# WORDSWORTH AND ITALY

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Wordsworth's direct acquaintance with Italy during his most creative years was very slight. His Continental tours of 1790 and 1820 included brief visits to the Italian Alps (and, the second time round, to Milan). But his most comprehensive visit to the country was delayed until 1837, when the discomforts of coach travel in a cholera-stricken land (not to mention the late hours kept up by his travelling-companion, Henry Crabb Robinson), made the whole experience somewhat wearisome to the ageing poet, – though his letters home are a conscientious record of what he saw and felt.

The *idea* of Italy, on the other hand, had figured largely in his imaginative life since childhood. He dreamt of the Sicilian mountains, he tells us in *The Prelude*, long before he read about them in Greek Pastoral; and the *genius loci* of Virgil's and Horace's rural landscapes, which he evoked so vividly for Coleridge's benefit when his friend was absent in Malta and Sicily, was a lifelong inspiration and challenge to him.[1] For Italy, the cradle of Classical and Renaissance civilisation, was also the homeland of a nation whose degradation was mourned over the centuries by poets like Petrarch, Filicaia, and (in his own day) Leopardi, but which might yet rise again to its former glory if the twin evils of Austrian domination and the Pope's temporal power could be removed. While Wordsworth was recuperating at Racedown in 1796 from the aftermath of the French Revolution, and beginning to establish fresh poetic priorities on the eve of his greatest decade as a poet, Napoleon began his Italian campaign, and thereafter Italy was seldom out of the news, or the poet's thoughts.

To understand this Italian dimension to Wordsworth's mind and art, one has to lay aside the fashionable stereotype of him as a brooding genius preoccupied with his own mental powers, and the 'simple' Wordsworth of popular legend, and take a fresh look at his literary culture and political philosophy. His engagement with Italian poets, moralists and historians, which began in his undergraduate years at Cambridge under the aegis of the refugee-

scholar Agostino Isola[2] and lasted for the rest of his life, has never been fully explored: partly perhaps because his acquaintance with Italian works can sometimes only be tentatively established, but more importantly because Italian sources often blend with other influences, Classical and English, so as to become almost indistinguishable from them.[3] Italian connections must not be asserted at the expense of the many other forces that helped to shape his art. Coleridge's influence on Wordsworth's Italian reading has also be taken into account, though Wordsworth came to the language much earlier. A brief discussion cannot provide a comprehensive catalogue of all the works that Wordsworth was probably acquainted with, but it can suggest the nature of his debt to the Italian literary tradition. The abiding presence of Italian writers and artists in his imagination, elusive though it sometimes is, cannot be doubted, so vividly real were they all to him when eventually he visited Vaucluse, Savona, Rome and Florence in 1837. Where should we look for evidence of these Italian affiliations?

Some Italian writers exerted a passing influence during his revolutionary period in the early 1790s. He placed Beccaria, for example, the great Enlightenment penal reformer, among those 'distinguished for their exertions in the cause of liberty',[4]and Beccaria's influence blended with Tom Paine's and Godwin's during the poet's republican phase. But Wordsworth soon repudiated Beccaria's utilitarian assumptions when his affinities with Bentham began to emerge, though the poet remained interested in penal questions to the end his days. His final arguments in the *Sonnets upon the punishment of Death* (1839 – 40) were closer to those of Beccaria's grandson, Alessandro Manzoni, whose *Column of Infamy*, published two years later as an appendix to his novel *The Betrothed*, was to explore the problems of human responsibility in much the same spirit, in reaction against the Enlightenment.

Wordsworth's early *penchant* for satire on courts and princes, for example Salvatore Rosa's[5] (who was also familiar to the young poet as a painter in the picturesque tradition) may have coloured the Juvenalian tone of much of Wordsworth's republican writing, which is as much a matter of literary stance as personal animus. But Rosa's attacks on literary pedantry and *marinismo* were more relevant to the poet's long-term aims, since his rejection of Marino's lavish conceits,[6] and the 'gaudiness and inane

phraseology of many modern writers', paved the way for the new 'experimental' manner of *Lyrical Ballads*.

