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Casanoviana is a publication devoted to the study on the life, work and fortune of Giacomo Casanova and his world, continuing the tradition started in 1925 by *Pages Casanoviennes*, edited by Joseph Pollio and Raoul Vèze, then by *Casanova Gleanings* (1958-1980), edited by James Rives Childs, and by *L'Intermédiaire des Casanovistes* (1984-2013), edited by Helmut Watzlawick and Furio Luccichenti.

Its purpose is to share news, promoting the knowledge and study of Casanova, of its time and its European and international echo through new research, cultural debates, editions of unpublished or unknown documents. A non-profit making enterprise, it appears once a year as a booklet in limited copies. This issue appears in 250 copies.

Casanoviana 1, a cura di Antonio Trampus

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Casanoviana

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2018

ÉDITORIAL

Des Pages Casanoviennes à Casanoviana, à travers *Casanova Gleanings* et *L'Intermédiaire des Casanovistes*

Dans le dernier numéro de *L'Intermédiaire des Casanovistes* (30, 2013), les éditeurs se souvenaient l'esprit et l'objectif de la revue: «reprendre le flambeau des regrettés *Casanova Gleanings* et entretenir l'intérêt de nos lecteurs et amis pour la vie et l'œuvre d'un personnage exceptionnel, disparu il y a deux siècles mais en notre esprit resté vivant comme un ami proche». Et concluaient avec l'exhortation: «l'avenir nous dira si d'autres passionnés de la vie et de l'œuvre de Casanova se décideront un jour de poursuivre notre initiative; de notre côté nous leur souhaiterions alors d'éprouver le même bonheur et plaisir qui a accompagné notre travail pendant ces trente années passées».

Cinq ans après, une partie des anciens éditeurs de *L'Intermédiaire*, avec la bienveillance des vieux amis et avec le soutien de nouveaux collaborateurs, a décidé de se lancer dans le projet de *Casanoviana*, exactement soixante ans après la publication du premier numéro des *Casanova Gleanings*. Nous espérons que cet anniversaire peut être un bon augure pour notre aventure.

Casanoviana, avec un clin d'œil à l'œuvre de James Rives Childs, reprend la longue tradition des séries et des revues casanoviennes qui se sont succédées au XX^e siècle. *Pages Casanoviennes* a été la première série née en 1925 et créé par Joseph Pollio et Raoul Vèze, avec le but de publier des pages inédites de Casanova, des commentaires rectificatifs, réimprimer des ouvrages de Casanova et d'établir un dictionnaire casanovien à travers l'intermédiation des casanovistes du monde entier. Après les huit volumes des *Pages Casanoviennes*, il fallait attendre l'initiative de Childs (1893-1987) pour le lancement des *Casanova Gleanings*, continué de 1958 à 1980. Et quatre ans après la fin de cette revue (c'est plus ou moins le même intervalle qui nous sépare de nos

prédécesseurs: autre élément de bon augure) a commencé le cycle trentenaire de *l'Intermédiaire des Casanovistes*, fondé et dirigé par Furio Luccichenti et Helmut Watzlawick.

Comme l'acquisition du manuscrit «Brockhaus» par la Bibliothèque Nationale de France et la magnifique édition de *l'Histoire de ma vie* dans la Bibliothèque de la Pléiade par Marie-Françoise Luna, Gérard Lahouati, Furio Luccichenti et Helmut Watzlawick ont montré, il existe toujours l'espace pour la recherche sur Casanova et sur les réseaux casanoviens au XVIIIe siècle. À côté de cela, le casanovisme même, avec ses protagonistes du XXe siècle, témoigne de la richesse et de l'héritage cosmopolite du siècle des Lumières. De tout cela, sans oublier l'actualité de Casanova, nous tenterons d'informer nos lecteurs.

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Fig. 1 - Portrait attributed to Anton Graff (Private collection, photo courtesy of the owner).

GIUSEPPE BIGNAMI

AN UNKNOWN PORTRAIT OF CASANOVA

While I was finishing cataloguing my Casanova collection, now awaiting publication, I happened to experience a conclusive adventure, perhaps the most significant one amongst the many others I had ever described with a touch of coquetry, in the pages of my challenging work. Unexpectedly, I was given the opportunity to show, for scientific purposes, a painting of the second half of the eighteenth century (fig. 1), which shared a strikingly resemblance, in iconographic terms, with a portrait of Casanova, allegedly attributed to Alessandro Longhi (fig. 2)¹.

As it is well known, the picture's identity draws exclusively on the oral tradition of the Venetian Gritti family, which to date, has not yet been confirmed.

This so-called "Longhi", published and commented on for the first time by Baron Cornelius Ver Heyden de Lancey in the "Gazette des Beaux-Arts" in 1934 in Paris², seemed to have disappeared after 1935. And here it is again, and only for comparative purposes, depicted in these pages in the only customary black-and-white picture sample as the norm was, during the first half of the twentieth century. The photograph of the so-called "Longhi" was taken and presented to the public for the first time by courtesy of the last owner of the painting, the Roman lawyer Ugo Monis, who allowed the French collector and scholar de Lancey to show it in 1934. In 1956, Childs used it as the cover preceding the frontis-

1 I thank both the professor Giovanni Grasso Fravega from Genoa and the former director of the Museum of Palazzo Reale in Genoa, Dr. Luca Leoncini, for some of their technical and critical observations, as well as Mr. Furio Luccichenti, whose accurate contributions as examiner and organizer have always been invaluable. My recognition will not focus on Casanova's iconography in its entirety. I have, in fact, deliberately omitted some of his earliest portraits, which therefore appear to be less accessible, and thus preferred to focus all my attention to this new one, as yet unknown, but definitely worth exploring. See GIUSEPPE BIGNAMI, *Aggiornamenti e proposte sull'iconografia casanoviana*, «L'Intermédiaire des Casanovistes», XI (1994), p. 17-23.

2 See CORNELIUS VER HEYDEN LANCEY, *Les portraits de Jacques et de François Casanova*, «Gazette des Beaux-Arts», 1934, p. 14, n. 7 (copy from my collection).

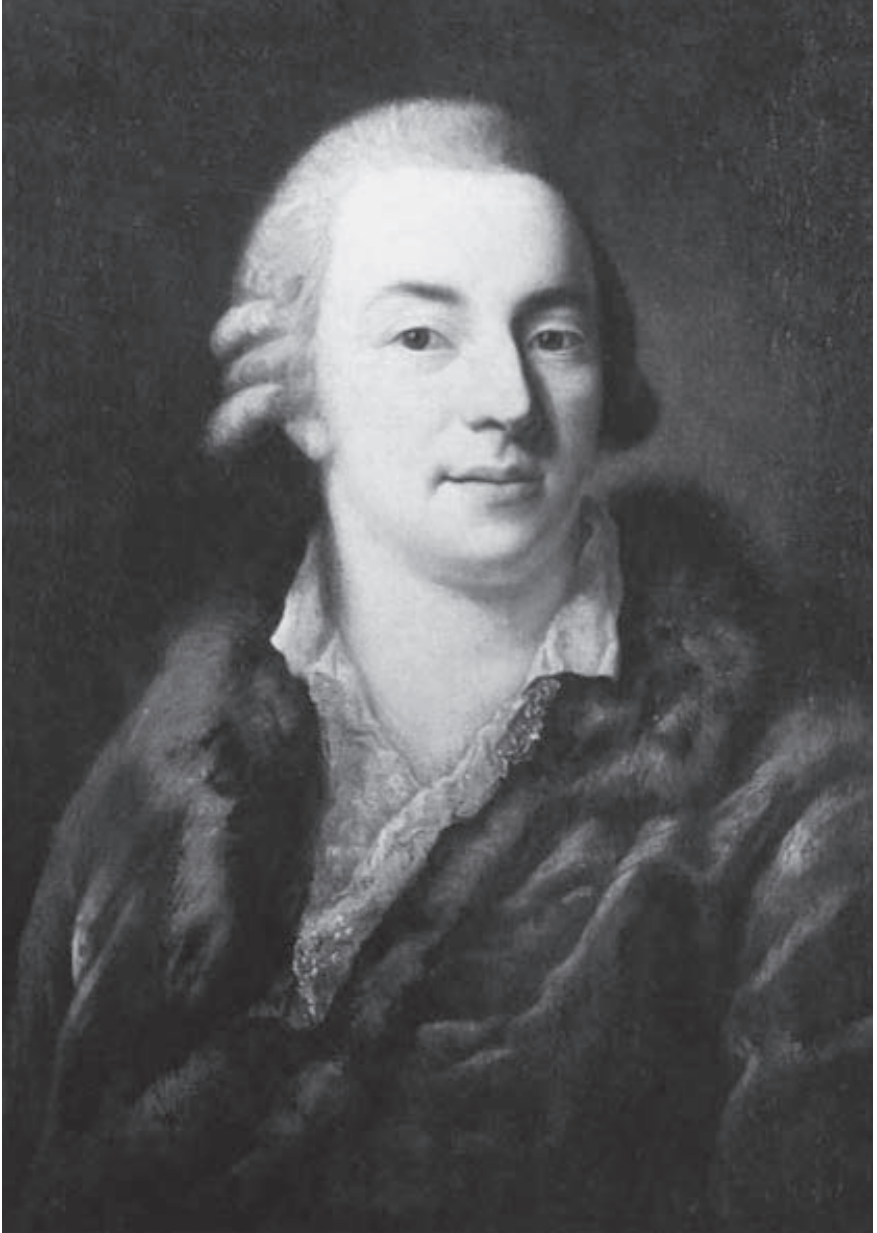


Fig. 2 - Portrait attributed to Alessandro Longhi (Photo by J. Rives Childs, 1956).

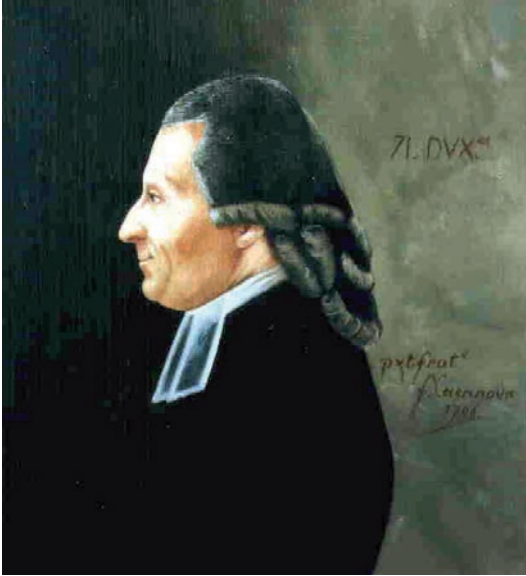


Fig. 3 - Giacomo Casanova after portrait by Francesco Casanova (Photo by M. Leeftang).

time, including No. 5, precisely the “Longhi” of Monis for which he wrote: “Casanova à l’âge de 50 ans environ, vers 1775. Portrait à l’huile, attribué à Alessandro Longhi. En buste, de trois quarts à gauche, presque de face. Col ouvert, sans jabot. Cheveux à 3 marteaux sur l’oreille. Collection Gritti, à Venise”⁶.

It is worth remembering that it is the year 1979, namely the period in which Samaran also shows, for the first time in his “small iconography”, an unknown and unpublished miniature-portrait painting of the old Casanova by his brother Francesco in 1796, in Dux (fig. 3). This miniature had been jealously guarded by the Roman heirs of the ambassador Gian-Franco Pompei, the lucky discoverer. At that time, two aspects of the “Longhi” or “Gritti” portrait were still uncertain

piece of his book *Casanoviana*³. However, it would be fair to mention that it had been previously published in the twelfth volume of *Memoirs of Sirène*⁴ and only two years later by Georges Haldenwang (always being referred to as the “Longhi”, or “Casanova”, or “Gritti” and “Monis” collections)⁵. After more than four decades, Charles Samaran, in an introductory appendix to one of his *Petite iconographie casanovienne*, prepared a conclusive list of the seven most popular portraits of Casanova of that

3 JAMES RIVES CHILD, *Casanoviana. An annotated world bibliography of Jacques Casanova de Seingalt and of works concerning him*, Vienna, Christian M. Nebel, 1956, image after the frontispice.

4 1935: Ugo Monis collection, grandson and heir of Maria Gritti-Rizzi as noted in the portrait.

5 GEORGES HALDENWANG, *Casanova à Genève*, Paris, Maurice d’Hartoy, 1937.

6 *Casanova Gleanings*, XXII (1979), p. 3.

and unresolved: the painting's real location (Samaran like Childs, would refer to Gritti rather than the last owner, the lawyer Monis, although aware and refraining from saying that the portrait should be considered missing after 1935) and the true author of the painting, allegedly Longhi.

In his research, the French scholar makes no attempt to inform us on the authenticity and availability of the supposedly 'uncertain' Casanova style portraits, but simply prefers to refer them to de Lancey's article of 1934. At the time of Samaran, a French well-known scholar and respected casanovist all over Europe, a research into the fate of the "A. Baudouin" miniature described by de Lancey in 1934, and of "A. Graff" miniature (52x39 mm.), discovered by Baron G. Alberto Blanc in Venice in 1916, (part of my collection since 1982), as well as of the large painting presented to the press by Armando Preziosi in 1953 or the oil painting attributed to Anton Raphael Mengs (recovered by me in 1993, and later on, fairly attributed to Francesco Maria Narice, 152x130 cm.) might have come handy, if not, still feasible indeed. However, Samaran could not get over the idea that some of them had to be declared missing and kept on finding for them implausible settings even for the "Longhi" of Monis I am here examining. This portrait like many others, except for the two ones I managed to recover (fig. 4, 5), still lack of reliable locations and attributions⁷.

7 De Lancey, while reconstructing the history of the portrait in the aforementioned article appeared in 1934 in the *Gazette de Beaux-Arts*, reports that Alessandro Longhi (Venice 1733-1813), after having kept the portrait - painted in the years immediately after 1774 - with him for some time in Venice - offered it to a certain Count Gritti of an ancient patrician family, who had the reputation of being a discreet, handsome and successful Don Giovanni, ancestor of the last known owner of the painting, precisely the lawyer Ugo Monis from Rome. After this incipit, based exclusively on the peremptory eighteenth-century tradition boasted by the Gritti family, he still recalls that Longhi himself, Pietro's son, had also painted the portrait of Francesco and Giacomo Casanova, the first of whom was in his Parisian collection at the time, stating that the second came from the Gritti family. Both Vèze and Aldo Ravà, a leading Casanovist and connoisseur of local eighteenth-century paintings, knew the portrait. Gino Damerini was certainly aware of its existence, even though he never mentioned it on pp. 96-119 in his book *I pittori veneziani del 700*, Bologna, Zanichelli, 1928, as deduced from an ambiguous reference by de Lancey. R. Vèze reveals in the *Portrait de Casanova* of 1935 appeared in the last twelfth volume of *Memoirs* of Sirène, that the painting, allegedly Longhi, belonged to Francesco Antonio Gritti, a surgeon and deputy who died in 1887, and then passed on as an inheritance to his sister Maria Gritti-Rizzi (who also died in 1887 - writes Vèze), the lawyer's maternal aunt. The lady had included it into the beautiful collection of her husband Melchior Rizzi, from Treviso, together with a significant representation of a lady of the Gritti



Fig. 4 - The “Graff miniature” (Photo by Andrea Sörgoli 2008).



Fig. 5 - Portrait attributed to Francesco Maria Narice (Photo by Andrea Sörgoli 2008)

The almost perfect similarity between the alleged Longhi (fig. 2) and the portrait under consideration in this article (see fig. 1), however, dispels any doubts as to the primary focus of this research.

In fact, one does not need to be an art historian to examine that the two paintings need to be seen as in a succession, and cannot indeed be judged as a mere copy of each other: in this specific case, we are dealing with a creation and not simply a replica, as hereinafter shown by the Swiss portrait painter Anton Graff (Winterthur 1736-Dresden 1813). The dress varies significantly in the two paintings: the crosswise red mantle and the brown jacket with buttonholes and buttons are well highlighted in this portrait, as opposed to the fur just sketched in the other; the lace shirt is similarly portrayed in both, but it is wider and more elaborated in Graff's. The face is elongated and more developed in the lower part of the painting. The eyes are differently outlined in the two paintings, perhaps just protruding in both. The pictorial quality is appreciably higher in the newly discovered portrait, even though we cannot show a similar reproduction in colour for the painting of "Longhi", so much so that now, a few people may even consider it as an unfinished work; the only possible allusion to colour is the one shown by de Lancey in 1934 : "... les mêmes tons rouges et blancs et la même nuance que dans le beaux portrait de Carlo Goldoni"⁸.

Without any considerations whatsoever of the uncertain grounds for the insisting attributions to Longhi, who seems to differ in style from Graff's (in my opinion, the former seems more elegant, less personalized and more European), the character depicted in the two juxtaposed canvases, appears to be the same and should therefore be considered, from now onwards, as a "true" Giacomo Casanova.

family portrayed by Natale Schiavoni at the beginning of the nineteenth century in Venice. However, as far as I can recall, one of my search for the portrait of Casanova with a descendant of the Gritti a family led, in the early eighties of the last century, to the disarming and humble statement which revealed that no one had ever seen the "Longhi" in that branch of the family.

8 For the sake of objectivity and for a more complete inventory I must add, and immediately delete from the list of Samaran, a senile portrait of a presumed very colorful and serious Casanova, standing with a large book in his left hand, now owned by an American museum (the Toledo Museum of Art in Ohio), once again unreliably attributed to Alessandro Longhi; today there are two reproductions, the most popular of which was painted by L. Sugana, related to the writer Comisso, who mentions this portrait. Another elaboration was discovered by Piero Chiara and presented as follows: "engraving from the Musical Museum of Prague" (the photo can be found in PIERO CHIARA, *Il vero Casanova*, Milano, Mursia, 1977).



Fig. 6 – Particular from the portrait by Anton Graff.

The painting, whose reproduction has been granted exclusively to me by the current owners, participated in the international auction of 2016 as the *Portrait of an aristocrat, German School*⁹, while bearing a modest sign of the nineteenth century on the ruined frame - ignored at the auction - and the words “Anton Graff” (fig. 6).

According to Graff’s friend, Helmut Watzlawick whom I thank for his useful contributions, we know that Graff had very close relations, namely he was “on friendly terms or not”, with Giovanni Casanova (“Zuan Alvise”, as recorded in the Baptized in San Samuele register, in Venice, on November 4, 1730),

Giacomo’s younger brother, professor and future director - after 1776 - of the Academy of Painting in Dresden¹⁰.

Anton Graff was a colleague of Giovanni Casanova for thirty years, awaiting a professional promotion in Dresden. Around 1790, he also painted his portrait, which I had the opportunity to verify, a few years ago, in an integral monograph on Graff by Ekhart Berckenhagen¹¹, without, however, thinking of reporting the circumstance in the Casanova environment. We also know that Graff was

9 Auction of 18 March 2016, http://www.artnet.com/artists/german-school-18/portrait-of-an-aristocrat_WxJ43SEqasbkLqRw-Q6yg2.

10 Giacomo Casanova offers an indirect and documentary confirmation when he mentions his brother in the second volume of his translation of the Iliad, on p. XI in the *Catalogue of New Associates*, in 1776, simply calling him “Mr. Giovanni Casanova first painter, and professor of the Academy of His Highness the Electoral Sergeant of Saxony”.

11 EKHART BERCKNHAGEN, *Anton Graff. Leben und Werk*, Berlin, Deutscher Verlag, 1967.

in Dresden in 1766, at the same time and place where Giacomo was staying and more precisely in July and autumn; a documented acquaintance between the two, would, at this point, make the identification of this new painting as “Giacomo Casanova, 1766” very plausible. Likewise, the creation of a authentic replica, after 1766 and before 1774, namely the canvas representing a more mature Casanova in his fifties attributed to “Alessandro Longhi”, Venice, from the Gritti-Monis family, appears to be probable.

Another factor of interest at this time seems to be suggested by the age of Casanova when comparing the two canvases: 41 plausible years in Graff’s painting, perhaps two or three years older in “Longhi’s” painting. It should be noted that if Alessandro Longhi had been called by Casanova (?), in Venice after 1774 (?), to paint an improbable portrait of himself, it is not clear how the penniless adventurer who had just returned from Trieste would have enjoyed the fortunate social and economic condition to engage the so acclaimed and expensive painter. And we cannot possibly understand how he might end up appearing in his fifties, which would seem too later in life. In fact, the attractive gentleman presented here rather shows, in his red mantle, the thoughtful and somewhat dreamy freshness of a forty-one years old man during his stay in Dresden.

In my opinion, the canvas in question will become, for Graff, a prototype and model for a second subsequent portrait known by all as “A. Longhi’s”: an attribution that must instead be technically denied, for sufficient reasons of aesthetic, critical and artistic comparison.

The reasons for the replica that I am theorizing here, might have been the same that led Graff to paint, as historically documented, other portraits of him; it might have been, for example, the interest of Casanova, or of a friend of his, in having for himself a second and yet not accurate copy of the successful and still youthful original image. I can add that the new portrait remained in the shadows for two hundred and fifty years, unknown to all as if it were in quarantine; a painting without history and without known displacements. Nothing says that we cannot imagine or simply hypothesise, that he had stayed in Germany and later on, permanently in other country. All this, in an atmosphere of general indifference and not far away from the painter’s hometown; one could venture that it had become, or always remained, the personal property of a member of his own family. In the meantime, the replica, or second copy, was soon to embrace, through unknown but more valuable shortcuts and vicissitudes, its luminous “Casanova”

destiny in Venice, with the apocryphal attribution to Longhi and its immediate disappearance after 1935, in Rome.

Even the long-standing rumour that the character of the portrait owned by the lawyer Monis was Giacomo Casanova, might have drawn, not only on the oral tradition of the Gritti family (who had absolutely no doubts about it), but also, and why not, on the still fresh memory of Graff's previous work. On the other hand, commercial reasons linked to Longhi's greater fame, at least in Venice, would justify the superimposition of the famous local name (Longhi) on the other foreign artist (Graff), certainly less acclaimed in Italy.

It is clear that once ascertained the identity of Casanova with the "fake" Longhi (fig. 2), although still with reservations and indeed relying on too little investigation by the scholars of the past, it is feasible for me to associate this very Casanova also to the painting "signed" with Graff herein illustrated (fig. 1). It is unlikely, however, that Alessandro Longhi, a famous Venetian painter, decided to paint (and why?) a replica of Graff's painting and then sell it, unsigned, to Count Gritti. There is, in fact, no portrait of Casanova signed with Longhi.

However, it is not my responsibility to examine here, from a qualitative and artistic point of view, this unpublished portrait of Anton Graff, which will pave the way for further studies on Casanova's iconography: I will simply report here the expertise that has been provided. However, it does not seem bold to me to call both portraits as "Giacomo Casanova", considering that the presumed Longhi has been identified as such by major artists, namely de Lancey, Ravà, Pollio, Vèze as well as the authoritative Childs when he finally published the "Longhi-Casanova-Monis" in his *Casanoviana*. The attribution to Graff, on the other hand, is, in my opinion, reliable, precisely because, according to my notes, it will no longer be possible to disregard Graff's complex acquaintances with the brothers of Casanova's. The affinity of the noble portrait and the replica with other specific works of such a popular painter in his native land in those days that might have led someone to falsify his signature supports this hypothesis (see the case, still open, of the "false signature" of Graff in the miniature in my collection (fig. 4). The miniature is equipped with a back consisting of a fragment of an ancient German newspaper from the end of the 18th century, with the pen annotation "Casanova Giacomo"). Graff is also mentioned at least three times (four, if we include the portrait of Giovanni Casanova) in the meagre Casanova style iconography and on the grounds of clear attribution criteria coupled with

the opinion expressed by Piero Chiara in 1968 in his *Saggi, libelli e satire* about my miniature as “copied from a lost miniature¹².”

As I wrote, this is the first and only publication authorised by the owners of the painting, so far unknown, except for those participating in the international auctions and in April 2018 when an unknown editorial archive in Milan decided to publish it with a completely wrong caption. I hope that the German painting experts of the second half of the eighteenth century will focus on this publication to further their research as well as the Casanovists by always comparing it against the few truly indisputable portraits of Casanova: the profile engraved by J. Berka for the *Icosameron*, the two small portraits made for him by his brother Francesco - and the miniature Baudouin, gone missing, but still shown in some texts.

In conclusion and in support of my arguments, I find it appropriate to corroborate the view that the two canvases here compared, while sharing such a striking resemblance for which they might be called twins, were almost certainly painted by the only unmistakable Anton Graff around 1766, in Germany. It would therefore, be entirely similar to what happened to the portrait of the Elector of Saxony Councillor Camerlengo of which we know, in fact, beside the version of the picture gallery in Dresden (inv. 2180 C), an authentic replica - so considered by the Berliner professor Helmut Börsch-Supan - of the same Anton Graff, which was then sold at auction on June 16, 2009 in Vienna.

Technical expertise in its current state

Portrait of a gentleman

oil on canvas

cm. 70 x 55,3

Portrait of a Gentleman with a Lace Shirt, a Brown Jacket and a Red Cloak.
Second half of the 18th century, probably by Anton Graff.

Conditions

Support: in very good condition since the painting was holstered in the late '800 and the frame is still able to support it. On the back there are: paper stamp

¹² PIERO CHIARA, *Saggi, libelli e satire, con un ritratto inedito*, Milano, Longanesi, 1968.

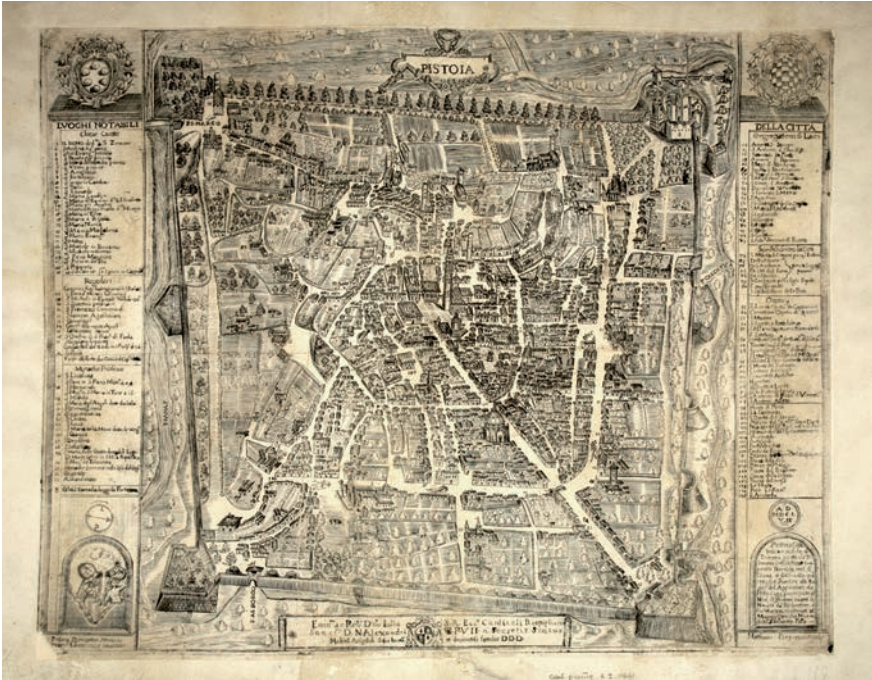
bearing the words “Bundes - Denkmalamt - Wien” and the number “49” hand painted in red. Moisture stain on the left which did not cause any damage. The conditions appear more than good, and the vision is not disturbed.

However, the following conditions should be noted:

Pictorial fabric: very light patina of dirt, irrelevant for reading. Painting film generally well anchored except for a vertical band in the central left area that has small solid bubbles that have given way in the area of the red mantle. In fact, the previous restorer moderately retouched the painting, especially in the mantle, without filling in the small gaps, and the integrations appear altered.



Fig. 7 - The author with the portrait by Anton Graff.



Francesco Leoncini, *Pianta della città di Pistoia*, 1657

STEFANO FEROCI

IL “TESORO” DELL’AVVENTURIERO RUSSO IVANOFF

Nel corso dei suoi innumerevoli viaggi attraverso le capitali europee, Giacomo Casanova ebbe la ventura di essere espulso ben tre volte da Firenze e di avervi qui incontrato altri celebri avventurieri: come per esempio il conte Medini e i fratelli Zannovich. Nel 1760, anno della sua prima espulsione, incontrò invece un avventuriero di nome Ivanoff, del quale poco conosciamo, salvo forse essere di origine russa. Ricordando il primo soggiorno a Firenze, Casanova scrive nelle memorie:

Mi divertivo, insomma, e non avevo intenzione di lasciar Firenze molto presto, quando, un giorno, il dottor Vannini – l'albergatore – mi diede una lettera che gli era stata consegnata non so da chi. L'aprii in sua presenza e vi trovai una cambiale di duecento scudi di Firenze su Sasso Sassi: Vannini l'esaminò e concluse che era regolarissima. Mi ritirai allora nella mia stanza per leggere la lettera e vidi che era firmata da Carlo Ivanoff. Mi scriveva, dall'albergo della Posta di Pistoia, che, perseguitato dalla cattiva sorte e sempre senza denaro, si era confidato con un inglese che era in partenza da Firenze per Lucca e questi generosamente gli aveva regalato duecento scudi dandogli l'inclusa cambiale che aveva scritto in sua presenza e che era pagabile al portatore. Non oso - precisava - venire a Firenze personalmente perché temo di essere riconosciuto e arrestato a causa della disgraziata faccenda di Genova. La prego dunque di aver pietà di me, di mandare qualcuno a ritirare la somma e di farmela avere subito, affinché possa pagare l'albergatore e partire¹.

Da qui ha inizio la vicenda che porterà Giacomo Casanova ad essere espulso una prima volta da Firenze e dal Granducato di Toscana. Il veneziano racconta infatti di essere andato a Pistoia all'albergo della Posta a restituire il documento all'Ivanoff:

Il favore che quel disgraziato mi chiedeva era cosa da poco, ma rischiavo di compromettermi, giacché non soltanto la cambiale poteva risultare falsa, ma anche se fosse

¹ GIACOMO CASANOVA, *Histoire de ma vie*, édition établie sous la direction de Gérard Lahouati et Marie-Françoise Luna, avec la collaboration de Furio Luccichenti et Helmut Watzlawick. Paris, Gallimard, 2015 (Bibliothèque de la Pléiade), vol. II, p. 580 (in seguito: CASANOVA, H.M.V., vol. e p.).

stata buona, mi avrebbe fatto passare per amico e corrispondente di un uomo il cui nome e i cui connotati erano già comparsi sulle gazzette. Decisi quindi di restituirgli la cambiale di persona. Andai alla posta solo soletto, feci attaccare due cavalli e raggiunsi l'albergo della Posta a Pistoia. L'albergatore stesso mi accompagnò nella stanza del mariuolo e poi uscì lasciandoci soli. Non mi fermai che tre o quattro minuti, il tempo necessario per dirgli, restituendogli la cambiale, che Sassi – il banchiere fiorentino - mi conosceva e che non volevo si sapesse in giro che avevo rapporti con lui [Ivanoff]. Gli consigliai di dare la cambiale all'oste: sarebbe andato lui a portarla a Sassi e poi gli avrebbe rimesso la somma. Quello mi rispose che avrebbe seguito il mio consiglio e io lo salutai e tornai a Firenze².

Fu quello che successe, l'oste (o, meglio, l'ostessa) scontò la cambiale e quando la mandò dal banchiere fiorentino Sasso Sassi per avere il suo denaro, le fu detto che la cambiale era falsa. Casanova fu quindi accusato di avere inviato la falsa lettera di cambio a Ivanoff e l'ostessa pretese la restituzione dei duecento scudi, che Casanova si rifiutò di dare. L'ostessa si rivolse al giudice di Pistoia e questi all'Auditore Fiscale di Firenze, Domenico Bricchieri Colombi, sulla cui richiesta Roberto Pandolfini (Ministro della Segreteria di Stato) convocò Casanova invitandolo a rimborsare l'ostessa di Pistoia dei duecento scudi. Al suo rifiuto, non potendolo obbligare a pagare, l'Auditore gli dette l'ordine di lasciare entro tre giorni Firenze, ed entro cinque la Toscana, probabilmente intorno al 15 dicembre 1760, come è stato visto analizzando la corrispondenza dell'Auditore Fiscale³. Dopo la partenza di Casanova da Firenze e la scomparsa di Ivanoff da Pistoia, il quale non ci risulta essere poi mai stato rintracciato e perseguito, si potrebbe pensare che l'episodio si chiuda definitivamente. In realtà, per l'istanza dell'ostessa dell'Albergo della Posta, che chiede di essere rimborsata delle spese di alloggio di Ivanoff con la vendita del Baule lasciato dall'avventuriero russo, la storia della falsa lettera di cambio prosegue per un anno intero fino al dicembre del 1761. Il ritrovamento, all'Archivio di Stato di Pistoia, di alcuni documenti inediti, ha permesso di scoprire un insospettabile seguito giudiziario e artistico-museale; che coinvolse addirittura il maresciallo Adorno Botta, allora capo del Governo della Toscana per conto di Francesco di Lorena. Il contenuto del baule è inoltre interessante, perché ci permette di fare luce sulla vita di Iva-

2 CASANOVA, H.M.V., v. II, p. 580-581.

3 JAMES RIVES-CHILD, *New light on Casanova's activities in Florence, 1760*, «Casanova Gleanings», III (1960), p. 20-25.

noff, come tipico rappresentante della categoria degli avventurieri del Settecento⁴. Il 23 maggio 1761, infatti, il Giudice di Pistoia scrive all'Auditore Fiscale Domenico Brichieri Colombi la seguente lettera⁵:

Sig. Auditore Fiscale ill. mo,

Quel Forestiero Ivanoff di cui Vs. ill.ma si degnò di scrivermi sotto i giorni 2,4 e 12 Dicembre dell'anno passato partì improvvisamente di qua e lasciò un Debito all'Ostesia di £ 51:1 – come dall'annessa nota.

All'incontro lasciai pochi mobili in mano all'Ostessa e fra questi un baule chiuso e una cappelliera parimenti chiusa. L'ostessa, che quanto è onesta, altrettanto è povera, non avendo notizia alcuna del suo debitore mi fa istanza a voce, e dice di farla poi formalmente nella Banca, di voler depositare, previo l'Inventario, i mobili appresso il camerlengo dé Pegni e quivi far aprire baule e Cassetta, affinché tutto si venda alla Tromba con licitazione al Debitore assente da affliggersi nei Luoghi soliti e del ritratto pagarsi con ricevuta l'importare del creditore all'Ostessa e d'ogni avanzo depositarsi sul Monte in faccia di Ivanoff senza potersi levare più senza Decreto. Questa Istanza mi pare che meriti d'essere esaudita, ma non ostante intendo dipendere dagli ordini di Vs. ill.ma e con tutto l'ossequio ho l'onore di conferirmi. Di Vs. ill.ma Distintamente. Pistoia - 29 maggio 1761.

La perorazione delle ragioni dell'ostessa, che chiede vengano venduti i beni di Ivanoff contenuti nel baule, sono accolte dall'Auditore Fiscale che puntualmente risponde al Giudice di Pistoia accettando la proposta di vendita dei beni di Ivanoff⁶:

Mio ecc.mo Sig.

L'istanza che fa la donna Ostessa, che ha somministrato nella sua Locanda il vitto e alloggio al consaputo Forestiero Ivanoff, il quale si partì improvvisamente nel passato mese di dicembre da cotesta Città, non credo che sia da rigettarsi. E ritrovandosi

4 Questa vicenda fu descritta in un mio libro pubblicato nel 2009 (*Sulle orme di Casanova nel Granducato di Toscana*, Signa, Masso delle Fate, p. 33-41), ma essa era priva, per ragioni editoriali, di tutti i particolari contenuti in quest'articolo, che ritengo di vero interesse a delineare la vita di un avventuriero.

5 Archivio di Stato di Pistoia (in seguito ASP), Archivio del Capitano di Custodia, Serie II, v. 28, p. 189 n° 430.

6 ASP, Archivio del Capitano di Custodia, Serie II, v. 22, n° 263.

in opera la roba che egli ha lasciato in detto albergo, sopra il ritratto delle quali domanda l'ostessa il pagamento, potrà V.S. procurare che la medesima non abbia a desiderare il dovuto compiacimento di Giustizia. Le confermo

5 giugno 1761 - Sig. Giudice di Pistoia Aff. mo Suo Servo - Bricchieri Colombi A.F.

In attesa della risposta dell'Auditore Fiscale, il Giudice di Pistoia esegue un primo inventario del contenuto del baule di Ivanoff, che riserva alcune sorprese: come una scatola di monete e medaglie antiche, una corrispondenza sul tema lettere di cambio false e false identità, lettere su intrighi amorosi con cantanti e ballerine e, dulcis in fundo, unguenti e strumenti della vita amorosa dell'Ivanoff⁷:

Essendosi fatto nelle forme legali l'Inventario della Roba che avanza lasciata in Osteria da quel Ivanoff, ho creduto appropriato di farle un succinto racconto sulle risultanze di questo inventario, tralascio di parlare di pochi panni di lui e Le dirò che qui si è trovata una scatola di monete antiche e medaglie antiche.. Ma di altro posso parlarvi in essere di mia ispezione, di una croce di rame trovata con alcune lettere che poco io conosco. Poi vi sono stati trovati due legni ben torniti colle maniglie, che paiono degli sbirri. Sono poi moltissime le lettere che aveva in lingua nostra. Francese, Inglese. A quelle che sono in lingua nostra appartengono imbrogli e intrighi amorosi verso cantatrici e ballerine e ve ne sono alcune che purtroppo scoprono il carattere di costui. Imperroché viene avvertito dal corrispondente di Venezia che colà si parla male di Lui e si sospetta che egli facesse le Lettere di Cambio false che vadano in Venezia. e che alcuni parlano di lui male credendo che purtroppo sarebbe impiccato. Altre lettere poi contengono dei lamenti di varie persone per come egli aveva mangiato loro Zecchini, e con andare si raccoglie sempre più il di lui il carattere. Le lettere francesi sono di pura amicizia ma non appaiono dirette a lui, ma a diversi soggetti, forse, che egli si mostrava di nascita nuova Erano poi nel Baule dei vasetti d'unguenti e schizzetti e supponendo che si medicasse il mal Francese e vi trovai ancora due Condom, che immediatamente feci seppellire.

Pensavo di conservare le lettere e le monete antiche e le farei sigillare e depositare in luogo entro una cassetta che I potessi restituire con licenza del Tribunale e di Vs. ill. ma l'approvazione prendendo gli opportuni.....Di Vs. ill.ma Distintamente.

Pistoia 29 maggio 1761.

7 ASP, Archivio del Capitano di Custodia, Serie II, v. 28, p. 190 n° 434.

L'Auditore Fiscale ordina quindi al Giudice di Pistoia la vendita dei panni contenuti nel baule dell'avventuriero russo⁸:

Per ciò che riguarda le robe, che furono lasciate nell'Albergo dal consaputo Forestiero Ivanoff, che a mesi scorsi se ne partì improvvisamente, e delle quali Ella mi dice avere fatto l'inventario, consistente particolarmente in diverse medaglie, e monete antiche e con alcuni pochi panni, che aveva per suo uso, V.S. farà vendere detti Panni per soddisfare prima cosa l'Ostessa che è rimasta Creditrice del vitto somministratogli, con avvisarmi se col ritratto che rimanga la medesima interamente soddisfatta. E rispetto alle altre robe le riterrà in Corte ben custodite, poiché in appresso le dirò quello che convenga. Firenze 8 giugno 1761.

E in una successiva lettera, dopo la vendita dei panni, ordina al Giudice di Pistoia il pagamento dei creditori, fra i quali scopriamo anche un giocatore che pretende il pagamento dei presunti debiti di gioco dell'Ivanoff⁹:

Non ho che replicare alla vendita, che Ella mi dice avere fatto seguire per mezzo dell'Asta pubblica delle robe inventariate che furono lasciate dal consaputo Forestiero Ivanoff. E col ritratto di esse farà pagare l'Ostessa creditrice degli alimenti somministrategli, il barbiere e il Ministro del Biliardo. Poiché per quel Giuseppe Valiani che pretende ancora egli d'essere pagato della vincita che suppone d'aver fatto al suddetto Forestiero giocando col medesimo, non pare che in Giudizio debba ammettersi tale istanza. Soddisfatte che siano le suddette Persone, riterrà in deposito nel Tribunale il restante del suddetto ritratto di denaro assieme con le altre robe invendute, delle quali in appresso le dirò quello che convenga. E. mo Sig. re Le confermo. Fir. 13 giugno 1761.

