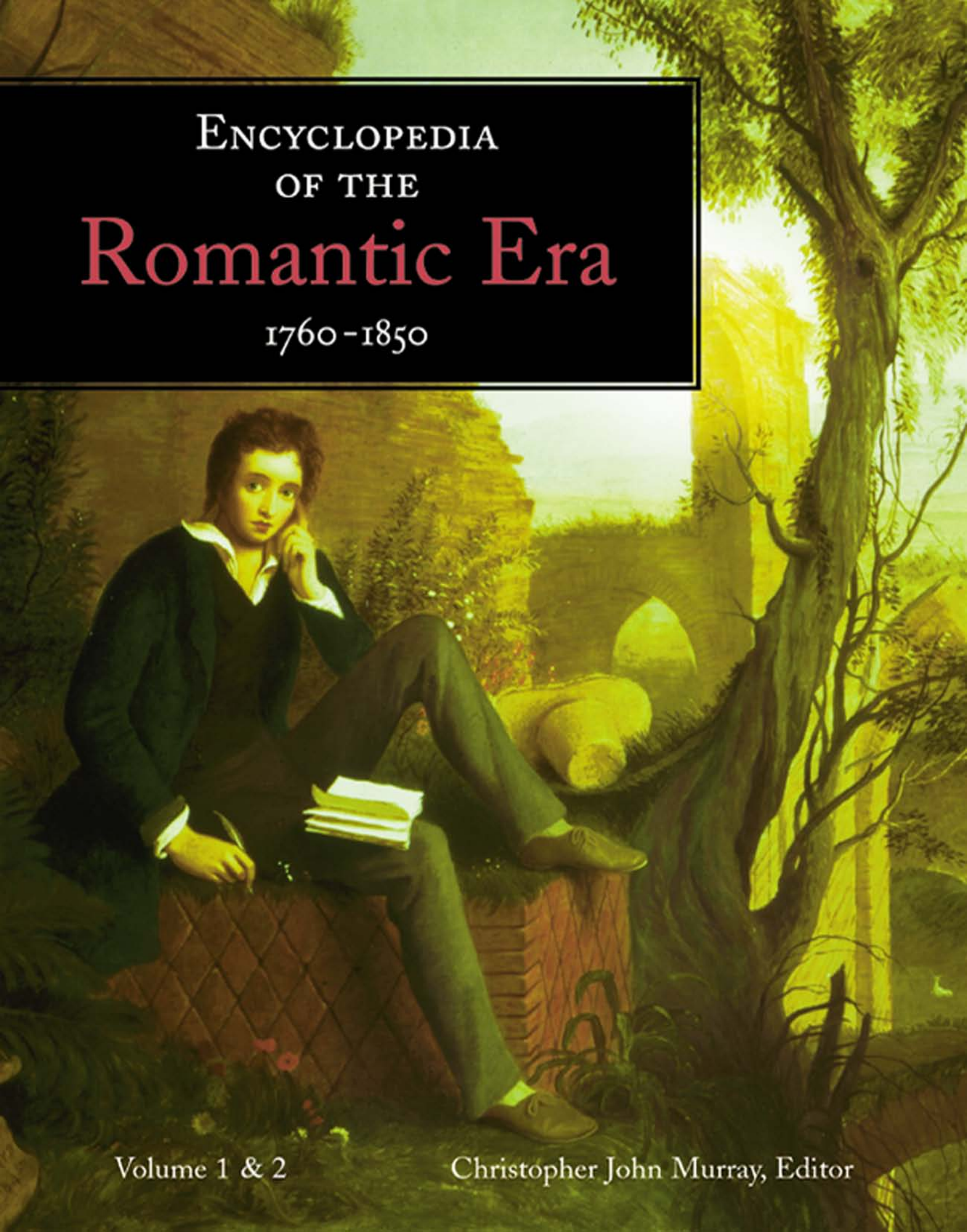

Encyclopedia of the Romantic Era

1760–1850

Volume 1 & 2

Christopher John Murray, Editor

Encyclopedia of the Romantic Era, 1760–1850

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VOLUME 1 & 2

A–Z

Christopher John Murray, General Editor

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INTRODUCTION

Aims and Scope

The *Encyclopedia of the Romantic Era, 1760–1850* is a cultural encyclopedia covering the last decades of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century in Britain, continental Europe, and the Americas. Its aim is to provide a broad-ranging guide to the profound changes in thought, sensibility, and expression that occurred during this era, a revolutionary period that saw many of the values and assumptions of the Enlightenment redefined, challenged, or rejected, and whose principal concerns—liberty, the individual, revolution and nationalism, nature, history and human identity—provided the foundation for the modern world.

The period covered is wide and, as with any such periodization, the defining dates are not precise. The early starting point of 1760 was set in order to include many of those developments seen as transitional. The end date was a little less contentious, given that the mid-nineteenth century was the era that saw the failure of so many uprisings across Europe. The intention was to choose a time span that allowed the inclusion of key features and developments, not to adhere to a strict and narrow chronology.

The *Encyclopedia of the Romantic Era* is not, therefore, simply an encyclopedia of Romanticism; many of the entries are on subjects that could not be described as Romantic in any sense. Nevertheless, a great majority of the entries analyze individuals, works, and themes that are still widely classified as Romantic. This focus on Romanticism and the Romantic is not based on the assumption that these terms can be adequately defined, or that a set of key characteristics or family resemblances can be identified. Editorially, the working principle was in effect a pragmatic nominalism: the terms Romantic and Romanticism may be of heuristic value, helpful in some contexts, but unhelpful in others. The contributors, who of course varied in their approach to this issue, were often asked to consider the value of these terms in analyzing their subjects.

The study of the period has gradually been transformed. During the early decades of the twentieth century, its distinctive cultural products were often viewed with suspicion. Pierre Lasserre (1907) in France and Irving Babbitt (1919) in the United States, for example, typified a deep skepticism: whatever their fascination or beauty, the works of the period were deemed as often expressions of a profound human failure, the products of the isolated ego's inability to relate to others or to the world. At their best, such works were seen as childlike in their sense of wonder and their emotional intensity; at their worst, as pathological and life-denying. (Such views were elaborations of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's famous animadversion: "The classical is health, the Romantic sickness.")

Attitudes were to change radically, however, as a range of theories, methodologies, and critical approaches, such as archetypal criticism, deconstruction, feminism, Freudian psychoanalysis, Marxism, new historicism, phenomenology, queer theory, semiotics, and structuralism, were employed in several disciplines to produce a wealth of new insights and perspectives, particularly in the study of literature.

In the early twenty-first century, interest has turned increasingly to the relationship between the Enlightenment and the Romantic era (continuity/rupture), to the era's internationalism (the international significance of the French Revolution Jean-Jaogues Rousseau, and Sir Walter Scott, are among the most obvious examples), and to the close interaction among the arts, and among the arts and intellectual and political contexts (in Germany, for example, the links among Carl Gustav Carus, Johann Gottlieb Fichte, G. W. F. Hegel, Friedrich Hölderlin, Novalis, Friedrich Wilhelm Jospeh von Schelling, August Wilhelm and Frierich von Schlegel, Friedrich Danniel Ernst Schleiermacher, the French Revolution and Napoleon Bonaparte's career, the rise of nationalism, science, landscape painting, music, and so on). A good deal of contemporary interest is also based on the belief that the Romantic era's central concerns (notably the limits of rationality, and the urge to transcend boundaries) have a direct bearing on our self-styled postmodern world, which some see as having witnessed the final "failure of the Enlightenment project."

The *Encyclopedia of the Romantic Era* is a direct response to this ever-widening scope of study, and in its coverage of arts and ideas in Britain, continental Europe, and the Americas, it is unique. This ambitious range often made the selection of entries difficult, and even a hardened conscience would have been troubled by sins of omission. The aim, however, was not to create a comprehensive or definitive account of the era, but to provide a broad-ranging interdisciplinary resource that, rich in facts, ideas, and links, would act as a valuable point of departure for those who want to explore this era's extraordinary artistic and intellectual achievements.

After identifying the major entries, which were largely self-selecting, the aim was to provide a balanced selection that would be truly international in scope. Particular attention was paid to those subjects generally regarded as marginal (such as developments in Greece, the Netherlands, Scandinavia, South America, the Ukraine and so on), and also to Jewish culture—aspects that often emphasize the contrast with cultural phenomena traditionally defined as Romantic. Above all, the *Encyclopedia of the Romantic Era* is meant to reflect the era's cultural diversity.

Organization of the *Encyclopedia of the Romantic Era*

There are over 770 entries, arranged alphabetically. All the entries have bibliographies, and many have cross-references under the "*See also*" heading. Entries on individuals also have biographical outlines, and (in the case of writers, artists, and composers) a list of selected works. There are 116 illustrations.

There are four basic entry types:

Those on individuals—these form the bulk of the entries.

Those on works—works of literature, music, or art selected because they help to provide a fuller account of their creator, because they have a particular historical significance, or because they are representative (whether famous or not) of the period or an art form.

Surveys—that meant to provide a broad view of a subject, their scope complementing the detail provided by the more specifically focused entries. There are, for example, cultural and historical surveys of national developments.

Those on themes, concepts, approaches and events—a broad-ranging category. Some of the entries are specific to a particular art, discipline, or nation; others have a broad significance. Examples include the Dandy, Don Juan, Fragment, Gender, Genius, Homosexuality, Imagination, Irony, Orientalism, Progress, the Sublime, the Supernatural, Symbol and Allegory, and Volksgeist. This category also includes critical approaches to the period (Feminist Deconstruction and Romantic Literature, Approaches to Romantic Literature), and overviews of a number of key historical subjects, for example, French Revolution, Industrial Revolution.

In order to help readers explore this broad array of entries, three thematic lists have been prepared:

1. *A comprehensive alphabetical listing of entries*.
2. *A list of entries arranged in terms of subject*. There are entries on architecture, art, historiography, literature, music, philosophy, political and social thought, religion and theology, and scholarship. Science entries are on the whole restricted to those individuals and subjects directly influenced by developments in culture and thought (the close link between German idealism and science is a prime example). The aspects of economic, political, and social history included are those that that were closely related to cultural life (national and revolutionary aspirations, frequently expressed in artistic forms, made the links between culture and politics particularly close during this era). Historical surveys provide the background to cultural developments, and there are entries on a range of key historical subjects. These are listed under General Surveys and Themes.

   In the thematic listing, the categories are:
   Architecture
   Art
   Dance
   General Surveys and Themes
   Literature and Thought
   Music
   Science
3. *A thematic list based on national developments*. Here, countries are listed alphabetically; entries appear under the relevant nation, and are then subcategorized under the seven categories listed above.

Other research guides are the general analytical index at the end of volume 2, and the "*See also*" sections included with many of the entries.

Acknowledgments

A work of this size has depended on the generous advice, support, and hard work of many people. First and foremost, I need to thank the advisers and contributors. I would also like to thank Daniel Kirkpatrick for commissioning the project, Bridget Tiley for the picture research, and above all the Fitzroy Dearborn project editor, Anne-Lucie Norton, for her efficiency, patience, and unfailing good humor in bringing the project to life.

Christopher John Murray

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Géricault, (Jean-Louis-André-)Théodore
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Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, Jacques-Henri
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Chateaubriand, François-Auguste-René de, Vicomte
Chénier, André
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Encyclopedia of the Romantic Era, 1760–1850

A

ABILDGAARD, NICOLAI ABRAHAM 1743–1809

Danish painter and architect

Nicolai Abraham Abildgaard occupies a prominent place in the history of Danish art at the time of transition from the neoclassicist era to the Romantic era. A competent linguist, well-read and acquainted with the doctrine of neoclassicism, Abildgaard intended to establish a Danish equivalent to the grand style in history painting, as advocated in England by his contemporary James Barry. Furthermore, Abildgaard was an exponent of the aesthetics of the sublime, inspired by and thoroughly familiar with the works of Edmund Burke, Johann Gottfried Herder, and Gotthold Ephraim Lessing. His subjects were found not only among the ancient Roman and Greek writers, but also in the works of William Shakespeare and Ossian, and he was among the first artists to deal with themes from Norse mythology and ancient Danish history, thereby paving the way for a Danish "national" iconography. Abildgaard expressed his talents in all areas of art, working as a painter, an architect, and a designer of interiors, furniture, and monumental sculpture. While occupying the positions of official court painter, and professor and director of the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts in Copenhagen, Abildgaard expressed himself as a pre-Romantic revolutionary artist. According to Patrick Kragelund, the Danish scholar whose studies of Abildgaard's work are the most thorough to date, the artist's subjects reflect a constant development of his attitude toward important contemporary events, and his choice of subject matter may be perceived as one continuous world vision.

In 1764, ten years after the establishment of the Danish Academy, Abildgaard was admitted as a student. He was awarded the academy's traveling scholarship in 1771, which lead to him finishing his studies with a stay in Rome from 1772 to 1777. While in Rome, he moved within a circle of artist friends, including Johan Tobias Sergel, the Swedish sculptor, and the Swiss-born artist Henry Fuseli; and apart from his study of classical sculpture, Abildgaard's main areas of interest were the work of Annibale Carracci, Michelangelo, Raphael, and Giulio Romano. Yet he was fascinated also by the aesthetics of Sturm und Drang, which attracted much attention from artists in 1770s Rome. His principal work from this period is a remarkable depiction of *Philoctetes* (1774–75; Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen). Inspired by German philosopher Lessing's treatise *Laocoon* (1766), Abildgaard presents the wounded Philoctetes, who clearly conveys his suffering not only by means of his facial expression and tearful eyes, but also through his entire body, twisted in pain. Abildgaard's interpretation of this subject constituted a break with Johann Joachim Winckelmann's notion of serenity, which is supposedly characteristic of truly classical Greek art. Likewise, it contrasted sharply with Barry's version of this theme in a painting executed for the Accademia Clementina in Bologna in 1770. Abildgaard's *Philoctetes* has been conceived as a manifesto of art, reflecting pre-Romantic ideals in the art of painting. At this point, the presentation of ideal, heroic subjects is replaced by the description of individual frames of mind.

During his stay in Rome, Abildgaard was further introduced to other literary worlds, as found in the works of the three "original" geniuses: Homer, Ossian, and William Shakespeare. Inspired by Fuseli's great enthusiasm for Shakespeare, Abildgaard decided to illustrate the same set of tragedies as chosen by the Swiss artist, in particular works such as *Hamlet*, *Richard III*, and *Macbeth*, which contain supernatural events, ghosts, and omens, and he worked on dreamy scenes with a distinctly Gothic atmosphere, for example, *Richard III Waking from His Nightmare* (1787), *Richard III Threatened in His Dreams by the Ghosts of His Victims* (1780s), and *Hamlet and His Mother Seeing His Father's Ghost* (1770s?). However, the first scene from *Hamlet*

treated by Abildgaard, *Hamlet Visiting the Queen of Scotland* (1776), had not been borrowed from Shakespeare: it was found in the bard's Danish source of inspiration, the medieval historian Saxo Grammaticus, whose principal work, *Gesta Danorum* (1185–1222), was sent to Abildgaard in Rome. For some time, subjects from Greek and Roman antiquity were thus replaced with Nordic characters, with the artist aiming to evoke a grim and brutal past through his use of imaginative modification of clothing, props, and highly emotional figures. Abildgaard's appreciation of the Ossianic poems was almost certainly a result of his associations with British artists in Rome, and he appears to be one of the first artists outside of Great Britain to have illustrated the work of the Celtic bard (the veracity of which was eventually disputed). His interest extended to the acquisition of several annotated editions of James Macpherson's poems of Ossian, in which Abildgaard had marked scenes suitable for artistic treatment. Time and again, Abildgaard returned to this circle of themes, choosing to depict somber, tragic scenes from the heroic poems *Fingal* and *Temora*, such as his *Cathmor by the Corpse of Fillan, Fillan's Ghost Appears before Fingal, Cathmor and Sulmalla*, and *Fingal Gives His Weapons to Ossian* (all c. 1790), in sepia drawings as well as paintings. In spite of his use of Gothic props, Abildgaard viewed the heroes of Norse mythology from a classical perspective. His masterpiece from this period is the eponymous, small painting of the blind Ossian (c. 1785; Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen), a tremendously passionate portrayal of the bard as wild and primitive: a solitary figure, alone with his harp, singing into a snow-clad and windswept, wooded landscape.

Upon his return to Copenhagen in 1777, Abildgaard was commissioned to execute a series of paintings with subjects from the national history of Denmark, or, more specifically, the history of the Danish royal dynasty. This commission, painted for the royal palace of Christiansborg between 1778 and 1791, gave the artist an opportunity to devise a formula for modern history painting. He decided that the series should be a glorification of the ideals of the Enlightenment: education, instruction, and knowledge, expressed in both allegorical and quasi-realistic scenes. This picture poem on the history of Denmark, which was to become Abildgaard's most outstanding work, suffered a tragic fate: only three out of twenty-five original paintings survived a fire in 1794, although a number of oil sketches do remain.

With censorship in Denmark having been abolished in 1770, Abildgaard contributed to open public debate through allegories and social satire in different media and forms. As a prorevolutionary artist, he took a keen interest in the political and social conflicts of his time—for example, in 1788 as the originator and designer of draft plans for a monument to commemorate the abolition of serfdom in Denmark. The monument was executed as a cooperative piece by three sculptors after Abildgaard's design and, under his direction, was erected in 1797 outside one of the Copenhagen town gates; here it enjoys a unique status, having been built by the citizens of the capital to commemorate the emancipation of the peasants. On a 1792 medal, struck in remembrance of the abolition of slavery in the Danish colonies, Abildgaard uses classic imagery in his reference to the recently declared rights of man. In place of the king is a profile portrait of the black slave; on the reverse, a classic depiction of a winged

The Spirit of Culmin Appears to His Mother, from *The Songs of Ossian*. Reprinted courtesy of the Bridgeman Art Library.

nemesis. Contemporaneously, Abildgaard refers in another work to the cult of the noble savage, in a 1795 painting that forms part of a series of interior decorations in the royal palace of Amalienborg, Copenhagen. Here, in a suppraporte, he represented *Dance Scene from Tahiti* (1794), a South Sea motif inspired by an illustration in Captain James Cook's *Voyage to the Pacific Ocean* (1785). This motif has been introduced as representing the fifth continent, a subtle supplement to the current iconography linked to allegories on the four continents. Illustrations by the atheist Abildgaard for the classic Danish utopian novel *The Travels of Niels Klim* (1789), by Ludvig Holberg, constitute a bitter attack on the church. His illustrations for the *Collected Works* (1780) of the Danish poet Johannes Ewald caused much sensation and indignation at the time. This was due to the quite shameless approach taken by the artist in praising the naked human body and the "natural" relationship between man and woman in the Garden of Eden. Danish censorship was reintroduced in 1791. This was also the year in which Abildgaard was dismissed as court painter and director of the Royal Academy, and subsequently he undertook architectural and pictorial adornment of buildings such as the Levetzau Mansion at Amalienborg (for the royal family) and a citizen's house in Nytorv Square, Copenhagen. The latter was adorned with paintings of subjects from Voltaire's Roman tragedy *Le Triumvirat*. For his own home at the Academy (Charlottenborg, Copenhagen), Abildgaard executed four large paintings of scenes from Terence's comedy *The Woman of Andros* (1801–4; Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen); as architectural pieces, these are most significant as visions of the Athens of antiquity.

Although Abildgaard was a professor at the Royal Academy for several years from 1778 until his death in 1809, he has no direct successors in the history of Danish art. Among his pupils we find Asmus Jacob Carstens (pupil, 1776–81), Caspar David Friedrich (pupil, 1794–98), and Philipp Otto Runge (pupil 1799–1801). All three were strongly influenced by their meeting with Abildgaard and his distinct views, with regard to the philosophical and poetic dimensions of pictorial art, as well as pertaining to the freedom of the artist as a "citizen of the republic

of artists"; here, according to Abildgaard, the artist is his own master.