By 1806, in a letter to Francis Wrangham asking him to destroy his early 'Imitation of Juvenal'[7], Wordsworth said that he had long since decided to steer clear of personal satire. But satirical comment on the *mores* of the age was another matter, and his letters thereafter from London were not entirely free from it.[8] As late as the *Preface of 1815*, he was still allowing a place in poetry for 'philosophical satire', on the model of Horace and Juvenal.[9] He could hardly have done otherwise, for in Coleridge's scheme for the *magnum opus* of *The Recluse*, Wordsworth was to don the mask of satire when he came to treat of the 'high civilisation of cities and towns.'[10] It was natural, therefore, that enough satire was clearly not his *forte*, he should continue to interest himself in works like Tommaso Garzoni's *Hospital of Incurable Fools*,[11] a casebook of human folly which rose to his lofty idea of the genre.

More fundamental, however, was Wordsworth's devotion to Italian epic and pastoral, in the footsteps of Spenser and Milton. In *Michael* and *The Prelude*, he was to show how the older conventions of Ariosto and Tasso, and of Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, which had already been transformed by his English predecessors, could be adapted to the fresh demands of modern poetry.[12] The *Orlando Furioso* had accompanied him on his 'pedestrian tour' to Switzerland in 1790, and Ariosto and Tasso continued to haunt his imagination at Blois, at the height of his hopes for France:

> And if a devious traveller was heard
> Approaching from a distance, as might chance,
> With speed and echoes loud of trampling hoofs
> From the hard floor reverberated, then
> It was Angelica thundering through the woods
> Upon her Palfrey, or that gentler Maid
> Erminia, fugitive as fair as She.[13]

At the beginning of *The Prelude*, Wordsworth invokes the romantic epics of the Renaissance before launching into a very different epic mode that 'cherishes our daily life',[14] and in 1802 he was translating the *Furioso* during a break in *Prelude* composition at Dove Cottage. Had he yet finally broken with the world of romance, as he had claimed to have done four years earlier in *Peter Bell*?

Wordsworth's prolonged interest in Ariosto suggests that his first commitment to 'The common growth of mother earth'[15] was not as final as is often supposed. The whimsical prologue to *Peter Bell*, one of his finest imaginative flights, reflects the pull still exerted by Ariosto's romance through all his successive revisions up to the date of publication in 1819. The poet's voyage among the stars in a little boat 'Whose shape is like the crescent-moon' (the 'adventurous Skiff/More daring far than Hippogriff' in the final version), echoes two epic journeys in the *Furioso*, Ruggiero's flight around the world on the back of the hippogriff in Canto IV, and Astolfo's trip to the moon and back in a divinely-powered chariot in Canto XXXIV. Though (as Wordsworth tells us),

> The dragon's wing, the magic ring,
> I shall not covet for my dower,
> If I along that lowly way
> With sympathetic heart may stray
> And with a soul of power,[16]

even so, the attractions of the world of romance were not diminished or removed in successive revisions of the text. Wordsworth leaves open the possibility of escape into 'a deep romantic land',

> Or we'll into the realm of Faery,
> Among the lovely shades of things;
> The shadowy forms of mountains bare,
> And streams, and bowers, and ladies fair;
> The shades of palaces and kings![17]

He retained the magical and bantering note of his controversial prologue right through to publication. Indeed, the idea of a voyage in an 'air craft' continued to appeal to him. In *On the Frith of Clyde* a late sonnet of 1833, he imagines the view of Arran from the air, echoing his earlier lines from *Peter Bell* about the hippogriff:

> Who but must covet a cloud-seat, or skiff
> Built for the air, or winged Hippogriff?
> That he might fly, where no one could pursue . . . .
> And, as a God, light on thy topmost cliff.[18]

The burlesque epics related to the *Orlando Furioso* and the *Gerusalemme Liberata*, which captivated the second generation of Romantic poets, and Byron in particular, seem to have left little permanent mark on Wordsworth's mind. But he knew such works

as Pulci's *Il Morgante, Il Malmantile Racquistato* of Lorenzo Lippi, the *Eromana* of Francesco Biondi, and Casti's *Gli Animali Parlanti* (1809)[19], and they could well furnish a precedent for his mock heroics in the *Peter Bell* prologue. It may be that the difficulties which many readers have found with this jeu d'esprit spring from its echoes of a mode that is foreign to English ears.

More important for Wordsworth, from as early as the Cambridge years, were the commanding figures of Petrarch, Dante and Boccaccio, and he was well ahead of many of the readers of his day in his knowledge and appreciation of all three.

