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

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of Casanova, of its time and its European and international echo through new research, cultural debates, editions of unpublished or unknown documents.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

Casanoviana 4, a cura di Antonio Trampus

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Book subscription/Per le prenotazioni del volume 25 € (price includes postage and packing: 30 € for Italy, 32 € for Europe, 35 € for other countries):

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Casanoviana

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Venezia-Trieste
Libreria antiquaria Drogheria 28
2021

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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 Mélampyge 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 Mélampyge, 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 Mélampyge, 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 prelado 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!

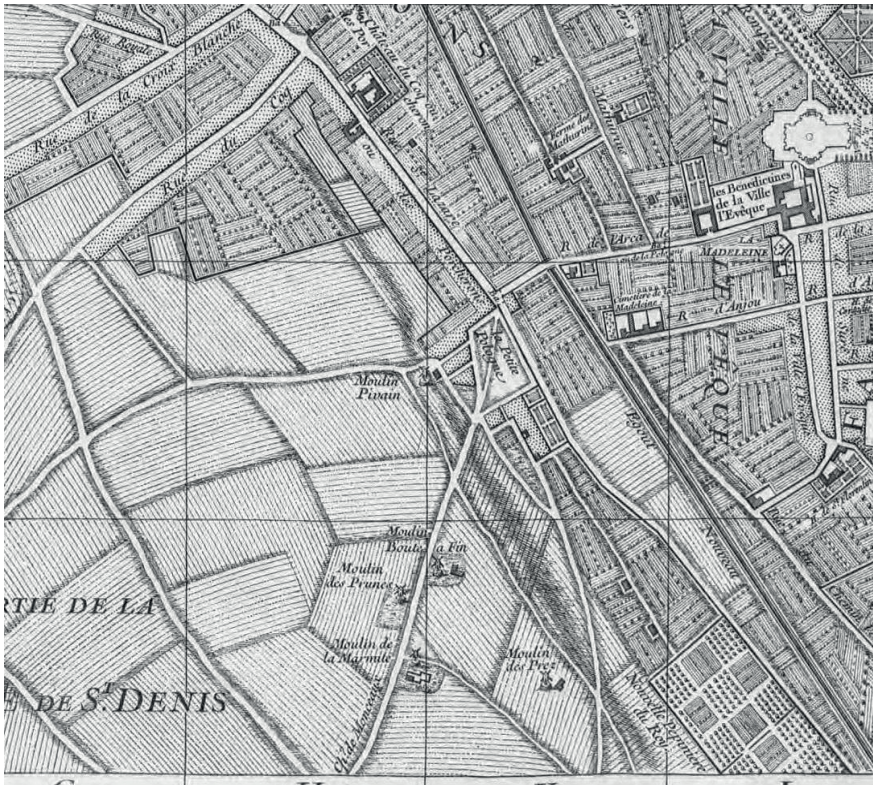
Quindi, da questa prima perizia del 23 maggio 1764, la casa risulta essere nella *rue de Pologne*, chiamata anche *rue de l'Arcade* (vedi precedente nota 17). L'8 ottobre 1764, però, il cancelliere Foucard registra il processo verbale dell'architetto Perard e prepara una serie di descrizioni dei lotti 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* lì 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

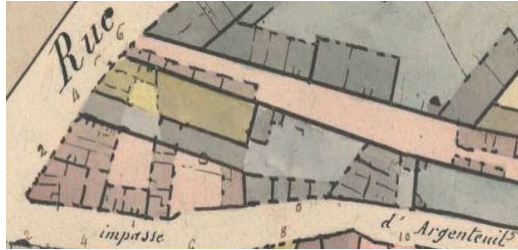
33 Arch. Nat. T 514 7. Maison Le Roy a la Petite Pologne. Nicolas Béraud, *Dictionnaire des rues de Paris*, Paris, Barba, 1828, p. 546: «Argenteuil (impasse d'), au coin de la rue du Rocher, n° 2, et rue Saint-Lazare, n° 134». J. DE LA TYNNA, *Dictionnaire des rues de Paris*, Paris, J. de La Tynna, 1813, 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.

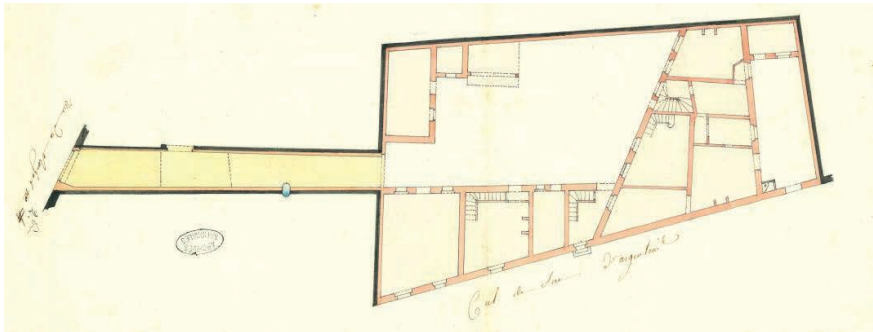
35 Arch. Nat. F/31/73/feuille 29 = cadastre du quartier du Roule, Ilot 32, feuille 29, 1824 ; F/31/45/pièce 239 = détail de la parcelle, pièce 239, propriétaire Poulain, sans date.

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

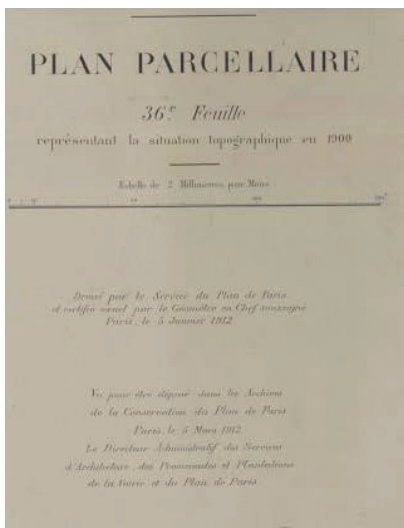


Più sotto un dettaglio del piano catastale della casa, con l'accesso alla viuzza del *cul-de-sac d'Argenteuil*.



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. Petersbourg, 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 *circumcision*, «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 Serie 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 pélistiers 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/lettreausujetdup-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 pagnes 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:

<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:

<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:

<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:

<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:

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 (Casanova, *HDMV*, Laffont, 1: 553).

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 (Casanova, *HDMV*, Trask, 3: 116).

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.

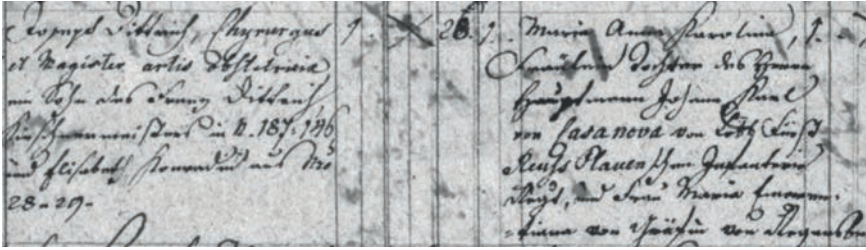


Figure 1: Marriage record of Joseph Dittrich and Carolina von Casanova, 14.05.1815, Doksy. Giovanni Carlo, the bride's father, appears as "Herr Hauptmann Johann Karl von Casanova". Source: State Archive Litomerice, Inventory Nr. 1447, Signature L27/10, Folio 36.

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».

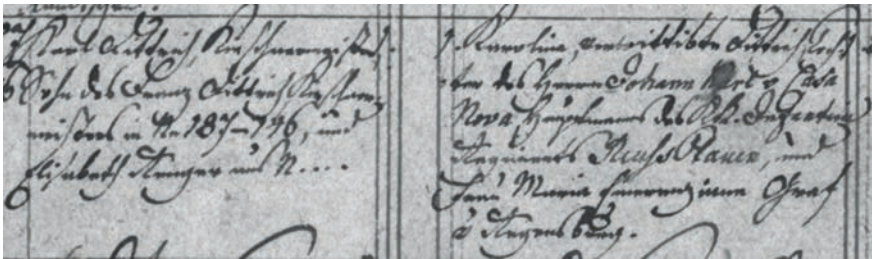


Figure 2: Marriage record of Karl Franz Dittrich and Carolina, widow of Joseph Karl Dittrich, daughter of Johann Karl von Casanova 23.11.1819. (State Archive Litomerice, Inventory Nr. 1447, Signature L27/10, Folio 44).

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.

Children with second husband Karl Franz Dittrich:

- 1) Emilia, born 1.5.1819, married 18.7.1848 Josef Miksch from Doksy
- 2) Franz Karl, born 1821, married 30.6.1849 Maria Josepha Dittrich from Doksy
- 3) Elisabeth, born 3.9.1824
- 4) Anna Karolina, born 31.3.1826, married Sigismund Schmied, weaver master from Česká Lípa
- 5) Theresia Elisabeth, born 20.8.1829
- 6) Franz, born 11.8.1830
- 7) Joseph, born 14.1.1834
- 8) Anna Maria, born 27.4.1835
- 9) Sophia, born 13.3.1839, married 1860 Joseph Eiselt, shoemaker master from Česká Lípa
- 10) Maria, born 15.12.1840
- 11) Martin Dittrich, born 14.3.1842
 - married Agnes Pietschmann (daughter of Franz Pietschmann, cooper master from Doksy)
 - married 1903 Maria Tschernich, widow of Anton Tschernich, labourer from Nová Ves, daughter of Joseph Hauschka from Bělá pod Bezdězem

Another interesting observation is that within the local families the given name Carolina appears quite frequently; this might be a reference to the promi-

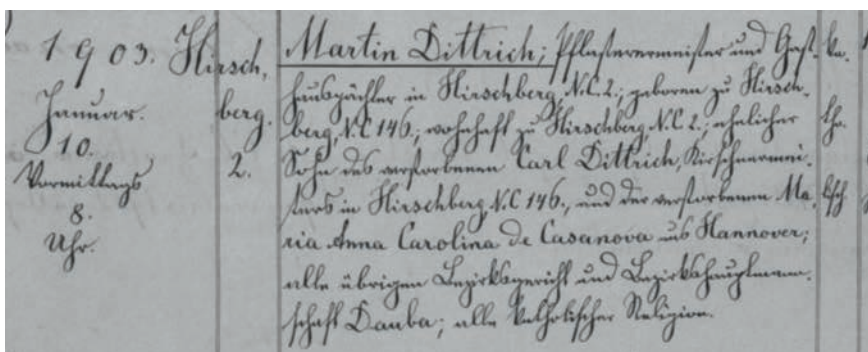


Figure 3: Marriage record of Martin Dittrich 1903, the last time Carolina de Casanova is mentioned in the Doksy church records. (State Archive Litomerice, Inventory Nr. 9586, Signature L27/15, Folio 68).

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.

FURIO LUCCICENTI

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 Brecejlji 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 quiscquam 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 niederscrieb. / [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. Pélassier*, Paris, A. Fontemoing, 1902, p. 599).

Il commentatore della lettera, Léon G. Pélassier, 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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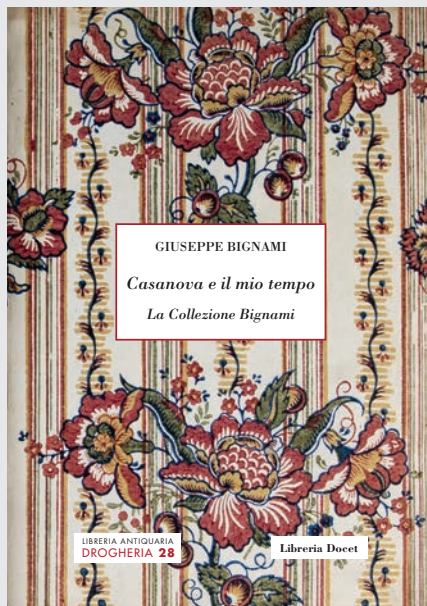
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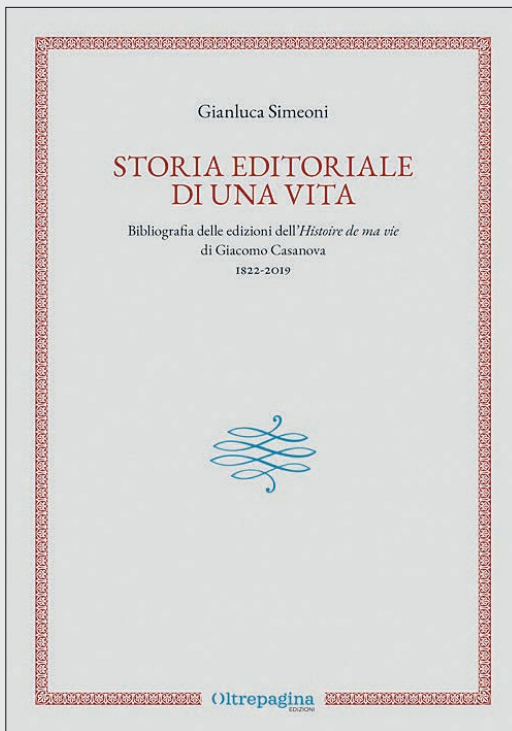
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Formato: 17x24 cm; pagine: 432; data di pubblicazione: maggio 2021; editore: Oltrepagina, Verona; prezzo: 30 euro (da acquistarsi presso la Libreria Antiquaria Drogheria 28 o l'editore o ancora i comuni canali di vendita).



COLOPHON

Formato: 15,5x21,5 cm

Carattere: Bodoni

Carta interna: Fedrigoni Arcoprint Edizioni 1.3 avorio 120 gr.

Legatura: Fedrigoni Nettuno Bianco Artico 215 gr.

Progetto grafico: Franco Han

Stampa e rilegatura: Art Group Graphics, Trieste

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

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

Casanoviana 5, a cura di Antonio Trampus

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Venezia-Trieste
Libreria antiquaria Drogheria 28
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DINO DETAILLEUR

ARE THE *MEMOIRS* TRUE OR FALSE?
AN OLD CASANOVIST QUESTION BROUGHT TO LIGHT AGAIN

Are the *Memoirs* true or false? This question formed for J. Rives Childs the fundamental touchstone of the *Memoirs*.¹ Childs's *Casanova, A Biography Based on New Documents*, valued the *Memoirs* as a deeply historically underpinned work. The work was then the pinnacle of a movement called Casanovism, a movement that explored the *Memoirs* on an historical basis. In the wake of Child's biography the journals *Casanova Gleanings*, *L'Intermédiaire des Casanovistes* and *Casanoviana* published various articles on the historicity of the *Memoirs*, identifying persons, places, and events. In the present article I wish to explore the historical truthfulness of the *History of My Life* through another way than that of documentary evidence. In an earlier article I wrote, "By regarding the memoirs as autobiographical memory, stories are seen as the result of the working of memory".² I wish to explore this approach in greater detail. In this article memory will be accepted as the ultimate bearer of meaning of the *History of My Life*. Memory is a commitment to transfer truth, and this commitment can be used to assess the historical truthfulness of the work. The *Memoirs* will be considered as a "working out" or elaboration of memory data. The constraints, through which the process from memory to text has been carried out, will be the tools to provide insight into what is true and what is false. A classification of these constraints – an autobiographical frame – will serve as a perspective through which the assessment can proceed.

The historical experience

The *Memoirs* consist of a vast number of sentences. The majority of these sentences are presented as referring to events that happened in the life of the author.

1 JAMES RIVES CHILDS, *Casanova: A Biography Based on New Documents*, London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd, p. 15.

2 DINO DETAILLEUR, *Casanova and the Watergate Affair*, « Intermédiaire des Casanovistes », 30 (2013), pp. 21-31

All these events form a world. This world is the reference of the *Memoirs*. As this reference lays in the past life of the author outside the text, the reference can be called “historically presented”.

Nous sommes partis de Florence à huit, et je ne me suis arrêté qu'à une heure après minuit à une poste qui appartenait au Pape, et où je n'avais plus rien à craindre. Le nom de cette poste était *l'âne décharge* : ce nom fit rire ma folle, et nous montâmes. Toute la maison dormait ; mais le tapage que j'ai fait, et trois ou quatre pauls que j'ai d'abord distribués aux garçons me firent faire du feu, et mirent en mouvement tout le monde pour me faire à manger.³

The above lines transfer the reader to the 18th century. The reader mentally witnesses scenes that are perceived as belonging to the past life of the author. The references of the sentences are accepted as historical because the author presents the representations as coming from memory. Memory commits itself to transfer truth. The memories transferred in the *History of My Life* are received as true because memory warrants the truthfulness of what is communicated. The result is an historical experience. The reader witnesses the scenes as in real life, as if he was in the 18th century. This experience provides an intense, individual, and intellectual pleasure.

The heart of the *Memoirs* lies at this historical experience. This particular emotion is evoked once the references are accepted as historical, and it is memory that connects the text with the past. From this perspective, memory is the ultimate bearer of meaning of the work. A memory-based reception is an integral part of the reading of the *Memoirs*. Read without its memory dimension, the *History of My Life* risks becoming monotonous. The *Memoirs* are a unique work in the history of creative writing. They are an idiosyncratic elaboration of memory data into a written life-account.

Memory and the historical assessment of the *Memoirs*

The commitment of memory to tell the truth can be applied to assess the *Memoirs* historically. The memory basis of the work allows – at least in principle

³ GIACOMO CASANOVA, *Histoire de ma vie*, tome II, Paris, Éditions Robert Laffont, 2015, pp. 800-801 [hereafter noted as *HMV*].

– valuing the statements expressed by the sentences as either true or false. As a criterion to discern historical truth, the principle of correspondence can be applied. Memory transposes knowledge of life experiences over time. In the *History of My Life* this transposition takes place through written sentences that refer to events that have been experienced. To be historically true the references should correspond with what actually happened. In the case of the first sentence of the above quotation, the sentence is true if Casanova left Florence at eight o'clock and stopped at a postal station belonging to the Papal States at one o'clock after midnight. The *Memoirs* are composed of a series of similar sentences. The reader accepts that the author constantly transposes representations of events through sentences and that he presents them constantly as true through memory. The natural acceptance of truthfulness presupposes a non-stopping correspondence between what is referred to and what factually occurred. Of course, nobody could hold that there is always correspondence. Also, it is clear that an historical assessment for each sentence is practically not feasible. Much in the *History of My Life* must have been introduced for non-historical reasons. The question is: How to get a grip on which references are really historical and which references are not? Where to point out where the *Memoirs* are true and where they are false?

First, a definition of autobiographical memory will be proposed. Second, the text of the *Memoirs* will be mapped to the structure of autobiographical memory. Third, the notion of “memory as action” will be applied to classify the different constraints that were at play during the creation of the *History of My Life*. This classification will constitute the autobiographical frame by which the historical assessment will be carried out.

A definition of autobiographical memory

In his *Memory from A to Z, Keywords, Concepts and Beyond*, Yadin Dudai gives a definition of autobiographical memory that sounds practical for the *Memoirs*. Dudai starts with the notion of episodic memory that he defines as “the conscious mental re-enactment of personally experienced past events”.⁴ Autobiographical memory is then described as: “whereas ‘episodic’ refers to distinct

⁴ YADIN DUDAI, *Memory from A to Z, Keywords, Concepts, and Beyond*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2004, p. 91.

individual episodes, ‘autobiographical’ connotes the narrative formed from the combination of such episodes”.⁵

A link between the text and the external world

Casanova introduces and depicts in great detail numerous personages and actions that are not endorsed by documents. To examine this manifold of textual data, a relation between the sentences and their references should be established on a basis that allows historical verification. Mapping the text to a suitable autobiographical structure model can create such a link. Martin A. Conway and Christopher W. Pleydell-Pearce provide a useful model of such a structure.⁶ In their model, autobiographical memories are represented as hierarchically organized in three different levels of specificity: lifetime periods, general events, and event-specific knowledge. Lifetime periods contain general knowledge of larger time periods. General events are more specific, covering a couple of days to several months. Event-specific knowledge covers detailed remembering from seconds to a couple of hours.

The *History of My Life* consists of more or less independent passages that are embedded in larger units. Following the model proposed by Conway and Pleydell-Pearce, we could name these passages hierarchically: periods, episodes, and anecdotes. The above quotation – the detailed telling of the arrival at the postal inn – could be considered as an anecdote. This anecdote could then be embedded in an episode such as “the flight from Florence to Bologna early 1761”. Finally, the episode could be couched in an encompassing period as “Casanova’s Italian period from end 1760 to mid 1761”. These three literary units – anecdote, episode, and period – could then be mapped to the psychological units: event-specific knowledge, general event, and lifetime period. The mapping of the literary dimension onto a psychological one establishes a link between the telling and memory, between the text and the external world. Once linked to memory, textual passages that through their extremely detailed elaboration could not be corroborated on a documentary basis obtain extra-textual

5 *Ibid.*, p. 93.

6 MARTIN A. CONWAY and CHRISTOPHER W. PLEYDELL-PEARCE, *The Construction of Autobiographical Memories in the Self-Memory System*, « Psychological Review », vol. 107: 2 (2000), pp. 261-288.

meaning through their position as nested in a hierarchy of memory-based levels. These passages may then be analysed as not purely literary embellishment; they belong to an overall elaboration of memory data in an autobiographical project.

The autobiographical frame

The text of the *Memoirs* is regarded as the result of a specific elaboration of memory data into a written autobiographical account. The specific constraints by which memory is turned into text shed light on the historicity of the passage examined. A classification of these constraints will provide us with an autobiographical frame by which the text can be assessed historically. In his article, *Remembering as Doing*, the American psychologist Ulric Neisser treats memory as an action.⁷ “Remembering is a kind of doing. Like other kinds of doing it is purposive, personal, and particular”.⁸ These three characteristics – purposive, personal, and particular – can be used as guidelines for the categorization of the constraints as a step toward establishing an autobiographical frame.

[MEMORY] It is *purposive* because it is done with a specific goal in mind; often that goal is to tell the truth about some past event, but on other occasions it may be to entertain, to impress, or to reassure.⁹

Memory, seen as an action, advances a goal. Its narrative result will be characterised by the specific purpose for which memory is used. The purpose will then determine which items will be selected and how they will be developed. For what purpose was Casanova writing his *Memoirs*? What were his motives? For the psychoanalytic critic Ignazio Maiore, the writing of the *Memoirs* was an attempt to gain immortality.¹⁰ Casanova felt his approaching death and tried to surmount this fatality by creating a future by means of a literary product. According to Maiore, such is the deeper desire of everyone who works in the literary or

7 ULRIC NEISSER, *Remembering as Doing*, « Behavioral and Brain Science », 19: 2 (1996), pp. 203-204.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 204.

9 *Ibid.*

10 LILIANA BETTI, GIANFRANCO ANGELUCCI, *Casanova rendez-vous con Federico Fellini*, Milano, Bompiani, 1975, pp. 120-123.

creative domain. This might be true in general, but there are indications that the *Memoirs* fall outside this statement. A year before he started the *Memoirs*, Casanova had actually tried to gain immortality by means of an extraordinary work of fiction: his novel *Icosameron*. The huge work, five volumes, almost two thousand pages in total, relates the voyage of Edward and Elisabeth to a utopian world at the centre of the earth. The reception turned out to be a complete disaster. The Venetian had put all his money and all his knowledge in this publication in the hope of reaching immortality. In April 1785 he writes to Count Lamberg: “Voilà un ouvrage qui m’enverra à l’immortalité”.¹¹ The publication of *Icosameron*, however, was a commercial failure that ruined Casanova financially.

What, then, was Casanova’s purpose in writing the story of his life? After he had tried in vain at the Leipzig fair to promote his *Icosameron*, Casanova returned to Dux and got into what Marie-Françoise Luna called the 1789 crisis.¹² Financially ruined, mentally distressed, physically ill, constantly teased and harassed by the castle servants, Casanova went into one of the darkest periods of his life. The spark to start writing the *Memoirs* has to be found in this depressing period. In a letter of 17 May 1789 a physician, the Irishman O’Reilly, advised Casanova to lighten his distress by “récapituler les beaux jours passés en Venise et des autres parts du monde”.¹³ Very soon after receiving this advice, Casanova sets to work. In his *Memoirs* Casanova testifies about the therapeutic value of his writing.

Si cela n’arrive pas, le lecteur me pardonnera, quand il saura que celui d’écrire mes Mémoires fut le seul remède que j’ai cru pouvoir employer 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 jours j’ai empêché le noir chagrin de me tuer, ou de me faire perdre la raison.¹⁴

11 JACQUES CASANOVA, *Mémoires de J. Casanova de Seingalt écrits par lui-même*, Paris, Éditions de La Sirène, 1932, tome XI, p. XI. [Hereafter noted as *Mémoires (Sirène)*].

12 MARIE-FRANÇOISE LUNA, *Casanova mémorialiste*, Paris, Honoré Champion, 1998, pp. 52-53.

13 JAMES O’REILLY, Letter to Casanova (17 May 1789), Marr 13-G-2. Noted in JACQUES CASANOVA, *Mémoires (Sirène)*, 1935, tome XII, p. XVII.

14 CASANOVA, *HMV*, III, pp. 733-734.

Over the months the therapeutic aspect changed into pleasure. The writing lifted him up and provided him with continuous pleasure.

Ma santé est bonne, je m'occupe à « mes memoires ». Cette occupation me tient lieu de délassement. Je me trouve en les écrivant jeune et écolier. Je [me] donne souvent dans des eclats de rire, ce qui me fait passer pour fou, car les idiots ne croient pas qu'on puisse rire étant seul.¹⁵

Pleasure or just fun will emerge as a fruitful purpose, as a fruitful final motivation to explain much of what has been written in the *Memoirs*.

In addition to this overarching goal, sub-purposes can be identified, such as the intention to impress, to convince, to tell a good story, or to fill in gaps on the chronological narrative line.

[MEMORY] It is *personal* because it is done by a specific individual and bears the stamp of that individual's characteristic way of doing and telling.¹⁶

Assessing Casanova's mind or the working of his memory is a speculative undertaking. Some features of his character are nevertheless reflected in the way he wrote his recollections down. An egocentric, even a narcissistic, trait is undeniably present in Casanova's way of remembering. The selection of what he remembers and how he remembers is determined by self-centeredness. Casanova is consistently taking his own person as central in the events he recalls. His world is built up through a strong egocentric lens, which is reflected in his narratives: the word 'I' is omnipresent.

This ego-centrism is responsible for the introduction of two recurrent narrative techniques: anachronistic insertion and anecdotal appropriation. These techniques are meant to glorify the author and embellish the narration. Casanova must have heard or read many interesting things during his countless social interactions and through his frequent reading. He undoubtedly included some of these items in later conversations and writings. Some could have been internalized into his memory. It is likely that his egocentric mind turned some of these stories into memories he thought belonged to his own experiences.

15 CASANOVA, Letter to J. F. Opiz (11 July 1791), in *Correspondance avec J. F. Opiz*, edited by FR. KHOL et OTTO PICK, Leipzig, Kurt Wolff Verlag, 1913, vol. 1, pp. 80-81.

16 NEISSER, *Remembering as Doing*, p. 204.

Anachronistic insertion is the introduction of an historical element in the telling that does not fit in with the proposed chronology.

[...] nous allâmes dans la guérite où le major montrait à sa mère le dépôt du corps du Maréchal de Schoulenbourg qu'on tenait là jusqu'à ce qu'on lui eût fait un mausolée.¹⁷

Casanova relates that the grave of Marshal Schulenburg could be seen during his 1743 stay on the island of Sant' Andrea, while the marshal only died in the year 1747. Casanova might have heard or read about the marshal and his grave later in his life. This insertion could be prompted by a wish to lend more prestige to the text, and consequently to the author of the text. Nevertheless, Casanova might have considered this passage as a real memory. His egocentric mind could have internalized the story as an event that really happened to him.

Anecdotal appropriation is the adoption of popular anecdotes, jokes, or fun trivia as experienced by the author himself.

Une chose que j'ai vue avec Melisino, et qui m'a frappé, fut la fonction de la bénédiction des eaux le jour de l'Épiphanie faite sur la Neva couverte de cinq pieds de glace. On baptise les enfants par immersion les plongeant dans la rivière par un trou fait dans la glace. Ce jour-là même il est arrivé que le *Pope* qui immergeait laissa échapper de ses mains l'enfant qu'il plongeait : *drugoi* a-t-il dit. C'est-à-dire *donnez-m'en un autre* ; mais ce que j'ai trouvé admirable fut la joie du père, et de la mère de l'enfant noyé, qui certainement ne pouvait être allé qu'en paradis étant mort dans cet heureux moment.¹⁸

This quotation is taken from Casanova's sojourn in Russia from 1764 to 1765. A German voyager wrote the same story down in similar terms in 1762. So, it is plausible that Casanova acquired this anecdote through reading. The story might also have been a popular anecdote told to foreign travellers during their Russian voyage. Casanova might have picked up the story and might have used it to embellish his account.

Anachronistic insertion and anecdotal appropriation are narrative techniques Casanova recurrently uses to embroider and vaunt his life account. Detecting these techniques can lead to insights about the historicity of the *Memoirs*.

17 CASANOVA, *HMV*, I, p. 173.

18 *Ibid.*, III, p. 328.

Another trait of Casanova's personality is a prolific narrative capacity. Casanova possesses the ability to relate his adventures in a very detailed, entertaining, and convincing way. This "detailedness" can be related to memory. In an article on the working of the memory of John Dean, a witness during the Watergate affair, Ulric Neisser shows how this personality trait can affect the construction and the telling of memories.¹⁹ Neisser observes this "detailedness" as a constitutive characteristic of Dean's memory. Extensive graphical imagination is the natural way how Dean and Casanova constructed their memories. Detailed remembering "as such" exists and is not just a literary aspect of the *Memoirs*. So, in assessing the truthfulness of the *Memoirs*, we should also consider Casanova's inclusion of details as a feature of his personal way of elaborating his memories. The details are not necessarily to be assessed on their truth-value. Their function lies mostly elsewhere, in the creation of a sense of reality and a desire to entertain – not always as a deliberate narrative technique but sometimes as an involuntary characteristic of Casanova's memory. And such detailed narrative elaboration affects the way of storing and recalling memories, or as Henry James voiced it: "Adventures happen to people who know how to tell it that way".²⁰

Another idiosyncratic trait may be found in a physical involvement during remembering. In the *Histoire de ma fuite*, Casanova explains how he physically experienced the telling of his escape:

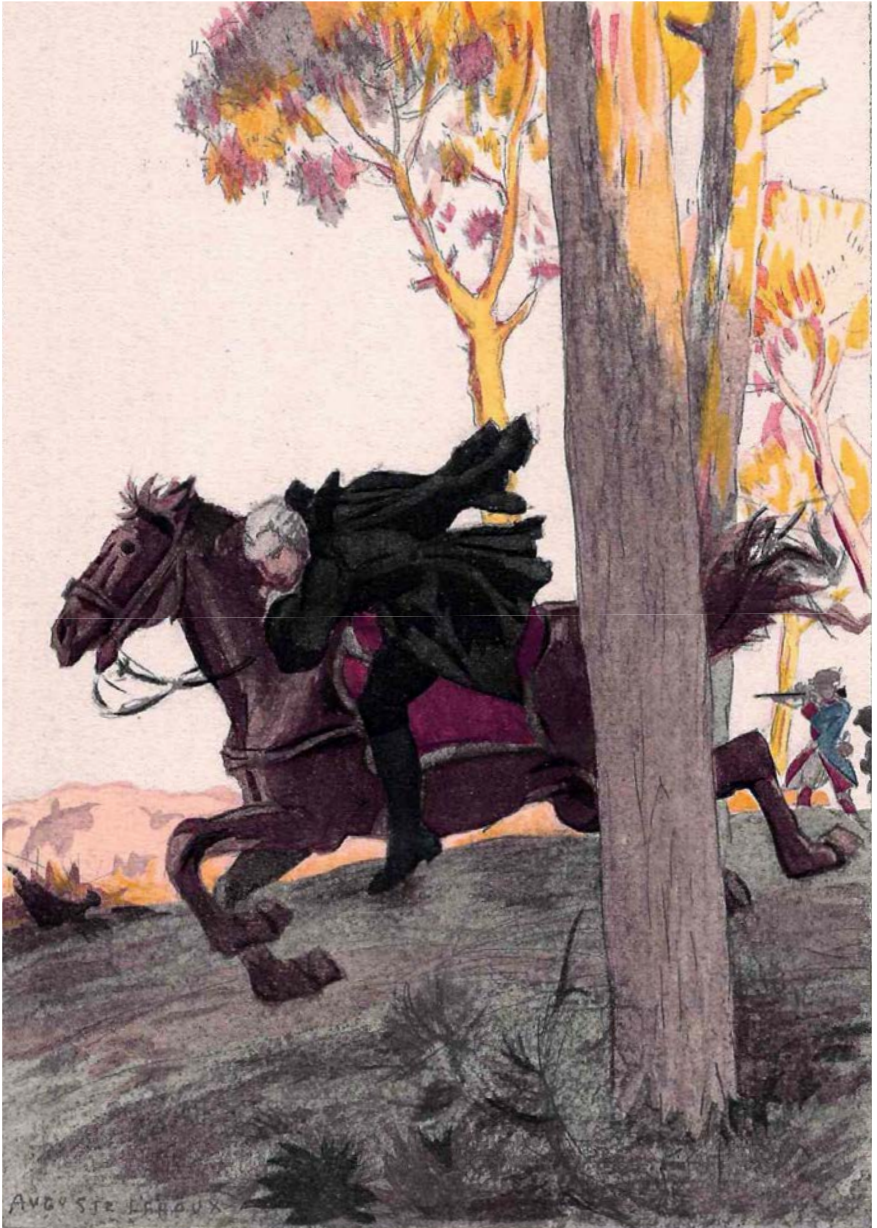
Il m'est arrivé cent fois de me trouver après le récit de cette histoire quelque altération dans la santé, causée ou par le fort souvenir de la triste aventure, ou par la fatigue soutenue par mes organes en devoir d'en détailler les circonstances ;[...]²¹

This quotation reveals much about how Casanova "lived" his remembering. Not just the telling, but the recalling itself had an impact on his physical health. Remembering was not a mere mental activity – remembering involved his organs.

19 NEISSER, *John Dean's Memory : A Case Study*, « Cognition », 9: 1 (1981), pp. 1-22.

20 Quoted by JÉRÔME BRUNER in *The "Remembered Self"* in *The Remembering Self: Construction and Accuracy in the Self-narrative*, edited by ULRIC NEISSER and ROBYN FIVUSH, Cambridge University Press, 1994, p. 48.

21 GIACOMO CASANOVA, *Histoire de ma fuite des prisons de la république de Venise qu'on appelle les Plombs*, Paris, Allia, 1987, p. 17.



« I suppose you, dear reader, at the age of twenty.... » (Litography by Auguste Leroux, 1931).

Another personal characteristic of the elaboration of the *Memoirs* lies in the splitting up of Casanova's memory source: his own memory and the corpus of documents and reports he assembled during his lifetime. The first source is Casanova's memory itself. The way Casanova exercised his memory during his life suggests a highly reliable memory. He turned his memories constantly into narratives, both oral and written. Many are the examples in the *Memoirs*, where Casanova tells us that he orally or textually recounts his life events. This activity turned his recollections into worked-out narratives, with all the necessary properties involved, such as rendering the story convincing, attractive, logically acceptable, and suitable to the given circumstance. Undoubtedly, during the telling, he interacted with his audience, and this feedback probably helped him shape his narrative in the same way a comedian perfects his jokes by trying them out on audiences. So, the substance might have been altered, which doesn't mean that the link with memory was lost. Of course, such a way of elaborating memories is open to all sorts of modulation, but this trait has to be seen as part of the specificity of Casanova's memory. In fact, the verbal rehearsal of life events fortified the content involved as accepted memories, including modulations and inventions. Both this oral and written narrative-exercising must have been beneficial for an overall excellent memory.

His second memory source is a corpus of records. From his youth onwards Casanova kept all sorts of documents such as passports, letters, and portraits. Together with his *capitulaires* – the name he gave to his written journal or life-notes – these documents formed a huge data bank. What has been preserved until today seems to be only a portion of the original collection he consulted when he started to write his manuscript. This documentary bank functioned as a deposit external to his mind for supplying material to elaborate memories. How deeply Casanova valued this documentary collection is mentioned in the *Memoirs*. He writes about the preserved letters from the Swiss scholar Haller in the following words: “Plus je vieillis plus je regrette mes papiers. C'est le vrai trésor qui m'attache à la vie, et qui me fait haïr la mort». ²²

[MEMORY] It is *particular* because it is done on a specific occasion, in a way that reflects the particular opportunities and demands that occasion may afford.²³

22 CASANOVA, *HMV*, II, p. 466.

23 NEISSER, *Remembering as Doing*, p. 204.

The specific occasion is an elaboration of memory data into a written life-account. The general demand for such a narrative undertaking is coherence. Coherence makes the telling natural and believable. An autobiographical work like the *Memoirs* has to fit all sorts of models of coherence such as chronology, causality, and contiguity in space.²⁴ So, gaps in chronology will have to be filled in; the telling will have to be logically valid; the spatiality will have to be without contradiction and not too complicated.