METTE BLIGAARD

Biography

Born in Copenhagen on September 11, 1743, the son of the painter Sören Abildegaard. Apprenticed as a decorative painter to J. E. Mandelberg. Entered the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts in Copenhagen around 1764. Won the academy's silver and gold medals 1765, 1766, and 1767. Awarded traveling scholarship to Rome, 1771. Lived and studied in Rome, associating with artists Johan Tobias Sergel and Henry Fuseli, among others, 1772–77. Returned to Copenhagen via Paris, 1777. Professor at the Royal Academy, Copenhagen, from 1778; director, 1789–91 and 1801–9. Commissioned to decorate Schloss Christiansborg, 1780–91, and later the Amalienborg Palace. Member of the Berlin Royal Academy, 1788. Engaged in design of interiors, furniture, and architecture from 1790s on. Member of the Accademia in Florence, 1808. Died in Sorgenfri (Frederiksdal?), near Copenhagen, June 4, 1809.

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ADOLPHE 1816

Novel by Henri-Benjamin Constant de Rebecque

Like his unfinished novel *Cécile* and his *Journaux intimes* (diaries), with which its genesis is inextricably linked, Henri-Benjamin Constant de Rebecque's *Adolphe* is rooted in the emotional entanglement of the author's divided affections for two women, Charlotte von Hardenberg and Anne-Louise-Germaine de Staël during the second half of the year 1806, when, still living and working on treatises on politics and religion in the entourage of the latter, he fell passionately in love with the former. Though Constant and Hardenberg were to be (secretly) married in June 1808 and his final break with Madame de Staël would occur in 1811, he delayed publishing his novel, which was probably completed by 1810 if not before, until 1816—mainly, it is thought, to avoid offending Staël. Upon its publication the novel was naturally read as a roman à clef by a public familiar with its author's relationships, leading him to the dubious assertion in the preface to the second edition (1816) that "none of the characters drawn in *Adolphe* has any link with any individual."

Constant, who was closely associated with Staël and the Coppet group (Coppet was the name of Staël's estate in Switzerland, where her salon met), was a supporter of the incipient Romantic movement, and *Adolphe* is often considered to be a masterpiece of the Romantic or pre-Romantic novel. His preoccupation with the uniqueness of the individual; with the complexity and fluidity of human emotions; with the importance of nuances and the emptiness of general laws and principles; with the transitoriness of life and the insufficiency of language to express the subtleties of human feelings and thought are major themes of his works—and particularly of *Adolphe*—that link him to the Romantic movement. Indeed, the main protagonist and narrator of *Adolphe* is often held to be a characteristic Romantic hero in terms of his introspection, alienation, and sensibility. Critics have established links with other significant texts of the early Romantic canon: Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Nouvelle Héloïse* (*The New Eloise*, 1761), Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* (*The Sorrows of Young Werther*, 1774), and François-Auguste-René, Vicomte de Chateaubriand's *René* (1802), as well as novels by Sophie Cottin and Madame de Staël. Closer affinities have been traced to a novel by Isabelle de Charrière, *Caliste* (1787), for Constant knew well and admired the work and the author. But the structural rigour of *Adolphe*; its concentrated and unified action, which are commonly compared to the essential features of classical tragedy; the lack of lyricism and concrete description; and the pellucid style have invited parallels with earlier traditions: the French *moralistes* of the seventeenth century and the analytical novel as represented notably by Marie-Madeleine de La Fayette's *La Princesse de Clèves* (1678) or l'abbé Prévost's *Manon Lescaut* (1731). On this question, Charles Bruneau's general assertion is frequently quoted: "Romantic in its ideas, the novel *Adolphe* seems to us today, in general, to be classical in its language." Such dichotomies do not, however, do justice to the complexity of Constant's novel. To take another familiar generic reading of *Adolphe*, it has been pointed out that it begins as a narrative of seduction in the manner of *Les Égarements du coeur et de l'esprit* (*The Wayward Head and Heart*, 1736) by Crébillon *fils* or of *Les Liaisons dangereuses* (*Dangerous Acquaintances*, 1782) by Pierre Ambroise François Choderlos de Laclos—both of which, in fact, could serve as alternative titles for Constant's text. But *Adolphe* is clearly written against the libertine moral, as it demonstrates the very opposite of the frivolous view of the hero's father on the virtues of the casual relation with women: "It does them so little harm, and gives us so much pleasure." Furthermore, the paratextual framing of *Adolphe*'s narrative by the third-person commentaries of the "publisher" and his correspondent not only rework the conventional authenticating and distancing device of the lost manuscript but also provide alternative readings of the story, to which the reader is implicitly invited to respond.

The confession of Constant's narrator, though orchestrated and articulated in the forms and language of prestigious literary

traditions, gives expression to a more modern sensibility and system of values, as if he were playing original airs on antiquated instruments. Constant claimed to be representing in his novel a contemporary malaise: the lack of strength and direction among his contemporaries, their inability to love with constancy or believe with fervor. While denouncing the cynicism and scepticism of his society and its attachment to artificial conventions, the narrator admits agonizingly his own inability to transcend the constraints that society imposes. On the one hand, he condemns the self-seeking and hypocrisy of society and its representatives in favour of the higher demands of a "natural heart," but on the other hand, he reveals that his natural feelings are nonetheless subjected to self-interested calculation. His love is doomed to extinction even in the very throes of its conception. Neither commitment with its fetters nor freedom with its dreadful burden of loneliness provide a solution for his restless spirit.

When it was first published, *Adolphe* was not particularly well received by its author's contemporaries; Stendhal was lukewarm in his assessment and Charles-Augustin Sainte-Beuve at first quite hostile. Objective evaluations of the novel were usually hampered by speculation about its biographical sources and by commentaries on the conduct of its hero. Nevertheless, it prompted Honoré de Balzac—in *Béatrix* (1839) and especially in *La Muse du département* (*The Muse of the Department*, 1843) to write novels in reaction to Constant's text. Aleksandr Pushkin and Lev Tolstoy paid Constant the compliment of borrowing certain features of his novel in their own works. But generally, in France, it was only toward the end of the nineteenth century that the novel eventually received its due, when it was heralded as a supreme example of the psychological novel. In his preface to the 1889 edition of the novel, for example, Paul Bourget declared it to be "the masterpiece of the novel of analysis." However, as Dennis Wood has argued in his study of the novel, if Constant's masterly exploration of such dualities as freedom and duty, egoism and unselfishness, alienation and social obligation, certainty and doubt, is "profoundly Romantic," its relevance applies as much to the modern era as to the age of the novel's conception.

DAVID BAGULEY

Text

Adolphe; anecdote trouvée dans les papiers d'un inconnu, et publiée par M. Benjamin de Constant (1816). Edited by C. P. Courtney. Oxford: Blackwell, 1989.

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AESTHETICS AND ART CRITICISM

It was not until the mid-eighteenth century that aesthetics emerged as an autonomous discipline concerned with the study of artistic creativity, aesthetic experience, and the interpretation and evaluation of art. Its definition in treatises, such as Alexander Baumgarten's *Aesthetica* (*Aesthetics*, 1752–58) and J. G. Sulzer's *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künst* (*General Theory of Fine Arts*, 1771), has to be understood as a product of the desire to gain a rational understanding of human experience that the philosophers of the Enlightenment inherited from their predecessors in classical antiquity. Indeed the aesthetic ideas expounded by many thinkers of the period illustrate the importance neoclassicism assumed in eighteenth-century thought. The association of beauty with formal balance and symmetry, perfect proportions, and simplicity was a reflection of Enlightenment thinkers' reverence for the art and culture of antiquity, which was inextricably linked to their reverence for nature. It was in accordance with Plato's view that the artistic representation of nature in an idealized state inspired moral virtue that the neoclassical doctrine of mimesis (imitation) was appropriated as the cornerstone of eighteenth-century aesthetic theory. The doctrine of mimesis—that the purpose of art is to represent or imitate nature—informed the critical reception of all the arts in the mid-eighteenth century, as suggested by Jean-Baptiste Du Bos's statement that "just as the painter imitates the forms and colours of nature so the musician imitates the tones of the voice—its accents, sighs and inflections."

While the "back-to-nature" cult of Jean-Jacques Rousseau legitimized the artistic representation of nature in all its diversity, the neoclassical view, that only when represented in an idealized state could nature be deemed beautiful, resonated in the cult of *Empfindsamkeit* (sensibility), through which art became endowed with an expressive capacity. The aesthetic embodied in Jean-Honoré Fragonard's *The Swing* (1768), Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's *Charakterstücken* (character pieces), and Laurence Sterne's *A Sentimental Journey through France and Italy* (1768) demanded that art display good taste and appeal to the delicacy of one's soul—a demand that was to provide a learned excuse for eroticism in art.

A more radical departure from neoclassicism, as a school of thought that ensured the hegemony of French culture for the first two-thirds of the eighteenth century, was the aesthetic articulated by thinkers of the Sturm und Drang movement of the 1770s, prominent among whom were Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Johann Georg Hamann, and Johann Gottfried von

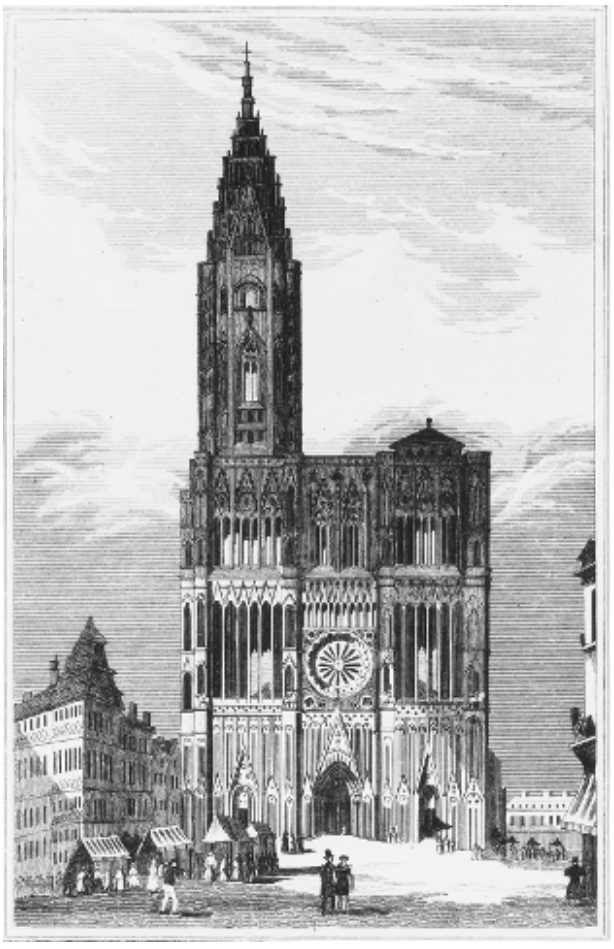
Herder. Their desire to revive German mysticism and their pantheistic view of nature informed their conception of art as "another nature, also mysterious like her but more intelligible" which, as an expression of the "divine inspiration" of the artist as a genius, awakens in the discerning recipient a sense of spirituality (Goethe, 1840). They rejected the view, propounded by Enlightenment philosophers, of the art and culture of antiquity as the benchmark against which to evaluate that of all ages, and celebrated the diversity of art as an expression of the diversity of the human spirit. Accordingly they championed Gothic architecture, Rembrandt's paintings, and William Shakespeare's plays, all of which were previously denigrated for their failure to conform to neoclassical standards of taste or eighteenth-century notions of beauty.

The aesthetic category invoked by thinkers of the Sturm und Drang movement to justify their reevaluation of such diverse art forms was the sublime, influentially formulated by Edmund Burke in 1757 to describe aspects of nature and art that inspire feelings of awe, fear, and terror. This enabled writers to explain the diversity of the aesthetic experiences to which art gives rise, experiences previously unaccounted for by the notion of the beautiful. Thus Goethe suggested that, on viewing Strasbourg Minster, his "soul was suffused with a feeling of immense grandeur" akin to that one associates with "the joys of heaven" (1772). This proto-Romantic aesthetic eclipsed the neoclassicism of the French Enlightenment and established Germany as the homeland of Romanticism.

The strong continuum in the history of ideas between the Sturm und Drang and Romantic literary movements is reflected in the kinship between the pantheism of thinkers like Goethe and the philosophical idealism of Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von Schelling and Johann Gottlieb Fichte; in the concomitant view of art as the counterpart of nature that they shared; and in the Romantics' endorsement of the historical relativism of which Herder was the most lucid exponent. The view the Romantics shared with their literary predecessors of the art of genius as a metaphysical medium evocative of the sublime found embodiment in the paintings of Caspar David Friedrich.

The origin of the divergence of the aesthetic thought of the Romantics from that of thinkers of the Sturm und Drang movement was their assimilation of Immanuel Kant's insight that "a striving toward knowledge of the infinite, was a rational, and not merely irrational, striving." They reembraced the faculty of reason—the highest authority invoked by the philosophers of the Enlightenment—as the essential counterpart of emotion in spiritual and aesthetic experience, and in artistic creativity. Thus, E. T. A. Hoffmann propounded a twofold notion of an artistic genius, as one in possession of "divine inspiration" and "rational awareness"; and Jean-Paul Richter emphasized that "passive geniuses," gifted with the sensibility to appreciate art, "rule over their powers with reflective imagination."

The aesthetic thought of the Romantics was also informed by a more sophisticated sense of historical awareness than that of their literary predecessors. They did not merely champion art produced since antiquity in all its diversity (while bemoaning the spiritual poverty of much created in the eighteenth century), but maintained that contemporary artists ought to aspire to emulate the spirituality of art of bygone golden ages in an original form expressive of their individuality. This ideal was realized in much of Ludwig van Beethoven's late music, which in its contrapuntal complexity pays homage to Johann Sebastian Bach, and, arguably, in the paintings of the Nazarenes. In their insistence on the necessity for art to display originality, the Romantics, once again, betrayed their debt to Immanuel Kant, who stated that "the foremost property of genius must be originality." It was their appropriation of this aesthetic idea that underpinned the formation of a "canon" of artistic masterpieces of timeless aesthetic value.



Strasbourg Cathedral. Reprinted courtesy of Bildarchiv.

The Romantics' view that art ought to be a product of the individuality of the artist was reflected in their conception of art as a form of personal emotional expression. This was voiced by William Wordsworth in the preface to *Lyrical Ballads* (1802), in which he famously described poetry as "the spontaneous overflow of powerful feeling," and by Robert Alexander Schumann, who conceived of art as an expression of the artist's personality. That *Sehnsucht* (longing)—for a higher realm, for the distant past, or for an unattainable beloved—was a central topos of Romantic art can be understood as a reflection of the Romantics' recognition of the close kinship of man's emotional and spiritual life, and of emotional expression as a means of endowing art with a spiritual meaning.

In the wake of the 1848 revolutions, the dominance of idealism, as the philosophy that underpinned the Romantic view of art as a metaphysical medium, gradually gave way to the emer-

gence of realism and naturalism as the basis for aesthetic thought. The belief that art ought to depict ordinary people and everyday scenes in stark reality, rather than representing nature in an idealized state or attempting to evoke a higher, spiritual realm, was the aesthetic ideal to which Jean-François Millet and Gustave Courbet aspired in their paintings, and which the invention of photography made wholly realizable.

ABIGAIL CHANTLER

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AGOULT, MARIE D' 1805–1876

French author

History and criticism retained Marie d'Agoult's name primarily as the companion of Franz Liszt and as an influential *salonnière*, but she was the author of over 150 articles; numerous essays, including her brilliant *Histoire de la Révolution de 1848*; intriguing memoirs on the Restoration; as well as thousands of letters to her numerous correspondents (Ralph Waldo Emerson, Georges Herwegh, Henri Lehmann, Giuseppe Mazzini, and Adam Mickiewicz). From the Monarchie de Juillet to the Second Empire she was a prominent figure of the Parisian intelligentsia. Although her position as a woman and an aristocrat did not allow her to enter the public sphere, she was close to those who shared her republican views, such as Émile de Girardin, Alphonse Marie Louis de Lamartine, Félicité Robert de Lamennais, and Charles-Augustin Sainte-Beuve, all of them important political and literary figures of her time. Her rehabilitation in literary history is still overdue, despite the publication of two major biographies in recent years. In fact, very few have been devoted to her works, which in turn have yet to be collected. Undoubtedly, George Sand's shadow was overbearing, and the genres Agoult exceled in (essay, history, journalism, and other nonfictional writings) have not been the focus of traditional or feminist literary criticism.

The first published works of Marie d'Agoult, who used the alias Daniel Stern, were articles signed by Liszt, her companion for nine years, as part of his series of *Lettres d'un bachelier ès musique*. She wrote her first literary review, on Sand's *Le Compagnon du Tour de France*, for *La Presse* in 1841. She took up her male, nonaristocratic pseudonym in 1843; outside literary circles, the true identity of Daniel Stern was to remain concealed for many years. Half German, she took a keen interest in the intellectual and religious effervescence of Germany that began in the 1830s, and she published a series of seven articles on this topic, as well as numerous literary and art reviews in *La Presse*, *La Revue des Deux Mondes*, and *la Revue indépendante* between 1841 and 1847. The interest in her novellas (*Julien*, *Hervé*, *Valentia*) stems mostly from the boldness of their themes (suicide, adultery, atheism), but Agoult would soon realize that her talent for fiction was limited and turn to other means of expression. In

1846 she published her only novel, *Nélida*, an autobiographical account, written in the third person, of her relationship with Liszt.

Agoult was the first to introduce Emerson's writings in France, and his influence is obvious in her daring *Essai sur la liberté* (1847), in which she postulates that the individual, the family, and the state are in chains, and that their evolution can only be achieved through their liberation from the institutions of the past. Her criticism of marriage, her stand for universal suffrage and for justice instead of charity, as well as her crude depiction of birth labor, were shocking for the times. Unlike the Saint-Simonians, to whom she was very close, she considered education, rather than sexual freedom, to be the cornerstone of women's emancipation. In 1849, she published her *Esquisses morales et politiques*, a collection of brief essays and aphorisms that summarized her opinions on the topics she had previously tackled.

Agoult's most important work is undoubtedly her *Histoire de la Révolution de 1848*, published between 1851 and 1853, and its main interest is the impartiality that she was able to maintain in the aftermath of the uprising of 1848. It can be argued that as a woman her incapacity to participate politically allowed her such a standpoint and made it possible for her to publish her work shortly after the revolution. Her research is based on newspaper articles, testimonies, archives, and police reports, and all points of view are represented, whether it be in her account of the shooting of the Boulevard des Capucines or of the abdication of Louis Philippe. Her substantial introduction constitutes an outstanding piece on the roots and the launching of the Revolution. Agoult published another historical study, *Histoire des commencements de la République des Pays-Bas*, in 1872, as well as plays on Marie Stuart and Jeanne d'Arc; the latter was performed in France and in Italy. In her later years she turned from politics to aesthetics in her writings, and her *Dante et Goethe* provides a brilliant synthesis of the various philosophical streams that nourished European civilization, revealing how Agoult was a tributary of both her Catholic and Protestant upbringing, of her travels through Europe, and of her epistolary contacts with other European thinkers. Unfortunately, she never finished her *Memoirs*, but the first book, recounting her childhood and her youth in the Faubourg Saint-Germain, renders with great perceptiveness the mores of the aristocracy during the time of the empire and the Restoration, and more particularly those related to marriage, which she criticizes openly and with great wit.

Marie d'Agoult is a truly modern European figure, and her writings, which are inspired by the thought of German, Italian, and French authors, call for a movement toward the unification and the democratization of an enlightened Europe. As a Romantic icon, she personified the power of passion both in her life and in her works, and she held on to her idealistic Romantic values while adjusting to the many political and social changes in France that she witnessed in her lifetime.

