls me forth to dance! / Joy, joy! (Shelley)[27]

Shelley maintains the senseless wonder of Silenus without reducing him to the somewhat camp exclamations of David Kovacs' recent renderings into English. Shelley's decision to keep the Greek sounds also allows him to maintain Euripides' original alliteration of βαβαί and Βάκχιος in the second example. These transliterations are part of the playful texture of Shelley's *Cyclops*, in which the meaning and power of words is constantly under examination. We see this in Shelley's delight in the exchange of homonyms. In the preparation for cooking the soldiers we are told the cyclops "made red hot / The points of spits" (ll. 389-390), while later Odysseus warns the noisy chorus, "dare not to breathe / Or spit or e'er wink" (ll. 643-644) as he prepares the point to blind cyclops. In his first speech to Odysseus, the cyclops claims he cannot wait until Odysseus and his men "shall fill / My belly, broiling warm from the live coals" (ll. 228-229), which is later volleyed back to the cyclops by Odysseus as he convinces him not to share his wine with the warning that "village mirth breeds contests, broils, and blows" (l. 548). Shelley's tricks attempt to achieve the flexibility in English that he had praised in the Greek language, so that in his *Cyclops* these exchanged homonyms pave the way for the central absurd exchange of Odysseus calling himself Nobody, and Polyphemus' plaintive final revelation that "'twas Nobody / Who blinded me" (ll. 693-694).

As well as capturing the flexibility and copiousness of the Greek language, in these translations Shelley also pursues his desire articulated in the "Discourse" to represent a broader part of Greek life, to show "their daily actions, their family conversation and catch the tone of their society"[28]. Shelley insists that this more open approach to the Hellenic world was a useful counter to the "prudery" of established thought, and crucially he believed this tone could still be expressed in translation. One of Shelley's most remarkable attempts to capture the Greek everyday is in the use of domestic diction, as when the cyclops "placed upon the fire / A brazen pot to boil" (ll. 388-389),

And when this god-abandoned cook of Hell
Had made all ready, he seized two of us
And killed them in a kind of measured manner,
For he flung one against the brazen rivets
Of the huge cauldron-belly, and seized the other

[27] Kovacs' translation and Greek text are from Euripides, *Cyclops, Alcestis, Medea*, D. Kovacs trans., Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA 1994 (Loeb Classical Library). All quotations from Shelley's "Cyclops" are from *The Poems of Shelley*, Vol. 2, pp. 371-412.
[28] P.B. Shelley, "A Discourse", p. 219.

By the foot's tendon and knocked out his brains
Upon the sharp edge of the craggy stone,
Then peeled his flesh with a great cooking knife
And put him down to roast. (ll. 393-401)

Shelley opts for overtly literal compounds – "god-abandoned cook of Hell" and "Cauldron-belly" – to give an earthly tone to Odysseus's tale. Choosing "belly" for κύτος is not only an accurate translation for a term that means both the hollow of a container and the stomach of an ox, but it also hints at the soldiers' ultimate destination after being digested by the Cyclops. This play with words also occurs in the two uses of "brazen", which can be simply read as meaning made of brass, but they also hint at the boldness of the "measured manner" with which the gruesome task is performed. By being alive to the detail crafted into the original Greek, Shelley translates this meticulous butchery in clear and homely diction for comic effect, to create a scene so everyday that we can momentarily forget the brutality of putting a skinned man "down to roast". This revelling in everyday language for weighty matters of Greek lore is at its most blatant in Shelley's translation of the Homeric "Hymn to Mercury", which he completed in July 1820[29]. The poem begins with a song in which the singer praises his "plastic verse", a plasticity that extends to the verbal texture of the poem, which narrates the birth of Mercury and the council of the Gods, while also talking of May's "Perennial pot, trippet and brazen pan" (l. 78), calling Mercury "A scandalmonger beyond all belief" (l. 444) and having him greet an old man "Halloo! old fellow with the crooked shoulder!" (l. 111). Shelley's attempt to capture an easy demotic speech also expresses itself in the use of idiom, a habit that begins in his translation from *Prometheus Bound*, which concludes with Ocean warning Prometheus that when Jupiter hears of his actions "The cause of your present labour, will seem child's play" (l. 314)[30]. Idiomatic phrases appear again in the *Cyclops*, as in Silenus' warning "Let me advise you... do not spare a morsel / Of all that flesh. What, would you eat your words / And be a vain and babbling boaster, Cyclops?" (ll. 303-305). As Timothy Webb has noticed, this is a mistranslation: the original sense of Silenus' speech is that if you eat Odysseus you too will become clever with words[31]. But the impetus for this error makes it all the more remarkable: Shelley is prepared to sacrifice accuracy, in what is generally a translation of great fidelity, in his attempts to catch in English the tone of Greek speech.

After a long passage correcting the blemishes and inaccuracies of Shelley's *Cyclops*, A.C. Swinburne apologises for his sacrilegious criticism by praising the translation, "for its matchless grace of unapproachable beauty, its strength, ease, delicate simplicity and sufficiency; the birthmark and native quality of all Shelley's translations"[32]. In Swinburne's appreciation of the "native quality" of these Greek translations, he credits Shelley with

[29] P.B. Shelley, *The Poems of Shelley*, Vol. 3, pp. 508-543.
[30] F. Rognoni, *Appunti sul mito di Prometeo*, p. 331.
[31] T. Webb, *The Violet in the Crucible: Shelley and Translation*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1976, p. 97.
[32] A.C. Swinburne, *Notes on the Text of Shelley*, in Id., *Essays and Studies*, Chatto and Windus, London 1875, p. 211.

fulfilling his goal as laid out in the "Discourse": to capture the Greeks precisely as they were. The praise of the "simplicity and sufficiency" of a work in Greek put into a modern language would have been anathema to Schlegel, who claimed translations "can afford no true idea of the Grecian drama". Schlegel's role in the development of Shelley's thought on drama and the Greeks was essentially a catalytic one: the German's systematic examination of the ancient drama provided a spur to wider reading while the muse had apparently abandoned Shelley for the first half of 1818. It seems hardly surprising that Shelley, who preferred the *Trionfi* to the *Canzoniere* and the *Purgatorio* to the *Inferno*, could not swallow the conservative approach advocated by the learned Schlegel. But Shelley's eccentricity was not merely a pose, nor was it confined to his choice of reading: the remarkable quality, the birthmark, of Shelley's approach to Greece and its drama after 1818 is the levelling and capacious attitude formed in opposition to Schlegel.

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Notes on the Shelleys' North-Western Passage to Italy

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This paper deals with the Shelleys' first physical impact with Italy, focussing on their experience of the borders they crossed when entering the peninsula through Mont Cenis. Their mostly negative reaction to the Kingdom of Sardinia, which in the course of the century would lead the process of Italian unification, invites reflection on how the reality of border controls and territorial fragmentation interacted with Romantic idealized notions of the Italian state, which as yet had no actual political existence.

L'ingresso negli Stati sabaudi attraverso la frontiera del Moncenisio rappresenta per gli Shelley il primo impatto fisico con il territorio italiano. La loro reazione perlopiù negativa a quel Regno di Sardegna che avrebbe guidato il processo di unificazione invita a una riflessione su come l'esperienza concreta delle frontiere e della frammentazione territoriale abbia interagito con l'idealizzazione romantica di una nazione italiana che ancora non esisteva come organismo statuale.

Keywords: Shelley, Sabaudian states, borders, Simonde de Sismondi, Mont Cenis

Much has been written on how the Romantics contributed to the European perception of an Italian nation well before Italy existed as a unified state. Carried on in letters, journals and creative works such as Byron's fourth Canto of *Childe Harold* or Shelley's "Lines Written Among the Euganean Hills", this contribution was based on the Romantics' experience of the Italian territory, which they visited, explored, lived and often died in. While the role that 'being on the spot' played in imaginative constructions of Italy has been amply highlighted[1], less discussed is the Romantics' first physical and cultural impact with the political realities of border controls and states' fragmentation. The Shelleys' negotiation of the first Italian border they crossed, when they entered the peninsula through the Kingdom of Sardinia, provides an example of the dynamics of cultural expectations and actual experience that characterized the Romantics' approach to Italy[2].

1. English travellers had always had the option of two main north-western passages to Italy: the Simplon Pass, which is the route Byron followed on his arrival in 1816, and Mont Cenis, which is the route taken by the Shelley party in 1818. During Napoleon's rule over

[1] Especially but not exclusively with reference to Byron's production see the by now classical study by S. Cheeke, *Byron and Place: History, Translation, Nostalgia*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke 2003.

[2] This research has been carried on with the financial support of the University of Eastern Piedmont.

Italy, the building of new roads made both passages considerably easier, allowing to dispense with the quite adventurous practices, documented by many eighteenth-century Grand Tourists, of dismantling the carriages and hauling them up the mountains, while the passengers were being literally carried across in the so-called *chaises-à-porteur*[3]. Consequently, the Napoleonic reshaping of the Alpine passes became the object of rapt comments and much admiration on the part of British travellers, who, after Napoleon's demise, resumed their trips to the Continent. While Mariana Starke enthusiastically hailed the Simplon Pass as "this eighth wonder of the world, this universal benefit to Europe"[4], Claire Clairmont recollected that when dining "on the top of Cenis [...] [we] bless[ed] Napoleon for the passage must have been dreadful before the new Road was made"[5] and the painter Henry Sass acknowledged that "[a]lthough he [Napoleon] has been our enemy, every one in passing the Alps must think as I do, and will almost have a feeling of gratitude towards him, if they would honestly express it; for in these wonderful works, as in many others, he has been a benefit to the human race"[6].

After 1815 what both the Simplon and the Cenis led to was the restored Kingdom of Sardinia, which Napoleon had conquered in 1802. The Kingdom of Sardinia was a peculiar political entity, which stretched along two intersecting axes. The first ran from North to South – from Mont Blanc and the Southern shore of Lake Leman to Nice and the former Republic of Genoa, which the Holy Alliance annexed to the Kingdom as a buffer against a possibly resurgent France. The second axis extended from North-West to South-East – from the former capital Chambéry to the new capital Turin, with Mont Cenis connecting the two by providing a passage across the Alps. The Kingdom did not coincide with any natural region but was rather built out of an older political geography, dating back to feudal partitions of the cisalpine and transalpine territories, which since 1416 the House of Savoy had been piecing together with alternate fortunes[7].

[3] For a detailed description of the whole process see S. Sharp, *Letters from Italy, Describing the Customs and Manners of that Country, in the Years 1765 and 1766*, Cave, London 1766, pp. 287-288.

[4] M. Starke, *Travels on the Continent: Written for the Use and Particular Information of Travellers*, Murray, London 1820, p. 76.

[5] C. Clairmont, *The Journals of Claire Clairmont*, M. Kingston Stocking ed., Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA 1968, pp. 88-89.

[6] H. Sass, *A Journey to Rome and Naples, Performed in 1817; Giving an Account of the Present State of Society in Italy; and Containing Observations on the Fine Arts*, Longman, London 1818, p. 53.

[7] The lack of continuity in the House of Savoy's possessions (in time as well as in space) finds correspondence in the many names that were, and still to some extent are, used to refer to this composite state: originally the Duchy of Savoy, it became the Kingdom of Sicily following the Peace of Utrecht of 1713 and then the Kingdom of Sardinia in 1720, when the crown of Sicily was exchanged for that of Sardinia; but it was also known as Savoy or Piedmont, from the name of its most conspicuous constituents. The more recent historiography favours the term *Stati sabaudi*, translated "interchangeably, and not unambiguously, to signify, on the one hand, the geographical region 'Savoy Piedmont', and on the other, the political expression of 'the Savoyard State'" (P. Bianchi – K. Wolfe, *Introduction*, in *Turin and the British in the Age of the Grand Tour*, P. Bianchi – K. Wolfe ed., Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2017, pp.1-24 (p. 3)). Given these multiple renderings in English, the Italian term will henceforth be retained in the text.

Following the Congress of Vienna, most Romantic travellers to Italy registered their experience of stepping across the borders of the Kingdom of Sardinia as something distinct from the experience of entering Italy. This is the case of the Shelleys' recollections of their arrival in March 1818 at the frontier between France and Savoy, which ran across a bridge over the river Guiers connecting two towns that bore the same name of Pont de Beauvoisin – one in the French Dauphiné, the other in Savoy. Mary, Percy and Claire Clairmont all devote in their letters and journals considerable attention to the material experience of the frontier and the inconveniencies associated to custom controls. Claire presents the bridge as "most romantically situated" and goes on to detail the "curious scene" of "[t]he French soldiers at one end of the Bridge & the Piedmontese at the other", while their carriage "[stood] on the middle of the Bridge nearly an hour before Passports, impots &c could be settled". She also recollects that Shelley was worried about his books until he met "a Canon who [helped] him & who knew his father at the Duke of Norfolk's"[8]. Claire's reference to Shelley's books is explained at length in the corresponding passage in Mary's journal of March 26, written in Percy's hand:

> We dined at Les Echelles a village at the foot of a mountain of the same name the boundaries of France & Savoy – Before this we had stopped at Pont Beauvoisin where the legal limits of the French & Sardinian dominions are placed. We here heard that a Milanese had been sent all the way back to Lyons because his passport was unauthorised by the Sardinian consul a few days before & that we should be subjected to the same treatment. We – in respect to the character of our nation I suppose – were suffered to pass. – Our books however were after a long discussion sent to Chambery to be submitted to the Censor a Priest – who admits nothing of Rousseau Voltaire &c into the dominions of the K.[ing] of S.[ardinia] – All such books are burned –[9].

Although the Shelleys acknowledge that the legal limit between France and the Kingdom of Sardinia is at Pont de Beauvoisin, on the Western side of the Alps, in theirs as in most Romantic accounts the Italian frontier is identified with the natural divide of Mont Cenis. What legal borders delimited – the Kingdom of Sardinia – was hardly Italy to them. The Shelleys experienced it as a transit zone, which they traversed at a good pace: altogether it took them seven days to cover the 144 (Italian) miles from Pont de Beauvoisin to Turin. Like most Romantic travellers, with the notable exceptions of Lady Morgan and Mariana Starke, they hardly stopped anywhere before they reached Milan on April 4, having spent a whole day only in the two capitals: Chambéry – which they visited on March 27 – and Turin – where they remained through April 1. Predictably enough, the feature of the Kingdom's territory that most captured their interest and imagination was the natural scenery, in particular the Alps, perceived as the real gateway to their promised land.

[8] C. Clairmont, *Journals*, p. 88.

[9] M. Shelley, *The Journals of Mary Shelley 1814-1844*, P.R. Feldman – D. Scott-Kilvert ed., Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore/London 1995, p. 200. Thanks to the Canon's connection mentioned by Claire, Shelley's books were not burned, although he had to wait almost three months before he could have them back.

2. The crossing of Mont Cenis did signal in the Shelleys' accounts a momentous change. In her correspondence Mary recalls a "land of blue skies & pleasant fields", where "every thing appeared changed"[10]. In his first letter to Peacock from Milan, Percy also vividly paints a renewed natural and human landscape, significantly focusing on female figures:

> Our journey was somewhat painful from the cold & in no other manner interesting until we passed the Alps: of course I except the Alps themselves, but no sooner had we arrived at Italy than the loveliness of the earth & the serenity of the sky made the greatest difference in my sensations [...] With what delight did I hear the woman who conducted us to see the triumphal arch of Augustus at Susa speaking the clear & complete language of Italy, tho' half unintelligible to me, after that nasal & abbreviated cacophany [*sic*] of the French! A ruined arch of magnificent proportions in the Greek taste standing in a kind of road of green lawn overgrown with violets & primroses & in the midst of stupendous mountains, & a *blond* woman of light & graceful manners, something in the style of Fuseli's Eve were the first things we met in Italy[11].

From a source of wonder and delight, Italian women were soon to turn into the "very inferior race of beings" that Shelley sketched in his next letters to Peacock and to Hogg, where he labelled them as "a mixture of the coquette and the prude", finding fault even with their voices, which had "none of that winning persuasiveness of those of France"[12]. The contradiction is blatant but not wholly unexpected. Despite the thrilled musings that accompanied his crossing of Mont Cenis, ill feelings had actually been brewing in Shelley ever since his first contact with the Kingdom of Sardinia, during his 1816 Continental tour. In his letter to Peacock dated July 12, 1816, where he describes the boat trip he took with Byron around Lake Leman, Shelley thus comments on their stop at Evian:

> The appearance of the inhabitants of Evian is more wretched, diseased and poor, than I ever recollect to have seen. The contrast indeed between the subjects of the King of Sardinia and the citizens of the independent republics of Switzerland, affords a powerful illustration of the blighting mischiefs of despotism, within the space of a few miles[13].

Little more than a month later John Cam Hobhouse would add a significant detail to the recollection of the same crossing into the Kingdom of Sardinia, which he too made in the company of Byron. In his diary entry of August 29, 1816, he writes, "[w]e entered the Sardinian and Catholic country an hour from Diodati"[14]. In the later entry of October 13 he

[10] M. Shelley, *Selected Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley*, B.T. Bennett ed., Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore/London 1995, p. 31.
[11] P.B. Shelley, *The Letters of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, F.L. Jones ed., 2 vols, Clarendon Press, Oxford 2014, Vol. 2, pp. 3-4.
[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 9, 14.
[13] P.B. Shelley, *Letters*, Vol. 1, p. 480.
[14] *Hobhouse's Diary*, P. Cochran ed., p. 159. https://petercochran.wordpress.com/hobhouses-diary/ (last accessed October 9, 2018).

would expand on the Catholic qualification by defining the Piedmontese as "the most stupid of God's creatures, and attached to every old prejudice" to the point that "so far from being proud, [they] are ashamed of Alfieri, because he did not go to mass every day"[15]. One may detect here the echo of Edward Gibbon's critical description of Turin in a letter to his father dated 1764, where he wrote that in the capital "[e]very thing follows the example of the Court, which from one of the most polite in Europe is become bigotted, gloomy and covetous"[16]. Against this background, the lines Claire reports Shelley to have been singing all the way up Mont Cenis sound a decidedly fierce note of defiance to the territory he had just entered:

> Now Heaven neglected is by Men
> And Gods are hung upon every tree
> But not the more for loss of them
> Shall this fair world unhappy be[17].

Perceived by Shelley as a powerful ally to despotism, Catholic bigotry is an essential part of the portrait both he and Hobhouse left of the transit zone identified with the Kingdom of Sardinia, controlled by censors-priests such as the one that scrutinized Shelley's books at Chambéry and ruled by what, in Hobhouse's recollection, was an ineffectual dynasty prone to religious superstition:

> at the time when the French were about to seize the country, Queen Clothilda used to receive accounts of the dreams of a sister in a convent, then have them painted on a paper which she and a holy cobbler, [...] and a Father Charles, used to examine together, and then send to the king [Charles Emmanuel IV] with comments which he out before his council, and whatever was said always followed. [...] The present King [Victor Emmanuel I] will not let the hereditary Prince Carignani, who is eighteen, go near a woman, and he has ordered his doctor, who told it to Breme, to look at his shirts to see if there are signs of masturbation upon them. Yet by the side of this horrible deterrent always were men of Genius – an Alfieri, a Lagrange, a Denina, a Bodoni, a Caluso – of whom however the last is the only one who would live in his country[18].

The authority behind this grand-guignolesque account of the Savoy royal family and their notorious religious pity was the Italian patriot and man of letters Ludovico di Breme, who was the son of the Sardinian Minister of the Interior and also the founder of the Milanese Romantic journal *Il Conciliatore.* Hobhouse and Byron met him, furnished with a letter of introduction by Mme de Staël, during the fortnight they spent in Milan from October

[15] *Ibid*., p. 230.
[16] E. Gibbon, *Private Letters of Edward Gibbon (1753-1794). With an Introduction by the Earl of Sheffield*, R.E. Prothero ed., 2 vols, Murray, London 1896, Vol. 1, p. 56.
[17] C. Clairmont, *Journals*, p. 88.
[18] *Hobhouse's Diary*, pp. 298-299. Cochran identifies the late king as Victor Amadeus of Piedmont, but he was in fact Charles Emmanuel IV, husband to Marie Clotilde of France. They were both notorious for their religious pity.

12 to November 3, 1816. Responsible for the low reputation of the Piedmontese was also Giuseppe Baretti's *Account of the Manners and Customs of Italy*, which the expatriate Baretti published in 1768 as a response to Samuel Sharp's *Letters from Italy* (1766), which he thought misrepresented the Italians. Less gossipy than di Breme but equally critical, the Piedmontese Baretti defined his fellow countrymen as "the most Alpine nation of Italy", whose distinguishing traits, when compared to all other Italians, were "their want of cheerfulness" and the very remarkable fact that "Piedmont never produced a single poet, as far as the records of the country can go". This deficiency, Baretti conceded, was somewhat compensated by their having "greatly the advantage when considered as soldiers". Some of them did succeed "tolerably well in civil law, physic, and the mathematics", but Baretti pointed out that "very few of [their nobility] know the Italian language, fewer still the Latin, and I never heard", he wrote, "of any who could read the Greek alphabet". As for their women, they "are likewise very ignorant. [...] A few of them plunge into gross vice; but the greatest part into stupid bigotry, even when still young and handsome"[19]. Lady Morgan is apparently more benevolent when summing up her experience of the Kingdom of Sardinia, but her irony makes her judgement even more scathing when she observes that, "[o]f all the little despotisms of Italy, Piedmont seems to have been the most complete, perfect, and compact; in a word, a 'despotisme de poche'"[20].

Recent historiography has qualified and redressed this representation of the *Stati sabaudi*, especially through a renewed interest in their relationships with the rest of Europe and notably Britain. Gregory Hanlon has written of a "Piedmontese exception", pointing out that as an aristocratic, centralized, and militarized state, "Piedmont was the only Italian state to evolve along a north European pattern in the early modern period"[21]. The essays collected in the exceptionally well-documented volume *Turin and the British in the Age of the Grand Tour* highlight the pervasive although mostly neglected presence of Turin in the itineraries of eighteenth-century Grand Tourists, discussing the role and reputation of cosmopolitan institutions such as the Turin Royal Academy. In their introduction, Paola Bianchi and Karin Wolfe specifically argue that, contrary to the rest of Italy, which was experienced in terms of the reminiscences of the past it activated, eighteenth-century Piedmont, and notably its capital Turin, provided travellers with what was felt as an example of *modern* Italy[22].

The Napoleonic rule put an end to all this eighteenth-century animation, as Reverend Eustace had already pointed out, lamenting that Turin, once "the capital of a large and populous territory [...] furnished with all the establishments, literary and civil, that usually grace the seat of royalty [...] and frequented by crowds of strangers from the most

[19] J. Baretti, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of Italy*, 2 vols, Davies, London 1769, Vol. 2, pp. 115-122.
[20] Lady Morgan, *Italy*, 2 vols, Colburn, London 1821, Vol. 1, p. 88.
[21] G. Hanlon, *The Twilight of a Military Tradition: Italian Aristocrats and European Conflicts 1560-1800*, UCL Press, London 1998, p. 275. See also P. Bianchi, *Immagine e realtà dell'"eccezione militare del Piemonte"*, in *Il Piemonte come eccezione? Riflessioni sulla "Piedmontese exception", Atti del seminario internazionale (Reggia di Venaria, 30 novembre-1 dicembre 2007)*, P. Bianchi ed., Centro Studi Piemontesi, Torino 2008, pp. 57-78.
[22] P. Bianchi – K. Wolfe, *Introduction*, p. 12.

distant countries", had been "degraded into the chief town of a French department [...] stripped of its university, of its academy and of all its noble and its well endowed establishments". As such, he concluded, Turin "mourns in vain its slavery, its impoverishment, and its solitude"[23].

The Shelleys did not pay much attention to the capital. The only thing they seem to remember about Turin is the Opera they went to on the night of April 1, when they had their first taste of the peculiarities of Italian operatic entertainment, with the audience talking through all the performance. But the slavery, impoverishment and solitude lamented by Eustace – and also highlighted by Hobhouse in the more sombre passages of his diary, where he writes that "everyone [is] discontent in Piedmont [...] the lower orders are starving amidst abundance"[24] – are all in Shelley's description of their approach to Mont Cenis:

> After dinner we ascended Les Eschelles, winding along a road, cut through perpendicular rocks, of immense elevation, by Charles Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy, in 1582. The rocks, which cannot be less than a thousand feet in perpendicular height, sometimes overhang the road on each side, and almost shut out the sky. The scene is like that described in the Prometheus of Æschylus. Vast rifts and caverns in the granite precipices, wintry mountains with ice and snow above; the loud sounds of unseen waters within the caverns, and walls of toppling rocks, only to be scaled as he describes, by the winged chariot of the Ocean Nymphs.
> Under the dominion of this tyranny, the inhabitants of the fertile valleys, bounded by these mountains, are in a state of most frightful poverty and disease. At the foot of this ascent, were cut into the rocks at several places, stories of the misery of the inhabitants, to move the compassion of the traveller. One old man, lame and blind, crawled out of a hole in the rock, wet with the perpetual melting of the snows of above, and dripping like a shower bath[25].

The literary reminiscences prompted by the natural landscape might have helped shape Shelley's ensuing political judgment. Read through the lenses of the *Prometheus* of Aeschylus, Piedmont could only be a tyranny. Such view might owe part of its force also to the subterranean action of another, influential textual account of the place: Milton's sonnet "On the Late Massacre in Piedmont", which commemorated the 1655 massacre of the Waldensians by the Savoy army. Seen as an "Italian Geneva"[26], the Protestant enclave of Valle Angrogna represented a violated internal religious and cultural frontier that Shelley might have recalled and imaginatively superimposed to his experience of the Western borders of the Kingdom of Sardinia, contributing to his censorious attitude.

3. Equally influential might have been the historical tableau provided by Simonde de Sismondi's *Histoire des Républiques Italienne du Moyen Âge*, published between 1807 and 1818. Sismondi's account of the medieval republics of Italy, from the rise of the free com-

[23] J.C. Eustace, *A Classical Tour through Italy, 1802*, 4 vols, Mawman, London 1815, Vol. 1, pp. 101-102.
[24] *Hobhouse's Diary*, p. 235.
[25] M. Shelley, *Journals*, pp. 200-201.
[26] E. De Amicis, *La Ginevra italiana*, in *Alle porte d'Italia*, Treves, Milano 1888, pp. 153-197.

munes in the eleventh century to the defeat of the Florentine republic in 1530, posited a link between Italian republicanism and the flourishing of civic virtues, economic prosperity and the arts, which – he argued – could not have been possible under a unified national monarchy like that of England or France. Focused on dazzling examples of republicanism, Sismondi naturally neglected the most (and only) conspicuous example of European monarchy in Italy, the Kingdom of Sardinia, offering a portrait of the early Savoyards as "barbares" and "montagnards demi-sauvage"[27] that certainly reverberated on the contemporary reception of the Savoy rule.

Although the Shelleys' reading of Sismondi is documented, in Mary's journal, only in 1820, they are likely to have met the work of the Swiss historian before, as it enjoyed a vast success and permeated the debate about Italian government and Italian freedom both in Italy and abroad. In the context of the Austrian restoration, the *Conciliatore* group in Milan particularly valued "Sismondi's claims for the Italians as pioneers of political liberty"[28]; equally praised was Sismondi in the Coppet circle of Mme de Staël and in the Whig salon of Holland House, whose members looked with favour at the budding Italian liberalism. On 27 April 1815 the Scottish jurist and Whig politician Sir James Mackintosh, friend to Mme de Staël and Benjamin Constant, implicitly referred to Sismondi while making a speech in the House of Commons against the annexation of the Republic of Genoa to the Kingdom of Sardinia:

> We had in our hands the destiny of the last of that great body of republics which united the ancient and the modern world – the children and heirs of Roman civilisation, who spread commerce, and with it refinement, liberty and humanity over Western Europe, and whose history has lately been rescued from oblivion, and disclosed to our times, by the greatest of living historians[29].

A more textual index to the Shelleys' early knowledge of Sismondi has been provided by Francesco Rognoni's suggestion that Shelley's character of Maddalo in his *Julian and Maddalo* (composed between September 1818 and August 1819) might owe his name to a Count Maddaloni that Shelley probably encountered in Sismondi's *Histoire*[30].

Whether or not he actually read it by March 1818, the discourse of history articulated in Sismondi's *Histoire* and the debate surrounding it were part of the cultural context in which Shelley's republicanism developed, which in turn informed his approach to the Kingdom of Sardinia. From his very first encounter with the *Stati sabaudi*, Shelley retraces in them the link that Sismondi posits between monarchical despotism and degeneration. First stated in the journal entries describing the crossing of Mont Cenis, this link would

[27] J.C.L. Simonde de Sismondi, *Histoire des Républiques Italiennes du Moyen Âge*, 16 vols, Treuttel et Würzt, Paris 1815-18, Vol. 9, p. 338.
[28] A. Lyttelton, *Sismondi, the Republic and Liberty: Between Italy and England, the City and the Nation*, "Journal of Modern Italian Studies", 17, 2012, 2, pp. 168-182 (p. 173).
[29] Sir J. Mackintosh, *Speech on the Annexation of Genoa to the Kingdom of Sardinia. Delivered in the House of Commons on the 27th of April 1815*, in *Miscellaneous Works*, Appleton, New York 1871, pp. 523-524.
[30] P.B. Shelley, *Opere*, F. Rognoni ed., Einaudi/Gallimard, Torino 1995 (Biblioteca della Pléiade), p. 1468.

vehemently resurface in his Italian works, from the *Discourse on the Manners of the Ancient Greeks*, to *Prometheus Unbound* and *The Cenci*. The *Stati sabaudi* as such, on the contrary, were soon out of his mind and did not leave any lasting trace in his writings. Not even the failed uprising in 1821 elicited more than a passing remark in a letter to Peacock dated March 21 from Pisa, where Shelley mentioned "the Neapolitans & Piedmontesse [*sic*]" as examples of Italian "revolutionary volcanoes, which as yet give more light than heat"[31].

Cursory as they are, Shelley's references to the Kingdom of Sardinia might nevertheless have set the tone for his lasting perception of a 'double' Italy. In December 1818 he would more fully vent it in a much-quoted passage of a letter he wrote to Hunt from Naples, where the same dichotomy he had earlier experienced in the *Stati sabaudi* was once again generalized to accommodate his composite portrait of the (yet to be born) Italian nation:

> There are two Italies; one composed of the green earth & transparent sea and the mighty ruins of antient times, and aerial mountains, & the warm & radiant atmosphere which is interfused through all things. The other consists of the Italians of the present day, their works & ways. The one is the most sublime & lovely contemplation that can be conceived by the imagination of man; the other the most degraded disgusting & odious. – What do you think? young women of rank actually eat – you will never guess what – *garlick*[32].

[31] P.B. Shelley, *Letters*, Vol. 2, p. 276.
[32] *Ibid.*, p. 67.

Percy Bysshe Shelley, within "the Veins" of "Fair Milan". A Map of the Poet's Contacts and Places in April 1818

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This article adopts a historical and biographical perspective in order to investigate Percy Bysshe Shelley's experience of Milan in April 1818. To this end, I trace the Shelleys' arrival in the city and focus on the places they visited, their contacts, and the encounters they made so as to reconstruct the poet's "Milanese circle". Subsequently, I focus on "Ode to Naples" and *Hellas* and argue that Shelley's references to the medieval and early modern history of the city should be seen as transhistorical allusions to the political contingency of the Lombardo-Venetian capital after the Hapsburg restoration.

Questo articolo mette a fuoco il soggiorno di Percy Bysshe Shelley a Milano nell'aprile 1818 da una prospettiva storico-biografica. Dopo aver tracciato l'arrivo degli Shelley in città, particolare attenzione è data ai luoghi da essi visitati, nonché ai contatti e agli incontri che ebbero, delineando così l'esistenza di un "circolo Milanese" del poeta. Successivamente si analizzano le brevi allusioni alla città di Milano in "Ode to Naples" e *Hellas*, in cui i riferimenti alla storia medievale e moderna della città si configurano come allusioni transtoriche alla situazione politica del Lombardo-Veneto all'indomani della restaurazione asburgica.

Keywords: Percy Bysshe Shelley, Mary Shelley, Anglo-Italian Studies, British Romanticism, Risorgimento

After spending six days in the Kingdom of Sardinia, passing through Susa and Turin, Mary and Percy Bysshe Shelley arrived in Milan on 4 April 1818. They had left England three weeks earlier with their two children, Clara Everina and William, Claire Clairmont and her little daughter Allegra, and two nurses. According to the first letter that Percy sent from Milan, the couple presumably intended to stop in the city for a few days on their way to Como. On 6 April, the poet wrote to Thomas Love Peacock that they had almost reached the end of their "journey – that is within a few miles of it – because we design to spend the summer on the shore of the Lake of Como"[1]. However, Percy and Mary stayed there only four days, from 9 to 12 April, and spent the rest of the month in Milan, leaving for Pisa on 1 May. While the Shelleys' permanence in Pisa has been the object of much scholarship interested in Anglo-

[1] P.B. Shelley, *The Letters of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, F.L. Jones ed., 2 vols, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1964, Vol. 2, p. 3.

Italian relations[2], the three weeks that they spent in the capital of the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom deserve further investigation. Research by Curran (1990), Crisafulli (2002; 2014), and Mulhallen (2010) has been invaluable in documenting the influence of Salvatore Viganò's "coreodramma" *Otello, o sia il Moro di Venezia* (1818) on *Prometheus Unbound*, which Shelley began to conceive while he was travelling to Italy[3]. Yet other issues need to be addressed with specific reference to the Shelleys' experience of the city.

Milan had been the capital of Napoleon's Kingdom of Italy until 1814, and even after the restoration of the Hapsburgs it remained an intellectually vibrant and cosmopolitan centre. As Casaliggi illustrates, in the years following the Congress of Vienna the city was a hub of "international Romantic sociability" that fostered intense intellectual exchange on aesthetic as well as political issues. In 1816, Milan was the centre of the heated debate on Classicism and Romanticism, while Romantic intellectuals and *émigrés* such as Vincenzo Monti and Silvio Pellico, Stendhal, Lord Byron, John Can Hobhouse, and John Polidori gathered around Ludovico di Breme and his salon[4].

Even though recent scholarship suggests that Milan was a pivotal centre in the development of Romantic cosmopolitanism and sociability, Shelley's permanence in the city has largely been overlooked. One of the reasons for such scarce critical attention is probably the fact that his works and letters provide very few hints for investigation. Curiously, Shelley's poetry includes only two direct references to the city, one in "Ode to Naples" (1820) – to which the title of this article alludes – and one in *Hellas: A Lyrical Drama* (1822). Yet it is significant that both references occur in such politically charged works. At the same time, the poet's correspondence from Milan does not make explicit mention of intellectuals, writers or places that might help to reconstruct his Milanese circle. During the three weeks he spent in the city Shelley sent three letters to Lord Byron, all of which are mostly concerned with Claire and their daughter Allegra, three letters to Thomas Love Peacock and one to Thomas Jefferson Hogg. Rather than a clear indication of scarce or uninteresting contacts, this lack of information probably testifies to his early response to the Italians and their society despite the beauty of the country. Writing to Peacock on 20 April, Shelley remarks that

> [t]he people here, though inoffensive enough, seem both in body & soul a miserable race. The men are hardly men, they look like a tribe of stupid & shrivelled slaves, &

[2] See, among others, H. Rossetti Angeli, *Shelley and His Friends in Italy*, Methuen, London 1911; C.L. Cline, *Byron, Shelley, and Their Pisan Circle*, Murray, London 1952; M. Schoina, *Romantic "Anglo-Italians": Configurations of Identity in Byron, the Shelleys, and the Pisan Circle*, Ashgate, Farnham 2009.

[3] S. Curran, *The Political Prometheus*, in *Spirits of Fire: English Romantic Writers and Contemporary Historical Methods*, G.A. Rosso – D.P. Watkins ed., Associated University Presses, Cranbury, NJ 1990, pp. 260-285; L.M. Crisafulli, *Il viaggio olistico di Shelley in Italia: Milano, la Scala e l'incontro con l'arte di Salvatore Viganò*, in *Traduzioni, echi, consonanze. Dal Rinascimento al Romanticismo – Translations, Echoes and Consonances. From the Renaissance to the Romantic Era*, R. Mullini – R. Zacchi ed., Clueb, Bologna 2002, pp. 165-183; Ead., *"A Language in Itself Music": Salvatore Viganò's* Ballet en Action *in Shelley's* Prometheus Unbound, in *The Romantic Stage: A Many-Sided Mirror*, L.M. Crisafulli – F. Liberto ed., Rodopi, Amsterdam 2014, pp. 135-159; J. Mulhallen, *The Theatre of Shelley*, OpenBook Publishers, Cambridge 2010, pp. 147-150, 167-174.

[4] C. Casaliggi, *From Coppet to Milan: Romantic Circles at* La Scala, "The Wordsworth Circle", 48, 2017, 1, pp. 59-66.

> I do not think I have seen a gleam of intelligence in the countenance of man since I passed the Alps. The women in enslaved countries are always better than the men; but they have tight laced figures, & features & mien which express (O how un{like} the French!) a mixture of the coquette & the prude that reminds one of the worst characteristics of English women. Everything but humanity is in much greater perfection here than in France[5].

As soon as he arrives in Italy, Shelley is struck by a stark contrast between the glorious history of the country and the modern Italians. To some extent, his early perception of the people is imbibed with national stereotypes recurring in much Romantic literature, from Madame de Staël's *Corinne ou l'Italie* (1807) to Goethe's *Italienische Reise* (1816-29), and severely criticised by Ugo Foscolo's *Lettere scritte dall'Inghilterra* (1817)[6]. At the end of his first year in Italy such divide seemed to Shelley to be almost unbridgeable. On 22 December he wrote to Leigh Hunt that the country consisted in fact of "two Italies", and that "the Italians of the present day, their works and ways" were "most degraded disgusting & odious"[7]. In the *Essays, Letters from Abroad, Translations and Fragments* that she edited in 1840, Mary Shelley noted that Percy's early impressions of the Italians were the result of "ignorance" and "precipitation", and would change as he learned "the extraordinary intelligence and genius" of the people in spite of foreign rule and religious vice[8]. Unfortunately, her diaries and letters provide equally scanty, though useful insights into the four weeks that the Shelleys spent in Milan, and so do Claire Clairmont's.

By examining letters, diaries and other *realia*, this article adopts a historical and biographical perspective in order to investigate the Shelleys' experience of Milan, with a specific focus on the places they visited, their contacts, and the encounters they made in April 1818. As a final point, Percy's allusions to Milan in "Ode to Naples" and *Hellas* are examined in order to ascertain whether his references to the medieval and early modern history of the city might be related to the political contingency of the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom after the restoration of the Hapsburgs.

1. *The Shelleys in the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom*

Heading towards Italy in March 1818, the Shelleys travelled across France, crossing the border with Savoy through Mont Cenis. The route they followed was one of the two customary accesses to the Kingdom of Sardinia, the other being the Simplon Pass, and would

[5] P.B. Shelley, *Letters*, Vol. 2, p. 9.

[6] For a thorough examination of national stereotypes in Romantic literary representations of the modern Italians see the excellent study by J. Luzzi, *Romantic Europe and the Ghost of Italy*, Yale University Press, New Haven, CT/London 2008, p. 53 ff.

[7] P.B. Shelley, *Letters*, Vol. 2, p. 67.

[8] P.B. Shelley, *Essays, Letters from Abroad, Translations and Fragments*, Mrs. Shelley ed., 2 vols, Moxon, London 1840, Vol. 2, p. 120. Examining several letters Shelley wrote between 1818 and 1822, William Michael Rossetti was to note that the poet's correspondence hardly confirms Mary's testimony. See W.M. Rossetti, *A Memoir of Shelley: With a Fresh Preface*, Clay & Sons, London 1886, pp. 86-88.

still be indicated as one of the most popular in John Murray's *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy,* which ran through sixteen editions from 1842 to 1897.

The Shelleys' decision to take this route was most likely based on political reasons due to the climate of suspicion, censorship and control thriving after the Congress of Vienna. Mary's journal contains a note that Percy wrote on 26 March, and which gives a clear indication of the strict controls that were enforced upon crossing borders. Shelley's books were impounded and submitted to the approval of the local censor, while the lack of proper authorization on their passport risked postponing their admittance into Savoy. As British citizens, however, they seemed to receive a more favourable treatment from the Sardinian authorities in comparison with Lombardo-Venetian citizens travelling westwards. Around dinner time, Percy remarked,

> we had stopped at Pont Beauvoisin where the legal limits of the French & Sardinian territories are placed. We here heard that a Milanese had been sent all the way back to Lyons because his passport was unauthorised by the Sardinian Consul a few days before & that we should be subjected to the same treatment. We – in respect to the character of our nation I suppose – were suffered to pass[9].

As Claire Clairmont observed in her diary on 8 April, their admittance was favoured (and Shelley's books saved) by the intervention of a canon who was acquainted with Shelley's father through the Duke of Norfolk[10], whose influential role as a member of an English Catholic family proved relevant. The group would probably have received a different treatment had the Shelleys planned to enter the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom through Switzerland. Only nine years later, Thomas Jefferson Hogg recorded in his *Journal of a Traveller on the Continent* (1827) the difficulty encountered by travellers crossing the Austrian territories from the North:

> The Teutonic tyrants who have at present military occupation of the north of Italy, are so conscious of their weakness, and acknowledge, with so much frankness – that it is the duty of all other nations to assist in turning them out – that they will not permit a stranger to enter the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom, unless his passport has been signed by an Austrian Minister. I complied with this form at Bern, and sent my passport to the ambassador, that his master, the great Cæsar, might have due notice of my intention to enter the Milanese; lest I should rush upon his troops unexpectedly from the height of the Semplon, and clear Italy of its oppressors with my umbrella: so great is the cowardice of tyranny[11]!

[9] M. Shelley, *The Journals of Mary Shelley, 1814-1844*, P.R. Feldman – D. Scott-Kilvert ed., 2 vols, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1987, Vol. 1, p. 200; the note is also reported in P.B. Shelley, *Essays, Letters from Abroad, Translations and Fragments*, Vol. 2, p. 111.

[10] C. Clairmont, *The Journals of Claire Clairmont*, M. Kingston Stocking – D. Mackenzie Stocking ed., Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA 1968, p. 88.

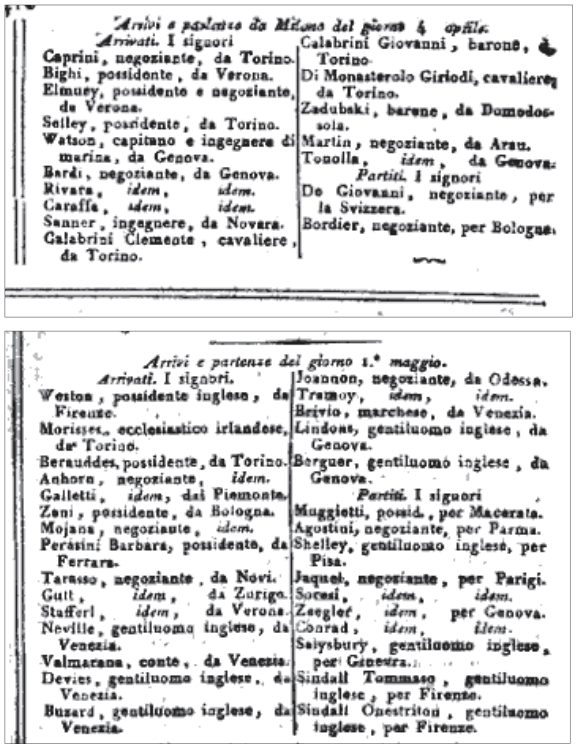
[11] T.J. Hogg, *Two Hundred and Nine Days; Or, The Journal of a Traveller on the Continent*, 2 vols, Hunt and Clarke, London 1827, Vol. 1, pp. 179-180.

As a constituent land of the Austrian Empire, the Kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia shared its strict bureaucratic apparatus. With the restoration of the Hapsburgs the police had begun to keep detailed records of all foreigners walking in and out of their borders, giving public notice of daily arrivals and departures in the press[12]. From 1816 to the annexation of Lombardy by the Kingdom of Sardinia in 1859, the official newspaper of the Hapsburgs in Milan was *La Gazzetta di Milano*. Published daily, it featured sections on foreign affairs and culture, including book reviews and advertisements of the operas and plays on at the city theatres – namely La Scala, Teatro Re and Il Teatro delle Marionette – all of which in compliance with government politics and censorship. Besides providing information about auctions, real estate sales and rents, the last page of the newspaper published a list of all incoming and outgoing foreigners, indicating their profession, origin and destination. *La Gazzetta di Milano* confirms the dates of the Shelleys' sojourn in Milan as recorded in Mary's and Claire's diaries. On 6 April, the newspaper gives the news that "Selley" had arrived from Turin two days earlier. Apart from the misprint, one reads with a certain degree of irony the poet's status as a "possidente" or "landowner" considering his financial situation when he left England. On 12 March Shelley had written to his bankers from Dover to pay off his debts – which amounted to £327 – to Thomas Love Peacock, William Godwin, Charles Ollier and the agent for Albion House. However, he still owed over £500 to Thomas Charters for the carriage he had bought while married to Harriet Westbrook in 1813, and which the Shelleys used for the first part of their journey towards the Continent in 1818[13]. Shelley's name is instead spelled correctly on 3 May, when *La Gazzetta di Milano* announces his departure for Pisa on 1 May. This time the newspaper simply describes him as a "gentiluomo inglese"[14].

A crucial point in order to establish a possible map of the Shelleys' encounters in Milan is the location of their accommodation in the city. Based on evidence provided by the journal of Claire Clairmont, both the biographers of Shelley and the editors of Mary Shelley's diaries have been accurate in indicating the hotel where the group sojourned in April 1818[15]. Yet their lodgings have scarcely been a starting point in order to try and retrace the cultural environment that the party was most likely exposed to.

[12] The climate of suspicion and censorship, and the strict controls that the Austrian police enforced on British travellers would exacerbate after Giuseppe Mazzini fled to London in 1837 and the uprisings that broke out in Milan in 1848 and 1853. On this point see F. Orestano, *Back to Italy: Dickens' Stereoscopic Views*, in *Charles Dickens and Europe*, M. Leroy ed., Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle upon Tyne 2013, pp. 126-140.
[13] P.B. Shelley, *Letters*, Vol. 1, p. 599; on Shelley's financial situation in 1818 see J. Bieri, *Percy Bysshe Shelley: A Biography*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore 2008, p. 398; J. Worthen, *The Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley: A Critical Biography*, Wiley, Hoboken, NJ/Chichester 2019, pp. 94, 189.
[14] *La Gazzetta di Milano*, 6 aprile 1818; 3 maggio 1818.
[15] See for instance M. Shelley, *Journals*, Vol. 1, p. 202n; R. Holmes, *Shelley: The Pursuit*, Harper, London 1994², p. 416; J. Bieri, *Percy Bysshe Shelley*, p. 400.

Figure 1 - *Notice of Percy Bysshe Shelley's arrival in (top) and departure from (bottom) Milan in the Austrian newspaper* La Gazzetta di Milano



Arrivi e partenze da Milano del giorno 4 aprile.

Arrivati. I signori

Caprini, negoziante, da Torino.
Bighi, possidente, da Verona.
Elmsey, possidente e negoziante, da Verona.
Selley, possidente, da Torino.
Watson, capitano e ingegnere di marina, da Genova.
Bardi, negoziante, da Genova.
Rivara, *idem*, *idem*.
Caraffa, *idem*, *idem*.
Sanner, ingegnere, da Novara.
Calabrini Clemente, cavaliere, da Torino.
Calabrini Giovanni, barone, da Torino.
Di Monasterolo Giriodi, cavaliere, da Torino.
Zadubski, barone, da Domodossola.
Martin, negoziante, da Arau.
Tonolla, *idem*, da Genova.

Partiti. I signori

De Giovanni, negoziante, per la Svizzera.
Bordier, negoziante, per Bologna.

Arrivi e partenze del giorno 1.° maggio.

Arrivati. I signori.

Weston, possidente inglese, da Firenze.
Morisses, ecclesiastico irlandese, da Torino.
Berauddes, possidente, da Torino.
Anhorn, negoziante, *idem*.
Galletti, *idem*, dal Piemonte.
Zoni, possidente, da Bologna.
Mojana, negoziante, *idem*.
Perasini Barbara, possidente, da Ferrara.
Tarasso, negoziante, da Novi.
Gutt, *idem*, da Zurigo.
Stafferl, *idem*, da Verona.
Neville, gentiluomo inglese, da Venezia.
Valmarana, conte, da Venezia.
Devies, gentiluomo inglese, da Venezia.
Buzard, gentiluomo inglese, da Venezia.
Joannon, negoziante, da Odessa.
Tramoy, *idem*, *idem*.
Brivio, marchese, da Venezia.
Lindons, gentiluomo inglese, da Genova.
Berguer, gentiluomo inglese, da Genova.

