# Politics and Culture in 18th-Century Anglo-Italian Encounters

# Politics and Culture in 18th-Century Anglo-Italian Encounters:

*Entangled Histories*

Edited by

Lidia De Michelis,
Lia Guerra
and Frank O'Gorman

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# INTRODUCTION

# I. POLITICAL HISTORY

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The central and underlying theme of this volume is the subject of Political History. It may be considered appropriate, then, to consider certain of the issues to which Political History may be related. What, indeed, is Political History and how may we best understand it? A generous interpretation of Political History may derive from the idea that Politics (the Polis) involves the history of the *res publica*, the public state, and must concern the location, the distribution and the expression of public power. Consequently, Political History is the study of the operation of power in past societies, how it is achieved, how it is maintained, how it is transferred from the people to the governing elite and how the rules and conventions which moderate power operate. The historian will naturally focus attention on those who for whatever reason pursue and possess power in an effort not merely to chronicle that process but to understand it. After all, the history of the state and the sometimes dramatic vicissitudes of its leaders are topics of enduring interest and significance. Political history must be concerned with people both as individuals and people in the mass. In this sense, then, and in some shape or form politics is a timeless activity, relevant to all societies and a subject of immense importance in all periods. At least within the historical profession Political History was traditionally regarded more favourably and as more authentic and more serious than the study of society and more reputable than any analysis of culture.

Political History as we have come to know it came into existence in the early nineteenth century when the cosmopolitan historical writing of the Enlightenment gave way to the academic research of the nationalist historians of central Europe. During the Enlightenment of the eighteenth-century historians were anxious to move away from the dynastic and nationalistic chronicles of the Renaissance and their diet of heroism and war towards a more secular preoccupation with more social concerns, developments in commerce, movements in the arts and changes in "manners". Voltaire, for example, wrote an *Essay on Manners* (*Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations*, 1756) which outlined aspects of European social life since the

time of Charlemagne. By the middle of the nineteenth century, however, a more overtly "political" style of history was taking over. The social concerns of writers like Voltaire were overtaken by the relentless empirical research of Leopold von Ranke and the global and philosophical concerns of Edward Gibbon, the author of the comprehensive work on *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776-1789) replaced by the nationalist focus of von Ranke. The historical movement associated with Leopold von Ranke was essentially a revolution in methodology and a reliance on state records and other classes of original record. While von Ranke may not have entirely abandoned an earlier interest in social history most of his work concentrated on the state and the institutions of the state. Inevitably, the adoption of Rankean methods narrowed the scope and ambition of history as a subject of enquiry while threatening the status of social history. The school of von Ranke carried all before it. It was natural that this should be so. It was not entirely a coincidence that just at this time the governments of Europe and America were establishing quite complex systems of national education whose purpose was the establishment of national political and social institutions, a unified citizenry and a reliable workforce. By focusing their curricula on the needs of the state and its citizens they were, at the same time, overcoming local and regional divisions in their countries.

For most of the nineteenth and for much of the twentieth century some sort of Political History, including foreign policy, diplomacy, administrative developments and some forms of religious history attracted the attention of historians and others while occupying a central role in the curricula of schools and universities. In the middle of the twentieth century, this kind of History began to lose much of its attractiveness. In the years after the Second World War Political History began to seem old-fashioned, inadequate and superficial compared to developments in newer disciplines, especially economic and social history. Political History appeared to concern itself too exclusively with the activities of a political elite, with the careers of kings and ministers, pope and bishops, members of parliament and civil servants. However, even some of the most characteristic of the old political histories were never quite as barren as they were assumed to be. Even the old "Oxford Histories of England" of the eighteenth century by Basil Williams and J. Steven Watson contained chapters of immense variety. The first 143 and the last 54 pages of Williams' *The Whig Supremacy 1714-1760* (1939) include sections on Religion, Social and Economic Life, Science, the Arts and Literature, almost one half of the whole. Even J. Steven Watson's *The Reign of George III 1760-1815* (1963) devotes nearly one quarter of its pages to such topics as does V.H.H.

Green's influential *The Hanoverians 1714-1815* (1948). And the reasons for this are perfectly clear. Political History remained a central preoccupation of most historians, even those who may not in most ways have considered themselves to be political historians. Writers like Eric Hobsbawm and E.P. Thompson placed emphasis on the political context in the history of social and economic groups, revealing their political ideas and their political strategies. It is as though Political History managed to infiltrate areas of the subject which do not immediately appear political. Even the history of political parties necessarily involved some analysis of their social and economic contexts, their intellectual objectives and the extent and nature of their popular support. Nevertheless, historians in the second half of the twentieth century became much less enamored of Political History. They began to probe the economic and social underpinnings of the societies about which they wrote, the industries, the religions, the ideologies. They began to focus on classes and groups hitherto neglected, not least women, working people and ethnic minorities.