RACHEL SAUVÉ

Biography

Marie-Catherine-Sophie de Flavigny was born in 1805 in Frankfurt am Main to a German mother and a French father; she received an excellent education from her father. She was married to Charles d'Agoult in 1827, and had one living daughter when she separated from him in 1835 to join Franz Liszt in Switzerland. They had three children, the second of which, Cosima, was to marry Richard Wagner. In 1843, she came back to Paris and devoted herself to her writing while struggling with frequent bouts of depression, from which she suffered all her life, as well as with financial difficulties. She died in Paris in 1876.

Selected Works

Nélida. 1846.
Essai sur la liberté. 1847.
Esquisses morales et politiques. 1849.
Histoire de la Révolution de 1848. 1851–53.
Dante et Goethe. 1866.
Histoire des commencements de la République des Pays-Bas. 1872.
Julien, *Hervé*, and *Valentia*, la boîte aux lettres. 1883.

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ALASTOR; OR THE SPIRIT OF SOLITUDE 1816

Poem by Percy Bysshe Shelley

Alastor, complete with its preface, was written in Bishopsgate, London, between September 10 and December 14, 1815. It was published, while Percy Bysshe Shelley was living in Rome, in his first volume of poetry, which took its title from the poem. The volume as a whole was originally not well regarded by its first reviewers (largely conservative periodicals), receiving its first lengthy favorable notice from John Gibson Lockhart in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* only in 1819. *Alastor* attracted most of the notice, and most of the blame. Favorable reviewers of *Alastor* drew their reader's attention to its place within a "new school" of poetry, that which we now think of as characteristic of the Romantic era. Its treatment of prominent Romantic themes and issues has meant it has maintained a position of importance and controversy within studies of the Romantic era, and within Shelley's corpus.

The poem tells the story of the solitary life and death of a poet. His mind is nurtured by nature ("Every sight and sound from the vast earth and the ambient air") and history ("all . . . which the sacred past / In truth or fable consecrates"). He remains alone, pursuing "Nature's most secret steps" through eastern countries that were associated by the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries with the birth of human society and

language. These two aspects of the poem—the study of nature and the eastern journey—have attracted much attention, as their apparent interests in living "naturally" and the formation of society seem to conflict with the habitual solitude of the poet. This sense is intensified as he rejects the advances of an "Arab maiden," preferring to pursue a vision he has seen in a dream of an ideal love in the form of a "veiled maid." The pursuit of this unreal love alienates him further from society until he embarks on a river journey in a "little shallop" into the Caucasus Mountains, where, still haunted by his vision, he dies.

These are the principal elements of the story, but *Alastor* is not a simple narrative. The story of the poet is framed at first by a preface, in which we are told (if obscurely) how we should read the poem, next by an epigraph from St. Augustine that comments ironically on the nature of a certain kind of love, and finally by the presence of a narrator who is similarly interested in the "deep mysteries" of nature and tells us the story. These framing devices encourage us to reflect critically: on them, their inconsistency with themselves and with the story, and on the ramifications they hold for our interpretation of the value of the poet's life, quest, and death. Their suggestion that the poem holds a complicated, even critical, relation to its protagonist is confirmed by its title: Alastor is not the name of the hero but a word derived from Greek meaning "avenging spirit"; the spirit of solitude, then, is not sanguine.

Alastor presents many interesting problems for interpretation and to a surprising degree the history of its critical reception is paradigmatic of changing attitudes to the literature of the Romantic era. In its treatment of common Romantic themes, particularly the poet's quest after the ideal, it is at once caught up with and departs from various Romantic formulations of the role of the poet and poetry. Most clearly, *Alastor* can be approached in terms of its engagements both with other works by Shelley and with that of other writers of the period. The time of the poem's composition marks the beginning of Shelley's most serious writing, where in poetry and prose he revisits the questions of the formation of the mind, the production and aim of the writing of poetry, and the involvement of the poet with society. It is read particularly frequently in conjunction with the later essays "On Life" and "On Love." The intensification in Shelley's writing is marked in *Alastor* by the emergence of characteristic stylistic and generic preoccupations—particularly his attention to the development of a narrative verse style. In terms of Shelley's engagement with his contemporaries, what is most apparent is that in the preface and the poem Shelley alludes particularly clearly, through direct and indirect quotation, to poems by Samuel Taylor Coleridge and William Wordsworth, whose poetic reputations were at this time already established. His language and themes have also been related to works by the poet Robert Southey, the French historian Constantine Volney, and the philosophers William Drummond, William Godwin, and Mary Wollstonecraft, among others. Because of this, critical approaches to the text frequently address the question of who, if anyone, the figure of the poet might represent or criticize.

Such attention to the role of the poet is invited particularly by the use that Shelley makes—to thematic and metaphorical effect—of the myth of Narcissus. The prominence of this myth of self-love in the poem suggests the self-destructive and selfish elements in the poet's quest. Critical attention has focused on the extent to which we can read this as Shelley deliberately ironizing the poet and his quest, or whether *Alastor* is implicated in such self-absorption. *Alastor* may be critical of the tendency of Romantic poetry to transcendentalize its goals, pointing to the lack of social and political engagement of the poet's quest, the self-defeating nature of his solitude (we may note that we only know the poet through the narrator's poetry, not his own; in fact, we rarely hear him speak at all). At the same time the reader may feel that it partakes of the narcissism it criticizes, particularly through its treatment of the women, real and imaginary, whom the poet encounters. The poet abandons the real "Arabian maid" for the "veiled maid" who is solely a construct of the poet's own imagination and is "like the voice of his own soul." Such an ambivalence further invites us to examine the ways in which the poem itself engages with the outside world: the social responsibilities of the poet in the wake of the wreck of radical hopes in the French Revolution; the implications of his journey through the east at a time when Britain was engaged in colonial domination of the east, as well as deeply interested in it as a place of its own history; and its implication in the sexual politics of the day. *Alastor* can be seen as Shelley's initial attempt to orient his own voice among those of his fellow contemporary poets and thinkers, to situate his own position critically in relation to their attitudes to the same poetic subjects; at the same time it is both interested, and implicated, in many of the problems of its contemporary world.

SUZIE JORDAN

Text

Alastor; or The Spirit of Solitude and Other Poems. London: Baldwin, Craddock, and Joy, and Carpenter and Son, 1816; reprinted in the standard edition *The Poems of Shelley*, edited by Geoffrey Matthews and Kelvin Everest. Vol. 1, 1804–17. London: Longman, 1989.

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ALECSANDRI, VASILE 1818–1890

Romanian poet, dramatist, folklorist, and politician

Born in Moldavia to a middle-ranking nobleman and a Romanianized Greek mother, Vasile Alecsandri was educated at first by a Greek monk but was then sent to Paris at an early age (in 1834), where time spent in boulevard theaters proved more decisive for his career than his unfinished studies in medicine and law. On his return to his home country he took up a sinecure in the Moldavian pensions office, but devoted most of his energy to writing plays put on in the Moldavian National Theater.

Having played a major role in the Moldavian Revolution of 1848, Alecsandri went into exile, returning to perform important diplomatic missions at the time of the union of the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia in 1859. He was a founding member of the Romanian Academy in 1867, president of the Chamber of Deputies in 1869, and Romanian Ambassador to Paris from 1885 until his death in 1890.

Alecsandri's importance for Romanian Romanticism is basically threefold. From 1840, he played a crucial role in developing a local theatrical repertoire, transposing themes from French and Italian farces and satires into a Romanian setting, and sending up the conflict between the old orientalized nobility and the young Frenchified elite (the *bonjurişti*), and thereby dramatizing the conflicts and contradictions of social change and superficial Europeanization of local speech, manners, and forms. His most famous character is Chiriţa (the name is a Romanian feminine diminutive of the Greek *Kyr*, lord) a provincial boyar's wife who comes to the Moldavian capital, Iaşi, to educate and marry off her daughters. She ends up taking them to the West, but gets off the Danube steamboat too early at Belgrade, mistaking it for Paris. The social education of provincial Moldavians and their arrival in the capital stand synecdochically for the whole of Romania's relationship with Westernization. The role of Chiriţa was played by the famous Romanian actor Matei Millo, in female costume.

Alecsandri also contributed to the key Romanian journals *Propăşirea* (*Progress*, 1840), and *România literară* (*Literary Romania*, 1855) and in his poetry and prose transposed themes from the French exoticism of Théophile Gautier, Victor Hugo, and Prosper Merimée (a man with whom he traveled in Spain and North Africa in the 1850s): this work both integrated stereotypes of the Orient into Romanian culture and placed the Romanians themselves in a comprehensible cultural geography somewhere between France and Constantinople.

Finally, Alecsandri published the most influential collection of Romanian folk poetry, *Poezii populare române* (1850–66). Ballads like "Mioriţa" ("The Ewe Lamb") and "Meşterul Manole" ("Manole the Master Builder"), which in fact treat universal folk themes and motifs, have always been touchstones in debates over a Romanian identity, interpreted in the light of Romantic theories of passivity and pastoralism, or, respectively, creativity and sacrifice. These and other poems collected or adapted by Alecsandri were included in all the first anthologies of Romanian poetry published in Western European languages during and after the Crimean War. His "adaptations" were later criticized by folklorists but defended by literary critics. Over a thousand different versions of *Mioriţa* were later collected throughout Romania.

After 1850, Alecsandri played an active role in politics, but continued to write, including a series of interesting lyrical *Pasteluri* (*Pastels*, 1875) and some rather overblown epic dramas, mainly on the theme of Romania's Latin heritage. His 1877 poem *Cîntecul gintei latine* (*The Song of the Latin Race*) won a prize from the Society of Romance Langauges at Montpellier, organized by Frederic Mistral and the Provençal group Félibrige, an event which was granted inordinate importance in Romania, and eventually came to symbolize a poetic recognition of the national dignity.

ALEXANDER DRACE-FRANCIS

Biography

Born in Bacau, Moldavia, June 14, 1821. Educated at Iasi and later in Paris, 1834–39. Worked in the Moldavian pensions office; wrote plays for the Moldavian National Theater in the 1840s. First collection of folk songs published, 1844. Participated in Romanian revolutionary cause from 1840s; engaged in the Moldavian Revolution of 1848. Went into exile, 1849–59. Published several volumes of poetry and songs from 1853; contributed to Romanian journals *Propirea* (*Progress*), 1840, and *Romania literatur* (*Literary Romania*), 1855. Minister for foreign affairs, Romania, 1859–60. Traveled to London as special envoy of Prince Alexandru Cuza on diplomatic mission to secure recognition for the United Romanian Principalities, 1860. Founder member of the Romanian Academy, 1867. President of the Chamber of Deputies, Romania, 1869. Romanian ambassador to France in Paris, from 1885. Died in Mircesti, Romania, August 22, 1890.

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ALFIERI, VITTORIO 1749–1803

Italian dramatist, poet, and writer

While Vittorio Alfieri enjoyed a considerable reputation as a playwright and man of letters across Europe throughout his lifetime, in the turbulent years leading up to the unification of Italy in 1860 he was seen as a champion of liberty and a focus for Italian patriots. What is immediately striking about Alfieri is the force of his personality as it emerges in his writings, epitomizing a fundamental change of direction in European culture, from the age of reason to the Romantic era. His lifelong rejection of any type of authority may have had its roots in his reaction against his upbringing and education in Piedmont, then part of the rigidly repressive kingdom of Sardinia. In his autobiography he dismissed his experiences at the Royal Military Academy of Turin as years of miseducation, and no sooner had he left the academy than he sought permission from the king to travel throughout Europe. The next decade is described by him as one of journeys and dissipation, although it also afforded him the firsthand experience of a variety of forms of government, as well as the opportunity to study the Italian classics, French Enlightenment writers, and, most important, Plutarch. It was, above all, in Plutarch that Alfieri discovered the ideal of a heroic life, and, almost by corollary, his own sense of impatience with and antagonism toward contemporary society and culture.

With the success of his first tragedy, *Cleopatra*, in 1775, Alfieri decided to devote himself to literature and made an extended visit to Tuscany to perfect his Italian, as French was his first language. The choice of tragedy as most appropriate for the expression of poetic and political themes was driven by his desire to establish the genre in Italy and to rival the richer French tradition. In a letter to a friend, Alfieri hinted at a political subtext to the undertaking, writing, "I write with the one illusion that perhaps, if Italians are reborn, one day these tragedies of mine will be performed; . . . the presence of theater in modern nations, as in ancient ones, presupposes that they are truly nations and not ten little divided peoples."

The model on which Alfieri chose to structure his tragedies was clearly classical: five acts observed the Aristotelian unities of time, place, and, above all, action. He described his method of composition, which never varied, as three phases of invention, outline, and versification, but he held that the crucial element lay in the temperament of the writer: "in writing tragedies the prime requisite is passion, which is something that cannot be learned." The tragedies have a uniform, highly condensed structure in that the first and final acts tend to be very short, the number of characters is kept to a minimum, and all extraneous details are omitted. This streamlining is carried through to the language, which is concise to the point of telegraphic brevity, and the most famous example of this is found in the final scene of act 2 of *Filippo*, in which nine lines exchanged between two characters amount to twenty-two words.

The themes of the nineteen tragedies are taken from biblical, historical, and mythological sources, and George Steiner has described their range as "an index to the romantic imagination." The classical element of fate tends to be central, however, and his characters seem driven by forces beyond human comprehension. There are no preoccupations with realism, or the historical specifics of a given character's situation, but the lyricism of the language effectively evokes the inner life of the characters. The recurrent theme of the struggle for liberty is not posed in terms of a clash between individual and society, but rather of two titanic individuals—the hero and the tyrant—who occasionally show an uncanny psychological similarity. Two of his best plays, *Saul* (1782) and *Mirra* (1784), fall outside this scheme, as Saul is both tyrant and victim, while Mirra is at the mercy of her destiny.

There is, however, no real political dimension to Alfieri's notion of the power of the tyrant in the tragedies; it is, rather, an abstract concept that Alfieri analyzes in the treatise *Della tirannide* (*On Tyranny*, 1777). In this he explores various aspects of tyranny and suggests three remedies: solitude, suicide, or the murder of the tyrant, which are reflected in the various outcomes of the tragedies. It has been argued that Alfieri's concept of liberty is an absolute one that borders on anarchy in its refutation of all political systems.

Some of these themes are taken up in *Del principe e delle lettere* (*The Prince and Letters*, 1778–86), in which writers are seen as radical opponents of absolute power not so much through revolutionary activity as by the very nature of their vocation. The writer's task is to instill in his readers love of liberty and awareness of their rights and his superiority to the man of action lay in the fact that the work of art created would outlive him.

However, the impact of Alfieri on successive generations of Italian writers, such as Ugo Foscolo and Giacomo Leopardi, stems as much from the emotionally charged account of his life as his literary or political writings. *Vita* (his autobiography) was begun in 1790 and completed in 1803, and provides an intimate account of his travels through Europe and a somewhat idealized self-portrait, emphasizing his passionate nature.

The influence of Petrarch is evident in both the title and tone of his *Rime* (*Poems*, 1798–1804), some 350 compositions—mainly sonnets—that describe the physical and emotional characteristics of the poet. The language of his poetry bears traces of the peculiarities of his tragic style in the exclamations, sudden changes of register, and abrupt heartfelt cries that punctuate the lyrical flow.

A brooding, melancholy figure, Alfieri combined the disparate elements of contemporary culture in his reverence for the classical ideals of harmony and simplicity and his penchant for emotional self-indulgence and introspection, which explains Benedetto Croce's definition of him as a proto-Romantic.

LYNNE PRESS

Biography

Born in Asti, Piedmont, January 16, 1749. Attended Royal Military Academy, Turin, 1759–66. Traveled widely in Europe as an ensign, 1766–72, in, among other places, Austria, England, Holland, Russia, and Spain. Returned to Piedmont, 1772. Resigned his army commission, 1773. Studied and wrote full-time from 1775 after the success of his tragedy *Cleopatra*. Made an extended visit to Tuscany to perfect his Italian, 1776. Began lifelong relationship with Luisa Stolberg, Countess of Albany,

wife of Charles Edward, Stuart pretender to the English throne, 1777. Lived in Florence with the countess from 1778, ceding most of his estate to his sister. Followed the countess to Rome, 1780; lived with her in Colmar, Alsace, 1784–90, then in Paris, 1790–92. Fled from revolutionary Paris to Florence with the countess, 1792; left Florence during the French occupation of the city, 1798. Important autobiographical work *Vita di Vittorio Alfieri scritta da esso* published posthumously in 1804. Died in Florence, October 8, 1803.

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ALKAN, CHARLES-VALENTIN (MORHANGE) 1813–1888

French pianist and composer

Charles-Valentin Alkan's career as a pianist and composer spanned most of the nineteenth century. Though he was widely respected by some of his most famous contemporaries, his public appearances were few and far between, and his often idiosyncratic compositions remain largely unknown on the concert circuit.

Alkan was born Charles-Valentin Morhange, and assumed his father's first name, Alkan, from an early age, together with his sister and four brothers, all of whom were to establish successful musical careers in Paris. His father ran a musical boarding school in the Marais, the Jewish district of Paris, from which many proceeded to the Paris Conservatoire. Charles-Valentin was admitted to the Conservatoire at the exceptionally early age of six, and was awarded first prizes for solfège, piano, harmony, and organ in his time there. He was heavily promoted as a child prodigy, but never established himself on the international circuit of his contemporary virtuosi, and apart from two visits to London in 1833 and 1835, he apparently remained in Paris his whole life.

In 1839, with his career as a virtuoso progressing to great acclaim and several publications of piano music to his name, Alkan suddenly disappeared from the public eye. With the exception of six recitals in 1844–45 and 1853, he was not to make another public appearance until 1873, when he arranged the first of eight seasons of "petits concerts de musique classique," in which he perfomed an immensely wide range of then virtually unknown music from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, interspersed with compositions of his own and of his contemporaries.

In the meantime, Alkan had become deeply misanthropic. He gave piano lessons throughout his life, mainly to upper-class women, and published a substantial body of music, almost entirely for piano or pedal piano (an instrument that he came increasingly to champion later in life), but he rarely ventured outside his own circle of friends. His greatest work, misleadingly titled as a set of mere studies, the *Douze études dans tous les tons mineurs pour piano*, op. 39 (composed from 1846 onward, published 1857), runs to more than two hours in performance and includes within it a four-movement symphony and three-movement concerto, both for piano alone. In writing orchestral music for solo piano, Alkan developed bold new pianistic textures quite unlike anything written by any of his contemporaries. His "orchestral" piano music does not resemble a conventional piano arrangement of orchestral music, but sounds orchestral as a result of the number of different elements and textures heard simultaneously within a piece.

Despite the obscurity that Alkan cultivated, he occupies an important position within the Romantic movement. As a resident of the Square d'Orléans in the 1840s, his neighbors included not only some of the foremost Parisian musicians (Frédéric Chopin, Friedrich Kalkbrenner, Antoine Marmontel, Joseph d'Ortigue, and Pierre Joseph Zimmerman), but also an elite group of authors and artists including Eugène Delacroix, Alexandre Dumas, Victor Hugo, Felicité Robert de Lamennais, and George Sand. Marmontel records that Alkan was accepted by these neighbors as "un frère en poésie," and though he may have been an outsider to Parisian society at large, he had intimate acquaintance with many of the intellectual leaders of the French Romantic movement in art and letters.