Petrarch seems to have been an abiding presence in Wordsworth's life up to his Laureateship, not only as Milton's master in the sonnet, but more importantly because Petrarch set the agenda for the European poets who followed him, and Wordsworth shared his love of Italy and distrust of the Papacy, his preoccupation with memory and human transcience, his passion for nature and solitude as the poet of Vaucluse. Petrarch's *De Vita Solitaria*, with its praise of the literary life which can nowhere be more fruitfully pursued than in rural solitude, would have provided a classic precedent, had Wordsworth needed one, for the grand design of *The Recluse*, which was to offer pictures of Nature, Man and Society from the poet in retirement; and at the climax of his on *The Convention of Cintra* (1809), he cites the example of Petrarch, 'a man of disciplined spirit, who withdrew from the too busy world – not out of indifference to its welfare, or to forget its concerns – but retired for wider compass of eye-sight, that he might comprehend and see in just proportions and relations,'[20] invoking Petrarch's hatred for the rush of city life, and applying it to the blundering British policy in the Peninsula:

> We who were wont to show the right road to others, now like blind men led by the blind – a token of impending ruin – are being rushed along dangerous ways, revolving in the orbit of strange examples, not knowing what we desire . . . [21]

Wordsworth's indignation at the continuing plight of Italy would have gained strength from Petrarch's remarks in his treatise *De Remediis contra utriusque fortunae*, which Wordsworth knew.[22] The later perception of Petrarch's poems as embodying the history of a human soul may even have provided a precedent for Wordsworth's own arrangement of his poems in sequences to correspond with his sense of his own creative life.

The connections between Wordsworth and Dante are somewhat more elusive. He naturally applauded Dante's championship of the vernacular over Latin,[23] and thought his Italian 'admirable for conciseness and vigour, without abruptness.'[24] He cites the *Inferno* from time to time, and echoes its opening lines in earlier drafts of Peter Bell[25]. But he could not go all the way with Coleridge's enthusiasm for what he called 'the poetic union of religion and philosophy' in the *Commedia*,[26] and while admiring Cary's monumental translation, which did so much to further Dante's reputation in England, Wordsworth does not seem to have returned to the poem with much pleasure in later life, being put off – like so many eighteenth-century critics – by its 'offensively grotesque and fantastic' fictions.[27] Dante's creative influence on Wordsworth can be most clearly felt in the Sixth and Seventh Books of *The Excursion*, where the Pastor, taking on something of the role of Virgil in the *Commedia*, guides the Poet around the churchyard among the mountains, expounding the life-histories of his deceased parishioners, and the lessons they offer to the eye of faith, in an episode which is the equivalent to the descent into the Underworld in earlier epics.

As for Boccaccio, his influence as scholar, poet and storyteller was writ large over the English literary tradition from Chaucer onwards[28] and cannot have escaped Wordsworth's attention from the time when he discovered a copy of the *Decameron* in the Racedown Library, if not before.[29] Like Hazlitt, later, Wordsworth preferred Boccaccio's tales of noble love and gallantry (exemplified in Dryden's *Fables*) to the stories of sexual intrigue by which he is chiefly remembered today.[30] When he 'modernized' Troilus's lament at Cressida's departure from Troy, Wordsworth must have been conscious of Boccaccio's *Filostrato* as a shaping presence behind Chaucer's tragic lines.[31] Like Coleridge, who planned to undertake a complete edition of Boccaccio, Wordsworth had a wider sense of his varied achievements as a humanist than most modern readers, and a further link between Boccaccio and Wordsworth will emerge when Wordsworth's affinities with Leopardi are examined below.

Wordsworth's genius as a translator from the Italian found its perfect expression in his versions of Gabriello Chiabrera, a kindred spirit whose epitaphs he introduced into Coleridge's periodical *The*

*Friend* in 1810,[32] followed by the first of his three *Essays upon Epitaphs*,[33] which are among the least known but most characteristic of all his works. Many of Wordsworth's poems resemble inscriptions or epitaphs – like 'The Poet's Epitaph' in *Lyrical Ballads* or the passages from *The Excursion* referred to above – and his discussion of the form develops and clarifies the general ideas about poetry set out in the Preface to *Lyrical Ballads*. An epitaph was in many ways Wordsworth's ideal poem, because it reconciled personal feeling with the timeless monumental qualities of great art.[34] Thus the congenial spirit of Chiabrera, the poet of Savona, guided Wordsworth towards some of his deepest intuitions about the nature of poetry.

The two Italian contemporaries of Wordsworth who have been thought to show the closest affinities with him are Ugo Foscolo and Leopardi. Are the resemblances coincidental, or do they suggest that some influence passed between them?