Partiti. I signori

Muggietti, possid., per Macerata.
Agostini, negoziante, per Parma.
Shelley, gentiluomo inglese, per Pisa.
Jaquet, negoziante, per Parigi.
Soresi, *idem*, *idem*.
Zeegler, *idem*, per Genova.
Conrad, *idem*, *idem*.
Salysbury, gentiluomo inglese, per Ginestra.
Sindall Tommaso, gentiluomo inglese, per Firenze.
Sindall Onestriton, gentiluomo inglese, per Firenze.

2. *The Albergo Reale and its cultural significance*

While in Milan the Shelleys rented rooms at what Claire records on 8 April as the "Locande Reale"[16], a hotel located at a walking distance from the Duomo and whose name was in fact Albergo Reale. Built in the mid-eighteenth century, the Albergo Reale was owned by the Marquis Luigi Cagnola, one of the members of the "Commissione d'Ornato", the urban development plan that had been established by a *decreto napoleonico* in 1807 in order to improve the aesthetics and the viability of the city. Among the various endeavours undertaken by the "Commissione d'Ornato" in Milan are the amphitheatre known as Arena Civica, the construction of Foro Buonaparte – the two semi-concentric rings that bridge the Castello Sforzesco to the surrounding area of the town – and the system of "rettifili" or "straight stretches" that still define the map of the city today[17]. A leading

[16] C. Clairmont, *Journals*, p. 87.

[17] The other members of the "Commissione d'Ornato" were the architects Giocondo Albertolli, Luigi Canonica – who designed the Arena Civica –, Paolo Landriani, and Giuseppe Zanoja. See A. Cassi Ramelli, *Il centro di Milano, dal Duomo alla cerchia dei Navigli. Documenti, note e divagazioni*, Ceschina, Milano 1971, p. 540; G. de Finetti, *Milano: costruzione di una città*, G. Cislaghi – M. De Benedetti – P. Marabelli ed., Hoepli, Milano 2002, pp. 82-85, 207.

Neoclassical architect, Cagnola had won the sympathies of Napoleon soon after his conquest of Northern Italy. In order to celebrate the withdrawals of the Austrian troops and the Emperor's victory at the Battle of Marengo (1800), Cagnola was commissioned to design a triumphal arch, initially known as Porta Marengo, which set the example for the Neoclassical arches that were subsequently erected in Paris. Inaugurated after the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815, the arch was renamed Porta Ticinese and decorated with the Latin inscription "paci populorum sospitae" ("to peace liberating people"). On the occasion of the French victory at the Battle of Jena (1806), Cagnola designed a second arch, inspired by the Arch of Septimius Severus in Roma, which was renamed Arco della Pace after the restoration of the Hapsburgs and was eventually completed in 1838[18]. Due to Cagnola's undertakings and institutional commitment, his status as owner of the Albergo Reale should be viewed as that of an entrepreneur rather than a host. At the same time, Cagnola's ownership of the hotel suggests that the Shelleys were possibly exposed to an extremely vibrant cultural atmosphere.

Inaugurated in the 1750s, the Albergo Reale stood in a small road, originally called Contrada dei Tre Re and later renamed Contrada dei Tre Alberghi because of its renowned hotels. The Reale had been conceived as a sumptuous accommodation, meant to "eclipse" the other two hotels in the street, the Albergo dei Tre Re and the Albergo Europa, "by luxury and fame"[19]. Standing at the heart of the neighbourhood that was known as Bottonuto, the Contrada dei Tre Alberghi was a cross street of Via del Pesce (today via Paolo da Cannobio), a busy street with restaurants, shops, and a bookkeeper often advertised in *La Gazzetta di Milano*[20]. As a token of the popularity of the Albergo Reale among English travellers, as well as of its high standards, one should remark that in 1814 the hotel – temporarily renamed "Imperiale" under Napoleon's rule – had been the lodgings of the Princess of Wales, Caroline of Brunswick. Shelley's opinion of the Albergo Reale, however, seems quite different. After praising the picturesque beauty of Como and the sublimity of the Duomo, in a corner of which he used to sit down to read Dante, Shelley writes to Peacock on 20 April that

> [t]he expense of our journey here has been very considerable, but we are now living at the Hotel here in a kind of pension, which is very reasonable in respect of price, & when we get into a menage of our own we have every reason to expect that we shall experience something of the boasted cheapness of Italy[21].

[18] A.L. Palmer, *Historical Dictionary of Neoclassical Art and Architecture*, Scarecrow Press, Lanham, MD 2011, p. 49.

[19] L. Candrini, *Alberghi e albergatori d'altri tempi in via Tre Alberghi*, "Milano. Rivista mensile del Comune", 4, 1931, pp. 193-196 (p. 195): "Attorno al 1750 venne ad aggiungersi nella via dei Tre re, un terzo albergo, il Reale, che doveva in breve eclissare, per lusso e fama, gli altri due".

[20] M.G. Tolfo, *Atlante milanese*, *il sestiere di Porta Romana*, Comune di Milano, Milano 1991, p. 310, explains that the Contrada dei Tre Re was "il proseguimento in linea retta della via Speronari e terminava alla posterla del Bottonuto, all'altezza dell'attuale via Paolo da Cannobio"; see also A. Cassi Ramelli, *Il centro di Milano*, pp. 423-424.

[21] P.B. Shelley, *Letters*, Vol. 2, p. 8.

In 1836, Marcello Mazzoni's *Traveller's Guide to Milan* would sill list the Reale as one of the best "hotels of first order" in town thanks to its spacious rooms and baths, and one of the two favourite hotels among English travellers[22]. However, the impression that one gathers from Shelley's letter to Peacock is that of a modest accommodation in a quite affordable area of Milan. With a subtle critique of the local shopkeepers that confirms his early biased opinion of the Italians, Shelley adds in the same letter that

> [t]he finest bread, made of sifted flour the whitest & the best I ever tasted is only *one English penny* a pound. All the necessaries of life bear a proportional relation to this. But then the luxuries, tea, &c. are very dear – and the English, as usual, are cheated in a way that is quite ridiculous, if they have not their wits about them[23].

Only a year later, Joseph Mallord William Turner would lodge in the same Contrada, most likely renting a room in the same hotel as the Shelleys. As Crimi has demonstrated, Turner captured the view offered by his hotel room in the watercolour that the scholar has named *Milan: The Skyline at Dawn, with the Campanile of San Giovanni in Conca, the Church of Sant'Alessandro in Zebedia and the Basilica of San Lorenzo, from the Albergo dei Tre Re* (1819). Although the dome and belfry of the Baroque Church of Sant'Alessandro have enabled Crimi to identify with precision of details the subject of Turner's view, the scholar suggests that there is no supporting evidence as to whether Turner stayed at the Tre Re or the Reale[24]. Yet the Albergo Reale remained a symbol of Milan in the English imagination throughout the century, a further proof being Willkie Collins's gothic novella *The Haunted Hotel. A Mystery of Modern Venice* (1878). When Lord Montbarry's brother, Henry Westwick, decides to leave Venice and travel through Italy, his first stop is Milan. From there, Westwick sends a telegram to Montbarry, informing him about his address while in town:

> [a] week passed, and no letter came from Henry. Some days later, a telegram was received from him. It was despatched from Milan, instead of from Venice; and it brought this strange message: – "I have left the hotel. Will return on the arrival of Arthur and his wife. Address, meanwhile, Albergo Reale, Milan"[25].

[22] M. Mazzoni, *The Traveller's Guide to Milan, with a Sketch of the Environs and a Description of the Lakes*, Sonzogno, Milano 1836, pp. 196-197.
[23] P.B. Shelley, *Letters*, Vol. 2, p. 8, emphasis in the text.
[24] M. Imms, "Joseph Mallord William Turner, *Milan: The Skyline at Dawn, with the Campanile of San Giovanni in Conca, the Church of Sant'Alessandro in Zebedia and the Basilica of San Lorenzo, from the Albergo dei Tre Re* (1819)", https://www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/jmw-turner/joseph-mallord-william-turner-milan-the-skyline-at-dawn-with-the-campanile-of-san-giovanni-r1186393 (last accessed July 16, 2019).
[25] W. Collins, *The Haunted Hotel: A Mystery of Modern Venice*, Dover, New York 1982, p. 68.

Figure 2 - *Entrance of the Albergo Reale (late 19th/early 20th century), https://blog.urbanfile.org/2016/07/12/milano-bottonuto-il-cuore-perduto-di-milano/ (last accessed July 16, 2019)*

Figure 3 - *Courtyard of the Albergo Reale (undated), https://blog.urbanfile.org/2016/07/12/milano-bottonuto-il-cuore-perduto-di-milano/ (last accessed July 16, 2019)*

Figure 4 – *Bottonuto and via Tre Alberghi (left) and the same area of Milan today (right), https://vecchiamilano.wordpress.com/2010/03/05/via-visconti/ (last accessed July 16, 2019)*

Despite Shelley's opinion, the Albergo Reale provided above the standard accommodation. Besides having been the lodgings of Caroline of Brunswick, in 1871 it was listed as the official residence of the English vice-consul in Milan, William Thomas Kelly[26], and part of its vogue was due to the neighbourhood where it stood. A posh area at Shelley's time, Bottonuto was to lose its appeal when Milan began to expand eastwards, in the direction of Porta Orientale (now Porta Venezia), and thus ideologically towards the centre of the Austrian Empire. In the "urban sketches" he collected in *Milano sconosciuta* in 1879, Paolo Valera would depict Bottonuto as an area of decay and degradation, a notorious meeting point for soldiers in search of prostitutes and fences trading stolen goods:

> [b]isogna turarsi il naso. È un ambiente di case malfamate. Vi si vende di tutto. È una fogna, una pozzanghera. In certi momenti il vicolo delle Quaglie è un pisciatoio fino in fondo. Vi si guazza come intorno a un orinatoio. Se ne odora la peste. Sovente c'è una ressa di soldati che lascia supporre che ci siano nascoste moltitudini di vergini. [...] Se si esce dalle Quaglie e si passa nel vicolo del Bottonuto c'è roba scadente. È roba invecchiata. Sono donne tenute su con tutti gli uncini, con tutti gli spilli, con qualche vezzo di false perle. [...] Dall'altra parte, al margine di via Larga, il cancro torreggia. Lo si vede dappertutto[27].

However, when the Shelleys sojourned in Milan in 1818 Bottonuto was a popular neighbourhood among foreign tourists, who either lodged in the area or met in its cafés and shops. Being at a walking distance from the Duomo and La Scala, it was an ideal place to stroll around the city centre. In her journal entries for 9, 10, 19, and 21 April 1818, Claire records enjoying her walks down "the Corso", often in the evening, in some cases with Percy and Mary[28]. This was a customary pastime among foreign visitors in Italy, as Stendhal also recollects in his travelogue *Rome, Naples et Florence* (1817). In October 1816, he noted that "tous les jour, à deux heures, il y a *Corso*, où tout le monde paraît à cheval ou en voiture. Le *Corso* a lieu à Milan, sur le bastion, entre la *Porta Rense* et la *Porta Nova*"[29].

As Stendhal remarked, the *promenade à la mode* extended towards the eastern end of the town, in the direction of the Oriental Gates and thus towards the core of the Austrian Empire, which is why Corso Porta Orientale was renamed Corso Venezia during the nineteenth century. Claire's meticulous annotations confirm the same pastime, and on 20 April

[26] G. Brignola, *Milano percorsa in Omnibus. Guida per chi vuol visitare con poco dispendio di tempo e denaro, tutto quanto di più rimarchevole offre questa città*, Brignola, Milano 1871, p. 144.

[27] P. Valera, *Milano sconosciuta*, Martelli, Milano 1967, pp. 119-122: "You need to hold your nose. It is a place of infamous houses, people will sell you anything. It is a cesspool, a dirty puddle. There are times when vicolo delle Quaglie turns into a complete pisshole – you wallow around it as if it were a urinal. You can smell the plague. From the frequent hosts of soldiers, you can tell that [the place] hides multitudes of maidens. [...] If you walk out of via delle Quaglie and get into vicolo del Bottonuto, the stuff is shoddy. Older. Women that seem to stand on some hooks or pins, their quirk are false pearls. [...] On the other side, at the end of via Larga, cancer dominates. You can see it everywhere" (my translation).

[28] C. Clairmont, *Journals*, pp. 90-92.

[29] Stendhal, *Rome, Naples et Florence*, D. Muller ed., 2 vols, Champion, Paris 1919, Vol. 1, pp. 44-45.

she records her "Walk in the Public Gardens with the Darling"[30]. Indeed, the Corso extended along the south side of the Giardini Pubblici, the city park that the viceroy of Milan had commissioned in 1780 to Giuseppe Piermarini, the architect who designed La Scala in 1776-1778. Besides enjoying the park, biographical evidence suggests that the Shelleys had other relevant contacts in the area extending between the *Corso* and the opera house.

Figure 5 – *Corso Venezia in the nineteenth century, https://www.milanocittastato.it/evergreen/le-10-vie-di-milano-piu-da-milano-storia-e-curiosita-foto-comerano-come-sono-oggi/attachment/1-corso-venezia-nell-ottocento/ (last accessed July 16, 2019)*

3. *The Teatro Carcano: Giuseppe Marietti and Domenico Mombelli*

Writing to Leigh and Marianne Hunt on 6 April, Mary closes her letter with the recommendation:

> Direct to us
> Mess. Marietti-Banquiers
> Milano
> Italie[31].

Mary's directions suggest that the Shelleys were in contact with the Marietti brothers, a family of silk traders and bankers whose firm was located in the Contrada de' Bossi, an area whose borders roughly coincide with Piazza della Scala and Piazza San Fedele, north-east of the Duomo[32]. Unfortunately, Shelley's biographers provide no further details on the party's relationship with the family. Yet in his dual role as a banker and impresario Giuseppe Marietti played an active part in the Milanese cultural scene of the early nineteenth century, and he also had politically relevant contacts with England. Parliamentary records reveal that

[30] C. Clairmont, *Journals*, p. 92.
[31] M. Shelley, *Selected Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley*, B.T. Bennett ed., Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore/London 1995, p. 32.
[32] *Il Corriere di Milano*, 22 giugno 1809, p. 604; *Utile giornale, ossia Guida di Milano per l'anno bisestile 1836*, Vol. 13, Bernardoni, Milano 1836, p. 315.

Marietti was involved in the trial of Caroline of Brunswick, who was charged with adultery after returning to London on the occasion of George IV's coronation in 1820. On 5 and 6 September, hearings were held at the House of Lords and Caroline's servant in Italy, Giuseppe Sacchi, was called as a witness because of his contacts with Marietti in Milan and their recent encounter in London. Parliament suspected that Sacchi had been bribed by the banker on behalf of the Queen's chief attorney, Lord Brougham, in order to influence his deposition in her favour[33].

It is intriguing that the Shelleys lodged in the same Albergo as Queen Caroline, and were in touch with the banker whom the Lords suspected to be involved in the corruption of the Queen's servant. A further proof of the contacts that the Shelleys maintained with Marietti is their acquaintance with Domenico Mombelli, the leading tenor of the Teatro Carcano, which the banker had founded with the Duke Pompeo Litta and Pietro Soresi in Corso di Porta Romana, where it still stands today. Designed by the architect Luigi Canonica in 1801 and modelled on La Scala, the Carcano inaugurated its activity in 1803 with a performance of Voltaire's tragedy *Zaire* (1732). The Austrian newspaper *Neues Archiv für Geschichte, Staatenkunde, Literatur und Kunst* states that Marietti had conceived the Carcano as an alternative to La Scala during the summer, when the opera house was closed[34]. This might explain why there is no evidence of the Shelleys' going to the Teatro Carcano, whereas their five evenings at La Scala – on 5, 7, 20, 21 and 29 April – are well documented[35].

Mary's diary indicates that the Shelleys were personally acquainted with Mombelli. On 24 April she recorded that after their usual walk they met the "Italian Master in the evening"[36], whom Claire later identified as "Signor Mombelli"[37]. A tenor and a composer, Mombelli had gained a reputation by performing in Giuseppe Sarti's *Medonte* and Domenico Cimarosa's *Oreste* at the Teatro San Carlo in Naples, where he worked from 1783 to 1786, before singing at the Burgtheater in Vienna. Back in Italy, Gioacchino Rossini composed for Mombelli the leading part of *Demetrio and Polibio*, which the tenor performed at the Carcano in 1813[38]. More interestingly, the libretto for *Demetrio and Polibio* was written by Mombelli's wife Vincenzina Viganò. A renowned librettist at the time, Vincenzina Viganò was the niece of the composer Luigi Boccherini and the sister of Salvatore Viganò, who choreographed the *Otello* that the Shelleys saw at La Scala. Albeit scarcely documented, these contacts may have favoured Shelley's interest in coreodramma. Even though their acquaintance was possibly limited to the four weeks that they spent in Milan,

[33] *The Trial of the Queen of England, in the House of Lords*, 2 vols, Kelly, London 1821, Vol. 1, pp. 613-624.
[34] *Neues Archiv für Geschichte, Staatenkunde, Literatur und Kunst, Erster Jahrgang (XX. als Fortsetzung)*, 12. Oktober 1829, p. 641: "Noch ehe die Scala, wie gewöhnlich, für die heißesten Wochen des Sommers geschlossen war, hatte eine Gesellschaft, an deren Spitze der Banquier Marietti stand, das Theater Carcano eröffnet".
[35] P.B. Shelley, *Letters*, Vol. 2, pp. 4, 14; M. Shelley, *Journals*, Vol. 1, p. 205; C. Clairmont, *Journals*, pp. 89, 92.
[36] M. Shelley, *Journals*, Vol. 1, p. 207.
[37] *Shelley and His Circle, 1773-1822*, 10 vols to date, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA 1961-2002, Vol. 5, D.H. Reiman ed., p. 452.
[38] *The Grove Book of Opera Singers*, L. Macy ed., Oxford University Press, Oxford 2008, pp. 328-329.

the Shelleys most likely saw Mombelli more than once since the tenor, as Dowden records, taught them some Italian while they were in town[39].

Unfortunately, the Shelleys' correspondence and journals provide no further insights into their last days in Milan before they left for Tuscany. Some additional remarks, however, should be made on whether, and to what extent, the city and its history percolated through Percy's works.

4. *A transhistorical signifier for liberty*

Notwithstanding the cosmopolitan and intellectually lively atmosphere that Shelley experienced in Milan, his poetry includes only two explicit mentions to the city, one in "Ode to Naples" and one in the lyrical drama *Hellas*. In both cases, Shelley does not allude to the political contingency of the city after the restoration of the Hapsburgs but to its past, to the history of Milan during the Age of the Communes and the rule of the Sforzas. Yet both works have highly political tones that should be borne in mind in order to discuss the libertarian implications of these references to the city. In the aftermath of the Congress of Vienna, as Casaliggi remarks, Milan embodied for Romantic intellectuals and artists "a hub of radical sentiments and nationalistic sympathies", but also the tyranny and oppressiveness enforced after 1815[40]. Such symbolical value seems arguably embedded in Shelley's two brief allusions to the history of the city.

"Ode to Naples" was inspired by the proclamation of a constitutional government following a revolution guided by the Carbonari in July 1820. The insurrectionists demanded the King of Two Sicilies a constitutional government in the wake of the Spanish revolution that had taken place earlier the same year. The Shelleys' enthusiastic response to the *moti napoletani* depended not only on their – albeit temporary – achievement, but also on the precedent that they had set. Writing to Maria Gisborne from Leghorn on 19 July 1820, Mary Shelley expressed her hope that Lombardy and Tuscany would follow the example of the Carbonari in the South:

> This is the era for constitutions. [...] What a glorious thing it will be if Lombardy regains its freedom – and Tuscany – all is so mild there that it will be the last, and yet in the end I hope the people here will raise their fallen souls and bodies and become something better than they are[41].

Following the Pindaric structure of epodes, strophes, and antistrophes, "Ode to Naples" expresses such enthusiastic and hopeful response to the historical events of 1820. Shelley praises the Spanish revolution that had broken out in Cadiz and the Neapolitan uprisings before expressing his hopes that the same spirit might enliven Venice, Genoa, Milan, and Florence. Particularly in Antistrophe Iß he imagines that

[39] E. Dowden, *The Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, 2 vols, Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., London 1886, Vol. 2, p. 198.
[40] C. Casaliggi, *From Coppet to Milan*, pp. 60, 62.
[41] P.B. Shelley, *Letters*, Vol. 2, p. 217.

[...] the Sea
Which paves the desert streets of Venice laughs
In light and music; widowed Genoa wan
By moonlight spells ancestral epitaphs
Murmuring, "where is Doria?" Fair Milan
Within whose veins long ran
The Viper's palsying venom, lifts her heel
To bruise his head. The Signal and the Seal,
If Hope and Truth and Justice can avail
Art thou of all these hopes. O hail! (ll. 106-115)[42]

In a note to the text of "Ode to Naples" Shelley explains that the viper he refers to is "The device of the Visconti – whose tyranny has been inherited by the German Emperors"[43]. The coat of arms of the Visconti family, later inherited by the Sforzas, represented a "biscione", a coiled serpent depicted in the act of devouring the body of a Saracen to commemorate Ottone Visconti's military valour during the Second Crusade[44]. As Weinberg argues, Shelley's Milanese experience, with his interest in the myth of Prometheus on the one hand and the life and madness of Torquato Tasso on the other, suggested to him poetic associations between the political oppression of the nineteenth century and the despotism of the Cinquecento[45]. This possibility seems all the more plausible if one considers that the following year he would outline similar considerations on the corruption of the Papal State and the tyranny of *signori* during the sixteenth century in *The Cenci*. In this sense, Shelley's reference to the Sforza's coat of arm in "Ode to Naples" should be understood in a transhistorical sense, a metonymical allusion to tyranny – and its hemiplegic effects – across time. If one deconstructs the metonymical significance of this reference by replacing one phase of the history of tyranny in Milan with another, the viper reveals its allusion to the Austrian rule, which Shelley hoped the peoples of Lombardy and Veneto would defeat just as the Neapolitans were attempting to do with the Bourbons.

Similar considerations might arguably be extended to *Hellas*. At the beginning of the lyrical drama that Shelley dedicated to Alexander Mavrokordatos, the chorus addresses "[...] the great Morning of the world" (l. 46) where freedom shall triumph. The poet recalls the glorious battles of Thermopylae, Marathon, and Philippi, whose "winged Glory" (l. 56) would nurture the libertarian resistance of Milan in the Age of the Communes:

[42] P.B. Shelley, *The Poems of Shelley*, Vol. 3, J. Donovan – C. Duffy – K. Everest – M. Rossington ed., Pearson Education, Harlow 2011 (Longman Annotated English Poets), pp. 641-642.
[43] *Ibidem*.
[44] A. Buzzi, *Per la storia dello stemma del Ducato di Milano*, "Arte Lombarda", 65, 1983, 2, pp. 83-88.
[45] A.M. Weinberg, *Shelley's Italian Experience*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York 1991, p. 103.

[...] The winged Glory
On Philippi half-alighted,
Like an eagle on a promontory.
Its unwearied wings could fan
The quenchless ashes of Milan. (ll. 56-60)[46]

As in "Ode to Naples", the implications of this brief reference to the history of Milan are political as well as transhistorical. Again, it is Shelley himself who clarified the meaning of these lines. In a note to the text of *Hellas* he explains that "Milan was the centre of the resistance of the Lombard league against the Austrian tyrant. Frederic Barbarossa burnt the city to the ground, but Liberty lived in its ashes, and it rose like an exhalation from its ruin"[47]. On a literary level, Shelley's interest in the siege of Milan by the Holy Roman Emperor reveals his reading of Dante's *Purgatorio*[48] while in Italy. In Canto 18, Dante encounters the abbot of the Basilica of San Zeno in Verona, who tells him about "[...] lo 'mperio del buon barbarossa / di cui dolente ancor Milan ragiona" (ll. 119-120).[49] Yet the significance of this episode in the context of early nineteenth-century Italian politics depends on Shelley's reading of Sismondi's *Histoire des républiques italiennes du moyen âge* (1808)[50]. The Swiss historian had envisaged in the martyrdom of the Lombard League in the twelfth century an example of heroic resistance to be followed by the libertarian movements of the nineteenth century. For this reason, in the same note to *Hellas* Shelley refers his readers to Sismondi's study as "a book which has done much towards awakening the Italians to an imitation of their great ancestors"[51]. That Milan, like the rest of Italy, should take action and revive its lost valour was a hope that Shelley would harbour throughout his four years in the "Paradise of Exiles", waiting for the Italian peoples – as "Ode to Liberty" (1820) suggests – to stand up for self-determination and independence.

[46] P.B. Shelley, *Shelley's Poetry and Prose*, D.H. Reiman – N. Fraistat ed., Norton, New York 2002, pp. 434-435.
[47] *Ibid.*, p. 462.
[48] M. Shelley, *Journals*, Vol. 1, p. 205.
[49] D. Alighieri, *La Commedia secondo l'antica vulgata*, 4 vols, G. Petrocchi ed., Le Lettere, Firenze 1994, Vol. 3, p. 309.
[50] J.C.L. Simonde de Sismondi, *Histoire des républiques italiennes du moyen âge*, 4 vols, Henri Gessner, Zürich 1807, Vol. 2, p. 180 ff.
[51] P.B. Shelley, *Shelley's Poetry and Prose*, p. 462.

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Return to Paradise: Lake Como in the Works of Mary Shelley

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This article deals with Mary Shelley's imaginary and actual revisiting of Lake Como in her writings following her return to England from Italy in 1823. First the Shelleys' weekend escape to Como in April 1818 is retraced through their contemporary accounts in their journals and letters. I then look at the ways in which recollections of this visit are incorporated into Mary Shelley's fictional and non-fictional works, and I compare them to the narratives of her subsequent two visits to Lake Como.

Oggetto di questo articolo è la rappresentazione del Lago di Como nelle opere di Mary Shelley successive al ritorno in Inghilterra dall'Italia nel 1823. Dopo aver ripercorso, attraverso le testimonianze contenute in lettere e pagine di diario, gli spostamenti degli Shelley nel fine settimana che trascorsero sul Lario nell'aprile 1818, analizzerò le memorie di questa visita incorporate nelle opere di Mary Shelley, confrontandole con le narrazioni delle sue due successive visite al Lago di Como.

Keywords: Mary Shelley, Lake Como, *Frankenstein*, *Rambles in Germany and Italy*, Italian language

Five days after arriving in Milan, on Thursday, 9 April 1818, Mary Shelley and Percy Bysshe Shelley set out for Como, where they remained until the following Sunday, looking unsuccessfully for a place to rent for the summer[1]. Lake Como, and not Milan, was, in fact, the intended final destination of the Shelleys' journey to Italy, as Shelley informed Thomas Love Peacock in his first letter from that city[2]. The Shelleys left their two children, William and Clara, and, most importantly, Claire Clairmont, Mary's stepsister, in Milan. In their absence, Claire passed the time reading, riding on the Corso with her daughter, Allegra, and climbing to the top of the Duomo[3]. Meanwhile Percy and Mary crossed Lake Como by boat four times, and saw at least three houses to rent. The first house they saw, on Friday morning, was Villa Tanzi, in Torno, near Como. Feldman and Scott-Kilvert's

[1] M. Shelley, *The Journals of Mary Shelley 1814-1844*, P.R. Feldman – D. Scott-Kilvert ed., 2 vols, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1987, Vol. 1, pp. 204-205.
[2] P.B. Shelley, *The Letters of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, F.L. Jones ed., 2 vols, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1964, Vol. 2, p. 3.
[3] C. Clairmont, *The Journals of Claire Clairmont*, M. Kingston Stocking ed., Harvard University Press, Cambridge MA 1968, pp. 89-91.

edition of Mary Shelley's journals reads "Sanzi", but no Villa Sanzi has ever stood on the shores of Lake Como. A fresh consultation of the manuscript has revealed that the character the two editors took to be an "S" is a rather carelessly formed, but still recognisable "T"[4]. In an 1819 travel article the Italian journalist and writer Davide Bertolotti observed that Villa Tanzi was a popular tourist destination[5]. One of its many visitors was Lady Morgan, who lamented the excessive landscape gardening at odds with the "naturally picturesque and wildly rural" surroundings of the Villa – "red brick arcades, forts, and citadels, with cannons, cells for hermits, grottos for monsters, monuments to mistresses who perhaps never lived, and cenotaphs to friends who are in no haste to fill them"[6]. Mary Shelley also found something to complain about, but her considerations are of a more practical order. She described Villa Tanzi as "a very nice house but out of repair with an excellent garden but full of serpents". Thence the Shelleys sailed further north to the Tremezzina, a locality on the opposite shore of the lake, where the next day they looked "at a house beautifully situated but too small and afterwards crossing the lake at another magnificent one which we shall be very happy if we obtain"[7]. The following Monday, Shelley invited Lord Byron to join them in "the situation which I imagine we have chosen (the Villa Pliniana)"[8]. Villa Pliniana is also in the village of Torno, and, like Villa Tanzi, was a sight no traveller would miss. Although Byron did not accept Shelley's invitation (indeed, he never visited Lake Como), his name seems to have replaced the Shelleys' names in the list of notable guests to the Villa on the Lombardy Region's cultural heritage website[9]. During their trip the Shelleys also visited the celebrated Villa Clerici (now Villa Carlotta) in Tremezzo and met his owner, Gian Battista Sommariva[10], a former statesman and personal friend of Napoleon turned art collector. Twenty-two years later Mary Shelley revisited his house and described its garden and rich collection of masterpieces – which includes a monumental marble frieze by Thorwaldsen and works by Canova – in her travelogue, *Rambles in Germany and Italy in 1840, 1842, and 1843* (1844)[11].

The "Shore of the Lake of Como" provides the setting for *Rosalind and Helen* (1819). Shelley completed his "Modern Eclogue" in the summer of 1818, but manuscript evidence indicates that it was begun two years earlier, in Geneva, and many of its landscape allusions originally referred to a different lake, Lac Léman[12]. The change of setting reflects the

[4] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodleian MS. Abinger d. 28, fol. 78r.
[5] D. Bertolotti, *Viaggio al Lago di Como*, Ostinelli, Como 1821, p. 42. Bertolotti's travelogue first appeared in 1819 in serial form in the magazine he edited, *Il raccoglitore*.
[6] Lady Morgan, *Italy*, 2 vols, Colburn, London 1821, Vol. 1, p. 182.
[7] M. Shelley, *Journals*, Vol. 1, p. 204.
[8] P.B. Shelley, *Letters*, Vol. 2, p. 5.
[9] http://www.lombardiabeniculturali.it/architetture/schede/CO180-00182/ (last accessed August 24, 2018).
[10] M. Shelley, *Journals*, Vol. 1, p. 204.
[11] M. Shelley, *The Novels and Selected Works of Mary Shelley*, 8 vols, Pickering & Chatto, London 1996, Vol. 8, J. Moskal ed., p. 122.
[12] P.B. Shelley, *The Poems of Shelley*, Vol. 2, G. Matthews – K. Everest ed., Pearson Education, Harlow 2000 (Longman Annotated English Poets), pp. 266-267.

delight that both Percy and Mary, with whom the poem was a special favourite[13], took in visiting Lake Como, qualified as "beautiful", "divine", and "lovely" in Mary Shelley's journal account[14]. Doubtless, part of the Shelleys' delight arose from their being alone that weekend, which happened quite rarely, especially after their relocation to Italy. Shelley's enthusiasm fully emerges in the description of the lakeside that takes up most of the four pages, all cross-written, of his letter to Peacock dated 20 April 1818. This is the first of a series of long descriptive letters that Shelley addressed to Peacock from Italy, but in fact wrote for all his friends in England, which he would probably have published had he returned. That such was Shelley's intention is suggested by Mary Shelley's postscript to Shelley's letter from Bologna of 10 November 1818, requesting Peacock to "[t]ake care of these letters because I have no copies & I wish to transcribe them when I return to England"[15]. As often, Shelley's enthusiasm was short-lived, and no further mention of Lake Como is to be found in his works.

The visit made a longer-lasting impression on Mary Shelley. Indeed, it represents an influential, but previously unexplored, moment of her multifaceted experience of Italy[16]. In her 1826 review of *The English in Italy*, Mary Shelley defined Italy as "an exhaustless theme"[17]. She herself wrote extensively about it since her return to England in the summer of 1823. Being unable to go back physically to her "adopted land"[18], she kept revisiting it in her writings. Her memories and experiences of Italy and the Italians thus lend life and authenticity to what was perhaps not an exhaustless but certainly a fashionable "theme" in contemporary English literature. Interestingly, some of the places in Italy that are most frequently evoked in Mary Shelley's works are places where the Shelleys spent relatively little time, such as Este, in the Euganean Hills[19], or Lake Como.

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[13] M. Shelley, *The Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley*, B.T. Bennett ed., 3 vols, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore 1980-88, Vol. 1, p. 43, and P.B. Shelley, *The Poetical Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, Mrs. Shelley ed., 4 vols, Moxon, London 1839, Vol. 3, p. 159.

[14] M. Shelley, *Journals*, Vol. 1, p. 204.

[15] M. Shelley, *Letters*, Vol. 1, p. 82. See also P.B. Shelley, *Letters*, Vol. 2, p. 152.

[16] In recent years a number of articles and books investigating different aspects of Mary Shelley's Italian experience have been published. See, for instance, E.H. Schor, *Mary Shelley in Transit*, in *The Other Mary Shelley: Beyond* Frankenstein, A.A. Fisch – A.K. Mellor – E.H. Schor ed., Oxford University Press, New York 1993, pp. 235-257; J. Moskal, *Mary Shelley's* Rambles in Germany and Italy *and the Discourses of Race and National Manners*, "La questione romantica", 3-4, 1997, pp. 205-212; S. Curran, *Reproductions of Italy in Post-Waterloo Britain*, in *Immaginando l'Italia: itinerari letterari del Romanticismo inglese*, L.M. Crisafulli ed., CLUEB, Bologna 2002, pp. 135-151; G.G. Dekker, *The Fictions of Romantic Tourism: Radcliffe, Scott, and Mary Shelley*, Stanford University Press, Stanford 2005; M. Schoina, *Romantic "Anglo-Italians": Configurations of Identity in Byron, the Shelleys, and the Pisan Circle*, Ashgate, Farnham 2009; E. Marino, *Mary Shelley e l'Italia: il viaggio, il Risorgimento, la questione femminile*, Le Lettere, Firenze 2011. A still indispensable contribution to the understanding of Mary Shelley's Italianism is J. de Palacio, *Mary Shelley dans son œuvre: contribution aux études shelleyennes*, Klincksieck, Paris 1969, pp. 21-90.

[17] M. Shelley, *Novels*, Vol. 2, P. Clemit ed., p. 159.

[18] M. Shelley, "The Choice" [Journal Version], l. 60, in *Mary Shelley's Literary Lives and Other Writings*, 4 vols, Pickering & Chatto, London 2002, Vol. 4, P. Clemit – A.A. Markley ed., p. 124.

[19] See V. Varinelli, *Echi e memorie. Este nell'opera di Mary Shelley*, in *Isole in fiore. Mary e Percy B. Shelley tra Este, Venezia e i Colli Euganei*, F. Selmin ed., Cierre edizioni, Sommacampagna 2017, pp. 49-66.

Perhaps the most valuable insights into Mary Shelley's Italian experience are offered by the biographical essays she wrote between 1833 and 1835 for the three-volume *Lives of the Most Eminent Literary and Scientific Men of Italy, Spain and Portugal* (1835-37), part of Dionysius Lardner's *Cabinet Cyclopædia*. Biography and autobiography often merge in Mary Shelley's so-called "Italian Lives", as she digresses with her own recollections whenever she mentions a place that she visited. The "Life" of Ugo Foscolo gave Mary Shelley the opportunity to recall the scenery of Villa Pliniana, where Foscolo "took up his residence" after he "retreated from the university", thus "giving proof of his pure and ardent love of nature, so rare among Italians, by his retirement from cities to the sublime and luxuriant scenery of [Lake Como]"[20]. But Foscolo did not live in the Pliniana. Mary Shelley's source, Giuseppe Pecchio's biography of Foscolo, mentions his frequent visits to the Villa, but clearly states that Foscolo lodged in nearby Borgo Vico[21]. Mary Shelley followed her source closely throughout her essay, accurately paraphrasing entire passages and quoting from it in translation, so her mistake is hardly accidental. By stating that Foscolo resided at Villa Pliniana, rather than merely visited it, she implicitly justified her lengthy description of the place that follows:

> He took up his residence at a villa named the Pliniana, built on the site of the fountains whose periodical ebb and flow the younger Pliny records in his letters. The lake, paled in by mountains, bathes the walls of the villa; and the neighbouring banks, clothed with myrtle and arbutus, overhang the waters, and cast their deep shade on the clear depths: the precipitous mountain rises behind, diversified by chestnut woods; and here and there are seen huge cypresses, whose spires seem to pierce the skies, when regarded from the terraced garden of the villa. The flowing fountains keep up a perpetual murmur; and, perhaps, in all the varied earth there is no spot which affords such a combination of the picturesque, the beautiful, the rich, the balmy, and the sublime[22].

Such a vivid picture must have appealed to an audience already interested in things Italian. Engaging her readers' attention was not Mary Shelley's only concern though. Her description of Villa Pliniana contains distinct echoes of that provided by Shelley in his letter to Peacock of 20 April 1818 discussed above:

> the finest scenery is that of the Villa Pliniana, so called from a fountain which ebbs & flows every three hours described by the younger Pliny which is in the courtyard. [...] It is built upon terraces *raised from* the bottom of the lake, together with its garden at the foot of a semicircular precipice overshadowed by profound forests of chestnut. The scene from the colonnade is the most extraordinary at once & the most lovely that eye ever beheld. On one side is the mountain & immediately over

[20] M. Shelley, *Literary Lives*, Vol. 1, T.J. Mazzeo ed., p. 348.

[21] G. Pecchio, *Vita di Ugo Foscolo*, Ruggia, Lugano 1830, pp. 165-166. In 1808-1809 Foscolo was a regular guest of Count Giovan Battista Giovio in Como. He spent the summer of 1809 in Borgo Vico, then a village nearby (U. Foscolo, *Opere: Tomo I*, F. Gavazzeni ed., Ricciardi, Milano-Napoli 1974, pp. xxvii-xxviii).

[22] M. Shelley, *Literary Lives*, Vol. 1, p. 348.

> you are clusters of cypress trees of an astonishing height which seem to pierce the sky. Above you from among the clouds as it were descends a waterfall of immense size, broken by the woody rocks into a thousand channels to the lake. On the other side is seen the blue extent of the lake, & the mountains sprinkled with sails & spires[23].

Mary Shelley copied this and other letters by Shelley in November 1833 in preparation for an edition of them, which she eventually published in 1839, thus fulfilling her late husband's ambition. It is perhaps more than a coincidence that in the same journal entry as mentions her "copying Shelley's letters" Mary Shelley recorded the beginning of her work on "the lives of the Italians"[24]. Incorporating Shelley's voice into her works in the form of explicit quotations, or echoes (as here), is a mourning strategy Mary Shelley adopted virtually everywhere in her production after July 1822, but most frequently within an Italian context.

To turn to Mary Shelley's fictional works, Villa Pliniana and its surroundings had already provided the setting for part of her third novel, *The Last Man* (1826). Towards the end of the novel the protagonist, Lionel Verney, moves to Villa Pliniana with his son, his niece, and his closest friend, who like him have survived the plague that killed the rest of mankind. Lake Como appears as a "paradisaical retreat"[25] to them, but when Lionel's child dies – in a manner reminiscent of William Shelley's death, in Rome in June 1819 – this paradise proves an illusion, and the three survivors feel compelled to leave. This episode, in which Lake Como stands synecdochically for Italy, voices Mary Shelley's disillusionment with a country that may well have seemed like paradise to the English exile until she lost her children and, later, her husband there.

Lake Como has an even stronger symbolic value in the 1831 version of *Frankenstein*. In the text of the 1818 edition references to Italy are sparse and not particularly noteworthy. As we learn in the first chapter, Elizabeth Lavenza is the daughter of Alphonse Frankenstein's sister and an Italian gentleman, but she does not seem to have retained any link with her motherland. In the revised version, Victor himself was born in Italy, in Naples, during his parents' tour of the Continent. In the course of the same tour, the Frankensteins adopt Elizabeth, who is now the orphan child of a Milanese nobleman and patriot,

> one of those Italians nursed in the memory of the antique glory of Italy, — one among the *schiavi ognor frementi*, who exerted himself to obtain the liberty of his country. He became the victim of its weakness. Whether he had died, or still lingered in the dungeons of Austria, was not known[26].

[23] P.B. Shelley, *Letters*, Vol. 2, p. 7, corrected against holograph manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodleian MS. Shelley c. 1, fol. 225[r]).

[24] M. Shelley, *Journals*, Vol. 2, pp. 532-533. Shelley's letters appeared in *Essays, Letters from Abroad, Translations and Fragments*, 2 vols, Mrs. Shelley ed., Moxon, London 1840 [*for* 1839].

[25] M. Shelley, *Novels*, Vol. 4, J. Blumberg – N. Crook ed., p. 335.

[26] M. Shelley, *Frankenstein: or, The Modern Prometheus*, Colburn and Bentley, London 1831, p. 22. The phrase in Italian, which can be translated as "always restless slaves", is derived from Alfieri's work, *Il Misogallo* (Sonnet 18).

As noted by de Palacio, the character of Elizabeth Lavenza's natural father is modelled on Silvio Pellico, who had recently been released from Spielberg[27]. This variation can thus be interpreted as Mary Shelley's tribute to the Risorgimento. Later in the novel, we are informed that Elizabeth had inherited a "small possession on the shores of Como" from her father, which had been first confiscated and then restored to her by the Austrian government thanks to Alphonse Frankenstein's intercession. Victor then recalls: "It was agreed that, immediately after our union, we should proceed to Villa Lavenza, and spend our first days of happiness beside the beautiful lake near which it stood"[28]. The newly-wed couple, however, never reaches Lake Como. Having begun their journey to Italy by water, Victor and Elizabeth stop in Evian for the first night of their honeymoon, and there, like in the first edition, Elizabeth is murdered by the Creature. As Victor's country of birth, and the place where he spent his early childhood, Italy represents a state of innocence and bliss that he can no longer attain. It is a paradise that is lost to him. This romanticised depiction of Italy reflects Mary Shelley's idealisation of the country, a process that can be traced back through her letters and journal entries to the very moment in which she made the painful decision to return to England after Shelley's death, as if in reaction to the disillusionment she later expressed in *The Last Man*. Additionally, the representation of Lake Como, and, by extension, Italy, as an unattainable idyll in *Frankenstein* manifests the author's own fear never to see Italy again, such as emerges from a letter she wrote to Edward John Trelawny on 22 March 1831, only a few months before the new edition of *Frankenstein* was published: "You talk of my visiting Italy — It is impossible for me to tell you how much I repine at my imprisonment here but I dare not anticipate a change to take me there for a long time"[29].

Mary Shelley had to wait almost ten more years before she could revisit Italy. Finally, in the summer of 1840 she accompanied her son Percy Florence and two Cambridge friends on a Continental tour. As in 1818, the final destination of her party was Lake Como, where the students could prepare for their degrees and enjoy water sports. This second visit is narrated in epistolary fashion in Part I of *Rambles in Germany and Italy*. Mary Shelley's travelogue is characterised by a temporal oscillation between past and present that sets it apart from the more factual contemporary tourist accounts. This movement results from her alternating detailed descriptions of the places she is visiting with her own earlier memories of those places. Unsurprisingly, retrospective passages predominate in the letters about Italy. During her stay on Lake Como it is a ferry trip that evokes her strongest recollections:

> I now made a voyage I had made years before, when putting off from Como in a skiff we had visited Tremezzo. How vividly I remembered and recognised each spot. I longed inexpressibly to land at the Pliniana, which remained in my recollection as a place adorned by magical beauty. The abrupt precipices, the gay-looking villas, the

[27] J. de Palacio, *Mary Shelley*, p. 77.
[28] M. Shelley, *Frankenstein*, pp. 171-172.
[29] M. Shelley, *Letters*, Vol. 2, p. 132.

> richly-wooded banks, the spire-like cypresses — a thousand times scarcely less vividly had they recurred to my memory, than now they appeared again before my eyes[30].

In passages such as this one, Mary Shelley's travels assume the aspect of a journey back in time, as she seems almost to forget about her young fellow travellers to dwell in the country of her mind. The loss of touch with reality, however, is only temporary. The series of compound adjectives in this passage is a sign of how the fracture between external reality and inner life is continually recomposed. To judge from contemporary reviews, readers were not displeased with this juxtaposition of past memories and present impressions in *Rambles in Germany and Italy*. At least five reviewers quoted ample excerpts from the letters about Lake Como, and the critic of *The Athenæum* sympathetically observed:

> Every lemon tree, and palace, and pine tree, of the villa scenery of Como's bewitching lake, recalls to [Mrs. Shelley] some pleasant emotion, for [...] remembered pain may become a pleasure, when recalled after a lapse of years, and the pilgrim is surrounded by objects so bland and winning[31].

Revisiting Italy is without question a pleasure for Mary Shelley. If it is thus, though, it is not, or at least not only, thanks to the healing effect of time, or the enchantment of the place. As she wrote in a long journal entry later reworked for *Rambles in Germany and Italy*, the landscape of Lake Como inspired her with "glad elevation", "pious resignation", and "holy aspirations"[32]. The religious connotation of these terms is reinforced by the thoughts and feelings Mary Shelley voiced in the corresponding passage of her travelogue, as she contemplated "the magnificent mountain scene" from her favourite haunt by the lakeside:

> With what serious yet quick joy do such sights fill me; and dearer still is the aspiring thought that seeks the Creator in his works, as the soul yearns to throw off the chains of flesh that hold it in, and to dissolve and become a part of that which surrounds it.
>
> This evening [...] [m]y heart was elevated, purified, subdued. I prayed for peace to all; and still the supreme Beauty brooded over me, and promised peace; at least there where change is not, and love and enjoyment unite and are one. From such rapt moods the soul returns to earth, bearing with it the calm of Paradise[33].

Never before had Mary Shelley so openly avowed her belief in a creator god and the afterlife – a belief that seems to find at once expression and confirmation in the poetry of Dante's *Paradiso*, from which she went on to cite a few lines of Canto 33. In the passage from Mary Shelley's travelogue quoted above the trope of paradise is again applied to Italy,

[30] M. Shelley, *Novels*, Vol. 8, p. 120.

[31] "Athenæum", 10 August 1844, pp. 725-727 (p. 725). The other reviews appeared in the following newspapers: "Bell's Weekly Messenger", 17 August 1844, p. 262; "The Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction", 17 August 1844, pp. 121-122; "The Morning Herald", 21 August 1844, p. 6; "Tait's Edinburgh Magazine", November 1844, pp. 729-740.

[32] M. Shelley, *Journals*, Vol. 2, p. 568.

[33] M. Shelley, *Novels*, Vol. 8, p. 123.

and Lake Como in particular, but this time it reflects the author's new-found religiosity, which invests the country with a divine quality. As Mary Shelley revisited Lake Como, she saw its landscape as a manifestation of the divine.

In the following Letter of *Rambles in Germany and Italy*, Mary Shelley took one step further towards asserting a faith that may be termed Christian in its essence, as she identified with the hero of the *Gerusalemme Liberata* on account of his religion. Among the passages from Tasso that "make themselves peculiarly felt" on the lakeside, the one is singled out "when Rinaldo is setting out by starlight on the adventure of the enchanted forest, full of the religion that wells up instinctively in the heart amidst these scenes, beneath this sky"[34].

Possibly inspired by the Italian poetry that she read on Lake Como, in the private space of her journal Mary Shelley gave expression to her religiosity in Italian. Since her return to England in 1823 she had written sporadically in Italian, mainly letters to Teresa Guiccioli, and it can be safely assumed that she had spoken it even less frequently. As she reached the Italian border in July 1840, however, she surprised her travelling companions by fluently speaking a "peculiarly useful Italian". She then explained to them (and to her readers): "from having lived long in the country, all its household terms were familiar to me; and I remembered the time when it was more natural to me to speak to common people in that language than in my own"[35]. The memory of the language that she had used daily during her five-year residence in Italy is arguably the most potent of the recollections which Mary Shelley has upon her return to Italy, and specifically Lake Como, after more than two decades. Italian represents Mary Shelley's language of the heart. No sooner had she reappropriated it, than she started using it to write down her prayers. Reading these journal entries, one almost gets the impression that, just as she first avowed her faith in Italy, Mary Shelley could only pray in Italian, as if to circumvent the censorship of her English conscience. It was a liberating experience, which reminds one of Hans Castorp, the protagonist of Thomas Mann's *The Magic Mountain*, who declares his love for the novel's heroine in a foreign tongue (French, in this case). As Mann himself explained, the foreign language "eases his embarrassment and helps him to say things he could never have dared say in his own language. [...] it helps him over his inhibitions"[36]. Mary Shelley's first uninhibited journal entry in Italian was written in Cadenabbia on 30 August 1840. She began in English, but soon switched to the foreign tongue to pray for her son's health and wellbeing and for her own happiness:

> My birthday — I have felt particularly happy & in good spirits today.
> Tanto è la paura che ispira l'incertezza della vita che si scrive tale parola temendo che il sentimento della felicita si cambiasse pur troppo presto in lutto —

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 124. The allusion is to *Gerusalemme Liberata*, Canto 18, stanza 14, in which Rinaldo is moved to invoke the grace of God as he contemplates the sky at dawn.
[35] M. Shelley, *Novels*, Vol. 8, p. 104.
[36] T. Mann, "The Making of The Magic Mountain", in Id., *The Magic Mountain*, H.T. Lowe-Porter trans., Secker & Warburg, London 1961, p. 719.

