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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of Casanova, of its time and its European and international echo through new research, cultural debates, editions of unpublished or unknown documents.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.

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Casanoviana

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CASANOVA ET LA SOUFFRANCE ANIMALE

Au XVIII^e siècle, l'homme et l'animal vivaient dans une bien plus grande proximité que de nos jours. Des troupeaux de vaches ou de moutons traversaient quotidiennement l'espace urbain en route pour les lieux d'abattage. Des porcs, des oies ou des poules hantaient les cours et les abords des auberges. Le cheval était de tous les instants de la vie. Il servait aussi bien à porter les soldats qu'à tirer les carrioles, les calèches, les fiacres ou les diligences; il permettait également de chasser à courre et était à l'origine de grandes courses hippiques en Angleterre et dans toute l'Europe. Le chien était lui aussi d'une aide précieuse pour l'homme. Gardien des troupeaux et des maisons, indispensable pour la chasse, compagnon fidèle toujours prêt à défendre son maître et sa famille. Certains chiens errants par contre, bondissant crocs dehors au coin d'une rue, avaient de quoi inquiéter le citoyen imprudent. Le chat au contraire était assez peu apprécié à l'époque. Diabolisé depuis le Moyen Âge, il servait surtout à éradiquer les rongeurs. À Paris, lorsque la nuit tombait, les rats se répandaient par milliers dans les rues et les chats descendaient des gouttières et partaient en chasse. Malgré le goût de Louis XV pour son persan blanc, le chat ne connaîtra de véritable retour en grâce qu'au XIX^e siècle, à la faveur du romantisme et de ses langueurs.

Dans l'*Histoire de ma vie*, Casanova apparaît comme un homme de son temps. Mais s'il voyage parfois à cheval, plus souvent en calèche ou en diligence, contrairement à son compagnon de débauche anglais lord Pembroke, ou au comte de Waldstein, son hôte de Dux, il ne nourrit pas de passion véritable pour le fier équidé. En fait, il parle assez peu dans son livre des animaux qu'il lui arrive de côtoyer. Ce qui ne signifie pas pour autant qu'il s'en désintéresse ou ignore les querelles philosophiques dont ceux-ci sont à l'origine.

La thèse métaphysique selon laquelle les animaux sont des machines, un assemblage de pièces et de rouages dénués de conscience et de pensée, est très répandue à l'époque. Si cette conception est née chez Descartes au XVII^e siècle, elle se développe et prend de l'ampleur au moment où les automates que construit Vaucanson (1709-1782) fascinent littéralement le public. Pour Descartes, l'animal obéit à son instinct et donc au principe de causalité. Ainsi, un stimulus extérieur entraîne un comportement prévisible. Il lui paraît donc

possible de concevoir et de construire des « animaux-machines ». Cela revenant bien sûr à nier l'âme ou l'esprit des bêtes qui, insensibles à la douleur ou aux autres sensations, disparaîtraient totalement au moment de leur mort. Pour le cartésien Malebranche, prêtre oratorien et théologien, les cris ou les gémissements des animaux correspondent à un dysfonctionnement dans les *rouages* plutôt qu'à l'expression d'une souffrance réelle. Cette dernière représentant la punition d'un péché que l'animal ne peut avoir commis puisqu'il est irresponsable. Dieu ne pouvant être injuste, les animaux ne sauraient donc souffrir et nous ne devons pas nous laisser apitoyer sur leur sort: « Ils crient sans douleur ».



Au galop après le duel Branicki, aquarelle de Jacques Touchet, 1946

Cette conception sera bien sûr réfutée par nombre de philosophes et de savants à l'époque, tels que Gassendi, Condillac et Voltaire; puis plus tard par Lamarck, Schopenhauer ou Bentham.

Dans un ouvrage commandé à Casanova par Maria-Cristina Clary de Ligne, *Examen des Études de la Nature de Bernardin de Saint-Pierre*, rédigé en 1788 et 1789 à Dux, mais resté inédit de son vivant, celui-ci aborde à sa façon ce problème philosophique.

En prévoyant qu'à propos d'animaux qui s'entremangent vivant, on pourrait accuser de cruauté Dieu, ou la Nature, [Bernardin de Saint-Pierre] donne dans le Malebranchisme. Il 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 aiguade¹, nous fûmes 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 bien le plus habile charlatan de tous les poissons de cette mer.²

Un autre exemple que l'on se doit de mentionner concernant la compassion de Casanova à l'égard des animaux s'offre à nous lors de l'évocation de son séjour en Espagne en 1768. Casanova découvre alors la corrida considérée là-bas comme un *noble art*; mais également un moment de grande civilité durant lequel toutes les personnes de qualité tiennent à se montrer sur les gradins des arènes.

À l'origine réservée à la noblesse, la course de taureaux consistait pour un cavalier (*varilarguero*) à arrêter avec une lance un taureau excité par un leurre de tissu coloré. Plus tard, la corrida se pratiqua à pied et différentes techniques et figures firent leur apparition. Au début du XVIII^e siècle, un certain Francisco Romero obtint l'autorisation de tuer lui-même le taureau à l'aide de son épée. Cela provoqua un changement radical dans l'art de toréer; le *matador* remplaçant désormais le tout puissant *picador*. C'est également le moment où apparurent les grands traités de tauromachie.

1 Approvisionnement d'un navire en eau douce.

2 JACQUES CASANOVA, *Examen des Études de la Nature et de Paul et Virginie de Bernardin de Saint-Pierre*, présenté par Marco Leeflang et Tom Vitelli, Documents casanoviens - Cahier n° 1, Utrecht, 1985, p. 23-24.

La première mention par Casanova de cette pratique typiquement espagnole correspond à la relation de son séjour dans la *Sierra morena* où le roi avait décidé de faire construire maisons, églises et «surtout un théâtre, ou cirque pour y donner des combats de taureaux, spectacle favori de l'Espagne, si beau, si humain, si naturel, et si raisonnable, que les penseurs de ce pays-là ne comprennent pas comme il puisse être qu'il y ait au monde des nations qui peuvent se passer de ce spectacle.³»

L'ironie de Casanova est évidemment patente et son lecteur ne peut manquer de percevoir également sa réprobation.

Quelque temps plus tard, tandis qu'il faisait sa cour à la belle Donna Ignazia, il assista pour la première fois en sa compagnie à une corrida dans les arènes de Madrid où se trouvait rassemblée toute la bonne société de la ville:

Un taureau sort d'une petite porte furieux, et entre dans l'arène rapidement puis s'arrête, et regarde à droite, et à gauche comme pour découvrir celui qui peut lui en vouloir. Il voit un homme à cheval qui lui va contre au galop avec une longue lance sous la main : le taureau court à sa rencontre, et le *picador* lui porte un coup de sa lance en l'esquivant, le taureau irrité le poursuit, et s'il n'a pas enfoncé une de ses cornes dans le ventre du cheval à la première rencontre il la lui enfonce à la seconde, à la troisième, ou à la quatrième, et souvent toutes les fois de façon que le cheval court par l'arène perdant, et traînant ses boyaux, l'inondant de son sang, qui sort de ses plaies par élanement, jusqu'à ce qu'il tombe mort [...]. Il arrive très souvent qu'un taureau en fureur tue le cheval, et l'homme qui le monte. Cette atrocité est regardée de sang froid : elle fait frémir l'étranger. Après un taureau on en fait venir un autre, comme aussi un autre cheval. Ce qui me faisait de la peine à ce spectacle barbare auquel je me suis trouvé plusieurs fois était que le cheval pour lequel je m'intéressais beaucoup plus que pour le taureau périssait toujours sacrifié, assassiné par la poltronnerie du lâche qui le montait.⁴

Si Casanova ne refusa jamais de suivre Donna Ignazia à ces corridas dont elle raffolait comme tous ses compatriotes, il n'entendait pas cependant cacher dans son livre la douleur qu'il avait éprouvée à la vue de ces chevaux éventrés.

Ce qui semblait le ravir par contre était le courage des jeunes gens qui sautaient ensuite dans l'arène afin de défier l'animal furieux:

3 JACQUES CASANOVA, *Histoire de ma vie*, tome 3, Paris, Gallimard - La Pléiade, 2013-2015, p. 485-486.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 522-523.

«Ce que j'ai admiré à ce cruel spectacle fut la légèreté et la hardiesse des Espagnols qui courent par la lice à pied contre le taureau enragé, qui quoique retenu par des tireurs qui le dominent avec des cordes ne laisse pas cependant de s'acharner tantôt contre l'un, tantôt contre l'autre de ceux qui le blessent, et qui évitent après sa fureur en se sauvant sans jamais lui tourner le dos. Ces audacieux n'ont d'autre défense que celle d'un manteau noir étendu au bout d'une pique [...]. Cela occupe le spectateur, et peut lui faire plaisir, mais calculant ensemble le tout, ce spectacle me parut triste, et effroyable.⁵»

Plus tard, à Saragosse, alors qu'il est en route pour la France, Casanova nous étonne par une remarque quelque peu ambiguë :

Les combats de taureau à Saragosse étaient plus beaux qu'à Madrid : les taureaux n'étaient pas retenus par des cordes, ils allaient librement par la lice, et les massacres étaient plus grands.⁶

C'est enfin à l'occasion d'une nouvelle corrida, à Valence cette fois, qu'il rencontrera la très vénérable Nina Bergonzi qui en devenant sa maîtresse lui attirera bien des ennuis.⁷

En vérité, il faut bien le reconnaître, si Casanova déteste voir souffrir les animaux, il est prêt à suivre une belle jusqu'en enfer lorsqu'il s'agit de la séduire.

Durant toute son existence d'aventurier, Casanova n'eut guère le loisir de posséder quelque animal de compagnie. Mais à Dux, devenu le bibliothécaire du comte de Waldstein, isolé au fond de la Bohême et face à une domesticité hostile qui se moquait de lui lorsque le maître était absent, le besoin d'un *compagnon* allait vraiment se faire sentir.

Casanova acheta alors une petite levrette blanche à l'arrière-train noir qui lui inspira le nom de Mélampyge (du grec *melan* « noir » et *pygé* « fesse »). Très affectueuse, celle-ci ne tarda pas à prendre une place très importante dans le cœur du vieux libertin désormais éloigné de l'affection des femmes. Il l'emmenait partout, à Dresde comme à Prague, sans oublier d'emporter son coussin favori. Mais il semble que Casanova ait adopté avec Mélampyge une attitude

5 *Ibid.* Le *toro enmaromado* (ou taureau à la corde) est une vieille forme de jeu taurin qui ne sera interdite qu'au milieu du XX^e siècle.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 540.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 547.

trop protectrice. Il refusait de la laisser s'accoupler avec les chiens du voisinage qu'il jugeait indignes d'elle, si bien qu'il la tenait prisonnière durant les période du rut. Un comble pour quelqu'un qui avait répandu généreusement sa semence pendant un demi-siècle à travers toute l'Europe sans s'être jamais inquiété de savoir s'il avait déposé quelque graine vivace au fond de l'utérus de l'une ou l'autre de ces dames! En tout cas, lorsque Mélémpyge mourut, en février 1794, Casanova ne put attribuer sa perte qu'au traitement barbare qu'il lui avait imposé. C'est en tout cas ce qui ressort d'une oraison funèbre en latin qu'il écrivit afin de témoigner sa douleur et qui se termine ainsi:

Trois fois son corps en désir s'était vu refuser son droit naturel. Trois fois elle avait été déçue et le désespoir l'avait enfin jetée dans les bras de la mort. Elle serait encore en vie maintenant si je l'eusse moins aimée. Pauvre infortunée petite chienne qui sûrement ignorait qu'elle allait mourir et que j'étais la cause de sa mort. Pardonnez ces tristes larmes, mes amis, car celles-ci sont ma seule consolation d'une tristesse qui pourrait bien me conduire au tombeau...⁸

Quelques semaines plus tard, Casanova éprouva le besoin de poursuivre son deuil par un poème dans lequel il donnait la parole à Mélémpyge, en quelque sorte *réincarnée*, qui lui pardonnait l'excès de sa tendresse. En voici les derniers vers :

Le feu d'amour arrêté dans son cours
Fut le poison ennemi de mes jours
Qui m'arracha la vie. Ô vous que j'intéresse
Plaignez de mon ami l'impitoyable sort
Triste sans moi jusqu'à la mort
Il regrettera en vain l'objet de sa tendresse.⁹

À la suite de la mort de Mélémpyge, Casanova informa de son malheur tous ses amis à travers l'Europe. Des lettres de condoléance en provenance de Venise, de Vienne ou de Prague affluèrent bientôt vers Dux, comme celle du patriote vénitien Pietro Zaguri, datée du 19 mars 1794, où l'on peut lire le passage suivant :

8 Traduction de Guy Endore, *Casanova 1725-1798*, Paris, Payot, 1934, p. 400.

9 Archives d'État de Prague - Fonds Casanova, Marr 16 A 39.

Je prends beaucoup de part à la peine que la mort de votre petite chienne vous a causée. Il faut en guérir comme j'ai toujours fait *come d'asse si trae chiodo con chiodo*. Ayez tout de suite un autre petit chien, et tout est fini.¹⁰

Mais Casanova demeura longtemps inconsolable. Jusqu'au jour où la princesse Caroline Lobkowitz-Schartzenberg lui offrit une autre chienne possédant la même robe; mais nommée Finette, que Casanova rebaptisa aussitôt Mélampyge. Un moyen pratique de nier la mort et d'échapper à la culpabilité!

Progressivement, le reclus de Dux s'attacha à sa nouvelle chienne. Un passage du journal du comte Charles de Clary, datée du 30 juin 1795, évoquant sa première rencontre avec Casanova à Toplitz, nous apprend qu'un lien très fort s'était rapidement noué entre la nouvelle Mélampyge et son maître, ce dernier ayant presque oublié la peine et les remords qui l'avaient tenaillé depuis la mort de la première:

La princesse Lobkowitz lui a donné une petite levrette charmante qui a neuf mois. Il joue avec elle continuellement comme un enfant. Il quitte la conversation la plus sérieuse pour s'occuper de son chien. Il prétend qu'elle a de la noblesse, de la grâce et que s'il lui donne à manger et qu'un autre chien vient manger avec elle, qu'aussitôt elle se retire pour lui faire place. Elle est blanche et a une fesse noire. On l'a appelée Finette, ce qui ne lui fait pas plaisir du tout. Il l'appelle Mélampyge qui veut dire fesse-noire. Ordinairement, il l'appelle *Povera piccola*, mais quand il la gronde, il lui parle allemand. Cet hiver, Casanova boudant M. de Waldstein, celui-ci pour le punir vint dîner avec sur le bras le petit loup qu'il a acheté l'année dernière. À peine eut-il aperçu Mélampyge qu'il courut après elle et la poursuivit par toute la chambre. *Povera piccola*. Casanova, pâle et tremblant, les larmes aux yeux, courut s'enfermer dans sa chambre où il fut malade pendant trois jours. C'était une très mauvaise plaisanterie.¹¹

Un passage d'une lettre du prince de Ligne datée du 20 janvier 1797 à Casanova nous incite pourtant à nous demander si ce dernier n'avait pas réitéré ses étranges interdits concernant la sexualité avec la seconde Mélampyge; à moins que le prince volontiers facétieux se soit contenté de comparer la petite levrette à l'une de ses maîtresses de couleur:

10 «*Mon cher Casanova...*» *Lettres du comte Maximilien de Lamberg et de Pietro Zaguri, patricien de Venise, à Giacomo Casanova*, Paris, Honoré Champion, 2008, p. 602.

11 Marr 8-43.

Je ne suis pas si cruel que vous pour les amours de Mélampyge. J'en ai une aussi, mais parlante et aimable, à ce qu'elle dit : et comme elle a de beaux yeux, et nigra sed formos,¹² je vois souvent ma Mélampyge du côté qui lui fait ce nom, et qui est dur, et ferme.¹³

S'il s'agit bien d'une maîtresse, Helmut Watzlawick pense à une gitane – la présence d'une servante noire dans le ménage du prince aurait certainement fait jaser la bonne société viennoise. Quant à l'affectueuse seconde Mélampyge, l'on sait qu'elle était toujours vivante au début de l'année 1798. Peut-être a-t-elle donc survécu à son maître trop aimant.

Si de nos jours la souffrance animale tend à être reconnue par tous, il n'en fut pas toujours ainsi. Pendant des siècles, une sensibilité affichée à cette souffrance était assimilée à de la sensiblerie, de l'anthropomorphisme, voire à une sorte d'humanisme déviant. Les idées que Descartes développa dans la cinquième partie de son *Discours de la Méthode*, selon lesquelles l'animal n'est qu'une machine perfectionnée, sans langage ni raison et ne connaissant pas la souffrance, eurent besoin de temps pour disparaître. Casanova apparaît donc sinon comme un précurseur, du moins comme un observateur qui grâce à l'expérience acquise au cours de ses voyages et à sa sensibilité au monde qui l'entourait sut se rendre compte dès son époque que l'animal n'était pas aussi éloigné de l'homme que la religion et une connaissance scientifique défaillante avaient voulu nous le faire accroire.

12 *Nigra sum sed formosa* (« Je suis noire, moi, mais jolie »), *Cantique des Cantiques*.

13 Marr 2-46.

STEFANO FEROCI - ROBERTO MUSÌ

**CRACOVIE EN BEL AIR: LA CASA DI CAMPAGNA
DI GIACOMO CASANOVA ALLA PETITE-POLOGNE**

I. *Prefazione: il perché di un articolo*

Quando nel febbraio del 2019 visitammo gli Archives nationales de France, à Pierrefitte-sur-Seine,¹ non immaginavamo di trovare nel Fondo Charles Samaran un intero faldone contenente centinaia di foglietti, manoscritti dal «Maestro» con la sua minuscola calligrafia, dal titolo: *La maison de la Petite-Pologne*. Questi appunti, creati dopo consultazione di innumerevoli documenti negli uffici del catasto e in altri archivi parigini, erano probabilmente serviti per preparare il suo libro su Giacomo Casanova² e le note dell'edizione dell'*Histoire de ma vie*, curata insieme a J. Rives Childs e mai pubblicata (ma questa è una storia a parte che, da sola, meriterebbe un articolo).³

La quantità, il dettaglio e la cura con cui furono raccolte queste note era tale che, quando le esaminammo, ci venne spontanea la decisione di utilizzarle per creare un articolo. Un articolo che rinnovasse il ricordo della più bella “maison” parigina di Giacomo Casanova; aggiungendo poi quei dettagli che completassero e arricchissero l'immagine di questo luogo, ormai scomparso, ma entrato nel mito di tutti gli appassionati casanovisti. Un ulteriore motivo a supporto della decisione di scrivere questo articolo, è dato dal fatto che la storia di Giacomo Casanova e dei suoi viaggi in Francia, ma particolarmente la sua permanenza nella capitale dove il veneziano elesse, per un certo tempo, addirittura una sua personale dimora, non finisce mai di sorprendere. Non solo per le sue straordinarie avventure galanti quanto per le relazioni umane e, oseremmo dire politiche, che contrasse con uomini di potere, gente cioè che aveva in mano i destini

1 Archives Nationales de France, Fonds Charles Samaran, Cote 642AP/24.

2 CHARLES SAMARAN, *Jacques Casanova Vénitien*, Calmann-Lévy, Paris, 1914.

3 All'inizio degli anni sessanta, Charles Samaran e James Rives Childs erano a buon punto per la pubblicazione di una nuova edizione dell'*Histoire de ma vie* con l'editore Garnier. Questo progetto non andò mai in porto per la contemporanea uscita dell'edizione integrale Brockhaus-Plon (1960-1962).

della Francia. Su questo argomento numerose sono state le opere che hanno tentato, in parte riuscendoci, di fare luce su molti aspetti che ci sembravano oscuri e a volte rimasti irrisolti.⁴ Fra questi, uno dei più singolari è quando decide di prendere stabile dimora in uno dei luoghi meno conosciuti, ma tra i non meno intriganti della capitale, come il quartiere della Petite Pologne. Se ci soffermiamo a pensare alla vita dell'avventuriero, riconosceremo che questa era la prima volta, e fu anche l'ultima, che il «viaggiatore» Casanova decise e si poté permettere l'affitto di una bella casa; invece di abitare in poche stanze ammobiliate o in un albergo, come era uso fare, piuttosto che ospite di qualche nobile amico. Un grazie postumo quindi a Charles Samaran, il cui lavoro si rivela prezioso anche oggi; a quarant'anni dalla scomparsa ed a oltre cento dai suoi studi sulla casa della Petite Pologne.

II. *Il secondo viaggio in Francia (1757-1759) e la Petite Pologne*

Bisogna premettere che il periodo storico di cui ci occupiamo è quello del secondo viaggio di Casanova in Francia (1757), quando il veneziano cerca in tutti i modi di sfruttare la sua amicizia col cardinale de Bernis;⁵ memore dei tempi degli spregiudicati amori con alcune monache di Murano a Venezia. Attraverso l'amicizia di quell'alto prelato e la presentazione a importanti uomini politici del tempo, Casanova conosce i fratelli Calzabigi di Livorno, Anton Maria e Ranieri con i quali fonda una Lotteria Nazionale che doveva servire a finanziare la Scuola Reale Militare di Francia. È un sodalizio che dura poco, non senza avergli fatto guadagnare somme cospicue. Il Casanova era giunto a Parigi il 5 gennaio del 1757 proprio quando la capitale venne scossa da un fatto eclatante, l'attentato al re Luigi XV preso a stilette e senza mortale conseguenza, da un tale Damiens, subito neutralizzato dalle guardie del Re. Processato il 12 febbraio, il malcapitato Damiens, fu condannato a morte mediante il feroce supplizio dello squartamento e sventramento nella pubblica piazza, precisamente a Place de Grève, il 26 marzo dello stesso anno. In questa occasione Casanova conosce

4 CHARLES SAMARAN, *Jacques Casanova Vénitien*, Calmann-Lévy, Paris, 1914; Gaston Capon, *Casanova à Paris*, Paris, Schemit, 1913; STEFANO FEROCI, DOMINIQUE VIBRAC, *Une promenade à Paris avec Giacomo Casanova*, Paris, 2018; Idd., *Le Paris de Casanova*, Paris, Les Editions de Paris - Max Chaleil, 2019.

5 Il cardinale François-Joachim de Pierre, cardinale de Bernis (1715-1794).

il conte Tiretta di Treviso, simpatico personaggio per alcune sue mirabolanti *performance* erotiche di cui fa sfoggio proprio in quel tristissimo momento.

È questa, una situazione difficile per la Francia, sempre a causa di quel «rovesciamento delle alleanze» (Trattato di Versailles, 1756) voluto proprio dal Cardinale de Bernis che cade in disgrazia, ma Casanova non demorde. Fa di tutto, riuscendovi, per avere comunque buoni rapporti col suo successore, il duca di Choiseul, dal 3 dicembre 1757 nuovo ministro degli Esteri⁶. Tra ottobre e dicembre del 1758 è di nuovo in Olanda, viaggia tra Aja e Rotterdam come agente delle finanze francesi, con il preciso compito di cambiare dei titoli di stato di Luigi XV, in titoli più convenienti. Si tratta di 20 milioni di *livres*,⁷ una somma importante che gli viene affidata dal revisore generale delle finanze francesi in persona, Jean de Boulogne. Questa missione di Casanova per conto dello stato francese si era andata incrociando con un'altra, fatta sempre da Casanova in persona, per conto della Marchesa D'Urfè, circa la vendita di alcune azioni della nobildonna francese, verso la quale sembra mostrare o palesare qualche ambiguità. Le missioni, diventate due, ebbero in definitiva una buona riuscita con il rientro del veneziano alla base, senza difficoltà alcuna, nei primi mesi del 1759.

III. *Cracovie en Bel Air*

In poco tempo, dunque, si vede chiaramente come Casanova avesse guadagnato molti soldi. A un certo punto decide, non di comprare, ma di affittare una casa tutta per sé e la trova alla periferia della città, quasi in aperta campagna, alla Petite Pologne che è un quartiere ai margini suburbani della città di Parigi. È dunque da un commerciante, Marin Le Roy, che affitta un'intera magione che comprende una serie di immobili con orti, giardini, masserie ecc., dove può spadroneggiare a suo gradimento e da lì muoversi in piena libertà per i suoi traffici e per le sue avventure. In questo luogo, le cui caratteristiche di periferia della grande città si conserveranno per molto tempo ancora, il veneziano vivrà una vita ancora più convulsa di prima ma, come dice egli stesso, beneficerà

⁶ Il conte, poi duca Étienne-François de Choiseul-Beaupré-Stainville (1719-1785) di Choiseul-(Stainville).

⁷ Valuta francese dell'epoca. Approssimativamente, al valore attuale dell'euro, l'affare portato a termine da Casanova valeva circa 225 milioni di euro.

anche di quella rustica e pittoresca bellezza di campagna che rasserena e concilia il riposo con la natura. Lo dice lui stesso con quell'enfasi che gli sarà sempre congeniale in momenti del genere:

Deciso ad acquistare una casa di campagna, mi risolsi per la Piccola Polonia, che mi piacque più di parecchie altre che vidi. Era bene arredata, a cento passi della barriera della Maddalena. Sorgeva sopra una piccola altura, presso la Caccia Reale, dietro al giardino del duca di Gramont e il proprietario l'aveva chiamata Varsavia Bellaria. Aveva due giardini, uno dei quali a livello del primo piano; tre appartamenti padronali, vaste scuderie, rimesse, bagni, una buona cantina e una cucina ben attrezzata. Il padrone portava il nome di Re di burro, e non firmava altrimenti. Gliela aveva dato Luigi XV un giorno che si era fermato da lui, e aveva trovato eccellente il suo burro...⁸

Ha bisogno di stabilirsi in un posto «alla grande», per essere visibile⁹ e presiedere direttamente ai suoi traffici e alle sue manovre di “esperto” conoscitore di operazioni finanziarie, finanche nei palazzi del potere. In questo quartiere, che è anche chiamato Varsovie-en-bel-air come scrive lo stesso Casanova, (ma il Samaran corregge in Cracovie-en-bel-air) vive da gran signore, anche ai limiti del lecito, momenti di lusso assoluto. Qui riceve la signorina Wynne,¹⁰ che tra l'altro è incinta,¹¹ ospita anche Madame d'Urfè verso cui, visto le enormi ricchezze nelle quali vive la signora, medita quei piani di cui dicevamo, per impossessarsene. La casa che abita alla Piccola Polonia diventa così una specie di crocevia dove si intersecano storie e vicende, ora variopinte ora strampalate come le sa vivere e organizzare l'avventuriero. Così lo ritrae lapidariamente un

8 GIACOMO CASANOVA, *Storia della mia vita*, Roma, Casini, 1962, p. 376.

9 Secondo Nicola Vinovrški: «Casanova era preoccupato del riconoscimento pubblico e concepì un particolare pubblico che prese forma nel XVIII secolo (la ‘buona società’)». NICOLA VINOVRŠKI, *Casanova in the Spotlight*, Paper presented at Casanova in Place Conference, Venice, 29 June 2019, ora in questo volume di *Casanoviana*. Traduzione a cura degli autori.

10 Giustiniana Wynne (Venezia 1737-1791). Figlia del gentiluomo inglese Richard Wynne e della veneziana Anna Gazini visse a Venezia, Parigi, Londra, Padova. Si sposò nel 1761 con il conte Filippo Orsini Rosenberg e, dopo la sua morte, iniziò una lusinghiera carriera di scrittrice. Morì a Padova dove si era trasferita.

11 È possibile che il bambino sia stato concepito con il suo grande amore: Andrea Memmo, ma non v'è alcuna prova di questo. Alcuni studiosi ritengono invece che il bambino sia frutto di un'avventura passeggera di Giustiniana Wynne.

noto studioso francese come Robert Abirached: «Sempre vestito con ricercatezza, gli piace circondarsi di un fasto principesco; non appena mette insieme un po' di danaro, compra casa di campagna e carrozze, prende al suo servizio diversi lacchè, esige dal proprio cuoco i cibi più rari e i vini più squisiti... Dissipa a piene mani fortune colossali senza indietreggiare davanti a nessuna eccentricità, senza preoccuparsi di decenza o di discrezione... Incrollabile nel proclamare “che la sua regola era la dissipazione».¹²

IV. *La Petite Pologne nel XVIII secolo*

Del sobborgo della Petite Pologne, che corrisponde all'attuale 8° arrondissement di Parigi, se ne parla sin dal XVII secolo quando i terreni erano ancora incolti e nella zona dominava il castello della famiglia Porcheron, costruito all'inizio del 1300. Il castello cambiò di mano nel 1380, passando alla famiglia Coq che ne fu proprietaria fino al XVIII secolo, quando il castello passò al duca di Gramont. Alla Petite Pologne era localizzato un posto di guardia della cinta daziaria, che serviva a far pagare il dazio sulle merci più comuni come: zucchero, olio, vino, sale, caffè, ecc... Questo posto di guardia (*Barrière*) prese il nome di una bottega dei dintorni chiamata, secondo alcune fonti, *La petite Pologne* e secondo altre *Au roi de Pologne*.¹³ Questo nome diventò così il riferimento per il borgo detto appunto della Petite Pologne, che si era sviluppato all'ingresso nella zona nord del castello Coq.¹⁴

Nella prima metà del Settecento e più precisamente in un documento del 1734, si vede nella pianura di Monceau, dove si trovava il borgo della Petite Pologne, una muta di cani lanciati all'inseguimento di cervi e caprioli.¹⁵ Un'immagine questa che non si discosta molto dalle descrizioni della Petite Pologne pochi anni dopo, alla metà del XVIII secolo, quando Casanova decise di trovarsi una casa di

12 ROBERT ABIRACHED ROBERT, *Casanova o la dissipazione*, Palermo, Sellerio, 1977, pp. 64-65. Osserviamo che questa “dissipazione” non era solo fatta per seguire la sua natura ma anche per stupire gli altri e conquistarli per i propri scopi.

13 ÉMILE DE LABEDOLLIÈRE, *Le nouveau Paris: histoire de ses 20 arrondissements*, Paris, Barba, [1860], p. 128.

14 CPT. ROUSSEL, *Paris, ses fauxbourgs et ses environs*, Paris, Jaillot, 1731.

15 Archives Nationales de France, Fonds Charles Samaran, Cote 642AP/24, note sulla Petite Pologne.

campagna. Allora la zona della Petite Pologne era abitata da ortolani, allevatori di bestiame, giardinieri che vivevano in case di campagna, circondate da campi, pascoli, seminagioni e alcuni mulini a vento, dai nomi esotici: *Boute-à-Feu, de la Marmite, des Prunes, des Prés*¹⁶; insieme a piccole trattorie di campagna fra cui, secondo Samaran, una di queste era chiamata *la Chasse Royal* e alcune belle case affittate a ricchi nobili e loro mantenute, che cercavano una zona tranquilla per le loro avventure galanti. Ancora più significativo è questo estratto dalla mappa di Parigi del 1730, disegnata da Roussel.¹⁷ In questa mappa, dove il villaggio della *Pologne* è a est e il villaggio di Monceaux in alto a nord-ovest, si può riconoscere al centro il piccolo borgo della *Petite Pologne*. Ai suoi confini, sul lato destro/est, la barriera doganale e ancora più a destra/est lo *chateau du Coq*; mentre a



16 FÉLIX ROCHEGUE, *Promenades dans toutes les rues de Paris*, Paris, Hachette, 1910, p. 46. Il Moulin de la Marmite era all'angolo tra rue du Rocher e rue de Madrid; il Moulin des Prunes era di fronte in rue du Rocher; il mulino Boute-à-Feu, un po' più in basso a sinistra, e il mulino de Prés si trovava sul sito del mastio di Saint-Augustin.

17 CPT. DE ROUSSEL, *Paris, ses faubourgs et ses environs où se trouve le détail des villages, châteaux, grands chemins pavés et autres, des hauteurs, bois, vignes, terres et prez, levés géométriquement. par le Sr. Roussel, Cap.ne. Ingénieur ordre. du Roy, Cher. de St. Louis ; gravé par les Sieurs Coquart, Delahaye, Cordier Gendre de l'Auteur, Villaret et de Poilly, 1730-1739.*

sud della *Petite Pologne* troviamo *l'égout de Paris* (la grande fogna). Ad ovest del borgo della *Pologne*, in piena campagna, fra il villaggio di Monceux e la *Petite Pologne* troviamo i mulini; più in basso a sud, separata da una strada, la chiesa della *Madeleine e Ville l'Eveque*. Ricapitolando, la *Petite Pologne* è in quell'area dell'attuale VIII° arrondissement, lungo la rue detta *de Grésillons* (oggi *Laborde*), formando un quadrato compreso fra le e seguenti vie: *rue Saint-lazare, de la Pépinière, du Rocher, de l'Arcade* fino alla *place de Clichy*.

V. Dov'era la casa di campagna di Casanova

Il tentativo di identificare nella pianta di Parigi dove si trovava la *maison de La Petite Pologne* è un'ardua operazione, considerando che Casanova già all'epoca scriveva: «Parigi è la sola città al mondo dove cinque o sei anni sono sufficienti per cambiarne la fisionomia»¹⁸ ed oggi di anni ne sono trascorsi quasi trecento. Secondo il racconto dell'avventuriero, la casa si trovava «cent pas au-delà de la barrière de la Magdeleine...sur une petite éminence près de la chasse royale, derrière le jardin du duc de Gramont. Le nom que le propriétaire avait donné à cette maison était «Varsovie en Bel Air »....Le maitre de cette maison portait le nom de «Roi de beurre».¹⁹

Una descrizione piuttosto precisa e confermata da diversi documenti ufficiali (in genere giudiziari o notarili) che indicano il domicilio di Casanova come: «sobborgo de la Petite Pologne, alla Petite Pologne vicino a la Chasse Royale, via e strada di Mosseaux, Barrière de la maison du Belair. casa del signor Le Roy, borghese di Parigi».²⁰ Mentre altri documenti, a suo tempo ritrovati da Capon e Samaran, ci forniscono ulteriori indicazioni: come il rapporto di polizia dell'agosto 1752 sulle frequentazioni fra il conte di Clermont e la signorina

18 JACQUES CASANOVA, *Histoire de ma vie* (Bibliothèque de la Pléiade), Paris, Gallimard, 2015, p. 135.

19 JACQUES CASANOVA, *Histoire*, cit., p. 135 e nota 43: *Roi de beurre* era il soprannome di Marin Le Roy (morto nel 1764), mercante di frutta e burro che possedeva una bottega all'angolo della *rue d'Antin* e della *rue Neuve-des-Petits-Champs* (l'attuale *rue Danielle Casanova*). Si suppone che il nome di *barrière de la Magdeleine* fosse talvolta usato per indicare la *barrière de la Pologne*.

20 Arch. de la Seine, sentences des consuls: sentences des 11 mai (affaires Saunier et Vein), 21 mai (affaire Saunier), 19 octobre (affaire Ballexserd). Traduzione a cura degli autori.

Le Duc, che si incontravano alla *petite Pologne*, all'altezza di *rue de l'Arcade*, nel luogo detto *la Petite Pologne*, dietro la chiesa della *Madeleine*, in una casa appartenente al detto Leroy, commerciante di burro.²¹

E in un annuncio pubblicato nell'ottobre 1759, poche settimane prima che Casanova lasciasse Parigi per non essere nuovamente arrestato, si poteva leggere: Graziosa «casetta ben ammobiliata alla barriera della Piccola Polonia sobborgo di Saint-Honorè nei pressi della chiesa della Maddalena, fittasi al presente. La casa ha un cortile, una scuderia, una rimessa e un giardino con l'orto piantato con alberi da frutta. Rivolgersi al giardiniere o al signor Le Roy, all'angolo di via d'Antin e di piazza Vendome».²²

E un rapporto di polizia di Mesnier del 6 gennaio 1756 aiuta a confermare questa informazione, anche se chiama la casa *Cracovie* invece di *Varsovie*: il 6 gennaio 1756, l'ispettore di polizia Meusnier annota in un rapporto di polizia: «La maison de la Petite Pologne, dite de Cracovie, est maintenant à louer, derrière l'église de la Madeleine»²³ [a sinistra nella stampa]. Inoltre, nella descrizione della dimora riportata da Samaran si può leggere: «Verso mezzogiorno, una scala in pietra, metteva questo giardino in comunicazione con una stradella che dava direttamente alla barriera, strada senza uscita d'Argenteuil (o cul-de-sac d'Argenteuil), con tutta verimiglianza».²⁴

Esistono oggi due diverse ipotesi di localizzazione della dimora affittata dall'avventuriero veneziano alla *Petite Pologne*. Capon afferma che si trovava all'angolo della *rue de l'Arcade* con *rue de la Pepinière*;²⁵ mentre Samaran ribadisce che si deve cercarla a nord della *Barrière*, all'intersezione fra le *rue de Rocher* e *de Rome*.²⁶

21 GASTON CAPON, *Petites maisons galantes*, Paris, H. Daragon, 1911, p. 114.

22 CHARLES SAMARAN, *Jacques Casanova Vénitien*, Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1914, p. 298. Traduzione a cura degli autori.

23 GASTON CAPON, *Casanova à Paris*, Paris, Jean Schemit, 1913, pp. 310 e 432. Nel luglio del 1752 Meusnier scrive: «casa senza numero situata alla Petite Pologne, appartenente al detto Le Roy, mercante di burro all'angolo della rue d'Antin (abitazione personale di Le Roy), affittata dalla fine dello scorso Natale a 1.200 livres all'anno a M. le Comte de Clermont, che ci ha fatto fare dei miglioramenti e abbellimenti. Ci viene spesso con le due sorelle Le Duc». Traduzione a cura degli autori.

24 CHARLES SAMARAN, *Jacques Casanova*, cit., p. 298.

25 GASTON CAPON, *Casanova à Paris*, cit., p. 309.

26 CHARLES SAMARAN, *Jacques Casanova*, cit., p. 299: «È a torto, come si vede, che si è cre-

Cominciamo dunque ad identificare alcuni dei punti chiave per aiutarci a localizzare la casa. Del sobborgo della *Petite Pologne*, che confinava da un lato con la *Rue de la Pepinière* e dall'altro coi terreni liberi che attraversavano la *rue Malesherbes* e dalla sua principale arteria la *rue de Laborde*, oggi non rimane che qualche resto della *Caserne de la Pepinière* sulla *rue de Laborde*.²⁷ Quanto alla vecchia *église de Sainte-Madeleine* menzionata nell'indirizzo della casa di Casanova, questa è scomparsa durante la Rivoluzione francese, mentre la nuova è stata costruita in una differente posizione.²⁸

Secondo alcune fonti essa si trovava all'angolo dove la *rue Pasquier* si congiunge con la *rue de la Ville-l'Évêque*, di fronte al numero 8 dell'attuale *boulevard Malesherbes*,²⁹ quindi



duto poter situare la casa abitata da Casanova al di qua della barriera, all'angolo delle vie dell'Arcade e della Pepinière. Là non vi era che una casa di piccolissima importanza, abitata d'altronde nel 1759 da tal Luis Vincent, giardiniere che vi morì nel 1765 (studio Bertrand – Taillet del 5 giugno 1765). Quanto alla casa di Marin Le Roy, bisogna cercarne il posto all'incrocio tra via di Rocher e via di Roma». Traduzione a cura degli autori.