Political historians did not ignore these challenges to the centrality of politics. As early as the 1960s and 1970s a veritable revival of Political History was under way, particularly in the field of nineteenth century politics. This was pioneered by the work of Norman Gash, Harry Hanham and Henry Pelling and was best characterised by the work of Maurice Cowling, John Vincent and Andrew Jones, among others. The Introduction to Maurice Cowling's *Disraeli, Gladstone and Revolution: The Passing of the Second Reform Bill* (1967) remains the most influential and characteristic statement of this type of Political History. Its method was to explore political crises by conflating evidence from different archives, reviving the immediacy of contemporary perceptions and reconstructing the course and structure of political events. It concentrated upon the rhetoric and tactics deployed by those involved in the political narrative. Unfortunately, while revealing and informative in many respects, concentrating as it did upon the rhetoric, tactics and language of members of the political elite, this style of enquiry did in fact restrict the parameters and definition of "Political History". While professing many revealing insights into the nature of politics at the highest level, it is doubtful whether a thoroughgoing restoration of Political History to a significant place can be effected through adhering to the dogmatics of Cowling's type of History. There is—and should be—more to Political History than "high politics". Concentrating upon contingency should not, and need not, deny the relevance of larger issues.

One of the old justifications for the centrality and significance of Political History was that the history of the State was unquestionably the

appropriate and relevant framework for Political History. We are less impressed by such arguments today, but we should not thereby remain unimpressed by the way in which Political History has actually been developing in recent years. In many areas of life Political History retains a special attraction, and even fascination, for historians and, indeed, held a particular fascination for contemporaries. Perhaps the contemporary mania for politics did more than we have assumed in its ability to focus the actions and imaginations of citizens of all types, classes and orders. And if contemporaries located their experiences within some sort of political framework—Whig, Tory, Jacobite, Reformist, Social, Religious—then historians must not ignore their perceptions. Furthermore, given the unquestioned prominence of the state in the history of Britain and of Europe in the last two centuries it is surely justified to research its history and its development. And although many styles of history have appeared in recent decades—economic, cultural Marxist, feminist, ethnic—Political History in some form, in the media and the arts more widely, retains its following. It may be the case that academic councils in Britain neither wish to identify themselves with nor to encourage the pursuit of high-level academic research in politics but there can be absolutely no doubt that an audience for it retains its enthusiasm. Indeed, there can be little doubt that the audience for history is more sophisticated than ever before and is hardly likely to embrace a series of dry, elitist political biographies. Something much more varied can, and must be offered. What is required is a much more ambitious approach to the subject matter of Political History and what is an appropriate area for its enquiries.

As we stated earlier, Political History involves reinterpretations of how power is exercised, maintained or even opposed within a particular community. In the light of advances in the social sciences and in the evolution of the historical discipline itself it may be the case that the elements now exist to enable a broader and more integrative notion of Political History to develop. This is partly a recognition of the passage of time and the changing nature of the audience for History, but it also reflects the development of technical inventions. No doubt the emergence of the computer, web sites and all the rest have opened doors as well as eyes and made all manner of innovative research enterprises totally feasible. But it hardly requires new technology to be aware of the existence of neglected groups (women, ethnic, children) the study of which, taken together, has done much to remap the contours of Political History. The first of these lies in the capacity of historical writing to embrace aspects of social, economic and cultural change. Political History should, first, be seen to emerge from a reasonably well-defined social context, which may embrace (inter alia)

patterns of wealth, status, commerce and consumption. There is much work for political historians to do since some of the limitations of economic and social history have now been realised. For example, studies of the English Civil War as a social conflict have given way to the interpretation of the Civil War as a political and religious conflict. Similarly, studies of the English Reformation are revealing how far religious change depended largely upon central government policy. Political history should absorb as well as critique the work of other types of historians, meld with them in order to advance broader and more convincing explanations of historical change than those with which political historians have usually been satisfied, and embrace the ubiquity of political influences.

Such historiographical developments are exemplified in some of the essays in this volume, all of which reflect upon the notion of a regenerated Political History that underscores the need for greater understanding of international relations and inter-cultural influences such as those between Britain and Italy in the eighteenth century. Andrea Penso's essay addresses Vincenzo Monti's political poetry and its reception in the cultural milieu of the century, with a particular attention to his changing ideas on England and its role in the political horizon of the time, illustrating how politics is to be understood as an indispensable link which illuminates Monti's poetic work. In the same vein, Lidia De Michelis' essay demonstrates the apparent connection between the Scottish Enlightenment's interest in economy as a constituent of sociability and civil society and the way these attitudes were rearticulated within the Italian experience. Indeed, Stefano Adamo's essay, "Recovering Unnoticed Ideas: On the English Translation of Bernardo Davanzati's *Lezione delle monete*" ingeniously establishes linkages between the great recoinage debate of 1696 and the arguable emergence of the eighteenth-century public sphere.

Political History, therefore, should embrace an external-looking world and not merely the world and culture of domestic politics itself, one which may include (inter alia) the market, travel and fashion, the press, popular culture and, indeed, other forms of popular expression. Manuela D'Amore's compelling essay, "The Politics of Learned Travel: The Royal Society and the Grand Tour of the South of Italy 1740-1790" demonstrates how an apparently institutional study illuminates the cultural history of travel, the opening up of unknown parts of Italy, the management of cultural heritage and the emergence of networks of the Royal Society. Such an approach is testified also by the essay by Elena Carrelli which sets out the importance of patronage overpinning the commercial transactions connected to the Grand Tour. Occasionally, the connections are a little clearer. Perhaps Political historians should demonstrate a little more confidence in the scope

of their subject than has been the case in the past few decades. For example, Salvatore Bottari's broadly encompassing chapter, "British Maritime Networks of Commerce and Power: The Case of Messina in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century" opens up the wider subject of the conquest of the Mediterranean, Britain's eventual victory over France in the eastern seas and the emergence of Britain as a world power.