L'Auditore Fiscale rimase particolarmente colpito dalla collezione di medaglie e monete trovata nel Baule di Ivanoff e, sapendo quanto il Granduca tenesse alla collezione di medaglie e monete antiche allora conservate presso il Bargello di Firenze¹⁰, coinvolse il maresciallo Botta per far esaminare "il tesoro"

8 ASP, Archivio del Capitano di Custodia, Serie II, v. 22, n° 268.

9 ASP, Archivio del Capitano di Custodia, Serie II, v. 22, n° 270.

10 Il *corpus* delle monete e delle medaglie italiane del Bargello nasce dalla storica Collezione Medicea, avviata alla metà del XV secolo da Piero de' Medici il Gottoso e proseguita nei secoli successivi dalla famiglia Medici, fino all'arrivo in Toscana dei granduchi di Lorena, che ne divennero gli eredi. Anche i Lorena, successi ai Medici nel governo della Toscana alla morte di Gian Gastone nel 1737, furono grandi appassionati di medagliistica. La raccolta, tra

di Ivanoff e, nel caso, requisirlo. Il 19 giugno 1761 l'Auditore Fiscale riceve la scatoletta di medaglie e monete e ne da conferma al Giudice di Pistoia¹¹:

Mi è pervenuta la piccola scatoletta delle consapute medaglie, che furono ritratte al nostro Forestiero, essendo già stato d'ordine di S.E. il Maresciallo Capo del Governo consegnato al dottor Cocchi, perché le visiti e ne faccia la sua relazione; Ed in appresso Ella sarà ragguagliato di quello che occorre, avanzandole frattanto il presente riscontro per sua notizia.

E dopo cinque mesi, nel novembre 1761, è pronta la perizia del Dottor Cocchi e una comunicazione dell'Auditore Fiscale, che chiede al Giudice di Pistoia di emettere un Decreto per "lasciare in deposito" presso la Galleria del Granduca le medaglie e monete¹²:

Il Sig. dottore Cocchi Antiquario di S.M.F, a cui, come le scrissi in data 29 del presente Giugno, feci vedere le consapute monete costì lasciate da quel Forestiero Ivanoff, mi ha sottoposto la relazione, copia della quale le rimetto qui annessa.

Siccome non è ancora sicuro se debba il pred.to Forestiero ritornare sì o nò; Così avendo trattato di questo negozio con S.E. il Sig. maresciallo, pare che V.S. debba formare un Decreto, in virtù di cui debba ordinare che le pred.te medaglie siano lasciate in deposito nella galleria di S.M. finché non comparisca il Proprietario a ricuperarle, se lo vorrà, o pure a riceverne il prezzo qualora paresse a i Soprintendenti della Galleria di ritenerle.

Spediti che V.S. avrà l'enunciato Decreto, Ella mene manderà copia autentica, alla quale farà consegnare l'enunciate medaglie al pred.to Antiquario, ne ritirerò la ricevuta, e ne darò a V.S. l'opportuno riscontro, acciò possa sempre constatare in cotesto Tribunale come sia passato l'affare. 14 novembre 1761.

E il Cocchi, nella sua perizia, ci fa sapere questo "tesoro" essere composto di dieci monete antiche e trentasei moderne di vario valore, oltre ad alcune me-

le più celebri del mondo per storia, qualità e numero (oltre 17.000 pezzi!), si è continuamente accresciuta attraverso numerosi lasciti, come le collezioni Carrand e Ginori Conti, nonché importanti acquisizioni, come le collezioni Guastalla e Cora-Fanfani. Cfr. *Medaglie italiane del Museo Nazionale del Bargello - Granducato di Toscana*, Firenze, Edizioni Polistampa, 1992, v. 3.

11 ASP, Archivio del Capitano di Custodia, Serie II, v. 22, n° 298.

12 ASP, Archivio del Capitano di Custodia, Serie II, v. 22, n° 316.

daglie “patacca”, forse utilizzate da Ivanoff per impressionare gli interlocutori¹³:

La piccola raccolta di Monete che V.S. ill.ma mi dette a considerare è composta di dieci antiche e trentasette moderne, ed una laminetta a Borchia d’Argento, ed una Croce d’Ottone. Le dieci antiche tutte di bronzo sono, una Greca di Marsilia non molto rara, e nove romane d’Imperatori ne rare ne ben conservate cioè:

Una di Tiberio, di mezzana grandezza

Una di Claudio Gotico, una di esse è rotta

Una di Caro dopo la Sua Morte

Una di Massimiliano

Una di Costantino

Due di Costantino il Giovane

Una di Costanza

Tutte piccole.

Tra le trentasei monete moderne par che devo contargli una d’argento. Questa non è stata conosciuta da me, né da altri più Periti, onde noi almeno è rara e stimabile anche quando non servisse ad altro che ad occupare gli Antiquari in congetture, colle quali se fusse lecito adusargli alla bontà di V.S. ill.ma io proporrei alcune ragioni, le quali queste monete pare a me una delle più antiche di Venezia, Simile a quelle di Costantinopoli. Le altre trentacinque moderne son di rame eccettuate poche di mistura, la maggior parte del secolo passato è monete, tuttavia, correnti di minimo prezzo intrinseco, come Soldi, Sesini, quattrini e Lire:

Due di Napoli dette Pubbliche e di quattro Cavalli correnti

Otto di Milano quattrini correnti

Quattro di Venezia

Due di Parma

Una di Bologna

Due di Turno detta di due denari, Correnti

Due di Ferrara

Tre di Modena

Una di Lorena – Lire

Una di Francia – Corre ancora in Provenza

Quattro di Spagna

Una di Bavaria

Tre ignote, forse di Lombardia. Una Orientale il Regno di Siam, di metallo giallo come l’ottone, con un foro quadrato nel mezzo, con cui si sogliono infilare dagli indiani molte insieme di queste Monete di poco prezzo intrinseco.

La Borchia d’Argento è di Lamina sottilissima, ed ha in basso rilievo una testa di

13 ASP, Archivio del Capitano di Custodia, Serie II, v. 22, n° 317/346.

vescovo in mezzo a due calici, forse è un ornamento di qualche Libro ecclesiastico, di poca importanza e di poco valore. La croce d'ottone poi apparisce un ordinario lavoro moderno fatto a capriccio. Io confesso che non arrivo ad illustrarle, e non intendo alcune parole italiane abbreviate che vi sono scolpite, ma croci come questa di vil metallo ho veduto più volte pendere al petto de poveri ciarlatani d'Italia, simili a quelle degli ordini cavallereschi più rispettati, che hanno l'istesso uso. Comunque si siano queste monete io credo che sarebbe bene che resterebbero tutte nella raccolta alla Galleria, e la giudico anzi molto opportuno al bisogno d'accrescere la serie incompleta alle monete moderne e di facilitare la conoscenza di quelle che già vi sono nell'occasione giusto che dall'Imperatore ne è stata richiesta una descrizione.

Il prezzo poi da dargli a queste monete, come V.S. ill.ma ben Sa e totalmente arbitrario, non dovendo attendergli il valore intrinseco di esse, ma quello che esse acquistano diventando monumenti Storici più o meno rari. Io non ho bastante perizia per determinarlo, ma avendole molto considerate, ed avendo sentito il parer d'altri, crederei, che potrebbe giustamente ascendere a quattro Zecchini almeno per causa principalmente di quella ignota d'Argento, ed in quell'altra curiosa Orientale, che le antiche, ed il resto non possono valutargli molto più del valore del metallo.

Desidero occasioni di ubbidirla, e profitto di questa per avere l'onore di sottoscrivermi pieno di stima, ed Ossequio di VS Ill .ma

Di Casa 19 Nov. 1761.

Obbediente all'Auditore Fiscale, il Giudice di Pistoia prepara il Decreto e, come ultimo atto a noi conosciuto e documentato, invia copia del "Decreto Ivanoff" all'Auditore Fiscale di Firenze per sottoporlo, come scrive "ai suoi purgatissimi occhi" perché lo approvasse¹⁴:

Prima di proferire quel Decreto che per l'affare Ivanoff ho creduto di sottoporre ai purgatissimi occhi di VS Ill. ma quell'esemplare che io ho meditato e che unisco a questa mia. Ella potrà degnarsi di leggerlo e correggerlo quanto lo creda necessario, che io poi ai primi ordini procurerò di pubblicarlo, e trasmettergliene copia autentica. Opererà che io penserei di fare comparire gli attuari a depositare in Galleria, lo che si adempirebbe da VS Ill. ma ordinando a chi depositare le medaglie di ritirarne ricevuta in nome loro. E mentre sto obbedendo le grazie di VS Ill. ma ho l'onore di confermarmi con tutto l'ossequio.

14 ASP, Archivio del Capitano di Custodia, Serie II, v. 29, Copia Lettere 1761 – 1764.

TENORE DI DECRETO PROPOSTO

Deliberata la continuata assenza del Sig. Carlo Ivanoff, Serbo Moscovita e all'oggetto di consegnare a ciò che di riavanzo del ritratto della roba abbandonata da Ivanoff nell' Osteria della serena di Pistoia ed inventariata e venduta per pagare i di lui debiti come atti ordinò, [ill.] di Banco di depositare in faccia, a credito della Banca di Pistoia le lire cinquantatre e soldi quattro esservi in mano loro [ill.], che sopra, debba però le spese occorse per i presenti atti ed unitamente a tutte le lettere e fogli ritrovate come sopra colle due maniglie, quali fogli e maniglie dovranno prima essere ben chiuse e sigillate entro una piccola cassetta col rimmettergli riscontro in atti del sigillo apposto. E quanto sopra depositato che sia in Monte. Poi dovrà rimanere e stare ne da alcuno potrà levargli senza Decreto il Tribunale di Pistoia, il quale prima di concederlo dovrà farne negozio coll'Ill. *mo* Sig. Auditore Fiscale di Firenze insieme del Regio Fisco, ed affinché prima di restituirgli dette scritture e Lettere siano esaminate come conviene. Rispetto poi alla Scatola ritrovata come sopra ed in cui esistono diverse monete, o siano medaglie antiche e moderne ordino parimenti ai sigg. Attuari di banca di depositarle in mano dei sigg. [Minegar o Mabillon ?]. All'Imperiale Galleria di S.M. In Firenze, finche duri l'assenza del Sig. Ivanoff al quale ritornando, dovranno essere retribuite qualora non piacesse al Sig. [Minegar o Mabillon ?] Di ritenerle, e pagarne il prezzo e tutto con l'obbligo ai Sig. Attuari di riportare negli Atti tanto la ricevuta di Galleria, che la partita di queste Monete.

Appena ricevuta l'approvazione di VS Ill. ma relativamente al Decreto minutato per l' affare Ivanoff, ho pubblicato il Decreto e in questa mia ne troverà annessa la copia autentica. Se VS Ill. ma con tutto il Suo comodo farà venire la ricevuta della galleria di S.M. in nome di questi Attuari io potrò farla passare negli atti come dice il mio Decreto, ed in tal fama resterà appianato questo negozio. E con tutto l' ossequio ho l'onore di confermarmi. Pistoia 2 Xmbre 1761.

Con questo atto si chiude la storia della falsa lettera di cambio da duecento scudi che, nel 1760, causò la prima espulsione di Casanova da Firenze e dalla Toscana.

C. SUR C.

De 1788 à 1789, Casanova a écrit une longue réponse à deux publications de Bernardin de Saint-Pierre: *Études de la nature*; et le roman *Paul, et Virginie*¹. Il n'a jamais publié son manuscrit, qui a été laissé parmi ses papiers à Dux; il l'appelait sa «critique» ou «examen» de Bernardin. C'est l'un des plus longs manuscrits parmi ses articles à Dux, et il est resté inédit jusqu'à 1985. Le manuscrit contient des passages autobiographiques présentés ici.

[11] J'ai vu en Russie de quelle façon on élève les enfants dans leur première enfance: on les lave dans l'eau froide, et on ne se soucie pas s'ils pleurent, et on est fâché s'ils en meurent, mais il faut, disent-ils, les élever robustes; ainsi il est certain que sans ce lavage il y aurait plus d'hommes en Russie, mais généralement moins forts. Pour nous qui ne sommes pas russes, je crois que nous ferions mieux à laisser mourir les enfants d'ennui qu'à les tremper pour leur procurer une vie malheureuse.

[23] Monsieur de Saint Pierre dit que les animaux sont vraisemblablement insensibles, et qu'ainsi n'étant pas susceptibles de douleur il n'y a pas question de cruauté de Nature. Je n'en sais rien; mais je me souviens qu'à l'âge de dix sept ans retournant de Constantinople, en me promenant sur le rivage d'une île de l'Archipel avec deux ou trois jeunes gens pendant qu'on faisait aiguade, nous fumes tous forcés à pleurer d'émotion aux cris lamentables d'un dauphin qui se mourait hors de son élément sur cette plage de mer. Si les pleurs de ce poisson ne sortaient pas d'une véritable sensibilité, et très douloureuse, c'était le plus habile charlatan de tous les poissons de cette mer.

[33] S'il avait été avec moi il y a plus de vingt ans dans l'observatoire de Madame la feu margrave de Bade pour observer le passage de Venus sous le disque du soleil, il aurait vu Mercure derrière notre astre; et il n'en faut pas davantage à un homme qui a bien étudié le système de Tolomé pour en connaître l'absurdité, car ayant une idée claire du site où les planètes doivent être placées, la terre étant le centre, il doit reconnaître que Mercure paraissant derrière du soleil le système tolomaïque devient faux sur le champ.

¹ *Examen des Etudes de la Nature de Bernardin de Saint-Pierre* par Jacques Casanova de Seingalt, écrit à Dux en 1788-1789, transcrite et éditée par Marco Leeflang et Tom Vitelli, Cahier I des *Documents Casanoviens* (Utrecht, *Intermédiaire des Casanovistes*, 1985). Les numéros des passages autobiographiques renvoient aux pages de cet *Examen*. Quelques exemplaires sont toujours disponibles.

[34] J'avais l'âge de huit lorsque ma mère avant que d'aller à Pétersbourg me mena de Venise à Padoue pour me mettre à une école. Nous nous embarquâmes à minuit sur une barque couverte qu'on appelle burchiello, qui a l'air d'une petite maison ayant des chambres, et des fenêtres ; dans cette barque on va par le paisible fleuve Brenta en huit heures à Padoue. Nous y avions des lits, et on m'a déshabillé et couché. Je me suis éveillé au soleil naissant, et ayant jeté les yeux à une fenêtre qui était ouverte j'ai vu le soleil qui sortait de l'orient, et en même temps les sommets des arbres qui côtoyaient les bords de la rivière qui me paraissaient marcher. Qu'est que ce prodige, dis-je à ma mère, les arbres marchent. Non mon fils, elle me répondit en riant, c'est notre barque qui marche. Fort bien, lui dis-je, ce soleil-là qui me paraît s'élever, est donc aussi ferme que ces arbres qui me paraissaient marcher, et c'est notre terre qui roule vers le sens opposé. Ma mère regarda alors un monsieur qui dans son veuvage était devenu son ami, et qui l'avait conseillé à me faire étudier. Le monsieur s'approcha de son lit, et me chargea de baisers au point que je n'y ai rien compris. J'ai cru d'avoir dit une grosse bêtise, mais on m'expliqua tout après. Je sais qu'à l'âge de quatorze ans le docteur Gozzi qui était péripatéticien, chrétien scrupuleux, et homme sans esprit me força à étudier dans le système de Tolomée, en me menaçant la damnation de mon âme si j'eusse cru au mouvement de la terre. Ce même bonhomme, très ignorant, sachant cependant une quantité de riens, me fit étudier logique, physique, métaphysique, tout d'Aristote, et ce n'est qu'après être sorti de l'esclavage de Padoue que j'ai connu plusieurs vérités.

[35] Etant jeune à Ravenne il m'est arrivé de rompre en visière à des moines qui prétendaient me prouver non seulement que la doctrine de Copernic ne pourrait pas être embrassée par un chrétien mais qu'elle était absurde. Je fus accusé à l'inquisition, et j'y fus traduit ; et je me reconnus dans un grand danger. J'eus le bonheur inouï que l'inquisiteur était bête, et pas méchant. Après m'avoir interrogé il me dit que le saint livre disait en termes claires que le soleil à la prière de Josué s'était arrêté, et que par conséquent il n'était point ferme par sa nature. Je lui ai répondu avec l'air de la plus grande vénération que je croyais tout comme lui que dans le temps de Josué la terre n'avait aucun mouvement, mais qu'en suite tout a changé. Vous convenez donc, dit-il, de la vérité du miracle. Je n'en doute pas mon très révérend père. Fort bien, soyez donc pour l'avenir plus prudent dans vos discours ; car on ne m'a pas dit que vous convenez qu'au moins dans ce temps-là la terre était ferme. Pour ce qui regarde le temps présent je n'en sais rien, car je ne m'amuse pas à cette vaine espèce d'études ; je sais bien que Dieu est le maître de tout, et que tout au monde est sujet au changement. Ce fait est surprenant, mais il n'est pas moins vrai ; et il n'est pas douteux que quelque fois la bêtise de certaines gents en place nous est utile. Dans le jour même que monsieur Cassini nous fit voir dans l'observatoire de madame la Margrave le passage de Venus, un quart d'heure après un carrosse à six chevaux entra dans la cour du château. C'était une comtesse de l'empire qui, accompagnée par deux

chanoines était venue pour voir le rare phénomène. Monsieur Cassini déjà descendu avec la princesse et toute la compagnie dit à la comtesse qu'elle était arrivée trop tard. Le plus gras des deux chanoines lui dit poliment qu'en grâce de Madame il pourrait bien avoir la complaisance de remonter, et recommencer. On a ri, et la bonté de la Margrave fut telle que qu'elle crut que le chanoine avait voulu plaisanter; mais je fus sûr que non, et je m'en suis aperçu par son air interdit, et embarrassé qui ne pouvait comprendre ni pourquoi on riait, ni comment il aurait pu dire une bêtise.

[41] Un prince européen, qui je ne veux pas nommer, fit offrir à Paris, il y a quarante ans cent mille écus à la princesse de Carignan pour voir sa belle négresse. Le fameux maréchal de Saxe aussi l'aurait préférée à une blanche. Le fait est qu'une négresse âgée de quinze ans, que je faisais quelque fois rire, me dit un jour, piquée de jalousie, qu'elle ne concevait pas comment je pouvais me plaire avec sa maitresse qui était blanche comme un diable. *Quisquis amat ranam ranam putat esse Dianam.*

[42] Les grands peintres chez les grecs pour rendre Venus plus intéressante la représentaient avec les yeux un peu louches. Ce fait étant réel et ces éruditions n'étant pas de mon ressort j'ai prie mon frère professeur de beaux-arts à Dresde de m' écrire la dessus son avis. Voilà ce qu'il m'écrit. Dans mon article de Venus, là où je fais une description de toutes ces beautés, je dis que le regard de cette déesse devait avoir eu quelque chose d'extraordinaire dans l'effet puisqu'on le caractérisait de louche. Ovide dit *idque straba est Veneri similis*. Et Petrone : *nam quod strabo est non curo sicut Venus spectat...* Il y a peut-être encore d'autres autorités à citer mais il me suffit de ces deux. Je ne crois cependant pas que les yeux de Venus fussent d'un louche décidé comme celui de madame A. ou de monsieur Wilkes. Mais qu'ils indiquassent un certain égarement très convenable au caractère d'une excellente coquette, car enfin les sages artistes anciens ont fort distingué entre tous les caractères individuels la variété du regard de leurs divinités.

[50] Je fais, et je ferai dans ce monde tant que je pourrai mon devoir assez tranquillement, en tout genre, et je vous assure que la mort ne me surprendra jamais, car je suis à ses ordres à chaque moment ; mais j'espère de ne la désirer jamais, à moins que des douleurs affreuses de vessie, dont j'ai vu tourmenté le pauvre d'Alembert et dont la patience plus que stoïcienne me parut inimitable ne surpassent ma vertu. Ce fut au Louvre au mois d'octobre l'année 1783 que j'ai vu mourir ce grand homme regretté par tous les indigents. IL n'a pas voulu me soumettre à l'opération, alléguant par raison qu'il avait déjà assez vécu, et que l'espoir d'une plus longue vieillesse ne valait pas la peine de s'exposer aux douleurs sûres d'une opération dont l'incertitude pouvait encore abréger sa vie. Vous ne direz pas j'espère que je vous aie parlé ni en impie, ni en charlatan. Voilà comme doit parler, penser et agir l'homme de bien qui croit en Dieu, et espère en sa religion, malgré il n'ait pas trouvé dans ce monde l'or-

dre, l'harmonie, les convenances, et les concerts que moyennant vos profondes études vous y avez trouvé.

[55] Je me souviens de Carestini et du très noble Salimbeni, célèbres castrati, qui riaient bien lorsqu'ils trouvaient des innocents qui les plaignaient. Le fait est qu'un castrat riche et sain est un être digne d'envie et que tout homme entre nous, qui donne la préférence à ce qui manque à un castrat sur les autres biens de cette vie, est un mauvais raisonneur, un préoccupé innocent. Mais la plus grande partie de ceux qui se mêlent de parler de cela ne savent pas ce que c'est, et voilà pourquoi il ne faut pas les condamner. En un mot : il ne manque rien à un castrat hormis ce qu'il ne voudrait pas avoir. J'ai connu à Lorette un castrat jeune, beau, riche, et spirituel, il était même courageux, et il joignait à la science de la musique quelques connaissances littéraires. Sa beauté était ravissante. Il n'y avait ni femmes, ni hommes qui pussent s'empêcher de l'aimer, et rien n'était plus naturel, car aux femmes il semblait le plus beau de tous les hommes, et aux hommes la plus jolie de toutes les femmes habillée en homme. J'allais chez lui, et je le trouvais quelques fois de mauvaise humeur contre son valet de chambre qui l'inquiétait. C'était véritablement un impertinent, dont j'avais souvent remarqué l'insolence. Un matin je me suis avisé, le plus amicalement du monde, de parler raison à l'aimable virtuoso. Pourrais-je savoir, lui dis-je, pourquoi vous n'envoyez pas à tous les diables ce mauvais valet qui, à ce qu'il me semble, ne fait que vous inquiéter ? Est-ce que vous ne savez pas, me répondit-il un peu surpris, que c'est mon frère aîné ? Sans moi il aurait dû labourer la terre pour gagner sa vie, comme plusieurs cousins que j'ai vers Macerate, mais cette réflexion n'a pas la force de l'humilier. Il me croit au-dessous de lui parce que je ne peux pas me vanter d'être un homme parfait. En me disant ces paroles les larmes sortirent par force de ses beaux yeux. A cette vue mon émotion fut extraordinaire, et je ne me soucie pas de savoir si elle venait de mon innocence, de mon âme, de mon esprit, de ma raison, ou de mon cœur. Monsieur de Saint Pierre saurait me le dire. Je sais que les larmes de cet être charmant n'excitèrent pas les miennes, mais bien une indignation si outrée, dont, si j'avais écouté le premier mouvement le frère aîné du castrat se serait dans l'instant trouvé dans le même état du frère cadet. Après l'avoir apaisé par des belles, et bonnes raisons mêlées aussi à des caresses, je lui dis qu'il devait absolument éloigner de lui ce bourreau de sa paix quand même ce serait son propre père, en lui faisant un pension, et en employant le bras du souverain, si cela ne pouvait pas se faire à l'amiable. Je lui ai suggéré ce qu'il désirait pouvoir faire, mais ou il n'osait pas, ou il ne croyait pas d'avoir ce droit ; mais six mois après, ce fut lui-même qui m'ayant trouvé à Rome me dit qu'il avait suivi mon conseil, et qu'il vivait heureux. Ce garçon jouait sur le premier théâtre de Rome le rôle de première actrice. Tout dans son aspect, dans ses mouvements, dans les grâces, dans les regards annonçait la plus jolli de toutes les chanteuses de l'Italie, excepté le sein dont il n'avait que le table, mais on a à Rome l'art d'habiller si bien un jeune homme castrat que personne

ne peut s'apercevoir de ce qu'il lui manque. Ce n'est pas difficile à croire, puisque les femmes même que la nature n'a pas bien partagées de ce côté là trompent très facilement la vue des curieux.

[59] Après avoir vu le beau royaume de Murcie, je me suis arrêté à Valence, et parcourant les environs j'ai vu en éminence l'ancien Saguntum, où les habitants se brûlèrent plus tôt que de se rendre aux armes victorieuses du carthaginois Annibal. Cette vue m'a procuré le plaisir de réfléchir aux défauts des républiques *dum Romae consulitur*, et à la constance de ces désespérés. Outre cela j'ai admiré la solidité des bâtiments anciens. Les créneaux des murs de cette malheureuse ville sont encore tous neufs malgré leurs vingt siècles.

[78] Je fus amoureux presque à la folie, et je me souviens parfaitement de tout ce qui se passait dans ma cervelle dans ce temps-là, et je sais que je suis homme ni plus ni moins qu'un autre. Grand Dieu! que je me sens humilié quand je réfléchis à ce que ma raison était, lorsque je voyais concentrés tous les bonheurs imaginables dans l'objet que j'aimais. lorsque je ne croyais pas possible qu'un autre vrai bonheur put exister hors celui de vivre avec l'être que j'adorais. Je trouvais aveugle tout le monde, qui ne voyait pas ma maîtresse avec mes yeux, je traitais de tyrans, d'injustes, de barbares tous mes supérieurs qui condamnaient ma passion, et qui mettaient des obstacles à ce que j'appelais mon bonheur, et qu'ils regardaient comme mon précipice. Aimé ou croyant de l'être je trouvais mon sort plus beau que celui des plus heureux mortels; il ne me manquait que la possession de l'objet de ma flamme, et il me paraissait de ne la désirer, que pour le rendre inséparable de moi, pour ne vivre après que dans lui, et pour lui jusqu'à mon dernier moment. Je n'étais pas ce qu'on veut indiquer par le mot heureux; mais ce n'était pas un tourment pour ma tendre affection, puisque j'étais sur de le devenir en peu de temps, et je me plaisais même à me convaincre que cette espèce de bonheur n'était pas le premier objet de ma flamme. Nous passions des heures entières tête à tête, ne parlant que de notre passion, et envisageant le plus heureux avenir, nous tenant serrés sein contre sein, et nous inondant de baisers sans jamais consentir ni faire quelque pas pour parvenir à cet extrême soulagement, qui après la crise doit produire en tout mortel une espèce de calme. Transportés par la satisfaction, et par la certitude de nous entraîner, nous craignons peut-être ce fatal calme, qui nous aurait démontré malgré nous que notre feu était susceptible d'un degré de diminution. Cent accidents firent enfin que nous dûmes nous séparer et le temps nous fit oublier à tous les deux notre passion Celui de n'avoir pas pu voir mon espoir accompli fut tout ce qui pouvait m'arriver de plus heureux dans de cette forte passion. Ma maîtresse dix ans après mon absence s'est mariée, et je l'ai vu à mon retour froidement heureuse avec un bon mari entourée d'enfants et chargée d'embarras pour les élever, car son mari, quoique riche en comparaison de moi qui n'avait rien il ne l'était pas assez pour ne pas observer la plus exacte économie. J'ai réfléchi et j'ai

reconnu que j'étais plus heureux que cet homme, malgré qu'il fut devenu possesseur de mon ancien idole. Je la regardais, et appréciateur sincère de ses rares qualités, je me trouvais charmé qu'elle appartint à un autre. Etant devenu indifférent sur son compte sans l'avoir possédée je le serais à coup sûr devenu doublement, si elle était devenu ma femme.

[80] Quand je réfléchis à ma vie passée, et que j'examine mes vicissitudes, je trouve que tous mes prétendus malheurs, dont je me crus accablé, furent des bonheurs, et que tous les bonheurs que je me suis procuré, et que je fus enchanté d'avoir obtenu, tournèrent en mal ; de sorte que je puis et dois dire que n'ayant jamais été sage, personne n'a plus d'obligation à la fortune que moi. Quand je dis la fortune j'entends la providence.

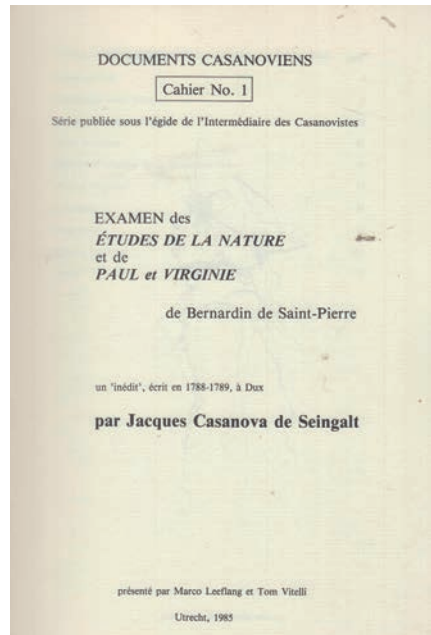
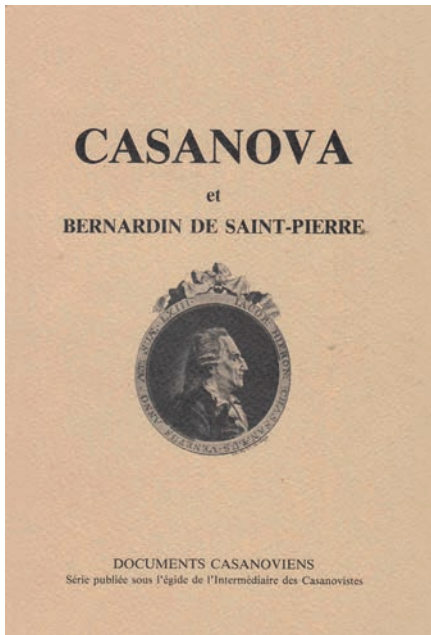
[87] J'ai connu en France il y a quarante ans un peintre nommé Nattier, qui ne faisait que des portraits, et qui à juste titre était devenu riche. Il avait le talent unique de saisir la ressemblance parfaite, et de démontrer par la fidélité de sa copie que la dame qu'il avait peint n'était pas laide, comme tout le monde l'avait cru jusqu'à ce moment-là, mais belle, ou jolie tant qu'on pouvait la désirer. Les femmes disaient, que tous les autres peintres étaient des imposteurs, et que le seul Nattier était le peintre par excellence que la nature avait produit. De La Tour, fameux peintre qui ressemblait l'objet à faire peur, Van Loo qui fit dans ce temps là la Clairon en Médée tableau superbe m'avouèrent que le talent de Nattier était unique. J'ai vu les portraits de toutes les cinq filles de Louis quinze fait par cet homme que tout le monde croyait fort laide, mais le pinceau de Nattier démontra que tout le monde se trompait, et qu'elles étaient réellement belles jusqu'au droit d'inspirer l'amour aux marbres s'ils avaient eu des yeux. On voit à Versailles ces mêmes portraits, et par leur magie inconcevable Madame d'Infante fut duchesse de Parme à la pomme, elle qui sans la toilette de Nattier paraissait fort laide.

[90] Il n'y a personne au monde qui ait lu Rousseau, et qui ne soit fâché de ne l'avoir connu. J'avoue que malgré que j'eus avec lui trois entretiens, je fus charmé de lire ce que monsieur de Saint Pierre en dit.

[95] Je me suis trouvé au Louvre à l'académie vers la fin de l'année 1783, le jour que le marquis de Condorcet y lut un petit éloge fait à monsieur d'Alembert qui venait de mourir. Je me suis trouvé par hasard assis près d'un beau vieillard dont la physionomie respectable m'occupait. Ce personnage fut prié par quelqu'un de dire ce qu'il pensait sur l'aérostat. C'est, répondit-il, une découverte dont l'exercice est dans l'enfance, et on ne peut pas deviner jusqu'à quel degré on pourra le pousser. Interrogé sur la direction ou il ne voulut, ou il n'osa pas répondre. Je fus surpris lorsqu'on me dit que cet homme était le célèbre Franklin. Comment, me suis-je dit, un des plus

savants physiciens du monde cache son avis sur un fait qui saute aux yeux des plus médiocres ? C'est un leçon.

[111] J'ai vu à Prague un jeune homme approuvé médecin complimenté de deux ou trois cent personnes, et son père et sa mère ravis de joie; ce tableau m'émut, et j'ai senti mes larmes qui voulaient extravaser; mais une réflexion subite à ma jeunesse, où ce tableau m'aurait faire rire, retint mes pleurs, et me fit déplorer la misère de la vieillesse.



L'édition originale des inédits de Casanova sur Saint-Pierre par M. Loefflang et T. Vitelli (1985)

**THE BRAGADIN ENCOUNTER.
A HISTORICAL ASSESSMENT OF AN EPISODE
IN THE MEMOIRS OF GIACOMO CASANOVA**

Matteo Giovanni Bragadin, a Venetian senator and descendant of an illustrious patrician family, was one of Casanova's most important benefactors. Besides giving friendship, advice, and protection, Bragadin and his two friends, Marco Dandolo and Marco Barbaro, financially supported Casanova as long as they lived. This relationship, at least in its initial stage, was regarded as problematic by the Venetian authorities. The spy Manuzzi reported Casanova as an intruder in Bragadin's life, financially disabusing him by means of his supposed cabalistic powers. In his memoirs, Casanova situates his encounter with Bragadin in the spring of 1746. The narration of this episode offers a unique opportunity for assessing its historical truth within the framework of the question of the truthfulness of the memoirs. This episode is clear-cut and highly rhetorical in nature. In other words, it is a solid, rather uncomplicated unity suitable for an analysis, where a strong psychological interest might be considered as prevailing over an eventual historical concern of the author.

THREE DIFFERENT READINGS

Three ways of reading the episode will be presented: a natural-naive reading, a reading based on action-orientated discourse, and a casanovistic-personal reading. In the natural-naive reading, the truth of the narrative is automatically inferred. The description is received as a factual, true representation of what happened. The episode is read as if the description is determined by the events. In the reading based on action-orientated discourse, it is read as if the episode's events are determined by a description created to serve a well-defined purpose. This second reading takes another perspective of the events that were accepted as factual in the first reading. The historical truth-status of the first reading is no longer spontaneously assumed, which allows for a non-historical explanation of the described events. This second reading forms the core of the historical assessment of the episode, which is the subject of the casanovistic-personal reading.

This assessment will inevitably bear the stamp of uncertainty and tentativeness. Nevertheless, the proposed approach will be useful for further investigation into the historicity of the memoirs. The episode is treated as consisting of four parts. The first, which is the narrative part, is the narration of the encounter itself. This section is the most important for historical assessments. A small transitional paragraph is regarded as the second part. The third, which is the argument part, is the author's defence of the relationship that he established with the three patricians. The fourth part only consists of the final sentence and unifies all four parts¹.

A NATURAL-NAIVE READING

The natural-naive reading is termed natural because it is the normal way of reading the memoirs, and it is termed naive because the reader accepts as truth everything told in the text, and few questions are asked. The Bragadin encounter episode is read like the author wants it to be read; the author is accepted as a truthful reporter of the events that occurred, assuming that the description is fresh in his memory. The narration is accepted as a verbal remembering of what happened. The events told are consequently received as factual, and facts are accepted as truth. In other words, the historical truth-status of the episode is automatically inferred. How does this work? Why is everything so easily taken for granted?

THE NARRATIVE PART

As its name indicates, this initial section of the episode is set up as a narrative, representing a succession of events describing how Casanova encountered

1 When quoting the memoirs I refer to the manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France: Casanova, Giacomo Girolamo. (1789-1798). *Histoire de ma vie*. BNF, Gallica, Fonds Casanova Type Manuscript. The reference indicates the number of the book and the number of the folio recto (r) or verso (v). The first part starts with: “À la moitié du printemps de l’année suivante 1746 (II, 73v)” and ends with: “M. de Bragadin lui répondit en riant qu’un joueur de violon pouvait en savoir plus que tous les médecins de Venise (II, 75r)”. The second part starts with: “Ce seigneur m’écoutait comme une oracle (II, 75r)” and ends with “et je citais des auteurs que j’avais jamais lus. (II, 75r)”. The third part starts with: “M. de Bragadin, qui avait la faiblesse de donner dans les sciences abstraites (II, 75r)” and ends with: “et nous nous jûrames une fraternité éternelle. (II, 77v)”. The fourth part starts with: “C’est mon cher lecteur (II, 77v)” and ends with: “qui me fit sauter du vil métier de joueur de violon à celui de seigneur (II, 77v)”.

Bragadin². In their reception of the text, the natural-naive reader shows an astonishing preparedness to unconditionally accept Casanova as a truth-teller. Where this natural disposition comes from is surely an interesting issue³. After all, during much of his lifetime, Casanova was known as what now should be called a professional impostor⁴. The truth-constituting features must, therefore, be highly persuasive, so much so that Casanova biographers generally take the narrative as historical. Four mechanisms that turn the narrated events into historical facts can be discerned: autobiographical embedment, narrative factualisation, natural according, and fact constructional style. The basic truth-conducting device is the acceptance of the episode as part of an autobiography. Within this acceptance, the textual data are factualised through narrativity and fortified by two devices, natural according and fact constructional style.

À la moitié du printemps de l'année suivante 1746, Monsieur Girolamo Cornaro aîné de la maison Cornaro de la Reine épousa une fille de la famille Soranzo de S. Pol, et je fus un des joueurs de violon qui composaient un entre plusieurs orchestres dans les bals qu'on donna pour trois jours consécutifs dans le palais Soranzo à l'occasion de ce mariage. (II, 73r)

The above quote is the initial sentence of the episode, and it reveals the two major features of autobiographical embedment and narrative factualisation.

2 The following definition of a narrative will suffice here: '...narrative is the representation of an event or a series of events.' See H. PORTER ABBOTT, *The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008, p. 13.

3 A clue might be found in an article from Daniel T. Gilbert where it is argued that all incoming information in the human mind is initially and automatically tagged as true. Assessment and eventual unacceptance of the information is seen as a later and effortful action. This second step might be blocked in the mind of the natural-naive reader by a confirmation bias that originates in the passion for the writer and his work. See DANIEL T. GILBERT, *How Mental Systems Believe*, «American Psychologist», Vol. 46, No. 2, February 1991, p. 107-118.

4 During a great part of his life Casanova belonged to the class of the eighteenth-century adventurers, a weird amalgam of men and women traveling through Europe surviving by deceiving the people they came across. One of their most distinctive features was their talent to mix fiction and reality up to a point that nobody was able to distinguish what was real and what was invented. The memoirs are imbued with the features of this peculiar selfhood of its writer. The readers are tended to accept everything what is told, although they know that this is impossible. Casanova engaged his readers in the telling very much the same way as he was engaging in all sorts of intrigues the people he met during his adventurous lifetime.

The narrative is couched in the whole of the memoirs, and the memoirs are presented and received as a traditional autobiography. The distinctive feature of this genre resides in its claim that the stories told are factually true. By accepting the memoirs and thus the particular episode as belonging to this literary category, the natural-naive reader has taken the decisive step to receive the narrative as real. How does this idea operate within this narrative? The episode is read in the flow of reading the memoirs. The initial sentence embeds the narrative in the whole of the memoirs, taking from it its truth-related genre characteristic, which is the factuality of the forthcoming story. With the genre as accepted a priori, the episode is automatically received as true through its embedment in the memoirs. The explicit time indication at the beginning of the episode anchors the coming story firmly in the chronology of the memoirs. The explicitness of the dating is received as a warrant for the factuality of the story; it opens the spatiotemporality of the episode, in which the reader is bound to accept the forthcoming actions as real. Here, chronology can be regarded as the motor of the narration's truth-acceptance; temporal succession acts as a major narrative organiser of the memoirs. Like chronology, reading is a linear process. Through and simultaneously with the reading, the temporal and spatial world of the memoirs opens, moving forward through the act reading. In this created narrative world, the presented textual data progressively meet the reader's expectations and background knowledge. Here in this initial sentence, the temporal and the spatial indications encountered during the reading are integrated in the already historically accepted model of Casanova's life chronology and in the model of the spatial knowledge of Venice. Furthermore, "temporal succession implies that the events in question occur in the same represented world"⁵. Along the spatial-chronological line that remains open throughout the reading, the presented actions performed by the characters are received as real, constrained by a want for coherence. The simultaneousness of the act of reading and the progression of the narrative time creates the dynamic of the continuous acceptance of the narrative as real.

5 SHLOMITH RIMMON-KENAN, *Narrative Fiction, Contemporary Poetics*, London and New York, Methuen, 1983, p. 19.

Within the autobiographical genre, the story is factualised through the characteristics of narrativity itself. Narrativity has its peculiar mode of rendering things factual; it plays on the interaction between what is presented and what the receiver expects and already knows. The statement of interest in the aforementioned quote is, ‘*je fus un des joueurs de violon... dans les bals*’. Casanova is claiming here that he was a fiddler at the Cornaro wedding balls. Although not documented extra-memoirs, this statement is automatically accepted as true, as a historical state of affairs external to the text. Important is the indication *dans les bals*. In the previous pages of the memoirs, the reader has been instructed that Casanova lived in Venice and that he became a violinist. This statement is confirmed extra-memoirs⁶. So, Casanova as a violinist living in Venice during those years is seen as a historical truth. The fact that he was a player at the Cornaro marriage, however, is not confirmed. What makes the reader, then, so easily infer its truthfulness? The statement of interest is preceded by, ‘*À la moitié du printemps de l’année suivante 1746 Monsieur Girolamo Cornaro aîné de la maison Cornaro de la Reine épousa une fille de la famille Soranzo de S. Pol*’ and followed by, ‘*qu’on donna pour trois jours consécutifs dans le palais Soranzo à l’occasion de ce mariage*’. These sentences contain expressions with a historical truth-value. The historicity of the wedding, the protagonists, the date, and the location are accepted as true. So, the temporal indication is ‘*À la moitié du printemps de l’année suivante 1746*’, the person indications are ‘*Girolamo Cornaro*’, ‘*une fille de la famille Soranzo de S. Pol*’ and ‘*je fus un des joueurs de violon*’, the spatial indication is ‘*le palais Soranzo*’ and the action indication is ‘*marriage*’; these indications refer to accepted and known historical dates, places, persons and actions. Once the truth status of these elements is received, their inherent historicity is contextually transposed. The role of Casanova playing the violin at the marriage in the Palazzo Soranzo is believed to be true because it is endowed with the same status as the surrounding historical truths.