Alkan's connection to the Romantic movement displays itself on two levels in his music. The intellectual concerns of his artistic compatriots were primarily literary, and references to literary subjects are very common in Alkan's music. It appears that the French translation of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's *Faust*

(1828; part 1, with illustrations by Delacroix) inspired the second movement—entitled "Quasi-Faust,"—of one of Alkan's most imposing compositions, the *Grande sonate: les quatre âges*, op. 33 (1847), although Alkan points out in his introduction to this work that each movement, rather than being programmatically representative, corresponds to "une disposition particulière de la pensée, de l'imagination." There are several references to classical texts in this and other works, and biblical quotations precede several other compositions. In each case, it seems that individual words are not intended to be depicted so much as the sentiment of the quoted passage as a whole. On rare occasions, however, he descends to the banality of direct representation: *Le chemin de fer*, op. 27, a *perpetuum mobile* of 1844, depicts not only the fast-moving steam engine but even the sounding of its whistle.

Between the two extremes of a train's whistle and a musical depiction of the physical and mental suffering of the bound Prometheus (in the last movement of Alkan's *Grande sonate*), many aspects of the composer's wide-ranging musical style are concerned with the traditional Romantic concepts of fantasy and the macabre, as shown by such titles as *Les diablotins* (*The Little Devils*, 1861; from the *Quarante-huit esquisses*), *L'enfer* (*Hell*, c. 1841; the second movement of the *Duo concertant*), *La chanson de la folle au bord de la mer* (*The Song of the Mad Woman by the Seashore*, 1847; from the *Vingt-cinq préludes*), *Scherzo diabolico* (1857; from the *Douze études dans tous les tons mineurs*) and *Esprits follets* (*Will-o'-the-Wisps*, c. 1866; from the *Third Book of Chants*). Usually such pieces do not conform to the conventional nineteenth-century garb of the macabre, but seek to parody it. Thus, in *Les diablotins* Alkan employs not only the conventional device of *acciaccature* in the higher register, but also toys with note clusters fifty years before they became a feature of modernist piano music. Alkan's skill as a malicious parodist is best demonstrated in *L'opéra*, from the twelve-piece cycle of *Les mois*, op. 74 (c. 1840), which abounds in the worst clichés of piano reductions of grand opera, and in the *Marcia funebre sulla morte d'un pappagallo* (*Funeral March on the Death of a Parrot*, 1859), exposing the bathos in those grand funeral marches through which more extrovertly romantic French composers, Hector Berlioz included, displayed their supposed turmoil and anguish.

Paradoxically, Alkan's position as a Romantic composer is enhanced by his detachment from much of French musical Romanticism. His music often makes phenomenal demands of its performers, but never simply for reasons of show, as with so many pianists of the time. His idea of Romanticism existed on a higher, intellectual and philosophical plane, next to those of Lamennais and Sand.

NICOLAS BELL

Biography

Born Charles-Henri-Valentin Morhange in Paris, November 30, 1813, into a Jewish family; son of Alkan Morhange, head teacher of an elementary school and distinguished music teacher. Eldest of six children, all of whom became musicians; brother of the pianist, composer, and teacher Napoléon Morhange (1826–1910). Studied piano and composition at the Paris Conservatoire, 1820–34: awarded the *premier prix*, 1824. Published first composition, 1828; active as a virtuoso pianist, 1830 until 1838, after which time made only very rare public appearances. Visited London, 1833 and 1835. Lived in the Square d'Orléans, 1840s; gave piano lessons and associated with the literary circle of Victor Hugo, Félicité de Lamennais, and George Sand, and with the composers Frédéric Chopin and Franz Liszt. Became reclusive after the 1840s. Published his *Grand sonate*, op. 33, 1847; *Études*, op. 39, 1857. Organized "Petits concerts de musique classique" featuring seventeenth- and eighteenth-century music, 1873–80. Died in Paris, March 29, 1888.

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ALLSTON, WASHINGTON 1779–1843

American painter

Washington Allston has been described by William Gerdts as "the most complete representative of the romantic age in American painting," but his significance, and the nature of his achievement, have long been open to debate. During his lifetime and in the period just after his death, Allston was viewed as master of major stature. An anonymous reviewer of 1850 declared, "As a painter he is acknowledged by all to stand at the head of American artists," and no less a figure than the poet Samuel Taylor Coleridge described Allston as a man of "high and rare genius" (see Griggs, 305–6). The art historian William Gerdts has noted that Allston's work received more praise and attention than that of any other American artist who worked before the Civil War.

By the late nineteenth century, however, reconsideration of Allston's critical and artistic significance began to appear. In 1893, William Coffin, writing in *The Nation*, declared that a display of Allston's work at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago proved "how little there was in his painting to justify the reputation ascribed to him by his biographers" (see Coffin, 116). Indeed, this fall from critical favor is recorded in the history of exhibitions of Allston's work. After a major retrospective of Allston's work in 1881, at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, no show of his work took place for sixty-five years, until 1946, when museums in Boston and Detroit staged an exhibition organized by Edward Preston Richardson. Although Richardson followed this venture with a full-scale biography, published in 1948, Allston is still generally considered a figure of historical interest rather than as an artist of the first rank. Indeed, even Allston's place in the Romantic movement seems problematic today, since most of his paintings appear to be not so much a full-blown expression of Romanticism as a kind of classicism overlaid with Romantic features.

Allston was born on November 5, 1779, on a plantation in Georgetown County, South Carolina, and he later recalled that the songs and ghost stories of the black slaves profoundly stirred his imagination. His father, a soldier in the Revolutionary Army, died two years after Allston's birth. Consequently, in 1787, around the time that his mother remarried, Allston was sent to live with his mother's brother in Newport, Rhode Island, where he attended the preparatory school of Robert Rogers; he seems to have first taken up painting in a serious way here, with the encouragement of the portrait painter Samuel King, as well as the young miniaturist Edward Greene Malbone.

In 1796 Allston entered Harvard College, where painting seems to have consumed much of his free time. Several paintings survive from this period. His work was already considered quite unusual by American standards, since rather than focusing on portraiture—which was the staple of all other American artists—Allston focused on narrative and literary themes, some humorous, and others of a romantic nature, often based on the Gothic novels of the period. Allston himself later recalled going through a phase of "bandittimania," and this is recorded in several studies of brigands in the manner of Salvator Rosa.

After graduating from Harvard, Allston sold his share in the family property to finance a trip to Europe for the purpose of studying art. In 1801 he sailed for England, introduced himself to Benjamin West, and was admitted to the school of the Royal Academy. In 1803 he left for Paris with the American painter John Vanderlyn, and after a stay of several months went on to Italy, where he spent the next four years (1804–8) living chiefly in Rome, but also visiting other cities, particularly Florence. During this period he befriended the American novelist Washington Irving, as well as the English Romantic poet Samuel Taylor Coleridge, with whom he associated in Rome for about six months.

Allston's first notable works are a group of landscapes created while in Italy, such as the large *Diana and Her Nymphs in the Chase* (1805), a painting greatly admired by Coleridge. These pieces are classical in their general format, and resemble contemporary works by northern artists in Rome—for example, those of the German painter Joseph Anton Koch (1786–1839). Allston's paintings, however, suffuse these classical motifs with a mood of nostalgia and reverie. Moreover, his paint handling was not crisp and hard, in the manner of Koch or of traditional classicists such as Nicolas Poussin, but was instead soft and Venetian. Indeed, Allston developed a complex and distinctive technique of using glazes over primer—and of applying paint in threadlike ribbons of incompletely mixed pigment—to create a glowing, opalescent paint surface that gives his paintings a mood of mystery and intangibility.

Along with such landscapes, while in Italy Allston also executed a remarkable self-portrait (1805), that initiated a new Romantic mode of self-fashioning for American artists. (This picture was later greatly admired by the American modernist Charles Demuth, who thus started but never finished an essay on Allston's work.)

In 1808 Allston returned to the United States, where he set himself up as a professional portrait painter in Boston. Such work does not seem to have been congenial to him, however, and in 1811 he returned to England, accompanied by the aspiring painter Samuel F. B. Morse, who became a lifelong admirer of Allston's work. Allston's second stay in England marked the high point of his productivity as an artist and of critical recognition of his work. In England, Allston resumed his friendship with Coleridge, and through him made contact with wealthy English connoisseurs, among them Sir George Beaumont, who commissioned one of Allston's major paintings, *The Angel Releasing St. Peter from Prison*. Most of Allston's paintings of this period were large figure compositions—modeled on those of Benjamin West and Henry Fuseli—that combine a generally classical treatment of the figure with otherworldly themes of a fantastic or religious nature. These included a much-admired painting, *Jacob's Dream* (1817), which was acquired by the Third Earl of Egremont and inspired a poem by William Wordsworth.

The most ambitious of these paintings was *The Dead Man Revived by Touching the Bones of Elisha* (1813), which received a prize of two hundred guineas when Allston first exhibited it at the British Institution in 1813. An academic tour de force and some thirteen feet high, this canvas contains seventeen carefully arranged figures based on famous prototypes, such as the Transfiguration of Raphael and the frieze of the Parthenon. Despite

the overall classicism of the effect, however, Allston's underlying Romanticism is evident both in its subject (which deals with the connection between the material world, and that of soul, spirit, and afterlife), as well as in his paint handling, which is glowing and mysterious.

While no doubt remarkable, such efforts appear somewhat artificial and stilted to modern eyes. More appealing to contemporary taste is Allston's landscape *Elijah in the Desert* (1818–19), which he painted toward the end of his stay in England in just three weeks, applying the underpainting with skimmed milk mixed with pigment and then going over the result with oil glazes. Here, finally, Allston seems to have cast aside the straitjacket of classicism and to have produced a purely Romantic statement.

Despite many successes, Allston's stay in England was marked by difficulties and setbacks, including a near-fatal illness, the death of his wife, and mounting financial difficulties. In 1818, having exhausted his inheritance, Allston returned to the United States and settled in Cambridgeport, just outside of Boston. Shortly after his return, he produced one of his finest and most Romantic creations, *Moonlit Landscape* (1819), which shows a cluster of enigmatic figures in the moonlight and is filled with a spirit of restlessness and reverie.

In general, however, Allston's creative drive diminished after his return to the United States. In 1820 a group of ten Boston merchants contributed one thousand dollars each to enable Allston to complete his large painting *Belshazar's Feast*, which he had started in England in 1817. This painting shows the prophet Daniel interpreting handwriting that mysteriously appeared during a feast on the wall behind the Babylonian king Belshazar, foretelling his doom. But Allston was never able to complete the project, because he had either changed his mind about the composition, become distracted by other projects, or lost his creative drive in the unstimulating cultural atmosphere of Cambridge. At the time of his death, on July 9, 1843, the painting was discovered unfinished in his studio, marked up with chalk lines indicating compositional changes. Allston's inability to complete the painting became legendary, and inspired several literary treatments of the theme, including Henry James's novella *The Madonna of the Future*. As was the case with other romantic artists—one thinks of Coleridge's unfinished poem "Kubla Khan"—Allston's aspirations were so lofty that actually completing a work of art often became difficult, if not impossible.

In addition to his achievements as an artist, Allston also wrote verse, prose tales, a novel, and extensive art theory and art criticism. (Interestingly, he was the first to coin the term *objective correlative*, later taken up by T. S. Eliott). Allston's great reputation in his lifetime was clearly based not simply on his paintings but on his gifts as a conversationalist, which captivated all who knew him. As the actress known as Mrs. Jameson later recalled, "The vivacity of his conceptions, and the glowing language in which he could clothe them, rendered his conversation inexpressibly delightful and exciting. I remember, after an evening spent with him, returning home very late (I think it near three in the morning),—with the feelings of *one* '*who had been magnetized* (see Jameson, 16).'" Indeed, in the end, Allston's greatness was probably based not so much on any actual accomplishment, as on a new set of Romantic ideals and yearnings that he introduced into American art and culture.

HENRY ADAMS

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ALMQVIST, CARL JONAS LOVE 1793–1866

Swedish Poet

Carl Jonas Love Almqvist (the name Love is a romanticized version of Ludvig) is one of the few Swedish Romantic authors whose texts are still popular. His literary production was enormous; certain of the texts have achieved classic status and are constantly reprinted. Among his contemporaries, only Johan Stagnelius still belongs to the literature that is in circulation. Almqvist has become a symbolic figure in Swedish literary history and his life story reads like a literary creation in itself; a creation that encompassed both Romantic artistic life and the spirit of social revolt. Almqvist was, along with his primary rival Fredrika Bremer, one of the first Swedish authors to reach a position at the forefront of literature through prose rather than poetry. He was, however relatively primitive as a storyteller; his strengths lie in his skills of perception and observation, his original lyrics, and his unique stylistic tendencies.

Almqvist was the grandson of Carl Christoffer Gjörwell, himself an important figure in the literary history of Sweden through his work as a publisher and with several journals at the king's library in Stockholm. When Almqvist's mother died in 1806, his upbringing and education was overseen by Gjörwell. He was also influenced by his grandmother, apparently a favorite of King Gustav III, who sparked his interest in recent Swedish history. The interest in history was encouraged by Gjörwell, who wanted Almqvist to become a historian. When Almqvist attended Uppsala University (1808–15) he studied, among other subjects, philosophy and theology.

In 1815 he was employed at the ecclesiastic office; he worked there for eight years without getting to know his (later famous) colleague Stagnelius. The job was not enough to sustain him intellectually or financially, and he was eventually fired in 1823

for negligence. The following year Almqvist demonstrated his ability to put even his wildest ideas into practice, moving to Värmland to live as an idealistic farmer married to a suitable country wife. Almqvist was one of the few who lived out Romantic ideals so literally and fully. Although the project failed, the marriage continued, albeit unhappily.

He returned to Stockholm as a teacher and in 1829 he was appointed headmaster at the New Elementary School. A remarkable production of textbooks ensued, with *Svensk Rättstafningslära* (*Swedish Correct Spelling Teaching*) appearing in 1829 and *Svensk Språklära* (*Swedish Language Teaching*) in 1832. There would be later textbooks in subjects such as geometry, Greek, and French. The first of the textbooks became a commercial success; its innovative and absurd examples are famous.

Almqvist's literary debut was in 1833 with the first part of *Törnrosens bok* (*The Rose Tower Book*). The book is presented as a dream about the disappearing elite culture, an idea probably influenced by his grandparents, but the plot followed the modern Romantic preferences. The book did not bring him much financial reward, and Almqvist was still forced to retain other employment. He became a priest in 1837 in the hope of advancing himself, and the following year applied, without success, for a professorship in modern languages at Lund University.

Four new parts of *Törnrosens bok* came out in 1838, displaying an increase in realism and an attempt to introduce intrigue, in the style of the imported popular books. Most noteworthy is the introduction of a theme that would become especially strong in the following century, in an essay entitled *Svenska fattigdomens betydelse* (*The Importance/Meaning of Swedish Poverty*). The turning point in his career came in 1839 with *Det går an* (*It Will Do*), a short novel that examines feminist ideas through a detailed portrayal of everyday life. It was more shocking than any previous novel in that the main characters Sara and Albert decide to move in together without getting married, thus challenging the bourgeois attitude toward marriage. It is the oldest Swedish novel still read today and is constantly reprinted.

Det går an caused the first of the scandals surrounding Almqvist's reputation, and it forced him to retire from state employment and concentrate on increasing his literary production. He also reworked and published two of his youthful novels, *Orimus och Ariman* and *Amorina*, both in 1839. He was able to exploit his notoriety in the world of media by becoming a journalist for *Aftonbladet* (*Evening News*) in 1839, and this cemented his position as liberal-radical opposition man and also paid well. At the same time he began mass-producing novels, hoping to imitate the success of imported authors such as Charles Dickens. The awaited success was not forthcoming despite the anonymous reviews Almqvist himself wrote in the newspapers for which he worked. The publication of parts of *Törnrosens bok* continued. Noteworthy is the edition published in 1849 that contained *Songes*, poems set to music that are simultaneously the most Romantic and the most original pieces in the work.

The second great scandal in Almqvist's life arose from his attempt to poison von Scheven, an important moneylender to whom he owed great sums of money, in 1851. He fled to the United States and there entered into a bigamist marriage with his landlady in order to ease his financial difficulties. While in the United States he worked on the as-yet-unpublished *Om svenska rim* (*About Swedish Rhyme*). In 1865 he left his second wife. He died in obscurity in a boarding house in Bremen the following year. During his lifetime Almqvist was an extraordinarily prolific writer who left behind an extensive collection of works, and yet, despite the value of many of his books, his personal life and private escapes provide the most remarkable story of all.

CAMILLA FRASER

Biography

Born in 1793, studied philosophy and theology at Uppsala University 1808–15. In 1815 started work at the ecclesiastic office in Stockholm; fired due to negligence in 1823 and moved to Värmland to live as a farmer. Returned to Stockholm in 1829 and took a job as the headmaster of the New Elementary School. Published *Svensk Rättstafningslära* in 1829 and *Svensk Språklära* in 1832. Made his literary debut in 1833 with the first part of *Törnrosens bok*. In 1837 was ordained as a priest. In 1839, publication of *Det går an*; also reworked and published *Amorina* and *Orimus och Ariman* and became a journalist for *Aftonbladet*. In 1849 another part of *Törnrosens bok* published, containing, among other works, *Songes*. Fled from Sweden after attempt to poison von Scheven in 1851 and while in America entered into a bigamist marriage with his landlady. In 1865, ran away from his second wife; died in a boarding house in Bremen in 1866.

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Amorina
Brev 1803–66
Det går an
Orimus och Ariman
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AMERICAN REVOLUTION 1775–1783

In 1815, John Adams argued (in a letter to Thomas Jefferson) that the real American Revolution had occurred in the minds of American colonists from 1760 to 1775. Several factors had contributed to this changing colonial mindset, characterized by distrust and resentment of the British presence in, and control of, the American colonies. Such factors included extensive reading in classical history by those who would become revolutionary leaders, and the writings of radical Whig authors, which encouraged extreme animosity towards British authority. In the period after the Seven Years War (also known as the French and Indian War), the British government struggled to assert greater control over the American colonies and to continue extracting tax revenue from them in order to pay off debts accumulated during the war. Arbitrary exercises of power, such as the Stamp Act and the Tea Act, provoked strong responses in the colonies, which for many years had hoped to heal the breach with Britain. But increasing taxes had created such strong currents of anti-British feeling that by March 1775 Virginian Patrick Henry could declare, "Our petitions have been slighted; our remonstrances have produced additional violence and insult; our supplications have been disregarded; and we have been spurned, with contempt, from the foot of the throne."

Unrest and threats of violence in the colonies led to the deployment of British troops to Boston. Fighting erupted in the spring of 1775, as General Thomas Gage ordered seven hundred British soldiers to seize caches of arms near Boston. The attempt failed, as armed colonists drove the British back to Boston and eventually descended upon the city. That siege, poorly conducted by the colonists, would continue until the following spring, when the colonists finally secured enough weapons to threaten British ships in Boston harbor.

Gage's career and reputation suffered irredeemable damage in 1775, when, despite being supplied with a superb professional force, he managed to lose the city of Boston to a ragtag band of colonials. His biographer John Alden concluded that while Gage's record in the early months of the American Revolution was dismal, he was certainly competent by European standards of the day and likely would have performed no more poorly than his successors had he remained in command.

For much of the eighteenth century, after the end of the War of Spanish Succession, Great Britain relied on its superb navy to maintain a powerful worldwide presence. During the campaigns against Quebec and Havana during the Seven Years War the Royal Navy placed British forces and their supplies in close proximity to the enemy, whom they then attacked in local towns. In the war against the American colonies, this ability to combine naval and military power offered the British a crucial advantage—namely, the ability to strike quickly and forcefully anywhere along the Atlantic seaboard. In New York, Savannah, and Charleston, British commanders would exploit their army's mobility and the surprise factor to their advantage. At Yorktown, Virginia, in 1781, however, the British army would be defeated by the colonial forces, while French ships defeated the British Navy and blocked the army's line of retreat.