The result of Casanova's autobiographical project is a manuscript, not a published book. Initially Casanova didn't write to publish. Although his correspondents urged him, the Venetian constantly expresses his reluctance to publish. On 22 November 1790 Count Lamberg tries to convince his correspondent by offering his help:

Envoyez-moi le plan et les conditions auxquelles vous voulez en céder le manuscrit et je m'emploiera à vous mettre (pour faciliter toute démarche) en correspondance avec un homme qui me demande des manuscrits à cor et à cris.²⁵

Apparently, Casanova cannot overcome his aversion to publication. On 20 February 1792 he writes that his work is made to set fire to and that as long as he will be in charge, it will certainly not be made public.

Pour ce qui regarde "mes memoires" plus l'ouvrage avance plus je me vois convaincu qu'il est fait pour être brûlé. Par là Vous voïés que tant que j'en serai le maître, il ne verra certainement pas le jour.²⁶

From 1794 the Prince de Ligne becomes the most important person who keeps pushing Casanova to publish. At the end of his life, after years of revision of the text, Casanova decides to publish a first tome. If this publication finds an audience, he will allow publication of the subsequent tomes. The tome was never published, and when Casanova died in 1798, the manuscript was still at the

24 For models of coherence see: SHLOMITH RIMMON-KENAN, *Narrative Fiction: Contemporary Poetics*, London and New York, Methuen, 1983, p. 124.

25 MAXIMILIEN LAMBERG, Letter to Casanova (22 Nov 1790), in MARCO LEEFLANG, GÉRARD LUCIANI et MARIE-FRANÇOISE LUNA, *Mon cher Casanova, Lettres du comte Maximilien Lamberg et Pietro Zaguri, patricien de Venise à Giacomo Casanova*, Paris, Honoré Champion, 2008, p. 258.

26 CASANOVA, Letter to J. F. Opiz (20 February 1792), in *Correspondance avec J. F. Opiz*, p. 87.

Dux castle. The fact that the *Memoirs* were not – at least in their first conception – meant to become a published book gave Casanova more freedom in the elaboration of the stories, at least in the sense that he was not constrained to hold his imagination back when writing about historical personages. He could use those persons unrestrained as characters in more imaginative stories. Writing for his own sake and pleasure discharged Casanova from being accountable for what he wrote. A hint that Casanova wrote primarily for himself might be that he initially did not mask some of his historical characters. The name of the Venetian nun from the M.M. episode was at first written as “Mathilde”.²⁷ Later the initials “M.M.” replaced this name. It might be that only when he was urged to publish, Casanova started disguising some of the persons behind initials or false names.

Another feature of the “particularity” of Casanova’s memory can be found in the cultural matrix that influenced the elaboration of memory into text. Casanova was a writer who was profoundly engaged in the cultural world of his time. By “matrix” I mean the cultural surroundings in which the *Memoirs* originated; the work has been shaped under the influence of the cultural world in which its writer lived. Marie-Françoise Luna puts it this way: “Dans l’*Histoire de ma vie*, son vécu fournit à l’artiste un matériau que le travail de rédaction va élaborer en traversant les couches culturelles de sa mémoire...”²⁸ The *Memoirs* reflect the general culture of their era.

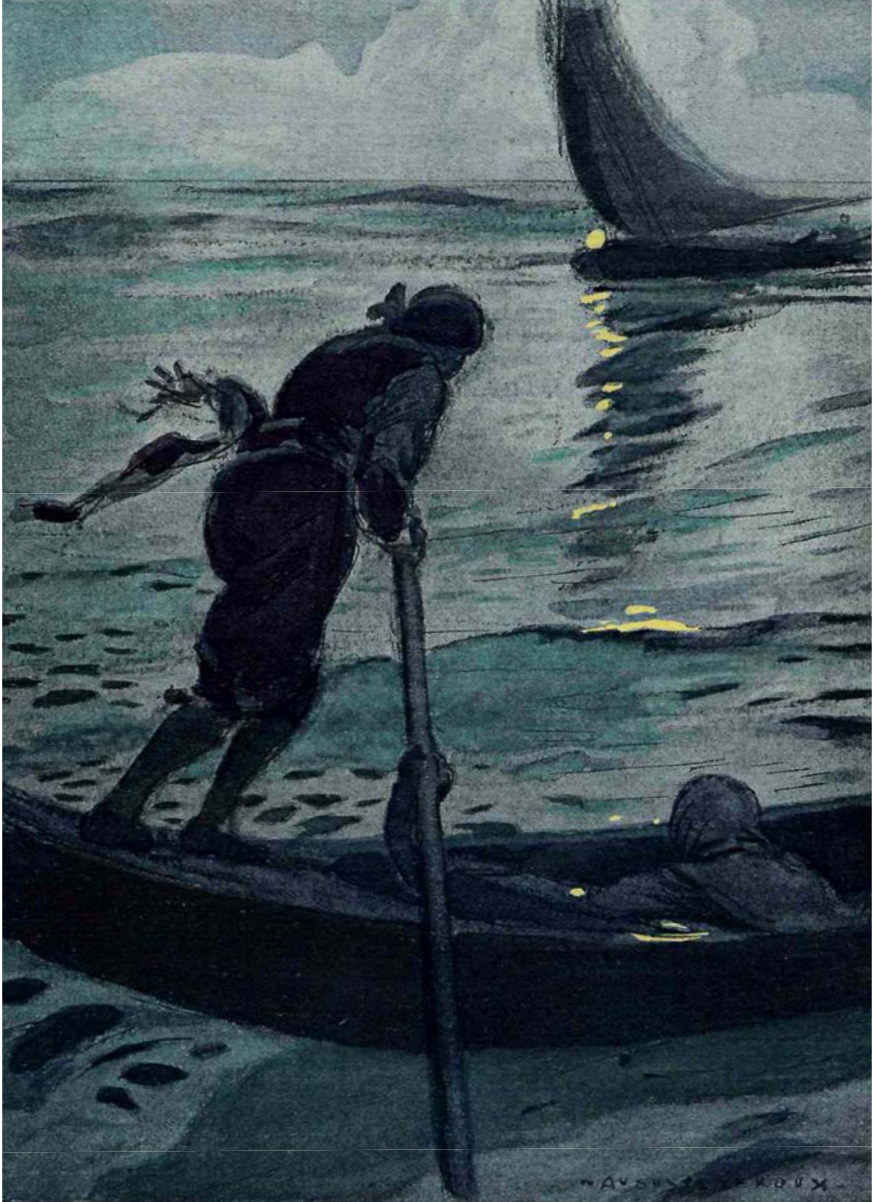
Also specific cultural influences determined the narrative result, such as the theatre, Ariosto’s *Orlando Furioso*, and the libertine register.²⁹ The theatrical aspect has been recognized as a major feature of Casanova’s narrative approach. Events are often described through theatrical scripts. *Orlando Furioso* had been a model and an inspiration. This is not only observable in direct quotations; the narration of the adventures and the love intrigues themselves mirror the spirit of *Orlando Furioso*. The libertine register is another feature of Casanova’s style when he relates his love affairs. The narration often is modeled in the libertine tradition.

These influences are not only shaping the narrative, they are also responsible

27 For the story of this discovery, see: MARCO LEEFLANG, *Casanova Feels Obligated... A Personal Message from His Hand*, « Casanova Gleanings », 19 (1976), pp. 23-30.

28 MARIE-FRANÇOISE LUNA, *Casanova à Constantinople. Turquie ou turquerie? in L’Histoire de ma vie di Giacomo Casanova*, a cura di MICHELE MARI, Milano, Cisalpino, 2008, p. 280.

29 Marie-Françoise Luna deals with the same three items in the last part of LUNA, *Casanova mémorialiste*, pp. 429-494.



« M.M., joyous and wanton, having me for the first time in the character of boatman [...] »
(Litography by Auguste Leroux, 1931)

for the construction of memories, and, even more, for how Casanova experienced the events of his life. Psychologically, the influences come in the form of master narratives and life-scripts that prescribe how actions should be performed.³⁰ They provide meaning to a particular way of being. Casanova's theatricality is not only a style feature of his literary work; it is part of his way of thinking and of his being. Ariosto's *Orlando* was responsible – at least in certain circumstances – for how Casanova was facing the world. Heroism, gallantry, fearlessness were not alien to Casanova's mode of acting. A chivalrous attitude towards women was an ideal he aimed at. Libertine behaviour could result from an accepted libertine culture and be inspired through libertine novels. For example, the M.M. episode is highly imbued with libertine themes and actions. Libertinage can be regarded not only as a literary feature; it might be that the episode was actually lived by a libertine scenario. For some social echelons libertinage was in certain circumstances a way of behaviour. The historical reference of the M.M. episode might be based on a plan designed by de Bernis. This plan not only involved a suitably furnished casino but also a pre-designed libertine script in which Casanova was ready to participate. The memory of the M.M. episode was later elaborated in the form of a narrative, which reinforced the libertine features. So, these three specific cultural features are not only literary aspects of the *Memoirs*; they are also related to Casanova's memory and to his behaviour.

The metanarrative comments introduced by the author are another feature of Casanova's autobiographical undertaking. These moral or self-reflexive observations appear in the text along with the telling of the story. Casanova interrupts his narrative and brings the reader – as it were – to his writing desk, where the latter can listen to some comments.

Les larmes que je verse à présent que j'écris ce fait seront apparemment les dernières par lesquelles j'honore la mémoire de cette charmante créature, victime de l'amour, et d'un homme qui vit encore, et qui ne semble porté à faire des malheureux que pour obéir à sa cruelle destinée.³¹

30 "When master narratives are integrated with life scripts, they provide evaluative frameworks that both describe and prescribe how a life should be lived". ROBYN FIVUSH, *Subjective Perspective and Personal Timeline in the Development of Autobiographical Memory*, in *Understanding Autobiographical Memory*, edited by DORTHE BERNSTEIN, DAVID C. RUBIN, Cambridge University Press, 2012, p. 239.

31 CASANOVA, *HMV*, III, pp. 527-528.

Above quotation comes from an episode in Paris in 1767, in which Charlotte, the abandoned wife of a fellow adventurer, just died. Casanova has disrupted the telling of the story and shifts the attention to himself. He takes the reader out of the text and brings him to his desk in Dux where the reader mentally witnesses how Casanova stops writing the story and starts weeping. The writer creates a direct link between the reader and himself. Two things are noteworthy: first, the appeal to the reader and the historical importance of metanarrative self-reflexions. If Casanova wrote the *Memoirs* for his own sake and pleasure, why should he then explicitly turn to a reader? A conversational style is inherent in Casanova's way of discourse. His style of communicating requires an audience. Retreated in his room, suffering the loneliness of Dux where few spoke Italian or French, Casanova needs all the more a public to which he can address himself. The function of this mental audience is to fill in a fundamental desire to be heard and to be recognized. Second, in a memory-based approach the metanarrative comments could be accepted at face value, as genuine clarifications of the text. Often these remarks consist of moral judgments; sometimes – as in the quotation above – they are personal observations. The metanarrative passage above refers to an episode that has been underpinned by documentary evidence. So as this particular comment possesses a historical value, we may extend this value to other such comments. We may assume that a personal comment points to a genuine memory. Metanarrative comments hint at historicity.

Compositional structure is another feature of Casanova's autobiographical narrative that can improve our understanding of truth and falsehood – or fact and fiction – in the *Memoirs*. At first glance, for many readers, the text is spontaneously perceived as a chronologically linear designed unity, which starts with Casanova's birth in Venice and ends with his stay in Trieste. But is that really the way the author conceived his story? And if not, what might that mean for our assessments of the historicity of the work?

I would like to propose a new and different assumption. Let us consider whether the *History of My Life* may have been conceived in four sections that are chronologically not successive – and only three parts were completed. Originally, the period after the escape from the *Piombi* (the years from 1757 to 1774) was conceived as the core of the manuscript. The imprisonment and the escape running from 1755 to 1756 existed already as a fully worked-out part before the start of the writing of the *Memoirs*. The younger years from 1725 to 1755 have been designed as a complement to a full life account. The fourth section, from

1774 to the author's death, was envisaged but never written. This proposed scenario is based upon a passage in the *Histoire de ma fuite*:

Quand il me prendra envie d'écrire l'histoire de tout ce qui m'est arrivé en dix-huit ans, que j'ai passé parcourant toute l'Europe jusqu'au moment qu'il plut aux inquisiteurs d'état de m'accorder la permission de retourner libre dans ma patrie [...], je la commencerai à cette époque, [...]³²

The sentence states that if ever Casanova should have the intention to write down what occurred to him during the eighteen years of traveling through Europe, he would start with his arrival in Paris in 1757. This intention indicates that Casanova thought of his "adventurer life" as a separate period and that he regarded this period as an independent subject that was suitable for a possible publication. This life period, the Adventurer Part, was in the eyes of the writer apparently the most attractive period after the escape to be written down. No doubt this was an interesting part of the author's life. Casanova travelled to the great cities of Europe, encountered people from the highest to the lowest rank, and lived all sort of intrigues. During this period he kept more notes and documents than during his younger years.³³ This archive must have given him a better starting base to elaborate the different episodes.

The escape from the *Piombi*, the Escape Part, forms another separate unit. This period had already been fully written before Casanova started his *History of My Life* manuscript. The escape had been published in book form in 1788. The Escape Part had only to be inserted before the Adventurer Part. Concerning Childs's touchstone – are the *Memoirs* true or false? – this Escape Part is corroborated by documentary evidence. There are no reasons why Casanova should have invented much because the detention and the escape must have been spectacular enough in their own right for a captivating story. The author's first intention was to tell how he has actually lived his imprisonment and how he escaped. Of course, the escape period remains a narrative elaboration. Casanova told the story countless times before a variety of audiences during his lifetime. So, the telling must have been modulated until it was a polished attractive story.

There remains the time before the escape: the Youth Part. This period can be

32 CASANOVA, cit., p. 212.

33 Concerning the period after the escape, M.-F. Luna writes : "...une abondance plus grande de notes et de documents de base". LUNA, cit., p. 69.

regarded as a complement to the autobiographical project, conceived to complete the autobiography. In contrast to the Adventurer Part, this period often shows chronological discrepancies. Its timeline is not that stable. Casanova probably was able to consult fewer notes and documents. So, perhaps, he had to rely more on his memory itself. In addition, there might have been larger time intervals that were not that interesting. The author might have searched to give to this part an “adventure status” equal to that of the Adventurer Part. From this perspective, filling in intervals with invented stories seems quite acceptable. So, narrative features will be more apparent, at least in some important periods.

While this idea of a three-part division of the *Memoirs* appears to be novel – and whether or not it is accurate – it has value as the basis of a new way to analyze Casanova’s text. What insights can we gather if we should regard the *Memoirs* through the lens of this threefold division? What would be the results? Would we gain knowledge concerning the historicity of the work? In any case, this compositional three-parts hypothesis provides a first, major division of the manifold of episodes. Each of these parts comes with its peculiar features useful for an historical approach. Each yields a different set of insights relative to the probable historicity of the episode under consideration.

A further idiosyncratic feature of Casanova’s way of elaborating stories is the application of two narrative lines. In his *La mémoire du désir* Cyril Francès develops a new thought that might be of interest to our purpose.³⁴ In many episodes Francès discerns two narrative lines: a mundane line and a line where an intrigue – mostly a love affair – is developed. Francès writes: “...le récit mondain a pour horizon l’écriture historique,...” and “À l’inverse, l’intrigue amoureuse doit son relief aux archetypes romanesques,...”³⁵ In the mundane narrative line, Casanova shows a closer adherence to the historical events. In the intrigue line he approaches a segment of the episode in a freer way. When we see episodes with this dual line feature, we may appraise the episode as basically historical but interwoven with imaginative elements inserted to enhance the author’s pleasure. Such a dual-line analysis can help us separate probable fact from probable fiction in a passage.

Sometimes this allows us to re-evaluate the likelihood of certain identifications of personages in the *Memoirs*. For example, in the second Dutch period,

34 CYRIL FRANCÈS, *Casanova, La mémoire du désir*, Paris, Classiques Garnier, 2014, pp. 72-81.

35 *Ibid.*, p. 73.

a mundane narrative line can be discerned with events describing Casanova's interaction with other adventurers. It is a rather dark, harsh story line consisting of gambling, quarrelling, fighting, and deceiving. In counterpart, the intrigue with Esther shows a far more expansive elaboration with lighter, more frivolous characteristics. This intrigue line might have been more colored by the fantasy of the author. Casanova could easily have made Esther some years older in order to better satisfy his imagination. The historical person with whom Esther is frequently identified, Hester Hooft, was only 11 years during the period. This narrative elaboration could be seen as in line with the purpose of the *Memoirs*, writing for pleasure. Viewed from this dual-line perspective, one of the major objections to identifying Esther with Hester Hooft is weakened. Casanova might have made Esther older in his thoughts to expand his imaginative range and make more possible in his story.

The three-truth method

Before giving examples of how an historical assessment could be developed, I would like to introduce two items: the three-truth method and the WCYNK principle. The first is a methodological tool, the second a kind of disclaimer.

In a previous article I introduced a method to get a first grip on the truthfulness of a passage.³⁶ The three-truth method is a way of categorizing passages into three classes: the psychological truth, the narrative truth, and the historical truth. To discern if something is true or false, the psychological truth handles efficiency as a criterion; the narrative truth handles coherence as a criterion; the historical truth handles correspondence as a criterion. The categorization is purely methodological. To assign a passage to one of these truths provides a first orientation as to how the passage might be assessed:

- **Psychological truth.** If the passage is assigned to psychological truth, the text will be seen as fulfilling a psychological need of the writer. The textual elements will be seen as selected to advance a specific goal. If the chosen elements are efficient to satisfy this goal, they will be felt as truthful to the goal.

³⁶ DINO DETAILLEUR, *The Bragadin Encounter: A Historical Assessment of an Episode in the Memoirs of Giacomo Casanova*, « Casanoviana », 1 (2018), pp. 54-55.

- **Narrative truth.** If a passage is assigned to narrative truth, the text is considered convincing by means of its narrative characteristics. A narrative is convincing through coherence. On the content level, the author wants the text to be coherent with the presuppositions, expectations, and knowledge of the reader. On the formal or style level, the writer will seek strong internal cohesion of the text and a consistent narration.
- **Historical truth.** If a passage is assigned to historical truth, the text will be regarded as intended to give an account of what really happened. The writer’s first concern is to let the references of the text correspond to reality. The text will be regarded as conceived to be historical.

Textual elements that are psychologically and narratively functional are more suspect in terms of their “historical” value. A passage that is elaborated for its psychological or narrative truth will often achieve this at the expense of the historical truth. The historical status of the passage will become lower. On the other hand, textual elements that are psychologically or narratively dysfunctional may point to historical truth. A passage introduced for its historical truth may show lesser efficiency psychologically and lesser coherence narratively, but the historical status may become higher.

The WCYNK principle

The WCYNK principle stands for: **With Casanova You Never Know**. An historical investigation that goes beyond documentary evidence and that is searching for knowledge by looking at psychological and narrative mechanisms is inevitably subject to tentativeness and uncertainty. On the one hand, every action described in the *Memoirs* could have taken place the way Casanova described it. Casanova belonged to the social category of the eighteenth-century adventurer, which encompassed men and women who survived throughout their era by a unique mixture of imposture, courage, intelligence, alertness, eloquence, and adaptability. We can hardly imagine the things they were capable of and the readiness with which they were exploiting opportunities. They invented plots, created mystification, and took on new identities. They played roles and let others play roles without the latter realizing it. They made a novel of their lives and lived accordingly. So it is never impossible that the events did happen

the way Casanova relates them. He could have embraced any chance that he encountered. He could have grasped any opportunity to start an intrigue, monitoring its plot to an end.

On the other hand, many of the events he describes might have been invented. Many of those adventurers showed themselves also in their writings to be what we nowadays would call “impostors”. Without scruples they twisted facts or invented complete stories. They were masters in mixing up truth and fiction. In his *Casanoviana*, Childs qualifies one of Casanova’s publications as a hoax.³⁷ Casanova shows great ingenuity in mystifying authentic authorship and appropriating writings and ideas of others. In his time, standards for autobiography and historical writing were not as evolved and well-defined as they are today. So many stories could effortlessly and without hesitation be embellished, embroidered, or even completely invented. To make a fictitious passage look true, the author might even have used the same psychological and narrative mechanisms that we have identified as indications of historical truthfulness.

Three examples

Three quotations will be presented to illustrate how an investigation of the historicity of the *Memoirs* that is based on a memory approach could be performed. The analysis considers the three-part structure of the work. Each of the passages comes from a different part of the *Memoirs*. Each example shows a different historical status. The first quotation comes from the Escape Part. It will illustrate a high historical value. The second is an anecdote from the Adventurer Part. This anecdote will be judged as historically undecided. The third example is taken from the Youth Part and is proposed as a candidate for an invented story.

Example 1. Mais il était temps de partir. On ne voyait plus la lune. J’ai lié au cou du père Balbi la moitié des cordes d’un côté, et le paquet de ses pauvres nippes sur son autre épaule. J’en ai fait de même sur moi. Tous les deux en gilet ; nos chapeaux sur la tête ; nous allâmes à l’ouverture...³⁸

37 J. RIVES CHILDS, *Casanoviana*, Vienna, Nebehay, 1956, p. 52.

38 CASANOVA, *HMV*, I, p. 1276.

The above quotation comes from the Escape Part. This section of the *Memoirs* possesses a high historical value. According to the method of the three truths, the Escape Part belongs basically to the historical truth. Casanova intends to tell his audience how he actually broke out. The escape from the Venetian prisons has been verified as a true event. Of course, the different episodes and anecdotes may have been subject to modulations. Even invented passages might have been introduced. Casanova recounted his adventure countless times. Interaction with his public must have rendered the story more attractive, more adapted to his audience.

What about the above sentences? How historically truthful are they? Is the content of the sentences corresponding with what actually happened? The above passage relates the moments just before Casanova and Father Balbi, his fellow escaper, are breaking out through the roof. The gist of the passage, the escape through the roof, has been verified. What about the specific details of the account? Did Casanova tie half of the rope on one side of Father's Balbi neck, and did he tie a bundle with Balbi's wretched clothes on the other side? Did he do the same for himself, and did both of them go then to the opening, dressed in their vests and with their hats on their heads? If this verification is positive, the references could be said to be fully historically true. The quotation comes from an important moment out of an episode that has been verified as generally true. Furthermore, we can believe that Casanova has kept a strong memory of the moment just before leaving the prison, a memory of how he waited until the moon disappeared and a recollection of how he and his fellow prisoner were equipped at the start of their escape and consequently through the escape itself. The equipment played an important role during the escape. So, it is believable that Casanova actually tied the rope and the clothes around Balbi's neck. The details of the telling could be easily related to memory because of their life-decisive role. The self-centredness of the narrative is explicable on an historical basis. It is quite normal that Casanova took the lead in this dangerous endeavour. Consequently, the references might be accepted as corresponding to the actual events. The passage can be deemed highly valid historically.

Example 2. Allant me promener un matin par la ville, je suis passé par un endroit qu'on appelait le marché aux perroquets. En voyant un joli dans une cage toute neuve j'ai demandé quelle langue il parlait, et on me répondit qu'étant tout jeune, il n'en parlait aucune. J'ai donné les dix pièces qu'on en demandait, et je l'ai envoyé chez moi. Décidé à lui apprendre quelques

paroles intéressantes, j'ai pensé à le placer près de mon lit, et à lui répéter à tout moment : *Miss Charpillon est plus putain que sa mère.*³⁹

This quotation from the parrot anecdote is part of the Charpillon episode that belongs to the London period, a section of the Adventurer Part. In general this part exhibits a high historical value. The London stay has been confirmed. The acquaintance with Charpillon is supported by documentary evidence. To assess the above quotation, it is necessary to envisage the anecdote as a whole. Is the parrot anecdote historical, or is it invented? Did Casanova buy a parrot, and did he teach it insulting words to offend Charpillon? At first glance, the story could be seen as too good to be true. So, it could be regarded as belonging to psychological truth – true for its author when it is efficient to the author's goal. The aim could be the author's need to have the final say about his disastrous meeting with Charpillon. An amusing story that made fun of the girl is an effective tool to reach that aim. There are thus good arguments to assign this anecdote to the psychological truth.

The anecdote also has some elements that make it convincing in terms of narrative truth. On first consideration, the narrative features contribute to the efficiency of the telling. The story shows an important characteristic of an anecdotal appropriation: funniness. Casanova might have picked up a story of a parrot that learned some witty sentence and might have turned it into his own experience. On a formal level there is narrative coherence. The narrative stays within the limits of a well-defined story. There are no allusions to the parrot anecdote on later pages. Chronologically the passage fits in perfectly. A revenge tale as a final anecdote of the Charpillon episode is coherent with what is supposed to be as effective as possible. The story coheres also with Casanova's personality. Charpillon hurt his self-esteem deeply. Casanova's searching for retaliation fits the reader's presupposition of the writer's personality. On the content level, however, the telling shows a complex elaboration. An anecdotal appropriation – such as the above Russian anecdote – is often developed in a much more linear way. Here in the parrot story, all kinds of short, not elaborated narrative side-lines have been introduced. This overload of secondary narratives makes the story dense and unnecessarily complicated. Some side-lines show incoherence; they are not in line with the reader's presuppositions. The idea of selling the parrot in

³⁹ *Ibid.*, III, pp. 188-189.

public comes from Goudar, not from Casanova. This action might be conflicting with Casanova's self-centeredness. Also the price estimated as too high when people began to show interest in buying the parrot could be seen as incongruent with Casanova's self-esteem. It might feel more natural if there was a bidding-up. Further, the phrase being learned in French complicates the selling of the parrot. A phrase in English – or omitting mention of a language at all – would simplify the plotline. Also remarkable, the story has no effect on Charpillon. The girl is not insulted; on the contrary, she finds the incident amusing. Her mother and her aunts are the ones who are offended. The most compelling reason to assign to the anecdote a low narrative truth-value might be the introduction of the personage Egerd. The appearance of Egerd has no function in the narrative. It is superfluous.

At first sight, the anecdote might be assigned primarily to psychological truth. An examination of the content, however, reveals a low narrative truth-value, which might point to a higher historical truth. One could say that the parrot anecdote exhibits strong features of a true story, but that an equally strong psychological truth counterbalances an assessment as historical.

How, then, to interpret the sentences of the quotation itself? This detailed elaboration is part of the working of Casanova's memory and is inherent in his way of telling stories. Even if the gist of the anecdote is historically true, the references of the quoted sentences likely belong to narrative truth. They are designed to deliver an attractive story. Of course, due to the WCYNK principle, the passage could have run exactly as Casanova relates it. Important here is the truth on the level of the anecdote. Did Casanova buy a parrot to teach him an insulting phrase? On balance, I think the answer rests undecided, with an inclination to historical truth. An evaluation with similar ambivalent passages might give more certainty.

Example 3. Étant allés ainsi toute la nuit j'ai pris le parti d'aller à Corfou à force de rames : j'en étais à quatre-vingts milles. J'étais au milieu du golfe, et les felouquiers à la fin du jour n'en pouvaient plus ; mais je ne craignais plus rien. Un vent du Nord commença à souffler, et en moins d'une heure il devint si frais que nous allions à la bouline d'une façon effrayante. La felouque paraissait à tout moment se verser dans la mer. Je tenais moi-même la hourse à la main.⁴⁰

40 *Ibid.*, I, p. 433.

In this quotation twenty-years-old Casanova is sailing from Otranto to Corfu with a group of comedians on board. During a storm he takes over the rudder and succeeds in bringing the boat safely into port. The quotation is part of the Otranto episode, a spectacular story, which might easily be completely invented. The episode belongs to the Youth Part. Compared to the Adventurer Part, the Youth Part is less corroborated by documents. The part shows characteristics that suggest Casanova invented content to cover chronological gaps where historically nothing noteworthy happened. This particular passage, as well as the whole episode it belongs to, might have been created in order to fill in such a chronological gap. Besides its spectacular content, the boat anecdote has the feature of an uncomplicated telling, which suggests it is imaginative.

Narrative truth is predominant here. The episode shows high coherence on different levels. The unrolling plot is coherent with the personality of Casanova, even to an extreme degree. The actions are fully centred on the author. One coherent sequential line organizes the actions. No secondary personages or plot-lines are introduced. The spatio-chronological line is straightforward without interruptions. The whole narrative configuration indicates high narrative truth, which lowers the likelihood of historical truth. Moreover, the extreme self-centredness fortifies the psychological truth of the passage. The anecdote satisfies a kind of narcissistic need of the author. Consequently there might have been a creative pleasure involved when writing the episode. Filling in gaps gives the author the possibility to write for his pleasure. Inventing such extraordinary stories fulfils a creative need.

Of course, here too, the WCYNK principle allows that this episode could have happened as it is recounted. Casanova was an audacious, self-centric person who could have undertaken such a spectacular adventure. But the episode belongs to a section of the *Memoirs* that shows in general a lower historical value, and the episode itself exhibits a high narrative truth-value. So, through these two characteristics, we could identify the episode as invented.

An investigation path and a conclusion

How to proceed with an investigation that covers the whole of the *Memoirs*? Starting with the Escape Part might be sensible. The part could be considered as closely related to history. Patterns demonstrating how Casanova writes when he intends to be faithful to the truth could be identified. Next could follow the Ad-

venturer Part. This compositional core is generally best documented. We could examine how Casanova deals with the manifold of different events and persons that are embedded in historically corroborated units. Finally, the Youth Part exhibits sections where the narrative timeline often shows discrepancies with available documents. This part could give insight into how Casanova creates his invented stories.

The investigation could rely on the documentary evidence that has been established through years of Casanovist research. Beyond this corpus of historical documentation, more insight into the historicity of the *Memoirs* could be gained through an examination of how different passages were worked out by memory. Evaluating passages that are similarly elaborated could lead to a scaffolding way of obtaining historical knowledge. We could gain insights into passages that are factually uncertain by comparing them to similar passages that suggest greater historical accuracy. In doing so, such an investigation could contribute to our understanding of Childs's touchstone: Are the *Memoirs* true or false?

CORRADO VIOLA

«PR.» COME PREGANZIOL?

A PROPOSITO DELLA CHRISTINE CASANOVIANA

Qual è il paese di «Christine», la ricca contadina del Trevigiano cui Casanova, un Casanova che si dice, una volta di più, innamorato e contraccambiato, dichiara serie intenzioni di matrimonio, salvo poi procurarle, a vantaggioso rimpiazzo, un «mari digne d'elle»¹ e migliore di lui² nella persona di Carlo, un giovane dabbene veneziano?

Il particolare non è di mero rilievo erudito. Non si tratta tanto di cartografare una mappa dei frequenti spostamenti dell'ipercinetico avventuriero e dei tanti personaggi-satellite che, invariabilmente, finiscono per vorticargli intorno, su orbite più o meno proprie: mappatura, questa, pur sempre utile all'esegesi del

1 Previo riscontro sull'autografo dell'*Histoire* (PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, NAF 28604), dal 2010 consultabile nel sito Gallica (<http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b60008117>), e con minimi ritocchi a carico dell'interpunzione, cito qui e nel prosieguo da Jacques CASANOVA, *Histoire de ma vie*, I, édition établie sous la direction de Gérard Lahouati et Marie-Françoise Luna, avec la collaboration de Furio Luccichenti et Helmut Watzlawick, Paris, Gallimard, 2013, volume che siglerò d'ora innanzi con LL. L'espressione a testo vi si legge sia a p. 438, nel sommario che subito segue l'indicazione *Chapitre VIII*, sia lungo il testo, a p. 451. Ho tenuto presente anche l'ed. Laffont, essa pure basata sul testo del ms. originale: *Histoire de ma vie*, édition établie par Jean-Christophe Igalens et Érik Leborgne, Paris 2013-2018, 3 voll. Nella più diffusa traduzione italiana dell'opera, quella di Chiara e Roncoroni nei Meridiani, a sua volta condotta sulla base dell'edizione Brockhaus-Plon (Wiesbaden-Paris 1960-1962) ricollazionando il testo col manoscritto originale, il capitolo in questione è il XIX del vol. I, avendo i curatori rinumerato i capitoli in serie progressiva all'inizio di ognuno dei tre volumi che compongono la loro edizione: cfr. GIACOMO CASANOVA, *Storia della mia vita*, introduzione di Piero Chiara, a cura di Piero Chiara e Federico Roncoroni, Volume primo (1725-1755), Milano, Mondadori, 1992³ (1983¹), d'ora innanzi siglata CR. Qui di seguito, per comodità di riscontro da parte del lettore italiano, indicherò il corrispondente luogo di CR per ciascun passo citato da LL. Quello a testo è in CR, pp. 541 e 558. Sulla tradizione a stampa dell'*Histoire* è d'obbligo il rinvio a GIANLUCA SIMEONI, *Storia editoriale di una vita. Bibliografia delle edizioni dell'Histoire de ma vie di Giacomo Casanova 1822-2019*, presentazione di Furio Luccichenti, prefazione di Antonio Trampus, Verona, Oltrepagina, 2021.

2 «un mari qui à tous égards aurait valu mieux que moi»: LL, p. 451 (= CR, p. 558).

testo e di quell'episodio in particolare. Se accertato, quel dettaglio ci consentirebbe forse di restituire al personaggio di Cristina un'identità certa, o per lo meno presunta, e per questo tramite di misurare le strategie di costruzione del testo tra memoria e scrittura, cronaca e racconto, biografia e opera: manzonianamente, tra storia e invenzione. Che è poi, manco a dirlo, il rovello costante, comprensibilmente motivato, dei casanovisti d'ogni tempo e paese.

L'episodio occupa per intero il capitolo VIII del tomo II dell'*Histoire*, dapprima pensato da Casanova come II del tomo successivo.³ Il capitolo va annoverato fra i più organicamente monografici e narrativamente conclusi dell'*Histoire*: contiene una vicenda sviluppata nella sua unitaria integrità, dall'antefatto d'avvio («Je deviens amoureux de Christine», per dirla col sommario in epigrafe) attraverso l'abile disimpegno messo in atto nell'intreccio/sviluppo («je lui trouve un mari digne d'elle») fino all'*happy end* debitamente matrimoniale dell'epilogo/scioglimento («Ses noces»), in deroga al consueto schema strutturale di un avvicinarsi di diversi nuclei narrativi seriatî in giustapposizione sul filo della cronologia.

Diretto al Monte di Pietà di Treviso per impegnarvi un gioiello ricevuto dalla Manzoni, Casanova sale su una gondola che trasporta da Venezia a Mestre un «vieux prêtre» e la sua bella nipote, che è appunto Cristina. È la giovane stessa a spiegargli che il prete che l'accompagna è suo zio, fratello di suo padre, ed è «curé de Pr.»⁴

«Pr.» è dunque, in sigla, il paese dove Cristina è «née et élevée» come figlia unica (e unica ereditiera del patrimonio paterno).⁵ Là sta tornando, dopo quindici giorni trascorsi a Venezia appositamente per trovarvi un buon partito “cittadino”; speranza delusa, perché, spiega, i giovani che le piacevano non volevano sentir parlare di matrimonio, e lei, a sua volta, non aveva trovato di suo gusto i pretendenti seriamente intenzionati.⁶

Sia pure in via di ipotesi, i commentatori concordano nell'identificare il paese in Preganziol.⁷ In effetti, sembra trattarsi dell'unico e più rilevante toponi-

3 Lo attestano due cassature in testa alla c. 100r dell'autografo, a carico rispettivamente dell'indicazione «Tome troisième» e del «II» che originariamente seguiva la parola-titolo «Chapitre». Cfr. anche LL, p. 1250.

4 LL, p. 438 (= CR, p. 541).

5 «n'ayant ni frères, ni sœurs», precisa Cristina stessa (LL, p. 438 = CR, p. 541).