The case of Wordsworth and Foscolo can be quickly disposed of, for the two poets did not really have much in common. It turns on general resemblances between Wordsworth's first *Essay upon Epitaphs* (1810) and Foscolo's patriotic poem about the commemoration of the dead, *Dei Sepolcri*,[35] written three years earlier in indigation at Napoleon's edict of St. Cloud (promulgated 1804, extended to Italy 1806), outlawing burials within the city of Paris, and the inscribing of epitaphs on tombs, in the interests of sanitation and social equality. Could Wordsworth have known Foscolo's poem before writing his *Essay*? It seems very unlikely, since it was not published in England (and then only in part) till 1824,[36] the year the two poets met for the first time. To judge from an eye-witness account of their encounter at Haydon's,[37] they had a somewhat acrimonious argument about self-interest and altruism, and there is no evidence to suggest that Wordsworth had even heard of Foscolo, or his poems, before that date. Wordsworth's interest in epitaphs, on the other hand, is reflected in some of his earliest writings.[38] Is it not much more likely that Napoleon's inhuman edict, followed within a year by the tragic death by shipwreck of Wordsworth's brother John, led the poet quite independently to develop his thinking about the

> One great Society alone on earth,
> The noble Living and the noble Dead,[39]

which was to be later embodied in the *Essays upon Epitaphs*?

Wordsworth's affinities with Leopardi are much more extensive, and more intriguing.[40] Though Wordsworth writes of 'Despondency corrected' and Leopardi is the saddest of poets, they were both preoccupied in different ways with Man and Nature, with memory, and with the springs of poetic inspiration; but their shared Romantic themes and images seem to have been arrived at independently. Crabb Robinson got to know Leopardi quite well in Florence in 1831,[41] when the Florentine edition of the *Canti* was published, and he could have discussed Leopardi's 'excellent qualities and superior talents' with Wordsworth. The English poet might also have seen his friend Wrangham's version of *All'Italia* in the Winter's Wreath for 1832.[42] But if Wordsworth did learn anything of the *Canti*, his knowledge came far too late to have any effect on his own poetry; and while his best work was written early enough to have influenced Leopardi, there is no evidence that the Italian poet had ever heard of him.

The affinities between them can to some extent be explained by the fact that both poets were in varying degrees drawing on a common poetic inheritance going back to Petrarch.[43] But in one striking instance, at least, in their common devotion to the ancient mythopoeic view of the world from which modern man has become estranged, they both appear to have drawn on a common (and hitherto unnoticed) source – in Boccaccio. The lovely passage in *The Excursion* about the ancient religions,[44] and Leopardi's *Alla Prima Vera*, both show the influence of Boccaccio's humanist treatise *Genealogia deorum gentilium*,[45] in which Boccaccio, in the steps of St. Augustine, maintains that the great myths of the ancient world (later allegorized and sanctified by the early Christian Fathers) embody in sensible form the changeless truths which constitute the value of poetry, and are a perpetual fount of spiritual power and inspiration, without which man runs the risk of spirtual death and alienation from his environment.[46] As Wordsworth had put it earlier, in a celebrated sonnet of 1803, soon after he had been reading Boccaccio's treatise with Coleridge:

> Great God! I'd rather be
> A Pagan suckled in a creed outworn;
> So might I, standing on this pleasant lea,
> Have glimpses that would make me less forlorn;
> Have sight of Proteus rising from the sea;
> Or hear Old Triton blow his wreathèd horn.[47]

There is only space left to mention one other Italian influence on Wordsworth, and that perhaps the most unexpected one, his relationship with Machiavelli, which has been explored at length elsewhere.[48] Wordsworth admired him at first as an exemplar of Classical republicanism and a friend of liberty; but with the rise of Napoleon, the darker side of Machiavelli, the master of *realpolitik*, for whom the end justified the means, became increasingly relevant. For was not Napoleon a student of *The Prince*? Was he an aggressor against the nation states of Europe, – or a deliverer on the Machiavellian model, who would stop at nothing to bring about the unification of Italy, as he incorporated more and more territory into his new Italian state, exiling the Pope to Fontainbleau as the Papal system, so devastatingly exposed by Guicciardini, fell in ruins? Wordsworth's sonnet *On the Extinction of the Venetian Republic*, 'the eldest Child of Liberty' celebrated by Machiavelli and the whole republican tradition, probably belongs to early 1807; for it is not so much a protest at Napoleon's high-handedness in 1797, as a serene and considered farewell to an older tradition of liberty, as Venice found a fresh role in the new Italy that Napoleon was bringing about.