Moreover, in order to maintain coherence and because of the trust in the source that is warranted by the autobiographical genre, the roles those indications fulfil in the narration are accepted as equally true. Here, their role is de-

⁶ The Venetian spy Giovanni Manuzzi reports that Casanova played the violin at the San Samuele theatre. See for the Manuzzi Reports: GIACOMO CASANOVA, *Histoire de ma vie, I*, Paris, Gallimard, 2013 (Bibliothèque de la Pléiade), *Appendices*, p. 1132.

terminated through the statement of interest as the setting where Casanova played the violin. The acceptance of the setting is important because it provides the context to accept the actions described as true. So, the reception of Casanova as a fiddler at the Cornaro wedding balls is not only an inference of the historical truths the statement is couched in, it also actualizes the roles of those truths as the narrative context of the statement of interest. In other words, the role of Casanova playing the violin at the marriage in the Palazzo Soranzo is not historically proved, but is believed because it is imperceptibly provided with the same truth status as the historical truths, which on their turn in order to close the narrative circle fulfil the role as the setting of the statement “je fus un des joueurs de violon...dans les bals”, adapting the narrative truth-value to a historical one, imposed by a constraint of coherence. This circularity is at the heart of the narrative transmission of the memoirs’ historical significance; it creates the narrative world in which the events told are factualised.

Tout en alarme, je tire le rideau, je prends la lanterne, je regarde sa figure, et je reste effrayé observant sa bouche qui s’était retirée vers son oreille gauche, et ses yeux mouvrants. Je crie aux barcarols d’arrêter, et de me laisser descendre pour aller chercher un chirurgien pour qu’il vienne d’abord saigner S. Ex. qui venait certainement d’être frappé d’apoplexie. (II, 73v)

This quote reveals the two mechanisms, namely natural according and fact constructional style that are operating within the acceptance of the episode as autobiographical.

NATURAL ACCORDING

Natural according renders actions historically acceptable by presenting them as natural in accordance with concepts that are felt as such. Here, the actions are received as real because they are in-line with Casanova’s personality model. Through natural according, textual elements assimilate to this model, built up in the mind and already accepted as historically correct. In the aforementioned quote, Casanova takes hold of things in an alert, persevering, and courageous way. These personality traits have been accepted through the reading of the preceding chapters and through the reader’s knowledge of the author. Thus, the described actions are ready to be taken as honest accounts. Casanova acting as a physician later in the episode is another important natural accordance feature. Casanova’s

interest and abilities in medicine are known. Hence, the actions told are received as occurred events. The acceptance of Casanova's acting as a physician is crucial in this episode as it forces the reader to accept the main theme of the narrative section as real, namely the saving of Bragadin's life by the author.

FACT CONSTRUCTIONAL STYLE

The style in which the narrative is written contributes to the reception as a true account. This style is characterised by vivid detailed description creating "an impression of perceptual re-experience"⁷. The result is a realistic, believable world that pulls the reader into the scenes. Those scenes are experienced as an area in which the reader observes himself as a witness of the events described. Furthermore, the phrasing of the actions in short succeeding units is not only reflecting the author's character traits. This vivid, detailed style also creates the impression that the events were written down while fresh in memory, as if Casanova was narrating them in front of the reader. In this way, the author is introduced in the narrative as a character that is authorised to tell the truth. The acceptance of the author's personality as a constitutive part of the meaning of the memoirs is essential for the acceptance of the narrative as real⁸. How is this further developed? After the first sentence of the narrative part, as quoted above, the natural-naïve reader is ready to embrace the forthcoming actions of Casanova and of the other personages as really happened.

Je vois une lettre qui tombe près de lui dans le moment qu'il tirait son mouchoir de sa poche. Je vais ramasser la lettre, et rejoignant ce beau seigneur dans le moment qu'il descendait les degrés, je la lui remets. (II, 73v)

7 DEREK EDWARDS - JONATHAN POTTER, *Discursive Psychology*, London New York New Delhi, Sage Publications, 2000, p. 161. Marie-Françoise Luna refers to this style as 'hypotypose': MARIE-FRANÇOISE LUNA, *Casanova mémorialiste*, Paris, Editions Champion, 1998, p. 153. I prefer here to use the psychological version of this style characteristic. I see the author not as much as a pure writer but more as an author whose work is pervaded by his way of being.

8 Mieke Bal writes it this way: "If the focalizer coincides with a character, that character will have a technical advantage over the other characters. The reader watches with the character's eyes and will, in principle, be inclined to accept the vision presented by that character". MIEKE BAL, *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1988, p. 104 (cited in JONATHAN POTTER, *Representing Reality*, London, New York, New Delhi, Sage Publications, 2012, p. 164-165).

This succession of narrated events contains only the concepts of Casanova and Bragadin as historical truths, but the events are nevertheless accepted as real. The data are assimilated through narrative factualisation, fuelled by the coinciding linearity of reading and chronology, rendered self-evident by natural according and reinforced by rhetorical style, in line with the general model of coherence, namely Casanova's autobiography that is pre-supposed as presenting stories as true. Therefore, forced by a natural desire for coherence, the previous statements are believed to be true. When further reading the narrative section, the unfolding chronology is filled up with the presented events. Possible actions are actualised on the spatiotemporal line, with the reader receiving them as real. The detailed descriptions function on the basis of the mechanisms mentioned before. In fact, they re-enforce each other to obtain a positive truth-status of the story. Exemplary, to review, is the introduction of Ferro, who is historically recognised as a well-known Venetian physician. Through narrative factualisation, the anti-hero role that Ferro plays in the narration is accepted because Casanova is firstly received as the hero due to natural according. The reader knows about Casanova's medicinal skills and has accepted him as an exceptionally self-assured, quick-acting person. Thus, they are not surprised to see how Casanova takes over the work of a physician. Through vivid description, such as, *'je lui découvre la poitrine, je lui lève l'emplâtre, je le lave ensuite avec de l'eau tiède, et le voilà en trois, ou quatre minutes soulagé, tranquille, et en proie du plus doux sommeil'* (II, 74v), the actions are received as real.

THE TRANSITIONAL PARAGRAPH

Ce seigneur m'écoutait comme un oracle. Ses deux amis étonnés me prêtaient la même attention. Cette subordination m'ayant augmenté le courage, je parlais en physicien, je dogmatisais, et je citais des auteurs que je n'avais jamais lus. (II, 75r)

In this paragraph, after having successfully saved Bragadin's life, Casanova's talent of verbally impressing leads the reader almost unnoticed to the idea of occultism. Because the narrative is still ongoing, the introduction is hardly recognised as a thematic shift. Occultism will, nevertheless, be the main concept in the third section.

THE ARGUMENT PART

Monsieur de Bragadin, qui avait la faiblesse de donner dans les sciences abstraites, me dit un jour que pour un jeune homme il me trouvait trop savant, et que je devais par conséquent posséder quelque chose de surnaturel. (II, 75r).

With the above sentence, the argument part commences. The words that disconnect the narrative and the argument sections are *'me dit un jour'*. This phrase dissolves the chronology in which the first part was told, and what follows can be regarded as separate from the narrative section. In this argument part, Casanova is trying to undermine the idea that receiving money from the three patricians was based on imposture. How does the natural-naïve reader receive this idea? Because the beginning of the argument part is set-up as a prolongation of the narrative section, the transition from the narrative part to the argument part is not received abruptly. Nevertheless, the second segment is essentially conceived differently because the rhetorical features of a justification are implicitly recognised. The argument part is read after the narrative part, and the major consequence of this order is that the basis of Casanova's relationship with Bragadin is accepted as the result of Casanova saving the senator's life. The cabalistic proceedings of Casanova in the relationship are hence interpreted as accidental because the argument part is read entirely through the orientation formed by the narrative part. Step by step, the argument part evolves into a pure apology without any narrative characteristics. How the natural-naïve reader experiences this section depends on how credible they perceive the author. If the reader is charitable, they might believe all of Casanova's arguments, but it is more probable that they will interpret the argumentation in light of knowing Casanova's personality. For example, Casanova is not presenting himself as the introducer of occultism into the relationship. It is only after Bragadin's demand that he is willing to deploy his cabalistic capacities. By attributing the action to the three patricians, the author diminishes his own responsibility. This action might not be particularly casanovian, and subsequently, be unconvincing. Thus, the reader might search for a deeper explanation to read the story in light of the model of Casanova's personality. The reader might assume that the writer is not really expecting them to believe that the patricians are responsible for introducing the cabala into the relationship. Moreover, the reader might think that Casanova is manipulating the three patricians so that they feel accountable for the occultist aspect of their friendship. But, at the same time, Casanova might be manipulating his reader. The proposed narrative might have given the reader

a euphoric feeling by which they become more compliant towards the author⁹. At the end of the argument part, the chronology of the episode is re-introduced and the narrative is picked up with, '*Au commencement de l'été M. de Bragadin se trouva en état de paraître au sénat*' (I, 77v). This third section closes with a real panegyric by Bragadin, whereby he accepts Casanova as his son. It is a highly graphic scene that could easily be received as exaggerated. Nevertheless, this exaggeration might force the reader to accept the narrative part. Although not accepted as true, the introduction of this inflated passage might be perceived as justified in light of the argumentation strategy and, conversely, facilitate the receiving of the narrative part as real.

THE FINAL SENTENCE

C'est, mon cher lecteur, toute l'histoire de ma métamorphose, et l'heureuse époque qui me fit sauter du vil métier de joueur de violon à celui de seigneur. (II, 77v)

In the final part, a reference to Casanova being a violinist connects with the beginning of the first narrative part, thus unifying all four sections. This closing sentence superposes a new orientation on the episode; that is, the going-up of Casanova from a low social status to a high social status. This small sentence invites the reader to regard the whole passage vis-à-vis the social transformation of its author. Through the direct addressing '*C'est mon cher lecteur*' and the word '*heureuse*' to the very last word '*seigneur*', the whole episode is received with a euphoric feeling as being coherent and well-closed. Nevertheless, the author's aim to give the episode a new interpretation may remain unsuccessful because of the predominant effects of the life-rescuing adventure.

A READING BASED ON ACTION-ORIENTATED DISCOURSE¹⁰

In this reading, the entire episode is read as one single utterance, as one single action solely designed by its author to accomplish a particular goal, namely

9 The term 'euphoric' is used here as 'giving a positive value', as opposed to dysphoric.

10 This reading gets its name and inspiration from the *Discursive Action Model of Remembering*, a theory and method mainly developed by Derek Edwards and Jonathan Potter, wherein descriptions of events are seen as constructed for the occasion. Their method and theory focuses on how a specific version is produced for a particular occasion. So, the explanatory basis is action, not cognition. They don't start from some putative reality in which events happen that can be rendered more or less accurate. Events can be described in many varied ways without becoming objectively wrong.

to convince the reader that honest reasons are at the basis of the acquaintanceship between the writer and the three patricians. The two basic sections, the narrative part and the argument part, are conceived, constructed, and put together for this purpose. In this way, not only are the two parts regarded as constructions to serve the purpose but also the particular way how they are assembled in one solid unity. In this way of reading, the presented data no longer automatically receive a historical truth status. They are seen as occasioned through the requirements of the goals of an action. In this section, the episode is analysed as an action of the author attempting to attain a goal. For the narrative part, the writer uses a persuasive strategy: fact construction. The encounter with and the life-saving of Bragadin are presented as facts. The argument part is an open defence whereby Casanova relies on arguments and classic rhetorical devices. The narrative organisation of the episode can be seen as a master move by Casanova. Letting the life-saving precede the actual defence of his cabalistic proceedings with the three patricians is then the decisive rhetorical stroke to get the reader on his side. The natural-naive reader will inevitably regard the cabala as accidental.

THE NARRATIVE PART

Reading the narrative part as action-orientated is reading it as involved in an action. The author wants to convince his readers that honest reasons are at the basis of his acquaintanceship with Bragadin and the two patricians. The narrative part is a rhetorical construction, designed to serve this purpose. It is a graphic expansion of the argument segment, crafted to warrant the truth status of its arguments. The narrative part relates how Casanova met Senator Bragadin and how he saved Bragadin's life. In order to obtain a historical status of truth for this story, Casanova's main concern is to create a factual description. How is this factuality construed? What are the building materials with which it was constructed? The narration of the encounter itself starts with the second paragraph, which reveals the characteristic of the whole story: a detailed description of short chronological sequences, *'Le troisième jour, vers la fin de la fête, une heure avant jour, je laisse l'orchestre pour aller chez moi et en descendant l'escalier je remarque un sénateur en robe rouge qui allait monter dans sa gondole'* (II, 73v). This rapid succession of detailed events is fact-constructive in four ways. The first is detailed narrative. A large amount of realistic details creates 'a graphic,

vivid and believable world'¹¹ justifying the author's status as a truth-teller, as someone who relates the events as fresh in his memory. This realistic depiction seduces the reader to play the role of co-witness in the scenes described; the reader is under the impression that every independent observer would have perceived the events in the same way. The second device in obtaining factuality lies in presenting the description as a kind of report. The successive recording of the events provides the narration with an underlying report-like structure, inferring neutrality and objectiveness. There is only one small sentence at the beginning of the narrative that contains quoted speech; the rest of the narrative part avoids this discursive item, which is frequently used in other sections of the memoirs. Direct speech can be rhetorically effective in particular settings, but avoiding it here enhances the neutrality of the description and helps to establish the narrative as an independent record. The third fact-building feature is presenting things as natural. The reader has integrated during their reading of the memoirs some character-traits and some concepts about Casanova, which now feel as natural when reading the episode. If the description is coherent with those character-traits or concepts, the description will be perceived as natural and thus truthful. The rapidness with which the sequences succeed each other is conceived as corresponding with a basic characteristic of Casanova's personality. Thus, the narrative's style is useful for the preconceived aim. The reader has learned to see Casanova as a self-assured, quick-acting person. Presenting the narrative as natural to the personality of the actor reinforces the facticity of the story. Moreover, the main theme of the narrative part, the life-saving of the senator, can be conceived as a choice determined by the wish to present things as natural. The selection of this concept as the main cause of the acquaintance with Bragadin can be seen as a vital rhetorical move to present the story as factual. The reader accepts that Casanova is playing the physician, even overruling a well-known one, Ferro, because they perceived this act as natural, as compatible with a concept, even if the author himself constructed this concept. A final, maybe more controversial, fact-constructing item is social status. High social position is used here as a hidden but effective truth warrantor; it initially provides the reader with a feeling that makes them more tolerant towards the presented arguments. Highness is more attractive than lowness. Furthermore, it might be that nobility was seen as a social category that, through their seg-

11 DEREK EDWARDS - JONATHAN POTTER, *Discursive Psychology*, cit., p. 122.

regated top position, enjoyed the power to decide what was true or false¹². In that way, it is defensible that Casanova narratively uses the concept of social status to obtain not only a higher moral but also an elevated historical status for the episode. The opening paragraph immediately plays on the concept of nobility in one single sentence. In the second paragraph, phrases such as ‘*un sénateur en robe rouge*’, ‘*sa gondole*’, and ‘*ce beau seigneur*’ reinforce the mental representation of high rank and elevated social status, which causes the reader to feel euphoric and thus more tolerant. Moreover, these opening sentences are narratively linked with the end of the argument part, where Senator Bragadin grants to Casanova the privileges of a son. Both phrases act as two high social status pillars, figurativised through the two palazzi, between which the narrative line of the episode spans.

THE ARGUMENT PART

The author has built up this part to undermine the assertions of imposture. This section is constructed as a defence against such possible allegations and is conceived as a straightforward, overt justification of the author’s behaviour with the three noblemen. The mechanisms and devices used to achieve this objective are, nevertheless, subtle and hidden in diverse layers. The basic layer upon which the defence is built is the identification of the reader with the defender. The author treats himself and his reader as intelligent, open-minded, and having an understanding personality. By appealing to idleness, Casanova draws the reader to his side at a fundamental, solid level. Upon this basic level he deploys an armoury of protective devices in order to defend his purpose. The first device is a detailed, vivid narrative. Casanova starts the argument part with an account how occultism was introduced into their relationship. He constructed this first segment as a prolongation of the narrative part with all its fact-constructive features. A second protective device is interest management. The author is giving Bragadin the initiative. It is the senator who starts talking about occultism. Thus, by presenting Bragadin as the agent, Casanova is diminishing his own role, his own interest. A third device is even subtler. By showing himself as a young man, Casanova is relying on the reader’s goodwill, a feeling that is re-

¹² “All people define situations as real; but when powerful people define situations as real, then they are real *for everybody involved* in their consequences” (Hugh Megan cited in JONATHAN POTTER, *Representing Reality*, cit., p. 57).

garded as a quality of intellectual people who are supposed to be more tolerant towards the young. Casanova is then taking a purely rhetorical pose. He doesn't conceal his defence anymore in a narrative. He elevates his cabalistic practices to an acceptable level, claiming that these were not anti-religious. This section is written with elaborate religious undertones. Therefore, an abundance of religious words and concepts are used to construct a dam to possible allegations. A following section consists of an enumeration of arguments, openly advanced by Casanova for his defence. It starts with,

Je sais que je les ai trompés, et que par conséquent je n'en ai pas agi avec eux en honnête homme dans toute la signification du terme; mais si mon lecteur a l'esprit du monde je le prie de faire quelques réflexions avant de me croire indigne de son indulgence. (II, 77r)

Casanova opens with a stake confession, which is a powerful rhetorical device because it triggers idleness. And indeed, he is immediately relying on the reader's intelligence and *esprit* in order to establish a basis of consensus between himself and the reader. Upon this consensus, Casanova deploys some pragmatic arguments that may sound awkward for a modern reader but maybe not for an eighteenth-century reader. If Casanova had told the patricians the truth, they would have laughed at him and turned him away. This result would not only have harmed the patricians but also himself. He had the right to provide a good living for himself and to enjoy what a young man needs. Moreover, the patricians were better off with him. If Casanova had abandoned the patricians, an unscrupulous villain, who could have ruined them, would certainly have taken his place. Also, the patricians would have considered him unworthy of their esteem, regarding him as ignorant, haughty, and disrespectful, which was incompatible with his supreme idleness. Casanova writes that he made the most elegant, noble, and logical possible decision. He had the right to take care of himself in the manner he could best decide. In this section, Casanova takes a very assertive, offensive pose. The religious register is discarded with '*je n'avais aucune mission pour m'ériger en apôtre*' (II, 77r) and replaced by worldly arguments, aiming to convince the reader of his self-assured honesty. This self-confidence evolves into exaggeration, which commences with '*Au commencement de l'été M. de Bragadin se trouva en état de reparaître dans le sénat*' (II, 77v). This sentence re-establishes the chronology. Bragadin's direct speech and the scene where Casanova throws himself at the senator's feet as if he is being knighted, is exaggeration.

Casanova's actions are blown up, indeed, but they contain an in-built power that appeals to the reader's compliant intelligence. The reader will understand this passage as a hazardous piece of theatre, but they will be ready to forgive Casanova, seduced by the notions of youth and the status of Bragadin. Furthermore, a remainder of belief in Casanova will always linger. Blinded by idleness, the reader will feel satisfied to have seen this scene through, but in feeling this way, the reader becomes more open to accepting the point that Casanova is trying to make at a deeper level.

THE NARRATIVE ORGANISATION OF THE EPISODE

That this episode is embedded as one unit in the chronology of the memoirs is fundamental for the acceptance of the narrative. The Bragadin encounter is situated in the period that starts after the author's voyage to the Orient and ends with his flight from Venice. The basic line of Casanova's chronology is assumed to be historically correct, so the reader is automatically constrained to accept the embedded stories as true. Chronology is an powerful device in making stories acceptable; it ensures that the events described become a part of history. It forms the basis of the other fact-constructional devices employed in the text. Upon this fundament, the author assembles the different parts of the episode; how he puts these pieces together functions to achieve the aim of the episode. The narrative organisation is intended to convince the reader of the honest basis of Casanova's acquaintanceship with the patricians. The fact that the narrative part precedes the argument part is a decisive move to get the reader on the author's side. People have a tendency to accept that events are caused by preceding events. Therefore, because the acquaintanceship followed the life-saving, the acquaintanceship was necessarily caused by the life-saving. Casanova did not intrude into Bragadin's life with the purpose of filching money from him as Manuzzi reported. No, the saving of the senator's life was the cause of their friendship and the reason why Bragadin and his friends financially supported Casanova. When the reader first read that Casanova became acquainted with Bragadin by saving his life, they automatically infer that the cabalistic proceedings are accidental in the friendship with the patricians.

The fact that the life-saving overshadows occultism could also be regarded

through the perspective of the regency effect¹³. The reader tends to interpret a story in light of the data they have read at the beginning of the story. The life-saving is actually the lens through which the whole episode is bound to be read. Occultism was introduced after the life-saving, and thus, the eventual negative connotations of occultism are inhibited by the euphoria of the life-saving. The transitional paragraph also plays a role in the narrative organisation. Its shortness is not accidental but rather acts as a discreet knot that ties together the two major parts while the key concept of occultism is unnoticeably introduced. Before becoming a purely rhetorical defence, the argument part is strongly fastened to the narrative part; its first section remains entirely a narrative. Through the regency effect, the following sections are interpreted within the factuality of the preceding narrative. In those purely argumentative sections, narrative lines subtly connect with the narrative. The end is, then again, a plain narrative. So, the pure apology is veined and sheltered by narratives. Finally, the fourth part, which is the final sentence, is ultimately an attempt to provide an alternative perspective to the episode. What if the reader interpreted the whole story as a going-up of its protagonist, from the lowest to the highest social status? Its terseness, its direct appeal to the reader, and its choice of words give the episode a euphoric conclusion. This sentence situates the entire episode within a veil of high status, which creates a sense of benevolent delight that contributes to the task at hand.

A CASANOVISTIC-PERSONAL READING

This third reading is called casanovistic because it shares the specific traditional approach that scholars, thinkers, and amateurs have taken to assess the memoirs. This wide and multifaceted interest rising from intellectual passion about Casanova has resulted in various books, reviews, and articles about him. In addition, this reading is termed personal because it reflects, within the wide range of casanovistic perspectives, my personal approach. This approach is two-fold: first, reading the memoirs offers me a historical experience, and second, it invites me to search for the historical truth of the described events. Reading Casanova means reliving the described adventure. Behind the story, real events

13 MENAKHEM PERRY, *Literary Dynamics: How the Order of a Text Creates its Meaning*, «Poetics Today», v. 1. no 1/2, Autumn 1979, p. 53.

are present, and behind the characters, there are real, historical persons. This knowledge pushes the reader through the story; time falls apart, and the reader ends up in the 18th century, more than 200 years ago. This historical experience is an individual, intense, and purely intellectual feeling. I personally try to cultivate this feeling by searching for and reading all sorts of documentation about the places and the persons involved. For this episode, the *vedute* of painters such as Canaletto and the topographical plans of Venice, such as Ughi's map, are wonderful devices to craft a mental image of the eighteenth-century town in which Casanova deploys his adventures¹⁴. Research conducted by casanovists and scholars completes this image¹⁵. This historical experience departs from the natural-naïve reading. As a reader, I am tempted by the enchantment of the telling. Thus, there is nothing wrong with this initial reading.

Despite this experience, I know that it is impossible that everything Casanova narrates could have happened in the manner he relates. I want to interpret the memoirs through a historical lens; the search for the historical truthfulness of these memoirs creates a second pleasure in reading Casanova. This search, however, is a highly problematic task, especially if one wants to examine episodes such as the Bragadin encounter. It is obviously impossible to compare the information from the narrative to what actually happened; there are presently no documents available to do so. There is no evidence that Casanova was a violinist at the Cornaro wedding, that he left the building on the third day of the festivities an hour before dawn, that he noticed Bragadin descending the stairs of the palace, that the senator lost a letter by dropping it on the ground, and so on and so forth. Although it is the normal way to think about the truthfulness of

14 For example: "Je remarque un sénateur en robe rouge... (II, 73v). In various 'vedute' Canaletto shows us how eye-catching the red toga of the senators must have been in the Venetian townscape, see: *Entrance to the Grand Canal: looking East (The Royal Collection)*, *The Doge visiting the Church and the Scuola di S. Rocco (London, National Gallery)*, *The Piazzetta looking South (The Royal Collection)*. The Palazzo Soranzo has been pictured by Joseph Heinz the Younger in his work *The Bull Hunt in Campo San Polo*, Museo Correr, Venice. The painting shows in front of the palace the canal, which was filled up in 1761, where Casanova places his encounter with senator Bragadin.

15 Concerning the house of Bragadin, see: HELMUT WATZLAWICK, *Casanova topography-visits to Ca' Bragadin and Ca' Grimani*, «L'Intermédiaire des Casanovistes», XXVII (2010), p. 37, and A. C., *Where Casanova lived*, «L'Intermédiaire des Casanovistes», XXVIII, 2011, p. 53.

the memoirs, this way of tackling the question leads to an impasse, and indeed, many scholars are staying away from the issue of the historical authenticity of the memoirs¹⁶. Nevertheless, it is my opinion that something could be said about the historical truthfulness of the memoirs and about this episode in particular.

THREE KINDS OF TRUTH

At the heart of this approach lies the assignment of the presented information to three kinds of truth. This assignment is purely operational and is solely a method to classify the data into workable categories with the goal of being able to assess historical truth. In this phase, the notion of truth is used in a metaphorical way. When writing the memoirs, doing right by their historical truth was one of Casanova's intentions. The historical facts were the matter he worked with. Two other truths, however, might have been more important during the writing, namely the psychological and narrative truths. Each of these truths has its specific criterion to determine the truthfulness of something. Something is psychologically true when it is efficient; it is narratively true when it is coherent; it is historically true when it is correspondent. These three truths are not exclusive: They operate side by side and influence each other. Information can belong simultaneously to the psychological, the narrative, and the historical truth. There is interference between these three kinds of truths. It is quite normal to use historical events to accomplish goals within a narrative structure. If, however, certain information basically appears in the text for its psychological or narrative value, then the historical status is at least open for questioning. So, the assignment of the presented information to one of these truths provides a workable classification for the multitude of data in the memoirs. This categorization offers an indication for the historical assessment of the information. In this way, an element that contributes to the psychological or the narrative truth can be assessed as doing this at the expense of its historical value, because it was mainly selected or distorted to fit in the requirements of the psychological or nar-

16 Chantal Thomas phrases it this way: '...je ne pose à aucun moment la question de la vérité d'un épisode des *Mémoires*. Je les prends tous pour également indiscutables, par respect pour l'oeuvre d'écriture, par courtoisie pour son auteur.' (CHANTAL THOMAS, *Casanova Un voyage libertin*, Paris, Éditions Denoël, 1985, p. 76). Also Cyril Francès discards the historical reality of the memoirs: "Le 'monde' n'est pas l'horizon de ces Mémoires, seulement son opaque contre-jour." (CYRIL FRANCÈS, *La mémoire du désir*, Paris, Classiques Garnier, 2014, p. 651).

rative truth. On the other hand, an element that is psychologically or narratively dysfunctional can be regarded as indicating towards a historical truth.

THE BRAGADIN ENCOUNTER AS A FICTITIOUS STORY

The claim here is that this story is fictitious, invented to justify the author's relationship with Senator Bragadin. In order to legitimise this claim, this article will argue that the narrative unity of the episode is designed to efficiently contribute to the preconceived aim. Because of this predominant efficiency and subsequent coherence, the historical truth status of the episode is lowered. Nevertheless, as historical facts are the matter with which the author worked, a nucleus of historicity exists. This core, however, has been modified and inflated with invented elements in order to fit the psychological and narrative truths. In this article, non-historical explanations that support the writer's purpose will be regarded as corroborative to the assumption that the narrative has been invented. This analysis is carried out under conditions of uncertainty and is characterised by high tentativeness. Nevertheless, this restriction should not prevent one from proceeding, on the basis of the proposed method, towards a better understanding of the historical truth of the memoirs.

SOLID UNITY AND FUNCTIONAL COHERENCE

This episode stands as an independent unit in the memoirs. It is indicated at the beginning by a date in the margin (II, 73r) and by a first paragraph that is content-independent from the preceding one. The final sentence of this episode closes the whole chapter, and the next chapter takes an entirely new start. The narrative organisation, as treated in the action-orientated discourse reading, illustrates how the episode is shaped as one solid unit within the above contours and how the different parts are put together to support one aim. This coherence provides the opportunity to consider the whole unit as rhetorical, by which the entire episode can be categorised to the psychological truth. Efficiency is the criterion of that particular truth; something is true when it is efficient towards a goal. The goal here is to convince the reader that honest reasons form the basis of the friendship between Casanova and the three Venetian patricians. The means through which this goal could be accomplished is an episode worked out in an autobiography. To achieve this goal, the narrative must be as believable as possible, and narration is convincing through coherence. So, constrained by

the episode's rhetorical nature, the author has opted for strict coherence. This coherence is not only found in a coherent telling. The coherence of the telling is the external result of a search for greater consistency. A more efficient coherence is found in the fact that the story is in accordance with lines of thought already present in the mind of the reader. The writer involves the reader to reach this unity, which will lead to the acceptance of the story as it is told. The reader will integrate the presented data into different models of coherence, rendering the information intelligible and acceptable. Thus, textual elements must adhere to models already present in the reader's mind. The basic model of coherence is the literary genre of autobiography. As discussed in the section on natural-naïve reading, the reader integrates the story in a way that adheres to their pre-conceptions of autobiographical writing and with their specific expectations of this particular autobiography. Four models of coherence will be presented that cover this attempt: chronology, continuity in space, causality, and Casanova's personality model¹⁷. The point is that the writer strives for full coherence, avoiding any discordance. In real life, however, this complete unity is rarely present.

Chronology. The encounter with Bragadin fits perfectly in the chronology of the memoirs. After having read the adventures following the encounter, the reader accepts, in retrospect, that Casanova must have met Bragadin shortly after November 1745. Casanova states that he returned to Venice on 25 November 1745 (II, 62v). The encounter is dated through the Cornaro wedding on 20 April, and Bragadin plays a prominent role in the adventures following his life-saving. Thus, the time of the encounter fits the autobiography's need for chronological coherence. Life, however, is not an autobiography. Suppose that Casanova contacted Bragadin some years before. If so, to introduce and narrate this interaction as such in his autobiography would have made it far more complex to reach the necessary coherence needed to attain the ultimate goal of the episode. Thus, the encounter, as Casanova relates it, is highly coherent with the chronology of the memoirs.

Continuity in space. In an autobiographical story, the places stated are bound to fit into a model of spatial coherence. Here, the basic location is the town of

17 For the term 'models of coherence' and the models treated here, see: SHLOMITH RIMMON-KENAN, *Narrative Fiction*, cit., p. 19.

Venice. Within this location, the Palazzo Soranzo, the Palazzo Bragadin, and the route in between with a stop near the Ponte Bernardo are mentioned. Thus, the spatial contiguity is assured and the locations and their roles in the narrative are automatically accepted. In real life, however, this spatial contiguity is not always present. Suppose that Casanova had encountered Bragadin on the way to, say, Padua. While the introduction of this element would have augmented the historical value and truthfulness of the narrative, it would have rendered the narrative more complicated. The writer estimates that the solid unity of the episode is better served by a solid coherence on the narrative plane. The result is an uncomplicated spatial distribution. Moreover, this simple coherence affords these locations the ability to be associated with values beyond their alleged historicity. If Casanova had stated that he had previously met Bragadin in some palace in Padua, this would have over-emphasised the historical value of that Padua palace to the extent that it would have inhibited or even prohibited this location to have other eventual roles. The names of the two palaces are now open to connotations such as high social status and, thus, they can be used narratively to attain a goal other than a historical one.

Causality. The reader tends to combine events on the basis of causes and effects and interprets an event as a result of a preceding event. They often implicitly apply the bias *post hoc, ergo propter hoc*: after this, so because of this. Casanova's playing in an orchestra at the Cornaro wedding is read as a result of Casanova being a violinist in those days. Leaving the wedding is read as a result of the festivities having come to an end. Noticing a senator is read as a result of a senator leaving the palace at the same time. Encountering Bragadin is read as a result of picking up a letter that had fallen out of his pocket. The reader knows that this causality is, to a certain degree, imposed by the writer, that causes and effects are characteristic of each narrative, that the writer has the right to select and combine events in the way he prefers in order to create an attractive story. The point here is that this causal coherence is useful for the purpose of the episode. In the narrative, some elements are deemed necessary, while others are seen as accidental. All actions are seen as advancing on an unpredictable path, where points are encountered and from where they take a certain direction. If not already engaged in the telling, these points are seen as accidental. In retrospect, however, they are valued as necessary conditions for the succeeding points, providing causal coherence at the end. Being a violinist was a necessary condition for being present

at the Palazzo Soranzo, being at the Palazzo Soranzo was a necessary condition for leaving it, and leaving the palace was a necessary condition for noticing the senator. However, the simultaneousness of both Casanova and the senator leaving the palace feels accidental and is read as a point where the action has to take a certain direction. Seeing a letter from the senator's pocket dropping to the ground is, again, seen as accidental, while the preceding action of simultaneously leaving the palace is now regarded as necessary. The senator being struck by apoplexy, the discovery of the name of the senator, and the introduction of occultism in the friendship are all seen as accidental, but once these points have appeared in the text, they become indispensable for the forthcoming plot. The result is a solid causal unity that serves the ultimate purpose of the episode. The accidentalness of the aforementioned points affirms the accidentalness of the acquaintanceship between the patricians and Casanova as well as the accidentalness of the occultism. The author has not presented a possible version, which could have begun, "In those, years I managed to introduce myself to Senator Bragadin, in whom I saw a possible victim of my occultist powers." In this version, which is much nearer to the Manuzzi report, Casanova might yet have found ways to defend his involvement. The proposed account, however, is much stronger in defending the ultimate claim because the narrative itself is functional towards the point to be made. The narrative follows points that the reader feels are accidental which form, at the end, a solid coherence of causes and effects.

Casanova's personality model. The entire episode coheres with the reader's model of Casanova's personality. Character traits such as promptness, alertness, and courage are strongly associated with the author. In this narrative, these traits are integral in the encounter with Bragadin. Without these traits, the reader would have inferred that Casanova's acquaintanceship with the three senators would never have been established. Moreover, these qualities are perceived as virtues in contrast to the report of the spy Manuzzi, which states that Casanova had infiltrated the nobleman's life. In this case, the same character traits could have been of value, but then in a negative way. The positive application of these traits contributes to the acceptance of the story as true. The narrative style of the episode is in full accordance with these personality traits. The story possesses a nervous, prompt, energetic style. This high coherence contributes to the truth-status of the episode and to the charitable attitude the reader develops towards the author. Further, there is Casanova as a physician. Casanova was

highly attracted to and even skilful in medicine. The author himself, throughout the memoirs, has communicated his interest in this domain. In this episode, he uses the reader's acceptance of his medical competence to effortlessly contribute to the acceptance of the truthfulness of the story.

THE HISTORICAL NUCLEUS

Because of its high rhetorical character, the entire episode was assigned to the psychological truth, which offers the opportunity to disqualify its narrative elements as non-historical. The action-orientated discourse reading, which deconstructs the inherent historical truth-value of the initial natural-naive reading, exposed the data without its historical connotations. This reading departs from another interpreting framework, causing an interpretive shift in the text data. These data are read as selected by a psychological need, which then determined the narrative outlook. The historical data have been used and reconfigured to suit the requirements of the psychological and narrative truths. What is the historical basis on which the author worked? The following minimal historical statement can be proposed:

Casanova met Bragadin, Dandolo, and Barbaro in Venice before he was imprisoned under the Leads. They established a life-long relationship in which the patricians gave financial aid to Casanova. This relationship was seen as problematic because of the occultist proceedings of Casanova, which influenced the three patricians.

As correspondence is the criterion to discern historical truth, this statement is true when it corresponds to the fact that Casanova met Bragadin, Dandolo, and Barbaro in Venice before he was imprisoned under the Leads, that they established a life-long relationship wherein the patricians gave financial aid to Casanova, and that the relationship was seen as problematic because of the occultist proceedings by Casanova, which influenced the three patricians. The historical statement is documented in reports written by the Venetian spy Manuzzi, which confirmed the timeframe of the meeting, the relationship between Casanova and Bragadin, the financial aid provided by the patricians, the occultism, as well as the problematic character of the overall relationship¹⁸. So, the historical nucleus of this episode is endorsed by documents independent of the memoirs.

¹⁸ Barbaro left a life rent of six zecchini a month to Casanova. Dandolo mentioned Casanova in his testament: JACQUES CASANOVA DE SEINGALT, *Histoire de ma vie*, Paris, Robert Laffont, 1993, p. 998 and p. 999.

ALTERNATIVE EXPLANATIONS

As the episode was considered non-historical, alternative explanations have to be provided for the text elements that expand the minimal historical statement. If these explanations demonstrate that the elements contribute to the pre-conceived aim through their efficiency and coherence, they can be regarded as corroborating the assumption of the non-historicity of the episode.

Where. Venice is the general spatial context where the action of the story is deployed. Through the minimal historical statement, this location is accepted as the place where Casanova lived during the years before his imprisonment. Therefore, it is quite normal that the choice of the specific locations is determined by the concept of the town of Venice. But why these locations and not others? The introduction of the Palazzo Soranzo can be seen as occasioned through its high social status and by the fact that the author was a violinist during those years. Being a violinist might have led Casanova to present himself in the narration as an assistant player during a famous wedding held at the time. The Palazzo Soranzo is a figurativisation of the concept of high social status. In the previous pages, Casanova had described himself as a complete rogue, living as a kind-of outlaw in the margins of society. The concept of a rich Venetian palace in the very first paragraph of the episode instantly lifts the level of the reading from low to high. This high level is psychologically efficient for the point that Casanova wants to make. Apart from the fact that high social status alone might justify the truth-status of the telling, a euphoric feeling might make the reader more open to accepting the story as real. If it is assumed that the narrative part historically did not occur, the presence of the Ponte Bernardo in the narrative requires an alternative explication. The place takes not only its historical value from Venice as the basic setting but, moreover, precise locations are constructive to the facticity of the story as they create a credible, graphic world in which the actions can be reliably deployed. Furthermore, this location is a repetition of a former spatial setting in the memoirs: the Razzetta cudgelling (I, 99r-100v). Simply the act of repetition reinforces the facticity of the two stories. The bridge by the Calle Bernardo is part of a hidden but efficient web of fact-constructing elements in the memoirs. The Palazzo Bragadin is the residence of Senator Bragadin. In accordance with the minimal statement, it is thus quite normal that Casanova frequented this palace. But here in the story of his encounter with the senator, the palace is used as a scene for a fictive plot. It functions as a robust authorisation of the factual status of the narration, not in the least through its high so-

cial status. Therefore, the Palazzo fulfils a psychological as well as a narrative role.

When. In the minimal statement, a rather large timeframe for the story has been accepted. Based on the Manuzzi reports, this window was ‘before he was imprisoned under the Leads’. There are no further documents that can reduce this time schedule. When biographers specify the date of the encounter in the chronology of Casanova’s life, the memoirs are their only resource. The date of the Cornaro wedding is known, and Casanova tells us that he met Senator Bragadin on the third day of the festivities. Thus, biographers date the encounter on 20 April 1746¹⁹. If the whole narrative part is disqualified as non-historical, the date deriving from the wedding can be seen as an inference of the spatial setting of the Palazzo Soranzo, which was, apart from being prompted by the Venice setting, basically chosen by Casanova for its position on the low-high social axis. Using dating elements from only the memoirs often results in an unstable chronology. The introduction of this very day is co-destabilising the timeline of the Venice period before Casanova’s detention under the Leads. Casanova’s correction of the dates in the margin of the manuscript could be regarded as a retroactive managing of the timeline, forced by the insertion of the wedding in the story²⁰. Only after his escape from the Leads did Casanova’s life chronology become stable, which is partially due to the fact that the escape formed the starting point of Casanova as an eighteenth-century adventurer. The life he was forced to lead was more neatly structured through the different stages of his voyages. Maybe the period before his imprisonment is better seen as a long period without many fixed dates, wherein Casanova rather arbitrarily places real or invented adventures²¹.

19 For example: CASANOVA, *Histoire de ma vie*, I, cit., p. LXI.

20 Before the Encounter episode starts Casanova replaces in the margin of the manuscript the year 1744 by 1745 (II, 62v) and 1745 by 1746 (II, 70r).