It is, then, important to penetrate both as deeply as possible below the surface of the political narrative in order to catch sight of the often complex interconnections of a political event which may lead in extraordinary directions and as broadly as possible, in order to transcend a narrow, administrative and over-personalised narrative. It is no less requisite for the realm of politics to incorporate the element of political purpose as well as strategy, of political ideals and ideas as well as rhetoric. These are not always easy to identify. The essay by Rosamaria Loretelli and John Dunkley, "Translating Ann Radcliffe's *The Italian*: André Morellet and Giovanni de Coureil" argues that even when translations of texts are viewed from a cultural-historical perspective, and therefore as mediators between different cultures and ideologies, they come to penetrate and illuminate aspects of the receiving culture.

Furthermore, as several of these contributors argue, political intent is rarely absent from the most specialised of artistic and cultural enactments. Andrea Benedetti emphasizes the counter point between "freedom" and "revolution" in much of the English and German travel literature both before and after the French Revolution. More distantly, Barbara Witucki, in her essay "Tyranny of Tyrannies: Italian Culture in Burney's *The Wanderer; or, Female Difficulties*" shows how Fanny Burney, in a fairly conventional discussion of the French Revolution, attacks the apparent Italian strangle hold on British culture by linking politics and culture to references to Roman statues, to Ovid and through Cato and Caesar, the struggle between Republican and Imperial Rome. Similarly, the idea of Politics as performance, in which politicians become actors and events become rhetorical drama has by now become a familiar one. It is represented in several of these essays, not least that by Lily Kass who, in her chapter on "Italian Ornamentation", reconstructs how even the singing of patriotic songs in Britain was to some extent a reflection of the Grand Theatre of San Carlo in Naples on Gala nights.

This collection of essays catches something of the excitement of unravelling the unusual, of seeing where the trails of causality lead us. As we shall see in this collection, it is the chameleon-like quality of politics that is so idiosyncratic. It pops up in some likely places, in the writings of political economists, in the King's theatre in Haymarket during the French

Revolutionary wars when the British national anthem was sung, but also in some thoroughly unlikely places, in travel literature, in the business of translation, in the work of minor as well as major poets, in the contemporary melodrama and in the gardening philosophy of Ercole Ghirlanda Silva, addressed by Francesca Orestano. The recent explosion of interest in History has, if anything, fragmented the past and atomised our historical perspectives. Nevertheless, we would argue that an expansive and generous notion of Political History, local as well as national, international as well as national provides some sort of central structure for that narrative. Many of the pieces on the historical jigsaw may be pieced together within the rationale of the development of the state and the society which it seeks to govern.

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# II. Cultural history

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The title of the present volume, *Politics and Culture in 18th-Century Anglo-Italian Encounters: Entangled Histories*, tries to define a thematic field which is certainly rather comprehensive and broad, characterized as it is by a variety of inspection routes, although within a homogeneous directional strategy. If any ambiguity goes along with the task of portraying complexity, this is the result of a diversity of approaches which, in our opinion, is part of the interest of the collection—a project originally envisaged as an in-depth survey of several discourses and fields of great relevance for the cultural interpretation of historical experience. A fruitful debate has ensued among seemingly distant disciplines and perspectives, to the point that each chapter almost constitutes a case study in itself, requiring its own theoretical standpoint and methodological approach. Out of the rich array of eighteenth-century cultural encounters, different idiolects emerge, each one modulating its own narrative.

Of the three words in the title that mostly need discussing—namely "politics", "culture" and "encounters"—the first one is thoroughly addressed in Professor O'Gorman's introductory essay "Political History", providing the reader with the necessary backdrop against which cultural traditions and history can be viewed. We would therefore like here to discuss the terms "culture" and "encounters" in such a way as to make them blend and pass, as it were, the reality test. It is necessary, however, to stress from the beginning that we are dealing here with an attempt at constructing a circuit of culture[1] in a historical, diachronic, perspective. Originating as it does

* Pages xv-xx are by Lia Guerra; pages xx-xv are by Lidia De Michelis.

[1] Building on the research of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in Birmingham, the model of "the cultural circuit" provides the theoretical foundation for celebrated cultural studies works such as Paul du Gay et al. (eds.), *Doing Cultural*

from the joint efforts of the British and Italian Societies for Eighteenth Century Studies, the interdisciplinary approach sought for the volume is meant to actualize the idea itself of the Enlightenment community of people linking and sharing different forms and structures of knowledge into a comprehensive picture of the Age of Reason.

Borrowing from Raymond Williams, culture can either imply "a whole way of life—the common meanings", "a general process of intellectual, aesthetic, and spiritual development; a specific way of life"; or "the arts and learning—the special processes of discovery and creative effort and meanings" which should, in his opinion, be implied and whose "conjunction" should be processed.[2] The implicit assumption against which these statements stand is the well-known viewpoint characterizing a whole season of elitist sensibility endorsing the notion that certain societies "have" a culture, while others do not.[3] This is echoed in Edward P. Thompson's statement that "the very term 'culture', with its cozy invocation of consensus, may serve to distract attention from social and cultural contradictions, from the fractures and oppositions within the whole".[4] The use of the term "culture" has in fact a large extension, covering the life and activities of the mind at large, and reaching out to some levels of institutionalization and homogenization of these aspects thanks to the pervasive entanglement of the education system, of public and private institutions like Academies and Societies, market exchanges, and the circulation of goods, people, philosophical, literary and scientific works, in original and in translation. The cross-disciplinary quality of an approach

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*Studies: The Story of the Sony Walkman* (London: Open University, 1997), and Stuart Hall (ed.), *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (London-Thousand Oaks, Ca.-New Delhi, Sage, 1997). See, in particular, du Gay's "Introduction", xxx-xxxi, and Hall's "Introduction", 1-7, assessing that "meanings are produced at several different sites and circulated through several different processes or practices (the cultural circuit)", 3. This, according to Hall and du Gay, involves the interconnected workings of *production*, *consumption*, *identity*, *regulation*, and *representation*, as symbolized in the famous graph featuring in both texts.