> Men are we, and must grieve when even the Shade
> Of that which once was great, is passed away.[49]

During the crisis of the Hundred Days in 1815, Wordsworth was still hopeful that Napoleon would redeem himself by delivering Italy from the Austrian yoke. But it was not to be. The Risorgimento was only to be crowned with success two decades after the poet's death, and Wordsworth could only continue to mourn the degradation of Italy in the spirit of Filicaia, the seventeenth-century Florentine poet whom he so much admired.[50] In the meantime, however, study of Machiavelli's *History of Florence* would help him to interpret class antagonisms and social discontent at home and abroad in the age of the Reform Bill. Wordsworth's final verdict on Napoleon's 'Ambition' and 'Pride' came during his visit to Milan in 1820.[51] It was not until many years later that Gladstone sent him his version of Manzoni's elegy on the Emperor, *Il Cinque Maggio*, but Wordsworth refrained from commenting on it.[52]

Wordsworth kept in touch with the Italian question through the distinguished Italian exiles whom he met in London or who visited him at Rydal Mount. One such was Count Pecchio (1785 – 1835),

a political refugee from Lombardy, Foscolo's friend, and author of *Storia della Economica publica in Italia*, and *Semi-Serious Observations of an Italian Exile* (1833).[53] Another was Enrico Mayer (1802 – 77), Mazzini's friend and editor of Foscolo, who was later active in educational reform in Tuscany.[54] Crabb Robinson had many Italian friends, especially after his residence in Italy (1829 – 31), where he met Niccolini, the dramatic poet, and many other Florentine liberals, and Wordsworth was undoubtedly well acquainted with the revolutionary aims of the *carbonari* long before his visit to Italy in 1837.[55] Mazzini was a great admirer of his poetry,[56] and though the two never met, they had mutual friends in common like Mrs. Fletcher of Lancrigg, with whom Wordsworth could discuss the aims of Young Italy,[57] counselling patience and moderation when hot-headed insurrections fizzled out, or were brutally suppressed, as in the Bologna uprising of 1837 –

> .... effort worse than vain
> For thee, O great Italian nation, split
> Into these jarring fractions. – Let thy scope
> Be one fixed mind for all...
> Learn to make Time the father of wise hope.[58]

Wordsworth's tone here recalls the moderation of another victim of Austrian tyranny, Silvio Pellico, whose highly-influential work *Le mie prigioni*, an account of his inhuman imprisonment for supporting the *carbonari*, may have been known to the poet in Thomas Roscoe's translation (1835). Wordsworth certainly had a presentation copy from Roscoe of his translation of Pellico's tragedy *Esther of Engaddi*, though whether he studied it any more than the translations of Alfieri and Monti which he had in his library, must remain a matter of conjecture.[59] There is no record of what Wordsworth made of the shortlived Roman republic of 1848. He would undoubtedly have applauded the monarchical solution to the Italian problem propounded so long before by Petrarch and Machiavelli, and finally engineered by Cavour, had he lived to see it; though, like others, he would not have been entirely happy about Cavour's machiavellian methods of bringing it about.

Wordsworth's last thoughts on Italy are best studied in his *Memorials of a Tour in Italy, 1837*, the mellowest of his later works, where he blends memories of Chiabrera and Dante, and

the landscapes and associations of Horace and Virgil, with his love of the legendary and mythological past of Rome, its pagan and Christian traditions, threatened (as he feared) by the 'demythologizing' history of Niebuhr, and the 'march of mind' in the nineteenth century.[60] His tone is much more robust and hopeful than Byron's, in *Childe Harold*, Book IV, or Leopardi's:

Fallen Power,
Thy fortunes, twice exalted, might provoke
Verse to glad notes prophetic of the hour
When thou, uprisen, shalt break thy double yoke,
And enter . . .
On the third stage of thy great destiny.[61]

Perhaps the most remarkable of these poems is *The Cuckoo at Laverna*, where Wordsworth recaptures the spirit of St. Francis of Assisi working like some local tutelary power to bless the land

By unsought means for gracious purposes;
For earth through heaven, for heaven, by changeful earth,
Illustrated, and mutually endeared.[62]

Perhaps Wordsworth remembered that St. Francis, though vilified by Milton and many of his own contemporaries, had been upheld as a reformer by Machiavelli and placed in Paradise by Dante. Also worthy of note in this collection are two further translations from Michelangelo,[63] which illustrate his deep instinctive grasp of the spirit of the Italian Renaissance. He was, as Foscolo wrote, 'one of all our living poets the most capable of understanding the mysteries and feeling the beauties of the doctrines which gave birth to the original.'[64]