6 Cfr. LL, p. 440 (= CR, p. 543).

7 Per lo meno a partire dall'importante edizione del bicentenario diretta da Raoul Vèze, dove però si propone anche un'alternativa che i commentatori successivi lasceranno cadere: «il ne



Casanova e Christine. Incisione di Diogène Maillart per l'*Histoire de ma vie* (Paris, Garnier, 1910)

mo nei dintorni di Treviso cui convenga l'abbreviazione «Pr.», la *P*- maiuscola dell'originale facendo appunto pensare a parola iniziante con quelle due lettere.

peut s'agir que de Preganziolo [*sic*] ou de Predazzi» (così la nota 2 di «G.», ossia di Gustav Gugitz, in JACQUES CASANOVA, *Mémoires*, vol. 2, introduction d'Aldo Ravà, Paris, La Sirène, 1924, p. 314; «Predazzi» è grafia approssimativa per Pradazzi d'Asolo, *de quo infra*). Solo Preganziol nelle edizioni Comisso (*La mia vita*, Milano, Longanesi, 1958), Gallimard (*Mémoires*, Paris, Le Livre de Poche, 1968 [ma 1967]), Lacassin (*Histoire de ma vie*, Paris, Laffont, 1993). In luogo di «Pr.», CR mette a testo addirittura «Preganziol», ovunque, senza nemmeno avvertire che si tratta di un ipotetico, per quanto ritenuto probabile, tacito scioglimento di sigla. Led. Laffont, invece, mantiene ovunque «Pr.», avvisando a p. 521n che si tratta forse, «Peut-être», di Preganziol, «au sud de Trévis».

Resta, peraltro, qualcosa che non quadra. Per andare da Venezia/Mestre a «Pr.» si deve passare da Treviso, dice Casanova offrendo a zio e nipote un passaggio nella sua «voiture» ancor prima di giungere a Mestre: «je demande au curé s'il avait une voiture pour aller à Treviso, car pour aller à Pr. il devait y passer».⁸ Ora, nella direttrice Venezia/Mestre-Treviso, il paese dovrebbe dunque trovarsi oltre Treviso, a Nord (o a Est o a Ovest) della città del Sile. Preganziol, però, è a Sud di essa, come già notano alcuni commentatori.⁹

Ma vi sono, anch'esse ricavabili dal testo, e finora non osservate, se ho ben visto, almeno altre due incongruenze che sembrano escludere la candidatura di Preganziol. La prima è nell'affermazione casanoviana che il paese di Cristina si trova a ventidue miglia da Venezia.¹⁰ Preganziol ne dista dieci sole (e Treviso quindici).¹¹ Il secondo dato discordante si sorprende più oltre, in altra affermazione dell'autobiografo, visibilmente soddisfatto per la celerità del viaggio da «Pr.» a Venezia: «après avoir bien déjeuné nous partîmes. Quatre heures après nous arrivâmes à Venise».¹² Quattro ore: un tempo congruo per coprire una distanza come quella prima dichiarata di ventidue miglia, compresi trasbordo e tragitto in barca per il tratto Mestre-Venezia, se è vero che una carrozza viaggiava alla media di sei miglia circa l'ora:¹³ *grosso modo* tre ore a Mestre e un'altra o poco meno di lì a Venezia-Cannaregio sul «long canal de Marghera».¹⁴ Un tempo che, viceversa, sarebbe spropositato per le dieci miglia che, come s'è detto, separano Preganziol dalla Dominante.

8 LL, p. 442 (= CR, p. 546).

9 LL, p. 1251, nota 6: «Dans cette région, le seul village qui correspond à cette abréviation est Preganziol, à quelques kilomètres», sette, per la precisione, «au sud de Trévisé. Mais C. indique plus loin (p. 442) qu'il fallait passer par Trévisé pour arriver à Pr., ce qui situerait le village au nord de la ville».

10 LL, p. 455 (= CR, p. 562).

11 È sempre Casanova a precisarlo: cfr. LL, p. 437 (= CR, p. 539). Le guide itinerari dell'epoca fissano in una posta (10 miglia) la distanza tra Mestre a Treviso: cfr. ad es. *Il viaggiatore moderno ossia la vera guida per chi viaggia con la descrizione delle quattro parti del mondo, il regolamento esatto per il novello corriere, i prezzi delle cambiature, vetture, spese di vitto, cognizione delle monete di ciascun dominio etc.*, Venezia, Francesco Locatelli, 1775, p. 326.

12 LL, p. 459. La soddisfazione è ben resa dal *già* aggiunto, traducendo, da CR, p. 567.

13 Cfr. ad es. il numero tematico *Il tempo delle carrozze* di «Strade e storia», 2007, 1, *passim*.

14 LL, p. 442 (= CR, p. 546). Per Cannaregio, cfr. la fine del capitolo precedente, dove Casanova dice di recarsi a piedi «jusqu'au bout du Canal regio» per imbarcarsi per Mestre: LL, p. 437 (= CR, pp. 539-540; e cfr., in LL, la nota 37 a p. 1250).

Ma assumiamo ugualmente che davvero, con «Pr.», Casanova intendesse riferirsi (o indurci a pensare) a Preganziol. Come spiegare allora tutto questo scialo di precisazioni su distanze e tempi di percorrenza, congruenti tra loro, per giunta, questo zelo di riferimenti spazio-temporali che palesemente contraddicono l'intenzione? A un tentativo di calcolo depistaggio non credo sia il caso di pensare, a meno di supporre l'assurdo di un depistaggio palese, che si denuncia *ex ore suo*. Né a *fautes de mémoire*, dato che distanze e tempi restavano pur sempre verificabili agevolmente, anche a grande distanza di tempo dai fatti raccontati, e perfino a Dux; e tali restano per il lettore postumo. Vedremo in seguito possibili ipotesi alternative. Credo comunque non del tutto inutile verificare anche per altra via la tenuta dell'ipotesi tradizionale di Preganziol.

Stando al racconto dell'*Histoire*, i fatti di Cristina sono collocabili nel febbraio-marzo del 1747:¹⁵ il primo incontro di Casanova con la giovane e lo zio, quello sulla gondola per Mestre, avviene dichiaratamente alla Candelora di quell'anno (2 febbraio);¹⁶ il matrimonio tra Carlo e Cristina ha luogo nella di poco successiva Quaresima, in una data compresa all'incirca tra l'8/9 marzo e il 28/29 di quello stesso mese (25/26 volendo escludere la settimana santa; ma andranno esclusi anche, giusta tradizione, i *venere* e i *martedì*),¹⁷ e più precisamente il 12 marzo

15 Il millesimo, del resto congruente con la cronologia dei fatti narrati nei capitoli limitrofi a quello in questione, è segnato a margine, *in limine* alla c. 100r del ms. (e cfr. anche LL, p. 438, nota a).

16 Cfr. LL, p. 437 (= CR, p. 539). Per la determinazione di questa e di altre date mi valgo naturalmente di ADRIANO CAPPELLI, *Cronologia, cronografia e calendario perpetuo*, Milano, Hoepli, 1978⁴.

17 Dandolo, che con Bragadin e Barbaro è uno dei tre fedeli e cospicui seguaci di Casanova-Paralis («les trois adorateurs de mon oracle», LL, p. 452), gli comunica di aver individuato lo sposo adatto a Cristina «le second dimanche du carême» (LL, p. 454 = CR, p. 561), ossia il 26 febbraio 1747. Nel frattempo, già verso il 17/18 di quel mese, il sollecito Bragadin, senatore della Serenissima e affezionato patrono dell'avventuriero, aveva ottenuto, «dix jours» dopo averla richiesta all'ambasciatore (LL, p. 453), la dispensa papale per celebrare il matrimonio in Quaresima. Questa, infatti, la successione degli eventi narrati: la notte trascorsa da Giacomo e Cristina a Treviso «entre les bras de l'Amour» (LL, p. 450), in assenza dello zio andato al paese per la Candelora (2 febbraio, come s'è detto), è quella tra il 3 e il 4 di febbraio; «le lendemain» Casanova si è già deciso «à faire le bonheur de Christine sans l'épouser» (LL, p. 451: e siamo dunque al 5); si mette subito all'opera, presumibilmente il 6 o il 7, e ottiene che Bragadin, «le jours suivant» (7 o 8), scriva all'«ambassadeur» (LL, p. 452); poi non pensa ad altro che a «bien finir le carnaval», che termina, nel 1747, il 14. Il 28 egli dà mandato a Dandolo di iniziare le trattative per il matrimonio tra i due giovani (cfr. LL, p. 455 = CR,

1747, ove si volesse dar credito a una frase cassata nel manoscritto originale.¹⁸

La domanda è dunque: ci fu, o meglio è accertabile, un matrimonio celebrato a Preganziol, con tanto di dispensa papale, nella quaresima del 1747?

Il racconto di Casanova, sempre a volergli dar credito, ci fornisce altri dati utili alla verifica. In quanto figlia di un fratello del curato, Cristina doveva portarne il cognome. Ora, nel 1747 era curato di Preganziol un Giovanni Andrea Berlese, il quale tenne a lungo, probabilmente fino alla morte, la titolarità della parrocchia, dal 1733 al 1770.¹⁹ A questo proposito va osservata un'altra incongruenza, peraltro non insuperabile, rispetto al racconto di Casanova, secondo cui il «vieux oncle» di Cristina, all'altezza dei fatti narrati, aveva l'età di «soixante et quinze ans».²⁰ Come tale, doveva esser nato suppergiù nel 1672, e nel 1770 essere quasi centenario. Vero è peraltro che, nel passo citato dell'*Histoire*, il narratore punta visibilmente a colorire il contrasto tra l'atto di Cristina, intenta ad accarezzare il viso del vecchio zio, e la veneranda età del medesimo. Altrettanto vero è che anche altrove, nell'*Histoire*, si riscontra una certa tendenza

p. 562). Seguono, in data successiva ma non precisata di marzo, un primo viaggio a «Pr.» per far conoscere Cristina a Carlo e un secondo del solo Casanova a prelevarvi la giovane e lo zio e accompagnarli a Venezia per redigere il contratto di nozze e lo strumento dotale. Nella sua redazione definitiva, il racconto lascia imprecisato anche il giorno in cui si celebra il matrimonio a «Pr.», ma la cerimonia deve aver luogo entro la fine della Quaresima, giacché molti nobili di Treviso vengono a «Pr.» appositamente per vedere «s'il était vrai qu'on célébrait solennellement le mariage d'une paysanne dans un temps que la discipline ecclésiastique défendait d'en célébrer» (LL, p. 460 = CR, p. 569). Cadendo la Pasqua, nel 1747, il 2 aprile, ed escludendo i giorni da giovedì a sabato santo, ossia dal 30 marzo al 1° aprile, si potrà dunque pensare, per le nozze, a una data compresa tra gli estremi indicati a testo.

18 «le quatrième dimanche de carême»: queste le parole che, sotto linea di cassatura orizzontale, si leggono alla c. 117r del cit. ms. ora a Parigi (<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b60008117/f235.item>), parole sostituite sopralinea da «dans le jour fixé» (cfr. LL, p. 460; CR, p. 568, stampa addirittura «il giorno delle nozze», con spiccchia disambiguazione). Che la cerimonia nuziale avvenisse di domenica non dovrebbe far problema, stando ad altra cassatura a c. 113r dell'originale (<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b60008117/f227.item>), secondo cui la dispensa ottenuta da Bragadin consentiva a Cristina di sposarsi «même dans les jours de fête» (espressione poi corretta in «dans toute église»): cfr. LL, p. 453 (= CR, p. 559).

19 Lo attestano gli atti dell'archivio congiunto delle due parrocchie di Preganziol, quella centrale di S. Urbano e l'altra di S. Martino sita nella frazione di Sambughé, a Sud-Ovest della cittadina. Ringrazio per la cortese collaborazione l'attuale parroco, don Gabriele Bittante, e i signori Massimo Roccaforte e Piero Loro.

20 LL, p. 447 (= CR, p. 552).

ad aumentare gli anni agli uomini (e, per converso, di toglierne alle donne).²¹ Probabile dunque che, nel dirlo settantacinquenne, Casanova arrotondi la cifra per eccesso: ch  altrimenti risulterebbe poco verosimile non solo la disinvolta mobilit  del prete, sempre disposto a viaggi in orari non propriamente comodi, anche non accompagnato, ma soprattutto il precedente rilievo sul pericolo («danger») cui sapeva di esporsi, in quanto uomo, a dormire nello stesso letto con la nipote «toute nue». ²² Il dato anagrafico andr  dunque preso senza rigore.

Un altro dato da considerare riguarda lo sposo di Cristina. Di lui, oltre al solo nome («Charles xx»), sappiamo da Casanova l'et  («vingt-deux ans») e l'impiego («clerc de *Ragionato* de Xavier Costantini»),²³ e dagli accertamenti sempre preziosi di Gugitz apprendiamo trattarsi di un Carlo Bernardi.²⁴

21 Lo nota ad es. CR, III, p. 1051, a proposito di Antonio Rinaldi, l'architetto italiano attivo in Russia (1709-1794): Casanova, che gli cede Zaira partendo da Pietroburgo nel 1765, lo fa settantenne anzich  cinquantaseienne (cfr. LL, III, p. 303 = CR, III, p. 256).

22 LL, p. 446 (= CR, p. 552).

23 LL, p. 454 (= CR, p. 561); avverto di aver reintegrato a *Ragionato* l'iniziale maiuscola dell'originale ms. (c. 113v, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b60008117/f228.item>), abbassata da LL. Questo Carlo, ventiduenne nel 1747, doveva dunque esser nato nel 1725 o al pi  l'anno precedente: coetaneo di Casanova, dunque. Quanto all'impiego, Casanova precisa poco oltre che Carlo lo esercitava «en qualit  de commis», ossia, chiarisce in nota LL, come «employ  qui assure une fonction sans en avoir le titre», e che la cospicua dote di Cristina gli avrebbe consentito di acquistare la «charge», evidentemente venale, «qu'il occupait d j ». Dall'elenco dei membri che componevano il *Colleggio de' Ragionati secondo la loro Elezione* che si legge nel «Protogiornale per l'anno 1761 ad uso della Serenissima citt  di Venezia» (Venezia, Giuseppe Bettinelli, 1760), pp. 76-77: 76, Saverio Costantini, il «rationnaire» («ragioniere» in CR, p. 92) gi  evocato come «indiscret» nell'episodio di Juliette, al cap. IV del t. I dell'*Histoire* (LL, p. 77), risulta entrato in quell'ufficio il 12 agosto 1729.

24 Cfr. la nota 5 siglata «G.» nella cit. ed. V ze del 1924, p. 314. Gugitz fonda la sua identificazione sul ricordato elenco del «Protogiornale», in cui trova «un seul Carlo». In verit  l'elenco riporta, a p. 76, altri due *ragionati* con quel nome, un Vedova e uno Zanetti, che per  vanno esclusi per le date troppo alte in cui entrarono in servizio, rispettivamente il 14 aprile 1722 e il 4 dicembre 1739. Correggo, con l'occasione, due minime imprecisioni presenti nella stessa nota di Gugitz: la prima   la data sotto cui il «Protogiornale» registra l'assunzione di Carlo Bernardi, che non   «le 13 juillet 1745», bens  il 23 di quel mese; la seconda   la giustificazione che lo studioso adduce a riprova dei tre asterischi che, nell'edizione Sch tz (*Aus den Memoiren des Venetianers Jacob Casanova de Seingalt, oder sein Leben... Nach dem Original-Manuscript bearbeitet von WILHELM VON SCH TZ*, Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1822-1828, 12 voll., II, p. 438), accompagnano il nome «Charles», e che, suppone Gugitz, potrebbero rappresentare le tre sillabe del cognome Bernardi, mentre nel ms. originale, alla cit. c. 113v, si legge inequivocabilmente «Charles xx».

La precedente domanda si precisa dunque come segue: si ha notizia di un matrimonio celebrato a Preganziol nel marzo 1747 tra una Cristina Berlese e un Carlo Bernardi?

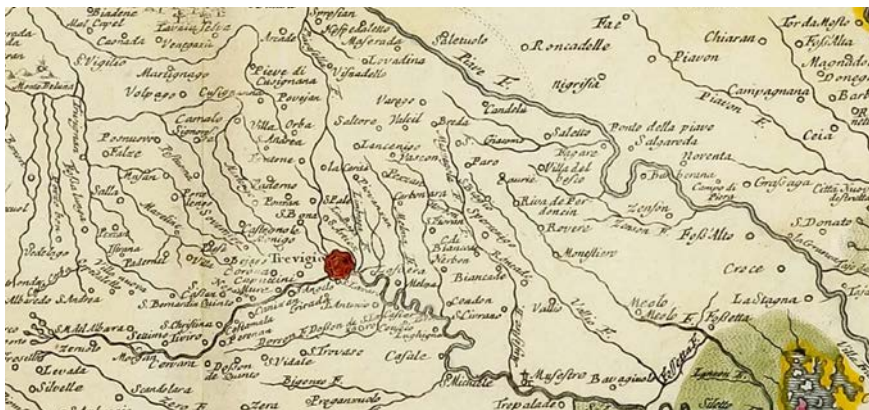
Il responso non può che venirci dall'archivio storico della parrocchia di Preganziol, che fortunatamente è giunto fino a noi integro e in perfetto stato di conservazione, e ha registri matrimoniali redatti con minuziosa accuratezza e in grafia singolarmente perspicua e ordinata. Ebbene, non si riscontra, nella sezione di quei meticolosi registri relativa agli anni 1692-1808, alcun matrimonio tra una Cristina Berlese e un Carlo Bernardi, né vi risultano, peraltro, altri matrimoni celebrati in Quaresima e con dispensa che possano fare al caso nostro.²⁵ Vi sono registrate le nozze di una sola Berlese, Laura, figlia di Francesco, ma *sub datam* del 9 giugno 1749, dunque non in Quaresima né nel 1747, e non con il veneziano Bernardi, bensì con un Antonio di Pisachia Crespan della parrocchia di Sant'Antonino, un piccolo borgo sito otto chilometri a Nord-Est di Preganziol e tre a Sud-Est di Treviso. Non è dunque questa la «Christine» casanoviana. Aggiungo, a riscontro, che nei registri battesimali del medesimo archivio parrocchiale per gli anni 1685-1736, esaminati per il periodo 1728-1732, non figura nessuna Cristina Berlese, e neppure alcuna Cristina né alcun(a) Berlese.²⁶

Se «Pr.» non sta per Preganziol, a quali paesi del Trevigiano potrebbe allora riferirsi la sigla?

Pochi altri toponimi iniziati per *Pr-* figurano nella cartografia d'area tanto settecentesca quanto odierna. Il primo è il già ricordato Pradazzi, oggi (dal 1967)

25 Per vero, nel periodo 1746-1750 ve n'è uno in data dell'8 aprile 1748, tenutosi dunque durante la Quaresima, che quell'anno corse dal 28 febbraio al 14 aprile: celebrato con «mandato del Vescovo nostro», unì una Elena Colombera, figlia di Battista, con un Domenico Gatto, figlio di Pietro. Con «mandato della cancelleria episcopale» ne fu celebrato un altro, ma il 5 maggio 1746: non dunque in tempo di Quaresima, che nel 1746 durò dal 23 febbraio al 10 aprile.

26 Il lasso di anni esaminato contiene il 1730 (e ne include per prudenza gli immediati dintorni): a quell'anno, infatti, o al più al precedente, andrebbe datata la nascita di Cristina stando all'età di diciassette anni da lei stessa dichiarata a Carlo (siamo, lo ricordo, nel 1747): «Charles lui demanda pourquoi elle avait attendu jusqu'à l'âge de dix-neuf ans pour apprendre à écrire. — Qu'est-ce que ça vous fait? Mais apprenez que je n'en ai que dix-sept», esclama Cristina un po' puerilmente piccata (LL, pp. 455-456 = CR, p. 563). L'età di Cristina conferma quanto sopra osservato sull'arrotondamento per eccesso di quella attribuita da Casanova allo zio della ragazza: il divario di quasi sessant'anni tra i due sarebbe eccessivo anche supponendo che Cristina sia figlia di un fratello minore di don Berlese.



Giambattista Albrizzi, Carta geografica del territorio trevigiano, c. 1750 (particolare)

Villa d'Asolo, che però fu eretto a parrocchia soltanto nel 1957, essendo precedentemente dipendenza diretta del Duomo di Asolo, come del resto le limitrofe ville nobiliari di Cà Falier e Cà Giupponi, dove si trovavano oratori officiati da mansionari, e solo dal 1780 ebbe un canonico sacrista, tra l'altro insediato non *in loco*, ma nella pur vicina Sant'Apollinare.²⁷ C'è poi Premaor, che però è a ben venticinque miglia a Nord di Treviso, ai confini col Bellunese, nell'attuale territorio di Miane (ma le miglia da Treviso dovevano essere più di venticinque, a metà Settecento, non esistendo ancora la napoleonica Pontebbana), e la cui chiesa parrocchiale, oggi di Campea, Miane e Premaor, era ed è parte della diocesi di Vittorio Veneto (già Ceneda), non di quella di Treviso: mentre è con tutta evidenza trevigiana la «chancellerie épiscopale diocésaine» da cui gli sposi attendono, a tenore della dispensa papale, la dispensa dalle pubblicazioni matrimoniali.²⁸ L'ultimo è Priula, oggi Ponte della Priula, circa dieci/quindici miglia (l'alternanza considera la già ricordata indisponibilità della Pontebbana), appena oltre Piave, nel Settecento adiacente alla villa Priuli-Foscarini, di qua

27 Traggio queste informazioni, confermatemi a mezzo mail da don Alessandro Dal Ben, attuale parroco del Santissimo Nome della Beata Vergine Maria in Villa d'Asolo, dalla documentata voce *Villa d'Asolo* di Wikipedia, https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Villa_d%27Asolo.

28 LL, p. 453 (= CR, p. 559).

dal fiume, nell'attuale comune di Nervesa: non però sede di parrocchia, allora.²⁹

Occorre dunque formulare un'ipotesi alternativa. Quattro miglia più a Sud della Priula in direzione di Treviso e una decina a Nord della città c'è Spresiano, la cui ubicazione è *grosso modo* compatibile con i dati che abbiamo visto forniti dall'*Histoire*.³⁰ Il gruppo *pr* scelto come sigla da Casanova non è in questo caso in posizione esattamente incipitaria, ma non si può escludere che, nel sentirlo nominare da Cristina, così egli avesse inteso il toponimo, d'altronde privo della *s*- prostetica nel suo etimo latino (*Praecilianus*), o che in quella forma lo ricordasse per lieve *lapsus memoriae*, magari per averlo più o meno inconsapevolmente 'italianizzato' interpretando quella *S*- come tratto dialettale rustico da emendare. Sul «jargon des paysans» parlato da Cristina insiste del resto il racconto di Casanova.³¹

Non resterebbe, a questo punto, se non effettuare nell'archivio parrocchiale di Spresiano una verifica analoga a quella compiuta per Preganziol. Purtroppo, però, le perduranti restrizioni alla mobilità imposte dalle misure di contenimento della corrente pandemia mi costringono a rinviare a tempi migliori il riscontro dell'ipotesi e, per conseguenza, l'adempimento dei propositi dichiarati forse troppo ottimisticamente *in limine* a questa nota. Per ora mi limito ad appuntare un cognome, Bettoli, che andrà tenuto presente nella ricerca: un Giuseppe Bettoli fu infatti curato di Spresiano negli anni che ci interessano.³² Questo, dunque, anche l'ipotetico cognome di «Cristina» – le virgolette valgono per il caso che anche il nome sia *fictum* – da cercare nei registri matrimoniali spresianesi.

29 Vi era soltanto un oratorio officiato da un mansionario, come mi informa, previa escussione delle fonti locali, Giuliano Simionato, che ringrazio.

30 Cfr. GIULIANO SIMIONATO, *Spresiano. Profilo storico di un comune*, Villorba (Tv), Marini, 1990.

31 Riferendo ad es. dell'apprezzamento della futura sposa da parte di zia, sorella e padrino, Carlo si dice sicuro che di quella parlata *villageoise* Cristina si sarebbe presto liberata, perché a Venezia l'invidia e la malignità gliene avrebbero fatto una colpa: cfr. LL, p. 459 (= CR, p. 568).

32 E fino al 1762: me lo comunica a mezzo mail don Giuseppe Viero, attuale parroco della Santissima Trinità in Spresiano. Aggiungo anche, infine, che non ha dato esito un'esplorazione eseguita presso l'Archivio storico diocesano di Treviso (*Matrimonialium e Governo diocesi*) e Biblioteca Capitolare alla ricerca della dispensa pontificia depositata presso la cancelleria episcopale diocesana, esplorazione per la quale ringrazio Cristina Zanatta.

À PROPOS DE EDOARDO TIRETTA

C'est en mars 1757 que Casanova fit à Paris la connaissance d'Edoardo Tiretta. Âgé de 23 ans, celui-ci appartenait à une puissante famille comtale de Trévisé remontant au XVI^e siècle, dont le nom se trouve cité dans un poème de Giovanni Serravalle, intitulé *Il palagio*¹. Tiretta avait reçu une solide formation de mathématicien et d'architecte ; mais, accusé à juste titre d'avoir détourné de l'argent du Mont-de-piété de sa ville natale, il avait dû se réfugier en France afin d'échapper à la police, où il se trouvait pratiquement sans ressource. Ayant pitié de lui, Casanova le prit sous sa protection, lui offrant gîte et couvert. Il lui présenta également des femmes qui allaient l'entretenir. Doté d'une robuste constitution, le jeune homme sut se faire apprécier de celles-ci et se vit accorder le sobriquet de « comte de six coups ». Il lui arriva même de besogner une certaine M^{me} XXX, appuyés tous deux sur le rebord d'une fenêtre donnant sur la place de Grève où s'exécutait ce jour-là l'écartèlement de Damiens².

Tiretta séjourna ensuite en Angleterre où il construisit plusieurs bâtiments de qualité. Il quitta l'Europe en 1759 et se rendit d'abord à Batavia (Jakarta),

1 D'après les notes de Samaran, on trouve le poème dans A. SANTALENA, *Vecchia gente e vecchia storia*, Padova; Verona, Drucker, 1891.

2 Concernant Edoardo Tiretta à Paris, voir GIACOMO CASANOVA, *Histoire de ma vie*, tome 2, Paris, Gallimard, 2015, p. 20 et suivantes. Voir également CHARLES SAMARAN, *Jacques Casanova, Vénitien*, Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1914, p. 283 et suivantes. Ces détails ont été remis par M. Graves à M. Samaran. M. Graves envoie lettres et télégrammes au passionné de C. pour lui mettre au courant des résultats des recherches dont il a été chargé : *Telegrams. Lower beeding. Telephone. Lower Beeding 4. Newells, Horsham, Sussex*. 7-VI-13. Monsieur, Voici les renseignements sur Edoardo Tiretta qu'a bien voulu me communiquer le India Office. Les notes ajoutées au memorandum sont de ma main. En plus, je vous envoie des extraits de Cotton – *Calcutta old and new* – qui pourraient peut être vous intéresser, surtout, qui c'est un [ill.] assez sérieuse. Veuillez agréer Monsieur, mes salutations distinguées. M. Graves. Et encore: 28.V.13 Monsieur, ç'inclus j'ai l'honneur de vous envoyer quelques renseignements sur Edoardo Tiretta à Calcutta. Malheureusement je n'ai pu consulter que les six premiers volumes du «Journal of the Calcutta Historical Society». Le British Museum en possède davantage, mais l'index manque. Du reste, j'espère pouvoir vous envoyer encore quelques renseignements sur Tiretta car M.r Mitchell, [ill.] keeper of the India Office Ressort, a bien voulu s'en occuper.

dans les Indes hollandaises ; puis au Bengale, où il devint à Calcutta Surintendant des Bâtiments et des Routes. (*Superintendent of Streets and Houses*) sous l'autorité du Comité Municipal. Un certain docteur Busteéd révèle par ailleurs dans ses *Echos from Old Calcutta* que Tiretta était également propriétaire d'un bazar. Cette information est confirmée par H. E. A. Cotton dans son ouvrage *Calcutta Old and New* :

Tiretta Bazar Street and Line are on the east of Lower Chitpore Road, and close to Lall Bazar. They are so called from their proximity to an extensive Bazar in the locality well known to all bird and beast fanciers in Calcutta. [...] It is now the property of the Maharajah of Burwan, but the name it bears is that of a Venitian named Edward Tiretta. Mr. Long has put the date of its establishment in 1788, but it is described in Wood's map of 1784 as «Tiretta's Bazar», and it is probably much older. In a prospectus of a lottery issued in 1788 and avertized in the *Calcutta Gazette* of that year, the «First Prize» is represented to be «that large and spacious Pucka Bazar or market belonging to M. Tiretta, situated in the north central part of the town of Calcutta» [...]. Other properties are also set out in the advertisement and are valued in the prospectus at Rs. 3, 20,000; from which it would appear that M. Tiretta had divers avenues of emolument open to him besides his official appointment of «Superintendent of Streets and Houses» under the Municipal Committee. He appears to have continued to reside in Calcutta after the drawing of the lottery in 1791, but seems not to have died here. His wife's grave is in the cemetery which bears his name is situated in Park Street to the west of the South Park Street burying-ground³.

Et de fait, à l'âge de 59 ans, Edoardo Tiretta avait épousé une jeune orpheline de 17 ans prénommée Angélique, fille d'un officier français en service à Chandernagor, le comte de Carrion. Mais celle-ci devait mourir en mettant au monde une fille en 1796 et fut enterrée tout d'abord dans le cimetière portugais. Deux ans plus tard, Tiretta fit exhumer le corps et le transféra dans un tombeau du cimetière de Park Street⁴ qu'il acheta et qu'il offrit à tous les Européens catholiques ou à leurs descendants immédiats morts en Inde.

3 Ce bazar créé avec les propres fonds de Tiretta faisait partie du vieux quartier chinois et comprenait de petites allées marchandes sur plusieurs hectares. La *Calcutta Revue* de 1858 nous apprend qu'une maison de jeu et une fumerie d'opium y avaient plus tard été installées.

4 G. DUBBINI, *Una "vita globale". Il nobile Edoardo Tiretta di Treviso (1731-1809). Dall'Europa all'India britannica*, in «Atti e memorie dell'Ateneo Veneto», anno CCII, terza serie, 14/II (2015), p. 30.

Sur ce tombeau il fit graver cette épitaphe :

*Hic jacet Angelica de Carrion, Edwardi Tiretta Tarvisini uxor dilectissima, quam tertio die post pignus amoris datum mors cripuit XV junii MDCCXCVI et aetatis sum XVIII. Hoc marmor memoriae sacrum posuit conjux maerens.*⁵

Il existait au XVIII^e siècle quatre cimetières à Calcutta le long d'un chemin à la sortie de la ville, que l'on appelait couramment « rue du cimetière » (*Burial ground road*), avant que celui-ci soit plus tard rebaptisé « rue du parc » (*Park Street*). L'un de ces cimetières était donc français, appelé également *Tiretta's Cemetery*, du nom de son propriétaire, où se trouvait le tombeau d'Angelica.

En 1977, ce cimetière français fut déplacé à la suite d'une opération d'urbanisme et la plupart des tombeaux furent détruits. La *British Association for cemeteries in South Asia*, en liaison avec une association locale, procéda alors à un travail de sauvegarde et à un réaménagement des tombes pris en charge par la Compagnie Française des Pétroles (Total). Ce qui explique qu'ait pu subsister jusqu'à nos jours la plaque de marbre portant l'épitaphe gravée de la jeune épouse de Tiretta.

Le cimetière français regroupait les tombes ou tombeaux de 180 Européens de religion catholique ayant vécu à Calcutta de 1796 à 1894. La *B.A.C.S.A.* a édité une brochure où sont répertoriés tous les défunts par ordre alphabétique des patronymes. Tiretta Angelica de Carrion (1778-1796) correspond au n° 59. C'est dans le cimetière actuel de Park Street, classé désormais comme site protégé par l'*Archaeological Survey of India*, devenu un parc public d'espaces verts, que se trouve, au sol et fendue, la plaque de marbre gravée d'Angelica ; parmi les mausolées grandioses rappelant le néo-classicisme européen : urnes grecques, obélisques ou pyramides égyptiennes.

Edoardo Tiretta semble avoir été un personnage très en vue dans le Calcutta de l'époque, comme le souligne Gianni Dubbini dans l'article précité. Et cela se trouve confirmé par l'extrait d'une lettre du Gouvernement bengali, conservée parmi les documents de Charles Samaran qu'a bien voulu nous communiquer notre ami Stefano Feroci qui a longuement exploré ses notes et lettres et qui nous a communiqué les résultats de ses investigations, aux Archives Nationales de France, à Pierrefitte-sur-Seine :

⁵ M. DEROZARIO, *The Complete Monumental Register. Containing all the epitaphs, inscriptions, &c.*, Calcutta, Ferris, 1815, p. 148.



Plaque funéraire d'Angelica Tiretta



Vue de Park Street

As we are of opinion that the Office of Civil Architect which was long held by the late Lieutenant Colonel Fortnam under your special Appointment is of very essential service in superintending the repairs, and constructions of your Buildings in this Town, and knowing Mr. Edward Tiretta to be well qualified for such a Trust, we appointed him Civil Architect with the salary and allowances formerly drawn by Colonel Fortnam.⁶

La preuve que Tiretta était également un architecte reconnu et considéré dans son pays natal se trouve confirmée par l'extrait d'un livre d'histoire locale où l'on fait l'éloge de ses talents :

De' Secolari e Nobili, alcuni che si distinguono nella architettura militare, e civile fra' Trevigiani del Co : Giordano Riccati istrutti, nomineremo per primo il Nob. Sig. Odoardo Tiretta: pieno egli di architettonico genio e di nobil ardire intraprese il viaggio per l'Inghilterra, ed in Londra impiegato da Primate, e dalla Corte in grandiosi edificj riuscì mirabilmente, cosichè venne destinato al disegno e soprintendenza delle nuove fortificazioni in Bengala e nel Calicut di altre Piazze, dove anche eresse molte fabbriche di moderna grandiosa struttura come nelle Città più ragguardevoli dell'Europa si costumava, e meritò di esser destinato Governatore Civile e Politico di Bengala dove tuttavia onorato e distinto si mantiene e vive.⁷

Cette notoriété acquise par Tiretta à Calcutta semble lui avoir permis d'être reçu dans la bonne société de la ville. Nous en voulons pour preuve une gravure coloriée à la main par James Gillray, caricaturiste anglais célèbre pour ses dessins satiriques à caractère politique et social, intitulée *The Bengal Levee (La réception du Bengale)*, publiée à Londres en 1792⁸. Celle-ci a pour sujet la réception donnée à la *Government House* de Calcutta, à l'occasion de l'accession du marquis Charles Cornwallis au titre de *Governor-General of India*. Sur cette gravure, Edoardo Tiretta est représenté à droite parmi la foule des invités, doté

6 Lettre du Gouvernement bengali, datée du 29 novembre 1780.

7 [D.M. FEDERICI], *Memorie trevigiane sulle opere di disegno Dal mille e cento al mille ottocento per servire alla storia delle belle arti d'Italia*, Venezia, presso Francesco Andreola, 1803, vol. II, p. 214. On trouve des propos similaires dans G. MOSCHINI, *Della letteratura veneziana fino a' nostri giorni*, In Venezia, dalla Stamperia Palese, 1806, p. 188. L'extrait nous donne un détail intéressant, c'est à-dire la différente écriture du nom, ici donné comme Odoardo.

8 Par la grande marchande d'art londonienne Hannah Humphrey (1743-1818). La gravure a été publiée dans l'article de Dubbini.

d'un grand nez et portant une veste verte, en train de saluer le Père Parthanio, un prêtre grec invité lui aussi pour l'occasion, vêtu de sa robe noire et coiffé du *kamilavkion*. Il semble que cette gravure soit la seule qui nous soit parvenue contenant le portrait de l'aventurier trévisan⁹.

Mais parmi les papiers de M. Samaran photocopiés par Stefano Feroci, on trouve beaucoup d'autres informations sur le noble de Trévis qui nous avaient échappées jusqu'à aujourd'hui. Ces détails mettent en lumière la présence d'esprit de cet aventurier hors du commun allé chercher fortune dans un pays lointain, en suivant les traces des corsaires, prédécesseurs des modernes aventuriers. Il avait choisi une route beaucoup plus difficile et malaisée que ses compagnons de hasard qui s'étaient contentés de sillonner les routes de l'Europe des Lumières. C'est ce que nous pouvons constater à la lecture de cet extrait concernant la correspondance de Warren Hastings, où se dévoile le caractère de Tiretta :

Edward Tiretta was an inhabitant of Calcutta, who incurred the scorn of the «Bengal Gazette» by his adherence to Hastings, and was alleged to have received knighthood at his hands. [...] In 1797, he writes to Hastings to congratulate on the results of the Trial, and to introduce his sister-in-law, miss Josephin Carrion, who is coming to England under the care of colonel White's widow, Hasting's cousin, to receive «an education suitable to her Birth and to my family». He is sure that a «sensible soul like yours» will receive «the little young lady» with kindness, regarding her as «not a sister-in-law, but a Daughter» to Tiretta.¹⁰

Tiretta se préoccupait donc de garantir en quelque sorte une existence confortable à sa famille, fort de ses connaissances en Inde ; certain qu'en Europe on lui viendrait un jour en aide.

