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Fatum Libelli: Tom Jones in Italy

Hugh Amory

WE BEGIN to scrutinize a rare book, like an endangered species near the point of extinction, when the legend is larger than the life, when the book is little read, and if read, the subject of untested assumptions, statements, and conjectures. I shall discuss three books that seem to have been overtaken by this fate: their titles are duly recorded in works of reference, but they are as little known to the compilers as the elephant, the giraffe, and the hippopotamus were to Pliny. *Der engländische Findling, oder die verfolgte Unschuld* [Wien, 1751?] by Josef Carl Huber (1726?–1760) is the first dramatization of Fielding's *Tom Jones* in Europe, though not described as such in Goedeke, and wholly overlooked in the steadily fattening literature on Fielding's Continental reputation.¹ I know of only two copies, one in the Austrian National

¹ Karl Goedeke, *Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung* (Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus reprint, 1957–75), V, 308 (§ 259, 6). On dramatizations, see Herbert Foltinek, *Fieldings "Tom Jones" und das österreichische Drama*, Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Phil.-hist. Klasse), 308. Bd., 2. Abh. (Wien, 1976) and bibliography cited there; G. Ross Roy, "French Stage Adaptations of *Tom Jones*," *Revue de littérature comparée*, XLIV (1970), [82]–94; and Raymond Joe Rundus, "The History of *Tom Jones* in Adaptation," Diss. Univ. of Nebraska, 1968. On Fielding's reception in Europe during the eighteenth century, see Kathleen Harris, *Beiträge zur Wirkung Fieldings in Deutschland, 1742–92* (Göttingen, 1960); and Rolf-Jürgen Orf, *Die Rezeption Henry Fieldings in Frankreich, 1744–1812* (Baienfurt, 1974), which appends a useful (though occasionally inaccurate) bibliography of European translations; see further the special studies of Haken Stangerup, *Romanen i Danmark: det attende Aarhundrede: en komparativ Undersøgelse* (København: Levin & Munksgaard, 1936); Fredrik Böök, *Romanens och prosaberättelsens historia i Sverige intill 1809* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1907); Zofia Sinko, *Powieść angielska osiemnastego wieku a powieść polska lat 1764–1830* ([Warszawa]: Państwowy instytut wydawniczy [1961]) (English summary); and Ernest J. Simmons, *English Literature and Culture in Russia (1553–1840)*, Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature, 12 (Cambridge, Mass., 1935). Mary Bell and Lawrence Marsden Price, *The Publication of English Literature in Germany*, Univ. of California Publications in Modern Philology, 17 (Berkeley, 1934) remains valuable, despite the limitations set forth in admirable detail by Bernhard Fabian, "English Books and their Eighteenth-Century German Readers," in Paul J.

Library, and the other, slightly imperfect, recently acquired in a collection of German plays by Harvard.² It appears that this is the first of three plays that Huber based on Fielding's novel. No copy of the other two pieces, however, seems to have survived, if, indeed, they were ever published or performed.

In 1752, by a most improbable chance, the first and perhaps the second and third plays in this trilogy were translated and adapted into Italian by Pietro Chiari (1711?–1785?) as "L'orfano perseguitato," "L'orfano ramingo," and "L'orfano riconosciuto"; bizarre examples of the vogue for *commedie romanzesche*. Contemporary parallels include Carlo Goldoni's *La Pamela* (1750); Chiari's sequel, *Pamela maritata* (1753); and Chiari's imitations — or anticipations — of Goldoni, "La Marianna, o sia L'orfana" and "La Marianna, o sia L'orfana riconosciuta" (1750?), pillaged from Le Sage's novel as completed by Mme. Riccoboni. I would also adduce an operatic version of Chiari's play, *L'orfana perseguitata* (1774), with music by Antonio Boroni; and Goldoni's spoof of the genre, *L'incognita perseguitata*, one of the sixteen comedies he wrote and produced in 1751 — in which he genially observed that he would sooner invent such plays than extract them from a four-volume novel.³ As is well known, or at least regularly stated, Chiari published his dramatizations of Fielding under the arcadian pseudonym of "Egerindo Criptonide" in vol. 2 (1753) of his *Commedie rappresentate ne'teatri Grimani di Venezia cominciando dall'anno 1749* (1752–58) — usually cited as *Commedie in prosa*. This contains the eighteen prose comedies "for masks" that the Imer-Casali company produced at the Teatro San Samuele and the Teatro San

Korshin, ed., *The Widening Circle*, Haney Foundation series, 20 ([Philadelphia] 1976), pp. [117]–196. On individual translators of *Tom Jones*, see Josef Wihan, *Johann Joachim Christoph Bode als Vermittler englischer Geisteswerke in Deutschland*, Prager deutsche Studien, 3. Hft. (Prag, 1906), which also has much useful material on Fielding's other German translators, Matthias Arnold Wodarch (1715–1761) and Christian August Wichmann (1735–1807). Lillian Cobb, *Pierre-Antoine de La Place: sa vie et son œuvre, 1707–93* (Paris: De Boccard, 1928) is a slapdash job.

² My colleague, James Walsh, first observed the relation to Fielding's novel and called my attention to it. A printed catalogue and microedition of the collection is projected.

³ *Tutte le opere*, ed. Giuseppe Ortolani (Milano: Mondadori, 1935–56), III, 793. I have not been able to compare Chiari's plays with J. G. Heubel, *Marianna, die glückliche und unglückliche Waise*, Th. 1 (Wien, 1758), possibly a translation or adaptation.

Giangrisostomo between autumn 1749 and 1752.⁴ I have found only two copies of this collection, at the Biblioteca Marciana and the Biblioteca Braidense.⁵ The connection between Chiari's and Huber's plays has so far gone unremarked.

My third rare book is an anonymous novel, *L'orfano fortunato, ovvero L'avventura del sig. N. N. gentiluomo inglese* (1751); in the preface, the translator declares that "The work, which now issues from the Italian press for the first time, was written in English by the Hon. Mr. Fielding; and it is translated from the original French of M. de La Place, with nothing altered but the title, which would not have sounded too well in our language."⁶ His objection to the title seems to be to the name "Jones," since the hero regularly appears as "Tommaso" in the text. Among many other minor freedoms, he omits the episode of the puppet show (XII.3-4, in the French) and paraphrases two chapters into one (XIII.1), but I have not noticed any major derelictions.⁷ Only two copies of this version have come to my attention so far: at the

⁴ For these theatres and Chiari's part in them, see Nicola Mangini, *I teatri di Venezia* ([Milano]: Mursia [1974]), pp. 123-131.

⁵ Niccolò Tommaseo, in his article for Emilio de Tipaldo, *Biografia degli Italiani illustri . . . del secolo XVIII* (Venezia: Alvisopoli, 1834-45) VII, 258^b, n. 10, declares that he was unable to find a copy; Gianfrancesco Sommi-Piccenardi can hardly have read the plays, since he asserts that the version is too literal, *Un rivale di Goldoni: l'abate Chiari e il suo teatro comico* (Milano: Mondaini, 1902), p. 9; cf. the caustic reference of Emilio Bertana, reviewing Marchesi in *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, XXXVII (1901), 425-426, to "que' romanzi che tanti storici della letteratura giudicarono così per tradizione." I am unable to verify a 1762 reprinting of the *Commedie in prosa*, noted by Peroni. Throughout this paper, I am much indebted to Dott.ssa Eugenia Govi, of the Biblioteca Marciana and the Biblioteca universitaria di Padova, and to Dott.ssa Angela Vinay of the Istituto centrale per il Catalogo unico delle biblioteche italiane, Roma, for courteous and expert assistance. Outside these resources — and the unpublished part of the Catalogo unico is still very incomplete — I have normally relied on the *National Union Catalog: Pre-1956 Imprints* (1968-) and on the catalogues of printed books at the British Library and the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Ms. Jean Archibald of the British Library and Mme. Jeanne Veyrin-Forrer, of the Réserve, have very kindly answered inquiries when these catalogues were obscure. The inadequacies of this survey should be obvious, especially for Continental libraries, and I would be most grateful for information concerning other copies and editions of Fielding apart from those noted here.

⁶ "L'Opera, che or esce la prima volta dalle stampe d'Italia, scritta fu in Inglese dal Signor di Fielding; ed è tradotta dal originale Francese dal [!] Sig. della Place, senza altra diversità, che nel titolo, il quale in nostra lingua suonato non avria troppo bene."

⁷ Based on spot collations, of which I give a sample in Appendix 1, B. The translations in this paper are my own.

Biblioteca civica di Verona, described by M. R. Zambon in 1962; and at the Biblioteca universitaria di Padova, reported by R.-J. Orf in 1974.⁸ Both Zambon and Orf mistook it for the first edition of another, entirely independent, more faithful, and rather commoner version, *La storia di Tom Jones* (1756-57), which names Fielding as author on the title page. This later version is generally credited to Chiari, following Vincenzo Peroni, *Biblioteca bresciana* (1816-23) — but wrongly so; Chiari translated the first version, *L'orfano fortunato*, from which, indeed, he freely borrowed in order to patch out his translation of Huber.

In brief, *Tom Jones* in Italy is a bibliographical imbroglio, if bibliography may properly be said to include the sorting out of intellectual debts; certainly, it is a cataloguer's nightmare, and I have tried to draw the reassuring outlines of the room in which I have awakened, before resuming the evidence behind these conclusions, to which I now turn.