27 HIPPOLYTE BONNARDOT, *Monographie du VIIIe arrondissement de Paris. Etude archéologique et historique. Avec 9 planches*, Paris, A. Quantin, 1880, p. 118. La *rue de Laborde* era in precedenza chiamata *rue des Grésillons*.

28 HIPPOLYTE BONNARDOT, *Monographie*, cit., p. 133. *L'église de la Madeleine* sorse nel 1659 sulle rovine della più antica, fondata da Charles VIII, che fu innagurata nel 1491.

29 FÉLIX LAZARE, *Dictionnaire administratif et historique des rues de Paris et de ses monuments*, Imprimerie de Vinchon, Paris, Lazare, 1844-1849, p. 404. Per il nostro obiettivo è utile anche identificare posizione della *rue de la Madeleine*, a cui fu donato questo nome perchè terminava in faccia all'omonima chiesa. «Essa comincia dalla *rue du Faubourg-Saint-Honoré*, numeri 22 et 24 e termina alla *rue Neuve-des-Mathurins*, numeri 110 et 97. La parte di questa via pubblica compresa *rue du Faubourg-Saint-Honoré* et quella della *Ville l'Évêque* e de

piuttosto vicino alla rue de l'Arcade dove secondo i rapporti di polizia si trovava la casa.

I documenti notarili della successione possono meglio chiarire la localizzazione della casa.³⁰ Nella *Visita, stima e ripartizione dei beni immobili della successione e cose comuni del signor Leroy commerciante e fruttivendolo di Parigi*, Nicolas Antoine Perard architetto ed esperto scrive: «diverse case che riguardano la successione di Marin Leroy, commerciante fruttivendolo e di Margherita Damont sua moglie, situate all'entrata della via della Polonia che va verso Monceaux e che attengono al terreno dell'antica variante detta della Pologne, occupate da differenti locatari... ».

«Queste case sono situate una di fronte all'altra, a destra e a sinistra della rue de Pologne in salita andando verso Monceaux, ognuno attinente ai terreni, al disopra dell'antico vicinato». Lo stesso architetto passa poi alla descrizione delle varie case, di cui la «1° casa a destra salendo, al momento non occupata», pare esattamente la casa affittata cinque anni prima da Giacomo Casanova!

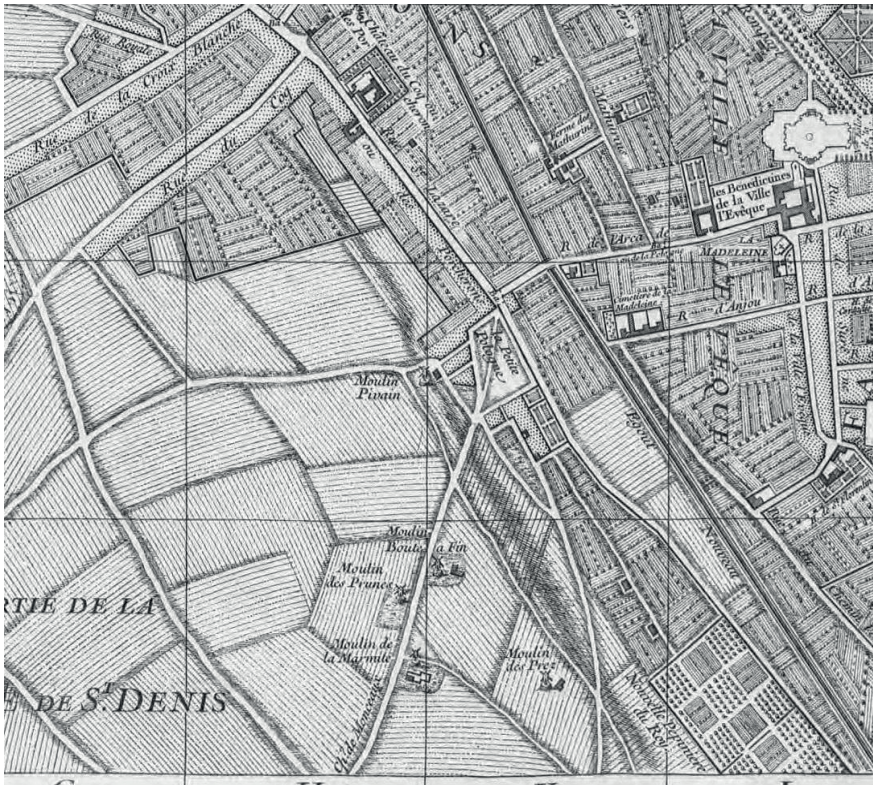
Quindi, da questa prima perizia del 23 maggio 1764, la casa risulta essere nella *rue de Pologne*, chiamata anche *rue de l'Arcade* (vedi precedente nota 17). L'8 ottobre 1764, però, il cancelliere Foucard registra il processo verbale dell'architetto Perard e prepara una serie di descrizioni dei lotti che saranno messi all'asta, cambiando il nome di *rue de Pologne* in *rue de Mousseaux*; dovremmo capire se il cancelliere ha male interpretato il testo dell'architetto Perard o se

l'Arcade, si chiamava anticamente *rue l'Évêque*, perchè dipendeva dal territorio chiamato la *Fille-l'Évêque*. La rue de l'Arcade comincia dal *boulevard Malesherbes* e finisce alle *rues de la Pépinière*, n° 1, e *Saint-Lazare*, n° 139 (nel passato detta *des Porcherons*. Questa strada deve la sua denominazione ad un'arcata o volta che serviva di comunicazione per i giardini delle suore di *Ville-l'Évêque*. Jaillot indica anche *rue de l'Arcade o de la Pologne* ». JACQUES BINS, *Tableau historique et pittoresque de Paris*, Paris, H. Nicolle et Le Normant, 1808, p. 518. «La *rue de la Pologne* deve il suo nome a una casa e terreno chiamato la *Petite Pologne* (1), dove essa conduceva. Questa via si trova indicata in qualche titolo dell'arcivescovado, sotto il nome di *Argenteuils*. (1) la *rue sans nom** che segue quella dell'Arcade e si prolunga fino alla barriera di Mousseaux, si chiama ora *rue du Rocher*; la *rue de Grésillons* li finisce da un lato e più lontano c'è un'altra via trasversale, o piuttosto un sentiero nominato *rue de la Bienfaisance*. *Non si deve dimenticare che i piani che noi diamo non vanno che fino al 1789».

30 Arch. Nat. Z^j 886 oppure Z¹⁵ 886, Studio Courcier. Processo verbale fatto da Perard, architetto esperto, datato 23 maggio 1764.

invece questa è stata una giusta correzione.³¹ Il fatto è, come possiamo vedere anche dal piano di Parigi di Jaillot del 1762,³² che allora non esisteva una *rue de Mousseaux* ma solo un cosiddetto *chemin de Mousseaux*; il quale si trova piuttosto lontano dalla antica chiesa de la Madeleine, vicino alla quale sia Casanova che i rapporti di polizia indicano trovarsi la maison.

Qui sotto è riportato un estratto del piano di Parigi del 1762, con lo *chemin de Mousseaux* e la *rue de l'Arcade* (o de la Pologne).



31 Arch. Nat. I 514 7.

32 Jean-Baptiste-Michel Renou de Chauvigné dit Jaillot (1710-1780).



Lo stesso disegno della casa, disponibile assieme al documento del cancelliere Foucard, situa la casa nella *rue de Pologne*, mentre l'indicazione di una *viuzza che conduce alla Barriera* (che potrebbe essere le *cul-de-sac d'Argenteuil*) indicherebbe che la casa si troverebbe a nord della *rue Saint-Lazare*.³³

Sulla base di queste indicazioni e della documentazione riportata nelle opere di Capon e Samaran, abbiamo fatto ulteriori ricerche e, con l'aiuto degli specialisti degli Archives Nationales de France³⁴, siamo stati in grado di localizzare *Varsovie en Bel Air* nei piani catastali dell'epoca e in quelli attuali. La casa si trovava in una parcella catastale al numéro 4 (poi 2bis) rue du Rocher con una seconda entrata al numéro 3 cul-de-sac d'Argenteuil.³⁵ Si può dire che entrambi, Capon e Samaran, avevano ragione sulla localizzazione perché, come si vede

33 Arch. Nat. T 514 7. Maison Le Roy a la Petite Pologne. Nicolas Béraud, *Dictionnaire des rues de Paris*, Paris, Barba, 1828, p. 546: «Argenteuil (impasse d'), au coin de la rue du Rocher, n° 2, et rue Saint-Lazare, n° 134». J. DE LA TYNNA, *Dictionnaire des rues de Paris*, Paris, J. de La Tynna, 1813, p. 382: «POLOGNE, (Carrefour de la) place formée au point de réunion des rues de l'Arcade, Saint-Lazare, de la Pépinière, du Rocher et du cul-de-sac d'Argenteuil». Pag 411: «ROCHER (rue de) commence rue de la Pépinière, et finit barrière de Mousseaux. Cette rue fut ouverte vers l'an 1784». Pag. 252 «LAZARE (rue Saint-) commence rues du Faubourg Montmartre et de Martyrs, et finit rue de l'Arcade et cul-de-sac-d'Argenteuil. Au commencement du XVIII siècle elle était nommée de Porcherons; ensuite d'Argenteuil, parce que elle se dirige sur Argenteuil». MARQUIS DE ROCHEGUIDE, *Promenades dans toutes les rues de Paris par arrondissements*, p. 47, sulla rue du Rocher riporta: «la partie sud était au XVIIIe siècle le faubourg de la Petite-Pologne».

34 Desideriamo ringraziare per la grande cortesia e l'eccezionale contributo la Signora Véronique Salze e i colleghi degli Archives Nationales de France, che sono stati in grado di rintracciare e localizzare la maison di Casanova. Tutto questo nonostante la scomparsa dell'antica classificazione dei documenti e la loro dispersione e ripartizione in nuove e diversi ordinamenti; fatto che ha reso la ricerca particolarmente difficile.

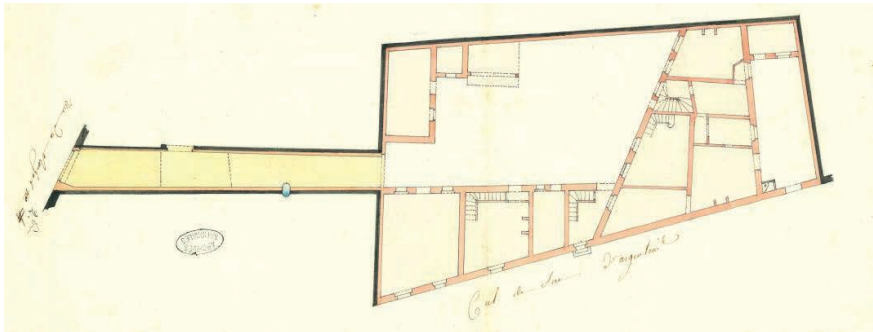
35 Arch. Nat. F/31/73/feuille 29 = cadastre du quartier du Roule, Ilot 32, feuille 29, 1824 ; F/31/45/pièce 239 = détail de la parcelle, pièce 239, propriétaire Poulain, sans date.

dalla mappa, la casa si trovava all'inizio di rue du Rocher, come affermava Samaran, ma praticamente nell'incrocio dove si incontrano la rue du Rocher, rue dell'Arcade e rue de la Pépinière, come sosteneva Capon.

Nell'immagine di dettaglio, in grigio, la parcella della casa al numero 4 della rue du Rocher. Purtroppo, questo troncone della rue du Rocher è scomparso durante i lavori per la creazione della rue de Rome nel 1859, assieme a *Varsovie en Bel Air*. Sulla base di queste valutazioni, possiamo ipotizzare che Cracovie en Bel Air potrebbe essere oggi individuata a Parigi nella cosiddetta Cour de Rome, che si trova nella rue de Rome, all'altezza dove questa si incrocia con la rue du Rocher. A ulteriore conferma di quanto scrive Casanova, che la casa si trovava *sur une petite éminence*, è utile osservare che in un articolo sul rimodellamento del *Quartier d'Europe*, si parla proprio di «livellamento» della rue du Rocher.³⁶

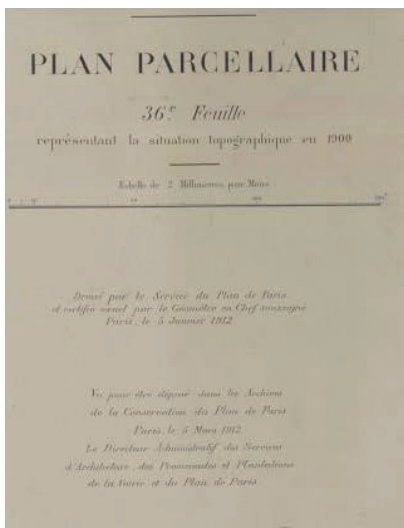


Più sotto un dettaglio del piano catastale della casa, con l'accesso alla viuzza del *cul-de-sac d'Argenteuil*.



36 ANNIE TÉRADE, *Le «nouveau quartier de l'Europe» à Paris*, «Histoire urbaine», 2007/2 (19), p. 18: «...Le redressement et le renouvellement de la rue du Rocher est quant à lui reporté sine die en 1827...». Ringraziamo la Prof.ssa Isabelle Parisot per il suggerimento.

La *Cour de Rome* dopo il 1860: Recherche dans les plans parcellaires Paris dans ses limites à partir de 1860, Quartier de l'Europe, 36e feuille, dettaglio. Cracovie en Bel Air potrebbe essere oggi individuata a Parigi nella cosiddetta *Cour de Rome*, che si trova nella rue de Rome, all'altezza dove questa si incrocia con la rue du Rocher.



ALAIN SERVANTIE

**CASANOVA, BONNEVAL PACHA,
SAID EFFENDI ET LES SIRÈNES D'ALEXANDRE**

À la mémoire de Maria-Pia Pedani

Giacomo Casanova raconte dans *l'Histoire de [sa] vie*, que poussé «impérativement par son esprit superstitieux», il a, à vingt ans, effectué un voyage à Constantinople entre juillet et le 14 octobre 1745. Retiré comme bibliothécaire du comte de Waldstein au château de Dux (Duchcov dans la Tchéquie d'aujourd'hui), il raconte au prince de Ligne, venu lui rendre visite, que pris d'une crise de fou rire en voyant la ridicule promenade du sultan, il fut arrêté, menacé d'être empalé, «s'[est] échappé, courut au port, sauta dans un navire qui faisait voile vers Venise, y arriva très vite avec un bon vent».¹ Il ne mentionne pas ce départ improvisé dans ses *Mémoires*. Qu'y a-t-il de vrai ? Quoi d'imaginaire ?

Gugitz suggère que, pour écrire ses aventures, Casanova se serait inspiré de la littérature grivoise orientaliste, tel que *Le Cousin de Mahomet*, de Nicolas Fromaget, publié en 1742 à Leyden, et réédité à plusieurs reprises pendant le 18^e siècle. Une petite analyse de quelques indices donnés par Casanova nous amène plus loin.

I. *Voyage à Constantinople*

Le quatorzième chapitre consacré à ce voyage a été en partie censuré dans les premières éditions de *l'Histoire de ma vie* jusqu'à la première publication

1 PRINCE DE LIGNE, *Fragment sur Casanova ; suivi de Lettres à Casanova / Prince de Ligne*, Paris, Éd. Allia, 1998; *Œuvres choisies, littéraires, historiques et militaires du maréchal prince de Ligne, publiées par un de ses amis*, Genève, Pascoud, 1809; CHARLES DE LIGNE, *Mémoire sur le comte de Bonneval par le Prince de Ligne, suivi des lettres de la comtesse de Bonneval à son mari, et de celles du comte à son frère*, etc. etc. *Nouvelle édition revue et corrigée et augmentée du procès du comte de Bonneval, fait et instruit par lui-même, et de deux mémoires de ce comte sur la tactique*, Paris, Hérisant et Delaunay, 1817.

intégrale de 1960.² Casanova raconte qu'après un passage à Rome où l'ambassadeur de la République de Venise, le chevalier de Lezze, lui confie une lettre à l'intention d'un certain *Ismail* effendi, fait le voyage de Venise à Constantinople sur le navire de Venier, bayle de la République, qui le loge au palais de Venise (actuel consulat d'Italie) à Péra. Il y fait connaissance de Bonneval pacha.

Le comte de Bonneval, démissionnaire de la flotte royale française en 1698, passé au service des Autrichiens avec lesquels il s'est brouillé en 1723, s'était réfugié en 1730 en Bosnie où il se serait converti formellement à l'Islam³ et avait offert aux Turcs de les aider à réorganiser leur armée. Il y est assisté par Saïd Effendi, jeune diplomate parlant français, fils de XXVIII Mehmet Efendi, venu avec son père en ambassade à Paris en 1721. Bonneval a mis par écrit des suggestions de réforme militaire ; il a été engagé en 1737 promu pacha dans l'artillerie, d'où son nom de *Kumbaracı Ahmet Pacha*, autrement dit Ahmet Pacha l'artilleur.⁴ Espionné par les diplomates occidentaux, il essaie de jouer un rôle d'intermédiaire dans la politique française, proposant, en 1747, au roi de France de promouvoir une alliance entre Turcs et Mogols contre les Persans.⁵ Décédé en mars 1747 d'un accès de goutte, dans sa maison de Beyoğlu entre un moine et

2 JACQUES CASANOVA *Histoire de ma Vie*, Paris, Plon, 1962, et *Histoire de ma vie*, éd. Robert Laffont, 1993, I, 284-302 (ou La Pléiade, 1958, tome I, pp. 333 à 337) (ancienne version censurée).

3 VOLTAIRE, *Œuvres complètes Commentaire Historique*, Paris, Garnier, 1883, tome 1, p. 942. Voir aussi ses mémoires apocryphes : *Critique ou Analyse des Mémoires du Comte de Bonneval, Ci-devant Général d'Infanterie au Service de Sa M.I. & Catholique, présentement Renégat & Bacha à Trois Queues en Turquie*, A Amsterdam, au dépens de la Société de Marche, 1738. *Anecdotes Vénitiennes et Turques ou Nouveaux Mémoires du comte de Bonneval, depuis son arrivée à Venise jusqu'à son exil dans l'isle de Chio, au mois de Mars 1739*, par Mr de Mirone, Aux dépens de la Compagnie: Londres, 1740, 3 vol.

4 Voir ARMAND BASCHET, *Les Archives de Venise. Histoire de la Chancellerie Secrète*, Paris, Plon, 1870, p. 649; ROGER BAURY, *La maison de Bonneval: destins et fortunes d'un lignage de la noblesse seconde*. Thèse Université-Paris IV (1994), et *Bonneval-Pacha, transfuge, apostat et agitateur de l'Europe*, «Versalia», n° 2 et 3 1999 et 2000; VLADIMIR LAMANSKY, *Secrets d'Etat de Venise. Documents extraits, notices et études servant à éclaircir les rapports de la Seigneurie avec les Grecs, les Slaves et la Porte Ottomane à la fin du XV^e et au XVI^e siècles*. St. Petersburg, Académie impériale des sciences, 1884, p. 151; G. MICHAUT, *Lettres du XVIII^{ème} siècle : la comtesse de Bonneval*, Paris, Fontemoing, 1903; ALBERT VANDAL, *Une Ambassade française en Orient sous Louis XV*, Paris, Plon, 1887, pp. 140-143, 203-208.

5 Comte de SAINT PRIEST, *Mémoires sur l'ambassade de France en Turquie*, Paris, Leroux, 1877, pp. 142-146.

un imam accourus pour se disputer son dernier soupir, il a été enterré dans un coin du cimetière du musée/couvent des Mevlevi, à Beyoğlu, près de Tünel, où sa tombe se trouve toujours.⁶

Casanova raconte avoir rencontré Bonneval chez lui, habillé à la française, dissimulant des bouteilles des meilleurs vins derrière des reliures donnant l'apparence d'une bibliothèque plaisantant sur la *circconcision*, «car à mon âge elle aurait pu être dangereuse. C'est une cérémonie que généralement on observe, mais qui n'est pas de précepte». Selon le prince de Ligne, Casanova lui aurait raconté comment Bonneval avait simulé une circoncision: «Il avait prié à dîner des gens de marque, leur fit boire de la liqueur et beaucoup de vin, sous le nom de sorbet, puis était passé dans sa chambre avec deux affidés qui avaient attesté sa religion, et qui parurent destinés à lui faire l'opération par laquelle tout Musulman est légal. Ils rentrèrent peu après dans la salle à manger, portant sur une assiette un morceau d'intestin de mouton ensanglanté. La supercherie ne fut pas seulement soupçonnée, et le néophyte, afin de mieux jouer son rôle de circoncis, garda le lit pendant quelques jours».⁷ Encore une fois, le récit de Casanova au prince de Ligne n'est pas repris dans ses *Mémoires*.

Là il fait état de dîners chez Bonneval, où il rencontre de ses amis Turcs, un Osman pacha, Yusuf-Ali bey – avec qui il discute religion, sexe et tabac, et qui lui proposera sa fille en mariage (Casanova refuse) –, ainsi qu'un certain *Ismail effendi*, qu'il qualifie d'ancien ministre des Affaires étrangères. Ismail le reçoit dans «un grand tableau de luxe asiatique», l'emmène «dans un pavillon de repos, [où] il lui vint une fantaisie que je n'ai pas trouvée de mon goût», ce que Bonneval décrira comme une *grande marque d'amitié conforme aux mœurs turques*. Ce que Casanova aurait raconté plus crument au prince de Ligne: Bonneval pacha, refusait à ses camarades pachas l'honneur et le plaisir de profiter de leur harem, et se moquait beaucoup de la gravité avec laquelle ils se permettaient pis que cela. Ces jeunes jolis garçons que l'on trouve dans les bains, disait-il à Casanova, sont une pépinière de grands vizirs. Chacun se pousse et est poussé ici comme il peut».⁸ Quelques jours plus tard, chez Osman pacha,

6 SALIH MUNIR, *Bonneval pacha: son influence sur les relations extérieures de la Turquie*, «Revue d'histoire diplomatique», 21 (1907), pp. 378-393; ROGER ALMIRA *La fuite à Constantinople ou la vie du comte de Bonneval*, Paris, Mercure De France, 1986.

7 PRINCE DE LIGNE, *Mémoire sur le comte de Bonneval*, cit., p. 402.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 311.

Ismail fait venir une femme la figure couverte d'un masque de velours noir, qu'à Venise on appelle *moretta*, très élégante et aux contours voluptueux (sic) qui danse six *furlanes* endiablées avec le jeune Casanova, sans contact qu'un furtif serrement de main, le laissant hors d'haleine. «Ce fut là le seul vrai plaisir que j'eus à Constantinople. Je lui [à Ismail] demandai si la dame était Vénitienne, mais il ne me répondit que par un sourire significatif». Ce sourire entendu peut laisser supposer qu'il s'agissait d'un travesti (*köçek*).⁹

Le lendemain, Ismail invite Casanova à pêcher au clair de lune. Emmené en bateau sur le Bosphore, quelques poissons pris sont frits dans un kiosque. Ismail renvoie ses gens, puis, emmène le jeune homme vers un cabinet dont une fenêtre s'ouvre sur un bassin éclairé par la lune.¹⁰ Peu de temps après, quand Casanova quitte Istanbul, Ismail lui remet une lettre pour le chevalier de Lezze ainsi qu'un tonneau d'hydromel.

II. *Ismail efendi ou Yirmisekizzade Mehmet Said efendi?*

Les historiens et les chroniques turcs n'enregistrent aucun Ismail efendi ministre des affaires étrangères pendant la période concernée. Casanova nous donne un indice qui nous oriente vers un haut fonctionnaire de l'administration ottomane: Il apporte en effet une lettre de l'ambassadeur vénitien à Rome en 1745, et repart avec une lettre à son attention: Lezze.

Qui était ce Lezze? Andrea da Lezze, d'une grande famille aristocratique vénitienne, avait été nommé ambassadeur de la République auprès du roi d'Espagne en 1729.¹¹ En juillet 1730, il est élu l'un des quatre ambassadeurs extraordinaires de la République choisis pour aller féliciter le nouveau pape élu.

9 BOYER D'ARGENS, *Mémoires*, cit.: «J'ai vu des comédies turques à Constantinople. Les troupes qui jouent devant les hommes n'ont point de femmes, et il n'y a point d'hommes dans celles qui représentent devant les femmes. Ces comédiens n'ont pas de salle; on les envoie chercher dans les maisons des particuliers qui veulent les voir. Les pièces qu'ils représentent sont des impromptus, tels que la plupart des scènes de notre ancien théâtre italien.... Le style en est si ordurier qu'il n'y a point de soldat aux gardes qui ne fût scandalisé de certaines scènes. Les comédiens qui jouent des rôles de femmes sont des jeunes gens d'une très jolie figure...».

10 JACQUES CASANOVA, *Histoire de ma vie*, éd. Laffont, cit., pp. 301-302.

11 *Foglio di Foligno*, 7, 18 février 1729.

En juin 1732, il est reçu en audience de congé par le roi d'Espagne, et fait rapport au Sénat le 4 octobre. Le 7 août 1738, il est nommé ambassadeur ordinaire auprès du roi de France, succédant au cavaliere Francesco Venier, que Casanova allait accompagner à Constantinople. Il est arrivé à Paris au moment où éclatait une guerre entre l'Espagne et l'Angleterre, et le premier ministre, le cardinal Fleury manœuvrait à jouer l'arbitre et protéger le commerce. La mort de l'empereur Charles VI d'une indigestion de champignons en octobre 1740 laisse craindre des conflits sur la succession de l'Autriche. Le 2 octobre 1742 il eut son audience publique de congé du roi à Versailles. À la fin de l'audience, le roi fit chevalier le sieur de Lezze, selon l'usage pratiqué à l'égard des ambassadeurs de la République de Venise. Il fera un rapport détaillé au Sénat le 5 septembre 1743, traitant en particulier des problèmes commerciaux et des évènements politiques.¹² Membre du Conseil des Dix en 1744,¹³ il est nommé ambassadeur à Rome. En 1747, il est élu ambassadeur à Constantinople. Il en revient en 1749, et à Venise, en 1749-50, enquête sur les renégats qui espionnent les fortifications vénitiennes: il rachète d'un certain Soliman (s'agit-il d'un Milanais renégat, fils adoptif de Bonneval ?) pour 100 sequins une carte détaillée de la lagune vénitienne.¹⁴ Devenu *Inquisitore di Stato* en 1755.¹⁵ À Paris, au cours du premier semestre 1742, Andrea da Lezze rencontra Mehmet Said Efendi, envoyé en ambassade extraordinaire du sultan auprès du roi Louis XV. Les ambassadeurs se rendaient chaque semaine de Paris à Versailles, pour

12 Relazione di Francia di Andrea da Lezze (31 août 1743). <http://ww2.bibliotecaitaliana.it/xtf/view?docId=bibit001437/bibit001437.xml&chunk.id=d6589e119&toc.depth=1&toc.id=&brand=newlook>, in ALBERTO ERRERA, *Storia dell'economia politica nei secoli XVII e XVIII negli Stati della Repubblica veneta, corredata da documenti inediti*, Venise, Tip. Antonelli, 1877, pp. 494-497.

13 *I proclami veneziani dell'Archivio Storico Diocesano di Concordia-Pordenone*, catalogo del fondo a cura di Andrea Marcon, schede di Serena Bontempo, Giovanna Frattolin, Mara Gardin, Andrea Marcon, Udine, Istituto Pio Paschini, 2010.

14 Andrea da LEZZE (1748-1751). Bayle 28 mai 1747: elezione (ASVE, SAVMC, reg. 28, cc. 219a-219b). 7 marzo 1748: commissione (ASVE, SC, reg. 46, cc. 4-10v). DISPACCI: ASVE, SDC, f. 201, nn. 122-134 (3 ottobre 1748-3 giugno 1749); f. 202, nn. 1-46 (22 maggio 1748-4 febbraio 1750); f. 203, nn. 47-97; 49a (5 marzo 1750-20 febbraio 1752); f. 204, n. 7 (4 novembre 1751). MARIA PIA PEDANI, *Elenco degli inviati diplomatici veneziani presso i sovrani ottomani*, «Electronic Journal Oriental Studies», 5/4 (2002); Paolo PRETO, *I servizi segreti di Venezia*, Milano, EST, 1999, p. 108.

15 VLADIMIR LAMANSKY, *Les Secrets d'État de Venise*, cit., p. 152.

assister aux audiences publiques que donnait le roi.¹⁶ Le rapport que fait Casanova entre Lezze et Ismail, nous amène à conclure que celui qu'il appelle Ismaïl efendi n'est autre que Yirmisekizzade Mehmet Said efendi, diplomate turc et un moment grand vizir.

Né vers 1695-98, Mehmet Said suit son père Yirmisekiz Mehmet Çelebi comme secrétaire dans l'ambassade extraordinaire que le sultan Ahmet III a envoyée en 1721 auprès du jeune Louis XV, dans l'idée d'examiner les réformes possibles pour maintenir l'empire.¹⁷ «Cet ambassadeur, écrit l'ambassadeur français à Constantinople, le marquis de Bonnac, ne vous donnera pas une mauvaise idée de l'esprit et de la politesse des Turcs, [c'est] un homme qui se pique de lecture et de science, et qui, à ce qu'on m'assure, est très versé dans la littérature arabe, persienne et turque. Il porte avec luy grand nombre de livres...» destinés à la bibliothèque royale.¹⁸

Le rapport de la visite de Mehmet Çelebi et de son fils a été plusieurs fois publié en français. On sait qu'ils ont visité la bibliothèque royale, des raffineries de sucre, ont assisté à l'opéra au *Thésée* de Lully – « Il y parut si charmé, qu'on le voyait faire sans cesse des gestes de la tête et des mains »¹⁹ puis à un ballet

16 ALICE CAMUS, *Être reçu en audience chez le roi*, in *Bulletin du centre de recherche du Château de Versailles*: <http://journals.openedition.org/crev/12206>; DOI: 10.4000/crev.12206.

17 F.R. UNAT, *Osmanlı sefirleri ve sefaretnameleri* [Ambassadeurs Ottomans and ambassades], Ankara, Akdyk, 1987; HÜNER TUNCER, *Osmanlı Diplomasisi ve Sefaretnameler*, Istanbul, Kaynak Yayınları, 1997-2010, pp. 75-105; EMANUEL D'AUBIGNY, *Un Ambassadeur Turc à Paris sous la Régence. Ambassade de Mehèmet-Effendi en France, d'après la relation écrite par lui-même et des documents inédits des Archives du Ministère des Affaires étrangères*, in *Revue d'histoire diplomatique*, 1889, pp. 78- 91 et 200-230.

18 HENRI OMONT, *Missions archéologiques françaises en Orient aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*, Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1902, t. I, p. 385; CHARLES SCHEFER, *Mémoire historique sur l'Ambassade de France à Constantinople par le marquis de Bonnac, publié avec un précis de ses négociations à la Porte Ottomane*, Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1894. Bonnac a été ambassadeur à Istanbul de 1716 à 1724. Voir aussi JEAN BUVAT, *Journal de la Régence, publ. pour la première fois et d'après les mss originaux, précédé d'une introd. et accompagné de notes et d'un index alphabétique*, par Émile Campardon, Paris, Henri-Plon, 1865, t. 2.

19 JEAN BUVAT, *Journal de la Régence*, cit., t. 2, p. 229, écrit qu'un aventurier qui se faisait appeler Mustafa-Aga, qui se prétendait apparenté au sultan, est expulsé de Paris à la demande de l'ambassadeur. Le Régent lui avait permis de monter une académie de dé.

aux Tuileries.²⁰ Le jeune Mehmet Saïd apprend le français,²¹ prend goût au vin,²² à la bière,²³ et à la société féminine des salons de la Régence tant que selon la Palatine, « trois femmes de qualité » l'ont attiré, « l'ont bel et bien enivré, et ont passé deux jours avec ce drôle à grande barbe dans le labyrinthe » de Versailles.²⁴ Au départ, le jeune homme reçoit en cadeau un fusil, un fourniment (étui à poudre), une tabatière, une montre et deux diamants. Le grand vizir demanda que l'on achète des verres de lunettes, des microscopes, des longues vues, des miroirs ardents.

De retour à Constantinople, le jeune Saïd Efendi jouera un rôle essentiel dans l'introduction de l'imprimerie dans l'empire ottoman.²⁵ Après l'ambassade, Saïd Efendi, avec l'assistance d'Ibrahim Muteferrika (†1746 ou 1747), Hongrois

20 EDMOND BARBIER, *Journal historique et anecdotique du règne de Louis XV publié pour la Société de l'histoire de France... par A. de La Villegille*, Paris, Chez Jules Renouard et C.ie, 1847-1856, t. 1, mars 1721.

21 Cf. GILLES VEINSTEIN, *Mehmed efendi. Le paradis des infidèles. Un ambassadeur ottoman en France sous la Régence*, Paris, François Maspero, 1981; EDMOND BARBIER, *Journal*, cit., t.1; SAINT-SIMON, *Mémoires*, cit., t. 28, p. 346 et sq.

22 Lettre de Sète à l'intendant de Bordeaux, 17 décembre 1720: «L'ambassadeur de la Porte arriva hier à Cette, Monsieur, et entrera aujourd'huy en 40^e à Maguelonne. J'ai l'honneur de vous envoyer la liste de sa suite, il y en a quelques uns qu'il a pris à Toulon qui vraisemblablement ne suivront pas jusqu'à Paris. C'est ce que je sçauray et ce que j'auray l'honneur de vous mander l'on somme dans sa maison beaucoup de volaille, de veau et de mouton, mais on n'y mange aucunes de ces sortes de viandes que les gens de sa suite ne les aient tuées. Ils ne boivent point de vin, prennent beaucoup de caffé pour y supléer, mangent du ris, du beurre et du sucre. L'ambassadeur mange ordinairement avec son fils et son ministre en particulier. Il y a une autre table pour ses principaux officiers, on luy sert du pain frais chaplé beaucoup de confitures ; sa suite mange des gâteaux. Il fait usage d'epiceries comme poivre girofle, canelle et saffran. Il a maîtres d'hotel et cuisiniers. Ils se servent peu de linge. Il a de la vaiselle et sa batterie de cuisine. Je suis toujours avec respect, Monsieur, votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur» ADG C3634.

23 JEAN BUVAT, *Journal de la Régence*, cit., t. 2, p. 251.

24 ABBÉ TODERINI, *De la Littérature des Turcs*, Paris, Chez Poinçot, 1789, t. III, pp. 193-194.

25 Cf. H. OMONT, *Documents sur l'imprimerie à Constantinople au XVIII^e siècle*, «Revue des Bibliothèques», t. V (1895), pp. 185-200 et 228-236. Id. *Missions archéologiques*, cit., pp. 385-386 et 399; ORLIN SABEV (Orhan Salih), *The First Ottoman Turkish Printing Enterprise: Success or Failure?*, in *Leisure and Lifestyle in the Eighteenth Century. Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee*, ed. Dana Sajdi, Londres. I.B. Tauris & Co, 2007, pp. 63-89; NIYAZI BERKES, *Çağdaşlaşma*, cit., pp. 61-63.

converti, «homme d'esprit, industrieux, intelligent, plein de valeur dans les armes, grand amateur de littérature»²⁶ qui, outre les langues latine et hongroise, française et italienne, s'est appliqué depuis quarante ans aux langues turque, persane et arabe.

Said Efendi, fréquentant les milieux levantins à Constantinople était considéré – «l'un des rares musulmans de cette époque qui eussent voyagé et connurent l'Europe... l'Occident qui lui était un jour apparu hantait sans cesse son esprit comme une captivante vision. Il est homme d'esprit, écrivait de lui [Peyssonnel, drogman] ; il a conservé un vernis de son Paris, dont il regrette sincèrement le séjour... La liberté française est toujours présente à son esprit, pour lui rendre plus amer l'esclavage dont les grands mêmes ne sont pas exempts dans ce pays».²⁷ Boyer d'Argens, chevalier de Malte, accompagnant l'ambassadeur Andrezel à Constantinople en 1724, a dîné chez Said: «Il nous avoua sincèrement que, s'il pouvait avoir son bien en France, il y passerait avec plaisir. Et la religion, lui dis-je ? Bon, bon, me répondit-il, les honnêtes gens sont de toutes les religions».²⁸

Said Efendi a laissé la gestion de l'imprimerie à Muteferrika, et poursuivi une carrière de diplomate. Il a été envoyé en septembre 1730 à St. Pétersbourg pour informer la tsarine de l'accession au pouvoir de Mahmud 1^{er}, puis à nouveau en novembre 1732; puis à Stockholm pour réclamer aux Suédois le remboursement des dettes de 2.400.000 rixdals du séjour de Charles XII à Bender. Les Suédois convinrent d'offrir un vaisseau tout neuf avec 82 canons, et deux autres ayant à bord trente mille mousquets et baïonnettes pour régler la dette. Said parla de Bonneval pacha, dont il apporta une lettre, avec le roi Frédéric²⁹. Tant

26 «Ce renégat hongrois, Ibrahim effendi, directeur de l'imprimerie ottomane, servait d'intermédiaire entre l'ambassade (française) et le comte pacha de Bonneval» FRANÇOIS ROUSSEAU, *L'ambassade du comte de Castellane à Constantinople. 1741-1747*, «Revue des questions historiques», 1901, p. 413. *Orlin SABEV (Orhan Salih) Portrait and Self-Portrait: Ibrahim Muteferrika's Mind Games*.

27 ALBERT VANDAL, *Une Ambassade*, cit., pp. 203-204, 207-208.

28 JEAN-BAPTISTE BOYER D'ARGENS, *Mémoires du marquis d'Argens: contenant le récit des aventures de sa jeunesse, des anecdotes et des observations sur plusieurs événements du règne de Louis XV, et des personnes de ce temps nouv. éd. précédée d'une Notice historique sur la vie de l'auteur...* (par Jacques Peuchet). 1807, pp. 175-176 et 223-224.

29 Cf. Faik Reşit ÜNAL, *Osmanlı Seyfîleri ve Sefaretnameleri*, Ankara, Atatürk Kül. TTK, 1987, pp. 72-73 ; *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire...* 1738, p. 638.