21 Some pages later due to a document on which Casanova’s autograph appears, the chronology that received a point of reference by the date of the Cornaro marriage, has to be adapted. Maybe Casanova used the date of the wedding to start a chronology on which he could put his adventures the same way as he did after the escape from the Leads. In his *Histoire de ma fuite* there is an interesting sentence where Casanova states that if he should ever write the story of what had happened to him during the eighteen years that he travelled through Europe, he would start with the escape from the Leads. This announcement indicates that he valued his adventurer’s years more appropriate to be left to posterity than his youth years. Those years of voyaging through Europe were perfectly suitable to produce a stable chronology. So, it might be that Casanova wanted to impose on his younger years an equal

Who. The appearance of Girolamo Cornaro in the narrative can be seen as occasioned by the choice of having the marriage at the Palazzo Soranzo. Placed immediately after the initial temporal indication, the Palazzo Soranzo plays its role on the timeline from Casanova's transformation from social inferiority to social superiority. As stated before, the names and palaces of Cornaro and Bragadin are figurativisations of the notion of high social status. Moreover, the name of Cornaro is fact-constructural here to the extent that status acts as a truth warrantor for the narrative involved. Bragadin is a main character in the story. His relationship with Casanova is accepted through the minimal statement. The role he plays here as a medical patient, as the person who introduced occultism into the friendship, and as the person who elevates Casanova to a higher social status can be seen as determined by the rhetorical constraints of the narration. Dandolo and Barbaro, the two patrician friends of Bragadin, were quickly introduced in the narration. Their appearance is necessary to establish the full nature of the relationship between Casanova and Bragadin. These two noblemen were indissolubly involved in the liaison as financiers of Casanova. Therefore, apart from their fact-constructural role as being high status individuals, their almost immediate entrance in the episode is indispensable. Introducing them after the Bragadin Encounter episode would have weakened the argument by complicating the narrative treatment of the relationship. Although there were several physicians with the name Ferro active in Venice at the time of the encounter, Ludovico Ferro is indicated in the casanovistic literature as the doctor that Casanova points at when he names the physician in charge. The insertion of this proper name in the episode is explainable. First, the name refers to a historical person, which is fact-constructural. Second, it gives the reader a pleasant feeling of recognition, which might have been envisaged by Casanova, keeping in mind he may eventually have a Venetian reader.

What. The act of Casanova playing the violin at the Cornaro wedding can be seen as occasioned by the fact that Casanova was a violinist in those years, and the entire setting of the noble marriage can be regarded as fulfilling the need to elevate the theme of the episode from low to high. At the same time, this combination of a wedding and a violinist provides the writer with the opportunity to introduce Bragadin in a plausible and accidental way. The life-saving of the senator, thanks to the medical skills of Casanova, is the central theme of the nar-

firm time-line. GIACOMO CASANOVA, *Histoire de ma fuite des prisons de Venise qu'on appelle les Plombs*, Paris, Editions Allia, 1987, p. 212.

rative. The choice of this theme is dictated by the force that nature according possesses to render things true. Moreover, the theme provides the possibility to attribute the acquaintanceship primarily to the life-saving and not to occultism. Do these explanations corroborate the point that the episode is not historical? These explanations are non-historical and motivated by the purpose, from which the action-orientated discourse reading departed. They can consequently be regarded as supporting the claim that the episode is fictitious. A next step is to incorporate these alternative explanations into a larger framework that contains elements from outside the memoirs and from analyses of analogue episodes from within the memoirs.

EXTRA- AND INTRA-MEMOIRS CORROBORATION

A passage in Casanova's *Histoire de ma fuite des Plombs* can be regarded as supporting, on an extra-memoirs basis, the non-historicity of the narrative part²². Bragadin is introduced in this passage as a rich senator who provided money and moral lessons to Casanova. The apoplexy that struck the senator is mentioned, but no allusion is made that Casanova was a witness or that he was in some way involved. This heart attack is seen as the reason for why Bragadin put an end to his libertine life, which subsequently brought him to reason and turned him towards devotion and virtuousness. The foundation for his relationship with Casanova, as noted in the passage, is the fact that Bragadin saw Casanova as an image of his youthful self; he hoped that Casanova, one day, would come to reason, too. In the meantime, the Venetian senator kept supporting Casanova with financial aid and advice. So, according to this extra-memoir source, Bragadin had already suffered the apoplexy before he became friends with Casanova, and how they actually met is not discussed in this passage. A further step is an intra-memoirs search for and an analysis of episodes in the memoirs that resemble the Bragadin episode. Are there episodes in the memoirs that possess a narrative unity of their own and that can be read in an orientation other than a historical one? Possible candidates are the adventure with the Zante wine merchant at Portici (I, 123r-125r). Analysed with action-orientated discourse, it might be revealed that its narrative coherence functions to simply tell a good story. The narrative coherence could lower the historical status of the episode. Another candidate might be the episode with Cattinella, the flamboyant dancer in Ferrara (III, 5r-7r). Angelandrea Zottoli demonstrated that this episode copies a passage

22 GIACOMO CASANOVA, *Histoire de ma fuite des prisons de Venise*, *ibid.*, p. 26-27.

of Lesage's *Gil Blas*²³. When read through the perspective of how adventurers such as Cattinella and Casanova survive at the expense of the credulous, the coherence of the telling might suggest something about its historical value. Or, one could search for episodes that are not units or where the unity is disturbed. This can then be regarded as an indication of its historicity. The MM episode is an extensive narrative in which different storylines continuously complicate its coherence (III, 162r – 325v). It also expands beyond its episode limits, emerging in later passages with the false and the second MM. Another is the Betty episode (IX, 205r – 229r), which exhibits narrative incoherence on at least two levels. Throughout the narrative, the anti-hero, Count de l'Etoile, is represented as the devil. In Rome, Casanova succeeds in putting him in prison. But, when already in Naples, Casanova laconically mentions that the Count has been released under the protection of Cardinal de Bernis, who was, at that time, the French ambassador in Rome. The coherence of the character would have, instead, required that the Count had remained in prison or even had been sent to the galleys. A second incoherence in this episode is its closure. Like most stories, the Betty episode can be divided into a beginning, a middle, and an end section. The end, in particular, seems narratively difficult for the author. Rome is the terminal point of the voyage. In Rome, however, commences another episode in which Betty no longer has a place. Nevertheless, Casanova closes the episode there because he apparently wants to mention the Count's detention in a Roman prison. The Betty episode loses its tension, and when the episode is definitively closed, Casanova is in Naples engaged in other matters. This powerless end contradicts with the vigorous beginning and the nervous middle of the story. A third way of intramemoirs corroboration could be found in analysing episodes that are proved or that are suspected to be non-historical. A candidate might be the Martirano episode, in which Casanova relates his encounter with Bishop de Bernardis at the bishop's diocese in Calabria (I, 125r-126v). This encounter exhibits difficulties with easily fitting in any chronology. Thus, by categorising the episode as not have happened the story becomes free to be read in an action-orientated way, and thus, its characteristics can be studied as such. Are all those corroboration proposals sufficient to accept the claim that the Bragadin Encounter episode is non-historical? Neither is there empirical evidence that can certify the theory of the non-historicity of the Bragadin Encounter episode, nor are there documents that authorise its historicity. Thus, absolute certainty will not be attained. But, why should it be impossible to gain knowledge in a sub-optimal way?

23 ANGELANDREA ZOTTOLI, *Giacomo Casanova*, Roma, Tuminelli, 1945, v. II, p. 164-167.

CONCLUSION

Is the narrative part a fictitious creation to open the reader's mind to the point the writer wants to make? This article explored the possibilities of that assumption. Despite its important characteristics of uncertainty and tentativeness, many elements point towards the non-historicity of the episode. Furthermore, the proposed approach could be useful for a more integrated search into the historicity of the memoirs. Certainty in the case of the Bragadin episode will probably never be obtained. By investigating other passages, argumentation could be gradually increased and corroboration accumulated, not only for the sake of this specific episode but also for creating a more solid construction of the historical insights in the memoirs of Giacomo Casanova.

**CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN BERNHARD MARR
AND CARLO LEONE CURIEL.
PART I: 1919-1920**

In Bernhard Marr's correspondence about Casanova, preserved at Dux, are letters written by Carlo Leone Curiel (1876-1933), the Casanovist born and based in Trieste. Before and after World War I, Curiel committed himself to fostering the cultural contacts between Vienna and Venice. The Carlo Leone Curiel Archive, kept at the Civico Museo Teatrale "Carlo Schmidl" in Trieste, contains a few letters sent by Marr to Curiel that can be integrated into the already known correspondence. The stories of these two sets of letters and archives differ greatly. Such differences explain the peculiar and highly interesting characteristics of the documents we are publishing in the present essay.

As we know from the transcripts of Marr's letters, it was Josef Záda, mayor of Dux, who managed to persuade the Marr family to donate the collection to the community of Dux. The collection was then stored for a long time in two rooms in the Waldstein castle, next door to Casanova's rooms. Then it was moved to the local police station, where the material was piled up in one or two spare rooms on the second floor. Finally, in 1998, it found a worthy resting place in the refurbished Museum of Old Dux (Muzeum Mesto Duchcova). One of the outstanding parts of the archive is the bouquet of 552 letters that Marr received between 1906 and 1927, and which he pasted, in more or less chronological order, in seven albums.

Of Bernhard Marr a lot is known¹. Yet we know little of his private life and ideas. Of Marr's letters to his correspondents only a few have survived. Marr's main occupation, of course, was the iron foundry he had taken over from his father in 1894 and expanded over the next six years. Marr's son-in-law, Karl

1 See: PAVEL KOUKAL ET AL., *Der Casanova-Forscher Bernhard Marr*, in *Giacomo Casanova: Bekannt – Unbekannt*, Teplice, Regionální muzeum Teplice, 1998, p. 119-125. See also PREMYSL PEER - POLIŠENSKÝ, *Bernhard Marr (1856-1940)*, «L'Intermédiaire des Casanovistes», II (1985), p. 9-11 (in a footnote Peer erroneously is called «architect» at the castle of Teplice. He was an archivist.).

Schneider, became director of the concern. It was a successful enterprise, and it stayed that way until the economic crisis in the late 1920s. As abundant as are the letters to Marr, only a few letters of Marr's hand have survived. Where are they? Not in Dux. Maybe Marr kept no copies of his handwritten letters that are now in the Muzeum Mesto Duchcov².

Carlo Leone Curiel's letters followed a different path. As we can gather from Cesare Pagnini's biography and personal memories³, Curiel was rather destitute and survived thanks to a clerical job at the Union Bank of Trieste. To make ends meet, he was also an antiques dealer: he sold old books, even from his personal library, as evidenced by the selling catalogues. To write his own book, especially during and in the aftermath of the war, when paper was a luxury, he reused old papers and letters. His sudden illness and untimely death caused the dispersion of his manuscripts and of his materials on Casanova. A small part of all these documents was rescued by friends in Trieste and in particular by Oscar de Incontrera, then a young scholar. They collected all the materials and printed them as a volume (*Il teatro San Pietro a Trieste*). The originals were donated to the Civico Museo Teatrale "Carlo Schmidl". These events explain why Curiel's correspondence was almost totally lost and why the only surviving letters are those of the late years. Among these surviving letters are those from Marr to Curiel. These letters begin exactly when Marr's correspondence kept in Duchcov ends. Thus, combining the two archives (Duchcov and Trieste), we have a more comprehensive panorama, albeit still incomplete. These letters help in reconstructing Curiel and Marr's friendship and their ten-year correspondence on Casanova.

Bernhard Marr had known of Curiel's studies since 1915, even though they did not have had any direct contact. Marr was aware of Curiel's activity through a series of letters from Gustav Gugitz. On April 15th, 1915 Gugitz had written Marr about Curiel and his true passion for Casanova, describing him as a committed scholar who had spent months in Vienna for his research⁴. Curiel was studying

2 On Marr's biography see: MARCO LEEFLANG, *Letters to Bernhard Marr*, Muzeum Duchcov 2004, and FURIO LUCCICHENTI (ed.), *Corrispondenza tra Bernhard Marr e Aldo Ravà 1910-1922*, Roma, L'Intermédiaire des Casanovistes, 2010, p. 113 (Documenti Casanoviani 8).

3 CESARE PAGNINI, *Carlo Leone Curiel*, «L'Intermédiaire des Casanovistes», V (1988), p. 9-13.

4 All Marr's correspondence is marked by the progressive numbering assigned by Marco Leeflang and Helmut Bertram according to the inventory *Regarding Casanova-The Bernhard Marr Correspondance 1906-1927* at Museum of Old Dux (Muzeum Mesto Duchcova). The

Casanova's sojourn in Trieste and Gorizia and was preparing a book about it⁵. In May 1916, in the midst of the war (in May 1915 Italy had declared war on Austria-Hungary), Gugitz wrote a letter to Marr telling of Curiel's progress and asking for help in finding other materials:

Ich möchte ferner bitten, meinen Freund, den Schriftsteller und Beambter der Unionbank in Triest (jetzt in Wien) Carlo L. Curiel, mitbringen zu dürfen, der an einem umfangreichen Buch über Casanova in Triest und Görz und seine Beziehungen zu den Armenier arbeitet und hier in Wien bei den Mechitaristen u.a. viele Studien gemacht hat. Er möchte diesem Werk auch alle Drucke Casanovas über Triest beifügen und schliesslich um Einsicht in einiges Briefmaterial, das sich auf Triest bezieht (so die Briefe Zaguris) bitten. Curiel ist wirklich ein sehr verständnisvoller und gewissenhafter Forscher, über dessen Arbeit Sie sich sicher einmal freuen werden, in Gegensatz zu Molmenti etwa, und ich glaube, dass mein Wort für ihn, bei Ihnen so viel im Punkt Casanova gilt, dass Sie zu ihm Vertrauen haben können. Es dürfte also nichts in Wege liegen jemanden, der ein abschliessendes Werk über die oben angedeutete Episode C's in Vorbereitung hat, mit dem einschlägigen endgiltigen Material zu unterstützen, von dem es ja Schade wäre, es dann nicht an der richtigen Stelle, eben in einem Buch über C's Aufenthalt in Triest und Görz, zu finden⁶.

Gugitz's letter ended wishing that sooner or later he and Curiel should visit Marr in Duchcov. The meeting of Marr with Gugitz and Curiel took place in Dux – Pentecost fell on June 11, 1916 – and was a great success. For four days the three men worked, surrounded by papers from the Casanova archive. Curiel wrote about it to a friend:

... abbiamo avuto un'accoglienza bellissima da parte del signor Marr, un ricco fabbricante di Dux, consigliere e profondo conoscitore della cosa casanoviana, il quale ha avuto la pazienza di ordinare i manoscritti che erano tutti alla rinfusa, notizie, lettere ab-

quote comes from n° 284, letter of Gustav Gugitz, 15.4.1915: «Da kenne ich jetzt einen Herrn Curiel aus Triest, der mehrere Monate in Wien war, der wirklich Feuer und Flamme für Casanova ist und sich viel angelegen sein lässt. Er ist Beamter der Unionbank und wirklich sehr unterrichtet. Er ärgert sich immer über die schlechten Casanova Übersetzer».

5 N° 291, Gugitz to Marr, late 1915 or beginning of 1916: «Ich habe vor einiger Zeit einen Triestiner kennen gelernt, der während des Krieges bei einer hiesigen Bank angestellt ist und nebenbei sich als Dramatiker beschäftigt. Er wil Casanova zum Helden eines Stückes machen und hat zu diesem Zweck Casanova's *Memoiren* recht eingehend studiert, ja sogar besser als mancher der sogenannten Casanovaforscher. Von ihm erhielt ich interessante Details über Casanovas Gefängnis unter den Bleidächern, offenbar hat Guède all das nicht gesehen».

6 N° 292, Gugitz to Marr, Vienna 20.5.1916.

bozzi, ricette, conti ... in italiano, in francese, in latino! Siamo stati ospitati da lui che ci mise a disposizione il suo studio, le cartelle, i documenti ecc. Ci condusse pure a vedere il castello di Waldstein, dove visse i suoi ultimi anni il Casanova. È interessantissimo, contiene una grande biblioteca (libri vecchissimi tutti) oggetti d'arte, porcellane, quadri - però tutto quanto assai trascurato e in disordine⁷.

It is very likely that a direct correspondence between Curiel and Marr had started around that time. However, the surviving letters from both archives begin in 1919, after the end of World War I.

In the Curiel-Marr correspondence it is possible to find much relevant information about the progress of their research and a continuous exchange of news about archival findings and new books. The most interesting aspect is the description of how difficult it was to resume studies on Casanova after the war, in a Europe completely changed at a geopolitical level. Their struggle to overcome everyday difficulties in order to find materials and documents - even writing paper - necessary to communication reveals that the Casanovists' activity meant, though maybe unintentionally, also reconstructing the cosmopolitan Europe that seemed lost.



Carlo L. Curiel 1876-1933
(Civici Musei di Storia ed Arte, Trieste)



Bernhard Marr 1856-1940
(Regionální knihovna, Teplice)

⁷ CESARE PAGNINI, *Carlo Leone Curiel*, cit., p. 10.

n° 307 Curiel to Marr
Triest, 2-9-1919

C.C.⁹

Triest, 2. September 1919

Sehr geehrter Herr,

Folgende Karte erhalte ich vom Herrn Dr Ravà: (d[er]z[ei]t[ig] Premeno (Intra) Hotel Vittoria)¹⁰: «Non ho mai più avuto notizia delle 250 lire spedite al genero del Sig. Marr; Le pare che non sarebbe stata mia doverosa premura, al caso, di farglielo sapere? Mi sorprende assai che non Le abbia ricevute e bisognerebbe aver fatto subito un'inchiesta»¹¹.

Jedenfalls wird er eine Empfangsbestätigung besitzen, mit welcher er bei der Post reclamiren kann.

Was den Herrn Prof. Molmenti anbelangt, kann er Ihnen die Briefe als eingeschr. Packet oder als Geschäftspapiere schicken. Die neue Casanova Correspondenz besitze ich¹². Leider haben sich wieder einige Fehler eingeschlichen. So z.B. findet sich das Brief Fragment M. Donà's unter Zaguribriefe, u[nd] darnach Epoche u[nd] Inhalt falsch gedeutet (Donà spricht von der *Confutazione* u[nd] nicht von der *Istoria delle Turbolenze*). Auch sind nicht immer diejenigen Personen angegeben, die der Schreiber meint.

Falls Ihnen angenehm, könnte ich Ihnen mit Daten über verschiedene in den Briefen vorkommende Personen dienen. Ihre Arbeit wird allen Casanovaforschern sehr willkommen sein, und würde es mich freuen wenn ich auch nur ein ganz klein wenig mithelfen könnte.

8 The transcription is the work of Marco Leeﬂang, and has been revised by Antonio Trampus according to the standards of *Casanoviana* (see *Normes de rédaction*). In the notes, the abbreviation [M.L.] indicates Marco Leeﬂang as author, and the abbreviation [A.T.] indicates as author Antonio Trampus. Special thanks to Tom Vitelli for his help in the general review.

9 Notice by Marr: C[arlo] C[uriel].

10 Aldo Ravà was in Premeno for about a month between August and September 1919; see the letters to Lionello Venturi at the Sapienza University of Rome, Department of Art History and Theater, fasc. 539, nos. 33 and 34 [A.T.].

11 Reference to the grant of 250 lire advanced by Ravà to Karl Schneider, Marr's son-in-law, prisoner of war in Italy. See Bernhard Marr to Ravà, January and December 1919, in FURIO LUCCICHENTI (ed.), *Corrispondenza tra Bernhard Marr e Aldo Ravà*, cit., p. 91-92.

12 POMPEO MOLMENTI, *Carteggi casanoviani*, Palermo, Sandron, v. 2, 1919.

Seitens einer Zeitschrift wurde ich ersucht etwas über Casanova zu veröffentlichen¹³. Seiner Zeit war der Herr Prof. Bohatta so freundlich, mir Ihren Katalog zu borgen¹⁴. Unter anderen habe ich mir einige Sachen abgeschrieben, die leider nicht complet sind. Ich wäre Ihnen wirklich sehr verbunden, wenn Sie mir die fehlenden Sätze angeben möchten. Selbstverständlich hat das keine Eile, und überlasse es Ihnen dasjenige zu ergänzen, welches Ihnen leichter fällt. Inzwischen verbleibe ich mit den besten Grüßen, auch seitens meine Frau,
Ihr ergebenster Carl L Curiel

[Annex]

1) U.17C3 (resp. 17C5). Ital. Antwort C's an Cusani. Es fehlen folgende Verse: Contro candide
divise -- bis -- E sol regni l'alma pace

Di ascoltare ei bis -- Preferisce Possidonio

Anche in ciò diventi dotto bis -- Ed acciò del cenno mio.

2) U. 16K41 Brief C. an ? über Graf Waldstein in Paris. Schluss des Briefes fehlt mir, da ich die ersten Hefte dem Professor schon zurückgegeben hatte als ich den Anfang fand und abschrieb. Hierauf war der Professor auf Urlaub und musste fort.

3) U. 20 11 Brief an Zulian. Der Brief ist sehr interessant; falls Sie die Güte und die Möglichkeit hatten, denselben zu ergänzen, so werde ich mir erlauben, denselben abzuschreiben und Ihnen zukommen lassen, wobei Sie bloss die fehlenden Zeilen einzusetzen hätten.

Ich bitte Sie, sehr geehrter Herr Marr, absolut keine Umstände zu machen; Sollte Ihnen dies schwer fallen, so wollen Sie gef. meine unbescheidene Bitte als ungeschehen betrachten.

13 CARLO LEONE CURIEL, *Casanova séducteur*, «Mercure de France», Paris 1 janvier 1921, p. 229-234.

14 Hans Bohatta was a bright young professor in Vienna and the Countess Sophie Waldstein had asked him to make an inventory catalogue of every book, plate, map, or manuscript in the castle of Dux, including the Casanova papers. In 1913 Bohatta had finished most of his job, except for the Casanova manuscripts [202]. For that part he depended completely on Marr's work. Bohatta never studied the originals and was very grateful to Marr when he received every installment of Marr's catalogue as soon as it was ready. One month after Marr had finished his catalogue, Bohatta had completed his job too. «My catalogue, which in fact is a sort of index to yours, consists of ± 2200 cards, and has just been bound in 8 volumes». Bohatta keeps Marr's work and incorporates the Marr catalogue in the collection of the university library of Vienna [242]. Through Bohatta we also get a glimpse of the poor climatological conditions in the Waldstein archive. «Will you do me a favor?» he asks. «In the archive room on the ground floor you can find an old chest, or rather a suitcase, in which I threw completely useless bits and pieces. Therein you'll find the remnant of a book, totally rotten through humidity and of no use to anybody. Can I have it? I need it for a display at the technical Museum in Vienna as an example of the harmful effect of humidity [245]» [M.L.].

n° 308 Curiel to Marr

Sehr geehrter Herr Marr!

Triest 9-12-19

Wie soll ich mich für Ihre Freundlichkeit bedanken?

Die schönen Briefmarken haben mir grosse Freude bereitet. Aber ich bin Ihnen nicht bloss Dank schuldig; ich bitte Sie mir gefl. den Betrag angeben zu wollen den Sie für die Marken ausgegeben haben, der gewiss über den Nominalwert stehen wird.

Die gewünschten Bücher werden Sie durch Schimpff¹⁵ erhalten. Der Herr Gugitz teilt mir mit, dass demnächst ein Buch *Casanova in der Schweiz* von Pierre Grellet erscheinen wird¹⁶. Soll ich es auch bestellen?

Dem Herrn Ravà habe ich gleich geschrieben. Er wird jedenfalls eine Bestätigung haben, mit welcher er eine Reclamation erheben kann.

Anbei erlaube ich mir einige Persönlichkeiten zu notieren, die in den C[asanovas] Briefen vorkommen.

Jedenfalls stehe ich Ihnen mit allem meinen Wissen u[nd] Können sehr gern zur Verfügung, was die Triester u[nd] Görzer Angelegenheiten betrifft.

Meine Frau und ich empfehlen uns Ihnen bestens. Hochachtungsvollst ergbst!

Carl Curiel

[Annex]

U 14 e. 3abc --- Andrea Memmo

Gabriel Marcello q. Anzolo di S. Tomà al Traghetto - geb. 19 April 1714 (Protogiornale 1773)

U.2.5 --- Lamberg Graf Max.

Baron de Schell, Alexander "Intendenza Rath" in Triest.

Quyne (Wynne) Es handelt sich aber nicht um die Giustiniana, sondern der Juliane geb. Stubenberg

U.2.10

Östreicher: Pandolfo Federico Oesterreicher, geb. zu Kempten 12 Juni 1738, gest. Triest 28 Juli 1815.

U. 10.X.12 --- Bollini Carlo

Morosini, dürfte Francesco I Kav. mit seiner Gemalin Loredana Grimani gemeint sein.

15 The books were GIAMBATTISTA MARCHESI, *Studi e ricerche intorno ai nosti romanzieri del Settecento*, Bergamo, Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche, 1903 and LORENZO DA PONTE, *Memorie*, a cura di G. Gambarin e F. Nicolini, Bari, Laterza, 1918. See Marr to Ravà, November 1919, in FURIO LUCCICHENTI (ed.), *Corrispondenza tra Bernhard Marr e Aldo Ravà*, cit., p. 93. The publishing library F. H. Schimpff was founded in 1849 in Contrada del Corso in Trieste [A.T.].

16 PIERRE GRELLET, *Les aventures de Casanova en Suisse. La vie et les mœurs au XVIIIe siècle d'après les documents nouveaux*, Lausanne, Spes, 1919 [A.T.].

10.X.14

Burlo: Maria Anna Gioseffa, geb. 20 Juni 1753, gest. 29 Apr. 1832

Gioseffa Antonia, geb. 15 get. 17 Sept 1755; gest. 26 Juli 1836 an cholera morbus.

Fabj: Lodovica Gioseffa Agostina, get. 28 Aug. 1743; gest. in Wien 13 Mai 1832 (Landstrasse Nr. 537) verm. mit Joh. Nepom. Edler v. Fabij, Fähnrich, dann Lieutenant des Reg. Puebla, dann Lieutenant der Garde der Kais. Arcurer; geb 1740, verm. in Triest; 19/3/1766 gestorben ...? Hinterliesz Nachkommen (aus d. diplom. Archiv in Triest).

Alle drei waren Töchter des Leonardo Bartolomeo Gius. de Burlo u[nd] der Caterina Lugrezia nob. de Giuliani (also beide Triester Patrizierfamilien angehörig).

notre hôte: Der Inhaber der Locanda Grande, Giuseppe Kimberck

Veber: höchst wahrscheinlich der Baron Adam Wöber, der damals im Teatro di S. Pietro di Loge N 18 (pianterreno) hatte; Zanetto Jacoviti hatte N 4 (1773) und 11 (1774-5) ebenfalls Parterre U 10 X 3

Père Fritz Andreas, geb. zu Barcinone 28 Juli 1711, gest. zu Görz November 1790 (Wurzbach) U 10 X 13

Righettini Antonio, Kaufmann in Triest; das Haus stand Giappa di Giovanni IV # Tav 861 U 10 X 11

Bailly, ist nicht der ber. Astronom sondern der Barbier in Triest (vgl. *La massoneria a Trieste*¹⁷)

Pinetti, Giuseppe, primo buffo

Montanari Teresa, prima buffa

Forti, Giuseppe und Giacomina geb. Bonomi

U 12.26a Guicciardi, Franc. Gius.

B. Pincherle - Benetto Pincherle; Geschäftsmann in Görz (Benetto abkürz. v. Benedetto)

n° 309 Curiel to Marr

[Triest, December? 1919]¹⁸

Sehr geehrter Herr Marr

17 It is the title of the article published by Curiel in *La Nazione*, 25 December 1919. It is therefore not clear if Curiel refers to a text sent in advance to Marr or if the annex does not belong to this letter but is later [A.T.].

18 Postcard without date, subject unknown. Marr, unable to decipher the date on the postal stamp, placed this postcard as the first document of 1919. It seems to me that the end of December 1919 would be more likely. For two reasons: First, the first newspaper article by Curiel appeared July 1st; a second on December 3rd, and a third on December 16th, which might be the one mentioned in Letter # 305, which indicates that Marr has received the three articles in the meantime. Second, the subject of money sent by Ravà and having not arrived(?) in Dux will be dealt with in other letters, starting in September 1919 [M. L.].

Ich habe mir erlaubt Ihnen drei Zeitungen mit m[einem] Artikel zu senden¹⁹. Nicht des Inhalts wegen, sondern weil ich weiss, dass Sie alles was Casanova anbelangt sammeln. Ich hoffe dass Sie die Bücher (Molmenti²⁰ u[nd] *Rivista*²¹) richtig erhalten haben werden. Wenn nicht, bitte es mir bekannt zu geben um bei der Post reclamiren zu können. Der Herr Dr Ravà bittet um Ihre Nachrichten und möchte wissen, ob Sie etwas betreffs der L. 250 erfahren haben. Seine Adresse ist immer Venedig S. Luca Ca' Cavallo 4089.

Meine Frau und ich empfehlen uns bestens hochachtungsvoll ergebenst C.L. Curiel

n° 305 Carlo L. Curiel to Marr
Triest, 10-12-1919?²²

Wgb Herr Bernhard Marr / Dux-Duchov / C.Sl.Rep. /Böhmen

Sehr geehrter Herr Marr!

Via Molingrande 32, Trieste

Es freut mich, dass Sie die Zeitungen richtig erhalten haben; inzwischen habe ich Ihnen einen *Piccolo*²³ und einen Brief geschickt. Dem Herrn Ravà habe ich geschrieben und auch Antwort bekommen. Ihr schreiben ist ihm bis jetzt nicht zugekommen. Vielleicht könnte ich Ihren Brief sicherer weiterleiten. Ich weiss wohl dass Sie sehr beschäftigt sind und möchte absolut nicht dass Sie meinentwegen Zeit verlieren. Aber wenn Ihnen einmal gelegentlich die Briefe Medini's und Zaguri's in die Hand fallen sollten, so bitte ich Sie, m[it]/i[hrem] höf[lichen] Ersuchen erinnern zu wollen u.s ob Medini's Brief aus dem J[ahr] 1774 (nicht 1773) stamme und ob Zaguri richtig Haen (und nicht vielleicht König) schreibe²⁴. Jedenfalls glaube ich kaum dass

19 The three Curiel articles were: Carlo Leone CURIEL, *Giacomo Casanova e uno storico di Gorizia*, «L'Alabarda», July 1, 1919; *Un giudizio inedito sul commercio di Trieste*, «Il Piccolo della Sera», December 3, 1919; *Fiume nel secolo XVIII*, «Il Piccolo della Sera», December 16, 1919 [A.T.].

20 POMPEO MOLMENTI, *Carteggi Casanoviani. Lettere del patrizio Zaguri a Giacomo Casanova*, Milano, Sandron, 1919.

21 GEORGES CUCUEL, *Casanova nel Delfinato*, «Rivista d'Italia», May 31, 1919.

22 Picture postcard (illustrator M. Battigelli). Marr has marked the year in pencil: «1916», the postmark being unreadable, but the stamp is Italian and not Austrian. The address however reads clearly: Dux, Czechoslovak Republic. This republic having been established only in 1918, I think the year should be not earlier than 1918. If the *Piccolo* refers to the newspaper *Il Piccolo della Sera* and if this contained an article by Curiel, 1919 is even more probable. Curiel published his first article in the *Piccolo* on December 3, 1919. See also Curiel's letter n° 309 [M.L.]

23 *Il Piccolo* was the newspaper of Trieste [A.T.].

24 POMPEO MOLMENTI, *Lettere inedite del patrizio Pietro Zaguri a Giacomo Casanova*, Venezia,

es sich um den Wiener Arzt handle.²⁵ Dabei wiederhole ich das die Frage gar nicht dringend ist; mit der Herausgabe meines Buches hat es noch Zeit: die Görzer Bibliothek ist noch nicht geordnet²⁶, ausserdem muss ich noch nach Venedig (wo ich mit Freuden zu Ihrer Verfügung sein werde). Inzwischen bedanke ich mich bestens und wünsche Ihnen, auch seitens meiner Frau²⁷, somit Ihrer w[ertvol]e Familie alles Gute, frohe Weihnachten und ein glückliches Neujahr! Hochachtungsvoll, ergebst, Curiel.

n° 313 Curiel to Marr

C.C.²⁸

Via Molingrande 32, IV

Sehr geehrter Herr!

Triest, 5 Feber²⁹ 1920

Ihr w[ohlwollende]s Schreiben v[om] 19. pass[iert] ist mir jetzt zugekommen und bedanke mich bestens für die freundl. Mitteilungen. Ihr ersehe daraus, dass Medini's Brief in franz[ösischer] Sprache verfasst ist, während Molmenti (*Carteggi*) italien[isch] wiedergibt.

Was die Geldsendung anbelangt, ist der Fall sehr bedauerlich; ich hatte den H[err] Ravà geraten bei der Post nachzuforschen oder die Anweisung annullieren zu lassen, falls sie noch nicht eingegangen wäre. Ist sie aber auszubezahlt worden, so ist natürlich nichts zu machen.

Für L. 250 hätten Sie heute ca Cše K. 1475.- zu erlegen.

Der H[err] Ravà teilte mir vor ein par Wochen mit dass Sie ihm die Abschriften aller Casanoviana angeboten hätten, dass er aber kein Interesse dafür hätte. Da ich Ihnen herzlich gerne nützlich sein möchte, sagte ich ihm, ich würde die Zahlung auf mich nehmen, wenn er mir die Copien abtreten möchte.³⁰

Ferrari, 1911.

25 MARCO LEEFLANG, «*Mon cher Casanova...*». *Lettres du comte Maximilien Lamberg et de Pietro Zauguri de Venise à Casanova*, Paris, Honoré Champion, 2008, p. 391.

26 Reference to Curiel's book *Trieste settecentesca*, Palermo, Sandron, 1922. The library of Gorice was completed in 1920 [M.L.].

27 Reference to Curiel's wife Speme, see below, letter of March 30, 1920 [A.T.]

28 Marr's writing: C[arlo] C[uriel].

29 Austrian variant for February [A.T.].

30 See Ravà to Marr, 10 January 1920: «Venendo alla famosa rimessa di 250 lire sono assai dolente che non siano pervenute al Suo Sig. Genero – ciò che purtroppo è avvenuto nei vari campi per cause sia pure indipendenti dalla volontà degli uomini. E sarei ben lieto di accettare la sua ottima offerta di cedermi per tale importo i manoscritti Casanoviani che Ella, con

Aus Ihrem Schreiben sehe ich aber dass es sich um den *Katalog* handelt. Er ist wohl höchst interessant und habe Ihren Fleiss und Ihre Vielseitigkeit bewundert, doch oft gestanden kann ich nicht dafür einen Betrag ausgeben, (der (leider!) für einen Beamten nicht unerheblich ist) da die Schriftstücke meistens auszugsweise wiedergegeben sind und ich sie daher nicht zur Publikation verwenden kann. Vielleicht hat Ihnen inzwischen H[err] Ravà meinen Wunsch bekannt gegeben, und möchte nicht meinen Rückzug missverstanden sehen. Jedenfalls bemerkte ich ausdrücklich dem Hr Ravà: wenn es sich um die Copien handelt.

Wenn ich Ihnen aber irgendwie dienen kann, so stehe ich ganz zu Ihrer Verfügung.

Soll ich H[err] Ravà fragen, ob er noch gedulden möchte? Die Valuta wird sich hoffentlich bessern.

Meine Frau lässt sich bestens empfehlen, und mit herzlichsten Grüßen verbleibe ich Ihr ergebenster

Carl L. Curiel.

Beil.: Grabstein d[er] David und Zanetta Bühelin (C. schreibt Piquelin!) gegenwärtig in der Nähe der methodistischen Kapelle, wo auch andere (Oesterreicher, Renner, Frohn etc.) nach der Aufhebung des alten evang[elischen] Friedhofes, gebracht worden sind.

[Annex: picture of tombstone]³¹

n° 314 Curiel to Marr³²

[Trieste, 31-3-1920]³³

Fröhliche Ostern wünschen Ihnen und Ihrer werte Familie

la cura che ricordo, ha copiato. Ma devo dire con tutta franchezza e tanto più in quanto Ella me ne lascia la scelta, che io di Casanova non mi occupo più, essendomi dedicato piuttosto a studi di storia dell'arte». FURIO LUCCICHENTI (ed.), *Corrispondenza tra Bernhard Marr e Aldo Ravà*, cit., p. 94.

31 The tombstone still exists in the old Protestant cemetery of Trieste. The transcription of the inscription is: DEM.ASCHENKRUGE/DES.BIEDERMANNES.MENSCHENFREVDDES. CHRISTEN/SEINES.VATERLICHE.ERZIEHERS.VND.BEGLVCKERS/HERRN.FAVID.BVHELIN/BOERSENEGOZIANEN.ALLHIER/GEB.IN.KEMPTEN.D.4.IAN.1724/GEST.D.10.AP.1789.IN.EINEM/RVHMVOLL.VND.THATIG.VERLEBTEN.ALTER.V.62. IAH/V.3.MON.V.IM.47.IAHRE.SEINES.HIESIGEN.AVFTENTHALTES/DEM.ANDENKEN/DESSEN EDLEN.GATTIN.MVSTERHAFT.CHRISTIN/V.SEINER.MVTTERLICHEN. WOHLTHATERIN/FRAV.IOHANNA.ROSINA.BVCHELIN.GEB.PFANZ/VON.VENEDIG.GEST.D.9.FEBR.1787.IM.37.LEBENSIAHRE/ERRICHTET.VON.DEREN/VEREHRVNGSVOLL.DANKBAREN.NEFFEN/IOHANNES:BVHELIN/TRIEST.1790.

32 Postcard with picture of glamorous lady, by Luigi Bompard [A.T.].

33 Date of postmark.

Herzlichst
Speme u[nd] Carl L. Curiel

Trieste
Via Molingrande 32

n° 315 Curiel to Marr³⁴

[Venice, 7-4-1920]³⁵

W[ohl]g[e]b[oren] Herrn
Bernhard Marr
Dux (Duchov)
Böhmen
Č.Sl.Rep

Herzlichste Grüsse aus der Lagunenstadt, wo ich auf die Spuren Casanovas bin. Unter den Briefen Marco de Montis an de V. Savi alle Mercanzia, habe ich die Mitteilungen C's gefunden, die er in seiner Memoiren erwähnt³⁶.

Hochachtungsvoll, Ergebenst,
C. L. Curiel

n° 316 Curiel to Marr

C[arlo] C[uriel]³⁷
Via Molingrande 32, IV

Triest, 15 Mai 1920

Sehr geehrter Herr Marr!

Wie Ihnen schon geschrieben war ich eine Woche in Venedig, wo ich fleissig im Archivio de' Frari gearbeitet habe. Ich habe dort einen unbekannten Brief Casanovas gefunden; den er aber in seinen Memoiren erwähnt; die Mitteilung (nicht an Businello, sondern an Monti³⁸) des Projektes, die Waren von Triest nach der Mesola zu schicken. Die Correspondenz des Consuls

34 Postcard with photo of Venezia, Torre dell'orologio.

35 Date of postmark.

36 Published in CARLO CURIEL, *Trieste settecentesca*, cit., p. 149-157.

37 Marr's writing: C[arlo] C[uriel].

38 Marco de Monti, consul of Venice in Trieste [A.T.]

mit den Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia und mit den Inquisitoren ist für die damaligen Triester Verhältnisse sehr interessant. So ergibt sich dass Herr Casanova unmöglich am 15. November 1772 in Triest angekommen sein kann, wenn de Monti schon am 31. October den Inquisitoren mitteilt, dass Genannter überall eine gute Aufnahme gefunden hat.

In den *Opuscoli Miscellanei*, (Bibl. Querini Stampalia) wird eine Anekdote erwähnt, die sich gewiss auf Nina bezieht³⁹. Wenn Sie es wünschen werde ich Ihnen die Abschrift zukommen lassen. Anbei erlaube ich Ihnen einige Lichtbilder zu überreichen, die leider nicht sehr gelungen sind. Den H[err] Dr. Ravà konnte ich nicht treffen; seine Einladung kam mir verspätet, und am nächsten Tag war er schon verreist. Ich wünschte auch in Ihrer Angelegenheit zu sprechen, und würde gegebenen falls - wie Ihnen schon geschrieben - die Zahlung auf mich nehmen.

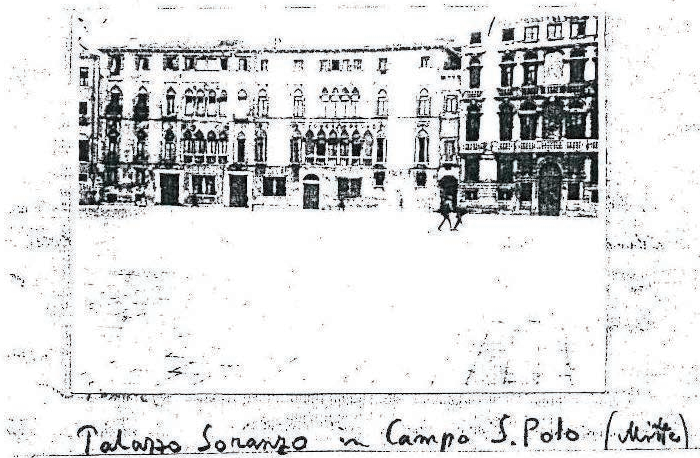
Meine Frau lässt sich bestens empfehlen, und ich verbleibe, mit vorzüglicher Hochachtung,

Ihr ergebenster

Carl L Curiel

[Annex: 4 pictures from Venice-explanatory text in Marr's handwriting]

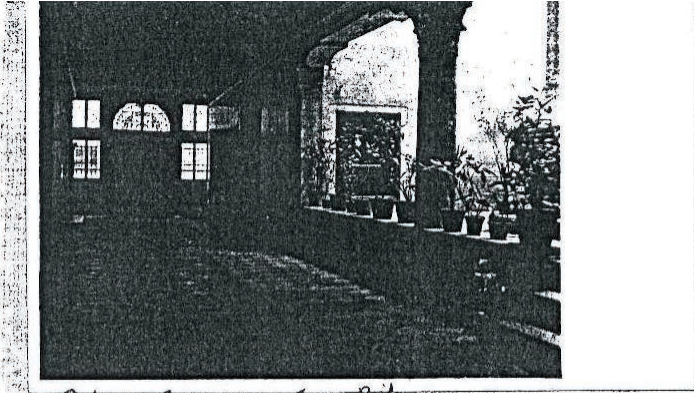
Palazzo Soranzo in
Campo S. Polo (Mitte)



Palazzo Soranzo a San Polo. Die Hintertür öffnet sich auf den Rio della Madonetta. Hier begegnete Casanova dem Senator Bragadin⁴⁰.