Pietro Chiari is celebrated as the antagonist of the principal literary figures of mid-eighteenth-century Venice: of Carlo Goldoni, whose productions he aped and exploited with infinite resourcefulness and equal unoriginality; and of their common foe, Carlo Gozzi, who defended the improvisatory license of the *commedia dell'arte* against their reforms. Gasparo Gozzi slyly ridiculed Chiari's theatrical fantasy: "May one introduce Day and Night conversing together on stage with the Sun [or actually, Apollo] present?" while Giuseppe Baretti sarcastically declaimed that, for Chiari, "it is a kind of poetic miracle, I dare say, when one fine thing issues from his wits without two sorry ones to keep it company."⁹ Carlo Gozzi might boast that his play, *L'amore delle tre melarance* (1761), drove Chiari out of Venice, and indeed, he left in 1762, but probably because he had received a legacy that allowed him to live independently.¹⁰ He dropped his pen, but his plays

⁸ Maria Rosa Zambon, *Bibliographie du roman français en Italie au XVIII^e siècle: traductions* (Firenze: Sansoni, 1962), nos. 232-233; Orf, pp. 176-177.

⁹ "Primo dubbio. Se si possa introdurre il Giorno, e la Notte a parlare insieme, col Sole presente." — *Gazzetta veneta*, no. 72 (11 ottobre 1760); "A cui è per così dire una spezie di poetico miracolo quando esca del cervello una cosa buona senz'essere accompagnata da due triste." — *Frusta letteraria*, no. 8 (15 gennaio 1764); review of C. Denina's *Discorso*.

¹⁰ *Bibliothèque universelle des romans* (novembre, 1778), pp. 159-160: at some time before 1770, "Un oncle avec qui il étoit brouillé depuis long-temps, est mort, laissant héritière d'un bien très-considérable une sœur de l'Abbé; & celle-ci étant morte elle-même fort peu de temps après, l'Abbé s'est trouvé très-riche"; at which point, he stopped writing "absolument." Marchesi rejects this anecdote on the

continued to be printed, translated, and performed, in Venice, Naples, Vienna, Dresden, and Prague, and were to be found, together with his novels and Goldoni's plays, "on ladies' dressing-tables as well as in gentlemen's escritaires, on the stalls of shopkeepers and artisans, in the hands of strollers, in public and private schools, in colleges and even in cloisters."¹¹ Even as late as 1823, Lorenzo Da Ponte might observe that "A few people still read the novels of Chiari, Piazza and Cozzi. They are very diverting, but for my taste too diffuse (those of the first writer especially) and their language is not of the purest."¹² "Our age has produced no novelist that I know of apart from the abbé Chiari," noted Baretto unhappily, complaining that "more awkward, low, and unnatural pieces are not to be found in all of Europe, let alone Italy."¹³ Actually, as Baretto was perhaps not aware, they were also to be found in French and English translations; and, as he did not care to discover, many a novel was ascribed to Chiari that he never wrote.

Chiari students have paid too much attention to the truth of Baretto's charge, and too little to the obvious fact that his foe was not a person, but a phenomenon. Tommaseo's amusing description of the original novels is worth quoting in part:

The confrontations in which he places his characters might produce poetry, but he bungles everything. Castaways who are saved by the unexpected approach of a vessel; women going to dine in a ship that sets sail and carries them off, but they escape in a skiff and meet an old man dwelling in peaceful solitude; people pursued by a ship of Barbary and taken; a woman who kills an unknown man with a pistol, and remains shut up with the body for a long time; a woman who is put to sleep with an opiate potion and carried off to an unknown place;

evidence of booksellers like Battifoco, Savioni, Bassaglia, Occhi, Graziosi, Zerletti, in Venice; Vinaccia, in Naples; or Franchi, in Genoa, who ascribe a score of titles to Chiari after 1762. Three quarters of these ascriptions are demonstrably false, however, and the rest cannot be corroborated. Despite, or because of, his critics, Chiari's fame stayed green long after he stopped writing.

¹¹ "Sulle tavolette delle Signore, sopra a'scrittoj de' Signori, sui banchi de' bottegai, e degl'artisti, tra le mani de' passeggiatori, nelle pubbliche, e private scuole, ne' Collegj, e per sino ne' Monasteri." C. Gozzi, *Memorie inutili* (Venezia, 1797), I, 266.

¹² "Alcuni leggono ancora i romanzi di Chiari, Piazza, e Cozzi. Son molto divertevoli, ma per mio gusto son troppo diffusi (quelli del primo principalmente) e la lingua non è purgatissima." *Catalogo ragionato de' libri* (Nuova-Jorca: L. e C. Da Ponte, 1823), p. 40 (offering a number of Chiari's novels for sale).

¹³ "Il nostro Secolo poi non ha prodotto alcun Romanziere ch'io sappia, trattone l'Abate Chiari . . . cose più bislacche, più abbiette, più fuor di natura non è possibile trovarne in tutta Europa, non che in Italia." *Frusta letteraria*, no. 17 (1 giugno 1764).

a man and a woman forced to fall in love, and confined in a room lit by a skylight; a little girl raises another woman's baby; a wife fleeing justice encounters her husband in prison, and dares not embrace him; a woman after a long separation sees her seducer in a duel, and saves him without being recognized . . . These and similar subjects, rightly handled, might produce poetry. But he botches it.¹⁴

Such judicious evaluations of Chiari's work are a little too easy, and hardly indicate its interest for us today. The reasons for his popularity, which seemed to Gozzi and Baretti inseparable from Goldoni's; the attributions of his novels; the paradox of this translator of French novels who preferred history to romance, and satirized French influence in Italy; the sources of his work and what he made of them and why;¹⁵ the relationship between his dramas and his novels, one of which (*La bella pellegrina*) he adapted for the stage; the reception of his drama in Germany;¹⁶ these are subjects that, rightly handled, might produce understanding. Whatever might emerge from such studies, no one denies the documentary interest of Chiari's novels. Three novels on the theatre — *La ballerina onorata* (1754), *La cantatrice per disgrazia* (1754), and *La commediante in fortuna* (1755) — are often cited as examples, following Albertazzi; and Giuseppe Ortolani, the

¹⁴ "Gli scontri ne'quali colloca i personaggi darebbero poesia; ma egli acciabbata ogni cosa. Uomini abbandonati cui salva un vascello inaspettato approdante; donne a cenare in una nave, che mette alla vela, e le rapisce, e quelle scampano in un barchetto, e rincontrano un vecchio vivente in solitudine queta; gente inseguita da un legno barbaresco e presa; donna che uccide di pistola uomo ignoto e sta lungamente rinchiusa col cadavere; donna che per beveraggio alloppiato è portata dormendo in luogo non cognito; uomo e donna forzati ad amarsi, e chiusi in una stanza che ha luce da un abbaino; bambino d'altra madre educato da una fanciulla; moglie che fuggiasca rincontra il marito [in] prigione e non osa abbracciarlo; donna che il suo seduttore vede, dopo lunga assenza, improvvisamente in duello, e ignorata lo salva . . . : questi e simili son passi che degnamente trattati, darebbero poesia. Ma egli acciappa." Tiplido, VII, 253^a-254^a.

¹⁵ For Chiari's plays, however, see Pietro Toldo, *L'œuvre de Molière et sa fortune en Italie* (Turin: Loescher, 1910), pp. 400-415.

¹⁶ Occasional translations in Danish, English, Portuguese, and Spanish may be gleaned from the *National Union Catalog* and C. V. Bruun, *Bibliotheca Danica*, IV (1902, repr. 1963), 415. The bulk of the translations are German; for them see the excellent catalogues by Jitka Šimáková, Eduarda Macháčková, et al., published by the National Museum in Prague: *Teatralia zámecké knihovny z Radenína*, 3 v. (its *Inventáře a katalogy*, v. 5, 6, & 11) (Praha, 1962-69); *Teatralia zámecké knihovny z Křimic*, 2 v. (Praha, 1970); and *Teatralia zámecké knihovny v Českém Krumlově*, 3 v. (its *Inventáře a katalogy*, v. 12-14) (Praha, 1976). Marchesi lists French and English translations of the novels.

great editor of Goldoni, can even claim that *La commediante in fortuna* is a kind of *roman à clé*. Unfortunately, no one examines how reliably these imaginative and occasionally fantastic works portray the theatre.¹⁷

Despite a storm of distinguished abuse, contemporaries generally conceded Chiari's imagination and gift for verse—but these are the gifts posterity finds easiest to forget, and indeed, for all the attraction of so versatile a figure as Chiari, his *Orfani* trilogy, despite some effective dialogue, is prolix, careless, and as I hope to show, derivative.¹⁸ A bare grasp of the necessary languages came easily, in cosmopolitan Venice, and though it rarely rose to a command (as in many cosmopolitan cities), it was enough. Chiari's *Memorie del barone di Trenck*, 2 v. (Amsterdam [i.e. Venezia]) is probably based on the *Leben und Thaten des weltberühmten Herrn Francisci Freyberrn von der Trenck* (1745); perhaps Chiari picked up a knowledge of German in the army, for his father had planned a military career for him, and he retained an

¹⁷ *Della vita e dell'arte di Carlo Goldoni: saggio storico* (Venezia: Istituto veneto di arti grafiche, 1907), p. 81. Krzysztof Zaboklicki, "Le protagoniste della 'Trilogia teatrale' di Pietro Chiari," *Kwartalnik neofilologiczny*, XXV (1978), [143]–150, finds Chiari's heroines "surprisingly modern" but, for the same reason, neglects their historical authenticity.