Mais pour notre aventurier aux goûts exotiques le temps s'écoulait inexorablement et la pensée de vivre toujours dans une ville aussi étrange que Calcutta lui pesait. Les années étaient difficiles pour lui ; et si Casanova avait cru trouver le salut en devenant le bibliothécaire du comte de Waldstein à Dux et passer

9 D'après Helmut Watzlawick, Gillray, qui ne s'était jamais rendu au Bengale, aurait travaillé à partir d'un dessin de l'Écossais James Moffat, installé à Calcutta depuis 1789.

10 S.C. GRIER, *The Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife. Transcribed in full from the Originals in the British Museum. Introduced and annotated by Sydney C. Grier*, Edinburgh and London, Blackwood, 1905, p. 230.



James Gillray, The Bengal Levee, showing Lord Cornwallis in a crowd of sicophants, 1792 (The National Portrait Gallery of London).



Détail

ainsi une vieillesse paisible, Tiretta lui, fit bientôt une demande de mise à la retraite auprès du Gouvernement dont il dépendait. C'est ce que nous apprend cette lettre écrite par l'aventurier au Gouverneur anglais de Calcutta, que M. Samaran a obtenu par l'un de ses chasseurs d'archives :

Mr. E. Tiretta
To His Excellency the Most Noble
Marquis Wellesley, K.P.
Governor General of all India and Captain General of His Majesty, and the
Honorable Company Forces in India.

My Lord,

Permit me with the greatest submission to trouble your Lordship, and to submit to your generous consideration my present Situation.

It is now 38 years, that I constantly reside in Calcutta under the happy [sic] protection of the English Government, and within the Period of those 21 years I have endeavoured to honorably fulfil the laborious Duty of my Station as Superintendent of the Roads, Way, &ca with the best of my Capacity, but my age being now so far advanced (very near to 71) I find myself wanting that vigor, Strength and activity requisite to support the hard nature of the business, which oblige me daily to run in the sun, therefore though most cordially [sic] wishing to retire I am at loss what step I should take having no fortune, and being a Widower with a Daughter of 6 years of age, and a young Sister in law an orphan now in Education in London, which all depend on me.

This circumstance induces me to throw myself into your Lordship generous Hands, and if your Lordship is of opinion, that my steady services for upwards 21 years desire a moment of your kind attention [sic], I must humbly request that your Lordship will be so gracious as to take my humble representation into your consideration and in the meantime I am in the greatest hope, that your Lordship humanity will be propitious to me on this occasion by granting me such relieve, as your Lordship Justice and Liberality shall think proper, which the utmost Gratefulness will make me very happy the remainder of my life, which in all probability shall not extend to a very long Period.

I have the honor to subscribe myself with the utmost respect &c.

(Signed) Edward Tiretta.

Calcutta
31st August 1802.

Propos qui sans doute aboutirent dans un dossier ouvert au ministère dont le but était d'établir si le requérant avait le droit de jouir d'un tel avantage. Dans

cet extrait d'une lettre du Gouverneur du Bengale écrite six mois plus tard, ce dernier s'intéresse de près aux finances de Tiretta :

On the Proceedings referred to in the Margin is recorded an application for a pension from Mr. E. Tiretta, who had long held the offices of Civil Architect and Surveyor of the roads to the Justice of the Peace for the Town of Calcutta. In the former capacity Mr. Tiretta received a salary of 232 Rupees p. month immediately from Government, and in the latter a Salary of 700 Rupees p. month from the fund appropriated by Act of Parliament to the cleansing and watching the streets of Calcutta. To those sums is to be added a Salary of Rupees 300 p. month drawn by Mr. Blechynden as Assistant to the Civil Architect, making in the aggregate a fund for the purposes above stated of Rupees 1232 p. month. Mr. Blechynden having been appointed by the Justices on the resignation of Mr. Tiretta to be their Surveyor with the usual salary of 700 Rupees p. month and the offices of Civil Architect and of Assistant to the Civil Architect having been abolished, the sum of 532 Rupees p. month remained out of the abovementioned fund, which sum was assigned to Mr. Tiretta as a pension for his life in consideration of his advanced age which exceeds Seventy years, and of the length of time during which he had been employed in the Public Service.¹¹

Il semble donc que l'aventurier de Trévisé gagnait assez bien sa vie dans cette partie du monde. Beaucoup plus en tout cas qu'un ordinaire citoyen européen, ou qu'un aventurier (si l'on peut toujours le considérer comme tel). Il avait en effet abandonné cette « carrière » dès qu'il eut accepté un emploi fixe ne correspondant pas à la nature d'un aventurier. Cette demande de Tiretta entraîna en tout cas pendant quelque temps une réaction hostile de la part de la Direction de l'*East India Company* qui, piquée d'une telle demande par l'employé trévisan, répondit ainsi :

Although we might have been disposed to attend to any recommendation from you in favour of Mr. Tiretta, we cannot approve of your having granted him a Pension of 523 Rupees p. month, without previous reference to us, it being directly contrary to our Orders in the Public Department of the 15th April 1795, which direct that all Pensions granted by you shall be on the express condition of their being revocable by us, should we see cause to disapprove of the same; but as Mr. Tiretta is now far advanced in years, and has been for a long time employed by you as Civil Architect, we confirm the pension

11 Lettre datée du 28 février 1803.

you have granted him, but positively direct, that our Orders on the subject of granting pensions, be on all future occasions strictly adhered to.¹²

Sur une courte fiche retrouvée au château de Dux, Casanova avait noté pour mémoire: « Prier Zaguri de s'informer de Tiretta... » Et on peut lire ainsi dans une lettre du 12 mai 1792 adressée à Casanova par son ami le patricien de Venise Pietro Zaguri : « Le Tiretta de Trévisé est encore aux Indes, il est fort riche ; il promet de revenir, mais il ne se résout pas, comme beaucoup de gens qui se voient s'enrichir constamment »¹³. Et comme pour lui donner raison à travers les âges, un quartier de Calcutta où il posséda des maisons s'appelle encore aujourd'hui Tiretta Square.

En 1804 pourtant, Tiretta obtint enfin sa mise à la retraite, ainsi qu'une pension. Il se décida alors à retourner à Trévisé où l'on avait probablement oublié la mauvaise action ayant motivé son départ, en compagnie de sa fille Giuseppina, qui gardera jusqu'à sa mort l'habitude de se promener en ville vêtue d'un sari.

Le comte aventurier s'éteindra quant à lui dans sa ville natale en 1809, à l'âge de 75 ans.

12 Lettre du 20 juin 1804.

13 « *Mon cher Casanova...* » *Lettres du comte Maximilien Lamberg et de Pietro Zaguri, patricien de Venise, à Casanova*, Paris, Honoré Champion, 2008, p. 535.

MARCO LEEFLANG & ANTONIO TRAMPUS

CORRESPONDENCE BERNHARD MARR – CARLO LEONE CURIEL.

PART II: 1921-1931

We publish here the second part of Bernhard Marr – Carlo Leone Curiel correspondence (see for the first part *Casanoviana* 1, 2018). Some number of letters was written by Carlo Leone Curiel after World War I and testify to the slow recovery of cultural relations between the old Austro-Hungarian countries and the new Europe of nations. In particular, the second part of this correspondence includes the beginnings of new editorial projects in view of the celebrations of the second centenary of Casanova's birth (1925), culminating in the *Sirène* edition of the memoirs published from 1924 and, from the literary point of view, in Stefan Zweig's book *Adepts in Self-Portraiture (Drei Dichter ihres Lebens, 1928)*, in which compared Casanova as autobiographer to Stendhal and Tolstoy¹.

At that time, most of the prominent Casanovists were engaged in the *Sirène* edition: Octave Uzanne, Edouard Maynial, Raoul Vèze, Aldo Ravà, Gustav Gugitz, and, of course, Bernhard Marr and Carlo Leone Curiel². Less well known is that many of the same people were engaged in the first complete Italian edition of the memoirs, published in 22 volumes from 1924 by Corbaccio publisher in Milan. This edition faithfully copied the architecture of the *Sirène* edition, with the same variants and notes in the same position: after the publication of the second volume the work was seized for violation of the French copyright³.

The correspondence between Curiel and Marr from 1924 to 1930 describes the attempt to restart the Corbaccio edition with a new apparatus criticus and notes by Curiel and Gugitz with the collaboration of Marr and its failure. At the same time, they testify the origins of the Corbaccio edition of Casanova's correspondence edited by Curiel, Gugitz and Ravà with the title *Patrizi e avventurieri, dame e ballerine in cento lettere inedite o poco note* in 1930.

1 TOM VITELLI, *Carving up Casanova: 200 years of critical evaluations of Casanova and his Memoirs*, «L'Intermédiaire des Casanovistes», XV, 1998, p. 26-27.

2 GIANLUCA SIMEONI, *L'édition de la Sirène*, «Casanoviana», 3 (2020), pp. 41-54.

3 GIANLUCA SIMEONI, *Storia editoriale di una vita: bibliografia delle edizioni dell'Histoire de ma vie di Giacomo Casanova*, Verona, Oltrepagina, 2021.

As happened for the first part of this correspondence, the transcription of the letters by Curiel is the work of Marco Leeﬂang, and has been revised by Antonio Trampus according to the standards of *Casanoviana*; the transcription of the letters by Marr is the work of Antonio Trampus. We are grateful to Hans-Bernd Spies for the many suggestions and corrections. In the notes, the abbreviation [M. L.] indicates as author Marco Leeﬂang, the abbreviation [A. T.] indicates as author Antonio Trampus⁴.

350 Curiel to Marr

Triest, den 7. Jenner [*recte* 1921]⁵

Sehr geehrter Herr Marr!

Ihre Studie *Casanova und die Revolution* habe ich dankend erhalten und mit grossem Interesse gelesen⁶. Für die gut[e] Aufmerksamkeit bin ich Ihnen sehr verbunden.

Anbei erlaube ich mir, Ihnen eine kleine Skizze aus d[er] *Mercure* zu überreichen die eigentlich von Ihren guten Mitteilungen stammt.

Mit besten Grüssen auch seitens meiner Frau, empfehle ich mich Ihnen

Hochachtungsvoll ergebenst

Carl L Curiel

352 Curiel to Marr [postcard]⁷

[Triest, 15-1-1921]⁸

Wohlg[e]b[orenen] Herrn

Bernhard Marr

Dux - Duchov

Č. Sl. Rep.

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

5 Date error: see note 6.

6 The only publication by Curiel in *Mercure de France* appeared on 1 January 1921: *Casanova le séducteur*. Marr's publication *Casanova und die französische Revolution* appeared in the «Duxer Zeitung» December 23, 1920 [M. L.].

7 Picture postcard with *costumi antichi triestini, epoca 1350*, Edizioni della Libreria Dante di Giuseppe Malattina, Udine [A. T.].

8 Date of postmark.

Sehr geehrter Herr Marr!

Ich danke Ihnen verbindlichst für die freundl[ichen] Worte; aber ich glaube mich in tiefster Schuld Ihnen gegenüber und bin recht froh, wenn ich Ihnen irgend ein kleines Zeichen meiner Dankbarkeit geben kann. Der H[err] D[oktor] Aldo Ravà möchte Ihren Artikel *C. und die Revolution* lesen. Könnten Sie ihm ein Exemplar verehren?

Ein von den mir gesandten habe ich dem Senator Molmenti zukommen lassen. Meine Frau und ich empfehlen uns bestens, Hochachtungsvoll, ergebenst!

Carl L Curiel

391 Curiel to Marr [postcard]

[Triest, 20-1-1922]⁹

Wohlg[e]b[orenen] Herrn

Bernhard Marr

Dux - Duchov

Č. Sl. Rep.

Sehr geehrter Herr Marr!

Besten Dank für Ihre so liebenswürdige Worte. Abermals muss ich Ihre Güte in Anspruch nehmen. Nach längeren Recherchen bin ich auf die Vermutung gekommen, dass die unbekannte Irene Rinaldi vielleicht richtiger Anna Girelli hiess¹⁰; wenigstens ist dies keine figlia dell'arte, heiratete einen Souffleur der manchmal den Brighella spielte (scapin) u[nd] in Padua die seconda donna gab. Dr. Brunelli, Ravà, Di Giacomo konnten mir leider keinen Aufschluss geben. Da finde ich ihren gar nicht berühmten Namen auf einem Zettel Casanovas U.34.9 Regio Teatro di Torino Carnevale 1770. «La sig^a Girelli non meno ammirabile attrice che insigne virtuosa di canto nell'Armonia»(?)¹¹.

9 Date of postmark.

10 The name of Irene Rinaldi appears nowhere in the Casanova heritage. The reason that nevertheless efforts were made to identify her, is this: Molmenti had printed a letter by Pittoni to Casanova (Marr 10A3) in his *Carteggi Casanoviani. Lettere di Giacomo Casanova e di altri a lui* (1916). Molmenti, or the one who copied the letter for him (A. Yve?) erroneously read «J'ai connu M^e Irene» for «J'ai connu m^e votre frère». The copist corrected his mistake but Molmenti decided that Pittoni had met both persons and would have written «J'ai connu M^e Irene et m^e votre frère». In a footnote (page 234) Molmenti explains: «Deve essere un'attrice di nome Irene, ormai vecchia e ritirata a vita privata. Per le avventure di questa attrice, figlia del sedicente conte Rinaldi, vedi i *Mémoires* (VI, 2, 167, 258, VIII 440)». Casanova never mentions the daughter of Rinaldi by name, but up till the Laffont edition of the Memoirs, one can find the name Irene Rinaldi (Molmenti's invention) in the *Index des noms* [M. L.].

11 Anna Girelli from Piacenza, actress and «seconda donna» at the San Pietro theater in

Möchten Sie mir gütigst sagen, ob etwas anderes über selbe steht, so dass man sie endlich identifizieren konnte! Tausend Dank im Voraus!
Ergebenste Grüße auch seitens meiner Frau und ich verbleibe mit vorzüglicher Hochachtung, Ihr
Carl L Curiel

403 Curiel to Marr [postcard]¹²

[7(?) - 6-1922]¹³

Wohlg[e]b[orenen] Herrn
Bernhard Marr
Dux - Duchov
Č. Sl. Rep.

Sehr geehrter Herr Marr!

Nach kurzer Abwesenheit, finde ich Ihre wertige Karte und erwidere auch im Namen meiner Frau Ihre freundlichen Grüße.

Auf die Neuausgabe der Memoiren C's bin ich sehr gespannt. Auch eine Studie *L'extravagante personnalité de J.C.* von Joseph le Gras (Paris, Grasset) ist unlängst erschienen - auch ein Artikel Di Giacomo's *Casanova a Napoli* (Briefe von de Bernardis)¹⁴.

Kennen Sie es schon? Mit vorzüglicher Hochachtung
erg[eben]st Carl L Curiel

404 Curiel to Marr [postcard]

Wohlg[e]b[orenen] Herrn
Bernhard Marr
Dux - Duchov
Č. Sl. Rep.

[Triest, 14-6-1922]¹⁵

Sehr geehrter Herr Marr!

1777, see CARLO LEONE CURIEL, *Il Teatro San Pietro a Trieste 1690-1801*, Milano, Archetipografia, 1937, p. 95 [A. T.].

12 Postcard Trieste. Tor Cucherna, by Guido Marussig [A. T.].

13 Date of postmark.

14 SALVATORE DI GIACOMO, *Casanova a Napoli*, «Il Tempo», May 11th, 1919.

15 Date of postmark.



Besten Dank für die gü[t]ige] Mitteilung, die mich natürlich sehr interessiert¹⁶. Für die lebensw[ürdige] Zusendung der *Duxer Zeitung* werde ich Ihnen sehr dankbar sein; ich möchte einen kleinen Artikel über die Auffindung schreiben¹⁷. Inzwischen beglückwünsche ich Sie aufrichtigst! Hat die Kugel Branickis eine Spur hintergelassen? Die Bücher werden Sie nach Wunsch erhalten. Mein Opus¹⁸ erscheint in ca. 2 Wochen.- Endlich! Ich werde mir erlauben, Ihnen ein Exemplar gleich zukommen zu lassen. Meine Frau lässt sich bestens empfehlen und ich verbleibe Ihr ergebenster
C.L.Curiel

412 Curiel to Marr [postcard]

[Triest, 30-6-1922]¹⁹

Wohlg[e]b[orenen] Herrn

Bernhard Marr

Marienbad

~~Dux~~—~~Duchov~~

Čes. Sl. Rep.

[Forwarded on 3-7-1922 to Villa Marguerite, Carlton Hotel, Marienbad]

Sehr geehrter Herr Marr!

Herzlichsten Dank für die gü[t]ige] Übersendung Ihres interessanten Artikels und der Lichtbilder. Sie haben mir wirklich eine grosse Freude bereitet²⁰. Duplikate habe ich sogleich an Dr. Ravà weitergeleitet.

Mein Buch ist endlich fix und fertig. Sobald die Sendung eintrifft werde ich mir erlauben,

16 The world of Casanovists was shaken by the news that Casanova's tombstone had been found in the park behind the Waldstein castle. Masons, doing some restoration work, pretended to have found, on June 9th, buried in the ground, a headstone of a grave with «Cassanova 1799» carved in it. Marr believed the story and he wrote about it in «Bohemia» (June 11th) and in the «Duxer Zeitung» (June 16th) and mailed the news to his friends, who assisted in quickly spreading the (false) news. For it was a hoax, but Marr has never learned the truth. What really happened can be read in my article: MARCO LEEFLANG, *Marr's collection and the story of Casanova's false tombstone*, «Casanova Gleanings», XX (1977) p. 55. In French I have related the story in my *Dossier de Dux* (1998, p.22). The stone itself is still on display in the castle near Casanova's room [M. L.].

17 CARLO LEONE CURIEL, *La tomba del Casanova*, «Il Piccolo della Sera», July 6th, 1922 [A. T.].

18 CARLO LEONE CURIEL *Trieste settecentesca*, Milano, Sandron, 1922.

19 Date of postmark. Received in Dux, July 3rd, 1922.

20 BERNHARD MARR, *Aufgefundene Grabstein Casanova's und sein Geheimnis*, «Duxer Zeitung», June 16th, 1922 [A. T.].

Ihnen ein Exemplar zu verehren.
Empfehlungen an Ihre werte Familie und beste Grüsse an Sie, auch seitens meiner Frau,
Ihr ergebenster
C.L.Curiel

419 Curiel to Marr [postcard]

[Triest, 16-8-1922]²¹

Wohlg[e]b[orenen] Herrn
Bernhard Marr
Dux - Duchov
Č. Sl. Rep.

Sehr geehrter Herr Marr!

Bitte gütigst entschuldigen zu wollen, wenn ich nicht früher auf Ihr wertcs Schreiben geantwortet habe. Ich bin froh, dass mein Buch eine so wohlwollende Aufnahme gefunden hat und danke für die freundlichen schmeichelhaften Worte. Bei Cappelli²² ist alles schon geregelt. Sie werden mal erlauben, dass ich Ihnen ein kleines Zeichen meiner Dankbarkeit gebe, wann ich kann, wo ich in so tiefer Schuld Ihnen gegenüber stehe!

Mit Empfehlungen auch seitens meiner Frau verbleibe ich Ihr ergebenster
Curiel

443 Curiel to Marr [postcard]²³

[Triest, 30-4-1924]²⁴

Wohlg[e]b[orenen] Herrn
Bernhard Marr
Dux - Duchov
Č. Slov. Rep.

Sehr geehrter Herr Marr!

Besten Dank für Ihre liebe Karte und Ihr freundl[iches] Anbieten, mir die Zannovich Briefe abzuschreiben. Aber es würde mir genügen, wenn Sie mir gelegentlich ganz kurz den Inhalt andeuten, was ich - mit Ihrer gütigen Erlaubnis - H[err]n Mirko Breyer²⁵ mit-

21 Date of postmark.

22 The Cappelli bookstore in Trieste, Corso Vittorio Emanuele III, 12 [A. T.].

23 Postcard Trieste – Basilica di San Giusto [A. T.].

24 Date of postmark.

25 Mirko Breyer (1863-1946), Croatian bibliographer and antiquarian [A. T.].

teilen möchte. Einen recht grossen Gefallen würden Sie mir aber erweisen, wenn Sie mir die fehlenden Stellen vom Briefe Cas[anovas] an Cusani (17C3 (Abschr. 17C5) angeben wollten. S[einer]z[e]it hatten Sie eine fotogr[aphische] Copie bestellt; vielleicht könnten Sie mir diese leihen? Die fehlende Zeilen sind zwischen 1. *Contro candide divise* und *E sol regni l'alma pace*. 2. *Di ascoltare ei si ... Preferisce Possidonio*, und *Anche in ciò diventi dotto.... Ed acciò del cenno mio. Di mancar non m'è concesso*²⁶. Besten Dank im Voraus. Herzliche Grüsse auch seitens meiner Frau.

Ihr ergebenster
C Curiel

444 Curiel to Marr [postcard]²⁷

[Triest, 12-5-1924]²⁸

Wohlg[e]b[orenen] Herrn
Bernhard Marr
Dux - Duchov
Čes. Sl. Rep.

Sehr geehrter Herr Marr!

Mit besten Dank habe ich die Briefe Zannovich⁴ erhalten und werde sie Ihnen gleich nach Abschrift zukommen lassen. Herr Breyer wird Ihnen dafür sehr dankbar sein. Was das Gedicht Casanova's betrifft, tut mir sehr leid, dass Sie keine vollständige Copie besitzen. Ich hätte es gern mit der Correspondenz veröffentlicht. Ich dachte, Sie hätten eine, da Sie mir seinerzeit schrieben, dass Sie davon eine Pause vom Photographen anfertigen lassen würden. Vielleicht ist es möglich die wenigen Zeilen abschreiben zu lassen? Es handelt sich blos um etwa 10 Verse! Das Buch Brunelli's lasse ich Ihnen mittels einer Buchhandlung zukommen²⁹. Augenblicklich ist es hier noch nicht eingetroffen. Meines habe ich direkt von Samaran erhalten... Herzliche Grüsse,
C. Curiel

26 See GIACOMO CASANOVA, *Patrizi e avventurieri, dame e ballerine in cento lettere inedite o poco note*, a cura di Carlo L. Curiel, Gustavo Gugitz, Aldo Ravà. Milano, Corbaccio, 1930, p. 268 [A. T.].

27 Picture postcard: Trieste – Miramare [A. T.].

28 Date of postmark.

29 BRUNO BRUNELLI, *Un'amica del Giacomo Casanova*, Milano, Sandron, 1924 [A. T.].

445 Curiel to Marr [postcard]

[Triest, 9-6-1924]³⁰

An Wohlge[b]orenen] Herrn
Bernhard Marr
Dux - Duchov
Čes. Slov. Rep

Sehr geehrter Herr Marr!

Ich erlaube mir Ihnen 2 italienische Monatschriften zu überreichen; vielleicht können Sie solche zur Uebersetzung mit Ihrem befreundeten Herrn verwenden? Weiters finden Sie einen *Marzocco* über die gesandte Poesie - die eigentlich rhyt[h]mische Prosa ist. Das ist übrigens ganz saures Zeug: haben Sie nie den Unsinn zu Gesichte bekommen, den die Futuristen zusammenbringen? Bei den öffentlichen Vorlesungen lacht sich das Publikum zu Tode.

Der Herr Schöttner war so freundlich, mir die undeutlichen Stellen³¹ auf durchsichtigem Papier nach zu malen. Also, es sind folgende: Nach *candide divise: Il rivale di Vulcano "Impunito non intrise"* - *Che fur Tinte da Citera - Col purpureo bianco latte - Fur tenute dall'altera - Molte trame, e furon fatte. Perchè Amor trionfi*, u.s.w. Weiter über Foscarini: *Delle lettere cultore - E triumviro patavino, - ornatissimo scrittore - E in politica divino*³². „*Purpureo bianco latte*“ ist mir nicht klar: In der Mythologie habe ich bis jetzt keinen Aufschluss gefunden³³.

Bitte mir zu sagen, ob Sandron den Betrag zurückgeschickt hat. Das Buch wurde hier bezahlt.

Stets gerne zu Ihren Diensten, mit herzlichsten Grüßen, verbleibe ich

Ihr

C. Curiel

446 Curiel to Marr [postcard]³⁴

[Triest, 12-6-1924]³⁵

Wohlge[b]orenen] Herrn
Bernh[ard] Marr

30 Date of postmark.

31 See the letter of R. Schröttner to Bernhard Marr from Strassdorf, December 10th, 1924 (Marr 17C3 and 5) [A. T.].

32 See *Giacomo Casanova al Sig.r Cusani*, in *Patrizi e avventurieri*, cit., p. 270 [A. T.].

33 Marr notes: «Horace III, 3, Zeile 12(?)» [M. L.].

34 Picture postcard with Palazzo Municipale, Trieste [A. T.].

35 Date of postmark.

Dux - Duchov
Čes. Sl. Rep

Sehr geehrter Herr Marr!

Bitte mich geflissentlich entschuldigen zu wollen, wenn ich Ihnen nicht früher geantwortet habe. Ich habe überall die gewünschte deutsch-ital[ienische] Parallel Ausgabe gesucht, aber umsonst. Deutsche Uebersetzungen von d'Annunzio oder anderen Dichtern waren da, aber sie waren nicht zu Ihrem Zwecke geeignet. Reclam's Ausgaben sind teilweise vergriffen und der neue Katalog bringt (absichtlich?) keine italienische Autoren. Ich habe nur eine Novelle Farina's finden können³⁶, die ich mit meinen Entschuldigungen anzunehmen bitte.

Empfehlungen auch seitens meiner Frau,
ihr ergebenster
Carl Curiel

448 Curiel to Marr [picture]

Wohlg[e]b[orenen] Herrn
Bernhard Marr
Dux - Duchov
Čes. Sl. Rep

[Triest, 18-6-1924]³⁷

Sehr geehrter Herr Marr!

Besten Dank für den güt[ig] gesandten Artikel, der mich sehr interessiert hat. Ist das Manuskript von Casanovas Handschrift? Wenn Sie mir diesbezüglich ganz kurz etwas sagen wollten, wäre ich Ihnen sehr verbunden; ich möchte eine kleine Notiz darüber schreiben³⁸. Natürlich gelegentlich, wenn Sie 5 Minuten Zeit haben bitte meine Unbescheidenheit zu entschuldigen. Die Abschrift der Zannovich-Briefe ist bald fertig und werde Ihnen demnächst die Originale mit besten Dank zurückerstatten.

Hochachtungsvoll ergeb[en]st
C. Curiel

36 Salvatore Farina (1846-1918); probably SALVATORE FARINA, *Blinde Liebe. Laurina's Gatte: Aus dem Italienischen von Wilhelm Lange*, Leipzig, Reclam Verlag, 1917.

37 Date of postmark.

38 CARLO L. CURIEL, *Come nacque il Don Giovanni*, «Il Piccolo della Sera», August 24th, 1924.

Triest den 23. Juni 1924.

Sehr geehrter Herr Marr!

Herzlichsten Dank für Ihre gütige Vermittlung, sowie für die gesandte Abschrift und deren "Lösung".

Ich bewundere Sie wirklich, wie Sie so viel herausgebracht haben. Beigeschlossen re-tourchiere ich Ihnen Letztere; ich habe mir erlaubt, selbe so gut es ging, zu vervollständigen³⁹.

Leider kann ich die ersten Zeilen nicht deuten:

contro candide divise	gegen weisse Uniformen
Che giammai di sangue umano	die nie mit ungerächtem Menschenblute
Impunito non intrise	besudelte
Il rivale di Vulcano,	der Nebenbuhler Vulcan's

das is klar; aber weiter

Che fur tinte (vinte?) da Citera	Die von Cythera gefärbt (besiegt?)
Col purpureo bianco latte,	Mit purpurfarbiger weisser Milch (??)
Fur tenute dall'altera	wurden von der Hochmutigen
Molte azioni, e pruove fatte ⁴⁰	viele Handlungen (Schlachten?) und herzhaftigkeite Beweise geliefert

das klappt wohl nicht.

Ich habe den Herrn Schöttner gebeten, mir bei einem gelegentlichen Besuche in Hirschberg die fraglichen Zeilen nochmals abzuschreiben (oder besser durchzupausen) und den fehlenden Vers anzugeben.

Probeweise erlaube ich mir ein paar Hefte zu senden; bitte mir zu sagen, ob Sie solche brauchen können.

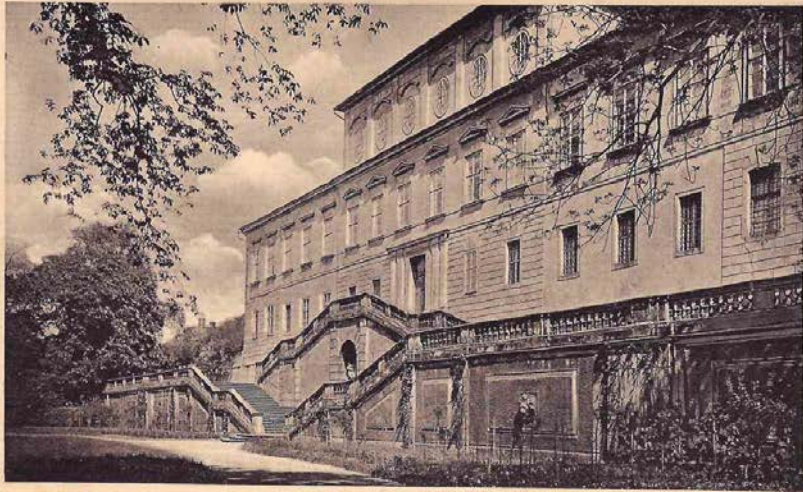
Nochmals, besten Dank für alle Ihre Freundlichkeiten!

Herzlichste Grüsse von Ihrem ergebensten

Carlo L Curiel

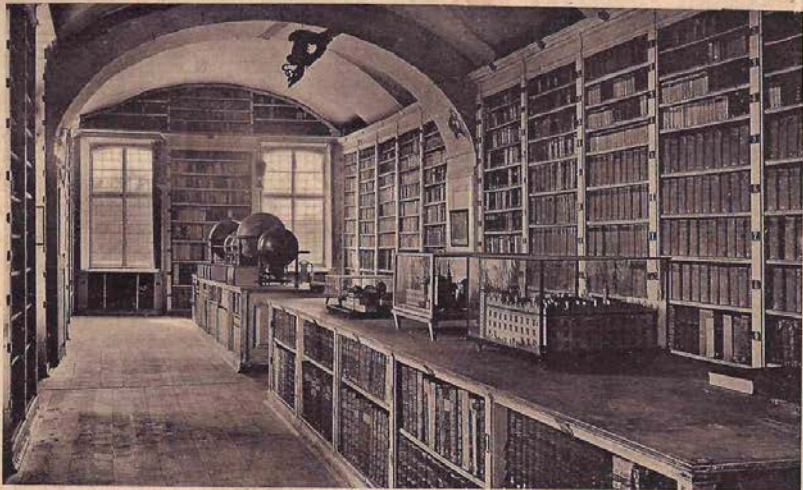
39 It is still about Marr 17C3 [M. L.].

40 See *Patrizi e avventurieri*, cit., p. 268 [A. T.].



DUX

Gräfl. Waldstein'sches Schloss (Parksalze)



DUX

Bibliothek im gräfl. Waldstein'schen Schloss

452 Curiel to Marr [postcard]⁴¹

[Triest, 6-8-1924]⁴²

Wohlg[e]b[orenen] Herrn
Bernhard Marr
Dux - Duchov
Čes. Sl. Rep

Sehr geehrter Herr Marr!

Gestern sandte ich Ihnen die Briefe Zannovich mit besten Dank zurück. Bitte die Verzögerung gü[tigst] entschuldigen zu wollen, aber die Schrift und die phantastische Orthographie sind daran schuld. Wollen Sie die Güte haben, mir bei Gelegenheit zu sagen, ob Ihnen die Sendung Sandron franco zugekommen ist, da sie von Palermo aus gemacht wurde. Mit nochmaligen Dank u[nd] Empfehlungen Ihr ergebenster
Curiel

456 Curiel to Marr [postcard]

[Triest, 28-10-1924]⁴³

Wohlg[e]b[orenen] Herrn
Bernh[ard] Marr
Duchov Dux
Čes.Sl. Rep

Sehr geehrter Herr Marr!

Von der hiesigen Buchhandlung Cappelli habe ich nicht erfahren können ob Sandron Ihnen den gesandten Betrag zurückerstattet hat. Die *Amica del Casanova*⁴⁴ hatte ich Ihnen franco schicken lassen; alles war schon beglichen. Wenn Sie wünschen, werde ich von Cappelli reclamieren lassen, sollte der Sandron noch nicht geregelt haben.

Herzliche Grüsse auch seitens meiner Frau.

Hochachtungsvoll ergebenst,

Carlo L Curiel

41 Picture postcard: Trieste – piazza Unità – Portici del Palazzo Municipale [A. T].

42 Date of postmark.

43 Date of postmark.

44 Bruno Brunelli's book, published by Sandron in Milan (1924) [M. L.].

460 Curiel to Marr [postcard]

[Triest, 1-1-1925]⁴⁵

Wohlg[e]b[orenen] Herrn
Bernh[ard] Marr
Duchcov Dux
Čes. Sl. Rep

Sehr geehrter Herr!
Ihnen und Ihrer werten Familie unsere herzlichsten Glückwünsche zum Jahreswechsel,
auch im Namen meiner Frau.
Mit den besten Grüßen,
Ihr ergebenster
C L Curiel

439 Curiel to Marr [postcard]⁴⁶

[Triest, 14-4-1925]⁴⁷

Sehr geehrter Herr!
An Sie und Ihrer werten Familie die besten Ostergrüsse, auch seitens meiner Frau!
Besitzen Sie den *Secolo XX* mit dem Artikel des Grafen Brunelli⁴⁸? Wenn nicht, werde
ich mir erlauben Ihnen ein Exemplar zu schicken. Hochachtungsvoll erg[e]b[en]st,
C Curiel

470 Curiel to Marr

Triest, den 30. April 1925

Sehr geehrter Herr Marr!
Sie erhalten per Post zwei Exemplare des *Secolo XX*, mit dem Artikel Brunelli's. Zu dem
200ten Geburtstag Casanovas erschien in Italien recht wenig über ihn und überhaupt
nichts Besonderes.
Ich möchte Sie um einen grossen Gefallen ersuchen -- selbstverständlich nur im Falle
dass er Ihnen zu keinem Zeitverluste reichen sollte-. Könnten Sie mir gef[ä]h[ligst]
eine Abschrift des französischen Gedichtes an die Sängerin André⁴⁹ leihen? Ravà hat

45 Date of postmark.

46 Picture postcard: Trieste-Miramare.

47 Date of postmark.

48 BRUNO BRUNELLI, *Giacomo Casanova di fronte ai posteri*, «Secolo XX», April 1925, IV,
p. 233-239 [A. T.].

49 Marr 18-26. See the letter to the dancer André in *Patrizi e avventurieri*, cit., pp. 79-80 [A. T.].

davon bloss ein Druckstück im *Marzocco* veröffentlicht⁵⁰. Ich möchte es im Briefwechsel bringen, den ich mit Herrn Gugitz [vor]bereite.

Besten Dank im voraus und die herzlichsten Grüsse auch seitens meiner Frau. Hochachtungsvoll ergebenst,

C. Curiel

471 Curiel to Marr

[Triest, may 1925]

Sehr geehrter Herr Marr

Meine Schuld wird immer grösser und leider kann ich Ihnen meine Erkenntlichkeit bloss mit Worten bezeugen!

Für die freundliche Übersendung des Casanova Gedichtes bin ich Ihnen sehr verbunden. Der 3te [nur einmal: t] Band der italienischen Übersetzung der *Memoiren* ist erschienen, jedoch ohne Anmerkungen⁵¹. Das war wohl vorauszusehen, da bis jetzt alle Anmerkungen bloss ein Plagiat der französischen Ausgabe waren⁵². Wegen dem *Secolo XX* bitte sich nicht bemühen zu wollen. Ich bin ja froh, wenn ich Ihnen irgendwie dienen kann.