39 Reference to Nina Bergonzi and to «La Vergogna», *Opuscoli miscellanei*, April 1780, p. 84-96 [A.T.].

40 Note by Bernhard Marr.



Palazzo Soranzo a San Polo -
Die Hintertür öffnet sich auf den Rio della Madonetta
Hier begegnete Casanova dem Senator Bragadin

Sotto i piombi

Die Zelle des Casanova war dem ersten Gangfenster (rechts) gegenüber.

Unter den Bleidächern, Aussicht auf den Lido (wie es Casanova sehen konnte)⁴¹.

n° 317 Curiel to Marr⁴²

W[ohl]g[e]b[oren] Herrn

Bernhard Marr

Dux - Duchov

Č.Sl.Rep.

Böhmen

Sehr geehrter Herr Marr! [Trieste, 22-5-1920]⁴³

Ich erlaube mir, Ihnen einen kleinen Aufsatz üb[er] Casanova zu senden⁴⁴. Vielleicht würde

41 Note by Bernhard Marr.

42 Postcard with portrait of Colbert by Philippe de Champaigne.

43 Date of postmark.

44 CARLO LEONE CURIEL, *Una pagina originale delle Memorie di Giacomo Casanova*, «Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto», 79, II (1919-1920), p. 267-273.

es die HH⁴⁵ Grellets, Samaran u[nd] Tage Bull interessiren; ich würde es gen[annt] Herren gerne senden, wenn Sie mir deren Adressen gütigst mitteilen wollten.
Hochachtungsvoll ergebenst,
Carlo L. Curiel

n° 322 Curiel to Marr

C[arlo] C[uriel]⁴⁶

Triest, 17. Juni 1920

Sehr geehrter Herr Marr!

Ihre lobende Anerkennung freut mich sehr, doch verdanke ich sie weit mehr Ihrer Liebenswürdigkeit, als meinem Verdienste. Übrigens fühle ich mich in tiefster Schuld Ihnen gegenüber und bin jederzeit froh, wenn ich Ihnen mit irgendeiner kleinen Notiz dienen kann.

Wie gesagt, habe ich in Venedig den Briefwechsel zwischen Monti, den 5 Savi, den Sekretär des Tribunals u[nd] C[asanova]'s gesehen. Beiliegend finden Sie Copie jenes Briefes, den C. an Businello geschrieben haben will; in Wirklichkeit ist er an de Monti gerichtet⁴⁷. Von der Postangelegenheit (Triest-Udine) ist von C. keine Rede; alles wird den Bemühungen Montis zugeschrieben. Wahrscheinlich hat C. bloss den Vortrag für den Grafen Wagensperg aufgesetzt, wovon sich Zaguri mit den Worten bezieht: l'arringo alla dieta (Molmenti liest: dicta, womit er den Sinn des Satzes nicht verstehen kann). C. sagt, er wäre in Triest am 15. Nov[ember] 1772 auf einem neapol[itanischen] Kriegsschiff angelangt. Ein Neap. Kriegsschiff (nicht aus Ancona!) landete am 1. November um die in Quarnero erlittenen Havarien zu reparieren. Aber ein Brief Montis von 31 October meldet schon das C. in Triest verweilt und von den besten Häusern aufgenommen wird. Vielleicht ist dem Ritter von Seingalt eine einfache Zartanesenier nicht würdig erschienen und hat seine Mémoires mit dem Kriegsschiff «verschönert». Von einem anderen Kriegsschiffe finde ich den Berichten Montis keine Spur, wohl aber von jenem venetianer das der C. zu betreten sich nicht getraute. Sollte Sie dies oder jenes interessieren, so werde Ihnen recht gerne eine Abschrift der betr[effenden] Briefe zukommen lassen.

In seinen *Mémoires* erwähnt er eine prophetische Brochure über die Teilung Polens; diese wird, eigentümlicher Weise, in keiner Bibliographie verzeichnet.

Darauf hatte ich Sie noch in Dux aufmerksam gemacht. Jetzt finde ich in den *Opuscoli miscellanee* (Bibl. Querini Stampalia) eine Note, worin er dies bestätigt. Leider gibt er den Titel nicht an. In denselben *Opuscoli* steht eine Aufsatz, worin viel von der Nina - die aber nicht genannt wird -, und von ihrer fingirten Niederkunft berichtet wird⁴⁸.

45 Abbreviation for «Herren» [A.T.].

46 Marr's writing: C[arlo] C[uriel].

47 Later catalogued as Marr 40-274 [M.L.]

48 GIACOMO CASANOVA, *Introduzione alla Storia delle turbolenze della Polonia*, in *Opuscoli miscellanei*, April 1780, p. 3-46.

Von der Görzer Bibliothek habe ich die *Turboleza della Polonia* erhalten; sehr, sehr schwülstig. Viele Personen sind darinnen genannt, die in den Mém[oiren] vorkommen. Vorwort des 2ten Bandes ist ein Brief an einem Rustant gerichtet. Es scheint dass Genannter dem C. eine Studie über Polen gegeben hätte, die C. jetzt bearbeitet und veröffentlicht. Ist Ihnen dieser Name bekannt?

Di Giacomo, der mir öfters schreibt, denkt die Mémoires des Musikers Ferrari (gest[orben in] London 1830) zu veröffentlichen; in ganz Italien existirt blos ein Exemplar⁴⁹.

Was die Angelegenheit Ravà's betrifft, stehe ich ganz zu Ihrer Verfügung; schreiben Sie mir, bitte, ob ich den H[erm] Dr. Ravà die L. 250 schicken soll. Den Gegenbetrag können Sie mir - wenn es Ihnen vorteilhafter erscheint - auf m[ein]e Rechnung bei der Unionbank in Wien in d[deutsch]ö[sterreichischen] Kronen gutschreiben lassen. Bei den schwankenden Course kann ich Ihnen keinen genauen Betrag angeben. Jetzt stehen die d[deutsch]ö[sterreichische] Kronen den it[alienischen] L[ire] gegenüber, circa zu 11. Ich wiederhole aber, dass ich geneigt wäre den Vorschlag anzunehmen, den Sie seinerzeit dem Dr Ravà gemacht haben, wenn die Copien die Schriftstücke nicht stellenweise wiedergeben, sondern complet sind.

Ihre gen. Antwort bin ich gern erwartend und mit den besten Grüßen auch seitens meiner Frau, zeichne,

Hochachtungsvoll ergebenst

Carl L. Curiel

[Annex

Casanova, a Marco de Monti, Trieste, 13 juin 1773]⁵⁰

Obl^{mo} Sig^r Sig^r P[adr]one Mio Col[endissi]mo.

Una casuale, e geniale attenzione, che mi occorre di fare nelle circostanze presenti alle vertenze commerciali di questa città di Trieste, mi rese vago di esaminare, e di penetrare, se le loro buone influenze si combinassero con quelle della mia felice Patria.

L'onorato accesso, che conseguì in questa città fra quelli che amministrano, mi aprì varie strade ad analizzare le diverse speculazioni di quelli che opinano, e que' fatti incoati, o da

49 IACOPO GOTIFREDO FERRARI, *Aneddoti piacevoli e interessanti occorsi nella vita di Giacomo Gotifredo Ferrari da Roveredo, operetta scritta da lui medesimo*, Londra, Presso l'Autore - 27, Clipston-Street, Fitzroy-square: A. Seguin, 12, Regent street, 1830, 2 vols. Copies existing in Venice (Conservatorio Benedetto Marcello), Turin (Academy of Science), and Bologna (Biblioteca d'arte e di storia di San Giorgio in Poggiale). The work was really reissued by Di Giacomo: *Aneddoti piacevoli e interessanti occorsi nella vita di Giacomo Gotifredo Ferrari da Rovereto: operetta scritta da lui medesimo col dovuto permesso a sua Maestà Giorgio IV Re della Gran Bretagna*, Napoli, Sandron, 1920 [A.T.].

50 Published in CARLO LEONE CURIEL, *Trieste settecentesca*, cit., p. 149-157. The original is in Venice, Archivio di Stato, V Savi, b. 754 [M.L.].

incoarsi, li quali possono cagionar cangiamento alle cose, o dar loro un nuovo determinato corso, il quale autorizzato dall'uso, e invigorito dal tempo può in seguito divenir forte in massima, a segno di non esser più suscettibile di cangiamento, nè soggetto ad alterazione.

L'amor del vero, e la soddisfazione d'esser io quello che lo dilucidi sarebbero stati sufficienti motivi per farmi prendere la penna, e sommettere le mie scoperte al saggio determinato di V.S. Ill.ma, senza lo zelo naturale dell'animo mio, che mi tenne sempre indivisibile dagli ossequiosi sentimenti di suddito fedele, del Serenissimo Governo Veneto.

Con queste mie immutabili, e per me sempre fortunate disposizioni vengo a supplicarla di prestare attenzione a ciò che mi accingo ad esporle, pregandola a condonarmi il disturbo che le reco se vane, e fuora di proposito fossero per parerle le mie espressioni e nel medesimo tempo a farne quel caso e quell' uso, che sembrerà alla sua consumata prudenza poter farne, se fosse ella per trovarle analoghe alla gloria, ed all' interesse della Nazione, e della S.S. Repubblica, da cui ella è in questo porto di mare stabilita vigilante ministro.

La corte di Vienna persuasa, come tutti gli altri stati dell' Europa, essere la felicità del commercio la più vera sorgente della forza attiva delle rispettive monarchie, pensò a darle una fortissima radice in questa città di Trieste, consolidandola talmente con raddoppiate operazioni fisiche e politiche, che accresciuta la pianta dovesse spargere i rami benefici sopra tutti i suoi stati, provvedendo di tutte le merci a loro necessarie tutti i suoi vasti dominij.

Adotta questa massima vide il consiglio Austriaco, che Trieste prospererebbe provvedendo esclusivamente alla Boemia tutte le merci che le erano prima fornite dalla Anseatica Amburgo, e stabilì nello stesso tempo di porre con sagaci provvedimenti la Lombardia Austriaca in istato di non aver bisogno di tirare le mercanzie, che le erano necessarie, da altri luoghi che da questa città: quindi con un trattato di commercio con Milano, che portava seco il dimezzamento delle dogane di Trieste a quella provincia, e da quella provincia a Trieste, credette di aver bastantemente provveduto a quello stato, perchè non avesse più a desiderare altre strade per procurarsi tutti que' generi, che erano necessarj alla di lei felice sussistenza.

La riuscita però non corrispose in tutte le sue parti all' aspettativa, poichè i mercadanti di quelle contrade, malgrado le dogane dimezzate, si trovano aggravati dal tempo indeterminato dell'arrivo delle da loro ordinate merci a ragione delle difficoltà, che la contrarietà delle stagioni fa insorgere alla navigazione ritardata, e dalla necessità in cui si videro di provvedere le merci, ch'eran loro necessarie, all'ingrosso, se volevano averle. Aggiungasi che non potea combinarsi con le loro forze l'impotenza de' mercadanti di Trieste a fare lunghe fidanze. Trieste, città in cui non esiste un cambio di dirittura, ed in cui l'interesse del denaro è di soverchio alto, non si trovò atta a prestarsi a vantaggi, che i trafficanti lombardi principalmente desideravano.

Per togliere queste insorgenti difficoltà, giacchè vi vedeva la felice riuscita delle cose della fabbrica Tribuzzi spedite colà, come quella di saponi, e d'altro, si applicò la corte di Vienna ad escogitare rimedj.

Per ciò che riguarda la libertà del transito, indipendente dallo stato Veneto, fece la corte Austriaca, che si desse commissione ad esperto di portarsi in quelle parti, avendo seco un piccolo capitale in mercanzie, acciò egli dasse, dopo fatto il giro, relazione alla corte delle

difficoltà, delle spese, e degli agj incontrati nelle differenti strade. Fu scelto un uomo nato suddito veneziano, stabilito qui ed altre volte negoziante, chiamato Giacomo Dassi; partito egli da qui alla fine di Agosto dell'anno scorso, ritornò sei mesi dopo, e fe' apparire dalla relazione, che diede alla corte, essere la strada del ponte di Lagoscuro la più breve, la meno dispendiosa, e la più agiata, ed espediente al felice transito delle merci, che dovevano passare da questo porto alla Lombardia Austriaca, trattando di visionarie, e chimeriche la difficoltà, che quei mercanti adducono.

Queste difficoltà, ciò non ostante, non cessando, ed arrivando continuamente da' mercadanti milanesi lagnanze a ministri, *Ille haec inter se dubiis de rebus agebant certantes.*

Di tali circostanze fu prodotto alla corte di Vienna un progetto, dato da un principale negoziante di questa città, chiamato Giacomo Balletti, ed appoggiato a Milano dal Presidente Conte Carli, il qual tende a stabilire il passaggio delle mercanzie di Trieste nella Lombardia per la Mezzola. Si tratta di stabilire colà un magazzino, che ponga il fabbricante Lombardo in libertà di ottenere a suo beneplacito, ed alla minuta, come più può convenirgli tutto ciò che potrà essergli necessario. Si vuole a tale oggetto stabilire in Trieste una compagnia, che si assuma l'incarico di mantenere abbondante il magazzino, la quale bastantemente provedata di capitali, possa anche accordare a corrispondenti a basso interesse le fidezze che bramano. Le difficoltà ch'egli porta seco non si mostrano di fronte, e non sono insormontabili, se consideriamo, che possono essere tutte appianate da capitali effettivi. Se viene in esso ravvisata una patente utilità, potrebbe anche succedere che la corte medesima non rifiutasse di prestarsi con attuale esborso, ora principalmente che vede al minimo suo cenno aperto in di lei servizio tutte le borse de' suoi sudditi. Una pari risoluzione porrebbe non solamente questa piazza nel caso di non aver più bisogno de' Stati Veneti, ma potrebbe render totalmente paghi i mercanti Lombardi, che non desidererebbero più le antiche strade.

Una tale insorgenza non può essere collusa che da una celere operazione; un pacifico accordo arenerebbe il giacente maneggio.

A tale oggetto farebbe di mestieri accordare tutta la facilità al transito, ed a trasporti con meno aggravj che fosse possibile, e dando a ministri principali, e subalterni delle Venete Dogane più assoluti ordini, corroborati da comminatorio a favore de' passeggeri trasportanti. Mi sembra che converrebbe prestar favore a magazzini da stabilirsi nello stato Veneto, ed operare per asseguire il fine preso di mira, come se Trieste fosse una piazza dipendente dall'istesso dominio Veneto.

Con un ben combinato trattato potrebbe la Ser^{ma} Repubblica esigere condizioni pingue di pari, e di maggiori vantaggi; e non dubito punto che la penetrazione Veneziana non fosse per trovar modi adatti a trar da questa amichevole corrispondenza il più vantaggioso partito.

I membri più sani di questa commerciale Intendenza di Trieste inclinano alle vecchie strade, e mostransi desiderosi pel maggior bene della loro Augusta Sovrana, che si verifichi fra la Repubblica e questi stati la più sincera armonia.

La celerità dell'operazione, che ardisco suggerire, farebbe sul fatto tramontare il progetto de' magazzini alla Mezzola, e ben si sa quanto difficilmente si pensi a porre in nuove deliberazioni progetti che una volta abortiscono.

Voglio con questa mia osservazione inferire, che quantunque per loro natura lente sieno in tutte le loro deliberazioni le camere monarchiche, si vede però che stabilita che sia una massima, e posta in azione, non seguono ad osservarne i progressi con quella accuratezza con cui ne osserva le prospere, e le felici riuscite un Magistrato, che da una saggia Repubblica è stabilito, acciò occupato da questa sola incumbenza possa sempre invigilare ai rimedj, supposto che le cose in pratica non camminino con tutta la bramata felicità.

Un ministero in contrario come quello di Vienna, occupato da affari assai speciosi, e creduto molto più importante, difficilmente riassume ventilazioni di maneggi, una volta che deliberazioni si sono verificate, sostenute da apparenti vantaggi delle cose che si sono trattate.

Non mancano in questo consiglio di Trieste teste le quali non si vergognano di sostenere, che si dee aver per massima di non concludere mai trattati con la Repubblica, attesochè la medesima non delibera mai che dopo aver conosciuto dover dal trattato stipulato procedere il proprio maggior vantaggio. Per sottrarre al severo esame questa pretesa massima, potrebbe la Repubblica operare in apparenza di stato, che accorda tutto alla sola amicizia.

Se altri vantaggi tralucono in questa operazione li abbandonano alla luminosa sua mente, non riservando io a me stesso che la sola gloria di averle dato un saggio, ond' ella possa all'occasione rendere valida testimonianza del mio zelo da cui mi sento animato pel maggior bene del mio Serenissimo Principe. Soddisfatto intanto di aver sottoposto al suo maturo criterio i miei pensieri a questo proposito, passo a rassegnarmi con i più ossequiosi sentimenti di rispetto

Di V.S. Ill^{ma} Um^o Div^o Os^{mo} Servitor

Giacomo Casanova

Trieste, li 12 Giugno 1773

n° 323 Curiel to Marr⁵¹

[Trieste, 28-6-1920]⁵²

W[oh]l[g]eboren] Herrn
Bernhard Marr
Dux-Duchov
Č.S. Rep.

Sehr geehrter Herr Marr!

Ich danke Ihnen bestens für die freundl[iche] Mitteilungen. Wenn Sie einmal die Abschrift zurückbekommen, werde ich Sie nochmals bitten, wegen den H. Rustan nachzusehen. Es wer-

51 Postcard with portrait of Marie d'Orléans, par Du Crayer [M.L.].

52 Date of postmark.

den wohl mehrere Monate vergehen bis meine Studie gedruckt ist. Der Dr. Tage Bull hat mir betr[effend] Bellino geschrieben dass auch im Ciro riconosciuto eine Maudane vorkommt⁵³. Was d[en] Katalog betrifft dachte ich nicht an eine gänzliche Komplettierung sondern jene der interessanteren Sachen; da dies nicht möglich, würde ich diejenigen Briefe etc die noch nicht veröffentlicht wurden sehr gerne haben. Fällt Ihnen dies nicht allzuschwer, so bitte mir gefl. sagen zu wollen, wie gross meine Schuld sein würde - Dankbarkeit muss ich Ihnen jedenfalls schuldig bleiben.

Mit den besten Grüßen, Hochachtungsvoll,
Curiel

n° 325 Curiel to Marr⁵⁴

[Triest, Juli 1920]⁵⁵

W[oh]l[g[e]b[oren] Herrn
Bernhard Marr
Dux Duchov
Č.Sl. Rep.

Sehr geehrter Herr Marr

Vor einigen Tagen habe ich mir erlaubt, Ihnen die Zeitschrift *Il Mondo*⁵⁶ zukommen zu lassen. Der Autor ist mir aus Venedig bekannt, wo er im Archivio dei Frari angestellt war; jetzt ist er in Brescia. Hoffentlich haben Sie auch m. Brief mit der ergebensten Bitte erhalten, mir gütigst mitteilen zu wollen, ob ich vielleicht eine Zeile beim Abschreiben ausgelassen hätte. (Annette-Véronique Episode aus Katalog, gegen Ende: Douce comme un mouton? folgende Zeile?) Sollen Sie nicht d[en] Katalog zur Hand haben, bitte mich zu verständigen, ich werde versuchen an Prof Bohatta zu schreiben⁵⁷. Bitte die Störung zu entschuldigen! Ganz ergebenst ihr dankbarer Curiel

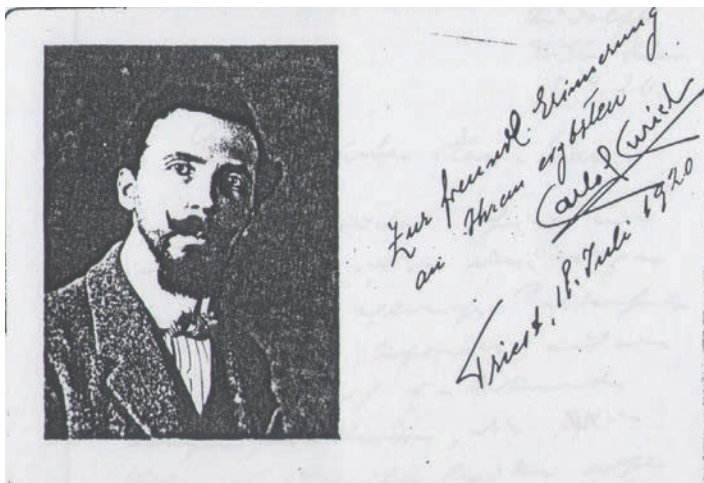
53 *Ciro riconosciuto Opera in musica dedicata a sua maestá Federico V Re di Danimarca, Norvegia, de Gotti e de' Vandali, Duca di Schleswigg, Holstein, Stermarn, e Ditmarschen, Conte d'Oldernburg, Delmenhorst etc. etc. da Giuseppe Sarti mastro di capella di S. M. Copenhagen 1756* <https://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/attachment/download/alvin-record:179883/ATTACHMENT-0002.tiff> [A.T.].

54 Postcard with title page of *Istoria delle Turbolenze* in the Gorizia library [M.L.].

55 Date of postmark.

56 On April 11, 1920, an article had appeared by ANGELO TESSAROLO, *Giacomo Casanova spia della Serenissima*, «Il Mondo, rivista settimanale illustrata per tutti», 1920, p. 10 [M.L.].

57 Reference to Bohatta's catalogue, see Note 14.



n° 327 Curiel to Marr⁵⁸

[Triest, 18. Juli 1920]⁵⁹

W[oh]l[g[e]b[oren] Herrn
Bernh[ard] Marr
Dux Duchov
Č.Sl. Rep.

Sehr geehrter Herr Marr!

Ich danke Ihnen verbindlichst für die gü[t]e Mitteilungen. Die betr[effende] Stelle hätte, meiner Meinung nach, so lauten können, z.B.: Douce comme un mouton elle s'approche - Annette, lui dis-je, comment etc. Bitte nochmals die Störung entschuldigen zu wollen und unsere erghst. Grüsse entgegen zu nehmen.

Hochachtungsvoll
Carl L. Curiel

[next to the photograph:]

58 Postcard with photo portrait of Carlo Curiel and note by Curiel: «Exemplar der Görzer Bib[liothek]» [M.L.].

59 Date derived from the dedication of photography [A.T.].

Zur freundl[ichen] Erinnerung
an Ihrem ergbsten
Carlo L. Curiel
Triest, 18. Juli 1920

n° 328 Curiel to Marr⁶⁰

W[ohl]g[e]b[oren] Herrn
Bernh[ard] Marr
Dux Duchov
Česk.Slov. Rep.

[Gorizia, 24-7-1920]⁶¹

Sehr geehrter Herr!

Wie Sie sehen bin ich auf den Spuren Casanovas. Das Haus des Grafen Torriano sieht heute ganz anders aus und ist der Sitz des Commissariato Civile. In der *Gazzetta di Gorizia* habe ich verschiedenes über den Herrn Cavaliere de Seintgall gefunden.

Mit ergebensten Grüßen,
C. L. Curiel

n° 333 Curiel to Marr
Triest, 25-8-1920

[Letterhead] Filiale der Union Bank
Waren Abteilung

Triest, 25. August 1920

Sehr geehrter Herr Marr!

Bestätige den Empfang Ihrer w[ohlgeboren]e Karte sowie den freundl[iche] zugesandten Artikel *Casanova in Spa*, wofür ich Ihnen herzlichst danke⁶².

Anbei erlaube ich mir Ihnen eine Abschrift eines C. Briefes⁶³ zu überreichen; sehr interessant

60 Postcard «Gorizia antica-Piazza Traunick» with Palazzo Conti Torre [M.L.].

61 Date of postmark.

62 Reference to a review of Arthur Schnitzler's comedy, *Casanova in Spa* (first performance in Vienna, Burghtheater, March 26, 1920) [A.T.].

63 Hardly legible, but identical with Marr 40-16 [M.L.].

ist er wohl an und für sich nicht; aber in Zusammenhang mit anderen Daten könnte er einen Sinn ergeben.

Stets gerne zu Ihren Diensten verbleibe ich, mit freundschaftlichstem Gruss,
Ihr ergebenster
Carlo L. Curiel

[Annex *Casanova to A. Querini*]

Venezia 25 8bre 1778

Eccellenza,

Il Sig^r Campi m'incontrò, e mi domandò novità, dicendomi, che con esse volea divertire V.E. Io non ne avevo, che di vecchie, e, quando son vecchie non possono più chiamarsi novità. Ieri sera ebbi le incluse, ed ella mi perdonerà se mi prendo la libertà, iniussus, di spedirgliela. Vorrei averne di urbane, ma, per la dio grazia, il paese non ne fornisce: dissi, per la dio grazia, poichè ordinariamente sono scandalose.

Fra le cose, Eccellentissimo Signore, che vivamente desidero quella di esser degno de'suoi comandi mi affetta singolarmente. So ch'alla piena di cortesia potrebbe esaudirmi, ma è forse la mia incapacità, che mette argine alla grazia, che bramo. Ciò non ostante la supplico a provarmi. Il mio zelo è eguale al mio fervore, ed alla venerazione con la quale mi lusingo, ch'ella aggradi-sca, ch'io sia col più profondo rispetto

Di V.E. Um^{mo} Div^o Os^{mo} Servitore

Giacomo Casanova⁶⁴

n° 344 Curiel to Marr⁶⁵

Triest, 15 novem[ber] 1920

Sehr geehrter Herr Marr!

Durch die Böhmische Union Bank in Prag erhielt ich eine Anweisung üb[er] L 250; die ich Ihrem Wunsche gemäss an die Adresse des Dr. Ravà weitergeleitet habe⁶⁶.

64 Published by GAETANO CATTINARI, *Fac-simile di tre scritture autografe d'uomini celebri*, Venezia, Stab. Tip. Lit. Kirchmayr e Scozzi, 1886; and by Curiel in CARLO CURIEL, GUSTAV GUCITZ, ALDO RAVA', *Patrizi e avventurieri, dame e ballerine. In cento lettere inedite o poco note*, Milano, Edizioni Corbaccio, 1930, p. 223. The original is in Venice in the manuscripts collection of the Querini-Stampalia library, Classe VII, cod. LXXXVII, n° 56 [M.L.].

65 This letter is with the original envelope: Wo[h]lg[e]b[oren] Herrn / Bernh[hard] Marr / Dux – Duchov / Č. Sl. Rep., sent on November 17, 1920 [A.T.].

66 Ravà had requested the payment to Marr on October 19 and received the money through Curiel a month later, as evidenced by his letter to Marr dated November 20. See FURIO LUCCICHENTI (ed.), *Corrispondenza tra Bernhard Marr e Aldo Ravà*, cit., p. 94-95 [A.T.].

Ich danke bestens für die gütl. Nachfrage: uns geht es wohl und hoffen dasgleiche von Ihnen und Ihrer werte Familie.

Ich habe das M[anu]s[cri]pt. schon weggeschickt (es sollte eigentlich heissen: endlich!).

Di Giacomo schreibt mir dass bald von der Settecentesca (wo die C. Briefe veröffentlicht werden) 5 neue Bände erscheinen werden.

Der H. Gugitz schreibt auch mir sehr selten: er ist mit seiner Da Ponte Ausgabe und mit der Durchsicht des Tagebuches d[es] Grafen Zinzendorf (ca. 80 Bände!) beschäftigt⁶⁷.

Stets gerne zu Ihren Diensten verbleibe ich mit besten Grüssen - auch seitens meiner Frau -

Ihr ergebenster

Carl L. Curiel.

n° 349 Curiel to Marr⁶⁸

[Triest, 29-12-1920]⁶⁹

Wohlgeb[oren] Herrn

Bernhard Marr

Dux - Duchov

Č.Sl. Rep

Sehr geehrter Herr Marr!

Umstehend erlaube ich mir Ihnen die Ansicht eines Hauses (Calle del Caffetier 6730) bei den Fondamente Nuove und hinter der Cavallarizza zu überreichen; es entspricht vollkommen der Beschreibung des Manuzzi⁷⁰ (4te Tür rechts, neben einem hervorspringenden Kamin) und dürfte daher das von Casanova bewohnte Haus sein, wo er arretiert wurde. Auch Dr H[err] Ravà glaubt es.

Ihnen und Ihrer w[ohlgebore]n Familie unsere herzlichsten Wünsche zum Jahreswechsel!

Mit besonderer Hochachtung ergebenst Ihr

Carl L. Curiel.

67 See n° 347, Gustav Gugitz's letter to Marr, Wien November 30, 1920: «Ich habe, wie ich ja, glaube ich, schon angedeutet habe, eine höchst wertvolle Quelle an Casanova und zu Persönlichkeiten in seinen Memoiren in Karl Graf Zinzendorf Memoiren gefunden, die ich im Staatsarchiv studiere».

68 Postcard, unknown subject, perhaps of Venice, Fondamente Nuove [A.T.].

69 Date of postmark.

70 Reference to Giovanni Battista Manuzzi's description. See ETTORE MOLA, *Giacomo Casanova e la Repubblica di Venezia*, «Rivista Europea», XXIII, 4 (1881), p. 866 [A.T.].

MICHELA MESSINA

**UN AMICO DI CASANOVA.
L'ICONOGRAFIA DI KARL VON ZINZENDORF
TRA SPAZIO PRIVATO E DESTINAZIONE PUBBLICA***

La comparsa sul mercato antiquario di un piccolo e pregevole ritratto a figura intera del governatore Karl von Zinzendorf (fig. 9)¹, e il suo successivo restauro² commissionato dal proprietario attuale sono diventati il punto di partenza per un riesame dei ritratti noti dell'illustre personaggio e per la ricostruzione di quella che si è rivelata una cospicua serie di undici opere che lo effigiano, in epoche e tecniche diverse.

La loro scansione cronologica e l'aggancio con quanto ricordato da Zinzendorf nei propri *Diari* apre uno squarcio sulle modalità con cui un insigne personaggio della nobiltà di fine '700 si rapportava al mondo dell'arte e degli artisti, quali fossero le modalità di committenza e destinazione di un ritratto e quali infine le caratteristiche intrinseche che più importavano ai fini della sua valutazione.

In senso più ampio, Karl von Zinzendorf (Dresda 1739-Vienna 1813), educato fin da giovane al disegno³, offre continue riflessioni di carattere artistico, in cui si manifestano le sue spiccate doti di osservazione che, unite alle nozioni apprese

* Desidero ringraziare quanti mi hanno accolto nelle istituzioni visitate, agevolandomi nella consultazione: a Trieste, Paola Ugolini e Valentina Bossi (Comune di Trieste, Archivio Generale); a Gorizia, Cristina Bragaglia Venuti (Fondazione Coronini Cornberg); a Vienna, Alexandra Smetana (Bildarchiv und Grafiksammlung, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek); Gabriela Bischof (Rechnungshof); Elke Wikidal (Wien Museum); Bernhard Huber (Deutschen Ordens Zentral Archiv). Ringrazio inoltre Antonio Trampus per l'aiuto nelle ricerche e Christine Rabensteiner (Universalmuseum Joanneum, Graz) per aver concesso la pubblicazione del ritratto a figura intera (Alte Galerie, inv.-N 1230; fig. 8).

1 Olio su tela, cm 41x29. L'opera è comparsa all'asta presso Deutsch Auctioneers di Vienna il 23 giugno 2015, con un'attribuzione a Giovanni Battista Lampi (1751-1830). Un'immagine era già stata pubblicata in *Der Souveräne Malteser-Ritter-Orden in Österreich*, a cura di Christian Steeb e Birgit Strimitzer, Graz, Leykam, 1999, fig. a p. 111.

2 V. *Appendice*.

3 KARL GRAF VON ZINZENDORF, *Aus den Jugendtagebüchern 1747, 1752 bis 1763*, a cura di Maria Breunlich e Marieluise Mader, Wien-Köln-Weimar, Böhlau Verlag, 1997, p. 105-107, annotazioni relative ai mesi tra settembre e dicembre 1756.

tramite le numerose letture, lo avevano «abituato ad analizzare ciò che vedeva e viveva, a mettere in discussione ciò che contraddiceva la sua visione del mondo, [...] a riflettere su miglioramenti e soluzioni. Perciò le sue annotazioni diaristiche rivestono un peso particolare: non si tratta di osservazioni estemporanee, ma di note che trovano spunto nella sua esperienza di esperto economico e finanziario e dalla sua familiarità con le scienze naturali, tecniche, artistiche e letterarie»⁴.

Pertanto i *Diari* si configurano come un'importante fonte di prima mano – finora ignorata dagli studi storico-artistici – sul mondo dell'arte non solo a Vienna ma anche in altre città della monarchia quali Lubiana e Trieste nella seconda metà del '700. Nonostante l'attenzione prestata dagli studi agli aspetti urbanistici e architettonici di Trieste, non è stata ancora effettuata una ricostruzione del suo ambiente artistico – con particolare rispetto per le arti figurative – nella seconda metà del '700, quando conobbe la sua prima espansione demografica e urbanistica conseguente allo *status* di Porto franco. Dai *Diari* però è possibile desumere quali opere, antiche o contemporanee, suscitassero l'interesse del pubblico, quali fossero lo *status* e i rapporti degli artisti, quale la funzione sociale dell'arte all'epoca della cosiddetta “civiltà della conversazione”.

Il rapporto tra Zinzendorf e gli artisti attraversa la sua esistenza: già nel 1792 Hans Wagner⁵ isolava alcuni episodi tratti dai *Diari* relativi alle arti visive, a incontri con gli artisti e a commenti sulle loro opere, quali i ritrattisti Heinrich Friedrich Füger (tra il 1792 e il 1801), Élisabeth Vigée Le Brun (1793), Giovanni Battista Lampi sr. (1802), il danese Hans Hansen (1802).

Per tratteggiare almeno sommariamente un primo quadro relativo al rapporto tra il governatore e il mondo dell'arte, in questa sede mi propongo di soffermarmi brevemente su alcune notizie presenti nelle versioni edite dei *Diari*⁶ dai quali

4 EVA FABER, *Un testimone in viaggio attraverso l'Innerösterreich. I diari del conte Karl Zinzendorf 1776-1782*, in *Innern Österreichs-L'Autriche intérieure*, «Geschichte der Alpen-Histoire des Alpes-Storia delle Alpi», 10, 2005, p. 113-129: p. 114.

5 *Wien von Maria Theresia bis zur Franzosenzeit. Aus den Tagebüchern des Grafen Karl von Zinzendorf*, a cura di Hans Wagner, Wien, Wiener Bibliophilen Gesellschaft, 1972, p. 108-113.

6 KARL GRAF VON ZINZENDORF, *Aus den Jugendtagebüchern 1747, 1752 bis 1763*, cit.; *Europäische Aufklärung zwischen Wien und Triest. Die Tagebücher des Gouverneurs Karl Graf Zinzendorf 1776-1782*, a cura di Grete Klingenstein, Eva Faber, Antonio Trampus, Wien-Köln-Weimar, Böhlau Verlag, 4 v., 2009. Per non appesantire le note, le citazioni puntuali dai *Diari* – se non altrimenti indicate – sono tratte da queste due fonti con la segnalazione della data ma senza l'indicazione della pagina.

apprendiamo che negli anni '70 del '700, a Vienna, ebbe modo di frequentare lo studio del noto ritrattista Alexandre Roslin (21, 22 e 29 dicembre 1777, 2 e 11 febbraio 1778, 24 marzo 1778, 22 e 27 aprile 1778) e di entrare in contatto anche con Jean-Étienne Liotard nel 1762 (12 luglio) e tra il 1777 e il 1778 (8 dicembre 1777, 18 e 26 febbraio 1778).

Non mancava inoltre di prendere visione di collezioni o di singole opere d'arte antica o contemporanea, a lui accessibili grazie ai suoi rapporti sociali, narrando diffusamente e con dovizia di particolari le caratteristiche delle opere e non mancando di inserire le proprie impressioni: solo per fare alcuni esempi, il 27 luglio 1777, a Lubiana, si reca a vedere gli affreschi appena terminati nella scuola di meccanica instaurata dal gesuita Gabriel Gruber, descrivendo con attenzione e competenza le scene allegoriche affrescate sullo scalone ed indicando senza alcun dubbio quale autore il pittore Kremser Schmidt⁷. Il 28 dicembre 1777 si reca a vedere un'opera di Correggio che “le grand écuyer”, ovvero l'Oberststallmeister Karl Johann Baptist von Dietrichstein, aveva acquistato per 4.000 ducati, una cifra impressionante; il giorno seguente, si reca al Belvedere superiore assieme al pittore Roslin per “voir la gallerie de tableaux de la Cour”. La collezione imperiale di dipinti era stata appena trasferita nella nuova sede, nel 1776, ad opera del pittore Joseph Rosa, dal 1772 direttore della galleria, che ne aveva curato il nuovo allestimento aggiornato secondo una suddivisione delle opere in ordine cronologico e topografico, allo scopo di presentare una “storia dell'arte visuale”⁸. Zinzendorf vi ritornò il 7 settembre 1780 e il 30 maggio 1787 assieme all'Oberstkämmerer

7 Gli affreschi sono abitualmente considerati opera di Andrej Herrlein, dal 1778 insegnante di disegno nella Normalschule di Lubiana, sebbene sia stata rilevata la tangenza di certe soluzioni compositive con l'opera di Kremser Schmidt. Cfr. RUPERT FEUCHTMÜLLER, *Der Kremser Schmidt*, Innsbruck-Wien, Tyrolia-Verlag, 1989, p. 108, p. 210 nt. 176.

8 L'allestimento è testimoniato dal testo coevo di CHRISTIAN VON MECHEL, *Verzeichniss der Gemälde der Kaiserlich Königlichen Bilder Gallerie in Wien, verfasst von Christian von Mechel nach der von ihm [...] im Jahre 1781 gemachten neuen Einrichtung*, Vienna 1783. Cfr. anche DEBORA J. MEIJERS, *Kunst als Natur. Die Habsburger Gemäldegalerie in Wien um 1780*, Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 1995 (Schriften des Kunsthistorischen Museums 2); ALICE HOPPE-HARNONCOURT, *The Restoration of Paintings at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century in the Imperial Gallery*, in *La restauration des œuvres d'art en Europe entre 1789 et 1815. Pratiques, transferts, enjeux*, a cura di Noémie Étienne, atti del colloquio internazionale (Université de Genève, ottobre 2010), «CeROArt. Conservation, exposition, Restauration d'Objets d'Art», revue électronique, HS 2012.

Franz Xaver von Orsini-Rosenberg, occasione in cui il pittore Joseph Rosa spiegò loro il nuovo ordinamento dei dipinti⁹. Il 22 agosto 1780 descrive alcuni dei dipinti che aveva visto nella residenza del principe Kaunitz a Mariahilf a Vienna, ovvero “de beaux tableaux du Titien, d’André del Sarto, de Rembrandt [*sic*], de Cignani, du Bronzino” oppure, l’11 dicembre 1801, dopo una cena, fu uno dei primi a vedere l’imponente galleria di stampe e disegni allestita dal principe Alberto di Sassonia-Teschen, nel palazzo che tuttora ospita la collezione Albertina¹⁰. Il 15 febbraio 1781, infine, si reca, assieme al principe Orsini Rosenberg, nello studio dello scultore romano Giuseppe Ceracchi, a Vienna dall’anno precedente, del quale riporta l’elenco di alcune realizzazioni, quali “[...] en gypse le buste du Pce Kaunitz, une Lucrèce qui tient de l’Agrippine ou de la Cléopâtre, une Stubenmensch en Minerve pour le Pce Gallizin, un buste du Mal Lacsy qui est parfait, et il travaille à deux bas-reliefs, représentant l’histoire de Lucrèce pour Rossek. Bas-relief d’Ajax sur le fleuve Xantos. [...]”¹¹.

I *Diari* ci consentono inoltre di entrare in contatto con una dimensione maggiormente “sociabile” del ritratto, che è quella delle miniature, delle *silhouettes* e delle attività di disegno che erano parte integrante e frequente della cosiddetta civiltà della conversazione. L’abitudine al ritratto era ben radicata, e praticata a livelli diversi, tra cui non manca quello del passatempo o del *divertissement* tra amici: è questo il caso del ritratto, documentato ma non identificato, che Alexandre-Louis Laugier (1719-1774), medico di corte e di

9 *Wien von Maria Theresia bis zur Franzosenzeit. Aus den Tagebüchern des Grafen Karl von Zinzendorf*, cit., p. 108.

10 EVA MICHEL, “Perhaps the most beautiful and most exquisite in Europe”. *The Collection of Prince Albert Casimir, Duke of Saxe Teschen*, in *The origins of the Albertina. 100 Masterworks from the collection*, a cura di Klaus Albrecht Schröder, Ostfildern, Hatje Cantz, 2014, p. 13-33: p. 19, p. 31 nt. 49.