[2]Raymond Williams, "Culture is Ordinary", in *Resources of Hope. Culture, Democracy, Socialism* (London: Verso, 1989), 4.

[3] In *Culture and Anarchy* (1869), Matthew Arnold defines culture as "a pursuit of our total perfection by means of getting to know, on all the matters which most concern us, the best which has been thought and said in the world". In *The Complete Prose Works of Matthew Arnold*, ed. R. H. Super, Vol. 5 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1960), 4.

[4] Edward P. Thompson, *Customs in Common. Studies in Traditional Popular Culture* (New York: The New Press, 1993), 6.

that moves from such premises has contributed to tackle the opposition between high and low culture, in a perspective that does away with biased or patronizing attitudes.

It is fairly assessed that the word "culture" in connection with "history" started to acquire the secondary meaning of popular and low, alongside the traditional connotation of high intellectual education, during the Romantic period. Hence, it was only in the nineteenth century that the term came to refer to a system of shared practices and values within a specific community, ushering in a more anthropological connotation of the word. As Peter Burke stressed in 1978, culture is "a system of shared meanings, attitudes and values, and the symbolic forms (performances, artifacts) in which they are expressed or embodied",[5] which in the sixteenth century involved both the ordinary people and the elite. It was only in the following three centuries that a polarization between these two traditions developed, to the result that by 1800 European elites "had abandoned popular culture to the lower classes, from whom they were now separated, as never before, by profound differences in world view".[6] This makes the eighteenth century the pivotal moment of this great change. The discussion of the entries *Culture populaire* and *Peuple* in the *Dictionnaire européen des Lumières* edited by Michel Delon in 1997 provides a hint to the state of the art at the end of the twentieth century, also in light of the difficulty experienced by the French *philosophes* when in the *Encyclopédie* they define "people" as a collective noun difficult to pinpoint.[7]

The people, however, was widely discussed in political and philosophical essays of the eighteenth century, and the different cultural discourses that are addressed by the very diverse approaches in this volume testify to the necessity to provide a deeper insight into both the intellectual and material structures of a changing society that saw the direct involvement of the people in shaping their own destinies during the revolutions that characterized the century. This is particularly true of the second half of the century, but the phenomenon is worth analyzing in all its features and in the variety of facets it took in the printed world (covering all possible fields, from economics to commerce, to gardening, to novel translation) and in the world of arts.

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[5] Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London: Ashgate 2009 [1978]), xiii.

[6] Ibid., 270.

[7] "PEUPLE, LE, s. m. (*Gouvern. politiq.*) nom collectif difficile à définir, parce qu'on s'enforme des idées différentes dans les divers lieux, dans les divers tems, & selon la nature des gouvernemens". Louis de Jaucourt, *L'Encyclopédie*, 1ère éd. 1751 (Tome 12, 475-77).

Approaching different aspects of eighteenth-century culture, thus, means to question methodological orthodoxy and probe whether accepted beliefs answer the task of contributing to the writing of history in new ways. Analytical frameworks and interpretive skills are tested through a range of genres and forms of art exploring the limits and possibilities of novels, travel books, economic essays, poetry, paintings, singing, gardening practices and theories, intersecting with discourses of power, knowledge, nation, citizenship, race, and erasing disciplinary boundaries. Over the past forty years Cultural Materialism in Europe has appropriated the literary canon by focusing on the ways power structures can disseminate ideology, while New Historicism in the USA has striven to understand intellectual history through literature and literature through its cultural contexts, thus offering a deeper understanding of cultural products, enhanced by fruitful research on the book trade and publishing history technicalities. Such a complex convergence of knowledge has been able, as a result, to round up previous sociological approaches. The result is the rewriting of history—or, possibly, competing histories—as a history of culture.

The aim and rationale of a collection like this is a critical interpretation of various phenomena through the access to institutions, organizations, archives, historical peculiarities, actual geographical areas to be investigated in order to converge on complexity rather than on simplification. Connecting the two cultural environments involved, the English and the Italian in a given historical period, allows for conflicts and strains to emerge, by basically assuming that each of them can graft onto the other. By inferring that specialized idiolects can be made to dialogue in a fruitful and profitable contamination with literary texts and that a need is envisaged for resilient and flexible methodological discourses, the picture that emerges is a composite and rich one.

"Encounter", hence, is the other keyword which needs careful consideration in this context. That eighteenth-century cultural discourses can engage with multiple and ever morphing exchanges is amply testified, at the very least, by the vitality of its literature in the many forms in which our contemporary authors from different cultures have been able to—and still do—rewrite some of its canonical works, eventually forcing new meaning on old frames. But even within the temporal arena of the long eighteenth century, which is the focus of our essays, the century's sensibility and ways of life can receive ample resonance and exemplary force, as Robert Darnton aptly showed, through the convergence and comparative analysis of micro-histories that demonstrate how adventurous reality can be—how common people gave sense and meaning to their universe.