> Chiedo — prego adunque che questo non fosse — che siano salvi la vita — la salute — il benessere del mio amato figlio — che siano serbate p[er] me la fedeltà e l'affezzione di —— ah! se fosse adempita questa preghiera sarei felice pur troppo[37].

The very next entry, dated 11 January 1841, is entirely written in Italian. Back in London, Mary Shelley complains that the sky is cloudy and she is surrounded by despicable people. She then begs God to preserve her son's good health and render him worthy of his father, but happier than he was. As for herself, she prays that she could go back to Italy and leave the "Stepmother England" forever:

> Eccomi — il cielo è annuvolato tramontato il sole — mai fa chiara di luna — ogni stella sparita — Come è cambiata la scena — come è cambiato il mio core — Cosa mai sara! —
>
> Perso ogni Amico — Contornata da gente disgraziata — dubitando cosa sara p[er] il mio figlio — sperando nulla — infelice — tradita, solitaria!
>
> Dio mio — prego — Conserva il mio figlio — fa che egli riesce degno del padre suo — e più felice
>
> Fa che io tornero in Italia — e mai più riveda questo paese di ingrati — traditori, disgraziati
>
> o fami morire — O mio dio soffro pur troppo — son pur troppo vilipesa, smarrita — disperata.
>
> E pure dovrei ringraziare dio che vive sempre mio figlio e lo ringrazio — ma il cor umano è cosa debole — ed il colpo ricevuto è cosi fatale — e la mia situazione qui è cosi intolerabile, che non posso far di meno che lamentare, e pregare dio che mi sia permesso di tornare in Italia e lasciare la Matrigna Inghilterra per sempre, o morire
>
> Questo novo anno comminciato in lagrime — dolori, tradimento, e povertà — come mai si finira!

The following day her warm prayers seem to have been heard and answered: "Grazie a dio! Pare che le mie calde preghiere sono udite esaudite — Pare — dio volesse che sara — ed io — se veramente tutto va bene — felice me! partiro di questo paese fra poco"[38].

I will conclude this overview with one of Mary Shelley's last letters, which brings us back – literally – to Lake Como. It is the letter that she sent to her childhood friend Isabella Baxter Booth on 26 May 1850, about eight months before her death, which is written from "Cadinabbia on the Lake of Como". This letter reveals that Mary Shelley visited Lake Como a third time after spending the winter of 1850 in Nice with her son and daughter-in-law. Her comments on the changes she has observed in the inhabitants betray her deep

[37] M. Shelley, *Journals*, Vol. 2, pp. 569-570, corrected against holograph manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodleian MS. Abinger d. 31, fol. 56^{v}). Mistrancriptions in *Journals* make it difficult to appreciate Mary Shelley's remarkably correct Italian.

[38] M. Shelley, *Journals*, Vol. 2, pp. 570-571, corrected against holograph manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodleian MS. Abinger d. 31, fol. 57^{r-v}). Mary Shelley's second Continental tour, also narrated in *Rambles in Germany and Italy*, took her to Venice, Florence, Rome, and Sorrento.

tiredness, but may also contain a veiled allusion (in the reference to the many youths who have recently died) to the 1848 uprisings in the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom:

> Percy & I were ten years ago — ten years which have made me old — & the changes found here have forced Percy to feel that boyhood is indeed passed — Yet we have found the old alive & very little altered — but the stalwarth & youthful — many of them dead & the children sprung up to men & women.

Even so, the letter ends on a cheerful note and the assurance that Mary Shelley enjoyed her last trip to Lake Como no less than her previous ones: "with the sun shining the blue lake at my feet & the Mountains in all their Majesty & beauty around & my beloved children happy & well, I must mark this as a peaceful & happy hour"[39].

[39] M. Shelley, *Letters*, Vol. 3, pp. 377-378.

Vita teatrale e spettacoli a Milano nel 1818

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L'articolo descrive la vita teatrale e gli spettacoli in scena a Milano nel 1818. Nei primi decenni dell'Ottocento, Milano è la capitale dello spettacolo musicale e teatrale d'Italia. Quando Percy e Mary Shelley soggiornano in città (nel mese di aprile 1818), essi si recano al Teatro alla Scala, la sala teatrale più importante della città, per applaudire opere e balli. Inoltre, essi visitano il Teatro Gerolamo, sala riservata agli spettacoli di marionette, molto apprezzati dal pubblico milanese.

The article describes the theatrical life and the shows performed in Milan in 1818. In the first decades of the nineteenth century, Milan was the centre of Italian musical and theatrical life. When Percy and Mary Shelley resided in the city (April 1818) they went to the Teatro alla Scala, the most important theatre in Milan, to attend operas and ballets. They also visited the Gerolamo theatre, a stage dedicated to puppet shows, much appreciated by the Milanese public.

Keywords: spettacolo, Milano, teatro, danza, melodramma

Quando Percy e Mary Shelley arrivano a Milano, nell'aprile 1818, la città che si presenta ai loro occhi è, sotto il profilo spettacolistico, il più vivace centro teatrale italiano. Grazie alla forte spinta organizzativa vissuta negli anni del dominio napoleonico, come capitale del Regno d'Italia, Milano presenta un sistema teatrale che nessuna altra città italiana del tempo possiede e che, schematizzando, è possibile considerare articolato su tre livelli. In primo luogo, è attivo in città un sistema di sale controllate e finanziate dal governo, costituito dal Teatro alla Scala e dal Teatro alla Canobbiana, entrambi di origine settecentesca e situati nel centro storico. Alla loro attività, si affianca a partire dai primi anni dell'Ottocento un secondo sistema di sale teatrali private con programmazione serale, fra cui spiccano il Teatro Re e il Teatro Carcano, seguito ben presto da un circuito di teatri periferici, costituito dalle arene o dagli anfiteatri diurni, spazi all'aperto, costruiti in legno e dedicati alle rappresentazioni diurne di spettacoli nel periodo che va da aprile a settembre. A Milano sono attivi in questi anni l'anfiteatro dei Giardini Pubblici e quello della Stadera, amatissimi dal pubblico popolare, anche grazie ai prezzi di ingresso assai contenuti. Tutto ciò fa sì che all'inizio della Restaurazione Milano abbia ormai da tempo sottratto a Venezia il primato sull'offerta teatrale e si configuri come la vera capitale dello spettacolo italiano. Ciò avviene, da un lato, grazie allo sviluppo di una fitta rete di teatri, più grandi e importanti di quelli che sulla laguna si avviano a una fase di decadenza, e d'altro lato attraverso i circoli di intellettuali e letterati, favoriti da un attivo mercato librario che, nonostante il controllo censo-

rio dell'amministrazione austriaca, si espande notevolmente. Pur essendo venuto meno il clima di fiducia che aveva caratterizzato i rapporti fra gli intellettuali italiani e i dominatori francesi, cui si sostituiscono il sospetto e la tensione con il governo austriaco, l'industria editoriale milanese non sembra soffrirne, inaugurando al contrario un periodo di florida attività con la pubblicazione di numerosi libri e periodici specializzati.

La vita sociale, culturale e artistica si svolge, a Milano, come altrove in quell'epoca, anche all'interno dei teatri che, come si è detto, hanno assunto una importanza speciale, anche a causa della loro dimensione e del loro numero, adeguati a quelli di una grande capitale europea. Il rito del teatro finisce per riflettere la forza economica della città e la stabilità del potere politico, pur entro al concitato succedersi degli eventi storici. Per tutto il primo Ottocento, d'altronde, lo spettacolo teatrale risponde in maniera prioritaria all'esigenza associativa e ricreativa dei ceti dirigenti, ai quali la vita pubblica, soprattutto dopo il ritorno degli Austriaci, offre ben poco di alternativo. Al di là dei salotti, frequentati come luogo di incontro da numeri necessariamente ristretti di persone, i teatri costituiscono il solo luogo di pubblica aggregazione laica, seppure caratterizzata da una marcata suddivisione di classe. Incontrarsi a teatro rappresenta per la bella società dell'epoca l'alternativa al salotto, come confermano i palchetti, di proprietà delle storiche famiglie aristocratiche o alto borghesi, spesso identificati dallo stemma gentilizio del proprietario disteso fuori dalla balaustra verso la sala. Nei ridotti, oltre che nei palchetti stessi, la vita sociale si esercita attraverso la conversazione, le visite reciproche e il gioco d'azzardo, che nel loro insieme rappresentano attività assai più significative e ricercate dello spettacolo messo in scena, al quale molto spesso nessuno presta prolungata attenzione. In particolare, è bene ricordare che proprio dai tavoli da gioco gli impresari traggono, infatti, i più lauti profitti del loro lavoro, al punto che, nonostante decine e decine di editti e dispacci, emanati quasi annualmente dalle autorità governative e volti ora a proibire, ora a limitare, ora a regolarizzare, ora a tollerare i cosiddetti "giochi di piacere" nei ridotti del teatro, essi sono il vero motivo di interesse che spinge impresari (patrizi e plebei) a partecipare numerosi alle gare d'appalto bandite per la gestione delle sale teatrali. Bisogna poi aggiungere che il giro d'affari legato ai giochi d'azzardo si espande progressivamente, andando a coinvolgere altri settori collaterali quali le bottiglierie, le osterie e le pasticcerie, ubicate all'interno del teatro, che dalla presenza del pubblico dei giocatori nei ridotti traggono cospicue risorse.

La vivacità della vita sociale che anima il teatro a Milano nei primi decenni del secolo XIX trova la sua massima espressione nel Teatro alla Scala, il principale punto di incontro mondano e uno fra i fulcri dell'attività teatrale e musicale del tempo. La vitalità del panorama teatrale milanese è determinata, come anticipato, anche dalla contemporanea attività di diverse nuove sale di rango più o meno popolare che operano in antagonismo con le due sale regie: se nessuno può infatti competere in magnificenza con le rappresentazioni della Scala, i teatri privati cittadini si aprono spesso alla commedia, dando vita a una pericolosa concorrenza nei confronti della Canobbiana – che alla prosa è ufficialmente dedicata –, ospitando in periodi diversi le medesime compagnie che agiscono presso la sala regia frequentata dall'alta borghesia e principalmente dedita a tale tipo di spettacolo. Sono soprattutto il Teatro Carcano, aperto lungo il corso di Porta Romana nel 1803, e il Teatro

Re, collocato nei pressi del Duomo (nella zona oggi occupata dalla Galleria Vittorio Emanuele) e attivo dal 1813, a offrire occasioni di intrattenimento e di incontro sociale simili a quelle offerte per l'aristocrazia, ma progettate a favore di un ceto medio emergente, interessato, oltre che all'opera in musica, anche alle recite drammatiche. Non è certo un caso che in questi teatri si assista al trionfo dei nuovi generi, come il *mélodrame* o la *pièce bien faite* importati dalla Francia, ma anche al successo di alcuni eventi come la rappresentazione di *Francesca da Rimini* di Silvio Pellico[1], raro esempio di tragedia contemporanea coronata dal consenso del pubblico e dal plauso degli intellettuali liberali.

Nelle zone periferiche, invece, proliferano, proprio a partire dai primi anni della Restaurazione, gli anfiteatri, cioè le sale in cui si svolgono spettacoli diurni a basso prezzo rivolti soprattutto al popolo, escluso dai teatri regi e da quelli privati, che si appassiona, oltre che alle rappresentazioni drammatiche, anche e soprattutto a spettacoli di arte varia. Gli anfiteatri del primo Ottocento milanese sono strutture in legno, collocate entro luoghi nati con destinazione differente, come appunto quella di parco pubblico (i Giardini) o di osteria (la Stadera), la cui peculiarità è la presenza a cielo aperto di una arena centrale, che consente grande capienza di pubblico e spese di gestione bassissime, soprattutto per i costi di illuminazione che sono praticamente azzerati, cosicché il prezzo del biglietto è assai contenuto. Essi sono tollerati dalle autorità di polizia, ma guardati con sospetto dagli impresari dei teatri regi e privati, che presto impongono loro l'obbligo di terminare gli spettacoli prima che abbiano inizio le rappresentazioni serali, sia per non entrare in concorrenza con le sale regie, sia per l'opportunità sociale di mantenere "decorosamente" ben distinti gli intrattenimenti destinati a classi sociali diverse. Il pubblico degli anfiteatri appartiene, dunque, a classi sociali che per tradizione sono sempre rimaste escluse dal beneficio dell'esperienza teatrale e che ora possono godere di un'offerta spettacolistica assai variegata: qualche rappresentazione drammatica, ma soprattutto spettacoli acrobatici, evoluzioni equestri, esperimenti magici o pseudoscientifici, curiosità esotiche e orientali. Solitamente dotati di prospetti architettonici modesti, per quanto dignitosi, tali teatri con il tempo si dotano di teloni di copertura per la parte all'aperto, che in caso di pioggia può essere protetta, mentre lo spazio di pianta ellissoidale in cui si colloca la platea può essere trasformato alla bisogna in arena da circo o sala da ballo; loggiati aperti e continui prendono il luogo dei tradizionali palchetti. Gli spettacoli degli anfiteatri all'aperto ottengono da subito un grande successo e si guadagnano presto un pubblico fedele e affezionato: ciononostante, sui giornali dell'epoca se ne trovano notizie assai rare e ridotte, per una sorta di prevenzione dei cronisti nei confronti di manifestazioni destinate al popolo.

La principale stagione dell'anno teatrale ottocentesco è il Carnevale, con inizio "dalla seconda festa del Natale", cioè dal 26 dicembre, giorno di Santo Stefano, per proseguire, secondo la tradizione ambrosiana, "sino a tutto il sabato che precede la domenica di quadragesima", regalando alla città quattro giorni di spettacolo in più rispetto alla chiusura del Carnevale prevista dal rito romano con il cosiddetto martedì grasso. Fino alla metà degli anni Venti a Milano il Carnevale è prevalentemente riservato all'opera in musica; l'unico te-

[1] *Francesca da Rimini* fu rappresentata per la prima volta al Teatro Re il 18 agosto 1815 con Carlotta Marchionni nella parte di Francesca e Luigi Domeniconi in quella di Paolo.

atro ad ospitare una stagione drammatica è il Teatro alla Canobbiana che, tuttavia, associa alle recite l'esecuzione di un ballo, che spesso è la reale ragione del grande afflusso di pubblico. Nel periodo di Carnevale tutti i teatri sono aperti, offrendo ogni sorta di spettacoli musicali e drammatici, e accogliendo un gran numero di spettatori, alla ricerca di svago, divertimento e occasioni di trasgressione: più che per lo spettacolo in sé, la gente affolla i teatri per la festa da ballo che spesso a esso fa immediato seguito, scatenando un clima euforico fra palchetti e platea. Proprio in tale contesto il pubblico si dimostra più rumoroso e a tratti persino difficile da controllare, più che mai rigidamente distinto e distribuito per rango sociale fra la sede esclusiva della Scala, quella della Canobbiana, del Teatro Re e del Carcano roccaforti dell'alta borghesia, oltre a quelle di carattere più popolare. È forse utile citare, al proposito, una cronaca della *Gazzetta privilegiata di Milano* relativa agli anni Trenta dell'Ottocento che descrive una serata di Carnevale al Teatro alla Canobbiana:

> Qui all'incontro il senso dell'odorato vi annunzia al primo vostro presentarvi sulla porta d'ingresso il nazionale risotto, le costerelle arrostite, il salado di Verona e vi scrosciano sotto i piedi ad ogni passo le scorze abbrustolite delle castagne, dei marroni. Il dio Silenzio, che cercavate invano alla Scala, lo invocate ancor più indarno [...]. Se non che alla Scala è un sordo sussurro di cicalamenti [...], mentre altrove è un frastuono di risa sgangherate[2].

Veniamo ora agli spettacoli rappresentati. Occorre anzitutto distinguere tra l'opera in musica e le rappresentazioni drammatiche. Al Teatro alla Scala l'inizio della stagione di Carnevale coincide sempre con il debutto di una nuova opera in musica: nel caso del Carnevale 1817-1818 l'opera in scena è il melodramma serio *I due Valdomiri* su libretto di Felice Romani e musiche di Peter von Winter, con scene di Alessandro Sanquirico e balli composti da Salvatore Viganò, che ottiene trentatré repliche. Contestualmente la produzione del Teatro Re è un melodramma semiserio su musiche di Giovanni Pacini, *Adelaide e Comingio*, interessante derivazione da una trilogia di drammi romanzeschi e patetici di enorme successo nel teatro di prosa di quegli anni. I tre drammi (*Gli amori di Comingio, Adelaide maritata, Adelaide e Comingio romiti),* riscrittura italiana del napoletano Giacomo Antonio Gualzetti di un romanzo francese del Settecento, sono in assoluto i testi più rappresentati e applauditi dei primi vent'anni anni dell'Ottocento in Italia. Nell'aprile 1818, all'arrivo dei coniugi Shelley, alla Scala è in scena il melodramma semiserio *Etelinda* di Gaetano Rossi, su musiche di Peter von Winter, accompagnato dal ballo tragico *Otello o sia il moro di Venezia* di Salvatore Viganò. A tale produzione fa seguito, dal 18 aprile, il melodramma giocoso *Il rivale di sé stesso* di Luigi Romanelli, su musiche di Joseph Weigl, accompagnato dal ballo eroico *La spada di Kenneth*, anche esso di Viganò. Le scenografie sono realizzate da Alessandro Sanquirico. Da sottolineare che entrambi i melodrammi possono contare sulla presenza come protagonista del celebre tenore Giovanni David. Per quanto riguarda i balli di Viganò – la cui importanza nel percorso artistico degli Shelley è già stata esaurientemente studiata nell'ottima ricerca di Jacqueline Mulhallen, *The Theatre*

[2] Appendice teatrale in *Gazzetta privilegiata di Milano*, 56, 25 febbraio 1838, p. 162.

of Shelley[3] – riporto per entrambi le recensioni degli spettacoli redatte da Francesco Pezzi e pubblicate su *Lo spettatore lombardo*:

> *Otello, ballo tragico di Salvatore Viganò*. La repubblica di Venezia nelle diverse epoche della sua grandezza affidò talvolta il comando di spedizioni gloriose a duci stranieri. Le patrie storie e i monumenti attestano le imprese di quegli eroi e la gratitudine del senato e del popolo. Ma né scritto autentico, né dipintura, né statua, né mausoleo ricordano le vittorie d'Otello, militante in capo sotto le insegne della repubblica, per ingrandirla con nuovi conquisti. Avea ella forse d'uopo di rintracciare in un *affricano* il condottiero delle sue lotte? E avrebbe ella potuto affidargliene il comando, senza compromettere la saviezza della politica e la dignità della religione? Giraldi Cinzio s'immaginò di comporre una *Novella* intitolata *Il Moro di Venezia*, ed ecco l'origine d'un fatto che si potrebbe confondere colla storia, ma che ha tutti i caratteri della favola. Del resto poco rileva il discuter ora più partitamente la controversia, bastando ricordare che l'*Otello* di Cinzio fornì l'argomento ad una delle più belle tragedie di Shakespeare, e che da questa il signor Viganò sembra aver preso le mosse onde intessere la sua nuova composizione. L'esemplare esser non poteva né più sublime, né più atto a felici imitazioni; e quantunque il ballo presente si scosti in diversi particolari dalla tragedia, e in specialità per riguardo al luogo della scena, ciò non di meno l'indole dei personaggi, la condotta, il nodo e lo scioglimento dell'azione mi paiono modellati sull'originale inglese con tutto quel buon successo che può ottenersi da chi parla col gesto in confronto di chi s'esprime colla parola. Lo spettacolo incomincia dall'arrivo d'Otello in Venezia, dopo la guerra di Cipro. Il doge, i senatori, la sposa, il suocero, le matrone, e il loro corteo si fanno ad incontrarlo al suo sbarco dalla galea. La solennità delle accoglienze, il giubilo dei congiunti, dei grandi e del popolo; le danze nazionali che si succedono, e tutti gli altri accessori sono altrettanto gradevoli a vedersi, che bene espressi e con finissimo ingegno disposti. Nel second'atto un nemico della gloria d'Otello ordisce una trama per involargli la pace del cuore facendogli supporre infedele la sposa. Nel terzo si cominciano a vedere gli effetti della congiura; nel quarto, dopo una magnifica festa, turbata dai trasporti dell'affricano ingelosito, questi perde i conseguiti onori ed impieghi; e nel quinto finalmente Otello uccide l'innocente consorte e sé stesso, con che ha termine il ballo, e la trama è in ogni sua parte compiuta. Gli spettatori applaudirono assai sin dalla prima sera la danza nazionale dell'atto primo, non che i punti più drammatici ed importanti del componimento. Di mano in mano però che le rappresentazioni andranno succedendosi, sono di parere che applaudiranno maggiormente la condotta dell'atto secondo, in cui il signor Viganò nel variare le attitudini dei personaggi secondari, nel distribuirli sulla scena, e nel far loro esprimere i diversi sentimenti da cui sono compresi, ha studiato più che mai la natura e la verità. Mi pare per altro che talvolta egli prolunghi un po' troppo certi incomodi atteggiamenti, i quali in un quadro si direbbero *manierati* e di stile accademico. Gli scenari che rappresentano la piazzetta di San Marco e la chiesa dei Santi Giovanni e Paolo, sono perfettamente desunti dal vero, e dipinti dal signor Sanquirico con maestria superiore ad ogni elogio. Le altre decorazioni si distinguono per la magnificenza e per la vaghezza, soprattutto la sala del ballo, ove il

[3] J. Mulhallen, *The Theatre of Shelley*, OpenBook Publishers, Cambridge 2010.

pittore si studiò di conservare il carattere architettonico dei tempi. A compierne l'effetto mancano una illuminazione più splendida e un maggior concorso di gente. Le danze dell'atto quarto potevano essere più originali e più leggiadre, ma non meglio eseguite dalle giovani alunne dell'accademia. La musica è in generale d'ottima scelta. Quella dell'atto quinto ha per base la cantata di *Arianna in Nasso*, scritta dal celebre Haydn per cembalo, ma ora accomodata ed istrumentata per grande orchestra con molto accorgimento; di modo che forma per lo più un commoventissimo recitativo. L'atto quinto è il trionfo della pantomima per l'eccellenza dell'esecuzione della signora Pallerini[4] e del signor Molinari. Chi seguirà collo sguardo e col pensiero il monologo d'Otello e il dialogo sublime fra questo e Desdemona, nel momento in cui il feroce Moro è determinato di sacrificare la sposa, troverà perfettamente imitata la scena di Shakespeare. Per valutare sempre più l'importanza di questa scena, e la perizia con che la sostengono e la coloriscono la signora Pallerini e il signor Molinari, i leggitori mi permetteranno di por loro sott'occhio alcuni passi dell'originale inglese volgarizzato. "Entra Otello nella stanza ove riposa Desdemona; s'accosta al letto di lei, risoluto d'immolarla, ma impietosito alla sua vista, s'abbandona a un sentimento di tenerezza, che contrasta singolarmente col furore che lo investe. – Io non voglio (dice egli, chiudendo a chiavistello la porta), io non voglio versare il suo sangue, piagar quel seno più bianco della neve, più liscio dell'alabastro delle tombe[5], eppure fa d'uopo che ella muoia, altrimenti tradirebbe altri uomini! Si spenga il lume... e allora? S'io ti spengo, o ministro della luce, posso anche rianimare la prima tua fiamma nel caso ch'io mi pentissi; ma se estinguo la fiamma della tua vita, o Desdemona, che sei la più maravigliosa opera della natura, non saprò ove rinvenire quella scintilla celeste che potrebbe rianimarti! (Egli depone la lampada in terra; Desdemona dormendo si muove, e a tal vista Otello prosegue il soliloquio). O rosa! Quand'io t'avrò divisa dal tuo stelo non potrò più restituirti l'anima che ti facea fiorire! Sarà d'uopo che tu muoia... voglio ancor *respirarti* viva! Oh fiato che m'inebri! Tu persuaderesti quasi la giustizia a sprezzar la sua spada! Un altro bacio, un altro ancora. Quando sarai morta si quale sei ora! Io voglio ucciderti, e amarti poscia... uno ancora... e sarà l'ultimo! Oh come è dolce! Giammai bacio non fu sì fatale! Bisogna bene ch'io pianga; ma queste lagrime sono crudeli... lo sdegno del cielo colpisce ciò che ama. Ella si sveglia – Chi è là? Otello forse? – Sì, Desdemona. – Non volete coricarvi, o signore? – Avete pregato Iddio questa sera, o Desdemona? – Sì. – Se la vostra coscienza vi rinfaccia qualche delitto per cui non abbiate chiesto ed ottenuto perdono dal Cielo, imploratelo sull'istante. – Ah Dio, Dio! Che intendete dirmi, o signore? – Su via, fate ciò che dico, e siate sollecita; io starò qui passeggiando finché l'anima vostra si rimetta in grazia del Cielo, giacché non voglio ucciderla; no, non voglio uccidere l'anima vostra. – Voi parlate d'uccidere... – Sì. – Ah! Il Cielo abbia pietà di me! – Così sia; lo bramo di cuore. – Se il vostro cuore non tace, spero che non vorrete uccidermi. – Spera, spera! – E pure mi fate tremare, giacché siete terribile quando i

[4] Questa danzatrice, che nell'azione è tutta grazia, sì disegna perfettamente, ed esprime col volto e col gesto i più nobili affetti, e le passioni più forti senza mai eccedere, né starsi indietro dal vero. La natura la fece per l'arte ch'ella professa, e l'arte perfezionò in lei l'opera della natura. [NdA]

[5] S'allude alla circostanza che Otello nella tragedia di Shakespeare non ferisce Desdemona con un pugnale, ma la soffoca con un cuscino. [NdA]

> vostri occhi di fuoco girano per tal modo! Perché debbo io temere? (Qui Otello palesa alla sposa la di lei pretesa perfidia, ed essa cerca per ogni verso di scolparsene; chiede che s'interroghi il supposto di lei amatore, e nell'udire ch'è morto e che quindi le manca l'estrema speranza di far constare la propria innocenza, prorompe in amarissime lagrime, le quali non fanno che inasprire maggiormente l'animo d'Otello). – E che, iniqua? Tu osi piangerlo ancora, me presente? – Oh! Signore, banditemi, ma non mi uccidete! – Muori, infame! – Uccidetemi domani; oh lasciatemi vivere ancora questa notte! – No! Se tu resisti. – Soltanto mezz'ora! – Son risoluto: non più dilazioni. – Oh solamente il tempo di dire una preghiera! – È troppo tardi!" Lo spettacolo, che incomincia con una *furlana*[6] e termina con un assassinio, non potrebbe essere arrischiato sopra altra scena, ove esecutori meno abili dei nostri non potessero colla perfezione dell'arte combinare gli effetti di cose sì disparate. Il compositore, la signora Pallerini e il signor Molinari sono ogni sera chiamati sul proscenio, per ricevere le onorevoli testimonianze del pubblico aggradimento[7].

Leggiamo ora la recensione dedicata a *La spada di Kenneth*, ballo eroico del signor Viganò.

> *La Spada di Kenneth* è un ballo eroico, composto in breve tempo dal sig. Viganò che non ne ha mai abbastanza. Non è un grande spettacolo, ma uno spettacolo aggradevole, senza aiuti di macchine, senza luminosi ripieghi, senza lusso d'accessori, ben disposto, ben condotto, bene eseguito, ed accompagnato da una musica leggiadrissima. L'azione è rapida, calda, ma non gran fatto importante, perché Bruzio e Bariolo, personaggi che si disputano la mano d'Elisabetta, non sono tali da raccomandarsi all'animo del pubblico in modo ch'egli preferisca di veder ammazzato l'uno piuttosto che l'altro; e perché Elisabetta la quale scende a combattere in campo chiuso, sicura di vincere, avendo in mano la spada incantata, è una di quelle Amazzoni che si possono ammirar per la grazia ma non pel valore. La signora Pallerini, ch'è la donzella combattuta, può giustificare qualunque amorosa passione; e chi sa quanti Bruzi e Barioli verrebbero volontieri a contesa con lei, non per lasciarsi vincere dall'incanto della sua spada, ma per cedere a quello de' suoi sguardi. Un ballabile scozzese eseguito dalle alunne dell'accademia, e un *pas de deux*, dove il sig. Blasis fa prova di moltissima agilità, sono le danze più applaudite dello spettacolo, che termina con una contraddanza alla Montani, o all'Angiolini. Il secondo ballo del sig. Bertini *est tombé à plat*, di modo che quello del sig. Viganò, posto tra l'Opera e questo, è propriamente un *entre deux*[8].

Passiamo quindi a considerare i dati relativi alle rappresentazioni drammatiche offerte nel corso dell'aprile 1818. La sola compagnia che recita a Milano è la Compagnia Marchionni in scena al Teatro Re dal 23 marzo al 30 giugno. Formatasi a Firenze per volontà di Anto-

[6] Questa danza destò una specie di fanatismo in Milano, e piacque ogni sera di più. [NdA]

[7] Recensione di Francesco Pezzi del 19 febbraio 1818, pubblicata successivamente in *Lo spettatore lombardo, o sia Miscellanea scelta d'articoli di letteratura, di filosofia, di scienze, d'arti, d'industria, d'educazione, di costumanze sociali, di teatro ed altri*, 6 vols, Pirotta, Milano 1821, Vol. 2, pp. 4-10.

[8] Recensione di Francesco Pezzi del 25 marzo 1818, pubblicata successivamente su *Lo spettatore lombardo*, Vol. 2, pp. 15-16.

nio Belloni, Ferdinando Meraviglia, Carlo Calamari e Luigi Domeniconi, i quali decidono di unirsi in Compagnia con Elisabetta Baldesi Marchionni nel ruolo di *madre* e alla di lei giovane figlia Carlotta, emergente *prima attrice*, è la compagnia più applaudita da pubblico e critica. Pur inizialmente poco dotata di mezzi economici, la nuova formazione ottiene presto successo. L'ascesa è rapida e, grazie ai suoi eccellenti artisti, la Compagnia giunge ad essere una fra le migliori del primo Ottocento. Presente a Milano numerose volte tra il 1815 e il 1820, in questo anno, la Compagnia Marchionni risulta impegnata sia nelle sale maggiori, sia nei teatri diurni: ciò, tuttavia, non implica la indisponibilità a svolgere i normali spettacoli serali nelle strutture del centro, dato che, frequentemente, la medesima compagnia recita nel pomeriggio presso un teatro diurno e la sera in una sala primaria. Poiché le compagnie drammatiche che agiscono nei due anfiteatri sono le medesime che recitano la sera nelle altre sale della città, come dimostrano i contratti di scrittura che consentono loro la doppia attività, non si può identificare – almeno per questo torno di tempo – una programmazione specifica e tipica dei teatri diurni. Qui le compagnie rappresentano fra gli spettacoli che hanno in repertorio quelli che meglio possano adattarsi a un pubblico popolare, con l'esclusione delle tragedie (non per il loro tema, ma per lo stile e la lingua che ne sono tipiche) e di gran parte delle commedie di carattere, cui si preferiscono quelle di intreccio e di comicità più immediata. Il maggiore successo della stagione (e di quelle successive) è *Chiara di Rosemberg,* la riscrittura italiana di un *mélo* francese di carattere sentimentale e patetico composta da Luigi Marchionni, a favore del talento scenico della sorella Carlotta[9].

Da ricordare infine l'attività del Teatro Gerolamo, restaurato da Luigi Canonica e Giacomo Tazzini nel 1815, sede per spettacoli di marionette diretti dal piemontese Giuseppe Fiando e molto amati dal pubblico di Milano. Frequentato prevalentemente dall'alta borghesia, questo teatro propone come interprete principale dei propri spettacoli la maschera monferrina di Gerolamo, che in breve diviene a tal punto popolare da dare il nome al teatro stesso. Poiché stando al diario di Claire Clairmont gli Shelley assistono a uno spettacolo di marionette il 13 aprile, trascrivo in nota i titoli degli spettacoli eseguiti sul palcoscenico del Teatro delle marionette detto Gerolamo dal 5 al 30 aprile 1818[10].

Nei decenni successivi il sistema teatrale milanese andrà ulteriormente ampliandosi e confermerà per Milano il ruolo di capitale dello spettacolo musicale e teatrale per tutta la prima parte del XIX secolo.

[9] Sulla fortuna di *Chiara di Rosemberg* si vedano le pagine dedicate al tema in M. Cambiaghi, *I cartelloni drammatici del primo Ottocento italiano*, Guerini, Milano 2014, pp. 139-150.

[10] 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 17, 18, 19 aprile *Il diluvio universale*; 13 aprile *Girolamo e Argante nell'isola incantata dalle streghe di Benevento*; 14 aprile *Girolamo paga debiti alla moda*; 15 aprile *La locanda di Girolamo*; 16 aprile *La donzella ravveduta*; 20 aprile *Tutte le donne innamorate di Girolamo*; 21 aprile *La famiglia in disordine*; 22, 23, 24, 25 aprile *Il bombardamento di Algeri*; 26, 27, 28 aprile *La discesa d'Ercole all'inferno*; 30 aprile *La forza del benefizio.*

"In the evening, go to the Theatre of the Marionetti". Claire Clairmont, the Shelleys, and Gerolamo de la Crina

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The Shelley party not only went to La Scala, but also enjoyed a performance at Milan's only puppet theatre, Teatro Fiando. This article provides the title of this puppet show and offers evidence of the play-text, one version of which is found in the archives of the world-famous Milan-based puppeteers, the Colla family. Furthermore, the article speculates as to the Shelley party's peculiar and considerably specific interest in puppet shows, which is read as a sign of potential awareness of the political import of and critique implicit in them, and especially in the history of the puppet they saw on stage, Gerolamo, as well as evidence of a sustained interest in movement, gesture, and the body.

Gli Shelley e Claire Clairmont trascorsero la sera del 13 aprile 1818 al Teatro Fiando, il teatro di marionette di Milano. In questo articolo si forniscono il titolo dello spettacolo cui assistettero e una versione del copione reperita presso l'archivio dei marionettisti Colla. Inoltre si indicano due potenziali motivi di interesse che avrebbero potuto condurre gli Shelley e Claire Clairmont al Teatro Fiando: la consapevolezza del potenziale politico del teatro popolare e delle marionette, in particolare di Gerolamo, la marionetta protagonista della scena milanese, e la poetica della meccanica delle marionette, che suscita riflessioni sul movimento, il gesto e l'uso espressivo del corpo.

Keywords: Claire Clairmont, Shelley, puppetry, puppet theatre, Teatro Fiando

1. *The "traffic of our stage"*

Claire Clairmont arrived in Milan on 4 April 1818 with Percy and Mary Shelley. The party were to leave on 1 May, barely a month after their arrival. Claire wrote two letters in those weeks, both to Byron[1]. Her journal entries grow increasingly scanty and sparse as the day approaches when she must relinquish her daughter Allegra to him, namely, 28 April. In what follows, another important element of Claire Clairmont's Milanese days is sketched: the presence of the theatre. The Shelley party not only experienced La Scala, the most cultivated and sophisticated performative space in Milan, within which the rich cultural (and counter-cultural) life of the city flourished, but also enjoyed a performance at Milan's only

[1] C. Clairmont, *The Clairmont Correspondence*, M. Kingston Stocking ed., 2 vols, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore 1995, Vol. 1, pp. 113-115.

puppet theatre, Teatro Fiando[2]. Claire Clairmont's one-line journal entry mentioning the string puppet performance is worth interrogating in depth. I provide the name of the show that the Shelley party attended on 13 April 1818. I further provide evidence of the play-text itself, one version of which is found in the archives of the world-famous Milan-based puppeteers, the Colla family[3]. I also speculate as to the Shelley party's peculiar and considerably specific interest in the puppet show. I take it as being a sign of potential awareness of the political import of and critique implicit in puppet shows and, specifically, the history of the puppet they saw on stage, Gerolamo; as well as evidence of a sustained interest in movement, gesture, and the body.

To Claire Clairmont, Milan was a mixed blessing at best: on the one hand, it was suitably cosmopolitan, the centre of a lively artistic life. On the other hand, the time spent in the city was a painfully long farewell to her daughter: the walks along the Corsia de' Servi[4] and the intense, layered relationship they established were counterpointed by the painful anticipation of separation and the all-consuming doubt it might be definitive. The experience of Milan's intense theatrical life may have been both an opportunity for intellectual growth, as well as a welcome distraction from impending personal tragedy.

2. *Theatre-going in Milan and Claire Clairmont's Milanese readings*

Milan was an eminently theatrical city: in terms of prestige, diversity of the shows presented, and sheer number of theatres[5], it was the Italian capital of stage performance. At the beginning of the nineteenth century it counted two state or 'royal' theatres (La Scala and La Canobbiana); several independent theatres (e.g. Carcano, Teatro Re, Santa Radegonda), owned by private entrepreneurs who had managed to secure a license to perform; and two major daytime amphitheatres (Giardini Pubblici and Stadera). A struggle over legitimacy[6] is implicit in such a diverse picture: while no theatre in the city was technically illegitimate, a hierarchical order was firmly set in place. Royal theatres enjoyed privileges, and could severely affect both the revenue and the day-to-day operations of their minor competitors, as

[2] The actual name of Milan's puppet theatre owner: Giuseppe Fiando. The theatre came to be known as 'Gerolamo' after its main protagonist, the Piedmontese puppet Gerolamo.

[3] Parts of a play-text and cataloguing documentation included in the present article belong to Compagnia Marionettistica Carlo Colla & Figli / Associazione Grupporiani Fondo Eredi Colla. They are here reproduced with the express authorisation of Compagnia Marionettistica Carlo Colla & Figli.

[4] Claire calls it *Corso* in her journal. The Milanesi at the time used the word to refer to the main streets in the city, but, above all, to the customary carriage promenade that was the standard afternoon pastime of the very wealthy and not very wealthy alike, and which ran every afternoon from two to four. The main street Claire walked with Allegra, today's Corso Vittorio Emanuele II, was then called Corsia de' Servi.

[5] Enrico Bordogna writes of a veritable proliferation of theatres in Milan in the first half of the nineteenth century (E. Bordogna, *Il Sistema Teatrale a Milano*, http://www.ordinearchitetti.mi.it/it/mappe/itinerario/29-il-sistema-teatrale-a-milano/saggio (last accessed April 28, 2019)).

[6] See J. Carlson, *Theatre, Performance and Urban Spectacle*, in *The Cambridge History of English Romantic Literature*, J. Chandler ed., Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2009, pp. 490-506 (p. 492).

well as waylay potential requests the latter might make the authorities[7]. More than that, the theatre system in Milan was conceived in order to account for and perpetuate, to a degree, social differences. La Scala targeted the aristocracy, both local and foreign, as it was a major tourist attraction[8]. Stendhal called it "the focal point of the entire city; [...] the universal *salon*, the hub of society, which is here and here *only* [...]"[9]. Canobbiana enjoyed the same target, but differed in terms of repertoire, for it was essentially devoted to spoken drama. Other establishments targeted the middle classes and, unable to compete too openly with the two state theatres, became the protagonists of great generic innovation, importing the French *mélodrame* for instance. Amphitheatres, for their part, provided popular entertainment (e.g. acrobatics, scientific shows and demonstrations) and were intended to allow the less wealthy to afford performances; they were granted the right to perform during the day, and state theatres demanded they finish before the start of evening performances, so as not to hinder attendance.

Such vibrant theatre life Claire Clairmont and the Shelleys found when they arrived in Milan in 1818. It was not too different, after all, from the one left behind in London: there, too, the struggle over legitimacy was a staple of theatre life, even more so, for only three theatres (Drury Lane, Covent Garden, and Haymarket in summer months) were officially allowed to perform spoken drama; all other, illegitimate, "performances [were given] at venues (often designated 'minor') where spoken drama, especially tragedy and comedy, [was] officially proscribed"[10]. In London, too, competition was fierce; fiercer than in Milan perhaps, because illegitimate venues had to go to great creative lengths in order to circumvent the prohibition of using words on stage. They had to resort to "nonverbal appeals to ear and eye – pantomime, harlequinade, melodrama, burlesque, extravaganza, equestrian spectaculars, burletta"[11]. In London, differences between legitimacy and illegitimacy became intensely porous in terms of dramatic genres: "patent and minor theatres in this period constitute overlapping and interconnected, rather than opposing, cultures with benefits from that overlap accruing to both sides of the official division"[12]. And so it was in Milan, where laws prohibited the opening of new theatres, as well as the (generic and literary) repurposing of existing ones, for fear they might present too strong a competition for La Scala and Canobbiana[13]. All the while, La Scala consistently dealt in repurposing: the summer months of 1816, for instance, were devoted to spoken drama, and, therefore, saw the Comica Compagnia of Paolo Belli-Blanes on the stage[14].

Upon their arrival in Milan, Claire Clairmont and the Shelleys would only naturally direct themselves to La Scala. Jacqueline Mulhallen lists five attendances, on 5 (the day

[7] Fiando's requests to perform with real actors were insistently waylaid and eventually refused. See L. Sanguinetti, *Teatro Gerolamo*, Ufficio a Stampa del Comune di Milano, Milano 1967, pp. 26-30, 34-35.
[8] J. Black, *The British and the Grand Tour*, Routledge, London 1985, p. 14.
[9] Stendhal, *Rome, Naples et Florence*, 2 vols, Delaunay, Paris 1826, Vol. 1, p. 4.
[10] J. Carlson, *Theatre*, p. 493.
[11] *Ibidem*.
[12] *Ibidem*.
[13] L. Sanguinetti, *Gerolamo*, p. 26.
[14] *Ibid*., p. 34.

after arriving), 7, 20, 21, and 29 April[15]. The party witnessed two ballets choreographed by Salvatore Viganò (*La Spada di Kenneth*, three times, and *Otello*, twice), as well as two operas (*Etelinda*[16] and *Il rivale di sé stesso*, twice and three times, respectively). Claire Claimont's journal entry for 8 April details the journey from Calais to Milan, and ends with a concise comment on her first time at the Milan opera-house: "Go to the Opera. A most magnificent Ballet Pantomime of <Othello> [*sic*] the story of Othello"[17]. Claire was more emphatic in her description in a later journal entry:

> The Venetian dance embodies the idea I had formed of the ancient dances of the bacchantes. It is full of mad and intoxicating joy, which nevertheless is accompanied by voluptuousness. Maria Pallerini, the Desdemona, is a lovely creature. Her walk is more like the sweepings of the wind than the steps of a mortal, and her attitudes are pictures[18].

Claire Clairmont's words of appreciation echo her stepsister's and her brother-in-law's. Mary Shelley writes that *Otello* was "infinitely magnificent"[19]; she also describes La Scala, the habits of theatre-goers in Milan, as well as the talent of the opera singers[20]. Shelley was equally enthusiastic[21]. The three all seem to share a strong appreciation of ballet, at this time, which is consistent with both Percy and Mary Shelley's sustained interest in the embodied quality of artistic performance and scientific research, respectively. The former's interest in the physicality of drama, specifically *commedia dell'arte*, this most 'embodied' theatrical form, was complemented by his preoccupation with health, dietary requirements[22], and the

[15] J. Mulhallen, *The Theatre of Shelley*, OpenBook Publishers, Cambridge 2010, p. 250.

[16] Mary Shelley claims they did not, in fact, hear anything: "For the people did not like the opera which had been repeated for every night for these three weeks so not one air was heard" (M. Shelley, *The Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley*, B.T. Bennet ed., 3 vols, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore 1980-88, Vol. 1, p. 64).

[17] C. Clairmont, *The Journals of Claire Clairmont*, M. Kingston Stocking ed., Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA 1968, p. 89.

[18] Quoted in E. Dowden, *The Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, 2 vols, Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., London 1886, Vol. 2, pp. 194-195. Claire Clairmont's journal entries from 23 April to June 1818 are in the Carl H. Pforzheimer Collection of Shelley and His Circle at the New York Public Library, and Kingston Stocking seems to have had no access to them, therefore they are not reported in her edition of the journals.

[19] M. Shelley, *Letters*, Vol. 1, p. 64.

[20] *Ibid*., pp. 64, 67. The opera singers she mentions are Giovanni Davide (1789-1851 ca.) and Violante Camporese (1785-1839).

[21] "But the Ballet, or rather a kind of melodrama or a pantomimic dance, was the most splendid spectacle I ever saw [...]. The manner in which language is translated into gesture, the complete & full effect of the whole as illustrating the history in question, the unaffected self-possession of each of the actors, even to the children, made this choral drama more impressive than I should have conceived possible. The story is *Othello* & strange to say it left no disagreeable impression" (P.B. Shelley, *The Letters of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, F.L. Jones ed., 2 vols, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1964, Vol. 2, p. 4).

[22] See T. Morton, *Shelley and the Revolution in Taste: The Body and the Natural World*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1994; M. Canani, *Percy Bysshe Shelley: A Vegetarian Poet*, in *Not Just Porridge. English Literati at Table*, F. Orestano – M. Vickers ed., Archaeopress, Oxford 2017, pp. 57-68.

sensory experience of the elements[23]; Mary's interrogation of the wonders and dangers of *techne* was exemplified in her focus on the body monstrous. Claire's passionate and reckless personality was complemented by the prolific intellectual exchange with both Shelleys, therefore her appreciation of the intensity of the dancers' body, the performing body, is perfectly aligned with that of her travel companions.

At this point, the theatrical focus of Claire Clairmont's Milanese days is obvious, and receives even more poignancy through her reading at this time, which points to a strong interest in comedy rather than the tragic music of the opera house. It is in Milan that Claire's only recorded reading of Molière takes place[24]. Such intense interest is likely connected to the attendance at the "Theatre of the Marionetti [*sic*]"[25], as well as the prolific intellectual exchange she enjoyed with her stepsister: in fact, Mary herself started reading Molière at about this time[26]. Molière, who was, incidentally, deeply influenced by *commedia dell'arte* (and shared his own theatre with *commedia dell'arte* companies for years)[27], may have drawn both Mary Shelley and Claire to Fiando's theatre, as puppeteers were often known to rework stock characters by the French playwright. Fiando himself was known to deal in adaptation and remediation[28]. Another key influence could have been Percy Shelley's exploration of Greek comedy (i.e. Aristophanes), *commedia dell'arte*, street hand-puppet shows (Punch), and pantomime (which, incidentally, is the word Claire uses in her first description of the Milanese *Otello*)[29]. Although Shelley's reading in Milan was veering towards the tragic[30], it stands to reason that he might have suggested attending Teatro Fiando himself.

3. *13 April 1818:* Girolamo e Argante nell'isola incantata dalle streghe di Benevento

During her daily walks in the centre of Milan, a sign in Piazza del Duomo would have caught Claire Clairmont's eye: when facing the cathedral, she would have found the Coperto dei Figini, a fifteenth-century roofed promenade, on her left. Hanging on its outside, there would have been notices of puppet shows at Teatro Fiando (figures 2 and 3). Angelo Inganni's 1838 painting, *La Piazza del Duomo a Milano verso il Coperto dei Figini*, shows Giuseppe Fiando openly advertising his puppet shows as early as 1810. Theatre advertisements in Milan had started appearing in the press in 1806 during the Cisalpine Republic, at the express request of Beauharnais[31], and Fiando's enterprise had started figuring alongside La Scala, Carcano, Cannobiana and Santa Radegonda in the "Giornale Italiano", the Government newspaper. In 1818, Claire Clairmont and the Shelleys would

[23] See A. Wroe, *Being Shelley: The Poet's Search for Himself*, Vintage, London 2008.
[24] See Claire Clairmont's reading list in Ead., *Journals*, pp. 501-517.
[25] *Ibid*., p. 91.
[26] *Ibid*., p. 90.
[27] J. Mulhallen, *Theatre of Shelley*, p. 220.
[28] L. Sanguinetti, *Gerolamo*, p. 16.
[29] J. Mulhallen, *Theatre of Shelley*, pp. 210-234.
[30] Shelley was reading Dante's *Purgatorio*, but was primarily focusing on Tasso because he intended to write a drama on the Italian poet (see R. Holmes, *Shelley: The Pursuit*, Flamingo, London 1995, p. 417).
[31] L. Sanguinetti, *Gerolamo*, p. 12.

have seen the proto-billboard in Piazza del Duomo, or they might have found news of the shows performed daily in the "Gazzetta di Milano", the (newly-restored) Austrian regime's equivalent of the "Giornale Italiano". On 13 April 1818, the "Gazzetta" reports that Fiando would perform *Girolamo e Argante nell'isola incantata dalle streghe di Benevento* (see figure 4). This is the performance Claire Clairmont and the Shelleys attended. Mulhallen reports the puppet show in the list of performances the poet attended in his lifetime, but does not mention a title, citing Claire Clairmont who gave none. In the present article, the puppet show the Shelley party saw in Milan is finally unveiled.