Wordsworth's final mood on leaving Italy was not one of melancholy, but of hope for the future, as he called to mind what the land and its culture had meant to him over the years, –

Thy gifts, magnificent Region, ever young
In the sun's eye, and in his sister's sight
How beautiful! how worthy to be sung
In strains of rapture, or subdued delight![65]

Wordsworth's poetic career is finely poised between the claims of the pre-ordained modes of the Classical Renaissance and the more provisional forms in which the modern poet seeks to embody the spirit of poetry. Like Leopardi, he pioneered the path of the moderns, but his debt to the literature of the past, including the Italian, was great, and it has still to be fully investigated.

**Notes**

1. *Prelude* (1805), x. 998 – 1039; viii. 312 – 24.
2. According to his autobiographical memoranda (Christopher Wordsworth, *Memoirs of William Wordsworth* (London, 1851), i. 14), the poet spent his first year at University in 'rather an idle way; reading nothing but classic authors according to my fancy, and Italian poetry'. For a full discussion see E.R. Vincent, 'Wordsworth, Isola, Lamb', *Essays in Honour of J.H Whitfield*, ed. H.C. Davis *et al* (London, 1975), pp., 209 – 21. Apart from editions of the *Gerusalemme Liberata* (Cambridge, 1786) and *Orlando Furioso* (Cambridge, 1789), Isola published *Pieces selected from the Italian poets . . . and translated into English verse by some Gentlemen of the University* (Cambridge, 1778), which suggests the current taste and Wordsworth's own likely reading – Guarini, Marino, Tasso, Tassoni, Petrarch, Ariosto, and Metastasio. His own copy of the 2nd edn. (1748), with alternative versions from Metastasio in his own hand, dating from *c.* 1802 – 6, is in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. See *Poetical Works of William Wordsworth*, ed. Ernest de Selincourt and Helen Darbishire (Oxford, 1940 – 9, and rev. issues, 1952 – 9), iv. 369 – 70, 472.
3. The principal sources for investigating Wordsworth's library are the MS. Catalogue (1829) in the Houghton Library, Harvard (which includes a number of Coleridge's books, which were lodged with Wordsworth for many years), and the *Rydal Mount Sale Catalogue* (1850). They form the basis, with additions, of C.L. and A.C. Shaver's comprehensive *Wordsworth's Library, A Catalogue* (New York and London, 1979). As the lists belong to Wordsworth's later years, they have to be interpreted with some caution. It is often impossible to determine when individual books were acquired, and the absence of a work from the lists does not necessarily mean that Wordsworth had never read it. But among the Italian books, the earlier acquisitions, and the Renaissance translations like Fairfax's Tasso and Harington's Ariosto, stand out fairly clearly from the later presentation copies. For the general background to Wordsworth's knowledge of Italian literature, see Harry W. Rudman, *Italian Nationalism and English Letters* (London, 1940); C.P. Brand, *Italy and the English Romantics* (Cambridge, 1957); and *Italian Poets and English Critics, 1755 – 1859*, ed. Beatrice Corrigan (Chicago and London, 1969).
4. *The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth: the Early Years, 1787 – 1805*, ed. Ernest de Selincourt, 2nd edn., rev. Chester L. Shaver (Oxford, 1967), p. 125.
5. See Shaver's *Catalogue*, p. 219. Wordsworth seems to have had the Amsterdam edn. (1790) of the seven *Satires*, published posthumously in 1694. See also *Early Years*, p. 449.
6. Ibid. p. 56.
7. *The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth: the Middle Years, Part I*, ed. Ernest de Selincourt, 2nd edn., rev. Mary Moorman (Oxford, 1969), p. 89. For Wordsworth's 'Imitation' of Juvenal's Eighth Satire, see *Political Works*, i. 302 – 6; and *Early Years*, pp. 167, 172 – 7.
8. See, for example, the letters to his wife from London in 1812 (in the forthcoming *Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth: the Middle Years, A Supplement*, ed. Alan G. Hill.
9. See *The Prose Works of William Wordsworth*, ed. W.J.B. Owen and Jane Worthington Smyser (Oxford, 1974), iii. 28.