We believe that even a cursory glance at the Table of Contents speaks volumes about the richness of this selection. Building on professor O'Gorman's introductory essay, we shall here add a few more comments on individual chapters of the collection so as to highlight at least some of the threads which make up its comprehensive tapestry. "Translation and Cultural Transactions" is the title of Part One, which posits translation as the starting point and fundamental driver of intercultural networking and exchanges in the course of the eighteenth century.

As John Dunkley and Rosamaria Loretelli assess in the opening chapter, focused on the case study of Ann Radcliffe's *The Italian* (published in 1796, set in 1764), novel translation in the eighteenth century was also in fact a business, whose driving energy was triggered by both material and intellectual conditions—namely, the expanding book market and the spread of cosmopolitanism. Radcliffe's gothic novel appeared in *philosophe* André Morellet's French translation in 1798, while the Italian translation by revolutionary politician and intellectual Giovanni de Coureil, based on Morellet—in accord with the by then established movement of novels from England to Italy via France—was published only in 1808. Two further editions appeared in 1822 and 1826, heavily influenced by historical reasons painstakingly researched and analyzed by Loretelli. A careful investigation into the biographical data available for both translators, and into the circumstances attending the translations themselves, highlights "the cultural and ideological perspectives involved in moving the original text to the two target countries" (*intra*, p. 6), and allows for a foregrounding of the ideological dialectics stimulated by the contact of different cultural backgrounds. For Morellet the translation—done for money after he had lost most of his income with the Revolution—in fact became an instrument for advancing his own political ideas as contrasting the Church's power by exploiting the long passages on the Inquisition trials in the novel as a caveat. Morellet's translation is far from precise or elegant, except for the passages centered around Vivaldi's interviews with the Inquisition, which are exact to the point of correcting Radcliffe's otherwise accurately researched narrative, which testifies to the translator's historical preoccupation. Loretelli's probing into de Coureil's rather scanty biography has allowed her to sketch his translating activity and the publication history of his translation of *The Italian*, which was published in a period when many passages about the Inquisition—so relevant for his source text—had to be erased: a further sign of how translation conveys important historical and ideological information on the receiving culture.

Chapter Two by Stefano Adamo discusses the English translation of Bernardo Davanzati's *Lezione delle monete* (published as early as 1588),

done in 1696 at a moment when England was debating the so-called Great Recoinage, a discussion involving the opportunity of having new coins minted and the value to be attributed to them. The translation of the Italian text was done by John Toland, who recognized the relevance of Davanzati's contribution to the current debate that saw two parties fiercely struggling in two opposite directions: one supporting the idea that recoinage could constitute an opportunity to bring the value of the silver coin close to the market value of silver, the other, supported by Locke, contrary to altering the value of coins in order to avoid instability in the markets. In this debate, Davanzati's essay played a great role, actually anticipating Locke's proposition; its impact was also assisted by the efficacy of Toland's translation that succeeded in clarifying and foregrounding specific passages and in highlighting long-established tenets of English mercantilism that could be relevant to his audience. Adamo finally comes to the conclusion that Davanzati's essay received new attention thanks to the circumstances of its translation, and that Davanzati's final claim to be writing only for the entertainment of his readers had long stopped sounding convincing for the English addressees of the translation.

Moving on to Chapter Three, which concludes Part One of the collection, a third case study is presented that also has a special meaning to English readers. Lidia De Michelis' essay on Cesare Beccaria's *Discourse on Public Oeconomy* views the famous Italian *caffettista* from the perspective of his translator, Sylvester Douglas. In charge of the second European chair of Public Economy (the first being Antonio Genovesi's in Naples in 1754) at the Scuole Palatine in Milan in 1768-69, Beccaria's lectures did not get through the press in the original version in his lifetime (only a shortened and corrupt version was published in 1804), and Beccaria's name remained defined by the extraordinary popularity gained by his *Dei Delitti e delle Pene* (1764). In the third volume of the national edition of Cesare Beccaria's *Collected Works* (2014), Gianmarco Gaspari has provided a new established text of the philosopher's economic works on the basis of a new manuscript of the lectures. This has allowed him to probe into Beccaria's involvement in economics, unravelling and bringing to light—in addition to the extended influence of French economic thought—the richness and variety of his English and Scottish sources. The English translation addressed by De Michelis was carried out by Sylvester Douglas, Baron Glenbervie, bound to become Lord of the Treasury from 1797 to 1800. He had personally come into contact with Beccaria and the Milanese scholars during his Grand Tour. His translation of the inaugural lecture by Beccaria thus testifies to a connection between the Scottish Enlightenment's approach to economic issues as constitutive of sociability

and civil society, and the Italian way of tackling such concerns as part of the Enlightenment project of national improvement.