Empfehlungen auch seitens meiner Frau an Ihre werte Familie und herzlichste Grüsse an Sie. Ergebenst!

C L Curiel

Vielleicht könnte der Artikel C- in der Literatur über C. als Bühnenfigur interessieren (des Herrn R Lazak)⁵³

488 Curiel to Marr [postcard]

Triest, den 10. December 1925

Sehr geehrter Herr Marr!

Wie Ihnen der Herr Dr. Gugitz vielleicht schon mitgeteilt hat, wird der Mailander Verlag Corbaccio im Frühjahr nächsten Jahres mit dem Druck der *Memoiren* in italienischer Sprache beginnen. Die Noten werden von Hr. Gugitz und von mir besorgt und wir würden Ihnen sehr verbunden sein, wenn Sie uns, als gründlicher Casanovaforscher, hierbei

50 ALDO RAVÀ, *Casanova poeta*, «Il Marzocco», October 23rd, 1910 [A. T.].

51 GIACOMO CASANOVA, *Storia della mia vita*, vol. 3, Milano, Corbaccio, 1925.

52 See «Giornale della Libreria», 1925, anno XXXVIII, fasc. 27, p. 456 for the news of the seizure of the Corbaccio's edition [A. T.].

53 R. LAZAK, *Casanova in der Literatur*, «Duxer Zeitung», April 13th, 1925 [A. T.].

unterstützen möchten, und danken im Voraus bestens⁵⁴. Ich werde mir erlauben, Ihnen ein Exemplar zu verehren.
Hochachtungsvollste Grüsse an Sie und werte Familie auch im Namen meiner Frau.
Ergebenst Ihr Carlo L Curiel

491 Curiel to Marr [postcard]

[Triest, 31-12-1925]⁵⁵

Wohlg[e]b[orenen] Herrn
Bernhard Marr
Duchcov Dux
Čes. Sl. Repub.

Sehr geehrter Herr Marr!

Ich möchte Sie um einen grossen Gefallen ersuchen: Könnten Sie mir gef[ä]h[ligst] durch eine Zeitungsexpedition die Jubiläum Nr. des Prager Tagblattes zukommen lassen? Ich kann sie hier nicht bekommen. Herzlichsten Dank im Voraus!

Haben Sie meine vorhergehende Karte erhalten, worin ich Ihnen die Neuausgabe der *Memoiren* in italienischer Sprache ankündigte? Seinerzeit wollten Sie dem Dr. Ravà einen Casanova Katalog überlassen. Könnten Sie es mir jetzt überlassen? (Natürlich alle Spesen etc. zu meinen Kosten).

Mit den besten Neujahrswünschen an ihre Familie und an Sie, auch seitens m[eine]r Frau, verbleibe ich ergebenst
Curiel

492 Curiel to Marr [postcard]

[Triest, 8-1-1926]⁵⁶

Wohlg[e]b[orenen] Herrn
Bernhard Marr
Duchcov - Dux
Čes. Slov. Rep.

54 Gustav Gugitz to Bernhard Marr, December 26th, 1925: «Ich habe nun mit Herrn Curiel einen Vertrag bezüglich einer italienischen Casanova Ausgabe [**so auch im maschinengeschriebenen Brief**] geschlossen, die ab März erscheinen soll, hoffentlich mit mehr Glück [**als die**] übrigen geplanten Ausgaben»(Marr VI.30) [A. T.].

55 Date of postmark.

56 Date of postmark.

Sehr geehrter Herr Marr!

Für Ihr so gütiges Anerbieten sage ich Ihnen im Voraus den besten Dank. Was die Abschriften anbelangt, muss ich natürlich darauf verzichten.

Wenn Ihnen gelegentlich irgend eine Abschrift, die nicht veröffentlicht worden ist, in die Hände fallen, so würde ich Ihnen sehr verpflichtet sein, wenn Sie mir selbe ev[entuell] leihen wollten! Jedenfalls habe ich [den] Katalog von H[er]r[[n] Prof Bohatta⁵⁷ einmal durchsehen können und auch H[er]r Gugitz hat sich davon das Interessanteste abgeschrieben.

Vielen Dank auch für die gütige Zusendung Ihres reizenden Artikels! Herzliche Grüsse von Ihrem ergebenen

C Curiel

503 Curiel to Marr [postcard]⁵⁸

[Triest, 7-6-1926]⁵⁹

Wohlg[e]b[orenen] Herrn

Bernhard Marr

Duchcov - Dux

Čes. Slov. Rep.

Sehr geehrter Herr Marr!

Entschuldigen Sie bitte, die Freiheit, die ich mir nehme, Sie wieder zu stören; aber durch die hiesigen Buchhandlungen kann ich nichts erreichen. In Prag ist, wie ich aus den *Giornale d'Italia* entnehme, ein Neudruck des *Soliloque d'un penseur* erschienen⁶⁰.

Hätten Sie die Güte mir den Verlag anzugeben? Innigsten Dank! Mit den herzlichsten Grüssen auch seitens meiner Frau verbleibt Ihr ergebenster

C. Curiel⁶¹

57 Hanns Bohatta (1864-1947), librarian at the University of Vienna from 1890 to 1922 [A. T.].

58 Picture postcard: Trieste – Nel porto.

59 Date of postmark.

60 GIACOMO CASANOVA, *Soliloque d'un penseur*, Prague, Antonin Skoda, 1925, with the translation in Czech by Miroslav Novotny [A. T.].

61 Curiel's address, handwritten by Marr : « via Molinegrade 32/IV » [A. T.].

506 Curiel to Marr [postcard]⁶²

[Triest, 24-6-1926]⁶³

Sehr geehrter Herr Marr!

Für Ihre Freundlichkeit bin ich Ihnen wirklich sehr verbunden. Es tut mir wirklich Leid, Sie immer belästigen zu müssen. In eine zweibändigen Ausgabe Casanovas 1829, steht der Name der Marquise G = Gabrielli (Geliebte des Cardinals S.C.)⁶⁴.

Dieses Lichtbild zeigt deutlicher den Palast des Carciotti, als die Karte, die ich Ihnen vor Jahren sandte. Mit den besten Grüßen auch seitens meiner Frau verbleibe ich ihr ergebener

C. Curiel

507 Curiel to Marr [postcard]⁶⁵

[Triest, 1-7-1926]⁶⁶

Wohlg[e]b[orenen] Herrn

Bernhard Marr

Duchcov - Dux

Čes. Slov. Rep.

(Boemia)

Sehr geehrter Herr Marr!

Herzlichsten Dank für die gütige Uebersendung des *Soliloque*. Bitte höflichst mir Ihre Ausgaben bekanntgeben zu wollen, damit ich meine Schuld begleichen kann (wenigstens was dieses Buch betrifft!)

Mit den besten Grüßen Ihr

ergebenster

C. Curiel.

62 Picture postcard: Trieste with Palazzo Carciotti [A. T.].

63 Date of postmark.

64 *Mémoires de Jacques Casanova de Seingalt sur les cinquante dernières années du XVIIIe siècle. Publiés d'après les manuscrits originaux de l'Auteur. Tome premier [*-second], 1, Paris, Schubart et Heideloff, Ponthieu et C.ie – Leipzig, Ponthieu, Michels & C.ie - Koller & Cahlmann, 1829 [A. T.].*

65 Picture postcard: Trieste Piazza Vittorio Veneto – Fontana [A. T.].

66 Date of postmark.

Triest, 21. Aug. 1926

Sehr geehrter Herr Marr!

Vor circa 3. Wochen schrieb ich Ihnen eine Karte [# 507], um mich für das gütigst gesandte Buch *Soliloque* etc. bestens zu bedanken und um höflichst anzufragen, welche meine Schuld sei. Vielleicht ist die Karte verloren gegangen und erlaube mir deshalb meine Frage zu wiederholen.

Besten Dank auch für die Casanova-Briefe, die ich durch den Herrn Gugitz erhalten habe. Ich hoffe ca. in einem Monat die Korrespondenz druckreif zu haben.

Ich würde Ihnen recht dankbar sein, wenn Sie mir gelegentlich eine Aufklärung auf Folgendes geben wollten:

1. Casanova schickt dem Grafen Beloselsky ein Commentar zu Horaz (Brief von 7/8/90)⁶⁷; befindet sich die Schrift in C.s Nachlassenschaft?⁶⁸.

2. In einem Brief an denselben (30/10/1788) *Briefwechsel* R-Gg S.216, steht zweimal Leipic, das Herr Gugitz mit Leipzig übersetzt, was aber unmöglich ist. Es muss sich um einen Ort handeln, das unweit Dux liegt. - Leipa?⁶⁹

3. Herr Gugitz hat mir die Abschrift eines Briefentwurfes geschickt, den er im Frühjahr 1796 an Della Lena gerichtet glaubt⁷⁰.

Ich bin nicht derselben Meinung. Einem Abbé würde Casanova nicht «Garbatissimo cavaliere» geschrieben haben. Die 25 Gulden könnten wohl für den Della Lena sein, aber der Vermittler war gewiss ein Anderer. Welcher italienische Cavaliere kann denn Casanova besucht haben?⁷¹

4. Casanova schreibt dass er sich «quatre cent sentences qui passent pour aphorismes» notiert hätte, wohl eine spiritosa invenzione, wie Lelio sagt?⁷².

Entschuldigen Sie, bitte, verehrter Herr Marr, meine Unbescheidenheit, aber ich möchte, dass die bevorstehende Ausgabe eine gute Erläuterung der Briefe habe.

67 Marr notes: «U20.6 (auch U31.32)» [M. L.].

68 Marr notes: «Vielleicht in der *Ermitage*, Seite 202 (Original nicht in Dux)» [M. L.].

69 Marr notes: «Liptitz?».

70 Marr notes: «der Brief vom 16/5/1796 trägt ja gar nicht die Anrede Garbatissimo Cav. !? Original nicht in Dux» [M. L.].

71 Marr notes: «(Flavio di Droghi? (1786 Wien, schreibt Caton M) wird, U16k1, von Casanova adressiert Garbatissimo cavaliere, Droghi schreibt 17/3/1789 aus Dux; 1/6/1793 aus Teplitz; 2/1/1795 aus Ossegg; 18/7/1797 aus Ossegg; Aug.? 1797 aus Ossegg; 1791 Dialog Casanova-Capitano. Suicidio. Bei der Kritik des St. Pierre, bei den Notizen für seine *Opusculi Miscellanei*, Venedig, über Schamhaftigkeit, auch Notizen über Gut + Böse, Bravour U16k51 U31-25, Tugend (Dissimulation, Vice), Gott und Seele. Witzworte Pointes U16K48» [M. L.].

72 Marr notes: «Brief an die Comtesse Josephine v. Lamberg, 1791» [M. L.].

Innigsten Dank im Voraus! und herzlichste Grüsse auch im Namen meiner Frau.
Ihr ergebenster
Carl L Curiel

514 Curiel to Marr [postcard]

[Triest, 21-9-1926]⁷³

Wohlg[e]b[orenen] Herrn
Bernhard Marr
Duchcov - Dux
Čes. Sl. Rep.

Sehr geehrter Herr Marr!

Ich stehe Ihnen wiederum in grosser Schuld gegenüber und kann leider nichts anderes tun, als mich herzlichst zu bedanken. Ihre Anmerkungen und Copien werde ich mir bestens dienen lassen. Sie empfangen per Paket einige Lektüre; damit ist aber meine Schuld nicht getilgt und bitte mir Ihre Ausgaben angeben zu wollen. Auch noch eine Bitte hätte ich: Gelegentlich könnten Sie mir sagen, ob sich vielleicht Casanova geirrt hat, als er diese Gräfin Waldstein geboren Starhemberg erwähnte (Brief. 303 anm.2)⁷⁴.

Nochmals besten Dank für Alles! Her[t kommt weg]zl[iche] Grüsse von Ihrem ergebensten
Curiel

518 Curiel to Marr [type written]

Triest, den 4. November 1926

Sehr geehrter Herr Marr!

Erst jetzt komme ich dazu, Ihnen für Ihre unerschöpfliche Güte zu danken. Ich hatte versprochen, das Manuscript noch vor Ende Oktober abzusenden, und musste mich beeilen, da mich Frau Ravà, trotz ihres Versprechens, mich umsonst auf die fehlenden Briefe hatte lange warten lassen. Nun ist die Geschichte fertig hoffentlich wird sie gut ausfallen.

Mit den gütigst überlassenen Copien haben Sie mich recht erfreut, denn Alles werde ich noch in der italienischen Memoiren Ausgabe, die nächstes Jahr erscheinen wird, verwenden können. Glauben Sie nicht, dass der Brief Droghi's (U.14i1a) Anfang Feber 1798 sein könnte? Ich denke, es handelt sich um den Schlaganfall, „il colpo“, wovon Zaguri spricht (Molmenti, S. 345). Pappagallo wird auch hier ein Nachtgeschirr für Kranke

73 Date of postmark.

74 Casanova to Maria Anna de Waldstein born Sternberg, see *Patrizi e avventurieri*, cit., pp. 383-386.

genannt; teilweise dürfte also Casanova gelähmt geblieben sein⁷⁵.

Da Sie sich speziell um den Brief an Eva Frank⁷⁶ interessiert haben, möchte ich Ihnen einige Bemerkungen unterbreiten.

Casanova schreibt: «Depuis douze années après mon initiation le génie qui dirige ce trésor fait tout mon bonheur ». Steht aber wirklich *douze* und nicht *deux*? In diesem Falle würde sich Alles erklären: Casanova verlegt seine Gefangenschaft im spanischen Lager im März 1744; im April 1746 macht er die Bekanntschaft von Bragadin. Ich weiss nicht ob Freund Giacomo des öfteren *deux* und *douze* schlecht schreibt (im Fac-simile bei Ottmann ist eigentlich *deux* sehr deutlich) aber in den Memoiren ist die Verwechslung häufig, ja auffallend bei Schütz!

Auf 1756 kann er nicht geudetet haben, denn er schreibt weiter: „C'est lui qui m'a garanti des malheurs durant 19 mois que j'ai passé à Paris dans les temps les plus critiques“, das heisst von seiner Ankunft „mal en harnois“ (Jänner 1757) bis zum folgenden Jahr, wo er das Lotterie-Bureau erhält (September 1758)⁷⁷.

Herr Gugitz war so freundlich, mir die wenigen Zeilen Casanovas an Ippolito Pindemonte mitzuteilen. Dass der Dichter eine gute Erinnerung von sich zurückliess, sagen auch Pananti und die Du Boccage⁷⁸. Leider fand ich in keiner Biographie etwas über dessen Aufenthalt in Dresden oder Wien.

Also, nochmals besten Dank für Alles! Herzlichste Grüsse auch seitens meiner Frau; Ihrer w[er]ten] Familie lassen wir uns bestens empfehlen.

Hochachtungsvoll, ergebenst,

Ihr

Carlo L Curiel.

523 Curiel to Marr [postcard]

[Triest, 22-12-1926]⁷⁹

Wohlg[e]b[orenen] Herrn

Bernhard Marr

Duchcov - Dux

Čes. Sl. Rep.

Sehr geehrter Herr Marr!

75 See *Patrizi e avventurieri*, cit., pp. 289-291 [A. T.].

76 Marr 9-25 [M. L.].

77 See *Patrizi e avventurieri*, cit., pp. 414-417 [A. T.].

78 *Ibidem*, p. 365 [A. T.].

79 Date of postmark.

Ich habe mir erlaubt Ihnen ein Neudruck der *Anedoti Veneziani* zukommen zu lassen⁸⁰. Interessant ist der Artikel Orvieto's (Gaio) im *Marzocco*, den ich beilege⁸¹. Ihnen und Ihrer werten Familie recht fröhliche Weihnachten und ein glückliches Neujahr auch im Namen meiner Frau wünschend, verbleibe [ich]
Ihr ergebener
C Curiel

527 Curiel to Marr [postcard]⁸²

[Triest, 10-1-1927]⁸³

Wohlg[e]b[orenen] Herrn
Bernhard Marr
Duchcov - Dux
Čes. Sl. Rep.

Sehr geehrter Herr Marr:

Bitte, entschuldigen Sie, wenn ich nicht eher [auf] Ihren lieben Brief geantwortet habe; beim Jahresabschluss bin ich immer mit Arbeit überbürdet. Betreffs der *Lettere* sende ich Ihnen heute einen *Marzocco*. Übrigens glaube ich, dass auch die *Turbolenze* bloss eine Bearbeitung von den *Turbolenze* des Ab. Rustan sei⁸⁴. Hätten Sie die grosse Güte mir zu sagen, ob im Briefe an Eva Frank⁸⁵ Casanova wirklich Depuis douze années schreibt oder deux, was sich besser erklären lässt (1744-46 Bekanntschaft mit Bragadin)

80 *Aneddoti veneziani militari ed amorosi del secolo decimoquarto*, Milano – Sesto S. Giovanni, Madella & C., 1926 [A. T.]

81 *Gli scrupoli di C. autore-editore*, «Il Marzocco», November 28th, 1926 [A. T.].

82 Picture postcard: Trieste – Castello Miramare – Parco [A. T.].

83 Date of postmark.

84 Joseph Vicente de Rustan, *Historia de las turbaciones de Polonia para servir de continuacion à las Decadas de la Guerra de Prusia*, 2 vols., Madrid, Pantaleon Aznar, 1768-1769. Rustan, librarian of marquis de Castelar in Madrid, wrote d.d. September 30th, 1769 a letter to Casanova in Milan: «Je vous envoie à l'adresse de M. Raiberti à Turin, le Second volume des troubles de Pologne, sous deux enveloppes comme vous me le prévenez. Je seray ravy d'apprendre que vous L'ayéz reçu; voyés s'il y a quelque autre chose pour votre Service dans ce pays; ne m'épargnez point» [Marr 4-147]. In the introduction to the second part of the first volume of the *Istoria delle turbolenze della Polonia*, Casanova writes: «Mentre io do al Pubblico, stimatissimo mio signor di Rustan, le memorie, che mi fornite, debbo chiedervi scusa, se sopprimo, ed aggiungo» [A. T., M. L.].

85 Marr 9-25 [M. L.].

Herzlichsten Dank!
Mir vorzüglichste Hochachtung
Carl L Curiel.

547 Curiel to Marr

Triest 2. December 1927

Sehr geehrter Herr Marr!

Vor einigen Tage habe ich mir erlaubt, Ihnen einige kleine Aufsätze zu senden. Selbe sollten zur Réclame des Film *Casanova* dienen. Der Film ist jedoch vollständig aus der Luft gegriffen⁸⁶.

Der Herr Ilges äusserte mir den Wunsch, Abschriften von den Artikeln Ademollos, Carlettas etc. zu haben. Nach langem Suchen ist es mir gelungen, in Rom einen Copisten aufzustöbern, der die Sache besorgen wird. Ich habe nun *la Strasburghese*⁸⁷ und *Figurine casanoviane*⁸⁸ erhalten. Wünschen Sie auch eine dakt[ylographische]. Abschrift? ⁸⁹

Mein mailänder Verleger hat die Casanovabriefe schon angekündigt; wann sie aber erscheinen werden, das ist eine andere Frage.

Vom Grafen A. da Mosto, einem Direktor des Venezianischen Archives⁹⁰, habe ich alle Notizen erhalten, die er über Casanovas Aufenthalt in der Levante gefunden hat. Eigentlich über ihn so viel als nichts, da er nirgends erwähnt wird; wohl aber über die Personen, die in den *Memoiren* genannt werden. Es scheint zweifellos, dass der Venezianer wirklich in Corfu gewesen ist. Auch kleine topogr[aphische] Andeutungen (die Brücke vor der Festung, verg[leiche] Schütz) sind der Wahrheit entsprechend.

Ich möchte Sie um eine Adresse bitten, u[nd] z[war] die einer Prager Musikhandlung. Ich soll ein Operettenlibretto schreiben und da die Handlung in einem Dorfe Böhmens sich abspielt, möchte der Compositeur volkstümliche Weisen (Tänze, Lieder) kennen. Vielleicht sind Sie so liebenswürdig mir irgend ein kleines Buch zu nennen, wo ich etwas Characteristisches finden könnte (Hochzeitsgebräuche u[nd] d[er]gl[eichen]). Ich brauche natürlich keine tiefe et[h]no-gr[aphisch] folkloristische Studie; die Operette soll halb phantastisch sein: eine Art Legende, wo der Teufel mitspielt.

Sehr geehrter Herr Marr, erlauben Sie mir, dass ich mir folgendes erbitte: dass Sie sich

86 *Casanova*, French historical drama film directed by Alexandre Volkoff (1927) [A. T.]

87 Published by Carletta = Antonio Valeri, in *Nuova Ressegna*, Roma, II, April 1st 1894 [M. L.].

88 Ademollo published in 1883 and 1884 in *Fanfulla* five short sketches about the Ballettis [M. L.].

89 Note by Marr: «Von Ademollo bestätige ich: 1. *Corilla Oplimica* (Firenze 1887); 2. *Una famiglia di Comici italiani* (Firenze 1885) von Carletta (Valeri): *Casanova a Roma - figurine e figure Romani*, Roma 1899» [M. L.].

90 Andrea Da Mosto (1868-1960), director of the State Archive in Venice [A. T.].

nicht weiter bemühen, als mir güt[igst] Adresse und Titel anzugeben. Ihrer unendlichen Liebenswürdigkeit gegenüber, habe ich mich allzuoft wegen meiner Unbescheidenheit schämen müssen.

Indem ich mich bestens bedanke, bitte ich Sie, unsere herzlichsten Grüsse entgegenzunehmen. Hochachtungsvoll

Carlo L. Curiel

552 Curiel to Marr

[Triest, 27-12-1927]⁹¹

Sehr geehrter Herr Marr!

Erstens stehe ich in vielfach aufgewachsener Schuld Ihnen gegenüber! Derjenigsten Dank für Ihre unemliche Güte! Ich bin aber zugleich trostlos, dass ich Ihnen so viel Mühe gegeben habe: ich hatte sie aber gebeten, mir blos zwei Adressen mitzuteilen, da Ihr freundl[iches] Entgegenkommen mir schon seit 10. Jahren bekannt sind.

Nun kann ich Ihnen blos meinen besten Dank aussprechen und Sie bitten sich nicht weiter meinewegen Mühe zu geben.

Die Taufbücher, die Sie mir beschreiben, genügen vollkommen. Ich wäre Ihnen sehr dankbar wenn Sie mir selbe auf einiger Tage überlassen würden, falls sie Ihnen gehören. Sollten Sie aber die Bücher gekauft haben, so ersuche ich Sie um gef[ä]lligste Angabe des Preises. Ebenso für die Postkarten da ich leider der tschechischen Sprache nicht mächtig bin, so muss ich Sie doch um eine kurze Uebersetzung des Liedes bitten; es genügt auch die Grundidee.

Was die Heiratsgebräuche bei den tsch[echo] sl[ovakischen] Bauern betrifft, wird es gewiss ein Roman oder eine Novelle geben, wo sie beschrieben werden. Ich besitze über Prag, Prager Ghetto Legenden etc. verschiedene Werke; aber die kann ich nicht brauchen. Sollte man dergl[eichen] in einem Reclambüchlein finden, so bitte mir den Titel gütigst bekanntmachen zu wollen.

Ein Buch Sentenzen Casanovas war schon in deutscher Sprache erschienen⁹². Ich weiss nicht, ob man in Italien dafür Interesse hätte. Jedenfalls werde ich mit einigen Verlegern sprechen.

Die Uebersetzung des *Précis* sollte für die Reclame des Casanovafilms dienen. Ich habe aber die Gelegenheit ergriffen um gegen das blöde Machwerk zu protestieren.

Herr Gugitz wird Ihnen ein[en] Brief Casanovas mitgeteilt haben, welcher sich in der Autogrammsammlung Gräffer befand. Ich glaube daraus schliessen zu können, dass

91 Date entered by Marr [A. T.].

92 Probably *Der kleine Casanova. Wahrheitsgetreu erzählt von ihm selbst*, Paris : s.n., [1860], or *Worte Casanovas. Herausgegeben Von J. E. Poritzky*. Minden : Bruns, [1907] [A. T.].

C. schon in Dezember 1783 - wahrscheinlich pour parler - in Dux war⁹³.

Ich habe vor einigen Tage das Urteil als Bücherrevisor über die *Confutazione* gelesen: er lobt den Historiker, tadelt einige bedenkliche Stellen, nennt aber nie den Autor mit Namen⁹⁴.

Auch seitens meiner Frau wünsche Ihnen und Ihrer werten Familie alles Gute zum Jahreswechsel, und mich nochmals herzlichst bedankend verbleibe Ihr ergebenster
Carlo L. Curiel.

Marr to Curiel⁹⁵

[letterhead]
Bernhard Marr
Dux

10. Okt[ober] 1928

Sehr geehrter Herr Curiel!

Ich muss mich endlich aus den Fesseln einer Überbündung mit geschäftlichen Arbeiten befreien nur um Ihnen mitteilen zu können, dass mir der Herzschlag fast stille stand, als ich Ihre voluminöse Briefsendung vom 28. Sept[ember] mit dem reichen Inhalte an Casanoviana empfang, in dem ich gleichzeitig den Wert dieses Schatzes einzuschätzen bestrebt war, ohne zu einem klaren Ziele zu kommen! Was darf ich aus der Menge behalten – und was habe ich Ihnen nach Einsichtnahme wieder zurückzusenden? – Ein Begleitzettel, der mich aufgeklärt hätte, lag nicht bei! Ich bitte Sie nochmals mich für jene Abschriften und Brochuren, die Sie, sei es speciell für mich beschaffen, oder mir als Gelegenheits-Ergebnis oder Duplicat zuwenden, auch die Auslagen bekannt zu geben, die ich Ihnen zu restituiren habe, - für Ihre persönliche Mühe bleibe ich ohnedies noch Ihr ewiger Schuldner!

Jedenfalls empfangen Sie vorläufig meinen Dank für die ausserordentliche Liebenswürdigkeit, die aus allen Ihren Zuwendungen und Beschaffungen von wertvollem Material für meine Casanovabibliothek spricht, und mich mit Bewunderung und Staunen erfüllt,

93 Note by Marr: «wohl nicht sehr wahrscheinlich!». This is with certainty the letter Marr 40-48 (Casanova to Della Lena) which is datable in december 1783 as well as in August 1785 [M. L.].

94 ARMAND BASCHET, *Preuves curieuses de l'authenticité des Mémoires de Jacques Casanova de Seingalt d'après des recherches en diverses archives*, « Le Livre », II, Paris, Quentin, 1881, pp. 45-46 [A. T.].

95 Trieste, Archivio del Civico Museo Teatrale “C. Schmid”, Archivio Curiel, envelope «Lettere, appunti, ritagli di giornale che servirono a Carlo L. Curiel per il suo volume» [A. T.].

insofern als selbst die innigste Freundschaft, die mich mit Ihnen verbindet, eine solche Hingabe an meine Wünsche als etwas Exceptionelles empfinden muss, was meine Hochachtung für Sie auf eine Gipfelhöhe setzt, die alles überragt.

Mit dem Inhalte der Abschriften, Broschüren und Journalbeilagen habe ich mich noch nicht mit jener Ruhe befassen können, welche diese interessanten Publikationen verdienen, - ich habe mich nur vor allem zum Empfange bekennen wollen. Der Genuss der einzelnen Arbeiten liegt noch vor mir!

Herzlich grüssend und abermals denkend u[nd] mit fr[eu]ndl[icher] Empfehlung an Ihre liebe Frau

Ihr allerzeit ergebener

Bernh[ard] Marr

[letterhead]⁹⁶

Bernhard Marr

Dux

15. Febr[uar] 1931

Sehr geehrter Herr Curiel!

Seit meinem letzten Dankes Brief an Sie sind mir schon wieder ahl[reiche] weitere Beweise Ihres freundschaftlichen Gedenkens zu teil geworden, so dass ich die heutige Gelegenheit wahrnehme Ihnen von Herzen neuerlichen Dank zu abzustatten!

Der heutiger Anlass ist aber auch gleichzeitig eine herzlichen Bitte an Sie.

Es hat mir nämlich ein Herr Dr Jos[eph] Jullien aus Nimes in Frankreich⁹⁷ vor einigen Wochen sein 50 Seiten Mitteloktav umfassende Broschurchen /"Casanova à Nimes" / Aux Editions de la Cigale, Rue Boucaire / Uzèz 1930, das er in 300 numerirten Exemplaren auflegen liess, geschickt; das Büchlein behandelt Casanova's Aufenthalt in Nimes in der subjektiven Ausschmückung des Verfassers und ist vorwiegend unterhaltend. Nur hat er mich aber gebeten, ihm alles, was sich im Casanova's Nachlass über Bernis vorfindet, mitzuteilen, was ich in etwa 5 bis 6 Folioseiten ihm auch bekanntgab; aber der Appetit kommt bekam wahrlich mit dem Essen, und er fragt weiter an, ob ich ihm auch noch sagen könnte, was Cas[anova] in seiner *Confutazione* des "Amelot" über Bernis erzählt, in der Meinung, das Werk befände sich in meinem Besitz.

Ich habe mir jedoch nur aus dem beim seinerzeitigen Aufenthalte A. Rava's in Dux von ihm zur Verfügung gestellten Werken notdürf[tig]e Auszüge über jede der darin vorkommenden Personen, oft blos mit Notizen der Namen u[nd] Seitenanzahl, gemacht und

96 Trieste, Archivio del Civico Museo Teatrale "C. Schmid", Archivio Curiel, envelope «Lettere, appunti, ritagli di giornale che servirono a Carlo L. Curiel per il suo volume» [A. T.].

97 Joseph (Jos) Victor Jullien (1877-1956), doctor, archaeologist, painter. His biological work is at the origin of the creation of biotherm cosmetic products. He was author of *Casanova à Nîmes* and of *Casanova à Aix-en-Savoie* [A. T.].

finde, dass Bernis nur einmal darin arwährt wird, u[nd] gen[au] auf Seite 152 des ersten Bandes, mit der kurzen Bemerkung «Je l'ai vu a Soissons...».

Da ich nur durch Pollio's *Bibliographie* weiss, dass die Stadtbibliothek in Triest ein Exemplar der *Confutazione* besitzt, so unterbreite ich Ihnen die ergebene Bitte, die wenigen Zeilen, die sich dort an genannter Stelle vorfinden, für mich, resp[ective] für Dr Jullien abzuschreiben, damit ich diesen befriediger kann. – Natürlich ist eine Erfüllung dieser Bitte von einer gelegentlich bequemen Durchführung abhängig!-

Und indem ich mich Ihrem Wohlwollen empfehle und Ihre Entschuldigung erhoffe, [bin] ich mit freundl[ichem] Gruss an Sie u[nd] Ihre w[erte] Gemahlin
Ihr hochachtungsvoll ergebener

Bernhard Marr

Corrections to Correspondance part I – Casanoviana 2018

P. 70, n. 1, line 1: d[er]z[ei]t[ig] → d[er]z[ei]t

P. 74, line. 1: m[einem] → m[einen]

P. 74, „mi[t] höfl[ichem] Ersuchen erinnern zu wollen u[nd] s[agen] oben“

P. 75, letter of 5.2.1920, line 1: „Ihr w[erte]s Schreiben v[om] 19. pass[ierten]“

Ibid., line 2: Ihr → Ich

Ibid., line 4: H[err] → H[errn]

P. 76, line 2: often → offen

Ibid., line 9: H[err] → H[errn]

P. 77, adress, line 1: W[ohl]g[e]b[ore]n → W[ohl]g[e]b[ore]nen

P. 78, par. 2, line 4: H[err] → H[errn]

P. 85, Z. 5: gefl. → gef[ä]lligst

ibid., Z. 6: „jedenfall[s]“ in place of „jedenfall“

P. 86, text of the letter, line 1: güt[e] → güt[ige]

Ibid., Z. 3: ergbst. → erg[e]b[en]st[en]

P. 87, letter of 25.8.1920, text, line. 1: w[ohlgebore]ne → w[ert]e

Ibid.: freundl[iche] → freundl[icherweise]

P. 89, letter of 29.12.1920, Abs. 2, Z. 1: w[ohlgebore]ne → w[ert]e[n]

FURIO LUCCICENTI

FEDERICO MONTECUCCOLI DEGLI ERRI

Nel novembre 1997, presso la sede dell'Ateneo Veneto, alla fine della presentazione del libro di Riccardo Selvatico, *Cento note per Casanova a Venezia*, la cui moglie, Signora Serenina, mi aveva permesso di curarne la pubblicazione, mi si avvicinò un signore che si presentò quale Federico Montecuccoli specificando che non era un «casanovista» ma un «casanoviano», spiegando che questa sua definizione era dovuta al fatto che non era uno ricercatore che si dedicava agli avventurieri, ma un appassionato di Casanova in quanto gli piaceva «immensamente dal punto di vista narrativo e stilistico», e, poiché faceva «anche studi storico-archivistici sulla società veneziana del Settecento» - in particolare di Storia dell'Arte - «riguardo ai suoi usi, regole di vita, abitudini e mentalità nella vita di tutti i giorni, le sue memorie erano, talvolta, una vera e propria fonte di consultazione, specialmente per i periodi veneziani».

Federico Montecuccoli degli Erri era nato a Modena nel maggio del 1934, e, dopo gli studi classici ed una laurea in giurisprudenza, aveva intrapreso una carriera bancaria che lo portò a coprire incarichi dirigenziali presso numerose sedi del Nord Italia, sino ad approdare, sempre nel ruolo di direttore, a Venezia nel 1986, luogo che divenne la sua residenza definitiva. Il grande amore che aveva avuto sempre per Venezia, ed in particolare per l'incisione veneta settecentesca, lo portò, sin da quella data fino alla sua scomparsa nel marzo di quest'anno a Milano, a dedicare il suo tempo libero a studi e ricerche nell'ambito artistico del secolo XVIII°.

Come molti altri, pur non essendo un «accademico», Montecuccoli ebbe per la sua passione un approccio storicamente filologico, di ricercatore e di grande conoscitore di archivi veneziani, pur restando, si direbbe oggi, un *freelance*.

Tutti gli studiosi del Settecento, quale che sia il tema che trattano, sanno perfettamente che studiando, consultando e ricercando negli archivi, prima o poi incontreranno quel curioso, rompiscatole, insostituibile, inopportuno e saccente avventuriero di cui sopra.

E come non poteva Federico non prendere nota e possedere, dopo molti anni di ricerche, un gran numero di schede dei suoi incontri con Casanova? Ricer-

che che «verserà» nei cinque suoi studi casanoviani riportati in calce alla sua bibliografia.

Ma l'interesse per l'avventuriero lo fece anche partecipe della congrega dei casanovisti. Come non ricordare varie iniziative di ricerca? Ne cito solo tre particolarmente divertenti: quella dedicata al personaggio qual era la famigerata Costantina dalle Fusine; la conferma del testo di Casanova sulle prestazioni matrimoniali del fratello Francesco e degli intralazzi di Monsieur de Saincy ; la cena data in onore dei 12 casanovisti presenti a Venezia nell'aprile del 2010, presso il suo *Circolo dell'Unione*, sul Canal Grande !

Tralascio di narrare la figura dell'uomo generoso, cortese, intelligente, ma non tralascierò di riportare un brano da lui scritto e comunicatomi da suo figlio Francesco in cui affermava: «Le Memorie di Casanova sono un capolavoro della narrativa, ed un testo che dal punto di vista scientifico costituisce la più ricca miniera esistente di notizie sugli usi, costumi, regole di vita, piccoli e grandi fatti storici, su una miriade di personaggi di ogni condizione, di ogni rango e risma. Si può considerare la Bibbia del Settecento europeo».

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In memoriam Marco Leefflang (Rotterdam, 1933 - Utrecht, 2022)

MARCO LEEFLANG

BEYOND REPAIR

ECCE HOMO IRREPARABILIS

November 29th, 2021

A normal day it seemed: telephone, errands and back home. That was difficult. I was cold and out of breath. Janna did not trust the situation and began to call, ending with the alarm number 112. An ambulance rushed me to the nearby hospital. Heartrhythm disorder and very much so. The medics decided to apply electrical shocks. The third shock was bingo. Then an echo of the heart was made proving that my heart pumped insufficiently. Next came a catheterisation in order to find out if a repair of bloodvessels was possible.

All data were transferred to the team of heart surgeons. This team gave a negative respons. No dottering no stents. Chances for a positive outcome were small: too many weak spots-. Chances for massing up things were huge.