10. *Collected Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. Earl Leslie Griggs (Oxford, 1756 – 71), iv. 574 – 5; *Specimens of the Table Talk of the Late Samuel Taylor Coleridge* (London, 1835), ii. 70 – 1. For a full discussion of the ramifications of the *Recluse* project, see Alan G. Hill, *Wordsworth's 'Grand Design'* (London, 1987).
11. For Coleridge's copy of the *Opere di Tommaso Garzoni* (Venetia, 1617), see Shaver's *Catalogue*, p. 330.
12. For Ariosto and Tasso, see ibid. pp. 11, 252 – 3 and for Coleridge's Sannazaro, ibid. p. 350.
13. *Prelude* (1805), ix. 449 – 55.
14. Ibid. i. 231. For his later translations of Ariosto, see *Poetical Works*, iv. 367 – 9; and *Early Years*, p. 628.
15. *Peter Bell*, 1. 138 (1st edn.). See *Poetical Works*, ii. 331 ff., and for the successive revisions of the Prologue before publication, *Peter Bell (The Cornell Wordsworth)*, ed. John E. Jordan (Ithaca and London, 1985).
16. 11. 141 – 5 (1st edn.).
17. 11. 106 – 10 (1st edn.). 'A deep romantic land', 1. 91 of earlier drafts, became 'the secrets of a land' in the 1st edn. (1. 101).
18. *Poetical Works*, iv. 36 – 7.
19. See Shaver's *Catalogue*, pp. 348 (Coleridge's Pulci), 159, 27, 48.
20. *Prose Works*, i. 342.
21. *De Vita Solitaria*, trans. J. Zeitlin (Urbana, 1924), pp. 177 – 8. Wordsworth gives the Latin. A quotation from this work occupies a similarly commanding position at the beginning of Coleridge's *Friend*, setting the serious tone for what is to come.
22. From Coleridge's copy. See Shaver's *Catalogue*, p. 347.
23. *The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth: the Later Years, Part I*, 2nd edn., ed. Alan G. Hill (Oxford, 1798), p. 79.
24. Ibid. pp. 245 – 6.
25. 1. 168 (*Cornell* edn., p. 60).
26. In the Lectures of 1818. See *Coleridge's Miscellaneous Criticism*, ed. T. M. Raysor (London, 1936), p. 147.
27. *Later Years, Part I*, p. 246.
28. For a general discussion, see Herbert G. Wright, *Boccaccio in England from Chaucer to Tennyson* (London, 1957).
29. See *Early Years*, p. 155. Machiavelli (see below) and Davilla were also available in the Racedown library (*MS. Catalogue, Bristol University Library*). Enrico Davila's *Historia delle Guerre Civili di Francia* (see also Shaver's *Catalogue*, p. 74) would have helped Wordsworth to understand the polarisation of French society in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries which prepared the way for the Revolution.
30. See Wordsworth's letter to Walter Scott in 1805, *Early Years*, pp. 642 – 3.
31. For Wordsworth's version of *Troilus and Criseyde*, v. 519 – 686, see *Poetical Works*, iv. 228 – 33.
32. *The Friend* (*Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*), ed. Barbara E. Rooke (Princeton and London, 1969), ii. 334 – 5. For Wordsworth's nine translations from Chiabrera, see *Poetical Works*, iv. 248 – 53, and for his copy of Chiabrera, Shaver's *Catalogue*, p. 292.
33. See *Prose Works*, ii. 45 ff. The first *Essay* was reprinted as a note to The Excursion in 1814.