Despite some victories, the colonial forces faced a variety of problems. In general they lacked any kind of military training other than militia duty; the good order, training, and discipline necessary to a successful eighteenth-century army was not immediately apparent in them. After a record of dismal defeats in 1776, American victories at Trenton and Princeton, New Jersey, helped to keep the cause of independence alive and boost morale. Then, a major victory at Saratoga, New York, in 1777 helped to secure the aid of France and Spain. Throughout the war, European forces remained relatively small and were supplemented by local militia. While militia troops were notoriously unreliable, tending to flee when faced with determined British soldiers, they did play an important role in victories at Saratoga and at Cowpens, South Carolina. American commanders were also plagued by an inefficient government composed of thirteen fractious colonies and the inefficient Continental Congress. Fortunately for the American cause, George Washington was named commander in chief of the continental army. While his battlefield performances lacked the tactical brilliance of Napoleon Bonaparte or Frederick the Great, he achieved the nearly impossible task of holding the army together through the grim years of war. By keeping his army intact, avoiding a decisive defeat, parrying British maneuvers, and attacking under favorable circumstances, he succeeded in thwarting a conclusive British victory.

The American victory at Saratoga induced France to enter the war against Great Britain. European intervention was essential for the colonists, since only a country with a powerful navy could neutralize British naval forces; also, France could provide the colonists with much-needed arms. French assistance proved crucial in the Yorktown campaign of 1781. George Washington's continental army held Lord Cornwallis's troops at Yorktown, while the French navy blocked a possible escape route by sea. Cornwallis surrendered, ending the conflict, although a formal peace treaty would not be signed until two years later.

The military struggle would ultimately decide whether the colonies would be ruled locally or from England. The political struggle in America proved intense as well. In 1776, the Continental Congress opened debate on a resolution by Richard Henry Lee that called for independence from Great Britain. After much contentious argument, the congress passed the Declaration of Independence in early July.

British historian Piers Mackesy has offered several causes for Britain's failure to maintain rule over the American colonies. British forces failed to ultimately put down the rebel armies when offered the chance. The royal navy was unable to secure command of the seas, and this would lead directly to the defeat at Yorktown. Mackesy also charges that British leaders were neither bold enough nor creative enough to meet the daunting challenges of the American Revolution.

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AMERICAN ROMANTICISM: APPROACHES AND INTERPRETATIONS

Romanticism as a broad term is associated with the empowerment of the individual over and above forms of law and restriction. As a historical movement it emerged in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as a reaction to the more rational traditions of religion and philosophy. An important historical characteristic of American Romanticism is the lateness of its development, explained in part by the internal concerns of a newly defined nation in the fields of politics, economics, and religion. Not until 1836, with the publication of Ralph Waldo Emerson's *Nature*, was native expression given to the innovative ideas current in Europe at the turn of the century.

Historically, the realization of the freedom and independence of the individual, and the increasing valuation placed on it within Western society, goes hand in hand with the West's economic embrace of capitalist ethics from the early modern period. It is this factor which accounts for the contradictory sweep of its appeal, providing both secular and divine justification for economic expansionism as much as for ethical humanitarianism. American emancipation from British colonial rule marked a first stage in its openness to the influences of revolutionary Romanticism apparent in Europe. Yet the most clearly defined American response was against the perceived stagnation and corruption of a burgeoning Romantic spirit.

The ideals and enthusiasms of transcendentalism sought metaphysical justification for the social ideals embodied in the Declaration of Independence, and assimilated influences derived from French utopianism and German mysticism to bolster its assertion of the inalienable worth of man. The pivotal expression of this reaction arrived with the publication of Emerson's *Nature*, and the impetus for the subsequent movement which became associated with him, was its critique of America's institutionalized failure to aspire to the revolutionary values that its independence had embodied. Instead, as Margaret Fuller observed, mid-nineteenth-century America had become "spoiled by prosperity, stupid with the lust of gain, soiled by crime in its perpetuation of slavery, shamed by an unjust war, noble sentiments much forgotten even by individuals, the aims of politicians selfish or petty, the literature frivolous and venal."

The Romantic spirit had been used to embrace conflicting ideological ideals, on the one hand justifying the acquisitiveness of Jacksonian democracy, and on the other inspiring the transcendentalists' enthusiasm for the utopian ideals of Brook Farm.

The openness at the core of American Unitarianism, as it became institutionalized within Harvard University at the turn of the century, allowed for the belated reception and assimilation of continental ideals. As a form of liberal Christianity, Unitarianism had triumphed over the orthodoxies of puritan Calvinism, but had itself become an institution blighted by a conservative rationalism. The appeal of the philosophical and literary works of the German and English Romantic movements, and Emerson's assimilation of their influence, helped to revive America's own religious radicalism. A wide range of ethical, religious, and social interests were embodied by the transcendentalism of such figures as Bronson Allcott, Margaret Fuller, and Henry David Thoreau. Notably, they paved the way for a range of writers as diverse as Emily Dickinson, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Herman Melville, Edgar Allan Poe, and Walt Whitman, to take the lead in the creative realization and exploration of the self which transcendentalism revitalized.

The subsequent modernist debunkings of Emerson up to and beyond the 1920s, by T. S. Eliot, George Santayana, Yvor Winters, and others, obscured the fact that even these most resolute twentieth-century adversaries of Romanticism derived from the Romantic mainstream. For many American modernists and critics of the period, Whitman provided a more usable example than Emerson, the traditional figurehead of American Romanticism, for their reaction against Emerson was fueled by the cult of personality which had grown up around him subsequent to his canonization in the late Victorian period. The post–1945 revival of Emerson's critical reputation revealed the continual underlying importance of American Romanticism to a range of public and intellectual discourses and twentieth-century ideologies and theories; this continued up to the 1970s and 1980s, hinging on the recognition that Romantic discourses provided a deepened textual polyvalence and interrogation of the nature of textuality and rhetoricism. In the work of Harold Bloom, Stanley Cavell, Barbara Packer, Richard Poirier, and others, Emerson is a figure grappling with the central tensions which Romanticism underlines, including a profound skepticism about the capacity of language to embody truth. His reputation as a seer and seeker of unity is displaced by a recognition of his skepticism revealed in the ambiguities and contradictions of his rhetoric. This more disturbing underside of Romanticism is a vital part and subject of the deconstruction movement in America which, in the work of Paul de Man and J. Hillis Miller, foregrounds the profound uncertainty and skepticism of Romantic writing.

The Romantic inheritance can be seen to be vast and varied due to its provision of a basis for questioning which, in the 1960s, sees it informing the literature of the Beat poets, infusing the culture of youth rebellion and alternate lifestyles with

Romantic materials. Romanticism persists as an appropriate idiom for confronting the implications of modernity, providing a means for interrogating and interpreting a world characterized by increasingly rapid change and dislocation.

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AMERICAN ROMANTICISM: ITS LITERARY LEGACY

Romanticism is one of the strongest intellectual currents in American literature, starting with the burst of cultural activity in mid-nineteenth-century New England and continuing through to the more diffuse, yet still readily discernible, themes of late-twentieth-century writing. Numerous lines of influence can be traced in fiction and poetry, across different genres and from different regional perspectives. This can be demonstrated by four examples. First, the Romantic emphasis on imaginative expression connects the regional modernism of Thomas Wolfe's *Look Homeward Angel* (1929) with the poetry of Walt Whitman; Hart Crane's *The Bridge* (1930) and the urban modernism of Langston Hughes's poetry; and onto Allen Ginsberg's and Jack Kerouac's Beat writings of the 1950s. Second, the celebration of nature in Henry David Thoreau's *Walden; Or Life in the Woods* (1854) and Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* (1855) has found numerous outlets, from the twentieth-century poetry of Wallace Stevens, Robert Frost, and Robert Bly, to Native American writers attempting to preserve tribal customs and the sanctity of nature in an increasingly mercantile environment (for example, Louise Erdrich and N. Scott Momaday). Third, the Gothic writing of Charles Brockden Brown and Edgar Allen Poe has mutated into the ghost stories of Charlotte Perkins Gilman and Henry James; the "grotesque" stories of the modernist Sherwood Anderson in *Winesburg, Ohio* (1919); and the mid-twentieth-century southern Gothic of Carson McCullers and Flannery O'Connor through to popular horror writers such as Stephen King.

A fourth intellectual strain derives from the thought of Ralph Waldo Emerson, which provided the philosophical cornerstone for American Romanticism in the 1840s. Emerson himself was influenced by the British Romantic poets and German Romantic philosophy, but his essays ("First Series," 1841; "Second Series," 1844) offer a peculiar blend of New England spirituality and Kantian idealism, mixed with an assertion that American culture should no longer rely on European artistic models for direction. One aspect of Emerson's thought that has been particularly influential is his reconception of selfhood. In his essay "Circles" (1841) he shifts emphasis away from the "knowing" individual and the epistemological certainty of Enlightenment thought, to the "experiencing" individual and the "energizing spirit" that comes only by nurturing sensitivity to environment. This reformulation of the self can be seen as a direct influence on the work of the philosophers William James and George Santayana as they strove to question received notions of subjectivity in the late nineteenth century, through to the cultural thinkers Stanley Cavell and Cornel West trying to revive the prophetic spirit of the early movement for the late twentieth century. Although versions of Emersonian Romanticism can still be detected in contemporary writing, such as Don DeLillo's interest in the technological sublime in *White Noise* (1984) and Paul Auster's explorations of postmodern identity in *New York Trilogy* (1989), it is in debates about the future of American literature in the late nineteenth century that the pervasive nature of Romantic thought began to emerge.

In his canonical study *The American Novel and Its Tradition* (1957), Richard Chase identifies two primary modes of American writing that emerged in the nineteenth century: the romance form, as a version of what Nathaniel Hawthorne called the "twice-told tale," existing at one remove from the everyday in an imaginative realm of fiction, and naturalistic writing characterized by the accurate study of social conditions. This polar view of American literature largely derives from the novelist William Dean Howells's argument in the 1880s that "the romance and the novel are as distinct as the poem and the novel." Howells separates the serious study of social values undertaken by realist and naturalist writers after the Civil War, from the earlier Romantic investigations of Hawthorne and Herman Melville into the inner life of characters troubled by, but partly transcending, their environment. While romance writers usually focused on the natural world and the morality of individuals at odds with their peers, naturalists tended to concentrate on the constraints that prevent moral action within the social and legal systems of urban America.

While Howells's distinction is true to a degree, another perspective on the realism of Henry James and the naturalism of Stephen Crane and Frank Norris suggests that American fiction around the turn of the century was more tightly interwoven than Howells acknowledges. Over a thirty-year period (from *Roderick Hudson* [1876] to *The Golden Bowl* [1904]) James worked with different strains of social realism, drawing as much from romance as from cool empirical observation. Similarly, although the naturalists were more direct than James in their depiction of urban conditions and class conflict, their exploration of the tensions between individuals and environment contain strong Romantic impulses. For example, Norris argued that it was the moral responsibility of the writer to rejuvenate refined and genteel literary forms (such as those of Howells and James)

with the energy of "the Nature revival" in American literature. The strains of naturalism in Norris's major novels *McTeague* (1899), *The Octopus* (1901), and *The Pit* (1903) address the "realistic" issues of poverty and the effects of technology and business on the material conditions of life, but in each novel he delves "down deep into the red, living heart of things" rather than depicting only "clothes and tissues and wrappings of flesh." For Norris, the true writer takes realism away from the coziness of the middle class drawing room into the street, where it fuses with a dynamic Romantic spirit that is heedless of moral limits and literary propriety.

The modernist critics T. S. Eliot, in "'Romantic' and 'Classic'" (1934), and Philip Rahv, in "Redskin and Paleface" (1939), reinforced this notion of two competing traditions in American writing. For Eliot, the effusiveness of Romantic thought was inferior to the balance and poise of classical poetry, whereas Rahv compares "redskins" such as Whitman and Mark Twain and their celebration of nature and open spaces with the "paleface" writers James and Eliot, who are more cerebral and often drawn to European literary traditions. While Rahv's distinction holds for certain writers, his bipartite scheme lacks nuance, and does not take into account modernists such as Ezra Pound and Henry Miller, whose work reviles Romanticism (Pound expresses his dislike of Whitman in "A Pact" [1916] and Miller parodies Romantic expression at the beginning of *Tropic of Cancer* [1934]) but also displays sympathies with its spirit of nonconformism (Pound's poem ends by agreeing there should be "commerce between" Whitman and himself). Divisions in recent American writing can still be discerned in accordance with Howells' distinction, but critics such as Jonathan Levin have argued that the resistance to "definitive formulations" in Romantic thought is often expressed as "stylistic restlessness" and "unsettled possibility" that cannot be reduced to lists of generic characteristics. As such, the legacy of Romanticism forms a complex series of influences, revealing the tensions between nativist and international impulses while reinforcing the essential hybridity of American literary production.

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ANDERSEN, HANS CHRISTIAN 1805–1875

Danish novelist, playwright, poet, and writer of fairy tales

Hans Christian Andersen was the first truly professional Danish writer in the sense that he earned a living from his writing and never had another occupation. Although his fame today rests on his fairy tales, his works cover every literary genre and many of them received great popular acclaim in his own time, both in Denmark and abroad.

There are few writers whose life and works are more inextricably entangled than those of Hans Christian Andersen. He grew up in great poverty in Odense, then the second largest city in Denmark, and was only eleven when his father Hans Andersen, a cobbler, died. His mother had to take odd jobs, and ended up an alcoholic. Some of his closest relatives had experienced imprisonment and madness, and the existence of an elder, illegitimate, half sister haunted him for much of his life. It is significant that the theme of a young man who has to overcome poverty before his innate talents are recognized—often with the help of benefactors—runs through Andersen's works. A loner, he always felt an outsider in the bourgeois and upper-class society to which he desperately tried to adapt. One of his own self-images was that of a "swamp plant" reaching for the light. From early childhood he did, however, believe strongly in his own artistic talents, and at the age of fourteen obtained his mother's reluctant permission to travel to Copenhagen to seek his fortune, without any contacts there and equipped only with a letter of recommendation to the leading ballerina at the Royal Theater.

From childhood, the theater was always Andersen's grand, if largely unrequited, passion, and his early visits to the Odense Theater left an indelible mark. In his first difficult years in Copenhagen, he managed to get minor parts at the Royal Theater and to have lessons in singing and ballet, but to no avail. Rejection as a performer only fueled his desire to become a playwright, but early derivative attempts were very crude and revealed an appalling lack of elementary education. Nevertheless, although the Royal Theater rejected them, it was at this point that some influential people there saw a few glimpses of potential in Andersen and offered him a free secondary education. Jonas Collin, the Royal Theater's director, oversaw this scheme, and in him and his family Andersen found the surrogate father and the bourgeois home that he yearned for, and subsequently referred to as the "home of homes." The actual school years were the most miserable of his life and haunted him long afterward, but

they enabled him to move back to Copenhagen, and with the help of friends and protectors to embark on a literary career.

Strongly influenced by E. T. A. Hoffmann, Andersen's first major successful work (in 1829) was *Fodreise fra Holmens Canal til Østpynten af Amager i Aarene 1828 og 1829* (*A Walking Tour from Holmen's Canal to the Eastern Point of Amager in the Years 1828 and 1829*), a satirical, real and imaginary walking tour on New Year's Eve in Copenhagen. This tour de force brought Andersen's name to the attention of the public and the critics alike.

While still at school, Andersen wrote his first successful poem, "Det døende Barn" ("The Dying Child"), which was published anonymously. In the following years, Heinrich Heine became the main influence on Andersen's poetry, for example on *Digte* (*Poems*) in 1830, but most notably on his love poems in *Phantasier og Skizzer* (*Phantasies and Sketches*), 1831. In 1833 he published his *Collected Poems*, after which his lyrical writings become more incidental, appearing as part of his travelogues, plays and libretti, as occasional poems celebrating the nation or its regions, such as "I Danmark er jeg født" ("In Denmark I Was Born") and "Jylland mellem tvende Have" ("Jutland between Two Oceans"), or as humorous narrative poems like "Konen med Æggene" ("The Woman with the Eggs").

Despite his enthusiasm for the stage, Andersen was not a natural dramatist and he suffered more defeats and distress here than in any other area of his vast production. Plays accepted for staging at the Royal Theater often ran for just a few performances and professional criticism was usually harsh. Admittedly, most of his plays had a very loose structure and the verse did not always ring true, but the critics were at times unjustly severe on him on formal grounds and for deviating from the prevailing taste, not appreciating some of the novel elements that he brought to the stage. He had a rare success with *Mulatten* (*The Mulatto*) in 1840. With its exotic setting, its powerful portrayal of sexual passion, hate and revenge, its interracial conflicts and relationships, and its protagonist as an outcast with demonic characteristics that are dissolved through love, the play represents a peak in late-Romantic Danish drama and anticipates more modern treatments of some of these themes. However, his next play *Maurerpigen* (*The Moorish Maid*) was a spectacular failure, not helped when Johanne Luise Heiberg, the greatest Danish actress of her time and the wife of the influential writer and critic Johan Ludvig Heiberg, refused to play the title role. The following year Heiberg ridiculed both plays in his apocalyctic play, *En Sjæl efter Døden* (*A Soul after Death*). After the opening of the new Casino Theater in Copenhagen in 1848, Andersen achieved popular acclaim and commercial success with some fairytale fantasies, such as *Meer end Perler og Guld* (*More than Pearls and Gold*, 1849), *Ole Lukøje* (*Willie Winkie*, 1850), and *Hyldemoer* (*Mother Elder*, 1851), but from then onward his output for the theater was negligible.

Andersen wrote six novels. The first three appeared in rapid succession in the late 1830s, inspired largely by his grand tour of Germany, France, Italy, and Austria in 1833–34 and characteristically containing strong autobiographical elements. They are also in tune with the late Romantic period. Inspired by such European writers as Lord Byron, Heinrich Heine, E. T. A. Hoffmann, and Victor Hugo, Andersen was fascinated by the good-and-evil duality of human nature and the resulting disharmony, and of course by the role of the outsider, and he tried to explore the underlying but fashionable spleen or *Weltschmerz*. However, the irony that is often found in the literature of that period is much more obvious in Andersen's fairy tales than in his novels. *Improvisatoren* (*The Improvisatore*, 1835), which brought him international fame, tells the story of a Roman boy from a poor background who achieves success through his talent for improvisation, helped by the members of a benevolent, wealthy family. This is often seen as the first Danish bildungsroman, but his next two novels are very different. In *O.T.* (1836)—which stands for the hero Otto Thostrup but also for Odense Tugthus (Odense Jail) where in his early childhood he and his mother had been (unjustly) imprisoned—the protagonist tries to overcome the traumatic childhood that haunts him later in life. The third novel, *Kun en Spillemand* (*Only a Fiddler*, 1837), is much more pessimistic, being an inversion of the familiar Andersen theme of the triumph of true talent despite a disadvantaged background since the musically gifted but passive hero, Christian, is crushed and rejected artistically, socially, and sexually. Today the novel is probably more famous for an extremely critical review by Søren Kierkegaard, the latter's first publication. A decade later came *De to Baronesser* (*The Two Baronesses*, 1848), with two female protagonists, in which Andersen shows that true nobility is a matter of mind and spirit, not birth. Another decade passed before the appearance of *At være eller ikke være?* (*To Be or Not to Be?* 1857), with a dedication to Charles Dickens. This is an even better example of a *bildungsroman* than *The Improvisatore*, and also poses a religious problem. The hero, Niels Bryde, influenced by David Strauss's *Das Leben Jesu* and the contemporary climate of religious scepticism, becomes a freethinker, but his experiences in the Schleswig-Holstein War in 1848–50 teach him the necessity of faith in God. Andersen's last novel, *Lykke-Peer* (*Lucky Peer*, 1870), once more features a seemingly autobiographical hero, an impoverished but musically talented man who achieves great success but dies at the peak of his career, artistically though not sexually fulfilled.