Locating a puppetry play-text is no easy feat. Roberto Leydi, co-editor of the first collection of Italian puppetry scripts, describes them as generally similar in look and structure: thick paper, ruled (the lines faded and drawn by hand), at times bound in brown paper; the cover bears the title, potential subtitle, hand-written notes reporting details of past performances, good and bad ones, stage props needed, and whatnot. If one turns the page, the script begins[32]. I have as yet been unable to locate the script Fiando had his puppet Gerolamo perform on 13 April 1818, but I started a correspondence with the world's most celebrated puppeteers, the Colla family, who managed Teatro Fiando, which by then had definitively become Teatro Gerolamo, from 1911 until 1957. What they shared with me is the closest script to the *Gerolamo e Argante* that Claire Clairmont and the Shelleys saw (see figure 5).

Some basic differences are obvious: Fiando's Gerolamo and his master Argante were on an enchanted island, as the title indicates, in the hands of Benevento[33] witches; in the Colla version, Gerolamo is no longer the servant, having been replaced by Arlecchino; the island, for its part, has disappeared in favour of an enchanted forest. The curator of the Colla archives, Monica Franchi, has speculated that the script might date back to the second half of the nineteenth century[34], but, in fact, the paper documenting its first cataloguing confirms that the script bears no date (see figure 6). Franchi has also suggested that the script in the Colla archives might be an adapted version of the one Claire Clairmont saw, at least plot-wise, for it is in the very nature of puppet play-texts to maintain incidents and general basic plots.

Most puppeteers lived on the road and performed in the North of Italy, from Veneto through Lombardy to Piedmont. A practical consequence of performing for quite different audiences was that well before the age of marketing, the art of localization was a must: using Goldoni's Venetian Arlecchino suggests the company had the servant speaking a dialect that was understandable to the audience of the place in which they were performing, that is, that the script was likely a version of the play-text to be performed in Veneto. Changing the island to a forest was not necessarily a deeply meaningful choice: both island and forest are symbols of social counter-order; both are conventionally carnivalesque places, in the Bakhtinian sense, places of topsy-turvy, in which magic and resistance to the hegemonic discourse of power, traditionally located in the city, thrive. Both island and forest

[32] R. Leydi – R. Mezzanotte Leydi, *Marionette e burattini*, Collana del "Gallo Grande", Milano 1958, p. 31.
[33] A town in the South of Italy.
[34] Private conversation, 2 April 2019.

are obvious Shakespearean places[35]. I am not suggesting that locations in the play-text were chosen to make overt reference to the English playwright, but I am suggesting that Claire Clairmont and the Shelleys would have recognised the basic plot and relational patterns in Fiando's performance that night: they would have recognised the island as a place of magic (potentially evil or, at the very least, vindictive); they would have realised that the main characters were being drawn to an enchanted island by subterfuge (another Shakespearean echo); they would have understood the tragi-comic tone of the piece (Shakespeare, again).

The script in the Colla archives has a simple enough plot (see figure 7 for the list of characters): the witch Armida ostracises the marriage between Argante and Elena, a beautiful couple. In order to seduce Argante, the witch has spirits kidnap Elena on her wedding day and a trusted messenger – a fortune-teller Argante is known to trust – relate to him that he must go into the forest and save Elena. Argante leaves the city bringing his faithful, and extremely cowardly, servant, Arlecchino, along. After several misadventures and thanks to the help of Ismeno, a wizard who is in love with Armida but has been betrayed and rejected, Argante frees Elena and the two live happily ever after.

A subplot includes Arlecchino, of course, who finds himself alone and terrified in the enchanted forest and momentarily falls for Armida's servant Colombina, only to realise she is as evil as her mistress and eventually run as far as he can from her. It is not unlikely that Claire Clairmont and the Shelleys may have attended a performance along these lines: the facts of the plot are so plain, the magic tricks are so obvious and potentially spectacular, and the comic element so recognizable, that they would have understood the highlights of the performance with relatively little effort.

4. *The five Wh's of placing Gerolamo: who, what, when, where, and how*

Gerolamo (or Girolamo, depending on the newspaper and the writer) is the staple Milanese puppet, despite not being of Milanese descent. Its origins can be traced back to Piedmont in 1630, its alleged inventor was Gioanin d'Osej, a carpenter. Gerolamo started out as Girone and later took on its definitive name. The puppet pops up again in the second half of the eighteenth century in the expert hand of puppeteer Giovan Battista Sales. It was in Genoa that Gerolamo and its master ran into trouble with the authorities for the first time; it was thus in Genoa that Gerolamo's career as a politically incorrect, seditious puppet began: the doge of the city was Girolamo Durazzo, and he did not take too well to his wooden namesake. Sales had to flee to Piedmont, but there, too, he and his puppet were frowned upon by the authorities and eventually expelled. In fact, one of Bonaparte's brothers was named Gerolamo. People in the streets gathering round a portable stage and witnessing a Gerolamo getting as good as he gave did not sit very well with Bonapartists. It

[35] For a perspective on the representation and symbolic value of Shakespeare's island in Derek Jarman's *The Tempest*, see A. Anselmo, *Images and Words:* The Tempest*, Film and the Classroom*, in *Shakespeare, Our Personal Trainer: Teaching Shakespeare in Secondary Schools*, M. Rose – C. Paravano – R. Situlin ed., Cambridge Scholars, Newcastle upon Tyne 2018, pp. 201-220.

was at the end of the eighteenth century, then, that Gerolamo found its way to Milan and to Giuseppe Fiando[36].

The "Giornale Italiano" spoke highly of Gerolamo's character, a crafty, but pleasant rustic from Piedmont; he may have been a little curt and all too frank, but his clumsiness and dialect made him a success and much loved by the Milanesi[37]. The public's enjoyment, so claims the journalist, came from being exposed to a neighbouring culture through Gerolamo's dialect[38]. In her celebrated travelogue, Lady Morgan's argument is diametrically opposed to that of the "Giornale Italiano", and she describes Gerolamo's distinctiveness as follows:

> [He] speaks Piedmontese, and makes stupid mistakes to please the inhabitants of Milan, and to feed their municipal prejudices against their neighbours; exactly as the Milanese *Menichino* [sic] performs for the amusement of the rest of the north of Italy, and as honest Pat is travestied on the London stage to flatter the cockney prejudices of John Bull[39].

Charles Magnin's 1852 pioneering monographic study on the history of puppetry reports the account of a certain Monsieur Bourquelot, who saw Gerolamo in 1841 and found him extremely funny. Gerolamo was thus still the main protagonist of the Milanese puppet scene, performing across kindred genres such as farces, parodies and satirical pieces with great ease[40].

The first mention of Fiando performing in Milan dates back to 1806, even though there is archival evidence he was active in the city before then, perhaps as early as 1795[41]. Like his puppet, he, too was from Piedmont. He thus spoke the dialect perfectly and could best be Gerolamo's voice. After performing for some time at a private venue, Dazio Grande in Piazza del Duomo, he moved to Piazza del Tribunale, today known as via Mercanti. In 1806, Fiando was granted use of the Bellarmino oratory[42], which was the precursor of the *bona fide* theatre in which Claire Clairmont and the Shelleys spent an evening in April 1818. Going to see Fiando's Gerolamo would have amounted to seeing a unique piece of Milan, a landmark for all intents and purposes, for Teatro Fiando is one of the oldest resident puppet theatres in the world[43], and the place that put an end to Gerolamo's wandering days. After receiving it as a gift from the local authorities, Fiando had the oratory repurposed according to architect Luigi Canonica's design; the façade was conceived by Tazzini and decorated with statues by Pompeo Marchesi (see figure 8).

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[36] Giovan Battista Sales, for his part, remained in Milan but gave up Gerolamo in favour of the safer Gianduja. He would eventually join puppeteer Bellone in 1814 (E. Monti, *Il Gerolamo: C'era una volta un Teatro di Marionette...*, Strenna dell'Istituto Ortopedico Gaetano Pini, Milano 1975, p. 23).

[37] L. Sanguinetti, *Gerolamo*, p. 14.

[38] Quoted in *Ibid*., pp. 34-35.

[39] Lady Morgan, *Italy*, 3 vols, Galignani, Paris 1821, Vol. 1, p. 153.

[40] C. Magnin, *Histoire des marionnettes en Europe depuis l'antiquité jusqu'à nos jours*, Michel Lévy Frères, Paris 1852, p. 87.

[41] L. Guicciardi, *La Maschera di Gerolamo*, "La Martinella di Milano", maggio 1958, pp. 225-232.

[42] E. Monti, *Gerolamo*, p. 22.

[43] A. Calzoni, *Per la storia di alcuni teatri minori milanesi*, Presso l'Autore, Milano 1932, p. 39.

Claire Clairmont thus found herself in the very first theatrical space specially conceived for puppet shows, in many ways a miniature La Scala. Magnin's Monsier Bourquelot proves useful once more in his description of the theatre's interior: he mentions a lovely parterre and three levels of wooden boxes[44]. Advertisements in the "Giornale Italiano" following the month of June 1806 announced not only the varied repertoire at Fiando's disposal, which was common in the comedy business, as re-runs were extremely rare and due only to outstanding success, but also the technical and visual virtuosity of Fiando's stage, with frequent news of scenery changes[45]. Lady Morgan, despite showing no real interest in or appreciation for Gerolamo and his (mis)adventures, confirms the beauty and surprising technical advancement of the theatre: "The scenery and decorations are really very pretty, and there is great ingenuity exhibited in the transformations, of which this little stage is rendered susceptible"[46]. In his 1836 guide to Milan and its surroundings, specifically targeted at English travellers, Marcello Mazzoni would describe Teatro Fiando rather diminutively, and yet presented it as a local landmark. He, too, would focus on ingeniousness and the beauty of the scenery:

> Comedies and ballets are here almost daily performed by means of puppets, whose easy motions are so ingeniously contrived as to deserve a moment's notice from travellers. The decorations of this puppet-show are really superb[47].

By the mid-nineteenth century, Magnin could claim that Teatro Fiando had become as famous as the Duomo and that as many foreign travellers visited it[48].

When Claire Clairmont and the Shelleys found their way to the Milanese puppet show, Fiando had grown to manage his theatre programme much as the spoken drama theatres did, and repeated the performance of *Il Diluvio Universale* (the Deluge) several times that April, before moving on to *Girolamo e Argante* mid-month.

5. *Why puppets? Gesture, music and politics*

Two main features of Fiando's work would have had special appeal for Claire Clairmont and the Shelleys: firstly, its immanent political connotations; secondly, the pervasive presence of music and, interestingly, dancing.

The politics inherent in popular art forms hardly need to be supported by evidence: comedy, specifically, and all art forms that can be traced back to *commedia dell'arte* have a history of carnivalesque role-reversals, regime critique and semi-seditious content. The relative lawlessness of street and fair performances, as well as the very nature of the *maschere*,

[44] C. Magnin, *Histoire des marionnettes*, p. 87.
[45] L. Sanguinetti, *Gerolamo*, p. 16.
[46] Lady Morgan, *Italy*, Vol. 1, p. 154.
[47] M. Mazzoni, *The Traveller's Guide of Milan with a Sketch of the Environs and a Description of the Lakes*, Sonzogno, Milano 1836, p. 60.
[48] C. Magnin, *Histoire des marionnettes*, p. 84.

the actors transcending their individuality in order to wear a mask, imply a distance between the actor and the acted, the *sayer* and the said. This is one of the many paradoxes in both puppetry and *commedia dell'arte*: the masks the *commedia* actors wear are obviously meant to hide their identity and transform them into recognizable stock characters, but, at the same time, they need to be built specifically for the actor who is going to wear them, and they are traditionally made of leather so that the skin can breathe through the material, and the leather can absorb sweat and literally mould itself on its wearer's features, becoming one with the actor[49].

The distance and its paradoxical consequences are even more obvious in the case of puppets, whose materiality virtually obliterates the motion-maker and can thus drive performances further towards the inflammatory. More than their hand-operated counterparts, string puppets come to represent one of the paths humanity has travelled in order to construct its own reflection[50]: the recourse to the ultimate other, the (puppet) object endowed with human-like features and motions, and infused with human-like life, constitutes an act of both idolatry[51] and potential sedition. If idolatry is defined as both an issue of representation (in that it offers a grossly inadequate picture of the divine) and agency (as it identifies human creativity with divine creation), then the puppet is inherently idolatrous. Sedition, for its part, hinges on the same problematic co-existence of representation and agency. The (puppet) object does not exist without its motion-maker/actor, and yet the two are distinct: the human voice is rent from the embodied object, the movement and expression of the embodied object are rent from the all too human emotion and interpretation. It is within this distance, this interstice that will not be mended, that the puppet object can be made into a counter-cultural and counter-political symbol, an embodied sign amplifying human agency precisely because it transcends the human despite depending on it.

Within this ontological framework for the reading and interpretation of the puppet theatre, Gerolamo's arrival in Milan must be understood, and the persistence of its perceived political potential contextualised. This for several reasons: the first is Gerolamo's great appeal to a popular audience. It is no coincidence that an eager reader wrote a letter to "Giornale Italiano" in 1806 to lament the lack of attention paid to a character so close to the hearts of the people; while this might have been a genuine request from a *bona fide* admirer, it was also a relatively friendly request for more focus on a character and a theatre which held sway over a large number of people: "puppets that speak to the people every day", the reader claimed, "are not beneath the wise man's interest, or undeserving of attention from the friends of order and morality"[52]. Quoting from this reader's letter in his *Principj morali del teatro*, Pietro Schedoni commented on the undeniable political import of the art of puppetry: its omnipresence in the squares of small towns and big capitals alike,

[49] Private conversation with Eugenio De' Giorgi, comedian and *commedia* expert, July 2012.
[50] Cf. A. Cipolla – G. Moretti, *Storia delle marionette e dei burattini in Italia*, Titivillus, Pisa 2011, pp. 24-25.
[51] S.C. Shershow, *Puppets and "Popular" Culture*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY 1995, pp. 22-42.
[52] L. Sanguinetti, *Gerolamo*, p. 12. My translation.

its appeal to large audiences made up of impressionable and uneducated people thus exposed to all sorts of depravities and corruption, represented a metaphorical powder cake[53].

Years after 1806, once both Beauharnais and Napoleon were (not so) distant memories, Gerolamo posed the potential problem of its language: for one, the Piedmontese dialect may have been incomprehensible to the Austrian authorities, therefore fostering doubt as to the contents of Fiando's performances. More than that, puppet shows were known for their volatile and unpredictable nature, the average play-text being always open to localisation, a *canovaccio* incorporating the foundational element of improvisation, meant as a guideline rather than a finished piece. As for Gerolamo, there was a further complication: Piedmontese was the dialect of the fledgling patriotic efforts of the *Carbonari*, which would affect the North of Italy in 1820. Censorship was in place under Austrian rule, and therefore puppets, too, were routinely investigated, their language and their adventures gone over with a fine toothcomb. In a theatre such as Fiando's, in which performances became more standardised due to repetition and the settled nature of the puppet master's business, scripts became relatively stable, but were still looked upon with suspicion, and thus played only after being authorised by the censor's office. Alberto Lorenzi mentions the realistic possibility that a puppet from Piedmont might transcend its own comedic materiality and index the impending call for independence[54]. Eventually, both Gerolamo and Fiando became active protagonists of the Milan riots of 1848[55].

Music was no news in the world of puppetry: hand-puppet street shows implied the presence of a *musico* of sorts. In his history of English puppetry, George Speaight points out the presence of the so-called "pardner" at street puppet shows in England; the pardner "played the drums and pipes before the show, carried the frame from pitch to pitch, and took up the collection, and also filled the ancient role of 'interpreter'"[56]. The drums and panpipes of early nineteenth-century English shows were more rudimentary than the small orchestra Fiando had secured for daily performances at his theatre, the director of which was Giovanni Ricordi, a violinist, who would go on to become the first and greatest music publisher in Italy. These musical elements, common to puppet shows across Europe, points to Percy Shelley's childhood memories of street shows, which, in turn, may have informed expectations that music would complement the puppet action on the stage that evening of April 1818 in Milan. Mulhallen speculates Percy Shelley might have had access to Punch and Joan (later Judy) shows when he was a child in the late 1790s; a Punch and Joan show was also performed in Brighton in 1804, very close to Percy's Horsham. In the years he was living in or often visiting London, street puppet shows were extremely popular[57]. It is

[53] A. Cipolla – G. Moretti, *Storia delle marionette*, p. 43.

[54] Reference is here made to C.S. Peirce's definition of "index". See *Peirce's Theory of Signs*, in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/peirce-semiotics/ (last accessed April 20, 2019).

[55] A. Lorenzi, *Milano: un secolo*, Bramante, Milano 1965, p. 84.

[56] G. Speaight, *The History of the English Puppet Theatre*, de Graff, New York 1955, p. 211. Interpreters may have been needed to translate puppet shows performed by Italian or French companies. In time they became a permanent fixture of puppet shows as the puppeteers' trademark nasal delivery made understanding performances difficult (*Ibid*., pp. 66-67).

[57] J. Mulhallen, *Theatre of Shelley*, p. 224.

possible to speculate that Mary Shelley and Claire Clairmont might have witnessed street puppet shows in London themselves, and would thus also be familiar with the co-presence of rudimentary music and puppetry.

One more staple feature of Fiando's performances was dancing: as early as 24 July 1806 Fiando advertised the evening's programme as a comic piece followed by a dance. The "Giornale Italiano" was characteristically ready to deal out praise through the description of the beauty and proportion of the puppets dancing on Fiando's stage: "quick", "graceful", and "exact" are the adjectives used by the journalist[58]. An enthusiastic French review of a dance at Teatro Fiando was published in an 1823 issue of the literary journal "Le Globe". It confirms gracefulness and exactness, as well as stating the superiority of puppet dancers to real ones:

> Such was the perfection of the movements of these small actors; their bodies, their arms, their head, everything works with such moderation and in such perfect accordance with the feelings expressed by the voice [...]. I wish Opéra dancers, so proud of their arms and legs, could see these wooden dancers, copy all their attitudes and possess the same gracefulness[59].

Crisafulli has excellently documented Percy Shelley's interest in embodied music as exemplified by the trope of the dancer. She quotes from the poet's essay "On Love", and convincingly argues that

> music embraces social values (patriotism), human ties ("one beloved singing to you alone"), spontaneous and sympathetic emotions ("bring tears of mysterious tenderness to the eyes"), an animistic and anthropomorphic view of nature (eloquence in the tongueless wind), and also a previously unthinkable knowledge of the self ("inconceivable relation to something within the soul"). For Shelley the aim of music is not so much to express particular or individual feelings as to reveal to the soul its own identity, being time rather than space its essential element [...][60].

As mentioned above, Claire Clairmont, Percy and Mary Shelley were all struck by Viganò's choral drama. In their letters, the Shelleys emphasise gesture: Percy's interest is in how language can be turned into gesture without losing any of its semantic potency, while Mary's focus appears to be the dancers' ability to move organically and present the audience with a quasi-sculptural spectacle[61]. Claire Clairmont's journal entry quoted above deserves repeated attention because of the remarkable conceptual closeness to both Percy's and Mary's remarks: on the one hand, Claire emphasises voluptuousness and the rapture of the senses

[58] L. Sanguinetti, *Gerolamo*, p. 16.
[59] Quoted in C. Magnin, *Histoire des marionnettes*, p. 84 (my translation).
[60] L.M. Crisafulli, *"A Language in Itself Music": Salvatore Viganò's* Ballet en Action *in Shelley's* Prometheus Unbound, in *The Romantic Stage: A Many-Sided Mirror*, L.M. Crisafulli – F. Liberto ed., Rodopi, Amsterdam 2014, pp. 135-159 (p. 138).
[61] M. Shelley, *Letters*, Vol. 1, p. 64.

by referring to the dances of the Bacchantes, which Crisafulli clearly sees in Shelley's "On Love"[62]; she further refers to the lightness of the dancers' gestures and uses the wind as an explanatory metaphor. This, too, is an echo of Shelley's "On Love". On the other hand, Claire mirrors Mary in her association of Viganò's choreography with the visual arts, not sculpture this time, but painting. This testifies to the intensity of the intellectual attunement of the three.

The missing link between choral drama and puppetry is provided by Mulhallen, who ingeniously complements Crisafulli's argument of Shelley's fascination with choral drama with the translation of language into gesture, and music as being 'embodied'. I have argued that Mary Shelley and Claire Clairmont shared this viewpoint to a certain degree, both showing enjoyment of Viganò's choreography in terms of both physical and more aesthetic/artistic criteria. Mulhallen argues that Shelley's lifelong interest in *commedia dell'arte* can be connected to his "dislike of unevenness in performance" and

> the fact that he was to write in *A Defence of Poetry* of the "partial and inharmonious effect" of a company of actors without masks, suggests that he would have admired the unity which is characteristic of *commedia dell'arte* companies as well as their wearing of masks[63].

Mulhallen rightly uses *commedia dell'arte* as a portmanteau term including puppetry under its semantic umbrella. However, I would argue that their common origin does not warrant their identification *tout court*, and that Claire Clairmont and the Shelleys attended Fiando's theatre not merely out of scholarly interest in the *commedia*, but because of a specific interest in puppetry itself. Mulhallen's insight into Shelley's search for evenness and order is extremely more valuable if one considers the specificity of puppetry and the puppet as the absolute abstraction of the human body. The puppet is the perfect paradox: it is unique in the detail of its characterisation (dialect spoken, dress, comedic identity), but it is a *maschera*, endlessly repeated and repeatable within its idiosyncratic linguistic and character framework of reference. Its motions are highly formalised because of the materials out of which it is built, and because it exists within a theatre that is entirely made up of constraints and virtuosity[64]. While these characteristics appear to be in line with *maschere* in the *commedia*, puppetry implies constraints that the *commedia*, relying on live actors, does not; more than that, puppets are not bound to the use of *grammelot* like some characters in the *commedia* are, and they are not in any stable way associated to an animal counterpart.

Claire Clairmont's and the Shelleys' love for Viganò's impressionistic art was inspired by the choreographer's unique ability to combine music of diverse origin (the music for his *Otello* came from Rossini, Brambilla and Carafa[65]) and impassioned, highly individualistic gesture. Yet uniformity and homogeneity in the performance were perceived: Claire

[62] L.M. Crisafulli, *"A Language in Itself Music"*, p. 138.
[63] J. Mulhallen, *Theatre of Shelley*, p. 222.
[64] For a detailed account of the use(s) of 'motion' in puppetry see G. Speaight, *English Puppet Theatre*, pp. 54-69.
[65] L.M. Crisafulli, *"A Language in Itself Music"*, p. 149.

mentioned visualising a clear picture; Mary Shelley wrote of a statuesque quality of the ensemble, and Percy Shelley perceived unity in gesture rendering language unnecessary. It is the same kind of uniformity that could be enjoyed at Giuseppe Fiando's performances, in which his puppet's motions were standardised and yet natural, limited in scope and yet infinite (superior to real Opéra dancers!). In the 1950s Roberto Leydi wrote that puppets are not defined by an abstract desire for poetic expression and creativity; quite the opposite. As material objects, they are bound to their materiality and can thus only find expression in their lines and their gestures. Here, too, gesture is everything; and these wooden bodies, animated by strings and a hidden master, are a door to infinity and transcendence.

6. *Curtain calls*

Roberto Leydi explains the formalism inherent in puppetry by referring to the structured nature of play-texts and, especially, the importance of gesture. Puppetry is subsumed under a strict preconceived order: its dramatic language can appear misleadingly poor, schematic, naïve, perhaps childish, but is in fact solid, practical, extremely poetic and, most of all, truly universal[66].

It has been my aim in this article to present the reader with a series of interconnected pictures: the first saw Claire Clairmont undergoing arguably the most traumatic event of her life during her stay in Milan, and complementing it with the intense intellectual and artistic fervour with which, in spite of all, her Milanese experience was infused. The second picture showed the detail of a seemingly irrelevant leisurely evening the Shelley party spent at a puppet show in Milan: the performance they attended, a potential version of the play-text they saw, a portrait of the quintessentially Milanese (yet Piedmontese!) puppet, of its first great puppet master, Giuseppe Fiando, and of the theatre that gave meaning to the lives of both puppet and puppeteer. Finally, a potential, yet essential, connection between the Shelley party's emotional and intellectual investment in Viganò's choral drama and their interest in attending a puppet show, was interrogated. While considering this possibility, remarkable similarities in perspective and vocabulary in the reactions of Percy and Mary Shelley and Claire Clairmont to Vigano's choral drama emerged: this led to emphasising the intensity of their intellectual exchange and to speculating on the possibility that such exchange may have led to consensus regarding puppetry as well.

[66] R. Leydi – R. Mezzanotte Leydi, *Marionette e burattini*, pp. 15-16.

Figure 1 - *Fiando's Gerolamo*

Figure 2 - *A. Inganni,* La Piazza del Duomo a Milano verso il Coperto dei Figini*, 1838 (Museo di Milano, Palazzo Morando)*

Figure 3 - *A. Inganni,* La Piazza del Duomo a Milano verso il Coperto dei Figini*, detail. The date concerning the notice advertising a performance at Teatro Fiando is visible: 1810*

Figure 4 - *The "Gazzetta di Milano" listing the shows on 13 April 1818*

SPETTACOLI D'OGGI.

I. R. Teatro alla Scala. Si rappresenta l' opera semiseria *Ettinda*, musica del M.° De-Winter. Balli: 1.° *Otello*, composto dal sig. Salvatore Viganò; 2.° *Il paggio*, composto dal sig. Bertini.

Teatro Re. Dalla comica comp. Marchionni e comp. si replica *La gazza ladra*.

Teatro dalle marionette (detto Girolamo) si recita *Girolamo e Argante nell' isola incantata dalle streghe di Benevento*.

Figure 5 - Argante ed Arlecchino nella selva incantata dalle streghe di Benevento*, MS copy*

Argante ed Arlecchino

nella selva

incantata dalle streghe di Benevento

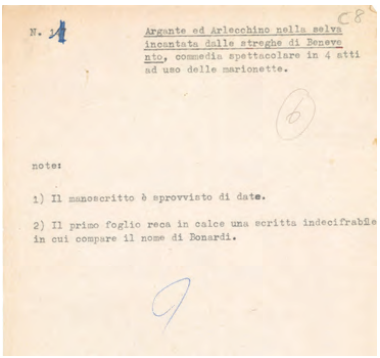
commedia spettacolosa

in 4 atti.

ad uso

delle Marionette

Figure 6 - *Cataloguing documentation from the Compagnia Marionettistica Carlo Colla & Figli / Associazione Grupporiani Fondo Eredi Colla*


N. 4

Argante ed Arlecchino nella selva incantata dalle streghe di Benevento, commedia spettacolare in 4 atti ad uso delle marionette.

note:

1) Il manoscritto è sprovvisto di data.

2) Il primo foglio reca in calce una scritta indecifrabile in cui compare il nome di Bonardi.

Figure 7 - Argante ed Arlecchino nella selva incantata dalle streghe di Benevento*, MS copy. List of characters*

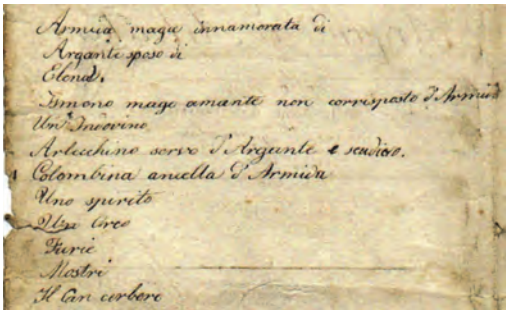

Armida maga innamorata di
Argante sposo di
Elenda.
Ismeno mago amante non corrisposto d'Armida
Un Incevino
Arlecchino servo d'Argante e scudiero.
Colombina ancella d'Armida
Uno spirito
Una furie
Furie
Mostri
Il Can cerbero

Figure 8 - *Luigi Cherubini's etching of Teatro Fiando*

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Mary Shelley in Italy: Reading Dante and the Creation of an Anglo-Italian Identity

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This article analyses Mary Shelley's textual and critical approach to Dante. It focuses on her sources in Mme de Staël's, J.C.L. Simonde de Sismondi's, August Schlegel's and Henry Francis Cary's critical readings of Dante. By analysing Mary Shelley's use of Dante in *Rambles*, it will be shown that Mary Shelley became a mediator and introduced contemporary Italian political readings of his work and anticipated the Victorian interest in Dante's *Vita Nuova*.

Questo articolo analizza l'approccio testuale e critico di Mary Shelley a Dante. Ne identifica le fonti europee nelle letture dantesche di Mme de Staël, J.C.L. Simonde de Sismondi, August Schlegel e Henry Francis Cary. L'analisi dell'uso di Dante in *Rambles* intende mettere in evidenza il ruolo di mediatrice culturale operato da Mary Shelley attraverso l'introduzione in Gran Bretagna delle letture risorgimentali di Dante e la sua anticipazione dell'interesse vittoriano nella *Vita Nuova*.

Keywords: Mary Shelley, *Rambles in Germany and Italy*, Dante, orality, Italian language learning

In a letter to Thomas Love Peacock dated 20 April 1818, Percy Shelley wrote about reading the *Divine Comedy* in the Duomo in Milan in "one solitary spot among these aisles behind the altar"[1]. Shelley's eagerness to resume his reading of Dante as soon as he arrived in Italy foregrounds his long-term interest in the Italian poet and his approach to Italian culture. Percy and Mary's journey to the country was both a geographical and an intellectual transfer that prompted them to pursue their reading of Italian texts. As Mary explained in her later travel narrative *Rambles in Germany and Italy, in 1840, 1842, and 1843*, approaching works in the original language was also a means of plunging into and absorbing the culture:

> I mean to read a great deal of Italian; as I have ever found it pleasant to embue oneself with the language and literature of the country in which one is residing. Reading much Italian, one learns almost to think in that language, and to converse more freely[2].

[1] P.B. Shelley, *The Letters of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, F.L. Jones ed., 2 vols, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1964, Vol. 2, p. 8.
[2] M. Shelley, *Rambles in Germany and Italy, in 1840, 1842, and 1843*, 2 vols, Moxon, London 1844, Vol. 1, p. 65.

Dante, and in particular the original text of the *Divine Comedy*, was a constant presence throughout Percy and Mary's four years together in Italy. While Percy's approach to Dante has been explored by critics[3], Mary's creative use of the poet still requires further investigation. This article will focus on Mary Shelley's reading of Dante and on her creative response to his poetry in her later work *Rambles in Germany and Italy*. It will be argued that her commitment to learning the language was a central part of her Italian experiences. Mary's approach to Dante will be analysed as a central event within her own construction of a 'hyphenated literary identity'[4] that involved studying Italian culture and history and expressing herself in the Italian language.

1. *Reading Dante aloud: Mary and Percy's common readings of Dante*

Reading Dante was both an individual practice and a shared event for Percy and Mary. The earliest testimony of the Shelleys' common reading of Dante are Mary's journal entries of 10 and 12 November 1817:

> Monday 10th
> Read Dante – call on the Hunts. Papa calls and Mr. Ollier.
> [...]
> Wednesday 12
> [...] Walk to Hunts – read Dante[5].

As Mary's *Journals* reveal, Percy often read aloud to Mary, a practice that was still common at the beginning of the nineteenth century, as William St Clair has pointed out[6]. It is important to note that Percy and Mary's reading often included works in the original language as well as in translation. Thus, Dante's *Divine Comedy* could have been read either in Henry Francis Cary's translation of the *Inferno* and of the *Divine Comedy* or in the original[7]. This

[3] See A.M. Weinberg, *Shelley's Italian Experience*, Macmillan, Basingstoke 1991; S. Ellis, *Dante and English Poetry*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1983; T. Webb, *The Violet in the Crucible. Shelley and Translation*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1976; R. Pite, *The Circle of our Vision: Dante's Presence in English Romantic Poetry*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1994; and my volume, A. Braida, *Dante and the Romantics*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke 2004.

[4] Mary's adoption of an 'Anglo-Italian identity' has been analyzed by M. Schoina, *Romantic "Anglo-Italians". Configurations of Identity in Byron, the Shelleys and the Pisan Circle*, Ashgate, Farnham 2009.

[5] M. Shelley, *The Journals of Mary Shelley 1814-1844,* P.R. Feldman – D. Scott-Kilvert ed., 2 vols, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1987, Vol. 1, pp. 183-184.

[6] W. St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2004, p. 395.

[7] Henry Francis Cary first published a translation of the *Inferno* with facing Italian text (*The Inferno of Dante Alighieri*, 2 vols, Carpenter, London 1805) and a complete translation of the poem in 1814 (*The Vision, or Hell, Purgatory and Paradise of Dante Alighieri*, 3 vols, Printed for the author by J. Barfield, London 1814). Percy read both versions. For the copies Percy and Mary held, see my discussion in A. Braida, *Dante and the Romantics*, pp. 99-101. Feldman and Scott-Kilvert suggest that "Mary probably began her reading of Dante in the translation of the *Inferno* by Henry Cary (1805)" (M. Shelley, *Journals*, Vol. 1, p. 183n).

second possibility is supported by Mary's use of the Italian titles[8], while Cary translated the *cantiche* as "*Hell, Purgatory and Paradise*" and renamed the *Divine Comedy* "*The Vision*".

Mary's *Journals* document her progress with the poem. She started reading "7 Canto's of Dante [*sic*]" from the *Inferno* in Este in September 1818 and she continued till 20 January, when she noted: "Finish the Inferno of Dante"[9]. She must then have proceeded with the *Purgatorio*, which was finished on 20 August 1819, and continued with the *Paradiso* in August and September, with some shared readings[10]. The *Vita Nuova* was approached with Percy at the time of their friendship with Teresa Viviani and she noted: "S. reads the vita nuova aloud to me in the evening"[11].

Reading in the original brought the Shelleys close to Dante's prosody, style and imagery, often expressed through elaborate similes. Like Percy, Mary largely drew from Dante her inspiration for her creative writing: for example, the short story *Matilda* can be described as a narrative experiment based on *Purgatorio*, Canto 28, while in the novel *Valperga* Dante's poetry provides the cultural backdrop of her reconstruction of Euthanasia's court. After having explored the poet's sources in her article entitled "Giovanni Villani", published in *The Liberal* on 30 July 1823[12], it is in *Rambles* that Mary achieved her own personal approach to Dante's legacy, as will be discussed below.

2. *Mary Shelley's early readings of Dante and her knowledge of Italian*

The entries in Mary's *Journals* are significant as they identify the two important members of Mary's community that shared a common interest in Italian language and culture: William Godwin and Leigh Hunt. While Percy Shelley studied Italian at Bracknell with Mrs. Boinville and her daughter, Cornelia Turner[13], Mary could benefit from Godwin's impressive library. The sale catalogue of 1836 lists an impressive number of works by Italian authors, in the original and translation[14]. As for Dante, the list includes two copies of the *Commedia*, the 1555 edition with comment by Giolito and the 1819 edition in three volumes edited by Pompeo Venturi, as well as the first edition of Henry Cary's translation, published in 1814 in small format (10 cm), and "Flaxman's Designs to the Divina Com-

[8] For example, Mary writes "read 2 Cantos of the Purgatorio" in her entry for 5 August 1819, and "4 Canto of L'Inferno" in her entry for 10 February 1822 (M. Shelley, *Journals*, Vol. 1, pp. 294, 397).
[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 226, 247.
[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 294-297.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 351.
[12] M. Shelley, *The Novels and Selected Works of Mary Shelley*, 8 vols, Pickering & Chatto, London 1996, Vol. 2, P. Clemit ed., pp. 128-139.
[13] P.B. Shelley, *Letters*, Vol. 1, pp. 383-384.
[14] *Catalogue of the Curious Library of that Very Eminent and Distinguished Author, William Godwin Esq., Which Will be Sold by Auction at Sotheby and Son, on Friday, June 17th, 1836*, Compton and Ritchie, London s.d. https://books.google.fr/books?id=x3pdAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=fr&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false (last accessed November 29, 2018). See *Shelley and His Circle, 1773-1822*, 10 vols to date, Harvard University Press, Cambridge MA 1961-2002, Vol. 1, K.N. Cameron ed., p. 335.

media, engraved by Piroli"[15]. As for the 1814 volume I would like to suggest that this was bought before the 1819 publication by Taylor and Hessey, since Henry Cary claims that all the volumes of the 1814 edition were sold out and were difficult to find later[16]. Whatever the date of these acquisitions, Godwin had a personal interest in Italian language and culture: he took classes from a teacher named Curioni in 1790-1791 and in 1802 he met Gaetano Polidori and they collaborated for his life of Chaucer[17]. Mary's early knowledge of Italian is also supported by Claire Clairmont's manuscript letter in which she allegedly transcribed Mary Jane Godwin's claim that her daughters were studying "French and Italian from masters"[18].

Mary pursued her interest in learning Italian in her years with Percy. The journals point out that she read *Pamela*, *Clarissa Harlowe* and Plutarch's *Lives* in Italian translation[19]; according to Timothy Webb, "this and other evidence suggests that her reading Italian was considerably developed when she arrived in Italy"[20]. Evidence of her continued interest in Italian literature is also provided by a reading list of Italian prose works, ranging from the Middle Ages to the eighteenth century[21].

The desire to feel at ease with the Italian language prompted Mary to employ an "Italian Master in the evening", a Signor Mombelli, and references to Italian exercises are to be found again on 25-26 April and on 18-22 May[22]. This commitment resulted in the fre-

[15] *Catalogue of the Curious Library,* p. 289, items 172-174, and p. 296, item 371. It is not clear whether the Flaxman illustrations in the catalogue refer to a volume or to a set of bound prints. See, for example, *Atlante Dantesco da poter servire ad ogni edizione della Divina Commedia, ossia l'Inferno, il Purgatorio e il Paradiso*, Batelli e Fanfani, Milano 1822.

[16] H.F. Cary, *Memoir of the Rev. Henry Francis Cary M.A.*, 2 vols, Moxon, London 1847, Vol. 1, p. 28.

[17] *William Godwin's Diary*, http://godwindiary.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/bibl (last accessed November 29, 2018). See also Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodleian MS. Abinger c. 36, fol. 71^{r}, http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/online/1500-1900/abinger/images/Dep.c.811.1-09-7.jpg (last accessed November 29, 2018), which includes a list of Italian authors and "Il Dante La Divina Commedia".

[18] The manuscript, in Claire's hand, is catalogued Cl Cl 26 in the Carl H. Pforzheimer Collection of Shelley and His Circle at the New York Public Library. It comprises six letters allegedly copied by Claire. According to Elizabeth C. Denlinger, the existence of the six original letters Mary Jane Godwin wrote to Margaret King Moore, Lady Mount Cashell, should be questioned (E.C. Denlinger, *Horrid Mysteries of Cl Cl 26: A Tale of Mothers and Daughters*, "19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century", 27, 2018, p. none, https://www.19.bbk.ac.uk/articles/10.16995/ntn.817/, last accessed April 29, 2019). I thank Elizabeth C. Denlinger for her expertise and for her help in accessing a transcription of the manuscript. See also M. Seymour, *Mary Shelley*, Grove Press, New York 2000, p. 53.

[19] M. Shelley, *Journals*, Vol. 1, pp. 205-206.

[20] T. Webb, *Reading Aloud in the Shelley Circle*, in *Publishing, Editing and Reception: Essays in Honor of Donald H. Reiman*, M. Edson ed., University of Delaware Press, Lanham, MD 2015, pp. 97-132 (p. 102).

[21] The list is in Mary Shelley's hand and is based on Thomas Roscoe's anthology *The Italian Novelists*, as was first pointed out by Jean de Palacio in *Shelley's Library Catalogue: An Unpublished Document*, "Revue de Littérature Comparée", 36, 1962, 2, pp. 270-276 (p. 270n). Alan Weinberg suggests the 1830s as the dating of the list (*The Bodleian Shelley Manuscripts*, 23 vols, Garland, New York 1986-2002, Vol. 22, Part 2, A. Weinberg ed., pp. 50-51, 355-357).

[22] M. Shelley, *Journals*, Vol. 1, pp. 207, 210. Claire mentions his name as Mombelli in her journal for April-June 1818 (*Shelley and His Circle*, Vol. 5, D.H. Reiman ed., p. 452).

quent use of Italian phrases in letters written to non-Italian speakers, either living in Italy or sharing an interest in Italian culture, and she also wrote some letters entirely in Italian. Before 1822 the addressees are mostly Maria Gisborne, Marianne and Leigh Hunt, and Claire Clairmont. After Shelley's death, her letters in Italian amount to her request to the Italian authorities to reclaim the boat Don Juan, a letter to Vincent Novello, and ten letters to Teresa Guiccioli[23]. It has hardly been noted that at least in two letters she decided to adopt an Italian name by signing "Maria" and "Marina"[24]. While the second example is part of the playful tone of her communication with Leigh Hunt, the use of the signature "Maria" in her request to the authorities in Viareggio could be more clearly ascribed to her intention, explored by Maria Schoina, to adopt an 'Anglo-Italian' identity.

3. *Mary and Percy's critical approach to Dante*

Among the readings that preceded the Shelleys' arrival in Italy, four texts stand out as possible sources of their critical approach to Dante: August Schlegel's *Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature*, Madame de Staël's *De la littérature*, Simonde de Sismondi's *Histoire des républiques italiennes*, and Henry Francis Cary's translations. As for the first, Mary Shelley noted in her journal that in France, on the way to Rheims, "Shelley reads Schlegel aloud"[25]. Feldman and Scott-Kilvert suggest that they read the translation by J. Black, *A Course of Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature* (1815). August Schlegel, who wrote extensively about Dante and even translated sections from the *Inferno*[26], expressed a less enthusiastic view about the poet in the earlier *Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature*: references to Dante are few and in general his approach to Italian dramatic literature is rather critical[27]. A short introductory reference to Dante mentions him as "the father of modern poetry" and praises his capacity to detach himself from his source, Virgil. In his analysis of Romantic literature, he ranks Dante with Cervantes and Shakespeare as part of the triumvirate of modern literature[28].

A second, often ignored source for the Shelleys' approach to Dante and in general the history of literature was offered by Germaine de Staël's works read by Mary and Percy from 1818 to 1822[29]. In *De la littérature*, one of the most significant introductions to European literatures available to British readers before 1818, de Staël highlights the significance of Dante in his own times, but also his "numerous faults", which she ascribes to the times in

[23] M. Shelley, *The Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley*, B.T. Bennett ed., 3 vols, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore 1980-88, Vol. 1, pp. 259, 332-333, 419-422, 442-444, 457-461, 471-474, 552-554, 562-566; Vol. 2, pp. 18-21, 28-29, 35-38, 167-169.
[24] *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, pp. 259, 164. The original of the letter to Leigh Hunt is kept at the Huntington Library, San Marino, CA (HM 2747), and I thank the library for providing me with a copy.
[25] M. Shelley, *Journals*, Vol. 1, p. 198.
[26] *The Dante Encyclopedia*, R. Lansing ed., Routledge, London/New York 2000, p. 267.
[27] A.W. von Schlegel, *Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature*, J. Black trans., 2 vols, Murray, London 1818.
[28] *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 6.
[29] M. Shelley, *Journals*, Vol. 1, pp. 68, 89, 93, 243, 340.

which he lived[30]. However, de Staël had already included a celebration of Dante in the novel *Corinne ou l'Italie*, in Corinne's performance at the Capitol. In *De la littérature*, while Ossian is the epitome of the modern and Northern sensibility, Dante is the modern Homer. Moreover, there is a political interpretation as he is presented as a soldier, as well as a poet:

> Le Dante, l'Homère des temps modernes, poète sacré de nos mystères religieux, héros de la pensée, plongea son génie dans le Styx pour aborder à l'enfer, et son âme fut profonde comme les abîmes qu'il a décrits. L'Italie, aux temps de sa puissance, revit tout entière dans Le Dante. Animé par l'esprit des républiques, guerrier aussi bien que poète, il souffle la flamme des actions parmi les morts, et ses ombres ont une vie plus forte que les vivants d'aujourd'hui[31].

Like de Staël, Simonde de Sismondi highlighted Dante's participation in the political events of his times in the fourth volume of *Histoire des républiques italiennes du moyen âge*. Mary noted reading Sismondi in January 1819 with Shelley and she recommended his work to Maria Gisborne in February 1819 for its "*true* picture of Italians"[32]. The text would become a central source for Mary Shelley's *Valperga*, as has been pointed out by Michael Rossington and Nora Crook in their editions of the novel[33]. However, Sismondi's *Histoire des républiques italiennes du moyen âge* mentions Dante only briefly and his role in medieval history is clarified as "only a priore"[34] and not as a major political figure.

Another important source for Mary and Percy's critical opinions about Dante can be found in the paratexts of Cary's translation. *The Vision* includes some critical assessment in the form of an introductory life of Dante. When the biographical narratives are excepted, Cary's most significant contribution concerns his appreciation of Dante's *Rime* and *Vita Nuova*, as the following excerpt points out:

> [His lyric poems] abound not only in deep moral reflections, but in touches of tenderness and passion. Some [...] have supposed that Beatrice was only a creature of Dante's imagination; and there can be no question but that he has invested her, in the *Divina Commedia*, with the attributes of an allegorical being. But who can doubt of her having a real existence, when she is spoken of in such a strain of passion as in these lines[35].

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[30] "Mais les défauts sans nombre qu'on peut lui reprocher sont, sans doute, le tort de son siècle." (Mme de Staël, *De la littérature*, *Delphine*, *Corinne ou l'Italie*, in *Œuvres*, C. Seth – V. Cossy ed., Gallimard, Paris 2017 (La Bibliothèque de la Pléiade), p. 125).

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 1031.

[32] M. Shelley, *Journals*, Vol. 1, pp. 247-249, and Ead., *Letters*, Vol. 1, p. 88 (emphasis in the text).

[33] M. Shelley, *Valperga: Or, the Life and Adventures of Castruccio, Prince of Lucca*, M. Rossington ed., Oxford University Press, Oxford 2000; M. Shelley, *Novels*, Vol. 3, N. Crook ed.

[34] J.C.L. Simonde de Sismondi, *Histoire des républiques italiennes du moyen âge*, 16 vols, Henri Gessner, Zürich 1807, Vol. 4, p. 187.

[35] H.F. Cary, *The Vision, or Hell, Purgatory and Paradise of Dante Alighieri*, Peacock, Mansfield and Co., London 1844, p. xxxii.

Cary must have developed a particular interest in lyric poetry as he translated early French poets for the *London Magazine* just after completing his translation of Dante[36]. Conversely, his reading of the *Divine Comedy* emphasizes his difficulty with Dante's realism by comparison with Milton's sublimity[37].

As it has been pointed out, the Shelleys' timely interest in Dante originated from a common interest in the European cosmopolitan Romanticism created precisely by the texts they had read just before they arrived in Milan. Dante, and indeed Italian culture in general, was approached through these composite lenses that illustrate their sense of belonging to a common 'European' modernity[38].

4. *Retracing Dante in the Italian landscape: Mary Shelley's* Rambles

Mary Shelley's reading of Dante resulted in a series of works that have the *Divine Comedy* as a hypotext in common: *Matilda*, *Valperga*, "Giovanni Villani", and *Rambles*. While most of these uses of Dante have been explored by critics[39], *Rambles* stills requires further analysis.

In *Rambles*, Mary Shelley's numerous references to Dante contribute to her need to negotiate genre, at a time in which travel narratives were becoming increasingly common and tourism-oriented[40]. The book also betrays a political aim as Mary had offered the revenue from its publication to Ferdinando Gatteschi, an Italian exile whom she had met in Paris in 1843[41]. In the years following the first revolutions of the 1820s, Dante's poetry had been extrapolated from his theology to serve the nationalist, libertarian ideology of the *Risorgimento*, and the poet Ugo Foscolo had been at the forefront of this critical reading of Dante. As Joseph Luzzi has pointed out, his poem *Dei sepolcri* "concludes by offering a prophecy

[36] The articles were reprinted as *Early French Poets*, Bohn, London 1846.

[37] "His solicitude, it is true, to define all his images in such a manner as to bring them distinctly within the circle of our vision, and to subject them to the power of the pencil, sometimes renders him little better than grotesque, where Milton has since taught us to expect sublimity" (H.F. Cary, *The Vision,* pp. xi-x).

[38] On the European cosmopolitan tradition and its relations with Britain, see E. Wohlgemut, *Romantic Cosmopolitanism*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke 2009.