à Petersbourg qu'à Stockholm, il offrit des livres de leur nouvelle production. En 1739, il participa aux négociations avec l'Autriche qui aboutirent au traité de Belgrade par lequel les Turcs, soutenus par la France, ont pu récupérer la Petite Valachie, la Serbie et Belgrade³⁰. Alors qu'il venait d'être nommé beylerbey de Roumélie, l'ambassadeur français de Villeneuve ayant refusé l'envoi du *kapıcıbaşı* Bekir Ağa, il est envoyé à Paris, en 1741, pour obtenir un soutien des Français vis-à-vis des Russes, qui ne reconnaissaient pas l'accord.

III. *L'ambassade de Said à Paris en 1742*³¹

Said Efendi est parti d'Istanbul le 2 août 1741 sur un navire français, tenu en quarantaine à Toulon les 17 septembre-14 octobre. Une garde de cinquante hommes lui a été fournie. Il quitta Toulon le 7 novembre dans des carrosses du Roi et arriva à Paris le 16 décembre 1741. Il était accompagné de son fils âgé de 12-13 ans, Meksus bey, de son gendre, Said Ahmet Ağa, «un homme bien bâti» (Barbier), maréchal de l'ambassade, et d'une suite de 183 personnes-comptable, palefrenier, imam, muezzin, barbier, blanchisseur, porteur de parfums, médecin, interprète (dont le Français- de Laria), tailleur, cuisinier, cafetier, deux péliciers arméniens, dont un «domestique» de Bonneval pacha, Lamira, et quatorze prisonniers rachetés à Malte.³² Il logea d'abord chez Titon du Tillet, ami de Bonneval pacha et aussi de Jean-Jacques Rousseau et du peintre Aved, faubourg Saint-Antoine.

Le 7 janvier 1742, il effectua une entrée solennelle dans Paris entre 11 et 15 heures, reçu par le maréchal de Noailles et le sieur de Verneuil, introducteur des ambassadeurs, avec timbales, trompettes et hautbois – cortège rétréci à cause du froid – fumier et sable ont été répandus pour recouvrir la neige gelée, il fut hébergé à l'hôtel de Tournon, résidence affectée aux ambassadeurs extra-

³⁰ Voir ALBERT VANDAL, *Une Ambassade*, cit., p. 382 et suivantes.

³¹ TANER TIMUR, *Toplumsal Tarih* 2004 (n° 128) https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/f/fe/Mehmed_Said_Efendi_in_Paris_1742.jpg. <http://louisxiv.over-blog.com/article-11-janvier-1742-69216932.html>.

³² *Le Mercure de France*, juin 1742, pp. 1010-1015. À peu près la même composition que l'ambassade de 1721, cf. ADG C3634. En 1721, il fallait, à Bordeaux, 60 charettes pour transporter tous les effets de l'ambassade turque.

ordinaires. Saïd était accompagné «d’esclaves, qui étaient à pied, tenaient les chevaux des principaux Turcs; ils avaient des babouches mais jambes nues. Il y avait six chevaux de présent pour le roi, menés par des esclaves, et qui avaient des couvertures. Celui pour le roi avait une superbe étoffe. Il y avait une tente dressée sur un chariot tiré par huit chevaux du roi, et un faisceau d’armes, fusils et pistolets très richement travaillés, porté sur deux mulets». Cet ambassadeur «qui sait et parle le français comme nous, et mieux que tous nos autres ambassadeurs, a ici bien plus d’agrément que ses prédécesseurs. Il va au spectacle avec plaisir et il l’aime; il va manger chez les autres ambassadeurs; il reçoit compagnie et cause, et il est fait à toutes nos façons».³³

Le 11 janvier, amené par le sieur de Verneuil dans les carrosses de leurs Majestés, il fut reçu officiellement dans la Galerie des Glaces à Versailles par le roi, comme le rapporte *la Gazette*.³⁴ Le secrétaire de l’ambassade portait la lettre du Grand Seigneur au Roi :

Aussitôt que l’Ambassadeur fut arrivé à l’entrée de la Galerie, & qu’il put estre aperçu du Roy, il fit sa première révérence, tenant la main droite sur sa poitrine, & faisant une profonde inclination. Pendant cette révérence, le Roy se leva sans se découvrir. L’Ambassadeur s’avança jusqu’au delà du milieu de la Galerie, où il fit sa seconde révérence : il monta ensuite sur l’Estrade, & estant au bas du degré du Thrône, il fit sa troisième révérence, après laquelle le Roy osta son Chapeau & le remit sur le champ. L’Ambassadeur, qui avoit à sa droite le Comte de Brionne & le Mareschal de Noailles, & sa gauche l’introducteur, fit au Roy son compliment qui fut expliqué par l’Interprète du Roy, lequel estoit sur l’Estrade près de l’Introducteur. Le Roy répondit à l’Ambassadeur, & après que la réponse de Sa Majesté eut esté expliquée, le Secrétaire de l’Ambassade monta sur les marches de la seconde Estrade, & remit la Lettre du Grand Seigneur à l’Ambassadeur, lequel la presenta au Roy. Sa Majesté l’ayant reçue, la donna au sieur Amelot, Ministre Secretaire d’État ayant le Département des affaires Etrangères, lequel dans le moment de l’Audience estoit monté sur la seconde Estrade, & s’estoit avancé auprès du Thrône à la droite du Roy.³⁵

33 EDMOND BARBIER, *Journal*, cit., t. 3.

34 *La Gazette*, 1742: «Relation de rentrée de l’Ambassadeur Extraordinaire du Grand Seigneur à Paris, et État de la maison de SE Saïd Mehemet Pacha Beiglerbeg de Romélie, Ambassadeur Extraordinaire de la Porte Ottomane à la Cour de France».

35 (C) RMN Audience donnée par Louis XV à l’ambassadeur de Turquie, en 1742. Par Charles Nicolas Cochin, le Jeune (1715-1790), Paris, Musée du Louvre, D.A.G.

Said Efendi fut ensuite mené dans une petite galerie où l'on a exposé les présents du sultan apportés la veille; qui comprenaient entre autres:

- un carquois de velours vert, orné d'une grosse et belle émeraude, enrichi de chaque côté de trente diamants, de cent vingt-huit rubis, de cent vingt-trois émeraudes et de trois cent-seize perles, avec trois chaînes d'or;
- un harnais pour un cheval, avec 439 diamants pour la têtère, 410 diamants pour le poitrail ; une muselière d'or, enrichie de diamants ; une paire d'étriers d'or, 92 diamants, 3 rubis et 8 émeraudes; une housse en broderie d'or, avec 80 émeraudes, 22 rubis, perles ; une selle avec broderie en or & argent ; une gibecière d'or ; poire à poudre ornée d'émail, une émeraude, 90 diamants;
- quatre draps d'or et d'argent; 20 pièces de camelot, dit chali; pièces d'étoffe à fleurs; d'or et d'argent;
- quatre fusils à culasse ornées de dents de poisson; 2 fusils ornés d'écaille; paire de pistolets montés en ébène, incrustés d'or, avec 72 diamants...
- une masse d'armes de cristal de roche, ornée de rubis; porcelaine, thé et rhubarbe...

Puis Mehmet Said eut un entretien avec le cardinal Fleury auquel il remit une lettre du grand vizir. Le cardinal Fleury a promis d'envoyer le baron de Tott pour apporter une assistance à la modernisation de l'armée turque. A la bibliothèque royale, Said remit cinq volumes de la nouvelle imprimerie de Constantinople, le dictionnaire Vankulu, un traité de géographie, une Histoire de l'empire ottoman.

Les ambassadeurs, comme Andrea de Lezze, Mehmet Said ou prince Cantemir ambassadeur de la tsarine, étaient reçus régulièrement à Versailles. Un splendide dîner fut offert le 3 avril. «Nous devons ajouter que c'est un surcroît d'agrément pour lui et pour les personnes avec lesquelles il est obligé de s'entretenir & de parler, comme il fait, parfaitement bien notre langue, laquelle il a commencé d'apprendre de jeunesse, dans son premier voyage, qu'il a cultivée depuis, & dont il a repris le bon usage durant son ambassade, par la lecture de nos meilleurs livres & par la conversation des personnes qui parlent le mieux ; en sorte qu'on peut dire de ce digne ambassadeur qu'il n'a besoin d'aucun secours pour se faire entendre, & peut entendre tout ce qu'on veut lui dire».³⁶

36 «Mercure de France», 1742, 987-990.

Alors que les portraits étaient encore tabous à Constantinople³⁷, il se fit peindre par Jacques Aved (1702-1766),³⁸ «entouré d'attributs qui désignent particulièrement ses connaissances, comme sphère, carte géographique, traités de paix et un atlas, premier livre imprimé par ses soins à Constantinople». Le portrait fut exposé au salon du Louvre le 25 août 1742. L'abbé Desfontaines en fit l'éloge: «Il frappe et charme tous les spectateurs. On admire comme il saille du fond, la vraie attitude d'un Turc y est fidèlement rendue. On y reconnaît la noble simplicité de ce ministre Ottoman. On dirait qu'il est encore parmi nous, il me semble encore le voir et lui parler. D'ailleurs que les étoffes et les hermines sont bien traitées! Tout est dans le vrai».³⁹ Saïd Efendi visita Chardin, se fit peindre aussi par La Tour:

La Tour, dont le crayon sublime et gracieux
Charme autant notre esprit qu'il satisfait nos yeux,
Sur tes divins portraits, ornemens de la France,
Ton portrait de Saïd aura la préférence.
Cet ouvrage accompli, digne de Raphaël,
N'a rien cependant qui m'étonne.
Saïd que l'on révère, enrichit ton Pastel,
Car voici comme je raisonne,
Plus le mérite est grand, mieux on peint la personne.
Il est loué pour sa simplicité, sa bienveillance et son esprit.

Mehmet Saïd profita des théâtres: le 24 janvier à la Comédie Française: le *Fat puni*,⁴⁰ les *trois cousines*,⁴¹ l'*Oracle*;⁴² puis le 29 janvier, à l'Hôtel de Bourgogne,

37 Voir TODERINI, *De la Littérature*, cit., t. III, pp. 67-78, Karagöz est un «abus déclaré».

38 Saïd Pacha, ambassadeur de la Porte Ottomane, huile sur toile, 2^e quart du XVIII^e siècle, Versailles, Musée national du château et des Trianons http://www.culture.gouv.fr/public/mistral/joconde_fr.

39 Abbé GUYOT-DESFONTAINES, *Observations sur les écrits modernes*, Bibl. Nat., Estampes, Coll. Deloyanes, t. 47, pp. 254-255. Voir également *Lettre au sujet du Portrait de son excellence Saïd Pacha, Ambassadeur extraordinaire du Grand Seigneur, à la Cour de France, en 1742. Exposé au Salon du Louvre le 25 août de la même année*, <https://archive.org/details/lettresujetdup-00pess/page/n4>.

40 ANTOINE DE FÉRIOL PONT-DE-VEYLE, *Le Fat puni* (1738) comédie en 1 acte (http://www.theatre-classique.fr/pages/programmes/rcf_auteurs.php).

41 FLORENT CARTON DIT DANCOURT, *Les Trois cousines* (1700) comédie, en 3 actes, *ibid.*

42 GERMAIN-FRANÇOIS POUILLAIN DE SAINT-FOIX, *L'Oracle* (1740) comédie, en 1 acte, *ibid.*

pour y voir la comédie italienne – *l'Épreuve, l'Impatient*, comédie italienne, *les Oracles*; puis à la Foire Saint-Germain, l'opéra comique; en mars 1742 le chevalier Servandoni au théâtre du Château des Tuileries – représentation *d'Héro et Léandre*⁴³ où est montré le temple de Vénus, dont Héro est prêtresse. Puis une duchesse, dont le nom n'est pas connu, fit jouer, le 12 mai 1742, une comédie devant Said Efendi – *Les Veuves turques*-, écrite par Poullain de Saint-Foix,⁴⁴ où les veuves d'un bigame souhaitent se remarier toutes les deux avec un seul et même homme – en quelque sorte un éloge de la polygamie.⁴⁵ La pièce sera jouée en public en 1747. Saint-Foix est l'auteur de *Lettres d'une turque*, et de *Lettres de Nedim Coggia*,⁴⁶ dans l'esprit des *Lettres persanes*, qui seront imitées dans *l'Espion turc de Francfort* (1741), les *Mémoires turcs* de Godard d'Aucourt (1743), les *Lettres d'Osman* par le chevalier d'Arcq (1753).⁴⁷

Il assista à un ballet de la Camargo, « ce qui plût extrêmement à l'ambassadeur », rapporte la presse, assista à l'opéra dans la loge royale. Il visita avec curiosité les Gobelins et la Savonnerie, les cabinets des physiciens ou chimistes

43 Léandre et Héro, qui doit être représenté sur le grand théâtre du Palais des Tuileries, au mois de mars 1742, par le chevalier Servandoni, 1742. <http://theatre-classique.fr/pages/bio/origine.html#tuileries>.

44 François Poullain de Saint-Foix (1698-1776), mousquetaire jusqu'en 1740, amateur de duels et d'actrices de comédies. Indique en note d'une lettre de Nedim: reçu lieutenant dans le régiment de cavalerie de la Cornette Blanche, régiment accueillant 28 Çelebi à Paris en 1721 (décrit l'armée p.455). Voir dans *Galerie de l'ancienne cour*, s. l., 1788, pp. 442-444.

45 JENNY MANDER, *Turkish Delight? Confecting Entertainment for Ottoman Guests in Eighteenth-Century France*, «L'Esprit Créateur», 53, 4 (2013), pp. 139-151.

46 FRANÇOIS POUILLAIN DE SAINT-FOIX, *Lettres d'une Turque à Paris écrites à sa sœur au Sérail pour servir de supplément aux Lettres Persanes*, Cologne, P. Marteau, 1731; *Lettres de Nedim Coggia, secrétaire de l'Ambassade de Mehemet Effendi à la Cour de France, et autres lettres turques*, Amsterdam, Mortier, 1732. <http://d-nb.info/gnd/12365994>; les *Pastiches des lettres persanes* (cf. MARIE-LOUISE DUFRENOY, *L'Orient Romanesque en France. 1704-1789*, Montréal, Editions Beauchemin, 1946, pp. 168-173), attribuées au «secrétaire de l'ambassade de Mehmet Effendi, ambassadeur de la Porte Ottomane à la Cour de France» (lettre XI, pp. 475-476); *Œuvres complètes* de M. de SAINT-FOIX, *historiographe des Ordres du roi*, Paris, Chez la veuve Duchesne, 1778.

47 DUFRENOY, *L'Orient Romanesque*, cit., pp. 191-195. Osman, dans les lettres du chevalier d'Arcq s'adresse à Zamar et Zelmis, mais aussi à Mehemet Seid (p. 112). Philippe-Auguste de Sainte-Foy, chevalier d'Arcq (ou d'Arc), (1721-1795), petit-fils naturel de Louis XIV, participe aux batailles de la guerre de succession d'Autriche, puis se consacre aux lettres.

Pagny, Nicolas Bion, Pajot Onsenbray, achetant des outils scientifiques⁴⁸; les bibliothèques de Sainte-Geneviève ; suivit la soutenance de thèse de doctorat d'un de ses compatriotes grecs à la faculté de droit de Paris. Le 8 juin, le médecin Vlastus, qui avait fait ses études à Padoue, est également reçu avec les félicitations du jury, présidé par le professeur Procope Couteaux.

Il dîna avec Voltaire qui fit reporter la première représentation de sa tragédie *Mahomet*, par respect. La première n'eut lieu que le 9 août, après le départ de Saïd. On lira le curieux le texte de Voltaire sur l'horrible danger de la lecture, où Saïd Efendi est expressément mentionné.

Le 12 juin 1742, à Versailles Saïd Efendi fut reçu officiellement en congé par le roi, qui lui donna une audience particulière le 19 juin. Après avoir assisté à un feu d'artifices le 23 juin à l'hôtel de ville, Saïd Efendi quitta Paris le 30 juin. Il emportait les présents de Louis XV:

- des ouvrages d'orfèvrerie: huit arbres, quatre palmiers et quatre lauriers en argent; une table avec fontaine en or au milieu;
- deux grands miroirs en bronze doré;
- des tapis de la Savonnerie; sofas à la turque de drap écarlate des Gobelins
- un orgue orné de sculptures et dorures, deux coffres de marqueterie, remplis d'ustensiles pour la table, café, thé; des instruments pour la chirurgie, l'horlogerie, les mathématiques, l'armurerie et l'optique, un microscope; armoire de marqueterie de bois des Indes; cabaret laqué; coupes en noix de coco montées sur or;
- des vases et tapis pour le grand vizir et le reis efendi. Pour l'ambassadeur: un diamant, deux tapis de la Savonnerie, un lustre de crisal, un brasero du bronzier Duplessis, quatre tabatières d'or: et un nécessaire café et thé pour le fils. Des montres pour le trésorier, le secrétaire, l'imam et l'écuyer de l'ambassade; un étui de chirurgie, garni d'or, pour le médecin. Il reçut d'autres cadeaux à Marseille, de la Chambre de Commerce.

Saïd a rejoint Istanbul le 1^{er} octobre, sur le *Borée* commandé par le chevalier de Caylus. Saïd Efendi était accompagné de vingt-deux artilleurs qui furent incorporés dans les bombardiers de Bonneval. Le Sultan avait envoyé l'un de ses valets de chambre à Paris, pour y apprendre à jouer de l'orgue, et Saïd avait ramené l'organiste ottoman, afin qu'il enseignât la musique à Constantinople; mais cet art n'y fut pas reçu avec la même faveur que celui de l'imprimerie. L'in-

48 «Mercure de France», juin 1742, pp. 1016-1017.

terprète du roi, de Laria, accompagnait des ouvriers venus installer les miroirs et l'orgue au sérail. Le *Kızlar ağası* le prie de lui faire le récit de la réception faite à Saïd Pacha en France. Le Grand Seigneur, caché derrière une jalousie entendait tout et de temps en temps envoyait des eunuques au *Kızlar ağası* pour faire différentes questions à M. de Laria.

À son retour, Saïd fut envoyé en Égypte en février 1744 pour régler des troubles survenus au retour d'une caravane de pèlerins.⁴⁹ Il se trouvait bien à Istanbul en 1745, promu aux finances puis *kethuda* (secrétaire du grand vizir). Limogé, envoyé à Gelibolu, retourné comme *nişancı* Dépêche de l'ambassadeur de Castellane⁵⁰ au ministre des affaires étrangères, 23 mars 1747.

Saïd Efendi, intéressé à la médecine, publia en 1753 un petit traité inspiré de sources arabes, persanes, turques, grecques et latines, intitulée *Ferâidü'l-Müfredât* (Incomparables détails).⁵¹ Il fut nommé grand vizir du 25 octobre 1755, après l'exécution du grand vizir Bıyıklı Ali pacha. Quand il fut nommé, le nouvel ambassadeur français, Vergennes, écrit qu'il avait appris son élévation « avec autant d'effroi que si on lui eût signifié son arrêt de mort ; sa timidité naturelle lui faisant redouter bien plus que souhaiter une fonction aussi orageuse. Son goût de l'économie le faisait soupçonner par le peuple d'être l'auteur de la misère générale et de la cherté du pain »⁵². Le baron de Tott, chargé de réformer l'armée turque, venu avec Vergennes, décrit les manifestations populaires dans Istanbul, frappée par une épidémie de peste⁵³. Limogé le 1^{er} avril 1756, il fut exilé à Cos, gardant sa fortune pour l'essentiel, puis nommé vali à Adana en 1759, puis à Karaman, et à Maraş où il décéda en octobre 1761.

49 <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k236807/texteBrut>.

50 Ambassadeur de 1741 à 1747, marié à une nièce du cardinal Fleury... « fut le premier ministre chrétien qui obtint la faveur de visiter quelques-uns des appartemens du serai. Elle lui fut accordée en considération de ce que le dernier ambassadeur turc à Paris, Saïd Mohamed, avait été admis à parcourir ceux de Versailles. »

51 ORLIN SABEV (Orhan Salih), *Lâle Devri ilk osmanlı Türk Matbaasını nasıl etkiledi? (Comment l'ère des tulipes a influencé la première imprimerie turque ottomane)*, Bulgaristan Bilimler Akademisi Balkan Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, orlin_vtu@yahoo.com.

52 LOUIS BONNEVILLE DE MASSANGY, *Le chevalier de Vergennes*, Paris, Plon, 1894, t. 1, pp. 286-319.

53 BARON de TOTT, *Mémoires sur les Turcs et les Tartares*, Paris, s.n., 1784.

IV. Les Sirenes d'Alexandre

La seule femme que Caanova dit avoir vue à Constantinople est, comme on l'a dit, la danseuse de forlana masquée de noir amenée chez Yusuf. Il ne faut pas s'étonner si Said Efendi, fils d'un lettré et amoureux des livres, ait voulu partager certaines de ses connaissances littéraires avec le jeune Casanova. Le récit de cette rencontre intrigue. À notre connaissance, et pour autant que l'on peut consulter l'iconographie de peintres du 18^e siècle, l'on n'y trouve pas trace de kiosque à bassin en plein air sur les bords du Bosphore, comme le jeune Casanova prétend en avoir vu dans l'*Histoire de ma vie*. En fait la scène décrite semble s'inspirer d'œuvres que connaissait Said Efendi. Ainsi Evliya Çelebi décrivait les bains de la Corne d'Or, mi 17^e siècle:

Tous les vendredis, un grand nombre de gens viennent en caïque aux îles en face d'Eyüp Sultan. Ici l'amant et l'aimé se confondent sans retenue, et prennent délice à s'embrasser, à nager dans la mer. Vous imaginez que vous apercevez les anges de la mer nageant parmi les anges de l'humanité ceints de pagens bleus. Puis s'asseyant sur le gazon de l'île, ils noient dans des buveries les chagrins de ce monde. Il n'y a certainement qu'un seul endroit comme celui-ci au monde.⁵⁴

Le récit de Casanova présente cependant une similarité étonnante avec un passage de l'*Iskendernâme*, un grand classique de la littérature persane, très présent dans les bibliothèques d'Istanbul...,⁵⁵ et dont une copie avait été acquise pour la bibliothèque royale.⁵⁶ L'auteur, Nizami Ganjavi (1141-1203) est considéré comme un des plus grands auteurs classiques de l'Iran. Son œuvre *Khamsa* (Quintet) comprends cinq œuvres particulières, dont la dernière est l'*Iskandarnāma* (ایشکن دژن نامه), Livre d'Alexandre), inspiré du roman de Pseudo-Callisthènes ou de romans syriaques.⁵⁷ Iskandar y apparaît comme un hé-

54 EVLIYA ÇELEBI, *Seyahatnâme*, §145 a, p. 207.

55 Cf. ACHIM AURNHAMMER, *Lieben wie man liest. Dichtung und Wahrheit in Casanovas „Histoire de ma vie“* in Max Kunze (Hrsg.), *Die Casanovas: Beiträge zu Giacomo, Francesco und Giovanni Battista Casanova sowie Silvio della Valle di Casanova*, Stendal, Winckelmann-Gesellschaft, 2000, pp. 9-27.

56 *Livres manuscrits persiens envoyés à la Bibliothèque du Roy, par M. Otter*, dans H. OMONT, *Missions archéologiques*, cit., Seconde partie, p. 761.

57 JOHANN CHRISTOPH BÜRCEL, *Guerra e pace nell'Alessandreide di Nizami*, «Quaderni di

ros Persan, une sorte de pré-musulman comme Dhu'l Qarnayn dans le Coran, voyageant à travers le monde en recherche de connaissance: mais sa quête se conclue sans qu'il ait pu découvrir la fontaine de l'eau de jouvence, donnant l'immortalité.⁵⁸ 69 manuscrits de l'œuvre de Nizami se trouvent au musée de Topkapı, illustrés de miniatures; Stchoukine en a relevé trente-cinq représentant Shirin au bain, quatre des baigneuses dans un hammam, et sept Alexandre observant des sirènes.⁵⁹

Iskandar en route vers la Chine passe par l'Inde. À proximité de la mer, il laisse son armée et accompagné d'un seul écuyer, il assiste à un bain de sirènes, chantant et jouant le soir près de la rive:

Quarante jours ils ont continué ainsi, sans s'accorder de repos jusqu'à ce qu'ils approchent à l'eau bleue et à la mer. Dans une baie, ils ont décidé de se reposer et ont hissé les drapeaux qui se sont élevés jusqu'aux étoiles. Au près de cette eau profonde, courait une légende qu'il y avait un rivage étrange. Des sirènes, belles comme le soleil et la lune, s'approchaient de la baie pendant la nuit, restaient près de la rive, chantaient et jouaient. Et leur chant était tellement fascinant que ceux qui écoutaient leurs mélodies en perdaient conscience. Elles chantaient sur ce rivage des chansons qui n'avaient jamais été chantées selon aucune mesure connue. Là chaque nuit, cette fine assemblée s'amusait au pied de la montagne. Toutefois, dès qu'elles commençaient à flairer le musc de l'aube, elles replongeaient dans les vagues noires.

Studi Indo-Mediterranei», I (2008), pp. 179-194; IVAN STCHOUKINE, *Les peintures de la "Khamse" de Nizami au Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi d'Istanbul*, Paris, Geuthner, 1977; CEMILE HASANZADE, *E Sanat Bilimci Geleneksel Sanatlar Sultan Yakup Döneminin "Hamse" Münyatürleri 15. Yüzyıl Tebriz Ekolündeki Gelişim Düzeyinin Bir Yansımasıdır*, <https://irs-az.com/new/pdf/201210/1350982751235544468.pdf>; NEZĀMĪ GAŃĀVĪ, *ĠĀLĀL AL-DĪN ABŪ MOĤAMĀD ILĀS BEN ĪŌSŌF (1141-1209) The Secander nama of Nizāmi. With a selection from the works of the most celebrated commentators*, by Beder Ali et Mir Hosain Ali, Calcutta, P. Pereira, 1812.

58 "ESKANDAR-NĀMA OF NEZĀMĪ – *Encyclopaedia Iranica*". *Iranicaonline.org*. Retrieved 2014-03-23.

59 Cf. CATHERINE GAULLIER-BOUGASSAS, MARGARET BRIDGES (ed.), *Les voyages d'Alexandre au paradis: Orient et Occident, regards croisés*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2013; GABRIELLE VAN DEN BERG, *Descriptions and Images – Remarks on Gog and Magog in Nizāmī's Iskandar Nāma, Firdawsī's Shāh Nāma and Amīr Khusraw's A'īna-yi Iskandarī*, in *A Key to the Treasure of the Hakīm. Artistic and Humanistic Aspects of Nizāmī Ganjavī's Khamsa*, Ed. Johann-Christoph Bürgel and Christine van Ruymbeke, Leiden, Leiden University Press, 2011, p. 88; MARIAN SMITH, *Persian Painting Arts of the Islamic World*, Folio from a <i>Khamsa</i> (Quintet) by Nizami (d.1209).



Mss. Iskandarnama, coll. privée

Alors le souverain a fait éloigner l'armée de plusieurs milles du rivage, et quand la nuit dispensait le musc et le firmament ouvrait un trésor de calme, là le roi appelait seul le marin et restait avec lui sans troupes ni bagages. Auprès de cette baie, où les bijoux avaient l'habitude de miroiter, ils ont dressé une tente d'où ils apercevaient alors de loin les ondines sortir de l'eau et briller comme des corps célestes. Leurs cheveux étaient répandus sur leurs épaules et leur dos, comme du musc sur l'argent, chacune d'elles chantait une chanson originale, dans un nouveau mode différent des cent airs classiques. Et quand les sons sucrés pénétraient l'oreille d'Iskender, son foie se chauffait, et son sang commençait à bouillir. Il pleura pendant un moment à écouter cette musique et ces voix puis se moqua de lui-même: «Quels vins insensés!» Etrangement de telles mélodies, hautes et profondes à la fois, font simultanément pleurer et rire. Après que le roi se fut rassuré sur sa conduite, il est revenu à son endroit initial.⁶⁰

60 Traduit de l'allemand et de l'azéri: pp. 571-572. Voir u-yqqu <https://persian.packhum.org/persian/main?url=pf%3Fauth%3D176%26work%3D002>. Pour une variante dans les versions occidentales du Roman d'Alexandre, DANIELLE BUSCHINGER, *Alexandre, un opéra inabouti de Richard Wagner*, «Quaderni di Studi Indo-Mediterranei», I (2008), pp. 109-119.

Le mot *sirène* qu'utilise Casanova se trouve déjà dans l'Iskandarnama. Nous avons tout lieu de croire que Said Efendi a cherché à séduire son jeune compagnon avec des lectures légères. Et le jeune Italien peut conclure: «C'est le seul plaisir de ce genre que j'eus à Constantinople, où l'imagination eut plus de part que de réalité».

NICOLA VINOVRŠKI

CASANOVA IN THE SPOTLIGHT

Introduction

This conference takes place in Venice, Casanova's birthplace and his home for much of his life.¹ But where was he most at home? Where did he belong? Where was his place? I would argue that it was not so much in a particular city or physical space but rather performing before a particular group of people, in other words, speaking figuratively, in the spotlight. He was a prolific traveler and had the ability to *faufiler* (as he put it) or ingratiate himself into a variety of contexts and social groups and so one might say his place was everywhere. Then again, wherever he was, he was so striking and different to everyone else, ever 'othered', that one could argue his place was nowhere. For this reason, we need to look beyond physical and temporal spaces to identify Casanova's proper place. For reasons I will explain, I think his true place was in the spotlight. Why should you listen to me? What do I know? From when I first stumbled across the first volume of the Trask translation of Casanova's memoirs in a bookshop in Brisbane at the age of 14, I have been in a relationship with Casanova for many years. My favourite book turned into the subject of discussions with one of my undergraduate professors. This led to many years of Casanova-related reading and reflection alongside my other studies and my work. This then led to me undertaking a PhD to try to bring a multitude of disparate thoughts together. It becomes apparent, if you speak to me for any length of time, that my obsessions are Casanova and celebrity culture. My thesis brings together my two great pre-occupations. It is a case study of how Casanova was well known in his historical context and I argue that he is a highly significant figure to the history of celebrity, that particular way of being well known. This has meant I have spent many years considering Casanova's memoirs and other works and other contemporary texts through the prism of his well-knownness; or his place in the spotlight, his own reflections upon it and the reactions of others to his occupation of it. When I saw the manuscript of his memoirs at the exhibition at the Bibliothèque nationale de

1 Paper presented at Casanova in Place Conference, Venice, 29 June 2019.

France years ago, I cried. Quite apart from being a fascinating object of rational analysis, Casanova is also someone about whom I can feel very emotional. In response to a similar question at a conference years ago that I did not attend, I have been told that Chantal Thomas responded, «I know because I love him». If true, that is a brilliant answer and I'd like to adopt it as my own.

I. *Casanova's obsession with public recognition*

Casanova was fixated on fame.² A lot of theoretical work has been done in relation to the meaning of fame, celebrity and different categories of well-knownness. It would be more accurate to use the umbrella term 'well-knownness' here but I am using 'fame' as a shorthand and less cumbersome term. Casanova's autobiographical writings record his numerous encounters with his famous contemporaries and his reflections about his own fame in different contexts. A textual analysis of this material reveals telling linguistic and conceptual patterns, not all of which can be covered in this paper. Significantly, what these patterns reveal is that Casanova was preoccupied with public recognition and that he conceived of a particular public which took shape during the 18th century (namely 'good society').

Casanova was obsessed with public recognition which he sought ardently and indiscriminately. It is a fiction, a prevalent fiction, that prior to the present day people did not seek fame deliberately or for its own sake. Casanova undoubtedly wanted to be famous. He sought fame for its own sake and not by excelling in a career, an ambition that is often presented as a critical problem among today's youth. While his ambition for fame was constant throughout his life, the way he wanted to achieve it was not. Below are some illustrative extracts from his memoirs (in French from the Laffont edition and in English from the Trask translation):³

² This term is used in a non-technical sense throughout this paper. What I really mean to say here is 'well-knownness' as I consider fame, celebrity and renown to be distinct ways of being well known. I refer the reader to my doctoral thesis, *Casanova's Celebrity: a Case Study of Well-knownness in 18th- century Europe*, for my thoughts on these issues. Because these distinctions are not the subject of this conference and in order to avoid overly technical language, I use 'fame' here.

³ JACQUES CASANOVA, *Histoire de ma vie suivie de textes inédits*. ed. Francis Lacassin, 12 vols., 4th reprint, Paris, Robert Laffont, 2002 (CASANOVA, *HDMV*, Laffont); Id., *History of My Life*, trans. Willard R. Trask, 12 vols. Baltimore and London, The John Hopkins University Press, 1997 (Casanova, *HDMV*, Trask).

On his reasons for not changing religion to marry the daughter of a wealthy Turk while in Constantinople in 1745:

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| <i>Je ne pouvais pas me résoudre à la belle espérance de devenir célèbre au milieu des nations polies, soit dans les beaux-arts, soit dans la littérature, ou dans tout autre état, et je ne pouvais pas souffrir l'idée d'abandonner à mes égaux les triomphes qui peut-être m'étaient réservés poursuivant à vivre avec eux... Je ne pouvais pas renoncer sans peine à la vanité d'être qualifié de beau parleur, comme j'en avais déjà la réputation partout où j'avais vécu (Casanova, <i>HDMV</i>, Laffont, 1: 297).</i> | <i>I could not bring myself to renounce the fair hope of achieving fame among the polished nations, whether in the fine arts or in literature or in some other profession, and I could not bear the idea of abandoning to my equals triumphs which would perhaps fall to my share if I continued to live among them...I could not easily renounce my pride in being known as a fine conversationalist, a reputation which I had already acquired wherever I had stayed for any length of time (Casanova, <i>HDMV</i>, Trask, 2:89).</i> |
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On a sermon he delivered as a teenager:

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| <i>Après m'avoir beaucoup applaudi, la prédiction qu'on me fit fut générale. J'étais destiné à devenir le premier prédicateur du siècle... (Casanova, <i>HDMV</i>, Laffont, 1: 64).</i> | <i>I received great praise, after which it was unanimously predicted that I would become the greatest preacher of the century... (Casanova, <i>HDMV</i>, Trask, 1:107).</i> |
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On a horoscope of his own invention:

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| <i>L'idée de devenir célèbre en astrologie dans mon siècle où la raison l'avait si bien décriée me comblait de joie. Je jouissais, me prévoyant recherché par des monarques, et devenu inaccessible dans ma vieillesse (Casanova, <i>HDMV</i>, Laffont, 2: 484).</i> | <i>The idea of becoming a famous astrologer in my century, in which reason had so thoroughly discredited astrology, filled me with delight. I rejoiced in anticipation, seeing myself sought out by monarchs and wrapped in aloofness in my old age (Casanova, <i>HDMV</i>, Trask, 7: 39).</i> |
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It is important to note that Casanova did not regularly claim that he wanted to be the best but rather the most famous. This is also true of his selection of goods and services; he equated 'most famous' with 'best'. For example, he asks

for the most famous painter in London to paint a portrait.⁴ His memoirs contain countless examples of him using the services of famous suppliers, rather than, say, little known but excellent ones. He claimed that he wanted to be at various times a famous preacher, famous astrologist, famous conversationalist, famous writer or famous in the arts. He saw no inherent contradiction in this and showed no circumspection about declaring his desire for fame, a career being only a secondary object. Like those who are criticised for valuing fame over achievement in the 21st century, Casanova's writings suggest a preoccupation with being famous, the way he sought to achieve it was less important. His urge for fame was consistent but his choice of occupation was not.

We hear today complaints that some people are famous for being famous, that they don't merit the public recognition and privilege bestowed upon them. Casanova was the subject of similar criticism by his peers. Giustiniana Wynne wrote that she did not understand how he had gained such status in Parisian society.⁵ In 1755, Pietro Chiari published a satirical portrait of Casanova in his *La commediante in fortuna*. Casanova recognised himself, as did his friends and enemies, in the character of Vanesio. In Chiari's scathing satire, he describes Casanova as «one of those phænomenia in the civil atmosphere, whose brightness we cannot account for: I mean, one of those, who live – we know not how; and even live splendidly; though they have neither estate, nor office, nor talents to procure them that affluence; which, from their gaiety of dress, we may conjecture that they enjoy».⁶

Thus his contemporaries wrote that they could not account for the public recognition and financial reward Casanova seemed to enjoy. This suggests that what fame he did have was not perceived by his peers as directly correlated to any measurable achievement. That is actually consistent with his own writings which evince a desire to be famous for a range of reasons, rather than a dedication to a particular craft or career. At particular points in his life, he was highly visible, much talked about but, during his lifetime, some questioned why this was.

However, Casanova was certainly discriminating about the type of fame he

4 JACQUES CASANOVA, *HDMV*, Laffont ed., vol. 3, p. 198.

5 ANDREA DI ROBILANT, *A Venetian affair: a true story of impossible love in the eighteenth century*, London, Harper Perennial, 2004.

6 PIETRO CHIARI, *Rosara; or, the Adventures of an actress: a story from real life (Translation from the Italian of Pietro Chiari)*, London, R. Baldwin & S. Bladon, 1771.

wanted and also the public image he created. For example, he sought no kind of fame by association with his famous family members; his mother was an actress and two of his brothers were painters.

This reflects, in my view, both Casanova's desire for individual recognition and his desire to escape the confines of his social class. As Ted Emery notes, being the son of actors «could hardly have placed him lower on the 18th-century social scale». ⁷ Also, he eschewed a public association with the Comte Saint-Germain and did not advertise his charlatanry, such as his pseudo-mystical ceremonies with the Marquise d'Urfé. Through his dress, his manners, his acquaintance and later his fictitious title, he performed an aristocratic persona in public and actively suppressed rumours or public associations which would undermine that.

II. *Casanova's public*

When Casanova was writing about famous people, imagining and indeed being famous himself at various points in his life, what public did he have in mind? Who was the audience recognising him for his literary achievements, oration, astrological pronouncements etc.? For him and others to be famous necessarily implies a public to have an opinion about them. Casanova's conception of fame implied a public which was exclusive, literate and francophone. In the 18th century, the European nobility discovered a territory between the court and the Church whose boundaries were determined by its members who called it by the generic name *monde*. ⁸ This *monde* was Casanova's public. Some studies talk of *le monde* of the Enlightenment being comprised of the court, the *salons* and the Republic of Letters (the transnational intellectual community in the late 17th and 18th century). ⁹ The only people Casanova cared to impress were members of *le monde*. When he referred to everyone (*tout le monde*), what he actually meant

⁷ TED EMERY, *Casanova's Coffeehouse: Sociability, Social Class, and the Well-bred Reader in Histoire de ma vie in The Thinking Space. The Café as a Cultural Institution in Paris, Italy, and Vienna*, eds. Leona Rittner, W. Scott Haine, and Jeffrey H. Jackson, Farnham, Ashgate, 2013, pp. 169-184.