Part Two is devoted to "Travel and Networks" and aptly opens on Manuela D'Amore's fascinating picture of cultural exchanges between Italy and Great Britain, analyzed through a lesser-known aspect of the British history of travel during the eighteenth century. Not only the *Philosophical Transactions*, but also a rich amount of academic and travel writings on Italy published by the Fellows of the Royal Society over the century are considered in order to clarify the phases that brought to opening the Grand Tour onto the southernmost regions of Italy. The chapter discusses the Royal Society's capacity for influencing the new routes towards those areas and for contributing to the enlargement of the tour of Italy thanks to the corresponding activity of its members that enhanced the curiosity of travelers to visit hitherto undiscovered areas south of Naples. The accurate perusal of *Philosophical Transactions* (especially issues 41-70) has led D'Amore to the conclusion that between 1739 and 1780 sixty per cent of the correspondence on Italy (especially by Camillo Paderni and Sir William Hamilton) was devoted to Campania and Sicily, with a large interest in Charles III's (the Bourbon king, 1716-1788) debatable management of cultural heritage. The role of the Royal Society was therefore central in establishing fruitful cultural networks between established institutions of both countries in the central decades of the century, at a time when the great archaeological discoveries, alongside the eruptions of the volcanoes, attracted the attention of European travelers.

Andrea Benedetti's chapter on "'Freedom' and 'Revolution' in English and German Travel Literature Before and After the French Revolution (William Coxe, Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder, Ludwig Tieck)" operates within the genre of travel literature as understood in English and German accounts of the last two decades of the eighteenth century. As such it stands in fruitful relationship with the "politics of travel" discussed in the previous chapter. The essay neatly identifies topics that make up two clear-cut parts. The first one is devoted to the connection of the political topoi mentioned in the title, "freedom" and "revolution", against the backdrop of the ongoing debate on "perpetual peace" and republicanism after the French Revolution, capitalizing on the work of European thinkers like the Abbé de Saint-Pierre, J.-J. Rousseau, E. Burke, W. Godwin, I. Kant, Fr. Schlegel, M. A. Galdi and V. Russo. The second part discusses the fascination with nature and with the idealized federalist model of Switzerland in the travel account by historian W. Coxe of 1779, which in turn was to influence the constitutional process in America, and the complex response to the French Revolution in the travel accounts of H. Wackenroder and L. Tieck.

Andrea Penso's chapter more explicitly addresses the ambiguous, instrumental relationship existing, at times, between artistic and literary expressions and political power. More precisely, it is concerned with the way laudatory and occasional poetry may be flexibly indexed and modulated so as to serve as a sounding board for hegemonic perspectives and ensure continuing patronage and public approval. In a way, Penso's sketching of Vincenzo Monti's poetic career as a continuous dodging among the political changes that affected the Italian horizon in the troubled decades after the French Revolution seems to mark, in itself, an odd and unethical kind of travelling. In spite of the fact that Monti was one of the most outstanding Italian literates of the turn of the century, whose works and attitudes affected the poetry of following generations, his reception was largely inured by his wavering political allegiances, to the extent that his figure remains a controversial one to date. Penso's essay contributes to highlight two main aspects of Monti's poetical/political production, namely his practice of reusing his own verses in order to attune them to changed political situations, and his attitudes towards Great Britain and the role it played in the political arena of the time. Dealing in particular with *Bassvilliana* (1793), *Il Pericolo*, *Il Fanatismo* (1797), *All'Inghilterra* (1803)—poems and odes that all contain references to England—Penso stresses how they narrowly reflect the sudden political overturns and shifting balance of power at different times. In Penso's words, "Monti's idea of English society and culture follows the mutation of the European political context. Enthusiast about Shakespearean theatre […] Monti would eventually get to despise England, writing derogatory verses about it" (*intra*, pp. 152-53). His representations of English history and culture provide, in actual fact, a compelling case study of the multiple entanglements of art and power. Contrary to the practice adopted in all other essays, Penso's close reading and thorough investigation of extended passages or whole stanzas of Monti's political odes has made it necessary to provide functional translations of the verses at least in a very rough form, since his poetic diction sometimes makes Monti's poetry difficult to grasp.

While suggestively evoking the multiple trade routes taken by the British merchant ships crisscrossing the Mediterranean, Salvatore Bottari's primary focus is not so much on travel, as on the inextricable nexus of political, cultural and commercial networking underpinning British efforts to pervasively penetrate the Mediterranean markets. The presence of British ships and entrepreneurs in Sicily provides indeed the foundations of Bottari's very accurate picture of maritime networks linking commerce and power in the game for the conquest of new markets characterizing the second half of the eighteenth century. The result of a long and in-depth

archival research, carried out in the British National Archives, the Colonial Office, the Foreign Office and State Papers Collections and other important repositories, Bottari's chapter builds on the reports of several British consuls in Sicily as well as on Sir William Hamilton's correspondence with Count Dunk Halifax in the 1760s. Bottari's outlook allows for a comprehensive understanding of the interplay of economics and politics, casting the role of Great Britain as an economic world power from an ever widening perspective, while at the same time hinting at the still very vague contours of the arena—"una sorta di limbo territoriale" (*intra,* p. 191)—in which these powers acted. Against "the wider framework of the trade war between France and Britain", this chapter puts into sharp focus some important and almost unexplored episodes and aspects of the British presence in Sicily, an "ideal viewing angle", located "at the centre of Mare Nostrum" (*intra,* p. 176). As a result, it highlights both "the activities of merchants and consuls and their organization in a foreign territory where they had rooted their interests" (ibid.), and their own considerations about Sicilian culture and the Sicilians.