[39] See E. Nitchie, *Mary Shelley, Traveler*, "Keats-Shelley Journal", 10, 1961, pp. 29-42; J. Moskal, *Travel Writing*, in *The Cambridge Companion to Mary Shelley*, E. Schor ed., Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2003, pp. 242-258; M. Wollstonecraft, *Mary and Maria*, and M. Shelley, *Matilda*, J. Todd ed., Penguin Books, London 1991; M. Shelley, *Mathilda*, M. Faubert ed., Broadview Press, Peterbourough 2017; M. Rossington, *Future Uncertain: The Republican Tradition and Its Destiny in* Valperga, in *Mary Shelley in Her Times*, B.T. Bennet – S. Curran ed., Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore/London 2000, pp. 103-118; L.M. Crisafulli, *Viaggiatrici britanniche nell'Italia pre-risorgimentale: lo sguardo riformatore di Lady Morgan e di Mary Shelley*, in *British Risorgimento*, Vol. 1, L.M. Crisafulli ed., Liguori, Napoli 2013, pp. 81-98; E. Marino, *Letterati e patrioti italiani nella scrittura di Mary Shelley*, *ibid.*, pp. 99-112; Ead., *Mary Shelley e l'Italia, il viaggio, il Risorgimento, la questione femminile*, Le Lettere, Firenze 2011.

[40] See S. Lamb, *Bringing Travel Home to England: Tourism, Gender and Imaginative Literature in the Eighteenth Century*, Delaware University Press, Newark 2009; E.A. Bohls, *Women Travel Writers and the Language of Aesthetics*, *1716-1818*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1995; B. Colbert, *Shelley's Eye: Travel Writing and the Aesthetic Vision*, Ashgate, Abingdon 2005.

[41] M. Shelley, *Novels*, Vol. 8, J. Moskal ed., p. 49.

for Italy's future that draws its terminology and energy from Dante's *Commedia*, [...] and then translates its Christian doctrine into a suitable nationalist idiom"[42]. More importantly, Ugo Foscolo was a member of the exile community who would find in Dante a precursor as well as a means of reaching a wider British audience. As Nick Havely and Maurizio Isabella have pointed out, Foscolo's review articles on Dante published in *The Edinburgh Review* reached thousands of British readers, helped him to establish himself as a writer in Britain, but should also be seen as "the expatriate writer's project to reinvent his poetic and political identity"[43]. Mary Shelley's "Life" of Foscolo for Lardner's *Cabinet Cyclopædia* illustrates her awareness of the contemporary turn in Dante criticism[44].

Intertextuality and allusions to the *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso* underlie the narrative structure of the travelogue; for the incipit Mary chose a quotation from the *Paradiso*, Canto 23 (ll. 67-69):

> Non è poleggio da picciola barca
> Quel, che fendendo va l'ardita prora
> Né da nocchier, ch'a se medesmo parca[45].

Dante's declaration of inadequacy in the process of retelling his final mystical experience is adapted by Mary to encompass her narration of a physical travelogue that includes a spiritual dimension, as Jeanne Moskal has pointed out[46]. This is evident when the narrator returns to some of the spots Mary had earlier visited with Percy, or indeed in the climactic visit to Percy's and William's tombs in Rome. In *Paradiso*, Canto 23 Dante introduces one of the frequent addresses to the reader, aimed at foregrounding both the intellectual and the poetic challenge represented by his last cantos. The canto is centred on Beatrice's smile (ll. 46-69), before Dante is left to face the deity alone in the last and final section of the poem. The epigraph seems to illustrate, therefore, that *Rambles* represented a new challenge for Mary. In fact, her earlier travelogue and first published work, *History of a Six Weeks' Tour*, was a collaborative production that had furthermore the advantage of breaking new ground both in content and in form: its mixture of prose and poetry, and the unique experience of visiting Europe soon after the conclusion of the Napoleonic Wars, were indeed noticed and praised by early reviewers[47]. In *Rambles* the reader is confronted

[42] J. Luzzi, *Romantic Europe and the Ghost of Italy*, Yale University Press, New Haven/London 2008, p. 3.
[43] N. Havely, *Dante's British Public*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2014, p. 132. According to Isabella, Foscolo's essays on Dante "were not only exercises in literary criticism but also historical essays pointedly discussing the influence of the Church on Italy's politics and culture" (M. Isabella, *Risorgimento in Exile: Italian Emigrés and the Liberal International in the Post-Napoleonic Era*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2009, p. 205).
[44] Mary Shelley discusses at length Foscolo's "Essays on Petrarch", "one of the most delightful of his productions". She also mentions his unfinished commentary on Dante (M. Shelley, *Mary Shelley's Literary Lives and Other Writings*, 4 vols, Pickering & Chatto, London 2002, Vol. 1, T.J. Mazzeo ed., pp. 353-394). See also A. Braida – L. Calè, *Introduction*, in *Dante on View. The Reception of Dante in the Visual and Performing Art,* A. Braida – L. Calè ed., Ashgate, Aldershot/Burlington, VT 2007, pp. 1-16.
[45] M. Shelley, *Rambles*, Vol. 1, p. 2.
[46] J. Moskal, *Travel Writing*, p. 252.
[47] M. Shelley, *Novels*, Vol. 8, p. 4.

with a single, often nostalgic and elegiac voice, whose dialogue with the reader is foregrounded by the use of the epistolary form. As Dante the narrator has been abandoned by Beatrice, Mary Shelley has now been abandoned by Percy and has had to progress alone in her career as a writer and novelist. The epigraph prefigures the nature of references to Dante in *Rambles*. These can be said to respond to two aims: they are both part of her interest in medieval Italian history and culture, and they reveal a deeper identification with Dante's exploration of the afterlife.

In the third volume of *Rambles* Mary Shelley continues her personal approach to medieval Italian culture after the fictional treatment in *Valperga*. As in the novel, she finds in the contemporary Italian landscape echoes of the *Divine Comedy*, as the following passage illustrates:

> There is scarcely a spot in Tuscany, and those parts of the North of Italy, which he visited, that Dante has not described in poetry that brings the very spot before your eyes, adorned with graces missed by the prosaic eye, and yet which are exact and in perfect harmony with the scene[48].

Indeed, the *Divine Comedy* is rich in references to Italian geography as Dante the narrator evokes the sinners' birthplaces or uses Italian scenery in his extended similes or as a backdrop for the depiction of the Infernal or Purgatorial landscape. Mary's appreciation of Dante's topographical realism can be seen to continue the Shelleys' blending of literature and history, and literature and place, that had characterized their journeys to Switzerland. Whereas in *History of a Six Weeks' Tour* Percy and Mary were following Rousseau's traces, in *Rambles* she describes her desire to identify places visited by Dante or mentioned in his *Divine Comedy*.

However, in *Rambles* references to Dante's poetry and its background are part of the move from an aesthetic description of the landscape through art in the line of William Gilpin's "picturesque"[49] to a more conscious appreciation of Italian art. Dante's poetry is thus inscribed into Mary's own discovery of medieval and Renaissance Italian art under the influence of Alexis-François Rio's art history manuals[50]. Thus, reflecting on Titian's *Assumption of the Virgin*, she identifies Dante as the inspirer of Italian religious art:

> Such a picture and the "Paradiso" of Dante as a commentary is the sublimest achievement of Catholicism. Not, indeed, as a commentary did Dante write, but as the originator of much we see. The Italian painters drank deep at the inspiration of his verses

[48] M. Shelley, *Rambles*, Vol. 2, p. 139.

[49] W. Gilpin, *Three Essays on Picturesque Beauty; On Picturesque Travel; and on Sketching Landscape*, London, Blamire 1792.

[50] As pointed out by Jean de Palacio, the French art critic was influential in introducing Mary to Italian medieval religious art (J. de Palacio, *Mary Shelley dans son œuvre: contribution aux études shelleyennes*, Klincksieck, Paris 1969, pp. 550-568).

> when they sought to give a visible image of Heaven and the beatitude of the saints, on their canvass[51].

Mary highlights the interconnections among the arts in medieval culture. This aspect of Dante's poetry is also present in the *Purgatorio*, with its recuperation of his early poetry and its numerous references to poems accompanied by music or sung. In *Rambles* she finds the means to express her appreciation of the *Purgatorio* in terms that reveal her personal synthesis of contemporary European criticism:

> But I have chiefly been occupied by Dante, who, so to speak is an elemental poet; one who clothes in the magic of poetry the passions of the heart, enlightened and ennobled by piety, and who regards the objects of the visible creation with sympathy, a veneration, otherwise only to be found in the old Greek poets. I have read the *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso*, with ever new delight. There are finer passages in the *Inferno* than can be found in the two subsequent parts; but the subject is so painful and odious, that I always feel obliged to shut the book after a page or two. The pathetic tenderness of the *Purgatorio*, on the contrary, wins its way to the heart; and again, the soul is rapt by the sublime hymns to heavenly love, contained in the *Paradiso*. Nothing can be more beautiful than the closing lines, which I have quoted in a late letter, which speak of his return to earth, his mind still penetrated by the ecstasy he had lately felt[52].

The passage illustrates Mary's own preference for the elegiac tone of the *Purgatorio*; moreover, her celebration of Dante as "an elemental poet", with its association with Greek poetry, reveals a debt to Percy's "A Defence of Poetry" and its sources in European criticism. However, Mary Shelley stands out for her acceptance of his theology, an aspect that had been rejected by Percy Shelley and by Friedrich Schlegel in his *Lectures on the History of Literature, Ancient and Modern*[53].

When Mary Shelley was writing *Rambles*, the British reception of Dante was undergoing a change. In 1826, Gabriele Rossetti had published *La Divina Commedia di Dante Alighieri, con comento analitico*; in 1842 he would publish *La Beatrice di Dante*[54]. Despite his esoteric interpretation of the *Vita Nuova*, Rossetti promoted the interest in Dante's early works in Britain, and his son Dante Gabriel Rossetti would continue successfully this trend thanks to his 1861 translation in the volume *The Early Italian Poets* and his paintings inspired by episodes from the *Vita Nuova*[55]. As Julia Straub and Alison Milbank have pointed out, Seymour Kirkup's discovery of the alleged Bargello portrait of the young

[51] M. Shelley, *Rambles*, Vol. 1, p. 99.
[52] *Ibidem.*
[53] F. Schlegel, *Lectures on the History of Literature, Ancient and Modern*, 2 vols, Blackwood and Baldwin, Cradock and Joy, Edinburgh 1818, Vol. 2, pp. 12, 15.
[54] G. Rossetti, *La Beatrice di Dante*, Printed by the author, London 1842; *La Divina commedia di Dante Alighieri con comento analitico di Gabriele Rossetti*, 6 vols, Murray, London 1826.
[55] *The Early Italian Poets from Ciullo D'Alcamo to Dante Alighieri (1100-1200-1300)*, Smith, Elder, and Co., London 1861.

Dante triggered the popularization of Beatrice and, in Steve Ellis's words, the "Vita Nuovization" of the reception of the poet[56].

Mary Shelley was at the centre of this change. She met Gabriele Rossetti at least twice, in 1832 and 1833, and she wrote to him twice in 1835, when she was working on the lives of Alfieri and Monti[57]. Although it is not clear which of his works she read, she must have been aware of his work on Dante. Moreover, *Rambles* contributes to the reception of the early Dante by describing the newly discovered portrait in great detail:

> One of the most interesting paintings in the world has been lately discovered at Florence; the portrait of Dante, by his friend Giotto. [...] he makes one in a solemn procession and holds a flower in his hand. Before it vanishes [*sic*] all the preconceived notions of the crabbed severity of his physiognomy, which have originated in portraits taken later in his life. We see here the lover of Beatrice. His lip is proud – for proud, every contemporary asserts that he was – and he himself confesses it in the *Purgatorio*; but there is sensibility, gentleness and love; the countenance breathes the spirit of the Vita Nuova[58].

The association between the portrait and the *Vita Nuova*, and the qualification of the poet as "the lover of Beatrice", contributed to the later Victorian interest in this aspect of the poet's life. However, while Victorian writers and artists "saw an earthly, historical Beatrice"[59], as Julia Straub has pointed out, in *Rambles* Mary Shelley reveals her interest in the religious dimension of the *Divine Comedy*, and this enables her to accede to a mystical interpretation of the poem. For example, in the passage cited below, the narrator replaces Dante the pilgrim returned from his heavenly journey:

> From such rapt moods the soul returns to earth, bearing with it the calm of Paradise [*a quotation from* Paradiso, Canto 33, ll. 58-66 *follows*].
> It has seemed to me [...] that this world, endowed as it is outwardly with endless shapes and influences of beauty and enjoyment, is peopled also in its spiritual life by myriads of loving spirits; from whom, unawares, we catch impressions, which mould our thoughts to good, and thus they guide beneficially the course of events, and minister the destiny of man[60].

Dante's mystical journey is replaced by a physical and spiritual journey through modern Italy, now turned into a personal land of the dead. In this passage, Mary adopts a vague spirituality that is strongly linked to her appreciation of Dante's early poetry. Similarly, in

[56] S. Ellis, *Dante and English Poetry; Shelley to T.S. Eliot*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1983, pp. 102-134; A. Milbank, *Dante and the Victorians*, Manchester University Press, Manchester 1998, pp. 150-161; J. Straub, *Dante's Beatrice and Victorian Gender Ideology*, in *Dante in the Long Nineteenth-Century*, N. Havely – A. Audeh ed., Oxford University Press, Oxford 2012, pp. 204-222.
[57] M. Shelley, *Journals*, Vol. 2, pp. 515, 575, 618-619, and Ead., *Letters*, Vol. 2, p. 238.
[58] M. Shelley, *Rambles*, Vol. 2, p. 158.
[59] J. Straub, *Dante's Beatrice*, p. 207.
[60] M. Shelley, *Rambles*, Vol. 1, p. 94.

another passage, recalling Percy Shelley's celebration of Dante in "A Defence of Poetry", she ascribes to his poetry the power of elevation typically attributed to Milton: "The pathetic tenderness of the *Purgatorio*, wins its way to the ear; and again, the soul is elevated and rapt by the sublime hymns to heavenly love, contained in the *Paradiso*"[61]. In *Rambles*, she thus overcomes Cary's criticism of Dante's 'Gothic' realism and brings him close to Milton by invoking the category of the sublime in her appreciation of the *Paradiso* and *Purgatorio*.

5. *Conclusion*

Mary Shelley's reading of Dante in Italian and in translation should be inscribed in her interest in contemporary and medieval Italian literature, culture and history, as illustrated by her creative work. Her approach to Dante is unique in that she bore witness to the major shifts in the reception of the Italian poet in the British Isles that took place during her lifetime. As Maurizio Isabella has demonstrated, the British public's developing interest in contemporary Italy and in its culture was promoted by a community of *émigrés* who were actively engaged in counteracting the negative, stereotypical view of Italy conveyed by the increasing number of guides to the country. Dante was central to writers such as Foscolo, or Santorre di Santarosa, or Francesco Saverio Salfi, because, "in the absence of freedom, the *patria* came increasingly to be identified with the glorious cultural inheritance of Italy, and with its unique contribution to Europe's civilization"[62]. Mary Shelley's interest in Dante benefited from the contemporary surge of publications on Italian literature and culture by Italian exiles, and her articles on Italian authors for Lardner's *Cyclopædia* reveal that she aspired to contribute to their work by becoming a mediator between Britain and Italy. She shared with Percy the enthusiasm for the *Divine Comedy* in the years following the publication of Cary's translations. In *Rambles* she became herself a contributor to the Victorian myth of Beatrice and of the young Dante initiated by the discovery of the portrait in the Bargello chapel in Florence and fully developed by the Pre-Raphaelites[63]. Mary Shelley's appreciation of Italian medieval religious art was key to helping her provide an approach to Dante's theology of love accessible to British readers. Moreover, her interest in Dante and in Beatrice reveals that her journeys to Italy were part of the creation of her identity as a woman writer, claiming the greater freedom of a composite Anglo-Italian identity. Indeed, *Rambles* was the first published work she could sign as "Mrs. Shelley".

[61] *Ibid.*, p. 96.
[62] M. Isabella, *Risorgimento in Exile*, p. 9.
[63] On Dante and the Pre-Raphaelites, see G. Pieri, *Dante and the Pre-Raphaelites: British and Italian Responses*, in *Dante on View*, pp. 109-140.

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Poetry and Metonymy: Percy Bysshe Shelley's Poetical Revolution

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In this essay I would like to argue that, while in Italy, Percy Bysshe Shelley not only reached his poetic maturity, but also expanded his aesthetic theory in such a way that it might constitute a sort of bridge system, able to reconcile Shelley's empiricism with his idealism, together with his political and poetic goals. I believe that the aim of this theory, which can be described as holistic, was to fill the gap between art and society in an era of mercantilist ruthlessness and philosophical pessimism.

Il presente saggio intende argomentare in che modo Percy Bysshe Shelley, nel corso del suo soggiorno in Italia, non solo raggiunse la maturità poetica, ma ampliò altresì la propria teoria estetica costruendo una sorta di 'sistema ponte' in grado di conciliare empirismo e idealismo, obiettivi politici ed estetici. Fine di questa teoria, che può essere descritta come olistica, era quello di colmare il divario tra arte e società in un'epoca di forte mercantilismo e di pessimismo filosofico.

Keywords: Percy Bysshe Shelley, metonymy, aesthetics, poetic language

In this essay I would like to argue that Shelley, while in Italy, not only reached his poetic maturity[1], but also expanded his aesthetic theory in such a way that it might constitute a sort of bridge system, able to reconcile Shelley's empiricism with his idealism, together with his political and poetic goals. I believe that the aim of this theory, which can be described as holistic, was to fill the gap between art and society in an era of mercantilist ruthlessness, and philosophical pessimism. After all, the Britain of Shelley's years owed its prosperity to mechanical production, the exploitation of labour, the slave trade, and paper money. The latter had deprived salaried workers of the 'face value' of traditional silver and gold coins, as Shelley himself lamented in his political essay *A Philosophical View of Reform* (written early in 1820 but published only in 1920)[2].

[1] Stuart Curran refers to the year 1819 in Shelley's literary production as Shelley's *annus mirabilis*. However, this definition might be easily extended to the whole period of his stay in Italy. See S. Curran, *Shelley's Annus Mirabilis: The Maturing of an Epic Vision*, Huntington Library, San Marino, CA 1975.

[2] As Paul Cantor points out, "Shelley attacks only one target in *A Philosophical View of Reform*: the national debt of Great Britain. He holds the newly created system of deficit financing solely responsible for the economic woes of the English people. In particular, he condemns the British government's substitution of paper money for the precious metal currency that had prevailed in the country, a change that caused an inflation that

It is no surprise, then, that the era had also produced the most vicious satire on the social function of poetry, with the publication of Thomas Love Peacock's *The Four Ages of Poetry* (first published in Ollier's *Literary Miscellany* in 1820[3]). Peacock's attack obliged Shelley to reassess his own aesthetic principles: exiled as he was in Italy, he had to respond to the supposed irrelevance to which Peacock's essay had overtly condemned poetry, and, implicitly, the very role played by Shelley himself as a poet and humanist[4]. On 15 February 1821, Shelley wrote to Peacock: "your anathemas against poetry itself excited me to a sacred rage [...]. I had the greatest possible desire to break a lance with you [...] in honour of my mistress Urania"[5].

As a result, Shelley found himself having to defend poetry, and his own work, from the most damaging accusation, that of being useless or, worse still – from Peacock's point of view – of being a meaningless expression of the past, the legacy of a barbarous and primitive epoch. In *The Four Ages of Poetry* Peacock outlines the development of poetry in parallel with the evolution of society and civilization, but tracing two opposing trajectories. Where the one, poetry, sets out from an initial valuable social role, but with the passing of the ages becomes increasingly superfluous and even ludicrous, the other, civilization, is instead characterized by a constant and enlightened advancement. Peacock becomes particularly fierce in his dismissal of the role of poetry in society when he comes to deal with contemporary poetry. He parodies the poetry of the two Romantic generations, but seems to forget Shelley, whose name he omits altogether. To Peacock, the poetry of his age is judged – if not an outright obstacle to the evolution of society – at best useless, being made up of the following:

> The rant of unregulated passion, the whining of exaggerated feeling, and the cant of factitious sentiments [...]. It can never make a philosopher, nor a statesman, nor in any class of life an useful or rational man. It cannot claim the slightest share in any one of the comforts and utilities of life of which we have witnessed so many and so rapid advances[6].

impoverished its citizenry" (P. Cantor, *The Poet as Economist: Shelley's Critique of Paper Money and the British National Debt*, "The Journal of Libertarian Studies", 13, 1997, pp. 21-44 (p. 23)).

[3] T.L. Peacock, *The Four Ages of Poetry*, "Ollier's Literary Miscellany in Prose and Verse by Several Hands", 1, 1820, pp. 183-200.

[4] The ironic vein of Peacock had already struck Shelley, but also amused him, in 1818 when he had made of the poet the protagonist of his satirical novella *Nightmare Abbey*. He had painted Shelley's poetical and political inclinations under the guise of the crazed philosopher and dreaming reformer Scythrop. In one of his most parodic passages, Peacock writes: "'You are a philosopher', said the lady, 'and a lover of liberty. You are the author of a treatise called 'Philosophical Gas; or, a Project for a General Illumination of the Human Mind'. 'I am'. Said Scythrop, delighted at the first blossom of his renown" (T.L. Peacock, *Nightmare Abbey*, R. Wright ed., Penguin, London 1969, p. 92).

[5] P.B. Shelley, *The Letters of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, F.L. Jones ed., 2 vols, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1964, Vol. 2, p. 261.

[6] T.L. Peacock, *Peacock's Four Ages of Poetry*, H.F.B. Brett-Smith ed., Blackwell, Oxford 1937, p. 17.

Shelley, who strongly believed in the progressive and social value of the humanities, and who, unlike Coleridge, Wordsworth or even Byron, could not resort to a divine plan and a transcendental order, had to draw on the only faith he had cultivated over time: his love for freedom and poetic language. Shelley had faith in what Étienne Bonnot de Condillac had stated, "the progress of the human mind depends entirely on the skill we bring to the use of language"[7].

Furthermore, he relied on the feeling of sympathy, which for Edmund Burke was the principle governing the 'sublime'. In his essay *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757), Burke praises figurative language, typical of literary discourse, and of poetry in particular, and underlines the unique and unrepeatable capacity of the verbal image to transform itself into pure energy, into a 'living' word able to create worlds out of sounds. Burke cites Milton's *Paradise Lost*, and precisely the scene describing the fall of Lucifer in hell, as paradigmatic for his thesis. Likewise, Shelley, who was also a great admirer of Milton's epic poem, believed that poetical language generates emotions and unforgettable intellectual experiences. In addition to Burke, Shelley had also read assiduously the works of Spinoza, Locke, Hume, Berkeley, Rousseau, Condorcet, Price and Godwin, and was able to blend the utilitarian principle to the principle of sympathy. When he uses the example of Milton in the "Defence", as well as in the preface to *Prometheus Unbound*, he succeeds in articulating to a greater extent Burke's example of the cause-effect principle, i.e. the relationship between word and world, sound and image, emphasizing the extent to which the force of Milton's imagination resides in the intimate relationship between the pathos that flows from his figurative word and the ethos of the thought that lies behind it. In the fresco of the history of civilization that Shelley outlines in the "Defence", his response to Peacock's provocation, what emerges most clearly is precisely the analogy between thought and word. To Shelley, the ages that expressed freedom of thought saw the greatest and most ambitious literary achievements, while the ages that lived in the darkness of enslaved minds produced modest and artificial artworks. Thus, Shelley resorts to a mode of linguistic relativism, according to which language – or, more precisely, literary language – always reflects the world of its speakers.

"A Defence of Poetry" was not only Shelley's answer to Peacock's *Four Ages of Poetry*, but it also became his poetical manifesto, obliging the man and the poet to merge into one. "A Defence", then, revolves around the most awesome gift of human genetic and cultural heritage, namely language – which Shelley saw as being produced by the freest faculty of the human mind, imagination, and related to its highest prerogative, thought. However, in order to defend poetry from the marginalization to which the prevailing industrialization and contemporary scientism had allotted it (of which Peacock, a witty writer and able administrator at the service of the East India Company, was in many ways a representative), Shelley articulated a poetics that worked by extension, and could encompass its range of action, well beyond literature. It included not only the canonical territory of versification and figurative images, but also a dense weave of additional inclusions that would allow po-

[7] É. Bonnot de Condillac, *Essay on the Origin of Human Knowledge*, H. Aarsleff ed., Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2001, p. 69.

etry itself to encompass in its domain other trans-generic and trans-artistic forms, together with the highest moments in cultural and social history.

According to Kelvin Everest, it was the distinctive intelligence of Shelley to represent the great crisis of his era in a way that both universalizes and relativizes[8]. Hence, in the Shelleyan manifesto, poetry is presented not only as the genre that attracts to itself all other genres, but also as a sign and manifestation of an emancipated humankind, inspiration of the legislator, and foundation of collective living. Poetry becomes a hyper-genre to which all other genres, and, we might add, all other arts, can be subsumed. Shelley writes in "A Defence":

> Language, colour, form, and religious and civil habits of action are all the instruments and materials of poetry; they may be called poetry by that figure of speech which considers the effect as a synonime of the cause. But poetry in a more restricted sense expresses those arrangements of language, and especially metrical language which are created by that imperial faculty, whose throne is curtained within the invisible nature of man. And this springs from the nature itself of language, which is a more direct representation of the actions and passions of our internal being, and is susceptible of more various and delicate combinations, [...] and is more plastic and obedient to the controul of that faculty of which it is the creation. For language is arbitrarily produced by the Imagination and has relation to thoughts alone; but all other materials, instruments and conditions of art have relations among each other, which limit and interpose between conception and expression. [...] Hence the fame of sculptors, painters and musicians [...] has never equalled that of poets in the restricted sense of the term[9].

Shelley, therefore, explicitly claims that what supersedes all the arts and literary genres produced by different realms of human endeavour is poetry, and that this supremacy somehow "springs from the nature itself of language, which is a more direct representation of the actions and passions of our internal being". Or, to put it in another way, language can express the deeper reality and activities of the human mind that generate poetry. Consequently poetry, far from being closed in itself, is necessarily conditioned by contingency and contiguity, and gives a creative shape and an emotional frame to the way we perceive the world.

It is at this point that we are beginning to discern a less canonical aspect of Shelley's aesthetic theory, and the topic of this paper: i.e., the relationship between poetry and the rhetorical figure *par excellence* of contingency and contiguity, specifically metonymy. I would argue that the role of metonymy in the "Defence" has a revolutionary effect on the tradition of aesthetic reflection. In his essay, the Romantic poet explains how metonymy gives equal dignity to literary works, artistic creation and knowledge: "they may be called poetry by *that figure of speech which considers the effect as a synonime of the cause*". Metonymy is a figure of semantic transfer based on the relation of some kind of contiguity (logical or material) between the literal term and the translated term. However, such a contiguity between the

[8] K. Everest, *"Mechanism of a kind yet Unattempted": The Dramatic Action of* Prometheus Unbound, "Durham University Journal", 85, 1993, pp. 237-245.

[9] P.B. Shelley, *Shelley's Poetry and Prose*, D.H. Reiman – N. Fraistat ed., Norton, New York 2002, p. 513.

literal and the translated term is due to the inferential function of metonymy and is strictly related to the way language functions. As Radden and Kövecses argue, "we have no other means of expressing and communicating our concepts than by using forms, language as well as other communication systems are of necessity metonymic"[10]. Interestingly, later in the "Defence", Shelley sums up his views by saying:

> The functions of the poetical faculty are two-fold; by one it creates new materials of knowledge, and power and pleasure; by the other it engenders in the mind a desire to reproduce and arrange them according to a certain rhythm and order which may be called the beautiful and the good[11].

And he concludes as follows:

> The first part of these remarks has related to Poetry in its elements and principles; and it has been shewn, as well as the narrow limits assigned them would permit, that what is called Poetry, in a restricted sense, has a common source with all other forms of order and of beauty according to which the materials of human life are susceptible of being arranged, and which is Poetry in an universal sense[12].

William Keach calls this process "intelligible analogy"[13], whereas, according to Stuart Peterfreund, Shelley in time steers away from figures that are mostly 'metonymic' to ones that are primarily 'metaphoric': "Metaphor and metonymy are inextricably linked in the dyadic dynamic of language. Metaphor is forward-looking, whereas metonymy is backward-looking. Metaphor is the figure of love expressed; metonymy, the figure of desire repressed. Metaphor projects while metonymy reifies. [...] Shelley himself hints at this dyadic dynamic repeatedly with the trope of looking forward and backward"[14]. What seems to me, instead, is that Shelley, while allowing a continuous interplay of various figures of speech (metaphors, symbols and allegories), upheld to the end a predominantly 'metonymic' approach or even system within his visionary world, by virtue of the regenerative and transformative power that he attributes to poetry – manifestation, as he saw it, of an "inspired and ideal kind"[15] – the effect of a creative cause. It was this "ideal kind" that the poet was able finally to envisage in particular during his stay in Italy. He saw it embodied in Italian

[10] G. Radden – Z. Kövecses, *Towards a Theory of Metonymy*, in *Metonymy in Language and Thought*, K.-U. Panther – G. Radden ed., Benjamins, Amsterdam 1999, pp. 17-59 (p. 24).
[11] P.B. Shelley, *Shelley's Poetry and Prose*, p. 531.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 535.
[13] W. Keach, *The Political Poet*, in *The Cambridge Companion to Shelley*, T. Morton ed., Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2006, pp. 123-142 (p. 129). See also Id., *Shelley's Style*, New York/London, Methuen 1984 (in particular Chapter 1, "The Mirror and the Veil: Language in Shelley's *Defence*").
[14] S. Peterfreund, *Shelley among Others: The Play of the Intertext and the Idea of Language*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore/London 2002, p. 30. See also J.E. Hogle, *Shelley's Process: Radical Transference and the Development of His Major Works*, Oxford University Press, New York 1988, p. 152.
[15] P.B. Shelley, *Letters*, Vol. 2, p. 51.

art, history, and natural landscapes; therefore, sensually and almost physically operating in transference, that is, becoming a concrete display of the abstract ideal of beauty.

Within this frame of interpretation one can also place Shelley's use of the poetic and literary genres. In *Poetic Form and British Romanticism*, Stuart Curran emphasized how the work of Shelley welcomes and includes a great variety of genres, prose, poetry and theatre, and how, within these main genres, there converges an equally dense variety of genres and subgenres, from the gothic novel to the non-fiction, from the long poem to the ode, from the satirical poem to the elegy, from the pastoral poem to the lyric drama. A multiplicity of genres, concludes Curran, which corresponds to a variety of different strategies for forming the reader's response[16]. Curran successfully highlights Shelley's creative richness, but I believe that this convergence is also the sign of a quest that the English Romantic poet was carrying out in the attempt to create words that were not only arbitrary linguistic signs but motivated expressions of the will and that, as such, were transformed into powerful symbolic speech acts. In other words, the use of a particular genre, or the grafting of one genre onto another, allows the poet to give substance and a form to the object of his poetry. It shapes its meaning and gives rise to a lively and dynamic language able to manifest metonymically the poet's rational mind and poetic intention. Examples of such a dense use of poetic or dramatic genres, or of multi-layered poetry, in Shelley's work are numerous: notably the lyrical drama *Prometheus Unbound* – to which we will come back later on in this paper – that beautifully weaves together language, music, song and ballet in order to create the utopia of a regenerated world where signifier, signified and referent intersect in a harmonious and organic whole. Similarly, his political manifesto *The Mask of Anarchy*, where masque and anti-masque stage a class struggle, while the ballad form turns the poem into a revolutionary song uttered by and for the oppressed. Not to mention the satirical play, or burlesque, *Oedipus Tyrannus, or Swellfoot the Tyrant* (1820) – inspired by King George IV's attempt to divorce from his wife Caroline of Brunswick, in which royal pigs serve as chorus. The play, using Aristophanes's comedy and social critique as a classical model, creates, very much like the procession of the notables in *The Mask of Anarchy,* a counter-space of the contemporary political debate, and a contestation or 'heterotopia', defined by Foucault as a site which constitutes a "simultaneously mythic and real contestation of the space in which we live"[17]. To Foucault, heterotopian spaces include the theatre, the library, the museum, the ship and the mirror, but also spaces that simultaneously reflect and contest their surroundings, 'counter-spaces' that are in different ways outside

[16] S. Curran, *Poetic Form and British Romanticism*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1990.

[17] M. Foucault, *Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias* [*Des espaces autres*, "Architecture/Mouvement/Continuité", 5, 1984, pp. 46-49], J. Miskowiec trans., http://web.mit.edu/allanmc/www/foucault1.pdf (last accessed February 25, 2019), p. 4. The notion of 'heterotopia' was introduced by Michel Foucault and put to use in literary, sociological and anthropological as well as political studies. Foucault's first reference to the concept of heterotopias appeared in 1966 within his preface to *Les Mots et les Choses*, translated into English as *The Order of Things* (1970). In March 1967 Foucault was invited in Paris to give a lecture to a group of prominent architects. He gave the lecture and it is in the transcript of this lecture that the concept of heterotopia found its widest audience. The text appeared just before his death in 1984 as *Des espaces autres*, and in translation two years later as *Of Other Spaces*.

the ordinary, including cemeteries, brothels, prisons, asylums, and holiday villages. Thus, heterotopian space can be seen as a magical, albeit metonymic place due to its contiguity to the 'real' world, outside the practices of everyday life. "The heterotopia", Foucault adds, "is capable of juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible"[18]. If we now turn back to "A Defence of Poetry", we realize that to Shelley poetry is at the same time in and outside the *real* world, since it includes everything but is nonetheless different from everything else. Poetry becomes a virtual site that somehow exists separately from all other places, but that gives rise to similarly imaginary notions of space:

> Dante was the first awakener of entranced Europe; he created a language in itself music and persuasion out of a chaos of inharmonious barbarisms. He was [...] the Lucifer of that starry flock which in the thirteenth century shone forth from republican Italy [...] into the darkness of the benighted world. His very words are instinct with spirit; [...] a burning atom of inextinguishable thought [...]. All high poetry is infinite; it is as the first acorn, which contained all oaks potentially[19].

Then Shelley completes his reflections:

> A great Poem is a fountain for ever overflowing with the waters of wisdom and delight; and after one person and one age has exhausted all its divine effluence [...], another and yet another succeeds, and new relations are ever developed, the source of an unforeseen and an unconceived delight[20].

In his poetic manifesto, Shelley creates an organic theory of knowledge, decidedly secular and, indeed, progressive. Poetry becomes a palimpsest in which different epochs, arts, languages and cultures are stratified. Poetry, as it has been suggested earlier, is turned into a kind of hyper-genre that presides over all other arts and genres, capable of harmonizing different fields of knowledge and the various succeeding ages. From this perspective the history of art is one with literary history, and the latter with the history of philosophy, architecture and science. Given this interpretative hypothesis, the problem of the hybridization of genres lends itself, as far as Shelley's work and thought are concerned, to a broader debate involving the very means of expression, i.e. language itself, that produces and supports not only hybridization but also the overall epistemological system.

We might refer to Pavel Medvedev and Mikhail Bakhtin, for whom the literary genre should not be understood only as a set of techniques or a specific assembly of linguistic elements, but rather as a specific way of visualizing and conceptualizing reality on a degree more or less rich in genres depending on the human consciousness that produces them

[18] *Ibidem*.
[19] P.B. Shelley, *Shelley's Poetry and Prose*, p. 528.
[20] *Ibidem*.

and its ideological environment[21]. It follows that genre becomes a cognitive resource and is based on a dialogic principle that somehow also shapes the author's view of the world[22]. It would therefore be a matter of arranging words and phrases according to different ways of seeing, so that each genre would imply a new seeing or expansion of the vision and, in this sense, seeing and representing would merge. Medvedev's and Bakhtin's positions, for whom genres are really forms of thinking, suggest how it can be unsuccessful for an artist to use a genre for purposes alien to the ethos of that particular genre. Bakhtin also believes that the literary genres, and their revitalization, reflect the changes that take place in life and society, and even anticipate those changes by leading to new ways of seeing human experience. Finally, a literary genre becomes a precious reservoir of memories, because it accumulates past forms and modes while it itself is founded on stratifications of history and ideas. In the same way, according to Bakhtin, through genres great artists create potentials for the future by exploiting the resources of the past. This resonates with Shelley's assumptions in the "Defence", although it must be said that the English poet had begun to develop his aesthetic research well before the writing of the "Defence" (1821). In the first year of his arrival in Italy, in 1818, concerning the Italian painting and sculpture that he saw and admired, he admitted:

> The material part indeed of these works must perish, but they survive in the mind of man, & the remembrances connected with them are transmitted from generation to generation. The poet embodies them in his creation, the systems of philosophers

[21] See P.N. Medvedev – M.M. Bakhtin, *The Object, Tasks, and Methods of Literary History* in *The Formal Method in Literary Scholarship: A Critical Introduction to Sociological Poetics*, A.J. Wehrle trans., Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA 1985, pp. 131-134. See also M.M. Bakhtin, *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays*, C. Emerson – M. Holquist ed., V.W. McGee trans., Texas University Press, Austin 1986.

[22] P.N. Medvedev – M.M. Bakhtin, *The Object, Tasks, and Methods of Literary History*, pp. 131-134. On Medvedev's view of literary genres we can refer to M. Gardiner, *The Dialogics of Critique. M.M. Bakhtin and the Theory of Ideology*, Routledge, London 1992, p. 22: "Of particular interest is Medvedev's suggestion that the apprehension of social or natural reality through any given semiotic medium – and here the literary occupies a privileged place – is organized in terms of specific generic forms, each of which 'possesses definite principles of selection, definite forms for seeing and conceptualizing reality, and a definite scope and depth of penetration'. Hence, they constitute a kind of ideological framework or cultural grid through which the 'substantial, objective, [and] thematic' features of the text coalesce into particular forms. Such literary genres also enrich our inner speech with new 'devices' which transform our awareness and conceptualization of external reality. He speculates that the emergence of new literary forms (and corresponding systems of representation) enable individuals to perceive and visualize aspects of reality in unexpected and novel ways (the dual meaning of the word 'novel' being perfectly appropriate in this case). Through the mediation of literary forms, both artists and readers can understand 'the unity and inner logic of an entire epoch' and 'master new aspects of reality'". As for Bakhtin's way of dealing with literary genres see also M. Holquist, *Dialogism. Bakhtin and His World*, Palgrave, London 1990, p. 160: "Bakhtin treats genres as a sub-topic of the larger problem of point of view; a genre is a particular way of looking at the world. For instance, the emergence of the novel is for him an event in not only the history of literature, but the history of perception: for those who have experienced novelness, the world will not look the same. But how can we talk about many different texts as having a single point of view? By conceiving, as Bakhtin does, the history of a genre as the history of a species, much as evolutionary theory has come to perceive the life and death of a species as the history of forms adapting to – or failing to adapt to – changing environments".

> are modelled to gentleness by their contemplation, opinion that legislator is infected with their influence; men become better & wiser, and the unseen seeds are perhaps thus sown which shall produce a plant more excellent even than that from which they fell[23].

As Timothy Webb pointed out in his seminal *Shelley: A Voice Not Understood*, art exercises a fundamental influence on the observer. Quoting from *Prometheus Unbound*, in which the joy for the deliverance of Prometheus and the freedom of men is celebrated, "the mind becomes that which it contemplates", Webb adds: "these statues were significant influences on human behaviour [...], therefore, in the exultant hymn in which the Earth celebrates the powers of regenerated man, language, sculpture and painting are all acknowledged as important factors in the maintenance of man's new-found status"[24].

Shelley constructed his organicist aesthetic methodically and, I would suggest, metonymically, as he confesses in a letter to Mrs. Gisborne:

> one of my chief aims in Italy being the observing in statuary & painting the degree in which, & the rules according to which, that ideal beauty of which we have so intense yet so obscure an apprehension is realized in external forms[25].

Shelley recorded his deep emotions and reactions in *Notes on Sculptures in Rome and Florence* (1819). In the letter to Mrs Gisborne, Shelley refers to the "ideal beauty", i.e. a poetic figure but also the manifestation of an intellectually emancipated humanity. And it is precisely this "ideal beauty" which Shelley captured in the Greek marbles of Niobe and Laocoön, as much as in the poems by Dante or Milton or in the prose of Spinoza and Plato, as he affirms in "A Defence of Poetry", or, even, in the paintings of Guido Reni and Raphael, all works that belong to an "inspired and ideal kind". Of Raphael's Santa Cecilia, in a letter to Peacock from Bologna (November 1818) he writes:

> You forget that it is a picture as you look at it, and yet it is most unlike any of those things which we call reality. It is of the inspired and ideal kind, and seems to have been conceived & executed in a similar state of feeling to that which produced among the antients those perfect specimens of poetry & sculpture which are the baffling models of succeeding generations. There is an unity & perfection in it of an incommunicable kind[26].

Here Shelley underlines how, in the encounter with the greatest art works or literary texts, the reader-recipient leaves the isolated and self-referential subjective dimension, dominated by habit and custom, to move in a virtuous circle, that is a dynamic and vital intellectual space where the individual merges with collective wisdom. In this interpretive complex-

[23] P.B. Shelley, *Letters*, Vol. 2, p. 53.
[24] T. Webb, *Shelley: A Voice Not Understood*, Manchester University Press, Manchester 1977, p. 209.
[25] P.B. Shelley, *Letters*, Vol. 2, p. 126.
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 51.

ity the different arts and literary genres are compared and equalized within the theoretical frame of an 'aesthetic ideal' that can be approached only by similarities and approximation, but that alone is able to restitute the essence of the referent, each referent being part of 'an ideal whole'. Similarities and approximations are used by Shelley everywhere in his "A Defence of Poetry" as in his poetry of nature. "The Cloud", "To a Sky-Lark" or "Ode to the West Wind" convey the beauty and the freedom of the natural elements to the reader, not through the explication of their substance but through paraphrases and continuous transferences that, eventually, allow a more intimate approach and even, a sensual perception of the natural element. With regard to "Ode to the West Wind", E.R. Wasserman observed in his canonical volume that the ode refers to the most powerful and universal force that exists in Nature, while also embodying, similarly to the "imageless Intellectual Beauty", an invisible presence that permeates the world. However, Wasserman then completes his arguments arguing that all the attempts to reach and, ultimately define the natural element are vain. The poet's thought tries to reach something that lies beyond the limits of his sensory experience, he tries to grasp the infinite fullness of that power, of that total being of which the natural object is a part but inevitably runs into its inaccessibility[27]. My own understanding is that Shelley's intention is not to 'possess' the essence of the object of his poetry nor 'access' its substance. Shelley's method is rather to play with and round it, thereby opening different perspectives from which to admire the beauty of the natural objects. He provides us with a 'sense' of the object in order to open the poem up to a wider range of interpretations and responses, so as to free all its potentialities. Freedom in poetic speech (although dressed in different generic guises) like freedom in political institutions (although referring to different ages and places) ultimately means to contest the mercantile society that Peacock epitomized, thus creating a language "favourable to liberty"[28], that might convey a need for change and transformation. In his ground-breaking volume dedicated to Shelley's poetic style, William Keach argues that the quick and winged images of Shelley's poetry, the vertiginous flight and the frenetic movement that almost take the reader's breath away, would repropose the same aerial flight of the human mind. Hence, it is a form that conveys a content, as if to show, it should be added, that the poet places poetry at the very origin of thought, in an inseparable and indispensable process of equivalence and simultaneity[29]. Shelley himself, in the preface to *Prometheus Unbound*, further clarifies this creative process:

> The imagery which I have employed will be found in many instances to have been drawn from the operations of the human mind, or from those external actions by which they are expressed. This is unusual in modern Poetry[30].

In the essay "The Political Poet", William Keach explains this quotation as follows: "Here is the founding principle of Shelley's radically idealist poetics: instead of offering sensuous

[27] E.R. Wasserman, *Shelley: A Critical Reading*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press 1971, pp. 222-234.
[28] J.E. Hogle, *Language and Form*, in *The Cambridge Companion to Shelley*, pp. 145-165 (p. 148).
[29] W. Keach, *Shelley's Style*.
[30] P.B. Shelley, *Shelley's Poetry and Prose*, p. 207.

or material figures for mental states and processes, the writing of *Prometheus Unbound* will draw its figures or 'imagery' from mental process itself"[31]. And the poet's mind moves and pivots around that "inspired and ideal beauty", which sustains his poetic vision and intention. Not by chance, the "inspired and ideal beauty" that Shelley refers to also invests political and social institutions. For example, in "A Defence of Poetry", the political institutions of Rome and Athens, and of the medieval and Renaissance republican municipalities, are considered ideally poetic, which means that they stand for the highest political ideal: liberty. Of the democratic institutions of republican Rome he affirms:

> [t]he true Poetry of Rome lived in its institutions; for whatever of beautiful, true and majestic they contained could have sprung only from the faculty which creates the order in which they consist[32].

According to Jerrold E. Hogle, Shelley's interplay with poetic language combined political intention and poetical forms is especially evident "In this more mature view, Shelley regards language, along with the perception it helps to form, as inherently transformable. This is why revolutionary thinking and poetic language can be seen, like thoughts and words, as perpetually interacting with one another for their betterment of humankind". Hogle then summarizes his reading of Shelley's stylistic method in the following insightful way: "language is frequently reinvigorated and its tyrannies overturned, by continuous poetic transformation – and hence social revolution"[33].

In conclusion, I would like to pay homage to the Shelleys in Milan but, more in general, to Italy as a privileged metonymic referent of Shelley's poetry and poetics. If we take as a point in case Shelley's masterpiece, the lyrical drama *Prometheus Unbound*, Kevin Everest in his essay underlines how the Neapolitan experience had been essential for forming the images of the 'oracular' vapours in the poem[34]. However, some other experiences made up of images, if not words, had a striking effect on his imagination to the point of being reworked over time and finally reappear as triumphant literary tropes in his lyrical drama. I am referring here to the synesthetic encounter he had with the *ballet en action* or pantomime dance by Salvatore Viganò that the Shelleys saw and admired at the theatre La Scala during their stay in Milan. Between 4 and 29 April 1818, the Shelleys and Claire Clairmont went to La Scala several times, recording in their letters the pleasure they received by Viganò's ballet.

Elsewhere I have extensively discussed Viganò's artistic mastery in the extraordinary ability of his dancers to perform and convey passions, emotions with extreme lightness[35],

[31] W. Keach, *The Political Poet*, in *The Cambridge Companion to Shelley,* pp. 123-142 (p. 127).
[32] P.B. Shelley, *Shelley's Poetry and Prose*, p. 523.
[33] J.E. Hogle, *Language and Form*, p. 151.
[34] K. Everest, *"Mechanism of a kind yet Unattempted"*, pp. 237-245.
[35] L.M. Crisafulli, *Il viaggio olistico di Shelley in Italia: Milano, la Scala e l'incontro con l'arte di Salvatore Viganò*, in *Traduzioni, echi, consonanze. Dal Rinascimento al Romanticismo – Translations, Echoes and Consonances. From the Renaissance to the Romantic Era*, R. Mullini – R. Zacchi ed., Clueb, Bologna 2002, pp. 165-183; Ead., *"The sublime emotions such spectacles create": P.B. Shelley e le arti figurative in Italia*, in *Marble Wilderness.*

but what I wish to emphasize here is the use that Shelley makes of this special inter-artistic experience. The final and universal rejoicing that we witness in the third and fourth acts of *Prometheus Unbound* would have been impossible to express in words unless the latter had 'formed forms'. It is no accident that *Prometheus Unbound*, whose subtitle is *A Lyrical Drama in Four Acts*, has been defined as a symphonic and operatic poem. The poem turns in fact into a choral drama in which an infinite succession of danced images fill the stage and evoke the kinetic and choreographic patterns of Viganò's *coreodramma*. In Shelley's poem, as in Viganò's ballet, the groups dancing express lightness and ethereal agility in their ascending movement into the air. In Shelley's lyrical drama it is the spirits who, through their movements and choreographies, give form to change, expressing the metamorphosis that humanity has undergone. *Prometheus Unbound* beautifully exemplifies Shelley's extraordinary metonymic way of using cross-references. It also stages the most daring and revolutionary art of the so-called second English Romanticism.

Motivi e relazioni di viaggio di Inglesi in Italia, M. Pala ed., Cuec, Cagliari 2002, pp. 41-67; Ead., *"A Language in Itself Music": Salvatore Viganò's* Ballet en Action *in Shelley's* Prometheus Unbound, in *The Romantic Stage: A Many-Sided Mirror*, L.M. Crisafulli – F. Liberto ed., Rodopi, Amsterdam 2014, pp. 135-159.

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Some Lifetime Editions of Shelley Owned by Richard Monckton Milnes[1]

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Richard Monckton Milnes is known to students of English Romanticism mainly as editor of Life, Letters, and Literary Remains, of John Keats, 2 vols (London: Edward Moxon, 1858). This article addresses Milnes' interest in Percy Bysshe Shelley with reference to three lifetime editions of the poet that he owned. Two are now in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, the third in Princeton University Library. All contained between their covers Shelley's autograph and were displayed at meetings of the Philobiblon Society in the 1850s and 1860s.