⁸ BENEDETTA CRAVERI, TERESA WAUGH, *The Age of Conversation*, New York, New York Review Books, 2005, p. IX.

⁹ STEVEN D. KALE, *French salons: high society and political sociability from the Old Regime to the Revolution of 1848*, Baltimore, M.D.; London, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004, p. 29.

was everyone who mattered. Habermas describes the successor to aristocratic society typified by the reign of Louis XIV as «the particularly free-floating but clearly demarcated sphere of “good society” in the 18th century».¹⁰ Casanova described this group was described variously as:

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| <i>la bonne société</i> (Casanova, <i>HDMV</i> , Laffont, 1:175). | <i>good society</i> (Casanova, <i>HDMV</i> , Trask, 1:252). |
| <i>tout le monde</i> (Casanova, <i>HDMV</i> , Laffont, 1:201) | <i>everyone</i> (Casanova, <i>HDMV</i> , Trask, 1:286. |
| <i>les compagnies de bon ton</i> (Casanova, <i>HDMV</i> , Laffont, 1:369). | <i>fashionable gatherings</i> (Casanova, <i>HDMV</i> , Trask, 2:182). |
| <i>gens comme il faut</i> (Casanova, <i>HDMV</i> , Laffont, 1:582). | <i>people of means</i> (Casanova, <i>HDMV</i> , Trask, 1:150). |

Members of good society recognised each other by standards of dress, the fashionability of their clothes, their use of language (fashionable jargon) and being in the same places. Good society may have been largely controlled by and comprised of members of the nobility but, throughout the 18th century, its demarcations came to be less defined by class. ‘Good society’ describes most accurately the group in which Casanova usually circulated and whom he regarded as his public. This shift, the passing of cultural and social dominance from the nobility to a broader group, marked the emergence of a recognisably modern public. In Casanova’s lifetime, the members of good society were the creators and consumers of culture. That this was an increasingly large and transnational group meant that the public sphere was expanded relative to previous centuries. That this group was also increasingly heterogeneous in terms of class meant that people from lower classes could participate in culture and society in new ways.

Sennett adopts Eric Auerbach’s assertion that the modern definition of ‘the public’ first appeared in mid-17th-century France and indicated the public that was the audience for plays.¹¹ Sennett writes that the sense of who ‘the public’

10 JÜRGEN HABERMAS, *The structural transformation of the public sphere : an inquiry into a category of bourgeois society*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1989, p. 10.

11 RICHARD SENNETT, *The Fall of Public Man*, London, Faber and Faber, 1986, p. 16.

were significantly expanded in early 18th-century Paris and London. The emergence of good society as the primary creators and consumers of culture marked the emergence of the public in the modern sense. This was the result of a variety of shifts which occurred or really gained momentum in the 18th century, such as advances in printing technology and the proliferation of periodicals, the emergence of major capital cities, international trade and increased mobility of people, the rise in literacy levels, the rise of the mercantile bourgeoisie and consequent erosion of strict class divisions to create a more secularised and democratised than in previous centuries.¹² These social, economic and cultural conditions created the perfect storm for a figure like Casanova who wanted to be famous but perhaps didn't have the characteristics necessary for the most well-trodden routes to fame available in his historical context.

III. *Public space in 18th-century Europe*

The cities of 18th-century Europe contained an abundance of usable and attractive public space such as public parks and promenades. Further, by the 18th century, certain new spaces of social exchange were established such as the cafe and the *salon*. Also during this period, theatres and opera houses became accessible to a wider public through the open sale of tickets rather than the older practice whereby aristocratic patrons distributed places (*ibid*). These new types of public space broadened the scope of public life, increased the availability and variety of public space, facilitated greater sociability and expanded the opportunities for Casanova and others to be out in public.

Aristocratic domestic spaces in which good society gathered should, for many reasons be regarded as public places. Although there is not time to discuss all of these here, one key factor is the explosion of the press at this time. What occurred at such events, a *bon mot* uttered or conversation overheard, was spread predominantly by word of mouth in a process similar to that described by Sen-

¹² LEO BRAUDY, *The Frenzy of Renown: Fame & its History*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1986, p. 13; JÜRGEN HABERMAS, *The structural transformation*, cit., p. 32; FRED INGLIS, *A Short History of Celebrity*, Woodstock, Princeton University Press, 2010, p. 8; CHRIS ROJEK, *Celebrity*, London, Reaktion, 2001, pp. 13, 110; ID., *Fame Attack: the Inflation of Celebrity and its Consequences*, London, Bloomsbury Academic, 2012, p. vii; RICHARD SENNETT, *The Fall*, cit., pp. 16, 17, 42, 48, 51, 56.

nett in relation to court-dominated society in the early 18th century.¹³ However, they were increasingly reported on in newspapers which printed anecdotes overheard at *soupers* or sent in by anonymous letter, described festivities hosted by the nobility¹⁴ and gave accounts of balls held in aristocratic residences.¹⁵ In this way, people's performances in such places were shared with a group beyond the guests at the event. For this reason, it is important that they are read as public spaces albeit public spaces to which physical access was somewhat restricted.

These new types of public space facilitated the emergence of new ways of becoming famous and a new kind of famous person, of which Casanova was a prime example. They permitted a more democratic sociability and also permitted a person with no career to shine by looking splendid or having an entertaining personality. Casanova used these spaces to cultivate his own fame. Throughout his life, Casanova travelled across much of Europe, and within its cities, he returned to certain spaces over and over again. He was able to use public space deliberately in order to cultivate his fame in ways which would not have been possible in earlier periods. An analysis of how public spaces were used by Casanova and his contemporaries demonstrates the highly visual nature of 18th-century society. Public spaces in Casanova's historical context were frequently used for more trivial purposes than is typically suggested by historians.

For example, the theatre, in the 18th century, was not a place where one went to see a performance but where one went to be seen by and to see other people. Casanova regularly attended the theatre but rarely describes the performance in his memoirs. Instead, he writes in detail about what he wore, if he did not attend alone then also what his female companion looked like, who was in the audience and the conversations he had. This implies that the theatre was primarily a place of social exchange and to be seen as opposed to a site of artistic appreciation.

Significantly for the chronology of celebrity, these new public spaces were often used by Casanova and his contemporaries for purely visual display as opposed to verbal social exchange; that is to say, visibility for visibility's sake. Historians and theorists often write about the exchange of ideas facilitated by

13 RICHARD SENNETT, *The Fall*, cit., p. 61.

14 For example by the duc de Mirepoix in 1757 (April 1757 First Volume «*Mercure de France*», *janvier-juin 1757*, p. 189.

15 See for example «*Gazette de Cologne*», janvier 1757.

new public space and places of social exchange.¹⁶ However, they often overlook the significant emphasis that was placed on appearance, visibility and ignore the fact that being seen was often the primary objective of appearing in public.

This beautiful city, Casanova's birthplace, provides an excellent example of this practice. Though dwindling in economic and political power, Venice was still a thriving city during his lifetime. Known throughout Europe for its carnival, associated with gaiety and pleasure, it was a city with numerous public spaces where revellers could see and be seen. The Piazza San Marco was one of the centres of Venetian political and social life in the 18th century. The two most well-known cafes, Florian and Lavena, were located there (and still are), as is the Doge's palace. Casanova describes the piazza as a place where «tout le monde du bon ton devait se promener» (Casanova, *HDMV*, Laffont, 1: 936) / «everyone of any account would be strolling» (Casanova, *HDMV*, Trask, 4: 296). According to Casanova, men and women who had spent the evening in *casini*, in *auberges* or gardens, dining and gambling, went strolling in l'Erberia in the morning:

*Ceux qui y vont seuls cherchent à faire des découvertes ou à faire naître des jalousies; et les femmes y vont plus pour se faire voir que pour voir. Elles sont bien aises que tout le monde apprenne qu'elles ne se gênent pas...Il semble... que les femmes veulent se montrer dans cet endroit-là sous les enseignes du désordre, et qu'elles veulent que ceux qui les voient y raisonnent dessus... Tout le monde à cette promenade doit avoir l'air rendu, et montrer le besoin d'aller se mettre au lit (Casanova, *HDMV*, Laffont, 1: 856).*

*The men who go there with women want to arouse the envy of their fellows by advertising their conquests. The men who go alone try to make discoveries or occasion jealousies; and the women go there more to be seen than to see. They are perfectly content to let everyone know they are no prudes...it seems that the women wish to display themselves as votaries of disorder, and that they want whoever sees them to draw conclusions from it...Everyone who walks there is expected to look tired out and to show every sign of needing to go to bed (Casanova, *HDMV*, Trask, 4: 195).*

16 See for example DIANE E. BOYD, MARTA KVANDÉ, *Everyday revolutions: eighteenth-century women transforming public and private*. Newark, University of Delaware Press, 2008; JÜRGEN HABERMAS, NICK CROSSLEY, and JOHN M. ROBERTS, *After Habermas: new perspectives on the public sphere*, Oxford UK, Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing/Sociological Review, 2004; JÜRGEN HABERMAS, *The structural transformation*, cit.; STEVEN D. KALE, *French salons*, cit.; PETER STALLYBRASS and ALLON WHITE, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1986.

So Casanova describes l'Erberia as a place where particular people (*les hommes et les femmes galantes*) went at a particular time of day (the early morning) expressly for the purpose of being seen by others and signalling that they had been out all night. Indeed, Casanova writes that this was the real reason the youth of Venice went to this place, that it was a mere pretext that they went to observe the 200 or 300 boats which arrived before sunrise, loaded with fresh produce. He describes the Piazza san Marco and l'Erberia as places where people went to *be seen*.

In the same way, Casanova's response to circulation of stories about him was usually conspicuous visual display. For example, of learning of a rumour that he was ordered to leave Padua, he writes:

Au lieu d'aller me coucher j'ai fait une grande toilette pour aller à l'Opéra sans masque. Je leur dis que je devais aller démentir tout ce que des mauvaises langues avaient débité sur mon compte... M. de Bragadin dit que je ferais très bien d'aller à l'Opéra sans masque. A mon apparition dans le parterre j'ai vu tout le monde étonné, et vrai ou faux, tous ceux qui me parlèrent me firent des compliments (Casanova, HDMV, Laffont, 1: 698).

Instead of going to bed I dressed in my best to go to the opera unmasked. I told them that I must go to give the lie to everything that evil tongues had been saying about me... Signor Bragadin said that I would do well to go to the opera unmasked. On my appearance in the parterre I saw that everyone was astonished, and whoever spoke to me congratulated me, whether sincerely or not (Casanova, HDMV, Trask, 3: 292).

Casanova often displayed himself in public spaces to put to rest rumours circulating about him and sometimes to start them off. For example, in 1744, he returned to Venice after quitting his brief time as a priest. Of this time, he writes:

... je me suis acheminé vers la place Saint-Marc très curieux de voir et de me laisser voir de tous ceux qui me connaissent, et qui devaient s'étonner de ne me voir plus abbé (Casanova, HDMV, Laffont, 1: 267).

... I set out toward the Piazza San Marco, very curious to see and to be seen by all my acquaintances, who could not but be surprised to see me no longer dressed as an abate (Casanova, HDMV, Trask, 2: 53).



Souper chez M. Bragadin, aquarelle de Jacques Touchet, 1946

This passage demonstrates that he knew, if he went to the Piazza San Marco, good society, in other words the public, would see and then talk about him.

After he had been arrested during his second stay in Paris, his patron, the Marquise d'Urfé paid his debts and secured his release. She then advised him to show himself in Paris's key public spaces where he would be seen by good society:

Elle me conseilla d'aller d'abord me promener aux Tuileries et au Palais-Royal pour convaincre le public que le bruit de ma détention était faux. J'ai suivi ce conseil... Après m'être bien montré aux deux grande promenades, où j'ai vu, faisant semblant de ne pas y faire attention, tous ceux qui me connaissaient étonnés de me voir... Après m'être montré aux foyers des deux théâtres... (Casanova, HDMV, Laffont, 2: 212).

She advised me to go walking in the Tuileries and the Palais-Royal at once, to convince the public that the rumour of my imprisonment was false. I took her advice... After showing myself to good purpose in the two great promenades, where, pretending not to notice it, I saw all my acquaintances astonished to see me... After showing myself in the lobbies of the two theaters... [sic] (Casanova, HDMV, Trask, 5: 260).

He intended that people would see him and then tell others what they had seen. Thus, one way of controlling stories circulating about him was visibility in key public spaces.

In addition to what one looked like, where one went was another way members of good society recognised each other. Knowing where good society congregated at different times of the day and in different cities throughout the year and being seen in such places, confirmed that one was a member of this group. The European capitals of the 18th century, Paris in particular, were renowned for rapid changes in fashion. Clothes, expressions, pastimes and places went in and out of fashion. For example, Casanova writes that he went for a walk on La Montagnola when in Bologna in 1744, a little hill which was very fashionable at the time as recorded in the poem by Jacopo Taruffi, *La Montagnola di Bologna*.

Casanova's awareness of fashionable places allowed him to participate in a process of mutual confirmation of status. When he was in London, he frequented St. James's Park, Ranleigh House, Vauxhall and Green Park. He writes about meeting people there as much as people strolling in those places to be seen by others. Casanova described the Piazza di Spagna in Rome as a cosmopolitan space and the first port of call for a foreigner visiting the city (Casanova, *HDMV*, Laffont, 1: 179). When writing of Paris, the Palais Royal, the Tuileries, the Bois de Boulogne, la Comédie Française and l'Opéra are the places mentioned by him most frequently. These were places where good society congregated. For those who, like Casanova, wanted to be talked about, these were the places where they had to be seen in order to be visible to the public.

IV. *His travel patterns*

To that end, Casanova's travel patterns were often in furtherance of his pursuit of fame. He was an epic traveller. He travelled from Venice to the major cities of Paris, London, Vienna, Rome, Naples, Berlin, Augsburg, Amsterdam, Riga and St. Petersburg. He usually only stopped in medium-sized cities out of necessity or in order to visit friends. In 1750, London was the biggest and Paris the second biggest city in the Western world.¹⁷ Apart from Dux, Casanova's longest periods in

17 RICHARD SENNETT, *The Fall*, cit., p. 48.

one place were in Venice and Paris (where he lived from 1757 to 1759 and spent a further two years approximately in shorter trips) and he also spent approximately a year in London (from June 1763 to March 1764). His shorter sojourns in secondary places like Berlin, Dresden and Prague were innumerable.

In her excellent study, Roth construes virtually incessant travel across Europe as a definitive characteristic of the 18th-century adventurer.¹⁸ Roth's review of the movements of this group shows a gravitation toward capital cities and seasonal movements to towns such as Spa, Augsburg and Aix-la-Chapelle. She observes that adventurers could prosper only in a large city. In tracking the travels of the objects of her study, Roth finds that their stays of the longest duration were in Paris, London or Naples.¹⁹ I agree that Casanova was an adventurer and note that his travel patterns can be explained in terms of Roth's research. Gérard Lahouti suggests in his preface to the most recent edition of Casanova's memoirs²⁰ that Casanova's movements were due to his curiosity, his taste for change, his scams and his search for a paid position (Casanova, *HDMV*, Pléiade, p. XII). While these factors were clearly relevant, I believe that Casanova was first and foremost a fame-seeker and we should not overlook the fact that his movements were also motivated by this objective. There were adventurers who did not seek to draw attention to themselves in public to the same extent and in the same ways Casanova did. Further, although there is not time to cover it in this paper, he did carry out certain legitimate occupations in public in ways which not all adventurers did.

London and Paris were obvious destinations for a fame-seeker like Casanova. These cities had large populations, were cultural centres and were also visited by the largest numbers of people and so presented the greatest opportunities for increasing fame. One could achieve the highest level of visibility in those capitals. Pietro Chiari's satirical portrait of Casanova is telling. A further extract is below:

18 SUZANNE ROTH, *Les aventuriers au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris, Éditions Galilée, 1980, pp. 9, 24, 81, 283.

19 SUZANNE ROTH, *Les aventuriers*, cit., pp. 87, 91, 92.

20 The edition referred to was the most recent edition at the time this paper was presented. The revised Laffont came out in full after the conference in Venice.

...he talked of nothing but London, and Paris; as if those two capitals comprehended the whole world. In fact, he had resided from time to time in each of these places...London and Paris were always brought into his conversation: London and Paris were the models of his life, his dress, his studies; in a word – of his follies.²¹

This malicious caricature is consistent with what we can deduce of Casanova's conversation from his autobiographical writings and correspondence.²²

V. *His use of networks*

Similarly, Casanova used networks in a calculated way in order to enhance his well-knownness. In order to gain access to exclusive aristocratic spaces which were the sites of so many of Casanova's public performances, he used trans-European networks. He was not an aristocrat but gained access to aristocratic circles in many different cities and also to court society. In some instances, Casanova's relationships with nobles resulted from a fortuitous meeting (such as in the case of Bragadin), a shared practice of libertinism (such as in the case of de Bernis) or Casanova's simulated occult knowledge in which many members of the aristocracy readily believed (such as in the case Madame d'Urfé). In combination with these relationship dynamics, Casanova relied on networks which he could tap into in whichever new city he found himself.

Usually, his initial introduction to an aristocratic domestic space was by way of a letter of recommendation, effectively a system of bilateral exchanges within

21 Translation from Italian.

22 It is clear that Casanova was highly influenced by French culture in particular. Carlo Gozzi once wrote: «aujourd'hui j'ai vu une petite brochure publiée en français par Casanova en faveur de la troupe gallicane. Il y accuse les Vénitiens d'être des gens ignorants, sans goût et sans argent», translation from Italian (Pages casanoviennes. Publiées sous la direction de Joseph Pollio et Raoul Vèze. 1. Le Messenger de Thalie, etc., Paris, Fort, 1925, p. 25). The brochure was Casanova's Messenger de Thalie and Gozzi's comment probably refers to the following passage: «De l'autre côté, la façon de penser des Français, leur courage, leur sang-froid est quelque chose de surprenant. On va chez eux, et on y trouve la gaieté et tous les dehors aisés du contentement: point d'air morne, ni le moindre mot de plainte, et le propos ne tombe jamais sur la mince recette de la comédie: on y trouve le bon ton, la politesse, la propreté, et tous ces charmants petits riens qui font les délices de la société, et que ne nous trouvons ici que chez la noblesse et dans les maisons qui veulent bien s'étudier» (p. 53).

private relationships. Casanova used the more informal and secretive network of freemasonry in a similar way. By becoming a freemason, Casanova was able to exploit an extremely important network which reached across Europe and whose membership was open to non-aristocrats. According to him, he became an apprentice freemason just before his first trip to Paris in 1750. For Casanova and most likely for many others, freemasonry functioned as a club to which men of different classes and from different countries belonged.²³ In his memoirs, he writes of using Masonic greetings at social events and having discussions «entre maçons» (Casanova, *HDMV*, Laffont, 1: 825). Freemasonry provided a common frame of reference which was interclass and also pan-European. He regarded freemasonry primarily as a networking tool to be used to cultivate his fame:

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|---|---|
| <p><i>Tout jeune homme qui voyage, qui veut connaître le grand monde, qui ne veut pas se trouver inférieur à un autre et exclu de la compagnie, doit se faire initier dans ce qu'on appelle la maçonnerie, quand ce ne serait pour savoir au moins superficiellement ce que c'est</i> (Casanova, <i>HDMV</i>, Laffont, 1: 553).</p> | <p><i>Every young man who travels, who wishes to know society, who does not wish to be inferior to another and excluded from the company of his equals in the age in which we live, should be initiated into what is called Freemasonry, if only to acquire a superficial knowledge of what it is</i> (Casanova, <i>HDMV</i>, Trask, 3: 116).</p> |
|---|---|

VI. Conclusions

Casanova's pursuit of fame explains his gravitation to places where the greatest number of people would be, his following of the seasonal movements of good society whom he regarded as his public, his conspicuous occupation of public space and his Freemasonry. Fixated on fame, he engaged in deliberate attention-seeking behaviour throughout his life, notably through autobiographical storytelling.²⁴ Fame was a way for him to escape the confines of his social class. He used newly emerged public spaces, networks and travel deliberately to seek

²³ There was also a related order to which women, such as the Marquise d'Urfé, could belong (Jacques CASANOVA, *HDMV*, ed. Laffont, vol. 2, p. 488).

²⁴ Casanova's practice of autobiographical storytelling, with which this audience is no doubt very familiar, is too large a topic to cover in this paper. I refer the reader to my doctoral thesis.

out and enhance his fame. In response to Giustiniana Wynne and Pietro Chiari who questioned why he was so famous during particular periods, I would answer because he worked very hard to be so. He actively cultivated a particular public image and managed his impact upon the public consciousness.

Where is Casanova's rightful place? In my opinion, it was and remains wherever he was looked at, listened to, and talked about. There is no doubt in my mind that he is with us today and very happy to be so.

MALINA STEFANOVSKA

LEAVING

Dear Giacomo,

Over the years, as your faithful reader, I have kept up our dialogue on many aspects of your life. Don't be surprised, I often converse with an author I am reading, at times arguing with you (my grandmother used to quarrel with the TV broadcasters!), at other times laughing, awed, compassionate. While reading your *Histoire de ma vie*, many bits of mine come to my mind... Our internal conversation endures in spite of our vastly different times and lives, and even though I know that you don't really answer. Over the years, I have been your amused friend, your harsh judge, and occasionally - though I would not admit it to anyone but you - your lover. I would have enjoyed your stories told around a lavish meal, in good company, but most often I am glad that I didn't know you in person. Yet, today I feel like writing about a particular facet of your life that I share with you and understand only too well.

So, even though we gathered here around *Casanova in place*,¹ I don't want to talk with you about any particular places you visited on your many travels, the exotic Constantinople of your youth, Naples where you came back repeatedly and with joy, the far-away St. Petersburg and Moscow, Paris, a city to which you were so attached that you wanted to go there to die, not even your beloved Venice. In particular, I shall not even mention the remote estate in Bohemia where you ended up, so far from the physical and sentimental landscapes to which you were attached. Let us converse instead about the very act that shaped your relationship to places, and defined your existence: leaving. The word is so heavy that a French saying attaches it to dying: *partir c'est mourir un peu*. And it has many cognates you experienced throughout your life: adventure, journey, voyage, departure, parting, going away, leaving behind, abandonment, desertion, flight.

Leaving, then. Let me first sketch its general contours in your narrative: less cheerful than an arrival, it entails fewer descriptions than first sightings, impres-

¹ This letter, read at the Symposium «Casanova in place» held in Venice, on June 29-30, 2019, is part of an on-going literary project titled *Letters to Giacomo*.

sions or acquaintances made in a city where you just arrived. Arrivals to a new place spice up all of your travels, making your memoirs a travelogue, or even an anthropological account of a kind, as it was for London, Russia, or Spain.² Departures, on the other hand, are scantily narrated and include mostly dry, matter-of-factly description of arrangements. Leaving Berlin you state: «Je suis parti avec deux cents ducats dans ma poche qui m'auraient suffi jusqu'à la fin de mon voyage, si je n'en eusse perdu la moitié à Dantzig à une petite partie de plaisir avec des jeunes marchands». («I left with two hundred ducats in the pocket, which would have sufficed me to the end of the trip, had I not lost half in a little pleasure party with young merchants».)³ The departure from Mitau is expedited in two lines: «Je suis parti fort content ... et ayant changé de chevaux je me suis retrouvé à Riga à midi» (III, 248) («I left quite pleased... and having changed horses I found myself back in Riga at noon»). That from Riga is only marked by the date and the weather «le 15 de décembre par un froid atroce» (III, 253) («on December 15th, on an atrociously cold day»), and the *Schlafsvagen* pulled by six horses, that carried you away. And after a year spent in London, contrary to the extensive, lively observations on geography, food, and customs upon your arrival, you barely describe your departure. Having to flee on extremely short notice and sick, afraid of hanging for forgery, you simply mention the few arrangements made before departure, the need to call a doctor *en route*, and the fact that, six hours later, sufficiently in shape to continue «Je me suis retrouvé à Douvres» (III, 202) («I found myself in Dover»). Similar examples abound.

My dear itinerant, I realize that leaving – a place, or a woman - remains generally rather understated in your narrative, your appetite for novelty trumping any nostalgia. Hence, readers who enjoy cataloguing your travels, the food you ate, the clothes you described, your gambling gains and losses, readers who have gone so far as to make a complete tally of the women you loved or seduced, have mostly neglected your departures. Concentrated on travel, carriages, inns, new encounters, you forge ahead. That is at least how you represent your past life. I understand you! Travelers often tend to avoid looking back, focusing on

2 [Of course, the rosy hue of your first impressions may well be in itself the product of a sad parting. The poignancy of beauty, as well as of the excitement it brings, is rooted in its ephemeral essence.]

3 JACQUES CASANOVA, *Histoire de ma vie*, Paris, Gallimard, édition de la Pléiade, 2015, vol. III, p. 242. Further references will be indicated in the text with the volume and page number, followed by an English translation.

their next stopover. Future plans are given more importance than regrets for the past, until the moment when a new adventure acquires a sense of *déjà vu*. At that point, the less adventurous settle in place, reminiscing about adventures they had, dreaming about those they gave up. But not you, you don't dwell on what you leave behind. And yet, that gradually darker mood that colors your exits is precisely what interests me.

The unacknowledged poignancy of leaving is deeply rooted in your personal and family history. For the observant reader, its burden seems all the more important as you make every effort to skim over it in your recollections. You pithily state the early abandonment that you must have reacted to, albeit unconsciously: «J'avais un an quand mon père me laissa à Venise pour aller jouer la comédie à Londres» (I, 19) («I was one year old when my father left me in Venice to play comedy in London»), omitting to mention that your mother as well, left with him. But your silence reminds me that this parting, made even harsher by the birth in London of a rival, your brother Francesco, started an ominous series, ending in the sudden death of your father when you were eight, your mother's expatriation and – while still a minor – the loss of the grandmother who raised you.

This family heritage might explain your deep connection between desertion and denial: I think of Zanetta, crisscrossing Europe first with a husband, then without, accompanied by a protector or alone, a widowed mother of six children of whom she could take with her only one or two, at times none, when she went to earn her living on the stages of London, Warsaw, St. Petersburg, or Dresden. We will never know how her departures and abandonments affected her. Was it without tears that she decided to leave her firstborn barely eleven months old in her mother's care? Millions of such cases even today remind us that this is the usual lot of migrants. Did she think she would come back a month later, as originally planned by her contract with Haymarket's New Theater, or did she suspect the separation would last two entire years? She must have longed to kiss and smell the soft skin of her baby son. Did she shed tears or had she given you up in her heart, doubting you would survive? As Rousseau despondently remarked in his treatise on education, *Emile*, half of the children would not reach their eighth year. You recall your parents' anticipated resignation, necessary at the time: back from London, they barely spoke to you, frightened by your continual nose bleedings, convinced that you would not survive early childhood. Readers have often accused Zanetta of being detached from you, absent in every sense of the word. Yet, as a mother I can't help thinking of her with compassion: your younger sister, little Faustina, died indeed between her mother's engagements

and absences. And what was, by the force of circumstance, the general sensibility of such actresses, dancers and opera singers, navigating between high society and the gutter, at times divas, or half-prostitutes, constantly on stage and most often far from their native soil?⁴ Constant expatriates, navigating between opulence and risk, changing companions whenever circumstances dictated it, these women were like you the «guest workers» of Europe, *Gastarbeiters*, earning their bread far from home. The term is anachronistic but the situation is not, and I know it well, coming from the Balkans, a region shaped by traditional emigration, by desertion and loss. «Guest workers» or Europe know how to adapt to the host society, and ignore useless nostalgia. Even those who become cosmopolitan by choice have to shed their language, relinquish their kin, their foods, their music. They grow a thick skin and don't dwell on the proverbial *mal du pays*. Or at least that's how we represent our lives, don't we, dear Giacomo?

But you understood the price of abandonment early on. You were only nine when your mother took you to Padua and boarded you there to study and escape the bad air of Venice, but your judgment is clear: «On m'embrassa; on m'ordonna d'être toujours obéissant [...] et on me laissa là. Ce fut ainsi qu'on se débarrassa de moi» (I, 26) («I was kissed and enjoined to always be obedient [...], and then they left me. It was thus that they got rid of me»). It is not surprising that Sándor Márai, himself an author well acquainted with exile and roaming, described his semi-fictional Casanova as «that homeless, desperately roguish, and generally unhappy itinerant»⁵ and that your biographer Laurence Bergreen singles out abandonment as the central trauma that you never ceased to reenact in your life.⁶

A year into your studies, after a visit to Venice where you impressed your mother's literary friends and began to dream of glory, you state without apparent emotion: «Huit jours après, ma mère partit pour Pétersbourg» (I, 36) [«Eight days afterwards my mother left for Petersburg»].⁷ You will see Zanetta only once again in your adolescence, as she stopped in Venice after her mother's death

4 Ian Kelly reminds us that more than half of the states in Italy did not allow women on stage. See his *Casanova. Actor Spy Lover Priest*, London, Hodder and Stoughton, 2008.

5 SÁNDOR MÁRAI, *Conversations in Bolzano*, London, Viking, Penguin books, 2004, p. 1.

6 LAURENCE BERGREEN, *Casanova, The World of a Seductive Genius*, New York, Simon and Schuster, 2016, p. 446.

7 You also don't mention that her departure coincided with the death of your sister Faustina.

and between two engagements to forever disperse her brood, taking her youngest with her, leaving you and the other two in care of the abbé Grimani. But no matter, your story bounces, because in your opinion, it is boredom and not abandonment that actually kills children. Sturdy young creature that you were, enterprising, hungry, full of ideas, you constantly forged ahead without looking back. And at the time, you were yourself ready to launch into the unknown, into adventure.

Your own first great departure after Padua was full of vague and hyperbolic expectations: adventure, the goddess Fortuna, was smiling on you. You were forced to embrace it by the chain of circumstances: barely one month following your grandmother's death, Zanetta announced in a letter that «n'y ayant plus d'apparence qu'elle puisse retourner à Venise, elle s'était déterminée à quitter la maison qu'elle y tenait» (I, 112) [«no longer appearing to be able to return to Venice, she had determined to leave the house she was holding there»]. Not only bereaved, but at once left *sans toit ni loi* - and by this very logic of loss and lawlessness - you began to make the world pay for your abandonment, selling all the house furnishings for your personal benefit. And yet, from Warsaw, the absent but not entirely irresponsible Zanetta orchestrated your own new departure to Calabria, to begin a church career with the newly nominated bishop of Martirano. It was good timing, for by then you were ready for a new start. Her letter, you write, made you «frantic» to live this adventure:

Adieu Venise! Rempli de certitude que j'allais au-devant de la plus haute fortune qui devait m'attendre au bout de ma carrière, il me tardait d'y entrer ; et je me félicitais de ne me sentir dans mon cœur aucun regret de tout ce que j'allais quitter en m'éloignant de ma patrie (I, 113). (Goodbye Venice! Filled with the certainty that I was going to meet my career, I was anxious to go into it; and I congratulated myself for not feeling in my heart any regret for all that I was about to forsake by leaving my country).

This exclamatory tirade deserves attention, because it presents departure under another facet, much closer to your character: going forward, surrendering to all that adventure brings us. To leave means to cast off the moorings, to inflate the sails, to head towards the unknown, to follow «your demon» as you learned so well from Signore Malipiero's advice. Those who look back will never leave the firm ground of the familiar. Thinking of you, but also of myself, I hum Charles Aznavour's beautiful lyrics about adventurers:

Ils s'en sont allés,

Aussi loin que leur bateau pouvait les emporter
Pour savoir ce qu'on trouvait au bout de l'univers
Pour savoir où finissait la mer.⁸

I recollect now that your first departures, too, were on the water and that they forever defined your life: still a small child, with your grandmother, you thus sailed across the lagoon towards a witch's magic cure which gave you the sensual impetus to live; then, a little later, sliding along a river and past trees that appeared to you to be moving, you floated towards the discovery of reason and the enjoyment of intellect.⁹

For you, now, I reread Giorgio Agamben's striking pages on the meaning of human life as adventure:

Dans l'adhésion de chacun à l'aventure qui lui arrive, il n'est pas question du choix d'un projet, il ne s'agit pas d'un problème de liberté. Vouloir l'événement signifie simplement le sentir comme sien, s'y aventurer, [...] Ainsi seulement l'événement, qui en soi ne dépend pas de nous, devient une aventure, devient nôtre – ou, comme on devrait plutôt le dire, c'est nous qui devenons siens. (In our adhering to the adventure that happens to us there is no question of choosing a project, it is not an issue of freedom. To want the event simply means to feel it as one's own, to venture there [...] Only thus the event, which in itself does not depend on us, becomes an adventure, becomes ours – or, as we should rather say, it is we who become its own).¹⁰

I understand you Giacomo, because pursuing adventure is also in my genes: switching languages, moving house, changing names, my family ancestors traced my future trajectory as well.¹¹ I learned early on to embrace adventures offered to me, start life again here or there, move so often that I would lose any notion of

8 «they went away/as far as their ship could take them/ to discover what one can find at the end of the universe/to find out where the ocean ended» *Les Aventuriers*, See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z8LMIRu6idk> for the entire song.

9 The episode, in which you discover that the earth revolves around the sun, even though the sun seems to move, as it seemed to you that the trees were moving while it was the *burchiello* (I, 25), is highlighted as a moment in which you discover your power of reasoning. Numerous critics have commented on it.

10 GIORGIO AGAMBEN, *L'aventure*, Paris, Payot Rivages, 2016, p. 67. My translation.

11 My family history in the Balkans is recounted in *Sevdah. Élégie pour un sud rêvé*, New Orleans, Presses Universitaires du Nouveau Monde/University Press of the South, 2020.

home. There was nothing sad about it: going away can be a breath of fresh air, at times a storm but one that clears the horizon. You understood this as well, as you started on your journey to Calabria. Remarkably loquacious given your usual silence on departures, you recapitulate your feelings:

Je suis parti avec la joie dans l'âme sans rien regretter (I, 149) [I left with joy in my soul without regretting anything].

Goodbye Venice, indeed! But let us examine more closely the elation you express at your departure, and what it conceals. As you congratulate yourself again for not regretting «tout ce que j'allais quitter en m'éloignant de ma *patrie*»,¹² I first think that your insistence is a sign of denial. But then, I realize that the very formula is not that of a young man *fanatique* (frantic) to follow his destiny. What adolescent is haunted by nostalgia? Besides, would he even use such a weighty word as *ma patrie*? As I reread the account of your last night spent with Nanette and Marton «between joy and sadness, between laughter and tears» (148), I can't help thinking that the price of leaving, and the regrets it brings, are only felt as they haunt the aging, exiled, writer.

Between adventure and loss, between the promised future and the relinquished past, the weight of going away becomes apparent only gradually, when we no longer know the difference between an end and a beginning, between our origin and our destination, between a home and an inn. As the past solidifies forever in the lines that trace it on the white page, its heaviness is infinite, its significance weighted by the many meanings attached to it: failure, the end, the absence of a future. Your departures, at first lightly taken, then assuming a darker hue, most often expedited in a few lines, reveal these meanings as in a palimpsest.

Take for instance departure as flight, which inflects your trajectory early on: when Cardinal Acquaviva, forced to stop your ecclesiastical career and send you away from Rome because of a scandal, inquires where you wish to go, you opt for the most distant, most improbable destination: Constantinople, on the edge of your known world, opening towards a no return. At that moment, there is still in your decision a will to discover, but there is also a desire to flee from failure as far as possible. So, in the first part of your life narrative, you stage cleverly presented arrivals in which you fashion yourself as an apprentice: the Western

¹² See quote on p. 6. Underlined by me.

traveler in Constantinople, the candid visitor to Paris who – like Montesquieu’s Persians – enabled you to describe from the outside the human comedy of the French capital, a *Chinese spy*¹³ of a kind. Departures to new journeys, are still part of your education.

So was your first real flight, glorious, unimaginable, that took the very shape of adventure as Agamben describes it. It was the escape of the century, an escape from the dreaded Venetian prison of the Leads. This feat that launched your career as a story teller and a man of letters combines in a sublime manner the notion of adventure with flight, success with escape, destiny with will, departure with result. In that sense, your leaving was fruitful. It confirmed your genius, it opened the doors of Paris, and those of the glory brought to you by your unique ability to narrate an exceptional life. Your fleeing was crowned with glory, as were your subsequent stays in Paris, travels to Holland, or Dunkirk, all of which mix politics, high finances, and love.

But then, progressively, your journeys change shape: your exits become haunted by failure, flights become more shameful. Such is the case with Paris, London, Berlin, Barcelona, Moscow, as a matter of fact such is the case with most cities you leave. Arrivals and departures start to amalgamate and echo each other. As your second stay in Paris goes downhill, your silk printing manufacture goes bankrupt and you are briefly placed in a debtor’s jail (then rescued by a rich noble woman friend). You are shaken by your situation: «J’ai décidé de quitter tout: d’aller faire un second voyage en Hollande pour me remettre en fonds» (II, 200) («I decided to abandon everything: to go on a second trip to Holland in order to get back into money»). You leave – or flee? – Paris and return to Holland where you take up your liaison with Esther. But then, when she offers you marriage and financial stability, you leave again, simply mentioning: «I then decided to make a small trip to Germany before returning to Paris» (II, 237). You offer no explanation of your motivations, plans or itinerary, only stating that you never fulfilled your promise to see Esther again.