A second team from another hospital responded in the same way. So what is left over is a big box of pills and me:

HOMO SUM IRREPARABILIS, and he greets you from the depths of his heart



TOM VITELLI

MARCO LEEFLANG (1933-2022)

Marco Leeflang and I were friends for 41 years, and through most of that time we corresponded on an almost weekly basis. I was 23 when we started writing to each other, and he was 47— twice my age — but he always treated me as a peer and colleague. He was a friend in whom I could confide anything, and he was always a source of inspiration and wise advice.

We met in an extraordinary way. In the spring of 1981, we discovered we had both, independently and unwittingly, spent countless hours transcribing the same previously unedited manuscript of Casanova: the *Critique* of Bernardin de Saint-Pierre. «It is a crazy coincidence to find out that two people have done exactly the same thing on the same texts that have been waiting for nearly 200 years, » he wrote. He generously suggested we collaborate on a joint publication, which we published together in 1985 under the auspices of *L'Intermédiaire des Casanovistes*.

We first met in person at the Frick Gallery in New York City in October 1981, where we went to admire the collection of 18th-century portraits. Marco and his son Martijn were returning home to The Netherlands from a hang-gliding trip to Kitty Hawk, North Carolina — another typical Leeflang adventure! In the years that followed, we got together on many occasions, in New York, Paris, Amsterdam, Utrecht, Dux (twice), Pujol, and Salt Lake City. Ours was a classic friendship built upon a shared scholarly interest in Casanova. And let me hasten to add that this interest went far beyond an interest in one writer and his famous memoirs. Such study gives us insights into our own lives and times. When we study Casanova, we're really studying the human condition.

Whenever I asked Marco about a great Casanova scholar, he would say, «Yes, they ought to put up a statue of him or her.» Well, Marco is eminently deserving of a statue too. He was the first scholar to apply computers to the study of Casanova — and to make accessible, in digital form, the 8,000 or so manuscript pages left by Casanova when he died in 1798 at Dux. This was a monumental accomplishment that has been foundational to scholarship on Casanova. It involved seeking out Casanova's manuscripts in the Czech archives and elsewhere, deciphering Casanova's handwriting, meticulously transcribing the documents,

annotating them, indexing them, and making them available to other researchers. It was the work of a lifetime – a «Dead Sea scroll»-level project – and Marco became the «go to» expert on the *Archives of Dux* and on Casanova's life after the memoirs.

To give an idea of how important Marco's achievement was, Casanova's memoirs amount to nearly 3,800 manuscript pages. By contrast, Marco's *Archives of Dux* are more than twice that size. To try to understand Casanova without the *Archives of Dux* would be like trying to understand Shakespeare based on only one-third of his plays. It is true that some Casanovists in previous generations had managed to access and publish some of the Dux manuscripts, but, heroic as these efforts were, the results were inadequate for the needs of modern scholars, who need to consult the originals in the context of the complete collection. As Marco himself wrote in 1992:

Few people have seen the originals themselves, and those who did had to copy them in handwriting due to lack of copying devices before 'modern times.' Though Casanova himself had a clear hand, several of his correspondents had not and sometimes excused themselves for their bad handwriting. Figuring out word for word what is written isn't favorable for a general oversight. In view of the limited time [early scholars] were in Dux and the huge amount of rather unsorted items, their work was often quick and unorganized. Coming home with a lot of notes, they had to sort them out for publication and had no possibility to check the result with the reality.¹

Marco was aided in his work by his rediscovery of the catalogues of Bernhard Marr (1856-1940), whose passion was Casanovism, though he made his living as the owner of a cast-iron foundry in Dux. Marr made his first detailed catalogue of Casanova's papers in Dux about 1910-1915, and he also made – by hand – facsimile copies of many of the manuscripts.² Marco used Marr's catalogue system as the basis for his own transcription and index of the *Archives of Dux*.

Despite Marr's prominence among the Casanovists of the early 20th century, he and his catalogues had been virtually forgotten by Casanovists in Western Europe after World War II. In the mid-1970s, Marco reopened relationships among Czech Casanovists and scholars in other countries and restored appreciation for Marr.

1 *Work in progress II*, «L'Intermédiaire des Casanovistes», 9 (1992), p. 42.

2 P. PEER and J. POLIŠENSKÝ, *Bernhard Marr (1856-1940)*, «L'Intermédiaire des Casanovistes», 2 (1985), p. 9-11.

So Marco showed us entirely new aspects of Casanova. But what I will always love him for is his kindness and generosity. An example is the tour of Dux and the other Casanova sites organized by Marco in what is now the Czech Republic. This was in 1982 during the Communist government. I was then a poor student and unable to attend. Marco made it possible for me to go by offering me the free companion spot on the tour that he had been given as the tour leader. That was the kind of friend he was. And his encouragement and generosity extended to all his friends and to all Casanova scholars.

I also have to mention Marco's *joie de vivre* and playfulness. He loved to arrange delightful surprises for his friends. On one of my visits to Marco, he arranged to have me presented to the queen of The Netherlands! He had organized an exhibition of artists from Utrecht, and as each artist, in turn, was presented to the queen, he added me to the end of the list. (I later learned he also did this for several other friends and family members.)

When Marco wrote the obituary for his friend Poli, he chose as its title, *Josef Poliškenský Is Gone*. I will never write that about Marco, because he lives on in the hearts of his friends, colleagues, and family members. His life was a glory to all of us who had the pleasure of knowing him.

Biography

Marco was born November 25, 1933 in Rotterdam. He was the only child of two artists, Arie Leeftang and Cornelia Sophia Oudenaarden. An acclaimed painter known for both portraits and his paintings of the Rotterdam port, Arie died shortly after Marco's 23rd birthday. Marco's uncle, Chris Leeftang, owner of a prominent bookstore in Utrecht, encouraged his nephew to pursue studies abroad. Marco enrolled in Union College in Schenectady, New York state, in 1954, where he obtained his undergraduate degree. He returned to the U.S. in 1961 to study in New York City at Union Theological Seminary (affiliated with Columbia University), which granted him a master's degree in divinity studies.

When Marco returned to The Netherlands, he married his first wife, Ine Van Eijkelenborg. They had three children, and Marco served as a pastor for four years in a parish in Winkel in North Holland province. He then worked briefly as a tour guide and real estate entrepreneur before accepting the position of cultural deputy for the province of Utrecht. Upon his retirement in the 1990s, he and his second wife, Janna Klok, divided their time between their home in Utrecht

and their home in Poujol in the Ardèche *département* in southeast France.

Marco's interest in Casanova started in 1972, when he read Vol. 4 of *Histoire de ma vie* (in the Livre de Poche edition, 1969, with notes by Jacques Branchu). In 1973 he planned a holiday in Venice, where he had the good fortune to meet Pierre Gruet, who had founded, a few days earlier, the Istituto Francese di Studi Storici in the Ca' Vendramin palace on the Giudecca in Venice. Gruet invited Marco to participate in the yearly meeting of Casanovists at the Istituto. In order to deserve his place among them (as he put it), Marco chose, also in 1973, Casanova's final 13 years at Dux as the main focus of his studies.

Beginning in the 1970s, Marco made some 25 study trips to Dux and other Czech Casanova sites. There he was coached by Professor Josef Poliškenský of the University of Prague; Dr. Vladimír Budil, archivist of the Casanova papers and books left at Dux; and Josef Zada, mayor of Dux. Marco worked with Zada to create a Casanova collection at the museum of Dux, and he successfully asked the Brockhaus publishing firm (owner of the *Histoire de ma vie* manuscript in those days) to lend a copy of the manuscript to the museum at Dux.

Marco often described himself as a «toolmaker» for Casanovists. The bibliography of his works on Casanova is a testament to his astounding productivity and the scope and evolution of his studies. In 2018, Marco donated his transcription of the *Archives of Dux* and the index to it, called the *Duxionnaire*, to the University of Liège, which has posted it online for the public at the Uliège Library: <https://app.lib.uliege.be/casanova/>.

Marco also became a good friend of the American ambassador and Casanova scholar J. Rives Childs, who invited Marco to travel to Virginia in 1978 to organize Childs's collection of copies of Casanova manuscripts. Marco's correspondence with Childs and other leading Casanovists is documented in his *About Casanova* series (1986-1989), and these letters are archived at the University of Virginia Special Collections library in Charlottesville.

Marco is the author or coauthor of numerous books and articles on Casanova. In 1982 and 1998, he organized and led tours of Casanovists to Dux and surrounding areas. He was an editor or contributor to the scholarly journals on Casanova studies: *Casanova Gleanings* (1958-1980, founded and edited by Childs); *L'Intermédiaire des Casanovistes* (1984-2013, founded and edited by Helmut Watzlawick and Furio Luccichenti); and *Casanoviana* (2018 to present, founded and edited by Antonio Trampus). Marco was also consulted frequently by authors, filmmakers, and other scholars interested in Casanova. He is cited as a reference in dozens of works.

Marco was a Casanovist in a long tradition of independent scholars who were not career academics. His motto might have been the same as that of the Nike company: «Just do it.» When he saw an opportunity to make a contribution to the field, he pursued the project relentlessly, applying the highest standards of scholarship and collaborating enthusiastically with others.

Marco died peacefully in his Utrecht home February 13, 2022, surrounded by his family. He is survived by his wife Janna, sons Bastian (Luci) and Martijn (Brenda), daughter Mireille (Rob), step-daughters Annemiek and Eveline (Rob), and two grandchildren, Jona and Nikki.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF LEEFLANG WORKS RELATED TO CASANOVA

- 1976 *Casanova feels obliged . . . A personal message from his own hand*, “Casanova Gleanings”, 19 (1976), p. 23-30.
- 1977 *De Kunst van Casanova: en de kunst in de kunst*, “*Harlekijn*”, vol. 7, nos. 7-8 (Jul-Aug 1977), p. 15-16. With a photo of the 1977 bronze statue of Casanova by Gabriël Sterk and illustrations by Manzu and Chauvet. The statue, called “The Actor,” stands in Dudok Park in Hilversum in The Netherlands.
- 1977 *Casanova par les yeux du jeune Clary*, “Casanova Gleanings”, 20 (1977), p. 18-26.
- 1977 *Le memento du mémorialiste*, “Casanova Gleanings”, 20 (1977), p. 44-45. With a photo of Marr 31-61. Leeflang was the author but was not attributed as such.
- 1977 *Marr’s collection and the story of Casanova’s false tombstone*, “Casanova Gleanings”, 20 (1977), p. 55-57.
- 1977 *Dux-ionnaire* [indexes to the Marr catalogue], 1st ed. Utrecht: by the author/compiler, 1977. Leeflang produced the first version of this index to the Marr catalogue in 1977 and gave copies to Pierre Gruet and other Casanovists. Leeflang continually updated it over the next 40 years. He originally hyphenated the word *Dux-ionnaire*; later, the hyphen was usually omitted.
- 1978 *Report from Holland*, “Casanova Gleanings”, 21 (1978), p. 7-10.
- 1978 *Casanoviana Index: a cumulative author index to the bibliography contained in Section D of J. Rives Childs’s Casanoviana and in Casanova Gleanings issues*

- through 1978*. Microfiche included in “Casanova Gleanings”, 21 (1978). Leeftang originally considered this Section 1 of the *Dux-ionnaire*; Section 2 was the index to the Marr catalogue, and Section 3 was the index of persons and subject matter in the Casanova papers. In 1989 and later, Leeftang began to change these section designations and referred instead to *A Quick Reference Guide to Casanoviana* (or the *Quick Reference Guide to the Casanoviana Bibliography*) and to “volumes” of the *Dux-ionnaire* (see descriptions below).
- 1979 *Casanova in Virginia*, “Casanova Gleanings”, 22 (1979), p. 45-49.
- 1980 *Casanova*, “Grote Winkler Prins Encyclopedieën”, vol. 5, p. 563.
- 1980 *Dux-ionnaire* [indexes to the Marr catalogue], 2nd ed. Utrecht: by the author/compiler, 1980. Microfiche included in “Casanova Gleanings”, 23 (1980). This microfiche was labeled *Microfiche 2: Casanova fond, Dux (indices to Marr’s inventory of Casanova’s papers)*.
- 1980 *Casanoviana Index: a cumulative author index to the bibliography contained in Section D of J. Rives Childs’s Casanoviana and in Casanova Gleanings issues*, 2nd ed., Utrecht: by the editor, 1980. This microfiche was prepared but not distributed in *Casanova Gleanings*.
- 1981 *Casanova adviseert Vaticaan inzake Galilei*, “Spiegel Historiae” [Haarlem, Netherlands], No. 2 (Feb 1981), p. 116-117.
- 1981 *Dux-ionnaire*, 3rd ed. Utrecht: by the author/editor, 1981.
- 1982 *Dossier Casanova*, Utrecht: by the editor, 1982. Leeftang prepared this booklet for distribution to attendees at the Dux tour he organized in May 1982.
- 1982 *Excerpta aus der Korrespondenz Max Lamberg-Joh. Ferd. Opiz, kopiert von Opiz und abgeschrieben von Louise de Bruyn*, Utrecht: by the editor, 1982. In 25 copies.
- [1982] *Excerpta Casanoviana, Le Livre, 1880-1889*, Utrecht: by the editor, about 1982. These are excerpts related to Casanova published in the periodical *Le Livre*.
- [1983] *Marr catalogue*, Utrecht: by the editor, about 1983. Leeftang made photocopies of the Marr Catalogue for the Municipal Museum of Dux. Among the first were Marr 16-25; 31; 35-39.
- 1985 *Another portrait of Count Lamberg*, “L’Intermédiaire des casanovistes”, 2 (1985), p. 33. In Notes & Queries section.

- 1985 With coeditor Tom Vitelli, *Casanova et Bernardin de Saint-Pierre: Casanova, Examen des Études de la nature et de Paul et Virginie de Bernardin de Saint-Pierre*, Cahier No. 1, Documents Casanoviens, série publiée sous l'égide de *L'Intermédiaire des Casanovistes*, Utrecht, by the editors, 1985. Informally referred to as Casanova's *Critique de Bernardin de Saint-Pierre*.
- 1986 *About Casanova 1: Notes and Correspondence with Childs*, Utrecht: by the author/editor, 1986.
- 1986 *About Casanova 2: Notes and Correspondence with Samaran*, Utrecht: by the author/editor, 1986.
- 1986 *About Casanova 3: Notes and Correspondence with Mars*, Utrecht: by the author/editor, 1986.
- 1986 *About Casanova: Indexes to the Contents of Volumes 1, 2, and 3*, Utrecht: by the author/editor, 1986.
- 1987 *About Casanova 4: Notes and Correspondence with Czechoslovakians*, Utrecht: by the author/editor, 1987.
- 1987 *Marr references*, "L'Intermédiaire des casanovistes", 4 (1987), p. 30. In Notes & Queries section.
- 1988 *Uncommon approaches to Casanova*, "L'Intermédiaire des casanovistes", 5 (1988), p. 15-17.
- 1989 *About Casanova 5: Notes and Correspondence with Gruet*, Utrecht: by the author/compiler, 1989-1990.
- 1989 *About Casanova 6: Miscellaneous Correspondence*, Utrecht: by the author/compiler, 1989.
- 1989 *Quick Reference Guide*, "L'Intermédiaire des casanovistes", 6 (1989), p. 43. In Notes & Queries section. The *Quick Reference Guide to the Casanoviana Bibliography* (or *Quick Reference Guide to Casanoviana*) is a "cumulative author index" integrating the bibliographic entries in Childs's *Casanoviana* (1956) and the annual updates to it in *Casanova Gleanings* (1958-1980) and *L'Intermédiaire des casanovistes* (1984-2013). The first edition of this project was distributed on microfiche in *Casanova Gleanings* 21 (1978) as Section 1 of the *Dux-ionnaire*, and in 1989 Leeflang produced a subsequent edition updated to 1989. He continued to update the *Quick Reference Guide* at regular intervals for many years and produced the 17th and last edition in 2013.

- 1989 *Quick Reference Guide to the Casanoviana Bibliography*, 1st ed., Utrecht: by the editor, 1989.
- 1989 *Spettacolo*, “Verhalen van de warme schrijver” (1989). No additional information.
- 1990 *Newspaper Cuttings about Casanova, collected by the Casanova Museum in Duchcov, 1985-1989*. [Also known as *Casanova in Communist Newspapers*.] Utrecht: by the editor, 1994.
- 1990 *Quick Reference Guide to Casanoviana*, updated edition, Utrecht: by the editor, 1990.
- 1991 *Calendarium Casanovianum: calendars of the years 1753-1798, starting with the year of the first dated Casanova correspondence*. Utrecht: by the editor, 1991.
- 1991 *Duxionnaire, vol. 1* [catalogue of Marr items in sequential order], Utrecht: by the editor, 1991. Leeftang here begins to identify separate sections of the *Duxionnaire* as “volumes.” Vol. 1 contains the index to C’s papers in the Marr catalogue (later he added papers outside the catalogue); Vol. 2 is the index to correspondence; and Vol. 3 is the name and subject index.
- 1991 *Duxionnaire, vol. 2* [catalogue of C. correspondence], Utrecht: by the editor, 1991.
- 1992 *Les lettres de Bodissoni à G. Casanova*, “L’Intermédiaire des casanovistes”, 9 (1992), p. 21-31.
- 1992 *Prince de Ligne dans les archives de Dux*, Utrecht: by the editor, 1992.
- 1992 *Work in progress II*, “L’Intermédiaire des casanovistes”, 9 (1992), p. 41-42. In Notes & Queries section. Leeftang was the primary author of this article (possibly with Helmut Watzlawick), but no author is attributed.
- 1993 *Quick Reference Guide to Casanoviana*, 4th ed., Utrecht: by the editor, 1993.
- 1994 *Casanova: lettres choisies, Recueils 1-7*, Utrecht: by the editor, 1994. The letters are from Carlo Angiolini, Lorenzo Da Ponte, d’Emerich, Friedrich Karl von König, Giuseppe Rossi, Charles Bollini, and Max Lamberg. Leeftang originally published each *recueil* separately as “*Casanova Special No. 1*,” No. 2, etc.
- 1994 With coauthor Sybil Brown, *More than a name*, “L’Intermédiaire des casanovistes”, 11 (1994), p. 33-34. In Notes & Queries section.

- 1994 *Archives de Dux, Marr 2, 4, 10, 13, 15*, Utrecht: by the editor, 1994. An early collection of Leeflang's transcriptions of Casanova's manuscripts, following the system of the Marr catalogue.
- 1995 *Good news from Dux*, "L'Intermédiaire des casanovistes", 12 (1995), p. 49-50. In Notes & Queries section.
- 1995 *Archives de Dux, Marr 12*, Utrecht: by the editor, 1991.
- 1995 With coauthor Gillian Rees, *Madame Clarke, une jeune dame très intéressante*, "L'Intermédiaire des casanovistes", 12 (1995), p. 37-39.
- 1996 *Casanova: lettres choisies, Recueils 8-15*, Utrecht: by the editor, 1996. The letters were from Cecile von Roggendorf, Henriette de Schuckmann, Thérèse Casanova, Manon Balletti, Elise von der Recke, Maddalena Allegranti, Francesca Buschini, and Pietro Zaguri. Later he added *Recueils 16* (Prince de Ligne) and *17* (Maria Rizzotti-Kaiser).
- 1996 *Useful addresses*, "L'Intermédiaire des casanovistes", 13 (1996), p. 60. In Notes & Queries section.
- 1996 With coeditors Marie-Françoise Luna and Antonio Trampus, *Lettres de Francesca Buschini à G. Casanova*, 1996. No other information.
- 1996 With coeditor Monique Grenier, *Lettres de Cécile de Roggendorf à G. Casanova*, Utrecht-Paris, by the editors, 1996.
- 1996 *Picturae Collectae (Casanova Bilderbuch)*, Utrecht: by the editor, 1996-1997. Leeflang continually updated this collection of photocopies of portraits of individuals and some places connected with Casanova.
- 1996 *Quick Reference Guide to Casanoviana*, 6th ed., Utrecht: by the editor, 1996. With a supplement, *Very Short Alphabetical Title Index*.
- 1996 *Lolo, le journal du Comte Charles Joseph Clary-Aldringen (1795-1814), tome 1 (1795-1798)*, 1st ed., Utrecht: by the editor, 1996.
- 1997 With collaborator Leo Robert Klein, *Casanoviana in Notes and Queries (London: Oxford University Press, 1860-1937)*, Utrecht: by the editor, 1997. These are excerpts related to Casanova published in the British *Notes and Queries* periodical.
- 1997 With coauthor Gillian Rees, *Casanova and Milord Montagu – A Casanova fragment, hidden under Lamberg's pen*, "L'Intermédiaire des casanovistes", 14 (1997), p. 17-23.

- 1997 With coauthor Helmut Watzlawick, *Martha Bowditch Alden (Boston 1912 - Charlottesville 1996)*, “L’Intermédiaire des casanovistes”, 14 (1997), p. 30. In Notes & Queries section.
- 1997 *Outils de recherches casanoviennes / Casanova Research Tools*, “L’Intermédiaire des casanovistes”, 14 (1997), p. 58. This is the first of eight advertisements for the research tools created by Leeflang; the ad always appeared as an appendix at the very end of the issue. The ads appeared in the issues of 1997, 2001, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, and 2008. They document the progress of Leeflang’s work.
- 1997 *Casanova between Venice and Dux, 1782-1785*, posted on “Casanova” website founded and edited by Ted Emery, then a professor at Dickinson College in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, 1997. The site (www.dickinson.edu/~emery/Casanova.htm) is no longer active. This article was subsequently posted (in 2000) on the “Casanova Magazine” website founded and edited by Hartmut Pablo Günther, still accessible at <https://giacomo-casanova.de/homengl.htm>.
- 1998 *The history of Casanova’s manuscripts at Dux*, posted on “Casanova” website founded and edited by Ted Emery 1998. The site is no longer active.
- 1998 *Archives of Dux, 4th ed.*, CD-ROM, Utrecht: by the editor, 1998. Also issued in print edition as *Archives de Dux: Marr 2-5, 8-15, 39, 40*, Utrecht: by the editor, 1998.
- 1998 *Le dossier de Dux*, Utrecht: by the editor, 1998. Leeflang prepared this booklet for distribution to attendees at the Dux tour he organized in June 1998 for the bicentenary of Casanova’s death.
- 1998 *Duxionnaire, Section 3 – Index of names*, Utrecht: by the editor, 1998.
- 1999 *Introduction*, in *Casanova, Het Duel*, Utrecht: De Roos Foundation, 1999.
- 1999 With coauthor Helmut Watzlawick, *Casanova on the Stage*, “L’Intermédiaire des casanovistes”, 16 (1999), p. 37. In Notes & Queries section.
- 2000 *Lolo, le journal du Comte Charles Joseph Clary-Aldringen (1795-1814), tome 2 (1803-1814)*, Utrecht: by the editor, 2000. Apparently Tome 1 (1795-1798) was reissued at the same time.
- 2000 *Quick Reference Guide to Casanoviana*, 8th ed., Utrecht: by the editor, 2000.
- 2000-2003 *Documents from Casanova’s Heritage and Small Talk presented by Marco Leeflang*, posted on “Casanova Magazine” website founded and edited by

Hartmut Pablo Günther, accessible at <https://giacomo-casanova.de/homengl.htm>. These items by Leeftang – transcriptions from the *Archives of Dux* and brief articles – were posted by Günther generally between 2000 and 2003. The postings are divided into four parts, with each article numbered, plus six additional articles, as follows:

Part I (2000-2001): 1) Carlo Angiolini, Descendance et vie; 2) Carlo Bollini, letter of 28 Jul 1772; 3) Carlo Bollini, letter of 1 Aug 1772; 4) Maria Rizzotti, letter of 23 Jun 1780; 5) Mme di Rumbekke, letter of 16 Mar 1790; 6) Giovanni Manuzzi, report of 17 Jul 1755; 7) Giovanni Manuzzi, report of 22 Mar 1755; 8) Antonio Rossi, letter of 1 Dec.1783; 9) Laurent Raghianti, letter of 27 Nov 1783; 10) Teresa Casanova, letter of 20 Mar 1796; 11) Nannette Calvesi, letter of 10 Dec 1796; 12) Giacomo Casanova, notes for his memoirs (Marr 16 K 45).

Part II (2000-2002): 13) Elise von der Recke, Mme Calvesi, General Sprengtporten, Casanova . . . ; 14) F . . . to Andrea Memmo about Miss XCV; 15) a written portrait of Casanova; 16) Casanova appointed Intelligence Agent 002; 17) Casanova appointed Intelligence Agent 002 (continued); 18) Illusive illustrations; 19) The true Casanova and the fictitious professor.

Part III (2002-2003): 20) A self-portrait of Manon Balletti (Jun 2002); 21) A footnote by Casanova about La Pompadour (Jul 2002); 22) Old Casanova and the carnal act (Aug 2002); 23) Laforgue was not the only one (Sep 2002); 24) Casanova's *History of the Polish Turmoil* (Oct 2002); 25) Casanova digs a canal that existed already for 100 years (Nov 2002); 26) The cruel creditors and the hostile wife of François Casanova (Jan 2003).

Part IV (2003): 27) Another day older and deeper in debt (Feb 2003); 28) The cellar of the postmaster at St. Bris-le-vineux (Mar 2003); 29) Casanova in the church of Dux (Apr 2003); 30) A phantom appears in a letter to Casanova (May 2003); 31) In June 1998 Casanova returned to Dux (Jun 2003).

Additional articles (2000-2002): Casanova between Venice and Dux, 1782-1785 (1997, 2000); The roots of Esther from Amsterdam (2001); Casanova, Ligne, et l'immortalité de l'âme d'Élise von der Recke (2001); Count Clary, a colourful acquaintance of Casanova and Lamberg (Jan 2002); Pierre Gruet is gone (Apr 2002); Josef Záda from Dux has died (Jun 2002).

2001 *Giacomo Casanova: passages choisis, Recueil 5, Notes sur un comte de Clary-Aldringen*. Utrecht: by the editor, 2001.

2001 *Ligne, Casanova et l'immortalité de l'âme d'Elise von der Recke*, "Nouvelles Annales Prince de Ligne", 14 (Feb 2001), p. 133-143. Periodical of the Group d'études Lignistes in Brussels.

- 2001 *Archives de Dux, Marr 40: Archives extérieures à Dux (octobre 1997, janvier 1998, mai 1998, mars 2001)*, 1st ed. [of Marr 40], Utrecht: By the editor, 2001.
- 2001 *Josef Polišenský (1915-2001) is gone*, “L’Intermédiaire des Casanovistes”, 18 (2001), p. 35-37.
- 2001 *Latest gossip about Dux and Lolo*. “L’Intermédiaire des Casanovistes”, 18 (2001), p. 44-46. In Notes & Queries section. Leeftang writes that “this year” he completed Vol. 2 of Lolo’s diary, but elsewhere he indicates the date as 2000.
- 2001 *Outils de recherches casanoviennes / Casanova Research Tools*, “L’Intermédiaire des Casanovistes”, 18 (2001), p. 53-54.
- 2001 *Lolo, le journal du Comte Charles Joseph Clary-Aldringen (1795-1814), tome 1 (1795-1798)*, 2nd ed., Utrecht: by the editor, 2001.
- 2001 With coeditors, *Index of the review Casanova Gleanings (1958-1980)*, a supplement to “L’Intermédiaire des Casanovistes”, 18 (2001).
- 2002 *Duxionnaire, Section 3: Table alphabétique des noms cités dans le fonds Casanova, Marr 1-1 à Marr 40-283. Ainsi que dans: À Leonard Snetlage; Confutazione . . . ; Corollaire à la duplication de l’hexaedre; Démonstration de la duplication du cube / corollaire second; Esposizione ragionata della contestazione . . . ; Histoire de ma vie; Histoire de ma fuite . . . ; Iliade . . . ; Istoria delle turbolenze della Polonia; Icosameron; Scrutinio del libro Éloges de M. de Voltaire; Solution du problème Déliaque*, Utrecht: by the author, 2002.
- 2002 *Giacomo Casanova: passages choisis, Recueils 1-5*, Utrecht: by the editor, 2002.
- 2003 With coauthors Helmut Watzlawick and Furio Luccichenti, *Pierre Gruet (1917-2001) – des amis se souviennent*, “L’Intermédiaire des casanovistes”, 20 (2003), p. 67-71. With a Leeftang photo of Gruet.
- 2003 *Letters to Bernhard Marr: Correspondence regarding Casanova (1913-1916)*, vols. 3a (facsimiles) and 3b (transcriptions and register), Utrecht: by the editor, 2003.
- 2004 *Letters to Bernhard Marr: Correspondence regarding Casanova (1919-1921)*, vol. 4, Utrecht: by the editor, 2004. Although Leeftang indicates the time span of the correspondence as 1906-1927, in his volumes 1-7, there is a gap (i.e., no letters) during the war years of 1917 and 1918.
- 2004 *Letters to Bernhard Marr: Correspondence regarding Casanova (1922-1924)*, vol. 5 (transcriptions and index), Utrecht: by the editor, 2004.

- 2004 *Archives de Dux, Marr 16*, Utrecht: by the editor, 2004.
- 2004 *Archives de Dux, Marr 21*, Utrecht: by the editor, 2004.
- 2004 *Archives de Dux, Marr 40: Archives extérieures à Dux (Marr 1-307)*, 2nd ed., Utrecht: by the editor, 2004.
- 2004 *Duxionnaire, Section 3: Table Alphabétique des noms cités dans le fonds Casanova*, Utrecht: by the editor, 2004.
- 2004 *Quick Reference Guide to Casanoviana*, 9th ed., Utrecht: by the editor, 2004.
- 2004 *Outils de recherches casanoviennes / Casanova Research Tools*, “L’Intermédiaire des Casanovistes”, 21 (2004), p. 77-78.
- 2005 *Letters to Bernhard Marr: Correspondence regarding Casanova (1925-1926)*, vol. 6 (transcriptions and index), Utrecht: by the editor, 2005.
- 2005 *Letters to Bernhard Marr: Correspondence regarding Casanova (1927)*, vol. 7 (transcriptions and index), Utrecht: by the editor, 2005.
- 2005 *Letters to Bernhard Marr: Correspondence regarding Casanova (1911-1912)*, vol. 2 (transcriptions and index), Utrecht: by the editor, 2005. Issued out of order.
- 2005 *Quick Reference Guide to Casanoviana*, 10th ed., Utrecht: by the editor, 2005.
- 2005 *Outils de recherches casanoviennes / Casanova Research Tools*, “L’Intermédiaire des casanovistes”, 22 (2005), p. 55-56.
- 2006 *Outils de recherches casanoviennes / Casanova Research Tools*, “L’Intermédiaire des casanovistes”, 23 (2006), p. 67-68.
- 2006 *Letters to Bernhard Marr: Correspondence regarding Casanova (1906-1910)*, vol. 1 (transcriptions), Utrecht: by the editor, 2006. Issued out of order. Leeflang was assisted in the transcriptions by Helmut Bertram.
- 2006 *Letters to Bernhard Marr (1906-1927): Index of personal names*, Utrecht: by the editor, 2006. This is the index to all volumes of the correspondence.
- 2006 *Archives de Dux, Marr 17*, Utrecht: by the editor, 2006.
- 2007 *Archives de Dux, Marr 18*, Utrecht: by the editor, 2007.

- 2007 *Completely falsified*, “L’Intermédiaire des Casanovistes”, 24 (2007), p. 29. In Notes & Queries section.
- 2007 *Last, not best*, “L’Intermédiaire des Casanovistes”, 24 (2007), p. 34. In Notes & Queries section.
- 2007 *Outils de recherches casanoviennes / Casanova Research Tools*, “L’Intermédiaire des Casanovistes”, 24 (2007), p. 53-54.
- 2007 *Quick Reference Guide to Casanoviana*, 11th ed., Utrecht: by the editor, 2007.
- 2008 *Outils de recherches casanoviennes / Casanova Research Tools*, “L’Intermédiaire des Casanovistes”, 25 (2008), p. 69-70.
- 2008 With coeditors Gérard Luciani and Marie-Françoise Luna, *Mon Cher Casanova, Lettres du comte Maximilien Lamberg et de Pietro Zaguri, patricien de Venise, à Giacomo Casanova*, Paris: Honoré Champion Éditeur, 2008.
- 2008 *Archives de Dux, Marr 40: Archives extérieures à Dux – Supplément (Marr 301-320)*, Utrecht: by the editor, 2008. Also contains *Duxionnaire, Section 2b* – an index to Marr 40.
- 2009 *Archives de Dux, Marr 23*, Utrecht: by the editor, 2009.
- 2009 With coauthor Sabine Herrmann, *Casanova at School*, “L’Intermédiaire des Casanovistes”, 26 (2009), p. 1-6.
- 2010 *Manon Balletti, a rising star*, “L’Intermédiaire des Casanovistes”, 27 (2010), p. 34-35. In Notes & Queries section.
- 2012 *Tip for the next generation of Casanovists?* “L’Intermédiaire des Casanovistes”, 29 (2012), p. 34-35. In Notes & Queries section.
- 2013 *Giacomo Casanova as debt counsellor for his brother Francesco*, “L’Intermédiaire des Casanovistes”, 30 (2013), p. 37-42. In Notes & Queries section.
- 2013 *Archives de Dux, Marr 1-5*, Utrecht: by the editor, 2013. Supplement with new transcriptions.
- 2013 *Archives de Dux, Marr 19 and 20*, Utrecht: by the editor, 2013.
- 2013 *Archives de Dux, Marr 24-30*, Utrecht: by the editor, 2013.

- 2013 *Archives de Dux, Marr 31-38*, Utrecht: by the editor, 2013.
- 2013 *Quick Reference Guide to Casanoviana*, 17th and last ed., Utrecht: by the editor, 2013.
- 2014 *Inventory of the correspondence (1972-2012) regarding Giacomo Casanova of Marco Leeftang, filed in the Museum of Old Dux*, Utrecht: by the author/editor, 2014.
- 2018 With coauthor Tom Vitelli, *C. sur C.*, “Casanoviana”, 1 (2018), p. 30-36.
- 2018 With coauthor Antonio Trampus, *Correspondence between Bernhard Marr and Carlo Leone Curiel. Part I: 1919-1920*, “Casanoviana”, 1 (2018), p. 66-89.
- 2019 *Ma Waldstein, Casanova and Caroline*, “Casanoviana”, 2 (2019), p. 35-39.
- 2020 *Did Casanova hide Madeleine in his pants?* “Casanoviana”, 3 (2020), p. 65-67.
- 2021 *Marr 4-146, or the return of Casanova’s traveling book*, “Casanoviana”, 4 (2021), p. 130-132.
- 2022 With coauthor Antonio Trampus, *Correspondence between Bernhard Marr and Carlo Leone Curiel. Part II: 1921-1931*, “Casanoviana”, 5 (2022), p. 53-79.
- 2022 *Beyond Repair*, “Casanoviana”, 5 (2022), p. 84.

BRANKO ALEKSIĆ

**MARCO LEEFLANG: LA GÉNÉROSITÉ HUMAINE
ET L'AMITIÉ CASANOVISTE**

Marco Leefflang, qui a transcrit l'intégralité des lettres de Lamberg à Casanova, disait qu'il avait ressenti un petit pincement au cœur au moment de mettre le point final à la dernière lettre... Quelques jours après le décès de Michel Deguy, arriva d'Utrecht la nouvelle du départ de Marco. Pour son 88^e anniversaire, en novembre de 2021, il escomptait avec fierté les chaleureuses cartes de vœux qu'il avait reçues... Il avait une générosité humaine, et il a mérité l'amitié des casanovistes de par le monde entier ! Or, tout avait commencé pour lui par hasard : un voyage à Venise avec sa fiancée, un feu d'artifices, et la réunion dans la Société casanovienne de Pierre Gruet à l'époque. Citoyen d'un pays politiquement neutre, Marco, tel « le hollandais volant », fut bientôt engagé par James Rives Childs à faire des voyages derrière le rideau de fer, à Prague, afin d'écumer les archives de Casanova. Dans un aide-mémoire, rédigé à Utrecht en août 1987, il a décrit, en anglais, sur 23 pages, son parcours : les confidences intimes – ah, Olga, la belle interprète tchèque embrassée sur une rive de la Moldava! – se mêlent avec les atouts techniques dont il s'est doté. Pour son bonheur et le nôtre, il s'est construit « une boîte d'outils » - une numération d'items dans les Archives, une méthode de transcription et de rangement des dossiers, enfin le « Dux-ionnaire » – table alphabétique des noms cités dans le Fonds Casanova des Archives de Dux et dans quelques autres manuscrits. Entre les voyages à Prague et le travail minutieux dans son bureau à Rembrandtkade – « Quai Rembrandt », il ajoutait le clair-obscur à l'œuvre méconnue. Sa plus grande découverte, il l'a faite dans la petite bibliothèque de Casanova à Dux, en reconnaissant le manuscrit du vénitien sur la couverture-papier d'un petit volume. Ce fut l'esquisse des ébats du jeune Giacomo avec la moniale M. M., manuscrit heureusement présenté dans la revue *Casanova Gleanings* dirigée à Nice par Childs. De nombreux autres découvertes se sont succédées dans *L'Intermédiaire des Casanovistes* : le journal de Clary, petit-fils du prince de Ligne, parlant de Casanova au quotidien, et le prospectus du roman utopique *Icosameron* de 1788, car Marco fut aussi un bibliophile efficace.