Few contemporary artists traveled as extensively as Andersen. He lived up to his own motto—"to travel is to live"—and experienced with excitement the change from the discomfort of stagecoaches to the relative speed and luxury of the railroad. After his 1833–34 grand tour he went on countless journeys throughout the whole of Europe, including two to England during which he visited Dickens. Many of these journeys resulted in published sketches or travelogues. The first of these was *Skyggebilleder af en Reise til Harzen, det sachsiske Schweitz etc. etc., i Sommeren 1831* (*Shadow Pictures from a Journey to the Harz Mountains, Saxon Switzerland, etc., etc., in the Summer of 1831*), inspired by Heine's *Harzreise* (1826) and the Danish writer Jens Baggesen's earlier, imaginative travelogue *Labyrinten* (*The Labyrinth*, 1792–93). The best of them is undoubtedly *En Digter's Bazar* (*A Poet's Bazaar*, 1842), the fruit of his long journey to Rome, Smyrna, Constantinople, Vienna, and Dresden, in which he blends travel information, impressions, fantasy, and poetry into a fascinating whole. Later travel accounts include *I Sverige* (*In Sweden*, 1851), *I Spanien* (*In Spain*, 1863), and *Et Besøg i Portugal* (*A Visit to Portugal*, 1866).

It is hardly surprising that a person of Andersen's sensibility should be a compulsive and prolific letter writer and diarist. Many books containing his correspondence with friends and acquaintances have appeared, and the diaries from 1825–75 have been published in twelve volumes. These offer a day-to-day

account of Andersen's thoughts, opinions, emotions, and mood swings, and even more than his fiction they reveal his ambition, vanity, deference to his royal and noble acquaintances (some of them in Germany), and not least his profound insecurity and vulnerability.

His obsessive and persistent attempts to rearrange and reinterpret his life in retrospect, so as to reinvent himself, resulted in three autobiographies. The first one, *Levnedsbogen* (*The Book of My Life*), written as early as 1832 (in case of his premature death!), is the most immediate and honest account of his life up to that date. A second one appeared first in German as *Das Märchen meines Lebens ohne Dichtung* (1847) and later that year in an English translation as *The True Story of My Life*. His definitive version is *Mit Livs Eventyr* (*The Fairy Tale of My Life*, 1855); a more self-conscious work in which he tries to make his life story conform to the idea of a fairy tale and edits out some of the more uncomfortable details from the previous versions.

Even without the fairy tales, Andersen would thus have been an important figure in Danish and European literature.

TOM LUNDSKÆR-NIELSEN

Biography

Born in Odense, on the island of Funen, Denmark, April 2, 1805. Son of the cobbler Hans Andersen and Anne Marie Andersen, née Andersdatter. Left Odense for Copenhagen, 1819. Belatedly attended secondary school, 1822–27. Published *A Walking Tour*, 1829; *Shadow Pictures*, 1831; *Collected Poems*, 1833. First journey to Germany, 1831. Journey to France, Italy, Austria, and Germany, 1833–34. Published *The Improvisatore* and first collection of fairy tales, 1835; *O.T.*, 1836; *Only a Fiddler*, 1837; *The Mulatto* and *The Moorish Maid*, 1840. Journey to Italy, Greece, Turkey, Austria, and Germany, 1840–41. Published *A Poet's Bazaar*, 1842; *New Fairy Tales* (five collections), 1843–48. Journey to France and Germany; fell in love with Jenny Lind, 1843. First visit to England; met Charles Dickens; published *The True Story of My Life*, 1847. Published *The Two Baronesses*, 1848. Journey to Sweden, 1849. Journeys to Germany, Italy, Switzerland, 1851–52, 1854, and 1855. Published two collections of stories, 1852–53; *The Fairy Tale of My Life*, 1855. Second visit to England as guest of Charles Dickens; published *To Be or Not To Be*, 1857. Eleven collections of fairy tales and stories, 1858–72. Various journeys to Germany, Switzerland, Italy, France, Spain, and Morocco, 1860–63. Journeys to Sweden, Holland, France, and Portugal, 1865–66. Two visits to the World Exhibition in Paris; made honorary citizen of his home town, Odense, 1867. Journeys to Germany, Holland, France, Switzerland, and Austria, 1868–70. Published *Lucky Peer*, 1870. Journeys to Norway, Germany, Austria, Italy, and Switzerland, 1871–73. Died in Copenhagen, August 4, 1875; funeral in the cathedral of Copenhagen on August 11.

Selected Works

Fiction

Novels, Plays, and Poetry

A Walking Tour from Holmen's Canal to the Eastern Point of Amager in the Years 1828 and 1829 (novella). 1829.
Poems. 1830.
Phantasies and Sketches (poems). 1831.
Collected Poems. 1833.
The Improvisatore (novel). 1835.
O.T. (novel). 1836.
Only a Fiddler (novel). 1837.
The Mulatto; The Moorish Maid (plays). 1840.
The Two Baronesses (novel). 1848.
To Be or Not To Be? (novel). 1857.
Lucky Peer (novel). 1870.

Fairy Tales and Stories (156 in all)

Fairy Tales, Told for Children (first collection). 1835.
Fairy Tales, Told for Children (five further collections). 1835–41.
New Fairy Tales (five collections). 1843–48.
Stories (two collections). 1852–53.
New Fairy Tales and Stories (eleven collections). 1858–72.

Nonfiction

Shadow Pictures from a Journey to the Harz Mountains and Saxon Switzerland, etc., etc., in the Summer of 1831 (travelogue). 1831.
The Book of My Life (first autobiography). 1832.
A Poet's Bazaar (travelogue). 1842.
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ARNDT, ERNST MORITZ 1769–1860

German historian, propagandist, and poet

At first sight, much of Ernst Moritz Arndt's work seems an affront to enlightened liberalism. Particularly during the period 1806–15, he published a series of essays, pamphlets, and poems expressing fanatical nationalism and xenophobia. He repeatedly glorifies the German *Volk* and fatherland. In his 1813 poem "Des Deutschen Vaterland" ("The German Fatherland"), he argues that the boundaries of Germany stretch from the North Sea to Switzerland and the Tyrol. Germany is "Wo Zorn vertilgt den welschen Tand, Wo jeder Franzmann heisset Feind" ("Where wrath wipes out foreign frippery, Where every Frenchie is a foe"). In the same year he declared "Ich hasse alle Franzosen ohne Unterschied im Namen Gottes und im Namen meines Volkes" ("I hate all the French without exception in the name of God and in the name of my people"). He pleads for a holy war against the French and by extension against all Latin ("welsch") races. In the poem "Vaterlandslied" ("Song of the Fatherland," 1812), he urges his compatriots literally to bathe their swords in French blood and hack to pieces those Germans serving in Napoleon's armies.

Such violent racism, while not excusable, is best considered in context. During the French hegemony in the German states, after Napoleon Bonaparte's defeat of Austria in 1805 and of Prussia in 1806, it appeared that Germany, which had never existed as a unified nation-state, might be permanently obliterated. To the Romantic generation, which had set about rediscovering the German cultural heritage, it seemed possible that a separate national identity could be lost before it had been properly established. In the face of political and military impotence, a trend arose among the German Romantics that might be described as cultural nationalism. This trend was reinforced by the increasingly exploitative French occupation and by economic hardship arising from the continental blockade. Arndt's hysteria is thus only an extreme variant on a Francophobia cultivated in the middle phases of German Romanticism by intellectuals as diverse as the formerly republican and cosmopolitan Friedrich Schlegel, and the devout Protestant painter Caspar David Friedrich. In 1806, even before Napoleon's decisive victories in Germany, Arndt published the first volume of his *Geist der Zeit* (*Spirit of the Age*), a collection of essays in which he denounced French expansion into German territory and the German rulers who had allowed it. He concluded that the Germans should rise up in a war of liberation and expel the French, the "archenemy."

In other respects Arndt's political creed was largely that of eighteenth-century liberalism and rooted in the egalitarian principles of the Enlightenment. His origins (his grandparents had been serfs in feudal Swedish Pomerania and his father had bought his own freedom) dictated his belief in social justice and reform, but he remained a monarchist till the end of his life and never advocated revolution. In his first major work, the treatise *Versuch einer Geschichte der Leibeigenschaft in Pommern und Rügen* (*An Attempted History of Serfdom in Pomerania and Rügen*, 1803), he argued that a repetition of the French Revolution on German soil could be prevented if serfdom were abolished and land made available to tenant farmers. In the first volume of *Geist der Zeit* (1806) he condemns particularist German princes for putting dynastic ambitions before the interests of the nation, denounces bureaucratic and impersonal regimes such as that of Frederick the Great, and demands a greater involvement of the citizen in the processes of government. Therefore, it was natural for him to support the Prussian reformers, and through them Prussia itself. In *Der Bauernstand, politisch betrachtet* (*The Peasantry, Considered Politically*, 1810) Arndt expresses his approval of the agrarian reforms introduced after 1807 by the administrations of Karl vom Stein and Karl August von Hardenberg in Prussia, and calls for an end to hereditary privileges. The Pomeranian and once loyal Swedish subject had now evolved into a supporter of Prussia and a German nationalist.

In 1812, anticipating Napoleon's invasion of Russia, Arndt went to Saint Petersburg to act as private secretary to the now exiled Stein, who had been impressed with the second volume of *Geist der Zeit* (1809). Arndt soon became the principal propagandist in the campaign to expel the French from the German states and create a unified Germany. He then wrote his most influential work, the pamphlet *Kurzer Katechismus für teutsche Soldaten* (*Short Catechism for German Soldiers*, 1812; the *t* in "teutsch" is a deliberate archaism). Arndt visualizes an army of citizen soldiers motivated by patriotic enthusiasm and not by loyalty to ruling dynasties. It follows that Germans serving in Napoleon's *grande armée* at the behest of their particularist rulers do not in fact owe allegiance to these traitorous princes. Their loyalty is only to a united Germany, given that Germans from all regions are a single nation and should have a single ruler. Returning to Germany in 1813, at the height of the so-called Wars of Liberation, Arndt poured out bloodthirsty anti-French poetry.

By 1815 the *Katechismus* had been reprinted fifteenth times, but in later editions Arndt was compelled to tone down its subversive implications. He rapidly became disillusioned, as reformers and nationalists lost influence in the anti-French front and control was gained by legitimists supporting the restoration of the separate German monarchies. In 1813, following an attempt by Klemens Fürst von Metternich to negotiate peace by permanently ceding areas to the west of the Rhine to France, an outraged Arndt published *Der Rhein, Teutschlands Strom, aber nicht Teutschlands Grenze!* (*The Rhine, Germany's River but not Germany's Frontier!*). Political disappointment drove him increasingly toward religion and conservatism, and after the Congress of Vienna in 1815 he advocated an imperial but constitutional Germany based on a patriarchal and agrarian society. Such views began to appear in his periodical *Der Wächter* (*The Sentinel*, 1815–16) and in the fourth volume of *Geist der Zeit* (1818). Arndt was now considered a political loose cannon, and in 1820 the Prussian authorities forced his dismissal from the chair of history at the University of Bonn, reinstating him only in 1840. His intellectual development is typical of German Romanticism after 1806: resentment at the French occupation led, fatefully, to rejection of the democratic and cosmopolitan ideas with which the French were associated, and thence to nostalgic conservatism.

RICHARD LITTLEJOHNS

Biography

Born in Gross-Schoritz on the island of Rügen (then under Swedish rule) in Pomerania, Germany, December 26, 1769. Educated first in Stralsund. Studied Protestant theology in Greifswald and Jena to qualify for the Lutheran ministry, 1791–96. Private tutor and chaplain, 1796. Renounced the priesthood and traveled through Europe, 1797–99. Lectured in history at the University of Greifswald, 1800–1806. Lived in exile in Stockholm after fleeing from Napoleon, 1808–9. Returned to Germany, settling in Berlin, 1809: associated with Prussian reformist politicians and generals. Appointed to professorship at the University of Greifswald, 1810. Appointed private secretary to former Prussian chief minister Karl vom Stein, 1811. Joined Stein in Saint Petersburg to help organize the expulsion of the French from German states, 1812. Published his influential *Kurzer Katechismus fur teutsche Soldaten* (*Short Catechism for German Soldiers*), 1812. Returned to Germany, staying in Königsberg, Berlin, and Leipzig, 1813. Journalist and editor in Cologne, 1815–17. Married Nanna Schleiermacher, 1817. Appointed to the chair of modern history in the newly founded University of Bonn, 1818. Remained in Bonn until his death. Arrested for his seditious political views by the Prussian government, 1819; set free but removed from his teaching post, 1820. Reinstated in 1840 by Friedrich Wilhelm IV of Prussia. Served as an elected member of the abortive Frankfurt Parliament, 1848–49. Retired from public position after the refusal of Friedrich Wilhelm IV to take the German crown, 1854. Died of pneumonia in Bonn, January 29, 1860.

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Über künftige ständische Verfassungen in Teutschland, 1814.
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ARNIM, ACHIM VON 1781–1831

German writer

The importance of Achim von Arnim in German Romanticism has long been underestimated. During his lifetime, his works were known only to a small circle of friends (which included most of the major figures of the period) and were misunderstood by nearly all of them. This state of affairs has proven difficult to alter. Arnim's first writings were scientific; he contributed to contemporary debate in the prestigious journal *Annalen der Physik* (*Annals of Physics*) from 1799 until 1807, though his interests were always wide-ranging and his overriding concern was to unite all spheres of learning and culture. He came to believe that the reconciliation of all parts of life could only be achieved through poetry, which could present the eternal through the individual.

Arnim's understanding of the poet was of a gifted individual with the ability to see creatively and who felt responsible for others in society. Arnim's social engagement is demonstrated in

his plans to found an academy for the popular arts, which would re-create a national folk consciousness, unite high and folk art, and foster a new golden age of German poetry; and in the numerous newspaper articles and essays he wrote on political (often patriotic), military, administrative, economic, geographic, agricultural, cultural, pedagogic, literary, and religious themes (themes that also play a major role in his creative works). He was a founding member in 1811 of the Christlich-Deutschen Tischgesellschaft (Christian-German Dining Society), a debating forum from which the members excluded "Jews and philistines." In the years 1813–14, during the Wars of Liberation, he edited the journal *Der Preussische Correspondent* (*The Prussian Correspondent*) and became captain in a unit of the National Guard in Berlin. His campaigns for reform were vigorous but nonsystematic and his ideas remained without influence, a major source of frustration which contributed to feelings of intellectual isolation. As an editor and journalist, he was strictly limited by censorship; as a political activist, he was irresolute and, ultimately, ignored. In 1814, he retreated to Wiepersdorf and tried to lift his estate out of debt and support his growing family. He continued to write but effectively removed himself from the literary and political stage.

Arnim is best known for his editorship, with Clemens Brentano, of the collection *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* (*The Boy's Magic Horn*, 1805–8), amalgamating traditional folk songs with new compositions, including the editors' own. Their creative editorial policy was criticized by Enlightenment figures such as Johann Heinrich Voss, and by close friends, particularly the brothers Jakob Ludwig Karl Grimm and Wilhelm Karl Grimm. Arnim defended it repeatedly as his central aesthetic principle. With Brentano, he also edited an unsuccessful and short-lived periodical, *Zeitung für Einsiedler* (*Journal for Hermits*, 1808), which appeared in book form as *Tröst Einsamkeit* (Solace for Loneliness, 1808), with contributions from Ludwig Tieck and Friedrich vom Schlegel, among others. This period, 1805–8, which Arnim and Brentano spent in Heidelberg with friends, has been christened the era of "Heidelberg Romanticism."

Arnim's attempts to write in the dramatic genre—for example, *Halle und Jerusalem* (1811)—were unconvincing due to his unwillingness to restrict himself in structure or content. Although any general statement on his work in this genre (as in all others) may have to be reassessed in the light of new material to be published in the ongoing Weimar critical edition of his works, undoubtedly Arnim's best works were written in prose, characterized by an often grotesque combination of surreal fantasy and historical and contemporary reality in a narrative of self-associating ideas. In a collection of novellas published in 1812, usually referred to as *Novellensammlung von 1812* (*The Novellas of 1812*), he tells in *Isabella von Ägypten* (*Isabella of Egypt*) the story of the gypsy lover of Emperor Charles V, and in *Melück Maria Blainville* of an Oriental prophet whose fate becomes entangled with events of the French Revolution. *Die Majoratsherren* (*Gentry by Entailment*, 1819) confronts visionary idealism with the philistine pragmatism of the bourgeoisie after the French Revolution. *Der tolle Invalide auf dem Fort Ratonneau* (*The Mad Veteran in the Fortress of Ratonneau*, 1818) was written for the financial benefit of invalid war veterans, and the story intertwines the serious political strand with popular psychology, supernatural curses, and exorcism.

Many of Arnim's writings are creative reworkings of old literature, in particular the collection of novellas *Der Wintergarten* (*The Conservatory*, 1809) and the dramas in *Schaubühne* (*Theater*; vol. 1, 1813). This tendency is also evident in his first published fictional work, the novel *Hollin's Liebeleben* (*Hollin's Love Life*, 1802), which places itself firmly in the tradition of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's *Die Leiden des jungen Werther* (*The Sorrows of Young Werther*, 1774) and in which the protagonists act out Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiller's *Maria Stuart* (1800). More significant in terms of Arnim's development as a poet is the novel *Armut, Reichtum, Schuld und Busse der Gräfin Dolores* (*Poverty, Riches, Guilt and Penance of Countess Dolores*, 1810) which depicts contemporary social and political turbulence symbolically through the institution of marriage, with an act of adultery on July 14 precipitating crisis and disaster. This novel is also a response to love and marriage as presented in Goethe's *Die Wahlverwandtschaften* (*Elective Affinities*, 1809) and Friedrich von Schlegel's *Lucinde* (1799). Arnim's *Metamorphosen der Gesellschaft* (*Metamorphoses of Society*) in the collection *Landhausleben* (*Manor House Life*, 1826) takes issue with Ludwig Tieck's *Die Verlobung* (*The Engagement*, 1823) on the theme of power struggles between church and state. In both works, Arnim preserves belief in the possibility of reconciliation and harmony. The unfinished *Die Kronenwächter* (*The Guardians of the Crown*, vol. 1, 1817) set in the Reformation period, intertwines the Romantic with the realistic and, typically for Arnim, uses the past to address the issues of the present day. In this and in other prose works, Arnim wove lyrical inserts into the fabric of the story. These are often the best examples of his poetry—another relatively unknown aspect of his work, which is substantial in volume and uneven in quality.

Arnim's contemporaries condemned his narrative world as chaotic, the only unity seeming to be the author's individual imagination, and subsequent readers have endorsed this verdict. Arnim justified himself explicitly against this criticism, responding that what he described was a true reflection of the complexities of the world. Moreover, his works are an attempt to draw together strands and reconcile opposites, enabling the unity of a higher world to shine through the fragmentary, imperfect, real world.

SHEILA DICKSON

Biography

Born Karl Joachim Friedrich Ludwig von Arnim in Berlin, 26 January 1781, into a noble Prussian family. Mother, Amalie Caroline, died shortly after his birth; father, Joachim Erdmann von Arnim, sold custody of Arnim and elder brother Carl Otto Ludwig to maternal grandmother, Caroline von Labes. Attended Joachimsthaler Gymnasium, Berlin, 1793–98; studied law, physics, mathematics, and chemistry at the University of Halle, 1798–1800, and at the University of Göttingen, 1800–1801. Published *Theory of Electrical Phenomena*, 1799; contributed to the prestigious scientific journal, *Annalen der Physik*, 1799–1807. Undertook grand tour of Europe, 1801–4. Edited the collection *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* (*The Boy's Magic Horn*) with Clemens Brentano, 1805–8. Cofounded the *Christlich-Deutsche Tischgesellschaft* (Christian-German Dining Society), whose membership included many influential Berlin men, and excluded "Jews and philistines," 1811. Married Bettina Brentano

(sister of Clemens), 1811; they had seven children. Edited the journal *Der Preussische Correspondent* (*The Prussian Correspondent*); served as captain of a National Guard unit in Berlin, 1813–14. Moved to family estate in Wiepersdorf, Brandenburg, 1814. Wrote fiction, book reviews, and journal articles while managing the heavily mortgaged estate. Visited Bettina and their children regularly after their move to Berlin, 1823. Died of a stroke in Wiepersdorf, January 21, 1831.