Going away starts to look like everyday life and I begin to get mixed up in your travels and your feats of seduction and trysts, more and more often facilitated by money. I see less and less the general direction of your life. Is it a search for adventure, or a flight forward, a new start from zero or the fallout of past

13 *The Chinese Spy* was the title of Ange Goudar’s fictional travel narrative to which you contributed.

acts? You who understood so perfectly the irremediable character of Henriette's departure, you hide from your readers – perhaps even from yourself – that most partings are final. When you leave Clementine, with whom you were very much in love, you promise to return to see her in a year, a poor compensation for the irremediable parting. When you part with La Valville, a French actress you met in St. Petersburg who shared your sleeper carriage on your travel back to Riga and Königsberg, you admit the emotional weight of departures, though again only as a denial: «Nous nous séparâmes fort gaiement, et sans qu'aucune de ces réflexions tristes ordinaires dans toutes les séparations de l'espèce de la nôtre vînt troubler notre belle humeur» («We parted very cheerfully, and without any of those sad reflections, common in all separations such as ours, coming to disturb our good mood») (III, 307). Such instances are countless. As Lydia Flem, a perceptive reader of yours points out, «partir, c'est aussi refuser les suites de ses erreurs et de ses étourderies. ... Là-bas et ici se confondent» («to leave is also to refuse the consequences of one's errors and recklessness. ... here and there are being confused»). You do not move, she writes, you repeat yourself, you always play the same piece.¹⁴

Thus begins a long series of tribulations and flights, including another spectacular one, through the window of the Stuttgart Inn where you were sequestered for gambling debts (II, 279). Convocations at police chiefs follow one another, expulsions too. Their logic escapes you, but despite your attempts to fight them, you must leave again. It is no longer the search for adventure, but a flight forward, an acceleration driven by need and seemingly aimless. Another link, more subterranean and which may escape you, seems to be building between your impromptu departures and your seductions: each defeat seems to exacerbate your desire for love conquests which appear henceforth as a sequel, a revenge perhaps, for the status bordering lawlessness that you are systematically assigned. Here is your travel through Italy in your more mature years: expelled from Florence by a «commandment that insulted you» (II, 644), you turn your escape into a game, promptly organizing a kidnapping of the young dancer Corticelli, performed in a carriage, at nightfall. Your next chapter then sets the rhythm: «My arrival in Bologna. Driven from Modena. Parma. Turin. The Jewess Lia. The shopkeeper R...» The swift succession of arrivals and expulsions is striking: the very first evening in Modena, a governor's *henchman* orders you to continue your

14 LYDIA FLEM, *Casanova ou l'exercice du bonheur*, Paris, Seuil, 1995, p. 143.

journey at the latest the next day (II, 648). In spite of your protests, you have to resign yourself. You who used to say that your partner's pleasure makes four fifths of yours, you now start stringing up strictly mercenary liaisons, bargaining and buying women: in Bologna, La Corticelli's female friends provide you with «delicious pleasures, which in this city - as you write - are as good as the food, and besides - cheap!». After Parma (but why did you go there?), freshly arrived to Turin, you set your sight on «the famous unconquerable Jew Lia, who had resisted the attacks of the most famous lovers of Turin» (II, 652) and, immediately enter in openly venal negotiations with her and her father. Despite the sexual tryst that follows, your relationship has nothing of a love affair, quite the opposite. Your budding hostility only increases as you go on bargaining with Lia about the conditions of the exchange of favors: you advise her that it is «a good deal», that «all women, honest or not, sell themselves» (II, 654), and you conclude that that she had «obviously» taken you «for a spendthrift made to be her dupe». Then, having baited her father by the promise of a gain, you wait, «certain to see them come...». I begin to sense that henceforth your conquests follow a logic other than desire or seduction, that they relate less to your presence in Turin than to the forced departures that preceded it. I am even more convinced of it in the subsequent mention that the shopkeeper R. ... procures you the «complacency» of all the girls who work for her, in exchange for discretion and appropriate payments. While continuing to negotiate with Lia, you conclude: «In this happy house I had, one at a time; but always accompanied by another, all the girls of the R. » (II, 661).

As your expulsions and failures multiply, these types of relationships become more common. It seems that every humiliation calls for vengeance, and that this revenge is translated into debauchery. While travels and new discoveries exalted the senses, being forced to leave brings a certain spite. Your erotic conquests begin to echo the military, as did Valmont's, the hero of Choderlos de Laclos' *Dangerous Liaisons*, but your *libertinage* as a man without a proper social status and place is expressed in cruder terms. It is the case with the young opera singer Raton, that you «hired» in Metz according to a formal contract with her aunt, stipulating different payments according to whether she is found a virgin or not, and of which you note: «my soul swam in rapture thinking that I was going to conquer the Golden Fleece which the Argonauts of Metz had coveted in vain» (II, 966).

Your life now cumulates wandering, expulsions, trips to ward them off, venal relations to compensate them. More and more, leaving is implicated from the

very moment you reach a city, as was the case with your last stay in Paris, at a time when you gave up the dreams of youth, and the success of maturity. In passing through it, you see that the city does not belong to you any longer, or more precisely that it never did. Gradually these departures, flights, evictions, returns, and new exits begin to make me dizzy and tired of reading.

As Giorgio Agamben reminds us – going away implies an absolute opening, an uncertainty initiated by leaving, and a complete surrender to our human destiny as adventure. But it takes on a completely different meaning when, back in the Serenissima, you understand that Venice is no longer your home and that the adventurer's return is no more possible than a return to the past. I recognize there the particular melancholia of perpetual travelers who no longer know where to place their mental *heimat*. Perhaps that's why you couldn't help writing the fateful pamphlet *Ne amori ne donne* that reworked your place in the Venetian genealogies, and signed your final exile? Leaving has a new magnitude when it opens on no future arrivals or returns, but solely onto remembrance.

This is also the moment when it acquires the henceforth fatal meaning of the ultimate goodbye: «In life nothing being real than the present, I enjoyed it, rejecting the images of the past and abhorring the darkness of the always horrific future, as it presents nothing certain other than death *ultima linea rerum*». (II, 508). The chilling and unusual statement is a counterpoint to the happy-go-lucky character that you create as you write.

In the end, it occurs to me that what made you into the extraordinary biographer of a remarkable human destiny are not the physical, geographical or emotional sites you invested and then left, but the only one that you never abandoned in your peregrinations: your writing desk, cluttered with notes. I remember that in all your journeys you always carried with you your trunk full of papers, and that as soon as you arrived in a new city, even in the makeshift inns you stayed in, you made sure you had «a large desk to write on» and place your papers and your books (III, 258). If necessary, you purchased one immediately. You often mention that your mornings were spent writing letters or jotting down events of the previous day, and sometimes you wrote throughout the night, as you did after conversing with Voltaire or with Catherine the Great. «Plus je vieillis plus je regrette mes papiers» you declare as you mention your long correspondence with the natural scientist Haller, «C'est le vrai trésor qui m'attache à la vie et me fait haïr la mort» (II, 373) («The older I am, the more I regret that I will have to give up my papers; it is the true treasure which attaches me to life and makes me hate death»). These papers kept you company even in jail! In 1768,

in Barcelona, jailed for carrying on an affair with the commander's mistress, you requested your trunk; the guard was amazed to see that it was «deux tiers au moins remplie de cahiers» («two thirds at least filled with notebooks» (III, 560). In your everyday lodgings, my Giacomo, your writing desk gets more mentions than any other piece of furniture, including the bed, and as many as the carriages that carried you away.

Finally, after the failure of *Icosameron*, the science-fiction novel that made your hero leave the surface of the earth altogether, after you relinquished your dreams of fleeing Dux, you dove into the infinite abyss of writing, aware that you will never be read in your lifetime, but knowing that it was the only way to not go mad. Truly, dear Giacomo, the only place you never left was not your native Venice, nor your beloved Paris: it was your desk, and the last armchair where you dreamed, wrote, imagined, remembered and embellished your life and your countless departures.

GREGORY DOWLING

«BRAW BOBBY-DAZZLER»: CASANOVA IN FICTION

I occasionally come across people who are surprised to discover that Casanova is not a fictitious character, like Don Giovanni or Falstaff. This may be because his figure has come to symbolise for many an age and an attitude; it may also be due to the fact that he has been represented in numerous works that are undoubtedly fiction. In this paper, I wish to consider a few such representations, to see just what aspects of his character have appealed to novelists over the last two centuries and to ponder on the question as to whether these fictitious figures contribute to our understanding of the man or simply add extra lustre to the «Casanova legend».¹

Let me begin with a few descriptive passages from novels in which Casanova plays a central role:

Everything was decoration in that happy city. Luxury became us. In Venice, we were mesmerized by our own entrancing vision in the mirror: the mirrors of the water and the speckled mirrors in our sumptuous bedrooms. In Venice, every boat wore at the point of its prow a lacy little spume of foam.²

Yes, nothing brought you back into the present like fresh fish just pulled from the water. Their scales glistened like tiny mirrors, still reflecting their lost home.³

Venice is not only the bell ringer in the Piazza San Marco, the doves on the white stones, the wells built by Venetian masons, by the ancestors of my mother and father, and stamped with their genius; Venice is not just the rain glinting in narrow streets or the moonlight falling on the little footbridge, nor is it just the bawds, drovers, gamblers, and fallen women whose numbers the procurators register in their musty offices: Venice is not simply what you see.⁴

1 I have limited myself to novels in which Casanova plays a prominent role; in most of these novels he is the protagonist.

2 MICHELLE LOVRIC, *Carnevale*, London, Virago, 2001, Kindle location 158.

3 BARBARA LYNN-DAVIS, *Casanova's Secret Wife*, New York, Kensington, 2017, Kindle location 1478.

4 SÁNDOR MÁRAI, *Casanova in Bolzano*, transl. George Szirtes, New York, Knopf, 2004, Kindle location 866.

Here, on the other hand, is the non-fictional Casanova describing his first view of St. Petersburg:

Je suis arrivé à Pétersbourg dans le moment que les premiers rayons du Soleil devaient paraître à l'horizon. Comme nous étions précisément au solstice d'hiver, et que j'ai vu le Soleil se montrer au bout d'une plaine immense positivement à neuf heures, et vingt-quatre minutes, je peux assurer mon lecteur que la plus longue nuit de ce climat est de dix-huit heures et trois quarts.

Je suis allé me loger dans une grande et belle rue qu'on appelle la Millionne. On me donna à bon marché deux bonnes chambres où je n'ai vu aucun meuble ; mais on porta d'abord deux lits quatre chaises, et deux petites tables. J'ai vu les poêles d'un grandeur immense...⁵

There follows a half-page description of the stoves of Russia: “ce n'est qu'en Russie qu'on possède l'art de construire les poêles... »⁶ And here is what he has to say about Moscow:

Au bout de huit jours j'ai tout vu : fabriques, églises, vieux monuments, cabinets aussi d'histoire naturelle, bibliothèques, qui ne m'intéressèrent pas, la fameuse cloche, et j'ai observé que leurs cloches ne sont pas posées en branle comme les nôtres, mais solidement.⁷

Casanova, as is clear from these samples of his prose, is not a descriptive writer – or, at least, not in the usual modern sense of the term. Ian Kelly states that «he tells us more about the countryside than almost any other writer of the period, although he concentrates on the inns and their inhabitants, the human landscape of country folk and rural food rather than the landscape itself».⁸ Certain things he does describe magnificently: the eating of oysters as an erotic act, for example, or his own clothes, his jewellery and snuff-boxes... But he certainly doesn't go in for pictorial effects. And he doesn't give us Venice as a city of visual splendour.

5 GIACOMO CASANOVA, *Histoire de ma vie*, Édition établie par Jean-Christopher Igalens et Érik Leborgne, Vol III, Paris, Robert Laffont, 2018, p. 470.

6 GIACOMO CASANOVA, *Histoire de ma vie*, cit. (ed. Laffont), p. 470.

7 GIACOMO CASANOVA, *Histoire de ma vie*, cit. (ed. Laffont), p. 516.

8 IAN KELLY, *Casanova*, London, Hodder, 2008, p. 64.

Does this mean that the passages cited above from the novels about Casanova are in some way false or misleading? No, that is not the point I am making. They can be seen as complementary to Casanova's accounts. They fill out the picture, giving us another angle of vision. What is striking is just how many of these complementary visions there are in the world's literature – and in what diverse forms they come. We can get some idea of the diversity to expect by just looking at a list of names of Casanova devotees. What else do the following people have in common?

Charles-Joseph de Ligne
Havelock Ellis
Arthur Schnitzler
Elinor Wylie
Edmund Wilson
Sandor Marai
Stefan Zweig
Rafael Sabatini
John Masters
Philippe Sollers
Clive James
Andrei Codrescu
Dick Davis
Michelle Lovric
Barbara Lynn-Davis
Sebastiano Vassalli
Andrea di Robilant
Matteo Strukul

The list includes historians, playwrights, serious novelists, thriller-writers, romantic novelists, poets, social commentators and literary critics, from all over Europe and North America. This is not to mention the numerous film-directors, artists and musicians who have been drawn to the Casanova legend. In a paper like this I cannot hope to deal with all these people but I will try to reflect on what elements in this legend have inspired so many different writers to present their versions of it in such widely diverse literary modes and genres.

Perhaps the poet Dick Davis has expressed most succinctly the essence of the legend and its particular appeal; here is his poem simply entitled *Casanova*:

Con-man *extraordinaire*, grand cabbalist
Whose angels spell out Leporello's list,

Antaeus who draws strength from touching hearts,
And better-guarded, more lubricious parts;

Shapeshifter, trickster, miracle-producer,
Braw bobby-dazzler, all-the-world seducer,

Commoner, snob, suave crony at the palace,
Ruled only by your own unruly phallus...

High on the Doge's roof you slip, flail, crawl –
But our appalled applause won't let you fall.⁹

«Our appalled applause»: that is a perfect description of the reaction of so many of us. It suggests we are attending a performance – or, as both French and Italian would have it, we are «assisting at» a performance – literally giving it our support. It is our applause, even when appalled, that keeps the performer aloft in his gravity-defying acrobatics. We become complicit; our continual reading of these Memoirs keeps the Casanova legend alive and (in keeping with the acrobatic metaphor) kicking.

Many people have pointed to the dramatic quality of Casanova's life and writing. He was, after all, the daughter of an actress; he was a superb performer himself and was clearly fascinated by the world of theatre. Ian Kelly pays homage to this side of his character by dividing his biography into Acts and Scenes rather than into more conventional «Parts» and «Chapters». And, of course, Casanova himself referred to his own life in such terms:

Tel m'a rendu l'Amour à Londres à l'âge de trente-huit ans. Ce fut la clôture du premier acte de ma vie. Celle du second se fit à mon départ de Venise l'an 1783. Celle du troisième arrivera apparemment ici où je m'amuse à écrire ces mémoires. La comédie sera alors finie, et elle aura eu trois actes. Si on la sifflera, j'espère que je ne me l'entendrai dire de personne ...¹⁰

9 DICK DAVIS, *Belonging*, Athens (Ohio), Swallow Press, 2002, p. 13.

10 GIACOMO CASANOVA, *Histoire de ma vie*, cit., ed. Laffont, p. 272.

However, the critic Edmund Wilson, even while using the language of the theatre, has pointed to another key element in the allure of the *Histoire*:

The real theme of Casanova is the many things a life may hold - the many roles a man may play and the changes brought by time. I have never read a book - either autobiography or fiction - which seems to give you a life so completely. I know of no book which shows so strikingly the rhythmic recurrences which character produces in personal destiny. Casanova's adventures are always different but always the same thing.¹¹

This sense of the passing of time is something that is bound to interest novelists. It is not so well-suited to drama – and certainly not to the drama of Casanova's own age, closely bound as it was to the classical unities. Such themes are the prerogative of the novel, and, in particular, of the long sprawling novels popular in the 18th century, works often influenced by the picaresque (and mock-heroic) adventures of *Don Quixote*. Confining myself to British examples (the most popular novels of the age were predominantly British), I might mention *Tom Jones*, *Pamela* (the character herself is mentioned several times by Casanova), *Clarissa*, *Tristram Shandy*, and the works of Smollett.

Such novels typically have a huge cast of characters, some of whom will disappear for long stretches only to turn up unexpectedly later on in the story. Sometimes these novels are tightly plotted (as in the case of *Tom Jones*), but more often their story-lines seem to owe a great deal to pure chance and serendipity. As Casanova expresses it:

Voilà les beaux moments de ma vie. Ces rencontres heureuses imprévues, inattendues, tout à fait fortuites, dues au pur hasard, et d'autant plus chères.¹²

Henriette famously leaves her message in the window: “Tu oublieras aussi Henriette.”¹³ But, of course, the whole point is that he *doesn't* forget Henriette.

Non. Je ne l'ai pas oubliée, et je me mets du baume dans l'âme toutes les fois que je m'en souviens. Quand je songe que ce qui me rend heureux dans ma vieillesse présente est la présence de ma mémoire, je trouve que ma longue vie doit avoir été plus heureuse que malheureuse, et après en avoir remercié

11 EDMUND WILSON, *The Wound and the Bow*, London, Methuen, 1961, p. 166.

12 GIACOMO CASANOVA, *Histoire de ma vie*, cit., ed. Laffont, p. 1035.

13 GIACOMO CASANOVA, *Histoire de ma vie*, cit., ed. Laffont, Kindle location 13852.

Dieu cause de toutes les causes, et souverain directeur, on ne sait pas comment, de toutes les combinaisons, je me félicite.¹⁴

Henriette will come back into the story on several occasions and in highly intriguing ways, some of which might remind 21st-century readers of the cunningly placed plot-twists in a thriller. The point is that Casanova forgets nothing. Indeed, he tells us that it is the act of remembering that keeps him sane in his cruel exile. We are always kept aware of the fact that it is an old man telling the story: sometimes nostalgically, sometimes bitterly, and sometimes just wryly.

Most people today know only certain episodes from the *Histoire de ma vie*, the most famous, of course, being the escape from the Leads and the Duel; these were, in fact, party-pieces that Casanova would perform on request (the performances seem to have grown in length over the decades) and which were themselves published in his own lifetime as «stand-alone» tales. However, to really appreciate Casanova it is essential to immerse oneself in the full stream; one needs to get used to his looking backwards and forwards: «Nous reviendrons à cet homme à temps et lieu». This last phrase is one of his many Italianisms: *a tempo e a luogo*. We never forget, as we read, that Casanova is an Italian (he never forgets it) – or, to be more precise, a Venetian.

Casanova provides us with numerous examples of the sad effects of the ravages of time: perhaps the most shocking example is poor Lucie, the innocent peasant girl of Pasean, rediscovered in Amsterdam as a prematurely aged prostitute (he even indulges in self-reproach for not having seduced her at the time, as that might have saved her). Henriette, by contrast, preserves all her fascination for Casanova because she wisely decides not to be seen again by her former lover.

Casanova can be wryly comic on the failures of his own body; he not only confesses to episodes of impotence but on one occasion, as he recalls his Errol-Flynn-like adventures in and around Corfu, he comments «De ces trente dents il ne m'en reste aujourd'hui que deux; vingt-huit sont parties avec plusieurs autres outils; mais dum vita superest bene est [tant que la vie me reste, tout est bien]». ¹⁵

14 GIACOMO CASANOVA, *Histoire de ma vie*, cit., ed. Laffont, Kindle location 13852.

15 GIACOMO CASANOVA, *Histoire de ma vie*, cit., ed. Laffont, Kindle location 22813.

The melancholy theme of the departed glories of youth is clearly what drew Arthur Schnitzler to the subject. *Casanova's Homecoming* is set just before the adventurer's return to Venice and is an entirely invented episode. Mixing characters truly taken from *La histoire de ma vie* and others created by Schnitzler himself, the author depicts the aging rake who is only able to win over a young beauty (one who is steeped in the works of the man whom Casanova presumptuously saw as an intellectual rival: Voltaire) by resorting to a trick, impersonating her young lover. What is excruciating about this stratagem is the fact that it is the same trick that was cruelly played on Casanova himself, by the awful Madame F. at Soleure – a trick that had undermined his own sense of himself as a feeling lover, leaving him physically (and quite literally) sick. How could he, the sensitive sensualist, not only have made love to this hideous old woman but also have enjoyed doing so?

Just so, the beautiful Marcolina, once the light of dawn arrives, gazes at Casanova with unmitigated horror:

And what he read in Marcolina's countenance was not what he would a thousand times rather have read there; it was not thief, libertine, villain. He read only something which crushed him to earth more ignominiously than could any terms of abuse; he read the word which to him was the most dreadful of all words, since it passed a final judgment on him – old man.¹⁶

The ultimate horror.

Schnitzler undoubtedly takes liberties with Casanova's story, extending the life, for example, of his fatherly protector Bragadin, so that Casanova gets to see him again on his return to Venice, and giving Casanova a last and far from heroic duel. The short novel provides an unsavoury background to Casanova's degrading acceptance of the role of a paid spy of the Serenissima.

Sándor Márai doesn't take us into old age, but nonetheless gives us Casanova at a major turning point in his life, after his escape from the Leads. He, too, creates another fictitious duel, this time with the Duke of Parma over his wife. This novel shows Casanova reflecting on his relationship with Venice, which remains one of the most curious aspects of his character and his belief-system. Voltaire was clearly amazed that a victim of the Venetian State's oppressive power could

¹⁶ ARTHUR SCHNITZLER, *Casanova's Homecoming*, transl. Eden and Cedar Paul, New York, T. Seltzer, 1922, p. 172.

remain so loyal to the city. Márai, an antifascist Hungarian, who would later be persecuted by the Communists (the novel appeared in 1940), is clearly intrigued not only by Casanova's love life but also by what appears to be his political schizophrenia. In the novel Casanova delivers a bitter diatribe against Venice, which concludes, «I will make it the mission of my life to revenge myself on Venice!»; however, when his companion Balbi agrees with him, he immediately responds:

”How dare you curse Venice?” he repeated, calmly this time, the point of the dagger raised, his victim pressed against the wall. “No one except me is allowed to curse Venice! No one else has the right! You understand? No one!”¹⁷

This outburst is followed by the brilliant descriptive passage which I quoted at the beginning («Venice is not only the bell ringer in the Piazza San Marco...») – brilliant but very un-Casanova-like.

Márai, like Schnitzler, presents Casanova as obsessed with Voltaire; he says of him: «He had no teeth left but that did not stop him biting; kings and queens sought to earn his approval, and this toothless wretch with a single quill between his gouty knotted fingers could hold the world to account with it. Do you understand? . . . I do.»¹⁸ Márai's Casanova does not have the political seriousness of Voltaire, but offers his own unruly life as a defiant response to all systems of government:

I have never regretted anything, nor was ever bored for an instant: I have been stabbed, I have been offered drinks laced with poison, I have slept under the stars without a penny in my pocket, I have no one I could call a friend: all I have is my notoriety, but I have not regretted any of it. The best part of life is gone: I have neither house nor apartment, not a stick of furniture to my name, not a watch, not even a ring that I could truly call mine. I order new clothes in every town I visit and feel no obligation to stay in any of them, yet you, the duke of Parma, are jealous of me.¹⁹

One is reminded of Tom Stoppard's play *Rock'n'Roll*, which seems to propose the theory that the most effective opposition to the Communist system in

17 SÁNDOR MÁRAI, *Casanova in Bolzano*, transl. George Szirtes, New York, Knopf, 2004, Kindle location 842.

18 SÁNDOR MÁRAI, *Casanova in Bolzano*, cit., Kindle location 765.

19 SÁNDOR MÁRAI, *Casanova in Bolzano*, cit., Kindle location 2783.

Czechoslovakia came not from the serious and politically motivated signatories of Charter 77 (including Vaclav Havel, to whom the play is dedicated), but from the rock band The Plastic People of the Universe, because quite simply they «didn't care»:

Why should the policeman be frightened by dissidents? Policemen *love* dissidents, like the Inquisition loved heretics. Heretics give meaning to the defenders of the faith. Nobody cares more than a heretic. [...] But the Plastics don't care at all. They're unbribable. They're coming from somewhere else, from where the Muses came from. They're not heretics. They're pagans.²⁰

That is very much in the spirit of Márai's Casanova – and it is not a bad picture of him, even if it is one tinged with melancholy.

Another writer who focuses on late Casanova is Sebastiano Vassalli, with his 2002 novel *Dux: Casanova in Boemia*. Perhaps it is stretching things to call it a novel, since it consists almost entirely of direct reporting of those final sad days in the castle of Waldstein, and his feud with the other members of the domestic staff – the «Bohemian beasts», to use Casanova's own definition of them.

In *La histoire* Casanova occasionally hints at the sad background to its composition. For example, when describing his encounter with the Marquis d'Argens he tells us that he assured the Marquis that he would never be so foolish as to recount his own life-story – and then, speaking as narrator, he immediately remarks that yet here he is, engaged in that very task. It is, in fact, the only possible remedy «pour ne pas devenir fou, ou mourir de chagrin à cause des désagréments, que les coquins qui se trouvaient dans le château du comte de Waldstein à Dux m'ont fait essayer. En m'occupant à écrire dix à douze heures par jour j'ai empêché le noir chagrin de me tuer, ou de me faire perdre la raison».²¹ He then adds that oft-repeated phrase: «Nous en parlerons à temps et lieu.»

Of course, the time and place never did come about for Casanova to provide his own calm account of the bitter feelings aroused by his quarrels with «les coquins», Georg Feldkirchner, Karl Wiederholt and the chamber-maid Caroline. Vassalli fills in the gap, using the savage letters written and never sent by Casanova, detailing all the humiliations heaped upon him by these beasts, whose names he vengefully twists and mis-shapes in his rancorous accounts.

20 TOM STOPPARD, *Rock 'n' Roll*, London, Faber & Faber, 2006, p. 37.

21 GIACOMO CASANOVA, *Histoire de ma vie*, cit., Vol III, ed. Laffont, p. 1006.

This in itself is a sad admission of failure. Casanova, the arch-performer and raconteur, finds himself isolated by his failure to communicate, unable to speak either German or Czech. What is the point of an actor who no longer has an audience? Of course, the real performance will now take place on paper. And as Vassalli points out, it will be a brilliant celebration of the world that has now disappeared: the glorious Europe of the Ancien Régime in which Casanova thrived:

Casanova non vuole cambiare un mondo che ha amato fino allo spasimo, e che gli sembra bellissimo così com'è, con tutti i suoi pregiudizi e con tutte le sue ingiustizie. Molto più prosaicamente, lui vuole adattare quel mondo alle sue necessità, ai suoi piaceri, al suo ipertrofico «io». (Casanova non vuole abbattere l'aristocrazia, vuole farne parte.²²)

Vassalli doesn't invent anything; he limits himself to reporting very accurately and even prosaically this period of Casanova's life, which is relatively obscure to most people, even though it was the moment when the aged rake actually created the curious and glorious masterpiece by which he became known to posterity. Vassalli's Casanova is certainly not an attractive figure; it is impossible not to sympathise with the other members of the domestic staff who had to put up with his egotistical and petty caprices. Similarly, any thoughtful reader will have to admit that there are many moments in reading the *Histoire* when one sympathises with the victims of some of Casanova's less salubrious adventures (the relatives of the Marquise d'Urfé for a start...).

Another novelist who has taken Casanova just as he found him, adding very little, is Rafael Sabatini. A very different kind of writer from Vassalli, whose portrait of Casanova was part of a series of reflections on the Italian national character, Sabatini is best known (much less so today than in his heyday) for his historical romances such as *Captain Blood* and *The Sea-Hawk*, many of them turned into successful feature films. Son of two opera-singers, brought up between England, Italy and Portugal, steeped in historical fiction (Scott, Dumas, Schiller, Manzoni, Stanley Weyman...), he was always interested in morally ambiguous characters, frequently using the device of the hero-as-villain – often a

22 SEBASTIANO VASSALLI, *Dux*, Torino, Einaudi, 2002, Kindle location 541. Translation: «Casanova does not want to change a world that he has loved to breaking-point, and which seems to him beautiful just as it is, with all its prejudices and all its injustices. Much more prosaically, he wants to adapt that world to his needs, to his pleasures, to his hypertrophic 'ego'. (Casanova doesn't want to tear down the aristocracy, he wants to become part of it)».

hero who has been treacherously used and who is forced into villainy to get his revenge. It is no accident that his most serious historical study was of Cesare Borgia, whom he doesn't exactly redeem, but whose character he shows to be a good deal more complex than is usually believed. It is thus not surprising that he was drawn to Casanova as arch-roguer and rascal – the figure described so memorably by Stefan Zweig in his long lyrical description of the adventurers of the eighteenth century:

They hear of a court, and in a trice they flock thither, the adventurers, in hundreds of masks and disguises [...] They wear brilliant uniforms, said to be those of some Indian or Mongolian army; and they bear pompous names, false as the jewels they flaunt on their shoebuckles. They speak all languages; claim to be the familiar friends of rulers and other people of importance; [...] They devise a new trick for each court. In one they let it be given out that they are freemasons and Rosicrucians; in another, where the ruler has a lust for money, they claim to be extraordinarily well versed in the law of transmutation and in the writings of Theophrastus. [...] They snare the superstitious with horoscopes; the credulous with schemes for enrichment; the gamblers with false cards [...] They are not like the footpads of old, who plundered the defenceless, not like the highwaymen who, pistol in hand, robbed the travellers in coaches; their art is a subtler one. John Law [...] Baron Nehof [...] Cagliostro [...] Saint-Germain [...] Last and not least among them comes our Giacomo Casanova, the historian of the guild.²³

Sabatini draws directly on Casanova as just such a historian: his series of short stories, with one exception, are all taken directly from the *Histoire*; they are given sharp focus and a clear-cut narrative shape, with none of Casanova's gestures forwards or backwards (*à temps et lieu...*). For those who know the original they perhaps add little; for people intrigued by the figure of Casanova they can serve as a good introduction.²⁴

Even if he uses more licence to invent, we can consider Matteo Strukul as following in the same path in his recent novel, *Giacomo Casanova: la sonata dei cuori infranti*.²⁵

23 STEFAN ZWEIF, *Casanova: A Study in Self-Portraiture*, transl. Eden and Cedar Paul, London, Pushkin Press, 1998, pp. 31-37.

24 RAFAEL SABATINI, *The Fortunes of Casanova and Other Stories*, Oxford, OUP, 1994.

25 MATTEO STRUKUL, *Giacomo Casanova: la sonata dei cuori infranti*, Milano, Mondadori, 2018.

This is a straightforward thriller, and, as the author himself tells us, it contains a good deal of invention. The writer actually takes the best-known episode from Casanova's life, his incarceration in the Leads and his escape, and invents an international conspiracy – a not entirely implausible one – as lying behind the whole affair, tying it up with Austrian ambitions over Venice. It is an enjoyable romp, which brings forward Casanova's enrolment in the Venetian secret service by a couple of decades. The conclusion seems to suggest there will be further adventures. This is most definitely Casanova as adventurer, a dashing hero whose sword is rarely out of his hand.

Another novel that connects Casanova with international politics is by the Russian-American writer Sergei Tseytlin, *Sunset over the Lagoon*,²⁶ which sees Casanova as becoming involved in the famous visit to Venice by Catherine the Great's son, Paul Petrovich, the future Czar Paul I, and his wife, Maria Feodorovna, in 1782. The event is seen as part of Catherine's grand strategy to conquer Constantinople. In this novel Casanova, in keeping with his advanced age, is a less swashbuckling figure than in Strukul's thriller, and there are a number of scenes bordering on comedy, if of a rather crepuscular kind.

We come to the last two novels I want to consider, the only two on my list by female writers, *Carnevale* by Michelle Lovric, and *Casanova's Secret Wife* by Barbara Lynn-Davis.

Let's take *Carnevale* first. Once again it is the older Casanova that is presented. But this is not a melancholy portrait. It is Casanova back in Venice and apparently having preserved nearly all of his fascination and his sexual prowess. And it is Casanova as seen by an artist, a person who can therefore paint all those scenes Casanova cannot. In fact, the novelist generously attributes to Casanova a love of art that isn't borne out by the Memoirs (he is described in the course of the novel as having taken the narrator to see the Carpaccio paintings in the Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni by candlelight). Despite his two painter-brothers, despite his friendship with the neo-classical painter Raphael Mengs, there is very little evidence of any great appreciation of the visual arts in his *Histoire*; Titian, Veronese, Tintoretto get no mention – nor do any of his contemporaries, such as Tiepolo or Canaletto or Guardi. He does give us an amusing

²⁶ SERGEI TSEYTLIN, *Закат над лагуной*, Moscow, Aletheia, 2016. This novel has only been published in Russian so far; I have read a manuscript copy of the English version (both versions are by the bilingual author) lent to me by the author.

anecdote about a painting of the Madonna in a church in Madrid, whose breast so distracted the priest that he had it painted over, thereby drastically reducing the number of worshippers at the church. And he criticizes the pretentious statues that adorn the garden where he meets Catherine the Great, but that is about as far as his appreciation of the visual arts goes.

The narrator of Lovric's novel is a fictitious Venetian painter, Cecilia Cornaro, who has the unusual distinction of having been the lover of both Casanova and Lord Byron. It can perhaps be mentioned here that Michelle Lovric and I have had our disagreements – civil and friendly ones – over the figure of Byron and this is not the place to rehash the argument;²⁷ suffice it to say here that Casanova is presented as being everything Byron is not – which is to say, tender and loving. As Lovric's narrator puts it, contrary to popular belief, «[t]he most vigorous organ of Casanova's was his heart. Intimate congress was rarely mere recreation for him.»²⁸ And, of course, by the very nature of the *Histoire*, one can certainly find plenty of evidence in support of such a generous picture – even if an anti-Casanovist could point to other evidence to the contrary.

If it is pushing things to present Casanova as a great lover of the visual arts, it is certainly very much in keeping with what we know of him to show him as devoted to all the other senses, as in this passage on his sensitivity to smells:

He told me how he smelt the darker scents of Venice, too – in Cannaregio, where the living were starving and the dead were rotting on the streets. In Padua, he had smelt the smoked herrings, uncooked sausages, and raw eggs in the pantry, found them, and devoured them.

As his experience taught him more smells, he developed his own tastes. Soon he would learn to love the smell of a lover's sweat. He always adored anything on the redolent edge of corruption, its last flare of flavour soaring up his nostrils. He loved cheeses palpitating with little creatures, garlic-haunted Spanish stews, Neapolitan macaroni, oysters, sticky salted cod from Newfoundland.²⁹

As readers of the *Histoire* will have recognised, this takes a passage from Casanova's preface and elaborates on it, imaginatively and sympathetically –

27 For those interested, see *James Bond meets Goldoni, and more musings on the Byron question*: <http://the-history-girls.blogspot.com/2015/09/james-bond-meets-goldoni-and-more.html>.

28 MICHELLE LOVRIC, *Carnevale*, London, Virago, 2001, Kindle location 193.

29 MICHELLE LOVRIC, *Carnevale*, cit., Kindle location 1085.

and, to use a suitable expression, with relish (as Ian Kelly points out, Casanova is a rich source of information on eating in the 18th century). The novel, as much as anything else, is a love-story addressed to Venice itself, which the reader is made to experience through its sights, sounds, and smells. The city can be evoked at distance by both sound and taste, as in this letter sent by Casanova to Cecilia from Paris:

It's so strange to realise which are the things that make you homesick. This morning I sat in a café in Montmartre. Suddenly the clink of a spoon against a coffee cup brought back to me a vision of Florian and our Piazza, and a thousand Venetians stirring sugar into their coffee, sweetening their already too-sweet lives.³⁰

Barbara Lynn-Davis's novel *Casanova's Secret Wife*,³¹ by contrast, focuses on a single chapter from Casanova's life, though one of the most famous and intriguing: the affair with CC and MM. Quite simply – but also devastatingly – we are made to see the story through CC's eyes. Of course, there have been plenty of writers who have explored the world of Casanova's women – most notably Judith Summers, with her book of that title. But as far as I know this is the first novel entirely recounted from the point of view of one of these victims – if that is not too loaded a term; in this case it does not seem unjustified. And Barbara Lynn-Davis plays, *à la* Casanova, with time as well, so that we get the point of view of both the young Caterina and the mature woman twenty years later.

In particular, the novel explores the relationship between CC and MM. Suddenly we are seeing the convent from the inside and that entails a huge shift in focus. The novel remains faithful to the account as given by Casanova, which is a kind of tribute to his candour. The events are the same ones, in the same order, and they take place in the same settings. But that shift in angle and focus changes everything. In particular, the letters written by CC, in which to all appearances she happily accepts and forgives Casanova's faithlessness, become something far more poignant – and more psychologically credible.

One of the most remarkable things about this novel, which paints such a vivid picture of Venice, is the fact that the novelist wrote it far from the city, relying on notes and memory. The same, of course, is true of Casanova himself.

30 MICHELLE LOVRIC, *Carnevale*, cit., Kindle location 2857.

31 BARBARA LYNN-DAVIS, *Casanova's Secret Wife*, New York, Kensington, 2017.

After this brief survey, the main comment one can make is simply what very different portraits they give us of the man, while remaining, on the whole, true to his personality (or, at least, to certain aspects of his personality). As we have seen, Casanova can appeal to imaginative writers because he offers a chance to explore the theme of time and changing circumstances, what Edmund Wilson referred to as «the passing glory of the personal life—the gaiety, the spontaneity, the generosity of youth: the ups and downs of middle age when our character begins to get us and we are forced to come to terms with it; the dreadful blanks of later years, when what is gone is gone.»³² Jean-Christophe Igalens and Erik Leborgne, in the introduction to the third volume of their edition, point out that «L'expression « être passé » se lit plusieurs fois dans les deux derniers tomes, à propos des ébats amoureux : « mon temps prodigieux était passé » , « L'âge des prouesses dans ce genre-là était passé », « Elle répondit que notre beau temps était passé ».³³ However, as we have also seen, Casanova offers other writers an equal chance to celebrate the spirit of youthful ardour, daring and improvisation – as well, of course, as the mysteries of love and desire.

It is precisely because Casanova is such a «Shapeshifter, trickster, miracle-producer, / Braw bobby-dazzler, all-the-world seducer» that such different works can be created around this figure, ranging from melancholy reflection to bitter comedy, sheer adventure – and, of course, sexual celebration. While I am not making any claims that these works are all of equal literary value (it would be difficult to weigh Schnitzler with Sabatini), they all, I think, testify to the endless fascination of the original character, and they all add their own contribution to the chorus of «appalled applause» that keeps Casanova buoyant.³⁴

I will conclude by adding just one more name to that odd miscellany of Casanova followers that I began with, perhaps the most surprising of all. In October

32 EDMUND WILSON, *The Wound and the Bow*, London, Methuen, 1961, p. 169.

33 GIACOMO CASANOVA, *Histoire de ma vie*, cit., Vol III, ed. Laffont, p. 16.

34 There are other writers I could have touched on: Elinor Wylie, and her very eccentric novel *The Venetian Glass Nephew*, Andrew Miller's *Casanova* and Andrei Codrescu's *Casanova in Bohemia*; the last two I will candidly admit that I didn't manage to read in time for the conference where this paper was given, despite my best intentions. Another book well worth mentioning here is Michelle Lovric's novel for children, *The Wishing Bones*, which was presented at the conference by the author; in this imaginative and highly entertaining novel she gives a convincing picture of Casanova as a child; this novel deserves far more attention than it can be afforded in this footnote and I hope to write about it at greater length elsewhere.

1876, John Ruskin wrote to a friend that he was studying the Carpaccio cycle of St. Ursula at the Accademia. He describes his daily routine, saying: «I strike work at two or a little after – go home, read letters – and dine at three – Lie on sofa and read any vicious book I can find to amuse me – to prevent St. Ursula having it all her own way. Am greatly amused with the life of Casa at present».³⁵

As I said earlier, Casanova never mentions Carpaccio anywhere in his writing (though curiously enough he does refer – with some understandable scepticism – to the legend of the 11,000 virgins). I think, though, it is perfectly reasonable to imagine that he would have enjoyed his paintings. And Ruskin's odd juxtaposing of the two artists is just another example of the many unexpected paths down which the study of Casanova can take one.