Part Three of the collection, "The politics of taste", aptly opens with the fascinating considerations on Ercole Ghirlanda Silva's philosophy of gardening orchestrated by Francesca Orestano with an elegance suited to her topic in "Ercole Ghirlanda Silva: Garden Politics and the Dawning of the Risorgimento". The composite figure of Silva—botanist, author and traveller—is sketched in his role as the advocate and promoter of landscape gardening in northern Italy. The essay, which draws on a wealth of scholarly information and commentary, does not limit itself to unravel the multiple symbolic expressions of power and wealth underpinning the art of English landscape gardening and the way they were adapted to different Italian contexts. It also foregrounds the way Silva was able to appropriate the strong political *élan* accompanying the strategic use of architectural and statuary symbols apt to convey deeply innovative cultural innuendos that were bound to have a revolutionary fallout in terms of cultural politics. Assessing her subject matter against the framework of the Napoleonic rule over Northern Italy provides Orestano with the opportunity to investigate the art and politics of gardening in multiple directions, reaching out to the impact of the debate on landscape gardening "as part of a political statement that will be heard with greater resonance and specific relevance during the Italian Risorgimento" (*intra*, p. 213).

The topic of political freedom addressed by previous papers is recaptured by Barbara Witucki in her reading of Frances Burney's *The Wanderer* of 1814, a novel that, in spite of the author's programmatic statement of shying away from "the stormy sea of politics" (*intra*, p. 216),

is in fact imbued with it—“the political substructure lurking under the daily activities” (*intra*, p. 223) of the characters—and played against an undercurrent of Anglo-French opposition. The “larger tyranny” the title refers to is that of culture, particularly Italian culture and its Roman antecedents. Italian architecture and Italian musical terminology receive ample treatment, showing how Italian culture was being appropriated also in general terms in the people’s daily life.

Music, of course, plays the leading role in Lily Kass’ chapter “Italian Ornamentation of British Patriotic Songs: Brigida Giorgi Banti at the King’s Theatre” which is meant to underscore the theatricality of politics as it was being played out in the London theatres thanks to the highly appreciated performances of Italian singer Brigida Giorgi Banti in 1794. Through the thorough analysis of Banti’s interpretations of “God Save the King” and “Rule Britannia” “in the context of the budding British nationalism and European cosmopolitanism of the time”, Kass, in this chapter, traces “the transformation, through song, of an Italian immigrant to London into a publicly sanctioned celebrant of British victory” (*intra*, p. 238). Quite interestingly, Kass’ analysis brings to light the complex dynamics of cultural appropriation—understood as circulation and endorsement of cultural capital—by a nation that saw this act of incorporation as a mark of “its status as a major world power”, whose patriotism and sense of national identity were strong enough to embrace the contribution of “the emotionally powerful medium of Italian opera” (*intra*, p. 257).

Last, but not least, Elena Carrelli’s chapter ushers in the strong connection between commerce, patronage and art in the peak years of the Grand Tour. Focusing on the activity of the self-styled “English painter” Pietro Fabris in Naples between 1756 and 1780, the essay sheds new light on the role of Sir William Hamilton in shaping the market and the taste of British collectors. Building on archival documents—mainly bank transactions of British travellers in Naples and British auction catalogues of the eighteenth century—the market dynamics of this artist’s production and of his relationships with customers emerges against an otherwise blurred backdrop. Fabris’ illustrations for Hamilton’s 1776 epistolary treatise *Campi Phlegraei* guaranteed his fortune and virtual monopoly of a whole field of imagery, suggesting an emotional landscape taste joined to a scientific approach. A secondary outcome of Carrelli’s research is to shed light on Fabris’ relevance in the art trade linked to the Grand Tour in Naples “thanks to the deep but not exclusive bond with Sir William Hamilton” (*intra*, p. 274).

Certainly one of the names that has most frequently surfaced in this book, Sir William Hamilton, alongside the many diplomats, intellectuals,

philosophers, artists, novelists, poets, but also merchants, architects and singers who inhabit the case studies of this volume, is an apt symbol of the fascinating networking of interdisciplinary exchanges and cultural transfers and encounters which contribute to define Anglo-Italian relationships against the wider framework of the European Enlightenment.

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# PART I:

# TRANSLATION AND CULTURAL TRANSACTIONS

# CHAPTER ONE

# TRANSLATING ANN RADCLIFFE'S *THE ITALIAN*: ANDRÉ MORELLET AND GIOVANNI DE COUREIL

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The business of translation flourished in the eighteenth century, stimulated by an expanding book market[1] and European cosmopolitanism. It involved all types of books,[2] and affected all branches of knowledge. It offered a

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* Pages 1-6 and 41-46 have been jointly written; pages 7-24 are by John Dunkley; pages 24-40 are by Rosamaria Loretelli.

[1] See James Raven, *The Business of Books, Bookseller and the English Book Trade 1450-1850* (New Haven-London: Yale University Press, 2007); Renato Pasta, "Produzione, commercio e circolazione del libro nel Settecento", in *Un decennio di storiografia italiana sul secolo XVIII*, *Atti del convegno della Società italiana di studi sul secolo XVIII* (Vico Equense, 24-27 ottobre 1990), a cura di Alberto Postigliola (Napoli: Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Filosofici, 1995), 355-70; by the same, "Towards a Social History of Ideas: the Book and the Book Trade in Eighteenth-Century Italy", in *Histoire du Livre, Nouvelles Orientations: Actes du Colloque* (Göttingen, 6-7 septembre, 1990), ed. H.E. Bödeker (Paris: IMEC-Éditions de la MSH, 1995), 101-38, and "Mediazioni e trasformazioni: operatori del libro in Italia nel Settecento", *Archivio storico italiano* 172 (2014): 311-54; Lodovica Braida, "L'histoire du livre en Italie: entre bibliographie, histoire sociale et histoire de la culture écrite", *Histoire et civilisation du livre. Révue internationale* IX (2013): 5-27; Patrizia Delpiano, *Liberi di scrivere. La battaglia per la stampa nell'età dei lumi* (Roma-Bari: Laterza, 2015).