¹⁸ See the rich collection of contemporary remarks in Tommaseo's article (cited above, n. 5), revised and abridged as "P. Chiari: la letteratura e la moralità del suo tempo," *Storia civile nella letteratura: Studi* (Roma, etc.: Loescher, 1872), pp. 260–316; further useful contemporary material in Marino Berengo, ed., *Giornali veneziani del Settecento* ([Milano]: Feltrinelli [1962]). Of the bio-bibliographical articles that have appeared since those listed in Luigi Ferrari, *Onomasticon* (Milano: Hoepli, 1947), see especially Bruno Brunelli and Ulderico Rolandi, in *Enciclopedia dello spettacolo*, ed. Silvio Amico (Rome: La Maschere [1954–62]) (the best bibliography of the plays); *Dizionario enciclopedico della letteratura italiana*, ed. Giuseppe Petronio ([Bari]: Laterza [1966]); and Maria Angela Bartoletti, in *Dizionario critico della letteratura italiana*, ed. Vittore Branca ([Torino]: Unione tipografico-editrice torinese [1973]). The major study is Giambattista Marchesi, *I romanzi dell'abate Chiari* (Bergamo: Istituto d'arti grafiche, 1900), revised and incorporated in his *Studi e ricerche intorno ai nostri romanzieri e romanzi del Settecento* (Bergamo: Istituto italiano d'arti grafiche, 1903); there are popular, undocumented accounts in Adolfo Albertazzi, *Il romanzo* (Milano [1904]), pp. 112–118, and in Gino Rava, *Il romanzo* (Milano: Vallardi [1950]), pp. 139–140. What promised to be the definitive study, by Giuseppe Ortolani, *Settecento: per una lettura del ab. Chiari* (Venezia: Fontana, 1905), ends in mid-sentence on p. 512 with the subject of Chiari still largely untouched. G. Sommi-Piccenardi (cited above, n. 5) and Dorina Lucchesi, *Kulturgeschichtliche Betrachtung von Pietro Chiari's "Commedie,"* Diss. Munich, 1938, are rather too much concerned with Chiari's relationships to give much attention to his work.

interest in martial figures in his novels.¹⁹ Though he took his version of *Tom Jones* from the French of La Place, he claimed to know English, and paraphrased or adapted Pope's *Essay on Man* in Martellian measures.²⁰

Little is known of Huber, who appeared under the sobriquet of Leopoldl on the stage of the popular or vernacular "Theater nächst dem Kärntnerthor" of Vienna; he wrote, however, both in German and, for the Burgtheater, in French.²¹ At the time of *Der engländische Findling*, the improvised drama of the Kärntnerthortheater was under heavy attack in the name of neo-classical "probability," and, as a practical matter, in favor of the French and Italian drama of the Burgtheater. Johann Christoph Gottsched led the reform in Germany, which had parallels in Goldoni's and Chiari's reforms of the *commedia*

¹⁹ I cite the German original from the article on Franz von der Trenck in Constantia Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich* (Wien: K. K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1856-91); v. 1 of the Italian from Giuseppe Morazzoni, *Il libro illustrato veneziano del Settecento* (Venezia: Hoepli [1943]), and v. 2 from Giambattista Marchesi, *Studi e ricerche intorno ai nostri romanzieri e romanzi del Settecento* (Bergamo: Istituto italiano d'arti grafiche, 1903), p. 397; that there were two volumes appears from Chiari's complaint that both of them were out of print in 1761 (*Gazzetta veneta*, 2d ser., no. 78 [7 nov. 1761]). Marchesi, who confuses Franz with his more famous cousin Friedrich, supposes that Chiari based his version on a French translation (not identified); I have found no evidence of a French version, though there was an English version (1747) that might have served. The translation must have been much enlarged (from 139 pages to 2 volumes) and was probably fictionalized, since it appears among his "Romanzi" in "Opere stampate dell'abate Pietro Chiari," appended to v. 3 (1758) of his *Commedie in versi*.

²⁰ Barctti (*Frustra letteraria*, no. 21 [1 agosto 1764]) despairingly conjectures that Chiari could not have known "un'acca d'inglese"; yet he must have had access to the English, since he quotes from it; and Pope's "isthmus of a middle state" (ll.3), the obvious source for Chiari's "istmo," is suppressed in the French of Du Resnel and Silhouette. For possible filiations, see Heinrich Schweinsteiger, *Das Echo von Pope's Essay on Man im Ausland*, Inaugural-Diss., München, 1912 (Leipzig, 1913); Augusto Serena, "Alessandro Pope e i traduttori veneti dall'inglese nel secolo XVIII," in his *Appunti letterari* ([Roma: Forzanti] 1903); and Donald B. Clark, "The Italian Fame of Alexander Pope," *Modern Language Quarterly*, XXII (1961), 357-366. The only previously published Italian version was Celestino Petrocchi's (Napoli, 1742), based on Silhouette's French prose.

²¹ See generally Otto Rommel, *Die Alt-Wiener Volkskomödie: ihre Geschichte vom Barocken Welt-Theater bis zum Tode Nestroys* (Wien: Schroll, 1952), and Gustav Zechmeister, *Die Wiener Theater nächst der Burg und nächst dem Kärntnerthor von 1747 bis 1776*, Theatergeschichte Österreichs, Bd. 3 (Wien, 1971). For Huber's dates, see Christian Heinrich Schmid, *Chronologie des Deutschen Theaters* (1775), ed. P. Legband, Schriften der Gesellschaft für Theatergeschichte (Berlin, 1902), p. 132.

dell'arte in Venice, and indeed, in Fielding's own satires on the spectacular theatre of John Rich in England. An Aristotelian prescription for the development of character, and a Horatian interest in the portrayal of manners, reinforced, as occasion served, by the example of Molière, could not operate in a theatre where the actors wore masks and improvised within fixed roles — were, in some sense, indistinguishable from those roles. F. W. Weiskern not only played but was also known as Odoardo, an irascible old man corresponding to Pantalone in the *Commedia dell'arte*. The author, moreover, had relatively little control over the plot, since he only contributed *soggetti* (in French, *canevans*), scenarios written in the third person, describing the improvisatorial *domnées*. Without character, plot, or respectable ancient precedent, filled with vulgar and obscene, but doubtless funny pranks (*lazzi*), such plays were difficult to defend, though their impact on the spectators was inexplicably immediate and powerful. "I never laugh'd so much in my Life," Lady Mary Wortley Montagu confessed to Pope, after seeing the Viennese theatre for the first time.²²

The want of a precise relationship between the script and the production also complicated censorship, already exacerbated by Gottsched's reform. As in England, after the criticisms of Jeremy Collier, the representation of clergymen on stage was a touchy matter, but in Vienna it was banned outright; it is equally startling to learn that in 1751, Maria Theresia forbade all productions "except for a few good pieces of Weiskern's" that were not translated from French, Italian, or Spanish.²³ The moral virtues of these dramas were perhaps less apparent to the Imperial Royal eye than the stability of their text, but the decree failed because the Emperor preferred the improvised comedy of the Kärntnerthortheater to the heavily moralistic drama of Gottsched and his school. Without a script, these interests could never be reconciled, and censorship could only interact with the stage by irrational ukase or *brutum fulmen*.

Der engländische Findling mirrors these literary criticisms, the conditions of censorship, and the native German theatre. It incorporates the stock figures of Odoardo, Bernardon, and Hanns-Wurst—or should I say, the actors F. W. Weiskern, J. J. F. von Kurz, and Gottfried Prehauser — in its version of Fielding's Western, Square, and Par-

²² To Alexander Pope, 14 September [1716], in her *Complete Letters*, ed. Robert Halsband (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965-67), I, 263-264.

²³ Rommel, p. 384.

tridge, respectively. The clergyman Thwackum has been discreetly eliminated or merged with Square in the single figure of *Hofmeister* Bernardon; yet, like Odoardo-Western, Bernardon is a fully elaborated character — flat, no doubt, but not simply a role. Only Hanns-Wurst's part remains a traditional *soggetto*, and even this license is integrated with the main action by the parodic parallels of his pranks — a device already used to join low comedy with serious action in the Viennese heroic drama (*Haupt- und Staatsaktionen*).²⁴ As in most continental dramatizations of *Tom Jones*, the social level and moral decorum of the original are exalted: Albrecht-Allworthy becomes the “count of Somerset” and Molly, though an *armes Mädchen*, improbably combines Fielding's snooty Honour and his slatternly Molly in a single respectable character. Indeed, if we may trust the Italian continuations, Tom himself is finally revealed as the legitimate son of the wealthy Lord Sommer, who has been hiding out on a mountain in the Forest of Upton for fifteen years. The songs dispersed throughout agreeably vary this unpretentious and not unskilful adaptation, which contains no verbal echo of La Place's French, Wodarch's German, or Fielding's English that I have been able to discover. In the preface, Huber notes that “both French and German translations have made the merit of *The English Foundling* known to us, and few will be unacquainted with it.”²⁵ Clearly, the exact version is indifferent to Huber, even though the French is perhaps two-thirds as long as the German, and paraphrases the original much more freely. Fielding's masterpiece has ceased to be a text and has become a myth.