Keywords: Percy Bysshe Shelley, Richard Monckton Milnes, bibliography, history of the book, manuscripts

After his stay at Milan in 1818 Shelley's spirit may be said to have lived on there, at least temporarily, through Richard Monckton Milnes (1809-1885). One of three Cambridge undergraduates chosen to assert the superiority of Shelley to Byron at the Oxford Union in November 1829 (Arthur Hallam was another), Milnes had been instrumental in the publication of the first English edition of *Adonais*[2]. Having left Cambridge in April 1830, he joined his parents and sister a few months later in Milan where they had moved the previous year, staying until March 1831 when he left for Venice[3]. Milnes' Shelleyan interests later took on a continental inflection. As Stephanie Dumke showed, in 1847 he secured from Mary Shelley a fragment of holograph manuscript of *Laon and Cythna* for Karl Au-

[1] I am grateful to the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge, for electing me to a Visiting Scholarship in 2016 which enabled much of the research for this article to be undertaken. For information and advice, I thank Alexandra Ault, Charles Carter, Stephanie Coane, Brianna Cregle, Elizabeth Denlinger, Doucet Fischer, Stephen Hebron, Michael Meredith, Valentina Varinelli, Patrick Vincent, Ross Wilson, and the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford; the British Library; Cambridge University Library; the Carl H. Pforzheimer Collection of Shelley and His Circle, New York Public Library; Eton College Library; the National Library of Scotland; Newcastle University Library; Princeton University Library; the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge; and the School of English Literature, Language and Linguistics, Newcastle University. I am indebted to Nicolas Bell, Nora Crook and Gregory Hutchinson for their invaluable comments on an early draft.

[2] T. Wemyss Reid, *The Life, Letters, and Friendships of Richard Monckton Milnes, First Lord Houghton*, 2 vols, Cassell, London 1890[2], vol. 1, pp. 77-78; P.B. Shelley, *Adonais*, Gee and Bridges, Cambridge 1829.

[3] J. Pope-Hennessy, *Monckton Milnes: The Years of Promise 1809-1851*, Constable, London 1949, pp. 24, 33-34.

gust Varnhagen von Ense in Berlin[4]. Shelley's presence is also evident at meetings of the Philobiblon Society, a club Milnes founded in 1853 for "persons interested in the history, collection, or peculiarities of Books"[5]. The three of his early editions of Shelley that are the focus of this article were displayed at meetings of the Society between 1855 and 1863; there is no record of any other Shelley items being exhibited. Two are now in the Crewe Bequest (2015) at Trinity College, Cambridge, the third in the Robert H. Taylor collection at Princeton University Library. All three appear to have been particularly prized by Milnes because between their covers they bore Shelley's autograph.

The status of Milnes' early editions of Shelley, which were among the so-called 'holy of holies' kept in a blue suitcase by his grand-daughter Mary, Duchess of Roxburghe (1915-2014), has been explained authoritatively by Nicolas Bell[6]. An insight into the contents of the Shelley family's library in the lifetime of her father, the Earl of Crewe (Milnes' son, Robert Crewe-Milnes, 1858-1945), is given in a somewhat inaccurate letter of 17 April 1937 by his Private Secretary replying to an inquiry from the American scholar David Lee Clark (1887-1956)[7]. First, there were five lifetime editions (the fourth unauthorized): *The Revolt of Islam* (C. and J. Ollier, London 1818)[8]; *Laon and Cythna* (C. and J. Ollier, London 1818)[9]; *The Cenci* (C. and J. Ollier, London 1819)[10]; *Queen Mab* (W. Clark, London 1821); and *St Irvyne* (J.J. Stockdale, London 1811)[11]. The letter's claim that the inscription "The author's copy, | 1829" on the title-page of *Laon and Cythna* is "autograph" was obviously erroneous[12]. However, as Nora Crook has noted, it is possible to deduce that this book was indeed Shelley's[13]. The date appears to refer to when it was originally acquired, apparently at the sale of "The Library of Percy B. Shelley" in Oxford on 26 October 1829[14]. While his piratical *Queen Mab* is as yet unlocated, Milnes' copy of *Posthumous Fragments of Margaret Nicholson* (1810), not mentioned in this letter and part of the Crewe Bequest (2015), is discussed below. The letter also lists five manuscripts. Four are letters by Shelley

[4] S. Dumke, *Rediscovered Shelley and Keats Manuscripts in Kraków*, "Keats-Shelley Journal", 63, 2014, pp. 39-57 (p. 42).

[5] *Philobiblon Society. Bibliographical and Historical Miscellanies. Vol. I*, Whittingham, London 1854, p. 3.

[6] N. Bell, *"The holy of holies"; Vast Book Collection Brought to the Wren*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q947Gx69wEE (last accessed February 26, 2019).

[7] Trinity College, Cambridge, Crewe Bequest. The letter records the addressee as "Professor D. Lee Clarke".

[8] Crewe 116.23.

[9] Crewe 116.22.

[10] Crewe 116.34.

[11] Crewe 105.31.

[12] The Private Secretary's claim that the inscription "Percy Bysshe Shelley" on the title-page of the copy of *St Irvyne* (where the author is given as "A Gentleman of the University of Oxford") is "autograph" is likewise extremely doubtful.

[13] Nora Crook (private correspondence) notes that Crewe 116.22 is one of two copies of *Laon and Cythna* in the list of contents of the Shelleys' library at Marlow now in the Pforzheimer Collection (Pfz Shelleyana 1082).

[14] The sale was announced in "Jackson's Oxford Journal" for 17 and 24 October 1829.

which were subsequently sold at auction[15]. They are now in the Pforzheimer Collection and were published in full for the first time in 2002[16]. The fifth, acquired by the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge in 2019, is "An autograph poem. on two sides of quarto paper", whose first line is "Soft be the voice & friendly that rebukes"[17]. This verse is not by Shelley but Henry Taylor (1800-1886), a friend of Milnes and in later life a neighbour of Jane, Lady Shelley, and Percy Florence Shelley at Bournemouth[18]. Taylor's poem, addressed to Caroline Norton[19], was first published under the title "Stanzas" in *The Tribute* (1837), a miscellany which Milnes helped to publish[20].

1. Henry Hart Milman (1791-1868), Professor of Poetry at the University of Oxford from 1821 to 1831 and Dean of St Paul's from 1849 until his death, was a contemporary of Shelley's at Eton who matriculated at Oxford just a few weeks after him on 25 May 1810[21]. Milman's letter to Milnes of 2 July 1853, in which he apparently enclosed his copy of *Posthumous Fragments of Margaret Nicholson*, offers a sardonic assessment of the volume's literary worth, though a bibliophile's delight in its rarity:

> I send you the tender strains of Peg Nicholson, from the pen of Shelley in his youth – If you do not, like a generous Philo Biblian, send me a cheque for 50 guineas for this, perhaps unique, treasure, you must Pay up for me the equivalent in your regard, and your admiration of that noble disinterestedness, which destroys my character for ever as a Book Collector – I hope that it is not an act of treason against the Club[22].

Five years later, on 10 July 1858, "Posthumous Fragments of Margaret Nicholson edited by John Fitzvictor (P. B. Shelley). 4to. presentation copy. Oxford. 1810", the copy to which Milman refers, was "[a]mong [...] rare and curious books [...] shown" at a breakfast meeting of the Philobiblon Society hosted by Milnes[23]. Members present on that occasion included

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[15] *Important Autograph Letters, Manuscripts and Music from the Richard Monckton Milnes Collection and Other Properties*, Christie's, London, 29 June 1995, lots 366, 367 and 368, pp. 52-55.

[16] Three of the letters are to Edward Fergus Graham and date from 5 June 1810, ?15-19 May 1811 and 7 June 1811; they are published in *Shelley and His Circle, 1773-1822*, 10 vols to date, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA 1961-2002, Vol. 9, D.H. Reiman – D. Devin Fischer ed., pp. 115-126, 140-168 (SC 773, SC 775, SC 776). The fourth, to Amelia Curran of 17 September 1820, is published *Ibid.*, Vol. 10, D.H. Reiman – D. Devin Fischer ed., pp. 831-844 (SC 831).

[17] Add.ms.a.598.

[18] U. Taylor, *Guests and Memories: Annals of a Seaside Villa*, Oxford University Press, London 1924, pp. 334-340.

[19] Mrs C.W. Earle, *Memoirs and Memories*, Smith, Elder & Co., London 1911, p. 109.

[20] *The Tribute: A Collection of Miscellaneous Unpublished Poems by Various Authors*, Lord Northampton ed., Murray and Lindsell, London 1837, pp. 100-101, v, ix.

[21] H. Matthew (2006, September 28), *Milman, Henry Hart (1791-1868), Historian and Dean of St Paul's*, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-18778 (last accessed February 27, 2019); for Shelley's matriculation on 10 April 1810, see B. Barker-Benfield, *Shelley's Bodleian Visits*, "Bodleian Library Record", 12, 1987, 5, pp. 381-399 (pp. 384-385).

[22] Trinity College, Cambridge, Crewe Bequest.

[23] Crewe MS 17, pp. 242, 237.

Milman himself[24]. Milnes also recorded the display at that meeting of "Hartley's Observations on Man. 2 vols. 1810, with Shelley's autograph notes", another work he owned that had been acquired at the 1829 sale of Shelley's Library in Oxford[25].

"POSTHUMOUS FRAGMENTS | of | Margaret Nicholson; | being Poems found amongst the papers of that | noted female who attempted the life of the King in 1786. | Edited by | JOHN FITZVICTOR" to give the pamphlet its full title, was "printed and sold" by John Munday, who partnered Henry Slatter in a printing-office on Oxford High Street. It was first advertised in the 17 November 1810 issue of Munday and Slatter's weekly newspaper, the "Oxford University and City Herald", as "Just published, price 2 shillings"[26]. Shelley boasted in a letter to Edward Fergus Graham four days later, deploying a nickname for the pamphlet which Milman evidently recalled, that "Nothing is talked of at Oxford but Peg Nicholson, I have only printed 250 copies & expect a second edition soon"[27]. Despite the author's wishes for its success, there is scant evidence that it was much known before 1859, when the British Library acquired a copy[28]. This makes Milman's claim that his copy was "perhaps unique" seem not far off the mark, notwithstanding Thomas Medwin's assertion in 1833 that "probably the copy I have is the only one existing"[29]. Hogg, in the year that Milnes' recent acquisition was displayed, was somewhat casual about the whereabouts of his own: "I have one copy, if not more, somewhere or other, but not at hand"[30]. H. Buxton Forman recorded "four [...] extant" in 1886, Granniss and Wise noted six in 1923-1924, and five are "located and collated" in the most recent scholarly edition of Shelley's earliest poetry (2000)[31]. In addition

[24] Crewe MS 17, p. 235.

[25] Crewe MS 17, p. 242. Shelley's annotated copy of the first volume of D. Hartley, *Observations on Man, His Frame, His Duty, and His Expectations*, 2 vols, Wilkie and Robinson, London 1810[5], now in the Pforzheimer Collection (*Pforz 557R 05), is inscribed: "Richard Monckton Milnes | the copy once in the possession of 'Percy Bysshe Shelley' with his autograph notes: bought at Oxford. 1829". Milnes' minute indicates that the second volume was lost between 1858 and the accession by the Pforzheimer of the first volume.

[26] *Oxford University and City Herald*, 17 November 1810, p. 2. Shelley's pamphlet of poems was advertised again on p. 1 of the 24 November issue.

[27] P.B. Shelley to E.F. Graham, 21 November 1810, *The Letters of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, F.L. Jones ed., 2 vols, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1964, Vol. 1, p. 22.

[28] C.39.h.17. The date stamp on the verso of p. 29 is "28 JU 59", i.e. 28 June 1859. The only contemporary notices of the pamphlet of which I am aware are from within the University of Oxford: a bibliographical note dated 27 March 1811 by Philip Bliss, a Fellow of St John's College and assistant at the Bodleian Library, in Bodleian MS. Top. Oxon. e. 51, p. 161, published in B.C. Barker-Benfield, *Shelley's Guitar*, Bodleian Library, Oxford 1992, p. 31; and a letter by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe from Christ Church, dated 15 March 1811, published in [Lady Charlotte Bury], *Diary Illustrative of the Times of George the Fourth*, 2 vols, Colburn, London 1838, Vol. 1, pp. 58-59.

[29] T. Medwin, *The Shelley Papers*, Whittaker, Treacher, & Co., London 1833, p. 11; see also Id., *The Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, H. Buxton Forman ed., Oxford University Press, London 1913, p. 88.

[30] T.J. Hogg, *The Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, 2 vols, Moxon, London 1858, Vol. 1, p. 267. A copy of *Posthumous Fragments* with the signature "J Hogg" (i.e. Jane [Williams] Hogg, 1798-1884) on the half-title is now in the Pforzheimer Collection (*Pforz 557L 02).

[31] H. Buxton Forman, *The Shelley Library*, Reeves and Turner, London 1886, p. 12; R.S. Granniss, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the First Editions in Book Form of the Writings of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, The Grolier Club, New York 1923, p. 13; T.J. Wise, *A Shelley Library*, Privately printed, London 1924, p. 31; *The Complete Poetry of Percy*

to Milnes' copy there is another in Cambridge, in the University Library, neglected perhaps because it is bound in a miscellany of verse pamphlets whose original compiler indexed "Nicholson M" as the author[32]. It carries a bemused note in pencil on its fly-title by the recipient, the playwright and clergyman James Plumptre (1771-1832): "Clare Hall, Nov$^{r.}$ 21, 1810. I received this, this day, by the coach, in a parcel, which had come through London, where 2$^{s.}$ 2$^{d.}$ had been paid out. No note accompanied it".

Unlike the copy in Cambridge University Library, the Crewe Bequest *Posthumous Fragments* is of interest precisely because the note on its fly-title – "with *the Editor's* best Comp[liments]" – is autograph. The underline apparently emphasizes Shelley's relish at masking his authorship under the name of a supposed editor "John Fitzvictor", an elaboration of the *nom de plume* he had adopted for his contributions to the volume of poems he co-authored with his sister Elizabeth – *Original Poetry; by Victor and Cazire* – which was published by John Joseph Stockdale in September 1810 and withdrawn because of a plagiarism. A somewhat guarded note in the hand of Milman is tipped in to the front endpapers:

> The Posthumous Fragments of Margaret Nicholson were written by Shelley, when at Oxford. This was a Copy presented to me by him. I was then on friendly but not intimate terms with Shelley whom I occasionally saw. He afterwards fancied that I wrote an article upon his Poetry in the Quarterly Review / which was written by J. T. / now Judge / Coleridge. For this he swore deadly hatred to me, and, as far as possible, inspired his friends with the same feeling – after that time I had never any intercourse or correspondence with Shelley ["Shelley" written over "him" or possibly vice versa].

Milman had been a member of a literary coterie formed during the final year that he and Shelley were at Eton; he wrote poetry and was much interested in Southey at that time[33]. This explains his recollection of being on "friendly [...] terms" with Shelley in 1810. Although there is no evidence that they communicated after Shelley was expelled from Oxford in March 1811, Milman's note to Milnes attributes the irreversible breakdown in their relationship to Shelley making known his mistaken belief that Milman had authored the hostile review of *Laon and Cythna* and *The Revolt of Islam* published in the April 1819 number of the "Quarterly Review" (which appeared in September of that year)[34].

2. The *Posthumous Fragments* was exhibited for a second time at a meeting of the Philobiblon Society hosted by Milnes on 6 June 1863, where Milman was again present[35]. Also on display was "Shelley's Revolt of Islam. Lond. 1818. with the sheet inserted from the

Bysshe Shelley, 3 vols to date, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore 2000-12, Vol. 1, D.H. Reiman – N. Fraistat ed., p. 242.

[32] S721.b.77.3(12). As well as not noticing this copy, Reiman and Fraistat appear to have been unaware of another in the National Art Library at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (shelfmark: Dyce 9046).

[33] I am indebted to Michael Meredith, Librarian Emeritus of Eton College Library, for this information.

[34] P.B. Shelley to C. Ollier, 11 June 1821, and P.B. Shelley to Byron, 16 July 1821, *Letters*, Vol. 2, pp. 298-299, 309; "Quarterly Review", 21, 1819, 42, pp. 460-471.

[35] Crewe MS 18, pp. 13, 7.

Livre des Voyageurs at Chamounix, containing Shelley's autograph on the 23d. July 1816"[36]. The "autograph", Shelley's 'observation' in Greek on "the sheet", was recorded by Milnes. It reads: "Ειμι φιλανθρωπος δημωκρατικος τ' αθεος τε" ("I am human-loving, democracy-favouring and unbelieving"). Milnes had acquired this copy of *The Revolt of Islam* at the sale on 5 May 1860 of the library of the collector John Mitford (1781-1859)[37]. The auction catalogue confirms that the "leaf from the Journal Book kept at the Inn at Chamouny" had been inserted in the copy of *The Revolt of Islam* before it was sold[38]. The verso of a front endpaper in Crewe 116.23 carries marks of the wax seals by which the leaf was affixed, and its folded form corresponds to the area to which it was attached. Mitford is thought to have authored an article published in April 1819 which stated, "Mr. Percy Bysshe Shelly [*sic*], a gentleman well known for extravagance of doctrine, and for his daring in their profession, even to sign himself with the title of Αθεος in the Album at Chamouny [...]"[39]. However, an account of the inscription had appeared several months earlier. John Taylor Coleridge's review of Leigh Hunt's *Foliage* (1818) in the January 1818 number of the "Quarterly" (published in June of that year) without identifying him directly had referred to Shelley writing "ἀθεος after his name in the album"[40]. The anguish Algernon Charles Swinburne registered at having to transcribe Shelley's faulty Greek ("I copy the spelling with all due regret and horror"[41]) is not as important for my purposes as Swinburne being able to vouch for the authenticity of the autograph inscription, which Milnes had shown him "not later than two or three years [...] at most" after 1860, in the face of Dowden's doubt, in the first scholarly biography of Shelley, as to "[w]hether it was genuine or a forgery"[42]. In an article of 1898, the Earl of Crewe provided more details of the leaf, describing it, in terms that can now be broadly verified, as "of rough blue-gray paper, foolscap size" and as showing

[36] Crewe MS 18, p. 13.

[37] W.P. Courtney and J. Barcus (2004, September 23), *Mitford, John (1781-1859), Literary Scholar and Church of England Clergyman*, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-18856 (last accessed March 1, 2019).

[38] *Catalogue of the second portion, Comprising the General Library of the Late Rev. John Mitford*, Sotheby and Wilkinson, London 1860, p. 208. "£10.0.0 | M Milnes" is pencilled in the margin alongside this item in the National Library of Scotland copy of this catalogue.

[39] *Extract of a letter from Geneva, with Anecdotes of Lord Byron, &c.*, "The New Monthly Magazine", 1 April 1819, pp. 193-206 (pp. 194-195); an article in "Notes and Queries", 7, 3rd ser., 1865, p. 201, states that this article "has been attributed to J. Mitford".

[40] "Quarterly Review", 18, 1818, 36, pp. 324-335 (p. 329).

[41] A.C. Swinburne, *Notes on the Text of Shelley*, "Fortnightly Review", 5, n.s., 1869, pp. 539-561 (p. 543). Gregory Hutchinson (private correspondence) has provided the following, correct rendition of Shelley's inscription (including accents): "Εἰμὶ φιλάνθρωπος δημοκρατικός τ' ἄθεός τε". In his transcription in Crewe MS 18, p. 13, Milnes underlined Shelley's actual error, an omega instead of an omicron as the fourth letter of the third word.

[42] A.C. Swinburne to E. Dowden, 2 June 1886, *The Swinburne Letters*, C.Y. Lang ed., 6 vols, Yale University Press, New Haven, CT 1962, Vol. 5, p. 145; E. Dowden, *The Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, 2 vols, Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., London 1886, Vol. 2, p. 30n. See also Swinburne to Dowden, 29 November 1886, *Swinburne Letters*, Vol. 5, p. 178.

> evidence of having been cut from a book, as a word or two is missing from each line on the inner margin. It is ruled by hand into vertical divisions headed respectively "jours, mois, noms des voyageurs, lieu de naissance et profession, d'ous ils viennent, ou ils sont dirigé, observations"[43].

The leaf was the subject of essays published in 1938 and 1958 by Gavin de Beer whose correspondence with Lord Crewe's Private Secretary and with Mary, Duchess of Roxburghe, between 1937 and 1965 survives in the Crewe Bequest[44]. De Beer's claim that "under the date July 23 1816, written in Shelley's hand, are the names of 'Percy B. Shelley', 'Mad. M.W.G.' [Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin], and 'Mad. J.C.' [Jane Clairmont] which last entry is so heavily scratched out in ink as to be decipherable only to anyone knowing what to look for" seems to have been accepted hitherto[45].

The only image of the relevant portion of the leaf publicly available before 2016 (so far as I am aware) was the one reproduced in de Beer's 1958 article, "By courtesy of the Marchioness of Crewe"[46]. Access to the original album leaf (an image of the recto of which may be found on p. 141[47]) allows evidence of the extent of Shelley's autograph to be examined afresh. Comparison of fifteen different words and the letters of which they are composed in the album leaf inscription with the same words and letters in a sample of manuscripts from summer 1816 in the hands of Percy Shelley and Mary Godwin (as she then was), suggests that it was Mary who wrote "Percy B. Shelley", "London" and "Sussex", and "England" in the columns headed "nom des voyageurs", "lieu de naissance et profession", and "d'ous ils viennent", while Percy wrote "L'Enfer" alongside Mary's name in the column headed "ou ils sont dirigés". The question of who wrote "L'Enfer" alongside Percy's name in the same column is difficult to determine. The hand seems to be neither Percy's nor Mary's but is similar to that of an entry for 26 July further down the page, written by Claire Clairmont, which begins with the name "[?P]heoffteiyque [?Tuoniriale]", whose birthplace appears to be Iceland[48]. While Percy's Greek inscription is entered in the final column ("observa-

[43] Earl of Crewe, *A Leaf from an Inn Album*, "Literature", 1, 1898, 11, pp. 336-337 (p. 336). Only just visible in the top left hand corner of the recto of the leaf, where the leaf was cut from the album, is the last letter of the word that heads the first column: "année". Some of the headings are not entirely clear but the penultimate one is almost certainly "dirigés", not, as Crewe has it, "dirigé".

[44] G. de Beer, *The Atheist: An Incident at Chamonix*, in *On Shelley*, E. Blunden ed., Oxford University Press, London 1938, pp. 35-54; Id., *An 'Atheist' in the Alps*, "Keats-Shelley Memorial Bulletin", 9, 1958, pp. 1-15; Trinity College, Cambridge, Crewe Bequest. There is no reason to doubt de Beer's statement that the visitor's book from which this leaf was removed was "almost certainly" that of the Hôtel de Londres (*An 'Atheist'*, p. 10). From there, on 22 July, Shelley wrote a letter to Byron (see *Shelley and His Circle,* Vol. 4, K.N. Cameron ed., pp. 722-726 (SC 336)), and began one to Peacock (see *Letters*, Vol. 1, pp. 495-502).

[45] G. de Beer, *An 'Atheist'*, p. 9. Nicolas Bell (private correspondence) notes that the cancelled entry for Claire appears to read "Mad. C.C.", not "Mad. J.C.".

[46] G. de Beer, *An 'Atheist'*, photograph facing p. 8; for recent print reproductions, see: *Frankenstein: créé des ténèbres*, D. Spurr – N. Ducimetière ed., Gallimard/Fondation Martin Bodmer, Paris/Cologny 2016, pp. 172-173.

[47] This image is reproduced with the kind permission of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge.

[48] The rest of the entry reads: "Geneve. | Constantinople. | These mountains are molehills compared with those of my native country & the landlord is nothing after the one of Grenbergh". De Beer reads the name as "The-

tions"), it seems to have been intended both to answer the question of his "profession" required by a previous column-heading, and perhaps, in "αθεος", to respond to the word "methodist" after an entry in the same column further up the leaf. In sum, while, as Milnes noted, the leaf does contain "Shelley's autograph", the inscription "Percy B. Shelley" does not seem to be his.

3. The copy of the first edition of *Adonais* once owned by Milnes and now in the Robert H. Taylor Collection at Princeton University Library is known principally for containing an untitled holograph fair copy of Shelley's poem beginning "Swifter far than summer's flight"[49]. This manuscript formed the basis of the text of the lyric published by Forman in 1877[50]. The only other writings in the pages of the volume have been described by Donald H. Reiman as "corrections to the text of *Adonais*"[51]. They take the form of alterations in ink to the seventh line and the final line of Stanza 12 and appear to be autograph[52]. Milnes had acquired this volume by 1855 since it was displayed at a meeting of the Philobiblon Society on 10 November that year: "Adonais. Pisa. with types of Didot. 1821. With an autograph poem by Shelley"[53]. An inscription on a bookplate on the front paste-down by Milnes' relation Charles Milnes Gaskell (1842-1919) records him buying it from "L[d]. Houghton" – Milnes had been created Baron Houghton in 1863[54] – on 9 December 1879. Milnes Gaskell was proposed by Milnes as a member of the Philobiblon Society a few months later[55]. Milnes' note, tipped in to the front endpaper, provides some information about the volume's provenance:

offteiygne" (ignoring the word beneath), and her nationality as "Irlandoise" (*An 'Atheist'*, p. 11). Marion Kingston Stocking, accepting de Beer's "Theoffteiygne", suggests it was Clairmont's "attempt to duplicate Shelley's 'Theossteique la soeur' (a French version of the Greek for 'hating God')" inscribed in a visitor's book in another Alpine location, the hut on Montenvers (*The Clairmont Correspondence: Letters of Claire Clairmont, Charles Clairmont, and Fanny Imlay Godwin, 1808-1879*, M. Kingston Stocking ed., 2 vols, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore 1995, Vol. 1, p. 53n; for the inscription at Montenvers, see de Beer, *An 'Atheist'*, p. 5). However, the first letter of the forename may be "P", rather than "T", and the word beneath, apparently in the same hand, a surname. The second letter of the next column-entry is unclear but the content of the "observations" column may make "Islandoise" more likely than "Irlandoise".

[49] (HSVR) RHT 19th-427, Robert H. Taylor collection of English and American literature, Manuscripts Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

[50] P.B. Shelley, *The Poetical Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, H. Buxton Forman ed., 4 vols, Reeves and Turner, London 1876-77, Vol. 4, p. 83n; Trinity College, Cambridge, H. Buxton Forman to Lord Houghton, 12 March 1876, Houghton 8[200].

[51] *Fair-Copy Manuscripts of Shelley's Poems in European and American Libraries*, D.H. Reiman – M. O'Neill ed., Garland, New York 1997, p. 360.

[52] The alterations to ll. 106 and 108 result in "And, as a dying meteor stains a wreath | Of moonlight vapour, which the cold night clips, | It flushed through his pale limbs, and past to its eclipse" being changed to "Which like a dying meteor through a wreath | Of moonlight vapour, which the cold night clips, | Flushed through his pallid limbs, and past to its eclipse".

[53] Crewe MS 17, p. 123.

[54] R. Davenport-Hines, (2006, May 25), *Milnes, Richard Monckton, first Baron Houghton (1809-1885), Author and Politician*, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-18794 (last accessed February 27, 2019).

[55] Crewe MS 19, p. 56.

Dec. 9th.
1879.

My dear Gaskell.

I believe this copy of the Adonais to be 'unique'. I know of no other with Shelley's Autograph.

It came direct from Italy into the Library of Sir David Dundas from whose hands it passed into mine.

I am glad that it shall form part of your interesting library.

I remain,
Y aff. cousin
Houghton.

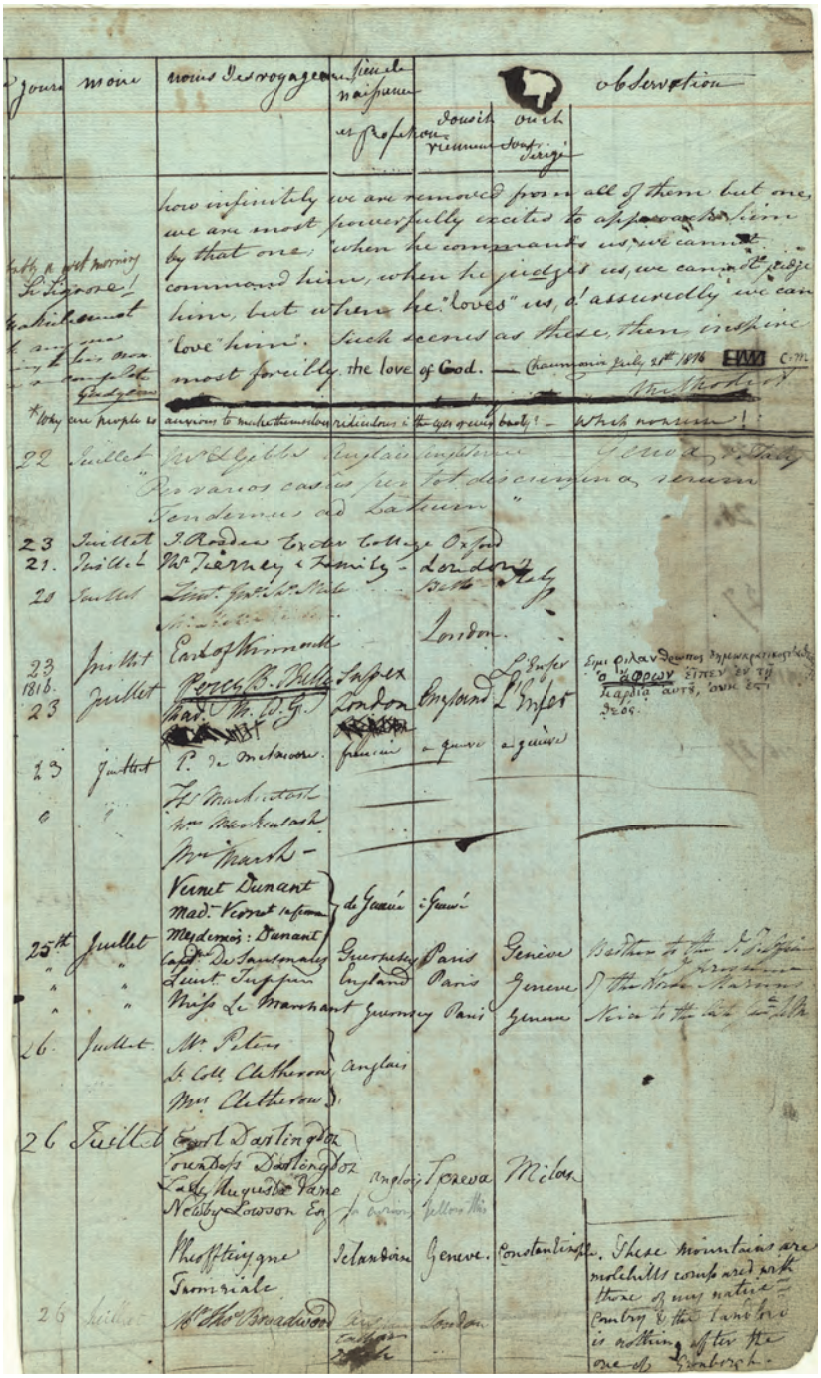
In the only transcription of this note previously published, Reiman read "his friend [?Dawkins]" instead of "Sir David Dundas", which led him to speculate that the volume's previous owner may have been Edward Dawkins, "His Majesty's Secretary of Legation at the Court of Florence"[56]. The interest of Dundas (1799-1877) in such a book is unsurprising. A lawyer and later Liberal Member of Parliament, Dundas went to Christ Church in 1816 (taking his BA in 1820 and MA in 1822), and has been described as "[a]n accomplished scholar" who "brought together a fine library"[57]. Some of his circle knew Shelley's friend Thomas Love Peacock and correspondence between Dundas and Milnes from 1841 to 1864 survives[58]. The phrase "[i]t came direct from Italy" finds some echoes in Forman's account two years previously – which drew openly on Milnes' testimony – of the origins of the first English edition of *Adonais*: "Lord Houghton tells me that, when at Cambridge, he and Arthur Hallam (who brought a copy of the Pisa edition from Italy), and one or two others, resolved to get it reprinted"[59]. I have not been able to establish when and how this Princeton *Adonais* "came direct from Italy" and whether through Dundas himself or via someone else. Nor indeed are its whereabouts certain between whenever "Swifter far than summer's flight" was inscribed in the volume (probably between late January and June 1822 rather than "about mid-July 1821", as Reiman states), and Shelley's death[60].

[56] *Fair-Copy Manuscripts*, pp. 362-363; "Journals of the House of Commons", 71, 1816-17, p. 967.
[57] G. Goodwin and H. Matthew (2008, January 03), *Dundas, Sir David (1799-1877), Politician*, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-8248 (last accessed February 27, 2019).
[58] Lord Broughton to T.L. Peacock, 31 October 1851, *The Letters of Thomas Love Peacock*, N.A. Joukovsky ed., 2 vols, Clarendon Press, Oxford 2001, Vol. 2, p. 339n; Trinity College, Cambridge, Houghton 7[190-3] and Houghton CB122[1].
[59] P.B. Shelley, *Poetical Works*, Vol. 3, p. [5]n.
[60] *Fair-Copy Manuscripts*, p. 361.

The Shelley material in the Crewe Bequest (2015) and the copy of *Adonais* formerly owned by Milnes at Princeton lead one to conclude that he must have known much about the history of Shelley's text over the course of his life. He came upon Shelley in the mid to late 1820s just as the poet was reaching new audiences through unauthorised posthumous printings and met, or corresponded with, some who had known him. As well as contributing to the publication of the 1829 edition of *Adonais* and to Forman's edition of 1876-77, he was consulted by Mary Shelley in 1838 about the publication of *Queen Mab* as she prepared the first of her collected editions of her husband's poetry[61]. Further evidence of Milnes' knowledge of the ways in which Shelley's writings were published in his lifetime, and of their nineteenth-century textual afterlives, will no doubt emerge in the years ahead.

[61] M. Shelley to E. Moxon, 12 December 1838, *The Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley*, B.T. Bennett ed., 3 vols, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore 1980-88, Vol. 2, p. 303.

Figure 1 - *The recto of "the sheet inserted from the* Livre des Voyageurs *at Chamounix" in Trinity College, Cambridge, Crewe Collection. Reproduced by kind permission of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge*



RASSEGNE

Rassegna di Linguistica generale e di Glottodidattica

a cura di Giovanni Gobber

N. Amiridze ed., "STUF-Language Typology and Universals", Special Issue: Contact-induced language change in the languages of the Caucasus, 72, 2019, 2

Questo numero speciale della rivista di tipologia è curato da Nino Amiridze ed è dedicato ai mutamenti indotti da contatto. I contributi si segnalano per il rigore del metodo e l'importanza ai fini della riflessione teorico-generale sulla propensione all'interazione tra sistemi diversi dentro a repertori plurilingui. Le lingue considerate appartengono alle tre famiglie dell'area caucasica: la kartveliana (o caucasica meridionale), la nach-daghestaniana (o caucasica nord-orientale) e la famiglia abchaz-adighé (o caucasica nord-occidentale). È indagato l'influsso del turco sul laz (lingua kartveliana), del georgiano sul batsbi (che rientra nel gruppo nach delle lingue caucasiche nord-orientali), del russo sullo hinuq (del gruppo daghestaniano) e sullo urum caucasico (che è lingua turcica). La descrizione dei risultati dei fenomeni di interferenza in area caucasica mette in luce situazioni che si collocano su livelli elevati di contatto: questi livelli sono caratterizzati, in generale, dalla permeabilità della struttura della lingua ricevente, che recepisce influssi capaci di modificare l'ordine degli elementi, la morfologia derivazionale e, in parte, quella flessionale, l'inventario delle classi lessicali chiuse e dei "morfolessemi" (o *function words*). Poiché tuttavia le lingue osservate non hanno una tradizione scritta, è arduo stabilire le direzioni concrete dei singoli fenomeni di contatto ed è inevitabile affidarsi alla descrizione della realtà che si manifesta in sincronia. Questo ribadisce l'importanza delle conoscenze storico-culturali ai fini di una adeguata ricostruzione delle dinamiche sociolinguistiche del contatto.

Giovanni Gobber

A.M. De Cesare, *Le parti invariabili del discorso*, Carocci, Roma 2019, 124 pp.

Il volume propone una riflessione critica sulle cosiddette parti invariabili del discorso in italiano su base tassonomica. Vengono pertanto ampiamente illustrati i criteri di classificazione adottati sia nei testi classici e nelle grammatiche tradizionali, sia nelle proposte più recenti che tengono conto degli apporti della linguistica teorica: i primi criteri erano essenzialmente morfologici e semantici, i secondi sono sintattici e funzionali o pragmatico-testuali. Il mutamento di prospettiva ha prodotto dei cambiamenti, sebbene non radicali, nell'impianto complessivo della classificazione tradizionale e propone oggi nuove suddivisioni nell'inventario delle parole invariabili (per esempio, alcune parole tradizionalmente classificate come congiunzioni vengono ricollocate nella classe degli avverbi), nuove categorie (per esempio quella degli *operatori sintattici*) e anche nuovi macro-raggruppamenti (per esempio la categoria di *olofrase*).

Il volume è suddiviso in quattro capitoli. Il primo capitolo traccia una breve storia della nascita delle parti invariabili del discorso nell'ambito della teoria classica. Il secondo capitolo inquadra le classi singolarmente, mettendo in luce le principali problematiche della classificazione tradizionale e alcune proposte di revisione avanzate dalla teoria linguistica più recente. Il terzo e quarto capitolo offrono un'articolata disamina delle questioni relative all'avverbio, definito dall'A. come la parte invariabile del discorso più problematica in quanto codifica un'ampia gamma di significati e presenta complessità a livello sintattico e funzionale (p. 74). Il volume è chiuso da un *Glossario* che illustra i principali concetti teorici usati nel corso della trattazione.

Maria Paola Tenchini

U. Freywald, *Parataktische Konjunktionen. Zur Syntax und Pragmatik der Satzverknüpfung im Deutschen – am Beispiel von* obwohl*,* wobei*,* während *und* wogegen, Stauffenburg, Tübingen 2018 (Studien zur deutschen Grammatik, 90), xvi + 410 pp.

Le frasi dipendenti del tedesco sono caratterizzate dalla posizione finale della forma finita del verbo. Tuttavia, vi sono alcune strutture non canoniche in cui tale forma è in prima o in seconda posizione. Riprendendo la terminologia della grammatica generativa, si parla di strutture con V in C (cioè nella posizione strutturale del complementatore). Dal punto di vista dell'Autrice, le strutture introdotte da congiunzioni come *obwohl* o *weil* e con il verbo in seconda posizione – anche se possono essere considerate varianti rispetto alle strutture canoniche – svolgono funzioni comunicative peculiari, come attesta lo sviluppo semantico delle congiunzioni che le possono introdurre. Si rivela così necessario indagare il tipo di nesso sintattico tra frasi, guardando alla paratassi e all'ipotassi come a due poli di una linea continua, sulla quale si collocano strutture di varia configurazione.

La ricerca – basata su fenomeni testuali del tedesco standard – assume così una prospettiva di linguistica generale, poiché l'Autrice è interessata a mettere in luce le differenti dinamiche semantico-comunicative comuni a più lingue. Tali dinamiche – per ipotesi – sono in parte responsabili delle differenze nel comportamento testuale delle strutture non canoniche qui studiate rispetto a quelle canoniche.

Questa monografia si segnala per un rigoroso impianto metodologico ed è anche di grande utilità per la didattica della lingua a livelli avanzati. Può costituire un modello per indagini su fenomeni analoghi che si trovano nelle diverse lingue europee occidentali.

Giovanni Gobber

E. Sofia – P. Swiggers, *La traduction allemande du* Cours de linguistique générale *et sa diffusion dans les pays germanophones* (*1916-1935*), in J. Joseph – E. Velmezova ed., *Le* Cours de linguistique générale: *réception, diffusion, traduction*, Centre de Linguistique et des Sciences du Langage (CLSL), Université de Lausanne, 2018 (Cahiers de l'ILSL, 57), pp. 25-43

Grazie a un ricco repertorio di testi e testimonianze, perlopiù inedite, conservate negli archivi Bally e Sechehaye di Ginevra, gli Autori ricostruiscono il percorso complesso e affascinante che ha portato alla pubblicazione nel 1932, per i tipi di De Gruyter, dei *Grundfragen der allgemeinen Sprachwissenschaft*, la traduzione tedesca del *Cours de linguistique générale* di Saussure, realizzata da Hermann Lommel, indoeuropeista e indoiranista tedesco di chiara fama, già recensore per due importanti riviste tedesche della prime due edizioni del *Cours* (1921, 1924). La ricerca del giusto equilibrio fra libertà e fedeltà ("das rechte Mittel zwischen Freiheit & Treue") ha guidato Lommel nella non semplice individuazione delle rese traduttive pertinenti. Ne possiamo trovare traccia nelle note esplicative che accompagnano la trasposizione in tedesco di alcune parole chiave della dottrina saussuriana, come *langage*, *langue* e *parole*, rese mediante i traducenti *menschliche Rede*, *Sprache* e *Sprechen*. L'articolo presenta in chiusura un breve ma significativo accenno alla *Rezeption* nel mondo germanofono della prima edizione dei *Grundfragen der allgemeinen Sprachwissenschaft*, seguita da una seconda edizione, nel 1967, corredata da uno studio critico del germanista Peter von Pohlenz.

Maria Cristina Gatti

E. Velmezova, *On the early stages of the reception of the Saussurean concept of semiology in Russia,* in *Le* Cours de linguistique générale: *réception, diffusion, traduction*, in J. Joseph – E. Velmezova ed., *Le* Cours de linguistique générale: *réception, diffusion, traduction*, Centre de Linguistique et des Sciences du Langage (CLSL), Université de Lausanne, 2018 (Cahiers de l'ILSL, 57), pp. 165-178

La ricezione del concetto saussuriano di "sémiologie" e più in generale del *Cours de linguistique générale* da parte dei linguisti sovietici degli anni Venti-Trenta del secolo scorso è stata caratterizzata da sorti alterne. Nelle prime due recensioni russe del *Cours,* apparse nel 1923, ad opera di M.N. Peterson, membro insigne della Scuola linguistica di Fortunatov, e di M.M. Kenigsberg, appartenente al Circolo linguistico di Mosca, la "sémiologie" viene accostata positivamente e percepita, più che come innovazione, quale continuazione di una lunga tradizione di studi. Con l'inasprimento ideologico che ha contraddistinto la riflessione linguistica nel mondo sovietico degli anni Trenta del Novecento, assistiamo a una svolta nella percezione della semiologia e della dottrina saussuriana *tout court*. Ad esempio nella recensione del 1934 della traduzione russa del *Cours* (1933) il linguista G.K. Danilov sferra un aspro attacco ideologico al linguista ginevrino. L'apertura o la chiusura nei confronti della semiologia saussuriana sono senza dubbio, conclude l'Autore, un indice rivelatore della acquiescenza o della libertà dei linguisti dell'epoca nei confronti dell'orientamento ideologico cha ha dominato la linguistica sovietica per lunghi anni.

Maria Cristina Gatti

S. Öztürk Kasar, *La traduction turque du* Cours de linguistique générale *de F. de Saussure par B. Vardar: une version exemplaire d'un maître-traducteur,* in J. Joseph – E. Velmezova ed., *Le* Cours de linguistique générale: *réception, diffusion, traduction*, Centre de Linguistique et des Sciences du Langage (CLSL), Université de Lausanne, 2018 (Cahiers de l'ILSL, 57), pp. 75-97

La traduzione del *Cours de linguistique générale* di Saussure in lingua turca (*Genel dilbilim dersleri*), realizzata dal linguista turco Berke Vardar e pubblicata in due volumi nel 1976 e ne1 1978, ha segnato in modo significativo la storia della lingua e della linguistica in Turchia. Oltre ad aprire al mondo turcofono l'accesso al pensiero saussuriano, la traduzione turca del *Cours* ha dato un notevole apporto agli sviluppi della lingua turca, grazie all'intenso lavoro neologico di Vardar, sfociato nella pubblicazione di un dizionario ragionato dei termini della linguistica in lingua turca. L'Autore ricostruisce il profilo di raffinato studioso di Vardar, conoscitore eccellente del francese moderno e antico, filologo, semanticista, lessicologo, lessicografo e fine traduttore, rappresentante della comunità scientifica turca nella *Société internationale de linguistique fonctionelle* (SILF) e membro della Società della lingua turca, fondata nel 1932 da Atatürk. L'Autore procede poi a descrivere le varianti traduttive introdotte da Vardar nella seconda edizione del *Genel dilbilim dersleri* (1985), che documentano il processo in quegli anni in atto nella lingua turca di standardizzazione della terminologica linguistica.

Maria Cristina Gatti

A. Nardi, *La sottotitolazione interlinguistica come strumento di riflessione linguistico-culturale nella formazione accademica – Esempi di trasposizione di* realia *dal tedesco all'italiano*, in R. Calzoni – M. Moroni ed., *Passaggi, transiti e contatti tra lingue e culture: la traduzione e la germanistica italiana*, "Studi Germanici – Quaderni dell'AIG", 15, 2019, supplemento, pp. 119-136

L'A. prende in esame lo statuto della sottotitolazione filmica interlinguistica come metodo traduttivo, focalizzando sia le peculiarità insite nella trasposizione nella lingua di arrivo di espressioni culturo-specifiche, denominate *realia*, sia la strutturazione di un percorso didattico specifico di formazione traduttologica in questo settore. Tradurre *realia* significa cogliere l'informazione culturale, spesso sottointesa, insita nel testo di partenza e trasmetterla, con adeguate soluzioni, al fruitore del testo di arrivo. Diverse sono le soluzioni adottabili che dipendono fortemente dai vincoli spazio-temporali che regolano la formulazione dei sottotitoli: prestito identico o adattato, calco o mezzo calco, analogia concettuale o equivalenza funzionale, esplicitazione mediate forme di generalizzazione, compensazione, omissione. Sulla base di alcuni esempi di traduzione in italiano di *realia* propri della cultura socio-politica, geografica ed etnica tedesca l'A. presenta le fasi di un percorso formativo e operativo che, tra le diverse strategie, contempla anche un auspicabile confronto con parlanti nativi tanto della lingua di partenza quanto della lingua di arrivo.

Maria Paola Tenchini

R. Webman Shafran, *Level of directness and the use of* please *in requests in English by native speakers of Arabic and Hebrew*, "Journal of Pragmatics", 2019, 148, pp. 1-11

La formulazione dell'atto linguistico di richiesta in inglese come lingua straniera (EFL) da parte di madrelingua arabofoni ed ebreofoni è soggetta a significative variazioni diafasiche a seconda della distanza sociale tra gli interlocutori. Dall'analisi quantitativa e qualitativa di un *corpus* di richieste in contesti situazionali diversificati emerge una preferenza, da parte di entrambi i gruppi di parlanti, per le forme indirette qualora il destinatario ricopra un ruolo sociale più elevato rispetto al mittente. Varia invece il comportamento dei madrelingua arabi ed ebrei nell'utilizzo della marca di cortesia *please*. I primi ne fanno uso con interlocutori di pari *status* sociale o inferiore, i secondi solo con destinatari di grado sociale meno elevato. Gli Autori evidenziano possibili interferenze della cultura e della lingua di origine sulla competenza pragmatica in EFL, non escludendo l'ipotesi di influssi dell'ebraico come L2 sulla gestione della distanza sociale nelle richieste in EFL da parte dei nativi arabofoni.

Maria Cristina Gatti

C. Ghezzi – P. Molinelli, *Italian* scusa *from politness to mock politeness*, "Journal of Pragmatics", 2019, 142, pp. 245-257

Le espressioni *scusa*, *(mi) scusi*, *scusate(mi)* come pure le forme delocutive *ti faccio le mie scuse*, *(ti) chiedo/domando scusa* rappresentano le forme prototipiche a cui l'italiano contemporaneo affida la realizzazione dell'atto linguistico di scusa. Esse vengono utilizzate perlopiù per mantenere l'armonia fra gli interlocutori, per ripristinarla nel caso di offese arrecate al destinatario o di violazioni dell'etichetta. Meno frequente è il loro utilizzo con funzione pragmatica di rinforzo in espressioni falsamente cortesi/scortesi (ironiche, sarcastiche o di dissenso) o con funzione di mitigazione della forza illocutoria nei direttivi. Attraverso l'osservazione di un ampio *corpus* di commedie italiane dal diciottesimo secolo ad oggi, gli Autori indagano in prospettiva diacronica la diversa frequenza d'uso delle espressioni di scusa della lingua italiana, i loro usi con funzione pragmatica di rinforzo nelle espressioni falsamente cortesi/scortesi e i relativi mutamenti nel tempo.