11 Cfr. SANDRA VASCO ROCCA, MARINA CAFFIERO, s.v. *Ceracchi, Giuseppe*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, v. 23, Roma, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1979, p. 645-650. La notizia riportata da Zinzendorf testimonia, oltre ai noti busti del cancelliere Kaunitz e del feldmaresciallo Lacy che si conservano ancora in istituzioni austriache, anche altre opere realizzate da Ceracchi a Vienna, tra cui una coppia di bassorilievi per la villa, nota come “La Lucreziana”, fatta costruire nel 1772 da Franz Xaver von Orsini-Rosenberg in un’ansa della Drava a sud di Velden sul Wörthersee, presso il castello di Rossegg.

Maria Teresa in particolare¹², fece a Zinzendorf a Vienna tra luglio e agosto del 1762: il 6 luglio “A 9 heures chez Laugier. [...] Il fit mon portrait en profil et puis nous jouâmes aux échecs” e il successivo 2 agosto i due amici si rivedono: “Promené le matin chez Laugier, déjeuné des fruits avec lui, puis il finit mon dessin, joué au tric-trac et aux échecs”¹³.

Stando ai *Diari*, quando ne aveva occasione Zinzendorf non esitava a sottoporsi a sedute di ritratto, agognando ogni volta a ottenerne uno sufficientemente somigliante. Vi è quindi memoria di ritratti documentati ma non reperiti, quali il pastello eseguito a Trieste da un pittore di Lubiana citato ripetutamente tra il 28 giugno e l'8 luglio 1777, e quello realizzato in cera dallo scultore e medaglista Christian Vinazer¹⁴ a Vienna il 21 dicembre dello stesso anno, da cui lo stesso autore trasse un profilo in piccolo il 18 agosto 1779.

Ma, nella vita di Karl von Zinzendorf, il protagonista di questo aspetto dell'attività artistica è il barone Karl Alexander von Schell (1722 [?]-Lubiana 1792)¹⁵, gentiluomo originario della Svevia, amico personale del conte perché

12 Alexandre-Louis Laugier è descritto come un uomo spiritoso, artisticamente versatile e dotato musicalmente. Ospite fisso del salotto del principe Wenzel Anton von Kaunitz-Rietberg, in rapporti anche con Leopold e Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, la sua casa era considerata un punto di ritrovo della migliore società viennese sia in termini di *status* che di genio. Cfr. MATTHIAS SVOJTKA, *Lehre und Lehrbücher der Naturgeschichte an der Universität Wien von 1749 bis 1849*, «Berichte der Geologischen Bundesanstalt», v. 83, Wien 2010, p. 48-61: p. 49 nt. 9. Il nonno materno di Alexandre-Louis Laugier era pittore in Lorena (cfr. ALAIN PETIOT, *Au service des Habsbourg. Officiers, ingénieurs, savants et artistes lorrains en Autriche*, Paris, Éditions Messen, 2000, p.n.n.). Anche il fratello Robert-François si dilettava nel ritratto: si conserva infatti presso la Biblioteca Civica Gambalunga di Rimini un ritratto del medico e naturalista Michele Rosa da lui dipinto nel 1789 a Modena.

13 Il ritratto non venne accolto con particolare favore nella cerchia degli amici: nell'annottazione del 6 agosto 1762 Zinzendorf dichiara che “Personne ne reconnut mon portrait de Laugier que Dietrichstein. [...] Mademoiselle Louise [Canal] trouva mon portrait plus ressemblant de celui du baron Schell. [...]”.

14 St. Ulrich, 1748-1782. Scultore e medaglista, membro dell'Accademia di Vienna (cfr. *s.v.* Vinazer, *Bildhauerfam. a. d. Grödnertal*, in ULRICH THIEME, FELIX BECKER, *Allgemeines Lexikon des bildenden Künstler*, v. XXXIV, Leipzig, Verlag von E. A. Seeman, 1940, p. 378-379; *s.v.* Vinazer (Christian), in E. BÉNÉZIT, *Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des Peintres, Sculpteurs, Dessinateurs et Graveurs*, v. 10, Paris, Librairie Gründ, 1976, p. 520). Il nome è riportato da Zinzendorf con le grafie Weynazer (21 dicembre 1777), Wynatzer (12 gennaio 1778), Vinazer (27 febbraio 1778).

15 Per la carriera amministrativa di Schell, cfr. *Europäische Aufklärung zwischen Wien und Triest. Die Tagebücher des Gouverneurs Karl Graf Zinzendorf 1776-1782*, cit., v. IV, p. 512. Per

suo sodale fin dal suo arrivo a Vienna nel 1761, e in contatto con lui ancora per tutto il periodo triestino. Alexander von Schell seguì la carriera amministrativa nell'ambito della monarchia asburgica: nel 1762-1763 fu consigliere di commercio nell'assemblea del commercio della Bassa Austria (Niederösterreich) a Vienna; tra il 1763 e il 1776 è a Trieste prima quale consigliere effettivo presso l'Intendenza commerciale, poi quale direttore della Commissione alle Fabbriche e alle Manifatture e, dal 1769, della Cancelleria. Dal 1776, dopo l'abrogazione dell'Intendenza commerciale, fu trasferito a Klagenfurt e, attorno al 1779, a Lubiana. L'attività di ritrattista a matita di Alexander von Schell è attestata in una lettera del 1772 di Maximilian von Lamberg a Giacomo Casanova, in cui il mittente scrive "Dites au B. de Schell que je le prie de n'envoyer votre portrait et le sien crayonné de sa main"¹⁶.

Numerose volte durante gli anni si ripetono le citazioni di ritratti di Zinzendorf eseguiti da Schell, così come vengono commentati ritratti di comuni amici eseguiti dallo stesso. L'apprezzamento riscosso dai disegni di Schell e la loro circolazione nei salotti dell'alta società viennese sono testimoniati da quanto annotato da Zinzendorf il 21 luglio 1762, durante una cena presso il principe von Kaunitz: "Dîné chez Kaunitz avec Monsieur et Madame de Durazzo, Mesdames de Kinsky, de Clari la petite veuve, de Burghausen, Monsieur et Madame de Perlas, Monsieur et madame de Plettenb[erg]. Cette dernière me pria de lui faire chercher les dessins du Baron Schell, je le fis, il envoya tous les 5 livres et toute la compagnie s'occupa à les regarder et s'en amusa".

Durante un arco di quasi vent'anni, nei *Diari* vengono registrati frequentemente i ritratti realizzati da Schell, a Vienna – 12 marzo 1762 "[Chez Salm] Schell a très bien dessiné la Khevenhuller l'épouse"; 3 aprile 1762 "A 9 heures chez le baron Schell, il me montra le portrait de la Louise Canal, un autre tableau qu'il

la formazione artistica cfr. anche FRANZ REITINGER, *Die Metastasier. Geschmackseliten im 18. Jahrhundert*, Salzburg, Verlag Anton Pustet, 2016, p. 166-174 *passim*. La data di nascita è riportata unicamente da Reitinger, senza indicazione della fonte.

16 CARLO L. CURIEL, *Trieste settecentesca*, Napoli, Sandron, 1922, p. 236. Alla stessa pagina è riportato anche il sonetto dedicato da Casanova "Alla Sig.ra baronessa Schell", ovvero Vinzenzia von Heunisch, che Schell aveva sposato in seconde nozze (FRANZ REITINGER, *Die Metastasier. Geschmackseliten im 18. Jahrhundert*, cit., p. 170. Il cognome è trascritto generalmente Hoinisch o Haynisch, cfr. KARL GRAF VON ZINZENDORF, *Aus den Jugendtagebüchern 1747, 1752 bis 1763*, cit., 5 febbraio 1763; la grafia esatta è riportata in «Neues Jahrbuch. Heraldisch-Genealogische Gesellschaft "Adler"», Wien 1906, p. 176).

fait où il y a Monsieur Pezoled et les Posch” – come a Trieste – 2 settembre 1776 “Reçu par le courier le portrait de Mme de Goes du B. Schell”; 7 gennaio 1777 “Schell avoit dû faire le portrait de la danseuse chez Pittoni, qui l’a retourné sous prétexte de répétition”; 6 marzo 1777 “Le baron Schell m’envoya le portrait de Mme de Thurn joliment dessiné”; 15 aprile 1777 “L’évêque a été chez moi hier à bavarder sans raison et à me porter deux portraits, peints par le B. Schell” –; a Klagenfurt – 27 settembre 1778 “Schell vint bavarder à sa façon, me montrant le portrait de Mme de la Lippe” – come a Lubiana – 3 dicembre 1780 “Pfneusel venu de Laybach me porta le portrait de Mme Maffei fait par Schell” –.

Numerose sono le volte in cui anche Karl von Zinzendorf dichiara di essere stato ritratto da costui: a Vienna il 20 gennaio 1762 (come vedremo) e il 7 luglio 1762 “Le Baron Schell vint faire mon portrait pour ma soeur”; due volte presso lo Schloss Matzleinsdorf il 27 giugno 1762¹⁷; a Trieste il 17 gennaio 1777 “Schell dessinait mon portrait et nous retrouvâmes celui qu’il a fait de moi le 20 janvier 1762”; nella tenuta di Tschernobl (Črnoml) il 24 luglio 1777 “Le Cte Sigismund Lichtenberg vient de Tufstein [...] pendant que Schell me fesoit la lecture dans Idris, après qu’il eut assez mal réussi à faire mon portrait”.

Sono proprio di Schell i primi due ritratti conosciuti di Karl von Zinzendorf, conservati a Vienna presso l’archivio dell’Ordine teutonico (Deutschordens-Zentralarchiv-DOZA), su fogli sciolti e inseriti tra la fine del fasc. IX e l’inizio del fasc. X, dopo la c. 323v., del manoscritto “Handschrift 511, *Geschichte der Zinzendorfe*, v. II”. Entrambi a matita su carta, il primo di essi¹⁸ (fig. 1) – noto agli studi perché riprodotto sulla copertina del volume relativo ai diari giovanili – reca sul retro l’indicazione manoscritta a penna dallo stesso Zinzendorf “Charles, Comte de Zinzendorf, dessiné par le B. Schell en 1761”¹⁹. Il giovane conte è colto a figura pressoché intera, mancante soltanto dei piedi, con il corpo di profilo verso sinistra ma il viso rivolto verso l’osservatore; elegantemente

17 KARL GRAF VON ZINZENDORF, *Aus den Jugendtagebüchern 1747, 1752 bis 1763*, cit., p. 642 nt. 17.

18 Mm 202x123. Su carta olandese recante la filigrana “C&I HONIG”.

19 Non è stata ancora reperita la corrispondenza nei *Diari* relativa alla realizzazione di questo ritratto. La presenza della scritta, però, invita a scartare l’ipotesi avanzata nel volume KARL GRAF VON ZINZENDORF, *Aus den Jugendtagebüchern 1747, 1752 bis 1763*, cit., p. 642 nt. 17 di identificare questo disegno con uno dei due ritratti eseguiti da Schell in occasione di una visita allo Schloss Matzleinsdorf il 27 giugno 1762.

vestito con l'abito a tre pezzi composto dalla marsina (fr. *habit* o *justaucorps*) scampanata e ad ampie falde – più aderente nella parte superiore del corpo e pertanto solo parzialmente abbottonata, atta a mettere in mostra le vaporose trine increspate della sciarpa bianca con merletti detta *jabot*, e caratterizzata dagli alti risvolti, detti paramani, ai polsi – dal sottomarsina (fr. *veste* o *gilet*) e dai calzoni corti trattenuti al ginocchio (fr. *culottes*) di colore scuro, tiene la mano sinistra protesa in avanti quasi in un gesto di invito mentre la destra è infilata sotto l'abbottonatura sinistra. Nonostante la piacevolezza dell'insieme e la freschezza fisiognomica del volto, l'assenza dei piedi a causa della mancanza di spazio nel foglio, la resa incerta della mano e l'*escamotage* con cui viene evitata la realizzazione dell'altra denunciano il carattere amatoriale – nel senso migliore del termine – dell'opera.

L'altro disegno (fig. 2) è invece a tutt'oggi inedito²⁰ reca due iscrizioni manoscritte, quella sul *recto* in basso a destra indicante l'autore e la data “Dessiné p(ar) le Baron Schell le 20. Janvier 1762” e quella sul *verso* indicante il soggetto “Charles, Comte de Zinzendorf”. La data indicata corrisponde a una registrazione nei diari giovanili: infatti il 20 gennaio 1762, a Vienna, Zinzendorf scrive: “[...] chez Salm où le Barone Schelle [*sic*] me dessina”²¹. Il disegno venne eseguito in casa di Maria Franziska principessa Salm-Reifferscheidt, nata contessa Esterházy (1702-1778), vedova di Karl Anton Josef principe Salm-Reifferscheidt (1697-1755), che Zinzendorf frequentava dalla fine dell'anno precedente e nel cui stabile – la Salmischen Haus in Wallnerstrasse (oggi nr. 6a) – si trovava anche la rappresentanza diplomatica del Regno di Sardegna, retta dall'ambasciatore Gerolamo Luigi Malabaila conte di Canale (1704-1773), la cui figlia maggiore, Maria Anna detta “Nani”, fu il primo amore viennese del conte²².

20 Mm 340x215. Su carta filigranata con uno scudo recante una croce teutonica, sormontato da una corona. Citato *Ibidem*, senza riproduzione e con la medesima, errata, ipotesi della data di esecuzione del precedente.

21 Il disegno è ricordato esattamente 15 anni più tardi, il 17 gennaio 1777, a Trieste (v. sopra). È inoltre presumibile che si riferiscano a uno di questi due ritratti le registrazioni del 4 luglio 1762: “Dîné avec mon frère au logis. Il trouva mon portrait ressemblant” e del 21 luglio seguente “[...] les dessins du Baron Schell [...]. Madame de Perlas [nata Zinzendorf] entre laquelle et son mari j'étais assis me tourmentait toujours de lui en faire avoir un. [...] Après table je leur montrais mon portrait.”

22 KARL GRAF VON ZINZENDORF, *Aus den Jugentagebüchern 1747, 1752 bis 1763*, cit., p. 558 nt. 132, p. 585 nt. 440, p. 613 nt. 13.

Karl von Zinzendorf vi è raffigurato a figura, interamente di profilo verso sinistra, e l'abito è stavolta completato da una cravatta con fiocco di colore scuro, dallo spadino, che sbuca sotto le falde della marsina, e dal cappello a tricorno, che tiene sotto il braccio sinistro. Anche in questo disegno si rileva la consueta incertezza nella resa delle mani, caratteristica che pare accomunare i disegni di Karl Alexander von Schell.

Sulla scorta dell'affinità stilistica con questi due disegni, il *corpus* delle sue opere si è arricchito nel 1932 di due preziosi album (definiti *Braun* e *Schwarz* sulla base del colore della legatura) di ritratti a matita con le effigi di rappresentanti della nobiltà austriaca, presumibilmente eseguiti tra Vienna e Trieste tra il 1762 e il 1775, intitolati *Auerspergischen Miniaturenbuecher*²³ dall'antiquario viennese Hans von Bourcy, che li aveva acquisiti da una gentildonna della famiglia Auersperg, sua lontana parente.

Alla carta 22 del cosiddetto *Album Schwarz* era presente un altro ritratto di Karl von Zinzendorf (fig. 3). L'ubicazione attuale dell'opera è sfortunatamente ignota, ma ne permane una testimonianza fotografica nell'opera di Bourcy, il cui negativo su lastra si conserva presso l'Österreichische Nationalbibliothek²⁴: quest'ultimo, noto agli studiosi almeno dal 1962²⁵, è stato identificato con il

²³ Attualmente sul mercato antiquario (Libreria antiquaria Drogheria 28, Trieste). HANS VON BOURCY, *Die Auerspergischen Miniaturenbuecher*, in *Photographie herausgegeben in einmaltiger Auflage von 10 Exemplaren*, Wien, stampato in proprio, 1932. Un'analisi critica degli album si trova in FRANZ REITINGER, *Die Metastasier. Geschmackseliten im 18. Jahrhundert*, cit., p. 160-179, p. 248-252, p. 352-359, con bibliografia precedente. Cfr. anche *Austria and the Balkans*, München, Antiquariat Daša Pahor, s.a., p. 82-89 cat. 23. Giova sottolineare in questa sede che diversi disegni degli album sono vergati su carta recante la citata filigrana della ditta olandese "C&I HONIG". A scopo puramente informativo si ricorda che nei *Diari*, alla data 8 maggio 1762, Zinzendorf registra: "[...] nous descendîmes chez le grand-prieur [Octavian Karl Nikolaus Gf. Sinzendorf] et y dinâmes avec Barbon et le baron Schell et il me donna du papier hollandais".

²⁴ Bildarchiv, inv. 166436-A (B). Presso la medesima istituzione si conservano in totale dieci negativi su lastra di ritratti a matita che in questa occasione sono stati riconosciuti in alcuni di quelli presenti negli Album [(inv. 166.432-A (B) e da inv. 166.434-A (B) a inv. 166.442-A (B)].

²⁵ HANS WAGNER, *Das Salzburger Reisetagebuch des Grafen Karl von Zinzendorf vom 31. Maerz bis zum 6. April 1764*, «Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde», 102, 1962, p. 167-190: fig. a p.n.n.: "Karl von Zinzendorf, Jugendbildnis. Herkunft unbekannt. Bildarchiv des Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek". Il negativo è citato anche da FRANZ REITINGER, *Die Metastasier. Geschmackseliten im 18. Jahrhundert*, cit., p. 358 nt. 128.

ritratto già presente nell'album da Georges Englebert nel 1976²⁶. La conferma definitiva è stata possibile grazie alla consultazione dell'esemplare dell'edizione privata di Bourcy del 1932 appartenuta al conte Guglielmo Coronini Cronberg di Gorizia, conservata e consultabile presso l'Archivio di Stato del capoluogo isontino²⁷.

L'opera è stilisticamente e iconograficamente omogenea con gli altri due disegni e pertanto probabilmente coeva o di poco successiva: l'effigiato è colto accanto a una sedia, sul cui schienale poggia il gomito destro, reggendo al contempo in mano un lungo bastone. Le varie parti del disegno appaiono a diversi livelli di compiutezza: se la testa appare finita e chiaroscurata e il resto della figura è delineata con accuratezza, le gambe della sedia e i polpacci sono appena tratteggiati e sono addirittura assenti i piedi e la mano sinistra, mentre la destra mostra la consueta incertezza esecutiva. Zinzendorf indossa una marsina analoga – se non la stessa – a quella degli altri due disegni, aperta a mostrare la sottomarsina decorata lungo l'orlo, la cravatta a fiocco e le brache al ginocchio, entrambi di colore scuro.

Nell'ambito dei ritratti di società possono essere annoverate anche le immagini *en silhouette*, ovvero i ritratti in nero su fondo bianco riproducenti

26 GEORGES ENGLEBERT, *Deux voyages du Comte Charles Zinzendorf (1769-1770)*, «Bulletin de la Société des Bibliophiles liégeois», v. 22, 1976, p. 128, fig. a p.n.n. Cfr. anche J.K.C.H. COMTE VON ZINZENDORF, *Journal. Chronique belgo-bruxelloise, 1766-1770*, a cura di Georges Englebert, Bruxelles, Hayez, 1992 (Nouvelles annales Prince de Ligne. Hors-série. 2), p. 12-13, p. 16 fig. Georges Englebert era in possesso di un esemplare dell'edizione privata di Bourcy del 1932, che l'autore gli aveva venduto nel 1958, e che si conserva oggi presso la Biblioteca della National Gallery of Art di Washington (Photo Archives, P109).

27 Gorizia, Archivio di Stato, Biblioteca Coronini Cronberg, inv. 607 (1. *Brauner Band*) e inv. 608 (2. *Schwarzer Band*): inv. 608, pagina dattiloscritta e foto S 22. Si vuole ricordare in questa sede come alla c. 46v della riproduzione dell'*Album Braun* compaia un elenco manoscritto da Bourcy delle copie realizzate della sua edizione privata in cui si legge, al numero 3, "Museo Civico, Trieste". In effetti, nel registro *Acquisti 1902-1938* dei Civici Musei di Storia ed Arte di Trieste, alla data 7 maggio 1932 è elencato l'acquisto presso Hans von Bourcy, Vienna, di "2 volumi rilegati, con spiegazioni, didascalie e indici, di riproduzioni fotografiche di ritratti della collezione di miniature della famiglia Auersperg". Nell'Archivio del Museo, alla collocazione *Atti CMSA-1932 carte non protocollate* si conserva il carteggio tra Hans von Bourcy e il direttore del Museo, Pietro Sticotti, relativo all'acquisto, in cui si sottolinea lo stretto legame tra i personaggi effigiati e la società triestina del '700 e da cui si evince l'importante ruolo giocato da Carlo L. Curiel nell'identificazione dei personaggi. Ad oggi l'opera risulta purtroppo irreperibile.

il profilo di una persona nel suo contorno esterno come un'ombra, definiti pertanto all'epoca anche "ritratti in ombra", diventati di moda soprattutto a partire dalla metà del secolo. Il grande successo di questa tipologia trasse una forte motivazione dalla ricerca di soluzioni economiche per l'ottenimento dei ritratti e un supporto culturale dal rinnovato interesse per il classicismo che caratterizzò questi decenni: i ritratti di profilo richiamavano infatti sia le forme di medaglioni tratti dall'antichità romana, sia le pitture vascolari a figure nere. Il semplice disegno piatto e lineare divenne perciò gradevole e apprezzato, avvantaggiandosi anche del fatto che la realizzazione di questi ritratti – esigendo più abilità che talento – si impose in tutta Europa come uno dei passatempi preferiti e alla portata di tutti, a cui si dedica anche Zinzendorf in prima persona in età giovanile: egli stesso ricorda infatti come il 21 gennaio 1762, a Vienna, assieme ad alcuni amici ed amiche "Nous jouâmes au trois-sept. Après cela ils m'habillèrent en femme, me mettant un jupon de la Nani et un panier de la Louise. Je les dessinais à l'ombre" oppure, pochi mesi dopo, il 5 maggio dello stesso anno "A 8 heures chez Salm où je dessinais à l'ombre la Beate Falkenhayn". L'interesse di Zinzendorf per l'argomento è confermato quindici anni più tardi dalla lettura delle opere di fisiognomica del filosofo svizzero Johann Kaspar Lavater, che erano illustrate dalla sua cospicua collezione di profili, ricavati con una serie di tecniche pittoriche che ne permettevano la realizzazione pratica e veloce: il 19 e il 27 luglio 1777 ricorda di averne sfogliato i tre volumi e, il giorno seguente, registra: "Je continuois à étudier Lavater [...]. On projetta d'envoyer nos silhouettes à Lavater, et d'abord Schell et Maffei se mirent à tracer la mienne"²⁸.

Si conservano due ritratti *en silhouette* a stampa di Karl von Zinzendorf, entrambi in profilo verso sinistra: il primo (fig. 4), peraltro piuttosto semplificato e convenzionale, è stato realizzato nell'agosto del 1779 dal miniaturista e silhouetteista francese François Gonord (Saint-Germain-la Campagne, 1756-Parigi [?], tra 1819 e 1825)²⁹, presso la residenza dell'ambasciatore di Francia a Vienna,

²⁸ L'interesse per Lavater è ancora vivo nel 1781 quando, alla data del 21 aprile, a Vienna, menziona i "Lavaters Physiognomische Reisen".

²⁹ Il ritratto fa parte di una serie pubblicata dallo stesso FRANÇOIS GONORD, *Collection de l'illustre Noblesse de Vienne, d'Hongrie et de Prague, contenant 1024 Silhouettes Dessinées et Dediées à la Mème, par François Gonord, suivie d'une Idée sur la Phisionomie*, Vienne, Chez Jean Thomas de Trattner, 1781, p. 79 profilo n. 228 (un esemplare del volume si conserva presso la Wien Stadt- und Landesbibliothek, già appartenuto a Ludwig Graf Paar e successi-

come Zinzendorf ricorda il 17 agosto 1779: “Chez l’ambassadeur de France. Il y avoit un homme qui nous dessina tout à la silhouette à 20 x pièce, j’en commandois trois copies que je dois avoir demain au soir”³⁰. Il nome dell’autore è rivelato il giorno dopo, “De retour chez moi [...] tandis que j’empaquetois ma cassette j’eus mes silhouettes de Gonord”.

La seconda *silhouette* (fig. 5) viene qui presentata per la prima volta³¹ nel suo unico esemplare noto, che si conserva presso il Wien Museum³². All’interno di un medaglione, collocato sopra un basamento lapideo recante l’iscrizione “Carolus Comes | a Zinzendorf | Gubernator Tergesti”, l’effigiato è colto di profilo verso sinistra, mettendo in risalto la fronte alta, il naso diritto e le sopracciglia folte, oltre a particolari dell’abbigliamento quali il fiocco che stringe il codino e le gale dello *jacob*. Grazie all’iscrizione citata, l’immagine è databile al periodo in cui Karl von Zinzendorf è stato governatore di Trieste.

L’autore della *silhouette* è identificabile in Leopold Peucker o Peuckert,

vamente alla collezione di Max von Portheim, collocazione A-86715). Il ritratto di Zinzendorf è noto tramite VICTOR KLARWILL, *François Gonords Silhouetten aus dem Jahre 1781. Unbekannte Bildnisse aus alter Zeit*, Wien, Berlin, Leipzig, München, Rikola Verlag, 1922, p. 214-215. Riproposto in copertina in *Il periodo triestino del diario inedito del conte Carlo de Zinzendorf, primo Governatore di Trieste (1776-1777)*, prefazione, trascrizione e note di Cesare Pagnini, estratto da «Archeografo Triestino», s. IV, v. XXXVIII (LXXXVII della Raccolta), 1978. La silhouette è citata anche da: OTTO ERICH DEUTSCH, *Bericht des Grafen Karl von Zinzendorf über seine handelspolitische Studienreise durch die Schweiz*, «Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde», v. 35, 1936, p. 151-354: p. 155; GEORGES ENGLEBERT, *Deux voyages du Comte Charles Zinzendorf (1769-1770)*, cit., p. 128; J.K.C.H. COMTE VON ZINZENDORF, *Journal. Chronique belgo-bruxelloise, 1766-1770*, cit., p. 13; FRANZ REITINGER, *Die Metastasier. Geschmackseliten im 18. Jahrhundert*, cit., p. 357 nt. 104.

30 La citazione di Zinzendorf, oltre ad offrire una data certa all’opera, contribuisce ad anticipare la presenza di Gonord a Vienna, generalmente collocata nel biennio 1780-1781 sulla scorta di Klarwill, cit., p. XXI-XXII (cfr. anche s.v. *Gonord, François*, in *Allgemeines Künstler Lexikon*, v. 58, München-Leipzig, K.G. Saur, 2008, p. 146-147).

31 L’esistenza dell’opera, ma non la sua immagine, è riferita da HANS VON BOURCY, *Die Auerspergischen Miniaturen-buecher*, cit., v. 2 *Schwarzer Band*, pagina dattiloscritta S 22, ripreso – senza riportare la fonte – in GEORGES ENGLEBERT, *Deux voyages du Comte Charles Zinzendorf (1769-1770)*, cit., p. 128 e in J.K.C.H. COMTE VON ZINZENDORF, *Journal. Chronique belgo-bruxelloise, 1766-1770*, cit., p. 13.

32 Inv. 86148 (già collezione Max von Portheim, Vienna e August Heymann, Vienna). Mm 85x55 (foglio); mm 80x50 (incisione). Iscrizioni: (b/sx) “Peucker delin. Tergesti.”; (b/dx) “Baratti sc.”.

citato diverse volte da Zinzendorf durante il periodo triestino con grafie diverse (Penker, Peucker) nei suoi *Diari* come il “maître en dessein” che il 28 aprile 1780 aveva rilevato i profili dei coniugi Maffei e di Maria Francesca Belletti, con risultati non particolarmente apprezzabili: il 30 aprile infatti annota “Envoyé à Mme Maffei les silhouettes réduites de Penker qui n’ont pas trop bien réussies” e, il successivo 3 maggio, “Un instant chez les M[affei], Penker leur a fait de ridicules silhouettes”³³. L’incisore è Tommaso Baratti, figlio dell’incisore Antonio Baratti (Baratta), noto unicamente per aver inciso, nel 1801, la *Veduta meridionale della città e porto franco di Trieste* di Giuseppe Pollencig³⁴. Questo ritratto *en silhouette* appare in pendant con quello di Pasquale de Ricci, consigliere di Governo a Trieste, noto solamente dalla riproduzione pubblicata da Curiel nel 1922, che dichiara di averla desunta da un non meglio identificato *Calendario per l’anno 1782*³⁵.

I restanti ritratti di Karl von Zinzendorf appartengono all’altro grande filone della ritrattistica, ovvero quella di rappresentanza: si tratta infatti di opere realizzate con lo scopo di raffigurare lo *status* raggiunto dal personaggio, nella massima parte delle volte per una destinazione pubblica.

Nel caso specifico, essi ruotano attorno al ritratto a figura intera e a grandezza naturale voluto dal Magistrato Civico di Trieste, come testimoniato

33 Leopold Penker/Peucker nel 1777 era insegnante di disegno a Trieste e insegnante di religione, letteratura e aritmetica presso la locale Casa dei Poveri; nel 1779 candidato a un posto alle Scuole Normali (cfr. *s.v. Penker / Peucker, Leopold*, in *Europäische Aufklärung zwischen Wien und Triest. Die Tagebücher des Gouverneurs Karl Graf Zinzendorf 1776-1782*, cit., v. IV, p. 429). Resta aperta l’ipotesi che si tratti del medesimo artista documentato a Praga tra il 1790 e il 1793 (cfr. *s.v. Peucker (Peuckert), Leopold*, in ULRICH THIEME, FELIX BECKER, *Allgemeines Lexikon des bildenden Künstler*, v. XXVI, Leipzig, Verlag von E. A. Seeman, 1932, p. 511), dove avrebbe realizzato alcune vedute della città e dove è ricordato anche per la più antica scenografia nota per il *Don Giovanni* di Mozart.

34 *S.v. Baratti (Baratta), Antonio*, in *Allgemeines Künstler Lexikon*, v. 6, München-Leipzig, K.G. Saur, 1992, p. 637. A puro titolo di omonimia, si segnala che il 23 settembre 1780 Zinzendorf, a Vienna, registra: “Thomas le faiseur de silhouettes vint chez moi”.

35 CARLO L. CURIEL, *Trieste settecentesca*, cit., tav. tra le p. 48 e 49. Presso la Fototeca dei Civici Musei di Storia ed Arte di Trieste si conserva la fotografia originale, realizzata da Pietro Opiglia, per il volume di Curiel (inv. 22/13576), recante l’indicazione dell’appartenenza alla collezione Curiel di Trieste. La fotografia è stata ripubblicata in *Maria Teresa e Trieste. Storia e culture della città e del suo porto*, catalogo della mostra (Trieste, 7 ottobre 2017-18 febbraio 2018), Crocetta del Montello, Antiga Edizioni, 2017, p. 49.

dall'annotazione nei *Diari* del 19 aprile 1779: "Le Cte Suardi me demanda en nom de la ville la permission de /faire/ mettre mon portrait dans le grand uniforme de l'ordre à la maison de ville". La vicenda esecutiva del ritratto prende decisamente avvio un anno più tardi, quando alla committenza pubblica si associa quella privata della locale Compagnia d'assicurazione, tramite uno dei suoi direttori, Domenico Francesco Belletti, che il 27 maggio 1780 "m'amena le peintre François Linder, natif de Clagenfurt, que M. de Durazzo a persuadé d'aller ici dans son retour de Rome à Vienne, pour tirer mon portrait que la nouvelle Chambre d'assurance et la maison de ville demandent. Cela paroît un garçon qui a du feu"³⁶.

Il pittore in questione è Franz Linder (Klagenfurt 1736 o 1738-Vienna 1802)³⁷ che, dopo un primo periodo di formazione pittorica a Lubiana e un breve soggiorno veneziano, fu allievo dell'Accademia di Vienna, vincendo il primo premio per due anni consecutivi (1767 e 1768) nella classe di disegno per l'incisione. Alla fine del 1776 fu inviato a Roma assieme a Heinrich Friedrich Füger, grazie a uno stipendio finanziato dall'imperatrice Maria

36 La commissione, sebbene attribuita unicamente alla Compagnia d'assicurazione, è documentata sui giornali coevi, quali «Augspurgische Extra-Blatt», 46, 22 febbraio 1781, p. 1 e «Gazzetta Universale», 16, 24 febbraio 1781, p. 125: «Scrivono da Trieste come i componenti quella nuova Camera di assicurazioni marittime stabilita colà fin dall'anno 1779, gli Azionari della quale sono i più ricchi negozianti di quel Porto, in atto di ossequio, e gratitudine verso il Conte Carlo di Zinzendorf, e Pottendorf Governatore di detta Città da cui riconoscono la loro esistenza, hanno inalzato nella loro sala il ritratto di detto Ministro, dipinto eccellentemente in grande dal celebre sig. Francesco Linder nativo di Carintia, e Membro di questa Imperiale Accademia di Pittura. Il detto Ritratto vien da tutti gl'Intendenti giudicato per un capo d'opera». La notizia è stata ripresa in *Ludwig und Karl Grafen und Herren von Zinzendorf*, a cura di Gaston von Petteg, Wien, Wilhelm Braumüller K.K. Hof- und Universitätsbuchhändler, 1879, p. 197; OTTO ERICH DEUTSCH, *Bericht des Grafen Karl von Zinzendorf über seine handelspolitische Studienreise durch die Schweiz*, cit., p. 155; GEORGES ENGLEBERT, *Deux voyages du Comte Charles Zinzendorf (1769-1770)*, cit., p. 128; J.K.C.H. COMTE VON ZINZENDORF, *Journal. Chronique belgo-bruxelloise, 1766-1770*, cit., p. 13.

37 Definito pittore di storia, ritrattista a olio e in miniatura, incisore. Il cognome è attestato anche come Linderer, Linderen o Lindner. Cfr. s.v. *Linder, Franz*, in CONSTANTIN VON WURZBACH, *Biographische Lexikon des Kaiserthums Österreich*, v. 15, Wien, Verlag L. C. Zamarski, 1866, p. 209-210; s.v. *Linder (Linderer, Lindner), Franz*, in ULRICH THIEME, FELIX BECKER, *Allgemeines Lexikon des bildenden Künstler*, v. XXIII, Leipzig, Verlag von E. A. Seeman, 1929, p. 244; s.v. *Linder ou Linderen (Franz)*, in E. BÉNÉZIT, *Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des Peintres, Sculpteurs, Dessinateurs et Graveurs*, v. 6, Paris, Librairie Gründ, 1976, p. 674.

Teresa: qui si fermò quattro anni e si formò sotto la guida di Anton von Maron, celebre ritrattista e cognato di Anton Raphael Mengs. Rientrato a Vienna, dal 1783 è membro effettivo dell'Accademia di Vienna, presso la cui Galleria si conserva un suo dipinto raffigurante *La cecità di Belisario*³⁸. Di Franz Linder si conservano diversi dipinti di soggetto sacro in chiese di Vienna, Klagenfurt, Linz, Bressanone, e numerosi ritratti di membri della nobiltà austriaca, dalla quale fu molto apprezzato.

Dalla lettura dei *Diari* e dalle fonti coeve si evince che Linder eseguì due ritratti di Zinzendorf: uno definito appunto “a grandezza naturale”³⁹, realizzato tra il 2 e il 23 giugno 1780 ed esposto prima nella sala del consiglio del Magistrato Civico di Trieste⁴⁰ e, nell'anno nuovo, nella sala della Compagnia d'assicurazione⁴¹, dove si trovava ancora nel mese di agosto⁴²; l'altro, ovale, commissionato a Trieste il 7 giugno 1780 per 12 ducati, iniziato nella città adriatica e completato a Vienna il 16 marzo dell'anno seguente per essere donato alla cognata, moglie del defunto fratello Ludwig von Zinzendorf.

Il ritratto “in grande” non è pervenuto, ma da alcune annotazioni di Zinzendorf il suo aspetto può essere riconosciuto in un disegno a matita su carta conservato presso il citato Deutschordens-Zentralarchiv (DOZA). L'opera nota perché pubblicata ma attualmente irreperibile⁴³ (fig. 6), è stata finora attribuita

38 Lo stesso dipinto, o uno analogo, a quello visto da Zinzendorf a Vienna l'11 settembre 1780: “De nouveau chez le comte Rosenberg, voir le portrait de la belle Cenci et le Bélisaire du peintre Linder. Le comte trouve point de moelleux dans le premier, un cou roide, et à Bélisaire l'air d'un paysan yvre”.

39 “[...] in Lebensgrosse” («Augsburgische Extra-Blatt», 46, 22 febbraio 1781, p. 1).

40 Comune di Trieste, Archivio Generale, Archivio del Magistrato Civico di Trieste, Registro degli esibiti 1780 corda 23, *Protocollum publico-politic(o) anno 1780*, sessione del 28 ottobre 1780: “Sig.r Preside Conte Suardi propone che avendo il Ritrato di Sua Ecc.za Governatore esposto nella Salla del Consiglio costato Ong.ri 24 si supplicasse l'Ecc.so Governo d'ordinare alla Pub.ca Cassa il pagamento di Tal partita”; sessione del 2 dicembre 1780 (Prot. 2/357) “Decreto dell'Ecc.so Governo con cui insinua avere rillasciato l'ordine opportuno alla Commissione Economica per il pagamento di f. 102.24 spesi da questo Magistrato per il ritratto de quo”.

41 «Augsburgische Extra-Blatt», cit.; «Gazzetta Universale», cit.

42 1 agosto 1781 “Avec Pittoni à voir mon portrait à la banque d'assurance, il est sans doute dans un mauvais jour, mais le cadre est magnifique”.

43 OTTO ERICH DEUTSCH, *Bericht des Grafen Karl von Zinzendorf über seine handelspolitische Studienreise durch die Schweiz*, cit., p. 155; HANS WAGNER, *Das Salzburger Reisetagebuch des*

a Schell e datata al 1777, pur senza evidenti prove documentarie o stilistiche. Karl von Zinzendorf vi è raffigurato in piedi, leggermente di sguincio con la spalla sinistra avanzata rispetto alla destra e il capo volto di tre quarti verso sinistra ma con lo sguardo fisso negli occhi dell'osservatore. I capelli sono incipriati e legati a coda con un nastro nero e l'abbigliamento è caratterizzato dalla presenza della croce dell'Ordine Teutonico, ricamata sulla giacca e sul mantello e, sotto forma di decorazione, appesa al collo tramite un nastro. Karl von Zinzendorf era entrato nell'Ordine teutonico il 24 marzo 1765 per diventare cavaliere nel settembre 1770 nel palazzo di Sanssouci. Il ritratto è ambientato in una sala di rappresentanza, arredata con una poltrona, una scrivania ingombra di oggetti, cui Zinzendorf allude con il gesto eloquente della mano destra, e un busto di Maria Teresa⁴⁴, e aperta sul mare, solcato da un veliero all'estrema destra. Confermano pertanto l'accostamento con il ritratto triestino sia i numerosi elementi che rimandano con evidenza al ruolo di governatore di Trieste ricoperto dal nobiluomo, sia la presenza di alcuni di essi nelle notazioni diaristiche di Zinzendorf relative all'attività triestina di Linder durante la realizzazione del ritratto, quali gli oggetti poggiati sul tavolo, riconducibili a quelli portati dal pittore il 9 giugno 1780 – ovvero dei libri, un calamaio, della ceralacca, una mappa di Trieste e una petizione⁴⁵ – o alla presenza nel dipinto di un busto⁴⁶. Altre annotazioni consentono di immaginare ulteriori particolari,

Grafen Karl von Zinzendorf vom 31. März bis zum 6. April 1764, cit., fig. a p.n.n.; KLAUS OLDENHAGE, *Kurfürst Erzherzog Maximilian Franz als Hoch und Deutschmeister (1780-1801)*, Bad Godesberg, Verl. Wiss. Archiv, 1969 (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens, v. 34), tav. 47 (tra le p. 376-377), p. 427; GEORGES ENGLEBERT, *Deux voyages du Comte Charles Zinzendorf (1769-1770)*, cit., p. 128; J.K.C.H. COMTE VON ZINZENDORF, *Journal. Chronique belgo-bruxelloise, 1766-1770*, cit., p. 13; *Europäische Aufklärung zwischen Wien und Triest. Die Tagebücher des Gouverneurs Karl Graf Zinzendorf 1776-1782*, cit., v. I, Grete Klingenstein, *Karl Graf Zinzendorf Erster Gouverneur von Triest, 1776-1782. Einführung in seine tagebücher*, fig. 7, p. 313 cat. 7; FRANZ REITINGER, *Die Metastasier. Geschmackseliten im 18. Jahrhundert*, cit., p. 358 nota 128.

44 La presenza del busto della sovrana, defunta il 29 novembre 1780, si configura quale termine *ante quem* per l'esecuzione dell'opera.

45 “Le peintre emporta des livres, un encrier, de la cire d’Espagne, le plan de Trieste, une requête”.

46 23 giugno 1780 “Le peintre Linder travailloit hier à orner la table et le piédestal du buste”.

quali i brillanti della decorazione dell'Ordine teutonico⁴⁷ e il colore rosso della marsina⁴⁸. Il 26 aprile 1781 Franz Linder, alla fine e in memoria della sua attività per Zinzendorf, e come base per eventuali ritratti futuri, gli consegna il “dessein de mon portrait”, identificabile dunque con ogni probabilità in questo foglio già presente nell'Archivio viennese dell'Ordine teutonico.