A comparison of Huber's play with Chiari's confirms the priority of the German. Chiari extends the original three-act structure to a classically “regular” five, and these extensions contain many verbal echoes of *L'orfano fortunato*, which is also the source of a few narrative details not in Huber's play: Jones and the gamekeeper, for example, kill only two partridges (*zwey Reb-hühner*) in the German (a trivial

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 284–289.

²⁵ “Es ist vor einigen Jahren ein Buch in England zum Vorschein gekommen, betitelt: Der engländische Findling, die Uebersetzung desselbigen sowol in Französischer als Teutscher Sprache hat den Wert davon zu erkennen gegeben, und wenig Personen . . . wird solches unbekannt seyn. Hieraus nun hat man drey Comödien gezogen, gegenwärtige hievon ist der erste Theil . . . Wenn also gegenwärtiges Lust-spiel mit einem geneigtem Beyfall . . . beehret wird, so werden die anderen zwey Theile (welche bereits schon verfertiget, und von unserer Comischen Gesellschaft studirt werden) unverzüglich nachfolgen.” — “Vorbericht.”

variant from the single original English bird), but "a covey of partridges" (*uno stormo di pernici*) in the Italian drama and novel. To achieve unity of time, Huber merges events from Tom's adolescence and early manhood, so that his hero is twenty when he sells his horse and rescues Sophie's canary. Chiari sees that this contradicts the novel, but does not perceive the reason, and has Alberich exile a boy of fifteen. Clarisse's mood, in Chiari's version, varies with "gli affari del Nord," as does that of her original, Mrs. Western (*cf.* VI.4); but even this minor, and one might suppose, effective trait is wanting in the German. To produce his play from Chiari's, Huber would have had to have been a critic of genius, who intuitively eliminated only those parts of the play that derived from the Italian novel; alternatively, but even less probably, we might imagine him collating the Italian drama and novel, as I have done. In either case, having discarded verbal fidelity in principle, Huber would have had to return to the remaining text and "correct" it here and there to conform with the English or German original.

I would not claim, of course, that such behavior, odd as it seems, is impossible; but indeed, Chiari's version gives every sign of being a pastiche. *Morin(a)* of the *dramatis personae* and the speech prefixes is occasionally addressed as *Mollì* in the text, her name in the German drama and the Italian novel. Her affair with Jones amounts to no more than a harmless flirtation on her part, and a fleeting impulse on his, in the German version; and she is impervious to the attentions of Squer / Bernardon, so that Jones has no occasion for resentment when he discovers his tutor's *tendre*. He does resent her inconstancy in Chiari's version, however, which here follows the *données* of the novel. *Alberich*, as he appears in the *dramatis personae* and the speech prefixes, seems a particularly unlikely Italianization of *Alworthi*, his name in the novel and indeed, once in Chiari's text; *Albrecht*, on the other hand, is an easy leap from *Allwerth*, his name in Wodarch's German version.

There seems little doubt that Chiari's work is not the original, therefore, but a pastiche of the German drama and the Italian novel. Since Chiari's preface is dated February 1753, while Huber declares in his preface that "A few years ago, a book appeared in England called *The English Foundling*," we may date Huber's play with some confidence in 1751 or 1752. Huber's title, of course, is not a real title, but a vague description of *Tom Jones* from a German point of view, and takes its point of departure "a few years ago" from reports of Fielding's novel

and its amazing success in England, not, I believe, from the actual publication of Wodarch's German version (October 1749?)²⁶ or La Place's French (February 1750). There is no record of any performance of Huber's play by which to refine on this evidence, nor of "the other two parts (which are already prepared, and will be studied by our company of comedians)," mentioned in his preface. This is not in itself surprising. Before the fall season of 1752, when *La répertoire des théâtres de la ville de Vienne* (1757) begins, there is no regular record of the Viennese stage, and despite the heroic efforts of Gustav Zechmeister and others, the period between 1747 and 1752 remains particularly poorly documented.²⁷ The *terminus a quo* of Chiari's *Orfani* trilogy cannot be fixed with any certainty: Giuseppe Ortolani "timidly" dated it 1750;²⁸ but if, as I believe, it borrows from the Italian novel, it must be later than 26 April 1751, the date of the novel's imprimatur.

Until the German text of Huber's parts two and three turns up, in print or in manuscript, we cannot judge the originality of the corresponding parts of Chiari's trilogy, "L'orfano ramingo" and "L'orfano riconosciuto." I am reluctant to believe that Chiari had access to German plays that seem to be *spürlos versenkt*, but the fact that he used a play that is known to survive in only two copies may give one pause. In the second and third plays of Chiari's trilogy, Tom's father appears

²⁶ As Professor Bernhard Fabian kindly informs me, this version (*Historie des menschlichen Herzens, nach den Abwechselungen der Tugenden und Laster in den sonderbaren Begebenheiten Thomas Jones*) was first advertised in the Leipzig *Messkatalog* for Michaelmas 1749 — apparently pts. 1-2, since pts. 3-4 are advertised in the Easter, 1750 *Messkatalog*. The earliest edition I have found, however, is dated 1750 throughout. There are copies at Harvard, Berkeley (Bancroft Library), the Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart (pts. 1-3), Universitäts-Bibliothek, Münster (pts. 1-3), Universitäts-Bibliothek, Hamburg (pts. 1-2), and Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Sachsen-Anhalt (pts. 4-6).

²⁷ Zechmeister's "Chronologisches Verzeichnis" (pp. [399]-562) incorporates the relevant portion of Harald Kunz, "Der Wiener Theaterspielplan 1741-1765," *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für Wiener Theaterforschung*, 1953/54 (1958), 72-113. There is a copy of the *Répertoire* at Harvard (accession no. *68T-12).

²⁸ "Come timidamente sospetto," *Settecento*, pp. 437-438; the basis for his dating seems to be the belief that Chiari's plays were a response to Goldoni's *La Pamela*, performed 28 Nov. 1750; see Ortolani's *La riforma del teatro nel Settecento e altri scritti*, ed. G. Damerini (Venezia-Roma: Istituto per la collaborazione culturale [1968],) pp. 56, 68. But one might equally well take Chiari's "La Marianna" as this response. Bartoletti dates the trilogy 1751, Lucchesi, 1749; Brunelli and Rolandi leave the exact date open, but list the trilogy chronologically as the 12th to 14th of eighteen comedies performed between 1749 and 1752 (implying a date late in 1751).

in Germanic guise as "Lord Sommer," not "Summer," as in the French and Italian novels; it is a small, possibly significant bit of evidence, but further speculation is fruitless. It is sufficiently astonishing to find a translation of a German literary text into Italian as early as 1751, for in general, the current of literary influence was overwhelmingly in the other direction. The older criticism, inspired by Madame de Staël, championed by Paul Van Tieghem and Paul Hazard, and further refined in studies such as Walter Binni's *Preromanticismo italiano* (1947; 3d ed., 1974), associates the influence of "northern" literatures with "pre-romanticism." Given the undaunted classicism of Voltaire, who was one of the principal mediators of northern literature in France, given, above all, the position of France as a mediator of northern literatures in other countries, the thesis seems poorly considered, and Chiari's example is one more reason for abandoning it.²⁹ He presses the moderate classicism of his original to its logical conclusion, expanding the structure of the play to a "regular" five acts, making the unity of time explicit, and writing out the *soggetti* of Hanns-Wurst in full. The Aristotelianism of "L'orfano riconosciuto," with its clear allusion to the doctrine of *anagnōrisis*, cannot be mistaken; while, on the other side, the native "pre-romanticism" of the improvisatory theatre should not be underestimated—as the attraction of Gozzi's *L'amore delle tre melarance* for Tieck and Schiller might show.

The connection between Chiari's *Orsani* trilogy and the novel, *L'orfano fortunato*, is hard to reconcile with the traditional ascription to him of the later, more faithful version of Fielding's novel, *La storia di Tom Jones*. The bibliography of both versions is much haunted by some five or six ghost editions, which becloud and confuse our understanding of the tradition. M. R. Zambon incautiously created most of these, in her *Bibliographie du roman français en Italie au XVIII^e siècle* (1962), because she failed to distinguish between starred entries in the annual catalogues of the Remondini firm (which they printed and pub-

²⁹ Rommel cites (p. 208, n. 86) as an exceptional curiosity, *Il buffone di nuova invenzione in Italia, ossia I viaggi del vagabondo Salsiccia salisburgese dal tedesco portati nell'italiano linguaggio* (Venezia, 1740). Paul Hazard would date the earliest contacts with German literature in the 1770s: "Les premiers contacts des littératures du Nord avec l'esprit latin en Italie," *Studien zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte*, IX (1909), [308]–359, and "L'invasion des littératures du Nord dans l'Italie au XVIII^e siècle," *Revue de littérature comparée*, I (1921), 30–67. For French influence on Fielding's fortunes on the Continent, see further Marce Blassneck, *Frankreich als Vermittler Englisch-Deutscher Einflüsse im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*. Kölner Anglistische Arbeiten, Bd. 20 (Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1934).

lished) and unstarred entries (which they only offered for sale).⁸⁰ As a result, she can conclude that "le succès de *La storia di Tom Jones* avait été des plus flatteurs," even though Remondini was still advertising copies of what is clearly one and the same edition of *L'orfano fortunato*, printed by Tevernin in 1751, as late as 1762. Like *Books in Print*, the Remondini catalogues enshrine much pious commercial hope and carelessly perpetuate obsolete information. *La storia di Tom Jones, ovvero il Bambino ritrovato* (Zambon 237) is indeed advertised as "in press" in the 1751 Remondini catalogue, but it is omitted from the 1754 catalogue; and there is no evidence that it was ever published. The title (attested by no surviving edition) seems to be merely a word-for-word translation of the French *L'histoire de Tom Jones, ou L'enfant trouvé*. As this analysis suggests, Chiari's *Orfani* trilogy owes nothing to *La storia di Tom Jones* because that version was not yet in print.