34. See W.J.B. Owen, *Wordsworth as Critic* (London, 1969), pp. 115 – 50; and D.D Devlin, *Wordsworth and the Poetry of Epitaphs* (London, 1980).
35. See Vincent, op. cit. p. 216, and his inaugural lecture, *The Commemoration of the Dead, A Study of the Romantic Element in the 'Sepolcri' of Ugo Foscolo* (Cambridge, 1936).
36. In the *European Review* for June.
37. See T. Landseer, *Life and Letters of William Bewick* (London, 1871), i. 75ff., cited in E.R. Vincent, *Ugo Foscolo, An Italian in Regency England* (Cambridge, 1953), pp. 14 – 18.
38. See, for example, *Prose Works*, i. 8, 13 – 14. Coleridge's early *Notebooks* reveal a similar interest in epitaphs.
39. *Prelude* (1805), x. 969 – 70. Cf. the similar sentiment in *The Conventiion of Cintra* (*Prose Works*, i. 339).
40. See Geoffrey L. Bickersteth, *Leopardi and Wordsworth* (London, 1927); and Iris Origo and John Heath Stubbs, *Giacomo Leopardi, Selected Prose and Poetry* (London, 1966), pp. viii – ix.
41. *Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson*, ed. Thomas Sadler (London, 1869), ii. 507.
42. G. Singh, *Leopardi e l'Inghilterra* (Firenze, 1968), p. 6.
43. *The Poems of Leopardi*, ed. G.L. Bickersteth (London, 1923), pp. 53 ff.
44. *Exc.*, iv. 631 – 762. See also vi. 538 – 47.
45. The Wordsworths were reading the Italian version, *Genealogia degli Dei*, with Coleridge in Nov. 1802 to improve his Italian. See *Marginalia (Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge)*, ed. George Whalley (Princeton and London, 1980), i. 542; *The Notebooks of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. Kathleen Coburn (London, 1957 – ), i. 1649; and Shaver's *Catalogue*, p. 318.
46. See *Genealogia*, XIV. vii – viii, and XV, viii (Charles G. Osgood, *Boccaccio on Poetry* (Princeton, 1930), pp. 39 – 47, 121 – 3); and St. Augustine, *City of God*, xviii, 13 – 14.
47. *Poetical Works*, iii. 19.
48. See Alan G. Hill, 'Wordsworth and the Two Faces of Machiavelli', *Review of English Studies*, xxxi (1980), 285 – 304.
49. *Poetical Works*, iii. 111 – 12. For the probable occasion of the sonnet, see Alan G. Hill, 'On the Date and Significance of Wordsworth's Sonnet *On the Extinction of the Venetian Republic*', RES, xxx (1979), 441 – 5.
50. See *Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson with the Wordsworth Circle*, ed. Edith J. Morley (Oxford, 1927), i. 262; *Poetical Works*, iii. 461; and Shaver's *Catalogue*, p. 94.
51. See 'The Column intended by Buonaparte for a Triumphal Edifice in Milan, now lying by the Way-side in the Simplon Pass', *Poetical Works*, iii. 189, 483 – 4.
52. *The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth: the Later Years, Part III*, 2nd edn., ed. Alan G. Hill (Oxford, 1982), p. 611.
53. *Rydal Mount Visitors Book*, 1834 (*Wordsworth Library MSS*).
54. See *Later Years, Part III*, pp. 412, 707; and A. Linaker, *La Vita e i tempi di Enrico Mayer* (Firenze, 1898).
55. See *Diary* (ed. Sadler), ii, 474 ff., 505 – 6; and the Fenwick note to 'After Leaving Italy' (*Poetical Works*, iii. 501).
56. See, for example, his comment in 'The Present State of French Literature', *Monthly Chronicle*, iii (1839), 218 – 27.

57. *Autobiography of Mrs Fletcher*, ed. her daughter (Edinburgh, 1875), p. 244. Mrs Fletcher also knew the Ruffini brothers – refugees from Piedmont, Mazzini's followers, and friends of the Carlyles. Giovanni Ruffini (1807 – 81) published a successful autobiographical novel *Lorenzo Benoni* (Edinburgh, 1853), about his adventures and sufferings in Piedmont. See *Giuseppe Mazzini e i Fratelli Ruffini*, ed. Carlo Gagnacci (Porto Maurizio, 1893).
58. From the first of three linked sonnets 'At Bologna' (*Poetical Works*, iv. 132 – 3).
59. See Shaver's *Catalogue*, p. 198, for Wordsworth's presentation copy of *Esther of Engaddi* from the translator, which is now in the British Library. The Preface refers to *Le mie prigioni*. For Charles Lloyd's translation of Alfieri's *Tragedies* (1815), see Shaver's *Catalogue*, p. 6, and for Vose's translation of Monti's *Caius Gracchus* (1839), ibid. p. 180.
60. See particularly 'Musings Near Aquapendente' and the three sonnets 'At Rome' (*Poetical Works*, iii. 202 – 14). For his memorable visit to Vaucluse *en route* for Italy, and his last words on Petrarch, see the Fenwick note, ibid. p. 489 – 90.
61. 'From the Alban Hills, looking towards Rome', ibid. p. 217.
62. Ibid. p. 219.
63. Ibid. pp. 226 – 7.
64. *Retrospective Review*, xiii, pt. ii (1826), 248. For Wordsworth's earlier translations of Michelangelo for Richard Duppa's *Life* (2nd edn., 1807), see *Poetical Works*, iii. 14 – 15, 408. 423, and iv. 370 – 1, 473; and *Early Years*, pp. 628 – 9.
65. 'After Leaving Italy: Continued' (*Poetical Works*, iii. 228).

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