35 JOHN LEWIS BRADLEY, IAN OUSBY (eds.). *The Correspondence of John Ruskin and Charles Eliot Norton*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987, p. 387.

MLADEN KOZUL

THE CASIN OF CARDINAL DE BERNIS

Casanova's relation to places is an aspect of his cosmopolitan and nomadic, trans-European lifestyle. Once he grew up, he never had a place we would today call home, a place to go back to throughout one's life. At sixty, he was forced to adopt one, in Dux, as librarian of the count of Waldstein. When he was not trying to escape the harassment of Waldstein's employees, he stayed put, mostly because he needed a dwelling to write. If he was not working on a text requiring a rich documentation, as his memoirs did, he kept on travelling for long months until a year before he died, in 1798, at the age of seventy-four. Apart from Dux, the only other place that could temporarily count as home was his apartment in the house of his noble venetian protector, M. de Bragadin, who owed Casanova his life and adopted him.

We never learn much about this apartment. When Casanova returned to Venice after two and a half years in Paris in May 1753, he was twenty-eight and «delighted» to find himself «back in the city of [his] birth, for a man is always partial to his home».¹ Home was thus less a dwelling than a city, or even better, a state, the Venetian republic. As for the apartment itself, we learn that Casanova was «pleased to see that in the study where [he]used to sleep and write, [his] papers were covered with dust, a sure sign that no one had gone there for three years».² Casanova's study was rather small. He used it to sleep and write, which makes one think that it did not have a separated bedroom. But at M. de Bragadin's, he had a servant and his gondola paid for. He could eat at M. de Bragadin's table, and received ten *sequins*, or about 1100 euros monthly, in today's value, as pocket money.

It might have been Casanova's cosmopolitanism that made his relation to places fluid and decisive at the same time. Rather than counting as home, Casanova's apartment at M. de Bragadin's had a transformative function in Casa-

1 All the references to *The Story of my life* are to JACQUES CASANOVA, *Histoire de ma vie*, édition établie par Jean-Christophe Igalens et Erik Leborgne, Paris, Robert Laffont, coll. Bouquins, 2013-2018, 3 vol, I, p. 930. If not otherwise indicated, all translations are ours.

2 JACQUES CASANOVA, *Histoire de ma vie*, I, cit., p. 930.

nova's life and the story thereof. What he calls «my metamorphosis» made him pass from «the vile profession of violin player» to «being a lord», because M. de Bragadin was a venetian patrician.³ At this point in his life, Casanova estimated that he had «surpassed many of [his] peers [...] in experience and knowledge of the laws of honor and polite manners», which are the clear marks of the aristocratic culture of the Ancient Regime Europe.⁴

Acquiring this aristocratic culture, then, is precisely what Casanova calls his «metamorphosis». Among many other things, this culture implies a special relation to places of the refined pleasure of social and economic elite. Belonging to the aristocracy, at least to the venetian one, and at least by adoption, implies a consecration of the relation Casanova was developing at this time in his life with the places inseparable from the pleasure and privilege of aristocratic *libertinage*. The two years he spent in Paris certainly helped a lot in this respect. In what way do libidinal and narrative topography, and socially constructed image of the self, come together in *The Story of my life*?

It is not by chance that the third book of Casanova's memoirs, which opens with his return to Venice and the affirmation of his mastery of the codes of nobility, also situates its most significant events in emblematic places of the *libertinage* of the Ancient Regime. Central among them is the *casin* belonging to a member of the highest ranks of French aristocracy, le cardinal de Bernis, French ambassador to Venetian republic.

I will not elaborate on commonplace sites of libertine literary tradition. A few brief observations about the etymology and translation of *casin* in English are intended to highlight cultural specificities of Casanova's libertine topography. I will then examine how different places of *libertinage* gravitate around several *casins* that finally lead to the one belonging to the cardinal de Bernis, which offers the perfect example of the site of social and libidinal power of aristocracy in Casanova's time. I will finally look into Bernis's *casin* as a place intimate and theatrical at the same time, structured by the cardinal's gaze.

I. First, then, a couple of observations about etymology and translation of the term *casin*. In Italian, *un casino* is a small elegant house in the countryside. In Casanova's time, *un casino* is a private house, rather small, consecrated to en-

3 JACQUES CASANOVA, *Histoire de ma vie*, I, cit., p. 487.

4 JACQUES CASANOVA, *Histoire de ma vie*, I, cit., p. 930.

tertainment or pleasure, which can include games of chance, social gatherings, and amorous encounters. In as much as its meaning depends on the activities it harbors, *un casino* is archaic in modern Italian, just as its French equivalent, *une petite maison*, is archaic in French. None is used or understood today in this sense.

Casanova franchises the term and writes «un casin». As we will see later, the subtle differences between *casins* in Casanova's narrative are more based on social class than on the type of activity they harbor. But some aspects of the term's etymology are preserved in today's Italian, since «un casino» means brothel, or mess, and when written with an accent, *un casinò*, it means a casino.

In her translation of one of the central French books of Casanova scholarship of the 1980s, François Roustang's *Le Bal masque de Giacomo Casanova*,⁵ Anne C. Villa added an explicatory note after «a *casin*», explaining to the American reader that a *casin* is «what we would call a studio apartment».⁶ As there is no equivalent of a *casin* in anglo-saxon cultural tradition, she rightly did so. However, «a studio apartment» obliterates the reference to the aristocratic sites of libertinism in Ancient Regime Europe and eliminates the isolation of a *casin*, essential for its narrative, as well as social, function. Within the European francophone tradition of libertine literature, of which Casanova's *Memoires* is one of the central texts, the equivalent of *un casin* is *la petite maison*. Around Paris, at the outset of the 18th century, they were the places of discrete amorous meetings, an indispensable element of aristocratic lifestyle. *La petite maison*, with rich and luxurious interiors, art objects, books, mirrors, paintings, and so on, is the setting of many French narrative fictions and theatrical pieces in Casanova's time. Most importantly, what is also lost in English translation of *un casin* as «a studio apartment» concerns the position of a *casin* in a series of sites – opera, garden, parlor, boudoir, and so forth – that all imply illusion, scopic urge, aesthetic and carnal pleasure, and, depending on the social habitus of characters, more or less refined sociability. In the first segment of Casanova's narrative we will examine, these places are inhabited by demi-monde of Catterina Capretta, her brother, Pierre Capretta, in the company of his mistress, Mme C., and of course, Casanova himself. In the second, a *casin* accommodates members of nobility and

5 FRANÇOIS ROUSTANG, *Le Bal masque de Giacomo Casanova*, Paris, Minuit, 1984, translated as *The Quadrille of Gender*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1988.

6 FRANÇOIS ROUSTANG, *The Quadrille of Gender*, cit., p. 111.

illustrates Casanova's «metamorphosis». But because it symbolizes continuity between the two worlds, the *casin* also highlights a notable convergence of libidinal tension and social mobility in Casanova's depiction of his time.

II. In the third book of *The Story of my life*, Casanova meets C. C., Catterina Capretta, a 14-year beauty, in her house, through the mediation of her brother, Pierre Capretta who “plans on selling her to me”, notes Casanova.⁷ The go-between does not expect money for his services, as a modern pimp probably would, but he expects Casanova's help in his muddy affairs. The relationship between Catterina and Casanova starts in her home, which is also the place where her brother-pimp tries to sell his sister. When Casanova, with Catterina's mother's consent, starts taking her out and forming plans of asking her father for her hand, the honesty of his romantic and marital projects is implicitly undermined by a succession of places he is taking her to, as if these places, each of which leads to the next level of seduction and intimacy, imposed their proper logic to the narrative. These places also structure the build-up of erotic tension. Exactly as it happens in one of the central texts of French libertine literary tradition, *Point de Lendemain*, de Vivant Denon (1771), in the third book of *The Story of my life*, the succession of places Casanova brings C. C. to starts with the opera, where Casanova rents a box. After the opera and a diner, he gives C. C. a kiss that makes her understand, as he writes, that «the dove is in the claws of the vulture».⁸

Next place Casanova brings C.C to is the small island of Saint-Blaise, just off the western tip of la Guidecca, where he rents a garden for the two of them, and has a dinner served. He leaves the garden, yet another *topos* of libertine seduction, more enamored than ever. Soon, they return to Casanova's box in the opera house, and after the performance, in the company of Pierre Capretta and his mistress, leave for the *casin* belonging to Pierre Capretta, first of a series of four *casins* that have strategic role in the third book of *The Story of my life*. From this point on, the narrative dynamics will stay related to them. Three others follow: the two Casanova rents, one on Saint Blaise, the other on Murano, and the one belonging to the French ambassador, the cardinal Bernis.

The four characters – Pierre Capretta, Mme C., Casanova and C.C. – have diner in the first *casin* after an opera outing. After the meal, Capretta «throws

7 JACQUES CASANOVA, *Histoire de ma vie*, I, cit., p. 942.

8 JACQUES CASANOVA, *Histoire de ma vie*, I, cit., p. 945.

himself on a sofa, dragging Mme C, who had drunk too much, with him».⁹ The two engage in a full exhibition. C.C. turns their back to them, only to find herself facing a mirror, so she does not miss a single moment of the spectacle. Two things should be noted, concerning Pierre Capretta's *casin*. First, that this scene has heightened C.C.'s desire. In the next *casin*, she will be as eager as Casanova to make love. And second, that this enhancement is brought about by the mechanism of deflected and multiplied gazes, which will be pivotal in the libidinal power game in the *casin* of the cardinal Bernis. But there, scopic mechanisms and their function in the type of sociability they structure will change, in parallel to the modifications of social status of characters. The brother-pimp and his bawdy mistress will be replaced by a French nobleman and a Venetian patrician. However, in terms of narrative structure and agency, the identity of actors will perdure. The ambassador has the power of fitting the female patrician into the flux of erotic swaps, just as Pierre Capretta can do with his sister and his mistress.

The next day, after the scene in Pierre Capretta's *casin*, Casanova takes C.C. to the same property on Saint-Blaise, which, as we learn only now, includes its own *casin* adjacent to the garden. This is where Casanova and C.C. withdraw to, swear eternal love, pronounce themselves husband and wife before the Almighty, then make love.

Shortly after that, C.C.'s father refuses Casanova his daughter's hand, and puts her away in the convent degli Angeli, on Murano island. It is now that Casanova receives a letter from M.M., whose real name seems to have been Marina Maria Morosini.¹⁰ She is a rich patrician and lover of the French ambassador, the cardinal Bernis. She is also a nun, residing in the same convent C.C.'s father put his daughter in. M.M.'s appearance starts the narrative thread in which the Venetian *casin* of the type of the one used by Pierre Capretta, and by Casanova on Saint Blaise, is replaced by the aristocratic *petite maison à la française*, worth of more elaborate characters and descriptions, where relations of social dominance and libidinal tension shape Casanova's «metamorphosis».

III. During lengthy and complex negotiations about their first date, Casanova discovers that M.M. is young, beautiful, wealthy, noble, and «expert in

9 JACQUES CASANOVA, *Histoire de ma vie*, I, cit., p. 953.

10 JACQUES CASANOVA, *Histoire de ma vie*, I, cit., p. 1006.

gallantry».¹¹ She manages to spend the night outside of the convent, and has a *casin* at her disposal on Murano. She is also atheist, witty, refined, and intelligent. Casanova speculates she became nun at whim. During the conversation at the convent's parlor, in which they agree on a tryst in her *casin*, *tête-à-tête*, the place where they will meet imposes the codes of class and gallantry both actors must match. Casanova presents himself as a nobleman. He states that his time is divided between theater, social gatherings and gambling, and that he is closely tied to Venetian patricians. He informs M.M. that on his travels, he met most of the foreign diplomats who now hold appointments in Venice. They tell each other they are rich. M.M. tells Casanova that her lover will be happy if she had Casanova for lover too. Casanova does not know who M.M.'s lover is, but concludes that he is certainly an accommodating one. But precisely because of his magnanimity, which is a distinctively aristocratic value, Bernis will turn out to be a commanding force in the game. He is the one who allows the tryst to happen. He is the owner of the *casin* on Murano where Casanova and M.M. can meet. M.M. warns Casanova right away that it's her lover who makes her rich, and that he is «absolutely» her master.¹² Two days later, she gives Casanova the key to the *casin*.

So how does Bernis's *casin* tie together libido with signs of symbolic distinction and social domination? While we learn very little about the interior of the first two *casins*, or about its relations to the body of the ones who enter it, the detailed description of the third one denotes aristocratic luxury and refinement, which blends the decoration and lights with the object of desire. When she appears there, M.M. wears «the most elegant dress».¹³ Mirrors reflect the candelabra placed in front of them. There are books on the table. Servants serve them an eight-course dinner and the best French wine in Sèvres porcelain. They discuss rare and expensive objects. After a rather chaste night, she puts on the robe of her religious order and leaves Casanova in the *casin*, where he sleeps until noon.

Casanova and M. M. have their second tryst in a *casin* that Casanova rents. Since he now has to match M.M.'s lover in refinement and in exhibiting his wealth, he rents the one that used to belong to the English ambassador to the Venetian Republic. It has five rooms, described in detail, one more luxurious than the other. The eight-course dinner Casanova offers to M.M., with French

11 JACQUES CASANOVA, *Histoire de ma vie*, I, cit., p. 1005.

12 JACQUES CASANOVA, *Histoire de ma vie*, I, cit., p. 1018.

13 JACQUES CASANOVA, *Histoire de ma vie*, I, cit., p. 1025.

wine and delicious food, matches the one they have had in Bernis's *casin*. M.M. has informed Casanova that she would tell Bernis everything about the night she would have spent with Casanova, and that he would learn how knowledgeable in gallantry Casanova was.¹⁴ Through M. M, Casanova is thus letting Bernis know that they both master the codes of the same aristocratic culture. M.M. notes that her lover is richer than Casanova, although Casanovas' *casin* could make one believe the opposite. After the diner, they make love for 7 hours. When he sees M.M. a few days later, Casanova still wants to make sure his ways in his *casin* matched Bernis's, and asks M.M. if she told Bernis how well she was treated there.¹⁵ On his way from M.M.'s convent, Casanova recognizes the gondolier he knows works for French embassy and discovers the identity of M.M.'s lover, who is also the owner of the *casin*.

Their third meeting, which takes place in Bernis's *casin* again, reveals the way the ambassador's gaze structures the events. After that night, in a letter, M.M. informs Casanova that Bernis was in the *casin* throughout, observing their sexual encounter hidden in a secret adjoining room. We thus discover, as does Casanova during the events recounted in the third book, that the *casin*'s architecture, the distribution of its rooms, the rooms themselves, and the objects in them were the incarnation of the aristocratic control over the space and the bodies that inhabit it. Bernis controls his *casin* as the French king controls Versailles. The commanding power of his gaze animates the characters he allows to enter it. In her letter, M.M. informs Casanova that Bernis will watch their next encounter again, and that Casanova should perform naturally, as if he was not observed. He tells her not to worry: he will «play his role perfectly» in the piece authored by M.M. and Bernis.¹⁶ Bernis's *casin* also programs Casanova's and M.M.'s behavior through cultural artifacts – books, paintings, engravings – whose authority is the sign of the socially dominant position of their owner. While waiting for M.M. in Bernis's *casin*, Casanova reads the books he finds in the boudoir. The books «contain what the wisest philosophers wrote against religion and what the most voluptuous pens wrote about love» as well as erotic engravings, with positions some of which they will enact during the night, exposed to Bernis's gaze.¹⁷

14 JACQUES CASANOVA, *Histoire de ma vie*, I, cit., p. 1038.

15 JACQUES CASANOVA, *Histoire de ma vie*, I, cit., p. 1041.

16 JACQUES CASANOVA, *Histoire de ma vie*, I, cit., p. 1049.

17 JACQUES CASANOVA, *Histoire de ma vie*, I, cit., p. 1044.

Bernis's texts and images steer Casanova's mental state and actions just as his invisible presence does.

Let us bring back Catterina Capretta, who retreated into the background at the beginning of the relation between Casanova and M.M. She now sends Casanova a letter to inform him that she is fully aware of the situation, and that M.M. is her intimate friend and lover.

It is only now that the commanding figure of the French ambassador really makes an entrance. It is worth noting that, up until that point, and as far as Casanova is concerned, the cardinal acted behind the scene, or through prestigious symbols of his social might. Soon after the amorous encounter in his *casin*, Bernis, M.M. and Casanova dine together in the *casin* Casanova rents. Casanova¹⁸ is overjoyed to dine with the French ambassador, who belongs to the highest French aristocracy, and treats Casanova as *ami intime*.¹⁹ The meal offered by Casanova must of course match the one he was served in Bernis's *casin*. It cannot be anything but refined, polite and friendly. Casanova's standing is heightened, his narcissism blossoms. The ambassador is delighted by the exquisite wine and dishes, and scrupulously attentive to Casanova's conversation. M.M. suggests inviting C.C. to join them for the next dinner party. During the dinner for four that takes place soon afterwards, Bernis flirts with C.C. They agree to meet again, but Bernis finds a pretext to excuse himself. So after dinner, Casanova makes love to C.C. and M.M., who both show all they know. The four of them agree on another meeting, but this time it is Casanova who invents an excellent excuse not to come, which leads to the session of lovemaking by the trio Bernis, M.M. and C.C.

Let us conclude by commenting on two interconnected aspects of the story that show the centrality of the *casin* in shaping the narrative and the image Casanova projects of himself, constructs for himself. The first one is Casanova's amorous and moral dilemma about attending or not attending the second dinner where the four protagonists should meet. The second one is the logic of this dilemma forced upon him by the site of action, Bernis's *casin*, which embodies Bernis's control over the course of events.

Let us look first into Casanova's dilemma and the forces that shape it. The terms of the dilemma are the following. If Casanova does not go to Bernis's *casin* for the second dinner, Bernis will make love to C.C. and M.M., as Casanova did

18 JACQUES CASANOVA, *Histoire de ma vie*, I, cit., p. 1089.

19 JACQUES CASANOVA, *Histoire de ma vie*, I, cit., p. 1091.

the previous time. As Casanova himself explains, «If I were to attend it, we would all spend the night obliged to maintain decency, and I would seem ridiculous, jealous, greedy, ungrateful and impolite». On the other hand, Casanova writes, «If I were to forego it, C.C. would be lost, at least to my mind. I sensed that I would no longer love her and would certainly have no further thoughts of marrying her».²⁰ Casanova feels shameful about his decision not to attend the dinner, but states he could never decide if his shame was good or bad, and immediately gives up going deeper into the question, because it «would be too long».²¹ But his dilemma is worth looking into, albeit briefly. If his shame was morally justified, he should have attended the dinner and spoiled it; but this is an impossible path, because, in this case, Casanova would have renounced the values of nobility, generosity, and aristocratic *libertinage*. Commenting on this episode, François Roustang contends that «Casanova’s most obvious aim throughout this story is to get out of his promise to marry C.C.».²² According to Roustang, to get there, Casanova is as scheming as the others, and certainly not «a poor man hoaxed by a couple of aristocrats».²³ In our perspective, as his return to Venice coincides with his adherence to the aristocratic code of honor and politeness which is the central element of the character he is shaping out for himself and for the posterity, Casanova is certainly not hoaxed by aristocrats. As I tried to show, he presents himself as one to M.M., perceives himself to be one, is effectively an adoptive son of a Venetian patrician, and can only take part in the intrigue with the cardinal de Bernis and his mistress if he acts like one. And he knows it: «I felt sure that the ambassador’s absence had been planned. They had predicted that I would suspect this, and feel so grateful and honor bound that I would not want to be less courageous than they in trampling nature underfoot, out of an enlightened sentiment and a sense of obligation to be as generous and polite as they were».²⁴ In other words, the sense of aristocratic honor and politeness – Casanova writes that he was “honor bound” – requires that he share his mistress C.C. with Bernis, just as Bernis shares his mistress, M.M., with Casanova.

The second point worth making concerns the role of the sites of aristocratic

20 JACQUES CASANOVA, *Histoire de ma vie*, I, cit., p. 1102.

21 JACQUES CASANOVA, *Histoire de ma vie*, I, cit., p. 1103.

22 FRANÇOIS ROUSTANG, *The Quadrille of Gender*, cit., p. 113.

23 FRANÇOIS ROUSTANG, *The Quadrille of Gender*, cit., p. 115.

24 JACQUES CASANOVA, *Histoire de ma vie*, I, cit., p. 1001.

libertinism in this sequence of events. As we have seen, on several accounts, the *casin* embodies Bernis's domination not only over events, but also over agents who animate them. The *casin* is the manifestation of his economic and social, as well as cultural and libidinal, power. When Bernis leaves Venice for Vienna in 1754 to negotiate the treatise of Versailles, he tells M.M. he may return, but informs Casanova that he certainly will not, and then finally lets both of them know that he is returning to France for good. The disappearance of Bernis's *casin* puts an end to M.M.'s and Casanova's relationship. «Mid-January 1755, we did not have the *casin* any longer», writes Casanova. «We never met again except at the grille».²⁵ The disappearance of the *casin* wipes out libido, and even M.M.'s life force. She sinks into pain and despondency, falls dangerously ill and nearly dies. The power of the *casin*, the aristocratic site of pleasure, commands the memorialist's narration, as it commands the behavior of everyone who sets her or his foot in it. Nobody, not even its owner, escapes the logic of literary, social and cultural codes it embodies.

25 JACQUES CASANOVA, *Histoire de ma vie*, I, cit., p. 1123.

SEBASTIAN DIETZ

**THE BOHEMIAN DESCENDANTS
AND RELATIVES OF GIOVANNI BATTISTA CASANOVA**

In some online sources, evidence can be found that descendants of the Casanova family have been settling in the small town of Doksy (formerly Hirschberg am See) in Bohemia.¹ The town is approximately 80 kilometers from Dux, where Giacomo spent the last years of his life, and both towns belonged to the noble family Waldstein. The clues lead back to Giacomo's younger brother Giovanni Battista, who was director of the Academy of Fine Arts in Dresden. In the course of my own ancestry research,² I have documented the family tree via Giovanni Battista's son Giovanni Carlo – who appears as Carl de Casanova in Catholic church records from Doksy as well as in the Austrian military records – and his granddaughter Carolina. I'll describe these connections in this article. In particular, it is astonishing how the Casanovas, then a family of some repute, found their way to a countryside town and aligned with a family of craftsmen. Their story also tells of social rise and decline in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

I. Giovanni Battista Casanova and his family

Giovanni Battista Casanova was the third son of Giovanna Maria (“Zanetta”) Farussi and the second younger brother of Giacomo. In the memoirs of the latter, the relationship between the brothers is described as not really positive.³ This is potentially due to the assumption that Giacomo (born 1725) was an illegitimate offspring of the Venetian nobleman Michele Grimani, whereas Giovanni Battista (born 1730) is clearly a biological son of her husband Gaetano Giuseppe Casano-

1 PABLO GÜNTHER, *Elisabeth-Joe Harriet*, «Casanova Magazine» [website] (Jun 1996), accessed in 2021 at <https://giacomo-casanova.de/harriet.htm>.

2 Giovanni Battista Casanova is the author's great-uncle 9 generations back.

3 ROLAND KANZ, *Giovanni Battista Casanova (1730-1795): Eine Künstlerkarriere in Rom und Dresden*, Munich, Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2008, p. 21.

va⁴. Giovanni Battista was married to Teresa Roland (died Dresden 01.09.1779), whose father was from Avignon and worked as an innkeeper in Rome. Teresa is briefly described in Giacomo's memoirs:

Elle avait une taille élégante, un air gai, et de candeur, et elle pouvait passer pour jolie, malgré que sa figure n'avait de frappant que ses yeux. Mon enthousiasme diminua; mais mon frère sans me rien dire jeta sur elle un si fort dévolu qu'une année après il se laissa attraper. La jeune Thérèse sut se faire épouser, et deux ans après il la conduisit avec lui à Dresde, où je l'ai vue cinq ans après avec un poupon. Elle est morte étique dix ans après.

[She had an elegant figure, her manner was cheerful and frank, and she could pass for pretty, though her only striking feature was her eyes. My enthusiasm diminished; but my brother, without saying a word to me, took such a fancy to her that, a year later, he let himself be trapped. The young Teresa had the art to make him marry her, and two years later he took her with him to Dresden, where I saw her five years afterward with an infant. She died of consumption ten years later].⁵

Giovanni Battista Casanova and Teresa Roland had four children:⁵

- 1) Giovanni Carlo, born Dresden 1765, officer in the Austrian army, described below
- 2) Lorenzo, born Dresden 1767, student at the Academy of Fine Arts in Dresden
- 3) Maria Teresa Giovanna, born Dresden 1769, died Dresden 1842, married to Rudolf August von Wessening
- 4) Maria Carolina Augusta, born Dresden 1774, died 1848

A fifth illegitimate daughter of Giovanni Battista, Guglielma Ruffini, is only mentioned in Giacomo's memoirs⁶. A sixth illegitimate child by a mistress named Rossi (a liaison formed after Teresa died) was also alleged⁷.

4 ROLAND KANZ, *Giovanni Battista Casanova*, cit., p. 20.

5 Source for the genealogy: ROLAND KANZ, *Giovanni Battista Casanova*, cit., p. 24-25. See also <https://gw.geneanet.org/rivallain?lang=en&p=gaetano+giuseppe+giacomo&n=casanova>.

6 ROLAND KANZ, *Giovanni Battista Casanova*, cit., p. 25

7 One source is ROLAND KANZ, *Die Brüder Casanova*, Berlin, Deutscher Kunstverlag (DKV), 2013, p. 324.

II. *Giovanni Carlo de Casanova*

Some information on Carlo can be found in his uncle's letters, where he is described as selfish and profit-seeking.⁸ Those characteristics are confirmed in the estate files of his sister Teresa.⁹ According to the church registers of Doksy, he was married in Regensburg (Bavaria) to Emerentia Graf from this city. His military career can be reconstructed from the Austrian military records (*Militär-Schematismen des österreichischen Kaiserthums*):¹⁰

- 1815: Captain in the infantry regiment No. 17 (“Reuss-Plauensches”), based in Mlada Blaselav (close to Doksy, approximately 30 kilometers away)
- 1831: Promotion to Major at the frontier infantry regiment No. 5 in Varazdin, Croatia
- 1835: Lieutenant Colonel at the frontier infantry regiment No. 5 in Varazdin, Croatia
- 1838: Colonel and commander of the frontier infantry regiment No. 2 in Carlstadt/Otocan, Croatia
- 1844: Retired as Colonel in Varazdin, Croatia.

It is remarkable that Carlo used a noble title – French “de” or German “von” – during his career, although there is no formal ennoblement known, either of him or his father. Also, in the Austrian army, no automatic ennoblement existed (unlike, for example, in Russia or Denmark at that time), and the Austrian military records show indeed many commoners as low-ranking officers (lieutenant to captain). Perhaps the fabled background of the Casanovas¹¹ may have motivated him to use such a title.

Below, we will take a closer look at his daughter Carolina, for whom all information is taken from the Catholic church registers of Doksy. She is born in Hanover and always referred to as Carolina/Karolina de/von Casanova. Other children of Carlo are not known.

8 ROLAND KANZ, *Giovanni Battista Casanova*, cit., p. 24.

9 ROLAND KANZ, *Giovanni Battista Casanova*, cit., p. 25. See also the estate files in Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv (SHStA) Dresden, No. 2604.

10 Online source https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/collection/austrian_state_archives_MilitarAlmanachSchematismus/.

11 GIACOMO CASANOVA, *Histoire de ma vie*, éd. établie par Jean-Christophe Igalens et Érik Leborgne, Paris, Laffont, 2013, tome 1, pp. 21-22.

III. *A social rise in Doksy: Mysterious background of Elisabeth Konrad/Renger, mother-in-law of Carolina de Casanova*

On 14.05.1815, Carolina was first married to the surgeon Joseph Karl Dittrich (listed as «Chirurgus et Magister artis obstetriciae» in the marriage record) from Doksy. See Figure 1. It can be assumed that the marriage was arranged during the deployment of her father as a captain in Mlada Boleslav. Joseph Karl comes from a local family of craftsmen who also have been members of the local city council for generations. However an academic education never appears with members of the family. Dittrich's marriage to a noble officer's daughter is rather untypical for a Bohemian countryside town, where the local family clans usually married among each other. More importantly, although Doksy had a town charter, it was not a royal town but belonged to the counts Waldstein, which implied that all citizens were subjects to them and not free citizens. Therefore the marriage of a free person like Carolina with a subject like Dittrich is even more curious.

Perhaps the interesting background of Elisabeth Dittrich, née Konrad, the mother of Joseph Karl Dittrich, explains the relationship. In the marriage record from 1815 she is mentioned as «Konradtin» from house No. 28 in Doksy. This house was owned by the Konrad family. Their profession was *Lebzelter* (gingerbread baker) for the whole 18th and 19th century. However in all other church records – like in the birth register of Joseph Karl – she is mentioned as «née Renger». We can't verify she was really born a Renger, because, although the Renger family lived in Doksy, they belonged to the parish of Bělá pod Bezdězem (in German, Weisswasser), where church records are incomplete. However, calculated back from her death record, her birth year is 1746. A marriage record for Joseph Renger and Maria Elisabeth Konrad (daughter of Benedikt Konrad) exists for 1747 in Doksy, such that it can be assumed that she was an illegitimate child born before the marriage of her parents but legitimated afterwards. Such a procedure can be observed several times in 18th century Bohemian church records.

Elisabeth Konrad/Renger marries Simon Sevarais on 20.11.1776 in Doksy.¹² He is the chamberlain of Prince Auersperg, one of the leading noblemen of the Habsburg empire at the time. In their marriage record both are mentioned as «libera», i.e., free persons not being subjects of noblemen. Now, the question

¹² State Archive Litomerice, Inventory Nr. 1445, Signature L27/8, Folio 82.

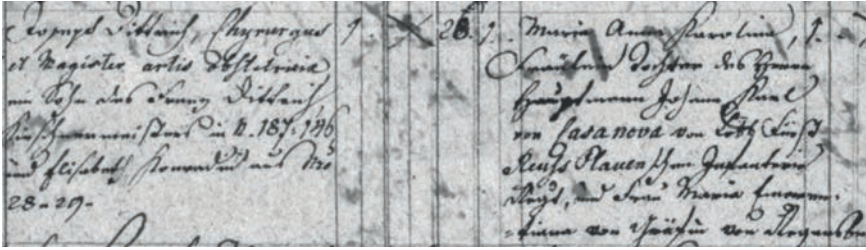


Figure 1: Marriage record of Joseph Dittrich and Carolina von Casanova, 14.05.1815, Doksy. Giovanni Carlo, the bride's father, appears as "Herr Hauptmann Johann Karl von Casanova". Source: State Archive Litomerice, Inventory Nr. 1447, Signature L27/10, Folio 36.

is, how is Simon Sevarais connected with Doksy? A marriage between Countess Leopoldine Francisca von Waldstein and Prince Wilhelm von Auersperg is reported for 10.02.1776.¹³ So we may assume the chamberlain Sevarais accompanied the prince to visit his Waldstein parents-in-law in Doksy shortly after the marriage and Sevarais met his wife there. For the couple no kids are reported.

Sevarais must have died before 1785, because in August 1785 his widow Elisabeth Sevarais marries Franz Dittrich, citizen and furrier master in Doksy.¹⁴ At the age of over 40 years, she had two sons:

- 1) Joseph Karl Franz, born 20.03.1787, who became a surgeon.¹⁵
- 2) Karl Franz Wenzel, born 27.09.1790, who became a furrier master.¹⁶

In a family of furriers, the medical education of the eldest son is unusual and might have been backed and financed by the contacts of his mother, as well as his marriage to Carolina de Casanova.

¹³ MIHA PREINFALK, *Auersperg. Geschichte einer europäischen Familie*, Graz-Stuttgart, Stocker, 2006, p. 541.

¹⁴ State Archive Litomerice, Inventory Nr. 1446, Signature L27/9, Folio 4.

¹⁵ State Archive Litomerice, Inventory Nr. 1440, Signature L27/3, Folio 26.

¹⁶ State Archive Litomerice, Inventory Nr. 1440, Signature L27/3, Folio 62.

However, the marital happiness did not last long: Joseph Karl died when only 30 years old on 12.10.1816.¹⁷ Three years later another uncommon event occurred: Carolina married her brother-in-law Karl Franz on 23.11.1819.¹⁸ Such a relationship is rather uncommon for the time in Bohemia, and it calls to mind the biblical levirate marriage, recommended in Deuteronomy 25:5: «If brethren dwell together, and one of them die, and have no child, the wife of the dead shall not be married abroad unto one not of his kin; her husband's brother shall go in unto her, and take her to him to wife, and perform the duty of a husband's brother unto her».

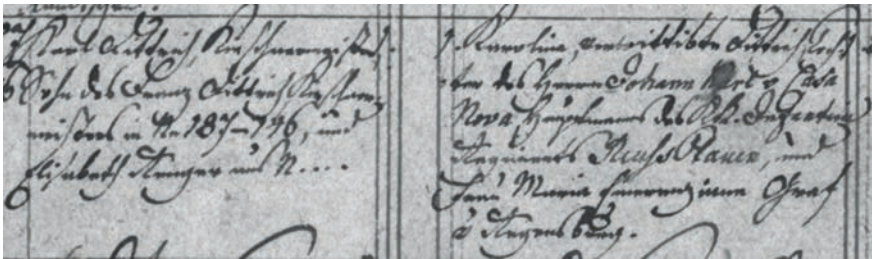


Figure 2: Marriage record of Karl Franz Dittrich and Carolina, widow of Joseph Karl Dittrich, daughter of Johann Karl von Casanova 23.11.1819. (State Archive Litomerice, Inventory Nr. 1447, Signature L27/10, Folio 44).

IV. Craftsmen and the lower middle class: the descendants

In total 12 descendants are reported in the church records of Doksy from the marriage of Carolina von Casanova and the Dittrich brothers. These descendants intermarried with local families, such that there are potentially plenty of Casanova descendants in this region. Extant church records list the following direct descendants and their spouses:

Children with first husband Joseph Karl Dittrich:

- 1) Karl, born 2.2.1816

¹⁷ State Archive Litomerice, Inventory Nr. 1451, Signature L27/14, Folio 71.

¹⁸ State Archive Litomerice, Inventory Nr. 1447, Signature L27/10, Folio 44.

ment Casanova granddaughter. The last time Carolina de Casanova is mentioned is on 10.01.1903, when her youngest son Martin married the second time at the age of 60 years; see Figure 3. Only in this marriage record do we learn that she was born in Hanover.

V. *Conclusion*

The 12 direct descendants of Carolina Casanova indicate that in many families from Doksy and the area around a relation to the Casanova family can be detected. This is also the case for my own ongoing ancestry research, where some connections – however not a direct line – are already identified. Further research may lead to a full list of potential descendants of Carolina. Also the background of Giovanni Carlo's wife Emmerentia from Regensburg might be of some interest. Marriage records from Hanover or birth records from Regensburg can be a strating point. However it is unclear if she was catholic or protestant and therefore with which confession's church records to start. Mixed confession marriages were uncommon in the 18th century, but cant be excluded, especially for an international family like the Casanovas. Details about marriage to Emmerentia might even contribute some information about the noble title used by Giovanni Carlo.

MA DOVE STA SCRITTO?

Nel secondo numero di *Casanoviana* (2019) è riportato un articolo a firma del Prof. Roberto Musì che mi ha incuriosito, ma anche non poco meravigliato!

Esso si compone per tre quarti di notizie ben note che il Musì aveva già da tempo fatto conoscere circa le frequentazioni di Casanova nell'Italia del Sud e, per un quarto, su tre interessanti articoli, pubblicati nel 1980 e sconosciuti a tutti i casanovisti; due su un periodico regionale, *Voce della Campania*, a firma del giornalista Ugo Di Pace e del bibliotecario, Pasquale Natella, ambedue ben noti e profondi cultori di Storia Locale del Salernitano,¹ ed un articolo sul quotidiano romano *Il Tempo*, a firma del Prof. Ruggero Moscati.²

Il Di Pace ed il Natella ritenevano d'aver identificato il *Marchese C.* colui il quale aveva sposato *Leonilda*, la figlia che Casanova afferma aver avuta dalla famigerata *Lucrezia*, quest'ultima da lui conosciuta durante il ritorno a Roma dalla Calabria nel 1744/45. Per inciso, ricordo che casanovisti del calibro di Antonio Valeri, Benedetto Croce, Fausto Nicolini e Andrea Zottoli, nel tempo, avevano cercato di identificare, con esito negativo, il personaggio.³

Lucrezia, era stata identificata da James Rives Childs, così questi credeva, in un articolo pubblicato nel 1961 in *Casanova Gleanings*,⁴ in una certa Anna Maria D'Antoni (1717-1783), sposata al pittore Alessio Val[]ati nel 1734 e *Le-*

1 UGO DI PACE, *Incesto salernitano* – PASQUALE NATELLA, *Notti calde in palazzi freschi*, «Voce della Campania», Salerno, a. VIII, n.6, 13 aprile 1980, pp. 62-65. Colgo l'occasione per ringraziare il Dott. Natella, bibliotecario, già responsabile dei manoscritti della Biblioteca Provinciale di Salerno, per la sua disponibilità nei miei riguardi e per la simpatia dimostratami.

2 RUGGERO MOSCATI, *Gli svaghi salernitani del cavalier Casanova*, Roma, «Il Tempo», 21 agosto 1980.

3 BIBLIOTECA DEL MUSEO CORRER DI VENEZIA, Archivio A. Ravà, Materiali di lavoro, 1,6, busta 45 *Carteggio Valeri/Croce*; CROCE, Benedetto, *Aneddoti e profili settecenteschi*. Palermo, Sandron, 1922, p. 60, n.2; BENEDETTO CROCE, *Aneddoti di varia letteratura*. Napoli, Ricciardi, 1942, v. II, p.231, n.1; FERDINANDO GALIANI, *Del dialetto napoletano. Con introduzione e note di Fausto Nicolini*, Napoli, Ricciardi, 1923, p. 304; ANDREA ZOTTOLI, *Giacomo Casanova*. Roma, Tumminelli, 1945, vol. II, pp. 256-266.

4 JAMES RIVES CHILDS, *Further Identifications*, «Casanova Gleanings», iv (1961), pp. 25-28.

onilda in sua figlia Teresa (1741-?), cosa quest'ultima impossibile in quanto Teresa/*Leonilda*, da successive e recenti ricerche archivistiche, risulterà sposata e vivente a Roma certamente sino al 1778 e quindi impossibilitata a divenire la sposa del marchese C. ed incontrare Casanova a Salerno nel 1770.