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ARNIM, BETTINA VON 1785–1859

German writer

Elisabeth Catharina Ludovica Magdalene von Arnim, née Brentano, known as Bettina or Bettine, was both an exemplary and an exceptional figure within the German Romantic movement. She was exemplary because many aspects of her life were typical of her time and because her works bear the hallmarks of her era; and exceptional because she achieved an unusual degree of independence and because she attained remarkable popularity as a Romantic woman writer.

Born into an affluent family in the comparatively liberal and cosmpolitan city of Frankfurt-am-Main, Bettina was educated first in the conventionally strict surroundings of a convent, and then at the house of her maternal grandmother, Sophie von La Roche, the celebrated author of the late Enlightenment sentimental novel *Die Geschichte des Fräuleins von Sternheim* (*The History of Lady Sophia Sternheim*, 1771). Bettina benefited from both the sociable atmosphere of her grandmother's house and its library, where she first made the acquaintance of Johann Wolfgang Goethe and Ludwig Tieck, among other contemporary authors. Her brother Clemens, seven years her senior, guided her reading and introduced her to fellow Romantics, including her future husband, Achim von Arnim. Before agreeing to marriage, however, Bettina spent some time furthering her artistic and philosophical education with the help of private tutors in Frankfurt, and undertook a number of journeys, sometimes disguised as a man, to visit friends and her newly married sisters. During these journeys she experienced and participated in various forms of sociability, most notably perhaps in the Romantic salons of Rahel Levin-Varnhagen and Henriette Hertz in Berlin and of Johanna Schopenhauer in Weimar. She did not consent to wed her brother's intimate friend and raise a family until the age of twenty-four.

A period of productivity began with the death of Achim von Arnim in 1831 during which Bettina was able not only to fully live up to her reputation for eccentricity, but also to set up her own salon and to elaborate her distinctive contribution to the literature of the Romantic era. Alongside instigating and overseeing the publication of her late husband's work, she began to publish in her own name, setting down among other things a memorial to her brother and Arnim's collaborator in *Clemens Brentanos Frühlingskranz aus Jugendbriefen ihm geflochten* (*Clemens Brentano's Spring Garland*, 1844).

As this title makes clear, Bettina's literary works developed out of her letter writing and the culture of conversation typical

of the literary salon. It was this connection that had first allowed women access to the literary genre of the epistolary novel. In Bettina's case, however, the use of allegedly authentic material added an extra dimension to the practice. Her first book was *Goethes Briefwechsel mit einem Kinde* (*Goethe's Correspondence with a Child*, 1835). The child in question purported to be the author herself, and the novel is indeed partly based on her correspondence with Goethe. However, it also draws on Goethe's love letters to her mother Maximiliane and on her own friendship with Goethe's aging mother, and much of the material in it has been either rewritten or invented. Nonetheless, since the book was published shortly after Goethe's death in 1832, and coincided with the publication of many genuine collections of letters and volumes of reminiscences, it was initially taken at face value. Yet this arguable marketing strategy was also a genuine act of homage, which goes beyond the cult of the personality and pays tribute to Goethe's achievements as a writer. A closer look at the text reveals that both Goethe and Bettine are fictional characters that owe at least as much to Goethe's work as to his life. The role played by the Bettine of the book is prefigured in Goethe's own *Mignon*.

The narrative techniques used in the Goethe book were developed fully in *Die Günderode* (1840). This is based on Bettina's close friendship with Karoline von Günderode and makes reference to the correspondence between the two women and their meetings between 1804 and 1806. The title of the book draws attention to the life and work of a real and exceptional female poet. And yet, though the book clearly does have an autobiographical dimension, both the Bettine and the Günderode who appear in it are fictionalized characters. The correspondence between the two authentic women has been enlarged, restructured, and poeticized, and literary texts by both women have been included. What emerges is a new kind of composition that goes beyond the documentary and elaborates a philosophical discourse that owes as much to Plato (Günderode is even called "Platon" to Bettine's "Dion") as to any living person. In its insistence on the cognitive value of love, the novel validates a view of the world that is often seen as "feminine," and is also assimilable to Romantic antirationalism. But the shadow of a genuine suicide falls across the book and gives to Bettina's characteristic practice of erecting literary monuments a particular poignancy.

Die Günderode is dedicated to "the students," a group of young men who were part of the Junges Deutschland (Young Germany) democratic movement. In the times of political reaction and repression around 1840, this was an act of political bravery. Subsequent books such as *Dies Buch gehört dem König* (*This Book is for the King, 1843*) and *Gespräche mit Dämonen* (*Conversations with Demons, 1852*), are explicitly political and document Bettine's active concern for the underprivileged. The king in question is a caring patriarch, an idealistic construct that owes much to the concept of the enlightened monarch but is also informed by a Romantic urgency and Bettina's own firsthand experience of the life of the lower classes.

Certainly, the real king took scarcely any notice of the book that presented itself as his property. And though Bettina was constantly stretching the boundaries of what was possible for a woman of her time, she was careful never actually to overstep them. Perhaps this helps to explain why, unlike the famous poets with whom she is indelibly associated, she lived to a ripe old age and prospered. And certainly it ensures the enduring fascination of this exemplary and extraordinary woman.

Quartettabend bei Bettina von Arnim. Reprinted courtesy of AKG.

ASTRID KÖHLER

Biography

Born in Frankfurt am Main, April 4, 1785. Seventh child of Peter Anton Brentano, an Italian merchant, and his second wife Maximiliane, a friend of the writer Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. Sister of poet Clemens Brentano. Following the death of her mother in 1793, attended an Ursuline convent school in Fritzlar. Went to live with her grandmother, the novelist Sophie von La Roche, during the French occupation of Fritzlar. Suffered loss by suicide of close friend Karoline von Günderode, 1806. Met and began a correspondence with Goethe, 1807. Married Romantic poet and novelist Achim von Arnim, 1811; they had seven children. Lived on the family's country estate in Wiepersdorf, Brandenburg, from 1814 and at Unter der Linden in Berlin from 1823. Lived as a writer and salon hostess in Berlin after Achim von Arnim's death in 1831; devoted herself to various charitable and political causes. Published *Die Günderode*, book based on letters written to Karoline von Günderode, 1840. Died in Berlin, January 29, 1859.

Selected Works

Goethes Briefwechsel mit einem Kinde. Seinem Denkmal, 1835. Translated by herself and "Mrs. Austin" as *Goethe's Correspondence with a Child. For His Monument*. 1837–38.

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Dies Buch gehört dem König, 1843.
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ART

Canonical art-historical surveys offer varying interpretations that obfuscate the perceived antagonism between Romanticism and its predecessors, particularly neoclassicism. Robert Rosenblum has referred to period markers as "semantic straitjackets," and Lorenz Eitner has offered a generational approach that avoided the period terms. Hugh Honour has deemed Romanticism problematic, arguing that no rubric existed by which to grade the artistic output from this era. He characterized Romantic art as lacking any linear, modernist progression, while calling neoclassicism a core movement with the varying trends or styles radiating outward. Rosenblum's definition comes closest to Lovejoy's assessment of romanticism as a series of interlinked variations, not a monolithic movement.

Without any linear progression, the varying threads of Romanticism were complex, integrated, and charged with a new emphasis on artistic freedom, originality, self-expression, and authenticity. Artists possessed a certain sense, often identified as genius, enabling them to merge the conscious and subconscious, the real and ideal, the natural and the fantastic. Just as romantic literature rejected classical dramatic structure, so too did the visual arts reject formalist constructs such as the superiority of line, classical motifs, and the primacy of historical and mythological subjects, favoring instead sensuous forms, rich colors, and varying textures as well as bizarre, pathetic, and visionary themes.

The hierarchy of genres ranked the significance of a composition according to its subject matter. While historical subjects were characterized as the highest of all art genres, this era witnessed an upheaval of this hierarchy so that historical and mythological portraits, genre, landscape, and still-life paintings were offered as acceptable subjects universally.

Genre scenes were popular in England, particularly when they came from the brushes of William Powell Frith, William Mulready, or David Wilkre. American frontier painter George Caleb Bingham championed Midwestern river life. Yet other works, such as John Lewis Krimmel's *Quilting Frolic* (1813), call to mind the scenes of everyday life painted by William Hogarth a century earlier. Here, instead of poking fun at English institutions and societal norms. Krimmel suggests nuanced relations among races and classes engaged in making a quilt. His painting calls to mind racial stereotypes, particularly physiognomical distortions that were reinforced with the introduction of the minstrel shows in the 1840s.

Nature, as an extension of the landscape, was defined in terms of mythical, unique interior visions as well as panoramic views and detailed glimpses of rusticity and ruin. Some artists shifted between these two modes. In the former group, James Barry, William Blake, and James Gillray created prophetic stories and prehistorical phantasmagoria where personal mythology was bound with limitless intellectual ambition. Samuel Palmer envisioned art's ability as spiritual vocation, while John Martin's landscapes combined borrowed narrative content with commentary on contemporary society (see, for instance, his *The Fall of Ninevah*, 1829). Artists also posed the landscape as the locus of spiritual reflection, material progress, and historical struggle. German landscape, painting like its poetry and philosophy counterparts, was linked with conceptions of the divine, thereby fostering the mystical and allegorical paintings of Karl Gustav Carus, Caspar David Friedrich, and Philipp Otto Runge. A renewed popularity of *plein-air* painting, later a hallmark of the impressionists, was championed by John Constable, the Barbizon school, Arnold Böcklin, and, later, Ford Madox Brown. Ever present in the minds of Americans, the boundaries of the United States dramatically expanded, and with it the rise of landscape painting. The Hudson River school, the first native school of American painting featuring Thomas Cole, Frederick Church, and later, Albert Bierstadt, portrayed the untouched landscape, nature's sublimity, and visions of utopia.

Visionary imagery was a new specialty of Romantic art, uncategorized by the traditional hierarchy. Henry Fuseli, enriched by an intellectual background rooted in the Sturm und Drang (storm and stress) movement, expressed occult, mythological, and visionary allusions in such works as *The Nightmare* (1790), where horse, spirit, and sleeping female reside. Francisco José de Goya y Lucientes's indeterminate images, particularly his prints, were satirical and horrific in contrast to English and French scenes. His *Caprichos* (1799) and *Disasters of War* (c. 1810–20) chastise the power of reason and instead merge the subconscious and the subculture. This visionary approach is akin to the sustaining, albeit subversive theme of Antoine-Louis Barye's *Tiger Devouring a Gavial* (1831), which has been interpreted as an allegory of the newly seated July Monarchy.

Paintings illustrating popular literature fostered a growing market for prints taken from these works. In contrast, politically charged lithographs portrayed social woes, such as Honoré Dau-

mier's (1834) commentary on political uprising suppressed by the French government, *Rue Transnonain le 15 avril 1834*. Continuing the criticism and scrutiny of the July Monarchy, the foremost satiric journal of the time, *La Caricature*, led the attack on the constitutional monarchy of Louis-Philippe. Charles Philipon, founder of the journal, first portrayed the gradual transformation of Louis-Philippe into a pear. Censorship between 1835 and 1848, however, forced caricaturists to adopt more socially oriented topics.

Perhaps one of the most significant contributions to the visual arts during this era was the development of photography by William Henry Fox Talbot and Thomas Wedgwood in England and Joseph-Nicéphore Niépce and Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre in France. Building upon earlier forms of graphic arts, photography added a scientific and mechanical element into art production, facets that Walter Benjamin has cited as those that liquidate the image and erode the aura of authorial presence.

Funded through government support and awarded by competition, public sculpture in England commemorating lives and accomplishments of significant persons emerged as a significant art form appear in gathering spaces. Equally symbolic though different in context, Harriet Hosmer's *Zenobia in Chains* (1859), according to Whitney Chadwick, embodied a new ideal of womanhood, particularly in consideration of her defiance of the male-defined institutions in which she engaged to advance her art.

In addition to changes in visual product, wider relationships among creators, patrons, critics, and the public contrasted with the central tenet of Romantic art: celebration of the cult of genius and originality that sought individual expression foremost. As Charles Baudelaire observed at midcentury, "Romanticism is precisely situated neither in choice of subjects nor in exact truth, but in a way of feeling," thereby championing the artist's reflexive inquiry as paramount. Major exhibitions in Europe and the United States were reported on and featured in newspapers and periodicals. These, in addition to the publication of belles lettres and beaux arts, connected art with the public and the intellectual interests of the era. The visual language of artists, however, was under constant review, study, and revision by the public, critics, and artists themselves.

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ART ACADEMIES, EXHIBITIONS, AND PATRONAGE

The Romantic era may be categorized by the expanding possibilities within the hallmark institutions of the visual arts: systems of education, means of display, and commercial as well as critical exchange. These institutions were categorically monolithic; however, a thirst for inquiry among artists, and the emerging presence of the bourgeoisie as participants in the cultural discourse, proposed action, reaction, and renewal that in turn bred a spirited energy and gave birth to the avant-garde.

Academies, an extension of the guild system, were schools or studios where artists had basic instruction for drawing and learned by copying another's work or antique casts. Advanced direct study of the nude model was also a key aspect of academic education. The earliest academies, for example the Academia del Disegno in Florence, were established during the Renaissance as centers for drawing. The Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture (Paris), although based in part on the Italian model, elevated its purpose by moving away from the craft tradition and focusing instead on the theoretical understanding of fine art. Founded in 1648 with the support of the government, the Académie Royale underwent subsequent changes in name and character over the next two centuries, reflecting the oscillating importance of instruction at an established government-sponsored institution and education in independent studios and ateliers of academicians. By 1863, the École des Beaux-Arts, as it was now named, provided national and regional settings for art education to students of all nationalities, thereby shifting the focus away from the independent ateliers, and offered workshops in painting, sculpture, and architecture on the premises.

Paris was the center of artistic education in the eighteenth century, a responsibility it later shared with the Royal Academy, in London (established in 1768). These institutions were united in their aims: to offer education, exhibition space, and a level of professionalization. Other academies established their principles and organization on the French and English models (the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, the Scottish Academy as well as regional art schools across England, the Academia de San Fernando in Spain, and centers of learning in Munich, Berlin, and Düsseldorf in Germany).

One goal of the academies was to promote a centralized, institutionalized, and authorized approach to artistic education. Artists trained there produced "academic" works, which fit the ideals of the institution's practice and exhibited uniform quality. *Academic*, however, has become a contested term embodying regularity and conservatism as well as adherence to institutional—and often governmental—authority without regard to individual expression. Among art historians, "academic" has been associated with aesthetic failure and juxtaposed against creative and dynamic oppositions to it, generally referred to as *avant-garde*. Avant-garde artists, however, were often heirs to academic training who nonetheless managed to create individualized manifestations of their art.

Public patronage was identified with the government, the monarchy, or religious institutions. The situation in England may be assessed from William Hogarth's frontispiece engraving for the *Catalogue of Pictures Exhibited in Spring Gardens* (1761), which featured a classically dressed figure as Britannia, who waters a tree that has intertwined branches of art (painting, sculpture, and architecture). An endless stream of water from a fountain featuring the bust of King George III reminds viewers of his support of the arts, foreshadowing his benefaction in founding London's Royal Academy seven years later. The popularity of the wealthy young Englishman's "grand tour" furthered the scholarship of, and taste for, continental art among English patrons throughout the eighteenth century; however, traditional sources of private patronage (the aristocracy and gentry) decreased significantly, replaced by a system of exchange between artists and/or their dealers and the public. The Grand Tour popularized travel and study of politics, geography, history, and culture of the continent. The taste for continental art increased throughout the eighteenth-century.

In addition to offering a system of education, academies offered space to display painting, sculpture, and graphic arts for public consumption. In regularly scheduled displays, one painting was placed above the next, from the floor to the ceiling, while sculptures were placed in between them or relegated to other galleries. The increasing inclusion of the middle class in the commercial exchange of art, a post-Napoleonic phenomenon, was furthered by the presence of art critics and arbiters of taste who reviewed exhibitions and offered descriptive, laudatory, or critical remarks. Published pamphlets (*livrets*, in France) listed the exhibited works in order to guide the viewer. The first critical essay (*salon*, in France), discussed the French academy's exhibition of 1746. Denis Diderot is perhaps best known for his salons from 1759–81, thereby ushering a wave of commentary from individuals presuming to represent as well as inform the public opinion. This integration of the public and private realms allowed them to make their way back into the fold as subjects of art, as Thomas Rowlandson observed in his satirical image *The Exhibition Stare Case* (c. 1800), where the subject is, in fact, the social spectacles that accompanied displays of art in the academies. Jürgen Habermas has identified such private individuals who come together to make up a corporate body as the "public sphere" that served to debate, negotiate, and build consensus among its practitioners.

Beyond, or perhaps in lieu of the academies, nontraditional modes of display emerged around topographical endeavors including the panorama, the *Eidophusikon*, and the diorama, which offered a triumvirate of spectacle: art, scientific invention, and theatricality. Individual artists often opened their homes and studios to encourage the circulation of artistic commodities. Caspar David Friedrich, for example, opened his studio in Dresden to display his Tetschner altarpiece; in 1855 Gustave Courbet built his Pavillion du Réalisme outside the Universal Exposition to offer his works to the public.

Critics shaped tastes while dealers and auction houses transacted much of the business between buyers and sellers. Many art dealers initially promoted continental art, particularly the work of the old masters; however, an increased interest in fostering the careers of emergent or established living artists focused attention upon the collecting contemporary works. By midcentury in France, as Harrison and Cynthia White have observed, auction sales and dealer activities facilitated much of the exchange between buyers and sellers of art; turning on its end the system of patronage. Academies, exhibitions, and patronage thus reflected as well as influenced broader social discourses of the Romantic era, in addition to aesthetic concerns.

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ART AND CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY

Romanticism in the visual arts has traditionally and persistently been interpreted as a reaction against eighteenth-century neoclassicism, and hence as a rejection of reason, order, and inspiration from Greek and Roman antiquity in favor of emotion, and inspiration from the Gothic Middle Ages. Yet the antithesis of the classical and the Romantic, promulgated in the Romantic period itself for largely polemical purposes (most notably by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, who defined the classical as "healthy" and the Romantic as "sick"), scarcely reflects the complexity of the historical facts. Artists conventionally labeled Romantic (such as William Blake, Eugène Delacroix, Théodore Géricault, Francisco José de Goya y Lucientes, and J. M. W. Turner) did not abandon classical themes and models, although they largely rejected the "orthodox" neoclassicism promoted in the writings of Johann Joachim Winckelmann and exemplified in the paintings of Anton Raphael Mengs: that is, a preference for line over color, the use of flattened perspectives and static poses, and a disdain for depictions of emotion. Goya's *Giant* (c. 1812), in which a male nude set against a darkened sky towers over a terrified peasantry, is as far from Winckelmann's ideal of "eine edle Einfalt und eine stille Grösse" (a noble simplicity and quiet greatness) as can be imagined, but the figure of the giant derives from the very sculpture that Winckelmann considered the fullest embodiment of that ideal, the Belvedere Torso.