È poi emerso di recente sul mercato antiquario⁴⁹ un ritratto identificabile con il citato ritratto ovale (fig. 7). Firmato e datato in italiano “dipinto da Francesco Linder a Vienna L Anno 1781”, pur essendo privo di indicazioni sull'identità del personaggio e sulla provenienza, raffigura sicuramente il busto di Karl von Zinzendorf esemplato sull'effigie a figura intera: oltre alla datazione e alla somiglianza fisiognomica, lo confermano l'identica posa del disegno nonché la marsina rossa e la croce dell'Ordine teutonico in brillanti appesa al collo come nella descrizione nei *Diari*. Questo ritratto può quindi essere identificato con quello realizzato per la cognata e pertanto rimasto in famiglia, e poi dichiaratamente utilizzato quale fonte iconografica per l'incisione ovale, anonima, collocata quale tavola fuori testo in apertura di “Die Selbstbiographie des Grafen und Herrn Johann Karl Christian Heinrich von Zinzendorf und Pottendorf” nel volume curato da Gaston von Pettegegg⁵⁰ (fig. 10), che ne riprende formato, posa e dettagli.

47 12 giugno 1780 “Le peintre peignit la croix de brillans”.

48 17 giugno 1780 “Le peintre a quasi fini le petit portrait, la couleur rouge de l'habit, le galon font un bel effet. [...] La distribution du grand tableau me plaît infiniment”.

49 Olio su tela, cm 55,9x45,8, formato rettangolare entro cui è ricavato l'ovale (Christie's, asta di Londra, 1 marzo 2011, *Property from the Collection of the Late John Appleby*, lotto 295; cfr. www.christies.com, consultazione dd. 22.03.2018).

50 *Ludwig und Karl Grafen und Herren von Zinzendorf*, cit., nt. a p. 49: “Das einzige erhaltene Porträt des Grafen Ludwig [...] ist Eigenthum des Herrn Grafen Karl von Baudissin-Zinzendorf auf Schloss Wasserburg in Niederösterreich, dessen bereitwilliger Gefälligkeit wir sowohl dieses Porträt als auch das des Grafen Karl verdanken.” La derivazione dal ritratto realizzato a Trieste è proposta anche da OTTO ERICH DEUTSCH, *Bericht des Grafen Karl von Zinzendorf über seine handelspolitische Studienreise durch die Schweiz*, cit., p. 155. L'opera è citata anche da GEORGES ENGLEBERT, *Deux voyages du Comte Charles Zinzendorf (1769-1770)*, cit., p. 128; J.K.C.H. COMTE VON ZINZENDORF, *Journal. Chronique belgo-bruxelloise, 1766-1770*, cit., p. 13, ed è pubblicata da CARLO L. CURIEL, *Trieste settecentesca*, cit., tav. tra le p. 128-129; HELEN LIEBEL-WECKOWICZ, *Modernisierungsmotive in der Freihandelspolitik Maria Theresias*, in *Maria Theresia und ihre Zeit. Eine Darstellung der Epoche von 1740-1780 aus Anlaß der 200. Wiederkehr des Todestages der Kaiserin*, a cura di Walter Koschatzky, Salzburg-Wien, Residenz Verlag, 1979, p. 153-158: p. 156 fig. 59, p. 499 n. 59; EVA FABER, *Litorale*

Combinando idealmente i particolari dell'abbigliamento di quest'ultimo dipinto, quali il colore degli indumenti – ovvero la marsina rossa e il gilet blu –, la fattura dei galloni in oro filato, la tipologia e la disposizione degli attributi dell'Ordine Teutonico, con la posa di Zinzendorf nel citato disegno non più rintracciabile (fig. 6) e nel ritratto a figura intera (fig. 9) che ha dato origine a questo saggio, emerge come lo *state portrait* triestino dovesse essere in stretta consonanza – al punto da apparirne una derivazione – con il *Ritratto a figura intera dell'arciduca Massimiliano Francesco d'Asburgo Lorena con le insegne dell'Ordine teutonico* (fig. 7b). Il dipinto, attribuito alla bottega di Anton von Maron⁵¹ e conservato presso il Castello di Versailles, dev'essere datato posteriormente al 1770, anno in cui l'arciduca entrò a far parte dell'Ordine quale Coadiutore del Gran Maestro, ovvero suo zio Carlo Alessandro di Lorena, ma prima del 1780, anno in cui ne fu nominato egli stesso Gran Maestro: da questo momento in poi – fino alla nomina ad arcivescovo e principe elettore di Colonia nel 1784 – venne effigiato in abito nero con mantello nero, sempre caratterizzati dalle insegne dell'Ordine⁵².

Austriaco. Das österreichische und kroatische Künstenland 1700-1780, Trondheim-Graz, Historisk Institut, Universitet i Trondheim-Steiermärkische Landesarchiv, 1995 (Schriftenreihe des Historischen Instituts, Nr. 5-Veröffentlichungen des Steiermärkischen Landesarchivs, 20), p. 280 fig.; *250 Jahre der Rechnungshof. Unabhängig, Objektiv, Wirksam. Gestern, Heute, Morgen*, Wien, Rechnungshof, 2012, p. 239; NEIL JEFFARES, *Liotardiana (3): Graf Zinzendorf, the barbouiller and the energumen*, 29.11.2015 (www.neiljeffares.wordpress.com, consultazione dd. 05.06.2018).

51 Cfr. KATRIN UNTERREINER, *Maria Theresia. Mythos & Wahrheit*, Wien-Graz-Klagenfurt, Styria premium, 2016, fig. a p.n.n. (<https://books.google.it>). Forse non è un caso che Linder a Roma fu allievo proprio di Anton von Maron. L'arciduca indossa un abbigliamento analogo nel ritratto firmato e datato da Jean-Pierre Sauvage nel 1776 conservato presso il Castello di Schönbrunn (cfr. *Maria Theresia 1717-1780. Strategist Mother Reformer*, a cura di Elfriede Iby, Martin Mutschlechner, Werner Telesko, Karl Vocelka, catalogo delle mostre (Vienna, 15 marzo-29 novembre 2017), Wien, Amalthea Signum Verlag, 2017, p. 281 cat. HM 15.4).

52 Un'utile fonte per ripercorrere l'evoluzione dell'abbigliamento di Massimiliano Francesco quale membro dell'Ordine Teutonico è il volume *Höfische Porträtkultur. Die Bildnissammlung der österreichischen Erzherzogin Maria Anna (1738-1789)*, a cura di Eva Kernbauer, Aneta Zahradnik, Berlin, de Gruyter, 2016, p. 84 fig. V7, p. 93 cat. 25, p. 177 cat. 115, p. 188 cat. 123 e 124, p. 189 cat. 125, in cui sono pubblicate le sue effigi conservate presso il Convento delle Elisabettine di Klagenfurt e il ritratto del Kunsthistorisches Museum di Vienna (Inv. Nr. GG_3860).

Sotto il profilo dell'abbigliamento, infatti, entrambi gli effigiati sfoggiano marsina e gilet nelle linee più asciutte proprie del cosiddetto *habit à la française* che era da qualche tempo in uso alla corte asburgica⁵³. Come è noto infatti già nel 1751 era stato avviato da Maria Teresa un processo di modernizzazione dell'abbigliamento di corte, con la concessione agli ufficiali del proprio esercito di comparire a corte in uniforme, codificando per la prima volta i dettagli delle divise militari⁵⁴.

Questo primo passo portò, nel 1766, alla scelta di Giuseppe II, appena divenuto imperatore, di apparire nelle occasioni ufficiali esclusivamente in uniforme. Per adeguarsi, in un momento in cui la moda civile subiva fortemente l'influenza delle vesti militari, i gentiluomini che non appartenevano a nessun reggimento adottarono appunto *l'habit à la française*.

Questa consuetudine venne mantenuta dagli imperatori d'Austria fino all'estinzione della monarchia asburgica: dopo Giuseppe II, i suoi fratelli, i suoi successori e l'aristocrazia si mostrò a corte secondo questi canoni, non mancando però di esibire accessori in materiali preziosi e le onorificenze degli Ordini cavallereschi, dinastici o al merito di cui erano stati insigniti⁵⁵.

Alla luce di quanto enunciato, resta aperto l'interrogativo se l'affinità nell'abbigliamento dei due effigiati possa essere considerata un indizio per riconoscervi l'uniforme di corte prescelta all'epoca per i cavalieri dell'Ordine teutonico⁵⁶, mantenendo comunque quale indumento caratteristico e

53 Dopo il 1770 esso era diventato più slanciato: la marsina ancora più aderente mostrava una minore ampiezza sui fianchi e falde maggiormente sfuggenti, maniche più strette e polsini più piccoli; non più allacciata, essa metteva in maggiore evidenza il *gilet* e le *culottes* sottostanti, i quali pure erano diventati più aderenti.

54 MICHAEL HOCHEDLINGER, "The beautiful army". *Maria Theresa and the military*, in *Maria Theresa 1717-1780. Strategist Mother Reformer*, cit., p. 112-121: p. 114.

55 Cfr. GEORG J. KUGLER, MONICA KURZEL-RUNTSCHNEIDER, *Des Kaisers teure Kleider. Festroben und Ornate, Hofuniformen und Livreen vom frühen 18. Jahrhundert bis 1918*, a cura di Wilfried Seipel, catalogo della mostra (Vienna, 15 maggio-17 settembre 2000), Milano-Wien, Skira-Kunsthistorisches Museum, 2000. Si rimanda anche a MICHELA MESSINA, *Ritratti degli Asburgo, veri e presunti, nelle collezioni dei Civici Musei di Storia ed Arte di Trieste*, «Römische Historische Mitteilungen», in corso di stampa.

56 Come affermato da ANETA ZAHRADNIK, *Erzherzog Maximilian, Erzbischof und Kurfürst von Köln*, in *Höfische Porträtkultur. Die Bildnissammlung der österreichischen Erzherzogin Maria Anna (1738-1789)*, cit., p. 189.

ineludibile il mantello, considerato fin dal Medioevo un oggetto quasi sacro⁵⁷.

La medesima iconografia viene ripresa un decennio più tardi per un nuovo ritratto a figura intera e a grandezza naturale, stavolta su richiesta della città di Graz del 14 luglio 1792 per la propria Sala del Consiglio. Anch'esso venne realizzato da Franz Linder, che lo consegnò il 18 ottobre seguente⁵⁸. Ritenuto perduto, è stato riconosciuto nel 2016 da Franz Reitinger in un ritratto conservato presso l'Universalmuseum Joanneum di Graz (fig. 8), datato "1792", in stato di conservazione piuttosto precario, di cui si erano persi i dati relativi alla provenienza e all'identità dell'effigiato⁵⁹.

L'ambientazione del quadro – in un interno di rappresentanza delimitato da una colonna parzialmente coperta da un tendaggio – e la posa dell'effigiato appaiono le medesime del disegno disperso (fig. 6), sebbene non manchino alcune varianti e aggiornamenti, a partire dallo sfondo, consistente in un paesaggio montuoso consono alla località di destinazione dell'opera. Zinzendorf è sempre raffigurato in posa stante tra un tavolo alla sua destra e una poltrona alla sua sinistra, tra i quali è drappeggiato l'ampio mantello bianco dell'Ordine teutonico con la grande croce nera. Egli indossa una marsina blu con sottomarsina e *culottes* di colore rosso (i colori appaiono invertiti rispetto ai precedenti ritratti di Linder); i capispalla sono bordati da passamaneria in oro filato e sulla marsina compare la croce dell'Ordine teutonico, appesa anche in brillanti attorno al collo. La mano sinistra è portata al fianco come nel ritratto a matita, mentre la destra non è più atteggiata in

57 KRISTJAN TOOMASPOEG, *L'ordine teutonico: dalla fondazione alla prima guerra mondiale, in Cavalieri. Dai Templari a Napoleone. Storie di crociati, soldati, cortigiani*, a cura di Alessandro Barbero, Andrea Merlotti, catalogo della mostra (Torino, 28 novembre 2009-11 aprile 2010), Milano, Electa, 2009, p. 104-119: p. 114.

58 *Ludwig und Karl Grafen und Herren von Zinzendorf*, cit., p. 225. La notizia dell'esistenza del dipinto è riportata anche da ADAM WOLF, *Graf Karl von Zinzendorf, 1739-1813*, in *Geschichtliche Bilder aus Oesterreich*, v. 2, Wien, Wilhelm Braumüller K.K. Hof- und Universitätsbuchhändler, 1880, p. 244-311: p. 306-307; OTTO ERICH DEUTSCH, *Bericht des Grafen Karl von Zinzendorf über seine handelspolitische Studienreise durch die Schweiz*, cit., p. 155; GEORGES ENGLEBERT, *Deux voyages du Comte Charles Zinzendorf (1769-1770)*, cit., p. 128; J.K.C.H. COMTE VON ZINZENDORF, *Journal. Chronique belgo-bruxelloise, 1766-1770*, cit., p. 13.

59 Olio su tela, cm 225,5x143, Graz, Universalmuseum Joanneum, Alte Galerie, inv.-N 1230. FRANZ REITINGER, *Die Metastasier. Geschmackseliten im 18. Jahrhundert*, cit., p. 148 fig., p. 174, p. 357 nt. 105 e 107.

posa declamatoria, ma colta in atto di sovrapporre simbolicamente sopra alla carta geografica intitolata “Ducatus Stiriae Novissima Tabula” (1715-1720) di Johann Baptist Homann un documento cartaceo recante un’iscrizione, allusiva alla prosperità dei cittadini e degli abitanti delle campagne⁶⁰. Sul tavolo – coperto da un panno verde – e per terra, accanto alla poltrona, si trovano altri oggetti allusivi alla sua attività amministrativa e ai suoi interessi culturali, quali diversi volumi, un set da scrittura in argento e un globo terrestre.

Il ritratto (fig. 9) che ha dato l’avvio a questa ricerca denuncia chiaramente il suo stretto legame con l’opera di Graz, del quale sono presenti tutte le caratteristiche iconografiche. Non si può non rilevare, però, una certa distanza stilistica – non solo nella resa, a tocchi più veloci, ma anche nella conformazione della capigliatura e nell’espressione del volto, ravvivata da tocchi luministici – che non è forse giustificabile solamente con un diverso grado di finitura o con una diversa destinazione⁶¹. Sul telaio è riportata a matita la seguente iscrizione manoscritta databile al settimo-ottavo decennio dell’Ottocento: «Karl Graf zu Zinzendorf und Pottendorf | geboren 1739 gestorben am 13. jaenner 1813 | (...) einem Freund (...) juni 1777 im Besitz | v(on) Karl Baudissin Zinzendorf zu Wasserburg, gemahlt von Franz Woska fertiger | aet. um 37 Jahr».

L’ultimo ritratto conosciuto di Karl von Zinzendorf è quello che si conserva

60 “Häuslicher Wohlstand ist des Bürgers und der Bauern glückliches Loos; wohl dem Staate, wo dieser wohlstand gesichert ist”. L’iscrizione si discosta leggermente da quanto riportato in *Ludwig und Karl Grafen und Herren von Zinzendorf*, cit., p. 225 e ADAM WOLF, *Graf Karl von Zinzendorf, 1739-1813*, cit., p. 307.

61 A puro titolo indicativo è opportuno citare la notizia, riportata da una fonte, di un ritratto di Zinzendorf eseguito nel 1782 da Heinrich Friedrich Füger (Heilbronn 1751-Vienna 1818); cfr. ADAM WOLF, *Graf Karl von Zinzendorf, 1739-1813*, cit., p. 306-307. Sebbene nei *Diari* pubblicati non vi siano annotazioni in tal senso, né nel catalogo dell’opera completa del noto pittore austriaco redatto da ROBERT KEIL, *Heinrich Friedrich Füger (1751-1818). Nur wenigen ist es vergönnt das Licht der Wahrheit zu sehen*, Vienna, Amartis, 2009 sia pubblicato o documentato alcun ritratto di Karl von Zinzendorf, si osserva una certa consonanza – nella resa luministica e nelle dimensioni – tra questi l’opera e bozzetti a olio di Füger per analoghi ritratti a figura intera (p. 260 cat. WV199, p. 265 cat. WV212, WV213). È anche vero che i due pittori – Linder e Füger – si formarono insieme e appartenevano alla medesima scuola pittorica, essendo entrambi membri dell’Accademia di Belle Arti di Vienna (v. sopra e cfr. anche ROBERT KEIL, s.v. *Füger, Heinrich Friedrich* in *Allgemeines Künstler Lexikon*, v. 6, München-Leipzig, K.G. Saur, 2005, p. 87-90).

oggi presso la biblioteca del Rechnungshof della Republik Österreich⁶² (fig. 11). Karl von Zinzendorf vi è raffigurato a mezzo busto, nella posa e nell'abbigliamento consueti, ma la marsina è di colore talmente scuro che su di essa si scorge a malapena la croce dell'Ordine Teutonico ricamata in nero. Anche la croce in brillanti dell'Ordine, appesa al collo tramite un nastro, è scarsamente visibile. Se la resa tecnica quasi "impressionistica" non può risalire al XVIII secolo, una datazione dell'opera ben addentro al secolo seguente è avvalorata dalla presenza sul retro del dipinto di un timbro e di un'etichetta di attività commerciali viennesi del XIX secolo⁶³, che spingono la datazione del ritratto al nono decennio dell'Ottocento. Il fraintendimento dei colori dell'abbigliamento induce a sospettare che la fonte iconografica sia l'incisione pubblicata da Pettegegg nel 1879 in bianco e nero (fig. 10), dalla quale non era pertanto desumibile la tinta esatta – rossa o blu – della marsina. Il dipinto, assieme ai ritratti di Ludwig von Zinzendorf, direttore dal 1762 al 1773, e di Johann Franz Xaver Anton Khevenhüller-Metsch, direttore dal 1775 al 1782, che appaiono condividere tecnica, dimensioni e cornice, fa invece parte di una serie dedicata ai primi tre direttori della Hofrechnungskammer eseguita verso la fine dell'Ottocento⁶⁴.

62 Olio su tela, cm 65,5x52,5 (con cornice cm 76,5x63). L'opera è stata pubblicata con una non condivisibile attribuzione a Heinrich Friedrich Füger in *Wien von Maria Theresia bis zur Franzosenzeit. Aus den Tagebüchern des Grafen Karl von Zinzendorf*, cit., tav. 1, p. 237; J.K.C.H. COMTE VON ZINZENDORF, *Journal. Chronique belgo-bruxelloise, 1766-1770*, cit., p. 13; *Europäische Aufklärung zwischen Wien und Triest. Die Tagebücher des Gouverneurs Karl Graf Zinzendorf 1776-1782*, cit., v. III, p. IV cat. 8, fig. 8. L'attribuzione a Füger è stata rigettata anche da NEIL JEFFARES, *Liotardiana (3): Graf Zinzendorf, the barbouiller and the energumen*, cit.

63 Sul telaio, timbro "Alois Ebeseider", negozio di materiali da pittura attivo a Vienna dal 1879; sulla cornice, etichetta "Ch. | Ulrich Jun. & C.o | k.u.k. Hof- | Rahmen-Fabrikanten. | Niederlage | Wien, | Wollzeile N° 2".

64 *200 Jahre Rechnungshof. Festschrift zum zweihundertjährigen Bestand der Oberen Staatlichen Kontrollbehörde Österreichs*, a cura del Präsidium des Rechnungshofes, Wien, 1961, tav. tra le p. 8-9 e 16-17. Il ritratto di Ludwig von Zinzendorf si conserva oggi presso la Biblioteca del Rechnungshof assieme a quello del fratello, l'altro si trova depositato presso il Bundesmobilienvverwaltung.



1. Karl Alexander von Schell, *Charles, Comte de Zinzendorf*, dessiné par le B. Schell en 1761

1761, matita su carta, mm 202x123, filigrana “C&I HONIG”

(Vienna, Deutschordens-Zentralarchiv, Handschrift 511, *Geschichte der Zinzendorfe*, v. II, foglio sciolto inserito tra la fine del fasc. IX e l’inizio del fasc. X, dopo c. 323v.)

Pencil on paper, mm 202x123, watermark “C&I HONIG” (Vienna, Deutschordens-Zentralarchiv, Handschrift 511, *Geschichte der Zinzendorfe*, v. II, loose sheet inserted between the end of the dossier IX and the beginning of the dossier X, after fol. 323v.). The image was already published in: KARL GRAF VON ZINZENDORF, *Aus den Jugendtagebüchern 1747, 1752-1763*, (ed.) Maria Breunlich, Marieluise Mader, Wien-Köln-Weimar, Böhlau Verlag, 1997, book cover, without comment.



2. Karl Alexander von Schell, *Charles, Comte de Zinzendorf*. Dessiné p[ar] le Baron Schell le 20. Janvier 1762

1762, matita su carta, mm 340x215, filigrana: scudo recante una croce teutonica, sormontato da una corona

(Vienna, Deutschordens-Zentralarchiv, Handschrift 511, *Geschichte der Zinzendorfe*, v. II, foglio sciolto inserito tra la fine del fasc. IX e l'inizio del fasc. X, dopo c. 323v.)

Pencil on paper, mm 340x215, watermark: shield bearing a Teutonic cross, surmounted by a crown (Vienna, Deutschordens-Zentralarchiv, Handschrift 511, *Geschichte der Zinzendorfe*, v. II, loose sheet inserted between the end of the dossier IX and the beginning of the dossier X, after fol. 323v.).

Unpublished.



3. Karl Alexander von Schell (attr.), *Ritratto di Karl von Zinzendorf*
1765 ca., matita su carta

(ubicazione ignota; già contenuto nei cosiddetti *Album Auersperg*; riproduzione da HANS VON BOURCY, *Die Auerspergischen Miniaturenbuecher*, in *Photographie herausgegeben in einmaliger Auflage von 10 Exemplaren*, Wien, stampato in proprio, 1932, S22, collezione privata; il relativo negativo su vetro si conserva presso l'Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Bildarchiv, inv. 166436-B)

Pencil on paper (Unknown location, formerly in the so-called *Album Auersperg*. Reproduction from HANS VON BOURCY, *Die Auerspergischen Miniaturenbuecher*, in *Photographie herausgegeben in einmaliger Auflage von 10 Exemplaren*, Wien, private press, 1932, S22; negative on glass in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Bildarchiv, inv. 166436-B).

The image was already published in: HANS WAGNER, *Das Salzburger Reisetagebuch des Grafen Karl von Zinzendorf vom 31. Maerz bis zum 6. April 1764*, «Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde», 102, 1962, p. 167-190: unnumbered page, without comment; GEORGES ENGLEBERT, *Deux voyages du Comte Charles Zinzendorf (1769-1770)*, «Bulletin de la Societé des Bibliophiles liégeois», v. 22, 1976, unnumbered page, with comment on p. 128; J.K.C.H. COMTE VON ZINZENDORF, *Journal. Chronique belgo-bruxelloise, 1766-1770*, a cura di Georges Englebert, Bruxelles, Hayez, 1992 (Nouvelles annales Prince de Ligne. Hors-série. 2), p. 16 (with comment on p. 13).



4. François Gonord, *Zinzendorf Gow[erneur]*
1779

(in FRANÇOIS GONORD, *Collection de l'illustre Noblesse de Vienne, d'Hongrie et de Prague, contenant 1024 Silhouettes Dessinées et Dediées à la Mème, par François Gonord, suivie d'une Idée sur la Phisionomie*, Vienne, Chez Jean Thomas de Trattner, 1781, p. 79 n. 228)

The image is known mainly from VICTOR KLARWILL, *François Gonords Silhouetten aus dem Jahre 1781. Unbekannte Bildnisse aus alter Zeit*, Wien, Berlin, Leipzig, München, Rikola Verlag, 1922, p. 215. It was already published in: *Il periodo triestino del diario inedito del conte Carlo de Zinzendorf, primo Governatore di Trieste (1776-1777)*, (ed.) Cesare Pagnini, extract from «Archeografo Triestino», s. IV, v. XXXVIII (LXXXVII della Raccolta), 1978, book cover, without comment.



5. Leopold Peucker (delin.), Tommaso Baratti (sc.), *Carolus Comes a Zinzendorf Gubernator Tergesti*

1780-1782, calcografia su carta, mm 85x55 (foglio); mm 80x50 (incisione)
(Wien Museum, inv. 86148)

Chalcography, mm 85x55 (sheet), mm 80x50 (engraving) (Wien Museum, inv. 86148, formerly Max von Portheim collection and August Heymann collection).
Unpublished.



6. Franz Linder (attr.), [*Karl von Zinzendorf con le insegne dell'Ordine Teutonico*] 1780-1781, matita su carta (Vienna, Deutschordens-Zentralarchiv, attualmente non reperibile)

Pencil on paper (Vienna, Deutschordens-Zentralarchiv, currently not available). The image was already published in: HANS WAGNER, *Das Salzburger Reisetagebuch des Grafen Karl von Zinzendorf vom 31. März bis zum 6. April 1764*, «Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde», 102, 1962, p. 167-190: unnumbered page, without comment; KLAUS OLDENHAGE, *Kurfürst Erzherzog Maximilian Franz als Hoch und Deutschmeister (1780-1801)*, Bad Godesberg, Verl. Wiss. Archiv, 1969 (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens, v. 34), tav. 47, without comment; *Europäische Aufklärung zwischen Wien und Triest. Die Tagebücher des Gouverneurs Karl Graf Zinzendorf 1776-1782*, (ed.) Grete Klingenstein, Eva Faber, Antonio Trampus, v. I, Grete Klingenstein, *Karl Graf Zinzendorf Erster Gouverneur von Triest, 1776-1782. Einführung in seine tagebücher*, Wien-Köln-Weimar, Böhlau Verlag, 2009, fig. 7, with comment on p. 313.



7.

7. Franz Linder, [*Karl von Zinzendorf con le insegne dell'Ordine Teutonico*]
Vienna, 1781, olio su tela, cm 55,9x45,8
(ubicazione ignota)

Signed and dated 1781, oil on canvas, cm 55,9x45,8 (Unknown location, formerly
Collection of the Late John Appleby)
Christie's Auction March 1, 2011, Lot 295 ([https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/Lot/
franz-linder-klagenfurt-1738-1802-vienna-portrait-5410881-details.aspx](https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/Lot/franz-linder-klagenfurt-1738-1802-vienna-portrait-5410881-details.aspx)).
Unpublished.

7b. Bottega di Anton von Maron, *L'arciduca Massimiliano Francesco d'Asburgo
Lorena con le insegne dell'Ordine teutonico*, 1772 ca., Castello di Versailles



7b.



8. Franz Linder, [*Karl von Zinzendorf con le insegne dell'Ordine Teutonico*]
1792, olio su tela, cm 225,5x143
(Graz, Universalmuseum Joanneum, Alte Galerie, inv.-N 1230)

Oil on canvas, cm 225,5x143, unframed (Graz, Universalmuseum Joanneum, Alte Galerie, inv.-N 1230).

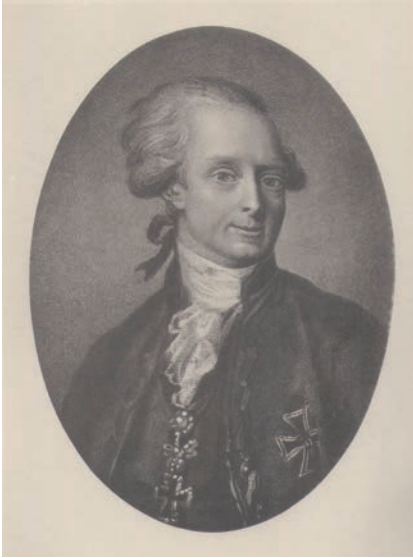
The image was already published in: FRANZ REITINGER, *Die Metastasier. Geschmackseliten im 18. Jahrhundert*, Salzburg, Verlag Anton Pustet, 2016, p. 148 fig., with comment on p. 357.



9. Franz Linder (attr.), [*Karl von Zinzendorf con le insegne dell'Ordine Teutonico*]
1792 ca., olio su tela, cm 41x29
(collezione privata)

Oil on canvas, cm 41x29, unframed (Private collection).

The image was already published in: *Der Souveräne Malteser-Ritter-Orden in Österreich*, (ed.) Christian Steeb, Birgit Strimitzer, Graz, Leykam, 1999, p. 111 fig., in black and white photo, without comment.



10. *Karl Graf und Herr von Zinzendorf und Pottendorf*
1879

(riproduzione meccanica, da *Ludwig und Karl Grafen und Herren von Zinzendorf. Ihre Selbstbiographien*, a cura di Gaston Petteneegg, Wien, Wilhelm Braumüller K.K. Hof- und Universitätsbuchhändler, 1879, tav. fuori testo)

Mechanical reproduction in *Ludwig und Karl Grafen und Herren von Zinzendorf. Ihre Selbstbiographien*, (ed.) Gaston von Petteneegg, Wien, Wilhelm Braumüller K.K. Hof- und Universitätsbuchhändler, 1879.

The image was already published in: CARLO L. CURIEL, *Trieste settecentesca*, Napoli, Sandron, 1922, tav. tra le p. 128-129; HELEN LIEBEL-WECKOWICZ, *Modernisierungsmotive in der Freihandelspolitik Maria Theresias*, in *Maria Theresia und ihre Zeit. Eine Darstellung der Epoche von 1740-1780 aus Anlaß der 200. Wiederkehr des Todestages der Kaiserin*, (ed.) Walter Koschatzky, Salzburg-Wien, Residenz Verlag, 1979, p. 153-158: p. 156 fig. 59, p. 499 n. 59; EVA FABER, *Litorale Austriaco. Das österreichische und kroatische Küstenland 1700-1780*, Trondheim-Graz, Historisk Institutt, Universitet i Trondheim-Steiermärkische Landesarchiv, 1995 (Schriftenreihe des Historischen Instituts, Nr. 5-Veröffentlichungen des Steiermärkischen Landesarchivs, 20), p. 280 fig.; *250 Jahre der Rechnungshof. Unabhängig, Objektiv, Wirksam. Gestern, Heute, Morgen*, Wien, Rechnungshof, 2012, p. 239; NEIL JEFFARES, *Liotardiana (3): Graf Zinzendorf, the barbouiller and the energumen*, 29.11.2015 (www.neiljeffares.wordpress.com).



11. Pittore austriaco della seconda metà dell'Ottocento (già attr. a Heinrich Friedrich Füger), *Carl Graf von Zinzendorf Präsident der Kais. Kön. Hofrechenkammer 1782-1792*

ultimi decenni del XIX sec., olio su tela, cm 65,5x52,5 (con cornice cm 76,5x63)
(Vienna, Rechnungshof, Biblioteca)

Oil on canvas, cm 65,5x52,5 (with frame cm 76,5x63) (Vienna, Rechnungshof Library).

The image was already published in: *Wien von Maria Theresia bis zur Franzosenzeit. Aus den Tagebüchern des Grafen Karl von Zinzendorf*, (ed.) Hans Wagner, Wien, Wiener Bibliophilen Gesellschaft, 1972, tav. 1; *Europäische Aufklärung zwischen Wien und Triest. Die Tagebücher des Gouverneurs Karl Graf Zinzendorf 1776-1782*, (ed.) Grete Klingenstein, Eva Faber, Antonio Trampus, vol. III, *Die Tagebücher 1. Jänner 1779 bis 11. februar 1782*, Wien-Köln-Weimar, Böhlau Verlag, 2009, fig. 8, with comment on p. iv.

Appendice

CARLA VLAH, LABORATORIO DI RESTAURO

RITRATTO DI KARL VON ZINZENDORF. RELAZIONE DI RESTAURO

Lo stato di conservazione

Ad una prima osservazione il dipinto presentava una *craquelure* molto accentuata del film pittorico con scodellature diffuse su tutta la superficie (fig. a).

Successivamente, analizzando il verso dell'opera, si è potuto constatare che il dipinto era stato foderato con una tela sintetica sulla quale, per nascondere il supporto poco idoneo al manufatto, era stato sovrapposto un altro dipinto, raffigurante un paesaggio marino (fig. b).

L'intervento di restauro

Una volta individuata la miscela adatta si è proceduto con la pulitura del dipinto, rimuovendo i precedenti ritocchi e facendo particolare attenzione alle parti instabili del film pittorico. Terminata la pulitura si è provveduto a mettere in sicurezza l'opera attraverso la velinatura, si è quindi proceduto con la rimozione delle tele sopra citate. Il distacco della tela sintetica, la quale era particolarmente coesa/aderente al dipinto originale, ha rivelato una vasta zona coperta di colla animale che arrivava in prossimità del telaio originale e che coincideva con la *craquelure* sul recto (fig. c-d). La colla animale a base d'acqua aveva creato umidità e, reagendo con l'imprimatura a base di gesso in contatto con la composizione oleosa e quindi impermeabile della pittura, aveva formato quelle deformazioni così visibili sulla superficie del dipinto, mentre la parte del quadro protetta dal telaio era rimasta liscia. Per consolidare la superficie del manufatto scodellato si è proceduto con l'applicazione di resine termoplastiche attivate a caldo tramite termocauterio così da appianare le gibbosità del film pittorico. Una volta evaporato il solvente si è proceduto con la rimozione dei residui, con la prima verniciatura del quadro, la stuccatura e la reiterazione pittorica delle parti mancanti.



Fig. a - Particolare della *craquelure*



Fig. b - Seconda tela utilizzata come supporto in un precedente restauro



Fig. c - Zona coperta da colla animale, causa della *craquelure*

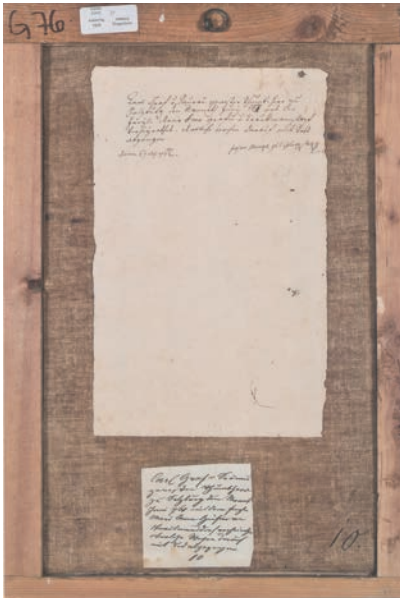


Fig. d - Analoga tipologia di tela settecentesca con etichetta applicata con colla animale (da FRANZ REITINGER, *Die Metastasier. Geschmackseliten im 18. Jahrhundert*, Salzburg, Verlag Anton Pustet, 2016, p. 81)

**ENTRE DE LIGNE ET ZINZENDORF:
BIO-BIBLIOGRAPHIE DE GEORGES ENGLEBERT (1926-1995)**

Les spécialistes de Casanova connaissent Georges Englebert surtout en tant que dix-huitiémiste, expert du prince Charles de Ligne et éditeur du journal bruxellois du comte Charles de Zinzendorf, tous deux bien connus en tant que correspondants du Vénitien¹. En fait, les recherches de Georges Englebert ont été beaucoup plus amples et significatives².

Né à Bruxelles le 3 mai 1926, il s'intéresse dès sa jeunesse à l'histoire militaire; après l'invasion allemande de la Belgique, il est emprisonné avec son frère et déporté en Allemagne, où il reste jusqu'à la fin du conflit, se trouvant à Dresde lors du bombardement des 13-15 février 1945. Rentré à Bruxelles, il se remet à étudier l'histoire militaire, se passionnant surtout pour la période napoléonienne et entrant en contact rapidement – dès la fin des années quarante comme en témoignent ses archives³ – avec des spécialistes et des collec-

1 Voir MARCO LEEFLANG, *Le prince de Ligne dans les Archives de Dux (Ex fonte Casanovae)*, Utrecht-Venise 1992; CESARE PAGNINI, *Casanova et Zinzendorf*, «Casanova Gleanings», XI, n.s. (1976), p. 11-14.

2 La majeure partie des informations de cette biographie proviennent du Fonds Englebert conservé au Centre de documentation du Musée Royal de l'Armée et d'Histoire militaire à Bruxelles et du Fonds Coronini des Archives d'État de Gorice. Je remercie Erik Jansen, Pierre Lierneux et Jeroom Verduynde à Bruxelles, Cristina Bragaglia Venuti à Gorice et Markus Stein à Berlin pour l'aide qu'ils m'ont apportée lors de la consultation des archives et pour m'avoir permis de mieux comprendre la biographie de Georges Englebert. Mes remerciements spéciaux, enfin, à Yves Englebert pour m'avoir permis de mieux comprendre la personnalité de son père.

3 Le Fonds Englebert du Centre de documentation du Musée Royal de l'Armée et d'Histoire militaire à Bruxelles comprend 42 dossiers auxquelles s'ajoutent quatre dossiers de correspondance. Les archives sont pour le moment dépourvues d'un inventaire détaillé et les documents contenus dans les enveloppes ne sont pas numérotés. Par conséquent, lorsque je les citerai, je ferai seulement référence au dossier dans laquelle ils sont contenus. La documentation fut donnée par sa famille après la mort de Georges Englebert. Je remercie Jeroom Verduynde et Pierre Lierneux qui se sont chargés du transfert des archives au Musée, pour leur aide amicale.

tionneurs de toute l'Europe, parmi lesquels on nommera Friedrich Neumann à Hanovre, Charles Delacre à Bruxelles et le comte Thierry de Limburg Stirum à Huldenberg, tous grands experts des événements militaires européens aux dix-huitième et dix-neuvième siècles et collectionneurs enthousiastes d'objets, d'armes, de portraits et de miniatures⁴. À partir de la fin des années quarante, il se met aussi à collaborer régulièrement avec les musées belges, britanniques et autrichiens et de manière systématique avec le Musée Royal de l'Armée à Bruxelles⁵, dont il devient conseiller et conservateur. En tant que secrétaire et collaborateur de Charles Delacre, il explore l'Europe et en particulière l'Autriche d'après-guerre à la recherche d'objets de collection. Entre 1949 et 1958, il s'emploie à développer les collections du Musée en faisant des recherches et en se mettant en contact avec diverses personnes à travers toute l'Europe. Les inventaires montrent encore aujourd'hui le rôle de Georges Englebert dans l'acquisition des pièces du Musée. C'est aussi de cette période que datent ses rapports plus fréquents avec les institutions autrichiennes, en particulier l'Heeresgeschichtliches Museum et le Kriegsarchiv de Vienne. En tant qu'attaché au Musée de l'Armée et de commissaire adjoint, Englebert est l'un des principaux curateurs de la grande exposition *Napoléon et la Grande Armée* organisée dans la Salle d'honneur de l'Hôtel des Invalides en 1952 et personne de contact pour les collections historiques de la Maison de S.A.I. Le Prince Napoléon de Paris⁶. L'année suivante, il organise l'exposition *Napoléon III et la Cour impériale* «au profit de l'œuvre royale belge des veuves de guerre et du fonds de restauration du château de Versailles», inaugurée en juillet 1953 en présence de la princesse Clémentine de Belgique, veuve du prétendant Napoléon Victor Bonaparte⁷.

4 Musée Royal de l'Armée et d'Histoire militaire-Centre de documentation, Fonds Englebert (cité dorénavant seulement par ce nom), dossier 85.15. Sur les relations entre Englebert et Charles Delacre, un des plus grands collectionneurs européens d'objets militaires dont il enrichissait la collection, voir dans le dossier 85/13 la lettre du 14 août 1950; la correspondance avec le collectionneur de Hanovre Fredrich Neumann à partir de 1950 est très étendue, voir l'enveloppe 85/33. Diverses. La correspondance avec Thierry de Limburg Stirum est contenue dans l'enveloppe 85/26.

5 Fonds Englebert, dossier 85/42, lettre à Englebert du Conservateur en chef du Musée Royal de l'Armée J. R. Leconte du 18 octobre 1948.

6 Fonds Englebert, dossier 85/42, lettre de mission du colonel J. M. Gilis, Conservateur des Collections de S. M.I. Le Prince Napoléon, Paris 16 janvier 1952.

7 Fonds Englebert, dossier 85/42, coupure du journal «La lanterne», 18.7.1953.

Georges Englebert devient agent auxiliaire à mi-temps à l'ambassade belge de Vienne le 13 mars 1959 tout en exerçant les fonctions de secrétaire de la délégation permanente auprès de l'Agence internationale de l'énergie atomique. Il devient agent et attaché culturel de l'ambassade à temps plein à partir du 1^{er} avril 1960 et le reste jusqu'à sa retraite⁸, en dépit d'un projet temporaire de déménagement à Prague au lendemain des événements du printemps 1968, projet dont le dissuadèrent ses amis⁹. Son séjour à Vienne lui fournit une occasion extraordinaire d'approfondir l'histoire de la période autrichienne des Pays Bas et en faisant ce travail, il se considéra comme le successeur de Gaston Bodart (1867-1940), un historien militaire viennois d'origine belge, lui aussi collectionneur et membre de la K.u.K. Central Commission, dont il avait reconstitué une partie des activités¹⁰.