Maria Cristina Gatti

C. Levisen – S. Waters ed., *Cultural Keywords in Discourse*, John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam 2017, 249 pp.

Il volume costituisce una raccolta dei contributi proposti nell'ambito del panel su *Cultural Keywords in Discourse*, organizzato in occasione della *International Pragmatics Conference* nel 2013. Tutti i contributi raccolti nel volume si basano sull'ipotesi di esistenza di 'parole chiave culturali' intese come parole specifiche di diverse culture, in grado di organizzare intorno a sé intere sequenze discorsive.

Il punto di partenza teorico e metodologico che caratterizza l'approccio sotteso ai vari contributi è una critica a una certa pragmatica 'anglo-centrica', quale è stata, secondo i curatori, quella proposta e sviluppata nei lavori di Austin, Grice, Searle e da quanti hanno seguito la loro impostazione. In tale prospettiva, le persone sono rappresentate come interlocutori razionali, anglofoni, e guidati da valori come 'brevità', 'verità', 'politeness', 'cooperazione', ecc. Di conseguenza, la diversità culturale che caratterizza le interazioni reali non viene mai presa in considerazione; inoltre, il concetto stesso di 'fare cose con le parole' viene messo in discussione in quanto presuppone una concezione delle lingue come strumenti 'esterni' ai parlanti e completamente dominabili.

In opposizione a questa visione della comunicazione e delle lingue, la corrente di studi rappresentata in questo volume sostiene che il linguaggio sia appreso in larga parte in forma di 'copioni' e frasi fatte, che inevitabilmente impongono ai parlanti una certa visione e concezione della realtà. Gli elementi centrali in questo approccio sono appunto le 'parole chiave culturali', considerate come parole 'cariche', capaci di codificare alcune logiche proprie di una specifica cultura e di imporre ai parlanti una precisa chiave interpretativa del mondo.

I contributi raccolti in questo volume presentano dati nuovi, provenienti da ricerche di carattere empirico su parole chiave di specifiche comunità di interazione provenienti da sette aree geografiche: Australia, Brasile, Hong Kong, Giappone, Malesia, Messico e Scandinavia.

Sarah Bigi

G. Raymond – G.H. Lerner – J. Heritage ed., *Enabling Human Conduct. Studies of talk-in-interaction in honor of Emanuel A. Schegloff*, John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam 2017, 357 pp.

In questo volume, costituito con l'intento di rendere omaggio al lavoro pionieristico di Emanuel Schegloff, uno dei padri della *Conversation Analysis* (CA), i curatori raccolgono quattordici saggi che illustrano come è organizzata la conversazione. In aggiunta, il volume si apre con un'ampia intervista a Schegloff, invitato a presentare personalmente la sua concezione della CA. In chiusura, di nuovo a Schegloff è dato spazio per un contributo nel quale lo studioso risponde ad alcune provocazioni contenute nel capitolo di Levinson, nello stesso volume.

Una prima parte del volume raccoglie studi incentrati sulla gestione di "sequence-initiating actions", ossia sulla forma delle risposte e sulla complessità degli atti linguistici coinvolti nelle operazioni di domanda e risposta. I capitoli che seguono affrontano altri due temi ricorrenti nella CA, ossia il *repair* e la deissi personale (*person reference*). Il contributo di Paul Drew mette a tema il problema del riconoscimento dell'interlocutore nelle conversazioni telefoniche, un omaggio alle interazioni che costituirono i primi dati sui quali Schegloff e Sacks svilupparono le basi della CA. Due studi, poi, affrontano particolari configurazioni dialogiche in russo e cinese mandarino, così testimoniando la possibilità di applicare la metodologia di analisi della CA anche a lingue diverse dall'inglese.

Sarah Bigi

A. Zuczkowski – R. Bongelli – I. Riccioni, *Epistemic Stance in Dialogue. Knowing, Unknowing, Believing*, John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam 2017, 311 pp.

Il volume riporta i risultati di diversi anni di ricerche degli autori nel campo della linguistica testuale e in particolare sull'analisi delle posizioni epistemiche nelle conversazioni spontanee. Il fulcro del lavoro è la presentazione di un modello per l'analisi delle posizioni epistemiche. Il modello si basa sulla descrizione di tre posizioni: *knowing, unknowing, believing* e per questo è abbreviato come KUB. La definizione di tali posizioni si basa su un'analisi di indicatori epistemici ed evidenziali condotta dagli autori sin dal 2008. La componente empirica del lavoro poggia sulla *Text Theory* di J.S. Petöfi, integrata con i principi e le metodologie della *Conversation Analysis, Discourse Analysis* e *Speech Act Theory*. La prima parte del volume è dedicata alla descrizione dei presupposti psicologici e linguistici del modello. In particolare, vengono presentati i capisaldi della *Gestalt theory* e l'approccio di J.S. Petöfi. Viene poi presentato il modello KUB, dapprima sulla base dello studio qualitativo del 2008, e poi attraverso i dati quantitativi degli studi successivi, ossia l'applicazione del KUB a interazioni in contesti diversi, nei quali la posizione epistemica è un fattore particolarmente rilevante per lo scopo dialogico delle conversazioni. Infine, il KUB viene messo a confronto con la teoria dei 'territori di informazione' di Akio Kamio e con il modello epistemico per l'analisi delle conversazioni quotidiane descritto da John Heritage.

Sarah Bigi

V. Gheno, *Social-linguistica. Italiano e italiani dei social network*, Franco Cesati Editore, Firenze 2017, 136 pp.

Adottando un taglio divulgativo e uno stile piano, l'Autrice propone un 'viaggio' attraverso il mondo dei social network dal punto di vista del sociolinguista. A partire da una breve storia di Internet e della posta elettronica, il primo capitolo conduce il lettore per mano a riscoprire 'la vita prima di Facebook', ossia i primi esperimenti di reti sociali che iniziarono fin dal 1979.

Tutta la seconda sezione del libro, quella centrale, è "una rassegna di tratti caratterizzanti della lingua usata nei social con il doppio intento di renderne più consapevole l'uso da parte di chi li impiega, ma anche di 'normalizzarli' agli occhi di chi li guarda con sospetto e un certo timore di corruzione linguistica" (p. 32). E così si passa da una breve discussione sulla natura del linguaggio in rete ("parlato, scritto, digitato?") per arrivare a una carrellata dei tratti che maggiormente caratterizzano la lingua nei social network: acronimi, tachigrafie, troncamenti; prestiti linguistici più o meno prestigiosi, dialetti neologismi e risemantizzazioni funzionali; utilizzo di 'faccine' e problemi di ortografia; (non) utilizzo di punteggiatura e significati di maiuscole e minuscole. Tutte caratteristiche che, secondo Vera Gheno, hanno un senso quando sono utilizzate nel contesto giusto, mentre si sottolinea l'importanza di coltivare la capacità di muoversi tra i diversi registri linguistici senza fare confusione.

La terza parte del contributo si sofferma su alcuni usi devianti della lingua online ed è corredata da alcuni consigli e suggerimenti per essere dei "socialini" efficaci e appropriati.

Sarah Bigi

C. Nobili, *I gesti dell'Italiano*, Carocci, Roma 2019, 125 pp.

Il volume tratta il tema della gestualità italiana da un punto di vista linguistico, presentando risultati teorici e pratiche lessicografiche applicate alla gestualità. Nello specifico vengono presi in esame i gesti coverbali, ovvero quei gesti che vengono compiuti, più o meno consapevolmente e/o intenzionalmente, in concomitanza al parlato. Nel primo capitolo vengono illustrate alcune proposte di classificazione dei gesti secondo gli approcci tipologico e parametrico. Nel secondo capitolo i gesti sono esaminati in rapporto alla dimensione diafasica e diatopica

presentando una selezione di dizionari di gesti italiani. Nel terzo e quarto capitolo viene esposto nei dettagli il modello di un nuovo dizionario, chiamato *Gestibolario*, redatto dall'A. Si evince la complessità del compito: ogni entrata lessicale registra una serie di informazioni, variamente articolate, che si declinano su quattro macro-livelli di analisi (cfr. pp. 59-62): informazioni relative al significante del gesto (configurazione della mano, orientamento, luogo e movimento); informazioni relative all'articolazione del significante e del significato letterale del gesto nelle sue unità minime (dette *gestemi*); informazioni relative al significato letterale complessivo del gesto; informazioni relative a un possibile significato contestuale. Il capitolo conclusivo è dedicato alla didattica della gestualità italiana nell'ottica di una educazione linguistica integrale che tenga conto della complessità semiotica della comunicazione, anche, o soprattutto, in prospettiva interculturale.

Maria Paola Tenchinii

Rassegna di Linguistica francese

a cura di Enrica Galazzi e Michela Murano

S. Amokrane – C. Cortier ed., *Oral et oralité : perspectives didactiques, anthropologiques ou littéraires*, "Action didactique", 1, 2018 (en ligne)

Salutiamo l'esordio di una nuova rivista elettronica edita dal laboratorio di ricerca in Langues Appliquées et Ingénierie des Langues En Milieu Multilingue (LAILEMM) e dalla Facoltà di Lettere et di Lingue dell'università Abderrahmane Mira di Bejaia. Il primo numero "Oral et oralité : perspectives didactiques, anthropologiques et littéraires", è curato da Saliha Amokrane e Claude Cortier. Il titolo, che a prima vista sembra riprendere una problematica ben nota agli addetti ai lavori, invita il lettore a scoprire e a confrontarsi con la ricerca/azione condotta in un'area francofona non europea particolarmente ricca e diversificata.

I contributi vedono alternarsi autori francesi noti nel settore, che attualizzano tematiche ampiamente dibattute quali l'autenticità dei documenti per la classe o il rapporto oralità scrittura, ed autori provenienti da diversi paesi africani (Algeria, Marocco, Cameroun...) che mettono a fuoco problematiche legate ai corpora orali e alle loro applicazioni nella diversità degli approcci e dei contesti di insegnamento/apprendimento del FLE presentati.

Il numero si apre con una sezione dedicata a documenti e corpora orali e si chiude con tre contributi sulle specificità dell'orale letterario, mentre la didattica dell'orale vera e propria occupa la parte centrale. Particolarmente originale la sezione *Bienveillance de l'enseignant et formation citoyenne*.

Le voci che si intrecciano in questo primo numero della rivista offrono spunti di riflessione inediti: la dinamica oralità-scrittura, che ha fatto scorrere fiumi di inchiostro, conosce qui una nuova vitalità.

Enrica Galazzi

E. Galazzi – L. Santone ed., *Hommage à Pierre Léon. Au prisme de la voix*, Éditions du Gref, Toronto 2018, 291 pp.

Phonéticien, écrivain, poète et didacticien, Pierre Léon, professeur de linguistique à l'Université de Toronto, a été parmi les plus importants linguistes du XX^{e} siècle en raison de ses recherches fondamentales dans le domaine notamment de la phonétique et de la phonostylistique. Dans ses ouvrages, parmi lesquels son volume *Essais de phonostylistique* (Didier, 1971), il a ouvert plusieurs pistes de recherche intéressantes dans ce domaine de la linguistique, en démontrant les possibilités réelles de l'approche qu'il préconisait. Organisé à l'Université de Roma Tre en mai 2016, le Colloque « Au prisme de la voix : Hommage à Pierre Léon » a célébré les multiples talents du linguiste français, qui a su également explorer plusieurs genres littéraires tels que le roman, l'écriture narrative pour la jeunesse, la chronique, le conte, la nouvelle, le poème et le théâtre. Le volume *Hommage à Pierre Léon. Au prisme de la voix*, publié en 2018 chez les Éditions du Gref, rassemble les communications présentées à l'occasion du colloque de Rome, qui dans le volume sont organisées en trois parties : la première partie (*(En)jeux d'écriture*) comprend trois contributions (Mitterand, Modenesi, Santone) qui explorent les talents d'écrivain de Pierre Léon ; la deuxième partie (*Phonostylistique : études et applications*) compte huit articles (Albano Leoni, Bhatt, Bordas, Cichocki, Fauré, Martin, Tenant, Galazzi et Guimbretière), qui proposent des réflexions linguistiques sur plusieurs questions de phonétique chères à Pierre Léon ; la dernière partie (*La voix chantée et l'écoute*) recueille quatre contributions (Doati, Giurati, Meloni, Galimberti), qui étudient le charme de la voix dans les domaines de la musique et de la psychanalyse.

Claudio Grimaldi

"L'information grammaticale", 158, 2018

Un court dossier thématique est proposé dans ce numéro pour offrir aux linguistes un espace de discussion autour de la notion de 'prédicat', qui a suscité de vifs débats en France après la réforme de l'enseignement de la grammaire au primaire et au collège, qui repoussait l'étude du 'complément d'objet' au cycle 4.

Le dossier, présenté par M.-A. Morel et F. Neveu (pp. 5-6), se compose de quatre articles, dont le premier, par L. Budzinski, est une étude de l'évolution historique du terme *prédicat* dans différents domaines disciplinaires. Il en résulte que ce mot, étant « sémantiquement trop flou[,] peut engendrer une efficacité didactique moindre chez les jeunes apprenants » (p. 11). Dans la contribution suivante (pp. 13-18) D. Van Raemdonck analyse la détermination et la prédication comme deux mécanismes différents d'apport de signification sur l'axe syntagmatique et s'en sert, du point de vue paradigmatique, pour éclairer l'organisation de la phrase, ce qui lui permet d'expliquer quelques cas qui ne se prêtent pas aisément à une analyse traditionnelle. N. Laurent (pp. 19-29) se penche ensuite sur les prédications en 'c'est' et vise à proposer une « grammaire » de ces constructions très fréquentes en français oral, qui sont organisées selon un « double *continuum* » comportant d'une part les emplois non corrélatifs et d'autre part les emplois en corrélation (pseudo-clivage, clivage, prédication seconde). Enfin, H.L. Dao et D.T. Do-Hurinville (pp. 30-36) proposent une réflexion sur l'utilité du concept de 'prédicat' en français et en vietnamien. Ils montrent ainsi qu'en français, à côté de son efficacité pédagogique dans l'analyse des phrases simples, le recours à cette notion s'avère une limite dans la description des énoncés oraux ; quant au vietnamien, langue isolante, « la notion de prédicat constitue un concept nécessaire mais non suffisant ».

La section *Varia* de cette livraison offre en outre une étude descriptive de l'emploi de 'en train de' avec les verbes de perception (D. Ventura, pp. 37-46).

Cristina Brancaglion

P. Frassi, *L'adjectif en français et sa définition lexicographique*, Peter Lang, Berne, 2018, 263 pp.

À travers l'analyse d'un échantillon d'adjectifs français (89) et de leurs définitions (106), l'ouvrage de P. Frassi s'interroge sur la définition de l'adjectif et propose un modèle de paraphrasage au niveau lexicographique des unités lexicales adjectivales en exploitant les principes fournis par la Lexicologie Explicative et Combinatoire.

Dans les deux premiers chapitres du volume l'Auteur indique les principales propriétés de l'adjectif et les sémantismes les plus récurrents rattachés aux types d'adjectifs, ainsi que le concept de définition lexicographique en général et de définition lexicographique des adjectifs. Après une présentation des ressources utilisées et de l'échantillon retenu (chapitre III), l'Auteur présente une analyse très fine et détaillée des adjectifs et des définitions sélectionnés (chapitre IV). Cette analyse permet d'observer, d'une part, la manière dont les lexicographes se servent de la langue pour la formulation des définitions et, d'autre part, le manque d'une méthodologie préalablement établie et partagée pour la rédaction des définitions lexicographiques. C'est ce manque de méthodologie que dans le chapitre VI l'Auteur prévoit de combler en fournissant les définitions des adjectifs choisis à travers l'emploi des principes de paraphrasage de la Lexicologie Explicative et Combinatoire présentés dans le chapitre V.

Maria Teresa Zanola

J. Altmanova – M. Centrella – K.E. Russo ed., *Terminology and Discourse/Terminologie et discours*, Peter Lang, Berne 2018, 424 pp.

Les articles réunis pour ce volume ont été présentés lors du colloque *Terminologie et discours* qui s'est tenu à Naples *L'Orientale* les 10 et 11 novembre 2015. Ils se focalisent sur la relation

entre termes et discours, un binôme qui n'exclut pas l'étude de la variation, bien que la communication spécialisée nécessite de termes réglementés. Comme l'écrivent les éditrices du volume, « [l]es études présentées ici consacrent [...] une grande attention à l'information contextuelle et au discours vu comme habitat naturel des termes » (p. 18). À son tour « [l]'analyse du discours peut [...] aider à imaginer les termes en tant que 'langue en action' dans différents domaines et genres textuels » (p. 19). Après une première partie consacrée aux questions théoriques et méthodologiques, la réflexion porte sur quatre domaines de pointe dans les études récentes en terminologie : la traduction (avec un focus sur la variation terminologique, l'approche socio-terminologique, la politique linguistique française et l'innovation terminologique) ; l'évolution en diachronie (la terminologie historique et l'évolution de la terminologie au fil des siècles) ; les contextes spécialisés (l'alimentation, les vêtements et l'argenterie) ; les médias et la vulgarisation (avec un accent mis sur la crise grecque, la reformulation et le discours relevant de blogs).

Danio Maldussi

C. Jacquet-Pfau – A. Napieralski – J.-F. Sablayrolles ed., *Emprunts néologiques et équivalents autochtones : études interlangues,* Presses Universitaires de Łódź, Łódź 2018, 348 pp.

Cet ouvrage collectif s'inscrit dans le sillage du projet EmpNeo et du colloque *Emprunts néologiques et équivalents autochtones*, ayant eu lieu à Łódź en octobre 2016. Ses contributions s'intéressent à la complexe question des emprunts et de la "réactivité des langues, ou plutôt celle de leurs locuteurs face à des emprunts" (Introduction, p. 8).

Les premiers articles analysent des anglicismes et leurs équivalents dans plusieurs langues : des anglicismes du type N/ADJ(-)V-*ing* (Cartier – Viaux), *class action* (Humbley), *selfie* (Lazar – Napieralski – Sablayrolles). Les études suivantes se penchent sur les néologismes des réseaux sociaux (Renwick ; Fouad), de la cosmétique (Zollo), de la mode (Bańkowsk; Mudrochová – Lazar) et sur la langue des jeunes Français (Podhorná-Polická – Fiévet ; Goudaillier). Woch examine les *tweets* politiques sur le Brexit, alors que Jacquet-Pfau s'interroge sur les formes lexicales concernant la notion de partage. Paquet-Gauthier explore les emprunts de sens à l'anglais en français du Québec, Boukherrouf et Tabti étudient la terminologie du code de la route et des journaux d'information en berbère, Montané et Cabré illustrent la normalisation terminologique du catalan. Sont également décrits différents types de gloses portant sur les emprunts néologiques (Boutmgharine-Idyassner), les anglicismes dans la terminologie du sport en français (Tallarico) et de l'alimentation en polonais (Bochnakowa). Les néologismes polonais font l'objet de deux recherches concernant la presse (Kacprzak ; Lajus), alors que l'influence du français sur l'espagnol est analysée par Sorbet.

Il s'agit d'un volume remarquable par la qualité des contributions, la richesse des domaines et des exemples proposés en plusieurs langues.

Maria Francesca Bonadonna

O. Soutet – I. Sfar – S. Mejri ed., *La phraséologie contrastive*, Honoré Champion, Paris 2018, 342 pp.

Cet ouvrage collectif regroupe une vingtaine d'articles, portant sur des thèmes variés (au niveau théorique : processus de figement, questions sémantiques, dimension culturelle ; au niveau appliqué : enseignement, traduction lexicographie), ainsi que sur un grand nombre de langues. Ne seront évoqués ici que les articles traitant du français en rapport avec d'autres langues : A. Chékir aborde les calques phraséologiques du français dans la presse tunisienne ; G. Sadikhova étudie les phrasèmes des champs conceptuels « droite » et « gauche » en français, azerbaïdjanais et russe, qui montrent une certaine homologie culturelle ; L. Meškova analyse les phrasèmes et leurs registres d'usage dans

les chansons de rap. En comparant le polonais et le français, A. Krzyżanowska prend en examen le champ phraséologique de la mort et ses représentations. M. Mchedlishvili et T. Akhvlediani s'attachent à l'origine de quelques expressions phraséologiques zoologiques. Entre français et géorgien, l'émergence de la phraséologie dans les textes littéraires du XIX^{e} siècle fait l'objet de l'article de K. Diachy ; M. Sioridze se concentre sur les connotations culturelles liées aux expressions somatiques ; L. Tabuashvili se focalise sur le domaine de la gastronomie. Pour ce qui est du binôme français-espagnol, M.A. Solano Rodríguez propose une méthode pour l'enseignement des pragmatèmes dans ces deux langues, alors que M.L. Navarro Brotons fait une analyse syntaxique contrastive des proverbes en 'qui'/'quien'.

Giovanni Tallarico

J. Humbley – J.-F. Sablayrolles ed., "Neologica. Revue internationale de néologie", 2018, 12, 276 pp.

La partie thématique de ce numéro est consacrée à la productivité lexicale et vise à répondre aux questions suivantes : y a-t-il des tendances fortes, observables, au sein des matrices responsables des innovations ? Quel est le rapport entre règles de construction des mots et néologie ? Ch. Gérard s'arrête sur quelques problèmes méthodologiques concernant l'étude de la productivité, une notion jugée comme encore trop floue ; l'Auteur préconise aussi une prise en compte accrue de la dimension discursive dans l'étude de la productivité. À partir des données d'une plateforme de veille néologique (Néoveille), E. Cartier et N. Boutmgharine-Idyassner présentent les tendances actuelles de formation de mots en français, avec le rôle prédominant de la dérivation. G. Dal et F. Namer s'intéressent aux occasionalismes, « mots complexes créés par le parleur/scripteur de façon spontanée pour satisfaire un besoin immédiat » (p. 72), notamment à leurs motivations et à leur impact dans les calculs de productivité. L. Barque *et al.* se penchent sur la néologie sémantique par le biais de la polysémie régulière, se manifestant par des patrons variés (restriction/extension de sens, métaphore, etc.). P. Somé analyse la productivité lexicale dans un ouvrage célèbre de l'écrivain A. Korouma. Dans la partie *Varia*, J. Perez s'attache au mot *végane*, à son origine anglo-saxonne et à sa lexicalisation récente en français, alors que C. Veleanu étudie la néologie dans le droit et ses enjeux traductologiques.

Giovanni Tallarico

M.-P. Jacques – A. Tutin ed., *Lexique transversal et formules discursives des sciences humaines*, ISTE Editions, London 2018, 306 pp.

Notion floue et délicate, le lexique scientifique transversal (LST) attire l'attention des chercheurs en tant qu'entrée pertinente pour l'observation des démarches de conceptualisation des disciplines. Par une focalisation sur le lexique d'un genre assez codifié, l'article de recherche en sciences humaines et sociales, on vise, dans ce volume, à la constitution d'un matériau permettant des analyses plus approfondies des mécanismes énonciatifs et rhétoriques à l'œuvre dans ces textes. Cette focalisation est mise en relation avec ses retombées didactiques : ainsi, les deux parties de l'ouvrage – la première se caractérisant par une approche plus descriptive, la seconde par l'attention portée aux aspects didactiques du LST – ne cessent de se faire écho. Si les contributions de la première section laissent émerger l'inscription constante du LST dans le mouvement argumentatif et rhétorique des écrits scientifiques analysés, les chapitres de la seconde section inscrivent le LST dans la problématique de l'enseignement du lexique. Solidement ancrée dans une démarche commune de linguistique outillée (que vient compléter le traitement manuel, passage incontournable pour trier les phénomènes linguistiques récurrents identifiés automatiquement et opérer une sélection définitive des unités pertinentes), la perspective didactique montre l'efficacité du LTS tant dans l'approche à la lecture et à la ré-

daction des écrits scientifique que dans l'éveil à une conscientisation phraséologique.

Mirella Piacentini

V. Bisconti, *Le sens en partage, Dictionnaires et théories du sens XIX-XX siècles*, ENS Editions, Lyon 2016, 406 pp.

Les lexicographes ont relevé le défi de la description du sens bien avant la fondation de la sémantique au XIX^e^ siècle. Dans ce volume, Valentina Bisconti explore la *zone d'intersection* entre le savoir-faire lexicographique et la réflexion théorique sur la signification lexicale en proposant une étude croisée des dictionnaires et des théories du sens à partir de la seconde moitié du XIX^e^ siècle jusqu'à la seconde moitié du XX^e^ siècle, dans laquelle les dictionnaires sont appréhendés en tant qu'outils linguistiques et « observatoires où le sens est étudié de manière empirique ». Dans la première partie de l'ouvrage, l'A. aborde le traitement du sens dans les trois grandes entreprises lexicographiques de seconde moitié du XIX^e^ siècle : le *Dictionnaire de la langue française* de Littré, le *Grand Dictionnaire Universel* de Larousse et le *Dictionnaire général de la langue française* d'Hatzfeld et Darmesteter ; la deuxième partie est consacrée à la naissance de la sémantique comme discipline à la charnière des XIX^e^ et XX^e^ siècles ; la troisième partie retrace les échanges entre la lexicographie et la sémantique dans les années 1940-1980, au moment du développement des études en métalexicographie, en sémantique structurale et en sémantique historique.

Michela Murano

M. Belluati – M.C.Caimotto – R. Raus ed., *Peur et identité dans les discours européens*, "De Europa", 1, 2018, 2

Le deuxième numéro de la revue semestrielle *De Europa* recueille des contributions portant sur la peur et l'identité dans les discours européens. Après l'introduction de Belluati – Raimotto – Raus analysant le rôle du positionnement émotionnel dans la dimension argumentative liée aux dynamiques identitaires de l'espace européen, dans la section *Peurs et identité collective européenne* Juliette Charbonneaux examine en quoi le traitement médiatique commémoratif du traité de Rome participe de la régulation de la peur et de sa ritualisation en tant qu'opérateur d'identité collective européenne: ce qui émerge, c'est le rôle joué par la presse selon la comparaison diachronique (1967-2017) de deux titres de référence, *Le Monde* et la *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*. Catherine Bouko et David Garcia ont recensé les réactions des citoyens sur les réseaux sociaux à la suite du Brexit. Leur analyse qualitative est axée sur les pratiques multimodales publiées sur le réseau *Flickr* par les citoyens qui ont exprimé leurs préoccupations par le paradigme affectif. Dans la section traitant de la peur comme opérateur euphorique et dysphorique, l'article de Luminița Roșca est une étude de cas appliquée aux thèmes de la peur et aux modalités de mise en discours du langage des émotions qui ont circulé à l'occasion des manifestations #REZIST de Bucarest en 2017 après la décision du gouvernement de modifier les dispositions du Code criminel qui aurait conduit à la dépénalisation de l'abus de pouvoir. Agata Rębkowska a montré le traitement de la peur de la Russie dans la presse polonaise d'information générale et les stratégies discursives de propagation de cet état émotif. Nicolas Pitsos a retracé la perception de ce qui a été représenté médiatiquement comme l'altérité 'orientale' associée à la barbarie et à la cruauté, révélatrice des limites de la société européenne.

Paola Salerni

E. Orkibi, *Réparation d'image dans une situation polémique : la fonction-égo dans la rhétorique de la droite israélienne*, "Langage et société", 164, 2018, 2, pp. 97-116

Le numéro 164 de *Langage et société* est consacré à la réparation d'image dans le discours de campagne. Dans sa contribution, Eithan Orkibi se sert d'un corpus journalistique afin d'obser-

ver comment la droite israélienne a réagi aux attaques de la gauche lors de la crise militaire qui a fait aussitôt suite à la campagne électorale de mars 2006. Les résultats de cette analyse sont confortés par un cadre théorique complexe côtoyant les champs de l'argumentation dans le discours, d'une part, et la rhétorique des mouvements sociaux et idéologiques, d'autre part. Cette dernière, notamment, permet à l'Auteur de montrer l'efficacité, dans une situation polémique, de la fonction-égo, à savoir « un discours tourné vers l'intérieur du groupe dans l'objectif de renforcer sa perception de soi » (p. 111).

Francesco Attruia

W.L. Benoit, *Production of Image Repair Strategies in the 2016 American Presidential Debates*, "Langage et société", 164, 2018, 2, pp. 25-38

William L. Benoit a développé la notion de « réparation d'image » dans un ouvrage de 1995 réédité, revu et augmenté, en 2015 sous le titre *Accounts, Excuses, Apologies : Image Repair Theory and Research*. Ici, l'Auteur revient sur sa théorie en portant le regard sur les techniques de réparation employées dans les débats par les candidats lors des Présidentielles américaines de 2016. L'analyse montre que les stratégies les plus utilisées sont les attaques à l'accusateur, le déni simple, la différentiation et la transcendance, suivies par d'autres moins récurrentes comme la dilution de la responsabilité, le renforcement et la mortification. Benoit remarque que l'attaque à l'accusateur est la technique la plus commune en raison de la polarisation forte qui caractérise les débats présidentiels américains, alors que le déni doit sa prééminence en discours à la loi du moindre effort qui tend à éluder tout souci de justification ou d'excuse.

Francesco Attruia

C. Canut – M. Guellouz, *Pratiques langagières et expériences migratoires*, "Langage et Société", 165, 2018

Ce numéro de *Langage et Société* dirigé par Cécile Canut et Mariem Guellouz entend faire le point sur la relation entre les migrations actuelles et les pratiques langagières. L'attention récente à l'hétérogénéité linguistique, voire aux hybridités linguistiques, et à l'analyse des récits de vie sont parmi les éléments pris en compte dans l'introduction de ce dossier. L'article de Suzie Telep analyse le cas d'un migrant camerounais installé à Paris pour voir comment la variabilité phonostylistique est liée au processus de subjectivation de cet individu. Amandine Van Neste-Gottignies et Valériane Mistiaen ont mené une enquête auprès de l'Agence fédérale belge en 2014-2017 pour observer les formes de communication lors de l'accueil des migrants en Belgique. Anne Sophie Roussel étudie le processus d'acculturation à la norme de tout parler hybride des migrants au Québec. Alfonso Del Percio analyse l'insertion professionnelle des ouvriers transnationaux à Rome, en montrant comment cela entraîne également un processus d'assujettissement discursif. Enfin, Caroline Panis étudie la migration des Africains continentaux au Cap Vert, qui est un sujet normalement peu étudié. Elle observe la construction fluctuante de l'identité africaine lors des pratiques discursives concernées.

Ce dossier montre de quelle manière les pratiques langagières et discursives mettent en question ou, vice-versa, finissent par légitimer des relations sociales d'assujettissement linguistique et politique. Ces pratiques permettent alors de façonner des identités sociales dans une tension constante entre norme et 'déviance'.

Rachele Raus

Ph. Depoux – I. Stabarin ed., *La variation intrapersonnelle en français parlé : approches et statuts,* Cellule de Recherche en Linguistique, Paris 2018.

Ce volume aborde la notion de variation intrapersonnelle du point de vue syntaxique, morphologique ou phonétique.

La première contribution de Mireille Bilger propose une réflexion théorique sur l'opposition oral/écrit et sur le degré de représentativité des corpus. Ruggero Druetta s'interroge quant à lui sur les difficultés liées à une description fine de la variation diaphasique, à partir de l'identification des interrogatives en français.

En se fondant sur un corpus de discours politiques de F. Mitterand, Isabelle Stabarin montre la relation entre variation syntaxique et degré de spontanéité du discours.

La dimension prosodique de la variation est explorée d'un côté par Amr Elmy Ibrahim, qui montre la corrélation de la variation de timbre et de la variation prédicative, de l'autre par Philippe Martin qui se focalise pour sa part sur la structure prosodique de la parole spontanée. La contribution de Philippe Depoux permet en revanche d'appréhender la variation à travers l'analyse morphophonologique de subordonnants employés dans des interviews télévisées.

Les trois derniers articles offrent un éclairage différent sur la notion de variation intrapersonnelle. Si l'étude de Claire Martinot explore les variations produites par des enfants francophones dans la restitution d'une histoire à l'oral, Clémentine Ruel se penche quant à elle sur les mécanismes de reformulation mis en œuvre par des adolescents anglophones dans l'acquisition des relatives explicatives en français. Également sensible aux aspects acquisitionnels et didactiques de la variation, Élisabeth Richard examine les routines intrapersonnelles qui caractérisent le discours de l'historien Paul Veyne, afin d'en mesurer l'intérêt pour l'enseignement du FLE.

Elisa Ravazzolo

I. Génin – J. Stephens ed., *Quand les traducteurs prennent la parole : préfaces et paratextes traductifs*, "Palimpsestes", 2018, 31, 144 pp.

Ce numéro thématique, composé de neuf articles, répartis en trois sections, s'attache à étudier la parole des traducteurs, telle qu'elle s'exprime dans les différentes formes que peut prendre le paratexte. La première section du volume (« Paroles et pratiques des traducteurs ») comprend des contributions portant surtout sur la préface des traducteurs et notamment sur la présence d'éléments stylistiques et thématiques récurrents dans le discours meta-traductif du traducteur-préfacier. La deuxième section du volume (« Paratextes et enjeux politiques ») explore la parole du traducteur-préfacier face à des projets de traduction où le texte source est soumis à des changements qui relèvent d'enjeux politiques. Les contributions de cette section soulèvent des questions éthiques, tout en soulignant la visée politique et culturelle que l'on trouve souvent au cœur de l'acte de traduction. Dans la troisième section du volume (« Entre allographie et auctorialité »), les éléments paratextuels analysés, des préfaces en particulier, montrent à quel point ces seuils peuvent devenir pour le traducteur autant de lieux où justifier son statut, légitimer sa démarche et se positionner par rapport à l'auteur, jusqu'à assumer ou suggérer une position de co-auteur plutôt que de traducteur.

Il est intéressant de rappeler que ce numéro thématique s'inscrit dans un projet de portée plus ample, conçu par l'équipe d'accueil Prismes EA 4398 de la Sorbonne Nouvelle-Paris 3 et ayant pour mission la mise en ligne de textes de traducteurs écrits entre le XVI^{e} et le XX^{e} siècles, dans une version bilingue (en français ou en anglais) et portant sur la traduction. Le projet *Le traducteur traduit* est disponible en accès libre sur le site http://ttt.hypotheses.org/.

Mirella Piacentini

N. Niemants, *Des enregistrements aux corpus : transcription et extraction de données d'interprétation en milieu médical* "Meta", 63, 2018, 3, pp. 665-694

La compilation d'un corpus dans le domaine de l'interprétation de dialogue (ID) pose problème quant à la temporalité et à l'interaction. Dans son plaidoyer pour l'application de l'approche corpus dans le domaine de l'ID en milieu médical, l'Auteure illustre deux pistes de recherche prometteuses : « (a) l'exploration d'éléments lexicaux potentiellement intéressants pour l'analyse des structures de l'interaction ; (b) l'extraction de segments alignés à l'audio [exploitables] dans des activités d'enseignements et d'apprentissage » (p. 665). Or, la définition de normes universellement applicables s'avère incontournable.

Danio Maldussi

C. Falbo, *La collecte de corpus d'interprétation : un défi permanent* "Meta", 63, 2018, 3, pp. 649-664

La collecte de corpus d'interprétation soulève deux interrogations majeures concernant notamment la représentativité et la transcription. Or, se demande l'Auteure, quel est le statut de ces « 'recueils de discours interprétés' : s'agit-il vraiment de corpus au sens propre du mot ? » (p. 652). La compilation de corpus d'interprétation demeure un défi de taille où les éléments qui entrent en jeu « très souvent apparaissent comme des entraves insurmontables » (*Ibid.*). Cette collecte exige « une approche différenciée et interdisciplinaire aussi bien en ce qui concerne le corpus design que l'interrogation du corpus et la préparation des données » (p. 660). Le débat est lancé.

Danio Maldussi

Rassegna di Linguistica inglese

a cura di Maria Luisa Maggioni e Amanda C. Murphy

J. Engberg – K. Luttermann – S. Cacchiani – C. Preite ed., *Popularization and Knowledge Mediation in the Law*, LIT, Wien 2018, 344 pp.

The book is a collection of studies into the popularisation of legal knowledge. The chapters in the first part address legal communication (Roelcke), institutional legal language (Abesso Zambo) and the mediation of culture-bound legal meaning (Meyer). The second part of the book reports on studies into the popularisation of legal knowledge carried out by institutions. Luttermann and Engberg report on a study investigating what the readers actually understand of the legal knowledge presented in brochures and websites. Cacchiani compares the usability of the legal information sections in the websites of the British and French governments. Preite's study investigates how institutions attempt to improve the citizens' perception of the law through effective online communication. Bock analyses the different popularisation strategies used in two German versions of the Declaration of Human Rights. Turnbull examines five different websites to compare how information about English divorce law is popularised. Silletti shows how the illustrations in two EU booklets have a promotional, as well as an informative purpose. The third part of the book deals with the popularisation attempts carried out by non-institutional parties. Cavalieri investigates the popularisation of English divorce law through YouTube. Modena provides an example of argumentative popularisation. Diani compares the popularisation strategies in an English and an Italian text popularizing legal knowledge for children. Dabrowski explores how films and TV series can be used to teach legal English.

Francesca Seracini

T. Fanego – P. Rodríguez-Puente, *Corpus-based Research on Variation in English Legal Discourse,* John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam/Philadelphia 2019, 294 pp.

This newly published volume on variation in English Legal Discourse comprises 30 years of research in the field of legal discourse. The aim of the work is to illustrate how research has been affected by the progress of corpus linguistics and register analysis, and by the emergence of historical pragmatics in the mid 1990s. The book is divided into two parts, the first five chapters provide a bird's eye view of the current approaches to the synchronic analysis of cross-genre and cross-linguistic variation in legal discourse. The second part deals with diachronic variation, showing how a multiplicity of approaches, including multi-dimensional analysis, can lead to new frameworks of diachronic linguistic phenomena. The contributions by Randi Reppen and Meishan Chen on lexical bundles in spoken courtroom language are an example of the diachronic and diastratic analyses offered in the volume, together with Douglas Biber and Bethany Gray's chapter on the register of law reports from a diachronic perspective. The studies not only investigate the historical dynamics of legal genres, but also spark a social reflection on law and the legal field.

Francesca Poli

A.U. Esimaje – U. Gut – B.E. Antia, *Corpus Linguistics and African Englishes,* John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam/Philadelphia 2019, 403 pp.

World Englishes are becoming an increasingly popular research area that is exploiting the benefits of corpus linguistics methodology. This volume collects 15 corpus-based studies on African Englishes, both within and outside Africa.

After Doublas Biber's preface, the first part is mainly focused on providing the tools and insights into the compilation of corpora, e.g. with the contribution of Alexandra U. Esimaje and Susan Hunston on corpus-based research on English in Africa by Robert Fuchs, Bertus van Rooy and Ulrike Gut. The second part provides corpus-based analyses of African Englishes, such as the chapter by Gut and Unuabonah on the use of stance markers in West African Englishes, or the lexical expansion in Ghanaian English from a diachronic perspective. Lastly, the third part illustrates some practical language teaching and learning applications. The volume can become a practical tool for corpus compilation, as well as a source of current research trends on African Englishes. Its target are all those researchers who are first approaching corpus linguistics for the investigation of African Englishes.

Francesca Poli

C.S.C. Chan, *Long-term workplace communication needs of business professionals: Stories from Hong Kong senior executives and their implications for ESP and higher education*, "English for Specific Purposes", 56, 2019, pp. 63-83

This paper reports on a study into the language and communication needs of professionals as they progress in their careers. The analysis is based on interviews with three senior professionals from Hong Kong who speak English as a second language and work in finance and accounting. The informants reported finding non-technical genres such as minutes and emails particularly difficult, since these text-types require a strong awareness of the subtleties of language. Talking about non-work related topics when socialising is also challenging. The authors hypothesise that these difficulties could be due to the fact that these exchanges are unpredictable and hard to prepare for in advance. The importance of relational language in workplace communication is highlighted in the study and the implications for ESP courses in higher education are discussed.

Francesca Seracini

M. Giordano – A. Piga, *EU institutional discourse: English and Italian brochures in a cross-cultural perspective*, "ESP Across Cultures", 15, 2018, pp. 61-78

This paper investigates how EU informative publications provide a representation of EU institutions and of the other actors included in the texts. The analysis is carried out in a cross-cultural perspective on the EU brochure *EU in 12 lessons* in the English and Italian versions. The aim is to establish whether different communicative strategies are used in the EU informative materials in the two languages in order to adapt the texts to the national contexts of the addressees. Results show that there is great similarity between the two versions and that both use covert consensus-building strategies when presenting the various initiatives carried out by EU institutions. The authors suggest that the brochures reveal a communication pattern that is self-referential rather than people-oriented.

Francesca Seracini

C.D. Nguyen – F. Boers, *The effect of content retelling on vocabulary uptake from a Ted Talk,* "Tesol Quarterly", 53, 2019, 3, pp. 5-29

This paper examines the potential benefits for incidental vocabulary acquisition by using a Ted Talk video in a given sequence of input-output-input. In particular, the study demonstrates that learners who were asked to watch a Ted Talk video, sum up its content and then watch the video again, were able to pick up the meaning of more words from the input than learners who watched the video twice without the output task. Unlike previous research on vocabulary uptake using mainly text – based activities, the present experiment did not use specific tasks to draw learners' attention to preselected words. The choice of the input is due to the growing popularity of au-

diovisual materials and this study confirms that Ted Talks could be a source of authentic audiovisual input in EFL classrooms.

Angela Vasilovici

C. Munoz – T. Cadierno – I. Casas, *Different Starting Points for English Language Learning: A Comparative Study of Danish and Spanish Young Learners,* "Language Learning", 68, 2018, 4, pp. 1076-1109

In this paper, the receptive English grammar skills of two groups of 7 and 9-year-old Danish and Spanish/Catalan children are compared. Although the Spanish learners received a great deal more English language instruction than their Danish counterparts, they were found to possess similar levels of receptive English knowledge. Thus, formal instruction did not give the Spanish learners a significant advantage. According to the authors, this is due to the influence of several factors, such as the Danish learners' heightened ability to recognise cognates in English and their greater contact with the language through audiovisual material. They recommend enhancing learners' cognate awareness, as well as improving input frequency so as to provide more opportunities for implicit and incidental learning to occur.

James Rock

A.Tyler – L. Ortega, *Usage-inspired L2 Instruction: Researched pedagogy*, John Benjamins, Amsterdam 2018, 324 pp.

Over the past few decades, the innovative findings provided by many different research fields among which first and second language acquisition, psycholinguistics, cognitive sciences, as well as applied linguistics have changed the way in which scholars conceive human cognition and consequently how languages are learnt. The volume consists of a series of essays presenting a number of case studies which share the common aim of motivating the importance given to the usage-based approach in the acquisition of a second language. In the introductory chapter five key theoretical tenets which shape the usage-inspired perspective on L2 instruction are first pointed out, features which are then illustrated more in details in the twelve chapters of the volume. The book is divided into three main parts: Part I offers examples of three different learning approaches and their different possible learning outcomes. Part II offers an outline of the main SLA theories involved in the studies. Lastly, Part III provides some reflections on the importance of corpus linguistics in usage-based research and instruction. This volume ultimately brings together both the theoretical and the practical aspects which characterize language learning and teaching and could be useful for various different readers such as SLA researchers, graduate students as well as language teachers.

Ivano Celentano

S. Götz – J. Mukherjee, *Learner Corpora and Language Teaching,* John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam/Philadelphia 2019, 267 pp.

With the recent completion of the Trinity Lancaster Corpus (TLC), current research in learner corpora has been impacting the field of language teaching, testing and assessment. In this volume, the reader is provided with a detailed introduction into the TLC and its compilation, followed by a series of 11 studies on learner language. Renowned researcher Olga Vinogradova proposes her automated generation of test questions as a time-saving tool in teaching, while young researcher Karin Puga offers insights into the intonation of advanced learners through a contrastive interlanguage analysis. All the studies in the volume present new corpora and methods and practical pedagogical applications are also provided. Readers interested in corpus linguistics, learner corpus research and second language acquisition may find this book a useful tool.

Francesca Poli

S. López-Serrano – J.R. De Larios – R.M. Manchón, *Language reflection fostered by individual L2 writing tasks: Developing a theoretically motivated and empirically based coding system*, "Studies in Second Language Acquisition", 41, 2019, 3, pp. 503-527

The article discusses methodological implications related to L2 writing strategies and language learning giving specific attention to reflection and problem-solving approaches used by writers. The authors first provide an overview of the theoretical framework investigating the characteristics of writing that strongly contribute to language development. The data collected include argumentative EFL essays produced by 21 Spanish learners under think-aloud conditions. The study analyses language-related episodes following a qualitative approach based on Swain and Lapkin (1995) and defines a multidimensional coding system to be used as a basis for future research on writing development.

Valentina Morgana

H.-T. Hung, *Gamifying the Flipped Classroom Using Game-Based Learning Materials*, "ELT Journal", 72, 2018, 3, pp. 296-308

This study focuses on the effectiveness of a gamified flipped classroom approach in a language course at a Taiwanese university in terms of enhancing students' motivation and reducing their anxiety about speaking English in collaborative learning sessions. While the control group took part in conventional flipped classrooms through instructional Ted-Ed videos and printed worksheets, the experimental group used the same input with content delivered through QR codes and technology-enhanced board games (TEBGs). Quantitative and qualitative data show that this approach is likely to foster engagement and decrease learner anxiety about speaking tasks.

Claudia Andreani

R. Green, *Designing Listening Tests: A Practical Approach*, Palgrave MacMillan, London 2017, 210 pp.

An experienced researcher and trainer in the field of language test development and analysis, author Rita Green is Course Director of Language Testing at Lancaster University. In this volume, she puts her considerable knowledge to good use by outlining some guidelines for designing test specifications and defining task development procedures in listening assessment. The book is organised into seven chapters, the title of each one posing a question: "What is involved in assessing listening?", "How can test specifications help?", "How do we exploit sound files?", "How do we develop a listening task?", "What makes a good listening task?", "How do we know if the listening task works?", "How do we report scores and set pass marks?". The volume's rationale is thus to provide readers with insights into the task development cycle. According to the author, not only should test developers master all the aspects that the listening process entails, they should define the construct underlying the listening test and use a text-mapping procedure to select the sound files. This book also presents a comprehensive discussion of task development, peer review, trialling, test scores and setting pass marks. Its practical approach can be of interest to researchers and practitioners involved in test development as well as language teachers interested in how listening tests are designed.

Claudia Andreani

M. Hancock, *Muscle, mind, meaning, memory*, "English Teaching Professional", 22, 2019, 5, pp. 42-44

The article focuses on the plurality of aspects involved in teaching pronunciation and why this can be varied making the process stimulating and potentially enjoyable for learners and teachers, too. The starting point of the author's analysis is the assumption that pronunciation is part language and part skill and for this reason,

teaching it is much more than the "listen-and-repeat" stereotype. Four general areas labelled with a mnemonic of four words beginning with *m* underline the four main aspects that define pronunciation: articulation awareness, knowledge, interactive skill and receptive skill. According to the author, all these four areas should be stimulated and a series of practical ideas are offered to help teachers provide an appropriate balance of classroom activities.

Angela Vasilovici

B. Henriksen – A. Holmen – J. Kling, *English Medium Instruction in Multilingual and Multicultural Universities: Academics' Voices from the Northern European Context*, Routledge, Abingdon and New York 2019, 200 pp.

With the implementation of the Bologna Treaty in Europe, there has been a significant increase in English-Medium Instruction (EMI) in the last decade. This study, although based on a Scandinavian context, addresses many issues that are relevant to EMI contexts all over Europe. In particular it focuses on EMI lecturers' attitudes to EMI, their language competence and teaching practices and the impact of EMI on teacher identity and cognition. The study begins with a discussion of language policies in Northern European universities, drawing attention to the importance of establishing them. Language issues are inherently bound to internationalisation and both must be taken into account at all levels of teaching and learning. The central chapters explore questions of teacher identity in EMI contexts, an important theme which has also been addressed in Asian and Southern European contexts and which continues to be of interest as EMI practices and policies evolve. The findings have implications for training and support of lecturers engaged in internationalisation and EMI. The authors call for further research across other geographical areas and from within specific faculty domains. In the final chapter, the book returns to the question of key issues and challenges, including policy, making recommendations that could be applied elsewhere.

Olivia Mair

J. Pun – E. Macaro, *The effect of first and second language use on question types in English medium instruction science classrooms in Hong Kong,* "International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism", 22, 2019, 1, pp. 64-77

L'articolo esplora un argomento ampiamente trattato da Macaro in altre sedi ossia il ruolo della L1 nell'apprendimento della L2 in classi EMI (*English-medium Instruction*) in alcune scuole di Hong Kong dove sia EMI sia l'uso della L1 sono da tempo fonte di dibattito. In particolare l'effetto della L1 e della L2 nelle domande dei docenti e nelle interazioni durante le lezioni di scienze sono fonte di indagine. Dai risultati emerge che nelle '*late EMI classes*' l'uso della L1 è alto e le lezioni sono molto interattive. Nelle '*early EMI classes*' invece, le lezioni sono meno interattive e la tipologia di domande meno stimolante. Tali risultati, in qualche modo controintuitivi, suggeriscono il bisogno di più studi su *codeswitching* anche in altri contesti.