Avec Furio Luccichenti et Helmut Watzlawick, Marco fut le moteur de la re-

vue et de nouvelles recherches. Le tout premier volume de la série « Documents Casanoviens », sous l'égide de la revue *L'Intermédiaire des Casanovistes*, fut la présentation, en collaboration avec le collègue américain Tom Vitelli, de l'inédit casanovien de 1789 : *Examen des Etudes de la Nature et de Paul et Virginie de Bernardin de Saint-Pierre* (Utrecht, 1985 ; 136 p). Introduction, notes, variantes, index : le texte sert de modèle à la série. Un choix de cet ouvrage est repris en annexe de l'édition Robert Laffont d'*Histoire de ma vie* de Casanova, en 1993. Marco a continué son travail rabelasien de transcription des documents archivés par Casanova, qui a duré un demi-siècle : des années 1970 à 2020. Cela faisait de lui l'un de plus grands casanovistes de notre époque.

Nous nous retrouvions depuis 2005, de Paris à Utrecht, et si nous avons manqué de nous rencontrer une fois à Auxerre, d'où je parlais de ma « résidence d'écrivain » et où Janna et Marco passaient quelques jours après, l'une des lettres de Marco est présentée dans mon *Livre bagué de Rétif* aux éditions de la Rhubarbe, à Auxerre, pour le bicentenaire de la mort de Rétif de la Bretonne, 1806/2006. J'ai réchauffé le projet commun de présenter un volume de poèmes de Casanova. Par modestie ou par une rhétorique d'humiliation de l'auteur, Marco n'a pas voulu « trainer son nom sur la page de titre... », comme il le dit dans sa lettre de Noël 2003. Mais il a bien voulu collaborer au projet, et me confia ses transcriptions ainsi que les copies de plusieurs poèmes originaux (parmi lesquels un des premiers poèmes vénitiens du jeune Casanova, dédié à Giorgio Baffo). L'idée est de présenter Casanova sous le symbole poétique du « phénix d'esprit renaissant », allant de Pétrarque jusqu'à ses propres poèmes. Marco le jugeait comme un bon « levier » du recueil :

----- Oorspronkelijk bericht ----- Van: Branko Aleksić
Aan: marco.leeflang@worldonline.nl Verzonden: maandag 29 december 2003 21:28 Onderwerp: *Branko's proposal for a book Casanova on Petrarch*

Dear Branko,
Sorry for my (too) late answer. I was in France, finishing our house in Ardèche, where I didn't have e-mail or internet.
On the day before Christmas the EDF started feeding us electricity, and by now we even have e-mail. But well after your deadline of Jan. 10.
As for your book: a clever idea to try to use Petrarch as a lever.

But you should publish the book (if you succeed) in your name only.

I will help and cooperate wherever I can, but you don't have to drag me in towards the title page.

I am in Utrecht for the next few months where I have all my material within reach. Tell me what I can do for you.

And thank you anyway for your kind proposition!

Marco (with greetings from Janna included).

Une des dernières transcriptions de Marco était la traduction casanovienne d'Arioste en français – exemple exclusif de l'émulation du poète favori de Casanova. Seulement un autre souvenir égale cette émulation : son baiser vénitien avec Barbara Evers, égérie de l'Association Pierre Gruet... Consultant pour un film documentaire hollandais sur Casanova, Marco a voyagé à Venise, et dans une scène à la fin du film, sous masque, grimpé en Giacomo Casanova, il recevait un baiser de la belle Barbara Evers. Il me disait dans notre premier entretien à Utrecht: « A ce moment-là, je ne savais plus ni où j'étais, ni qui j'étais – Casanova ? »

En hommage au collègue casanoviste, et à l'ami, on lira dans le prochain numéro de *Casanoviana* le texte de la traduction d'Arioste par Casanova.

GIANLUCA SIMEONI

**BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES:
2017-2019**

In this section we resume the updating of Giacomo Casanova's bibliography, started by Rives Childs with *Casanoviana* (1956) and «Casanova Gleanings» (1958-1981) and continued with «L'Intermédiaire des casanovistes» (1984-2013). We follow the partition into sections established in *Casanoviana*, keeping all those details necessary to help scholars easily locate the work cited. Each bibliographical field is separated by a comma. In the case of editions composed of multiple volumes, pages are indicated between parentheses for each volume; e.g.: (I: xxx p.; II: xxx p.). Illustrations supplementing the text are clearly indicated, with details about the kind of illustration (e.g.: portrait, maps, etc). In the case of magazine articles, pages are indicated by "pp." (e.g.: pp. 1-5). Below the entries, in a smaller typeface, you can find an explanation of the content, followed by the number of pages occupied by the article about Casanova. As regards essays or chapters in books, starting with this update, we will be entering in Section D only the essays included in reviews or magazines. Others will be recorded in ANNEX. GENERAL WORKS.

SECTION A. WORKS OTHERS THAN THE MEMOIRS

XII.

- Giacomo Casanova, *Lana caprina. Epistola di un licanthropo. [Prefazione di Silvio Calzolari]*, Milano, Luni, 2018, 67 p., [9], "Casanoviana", no. 2.

New edition published in collaboration with the Giacomo Casanova Museum of Venice. The *Avis de l'Imprimeur* is translated into Italian by Serafino Balduzzi.

Silvio Calzolari *Prefazione* (7-13).

MAIN TEXT: (16-67).

XIX.

- Giacomo Casanova, *Istoria delle turbolenze della Polonia*, Milano, Luni, 2019, 720 p., "Casanoviana", no. 4.

XXIV.

- Giacomo Casanova, *Il duello ovvero saggio della vita di G.C. Veneziano. A cura di Piero Chiara*, Milano, SE, 2018, 88 p., [5] p., “Piccola enciclopedia”, no. 239.

New edition of Piero Chiara’s version.

MAIN TEXT: ([11]-73).

APPENDICES: I. *Documents* ([75]-83). II. Piero Chiara, *Postfazione* ([85]-88).

- Giacomo Casanova, *Il Duello ovvero Saggio della vita di G.C. Veneziano. Prefazione di Silvio Calzolari*, Milano, Luni, 2019, 80 p., “Casanoviana”, no. 5.

- Giacomo Casanova, *The Duel. Translated by J.G. Nichols*, Richmond, Alma, 2018, 114 p., “101 pages”.

New edition in English, probably a new one of Nichols’s translation published by Hesperus in 2003.

XXVIII.

- Giacomo Casanova, *Né amori, né donne ovvero La stalla ripulita. Prefazione di Silvio Calzolari*, Milano, Luni, 2019, 112 p., “Casanoviana”, no. 6.

XXXVII.

Abbreviated versions, extracts.

- Giacomo Casanova, *Meine Flucht aus den Bleikammern von Venedig Gefangen, in Leben und Hoffen hinter Gittern. Eine literarische Inventur aus drei Jahrhunderten. Herausgegeben von Stefan Geyer und Lothar Wekel*, Wiesbaden, Corso, 2017, pp. 14-18.

Excerpts in an anthology dedicated to the topic of the escape.

- Giacomo Casanova, *Giacomo Casanova, from History of My Life*, in *Venice Stories. Edited by Jonathan Keates*, London, Everyman’s Library, 2018, 432 p., “Everyman’s Library Pocket Classics Series”.

Excerpt probably taken from Everyman’s edition, published in 2007.

- Giacomo Casanova, *Giacomo Casanova, from History of My Life*, in *Venice Stories. Edited by Jonathan Keates*, New York, Knopf, 2019, 432 p.

New edition of the one published in 2018 by Everyman’s Library.

XXXVIII.

Abbreviated versions, extracts.

- Giacomo Casanova, *Jcosameron. A cura di Giuseppe Panella*, Milano, Otto/Novecento, 2017, 255 p., [3] p., [1] p., “Adularia minima”, no. 40.

New edition of the one published in 2001 by La vita felice, with a different cover.

PREFACE by Giuseppe Panella (5-30).

Main text: ([32]-255).

- Giacomo Casanova, *Icosameron ovvero Storia di Edward ed Elizabeth. Traduzione di Serafino Balduzzi*, Milano, Luni, 2019, 704 p., “Casanoviana”, no. 3.

SECTION B. EDITIONS OF THE MEMOIRS

- Giacomo Casanova, *Casanova de Seingalt – 1757*, in Frédéric Bernard, *Les évasions célèbres*, Saint-Laurent-le-Minier, Éditions de Massanne ; Éditions Decoopman, 2019, 292 p., “Histoire”.

Containing the episode of the escape from the Leads taken from the *Memoirs*.

- Giacomo Casanova, *Elämäni tarina. 1-2 [-3-4]. Suomentanut Seppo Sipilä*, Turku, Faros, 2019, 2 v. (I: 744 p.; II: 780 p.).

The first-ever complete Finnish translation of the *Memoirs*.

Vol. I: *Seikkailijan muistelmat: Giacomo Casanovan Elämäni tarina* (= *Memoirs of an Adventurer*): (pp. 7-13).

Suomentajan saatesanat (= *Foreword*) (pp. 14-17).

MAIN TEXT: (18-744).

- Giacomo Casanova, *Het verhaal van mijn leven. Vertaald door Theo Kars. Met illustraties van Auguste Leroux*, Amsterdam, Uitgeverij Van Oorschot, 2017, 3 v. (I: 1151 p.; II: 1147 p.; III: 1500 p.), ill.

New edition of the 12-volume version published by Athenaeum-Polak & Van Genneep between 1991 and 1998. Illustrations taken from Javal et Bordeaux edition. Volumes are contained in an illustrated slipcase.

- Giacomo Casanova, *История моей жизни. [Литературно-художественное издание. Перевод: Ирина Стаф и Александр Строев]*, Москва, Октопус, 2019, 649 p., [6] plates, ill.

Russian translation in a luxurious silk-bound edition.

- Giacomo Casanova, *Histoire de ma vie. Édition établie par Jean-Christophe Igalens et Érik Leborgne*, Paris, Laffont, 2018, (III: *Tomes VIII à X*, LV-1408 p., [2] p., [1] p.), “Bouquins”.

Edition based upon the manuscript of Bibliothèque Nationale Française, available on the website *Gallica*. It follows the first volume issued in 2013, and the second one issued in 2015.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTERS: Jean-Christophe Igalens and Érik Leborgne, *Introduction* ([VII]-XLII). *Note sur l'établissement du texte* ([XLIII]-LV).

MAIN TEXT: (Tomes VIII-X): *Histoire de ma vie* ([3]-1129).

APPENDICES: A. *Autres textes de Casanova. I. Le Duel ou Aperçu de la vie de G.C., Vénitien* ([1133]-1180). II. *Description de l'affaire arrivée à Varsovie le 5 Mars 1766* ([1181]-1186).

III. *Extrait de mes capitulaires fait à Dux le 4 août 1796 [Souvenirs sur le prince Charles de Courlande]* ([1187]-1189). IV. *Lettre au duc de Courlande conservée dans les archives de la Bastille* ([1190]-1193). V. *Lettre de Casanova à Opiz sur le sort de ses mémoires* ([1194]-1195).

VI. *Précis de ma vie (1797)* ([1197]-1199). VII. *Projet pour établir une fabrique de Savon*

à Varsovie ([1201]-1203). B. *Documents* ([1207-1209]). I. *Témoignages et premières lectures* ([1211]-1247). C. *Annexes*. I. *Répertoire des noms* ([1251]-1257). II. *Répertoire des citations de Casanova* ([1258]-1280). III. *Géographie casanovienne* ([1281]-1306). IV. *Tableaux synoptiques* ([1307]-1314). V. *Tables de conversion de monnaies européennes au XVIII^e siècle suivant l'ordre chronologique des déplacements de Casanova de 1763 à 1774* ([1315]-1321). VI. *Index des noms* ([1322]-1386).

Abbreviated versions, extracts.

1762: *Giacomo Casanova, Fausse régénération et vrai libertinage à Metz*, in *Metz au miroir des écrivains. Regards français et étrangers des origines à nos jours. Sous la direction de Gérard Nauroy et Christiane Pignon-Feller*, Metz, Académie nationale de Metz ; Paraiges, 2019, pp. 146-150, ill.

Containing the excerpt of Marquise d'Urfé's regeneration in Metz.

- Giacomo Casanova, *1764 Giacomo Casanova Audienz bei Friedrich dem Grossen*, in Rainer Wieland, *Das Buch der Deutschlandreisen. Von den alten Römern zu den Weltenbummlern unserer Zeit*, Berlin, Propyläen, 2017, pp. 139-148.

Excerpts concerning C.'s meeting with Frederick II.

- Giacomo Casanova, *Casanova à Berlin. Texte établi d'après le manuscrit autographe original par Giacomo Casanova Histoire de ma vie. Transcription et commentaire par Andrea Perego*, Venezia, Supernova, 2018, 59 p., [4] p., ill., 1 b/w portrait, 1 in-text ill.

Excerpt from the original manuscript held by Bibliothèque Nationale Française (tome VIII, chapters X-XI, folios 166r-181v), containing the episodes of C.'s stay in Berlin.

Andrea Perego, *Préface* (7-[12]).

MAIN TEXT: (15-54).

Notes (56-59).

- Giacomo Casanova, *Casanova a Berlino. Tratto dal manoscritto autografo di Giacomo Casanova Histoire de ma vie. Traduzione in italiano e note a cura di Andrea Perego*, Venezia, Supernova, 2018, 59 p., [4] p., ill., 1 b/w portrait, 1 in-text ill.

Excerpt from the original manuscript held by Bibliothèque Nationale Française (tome VIII, chapters X-XI, folios 166r-181v), containing the episodes of C.'s stay in Berlin, and translated in Italian.

Andrea Perego, *Prefazione* (7-[12]).

MAIN TEXT: (15-54).

Note (56-59).

- Giacomo Casanova, *Casanova in Berlin. From Giacomo Casanova's autograph manuscript Histoire de ma vie. Newly transcribed, with introduction and notes by Andrea Perego. English translation by Edward Smith*, Venezia, Supernova, 2018, 59 p., [4] p., ill., 1 b/w portrait, 1 in-text ill.

Excerpt from the original manuscript held by Bibliothèque Nationale Française (tome VIII,

chapters X-XI, folios 166r-181v), containing the episodes of C.'s stay in Berlin, and translated in English.

Andrea Perego, *Preface* (7-[12]).

MAIN TEXT: (15-54).

Notes (56-59).

- Giacomo Casanova, *Casanova und Berlin. Nach der Originalhandschrift Histoire de ma vie von Giacomo Casanova. Neu transkribie, herausgegeben und kommentiert von Andrea Perego. Ins Deutsche übertragen von Marika Bacsoka*, Venezia, Supernova, 2018, 59 p., [4] p., ill., 1 b/w portrait, 1 in-text ill.

Excerpt from the original manuscript held by Bibliothèque Nationale Française (tome VIII, chapters X-XI, folios 166r-181v), containing the episodes of C.'s stay in Berlin, and translated in German.

Andrea Perego, *Vorwort* (7-[12]).

MAIN TEXT: (15-54).

Notes (56-59).

- Giacomo Casanova, *Da «Storia della mia vita»*, in Giorgio Baffo, *Poesie. A cura di Piero Chiara. Con uno scritto di Federico Roncoroni e dieci illustrazioni di Jules-Adolphe Chauvet*, Milano, SE, 2017, pp. [177]-181, "Testi e documenti", no. 265.

Excerpts from chapters I, II and IV of 1983 Mondadori edition. New edition of the one published in 2013, with different cover and released in a new collection.

- Giacomo Casanova, *Dalle Memorie di Giacomo Casanova*, in *Atti impuri. Racconti erotici italiani. A cura di Guido Davico Bonino*, Milano, Garzanti, 2019, pp. 339-350, "I grandi libri". Containing the Nanette and Marton episode, taken from 1976 Garzanti edition.

- Giacomo Casanova, *De ontsnapping. Vertaald [uit het Frans] door Theo Kars. Zevende druk*, Amsterdam, Uitgeverij Van Oorschot, 2019, 292 p.

7th edition. C.'s escape from the Leads episode taken from *Geheime avonturen*, 1982 K-Tel edition.

- Giacomo Casanova, *История на моя живот. Преводач Красимир Петров*, [s.l.], Колибри, 2019, 360 p.

Bulgarian translation by Krasimir Petrov.

- Giacomo Casanova, *Лицубовые другие приключения Джакомо Казанови, кавалера де Сенгалъта, венецъгянця, описание им самим. Liubovnyye i drugie prikluchenieniia Dzhakomo Kazanovy, kavalera de Sengal'ta, venetsiantsa, opisannye im samim. Perevel s frantsuzkogo D.V. Solov'ev*, Sankt-Peterburg, Pal'mira, 2017, 827 p.

Excerpts translated in Russian by Solovyev.

- Giacomo Casanova, *Memorias de España. Traducción de Ángel Crespo*, Madrid, Calambur, 2017, 244 p., "Narrativa", no. 59.

Probably a new edition of the one published by Planeta in 1986. With excerpts concerning C.'s stay in Spain.

- Giacomo Casanova, *Mes années vénitienes. Une anthologie réunie et présentée par Michel Delon*, Paris, Citadelles & Mazenod, 2018, 447 p., ill., 250 colour ills.

Anthology containing episodes from *Histoire de ma vie* from C.'s childhood in Venice up to his escape from the Leads, including Lucia, the two sisters, Bellino, C.'s travel to Constantinople and Corfou, his encounter with Henriette, O'Morphi, M.M. & C.C. Bibliography on pp. 435-437. The work is presented in a very elegant binding in full silk, and it is kept in a slipcase in blue damask cloth with C.'s silhouette in blue on the front cover.

- Giacomo Casanova, *Mijn avonturen met non M.M. Uit het Frans vertaald door Theo Kars*, Amsterdam, Uitgeverij Van Oorschot, 2017, 48 p.

Dutch translation of M.M.'s episode, taken from the 12-volume version published by Athenaeum-Polak & Van Genneep between 1991 and 1998.

- Giacomo Casanova, *Mon apprentissage à Paris. Préface de Chantal Thomas*, Paris, Payot & Rivages, 2017, 416 p., "Rivages poche. Petite bibliothèque", no. 252.

Excerpts concerning two C.'s stays in Paris, based upon Brockhaus-Plon edition 1960-1962. Chantal Thomas, *Préface* (9-[23]).

MAIN TEXT: (27-[402]).

Notes (403-[405]). *Chronologie* (407-[410]). *Bibliographie* (411-[412]).

New edition of the one published in 1998, see «L'Intermédiaire des casanovistes», année XVIII, 2001, p. 53.

- Giacomo Casanova, *Моя последняя любовь. Философия искушения*, Москва, Родина, 2019, 574 p., ill., portrait, "Главная кинопремьера".

Translation: *My Last Love Affair*. Containing love excerpts translated in Russian.

- Giacomo Casanova, *我的一生. Wo de yi sheng*, 著者 [= Beijing], 新星出版社 Xin xing chu ban she [= New Star], 2018, 603 p., ill., [6] colour plates, "传记文库" [= Biographies].

Translation: *My Life*. Excerpts translated in Chinese by He Wei and Du Xinhua.

- Giacomo Casanova, *แม่ชีแห่งมูรานो. ศักดิ์ บวร, แปล, กรุงเทพฯ* [= Bangkok], สมิต [= Smythe], 2018, 116 p.

Thai translation by Sakome of *The Nun of Murano*.

- Vincent Lieber, *Jetons de nacre et boîtes de laque. Avec un extrait des Mémoires de Jacques Casanova, un avant-propos de Bill Neal et une contribution d'Ulrich Schädler*, Nyon, Musée historique, Château de Nyon, 2017, 106 p., ill.

Book published for the exhibition held at Musée historique de Nyon from May 13th to October 23rd, 2016.

SECTION C. CORRESPONDENCE OF CASANOVA

- Giacomo Casanova, *Casanova's wraak. Lessen in vernedering en nederigheid. [Uit het Frans vertaald en van toelichtingen voorzien door Ed Schilders]*, Tilburg, Brandon Pers, 2017, 2 v. (I: 63 p., ill.; II: 63 p., ill.).
Dutch translation of *Lettres écrites au sieur Faulkircher*. Edition issued in 140 Arabian numbered copies. Vol. 2 is dedicated to notes.

SECTION D. WORKS RELATING TO CASANOVA

- José Antonio Aguilar Rivera, *Casanova conoce a Voltaire*, in «Nexos: Sociedad, Ciencia, Literatura», no. 490, Vol. 40 (octubre 2018), p. 14.
Short article concerning C.'s encounter with Voltaire.
- Branko Aleksić, *Casanova examine les Études de la nature et Paul et Virginie de Bernardin de Saint Pierre en 1788*, in «OpenAIRE», 28.08.2018, [s.l.], Presses universitaires de Rouen et du Havre, 2018, pp. 79-89.
Essay dealing with the work C. couldn't print during his lifetime.
- Ansgar Bach, *Casanova in Berlin und Potsdam. Seine Affären und die Begegnung mit Friedrich II*, Berlin, Kopfundwelt, 2019, 64 p.
- Ansgar Bach, *Giacomo Casanova in Dresden. Seine Dresdner Affären und die Familie. Mit Illustrationen von Alexandra Bonin*, Berlin, Kopfundwelt, 2017, 127 p., ill., 12 ills.
New edition of the one published in 2015.
- Édgar Bastidas Urresty, *Casanova. Amante inmortal*, Bogotá, Ibañez, 2017, 240 p., “Erotika Clásica”.
Biography.
- Peter Becher, *Henriette. Casanovas große Liebe*, [s.l.], tredition, 2019, 288 p.
A biography about C.'s greatest love affair.
- Laurence Bergreen, *Casanova. A vida de um génio sedutor. Tradução Pedro Carvalho e Guerra, Rita Carvalho e Guerra*, Lisboa, Bertrand, 2017, 566 p., [2] p.
Portuguese translation of this biography published in 2016.
- Laurence Bergreen, *Casanova. De avonturen van een geniale verleider. [Vertaling van Hans E. van Riemsdijk en Marijke Gheeraert]*, Amsterdam, Nieuw Amsterdam, 2017, 606 p., [8] p., ill., “Biografie”.
Dutch translation of this biography published in 2016.

- Laurence Bergreen, *Casanova. W świecie uwodziciela. Tłumaczenie Natalia Ruda-Mętrak*, Kraków, Znak Horyzont – Społeczny Instytut Wydawniczy Znak, 2017, 603 p., [1] p.
Polish translation of this biography published in 2016.
- Laurence Bergreen, *Casanova. The World of a Seductive Genius*, New York, Simon & Schuster, [2018], XIX-519 p., ill.
Reprint of 2016 edition.
- Virgilio Boccardi, *Casanova. Il ritorno a Venezia*, Venezia, Supernova, 2019, 68 p., ill., “VeneziaStory”, no. 25.
Biography about C.’s last days in Venice.
- Leszek Bugajski, *Maski Casanovy*, in «Wprost (Poznań)», no. 32/33 (2017), pp. 75-77.
Translation: *C.’s masks*. Essay dealing with the different sides of C.’s personality from a sociological point of view.
- Silvio Calzolari, *Casanova. Vita, amori, mistero di un libertino veneziano*, Milano, Luni, 2018, 321 p., “Casanoviana”, no. 1.
A survey of C.’s life, with special attention to his “dark side” such as freemasonry, esotericism, and his peculiar acquaintances. Volume published in collaboration with the Giacomo Casanova Museum of Venice.
- Silvio Calzolari, *Casanova. Vita, amori, mistero di un libertino veneziano. Seconda edizione riveduta, corretta e con l’aggiunta di alcuni capitoli sul mistero della morte di Giacomo Casanova*, Milano, Luni, 2018, 400 p., “Casanoviana”, no. 1.
2nd revised and enlarged edition with new chapters.
- Bruno Capaci – Elena Grazioli, *Giacomo carissimo... Lettere delicate e deleterie a Giacomo Casanova. Prefazione di Piermario Vescovo*, Città di Castello, I libri di Emil, 2019, 356 p., «Lo scaffale dei politropi», no. 2.
Essay dealing with C. seen by his lovers’ eyes according to his correspondence.
- Giorgio Caproni, *Il Girasole. Una rubrica radiofonica. A cura di Giada Baragli*, Firenze, Firenze University Press, 2017, 314 p.
Collection of essays made for a radio program during the 70s, containing De Ligne’s portrait of C. in a short chapter titled *Charles Joseph de Ligne, Ritratto di Casanova*, on p. 68. Bibliography on pp. 299-308, and name index on pp. 309-318.
- *Casanova. The seduction of Europe. Edited by Frederick Ilchman, Thomas Michie, C.D. Dickerson III, and Esther Bell. With contributions by Meredith Chilton, Jeffrey Collins, Nina L. Dubin, Courtney Leigh Harris, James H. Johnson, Pamela A. Parmal, Malina Stefanovska, Susan M. Wager, and Michael Yonan*, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 2017, 343 p., ill.
A work published in connection with the exhibition staged by the Museum of Fine Arts of

Boston (from July 1st to October 8th, 2018), by the Kimbell Art Museum of Fort Worth (from August 27th to December 31st, 2017), and by the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco (from February 10th to May 28th, 2018). With a map of Europe during C.'s time, a chronology edited by Courtney Leigh Harris, a section dedicated to notes, a selected bibliography on pp. 297-299, and a name index on pp. 335-343.

- *Casanova. Die erstaunliche Karriere eines Venezianers*, in «Damals. Galerie. Geschichte im Bild», 50 Jahrgang, no. 9 (2018), 82 p.

Special issue of the magazine, completely dedicated to C.

- *Casanova. A pictorial. Edited by Danica Michels Hodge*, San Francisco, Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 2018, 38 p., [2] p., “Pictorial series”.

A small catalogue published on the occasion of the exhibition *Casanova: The Seduction of Europe* at the Legion of Honor, San Francisco, from February 10th to May 28th, 2018, organized by the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, the Kimbell Art Museum, and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

- Minosse Di Savoia, *Giacomo Casanova a Cremona*, in «Notiziario di Filatelia, Numismatica, Bibliofilia e collezionismo cartaceo», anno I, no. 1 (gennaio 2019), Cremona, Circolo Filatelico Numismatico Cremonese, 2019, pp. 27-28.

A short survey about C. in Cremona. With references to *Le Polemoscope*.

- Stefano Feroci – Dominique Vibrac, *Le Paris de Casanova. Préface de Jean-Claude Hauc*, Paris, Les Éditions de Paris-Max Chaleil, 2019, 98 p., ill.

- Stefano Feroci – Dominique Vibrac, *Une promenade à Paris avec Giacomo Casanova*, Paris, a cura degli autori, 2018, 111 p., ill.

A walk in Paris full of stories and revelations on C.'s footsteps.

- Pavla Franzkiová, *Zámeckým knihovníkem byl dobrodruh Cassanova*, in «Kladenský deník», no. 240 (Oct. 16th 2017), p. 3, ill.

Translation: *The librarian of the castle was C., the adventurer*. Short essay about C.'s activity as a librarian.

- Guido Galliano, *Settecento inquieto. Noia, erotismo e malinconia nel secolo dei Lumi*, Novi Ligure, Città del Silenzio, 2018, 115 p.

A survey from a philosophical perspective about the restless soul of Enlightenment, which C. is the key to understanding. Most of this work is dedicated to C.

- Florian Gassner, *Giacomo Casanova und die sexuelle Geographie Europas*, in «Lessing Yearbook», edited for the Lessing Society, vol. 44 (2017), Göttingen, Wallstein ; München, Hueber ; München, Text + Kritik ; Detroit, Wayne State University Press, 2017, pp. 167-185.

- Kathleen Ann Gonzalez, *A Venezia con Casanova. Itinerari e storie nei luoghi frequentati dal famoso seduttore. Edizione italiana a cura di Adriano Contini. Traduzione di Tiziana Businaro*, Venezia, Supernova, 2018, 175 p., ill.

Italian translation of the 2013 English version printed by the same publisher.

- Christian Grawe – Heinz Von Sauter, *Casanova zum Vergnüen*, Stuttgart, Reclam, 2018, 175 p., ill., 10 photographic ill., “Reclams Universal-Bibliothek”, no. 19422. Biography.

- Jonathan Gray, *Casanova*, in «Dancing times», vol. 107, no. 1280 (2017), London, [s.n.], 2017.

- Jean-Claude Hauc, *Miscellanées casanoviennes. Essais*, Lyon, Hippocampe, 2017, 240 p. A collection of C.-related essays – some of them never published before – depicting a literary portrait with different gates of access.

- Dieter Hauri, *Also sprach Casanova. Die Geschichte der männlichen Potenz und Impotenz und deren Behandlungen. Von Venus zu Viagra*, Frankfurt am Main, Fischer, 2018, 523 p., ill. With a long chapter dedicated to C., titled *Giacomo Girolamo Casanova – Chevalier de Seintgalt* [sic] (1725-1798), on pp. 13-140. This work, which is dedicated to sex and problems related to it, contains as well a chapter dedicated to castratos where we can find depicted persons very close to C. and Goudar.

- Jean-Christophe Igalens, *Le roi de France et la religieuse de Murano. Réflexion sur les régimes du portrait dans l'Histoire de ma vie de Casanova*, in «Faux titre», no. 430, (2019), [s.l., s.n.], 2019, pp. 315-330.

- Marija Kacin, *Žiga Zojs, Casanova in Trst: Ljubljana – Trst – Benetke. [Prevodi iz francoškega jezika Sonja Benčina]*, Idrija, Bogataj, 2019, 185 p., ill.

On Zojs, on his relationship with Venice and C., and on C.'s stay in Trieste. With a summary in Italian on pp. 160-179.

- Gérard Lahouati, *Un français parfumé. Casanova*, in «Littérature», no. 185 (mars 2017), Paris, Larousse, 2017, pp. 9-23.

- Paola Lambrini, *Casanova. Un libertino in fuga dai Piombi*, Milano, Corriere della Sera, 2019, «I grandi processi della storia», no. 28.

A survey of C.'s escape from the Leads.

- Alin L. Mărginean, *Giacomo Casanova. Arta de a păși mereu lângă prăpastie fără a cădea în ea. Pref. de Varga Attila*, București, Eikon, 2017.

Translation: *C. The art of getting near the abyss, and how to avoid falling down.*

- Cristina Marrone, *La carta usata da Casanova ha svelato la sua malattia*, in «Corriere della sera», 23 maggio 2019, p. 23, ill.

Dealing with a study about the discovery of what possibly caused C.'s death, after scholars examined the manuscript held at the Bibliothèque Nationale Française according to a chemical test.

- Giovanni Montanaro, *Quello strano Arlecchino a Trieste era una donna, e si beffò di Casanova*, in «Corriere del Veneto», 28 gennaio 2018.

Popular article about C.'s experience in Trieste.

- Roberta Moro, *Casanova bibliotecario*, in «Biblioteche oggi. Rivista bimestrale di informazione, ricerca e dibattito», marzo 2019, vol. XXXVII, pp. 47-50.

On C. as a librarian.

- Luca Palmarini, *La Polonia nelle opere letterarie di Giacomo Casanova*, in «Annales Universitatis Paedagogicae Cracoviensis. Studia Historicolitteraria», vol. 17 (2017), pp. 53-67, “Annales Universitatis Paedagogicae Cracoviensis”, no. 228.

Essay dealing with *Istoria delle turbolenze di Polonia*.

- Ennio Scannapieco, *Il Maelstrom di Norvegia descritto nell’Jcosameron. Un’ulteriore critica al romanzo-fiume di Giacomo Casanova*, in «Critica Letteraria», vol. 45, no. 177 (2017), Napoli, Loffredo, 2017, pp. 827-833.

C. as first writer about the Norwegian *Maelstrom*, but unfortunately he describes it from a very disappointing standpoint.

- 著鹿島茂 [= Kashima Shigeru], *カサノヴァ. 人類史上最高にモテた男の物語*, 東京 [= Tokyo], キノブックス [= Kino books], 2018, 2 v. (I: 364 p.; II: 372 p.).

Translation: *C. The story of a man who's been one of the best in mankind*. Japanese biography of C.

- Janusz Ślęzak, *Był biedny i niezbyt lotny: dziś Casanova nie miałby u kobiet szans*, in «W: Polska (Metropolia Warszawska, wyd. Zasadnicze)», no. 5 (2017), p. 22.

Translation: *He was poor and hardly fickle. C. would have no chance nowadays with women*. Short essay about the psychological side of C.

- Malina Stefanovska, *Le portrait du prince par Casanova entre témoignage et fiction*, in «Faux titre», no. 430, (2019), [s.l., s.n.], 2019, pp. 305-314.

- Chantal Talagrand, *Mémoires d'oubli. Restif et Casanova, 1789-1798*, Genève, Furor, 2018, 352 p. A very interesting work comparing two great passions of one of the greatest Casanovists, J. Rives Childs.

- Diego Varini, *I paradossi di un mentitore. Giacomo Casanova tra verità e simulazione*, in «Écho des études romanes. Revue semestrielle de linguistique et littératures romanes», n.

XIII/2 (2017), České Budějovice, Université de Bohême de České Budějovice, 2017, pp. 273-285.

Essay discussing multiple plans and significances of simulation and dissimulation in the *Mémoires*.

- Massimo Verrati Rossi, *Casanova prima e dopo. Prefazione di Giuseppe Baldissera*, Venezia, Supernova, 2019, 64 p., ill., “Miniformato”, no. 9.

New discoveries about C.

- Koenraad Verrycken, *Giacomo Casanova's Histoire de ma vie. Polytropie, demonie en melancholie*, Brussel, Academic and Scientific Publishers – ASP, 2017, 224 p.

Philosophical reading of C.'s *Mémoires*, according to the three capacities of ego: polytrophy, demonism, and melancholy. Bibliography on pp. 215-220.

- Gleb Zilberstein – Roman Zilberstein – Svetlana Zilberstein – Guillaume Fau – Alfonsina D'Amato – Pier Giorgio Righetti, *Il n'y a pas d'amour heureux pour Casanova: Chemical- and bio-analysis of his Memoirs*, in «Electrophoresis», 2019, Vol. 40 (23-24), pp. 3050-3056.

The article reports the results of C.'s manuscript analysis in order to detect the potential diseases of the Venetian adventurer. On the manuscript pages, the scholars found high levels of mercury sulfide (HgS), maybe used by C. as a cure for his venereal disease.

- Stefan Zweig, *Casanova, Stendhal, Tolstoj*, [s.l.], Saga Egmont, 2019, 312 p.

Swedish translation of Zweig's book.

- Stefan Zweig, *Drei Dichter ihres Lebens. Casanova – Stendhal – Tolstoj*, Hamburg, Gröls, 2019, 216 p., “Werke der Weltliterature”, no. 88.

New edition of Zweig's essay on C.

- Stefan Zweig, *Kendi hayatını yazan üç yazar. Casanova, Stendhal, Tolstoy. deneme. Almanca aslından çeviren: Zehra Kurttekin. Editör: Nükhet Polat*, İstanbul, Can Sanat Yayınları, 2017, 374 p.

New Turkish translation of Zweig's classic.

- Stefan Zweig, *Kendi hayatının şiiirini yazanlar. Casanova – Stendhal – Tolstoy. Almanca aslından çeviren Gülperi Sert. Editör Koray Karasulu*, Ankara, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2017, 407 p., «Mödem klasikler dızısı», no. 18.

Turkish translation. 11th and 12th edition in the same year.

- Stefan Zweig, *Đakomo Kazanova. Preveo sa nemačkog Slobodan Janković*, [Beograd], B. Kukić ; [Čačak], Gradac K, 2018, 65 p., “Alef”, no. 97.

Serbian translation of Zweig's essay about C. Issued in 200 copies.

- Stefan Zweig, *Kendi hayatının şiiirini yazanlar. Casanova – Stendhal – Tolstoy. Almanca*

aslından çeviren Gülperi Sert. Editör Koray Karasulu, Ankara, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2018, 407 p., «Modern klasikler dizisi», no. 18.
Turkish translation. 13th edition.