We might indeed expect some resemblance, since Chiari has been credited with this translation ever since some advertisements of Angelo Pasinelli, appended to vols. 5 (1759), 6 (1760), and 9 (1761) of Chiari's *Commedie in versi*. Though Giuseppe Bettinelli appears as the only publisher of this collection in the imprint, license, and privileges, he shared the printing of vols. 3-10 with Pasinelli, whom Chiari praises in the preface to "Il poeta comico" (III, 3) for having printed "quasi tutte le Opere mie." Concomitantly, Pasinelli inserts his advertisements for "Opere stampate dell'abbate Pietro Chiari," or more specifically, "stampate da me" or "stampate da Angelo Pasinelli." Many of these he also published, but not all: De Regni published *La bella pellegrina*, for example; Carnioni the first volume of the *Memorie del barone di Trenck*; and G. B. Regozza must have published the first edition of *La storia di Tom Jones*, since a Naples piracy of 1757 imitates his imprint.

Nevertheless, later bibliographers have labored under the illusion that a putative Pasinelli edition or issue lies behind the true first, or at

⁸⁰ See the note at the end of the Remondini catalogues for 1760-62. For a bibliography, see the Museo civico di Bassano del Grappa, *Mostra dei Remondini calcografi stampatori bassanesi*, comp. Gino Barioli (Bassano, 1958), p. 72; a microfilm of most of these Remondini catalogues is at Harvard, which also owns copies of the 1754, 1760 and 1761 catalogues (accession nos. *73-70, *78-609 and *79-1193); there is a 1757 catalogue at the Newberry Library. For a contemporary account of the firm, see Juan Andrés, *Cartas familiares a su hermano d. Carlos Andrés* (Madrid: Antonio de Sancha, 1786-93), III, 132-133; and see further Giuseppe Aliprandi, "I Remondini: tipografi di Bassano del Grappa," *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 1960, pp. 271-276], and Morazzoni, pp. 158-163, a brief, brilliant summary.

least behind the earliest edition they have been able to find. From the Naples 1758 edition, or from the Pasinelli lists or both, Gaetano Melzi inferred an edition of "Venezia 1758" in his standard *Dizionario di opere anonime e pseudonime* (1848-59). The same bad seed blossomed into a "Venezia, Pasinelli, 1758" edition in Marchesi; for which he offers neither collations nor facsimiles, as he normally does for copies he has personally examined. An otherwise unrecorded 1756-57 Pasinelli edition cited by Giuseppe Ortolani conflates the date of the first edition with Chiari's best-known printer.⁸¹ The 1767 Pasinelli edition cited by Vincenzo Peroni, *Biblioteca bresciana* (1816-23), seems to be a double ghost of the 1757 "Venice" edition, dated by Peroni's mis-transcription, or by his printer's typographical error.⁸² Since none of these authorities cites his source, the existence of a Pasinelli edition cannot be utterly rejected; but unfortunately, I can locate none of the editions they describe, and they describe none of the editions I have located.

Once we strip away the bibliographical embroidery, Fielding's fortunes in Italy become plain and intelligible: *L'orfano fortunato* sold poorly but (by a kind of Gresham's law) well enough to spoil the market for other versions for five years; *La storia di Tom Jones* had a rather better, but still modest success, with editions in Venice, 1756-57, [Naples] 1757, and Rome, 1789. Considering that the suite of illustrations engraved after Gravelot doubled the price, the success of the pure text itself is a little uncertain. Many Italians, like Giuseppe Baretti, had already read the novel first in French,⁸³ and the Italian versions responded to the weak secondary demand generated by this select public. The Italian *Tom Jones* was very small change, I fear, and passed unnoticed in the literary journals and reviews.⁸⁴ In striking contrast to most other eighteenth-century Italian novels, none of these editions claims to have been published or translated by Chiari.

⁸¹ Ortolani, *Settecento*, p. 437. So far as I can determine, Pasinelli never published any translation by Chiari. Italian authorities generally give 1758 as the date of the first edition of *La storia di Tom Jones*, following Melzi or Marchesi, but Arturo Graf, *L'anglomania e l'influsso inglese in Italia nel secolo XVIII* (Torino: Loescher, 1911), p. 280, candidly admits he has never seen a copy.

⁸² In 1816, Peroni's manuscript was in the Biblioteca Queriniiana, Brescia, and presumably is there still; but I have not been able to verify its reading.

⁸³ *Frusta letteraria*, no. 19 (1 luglio 1764).

⁸⁴ Maria Rosa Zambon, *Les romans français dans les journaux littéraires italiens du XVIII siècle* (Firenze: Sansoni, 1971), pp. 61-63.

We might nevertheless accept Pasinelli's ascription if it did not conflict with a later, better authority. In no. 78 of the *Gazzetta veneta* (2d series, 7 nov. 1761), which Chiari edited in succession to Gasparo Gozzi, he provided a list of his writings in response to a reader's inquiry. Among "some novels and other, minor books [libricciuoli] that I translated, with noteworthy additions" appears the title of "L'orfano riconosciuto." This authority was unknown to Peroni, Melzi, and Marchesi; and for good reason, indeed, since it seems to survive in only a single copy.⁸⁵ As Ortolani realized, however, Chiari's description can scarcely refer to any novel but *Tom Jones*: the subject of the novel is unmistakable, and indeed, Chiari used this very title for the third play of his trilogy. If it were not for Pasinelli's list, one would unhesitatingly identify the reference with *L'orfano fortunato* — of whose existence, Ortolani was apparently unaware. The only question, then, is whether we can reconcile the ascription in the *Gazzetta veneta* with Pasinelli's; if we cannot, we have no choice but to follow the better, if less explicit authority.

A number of different positions offer some hope of reconciliation, none of them convincingly. Like Orf and Zambon, we might suppose that *L'orfano fortunato* is an earlier version of *La storia di Tom Jones*. This theory would be more plausible if the two versions shared any passage in common, but they are regularly at odds; and the freedom of *L'orfano fortunato*, in which (as Zambon generously observes) "les inexactitudes et les à peu près abondent," is in contrast with the comparative fidelity of *La storia di Tom Jones*. Why should an inveterate imitator like Chiari leave off his trade? We should also note that the publisher Regozza did not consider his version a mere revision of an earlier work, since he procured a fresh license and privilege. Like Ortolani, we might avoid these difficulties by conjecturing that "L'orfano riconosciuto" in fact refers to *La storia di Tom Jones* under a different name; but then we will be hard put to explain what Chiari meant by the "noteworthy additions" in his version. The only remaining possibility is that "L'orfano riconosciuto" is a still unidenti-

⁸⁵ No copy is listed in the *Union List of Serials* or in the *British Union-Catalogue of Periodicals*, and Rosanna Saccardo, *La stampa periodica veneziana fino alla caduta della Repubblica* (Padova: Tipografia del Seminario, 1942), locates only one, at the Museo Correr, Venice (call no. Scaff. C, Giorn. 16). The periodical is not generally recognized as such in Anglo-American catalogues, however — the issues edited by Gasparo Gozzi (1760–61), for example, being regularly described as a monograph (Harvard has a set of the first series only, accession no. *57-1216).

fied translation, neither *L'orfano fortunato* nor *La storia di Tom Jones* — though I see no merit in this desperate appeal to ignorance.