Lors de ses années à l'ambassade de Vienne, Georges Englebert est chargé de poursuivre ses recherches de documents et de textes sur le marché des antiquités par le Ministère de la Défense Nationale et le Musée Royal de l'Armée et d'Histoire Militaire¹¹, par le Musée de l'Armée de Liège et aussi par des collectionneurs privés¹². Fort intéressé par les questions généalogiques, Englebert entre aussi en contact avec les familles aristocratiques les plus anciennes des territoires ayant appartenu à la monarchie autrichienne (par exemple les Harrach et les Lobkowitz à Vienne, les de Ligne et les de Merode Westerloo en Belgique, les Clary à Venise), lançant un travail de catalogage et d'identification des portraits et miniatures disséminés dans les collections de leurs ancêtres dans toute l'Europe. On trouve d'importantes traces de ce catalogage dans ses archives personnelles. Son intérêt de jeunesse pour l'histoire militaire le pousse en outre à concentrer ses études sur la figure de Napoléon et sur la période des guerres napoléoniennes en Europe, sur lesquelles il récolte une ample documentation. À cet égard, il s'implique aussi dans l'organisation d'événements culturels à travers sa participation aux activités du Comité de Waterloo et de

8 Information gracieusement fournie par le Secrétariat de la Direction du personnel extérieur, Affaires étrangères commerce extérieur et Coopération au Développement du Royaume de Belgique le 2 juillet 2018.

9 Fonds Englebert, Dossier correspondance, sans signature, lettres de 1969.

10 Fonds Englebert, Dossier 85/03, lettre de la direction du Kriegsarchiv du 12.7.1952.

11 Fonds Englebert, Dossier 85/3, lettre de mission du 18 février 1966.

12 Fonds Englebert, Dossier 85/03, Listes et factures, note de Jean Jadot de 1955 et de 1960.

nombreuses célébrations d'événements et de batailles napoléoniennes parmi lesquelles celle de Wagram en 1806. A Vienne Georges Englebert favorise la restauration du monument funéraire de Charles de Ligne au cimetière de Kahlenberg, à Wagram et à Aspern il favorise la création des musées napoléoniens. Au milieu des années soixante-dix, il tente en outre d'organiser, sans succès, une exposition à la villa Manin de Passariano, en Italie, en mémoire du traité de Campoformio¹³. Sa correspondance, conservée principalement au Centre de documentation du Musée Royal de l'Armée de Bruxelles et du Fonds Coronini des archives d'État de Gorizia, renvoie l'image d'un homme profondément impliqué dans la recherche, les études généalogiques, le développement de contacts épistolaires et sociaux, souvent en déplacement entre la Belgique, où vivaient encore sa mère âgée et son frère, les pays d'Europe de l'Est et l'Italie, où l'accompagnait parfois sa famille¹⁴.

Un des intérêts de recherche principaux de Georges Englebert a été le prince de Ligne, sur lequel il a publié un de ses premiers articles en décembre 1954¹⁵. Son étude du prince de Ligne, qui s'étala sur plus de quarante ans, s'enrichit au fil du temps grâce à ses contacts personnels avec ses descendants. Autour du prince de Ligne et de son époque, il organise en 1982, aidé par sa fille Martine, historien de l'art disparue prématurément, deux importantes expositions à Vienne et à Beloeil dont furent publiés les catalogues. Ses contacts personnels avec la Maison de Ligne, d'abord avec le prince Antoine (1925-2005) et Philippine de Ligne¹⁶, puis avec le prince Michel, le conduisent à approfondir sa connaissance de ce militaire et écrivain belge du dix-huitième siècle et à s'intéresser en particulier à son iconographie. Dès que, au milieu des années quatre-vingt, sous le haut patronage du Prince de Ligne et sous la direction de Jeroom Vercrusse, reprend la publication de la revue qui lui est consacrée, les *Nou-*

13 Gorice, Archive d'État, Fonds Coronini, Dossier 93, Lettre de Georges Englebert à Guillaume Coronini en date du 25 mars 1975.

14 Voir, par exemple, Fonds Englebert, Correspondance, Lettres de 1970; Fonds Coronini, Dossier 93, lettres de Georges Englebert à Guillaume Coronini du 19 septembre 1972; Dossier 116, lettres du 28 février 1973 et du 7 mai 1975.

15 Sur la contribution d'Englebert aux études sur de Ligne, voir PHILIP MANSEL, *Prince of Europe: The Life of Charles-Joseph de Ligne*, London, Phoenix, 2005 et en particulier p. 390.

16 Fonds Coronini, Dossier 93, lettre de Georges Englebert à Guillaume Coronini 5 juin 1975.

velles Annales Prince de Ligne, Georges Englebert en devient un des premiers collaborateurs¹⁷ et maintient jusqu'à son décès une collaboration intellectuelle.

L'intérêt de Georges Englebert pour le prince de Ligne nous rapproche de la figure de Casanova car ces deux protagonistes du dix-huitième siècle pratiquèrent le genre autobiographique et aussi du fait de l'amitié qui unissait de Ligne et le Vénitien et de ses visites au château de Dux décrites dans les *Mémoires*.

De fait, des allusions aux relations casanoviennes apparaissent déjà dans le premier essai de Georges Englebert sur les *Nouvelles Annales* de 1986, dans lequel il écrit sur les *Portraits perdus ou peu connus du Prince Charles-Joseph de Ligne et de sa famille*. Il y publie une aquarelle représentant la famille de Ligne, probablement peinte par Christine de Ligne, née princesse Clary, et conservée alors dans la demeure vénitienne d'Alphonse Clary-Aldringen, ami des casanovistes et gardien de la mémoire des derniers mois de Casanova à travers le journal de Charles (Lolo) de Clary. Georges Englebert consacre ensuite d'autres essais au prince de Ligne: dans le numéro 3, datant de 1988, des *Nouvelles Annales*, une brève contribution sur le marquis de Bombelles et son voyage aux Pays Bas autrichiens en 1785. Dans le numéro 5, de 1990, il reprend sa recherche sur les portraits perdus ou peu connus de de Ligne avec un texte presque entièrement consacré au tableau disparu peint par Francesco Casanova, le frère de Giacomo, pour le prince de Kaunitz, tableau représentant Joseph II mettant en fuite les Turcs, entouré de ses généraux parmi lesquels figure de Ligne. Georges Englebert doit une grande partie de la description de ce tableau au journal du comte Charles de Zinzendorf qu'il connaissait bien. Les 29 lettres du maréchal de Lacy au prince de Ligne publiées en 1989 sont le fruit de recherches dans les archives des Haus-, Hof et Staatsarchiv et au Heeresgeschichtliches Museum. La biographie de Sauveur Legros, secrétaire intime du Prince de Ligne, date quant à elle de 1994 et entre 1995 et 1996, avant et après son décès, sont publiés deux autres essais résultant de ses recherches dans les archives, et portant sur *La mort du prince Charles-Antoine de Ligne*. L'ultime contribution de Georges Englebert, publiée de façon posthume en 1998, concerne aussi directement le contexte casanovien parce qu'elle est consacrée à la figure de Charlotte de Thiennes de Rumbeké née Cobenzl. Il s'agit de la fille de Johann Karl Philipp ministre plénipotentiaire d'Autriche aux Pays-Bas

¹⁷ *In memoriam (Georges Englebert)*, «Nouvelles Annales Prince de Ligne», X (1996), p. 7-8.

et sœur de l'ambassadeur autrichien à Pétersbourg, qui était une correspondante de Casanova dans les années quatre-vingt-dix du dix-huitième siècle. À Madame de Rumberge Georges Englebert avait déjà consacré une étude parue en 1993 dans un volume sur l'histoire des Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, mais son intérêt pour cette personne était bien plus ancien et remontait aux années soixante-dix¹⁸.

Georges Englebert travaille avec une même constance et ferveur sur un autre ami de Casanova, le comte Charles de Zinzendorf. À cet homme d'État, voyageur assidu dans l'Europe du dix-huitième siècle, ami de Casanova et gouverneur de Trieste de 1776 à 1782, pour finir ministre d'État avec Leopold II et Franz I, Englebert commence à s'intéresser dès les années cinquante du fait de son séjour dans les Pays Bas autrichiens et de son appartenance à l'Ordre teutonique, comme le montre la correspondance avec Jean Jadot, collectionneur et trésorier de la Société numismatique de Belgique¹⁹. Il étudie tout d'abord le journal de Zinzendorf qui raconte ses séjours à Bruxelles, Liège et Namur entre 1769 et 1770 mais qui, parce qu'il s'achève en 1813, est une source inépuisable d'informations pour toutes les recherches d'Englebert pendant quarante années de travail intense. L'édition partielle du journal de Zinzendorf, en 1976 et en 1985, se poursuit grâce au projet de publication du corpus complet pour la période bruxelloise, présenté à la Commission Royale d'Histoire²⁰ et réalisé seulement à la fin de 1992 comme volume hors-série des *Nouvelles Annales Prince de Ligne*. Comme pour tous ses autres thèmes de recherche, l'intérêt d'Englebert pour Zinzendorf s'étendit ensuite au contexte et à l'iconographie, à travers l'étude de ses portraits et des portraits de sa famille²¹, mais aussi des personnages qui le fréquentaient²².

18 Fonds Coronini, Dossier 116, Lettre de Georges Englebert à Guillaume Coronini du 12.5.1972 dans laquelle il dit posséder un gros dossier sur Madame Rumberge. Malheureusement, ce dossier ne fait pas partie du Fonds Englebert du Musée Royal de l'Armée.

19 Fonds Englebert, Dossier 85/02, lettre de J. Jadot datée du 20 décembre 1955 à Bruxelles. Sur Jean Jadot (1917-2010) LUC SMOLDEREN, *Nécrologie-Overlijdens. Jean Jadot (1917-2010)*, «Revue belge de numismatique et de sigillographie», 154 (2010), p. 307.

20 Fonds Englebert, Dossier correspondance, lettre de M. A. Arnold, Mons, 31 octobre 1985.

21 Sur l'intérêt d'Englebert pour les portraits de Zinzendorf, voir le Fonds Englebert, Dossier 85/26, lettre à Englebert du comte Thierry de Limburg Stirum, Huldenberg, le 30 mars 1968 et GEORGES ENGLEBERT, *Deux voyages du comte Charles de Zinzendorf (1769-1770)*, «Bulletin de la Société des Bibliophiles Liégeois», 22 (1976), p. 127.

22 En 1958, Georges Englebert fit l'acquisition auprès de Hans von Bourcy, fameux vendeur

La bibliographie des écrits de Georges Englebert révèle un expert érudit, passionné du détail, intéressé par les sources ; ses contributions sont toujours très précises et ne couvrent qu'un nombre limité de pages, excepté les éditions du journal du comte Zinzendorf et de celui du général Baillet-Latour. L'attention que Georges Englebert porta à la vulgarisation auprès d'un public plus large, aussi bien à travers des conférences qu'à travers des articles parus dans des revues comme *La gazette des uniformes. Les armées de l'histoire* puis *Uniformes. Les arme de l'histoire*, est significative. Les archives conservées au Centre de documentation du Musée Royal de l'Armée de Bruxelles, qui détient beaucoup de ses documents de travail, révèlent l'existence de nombreuses autres études en cours et malheureusement non conclues. Parmi celles-ci, une liste quasi complète des régiments impériaux autrichiens au temps de Marie Thérèse et de Joseph II²³, des études sur l'artillerie et sur les fortifications belges et autrichiennes²⁴, des recherches sur le dix-neuvième siècle européen de Louis XVIII à Metternich, du comte de Chambord à Maximilien et Charlotte du Mexique²⁵.

Actif jusqu'aux mois qui précédèrent sa mort survenue à Vienne le 14 juin 1995, on se souvient encore de Georges Englebert pour l'étendue de ses connaissances, le fait qu'il partageait volontiers les informations résultant de ses recherches historiques, ainsi que pour ses initiatives culturelles. Parmi ses derniers projets, qu'il ne parvint pas à porter à leur terme mais qui furent conclus grâce au soutien du professeur Jeroom Verduyck de l'Université Libre de Bruxelles, il faut rappeler ses longues négociations pour obtenir que soit déposé au Kriegsarchiv de Vienne le Nachlass Friedrich Graf Szápary. Pour ce qui concerne les études casanoviennes, le nom de Georges Englebert est destiné à rester lié durablement aux recherches sur deux des plus importants amis de l'exilé vénitien dans le contexte des Habsbourg, le prince de Ligne et le comte de Zinzendorf.

de livres antiques et expert en généalogie, des Auersperger Miniaturbücher ainsi que d'une copie de l'édition photographique publiée par Bourcy en 1932 sur laquelle il effectua de nombreuses annotations, voir Washington, National Gallery of Arts Library, P109 avec les documents joints. Sur les rapports d'Englebert avec Hans von Bourcy, voir aussi le Fonds Coronini, enveloppe 116, lettre d'Englebert à Guillaume Coronini, 28 février 1973.

23 Fonds Englebert, Dossiers 85/03, 85/10, 85/11, 85/20, 85/21, 85/27.

24 Fonds Englebert, Dossiers 85/01, 85/11, 85/17.

25 Fonds Englebert, Dossiers 85/14, 85/22, 85/26.

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NOTES & QUERIES

Ludwigsburg June 1767: the perfect eighteenth-century adventure plot

Two-hundred-and-fifty years ago, in June 1767, Giacomo Casanova reached the German town Ludwigsburg, the residence place of the Duke of Württemberg. Until then, he had travelled through Europe for more than a decade. After his escape from a Venetian prison, he was exiled from Venice, his birthplace. Forced to live the life of an adventurer, he hopped from town to town and left behind both lovers and people he had duped. Until the authorities allowed his return to Venice 18 years later, Casanova belonged to the social class of eighteenth-century adventurers, who survived through ingeniously deceiving the credulous. The episode in his memoirs where he relates his sojourn at Ludwigsburg illustrates how masterful an adventurer he was.

On 14 June, Casanova left Augsburg, where he had spent four months in welcome tranquility. The destination he had in mind was Spa, the well-visited thermal city in the Prince-Bishopric Liège. He travelled on his own, well-equipped in a private carriage. In Ulm, near the Württemberg border, he stopped at a postal inn. Seven years ago, Casanova had been in serious trouble in Stuttgart, the main town of the Duchy of Württemberg, due to a card-playing quarrel with three officers. It led to a rushed escape out of the Duchy of Württemberg. Once in safe territory, Casanova wrote a letter to each of the officers and challenged them to a duel. He would wait three days. None of the three officers presented themselves, however. In the aftermath, Casanova wrote a furious letter to Duke Carl Eugen.

A courier of the Duke also arrived at the inn. The man was several days ahead of his master in order to later announce at Ludwigsburg the return of his sovereign from a voyage to Venice. In the city of canals the courier had received a letter for Casanova from an acquaintance of the adventurer residing in Venice. The courier was supposed to find Casanova at Augsburg, but he had missed him by one day. He was told which direction Casanova had taken and then reached him at Ulm. At the inn, Casanova and the courier shared a drink in the company of an officer of the Duke. Casanova was asked if he was the same Casanova that had fled Stuttgart seven years before. The Venetian confirmed that he was. The officer assured him that everyone in town blamed the three officers. Casanova read his letter, which merely dealt with personal matters, when an idea popped into his head. He told the officer that the Duke had finally listened to his arguments. Moreover, to completely satisfy Casanova, His Highness had employed him as his secretary, with a wage of 12,000 crowns. Casanova asked what had become of the three officers. The officer told him that they were all at Ludwigsburg, which had replaced Stuttgart as the Duke's town of residence and that the news of his appointment would certainly surprise them.

Casanova told his two companions that he wanted to stay in Ulm for the night.

Furthermore, he intended to spend the following night on the road. In two days, they would

certainly meet again. The courier departed immediately, and the officer, after having shared supper with Casanova, left in a postal carriage. Casanova started plotting. His power to convince the two Württemberg citizens resided in a natural, ostentatious self-assurance that gave him an irresistible air of honesty. He had dropped a magical seed in their minds. The two citizens would separately, proudly, and firmly broadcast that he had been appointed as an employee of the Duke, because conveying the news would make them feel important. The seed would germinate and spread in the minds of the other inhabitants. A mental bubble would be created, aligning the citizens' thinking. Although he was not yet in Ludwigsburg, Casanova was already in control of the people's minds.

The next morning, Casanova enjoyed the idea that he could now go to Ludwigsburg, not to duel with the three officers but to laugh at them. Moreover, his acquaintances, all of whom were connected with the ducal theatre, would glorify him. He felt that he had nothing to fear. He knew the human mind. Because the Duke's return was imminent, no one would consider that case might have been invented. Moreover, the Duke would never find him when he arrived. Casanova would escape as soon as the courier who preceded the ducal court announced the Duke's arrival. He would pretend that he was leaving in advance to meet His Highness. Casanova thought his idea was beautiful; resisting it would demonstrate a lack of spirit.

Casanova used the word 'idea'. He did not speak of a plan, simply because there was no plan. As a consummated eighteenth-century adventurer, he did not rely on a well conceived strategy. He would go to Ludwigsburg, see how people reacted, and adapt his behavior accordingly. He would trust in his talent to impress, his eloquence, his alertness, and his cool-headedness. All of these inborn gifts were validated by the most vital trait, courage. His visit to Ludwigsburg was not without risk. There were the three discontented officers. There was the imminent arrival of the Duke, who would certainly still be displeased with the letter Casanova had written to him. Casanova's escape from Stuttgart could not yet be forgotten. However, risk-taking was an integral part of the life of the adventurer.

Casanova arrived at Ludwigsburg and gave his name without mentioning his pretended qualification. He descended at the post house inn and had his luggage taken upstairs. Two members of the comedians' society had already arrived: la Toscani, an actress, and her husband. They firstly congratulated Casanova on his appointment by the Duke. It was the talk of the town, spread by a courier and an officer of His Highness. The extra night on the road was fruitful; the news had spread far. When he entered Ludwigsburg, Casanova did not use his normal, adventurer-like way of appearing as an extraordinarily dressed, wealthy seignior who overwhelmed whoever he met with his grandeur and self-confidence. Here the spell had already done the work; the effects were visible in the behavior of the people who welcomed him. Further inflating the situation would be counterproductive. A moment later, two others from the theatrical circle, Balletti and Vestris, entered to congratulate Casanova on his employment. While Vestris was a new acquaintance for Casanova, Balletti was not - he was a dancer, a family friend, and had previously helped him escape from Stuttgart. He convinced Casanova to stay at his house until the Duke arrived. First, however, a visit was paid to the daughter of la Toscani. She had been the mistress of the Duke. Proudly, she showed her beautiful house and

jewels, remnants of her love affair with the Duke. Then, on the way to dinner, they encountered the officer who was primarily responsible for Casanova's troubles. The officer put his hand on his hat to greet the group and silently continued on his way.

The officer's reaction displayed how subtly the scheme had worked. The man may have had his doubts, but he was paralyzed when it came to demonstrating any hostility. The Duke could arrive any moment, so the officer chose to not trouble his former adversary. The intrigue generated enthusiasm within those who had to be enthusiastic, and it paralyzed those who had to be paralyzed. The mental environment created by Casanova had an indeterminate but limited time of existence. Many people abhor uncertainty; however, for the adventurer, it was constitutive for his way of life. Casanova turned this into an asset. The Venetian knew that the spell would immobilize the officer for a restricted but imprecise period.

After dinner, Casanova installed himself at Balletti's house and put his carriage in the shed. In the evening, the two went to the Toscani's. In the assembled company, the wife of Vestris, la Vestris, attracted the attention of the Venetian adventurer. She, too, had been a mistress of the Duke. After the Duke had two recognized children with her, he gave her to Vestris. La Vestris was a beauty, but Casanova was more impressed by her wittiness and her elegance, qualities that made her a born actress. She had, nonetheless, one fault: she burred, meaning she pronounced her r's too gutturally. The roles of the play to be performed for the Duke's return were distributed that day. La Vestris had the principal role, and she read her part aloud. Casanova praised her performance but found her difficulties with the letter r a pity. Everyone disagreed. They stated that it was not a shortcoming but a charm; the words became soft in an interesting, attractive way. The actress was more pleased with the honesty of Casanova than with the praise of the others. The Venetian promised to cure her infirmity; if he did not succeed in ensuring no one heard the shortcoming, she could slap him. If he succeeded, then Casanova could embrace her. The role was handed over to Casanova, and the subject was changed. The Venetian started narrating his duel with Count Branicki in Poland.

The Italian theatrical societies throughout Europe were homes for the travelling adventurer. As a child of actors, Casanova was sure to find relatives or acquaintances in the troupes situated in the different cities he visited. He was fond of this kind of conviviality; he felt at home with these groups. Plus, as an unequalled storyteller, he was the star. His masterpieces comprised the narration of his escape from the Venetian prison and his duel with Count Branicki, which had occurred only a few months prior. That night, Casanova spent six hours rewriting the role. Without changing the turn of the sentences, all of the words that contained an r were replaced by words without an r. In the morning, he went to la Vestris, and she read her revised role. Beside herself with joy, she cried that she would never play a part with an r in it. Casanova got his embrace. At dinner, the company assembled again. The author of the piece, who was also present, dismissed the idea of writing only pieces without an r for actresses like la Vestris from now on. With a laugh, he objected that this was impossible and that this would impoverish the language. The actress then showed him the rewritten role, and, because of the richness of the language, he could only agree that it was possible. If he had more time, Casanova would have used this linguistic amusement to complete his conquest of la Vestris.

There was no time to develop a love affair; neither was there time for any financial intrigue. Adventurers like Casanova were repeatedly involved in complex financial plots, which often led to exile or flight. In Ludwigsburg, the Venetian adventurer was aware of his limited time; he created the boundaries of the plot himself. Deprived of any amorous or financial complications, the bubble would stay unsullied. The scheme simply consisted of managing of the minds of the people involved. The Venetian adventurer had eight days of festivities, triumphs, and full satisfaction; then, a courier arrived at ten o'clock with the message that His Highness would arrive in the afternoon. Calmly, Casanova informed Ballezzi that in order to be polite, he had to join the Duke. He wanted to enlarge his suite, so he had to encounter the sovereign at least two postal stops before Ludwigsburg. In a hurry, Casanova packed his luggage. When Ballezzi told him that he could leave his trunk with him for the time being, Casanova would not hear it, and Ballezzi guessed everything. Ballezzi took it in stride. Once the horses were harnessed, they said goodbye. Casanova instructed the postilion to take the road to Mannheim, and he left Ludwigsburg. Like several times before, Casanova made use of the frontier to render himself safe and to start anew. Borders were indispensable for the adventurer. Sooner or later the bubble would explode, throwing the credulous into distress. By that time, the Venetian would have left the territory of Württemberg. The stay at Ludwigsburg in June 1767 is a short but delightful episode in the memoirs of Giacomo Casanova. It illustrates the bare frame of an eighteenth-century adventure plot. It shows Casanova's infallible insight into the human mind and how ingeniously he could manipulate the minds of others. A Casanova biographer once compared the memoirs with a shrine, where the different episodes were pearls of all sizes and sheens. In this glittering shrine, the Ludwigsburg episode undeniably possesses a special, unique glow [D.D.]

Casanova to Collalto on sale

Recently, some handwritten letters of Casanova appeared on the antiquarian market. Kotte Autographs GmbH (Roßhaupten, Germany) has offered a letter to Count Antonio Collalto. This letter (4to. 3 pp., with a price estimate at EUR 32.000,00) from Dresden, 7 [recte 9] VII. 1790. According to the description of the antiquarian, Casanova reports on conflicts in Europe: "Qui v'è una insorgenza di paesani, che inquieta il governo, e jeri furono mandate truppe per deprimere il loro ardire. Si spera però che la permissione generale, che il prudentissimo Seren[issi]mo elettore diede di cacciare calmerà tutto. Si dice qui che S.A.R. l'arciduca Francesco abbia sofferto uno spunto di sangue. I ministri che circondano in Slesia il re di Prussia stanno là oziosi, e nulla il Rè decide. Egli non ha voglia di far guerra, e se non ne ha voglia non la farà. Ei vuole però che la guerra sia temuta". C. thanks Collalto for his letter and message from "l'egregio signor principe [Francesco] Ruspoli", asks his permission to contact the prince, and offers his services whilst he is in Naples, assuring him that he has sent by mail-coach the two little books that he had requested, possibly the two *Corollaires*.

Hünersdorff Rare Books (London, United Kingdom) has offered two other letters to Collalto.

The first one, signed “G. Casanova” (3 pages in 4to, with a price estimate at GBP 22.500,00) is dated Dux, 2 March 1789 (reply was received 9 March 1789). According to the description of the antiquarian, Casanova warmly thanks Collalto for his letter of 14 February, addressing him as “Eccellenza mio adorato Padrone”. He refers to Collalto’s sad news that prince Karl von Lichtenstein was dying, “but it was also welcomed because over here he was thought dead, and [instead] as long as there is breath there is hope”; Casanova comments social events and the last paragraph contains an extended reference to Lorenzo da Ponte, Mozart’s librettist. The second letter to Collalto offered by Hünersdorff Rare Books, signed “Casanova” (4to. 3 pages in 4to, with a price estimate at GBP 22.000,00) is dated Dresden, 17 May 1791. C. says he had lunch with Prince Beloselsky, who handed him his benefactor’s letter with news of the arrival of Pietro Grimani, the new Venetian minister to Dresden. Casanova is keen to demonstrate to Grimani that he remains a Venetian at heart, and that he wants to express his gratitude to the latter’s uncle the State Inquisitor, Francesco Grimani, for having allowed him to return to Venice 16 years’ earlier. He mentions the Saxon Court taking a holiday at Pillnitz Castle, east of Dresden, in order to seek neutrality and escape the dangers of war provoked by the demands of the king of Prussia. These lots link to others letters of Casanova to Collalto that appeared on the antiquarian market in the last 20 years (see *Intermédiaire des Casanovistes*, XVI, 1999, p. 37). All these letters are already known and published starting from POMPEO MOLMENTI, *Carteggi casanoviani*, Palermo, Sandron, 1916, v. 1, p. 65 and following, and were originally located in the Collalto’s castle of Pirmitz (today Brtnice, Czech Republic) [A.T.].

Una sconosciuta edizione del “Discorso ai Welci”

La Collezione Bignami si è arricchita di una seconda edizione, sconosciuta a Childs e prima di lui a Pollio, del *Discorso ai Welci*, parte del terzo tomo della *Confutazione della Storia del governo veneto d’Amelot de la Houssai divisa in tre parti* (vol. III, p. 35-67, CHILDS, IX) che reca in frontespizio l’indicazione “Italia 1799”, ed un ex libris incollato nella parte inferiore. Si tratta appunto del testo tradotto in italiano da Casanova dal francese di Voltaire e da lui posto nel terzo volume della *Confutazione*.... Una trentina di pagine che, trent’anni dopo l’edizione di Agnelli del 1769, un anno dopo la morte di Casanova che nel frattempo aveva smesso la sua ira contro il filosofo, qualcuno si diede la pena di rieditare. Rispetto all’edizione del 1769 il testo appare ricomposto, cambiano l’impaginazione e il frontespizio. Riconosciuto il contenuto, si è potuto appurare che dell’edizione “Italia 1799” esistono altri 5 o 6 esemplari in biblioteche italiane tra cui quello conservato a Roma nella Biblioteca di Storia Moderna e contemporanea di via Caetani (ora interamente consultabile online su Google Books), censito da Valeria Cremona e Rosanna De Longis nel volume *Una nazione da rigenerare. Catalogo delle edizioni italiane 1789-1799* (Napoli, Vivarium, 1992, p. 380, scheda 1742). “Italia” sembra essere la falsa indicazione di stampa per Venezia: tant’è che una diversa edizione dello stesso testo, coeva anche se senza la data del 1799 forse per distrarre la censura, apparve a Venezia per i tipi di Giuseppe Veronesi, in un clima culturale che vedeva continue riedizioni

di testi più vecchi decontestualizzati dall'ambiente che li aveva prodotti e senza che nessuno mantenesse memoria del significato originario. L'ex libris presente nell'esemplare della Collezione Bignami rivela un'antica appartenenza del testo all'avvocato Domenico Magiera di Modena, noto animatore di un casino di campagna in cui si riunivano la borghesia modenese tra fine Settecento e inizio Ottocento, sorvegliato dalla polizia per le sue presunte simpatie giacobine [G.B. & A.T.].

Casanova at Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (July 8 – October 8, 2018)

Forget about “The World’s Most Interesting Man”. (And I’m talking about the cool, original one played by Jonathan Goldsmith in the beer commercials.). All of them - and all of us - pale in comparison to Giacomo Casanova, who is simply known by his last name like other, one-named celebrities such as Madonna, Bono or Rihanna. And in a way, Casanova blazed a trail for these celebrities, which is why Casanova’s life seems so relevant, so timely three centuries later. This legendary, larger-than-life, 18th-century Italian bon vivant lived a life that sounds like something straight out of a raucous reality show or swashbuckling Hollywood movie - which probably explains why there have been so many movies made about him.

Highlights include escaping from a prison in Venice, his hometown.

Being on the run afterwards throughout Europe.

Gambling his way from one city to the next.

Saving a Venetian nobleman’s life.

Playing violin in an orchestra.

Working as a lawyer and clergyman.

Writing over 20 works, including plays and a novel.

Hanging out with royalty around the world.

But Casanova’s perhaps most famous for being a legendary lover. Even now, his name’s synonymous with being a lecherous “lady’s man”. He had affairs with nuns, noblewomen and many other women throughout his long life. He lived to age 73. But even he would probably be surprised to find 220 years after his death that his life served as the inspiration for a massive, art exhibit currently on view at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston through October 8. Most, large exhibitions at a major art museum focus on a particular well-known artist, not an important or infamous historical figure. And at times, this exhibition does skate close to being on the edge of being a little over the top, especially in certain rooms where the museum tries to recreate with music and mannequins in period costumes what different aspects of life were like in Europe during Casanova’s time - say a visit to a convent or perhaps a card game that gets out of hand. There’s also a room with red-velvet walls dedicated to “Amorous Pursuits” which nearly derails the show by veering dangerously close towards tabloid territory. But what anchors this exhibit and what makes it worth seeing are the outstanding paintings on display in nine different rooms at the MFA.

And some of the best paintings in the exhibition were created by a fellow Venetian born 28 years before Casanova - Giovanni Antonio Canal, who's best known simply by his single, rock star-like name, Canaletto. Like Casanova, Canaletto lived in many different cities throughout Europe, including Venice, Rome and London. And in the many of the rooms in the exhibition, which are often based on a particular city where Casanova lived during his lifetime, you will often thankfully find several of Canaletto's captivating paintings on display. The first room in the exhibition in particular is a feast for fans of Canaletto. Here, you will find six Canaletto paintings from the early to mid 1700s focusing in detail on the city of Venice and its bustling harbor. One of the things I love about Canaletto's works is their exacting attention to detail. With minute precision, he captures every single rope and mast on dozens of ships anchored off shore, as well as every turret, tower and window in the buildings scattered along the shoreline in Venice. But Canaletto was more than just an outstanding realistic painter. His paintings beautifully capture the magical light of Venice and feel like a time capsule of life in Italy nearly 300 years ago. A few rooms later, there's another striking Canaletto depicting several islands in Venice's harbor just before a rain-storm. Dark, ominous clouds loom in the background. And instead of the water being a bright, shimmering blue the way it is in many of Canaletto's other Venetian paintings, here the water's a dark, inky color reminiscent of the brooding oceans depicted centuries later by J. M. W. Turner or Winslow Homer. And it's not just Venice that Canaletto captures in vivid detail. A room later in the exhibition dedicated to paintings of London features a gorgeous Canaletto of the Thames River and Westminster Bridge painted in 1747. Although I do have to say I've never seen so many gondolas or an electric-blue sky in a painting of London. Other highlights in the exhibition include a room dedicated to "Luxury in Paris" - which features an over-the-top sedan chair in which wealthy people were carried around the city, as well as several stunning, giant murals by Francois Boucher depicting Gods, Goddesses and nymphs frolicking amidst a sea of clouds. The same room also contains a poignant portrait by Jean-Mac Nattier of Manon Balletti, the woman Casanova reportedly loved most of all and who he reportedly regretted not marrying. There's also a room devoted to "Travel" which features several large, dramatic paintings of Dresden, Germany by Venetian painter Bernardo Bellotto. And while not as technically dazzling as Bellotto's works, it is fascinating to see two, slightly overly dramatic paintings depicting the dangers of traveling the 1700s by Casanova's younger brother, Francesco.

I also enjoyed seeing an early printed edition on display of Casanova's memoir *The Story of My Escape*. Printed in Prague in 1787, the book reminds us that Casanova was more than just an amorous adventurer. He took the time to write numerous works and cared deeply about literature and art. But as this book illustrates as well, Casanova ultimately cared most of all about one subject in particular - himself. So next time you hear someone lament about the good old days before "selfies" or "vlogs" (video blogs) or other navel-gazing pursuits, tell them that Casanova got there long before any of them. And he probably had a lot more fun doing so as well [Ken Ross, https://www.masslive.com/entertainment/index.ssf/2018/08/mfa_bostons_casanova-themed_a.html].

ABSTRACTS

Giuseppe Bignami, *An unknown portrait of Casanova*

The article presents a painting of the second half of the eighteenth century (private collection), which shares a strikingly resemblance, in iconographic terms, with a portrait of Casanova, allegedly attributed to Alessandro Longhi. As it is well known, the picture's identity draws exclusively on the oral tradition of the Venetian Gritti family, which to date, has not yet been confirmed. This so-called "Longhi" was presented to the public for the first time by courtesy of the last owner of the painting, the Roman lawyer Ugo Monis, who allowed the French collector and scholar de Lancey to show it in 1934. In 1956, Childs used it as the cover preceding the frontispiece of his book *Casanoviana*. The almost perfect similarity between the the so-called Longhi and the portrait under consideration in this article reveals that the two paintings need to be seen as in a succession, and cannot indeed be judged as a mere copy of each other: in this specific case, we are dealing with a creation and not simply a replica, as hereinafter shown by the Swiss portrait painter Anton Graff (Winterthur 1736-Dresden 1813).

Stefano Feroci, *The treasure of the Russian adventure Ivanoff*

In Florence in 1760, the year of his first expulsion, Casanova met an adventurer named Carlo Ivanoff, of whom we hardly know, except perhaps being of Russian origin. In the State Archive of Pistoia some unpublished documents have been found that have allowed to understand the reasons for the expulsion of Casanova from the Grand Duchy of Tuscany and to discover an unsuspected judicial and artistic follow-up. At the center of the story there is a fake letter of exchange and a trunk abandoned by Ivanoff. The content of the trunk is highly interesting, because it allows us to shed light on the life of Ivanoff, as a typical representative of the category of 18th century adventurers: a box of ancient coins and medals, an epistolary made of false exchange letters and false identity, letters on love intrigues with singers and dancers and, *dulcis in fundo*, ointments and lover's instruments. Coins and medals (some of them ancient and very rare) were subjected to the expertise of Antonio Cocchi, a famous naturalist and antiquarian at the service of Peter Leopold, and were then deposited in the collections of the Grand Duke. The documents of the Pistoia State Archives show us the accuracy and duration of the investigations carried out by the Fiscal Auditor Domenico Brichieri Colombi, which ended only in December 1761, confiscating Ivanoff's «treasure» and depositing the medals in the collections of the Grand Duke.

Marco Leeßlang – Tom Vitelli, *C. sur C.*

In his responses to the *Études sur la nature* of Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, Casanova inserts a series of autobiographical annotations. These passages, written between 1788 and 1789, never published before 1985 and arranged chronologically as proposed by the edi-

tors, constitute an important documentation of his autobiographical elaboration parallel to the composition of *Histoire de ma vie* and cover a period of time that goes from the trip to Russia in 1764 to the last years of life between Prague and Dux.

Dino Detailleur, *The Bragadin Encounter. A historical assessment of an episode in the Mémoires of Giacomo Casanova*

Matteo Giovanni Bragadin, a Venetian senator and descendant of an illustrious patrician family, was one of Casanova's most important benefactors. Besides giving friendship, advice, and protection, Bragadin and his two friends, Marco Dandolo and Marco Barbaro, financially supported Casanova as long as they lived. This relationship, at least in its initial stage, was regarded as problematic by the Venetian authorities. The spy Manuzzi reported Casanova as an intruder in Bragadin's life, financially disabusing him by means of his supposed cabalistic powers. In his memoirs, Casanova situates his encounter with Bragadin in the spring of 1746. The narration of this episode offers a unique opportunity for assessing its historical truth within the framework of the question of the truthfulness of the memoirs. This episode is clear-cut and highly rhetorical in nature. In other words, it is a solid, rather uncomplicated unity suitable for an analysis, where a strong psychological interest might be considered as prevailing over an eventual historical concern of the author.

Marco Leeflang – Antonio Trampus, *Correspondance between Bernhard Marr and Carlo Leone Curiel. Part I: 1919-1920*

Among Bernhard Marr's correspondence about Casanova, some number of letters was written by Carlo Leone Curiel (1876-1933). Before and after World War I, he committed himself to foster the cultural contacts between Vienna and Venice. The Carlo Leone Curiel Archive, kept at the Museo del Teatro "C. Schmidl" in Trieste, contains a few letters sent by Marr to Curiel which can integrate the already known correspondence. Among the survived letters, there are those from Marr to Curiel. These letters begin exactly when Marr's correspondence kept in Duchcov ends. The most interesting aspect in the Curiel – Marr correspondence is the description of how difficult was resuming studies on Casanova after the war, in a Europe completely changed at a geopolitical level. Their struggle to overcome material difficulties in order to find materials and documents – even writing paper – and in order to keep communicating reveals that the Casanovists's activity meant, although maybe unintentionally, also reconstructing an ideal and cosmopolitan Europe which seemed lost.

Michela Messina, *A friend of Casanova. The iconography of Karl von Zinzendorf between private space and public destination*

This essay offers a reconstruction and analysis of eleven known and unknown portraits of

Karl von Zinzendorf (1749-1813): friend of Casanova, Austrian state man, governor of Trieste and then president of the Aulic Chamber of Auditors in Vienna. In this gallery, recognizable also through the Diaries already studied by Gustav Gugitz, what firstly emerges is a series of portraits made not by a professional artist but by baron Karl Alexander von Schell (1722 [?] - Ljubljana 1792), a friend of Zinzendorf, and two en silhouette portraits, made in August 1779 by French miniaturist and silhouettist François Gonord (Saint-Germain-la Campagne, 1756-Paris [?], 1819/1825) and by Leopold Peucker or Peuckert (Penker, Peuker) in 1780. Franz Linder (Klagenfurt 1736/1738-Vienna 1802), sent to Rome in 1776 together with Heinrich Friedrich Füger, executed two portraits of Zinzendorf between 1780 and 1781, a life-size one (today lost) and an oval one, presented here for the first time, and then a full-figure one in 1792, now kept at the Universalmuseum Joanneum in Graz. A fourth oil portrait (ca 1792, with restoration report in the appendix) incorporates the same iconographic characteristics of the previous ones, but with different styles and touches. The last known portrait, kept in the library of the Rechnungshof in Vienna, reveals an almost «impressionistic» technique and can be dated to the second half of the nineteenth century. From this investigation, the functions of clothing at the court of the Hapsburg are revealed, with particular reference to the uniform chosen for the Knights of the Teutonic Order: the color of the garments - the red tailcoat and the blue vest -, the gallons in gold yarn, the typology and the disposition of the attributes of the Teutonic Order and of the characteristic mantle, considered since the Middle Ages an almost sacred object. The appendix contains the restoration report by Carla Vlah on the fourth oil portrait of Zinzendorf.

Antonio Trampus, *Between de Ligne e Zinzendorf: a bio-bibliography of Georges Englebert (1926-1995)*

The Belgian scholar Georges Englebert, who lived and worked in Vienna for many years in the diplomatic service, was one of the most important experts of European military history in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. His studies on the figure of Prince de Ligne and on Karl von Zinzendorf - of whom he published the diaries of the period in Brussels (1766-1770) - as well as on various figures related to the circle of Casanova relations, such as Charlotte de Thiennes de Rumbeke (born Cobenzl), remain relevant in Casanovian studies. For the first time, this article offers a biographical profile of Georges Englebert, based on the personal archive kept at the Musée Royal de l'Armée et d'Histoire militaire in Brussels, and a bibliography of his published works.

NORMES DE RÉDACTION

Les éditeurs seront heureux d'ouvrir les pages de *Casanoviana* à tous les contributions, informations, lettres, notes bibliographiques et autres communications, en les principales langues européennes, qui renforcent l'échange d'idées et d'informations, et encouragent les recherches sur la vie, l'œuvre et le «monde» de Casanova et des Casanovistes. Le comité scientifique choisit les contributions retenues pour la publication: les contributions non retenues seront retournées à leurs auteurs. Ne poursuivant aucun but lucratif, les éditeurs utiliseront le produit de la vente de *Casanoviana* uniquement pour couvrir les frais d'impression et de distribution; à leur regret il n'est donc possible de rémunérer les auteurs des contributions publiées.

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 - HORACE BLEACKLEY, *Casanova en England*, London, Lane, 1923, p. X, 284.
 - GIACOMO CASANOVA, *Eduard und Elisabeth* (éd. Heinrich Conrad), Berlin-Wien, Harz, 2 v., 1922, p. 348+256.
 - VÁCLAV CERNY, *L'Albertiade de Casanova et la rencontre supposée de Casanova avec Schiller*, «Arcadia», XII (1977), p. 245-56.
 - JAMES L. CLIFFORD, *Johnson and the Society of Artists*, in *The Augustan Milieu. Essays presented to Louis A. Landa*, éd. Henry Knight Miller, Eric Rothstein, George Sebastian Rousseau, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1970, p. 333-48.

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