Francesca Costa

J. Jenkins – A. Mauranen ed., *Linguistic Diversity on the EMI Campus*, Routledge, New York 2019, 279 pp.

The aspects of EMI, internationalisation and ELF are discussed thoroughly in this collected volume. In particular, the focus of the volume is on linguistic diversity on EMI campuses. The included research papers, which are the product of a three-year research project, are structured following a shared methodological and theoretical framework. The studies described in the volume come from a wide range of geographical areas namely Europe, Asia and Australasia. Anderson presents the only study carried out in Italy on diversity on the EMI campus at Siena University. By triangulating language policy, websites and linguistic landscaping she found a

link between internationalisation and English as if the two concepts were overlapping.

Francesca Costa

S. Nural, *Vocabulary in an English Medium Instruction context: selection and difficulty,* "Rassegna italiana di linguistica applicata", 2, 2018, 3, pp. 146-161

Questo articolo presente all'interno di un volume monografico su CLIL e EMI esplora un contesto ancora poco conosciuto ossia quello turco, con particolare attenzione all'apprendimento del vocabolario in contesti EMI. Lo studio si focalizza sull'apprendimento del vocabolario da parte di studenti di scienze sociali durate il loro primo anno universitario. Lo strumento di analisi è un questionario somministrato a 161 studenti. Dai risultati appare che i fattori di apprendimento del vocabolario dipendono dal tipo di lezione universitaria, dal docente, dalla natura dell'elemento lessicale appreso e dalle caratteristiche personali degli stessi studenti.

Francesca Costa

F. Costa, *Enjoy Teaching English. Insegnare inglese nella scuola primaria*, Giunti Scuola, Firenze 2019, 128 pp.

Il volume è pensato come ausilio per le docenti di lingua inglese della scuola primaria. Partendo da una riflessione sulle difficoltà dell'insegnamento della lingua inglese nel panorama scolastico italiano, il volume si struttura poi in due parti. Nella prima parte ci si concentra su alcuni aspetti teorici fondamentali quali l'inglese come lingua franca, i vantaggi di un apprendimento precoce della lingua nonché alcune nozioni teoriche di base tra cui *input, intake* e *languaging.* Si fa inoltre accenno al Quadro Comune di Riferimento Europeo, alle Indicazioni Nazionali, come anche all'implementazione delle certificazioni linguistiche e delle prove INVALSI durante le ore di lezione. Nella seconda parte, invece, l'attenzione si concentra maggiormente sugli aspetti più pratici della didattica dell'inglese nella scuola primaria e si offrono suggerimenti per sviluppare tutte e quattro le competenze linguistiche sottolineando, però, l'importanza di lavorare trasversalmente anche sul lessico e sulle *collocations*. Viene poi offerta una panoramica delle principali strategie didattiche, dalla *total physical response* ai *chants,* dalle *flashcards* allo *storytelling,* soffermandosi anche su aspetti fondamentali dell'insegnamento scolastico quali la valutazione dell'apprendimento. Particolare rilevanza viene posta infine anche sul CLIL, che pur non essendo obbligatorio nella scuola primaria è in continua espansione in questo ordine scolastico, e sulle competenze richieste agli insegnanti.

Laura Anelli

I. Ranzato, *The Cockney persona: the London accent in characterisation and translation,* "Perspectives: Studies in Translation Theory and Practice", 27, 2019, 2, pp. 235-251

The paper focuses on the London accent, in its traditional Cockney realisation and in its more recent developments, as it is used in movies to portray characters with a distinctive idiolect. The paper considers the function of this accent in both the original texts and in their Italian dubbed versions. After describing the key features of the London accent, the article presents some examples of this accent in contrast with other accents and sociolects, mainly Received Pronunciation, in order to show how this variety is often used to create a stereotyped realisation of a certain character which, according to the author, the Italian translations often fail to recreate.

Laura Anelli

I. Ranzato – S. Zanotti ed., *Reassessing Dubbing. Historical approaches and current trends*, John Benjamins, Amsterdam 2019, 287 pp.

Dubbing is one of the most widespread forms of audiovisual translation and it is currently gaining ground also in those countries where once

subtitles or voice-over were mainly used. This is partly due to the television streaming platform Netflix which has included dubbing in its marketing strategy, offering all its products in their dubbed version as the default option. However, research about this AVT strategy is still limited – and much rarer than research about subtitling. Indeed, dubbing is mainly studied from a historical perspective only even though it allows investigation also into technical matters, fictive orality, ideological manipulation and censorship, and the relationship of dubbing with audiences. The volume is a collection of papers organised in four parts: the first part includes papers about the historical development of dubbing, both from a technical and a socio-political point of view. In the second part, the focus moves to the most recent developments in dubbing research and practices, focusing especially on the role of new audiences, on fan-dubbing and self-dubbing and the use of eye tracking to study dubbing. The third part of the collection explores the linguistic aspects of this particular form of fictive orality while the fourth and final part focuses on how characterisation can construct identities in dubbing.

Laura Anelli

R. Zago, *Cross-linguistic affinities in film dialogue*, Sikè Edizioni, Leonforte 2018, 112 pp.

The book explores the dialogues of English and Italian films offering a cross-cultural perspective on the analysis of movie language. Particularly, the book focuses on the investigation of the degree of comparability between English movie conversation and its Italian counterpart. The data used for the analysis consist of 24 English and Italian films originally part of the *Pavia Corpus of Film Dialogue* which have been selected according to specific sample criteria. The book is made up of three chapters. Chapter 1 describes the nature of the corpus and illustrates the criteria with which the material was transcribed and selected. Chapters 2 and 3 present the results of the research. The former offers a comparison between the most frequent 3-grams in the English and Italian films, identifying major cross-cultural similarities. The latter, instead, provides further empirical evidence of the affinities between the two languages. The findings illustrated in the present contribution claim that English and Italian share a relevant degree of comparability both in terms of oral communication as well as lexico-grammatical preference. Both the marginal and macroscopic affinities presented support the need to consider movie dialogue as a specific register to be investigated.

Ivano Celentano

L. Lei – D. Liu, *Research Trends in Applied Linguistics from 2005 to 2016: A Bibliometric Analysis and Its Implications,* "Applied Linguistics", 40, 2019, 3, pp. 540-561

Using bibliometric analysis, the authors examine trends in applied linguistics from 2005 to 2016. They investigate various issues, such as the most discussed topics and the most highly cited publications and authors. They conclude that while many of the most frequently discussed topics back in 2005 have remained popular, research on grammatical and phonological issues has decreased. On the contrary, there has been a growing number of studies related to new technology issues, identity and sociocultural topics. It also emerged that applied linguistics is increasingly incorporating theories and practices from distant disciplines. Finally, they noted that the number of publications from traditional publication power houses has fallen, while there has been a steady rise in publications from other regions, such as China and Turkey.

James Rock

Rassegna di Linguistica russa

a cura di Anna Bonola e Valentina Noseda

A.A. Bonch-Osmolovskaya – L.V. Nesterenko, *Multilingual parallel corpora as a source for quantitative crosslinguistic grammar research (the case of voice constructions)*, "Komp'juternaja lingvistika i intellektual'nye technologii", 18, 2019, pp. 114-124

Obiettivo dell'articolo è stabilire in quali casi, in un testo, la forma passiva è preferita a quella attiva. A questo scopo gli autori applicano il modello statistico della regressione logistica a un corpus multilingue composto dai libri di *Harry Potter* tradotti in otto lingue europee (tra cui russo e italiano). Sulla base della letteratura preesistente, vengono innanzitutto stabiliti i fattori che generalmente favorirebbero la scelta del passivo. Questi ultimi sono legati allo status degli attanti (agente e paziente), alla prosodia semantica del predicato (ovvero se esprime azioni positive o negative) e al cotesto. Il modello statistico viene così applicato ad ogni lingua allineata per prevedere la probabilità di occorrenza di un costrutto passivo. I risultati preliminari ottenuti dimostrano che alcuni fattori sono rilevanti in tutte le lingue considerate (ad esempio una prosodia semantica negativa o il fatto che l'agente sia già stato menzionato precedentemente nel testo), mentre altri non hanno mai un impatto significativo (ad esempio l'atteggiamento o il coinvolgimento del paziente). Infine, in riferimento ad alcuni fattori, si registrano alcune differenze tra le lingue considerate, che potrebbero costituire la base per un'indagine cross-linguistica più approfondita.

Valentina Noseda

N. Dobrušina, *Status konstrukcij s časticami* pust' *i* puskaj *v russkom jazyke* [Lo status delle costruzioni russe con le particelle *pust'* e *puskaj*], "Russian Linguistics", 43, 2019, pp. 1-17

Nel contributo si intende definire lo status delle particelle *pust'* e *puskaj*, descritte in modo non sempre univoco dalle grammatiche del XX secolo. In particolare si indaga, attraverso un corpus di testi successivi al 1970, se le due particelle abbiano effettivamente la funzione di formare l'imperativo di terza persona e se siano da considerarsi elementi grammaticali o lessicali. A questo scopo l'autrice individua innanzitutto i contesti in cui vengono usate e con quali valori. Successivamente si verifica la loro combinabilità con pronomi di prima e seconda persona, così come con i vari tempi e modi verbali della lingua russa. Infine, si analizza la prosodia, per stabilire se sono caratterizzate dal fenomeno della riduzione fonetica, tipico degli elementi linguistici puramente grammaticali. L'analisi dei dati raccolti consente di trarre le seguenti conclusioni: *pust'* e *puskaj* hanno a tutti gli effetti la funzione grammaticale di formare l'imperativo di terza persona. Tuttavia, l'eterogeneità dei loro valori e dei contesti in cui sono usate, così come l'assenza di riduzione fonetica, portano l'autrice a ritenere che non si tratti di mere particelle grammaticali, bensì di unità lessicali più complesse, che con il tempo hanno ampliato la loro sfera d'uso.

Valentina Noseda

P.V. Graščenkov – O.V. Kur'janova, *Porjadok atributivnych prilagatel'nych v istorii russkogo jazyka i status prilagatel'nogo v strukture imennoj gruppy* [L'ordine degli aggettivi attributivi nella storia della lingua russa e lo status dell'aggettivo nella struttura del sintagma nominale], "Rhema", 2018, 4, pp. 73-108

Si analizzano diverse classi semantiche di aggettivi russi per verificare se esista una relazione fra l'ordine lineare in cui ricorrono e la loro funzione sintattica; fine della ricerca è identificare una possibile gerarchia sintattica di questi elementi. L'indagine è condotta su due corpora, uno con testi della prosa russa del XX secolo e l'altro storico (XI-XVI secolo).

Risulta che, sebbene nella fase slavo-orientale più antica si osservi una certa correlazione fra la posizione degli aggettivi e la loro funzione sintattica, tale fenomeno non ha carattere regolare e dunque non è possibile rigettare completamente l'ipotesi avanzata da molti di una relativa libertà di posizione degli aggettivi nella lingua russa. Inoltre, la posizione prenominale delle forme aggettivali lunghe si fissa nella misura in cui queste prevalgono su quelle brevi nell'espletare la funzione attributiva (dopo il XVII secolo).

Anna Bonola

O.Ju. In'kova, *Annotirovanie parallel'nych tekstov: ponjatie 'divergentnyj perevod'* [L'annotazione dei testi paralleli: il concetto di 'traduzione divergente'], "Komp'juternaja lingvistika i intellektual'nye technologii", 18, 2019, pp. 237-248

L'articolo è dedicato allo studio delle relazioni logico-semantiche, al concetto di 'traduzione divergente' (ossia quando un elemento linguistico può essere tradotto in un'altra lingua attraverso una struttura sintattica diversa) e all'utilità di inserire questo dato nell'annotazione dei testi paralleli. Una delle risorse che, a differenza di altri corpora o database, propone questo tipo di annotazione avanzata è il database dei connettori creato sulla base dei corpora paralleli russo-italiano e russo-francese presenti nel Corpus Nazionale della Lingua Russa. Si dimostra così quanto sia importante l'annotazione dei casi di 'traduzione divergente' per studiare contrastivamente l'espressione delle relazioni logico-semantiche in lingue diverse, dal momento che essa consente di raccogliere in breve tempo dati statistici rilevanti, stabilendo quali marche sono maggiormente tradotte con mezzi sintattici alternativi e con che frequenza ciò avviene nelle lingue in esame.

Valentina Noseda

O. Inkova – D. Mancheva ed., *Contrastes. Études de linguistique slavo-romane*, Edizioni Dell'Orso, Alessandria 2019, 223 pp.

Questo volume raccoglie una scelta degli interventi presentati al V Congresso internazionale del Gruppo di studi di linguistica testuale contrastiva (GELiTeC) slavo-romanza (Ginevra, 11-13 maggio 2017). I saggi trattano diverse lingue slave (bielorusso, bulgaro, ceco, polacco, russo, ucraino) e romanze (francese e italiano), così come differenti generi testuali.

All'interno di un approccio contrastivo vengono esaminati i seguenti temi: le categorie verbali (la resa del passato prossimo italiano in polacco, lingua che conosce solo una forma di passato, la resa dell'aspetto ceco in testi narrativi francesi e la funzione della marca iterativa *byvalo* in russo); l'interessante relazione fra determinatezza e aspetto in un'analisi contrastiva fra russo e italiano nelle costruzioni con verbo di supporto; la resa nelle lingue romanze di costrutti come *mieć* seguito da infinito (polacco) o di nessi fraseologici come *da da net, da i*; l'analisi comparata di elementi della costruzione del discorso (marche discorsive) o del testo, e infine un'analisi della traduzione di *Madame Bovary* in bulgaro, russo e polacco.

Anna Bonola

M.Ju. Knjazev, *Èksperimental'noe issledovanie distribucii iz'jasnitel'nogo sojuza* to čto *v nestandartnych variantach russkogo jazyka* [Una ricerca sperimentale sulla distribuzione della congiunzione dichiarativa *to čto* nelle varianti non standard della lingua russa], "Voprosy jazykoznanija", 2019, 5, pp. 7-40

Nelle varianti non standard del russo la congiunzione dichiarativa *čto* può essere sostituita da *to čto*, soprattutto in presenza di un correlativo (*problema sostoit v tom, to čto*...). Si analizza la distribuzione di questo elemento e la sua preferenza per determinate posizioni sintattiche funzionalmente alternative (oggetto diretto o indiretto) o con diverso grado di obbligatorietà (rispetto al correlativo obbligatorio o facoltativo). In conclusione emerge che la variante *to čto* non ha ancora raggiunto lo status di nuova congiunzione, tuttavia mostra una preferenza per la posizione a ridosso del pronome correlativo, posizione tradizionalmente privilegiata, nella lingua russa, per il formarsi di nuove congiunzioni.

Anna Bonola

M. Kopotev – A. Katinskaja – S. Ivanova – R. Jagarber, *Revita: izučenie jazyka na osnove korpusnych podchodov* [Revita: una risorsa copus-based per lo studio delle lingue], Trudy meždunarodnoj konferencii "Korpusnaja lingvistika-2019", St. Petersburg University Press, Sankt Petersburg 2019, pp. 30-39

Nel contributo si descrive Revita: una risorsa online creata presso l'Università di Helsinki, che promuove l'approccio *corpus-based*, unito ad altri strumenti di NLP (*natural language processing*), per facilitare lo studio delle lingue seconde. Dal momento che la sezione del russo come L2 è la più completa e sviluppata, viene usata come modello per descrivere l'intero sistema. Ogni modulo linguistico comprende due parti: i) test per stabilire il livello di competenza dello studente e individuare i temi che necessitano un maggiore approfondimento; ii) esercizi mirati per il ripasso individuale.

Sebbene non adatto a principianti assoluti, il sistema presenta diversi vantaggi: consente al docente di controllare i progressi dei propri studenti e di comprendere quali aspetti della lingua studiata destano maggiori difficoltà nel gruppo. Allo stesso tempo la piattaforma promuove l'acquisizione attiva da parte dell'apprendente dandogli la possibilità di sviluppare le proprie abilità linguistiche in maniera indipendente.

Valentina Noseda

E. Nuzzo – V. Benigni, *L'insegnamento dei segni funzionali in russo come lingua seconda,* in Alberto Manco ed., *Le lingue extra-europee e l'italiano: aspetti didattico-acquisizionali e socio-linguistici,* SLI, Milano 2018, pp. 151-165

In questo saggio si testa l'utilità del Corpus Multimediale di Lingua Russa MURKO, inserito all'interno del Corpus nazionale della lingua russa (NKRJa), per l'insegnamento di aspetti pragmatici del russo. In particolare, le autrici considerano il segnale discorsivo *nu*, uno dei più utilizzati nel parlato russo. Dopo un'accurata disamina delle ricerche esistenti su questa marca linguistica, si evidenziano alcune funzioni non prototipiche, più difficili da cogliere e spesso trascurate nella prassi didattica del russo agli italofoni. Dopo aver dettagliatamente mostrato la modalità di ricerca nel corpus in modo da ottenere dati significativi per ricostruire la funzionalità di *nu*, si mostra come MURKO documenti nel parlato spontaneo, guidato e recitato la presenza delle funzioni non prototipiche di *nu* segnalate dalla letteratura, fornendo contesti autentici ed estesi, che permettono di riprodurre la situazione comunicativa originale. È questa una condizione indispensabile ed efficace per ricostruire le funzioni pragmatico-discorsive degli elementi privi di contenuto proposizionale, e in tal senso il corpus MURKO risulta essere un utile strumento, anche se non di facile interrogazione, motivo per cui non può essere utilizzato in modo autonomo dai discenti.

Anna Bonola

T.O. Šavrina – V. Benko, *Omnia Russica: even larger Russian corpus*, Trudy meždunarodnoj konferencii "Korpusnaja lingvistika-2019", St. Petersburg University Press, Sankt Petersburg 2019, pp. 94-102

L'articolo parte dal presupposto che al giorno d'oggi in svariati ambiti è sempre più impellente la necessità di lavorare su corpora di grandi dimensioni: si pensi ai sistemi di traduzione automatica, alla lessicografia *corpus-based* o allo studio di parole rare, la cui frequenza per milione è molto bassa. Viene così presentato il progetto di raccogliere in un unico grande corpus alcuni dei maggiori corpora della lingua russa al momento accessibili in *open access*, uniformandone l'annotazione. La risorsa, denominata *Omnia Russica*, comprenderà inizialmente i seguenti corpora: *Wikipedia*, *Taiga*, *Araneum Russicum* e *Common Crawl*. Tuttavia si prevede di proseguire l'ampliamento in futuro. *Omnia Russica*, che potrebbe così diventare il più grande corpus di lingua russa esistente, potrà essere consultato gratuitamente dalla piattaforma *NoSketch Engine*.

Valentina Noseda

A. Mustajoki – E. Protassova – M. Yelenevskaja, *The Soft Power of the Russian Language. Pluricentricity, Politics and Policies*, Routledge, New York 2019, 262 pp.

Il volume raccoglie diversi contributi relativi al carattere pluricentrico della lingua russa oggi e al ruolo conferitole dai governi dell'ultimo ventennio come strumento in grado di avvicinare le comunità russofone nel mondo. In questo senso la lingua è considerata come un'espressione diretta del *soft power* russo, che vede il mantenimento della lingua russa tra le diaspore, pur nelle sue varietà, come uno strumento di influenza politica. Il volume è suddiviso in quattro parti. La prima è dedicata alla lingua russa, parlata da madrelingua e non, come mezzo di comunicazione: da un lato si considera la storia dell'internazionalizzazione della lingua russa sotto il regime comunista, dall'altro si esamina il concetto di 'norma' nel russo contemporaneo. La seconda parte verte sul ruolo della lingua russa nello spazio post-sovietico, in particolare nei seguenti Paesi: Azerbaigian, Armenia, Georgia, Estonia, Lettonia, Lituania, Kazakistan e Kirghizistan. Segue un'analisi comparativa del russo in Bielorussia e in Ucraina. La terza parte è dedicata allo status della lingua russa parlata nelle diaspore di Francia, Germania, Finlandia, Gran Bretagna, Stati Uniti e Canada, con alcuni accenni alla storia dell'immigrazione russa durante il periodo sovietico. Infine, la quarta parte tratta il tema della lingua come patrimonio culturale con un focus sull'insegnamento, sulle politiche linguistiche nelle famiglie e sulla trasmissione intergenerazionale della lingua madre.

Valentina Noseda

Rassegna di Linguistica tedesca

a cura di Federica Missaglia

Ch. Dürscheid – J.G. Schneider, *Standardsprache und Variation*, Narr, Tübingen 2019, 96 pp.

Unter dem Titel *narr STARTER* eröffnet der Tübinger Verlag eine neue Reihe, die Studierenden einen schnellen und kompakten Überblick und Einstieg in komplexe Themen ermöglichen soll. In sieben Kapiteln auf knapp 100 Seiten werden Grundbegriffe und wichtige Aspekte zum jeweiligen Thema prägnant erläutert. Sie vermitteln einerseits Basiswissen, können dann aber auch vorzüglich als Nachschlagewerke genutzt werden. Der vorliegende Band erläutert zu Beginn unter der Frage *Was ist Standardsprache?* den in Frage stehenden Begriff und konzeptualisiert ihn als Gebrauchsstandard. Im darauffolgenden zweiten Kapitel geht es dann um Grundtendenzen in der historischen Entwicklung der deutschen Standardsprache, bevor im dritten Kapitel unter dem Begriff der Sprachideologie die Annahme einer „Einheitlichkeit von Sprache" kritisch hinterfragt wird, die „das Geschriebene zum Maßstab für das Gesprochene" (S. 27) macht. Folgerichtig wird in Kapitel 4 dann der Unterschied zwischen geschriebenem und gesprochenem Standarddeutsch untersucht, den es anhand von Korpora und spezifischen Kommunikationsbedingungen zu ermittelt gilt, bevor dann in Kapitel 5 das Verhältnis zwischen Norm und Variation illustriert wird. In den beiden abschließenden Kapiteln (6 und 7) steht zum einen die Diskussion der Faktoren im Fokus, die zu sprachlicher Variation führen können, zum anderen die diatopische Variation im Standarddeutschen, wie sie z.B. in Österreich, Deutschland und der Schweiz vorkommt. Darüber hinaus bietet der Band viele Extras, wie z.B. Aufgabenteil, Glossar, Register und Literaturverzeichnis.

Sandro M. Moraldo

C. Spiess – S. Tienken (Hg.), „Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik", 49, 2019, 2

Das vorliegende Heft von LiLi, das von Constanze Spieß und Susanne Tienken herausgegeben wurde, ist dem Thema *Sprachgeschichte als Kulturgeschichte – revisited* gewidmet und setzt sich das Ziel, die Herausbildung einer kulturanalytischen bzw. kulturbezogenen Sprachgeschichte, die sich mittlerweile in den letzten zwei Jahrzehnten etabliert hat, darzustellen. In der Einleitung wird auf ‚Kultur' als sprachwissenschaftliches bzw. sprachgeschichtliches Untersuchungsfeld eingegangen; die Einzelbeiträge zeigen dann Potenziale und Herausforderungen einer linguistisch akzentuierten Kulturgeschichte auf, indem sie einigen Schlüsselfragen der Soziolinguistik historisch nachgehen, wie z. B. den gesellschaftlichen Dimensionen vom Sprachgebrauch, der Ideologisierung von Sprache, der kulturellen Konzeptualisierung von Gefühlen.

Die sieben Beiträge behandeln jeweils die Morphosemantik in den frühmittelalterlichen Schultexten Notkers III. (Nicolaus Janos Raag), das kulturelle Ordnungsmedium der Liste im Mittelalter (Michelle Waldispühl), das Verhältnis zwischen Sprache und Musik in Gelegenheitskompositionen des 17. Jahrhunderts (Dessislava Stoeva-Holm), den Zusammenhang von privater Schriftlichkeit und Beziehungsperformanz in Frauenbriefen aus der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts (Angelika Linke), Phraseologismen als Kulturdokumente im Nationalsozialismus (Carolin Krüger), deutsche Bezeichnungen für die beiden Deutschen Staaten 1949-1989 (Charlotta Seiler Brylla) und schließlich feministische Sprachkritik (Hanna Acke).

Laura Balbiani

F. Markewitz, *Grundlagen und Paradigmen einer systemtheoretisch fundierten Textsortenlinguistik. Eine kritische Bestandsaufnahme*, „Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik", 49, 2019, 2, S. 321-345

Der Beitrag bietet eine kritische Lektüre der letzten Entwicklungen der Textsortenlinguistik, die auf der Wahrnehmung von Texten als in situative und darüber hinaus kulturell-gesellschaftliche Zusammenhänge eingebundenen Einheiten basieren.

Zuerst werden bisherige systemtheoretische Kategorisierungsmöglichkeiten sowie gängige textlinguistische Analysemodelle kritisch reflektiert, dann wird ein eigenes Schema zur Klassifizierung von Textsorten vorgestellt. Abschließend wird auf den evolutiven Aspekt der Systemtheorie näher eingegangen, der sich zur diachronen Beschreibung des Wandels und der Ausdifferenzierung von Textsorten ansetzen lässt und einen produktiven Beitrag für die theoretische Aufarbeitung der sich entwickelnden Textsortenwelt liefert.

Laura Balbiani

H. Wittenwiler, *L'Anello. Poemetto svizzero dell'inizio del XV secolo. Testo e traduzione di passi scelti con introduzione e note di Roberto De Pol*, VirtuosaMente, Aicurzio 2019, 194 pp.

Nei brevi paragrafi che compongono l'introduzione vengono presentati l'autore, il contesto storico-sociale in cui il poemetto si inserisce, le sue caratteristiche linguistiche, la storia editoriale, le fonti. Maggior attenzione richiede la finalità comunicativa dell'opera, che oscilla tra didattica e intrattenimento secondo il classico *prodesse et delectare* – due livelli non sempre facili da distinguere, poiché mescolati in modo del tutto nuovo: ne risulta un poemetto dal carattere misto, permeato da una forte vena comica e dissacrante anche nei confronti dei contenuti più seri, spesso inseriti in contesti paradossali e grotteschi. Il curatore sottolinea inoltre la modernità della colorita satira sul 'villano' che scimmiotta il mondo della nobiltà cavalleresca, ritratto di due mondi ormai al tramonto.

Dell'*Anello* non esisteva finora alcuna traduzione italiana; il volume propone un'ampia e ben ponderata selezione tra i circa diecimila versi che lo compongono. La traduzione, accompagnata dal testo a fronte, si propone in primo luogo la correttezza filologica, pur senza rinunciare al verso; da qui la scelta dell'endecasillabo a rima baciata, adatto a rendere la semplicità e la ripetitività delle rime dell'originale. Numerosi i problemi che il traduttore ha dovuto affrontare, primo tra tutti la resa degli effetti comici, che rispondono a una sensibilità ben diversa dalla nostra: molte allusioni, esilaranti per un ascoltatore cinquecentesco, non sono più trasparenti, così come tanti elementi parodistici e intertestuali; alcuni sono esplicitati nelle note, per altri il traduttore propone equivalenti funzionali che possano evocare un effetto similare nel lettore di oggi.

Il testo è inoltre ricchissimo di nomi, soprannomi e toponimi, spesso creati per assonanza, spesso parlanti: un'altra sfida per il traduttore che, vista la loro importanza, li raccoglie in un elenco (pp. 173-183), dove presenta e motiva le varie scelte traduttive. Un'appendice iconografica e la bibliografia completano il volume.

Laura Balbiani

G. Catalano – F. La Manna (a cura di), *Verità e menzogna*, „Studi germanici". Quaderni dell'AIG, 2018, 1, 266 pp.

Con il presente volume l'Associazione Italiana di Germanistica dà inizio ai "Quaderni di Germanistica", una nuova pubblicazione aperta a tutti i soci che ne possa testimoniare i risultati di studi e ricerche su singoli temi, proposti di volta in volta dai membri del Direttivo. In questo primo numero si affronta il delicato rapporto antinomico, ma indissolubile, tra verità e menzogna, ripercorso secondo una pluralità di approcci che danno spazio a studiosi provenienti da vari campi del sapere. Evidenziando i possibili percorsi rizomatici legati all'ampiezza

del tema, gli undici contributi ne affrontano le venature a livello non solo linguistico, storico e letterario, ma anche sociale, teatrale, ontologico e teologico. Il volume si apre con un breve saggio di H. Weinrich, dal 1966 punto di riferimento per gli studi sull'argomento, e ospita anche due contributi di colleghi tedeschi – M. Mayer e J. Meibaur – invitati a dare una testimonianza letteraria e linguistica del costante dialogo fra Germanistica italiana e tedesca/internazionale.

Lucia Salvato

J. Schiewe – Th. Niehr – S.M. Moraldo, *Sprach(kritik)kompetenz als Mittel demokratischer Willensbildung. Sprachliche In- und Exklusionsstrategien als gesellschaftliche Herausforderung*, Bremen, Hempen Verlag 2019, 227 pp.

Im Zuge der Globalsierung ist Zuwanderung verstärkt in den Fokus der öffentlichen und politischen Aufmerksamkeit gerückt. Insbesondere rechtspopulistische Gruppierungen versuchen die als 'fremd' eingestuften Menschen gesellschaftlich wie sprachlich auszugrenzen. Der Band, der auf eine Tagung im Rahmen eines deutsch-italienischen DAAD Hochschuldialogs zurückgeht, versucht in diesem Kontext auf Fragen wie "Welche sprachlichen Muster und Argumentationsstrategien liegen solchen Ausgrenzungen zugrunde?", "Wie wird die eigene Identität sprachlich konstruiert?" oder "Welche Möglichkeiten gibt es, von einer demokratischen Position aus, auf die zunehmende Fragmentierung des öffentlichen Sprachgebrauchs zu reagieren?" eine Antwort zu geben. In 13 Beiträgen wird die These vertreten, dass Sprachkompetenz und Sprachkritikkompetenz als Mittel demokratischer Willensbildung ausgebildet und aktiv eingesetzt werden müssen. Der thematische Bogen reicht dabei von den sprachlichen Ausgrenzungsstrategien der rechtspopulistischen Propaganda der AfD und der Lega Nord, den Exklusionsstrategien in rechtspopulistischen Reden, den impliziten Sprachstrategien im AfD-Landtagswahlkampf 2016 über Fallstudien zur Verwendung und Rezeption von *Disclaimer* und die Ironie in der Propaganda der extremen Rechten sowie das Eigene und das Fremde in der Asyl- und Flüchtlingspolitik bis zur sprachlichen Konstruktion kollektiver Identität(en) im Rahmen der Flüchtlingsthematik und dem *Framing* gegen Fremdenfeindlichkeit, bei dem nicht Fakten die politischen Entscheidungen bestimmen, sondern kognitive Deutungsrahmen. Unter dem Strich geht es dem Band um die Aufdeckung systematischer Vermittlung von Scheinwahrheiten in politischen Reden und rechtspopulistischen Parteiprogrammen, die meist emotional motiviert sind und einer rationalen und kritischen Hinterfragung nicht standhalten können.

Federica Missaglia

A. Ziem, *Construction Grammar meets Phraseology: eine Standortbestimmung*, „Linguistik online" 90, 2018, 3, pp. 3-19

Der Ausgangspunkt des Beitrags ist das in den letzten zehn Jahren scheinbar zurückgetretene Interesse an Idiomatizität und die darauf gefolgte Scheidung von Phraseologie und Konstruktionsgrammatik. Da jedoch nach dem Autor unregelmäßige syntaktische Strukturen und semantische Idiomatizität einen wesentlichen Aspekt der Sprache darstellen, stellt er den Schwerpunkt „Construction Grammar meets Phraseology" vor und bietet einen Überblick über relevante Konzepte und Forschungsperspektiven dar, die weitere wissenschaftliche Beiträge zum Thema leiten sollen. Mit fünf Fallstudien zu Phrasemen- und Argumentationskonstruktionen bietet die Studie nicht nur eingehende Analysen von strukturierten Idiomen dar, sondern sie legt den Grund für eine engere Mitwirkung zwischen Konstruktionsgrammatik und Phraseologie sowohl in Bezug auf die Forschungsmethode wie auch auf die behandelten sprachlichen Phänomene.

Lucia Salvato

V. Dovalil, *Morphosyntaktische Variation in Verbalkomplexen des Verbs lassen und der Modalverben im Infinitiv II. Eine Analyse aus der Perspektive von Zentrum und Peripherie*, „ZGL", 46, 2018, 1, pp. 102-134

Die Arbeit beschäftigt sich mit einer morphosyntaktischen Variable deutscher Verbalkomplexe, die ein Vollverb und eine infinitive Perfektform des Verbs *lassen* oder eines Modalverbs (*gelassen haben*, *gekonnt haben*) enthält. Die korpusbasierte Analyse stützt sich auf die Konzepte von ‚Zentrum' und ‚Peripherie', wie sie von der Prager Schule entwickelt wurden. Die Hauptforschungsfrage, die der synchronen Analyse zugrunde liegt, konzentriert sich auf die Verwendung der IPP (*infinitivus pro participio*, das dem deutschen Begriff *Ersatzinfinitiv* entspricht) und auf die Wortstellung des Hilfsverbs innerhalb des Verbalkomplexes. Insgesamt hebt die Analyse vier Varianten hervor, in denen die Struktur realisiert wird: Zwei können aus struktureller Sicht zum Zentrum des deutschen Infinitivsystems gezählt, zwei als peripher eingestuft werden. Bei der Strukturanalyse wird die funktionale Äquivalenz von Nebensätzen und den entsprechenden Infinitivkonstruktionen berücksichtigt; dies trägt zu einer besseren Klärung sowohl der Morphologie wie auch der Wortstellung bei, die die analysierten Verbalkomplexen erstellen.

Lucia Salvato

N. Kammermann, *Funktionswörter als Indikatoren für diskursspezifische Argumentationsstrukturen im printmedialen Diskurs über den fünften Sachstandsbericht des Weltklimarates*, „Linguistik online" 93, 2018, 6, pp. 3-49

In dieser Studie wird untersucht, wie Schweizer Printmedien Nichtexperten den Klimawandel vermitteln. Aufgrund der Komplexität und des Umfangs der Themen kann die Vermittlung der Informationen oft zu Schwierigkeiten führen. Die Studie setzt sich deshalb zum Ziel, einen Korpus von Artikeln über das *IPCC* (*Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change*) zu analysieren, der einen umfangreichen Einblick in diskursive Argumentationsstrukturen gibt. Die Analyse der gesammelten bzw. korpusgesteuerten Funktionswörter in Verbalkomplexen ermöglicht die Identifizierung von argumentativen Schemata im Mediendiskurs. Dazu enthüllt sie die Bedeutung mehrerer Akteure, insbesondere von Verwaltungs- und kognitiven Autoritäten, und hebt somit institutionelle Merkmale bzw. Unterschiede im wissenschaftlichen und alltäglichen Bereich der Medien-Argumentationsnormen hervor.

Lucia Salvato

M. Lee, *Distanz-Strukturen – Eine psycholinguistische Annäherung an Klammerkonstruktionen im Deutschen*, „ZGL/Zeitschrift für Germanistische Linguistik", 46, 2018, 2, pp. 185-220

In diesem Beitrag bietet die Autorin eine alternative psycholinguistische Interpretation von typischen strukturellen Merkmalen des Deutschen wie der Satzklammer dar. Die vorgeschlagene Analyse basiert auf sprachlichen Phänomenen, die bei der Sprachproduktion sowohl von L2-Lernenden als auch von Muttersprachlern beobachtet werden können. Ziel der Analyse ist es, ein vorläufiges Modell zu entwickeln, das Aspekte der Verarbeitung menschlicher Sprache widerspiegelt. Das Modell basiert auf dem Begriff der ‚Spannung', der während des Sprachproduktionsprozesses bei der Realisierung lexikalischer und grammatischer Konzepte auftritt. Die Elemente einer analytischen Realisierung werden lexikalisch oder grammatisch kombiniert, müssen aber nach einer spezifischen Struktur voneinander getrennt platziert werden. Aus dieser Interpretation werden die typischen strukturellen Merkmale des Deutschen vor allem als „Distanzstrukturen" (*distance structures*) erkannt, die in Hauptsätzen aus dem Hilfs- bzw. Modalverb und Finitum und in Nebensätzen aus dem Subjekt und dem finiten Verb aufgrund der Subjekt-Verb-Relation bestehen. Das vorgeschlagene Modell enthält Erläuterungen auch für andere Phänome-

ne, die mit strukturellen Aspekten in anderen Sprachen verbunden sind. Auf der Grundlage des Spannungsbegriffs können auch andere Lernschwierigkeiten im Voraus formuliert werden, die beim Erlernen entsprechender Strukturen in bestimmten Sprachen auftreten können.

Lucia Salvato

G. Cosentino, *Grammatik der Prosodie für Deutsch als Fremdsprache*, Erich Schmidt Verlag, Berlin 2019, 227 pp.

Die Veröffentlichung handelt von der grammatischen Rolle der Prosodie und ihrer Wichtigkeit bei der Kodierung der Informationsstruktur, sowohl in der derzeitigen Forschung als auch in der DaF-Didaktik. Der erste Teil bietet einen Überblick über die Prosodie und die grammatisch relevanten prosodischen Merkmale. Es werden zuerst die Definitionen von Prosodie, Informationsstruktur und suprasegmentaler Phonologie thematisiert, um dann die Interaktion zwischen prosodischer Struktur und Informationsstruktur und die pragmatischen Funktionen der Prosodie darzustellen. Zudem weist der Autor auf die prosodischen Mittel hin, die zum Ausdruck der Informationsstruktur beitragen, mit besonderem Augenmerk auf Akzente und auf die Funktionen von Fokus und Topik in der Intonationsphrase. Auch Ton und Intonation spielen eine wichtige Rolle in der Organisation und Bestimmung der Informationsstruktur. Es werden dazu die Ansätze im Bereich der Intonation aufgelistet und die Eigenschaften von Tönen und Intonationskonturen zusammengefasst, die zur Klärung der Beziehung zwischen Textproduzenten und -rezipienten beitragen können. Im zweiten Teil der Veröffentlichung wird ein Unterrichtsmodul zur Grammatik der Prosodie vorgestellt, die als Ansatz die Integration von Prosodie in die DaF-Didaktik hat. Schwerpunkt ist hier die Akzentuierung, die in didaktischer Perspektive durch Unterrichtsmaterialien und verschiedene Übungsphasen vertieft wird.

Vincenzo Damiazzi

M. Weerning, *Pronunciare bene. Fonetica italiana e tedesca a confronto*, Carocci editore, Roma 2017, 183 pp.

Il volume propone una panoramica della nozione di fonetica e delle rispettive funzioni e regole nella lingua tedesca e nella lingua italiana con un approccio preminentemente didattico. La prima parte del volume è dedicata a esplicare alcuni elementi fondamentali che stanno alla base della fonetica come il concetto di comunicazione, la differenza tra fonetica e fonologia e la questione degli standard linguistici. I capitoli successivi si articolano seguendo la suddivisione della fonetica su tre livelli: segmentale, intersegmentale e soprasegmentale. Si esplorano in primo luogo i foni e la loro articolazione facendo una comparazione tra l'inventario vocalico e consonantico italiano e tedesco ed evidenziando possibili difficoltà di articolazione per studenti italofoni e germanofoni. Si passa poi all'esplicazione dei fenomeni di coarticolazione e delle regole fonotattiche e ortografiche che le due lingue seguono nell'*onset*, nel nucleo, nella coda della sillaba o nell'incontro tra due sillabe. Per ogni *set* di regole viene presentato anche un approfondimento sui possibili errori e degli esercizi per ricalibrare la pronuncia di combinazioni sillabiche complesse. Infine, si espongono gli aspetti e i fenomeni linguistici, paralinguistici ed extralinguistici che riguardano la prosodia. In particolare ci si sofferma sulle differenze tra l'accento lessicale e l'accento sintattico in italiano e tedesco, sulle modalità di produzione dell'accento nelle due lingue e sui contorni intonativi e le loro funzioni divergenti sempre nelle due lingue.

Vincenzo Damiazzi

A. Beyer, *InliAnTe: Instrument für die linguistische Analyse von Textkommentierungen*, „Linguistik online" 91, 2018, 4, pp. 15-40

Der Beitrag bietet ein Instrument zur Analyse der schriftlichen Kommentare von Schülern zu Texten in Peer-Feedback-Prozessen dar. Durch die Verknüpfung verschiedener Sprachmetho-

den ermöglicht die Studie die Identifizierung der didaktisch relevanten Merkmale der Textkommentare. Die Analyse unterscheidet jeweils zwischen den eigentlichen Kommentaren und den im Textentwurf markierten Stellen; dadurch ermöglicht sie die Identifizierung der spezifischen linguistischen Phänomene im Entwurfstext, auf welche die Schüler bzw. Feedbackgeber in ihren Kommentaren reagieren. Eine weitere pragmatische Analyse der Kommentartexte zeigt, wie die Feedbackgeber ihre Anmerkungen linguistisch verfassen, um z.B. den ursprünglichen Autor zur Überarbeitung seines Textes aufzufordern. Die Studie trägt dazu bei, theoretische Modellierungen bzw. Überlegungen genauer anzustellen, sowie eine empirisch basierte Lehrweise zu fordern, wie man Texte in Peer-Feedback-Prozessen optimal und fehlerfrei kommentieren sollte.

Lucia Salvato

A. von Gunten, *Schriftliches Peer-Textfeedback unter Studierenden: Auseinandersetzungen mit dem Inhalt von fremdem Text Ergebnisse der qualitativen Inhaltsanalyse von 6 retrospektiven Interviews*, „Linguistik online" 89, 2018, 2, pp. 105-133

Die Arbeit präsentiert die Ergebnisse einer Studie aus einem dreijährigen Forschungsprojekt der Pädagogischen Hochschule Bern. In der Studie wird untersucht, wie StudienreferendarInnen im 1. Semester mit dem Inhalt der Texte anderer Studierenden umgehen, wenn sie Peer-Text-Feedbacks ohne Anleitung verfassen. Sechs zukünftige LehrerInnen wurden gebeten, ihre Kommentare in retrospektiven Formulierungen zu begründen, sofort nachdem sie ihr Textfeedback geschrieben hatten. Die Transkriptionen der Verbalisierungen wurden durch thematische, qualitative Textanalysen ausgewertet. Während aber die Darstellung der Ergebnisse nach Kategorien erfolgt, werden einige fallbezogene Ergebnisse auch herausgegriffen, um erforderliche Beobachtungen für den Hochschulunterricht abzuleiten.

Lucia Salvato

A. Bies, *Erasmus-Erfahrungsberichte. Eine textlinguistische Analyse mit didaktischen Anmerkungen für den DaF-Unterricht*, „Linguistik online", 91, 2018, 4, pp. 41-58

Das Objekt der im Beitrag beschriebenen linguistischen Analyse ist ein Corpus von 55 im Zeitraum 2007-2015 verfassten Erasmus-Erfahrungsberichten, die Studierende nach Abschluss ihres Aufenthalts in Spanien verfasst haben. Die Texte erhalten eigene Ausprägungen bzw. niedergeschriebene Auslands- und Fremdkulturerfahrungen, die für etwa gleichaltrige Studenten präsentiert wurden und auf den Webseiten der International Offices der Universitäten zum Download bereit sind. Von Brinkers Textsortendefinition ausgehend soll die Studie zweierlei im Fremdsprachen-Unterricht nutzbringend sein: Einerseits sollen die Fremdsprachelerner einen Einblick in die reale Kommunikation von gleichaltrigen Studierenden in der Zielsprache bekommen, andererseits soll dieser Blick didaktische Implikationen haben. Die Analyse betrifft grammatisch die Textstruktur, eventuelle lexikalische Besonderheiten und sprachliche Merkmale der Mündlichkeit, inhaltlich die Formulierung von kulturellen Beschreibungen und Ratschlägen. Die zwei spezifischen Textfunktionen sind daher *Informieren* und *Instruieren*, da die Vertextungsstrategie meist dem Doppelschritt Beschreiben und Beraten folgt. Didaktisch relevant ist sowohl das leicht zugängliche und aktualisierbare Unterrichtsmaterial – das authentischer als das Schriftdeutsch der Lehrwerke sein soll –, wie auch die große Anzahl von im Unterricht angebotenen Korrekturen der häufig in den Texten auftauchenden Orthographie- und Interpunktionsfehler.

Lucia Salvato

D. HERZNER, *Den Holocaust für arabischsprachige Geflüchtete unterrichten. Eine Analyse landeskundlicher DaF-Lehrbücher*, "Zeitschrift für Interkulturellen Fremdsprachenunterricht", 23, 2018 2, S. 184-195. Online unter: https://tujournals.ulb.tu-darmstadt.de/index.php/zif/article/view/928/928

Ausgehend von Erfahrungen mit dem Antisemitismus arabischsprachiger Geflüchteter untersucht Dominik Herzner landeskundliche DaF-Lehrbücher im Hinblick auf ihre Eignung, Antisemitismus aufzubrechen. Er analysiert deshalb Landeskunde-Lehrbücher im Hinblick auf folgende Aspekte: 1. Darstellung des Judentums: Werden die Juden nur als Opfer dargestellt oder werden andere Aspekte jüdischen Lebens vorgestellt? 2. Religion und Staatlichkeit: Jüdische Geschichte und Folgen des Holocaust – Werden Zusammenhänge wie die Vorgeschichte und, besonders wichtig, die Staatsgründung Israels aufgezeigt? 3. Identifikationsmöglichkeiten: Bieten die Lehrbücher Identifikationsmöglichkeiten? Insgesamt plädiert Herzner für eine stärkere Aufnahme des Themas in den fachlichen Diskurs sowie für die Diskussion neuer Konzepte, die beispielsweise eine stärkere Opferpersonalisierung enthalten könnten.

Christine Arendt

T. LAY, *Filmästhetik als Potential medienkultureller Bildung. Cate Shortlands Spielfilm Lore im fremdsprachlichen Deutschunterricht*, "*Info DaF*", 45, 2018, 1, S. 80-96

In der Sprach- und Kulturvermittlung im landeskundlichen Unterricht sollten laut dem Plädoyer des Autors die vielfältigen Möglichkeiten sinnlich-visueller und ästhetischer Anknüpfungspunkte in Filmen stärker genutzt werden, um das Lernpotential der im Bildzeitalter aufgewachsenen *Digital Natives* besser auszuschöpfen. Ästhetische Bildung wird hier als ein "sinnlich orientiertes und subjektbezogenes Wahrnehmen und Deuten" verstanden, das sowohl die Imaginationskraft als auch den kritischen Zugang zu Bildern und Filmmedien fördert.

Die Implementierung filmspezifischer Arbeit in den DaF-Unterricht biete die Möglichkeit, die vorherrschende kognitive und kompetenzorientierte Ausrichtung des Unterrichts um affektive und ästhetische Zugangsweisen zur Zielsprache zu erweitern. Als Beispiel geht Lay auf den Einsatz des Spielfilms *Lore* (2012, Regie: Cate Shortland) im DaF-Unterricht ein, der aus der Perspektive von Kindern das Erleben des Nationalsozialismus, den Holocaust, die Nachkriegszeit und die Entnazifizierung thematisiert. Lay fokussiert auf die Arbeit mit filmischen Gestaltungsmitteln, so Aufgabenstellungen zu dem Filmplakat, den filmischen Mitteln, der Farbgebung und zu im Film verwendeten Symbolen und Metaphern. Anhand von exemplarischen filmästhetischen Aufgaben werden die Filmsprache, die Farbdramaturgie und der ästhetische Raum dekodiert und deren Einsatz bewusst wahrgenommen.

Christine Arendt/Beate Lindemann

T. WELKE, "*Lueg!" Das Appenzeller Käsegeheimnis – Ein Werbespot als Erzählung,* "Info DaF", 45, 2018, pp. 67-79

Im Fokus des Beitrags stehen narrative Werbespots, die als multimodale Erzähltexte anhand eines Beispiels schrittweise analysiert und didaktisch aufgearbeitet werden. Nach einem einführenden Ausblick auf signifikante Merkmale und Funktionen der Gattung (unterhaltend, informierend, fiktional, dokumentarisch) folgt eine exemplarische Beschreibung der auditiven und ikonisch-visuellen Codes, dem narrativen Muster (sieben Erzählschritte, Pointe) sowie der multimedialen Präsentationsform. Die für den Unterricht vorgeschlagene Arbeitsweise impliziert eine stufenweise Annäherung an den audio-visuellen Text mittels *blind listening* (Hören ohne Bild) und *silent viewing* (Sehen ohne Bild). Erst im Anschluss daran widmen sich die Studierenden der Handlungsabfolge und ermitteln die Struktur des narrativen Aufbaus des Werbespots in verschiedenen Phasen.

Beate Lindemann

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