That is not to say that we can dismiss the discrepancy between the title given in the *Gazzetta veneta* and what I take to be Chiari's version. To be sure, "L'orfano riconosciuto" is one in a list of titles that concludes, wearily, with "other translations whose names I barely recollect"; so that I suspect that Chiari's memory of his work had blurred. It may well be that the similar titles of Chiari's *Orfani* trilogy, together with its indebtedness to the novel, assisted his lapse. Yet these entirely plausible explanations do not much help the argument: Chiari's other novels, for example, are accurately reported, and even if his memory was probably at fault in this single instance, we have no very objective control over the precise error it committed. As a possible parallel for the relationship between the dramas and the novel, we might adduce the two comedies that Chiari based on De Mouhy's *La paysanne parvenue*; and his translation of Gaillard de La Bataille's continuation of De Mouhy, *La nuova cittadina ingentilita* (1753), which according to Marchesi was also published by Tevernin. I have not been able, however, to locate a copy of this translation, which Chiari acknowledged in the *Gazzetta veneta*. The most compelling reason for identifying "L'orfano riconosciuto" with *L'orfano fortunato* is just that we know no other contemporary novel-title remotely similar. My ascription, then, should be received with caution, since it is based on ignorance — though a little less ignorance than has been evident in previous accounts.³⁶

To return to Chiari's source, *Der engländische Findling*, it holds pride of place in the considerable number of eighteenth-century

³⁶ Marchesi (1900), p. 12, is the earliest mention of *L'orfano fortunato* that has come to my attention: "E poi, fino al '53, le traduzioni pullularono abbondantissime. *La contadina incivilita*, *il Viaggio all'isole d'amore*, *L'orfano fortunato*, *La zingarella*, *La nuova Marianna*, *le Memorie di una donna di qualità*, *Mirza Nadir*, *La nuova contadina*, *L'istoria di una Greca moderna* sono tutti romanzi tradotti in quegli anni [1751-53], del De Mouhy, del Lambert, del De La Morlier [!], del Bataille, del Prévost. Nè mi soffermo qui ad innoverare altri, proponendomi di darne altrove una compiuta bibliografia." All these titles except *L'orfano fortunato* appear in his 1903 bibliography, and perhaps he included *L'orfano fortunato* under the mistaken impression that it was a popular title for *La storia di Tom Jones*. The passage I have quoted (omitted in the 1903 revision) is evidently the source of a garbled account in Albertazzi, p. 116, which omits La Morlière's *Mirza Nadir*, but retains its author (in the grammatically "corrected" form "Le Morlier") and implies that Chiari translated all these titles, which he certainly did not.

dramatizations of *Tom Jones*, the best known of which are the dramas of Desforges, and the opera by Philidor and Poinciset (also translated into German and Swedish). Like the movie of Osborne and Richardson (1964), these handle their source so freely that little remains of the words. Again like the movie, however, they testify to the picture or idea of *Tom Jones* that stayed in the public mind, and as such, they have been too much neglected by scholars; or rather, the normal scholarly attitude has been to berate their infidelities, and ignore their truths. Writers on the dramatic qualities of Fielding's novels, or on their debt to romance, have something to learn from what contemporary dramatists and romancers made of them.³⁷ Goldoni observes in his *Mémoires* that he had to make Pamela a countess, because otherwise Mr. B. would have disinherited his offspring by marrying her, under Venetian law.³⁸ How mobile of English society, one might conclude, but this, I think, misses an important part of the literary truth. Pamela was always a countess or, as who should say, a Cinderella-figure, and Goldoni's adaptation merely exposes this latent truth — to which even Richardson responded, by steadily elevating the social level of his heroine's prose, in successive revisions. So, in some important sense, Tom was never illegitimate, the Man of the Hill is his true father, and the Forest of Upton is as familiar as Arden. This *muthos*, "superplot," or perhaps "metaplot," we are beginning to recognize as romance, as Fielding no doubt intended we should (*cf. Tom Jones*, IX.1), and it is interesting to see how clearly present it was to readers like Huber and Chiari. Having seen this much, however, we should also see how reductive such a reading of the novel can be, how much Fielding's own life, observation and intelligence enrich and complicate his judgment and creation.

Perhaps one need not add that Fielding's fortunes in Italy are a special case, whose significance does not and should not lie in itself, but rather in its relation to more general studies. I would only argue that the interest of the case does not depend on Chiari's literary merits —

³⁷ Sheridan Baker, "Henry Fielding's Comic Romances," *Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters*, XLV (1960), 411-419; Henry Knight Miller, *Henry Fielding's Tom Jones and the Romance Tradition*, ELS monograph series, 6 (Victoria, B. C., 1976); Geraldine E. Hammond, "Evidences of the Dramatist's Technique in Fielding's Novels," *Bulletin of the University of Wichita*, XVI, no. 10 (1941); Jean Du Crocq, *Le théâtre de Fielding: 1728-1737, et ses prolongements dans l'œuvre romanesque*, *Études anglaises*, 55 ([Paris]: Didier [1975]).

³⁸ *Tutte le opere*, ed. Ortolani, I, 277.

nor, indeed, on Fielding's — but on the play of opportunity and personality by which an English text passed the Alps of Continental culture, and on the forces that accomplished this in only three years.²⁹

APPENDIX I: SAMPLE COLLATIONS

A. German / Italian.

Der engländische Findling, p. 19.^a

Madame Clarice sizet hat die Zeitungen in Händen. Hernach *Odoardo* ihr Bruder. *Clarice* ließt.

Odoardo. Meine Schwester, was ist dieses vor eine Beschäftigung in unseres Freundes *Albrecht* seinem Haus[e?] Man wartet auf euch mit dem Essen, und ihr sonder[t] euch von der Gesellschaft ab, um zu *studieren*; was wol[t] ihr meine liebe Schwester mit so vieler *Gelchsamkei[t]* machen? Wenn ich den zehenden Theil davon verstünd[e]te, würde ich aller Welt Weisheit zu besizen glauben. Der Hencker hohle die Bücher. Wirft sie weg, stehet auf!

Clarice. Nein nicht die Bücher, wohl aber die verzweiffelten *Ignoranten* soll der Hencker hohlen, die nichts wissen und verstehen, daher auch nicht wollen, daß andere etwas wissen und verstehen sollen.

Odoardo. Ihr seydt über alles aufgebracht. Zu hizig meine Schwester, zu hizig, und ihr werft mir doch vor, daß ich von feurigen *Temperament* bin.

"L'orfano perseguitato," p. 115

Madama Clarisse a sedere, che legge un Mercurio: Fol suo fratello che soppraggiugne.

Fol. Mia sorella, è questo l'onore che voi fate alla Casa dell'amico *Alberich*? È questa la conversazione che ad esso tenete? Egli ci vuol seco a pranzo, per divertirsi; e voi qui vi rinserrate a studiare? Che volete mai fare, cara sorella, di tanta dottrina? Se io sapessi la decima parte di quanto voi letto avete, mi stimerei più, che tutta insieme l'Università di Cambridge Alla malora questi libri scotetevi . . . rispondete.

Mad. [Clarisse]. Alla malora gli ignoranti, che nulla san'essi, e non vogliono ch'altri più di loro ne sappia.

Fol. Gran caldo, sorella, gran caldo! E direte poi, che io sono di fuoco.

²⁹ For various but essential assistance in preparing this article, where I venture far beyond my depth, I am most grateful to my colleagues Molly Della Terza, James Walsh, and Assunta Pisani.

^a Superscript e's transcribed by umlauts; a few letters trimmed away at end of lines supplied in square brackets.

B. Chiari: Novel / Drama.

L'orfano fortunato, 1751 (V.3).

Voi trionfate Signore, voi godete della bella occasione che vi si presenta per rovinarmi nell'opinione del Mondo. Benchè io mi conosca innocente, le apparenze mi vogliono reo; ma se voi non aveste tante ragioni per odiarmi, oserei forse

La storia di Tom Jones, 1757

Voi trionfate, o Signore, voi gioite dal piacere, che avete in questa occasione di farmi scomparire nel concetto del Mondo: sebbene tutte le apparenze sono contro di me, ed io ne conosco li vostri vantaggi, sappiate però, ch'io non ho corrotto l'innocenza. Se aveste minor ragione d'odiarmi, ardirei forse

L'orfano fortunato, 1751 (V.4).

Ah? Madama . . . perchè mai questo canale non fu più ratto, e profondo, che in essa saziato avrei il mio crudele destino! . . .

Questo disprezzo della vita è senza dubbio un eccesso della vostra compiacenza in pro mio

Potete voi senza odiarmi

^bFirst-edition lemmata marked by square-brackets; third-edition revisions italicized following slash.

"L'orfano perseguitato," p. 146.

Squer. Trionfate pure, Signore, trionfate della bella occasione che vi si presenta per rovinarmi nel concetto del mondo. Tanto io sono innocente [*sic*], quanto sono Filosofo; ma le apparenze altrettanto mi vogliono reo, quanto merito d'esservi odioso

Histoire de Tom Jones, 1st/3d ed., 1750/51.^b

Vous triomphez, Monsieur . . . vous jouissez déjà [du plaisir / *de tout l'avantage*] que [cette occasion / *cet événement*] vous offre [de me perdre dans l'esprit du monde / *pour me noircir à votre gré dans l'esprit du Public*]. Je n'ai pourtant point corrompu l'innocence; mais les apparences sont contre moi, & je sens [tous vos avantages / *ce que je puis craindre*]. Si vous aviez moins droit de me haïr, j'oserois peutêtre

"L'orfano perseguitato," p. 165.

Jon[es]. Ah! Madamigella, perchè mai non fu questo canale più profondo, e più rapido, che in essa spenta avrei la mia vita, e saziato il mio crudele destino.

Mad. [*Sofia*]. Questo disprezzo della vita, è un eccesso di compiacenza in mio pro: ma se sprezzar vi fa una cosa a me cata, questa compiacenza m'offende.

Jon. Possibile, Madamigella, che m'odiare cotanto?

La storia di Tom Jones, 1757

Ah! Madama . . . quanto sarei stato più felice, se il canale fosse stato ancora più profondo! quel momento mi avrebbe liberato da tutt'i mali, che mi preparava il crudele mio destino

Questo affettato dispregio della vita non è altro che un eccesso della vostra compiacenza per me Potete odiarmi fino a tal segno?

Histoire de Tom Jones, 1st/3d ed. 1750/57.