Ma devo, per completezza, segnalare che Anna Maria D'Antoni aveva un'altra sola sorella, coetanea di Casanova, *Lucrezia* Marta (1725-?), che aveva sposato, nel 1745, un sarto di nome Filippo Tomasi con il quale aveva avuto due figlie, una nata morta nel 1746, l'altra di nome *Angelica Orsola* (1749-?), che vista la data di nascita, non può essere stata figlia di Casanova.⁵

Poiché mi sembra di aver spiegato ampiamente la prassi compositiva di Casanova,⁶ il quale per voler celare i veri nomi, o per mancanza di memoria, spesso usava cambiare o scambiare i nomi dei suoi personaggi, credo si possa affermare che Childs abbia avuto piena ragione a considerare la famiglia D'Antoni quella referentesi alla narrazione fatta sulle memorie, anche se non nei personaggi scambiati vicendevolmente. Ma per la coincidenza dei nomi citati da Casanova, *Lucrezia* e *Angelica Orsola*, essi ben combaciano con quelli archivistici, confermando che si tratta proprio della famiglia da lui identificata. Per queste recenti e più precise notizie e date, a mio giudizio, le vicende di Casanova con questa famiglia (viaggio, frequentazione romana, Tivoli, gita a Testaccio e quant'altro) devono essere circoscritte ai soli anni 1744/45 e non avere avuto alcun seguito nel 1770.

Ma noi sappiamo che tra le prassi compositive del veneziano, narrando l'incontro, causale o voluto che fosse, con alcuni personaggi vi era quella di "traslare" su di essi il carattere o la personalità, già descritta precedentemente per altri, forse anche per evitare, letterariamente, di "inserire" nuovi protagonisti; valga ad esempio per tutti la *Bellino/Teresa*.⁷

5 I documenti genealogici dell'intera famiglia D'Antoni (battesimi, matrimoni, morti e stati delle anime) sono consultabili sotto l'anno e per parrocchia (S. Maria della Minerva, S. Susanna, S. Lorenzi in Damaso, S. Eustacchio, S. Salvatore in Campo, S. Lorenzo in Lucina, S. Maria in Aquiro) presso l'Archivio Storico del Vicariato di Roma.

6 FURIO LUCCICHENTI, *Quelques personages romains del memoires Menicuccio, Armellina, Emilia Scolastique, etc.. Essai d'identification*, «Casanova Gleanings», xxii (1979), pp. 29-39; ID., *La prassi memorialistica di Casanova*, «L'Intermédiaire des Casanovistes», xii (1995), p. 31. Tale prassi memorialistica coincide pienamente con quella dello Zottoli nel suo *Giacomo Casanova* citato (vol. II, p.265).

7 STEFANO FEROCI, FURIO LUCCICHENTI, *En travestie. Bellino-Teresa*. Roma, presso gli autori, 2015, p. 37.

Gli interessanti articoli di Di Pace e Natella, che sostengono la tesi di identificazione nel Marchese C. con *Giacomo Antonio* 11° *Carrara*, io credo possano essere presi in seria considerazione per alcuni particolari probanti, benché, aimé, soffrano di due mancanze: la prima è che, per motivi di limitata diffusione del periodico, *Voce della Campania*, i casanovisti europei ne rimasero all'oscuro sino al 2019, e che quello di Moscati, pur pubblicato su un quotidiano nazionale, *Il Tempo*, sembrò essere una poco interessante “querelle” tra storici locali; la seconda mancanza fu che tali scritti, non essendo stati editati su riviste storico-filologiche, non riportarono le fonti archivistiche, per cui erano avallati solo dalla serietà e credibilità degli autori, fonti che sono, invece, elementi fondamentali per chi legge o scrive di “Storia”.

Per questa ragione, penso che il Prof. Musì sia stato costretto a citare pedissequamente gli articoli di Di Pace, Natella e Moscati (quest'ultimo poi aderì con riserva, sia pure a voce, alla identificazione fatta dai primi due), senza verificare, confermare o arricchire di qualche novità la storia salernitana di Casanova. Anzi, egli ritenne pienamente veritiera la narrazione fatta da Casanova, considerandola la continuazione di quella romana!

Ma ciò che mi ha meravigliato è quando, non si sa su quale base, egli affermava che:

Giacomo Antonio juniore Carrara [...] rimasto vedovo della prima [moglie, Cecilia Ravenna] [...] sposò [...] una certa Leonilda Vallati, figlia di una tale Lucrezia di Roma avuta nientemeno da Giacomo Casanova [...].

Da quali documenti egli ha desunto tale affermazione NON dice ! Ho avuto occasione recentemente di parlare personalmente con il Dott. Pasquale Natella, e ricevere alcune precisazioni e conferme, anche scritte, su quanto da lui reperito presso l'*Archivio Storico Diocesano* di Salerno, quest'ultimo anche da me consultato.⁸ Ma NULLA di più di quanto trovato dal Natella è trapelato

⁸ ARCHIVIO STORICO DIOCESANO DI SALERNO, Parrocchia di S. Gregorio, *Stati delle Anime*, 1745, f. [13v] Giacomo Carraro di anni 29 (quindi nato nel 1716); *Stati delle Anime* 1746-1763, libri dispersi; *Stati delle Anime* 1764, f. [2v] Giacomo Carraro, sua moglie Cecilia Ravenna e figli (elencati ma senza l'età). *Libro per registrazioni parrocchiali di S. Gregorio, Matrimoni, Nascite e Morti 1712-1764: Matrimoni* 1745-1746, p. 225-232; *Libro delle Posizioni Matrimoniali 1745-1746*. La mancanza dei relativi documenti (battesimo, cresima e testimonianze di stato libero e trascrizione) è probabile sia dovuta alla modalità in cui avvenne il matrimonio. Infatti, il mentore di tale matrimonio, che agì tramite *Procura*, fu Mons. Ettore dei duchi di Quarto di

che possa confermare quanto scritto dal Prof. Musì circa un secondo matrimonio (Carrara/Val[1]ati).

A completamento di quanto ho scritto aggiungo le già note, ma rare notizie, circa il nucleo familiare di Giacomo Antonio II° Carrara (1716-1770), il quale ebbe a sposare unicamente, tramite procura, nel 1745, Cecilia Ravenna di Roma (ivi residente nello stesso periodo in cui Casanova vi si trovava!), dalla quale ebbe 8 figli, dei quali 2 femmine.⁹

Il diretto discendente di Giacomo Antonio II° Carrara, Domenico Maria II° (1752-?), sposatosi nel 1778, potrebbe, per età, essere quello che Casanova dichiara d'aver incontrato a Praga, per l'incoronazione di Leopoldo II° d'Austria, nel 1791, ammesso che la famiglia Carrara sia quella giusta. Ma quest'ultima è una mia supposizione e con le supposizioni non si scrive la "Storia", ma si fa del *Gossip* (*olim* chiacchiere).

ROBERTO MUSÌ - *Postilla*

Fui io stesso che inviai a Luccichenti fotocopia dello scritto del Moscati, destinato alla rubrica *Bibliographical Notes* dell'IdC, in quei primi anni della nostra amicizia. Comunque, da allora, per conto mio, iniziai una lunga ricerca

Belgioioso (1698-1763), famiglia patrizia di Salerno, all'epoca vescovo di Caserta. BIBLIOTECA PROVINCIALE DI SALERNO, *Famiglie nobili delli trè Seggi della città di Salerno*, ms. [Pinto] n° 19, p. 37.

9 Il cognome Ravenna, appartiene ad una famiglia di origine ebraica, presente sin dal 1469 a Ferrara, ma si ha notizia che un ramo lorenese, forse di essa, si trasferì, nel sec. XVI° a Genova e che, a sua volta, una parte si trasferì a Roma nel sec. XVII°, dove assurse a numerose cariche comunali. Cfr. *Libro d'oro del Campidoglio*. Roma, Tip. Vera Roma, 1893, vol. I°, p. 105 (Chirografo del 2/5/1853); ANGELO SCORZA, *Le famiglie nobili di Genova*, Genova, Waser & Co., 1924, p. 203, n° 636; SILVIO FINZI MAGRINI, *Storia degli ebrei di Ferrara dalle origini al 1943*, Livorno, Belforte, 2015. Riguardo la famiglia Carrara sarà utile sapere ai futuri ricercatori che, alla fine del secolo XIX°, gli ultimi rappresentati della famiglia erano 3 fratelli celibi, membri dell'Ordine di Malta, i quali decisero di lasciare in eredità i propri beni all'Ordine, e così avvenne. È molto probabile che essi avessero donato anche ciò che rimaneva dell'Archivio di Famiglia e che esso fosse rappresentato dal fondo costituito da 5 faldoni ancor oggi conservato nell'Archivio Storico Comunale di Salerno. Tale fondo, a suo tempo, fu consultato sia dal Prof. Moscati e, qualche anno fa, dalla Prof.ssa Mietta del Grosso di Salerno. Ma tale fondo oggi, per la mancanza di un Inventario, risulta inconsultabile dagli studiosi.

per avere l'articolo e mettermi in contatto soprattutto con i due salernitani. Cosa che durò alcuni anni. Poi finalmente riuscii a incrociare solo Natella (2017) perché Di Pace era morto nel 2014 (all'età di 76 anni). Quando finalmente contatto Natella, *o gran bontà dei cavalieri antiqui!* da amico, quale dimostrò di essere, mi manda l'intero servizio della rivistina "*Voce della Campania*" (domenica 13 aprile 1980). A quel punto, cosa faccio? Mi butto a capofitto sull'argomento e cito "pedissequamente" i tre studiosi salernitani. Luccichenti ora se la prende con la rivistina perché periferica e di dubbia serietà scientifica! Eppure, per Ruggiero Moscati (1908-1981), letterato e scrittore di vaglia, di scuola crociana, la cosa aveva ben altro rilievo! In verità a me sarebbe piaciuto conoscere Ugo Di Pace, giornalista appassionato, fotoreporter di talento e valoroso comunista di area berlingueriana. Era lui il responsabile dell'area culturale della rivista, rivolta ad una area geografica (il Cilento), questa sì, diciamo limitata ma non meno interessante per quanto riguarda i contenuti di una pubblicazione non esclusivamente riservata alla politica ma anche alla cultura, eccome! L'idea di cercare di sapere di più sul soggiorno salernitano di Casanova e di questo misterioso marchese era stata di Di Pace, mentre Pasquale Natella con la sua grande competenza archivistica diede la collaborazione. Tanto è vero che l'intervento di Natella è in grassetto. Su questa questione, dunque, non è a Natella che Luccichenti avrebbe dovuto rivolgersi per sapere di più. Se mai il più legittimato a rispondere e a dare maggiori ragguagli solo il povero Di Pace avrebbe potuto farlo!

Quindi non potendo così né Natella, che di Casanova infine non gliene poteva o può *fregare* più di tanto, né Di Pace, responsabile culturale della rivista, passato a miglior vita, chi, a questo punto i documenti invocati da Luccichenti, avrebbe dovuto tirali fuori?

Eppure Di Pace e Natella qualche spiraglio lo avevano aperto e Moscati, da par suo, aveva autorevolmente cercato di rilanciare la cosa a livello nazionale sull'allora importante quotidiano romano di Angelillo, il *Tempo*, purtroppo non addivenendo a nulla di concreto (nell'81 muore Moscati).

Tralascio la storia di Lucrezia e della famiglia D'Antoni su cui lungamente ha detto tutto Rives Childs ricostruendone quasi tutta la genealogia. C'è un filo rosso che si dipana dalla notte di Velletri fino a Salerno e non fa velo la "prassi memorialistica" di cui parla giustamente Luccichenti per comprendere meglio i rapporti, le relazioni tra i personaggi che si agitano nel gran teatro casanoviano. Ma veniamo all'altro nocciolo della questione.

Luccichenti si chiede come faccio io ad affermare che «Giacomo Antonio juniore Carrara rimasto vedovo passò a seconde nozze con tale Leonilde figlia

di una tale Lucrezia, avuta nientemeno da Giacomo Casanova». La mia risposta è presto detta. È semplicemente scritta nella *Storia della mia vita*. Cito “pedissequamente” dall’opera del veneziano, curata da Carlo Cordiè che è l’unica che possiedo (n. 4 volumi in cofanetto edizione 1961-63, Gherardo Casini ed., Roma) e che stimo essere opera la più affidabile filologicamente e la più fedele fra le tante, fermo restando il mio grande rispetto per l’edizione curata da Piero Chiara e Federico Roncoroni (n. 3 volumi collana i Meridiani - Mondadori, MI, 1983-89) che mi sembra, a torto, la più accreditata finora. Risparmio le citazioni delle pagine per intero e mi scuso per l’eccessivo schematismo. Chiunque sia curioso di sapere in quali situazioni o condizioni vivevano o si trovavano il Marchese della C., Leonilde e la madre Lucrezia lo trova pienamente descritto in queste pagine: da pag. 438 a pag. 452 + le note a fine volume da pag. 767 a pag. 774, Libro undecimo, Capitolo decimo, pag. 504, Libro dodicesimo, Capitolo terzo, note pp.792-793 del tomo IV° della *Storia della mia vita*, curata da C. Cordiè (Casini ed., Roma, 1963).

Per quanto riguarda la famiglia Carrara di Salerno cito un documento (datato 2014-15) da me rinvenuto sul web di tale Vincenzo De Simone che, credo sia oltre che storico, uno studioso di araldica perché titolare di una rubrica *salernostoria/dossier* (<https://digilander.libero.it>), dove si occupa dei Sedili della città di Salerno e degli stemmi delle famiglie patrizie della sua città. In una breve paginetta racconta dei viaggi di Casanova nel Regno di Napoli. Il titolo è tutto un programma: *La bufala di Casanova a villa Carrara – La storia, le incongruenze*. In una sessantina di righe (ripeto righe e non pagine!) il De Simone che, fra tutti quelli che a Salerno, a diverso titolo, si sono occupati del soggiorno di Casanova in quella città, dubita assai. Avendo letto sicuramente le Memorie, ad un certo punto, pur contraddicendosi, non può fare a meno di riferire il racconto del veneziano e implicitamente, con qualche confusione, ribadirlo. Ma il fatto che in De Simone stupisce sono le cose che dice sui Carrara con alcune ipotesi, supposizioni e infine con delle ammissioni che sembrano non ammettere replica. Dice infatti lo studioso salernitano che Giacomo Antonio Carrara ha certamente sposato Cecilia Naccenna (non dice Ravenna anche se la signora ha un doppio cognome) nel 1745 e che lo lascia vedovo, non di 8 figli come afferma Luccichenti, bensì di due: Domenico Maria e Antonio, «il primo dei quali, nato il 19 aprile 1752, sposerà nel 1778 Maria Celli dei duchi di Frisia e sarà sindaco di Salerno nel 1808».

Purtroppo, non dice che il suddetto marchese, una volta rimasto vedovo si sia poi risposato con una certa Leonilde, ma afferma una cosa ancora più curiosa,

che è questa: «il marchese G. A. jr. Carrara muore nel 1770, sei mesi prima dell'arrivo in città di Casanova, il 7 febbraio, la mattina, ad ora sette». Il sig. De Simone, che forse possiede le virtù di un mago, afferma categoricamente che nell'anno del signore 2014 o giù di lì, lui è come se fosse presente nell'atto della dipartita del marchese! Nuovamente glielo concediamo pure, ma ci troviamo, qualora fosse vero, ad uno spostamento di date. Non più al 1770, ma al 1769 risalirebbe il soggiorno e il teatrino di Casanova con mamma, figlia e vecchio suocero! Allora che facciamo, dobbiamo riscrivere tutto?

Comunque, voglio aggiungere un'altra cosa e faccio un piccolo passo indietro. Natella e Di Pace scrivono i loro pezzi poco tempo dopo che è uscito l'importante saggio di Leonardo Sciascia, *L'utopia di Casanova (Belfagor, n. 34 – 1979)* ed è dietro sollecitazione di questa lettura che i due iniziano la loro piccola ed utile ricerca. Di questo sono sicuro perché me lo ha confermato tempo addietro Natella per telefono e quando gli dissi del perché non avessero pensato di mandare la loro ricerca a Sciascia in persona, magari per trarne eventualmente una qualche più nutrita lezione, mi rispose che non se ne fece nulla. Altra stranezza. Luccichenti nella sua risposta, ripeto un po' astiosa nei miei confronti, non parla per niente del saggio di Sciascia, né tantomeno fa accenno ad un altro grande scrittore e conoscitore profondo del Nostro, quel Philippe Sollers che nel suo bellissimo *Il mirabile Casanova* (Mondadori, 1998) completa il quadro così vario e articolato di quel complicato soggiorno salernitano.

Un'ultima cosa e mi avvio alla conclusione. A proposito di supposizioni e di Storia con la maiuscola, per quanto riguarda il gossip, io a Luccichenti lo devo purtroppo ancora deludere. Io amo il gossip ma non nel senso che aleggia in quelle riviste patinate dove giornalisti professionisti ne dicono di tutti colori di questo o di quello e neanche nel senso, ancora più greve, di certi network, cari a qualche avventurato o avventuroso, ricco imprenditore meneghino e non, ma mi piace il gossip come strumento di conoscenza, che può, qualche volta, illuminare il difficile rapporto tra gli uomini, a sapere distinguere, del caso a scegliere o scartare, mi verrebbe da dire, tra quelli che in questa nostra società cosiddetta moderna, spesso e volentieri mirano a far prevalere più l'apparire che l'essere.

MARCO MENATO

**EDIZIONI CASANOVIANE PRE 1843
CONSERVATE NELLE BIBLIOTECHE DI GORIZIA**

Gorizia fu una delle molte città nella quale Casanova si trattenne tra il 1773 e il 1774,¹ forse per attendere alla stampa della *Istoria delle turbolenze della Polonia* ma soprattutto per sfuggire alla giustizia della Serenissima, e dunque è lecito aspettarsi una presenza bibliografica significativa.

La Biblioteca statale isontina conserva infatti tre edizioni casanoviane settecentesche (compresa la collezione della “Gazzetta goriziana”, per la quale è molto probabile che Casanova abbia collaborato più di quanto emerge dalla effettiva documentazione, come del resto fece a Trieste con «L'Osservatore Triestino») e due ottocentesche con le *Memorie*. La *Istoria delle turbolenze della Polonia* è presente in due esemplari ambedue risalenti alla biblioteca asburgica, Studienbibliothek o, latinamente, Caesarea Regia Bibliotheca Goritiensis: sul frontespizio di uno dei due è scritto «Duplicat» e per fortuna non è stato alienato. Storia curiosa ha invece *Né amori né donne*, per due motivi. Il primo: dal registro cronologico di ingresso risulta essere stato donato dalla libreria goriziana Wokulat nel maggio 1948, un dono gradito visto che il catalogo del SBN registra oggi solo tre localizzazioni; secondo: il volume faceva parte della Biblioteca circolante Paternolli,² nobile istituzione culturale della Gorizia ottocentesca, nella quale aveva avuto responsabilità anche la libreria Wokulat, da qui spiegata l'origine del dono.

Le *Memorie* ebbero, fino ad oggi, una vastissima diffusione, a cominciare dal-

1 Tra le molte biografie, mi piace citare quella di ELIO BARTOLINI, *Vita di Giacomo Casanova*, Milano, Mondadori, 1998, pp. 318-321, al soggiorno goriziano sono riservate poche righe (cfr ampia descrizione in Bignami, cit. più avanti, p. 201); STEFANO COSMA, *Il Castello di Spessa a Capriva del Friuli. Una lunga villeggiatura di Giacomo Casanova*, Mariano del Friuli, Edizioni della Laguna, 2004.

2 SIMONE VOLPATO, *Rostock – Poznan – Gorizia. Geografia della biblioteca circolante di Giovanni Paternolli (1846-1891) e catalogo*, Gorizia, Bsi, 2007. La Biblioteca circolante Paternolli fu donata nel 1920 alla Biblioteca Governativa, ma solo di recente è stata costituita in fondo autonomo e catalogata in SBN. Il volume di Casanova non era presente nella primigenia donazione, era forse ritenuto compromettente?

la prima edizione, uscita in tedesco da Brockhaus (1822-1828), che fa parte delle raccolte storiche della Biblioteca Civica goriziana, da un secolo però confluita nella Biblioteca statale isontina e con essa in qualche modo si identifica. La Studienbibliothek, cioè la biblioteca maggiore della città che diventerà l'attuale Biblioteca statale isontina, possedeva invece un'altra edizione delle *Memorie*,³ ovviamente sempre in tedesco, edita ad Amburgo in 12 agili volumetti, senza data ma assegnata dal Childs al 1867. Tutte e due le edizioni non sembrano molto diffuse nelle biblioteche italiane.

La Biblioteca della Fondazione Coronini Cronberg,⁴ depositata nell'Archivio di Stato di Gorizia, possiede un centinaio di edizioni casanoviane,⁵ delle quali cinque appartengono al secolo XVIII, segno dell'acuto interesse del conte Guglielmo per la storia goriziana e per il mito di Casanova. La sezione casanoviana (il volume più recente risale al 1967) della Coronini è frutto dei massicci acquisti effettuati dal conte Guglielmo tra gli anni Cinquanta e Sessanta e per ricostruire la biblioteca andata perduta tra incendi e requisizioni e per accreditarsi "casanovista", come lo era il coetaneo Cesare Pagnini a Trieste. Invece la *Confutazione della storia del governo veneto*, libro abbastanza diffuso, riporta chiaramente sul frontespizio note di possesso e timbri della biblioteca del Convento francescano della Castagnevizza (ora in territorio sloveno, comune di Nova Gorica)⁶: può trattarsi di una vendita o di un prestito non onorato quando l'area era ancora italiana (visto che non ci sono note o timbri in lingua slovena)? Oltre alle edizioni antiche, vanno pure segnalate le edizioni delle *Memorie*, in tedesco

3 Edizione che deve essere considerata rara (non è posseduta per esempio da Giuseppe Bignami e in Sbn l'unica localizzazione è la Bsi); l'esemplare nostro è rilegato in 6 volumi. Nella bibliografia che segue si è tuttavia deciso di adottare come anno discriminante il 1843, cioè quando esce a Parigi l'edizione Paulin delle *Memorie*.

4 Per una storia della biblioteca vedi il saggio di Lucia Pillon in ARIANNA GROSSI – SIMONE VOLPATO, *Incunaboli e cinquecentine [della Fondazione Coronini]*, Torino, Allemandi, 2004, 1., p. 13-29.

5 Tra le quali la rara edizione (non è in SBN) del fratello di Giacomo, GIOVANNI BATTISTA CASANOVA, *Discorso sopra gl'antichi, e varj monumenti loro per uso degl'alumni dell'elettoral'Accademia delle Bell'Arti di Dresda*, Lipsia, Dyck, 1770.

6 In data 6 novembre 2020 la bibliotecaria Mjriam Brecejl mi informa che nessuna edizione casanoviana è posseduta dalla biblioteca conventuale. Nell'opac delle biblioteche slovene solo la Biblioteca Nazionale e Universitaria (NUK) di Lubiana conserva la traduzione di Casanova dell'Iliade, pubblicata a Venezia in tre volumi (1775-1778).

e in francese, della prima metà dell'Ottocento, poco presenti nelle biblioteche italiane,⁷ con eccezione della biblioteca del Museo Correr.

La biblioteca dei Musei provinciali conserva di Casanova solo la rarissima edizione triestina degli *Applausi poetici*. Durante la permanenza a Trieste, Casanova infatti stampò, secondo la bibliografia di Childs (pp. 24-27, che comunque non li possedeva, così come non li possiede Bignami)⁸, quattro opuscoletti, dei quali l'unico che ci è giunto sono appunto questi *Applausi*. Nessuna edizione casanoviana è posseduta dalla Biblioteca del Seminario (ma forse c'era da aspettarselo). Tra le biblioteche private goriziane segnalo quella di Palazzo Lantieri Levetzow,⁹ dove secondo la tradizione avrebbe alloggiato anche Casanova, che conserva solo l'edizione tedesca delle *Memorie* stampata nel 1864-65 (cfr. Childs p. 144 n. 29, in Sbn unica localizzazione: Venezia, Correr).

È opportuno a questo punto aggiungere alcune notizie sulla Biblioteca statale isontina, che per la sua origine deve essere considerata biblioteca straniera - in particolare tedesca - in Italia, aspetto non sempre noto agli studiosi (il discorso vale ovviamente anche per i Musei provinciali,¹⁰ istituzione pure di origine asburgica, dato che la prima proposta di fondazione risale al 1861). La Biblioteca, che si fonda sulla raccolta libraria del seicentesco collegio gesuitico, risale agli inizi dell'Ottocento, quando dopo l'occupazione francese il governo austriaco, nel 1819, decise di riformare l'istruzione liceale e di trasformare la biblioteca ginnasiale in una istituzione pubblica di cultura. Nel 1822 fu emanato il decreto aulico di costituzione, ma l'apertura al pubblico, a causa della disorganizzazione dei cataloghi e della mancanza di personale tecnico, avvenne solo nel novembre 1825. «In tal modo la biblioteca ginnasiale goriziana – scriveva Carlo Battisti in un ancora fondamentale saggio pubblicato negli “Studi

7 Si tratta delle edizioni descritte da Childs alle p. 133 (scheda n. 9 = Bignami pp. 87-88, 102), 140 (n. 16) e 141 (n. 19).

8 GIUSEPPE BIGNAMI, *Casanova e il mio tempo. La Collezione Bignami*, Trieste, Libreria antiquaria Drogheria 28 – Bologna, Libreria Docet, 2020, XXIX-390 p., 250 es. numerati.

9 Ringrazio per l'informazione la contessa Carolina di Levetzow Lantieri Piccolomini; anche nella biblioteca della famiglia Attems a Gorizia potrebbe essere conservata qualche edizione casanoviana (per es. quella descritta alla scheda n. 6).

10 RAFFAELLA SCUBIN, *Alle origini dei Musei Provinciali di Gorizia: preistoria di un'istituzione singolare*, in *La pinacoteca dei Musei provinciali di Gorizia*, Vicenza, Terra Ferma, 2007, pp. 10-23.

Goriziani” del 1925 - divenne una delle sei biblioteche degli studi dell’Austria (Linz 1779, Salisburgo 1823, Klagenfurt 1785,¹¹ Lubiana 1791 e Olmütz 1787) ed assunse automaticamente i compiti culturali ad esse spettanti già in base alle vecchie istruzioni dell’epoca Teresiana e Giuseppina, svolte ed ampliate nel secolo seguente». Nel razionale, se paragonato a quello coevo italiano, sistema bibliotecario asburgico, la Biblioteca degli Studi (Studienbibliothek, divisa a sua volta in Gymnasial- e Lycealbibliothek, differente, in quanto bibliograficamente superiore, dalla Schulbibliothek) veniva aperta in città di una certa rilevanza culturale, che avesse il ginnasio al quale era istituzionalmente collegata. Ma anche Gorizia aveva una biblioteca civica:¹² nel 1893 il Comune, dopo anni di discussioni, apre la Biblioteca Civica, ma più con intendimenti politici che culturali ossia di pubblica lettura (si direbbe oggi): si tratta infatti di una biblioteca italiana in una città dell’impero asburgico. La vita, almeno dal punto di vista amministrativo, della Civica non è facile dato che mancano i soldi, il personale, la sede, tuttavia la stampa locale segnala con interesse i progressi dell’istituzione (si legga per esempio la breve notizia riguardante il numero dei lettori, dei volumi prestati e acquisiti nel 1909 pubblicata sul «Corriere friulano» del 7 aprile 1910). Nel 1919 in una Gorizia coperta da macerie, il sindaco Giorgio Bombig, decide che è forse meglio depositare la Civica all’interno di Palazzo Werdenberg, sede della Biblioteca Governativa (che aveva – come detto - nominalmente preso il posto della Studienbibliothek), la medesima scelta sarà anche dell’Amministrazione Provinciale per la sua Biblioteca-Archivio.¹³ Regista di questa brillante operazione bibliografica e culturale è Carlo Battisti (1882-

11 Refuso per 1775, dal 1975 il nome ufficiale della Biblioteca è «Universitätsbibliothek».

12 Per una storia dell’istituzione, fino a quando era autonoma, cfr. ANTONELLA GALLAROTTI, *La nascita della Biblioteca Civica. L’apertura al pubblico e i primi anni di attività*, «Studi Goriziani», 1993, n. 78, pp. 53-73. Ancora utile il saggio di GUIDO MANZINI, *La Biblioteca Civica di Gorizia nella vita culturale della città (1888-1955)*, «Studi Goriziani», 1955, n. 17, pp. 57-78. Tuttavia questa unione, non compresa dagli amministratori e perfino dai bibliotecari, ha prodotto un tipo di biblioteca ancipite, perpetuato malamente anche dalla stampa, cfr. per esempio l’articolo *Le biblioteche statale e civica dispongono di 326 mila volumi*, «Messaggero Veneto», 14 ottobre 1975.

13 L’Archivio di Stato di Gorizia è stato istituito nel 1964, per questo motivo l’Archivio Provinciale conserva carte più antiche ed è quindi di maggiore interesse almeno per gli studi di storia moderna.

1977),¹⁴ trentino, docente universitario e bibliotecario a Vienna, che dopo una rocambolesca vita militare sotto l’Austria, approda per la sua esperienza e per la padronanza del tedesco e dell’italiano alla direzione della nuova Biblioteca Governativa di Gorizia, nel luglio del 1919. La Biblioteca Provinciale rimarrà unita alla Governativa fino al 1941, mentre per la Civica nulla è cambiato e da allora si trascina l’annuale rinnovo di convenzione con la Biblioteca Statale Isontina. La Biblioteca Governativa, dal 1967 rinominata Biblioteca Statale Isontina, ha mantenuto e aggiornato nel tempo la specificità di essere biblioteca collegata al mondo degli studi ed inserita nella complessa storia del Goriziano espressa nel corso dei secoli nelle lingue italiana, friulana, tedesca e slovena. Negli ultimi anni sono confluite nell’Isontina numerose biblioteche private, che coprono differenti aree disciplinari (geologia, storia del cinema, micologia, storia della musica, linguistica e glottologia, letteratura italiana, storia e politica contemporanea, filosofia, storia dell’arte, economia, legislazione italiana e asburgica) e forse anche per questo motivo sono rimaste sempre elevate, nonostante la vicinanza di altre istituzioni bibliotecarie, le consultazioni e i prestiti locali e interbibliotecari. Nel 1998 la Biblioteca ha aderito al Servizio Bibliotecario Nazionale, avviando nel contempo il recupero catalografico dei fondi storici, cioè Studienbibliothek, Gesuitico¹⁵ e cinquecentine (gli incunabuli sono stati descritti in un nuovo catalogo di Stefano Cancarini e Luca Rivali, pubblicato su «Studi Goriziani», n. 101-102).

14 Cfr. la voce di Marco Menato in *Nuovo Liruti. Dizionario biografico dei friulani. 3. L'età contemporanea*, Udine, Forum, 2011, pp. 338-341, con bibliografia.

15 Catalogato in SBN e analiticamente descritto nei sette volumi del catalogo a stampa curato da Giuliana De Simone, edito da Koerner negli anni 2015-18.

NOTA DI METODO

Il catalogo che segue è in ordine cronologico di edizione. La trascrizione del frontespizio rispetta il maiuscolo e il minuscolo, i caratteri (corsivo, tondo, gotico), gli a capo e la presenza di righe e fregi. Non sono state indicate la fascicolazione (formula collazionale) e l'impronta, dati comunque reperibili su altre fonti autorevoli, mentre è stata controllata con attenzione la paginazione dei singoli esemplari. Sono state invece descritte le particolarità (collocazioni, numeri di inventario, note mss, timbri, legatura, altezza in centimetri calcolata sulla coperta). Per la bibliografia, scontato il riferimento a *Casanoviana. An annotated world bibliography* di James Rives Childs,¹⁶ che continua a rivelarsi nonostante gli anni passati, una ottima fonte informativa (con eccezione dell'indicazione dei formati) e a *Casanova e il mio tempo. La Collezione Bignami. Fotografie di Mauro Davoli* di Giuseppe Bignami: sia Childs che Bignami offrono descrizioni facsimilari e riproduzioni fotografiche, di ottima fattura evidentemente quelle presenti in Bignami. Per la *Istoria* e la «Gazzetta», entrambe rare, rinvio inoltre agli impeccabili *Annali della tipografia goriziana del Settecento* (Gorizia, Bsi, 2001) compilati da Arianna Grossi e a *Editoria e informazione a Gorizia nel Settecento: la "Gazzetta goriziana"* (Trieste, Deputazione di Storia Patria per la Venezia Giulia, 2010, ed. in lingua slovena: Ljubljana, Filozofska Fakulteta, 2019) di Rudj Gorjan; nel caso di edizioni possedute anche dalla Biblioteca civica di Trieste, rinvio al *Censimento degli esemplari delle edizioni di Giacomo Casanova conservate presso la Biblioteca Civica "A. Hortis" di Trieste* di Alessandra Sirugo, «Casanoviana», 3, 2020, pp. 81-106.

16 Vienna, Nebehay, 1956, cfr. la accurata descrizione in GIUSEPPE BIGNAMI, *Casanova e il mio tempo*, cit., pp. 219-220, 378-379.

1.

CONFUTAZIONE / DELLA / STORIA DEL GOVERNO / VENETO / D'AMELOT DE LA HOUSSAIE. / DIVISA IN TRE' PARTI. / PARTE PRIMA. [- SECONDA.] / ... Quibus / Pepercit aris? ... / Hor. 1. I. Od. 29. / [fregio] / AMSTERDAM 1769 / [doppia riga] / Presso Pietro Mortier.

8°, 2 v., non posseduto il terzo. Il luogo di stampa è invece Lugano e l'editore Agnelli.

1.: [4], XLIV, 213, [5] p.; 2.: [2], 272, [4] p.

Bibl. Coronini: 1788, 17890, cm 18.8, legatura originale in pelle, segnalibro in tessuto, sui front. timbri «Conventus Castagnavicensis», «Francescani – Convento Cappella – Gorizia», sul foglio di guardia ant. del primo vol. nota di possesso ms: «Conventui Castagnavitiensi – dono dedit D. Ioan. Bapt. Vatta», antiche collocazioni mss sui fogli di guardia, frammenti di cartellini con collocazione sui dorsi.

Bignami p. 2-3, con differenze nella paginazione; Childs p. 14-19, foto; Sirugo p. 90 n. 3, posseduto il primo volume e il *Supplimento*.

SBN: 12 localizzazioni.

2.

L'ESPION / CHINOIS: / OU, / L'ENVOYE SECRET de la Cour de PEKIN, / Pour examiner l'Etat présent de l'EUROPE. / Traduit du CHINOIS. / NOUVELLE EDITION. / [linea] / TOME PREMIER. [- SIXIEME.] / [linea] / [fregio] / A COLOGNE. / [doppia linea] / MDCCLXIX.

8°; 6 v., in ogni vol. occhietto: L'ESPION / CHINOIS.

1.: VIII, 290 p.; 2.: [4], 300 p.; 3.: [4], 324 p.; 4.: 380 p.; 5.: 304 p.; 6.: 208 p.

Bibl. Coronini: inv. 8037-8042, sul piatto ant. del primo volume nota bibliografica ms a matita, allegata scheda catalografica della Bibl. Coronini, dattiloscritta in rosso. Edizione definita «Rarissima».

Bignami p. 1-2-, descrive l'ed. 1774; Childs p. 12-13, descrive l'ed. 1774; Sirugo p. 89 n. 1, descrive l'ed. 1769.

SBN: Genova, Univ.; Parma, Palatina; Roma, Nazionale centrale; Trieste, Civica; Venezia (Mestre), Civica Vez.

3.

APPLAUSI POETICI / DOVUTI DALLA FELICE, INCLITA, ED OSSEQUIOSA CITTA' DI / TRIESTE / AL MERITO SOVRAGRANDE DELL' / ILLUSTRISSIMO, ED ECCELLENTIS-

SIMO SIGNORE / IL SIGNORE CONTE / ADOLFO DI WAGENSBERG / GRAN MARESCIALLO EREDITARIO NEL DUCATO DI CARINTIA / CIAMBERLANO, E CONSIGLIERE INTIMO DI STATO / DELLE L. L.M. M. I. R. R. A. / GRAN CAPITANO DELLE CONTEE DI GORIZIA, E GRADISCA / PRESIDENTE DELLA S. C. INTENDENZA IN TUTTO IL / LITORALE AUSTRIACO / COMANDANTE MILITARE DELLA CITTA', FORTI / DI TRIESTE, FIUME, SEGNA, CARLOBAGO, / &c. &c. / In occasione che SUA ECCELLENZA si mostra per la / prima volta alla divota, e lieta città, insignita / della ragguardevole sua carica. / [doppio fregio] / TRIESTE, / presso Franc. Mattia Winkowiz, C. R. Stampatore.

4°; [8] c., 2 fascicoli non segnati, l'ultima carta bianca.

Bibl. Musei Prov.: misc. 838, inv. 4715, cm. 19.2, precedente collocazione 3300, privo di cop.; alluvionato e restaurato dal Centro Studi e Restauro di Gorizia nel 2002.

Bignami p. 59 n. 6, descritto come *sine notis*, non posseduto; Childs p. 25-26, non posseduto, assegnato all'anno 1773.

SBN: Gorizia, Musei Provinciali.

4.

Tomo I/I

[entro cornice calcografica, front. inciso] ISTORIA / DELLE TURBOLENZE / DELLA POLONIA / DALLA MORTE DI / ELISABETTA PETROWNA / FINO ALLA PACE / FRA LA RUSSIA E LA PORTA / OTTOMANA / IN CUI SI TROVANO TUTTI GLI / AVVENIMENTI CAGIONI / DELLA RIVOLUZIONE / DI QUEL REGNO / [fregio] / TOM. I. PARTE. I. / [fregio] / GORIZIA / PER VALERIO DE' VALERJ / 1774.

8°; [12], XX, 304 p.; [2] c. di tav. non segnate: antiporta e front., racchiusi da cornice, incisi su un'unica lastra, firmata (in calce all'antiporta) *Giusp. Leonardis del. Gorizia Antonio Baratti* s. Filigrana a c. *1.

BSI: Rari e Pregio.u.9/I, inv. 8406, cm 17.8, sul front. timbri CAE. REG. BIBLIOTHECA GORTIENSIS e GORIZIA BIBLIOTECA DI STATO; sul verso del foglio di guardia ant. nota bibliografica in tedesco. Segnalibro in tessuto verde. Legatura ottocentesca, sul dorso: 1.