[2] Stuart Gillespie and David Hopkins (eds.), *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English*, vol. 3: 1660-1790 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005);

highly effective channel for the promotion and diffusion of texts, of ideas and of the new languages of philosophy, politics, science, economy and medicine. Its cultural and political effects were discernible right across the continent. The commonest exchange was between England and France. France did not simply supply many of the texts which were translated into English, but it also functioned as a clearing house for those written in other languages, which were translated first into French and subsequently from French into English. Some texts went in the opposite direction. English texts were translated into French and, in some cases, were subsequently translated again into other European languages.[3]

Prose fiction was part of the pattern. Novels played a substantial role on the translation market,[4] some of them crossing the Channel repeatedly in both directions, presented each time as translations from the original language.[5] In Britain, "during the Restoration and early decades of the eighteenth century […] as much as 30-35 percent of the market of available novels were translations, mostly from French prose fiction".[6] The trend

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Peter France and Kenneth Hayes (eds.), *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English*, vol. 4: 1790-1900 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); James Raven, *British Fiction 1750-1770. A Chronological Check-List of Prose Fiction Printed in Britain and Ireland* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1987). Also, Peter Garside, James Raven, and Rainer Schowerling (eds.), *The English Novel 1770-1829: A Bibliographical Survey of Prose Fiction Published in the British Isles* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

[3] For examples concerning Russia and Germany, Helen Mary Helen McMurran, *The Spread of Novels. Translation and Prose Fiction in the Eighteenth Century* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2010), 50 ff. For Italy, a general view of this practice is in Tatiana Crivelli, *"Né Arturo né Turpino né la Tavola Rotonda". Romanzi del secondo Settecento italiano* (Roma: Salerno Editrice, 2002), 83-139.

[4] Josephine Grieder, *Translations of French Sentimental Prose Fiction in Late Eighteenth-Century England* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1975); by the same, *Anglomania in France: 1740-1789: Fact, Fiction, and Political Discourse* (Genève: Droz, 1985); Gillian Dow, "Translation, Cross-Channel Exchanges and the Novel in the Long Eighteenth Century", *Literary Compass* 11, no. 11 (2014): 690-702; and, by the same, "'Neatly Drest in English': the French Novel in Translation", in *The Oxford Handbook of the English Novel*, ed. J. Alan Downie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 90-104.

[5] Mary Helen McMurran brings many examples in *The Spread of Novels*, 47-49. A famous one is J. B. Brilhac's *Agnès de Castro*, which was translated into English by Aphra Behn in 1688, and put back into French in 1761 as the translation of an English text in the collection by Marie Thiroux d'Arconville *Romans traduits de l'anglais* (Amsterdam, 1761). See, McMurran, *The Spread of Novels*, 4.

[6] Ibid., 46.

levelled off around mid-century, and went into reverse during the second half, when English novels flooded France.[7] This occurred after what has been called the "rise of the novel", and after Samuel Richardson had drawn Europe's attention to his *Pamela* (1740) and *Clarissa* (1748). In the end, the process involved not only the most successful novels, but also narratives which have now disappeared from the market and are virtually forgotten. After 1774, the enormous demand for reading stimulated a corresponding surge in the supply of books,[8] which naturally stimulated the translation business. Gothic novels were among the books that swelled this market. The French and Italian translations of one Gothic novel will be the subject of this article.

Ann Radcliffe's *The Italian* was published at the end of 1796,[9] and soon became so popular that it ended up by influencing manners and sartorial fashions: "cloaks, slouched hats, and black whiskers [became] fashionable amongst young gentlemen".[10] The author was already well-known. Her fame had grown slowly but steadily with the publication of her previous novels. *The Mysteries of Udolpho* brought her an unprecedented surge of fame and was a success with intellectuals as well as with the general public.[11]

*The Italian* hinges on the trial of the male protagonist, Vivaldi, at the hands of the Inquisition. Its climax and *dénouement* are set in the Roman dungeons, where Vivaldi is held under the false charge of having abducted a nun from convent. The action, mostly driven by monks, nuns and inquisitors, shows the darkest aspects of the Catholic Church, stressing its power and Machiavellianism, and gives this image new life and immediacy through a plot which constantly generates and re-generates suspense.

At this point, it may be useful to consider some dates. Ann Radcliffe started to write *The Italian* soon after publishing her book *A Journey Made*

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[7] Harold Streeter, *The Eighteenth-Century English Novel in French Translation: A Bibliographical Study* (1936; repr. New York: B. Blom, 1970).

[8] William St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 115 and Appendixes.

[9] Although the date 1797 appears on the front page, *The Italian* was published in December 1796.

[10] Walter Scott, "Prefatory Memoir to Mrs Ann Radcliffe", quoted in Rictor Norton, *Mistress of Udolpho. The Life of Ann Radcliffe* (London-New York: Leicester University Press, 1999), 126.

[11] In *Ann Radcliffe. A Bio-Bibliography* (Westport, CT, and London: Greenwood Press, 1996), 32-33, Deborah Rogers lists four editions dated 1797. Many others followed over the subsequent years. The first French and German translations were published in 1797.