Hélas, Madame . . . j'eusse été sans doute trop heureux, si le canal eût été plus profond! cet instant m'eût affranchi de tous les maux que me préparoit [ma triste destinée / la suite de ma vie!]

Ce mépris affecté de la vie n'est sans doute qu'un excès de votre complaisance pour moi Pouvez-vous me haïr à ce point?

APPENDIX 2: ITALIAN TRANSLATIONS AND DRAMATIZATIONS OF *Tom Jones* TO 1800

The descriptive formula gives author, short title, imprint, collation; notes; locations (italicized for copies seen; followed by superscript x for photocopies seen); and bibliographical references. Derived bibliographical references are linked with double hyphens to their source. Abbreviations: BU—Biblioteca universitaria; L—"Lost" edition. The first letter following the reference number distinguishes editions, the second, issues or states.

1. [Fielding, Henry, 1707–1754]. *L'orfano fortunato, ovvero L'avventure del sig. N. N. gentiluomo inglese*. Venezia: G. Teverin, 1751. 4v. 12°. *Locations: Verona^x; Padova (BU)*.
Zambon 232 = 233 ("Venezia, Remondini, 1751," a misconstruction of an unstarred entry in a 1762 Remondini catalogue).
- 2a. ———. *La storia di Tom Jones, opera di m. Fielding*. Venezia: G. B. Regozza, 1756–57. 2v. 8°. front., 1(?) plates engr. by Antonio Zuliani after Gravelot.
Sig. I6 in v. 1 is a cancel.
Locations: Yale; Univ. of Virginia; British Library; Bodleian Library; Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (imprint misdated "1756" in *Catalogue des imprimés*).
The number of plates is uncertain: the Yale copy has 10, the BN copy 11; and some are directed to face the wrong text.
Cf. G. Ortolani, *Settecento* (1903), p. 437 (with Pasinelli imprint).
- 2b. ———. ———. Venezia: G. B. Regozza [*i.e.* Napoli: B. Gessari], 1757. 2v. 8°. front., 15 plates engr. by F. de Grado after Gravelot.
Locations: Harvard; Yale.
Zambon 237.

- 2ba. ———, ———. Napoli: Presso B. Gessari, a spese di D. Terres, 1758.
2v. 8°. front., 15 plates.
A reissue of 2b, with altered imprint & added preliminary matter.
*Locations: Free Lib. of Philadelphia*²; British Library.
Cf. Melzi (with imprint "Venezia, 1758") = ? Marchesi, p. 413 (with Pasinelli imprint) = Zambon 238.
- 2c. ———, ———. Roma: L. Vescovi & F. Neri, 1789. 3pts. in 2v. 8°. front.
(v.1) engr. after Gravelot.
*Locations: Univ. of Chicago*²; Napoli (BU); Roma (Bibl. Casanatense); Parma; Palermo.
3. [Chiari, Pietro, 1711?–1785?] L'orfano perseguitato. — L'orfano ramingo. — L'orfano riconosciuto, in: *Commedie rappresentate ne' teatri Grimani di Venezia cominciando dall'anno 1749*, d'Egerindo Criptonide, P.A. [pseud.] 4v. 12°. Venezia: A. Pasinelli, 1752–58, II (1753), 87–408.
*Locations: Bibl. Marciana*² (call no. 104.c.262); Bibl. Braidense.
4. Desforges, Pierre Jean Baptiste Choudard, 1746–1806. *Tom Jones a Londra*. trad. Giovanni Piazza. Venezia, 1798 (*Il teatro moderno*, v.27). 79p.
Locations: Boston Public Lib.
5. Sografi, Antonio Simeone, 1759–1818. *Tom Jones* (Produced 22 Oct. 1796 at the Teatro San Angelo, Venice).
Locations: none; unpublished?
Il teatro moderno, v. 61, indice 5.
- L1. "Fielding, Storia di Tom Jones, ovvero il Bambino ritrovato: Opera Scritta in Inglese, poi tradotta in Francese ed ora dal Francese in Italiano, con varie gentili figure in rami disegnate da Mr. Gravelot, 12 [mo], vol. 4. Sotto il Torchio L : ".
Locations: none; unpublished?
Catalogus librorum, qui latine atque italice ex typographia Remondiniana nuperrime prodierunt, nec non aliorum, qui ibidem majori numero reperiuntur. Venetiis: apud Joseph Remondini & filios, 1751, p.25 = Zambon 236.
- L2. "La storia di Tom Jones, scritta in inglese poi tradotta in francese da M. De La Place ed ora portata in italiano abbellita da rami disegnati di M. Cravelot [sic]. In Venezia MDCCLIX presso Gio. Battista Regozza con licenza de' Superiori e Privilegi. 2v. 8°". Engr. Antonio Zuliani.
Locations: none; possibly a ghost of 2a.
G. Morazzoni, *Il libro illustrato veneziano del Settecento* [1943], p.230 & tav. cxxvi (4 figs.).
- L3. "Storia di Tom-Jones. Ivi per lo stesso [Venezia, Pasinelli] 1767 to. 2 in 8."
Locations: none; possibly a ghost of 2b.
Peroni xxv = Marchesi, p. 413 = Zambon 239.

APPENDIX 3: DER ENGLÄNDISCHE FINDLING (L'orfano perseguitato)

Der engländische Findling, oder die verfolgte Unschuld, ein Lust-spiel von drey Aufzügen für die Wienerische Schau-bühne verfertigt von Joseph Carl Huber. [Wien, 1751?] 70p.

Locations: Harvard; Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek.

Summary (with Chiari's revisions in curves):

In the palace of Albrecht, count of Somerset, his nephew, Bigot, and his adopted son, Jones, are being educated under a tutor, Bernardon (Squer), who much prefers Bigot. Twenty (fifteen) years ago, Jones was found in Albrecht's bed, who, determining that Hanns-Wurst (Truffaldino) was the baby's father, dismissed him from his service and adopted the foundling. In a neighboring chateau, Squire Odoardo (Lord Fol) lives with his daughter Sophie, his politic sister Clarice, and his niece Henriette, who has recently fled from her husband Patrizio^a to take refuge with her mother. To Bernardon's disgust, Jones maintains a disgraceful friendship with Scapin (Sangiot), Albrecht's gamekeeper, and Molli (Morina), Scapin's sister. Hanns-Wurst ekes out a living in the neighborhood as a barber and veterinarian, hoping some day to regain Albrecht's good graces.

As the play opens, Bernardon is complaining as usual to Albrecht in a garden outside the palace, about Jones's many shortcomings, when Odoardo enters, charging that Jones and an unidentified accomplice shot two partridges (a covey of partridges) on his estate, and demanding justice. Albrecht summons Jones, who justifies the shooting, further swearing that he was alone. When Bigot and Bernardon report that Scapin has confessed his guilt, Jones protests that he had to lie to protect the gamekeeper's poor family. Albrecht forgives him and lets him choose a horse from the stable as a reward, but dismisses the gamekeeper.

Later, Jones and Bigot go walking in the garden with Henriette and Sophie, who has a pet canary on a string. The company fall to talking of the tyranny of women, and Bigot jestingly frees the bird, to prove that it prefers liberty even to Sophie's chains. It flies to a nearby tree, from which Jones retrieves it, falling into the lake below, however, in the process. To show her gratitude, Sophie persuades her father to employ Scapin as his gamekeeper, takes Molli as her personal servant, and gives her a new dress. (Chiari here digresses, with a scene in which Enrichetta silences Jones's doubts of his unworthiness; and an episode in which Alberich sentences Morina to Bridewell for wearing clothes above her station, which he mistakenly believes were dishonestly acquired. On hearing they are a present from Sophia, however, he releases her.)

Meanwhile, Bernardon learns that Jones has sold the horse, and angrily accuses him of disrespect for his benefactor. When Jones, at Albrecht's request, discloses that he applied the proceeds to the relief of Scapin's family, Bernardon,

^a So at p. 32 of the German, translated as "Fitz Patric" at p. 139 of the Italian; the second and third plays of the trilogy, however, call him "Patrizio."

suspicious of so much benevolence, determines to ferret out the evil motive behind it. Encountering Molli in her new dress, he tries to seduce her—but Jones's good deeds have won her heart, and she summons her brother, who gives the tutor a sound horsewhipping. Next day, while Odoardo and Clarice are viewing a staghunt from Albrecht's shooting lodge, and Henriette and Sophie are resting, Bernardon seizes the occasion to lie in wait for Molli, concealing himself behind a curtain in a fireplace of Odoardo's chateau. Molli enters with Jones, who asks her what Sophie thinks of him—and blushes at her answer. Unable to conceal her chagrin, Molli declares her passion but, when Jones cannot return it, understands and pities his hopeless love. Pulling up a chair, she accidentally draws the curtain, discovering Bernardon in the fireplace. Though Jones perceives his design, he nobly declines to expose him.

Clarice, returning from the staghunt, brings news that Albrecht has unexpectedly been taken ill. As Jones and Bernardon rush off, the lawyer Western (Dolis) arrives to report that Bigot's mother (Brigitta) has died, and to deliver a letter from her to Albrecht, which he leaves with Bigot; who opens it and, finding that it will help Jones, resolves to burn it. Enter Hanns-Wurst, mistaking Bigot for his "son" Jones, whom he has not seen in twenty years: "Coom to me quick, lad, and kuss ma niece."^b Though Bigot now knows that Hanns-Wurst was not Jones's father, he threatens him in turn with prison, torture, and finally his dead wife, if he tries to convince Albrecht of his error; only the last threat is successful. Jones, Sophie, and Henriette return, rejoicing (with wine and song) over Albrecht's recovery; at which Bigot takes offense, and picks a quarrel with Jones. A duel is averted only by Albrecht's arrival.