BSI: Rari e Pregio. u.19/1, inv. 77544, cm 17.5, precedente collocazione: Gu.3.98/I. Tagli rubricati. Sul foglio di guardia ant. ms: 4591. Sul front.: timbri come sopra; ms a matita e a penna: *Duplicat*. A carta al timbro ovale: *Museo Provinciale – Gorizia*. Legatura novecentesca. Descritto in Simone Volpato, *La biblioteca privata di Giuseppe Domenico Della Bona (1790-1864)*, Udine, Forum, 2003, p. 352 n. 155.

Bignami p. 364, 367, non posseduto, cita solo valutazioni commerciali moderne; Childs p. 28-32 (cita gli esemplari della Bsi); Grossi n. 54 (11 localizzazioni italiane e straniere, non cita Childs).

SBN: Gorizia, Bsi, Musei provinciali, primo-terzo vol.; Trieste, Civica, primo-terzo vol.; Torino, Fondazione Einaudi, secondo vol.; Venezia, Correr, primo-secondo vol.

Tomo I/2

ISTORIA / DELLE TURBOLENZE / DELLA POLONIA / DALLA MORTE DI / ELISABETTA PETROWNA / FINO ALLA PACE / FRA LA RUSSIA E LA PORTA / OTTOMANA / IN CUI SI TROVANO TUTTI GLI / AVVENIMENTI CAGIONI / DELLA RIVOLUZIONE / DI QUEL REGNO / [fregio] / TOM. I. PARTE II. / [fregio] / GORIZIA / PER VALERIO DE' VALERJ / 1774.

8°; XVI, 291, [1] p.

A c. T2v: Libri recentemente stampati da Valerio De' Valerj [6 titoli].

BSI: Rari e Pregio.u.9/II, inv. 70215, registrazione del maggio 1942, sul front. due timbri come sopra. Segnalibro in tessuto verde. Legatura ottocentesca, sul dorso: 2.

BSI: Rari e Pregio.u.19/2, inv. 77545, precedente collocazione: Gu.3.98/II. Tagli rubricati. Sul foglio di guardia anteriore ms: 4591; sul front. 3 timbri e ms a matita e a penna *Duplicat.*

Grossi n. 55 (var. a), 11 localizzazioni.

Tomo II/1

ISTORIA / DELLE TURBOLENZE / DELLA POLONIA / DALLA MORTE DI / ELISABETTA PETROWNA / FINO ALLA PACE / FRA LA RUSSIA E LA PORTA / OTTOMANA / IN CUI SI TROVANO TUTTI GLI / AVVENIMENTI CAGIONI / DELLA RIVOLUZIONE / DI QUEL REGNO / [fregio] / TOM. II. PARTE I. / [fregio] / GORIZIA / PER VALERIO DE' VALERJ / 1774.

8°; [2], XIV, 319, [1] p.

BSI: Rari e Pregio.u.9/III, inv. 70216, registrazione del maggio 1942, sul front. due timbri c. s. A p. 104: nome ms a matita. Segnalibro in tessuto verde. Legatura ottocentesca, sul dorso: 3.

BSI: Rari e Pregio.u.19/III: non posseduto.

Grossi n. 67, 11 localizzazioni.

5. Sonetto, in «Gazzetta goriziana», n. 24, 8 dicembre 1774

p. 98 inc.: Quella, che il capo ergea superba intorno

BSI: Civ. Rari e Pregio.o.1/I, inv. 2141, cm 19,5

Childs, p. 32; Gorian, p. 109-113, 221-223, con trascrizione del sonetto; Grossi p. 243-249.

SBN: Bsi, digitalizzato nel 2020 e pubblicato sui siti Internet Culturale e Cultura Italia.

6.

DELL' ILIADE DI OMERO, / *TRADOTTA* / IN OTTAVA RIMA / DA / GIACOMO CASANOVA / VINIZIANO, / TOMO PRIMO. [- SECONDO.] / CANTI CINQUE [- CANTI SETTE.] / [fregio] / IN VENEZIA, / MDCCLXXV [- MDCCLXXVI] / [doppia riga] / Presso MODESTO FENZO. / *CON LICENZA DE' SUPERIORI, E PRIVILEGIO.*

4°; 2 v., non posseduto il terzo (1778).

1.: XVI, 334, [2] p.; p. IX-XV: «Catalogo degli associati» (l'unica famiglia goriziana mi pare che sia quella di Antonio Attems di Santa Croce)

2.: XII, 372 p., p. IX-XII: «Catalogo de' nuovi associati»

Bibl. Coronini: 7961, cm 25.5, mutilo delle p. III-IV, 323-334; 7962, cm 24.3; sul piatto ant. di entrambi etichetta a stampa: «Si vende al Negozio di / Libri, Stampe e Carta / di Giuseppe Sardi, e / Comp. / sotto i Portici nuovi del- / la Dogana Vecchia in Trieste». Legatura cartonata originale molto danneggiata.

Bibl. Coronini: 7963-4, cm 26.5, legatura cartonata originale con copertina moderna di carta, tit. ms sul dorso.

Bignami p. 9-12; Childs p. 32-37, 39 (foto); Sirugo p. 94-96 n. 7 (nel secondo volume di entrambe le collocazioni Coronini è correttamente cartulato il fascicolo ZZ, a differenza di quanto succede nella copia della Civica triestina).

SBN: Borgomanero, Fondazione Marazza; Firenze, Nazionale Centrale; Napoli, Nazionale; Padova, Universitaria; Trieste, Civica; Venezia, Correr; Vicenza, Bertoliana.

7.

DI ANEDDOTI / VINIZIANI / MILITARI, ED AMOROSI / DEL SECOLO DECIMOQUARTO / SOTTO I DOGADI DI / GIOVANNI GRADENIGO, / E DI / GIOVANNI DOLFIN, / LIBRO UNICO / DIVISO IN QUATTRO PARTI. / [doppia riga] / Vincet Amor Patriae, Laudumque Immensa / Cupido. / [fregio] / VENEZIA, / MDCCLXXXII. / [fregio] / APPRESSO MODESTO FENZO / CON LE DEBITE PERMISSIONI.

8°; XXIV, 244, [2] p. + 1 carta n. n. «Avviso à Signori Associati agli Opuscoli Miscellanei».

Bibl. Coronini: 8043, cm. 16 (sul foglio di guardia ant. ms «Rarissimo»).

Bibl. Coronini: 8047, cm 15.3

Bignami p. 17-19; Childs p. 53 (foto), 56-58; Sirugo p. 96 n. 9.

SBN: Milano, Sistema bibliotecario; Trieste, Civica; Venezia, Correr, Cini; Venezia (Mestre), Civica Vez.

8.

NE' AMORI, NE' DONNE / OVVERO / LA STALLA RIPULITA. / [doppia riga] / *Nec quisquam noceat cupido mihi pacis; at ille / Qui me commorit, melius non tangere, clamo; / Flebit.* / [4 righe di fiori] / IN VENEZIA, / MDCCLXXXII. / [fregio] / PRESSO MODESTO FENZO. / *CON LE DEBITE PERMISSIONI.*

8°; XVI - 184 p.

Il nome di Casanova si ricava dalla dedicatoria al conte Xaverio Braniski. Permesso di stampa datato 29 luglio 1782. Sul foglio di guardia ant. a matita sigla moderna MF (esemplare microfilmato?); sul foglio di guardia ant. e sul front. timbro ovale *Tipografia e Libreria Paternolli Gorizia*; sul piatto ant. incollato foglietto *Condizioni di abbonamento della Biblioteca circolante di G. Paternolli in Gorizia*; sul dorso cartellino con il n.ro 2853, probabile collocazione della Biblioteca circolante. Legatura ottocentesca in cartone.

BSI: Bu.3.16, inv. 65161 (precedente 4277), cm 16.7, digitalizzato nel 2020 e pubblicato sui siti Internet Culturale e Cultura Italia.

Bignami p. 19-21; Childs, p. 58, foto a p. 69.

SBN: Ferrara, Ariostea; Gorizia, Bsi; Venezia, Correr (2 es.).

9.

JCOSAMERON / OU / HISTOIRE / D'EDOUARD, / ET / D'ELISABETH / qui passèrent quatre vingts un ans chez les / Mégamicres habitans aborigènes du Protocosme / dan l'intérieur de notre globe, traduite / de l'anglois par / JACQUES CASANOVA / DE SEINGALT VÉNITIEN / Docteur ès loix Bibliothécaire de Monsieur le comte / de Waldstein seigneur de Dux Chambellan / de S. M. J. R. A. / [linea] / A Prague à l'imprimerie de l'école normale. / [dal secondo vol. compare l'indicazione:] TOME SECOND. [- CINQUIEME.]

8°; 5 v., nel primo antiporta con il ritratto di Casanova all'età di 63 anni, firmato «J. Berka del. etc. Praga», per cui l'anno di stampa deve essere il 1788, come suppone del resto Childs.

1.: XXXII, 265, VI, [1] p.; 2.: XL, 306, VI p.; 3.: 377, VII p.; 4.: 370, VI p.; 5.: 380, V, [9 con i *Souscripteurs*] p.

Bibl. Coronini: 17924-8, cm 19, sul front. del primo volume, in basso, ms anno di stampa «1787»; sul verso delle carte di legatoria di tutti i volumi, firma di possesso «P.cee Dietrichstein», bella legatura ottocentesca in tela verde e dorso in pelle, filetto dorato sui piatti e sugli scomparti dei dorsi, segnalibro di tela rossa.

Bignami p. 30-32, senza il ritr.; Childs p. 93-96.

SBN: Jesi, Diocesana; Milano, Braidense; Venezia, Correr.

10.

[in carattere gotico, frontespizio] Aus / den Memoiren / des / Venetianers / Jacob Casanova de Seingalt, / oder / sein Leben, / wie er es zu Dux in Boehmen niederschrieb. / [linea] / Nach dem Original-Manuscript bearbeitet / von / Wilhelm von Schuetz. / [linea] / Erster [- Achter] Band. / [linea] / Leipzig: / F. A. Brockhaus. / 1822. [- 1826.]

[in carattere gotico, occhietto] Aus / den Memoiren / von / Jacob Casanova de Seingalt. / [linea] / Erster [- Achter] Band.

8 v.; 1., 1822 [VI], XXVIII, 510 p., per errore del legatore l'indice è collocato alla fine e non all'inizio; 2., 1822: XXVI, 458 p.; 3., 1823: VI, XLII, 455, [1] p.; 4., 1823: XVIII, 549, [1] p.; 5., 1824: VI, 522 p.; 6., 1825: VI, 536 p.; 7., 1825: VI, 507, [1] p.; 8., 1826: VI, 548 p.

BSI: L.m.60/I-VIII Civ., inv. 5703 (il numero vale per tutti i volumi), cm 16; non posseduti i volumi IX-XII, rilegatura telata ottocentesca; presente solo nel catalogo cartaceo.

Bignami p. 87, 101-102; Childs p. 128-131, foto.

SBN: Venezia, Marciana (12 v.).

11.

MÉMOIRES / DE / J. CASANOVA / DE SEINGALT / ÉCRITS PAR LUI-MÊME. / Ne quidquam sapit qui sibi non sapit. / [linea] / ÉDITION ORIGINALE. / [linea] / TOME PREMIER. [- DOUZIÈME] / [linea] / LEIPSIC, F. A. BROCKHAUS. / [linea] / PARIS, PONTHEIU et COMP. / PALAIS ROYAL, GALERIE DE BOIS. / [linea] / 1826. [-1838.]

12 v.; 1.: XXIV, 455, [3] p.; 2.: VI, 468, [4] p.; 3.: VIII, 468, [4] p.; 4.: VIII, 519, [1] p.; 5.: VII, [1], 513, [3] p.; 6.: VII, [1], 524, [4] p.; 7.: VI, [2], 516 p.; 8.: VI, [2], 492, [4] p.; 9.: VI, 621, [3] p.; 10.: VI, 524, [4] p.; 11.: VI, 496 p.; 12.: VI, 470, [2] p.

Bibl. Coronini: 17853-864, cm 16.5, sul piatto del primo vol. cartellino «Buchbinderei F. Kritz Wien III, Hauptstr. 78», note commerciali sul foglio di guardia; elegante legatura in cartone rosso con fregi impressi a secco sui piatti; paginazione del primo vol.: 455, [1] p.

Bibl. Coronini: 17939-950, cm 17.3, nel vol. settimo le p. 193-216 sono state sostituite da trascrizione d'epoca con un fascicolo di 14 carte di due grammature diverse; legatura in cartone.

Bignami p. 87-8, 102; Childs p. 131 (foto), 133-135; Sirugo p. 105-106.

SBN: Livorno, Labronica; Trieste, Civica; Venezia, Ateneo Veneto, Correr.

12.

MÉMOIRES / DE / JACQUES CASANOVA / DE SEINGALT, / ÉCRITS PAR LUI-MÊME. / Nequidquam sapit qui sibi non sapit. / Edition originale, la seule complète. / Tome I. [-IV.] / [linea] / PARIS. / PAULIN, LIBRAIRE-ÉDITEUR, / 33, RUE DE SEINE. / [linea] / 1843.

4 v.; 1.: [6], 600 p.; 2.: [6], 568 p.; 3.: [6], 607, [1] p.; 4.: [6], 583, [1] p.

Bibl. Coronini: 17935-938, cm 18, sul foglio di guardia del primo vol. indicazioni commerciali

Childs p. 140, n. 16.

SBN: Venezia, Correr.

NOTES & QUERIES

Il me fait détester les hommes et les femmes en même temps

Siamo nel primo quarto del secolo XIX e le memorie scritte nel secolo precedente, molte delle quali di soggetto libertino, non sono più di moda e quelle del nuovo secolo, con l'affermarsi del Romanticismo sono di natura intimista, patetica e sentimentale, tutt'al più storica o autocommemorativa. Quelle di Casanova non possono che scandalizzare, come afferma Madame d'Unruhe di Dresda (chi era costei?), la quale scrive il 5 ottobre 1825 a Madame la Comtesse d'Albany, Luisa di Stolberg-Gedern (1752-1824), moglie, da 1772, ormai separata, di Carlo Edoardo Stuart, *il Pretendente* della Corona d'Inghilterra, e che tale rimarrà. La d'Unruhe, di certo, non poteva sapere quanto fosse la Stolberg, sicuramente non di facili costumi, ma certamente «disinvolta».

Tra le varie notizie, che le fa pervenire, c'è questa: «[...] Avez-vous lu, Madame, les Mémoires de Casa Nuova ? C'est un livre bien pire que les Confessions de Rousseau, mais l'observateur et le philosophe y font des découvertes qu'on ne saurait faire ailleurs ; et on ne comprend pas qu'un vieillard de soixante-dix ans aye pu sans rougir et sans remords écrire une telle confession. Il me fait détester les hommes et les femme en même temps » (*Le portefeuille de la Comtesse d'Albany (1806-1824). Lettres mise en ordre et publiées par Léon-G. Pélissier*, Paris, A. Fontemoing, 1902, p. 599).

Il commentatore della lettera, Léon G. Pélissier, chiosa: «Madame d'Unruhe ne pouvait eu connaître que des éditions incomplètes et fragmentaires. Elle les juge du reste assez judicieusement». Ed aveva ragione in quanto, ambedue le signore, appartenendo a famiglie germaniche, conoscevano la lingua tedesca. Infatti, come è noto, la prima edizione iniziò ad essere pubblicata nel 1822 da Brockhaus e, già nel 1825, ne erano usciti 6 volumi di 12 (e c'è da credere che, fatte salve le *pruderies*, delle signore, avranno certamente letto i rimanenti 6 volumi entro il 1828!); a meno che non abbiano letto il solo primo volume dell'edizione «pirata» Tournachon-Molin, detta anche *De Vitry*, pubblicato nel 1825, in lingua francese (Furio Luccichenti).

Marr 4-146, or the return of Casanova's traveling book

How nice it would be if we could have a look into Casanova's suitcase and check out what he had packed for travel necessities. We know that in his later years, when his travels were comparatively short, Casanova had the habit of making "to do" lists in preparation for his trips.

Take the extensive note, probably from April 1797:

«Ce que je dois porter à Dresde: La capelliere; Un sac, une boite avec de jou-joux; Une boite avec deux ananas [a specialty from the greenhouse of Count Waldstein]; Un flacon de terre plein de vin; Deux faisans; Deux levreaux; Six perdreaux». (What I must bring to Dresden: the trunk; a bag; a box of toys. a box with two pine-apples, an earthenware flask full of wine; two pheasants; two rabbits; six partridges.)

So far probably gifts for the family at Dresden. But he did not forget his own necessities:

«Dans le sac habit, veste et culottes, robe de chambre pantoufles, souliers, boucles, un caleçon, un gilet, 18 mouchoirs, un mouchoir de soie, savons, rasoir, curamele, cahiers, lettres, cachets, cire d'Espagne». (In the bag: dress coat, short jacket, and breeches, dressing gown, slippers, shoes, bucles, nightcap, comb. In the trunk: Five shirts, five collars, underpants, a napkin, silk stockings, stockings from Osek, cotton stockings, a waistcoat vest, 18 handkerchiefs, a silk handkerchief. Soaps, razor, curamele, notebooks, letters seal, Spanish wax, Marr 16 K 17).

And in the period when Casanova had his beloved dog Melampige we find hidden between the coffee-and-sugar cassette and a bottle of rosé wine, the cushion for Melampige (Marr 16 K2).

To my surprise I don't find any book in his travel lists but in the *Memoirs*, when Casanova relates his trips from Paris to Amsterdam in 1759-1760, he make up for this lack.

«J'ai mis dans ma chaise de poste l'*Esprit d' Helvetius* que je n'avais pas encore eu le temps de lire». (I took with me in my coach the book *De l' Esprit* by Helvetius which I had not yet read).

And he tells us with lots of biographical detail how Helvetius (1715-1771) fared. (In *Memoirs* ed. Laffont vol. 2, pg 259. So finally we know that Casanova did carry at least one book with him that he read in his rocking coach.

But still no sign of an easy reading book for his diversion, until we open up the note, dated January 22, 1760, by C. Le Blon, in which the author says that a lot of work prevents him from accepting the invitation, today or tomorrow, to accompany Casanova in Amsterdam to a theatre or concert. May he take a rain cheque?

«Je vous renvoie, Monsieur, avec remerciements les livres que vous avez bien voulu me preter. J'ai lu Massé avec un grand plaisir» (I return, Monsieur, with thanks the books which you were so kind to lend to me. I have read Massé with lots of pleasure, Marr 4- 146).

At first, I thought Massé was an author, but it appeared to be the title, *Voyages et aventures de Jaques Massé*, written by Simon Tyssot de Patot (1655-1738), whose *oeuvre* belongs to the genre of *voyages imaginaires*. He was professor of mathematics in Deventer in The Netherlands until he was fired in 1771 for Jansenism and his criticisms of the church and of heritable kingship.

He wrote in another *voyage* about a trip to the center of the hollow earth and about a kingdom where he was stranded after a shipwreck. Maybe that was the other book LeBlon had borrowed from Casanova?

Would Casanova's reading matter during his travels to and from Amsterdam have been a seed for his later *Icosameron*? Maybe a francophone Casanovist who knows the *Icosameron* well would like to dig into this matter? I have a copy of *Massé* (1710) ready for use. It is a booklet of 508 pages and it measures 16 x 9 x 3 cm (Marco Leeflang).

Il Casanova di Giuseppe Bignami

Cos'è in fondo un collezionista? E cos'è in fondo un casanovista? Ce lo siamo chiesti tante volte perché tutti noi che leggiamo questa rivista – chi più chi meno – siamo entrambe le cose. Alcuni di noi sono più collezionisti perché cercano con passione l'oggetto raro e introvabile, magari ficcanasando sulle bancarelle di qualche mercatino sperduto. Altri invece sono più casanovisti perché maggiormente interessati alla sua storia, non importa quale sia il supporto o l'oggetto che la contiene. Ma quando le due anime si fondono in maniera indissolubile, si raggiungono vette insperate. È questo il caso di *Casanova e il mio tempo. La collezione Bignami* (prefazioni di Antonio Trampus e Marco Menato, fotografie di Mauro Davoli, Trieste-Bologna, Libreria Antiquaria Drogheria 28 - Libreria Docet, 2020) con cui Giuseppe Bignami suggella la sua vita di appassionato casanovista. Si tratta di una vera galleria d'arte, oggetto dell'invidia e al contempo dell'ammirazione, in cui la sua collezione privata diventa il racconto di una vita spesa nella costruzione dell'universo casanoviano, zeppa di documenti, edizioni introvabili, ma anche e soprattutto di un apparato iconografico senza eguali. Sfolgiando questo che appare come il catalogo di un'esistenza trascorsa a mettere insieme le tessere di un mosaico appassionato e appassionante, si entra in dialogo con la personalità dell'autore di questa raccolta. Quindici sono le sezioni destinate a raccogliere il corpus della collezione, passando attraverso edizioni originali, autografi, iconografia e una parte molto interessante dedicata a Giustiniana Wynne. Le singole sezioni rappresentano ognuna un momento della sua vita e ciascuna scheda ci racconta un po' del carattere del casanovista, con i dettagli riguardanti l'acquisto di questo o quell'esemplare che inevitabilmente si legano ai dettagli di altri documenti contenuti nell'opera. Sarebbe stato noioso leggere la solita descrizione che si incontra in tutti i cataloghi. Qui invece Bignami ravviva la narrazione con lampi di genio e colpi di pennello madidi di ricordi e di curiosità che ingolosiscono l'avidò collezionista, geloso e curioso com'è sua natura. Sapere come si è venuto in possesso del raro esemplare di un'edizione oppure conoscere la genesi dell'acquisto di un carteggio unico nel suo genere ha davvero il sapore

inconfondibile della primizia collezionistica e rende la lettura piacevole e intrigante. Questo è davvero un valore aggiunto di *Casanova e il mio tempo* perché consente al collezionista-lettore dell'opera di identificarsi per quanto possibile nel racconto di Bignami, di sognare l'acquisizione di quelle mirabilie. E sappiamo quanto sia utile di questi tempi la concessione al sogno! Bignami, inoltre, ci regala nuove annotazioni e scoperte riguardo l'iconografia casanoviana di cui è notorio cultore, al pari di Piero Chiara che ha portato all'attenzione generale i ritratti del Nostro. Queste annotazioni contribuiscono a mettere ordine finalmente e in modo definitivo la *querelle* riguardante questa materia.

Uno dei punti di forza di questo repertorio è certamente l'esteso apparato iconografico che permette la visione ravvicinata di esemplari nei suoi dettagli: frontespizio, illustrazioni nel testo e fuori testo sono messi a disposizione del collezionista e dell'appassionato con una precisione di particolari che sono una copia materiale consente di avere. Anche io ho potuto finalmente vedere come si presenta una delle edizioni da me tanto ricercate e mai possedute. Questo mi ha riempito di soddisfazione e ne sono grato a Bignami per avermi svelato un mondo a me ancora ignoto.

Una collezione è la rappresentazione della vita di un uomo e viene da dire che questa è davvero una bella vita (Gianluca Simeoni)

New books highlight Casanova as Enlightenment author

SÉVERINE DENIEUL, *Casanova: le moraliste et ses masques* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2020, 528 pp.). Based on the author's doctoral thesis and the product of a decade of research, this important and insightful study examines Casanova as writer, focusing on his role as a teacher of morals—a counter-intuitive role, to be sure, but in keeping with both classical and Enlightenment traditions (think, for example, of Horace and Rousseau). Denieul addresses the question: to what extent should we take Casanova's moralist mask seriously or ironically? Her study encompasses the full range of Casanova's *oeuvre*, including lesser-known and unpublished texts. The author, *agrégée de lettres modernes* and *docteur en littérature française*, teaches at the Institut Universitaire de Technologie (IUT) at the Université de Poitiers. Her book is published as part of the *L'Europe des Lumières* collection under the direction of Michel Delon, Jacques Berchtold, and Christophe Martin, which includes works by such other Casanova scholars as Jean-Christophe Igalens, Cyril Francès, Guillaume Simiand, and Antonio Trampus.

MALINA STEFANOVSKA, ed., *Casanova in the Enlightenment: from the Margins to the Centre* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2021, 176 pp.). This collection of essays highlights recent scholarship on Casanova that reassesses his place as an Enlightenment author. The editor, who is professor of French and francophone studies at UCLA, writes: «Despite Casanova's marginalization both in his lifetime and in subsequent literary history . . . today he is finally receiving his due as an author: his output, from his philosophical dialogues to his scientific

musings and memoirs, expresses the crucial ideas of his century, as well as revealing their inherent tensions. » The book includes essays by Chantal Thomas, Michel Delon, Bruno Capaci, Mladen Kozul, Jean-Christophe Igalens, Raphaëlle Brin, Clorinda Donato, Pierre Saint-Amand, Christopher B. White, and Stefanovska. The essays are based on presentations made at a January 2016 symposium organized by Stefanovska at UCLA (Tom Vitelli).

La prima loggia massonica intitolata a Casanova

Il 13 ottobre 2020, presso il tempio massonico di Via Cicognani a Pesaro, si è svolta la cerimonia di innalzamento delle colonne della Loggia Giacomo Casanova all'oriente di Pesaro, numero 1548 all'obbedienza del Grande Oriente d'Italia. Come ci racconta il nostro collaboratore Marco Rocchi, la procedura, iniziata il 17 gennaio 2020 con la proposta di fondazione da parte di 15 fratelli provenienti da altra loggia pesarese, nonostante i rallentamenti dovuti alla situazione pandemica, ha ottenuto l'autorizzazione della Giunta del Grande Oriente d'Italia il 4 agosto e il decreto di fondazione, a firma del Gran Maestro Stefano Bisi, in data 25 settembre. Si tratta, a quanto ci consta, della prima loggia al mondo intitolata al veneziano e tra i suoi obiettivi c'è esplicitamente la volontà di recuperarne la figura, anche con manifestazioni di interesse culturale. Ricordiamo che Casanova fu due volte a Pesaro, dove fu ospite della famiglia Mosca Barzi, e l'interesse per la sua figura non è mai mancato, come viene ricordato anche nel bollettino del GOI Erasmo (nr. 9, ottobre 2020). Il nome del veneziano ritorna nel logo di loggia che riproduciamo qui a fianco.



Nouvelles de ventes

La Finarte-Roma, il 18 novembre 2020, nell'asta di libri antichi, ha proposto un esemplare dello *Scrutinio del libro Eloges de M. de Voltaire* nel quale la prima carta non è originale, ha un rinforzo al margine delle prime 2 carte ed una legatura cartonata alla rustica del sec. XVIII. Esso è stato aggiudicato a 614 euro, compresi i diritti d'asta (Furio Luccichenti). Da Bado & Mart (Padova) è andata all'asta in tre differenti tornate (19 febbraio, 22 aprile, 25 giugno 2020) al prezzo di partenza di euro 750, 1200 e 1800 una medesima copia del *Supplimento alla Esposizione ragionata della controversia che sussiste tra la Repubblica di Venezia e quella d'Olanda*. [Venezia]: s.e., 1785 per poi essere venduta a 2000 euro nell'asta del 1 dicembre 2020 (paradossalmente poi la medesima copia è stata rimessa in vendita nelle aste del 10 febbraio e del 19 marzo 2021, restando invendute). Dunque, per chiarezza, non possiamo affermare con certezza che siano apparse nel mercato, questo anche per un eventuale

censimento, sei copie differenti del *Supplimento*. Sempre dall'International Autograph Auctions Europe S.L. (Marbella, Malaga) è stata venduta a 11.000 euro una lettera di Casanova ad Antonio Collalto datata “Dux, 11 gennaio 1790”.

Henriette e Adélaïde

L'amico e sottoscrittore Peter Becher ha offerto agli studi casanoviani due interessanti volumi, *Henriette. Casanovas große Liebe* (Hamburg: Tredition, 2019, pp. 286) e *Henriette und Casanova. Dichtung und Wahrheit. Beiheft zu den historischen Grundlagen des Romans “Henriette – Casanovas große Liebe”* (Hamburg: Tredition, 2020, pp. 88). Con bella scrittura e ampia documentazione, Becher riesce a dare evidenza alla figura di Henriette, forse il più grande amore di Casanova, ricostruendone le vicende sulla scia delle *Memorie* e addentrandosi fra i misteri della Croix d'Or che tanto hanno appassionato gli studiosi. Becher non esita a identificare Henriette nella bella e giovane Adélaïde de Gueidan che riconosciamo nel dipinto di Nicolas de Largillière, senza ignorare però il dibattito condotto tra Louis Jean André e Helmut Watzlawick dalle pagine de *L'Intermédiaire des Casanovistes* (1996) a proposito di vari elementi ancora contraddittori nel racconto del veneziano. Ne emerge, sia attraverso le pagine del racconto sia attraverso quelle della postilla sulle fonti, un ritratto avvincente e appassionato, che giustamente ha incontrato le lodi del nostro Pablo Günther (<https://giacomo-casanova.de/henrieng.htm>).

ABSTRACTS

Jean-Claude Hauc, *Casanova and animal suffering*

In the Enlightenment age it was widespread the idea the animals were like perfect machines, live, but unable to feel. The authority of thinkers such as Descartes had contributed to the large diffusion of such notions which, however, Casanova did not share. From many passages of his writings in which he shows interest and even compassion towards the sufferings of animal (the agony of a dolphin, the cruel practice of the Corrida, the deep attachment for his dog Melampyge), it is evident that Casanova opted for a more naturalistic approach.

Stefano Feroci - Roberto Musì, *Cracovie en Bel Air: Giacomo Casanova's country house in La Petite-Pologne*

Starting from the notes of Charles Samaran (Archives Nationales de France), the authors reconstruct the history of “Cracovie en Bel Air”, the country house at the Petit Pologne (Paris, today's VIII arrondissement) in which Casanova stayed during his second trip to France

(1757). This article offers a rather precise description of this house and area, confirmed by several judicial and notary documents.

Alain Servantie, *Casanova, Bonneval Pacha, Said Efendi and the Sirenes d'Alexandre*

Based on Casanova's account to the Prince of Ligne, not included in the Memoirs, the author reconstructs a part of the journey to Constantinople (1745), the figure of Said Efendi, and the similarity of Casanova's story with a passage of *Iskendernâma* by Nizami Ganjavi (1141-1203) a great classic of Persian literature.

Nicola Vinovrški, *Casanova in the Spotlight*

The author reveals the ways in which Casanova fit the modern definition of celebrity or well-knownness, almost before this concept had really been established. By exploring Casanova's use of public spaces, travel patterns, and networks, Vinovrški shows how the Venetian had a very precocious awareness on the mechanisms of celebrity, an awareness mirrored in the frequent claims Casanova made in his writings about his will of being the most famous rather than the best.

Malina Stefanovska, *Leaving*

Leaving is written as a letter to Giacomo, where the author asks him questions about an act that has defined his existence: leaving, going away. Stefanovska revisits the many ways in which Casanova faced abandonment, such as his father's and grandmother's deaths or his mother's departure for her acting career, the peregrinations across Europe and the places and people Casanova left behind, until the return to his homeland, Venice, and to his only "home", that is his past.

Gregory Dowling, «*Braw bobby-bazzler*»: *Casanova in Fiction*

This presentation on fictional representations of Casanova's life includes American and British poets, and particularly Lord Byron. Dowling opened with the poem *Casanova* by Dick Davis, then outlined the ways various authors have portrayed Casanova, from Arthur Schnitzler to Sándor Márai to Rafael Sabatini. Dowling also included Sebastiano Vassalli, Matteo Strukul, and Sergei Tseytlin before addressing the books by Michelle Lovric Carnevale and by Barbara Lynn-Davis *Casanova's Secret Wife*.

Mladen Kozul, *The Casin of Cardinal de Bernis*

In this rereading of Casanova's affair with the nun MM the author expanded the analysis to include MM's and Casanova's other lovers, the Abbé Bernis and Caterina Capretta. Within the context of Venice's very specific world of *casini* and social expectations, the Bernis' affair was

for Casanova an opportunity to continue appearing with aristocratic circles and to forge an aristocratic identity for himself while following his libertine path.

Sebastian Dietz, *The Bohemian descendants and relatives of Giovanni Battista Casanova*

Based on some genealogical sources, this article describes the connections between Giacomo Casanova, his brother Giovanni Battista and the descendants of the Casanova family in the small town of Doksy (formerly Hirschberg am See) in Bohemia. In particular, it is astonishing how the Casanovas, then a family of some repute, found their way to a countryside town and aligned with a family of craftsmen. There is also a story of social rise and decline in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

Furio Luccichenti, *But where is it written?*

Following the article by Roberto Musì (*Casanoviana* 3, 2020), the author continues the research on the *Marquis C.*, the mysterious husband of *Leonilda*, the daughter Casanova claims to have had from Lucrezia, and met during the return to Rome from Calabria in 1744/45. He also adds news on Giacomo Antonio II° Carrara (1716-1770) and on Domenico Maria II° (1752-?), possibly met by Casanova in Prague in 1791. The article includes a short reply by Roberto Musì.

Marco Menato, *Casanova's original editions before 1843 in the public libraries of Gorizia*

This article presents a systematic survey of Casanova's works published before 1843 and kept in the public libraries of Gorizia. The catalogue is interesting because Gorizia was an important printing centre in the 18th century and the place of edition of the *Istoria delle turbolenze della Polonia*. The research allows us to reconstruct the history of these books and to illustrate their peculiar characteristics.

THE AUTHORS

Jean-Claude Hauc (born 1949 in Béziers, France, lives and works in Montpellier, France) is a novelist and essayist. He is a specialist of Giacomo Casanova and Ange Goudar. He is author of several novels and essays and moreover of *Les valets de Casanova suivi de Louis de Castelbajac, rival de Casanova* (Les Éditions de Paris, 2020), *Aventuriers et libertins au siècle des Lumières* (Les Éditions de Paris, 2009), *Voyage de Casanova à travers la Catalogne, le Roussillon et le Languedoc* (Les Presses du Languedoc, 2006).

Stefano Feroci (born 1954) works in the pharmaceutical and IT world as manager and consultant. He lives between Paris and Florence, is member of the editorial board of *Casanoviana* and cultivates a particular interest in 18th century literature. He is a specialist on the presence of Casanova in Tuscany, in Milan and in Paris. He is author, with Furio Luccichenti, of *En travestie. Teresa-Bellino* (Edizioni Fiesolane 2018) and, with Dominique Vibrac, of *Le Paris de Casanova* (Les Editions de Paris, 2018).

Alain Servantie, retired official of the European Commission, was born in Bordeaux where he graduated in Law, Political Sciences and Sociology. He joined the European Commission in 1971. Between 1993 and 2000, he was Head of the Unit 'International Regulatory Aspects of Communications Services'. Later, as Head of the Turkish team in DG Enlargement between June 2000 and February 2001, he was responsible for the negotiations with Turkey and for drafting the Commission's regular report and the European Union's Accession Partnership for this country.

Nicola Vinovrški lives in London and is a lawyer working in commercial dispute resolution and international arbitration. She has a Bachelor of Arts, Bachelor of Law and PhD from the University of Queensland. The topic of her doctoral thesis was on Casanova, celebrity and the 18th century. She is co-editor, with Robert van Krieken, of *New Directions in the History of Celebrity: Case Studies and Critical Perspectives and of Casanova: A Case Study of Celebrity in 18th Century Europe* (in *Historical Social Research*, 2019).

Malina Stefanovska teaches at University of California - Los Angeles (UCLA) and was visiting professor at the universities of Lausanne and Tours. She is a specialist of 17th and 18th century literature and is presently preparing a manuscript of fictional letters to Casanova. She is author of several books and editor of *Casanova in the Enlightenment: From the Margins to the Centre* (University of Toronto Press, 2020)

Mladen Kozul is Associate Professor of French at the University of Montana. He taught also at the Sorbonne, at the University of Leuven and the UCLA. His research focuses on culture, literature, history of body and on the legitimacy of fiction in the Enlightenment and in early modern France. He is also author of essay *3 Casanova and the Undifferentiated Body*, published in the collective volume *Casanova in the Enlightenment* (Toronto University Press, 2020).

Furio Luccichenti (Rom), is the founder, with H. Watzlawick, of the *Intermediaire des Casanovistes* and editor, with M.-F. Luna, G. Lahouati, H. Watzlawick of the new critical edition of the *Histoire de ma vie* (La Pleiade-Gallimard 2013-15).

Sebastian Dietz is an ancestry researcher from German-Bohemian background. He could trace back his ancestors until the late 16th century and also identify a relation to Giovanni Battista Casanova. He holds a PhD in statistics from University of Passau in Germany and works as a Risk Manager in the Financial Industry.

Marco Menato (Venice, 1955), former Director of the State Library (Biblioteca Statale Isontina) in Gorizia, was Professor at the universities of Trieste, Venezia Ca' Foscari, Verona. He is a specialist of the print culture in Renaissance Italy and editor of the journal «Studi Goriziani».

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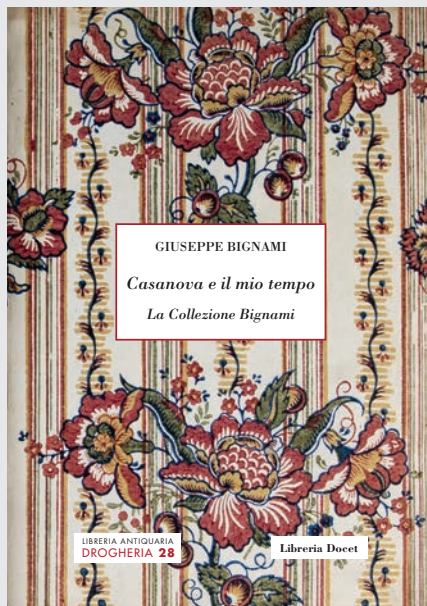
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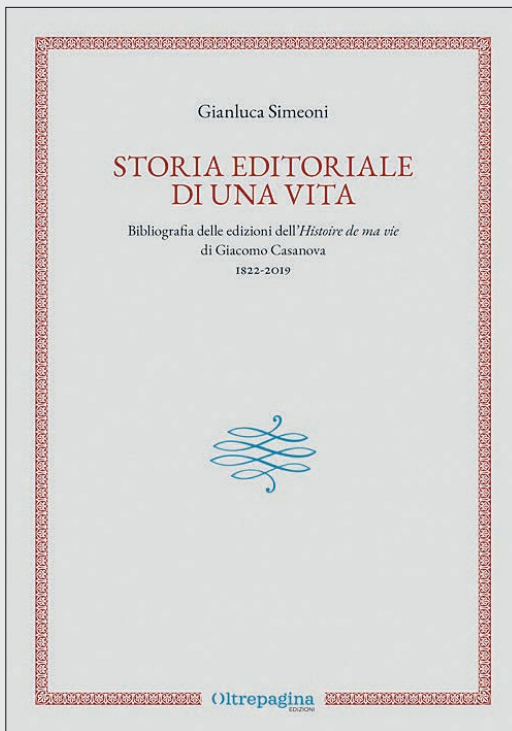
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