- Stefan Zweig, *Kendi hayatının şiiirini yazanlar. Casanova – Stendhal – Tolstoy. Almanca aslından çeviren Gülperi Sert. Editör Koray Karasulu*, Ankara, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2019, 407 p., «Modern klasikler dizisi», no. 18.
Turkish translation. 14th edition.

SECTION E. CREATIVE WORKS INSPIRED BY CASANOVA

- Richard Aldington, *Giacomo a Henrietta. Původní anglický text upravil Bohumil Sláma*, Praha, Atelier 89, 2018, 90 p.
Czech translation by Sláma of Aldington's *The Romance of C.*

- Guillaume Apollinaire, *Teatro. Edizione italiana a cura di Franca Bruera*, Roma, Carocci, 2019, 283 p., "Lingue e letteratura Carocci", n. 301.
Containing the play titled *Casanova*.

- Gianluigi Coppola, *Martin Mistère. Casanova. [Crtež Gianluigi Coppola. Tekst Stefano Santarelli. Prijevod Andrej Cvitaš]*, Zagreb, Libellus, 2018, 96 p., ill., "Biblioteka Martin Mystère", no. 96.
Comic inspired by C. Croatian translation of the Italian edition.

- Jean Dufaux – Griffo, *Giacomo Casanova, retour à Venise*, Grenoble, Glénat, 2017, 55 p., ill.
Graphic novel of C.'s return to Venice.

- Gerd Forster, *Besuch beim alten Casanova*, Zell, Rhein-Mosel, 2019, 102 p., ill.
Historical novel based upon the encounter between Giuseppe Lolli, first voice in *Don Giovanni*, and C., who was then librarian at Dux in the Waldstein castle. He discovers that C. is a friend of Lorenzo Da Ponte. The two start a conversation where C. complains about his life in the castle.

- Thomas Hürlimann, *De Casanova im Chloster. Komödie. Mit Begleittexten*, Einsiedeln, Kulturverein Chärnehus Einsiedeln, 2017, 131 p., ill., "Schriften des Kulturvereins Chärnehus Einsiedeln", no. 44.
Theatrical comedy inspired by C.'s life. A book published for its first representation by Theatergruppe Chärnehus Einsiedeln, from October 19th to December 2nd, 2017

- Leonid Itselev, *Неизвестная рукопись Казановы. Роман, пьесы, киносценарии, пародийная рецензия. Neizvestnaia rukopis' Kazanovy. Roman, p'esy, kinostsenarii*,

parodiinaia retsenziia, Франкфурт-на-Майне Frankfurt-na-Maiine, Литературный европеец Literturnyĭ evropeet's', 2018, 476 p., “Russkaia zarubezhnaia proza”. Translation: *An unknown C. manuscript*. Historical novel in Russian.

- Arthur Japin, *Een schitterend gebrek. Roman*, Amsterdam, De Arbeiderspers, 2018, 239 p. New paperback edition, and with a different cover.

- Bozena Anna Kowalczyk – Stéphane Beaujean, *Venise sur les pas de Casanova. De la peinture du XVIIIe siècle à la bande dessinée*, Grenoble, Glénat, 2018, 96 p., ill., “Beaux livres patrimoine”.

A book born thanks to the cooperation of eight cartoonists (François Avril, Griffo, Miles Hyman, Kim Jung Gi, Tanino Liberatore, Loustal, Milo Manara, and Zep) involved in outlining Venice following C.’s footsteps. This work was printed for the exhibition staged by Glénat Foundation for the heritage and creativity, held at the Musée d’Angoulême, and at the Cloister of Saint-Cécile in Grenoble in 2018.

- Barbara Lynn-Davis, *Casanova a jeho utajená žena. Přeložila Nicole Škorpilová*, Praha, Brána, 2018, 296 p.

Czech translation of Lynn-Davis’ work titled *Casanova’s Secret Wife*.

- Baltasar Magro, *Casanova en la ciudad levítica*, Madrid, Alianza, 2017, 416 p.

Novel inspired by C.’s travel to Toledo, where the mystery of the reason why he arrived there interlaces with the story.

- Sándor Márai, *Die Gräfin von Parma. Roman. Übersetzung aus dem Ungarischen von Renée von Stipsicz-Gariboldi. Überarbeitet von Hanna Siehr*, München, Piper, 2019, 239 p.

German translation of *Vendégjáték Bolzánóban*.

- António Mega Ferreira, *Cartas de Casanova. Lisboa 1757*, [Lisboa], Sextante, 2017, 206 p., ill.

Reprint of 2013 edition.

- Andrew Miller, *Казанова. [Перевод с английского Е. Любимовой]*, Москва, Э, 2017, 317 p., [1] p.

New Russian edition of Lyubimova’s translation.

- Derek Parker, *Conversations with Casanova. A fictional dialogue based on biographical facts. Foreword by Dita Von Teese*, London, Watkins Publishing, 2019, 128 p.

- Christian Rome, *Casanova, la nuit de Dresde. Pièce en 4 actes*, Paris, Triartis, 2019, 90 p., “Sur la scène”.

A drama where C. meets his mother and they face each other with their adventurous lives.

Anna Paola Sanna, *Capriccio. Tre donne in fuga*, [s.l.], a spese dell'autore, 2017, 37 p.
A novel inspired by three women; one of them is Maddalena Balletti receiving a letter from a mysterious chevalier.

- Matteo Strukul, *Casanova. A megtört szívek szonátája. [Fordította Sermann Eszter]*, Budapest, Európa, 2019, 353 p., [4] p.
Hungarian translation by Ezster of Strukul's novel.

- Matteo Strukul, *Casanova. La sonata dei cuori infranti. Romanzo*, Milano, Mondadori, 2018, 305 p., "Omnibus".
Historical novel inspired by C.

- Matteo Strukul, *Casanova. Roman. Traduit de l'italien par Joseph Antoine*, Neuilly-sur-Seine, Michel Lafon, 2019, 377 p.
French translation of Strukul's novel.

- Matteo Strukul, *De liefdes van Casanova. Venetië, 1755. Giacomo Casanova keert terug in de stad die gebukt gaat onder armoede en geweld. Vertaling [uit het Italiaans] Esther Smit-Schiphorst*, [Amsterdam], Boekerij, [2019], 304 p.
Dutch translation of Strukul's novel.

- Matteo Strukul, *Đakomo Kazanova. Balada slomljenih srca. Preveo Ljubeta Babović*, Beograd, Vulkan izdavaštvo, 2019, 278 p., 4 diagrams.
Serbian translation by Babović of Strukul's novel. Issued in 1000 copies.

- Matteo Strukul, *Giacomo Casanova. Sonata inimilor frănte. Traducere și note de Gabriela Lungu*, [s.l.], Humanitas Fiction, 2019, 304 p.
Rumanian translation by Lungu of Strukul's novel.

- Matteo Strukul, *Kazanoba*, [s.l.], Μεταχμιο, 2019.
Greek translation of Strukul's novel.

- Sebastiano Vassalli, *Dux. Casanova in Böhmen. Aus dem Italienischen von Andreas Rostek*, Berlin, Edition.fotoTAPETA, 2018, 80 p.
German translation of Vassalli's work.

- Yun Wang, *Casanova: a translation from Fellini*, in «Prairie Schooner», no. 1, vol. 92, Spring 2018, [s.l.], University of Nebraska Press, 2018, 925 p.
English translation of Zanzotto's rhyme for Fellini's movie about C.

- Alfred Zellinger, *Flaneurgeschichten aus der imaginären Metropole Europas. Roman*, Wien, Löcker, 2019, 400 p.
The author creates imaginary travels in different European cities. C. is present in Greece and Vienna.

ANNEX. GENERAL WORKS

- *Aber es ist doch Nijinsky! Band I. [Herausgegeben von Natalie Fischer]*, Berlin, Mons, 2017, 280 p., ill.

With a short chapter dedicated to C., titled *Lehrzeit an der Pariser Oper – Dupré und Camargo*, on pp. 76-84.

- Branko Aleksić, *Casanova débat de la probabilité avec Jacquier et Boscovich*, in *François Jacquier. Un savant des Lumières entre le cloître et le monde. Sous la direction de Gilles Montègre et Pierre Crépel*, Nancy, PUN – Éditions universitaires de Lorraine, 2017, pp. 353-368.

- Luigi Amara, *Die Perücke. Aus dem Spanischen von Peter Kultzen*, Berlin, Berenberg, 2017, 224 p., ill.

German translation of the original work dedicated to hairstyle and wigs, titled *Historia desca-bellada de la peluca*. With a short chapter dedicated to C., titled *Casanova, die Perücke und die Maske*, on pp. 19-25.

- Esther Bell, *Paris*, in *Casanova. The seduction of Europe. Edited by Frederick Ilchman, Thomas Michie, C.D. Dickerson III, and Esther Bell. With contributions by Meredith Chilton, Jeffrey Collins, Nina L. Dubin, Courtney Leigh Harris, James H. Johnson, Pamela A. Parmal, Malina Stefanovska, Susan M. Wager, and Michael Yonan*, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 2017, pp. 116-141.

- John Bew – Simon Sebag Montefiore, *Titans of History*, London, Quercus, 2017, XII-620 p. New updated edition of the one published in 2012, with adds from *Heroes* and *Monsters* published by the same printer respectively in 2008 and 2009.

- Michel Brix, *Libertinage des Lumières et guerre des sexes*, [s.l.], Kimé, 2018, 333 p., “Détours littéraires”.

Containing three essays on C., titled *Casanova, ou les baisers du vampire*, *Casanova et la philosophie des Lumières*, «*Politique*» *sexuelle de Casanova*. Bibliography on pp. 324-330.

- Giacomo Casanova – Paul-Émile Bécacat, *Die Memoiren des Casanova. “Ein Spiel der Liebe und der Zufalls”*. 55 Illustrierte Spielkarten mit Miniaturen von Paul-Émile Bécacat, Berlin, Walde + Graf, 2017.

55 playing cards in a four-color slipcase. Illustrations are taken from Bécacat’s drawings for *Mes amours à Venise*, published by Raoult in 1954.

- Piero Chiara, *In viaggio. A cura di Francesca Boldrini ed Egea Roncoroni. Introduzione di Federico Roncoroni*, Torino, Aragno, [2019], XIV-367 p., “Biblioteca Aragno. Ante litteram”. Containing articles previously issued in many magazines or newspapers. We can find *Casanova chiama, io vado*, about Chiara’s travels in Czech Republic on pp. 235-240.

©Gino Ruozzi, *Con Piero Chiara in Valsolda*, in «*Il Gazzettino*», 15.09.2019.

- Meredith Chilton, *Champagne and Oysters*, in *Casanova. The seduction of Europe*. Edited by Frederick Ilchman, Thomas Michie, C.D. Dickerson III, and Esther Bell. With contributions by Meredith Chilton, Jeffrey Collins, Nina L. Dubin, Courtney Leigh Harris, James H. Johnson, Pamela A. Parmal, Malina Stefanovska, Susan M. Wager, and Michael Yonan, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 2017, pp. 204-219.

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- Michèle Sajous d'Oria, *Liberté, égalité, volupté, in L'atelier des idées. Pour Michel Delon. Direction par Jacques Berchtold & Pierre Frantz*, Paris, PUPS, 2017, pp. 417-427, “Lettres françaises”.

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- Gianluca Simeoni, *Le lettere mai spedite o quasi di due avventurieri. La funzione epistolare nell'attività letteraria di Giacomo Casanova e Stjepan Zannowich*, in *Le carte false. Epistolarietà fittizia nel Settecento. A cura di Fabio Forner, Valentina Gallo, Sabine Schwarz, Corrado Viola*, Roma, Edizioni di storia e letteratura [2017], pp. 299-316, "Biblioteca del XVIII secolo", no. 32.

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- Daniela Strigl, *Der "universalste Dilettant" als "Baumeister der Welt" – Zu Zweigs biographischem Essay über Giacomo Casanova*, in *"Am liebsten wäre mir Rom!". Stefan Zweig und Italien. Herausgegeben von Arturo Larcati und Klemens Renoldner*, Würzburg, Königshausen & Neumann, [2019], pp. 99-118.

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- Helmut Watzlawick, *Elisa von der Recke und Giacomo Casanova. Miscellen zur Unsterblichkeit der Seele*, in *Elisa von der Recke. Kontexte und Perspektiven, Veranstaltung. 2016. Lüttich. Elisa von der Recke*, Heidelberg, Universitätsverlag Winter, 2018, pp. 131-146.

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- Michela Zaccaria, *Primedonne. Flaminia e Silvia dalla Commedia dell'arte a Marivaux*, Roma, Bulzoni, [2019], 349 p., “Biblioteca teatrale”, no. 190.

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NOTES & QUERIES

An unpublished letter by Casanova to his nephew Carlo in 1791

An unpublished letter written by Casanova to his nephew Carlo in 1791, when he was 66 and working as a librarian in Bohemia, has been discovered by Maria Giovanna De Simone, Library assistant at the Wren Library at Trinity College, Cambridge. Written in Italian, the letter was pasted inside the flyleaf of an 1833 French copy of Casanova's memoirs, one of the 7,500 books in the Crewe Collection bequeathed to the college in 2015 by the late Duchess of Roxburghe. It reveals a more tetchy side of the adventurer, whose nephew had written to ask for money to pay a debt that Casanova apparently owed a merchant in Dresden. There was one problem, Casanova replied, he had already settled it. Carlo's offer was a scam. "As usual, you have lied," his uncle begins. Insults fly. Carlo's letter, he says, was "impertinent, insolent and dishonest, worthy of a reckless madman". This was not, it seems, Carlo's first attempt to swindle his uncle. Casanova reminds him of a previous scam. "I didn't scold you, nor did I beat you, nor did I send you to jail, even if your father wrote to me that I should," he writes. "But I forgave you." And now this insult. "Tell me, were you drunk?" he asks. It seems Carlo is very unreliable, for Casanova also instructs him to stop fleeing town whenever he owes people money, but to pay up or, if he can't, face justice. "Don't believe that I am angry at you," he says. "I hope you have already regretted it." He ends with a piece of advice: change your attitude before your father dies "or you will be miserable for the rest of your life". It is signed "vostro affettuosissimo zio", your most affectionate uncle. More details by Patrick Kidd in «The Times» Saturday May 08, 2021 and in the interview with Maria Giovanna De Simone on the website of the Trinity College (<https://www.trin.cam.ac.uk/news/hidden-casanova-letter-discovered/>).

Rarissima casanoviana

Wissenschaftliches Antiquariat Thomas Haker (Klettgau, D) ha posto in vendita il volumetto *Confessioni / di un / uomo di mondo. / Memorie / di / G. Casanova di Seingalt / scritte da lui medesimo. / Prima traduzione italiana, con note del Traduttore. / Volume primo*, Milano, Tipografia Guglielmini, 1873 (in 16°, pp. XVI-230, [2] con 1 tav. f.t.) raffigurante l'esorcismo di Bettina. Sconosciuto a tutte le bibliografie (Childs, Simeoni) e apparentemente assente da tutte le biblioteche italiane, risulta essere in assoluto la prima traduzione italiana delle Memorie, anteriore a quella ben nota ai collezionisti dell'editore Perino (1882), non proseguita per motivi che rimangono tuttora da indagare. Il testo presenta un'introduzione del traduttore (*Notizie sull'autore e sulle sue memorie*) datata Milano luglio 1873 ed è accompagnato da note pure anonime. La traduzione non presenta alcun elemento di affinità con quella licenziata quasi dieci anni dopo dall'editore Perino. La tipografia Guglielmini era stata, in associazione con Richiedei, editore dei *Promessi sposi* di Alessandro Manzoni (Antonio Trampus).

Duxionnaire on line

Le “Duxionnaire” connecté à les transcriptions de Marco Leeflang est en ligne (en open access) sur le site de l’ULiège Library. Pour y avoir accès, le plus simple est de taper « Duxionnaire » sur Google, autrement l’adresse internet est <https://app.lib.uliege.be/casanova/>. Une convention est signée avec les Archives de Prague pour que l’on puisse avoir accès aux scans des manuscrits originaux à partir du « Duxionnaire ». D’après les informations de notre collègue de l’Université de Liège Françoise Tilkin, les Archives pragoises ont achevé la numérisation du fonds Casanova, mais le fichage est en cours. La pandémie n’a pas aidé. Ce « Duxionnaire électronique » (inventaire + transcriptions + projet d’accès aux scans des originaux) a reçu une aide de la Fondation Roi Badouin).

Casanova in poesia

Da Zurigo l’amico e casanovista Marco Elia Timpano ci invia questo omaggio poetico a Giacomo Casanova, che ben esprime il fascino del veneziano e che volentieri pubblichiamo:

Su polverose strade e svariate carrozze,
sempre di fretta per sfuggire al destino o per sfuggire alla noia,
quante maschere Giacomo Girolamo Casanova ma poi sei sempre tu il violinista,
il libertino l’avventuriero lo scrittore il filosofo e l’alchimista,
solo con i dolci affanni e mai con una delle loro dolci provocatrici sei a nozze,
il tempo inganna anche te Casanova il tutto non sarà solo gioia.

La tua Serenissima- in quegli umidi Piombi nella tua bassa cella,
ancora più viva quella voglia di libertà di essere padrone di te stesso,
il bisogno di sedurre e farsi sedurre dagli occhi di una giovine donzella,
ti portano per l’ennesima volta sotto lo sguardo della luna e del suo nella laguna riflesso,
alla geniale e leggendaria fuga dai tetti,
non dimenticando ti portare con te il tuo alto e fiero aspetto coperto
da un mantello e merletti.

In corsa per tutta l’Europa e anche oltre il Casanova,
alla corte dei re alle tavole di grandi menti e nelle case di poveri popolani,
sempre a tuo agio anche in compagnia di famosi ciarlatani,
diviso tra duelli lotterie minuetti e tra le cosce di una donna nelle tue vene scorre la teatralità,
così diventi del tuo tempo un osservatore di grande affidabilità,
di un secolo come te declini alla inaspettata fine per lasciar avanzare un’epoca nuova.

Ogni gioco ha la sua fine e nessun gioco bello che sia ne è escluso,
Casanova dopo molti anni d'esilio dalla tua amata patria torni e riparti subito ormai disilluso,
per finire in Boemia in un freddo castello alle prese con un maggiordomo anziano,
che si burla dell'affascinante Signore di Seingalt Veneziano,
per darti all'ultimo duello a colpi di pena e inchiostro durante il notturno orario,
dove la solitudine diventa oramai una cara ma temuta amica del nostro vecchio bibliotecario.

E di nuovo sempre per sfuggire- questa volta dall'ultimo atto della tua esistenza,
dai vita ai tuoi ricordi su carta e prendono forma le tue memorie,
ah Casanova li senti ancora quelle voci dei da te visitate locande e di quei luoghi gli odori?
In fine pensando a Henriette e Manon e le altre hai trovato l'amore nei tuoi più svariati amori?
Il pensiero è una goccia eterna e la vita è in sé di tutte la più incredibile esperienza.
Il tempo ti onora- Casanovisti sulle tracce dei tuoi misteri le lettere e le tue svariate spoglie!

Marco Elia Timpano, 7 febbraio 2013

Michel Deguy (1930-2022), «malgré le corps comme Casanova...»

Michel Deguy, poète et philosophe, est né à Paris, le 23 mai 1930, et il y est mort à l'âge de quatre-vingt-onze ans, le 16 février 2022 ; « On s'était bien habitué à vivre ». Dans un poème en prose, le poète se compare – au moins, a comparé son corps – à Casanova. Avec les *Conseils* d'Henri Michaux («Casanova, dans son exil, disait à qui voulait l'entendre : 'Je suis. Casanova, le faux. Casanova.' Ainsi de moi, Messieurs... »), et plus récemment, avec *De Capo*, d'Alain Jouffroy, 1983 (« Mais Giacomo composé de la même matière que moi / Marche en moi au même rythme rapide que les passants du Rialto... »), cette allusion de Michel Deguy, représente l'exemple éclatant d'une même métaphore transférentielle casanovienne dans la poésie moderne.

On pourrait dire que « cette apparition simultanée du signe [ici : *Casanova*] n'est que la nature d'une langue, la prosodie du *comme & conjonction*», comme l'observe Leonardo Clerici dans sa préface aux lettres de Michaux, *Sitôt lus* (Fayard, 1999). Au début du XX^e siècle, cette conjonction se trouve tout d'abord chez James Joyce, dans son opuscule érotique : *Giacomo Joyce*, des années triestines 1910 (dévoilé seulement en 1969), puis chez le poète croate Antun-Gustav Matoš, qui fait allusion à la fuite de la Prison sous les Plombs : « J'ai été en la prison et me suis évadé, comme Casanova... », ainsi que chez Miloš Crnjanski, poète et écrivain serbe : « J'ai fait la guerre et ai brûlé d'amour, comme Casanova » ; *Dnevnik o arnojevi u – Journal de arnojevi*, 1923 (voir le résumé français de notre étude : *Kazanovisti ka erotika – Erotica Casanoviana*, Belgrade, 2008).

Le poème en prose casanovien de Deguy propose : « Oublier l'image » (in *Jumelages*, Seuil, 1978 ; repris in *Poèmes 1970-1980*, Gallimard/Poésie, 1986, p. 102-105). On se rappelle que Jean-Luc Godard a inséré une photographie de Deguy dans l'un de ses films,

en arguant que c'est « *parce qu'il a un bon visage* ». Godard serait classé donc parmi ceux qu'invitaient poète « mécaniquement », dit-il dans son poème ;

« ton oblique présentation ou toi-même sans fard comme une écorce énamouraient... »

On a constaté cette attirance pour l'apparence de Casanova : il avait le suffrage au premier regard. Cependant, continue Deguy :

« Malgré le corps comme Casanova tu voulais savoir, apprendre, changer, mais les cheveux qu'une pesanteur à ton usage étalait sans relâche comme une source sur sa pierre, te trahissaient, et l'imagination démunie attrapait la plaie de ta figure endémique. »

Le passage « comme Casanova... », présente donc une énigme à plusieurs égards. Le désir du savoir semble comme opposé au personnage de Casanova ; « *malgré...* » lui ? *Totum corpus podagra* « tout le corps est goutte », se résignait Franz Hellens dans *Mélusine*, prose hallucinante, sur laquelle Henri Michaux écrit une étude en 1925. Pourtant, Deguy remontait aux temps antiques où existait encore le lien explicite entre Eros et le Savoir, et où « l'âme » n'était pas encore considérée comme « un corps étranger dans le corps » (dans un poème récent de Deguy)...

Le symbole de la Muse n'était pas seulement un avatar de la Mémoire, il était plus –

« l'élément de croyance à l'amour [...], la 'muse' native d'éros et fidèle à ses avatars » (*Tombeau de Du Bellay*, 1978).

Casanova s'exclamant: *je veux que l'Europe sait que je sais écrire...* ; témoignage de son désir d'apprendre, ainsi que ses dernières élucubrations : « Je suis Leibniz... », dans l'esquisse volontairement délirante de sa préface pour *Histoire de mon existence* (le premier titre des mémoires). Or, quand Deguy recommande : « et voyez le clown fellinien parler comme Leibniz » (*Autrefois*), cela ne peut être qu'un des films de Fellini avant 1973, date où Deguy publie le *Tombeau de Du Bellay*. Par anticipation, cependant, cela sera aussi *Il Casanova di Fellini*, tourné en 1975, clownerie de l'aventurier qui s'imaginait dans ses métépsychoses précisément comme Gottfried Leibniz. Par conséquent, c'est à ce dernier que le prince de Ligne emprunterait les derniers mots supposés de Casanova, ami : « J'ai vécu en philosophe, et je meurs en chrétien »... D'ailleurs, dit Michel Deguy, parmi nous il n'y a « pas un qui n'avait déliré de métépsychose, ne se soit fait son jugement dernier » (*Leaving you...*, 1978). Et voyez aussi le *Consolatio* avec sa question de mille ans « *sous Ramsès sous Rome sous Louis* ». Et sous Casanova..., on se remémora les moments érotiques où le poète Michel Deguy était

« Au cinéma *Sésame* quand la robe s'entrouvre » (*Rome...*) ;

où il contemplant sa Muse avec

« la huche bien fermée de tes hanches... » (*De dos quand tu montes*),

et où il s'est érigé en ce poème, intitulé en latin : « Iaculatio tardiva » (*Donnant donnant*, 1981). Nous lirons ces vers comme une poésie « éjaculatoire » : un exemple selon la bonne volonté de Giacomo Casanova, *Bonae voluntate specimen Jacobi Cassanei*, conservé dans ses Archives (U 16 B 41), avec ce titre emblématique : *Italo-latino ejaculatio*.

Elio Bartolini, écrivain, poète et scénariste (1922-2006), a très bien saisi que Casanova, possédant une confiance et une exaltation narcissiques, était « absolument insensible à la poésie de l'horreur, du grandiose et l'élégiaque » (*Casanova, Dalla felicità alla morte*, Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, Milano, 1994 - trad. fr. « Le crépuscule de Casanova », éditions Desjonquères, Paris, 1995, p. 11-12 et 95). Quoique le poème de Casanova, *Prière à la déesse du destin*, montre qu'il n'était pas étranger au ton élégiaque pendant son exil, la plupart des poètes qui lui ont consacré des vers, ont partagé le point de vue de Bartolini. Ainsi, Michel Deguy écrivit dans la postface de ses *Poèmes 1970-1980* : « je quitte les leçons des ténèbres [titre d'un cycle dans le *Tombeau de Du Bellay...*, 1973] pour la gaieté paradoxale... » Souvenons-nous que les *Regrets* de Joachim du Bellay, qui séjourna à Rome entre 1553 et 1573, « sortant déjà de l'âge plus dispos... », portent les réminiscences évidentes de la *Divine comédie*. Pour résumer les guerres, les tortures et les exactions des hommes par leurs semblables, qu'a vu le XX^e siècle, Deguy évoque l'*Inferno* de Dante, Canto XXVIII, 19-27 (en passant, il faut corriger trois fautes dans la transcription des trois premiers vers cités, *Poèmes 1970-1980*, p. 87 : *e qual mozzo* au lieu de : « et qual mozzo », *d'aequar* au lieu de « da equar » et *il modo* au lieu de « al modo »... !), avec les membres de corps rompus et *il tristo sacco* d'intestins, « la boîte à caca » cassée. Rappelons encore une fois la profession de foi du comte Lamberg deux siècles avant (Brünn, le 16-XII-1780), qui défia Casanova : « Avouez que ce maudit enfer que le Dante nous dépeint si terrible... n'est rien en comparaison de notre maudit pauvre monde. » (Branko Aleksić).

Casanova, Camilla Veronese e l'abbé Clément

James R. Childs aveva segnalato (*Casanoviana. An Annotated World Bibliography*, pp. 11-12) la pubblicazione sul *Mercure de France* (avril 1757, p. 173-174) dei versi di Casanova a Camilla Veronese, seguiti da due risposte anonime, una delle quali anonima e intitolata *Sur le Portrait de Camille Veronese fait en Vers Italien*. Questo stesso testo è riportato nel volume *Oeuvres diverses de M. L'Abbé Clément C.D.S.L.D.L.* (=Chanoine de Saint Louis Du Louvre), Paris 1764 (pp. 135-136). Possiamo così finalmente identificare l'autore, cioè l'abbé Jean Clément, nato ad Apt nel 1700, morto a Parigi nel 1774, scrittore giansenista sul *Mercure* ed elemosiniere dell'arcivescovo di Parigi (cfr. C.-F.-H. Barjavel, *Dictionnaire historique, biographique et bibliographique du Département de Vaucluse*, vol. 1, Charpentier, Impr. Devillario, 1841, p. 383). È interessante il fatto che, trascorsi sette anni nel 1764 il titolo dei versi cambia e diventa *Vers à M. Casanova sur le Portrait qu'il a fait de Mademoiselle de la Viewille en Vers Italien qu'il fit imprimer*. Chi fosse questa Mademoiselle de la Viewille è quasi impossibile capire. Ma il nostro amico Gianluca Simeoni suggerisce invece che possa

trattarsi di un gioco di parole: sostituire il nome di Camilla Veronese con Vieuville, poteva essere un modo per contrapporre a *Casa-nova* la *Vieu-ville* (cioè città vecchia)? (Antonio Trampus).

ABSTRACTS

Dino Detailleur, *Are the Memoirs true or false? An Old Casanovist Question Brought to Light Again*

In this article memory will be accepted as the ultimate bearer of meaning of the *History of My Life*. Memory is a commitment to transfer truth, and this commitment can be used to assess the historical truthfulness of the work. The *Memoirs* will be considered as a “working out” or elaboration of memory data. The constraints, through which the process from memory to text has been carried out, will be the tools to provide insight into what is true and what is false. A classification of these constraints – an autobiographical frame – will serve as a perspective through which the assessment can proceed.

Corrado Viola, «Pr.» come Preganziol? A proposito della Christine casanoviana

The purpose of this contribution is to identify «Pr.», the town of «Christine», the rich peasant woman from Treviso whom Casanova wants to marry, as he recounts in chapter VIII of volume II of the *Histoire de ma vie*. Cristina, Casanova says, married in 1747 with a certain Carlo. Commentators agree in identifying the town in Preganziol near Treviso, but nevertheless there are geographical and topographical inconsistencies in the text that make this identification doubtful. Based on careful archival and cartographic research, the author excludes that «Pr.» can be identified in Preganziol and hypothesizes that the research must be carried out elsewhere, considering «Pr.» not as the first two letters of the place name, but as part of another toponym.

Jean-Claude Hauc & Gianluca Simeoni, *A propos de Edoardo Tiretta*

According to Samaran’s documents found in his personal archive, the authors try to make a survey over the darkest years of one of the weirdest friends of C. Details found in local magazines, in books never digged as deep as they deserved, Tiretta shines with a new light revealing how he loved his family, his work and how he was appreciated in the town where he lived all those years.

Marco Leeﬂang & Antonio Trampus, *Correspondence Bernhard Marr – Carlo Leone Curiel. Part II: 1921-1931*

This is the second part of Bernhard Marr’s correspondence with Carlo Leone Curiel (see «Casanoviana», I, 2018) covering the years 1921-1931. After World War I, Marr committed himself to foster the cultural contacts between Vienna and Venice. The Carlo Leone Curiel Archive, kept at the Museo del Teatro “C. Schmidl” in Trieste, contains a few letters sent by Marr to Curiel which can integrate the already known correspondence. Among the survived letters, there are those from Marr to Curiel. Their struggle to overcome material difficulties in order to find materials and documents – even writing paper – and in order to keep communicating reveals that the Casanovists’ activity meant, although maybe unintentionally, also reconstructing an ideal and cosmopolitan Europe which seemed lost.

Furio Luccichenti, *Federico Montecuccoli degli Erri*

A remembrance and a biographical profile of Federico Montecuccoli degli Erri (1934-2022), former bank director in Venice and Casanovist, author of *Cammei casanoviani* (2006) and specialist on the book and art history. With the full list of Montecuccoli’s publications between 1979 and 2012.

Marco Leeﬂang, *Beyond Repair*

The last short ironic and playful letter addressed by Marco Leeﬂang to all Casanovist friends in November 2021.

Tom Vitelli, *Marco Leeﬂang – In memoriam*

Branko Aleksić, *Marco Leeﬂang: La générosité humaine et l’amitié casanoviste*

The remembrance and the biographical profile of Marco Leeﬂang (1933-2022), former co-editor of «Casanova Gleanings», «L’Intermédiaire des Casanovistes», and recently of «Casanoviana», the well-known and respected Casanovist in the international community.

Gianluca Simeoni, *Bibliographical Notes 2017-2019*

It is the column of bibliographic updating of the editions of and on C., with the publication of the records relating to the four-year period 2017-2019, and the inclusion of some new discoveries and bibliographic rarities of the 19th and 20th centuries.

THE AUTHORS

Branko Aleksić, poet, historian of art and literature, specialist of Serbian surrealism and of the work of Rétif de la Bretonne, is the author of many studies on the Enlightenment and Casanova including *Giacomo Casanova. Propos littéraires. Sur les traces du discours amoureux des Anciens et des Modernes* (2012). He is also author of *Casanova contre Bonaparte De rostir la politica xe arte («La politique est l'art de rôtir»)*. Textes établis et présentés par Branko Aleksić (Venise 2021, Documents casanoviens, n° 1 de la revue «Casanoviana»).

Dino Detailleur lives in Belgium. Since he encountered by chance *Histoire de ma vie* in a bookshop in Ghent during his language studies in 1979, he has been intrigued by how Casanova elaborates personal experiences into an appealing life-account. Detailleur has published articles on this matter in «L'Intermédiaire de Casanovistes» (2013), «Casanoviana» (2018), and on Pablo Günther's website, giacomo-casanova.de (2001).

Jean-Claude Hauc, lives and works in Montpellier, France, and is a novelist and essayist. He has published around twenty novels and stories with different publishers, as well as works on the 18th century. As specialist in adventurers and libertines, he is particularly interested in Goudar, Casanova, Sade and Nerciat. He is also author of *Les valets de Casanova suivi de Louis de Castelbajac, rival de Casanova*, Les Éditions de Paris, 2020.

Furio Luccichenti is the founder, with H. Watzlawick, of the «L'Intermédiaire des Casanovistes» and editor, with M.-F. Luna, G. Lahouati, H. Watzlawick of the new critical edition in the Pléiade collection of the *Histoire de ma vie* (Paris, Gallimard, 2013-2015).

Marco Leeftang, editor of «Casanoviana», Casanovist since 1973, already collaborator of J.R. Childs and F.-L. Mars on «Casanova Gleanings», co-editor of «L'Intermédiaire des Casanovistes» was one of the most important specialists on the Fond Casanova in Dux/Duchcov.

Gianluca Simeoni works at the University of Brescia (I) and is editor and translator in Italian of many texts by Casanova. He is the author of *Storia editoriale di una vita. Bibliografia delle edizioni dell'Histoire de ma vie di Giacomo Casanova 1822-2019* (Verona, Oltrepagina, 2021) and *Giacomo Casanova. Una biografia intellettuale e romanzesca* (2009) with B. Capaci.

Tom Vitelli, editor of «Casanoviana», former co-editor of «L'Intermédiaire des Casanovistes», is author of books and articles about Casanova. He is critical editor (with M. Leeftang) of Casanova, *Examen des études de la nature et de Paul et Virginie de Bernardin de Saint-Pierre* (1985), of *Philocalies: sur les sottises des mortels* (1993), and translator of S. Feroci's *Casanova in Tuscany* (2012).

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- F. Luccichenti, *Ma dove sta scritto?*, «Casanoviana», IV (2021), p.111 (if citations are from works published in a review);
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Le Memorie di Casanova. 200 anni di intrighi, censure, misteri

A cura di Gianluca Simeoni, Antonio Trampus, Simone Volpato

Ronzani Editore, Dueville, 2022, 208 p., euro 19

Come mai a 200 anni dalla loro prima pubblicazione, in lingua tedesca, nel 1822, le Memorie di Casanova continuano ad affascinare? Che cosa ha spinto letterati, artisti, storici e scienziati, lungo il corso dei suoi due secoli, a interessarsi di quest'opera? Come è nato e come è stato costruito il mito di Giacomo Casanova avventuriero, seduttore e uomo di lettere? Cercano risposte gli otto contributi di autori italiani e stranieri raccolti in questo volume, raccontando l'affascinante storia dell'autobiografia di Casanova e del suo mondo attraverso le strategie di scrittura e di composizione del testo, gli episodi più affascinanti e curiosi da raccontare, il viaggio delle Memorie nel tempo e nello spazio, grazie ai traduttori e agli editori, ai critici e agli accusatori. Si passa così dagli episodi della vita privata, messi sulla scena pubblica come le disavventure dei protettori di Casanova, ai personaggi che popolano il testo, come il turco e il diavolo, dall'intreccio tra androginia, travestimenti e altre trasgressioni della sessualità, ai conflitti culturali e di coscienza nelle traduzioni e riedizioni dell'opera lungo l'Otto e il Novecento, attraverso Ugo Foscolo, il mondo britannico e il senso comune del pudore agli albori dell'epoca fascista. Il mondo dell'arte e quello della storia si appropriano così definitivamente dell'opera, consentendoci di rispondere alla sempre avvincente domanda: le Memorie di Casanova sono vere o false?

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COLOPHON

Formato: 15,5x21,5 cm

Carattere: Bodoni

Carta interna: Fedrigoni Arcoprint Edizioni 1.3 avorio 120 gr.

Legatura: Fedrigoni Nettuno Bianco Artico 215 gr.

Progetto grafico: Franco Han

Stampa e rilegatura: Art Group Graphics, Trieste

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Stampa: settembre 2022