Clarice, however, mistaking the object of Sophie's concern, concludes that she is in love with Bigot. Odoardo arranges the match with Albrecht, but before Clarice can break the news, Jones and Sophie have declared their love (confiding it to Enrichetta, who encourages them). Albrecht exiles Jones for his presumption, giving him a sword and a banknote, and telling him to seek a glorious death in the King's service. Jones gives Molli a farewell letter for Sophie, and Hanns-Wurst gives her one for Jones; but unfortunately, she forgets which is which, and even Bernardon, to whose skill in philosophy she appeals, cannot distinguish a "male" from a "female" letter without opening them. So the letters go astray: Sophie, receiving a coarsely worded demand for money, sends Jones all she has (reserving, however, her jewels, at Morina's request); while Jones gets his own letter back, with money he never asked for. He leaves, convinced that Sophie despises his love, and Hanns-Wurst follows him into exile. Albrecht, discovering Clarice's mistake, advises Bigot to win over Sophie by patient courtship. Parents, he reflects, are like gardeners who, for all their planning, watering and tending, must leave the growth of the plant to Heaven.

L'orfano ramingo: *Summary.*

Jones, having lost the £1,000 banknote that Alberich gave him, meets Patrizio who, unknown to Jones, joined the army to recoup his fortunes after Fri-

^b "Buhe, geschwind komme her, und huße mir das Bratzel." Hanns-Wurst's Salzburg Deutsch becomes Truffaldino's Venetian dialect.

chetta left him. He is now proceeding with his ensign, Norberto, and their company of soldiers from Dorchester to Bath, where Norberto has an appointment with Milladì Bellamin; and from thence to Upton to meet the French, who have landed in Suffolk. When Jones innocently proposes a toast to Enrichetta and Sofia, Patrizio indignantly knocks him out and leaves for Bath. Truffaldino, returning from a fruitless search for the banknote, which Sangiot, the gamekeeper, has appropriated, bandages Jones's wounds; and as night is falling, they seek shelter in a nearby house. Pausing at the entrance, Jones sees the Man of the Mountain^c — Lord Sommer and his true father, incognito — attacked by assassins, and rescues him. Sommer recognizes Jones's sword as one he formerly gave Alberich in Ireland; but when Jones, cautiously trying to preserve his anonymity, claims he took it from a French officer near Suffolk, Sommer, offended at his obvious insincerity, asks him to leave, promising to send Truffaldino after him.

On his way to Upton, Jones hears Bellamin scream for help, and rescues her from Norberto. Born of poor but honest parents, she had been sentenced by Alberich to a house of correction at Oxford for life, on the charge of bearing a bastard; but she was delivered by Lord Bellamin, who has recently died, leaving her one of the wealthiest widows in England. She and Jones proceed to an inn, where they take adjoining apartments, and she tells him her story over dinner, offering him a commission in the army for saving her life. Jones prudently declines to tell her who he is, and nobly refuses her reward. When Truffaldino arrives from Lord Sommer's house, the hostess advises him not to disturb Bellamin and Jones, and he waits outside the door.

Enter Clarisse and Patrizio, pursuing Sofia and Enrichetta, who have escaped from Castle Fol disguised as Irish gentlemen. Finding her son-in-law pounding on the door of Bellamin's rooms, she rebukes him loudly for confusing her respectable daughter with an adventuress; at which Bellamin appears, vowing vengeance on Clarisse; and she and Patrizio retire in embarrassment. Enrichetta and Sofia arrive and, finding Jones still closeted with Bellamin, depart, enraged at his perfidy: in token of their disdain, they leave a ribbon he once gave Sofia. Finally, Lord Fol appears, and mistakes Bellamin for his daughter. When Bellamin removes the misunderstanding and Jones discovers the ribbon, all depart: Fol and Jones in search of Sofia; and Patrizio, who cowardly declines to give Jones satisfaction, to Dorchester.

At a crossroad in the Forest of Upton,^d Jones and Truffaldino meet Denis, a beggar. When Jones gives him alms, Denis shows him a wallet — which turns out to be Sofia's, with a £200 note inside. Following this clue, they encounter Valestano, king of the Gypsies. He executes admirable justice on a gypsy woman who tries to seduce Truffaldino; but two of his band join with Denis to rob Jones. Enter Sofia and Enrichetta, looking for their lost note. They

^c This figure is already "L'homme de la montagne" in the French (VIII.9).

^d Mrs. Waters, in the French (IX.1), once refers to Fielding's "vast and extensive Wood" as a "Forêt."

rescue Jones from Denis and the gypsies with their swords, but Sofia indignantly refuses the purse, and leaves in tears.

Meanwhile, Sommer has been entertaining Fol, who explains why Sofia and Enrichetta have fled; from which Sommer concludes that his rescuer was his son, Jones. And now, while Fol is off on a boar hunt, Sommer finds Enrichetta and, taking her for Sofia, warns her to flee. Bellamin, who has followed Jones from the inn, next appears and, overcome by his exemplary fidelity to Sofia, offers to marry him; which he accepts, provided that Sofia rejects him forever. She now returns with Clarisse, declares she can never forgive his perfidy, and leaves for London; and Fol, returning from the hunt and finding only Enrichetta, putsues. All blame their misfortunes on Jones's imprudence and insincerity.

Truffaldino now sees Bellamin for the first time; and learning of her engagement with Jones, warns that she is Jones's mother. It then transpires that Sommer had secretly married Brigitta and, in a fit of jealousy, fled to America, leaving his wife pregnant. She and Bellamin arranged for the child to be left in Alberich's bed, and for Bellamin to take the blame; but deceived by the false reports of his death that Sommer spread on his departure, his wife remarried. Discovering her remarriage on his return from America, Sommer retired to the Forest of Upton, living incognito to protect her honor. He now reveals this secret and, believing his wife is still alive, swears Jones to secrecy. Jones in turn explains that Alberich gave him the sword; and now, free to marry Bellamin, leaves for London. *Humanum est errare*; but we should learn from our mistakes.

L'orfano riconosciuto: Summary.

Jones is living in London at the boarding-house of Madama Miller, under the assumed name of Bridge; he has won her gratitude by freeing her son-in-law Norberto, whom Bellamin imprisoned for attempted assassination. Clarisse is living in Hyde Park with Sofia, and now refuses to speak with Enrichetta until she is reconciled with her husband. Alberich and Bigot have come up to town for the funeral of Brigitta, who died eight days previously. Alberich meets Lord Fellaman for breakfast at Madama Miller's, where they have invited Clarisse and Bellamin to make up their quarrel.

During these negotiations, Jones meets Sofia, returns her note, and begs her forgiveness, insisting that he only agreed to marry Bellamin from despair. Bellamin discovers them, and when Jones confesses that he still loves Sofia and needs time to conquer this passion, Bellamin breaks off their engagement. Sofia still has misgivings, but Enrichetta promises to sound out her lover's sincerity: for which purpose, she has contrived an assignation at a masquerade, sending him a note from the "Queen of the Fairies," with a ribbon to wear as identification.

Meantime, Fellaman has fallen in love with Sofia, and Clarisse advises him to carry off her niece by force before Fol arrives. He is interrupted in the attempt, however, and insulted. Norberto brings Fol the choice: to fight Fellaman, or accept him as his son-in-law; but Fol refuses to live by the code of honor, pre-

ferring the letter of his agreement with Alberich. Fellaman then asks Norberto to arrest Jones, and put him aboard the Fleet of the Company of English Merchants trading in America, which leaves in a few days.^e Jones sends Truffaldino to keep his assignation with Enrichetta, a precaution that so favorably impresses her that she invites him back to her home; where Patrizio finds him, challenges him, and is killed. As Norberto arrests Jones, Alberich comes upon them, rebukes Jones for this fresh offense against his upbringing, and dismisses him with a "father's" curse.

Norberto now reports that Patrizio confessed to striking the first blow before he died, but that Jones will be condemned on false testimony procured by Dolis. Bigot temporarily staves off the suspicions raised by this report by claiming that he sent Dolis to soften the evidence: yet at last, Truffaldino comes before Alberich, asserting his innocence; Bellamin recants her former testimony, and accuses Alberich of persecuting his own nephew; and Dolis reveals Bigot's perfidy in concealing the letter of Brigitta. Fellaman, having freed Jones, declares his admiration for Enrichetta, and Sangiot, who has tried to invest Jones's £500 in the Fleet, is sent off in his place. Sommer sends Alberich a letter, disclosing the secret of his marriage. Jones forgives Bigot, giving him the £500 note,^f and marries Sofia amid general rejoicing.

^e This corporation was created in the French (XVI.7): "il ne seroit difficile de le faire enlever & embarquer sur la Flotte qui doit partir au premier jour pour l'*Amerique*," says Lady Bellaston. Something like the Spanish Plate Fleet seems to have been implied.

^f *Sic.* It was a £1,000 note in "L'orfano ramingo."

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