The art historian Sigfried Giedion, who denied the existence of neoclassicism as an independent style, coined the term *Romantic classicism* to indicate that the reception and appropriation of classical antiquity was not incompatible with Romanticism. But there was neither a school nor even a distinctive style of Romantic classicism. Works that have been grouped under this heading range chronologically from Anne-Louis Girodet de Roussy-Trioson's *Sleep of Endymion* (1791) to Hans von Marées's *Diana Resting* (1863); thematically from Delacroix's *Medea* (1838), a depiction of a figure from Greek myth, to Pierre-Paul Prud'hon's *Crime Pursued by Vengeance and Justice* (1808), a personified allegory; and stylistically from Karl Friedrich Schinkel's Altes Museum in Berlin (1823–25), with its austere Ionic colonnade, to John Soane's house in London (1792–1825), with its mixture of classical and Gothic elements. Even if one rejects Giedion's revisionist account of early-nineteenth-century art, it is undeniable that numerous artists of the period found their subject matter in the mythology and their formal inspiration in the art of ancient Greece and Rome. Among the foremost examples of such artists are Jacques-Louis David and Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, whose mythological and historical paintings derived from and disseminated an idealized conception of Roman civic virtue; John Flaxman, whose illustrations to Homer were closely modeled on Greek vase painting; Antonio Canova and Bertel Thorvaldsen, who sculpted contemporaries in the poses and clothing of Roman portrait sculptures; and Leo von Klenze and Benjamin Henry Latrobe, whose public buildings sought to re-create the elegance and monumentality of Greek temples.

The attraction of classical antiquity may be attributed to a combination of factors. The first of these was the ubiquity of classical education among the European upper classes who collected and commissioned artworks: mythological themes would have been as familiar as biblical themes to those who had been steeped in Greek and Latin literature from childhood. The second factor, dating from the second half of the eighteenth century, was the remarkable visibility of ancient artifacts, not only through sight-seeing (as in the obligatory "grand tour" of wealthy young Englishmen, which might include a visit to the excavations at Herculaneum and Pompeii) but through illustrations (as in Giambattista Piranesi's *Antichità romane*, 1756, and William Hamilton's catalog of his own collection, 1766–67) and commercial reproductions (like Wedgwood jasperware and Sèvres statuettes) in well-known private collections (like that of Winckelmann's patron, Cardinal Alessandro Albani, much visited by *milordi inglesi*), and public museums (like the British Museum, founded in 1759, and Klenze's Glyptothek in Munich, completed 1830), and in the marketplace (in which important collectors like Hamilton and Albani doubled as unscrupulous dealers). The third factor was the inherent receptivity of classical antiquity—in particular, Greek myth—to reinterpretation and appropriation, which made it extraordinarily useful in serving contemporary needs. Projecting the realization of one's ideals and the fulfillment of one's hopes into the past as a state that

has once existed (and by implication may be created again) entails less danger of contradiction than projecting them into the future.

Accordingly, the political uses of classical antiquity in Romantic-era art were multiple and disparate. While David's evocation of republican Rome in *The Oath of the Horatii* (1785) implied the value of defending the integrity of the civil state, Ingres's evocation of imperial Rome in his portrait of Napoleon Bonaparte on his throne (1806) implied the legitimacy and unlimited nature of the self-crowned emperor's power. Greek architectural styles represented monarchical absolutism in Munich (where Klenze's Walhalla, 1830–42, was commissioned by Ludwig I to glorify Bavaria), and republican democracy in Washington, D.C. (as Thomas Jefferson acknowledged when he proclaimed the U.S. Capitol, building, designed in part by Latrobe and begun in 1793, "the first temple dedicated to the sovereignty of the people, embellishing with Athenian taste the course of a nation looking far beyond the range of Athenian destinies"). Indeed, classical models could be used for contradictory political purposes in works by the same artist. Thus Canova on the one hand aggrandized members of Napoleon's family in his portrait sculptures of them, and on the other hand expressed support for Italian nationalism in his monument to Vittorio Alfieri (1806–10), which is dominated by a crowned and classically draped female figure who appears to be mourning not only the dead poet but the fate of Italy under the Napoleonic occupation.

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ART AND MEDIEVALISM

Medievalism, a visual or philosophical acknowledgement of admiration for and emulation of pre-1500 art forms, began as an antiquarian endeavor and became an expression of cultural discourse that fueled subsequent endeavors by the arts and crafts movement and the Roycrofters, among others. Medievalism was part of a larger trend toward historicism that implied a conscious adaptation from any historical period. Neoclassicism, a type of historicism, was immensely popular in the visual arts during the late eighteenth century, stimulated by Johann Joachim Winckelmann's essays on the "noble simplicity and calm grandeur" of Greek art. Medievalism, aided by a general decline in the authority of classical forms and motifs, answered the Romantic search for identity through its nationalistic, religious, and sympathetic associations.

Historical novels and lyric poetry encouraged a renewed interest in ruins and their preservation, thereby summoning an interest in re-creating the spirit—if not the look—of them. Visually, medievalism took the form of flattened surfaces, denial of chiaroscuro, meticulous study outdoors, and the application of bold colors. Subject matter could have nationalistic overtones, highlighting events and myths (for example, the tale of Joan of Arc or the Arthurian legend) of a shared community. Sculptors and architects often imitated the aspiring forms of churches, promoting the Gothic revival, and other art forms such as stained glass, illustration, and publishing grew in importance.

Philosophically, the appropriation of historical subject matter could take two approaches. Borrowed subjects were re-presented for the contemporary audience. Examples include ephemeral gallery projects, such as the Milton Gallery decorated by Henry Fuseli (c. 1838), Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres's *Paolo and Francesca*, (1819), and Ary Scheffer's *Princess Marie d'Orleans in Her Studio* (c. 1838). While often not categorized as Romanticism, the troubadour style combined the format of Dutch genre paintings with subjects from French history, thereby presenting politically charged glances towards the past that reaffirm the French political climate. Literary justification of appropriation posits Alfred, Lord Tennyson's adaptation of medieval legend as historical and moral legitimation of imperialism; yet, nearly two centuries later, Edward Austin Abbey's murals for the Boston Public Library (1895–1904) uprooted this notion in their portrayal of the model of spirituality for American men.

Thoroughly mindful of the social context of borrowed style, the second strain of medievalism differs from pure admiration and the random borrowing or juxtapositions of many styles termed *eclecticism*. Here, medievalism lifts an earlier spirit, look, or style while also taking on the cloak of responsibility to challenge contemporary social constructs. In 1809 disgruntled academy students, including Johann Friedrich Overbeck and Franz Pforr, formed the Brotherhood of St. Luke, which was aimed at promoting alternative and more individualistic modes of study in contrast to the academy. The Lukasbrüder (soon the Nazarenes) sought to bring about a renewal of German art spiritually and formally, thus producing an art and offering an identity different from those generally available.

John Ruskin, a champion for the Pre-Raphaelites, saw a moral role for art, as explicated in his first volume of *Modern Painters*. The beginnings of the Pre-Raphaelite movement coincided with the entry of Jan van Eyck's *Arnolfini Marriage* (1434) into the national collection in London, an event that Ruskin anonymously chronicled. Exceptional brushwork, overt and covert symbolism, and the solemnity of Eyck's work (and much early Flemish painting) were matched by such works as Dante Gabriel Rossetti's *The Girlhood of Mary Virgin* (1848–49). Although the Pre-Raphaelites disbanded in the 1850s, their work influenced Les XX (the Twenty, an exhibition society based in Belgium) and symbolism. In contrast to Darwinian theories that refuted Christianity and mechanization of many aspects of life, these renewed medieval artistic communities (Nazarenes and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood) share an affinity with later developments including the arts and crafts movement (England), the Roycroft arts and crafts community (East Aurora, New York), and movements categorized as "primitive", in terms of their dutiful absorption of previous eras.

As an architectural mode, initially medievalism revealed itself with a fanciful Rococo approach. Horace Walpole's house at Strawberry Hill (1749–76) featured the rococo Gothic of the eighteenth century, where forms are updated and enhanced, as did Sir Walter Scott's estate on the Tweed, which was transformed into a baronial mansion that he appropriately renamed Abbotsford. After 1830, however, the antiquarian revival kept to the purity of form, logic, and simplicity, maintaining a sense of archeological truth. In this vein, Henri Labrouste, Antoine Vaudoyer, and Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, reassessed the relevance of historical architecture in France. Benjamin Woolfield Mountfort, active in New Zealand from 1850, revived the forms and details of the Gothic style (Christchurch, Canterbury College) as well.

Augustus Pugin, known for his collaboration with Charles Barry to design Britain's Houses of Parliament, extolled the virtues of medievalism, and Gothic revival in particular, through his writing. *Contrasts* (1836) posited the superiority of the Gothic to the style of his present time, and *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture* (1841) laid much of the theoretical foundation for the national style of the building scheme around 1835–75 as well as the restoration of a number of buildings. However, English architects reevaluated and revived other styles. Concurrent with the medieval preference, the Ottoman, Italianate, Palladian, and Greek were favored, for example, by John Nash. Whatever the mode adapted, however, the goal of medievalism in particular and historicism in general aimed at sharing a kindred spirit with an earlier period draped in chivalric sensibility, nationalistic sensibility, spiritual values, and pure form.

While medievalism is evident visually through the appearance of a painting or building, its practitioners shared concerns of emulating a previous style or styles (as in the case of eclecticism) while also challenging contemporary authority and philosophy. Their appropriation of a subject, social structure, mode of instruction, or philosophical approach betrays their belief in the present in favor of a strengthened commitment to the past.

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See also **Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood**

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ART AND POLITICS

It is difficult to imagine, at least in the Western world postdating classical antiquity, a form of art with no connection to the political. If, however, there is a virtually necessary link between these two central areas of human activity, it exists in very different ways and often betrays its existence in subtle and complex fashions. It is no surprise that Francisco José de Goya y Lucientes's *Third of May* depicts the reprisals on that date in 1808 by the invading French troops against the insurrection by the inhabitants of Madrid on the previous day. This is Romantic painting, the high pitch of emotional intensity guaranteed by the blood-drenched bodies of dead Spaniards, who lie in front of the next victim, kneeling uncomprehendingly as he awaits extinction at the

hands of the faceless firing squad of French soldiers. It is also political painting, with a Spanish artist unsurprisingly showing his countrymen as hapless innocents, mown down by a military machine dedicated to the expansionist policies of the emperor, Napoleon Bonaparte. But this is not the only—perhaps not even the chief—political dimension of the work. Goya did not paint his picture in 1808, his imagination fired by recent atrocity. He first suggested the subject to the restored Spanish monarchy in 1814, asking to be commissioned to record, as he put it, "our glorious insurrection against the tyrant of Europe." He had produced portraits of French nationals during the invasion years and needed to clear himself of possible charges of collaboration. Here the political is both national and personal.

The years 1789 and 1848 must provide the beginning and end of this period. At the outset, the French Revolution overthrew autocratic monarchy and ensured the process by which the bourgeoisie would eventually become the dominant class. The year 1848 saw revolts, with different outcomes, affecting not only France, but also Italy and the German-speaking states. One aspect of the struggles was the emergence of the proletariat as the class most likely to challenge the developing hegemony of the bourgeoisie. The terminal dates, then, obey the logic of political history rather than of the history of art, but this is not to suggest the subservience of the latter to the former. Just as the power relationship between art and politics must be allowed as fluid, so too must be the links between particular political circumstances and individual works of art. The examples that follow are designed to show concrete examples of artistic and political interaction but they should be seen as particular, not as paradigmatic.

When Jean-Paul Marat was assassinated in 1793, he was deputy to the National Convention, a member of France's government. The call for a commemoration of this revolutionary martyr came from the floor of the convention in a speech by another deputy. The politician in question was the painter Jacques-Louis David, who duly produced the remarkable image of Marat breathing his last in his bloodstained bath. David had gained his artistic reputation through innovative manipulation of the classical tradition, an element retained in *Marat* through its similarity to antique deathbed scenes. But this is no mere classicizing schema, as was most eloquently recognized by the arch-Romantic poet and art critic, Charles Baudelaire, who wrote in 1846, "It is the bread of the strong and the triumph of the spiritual; as cruel as nature, this picture has all the perfume of the ideal." Baudelaire's opinion does not make this picture unequivocally Romantic, but it is nevertheless an unashamedly political image that moves triumphantly beyond mere cant and propaganda.

The German-speaking areas in Europe in the early nineteenth century were very different from France, both artistically and politically. Small principalities abounded, rather than a unitary nation state, leaving artists without the single focus that Paris provided for their colleagues across the border. Yet perhaps Paris was also a focus for Germans, albeit often in a negative sense. The development of Romanticism in German-speaking Europe derived from many factors, but particularly important was a determined rejection of classicism. This was seen as a French style, at a time of French military aggression. Some German art was overtly political, some more subtly so. In Caspar David Friedrich's *Chasseur in the Forest*, a lone soldier in identifiably French uniform stands lost in a vast German forest. As this was painted in 1813–14, during the War of Liberation (from the French invaders), its political meaning is unequivocal. Earlier, in 1812, Friedrich had exhibited in Dresden a picture titled *The Garden Terrace*. Here, a young woman sits reading in a formal garden occupying the foreground; beyond the garden wall is an unimproved hilly landscape. A contemporary critic referred to the painting as a "Garden Party in the French Style" Friedrich's work, in good Romantic fashion, allows enough latitude of interpretation for the critic to intuit that the picture might be contrasting (classical) French order with (Romantic) German feeling for unspoilt nature.

David, Friedrich, and Goya can all be considered political radicals, the latter two less violently so than their French counterpart. Perhaps there is indeed an expectation that artistic and political radicalism should go hand in hand. In England, where a constitutional monarchy prevailed throughout the period, circumstances could be very different. John Constable's evocations of a peaceful East Anglian countryside seem far indeed from the sanguineous streets of Madrid and Paris, far enough from any politics. His *Cornfield* (1826) shows a young shepherd slaking his thirst at a stream in the foreground while a reaper prepares to leave a field in the middle distance. Work here is done by isolated individuals, in line with Constable's arch-Tory beliefs, expressed in a letter of 1825, that the farm laborer "is only made respectable by being kept in solitude and worked for himself." Allowed to associate with his peers, the laborer might start discussing the possibility of improved working conditions, something recently made theoretically possible by the 1824 repeal of the Combination Acts, which had forbidden collective discussion for political purposes. The intensity of political opinion exemplified in Constable's apparent rural idyll turns out to be little weaker than that more obviously expressed by *Marat*. One cannot look for unanimity of political opinion in art of the Romantic period; one cannot look for the same means of expression. But all art will have its political dimension, and the best art will be "partial, passionate and political," as was Baudelaire's expressed wish in 1846 for the best art criticism.

ED LILLEY

Selected Works

John Constable, *The Cornfield*, 1826. Oil on canvas, 143 cm × 122 cm. National Gallery, London.

Jacques-Louis David, *Marat*, 1793. Oil on canvas, 165 cm × 128 cm. Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Brussels.

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ARTIST, CHANGING CONCEPTIONS OF THE

The conception of the artist oscillates, rather than evolves, throughout the Romantic era to include learned, professional men as well as bohemian, antiestablishment individuals. Whether craftsman, courtier, or *salonnier*, eighteenth-century artists were recognized as professional *men* of training, part of an organized body (i.e, an independent atelier or state-sponsored academy). The Académie Royale den Peinture et de Sculpture in France, its English counterpart, and other continental variations taught young men (and occasionally women) techniques of painting and sculpture to further their hopes of becoming successful financially and intellectually as instructors for a new generation. Artists performed official roles; Francisco José de Goya y Lucientes who, as first court painter, was heavily occupied with a series of portraits of the royal family. Telling self-portraits by Jacques-Louis David (1794) and Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres (1804) attest to their composed, professional status as artists established in their field. Studio scenes provide a glimpse into working conditions and hint at self-appraisal. The portrait of Jean-Baptiste Isabey with his daughter (1795) featured the artist in his studio at the Louvre; J. P. Hasenclever (*Studio Scene*, 1836) and Léon Cogniet (*The Artist in His Room*) depicted themselves in their studio spaces (the former in Düsseldorf and the later at the Villa Medici, Rome). Often, essential ingredients for their profession—including figures in costume, canvases, a classical shield, helmet, swords, or a guitar—fill their surroundings. These works identify the perception of the artist as gained through the identity (nationality, social status, gender, and education). Equally interesting are their subjects, which signify their understanding of their roles as artists during the Romantic era.

The Romantic conception of the artist, while implying individuality and originality, precluded the existence of a singular style to hold together the forms of art. Instead, an artist developed approaches to art that, in turn, helped him to define his status and role as artist. For example, meditations on nature and religion by William Blake, Caspar David Friedrich, and Philip Otto Runge explained the artist in his role as mediator of the visual arts providing a highly personal, nondogmatic form of worship. Carl Gustav Carus's *Letters on Landscape Painting* embodied the distinct relationships among nature, its representations in art, and connections with God. Abandoning nature and seeking imagination and texts as the starting point for art, Blake offered his judgment on the errors and opacity of society rooted in reason. He sought to convey his belief in imagination and faith through his printed and painted media, including his illustrations for the Book of Job, Dante Alighieri's *Inferno*, and his own poetry.

Artists captured the pulse of contemporary society through portraiture, caricature, or commemoration. Jean-Pierre Pantan modeled caricatures of intellectuals, politicians, and others in the public sphere as paraphrases of the rigid, academic, and poised official portraiture espoused by Pierre-Jean David d'Angers. Honoré Daumier's graphic art and sculptures, particularly those from the series *Celebrities of the Juste Milieu* (1831) defined his conception of the artist as commentator. Artists were often called upon to commemorate a passing era, event, or person. Angelica Kauffmann's *Death of Leonardo* (1778) commemorates the Renaissance genius. Edinburgh's *Scott Monument* (1844) and London's *The Albert Memorial* (1863–72) exemplify the obsession to capture physical characteristics, as well as the interplay between social trends and individual character steeped in the iconography of Romantic and Victorian values.

Art and artists opened a discourse with contemporaries and predecessors in all fields. Eugène Delacroix, for example, felt akin to Michelangelo, describing him as a wild genius who fell victim to misunderstanding, a point of nexus they shared (*Michelangelo in His Studio*, 1850). In *Cenotaph* (1836), an enhanced view of the memorial to Sir Joshua Reynolds on Sir George Beaumont's estate park in Coleorton, John Constable inserted busts of Michelangelo and Raphael to surround the tablet inscribed with lines from William Wordsworth, thereby connecting Reynolds not only with his lineage in painting and the ability of poetry to explicate thoughts and feelings. Gustav Courbet, on the cusp of Realism, painted *The Studio* (1854–55) and explained the work in a treatise that described himself at work on a landscape with individuals and groups of supporters on either side. On the left are the commoners among the impedimenta of Romanticism including a plumed hat, guitar, and dagger; the right half of the canvas features those who supported Courbet, including the collector Alfred Bruyas, and Charles Baudelaire, Champfleury Pierre-Joseph Proudhon.

Such dialogues with writers and performing artists paved the way for intellectual inquiry and meditation upon the value of all arts. A correspondence among a community enabled artists to express their ideas with a new visual vocabulary. Renewed significance in literature was given to the autobiography through Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Confessions*. Likewise, artists embraced this declaration of singularity and the cult of sensibility that allowed them to view and project themselves as individual creators attempting to express their unique point of view as individuals, and within their roles as mediators, inventors, reporters, and scientists that explored, extrapolated, and frequently rejected the notion of codified meanings.

While clearly appropriate during the eighteenth century, Samuel Johnson's definition of an artist as "the professor of an art, generally an art manual" (1755) represented, by the follow-

ing century, only one categorization of the artist. Defined by their social milieu as court painters, academicians, or as independent agents, and bolstered by their individual points of view, artists became more self-reliant, less dependent on institutional prescriptions of what it meant to be an artist. The shift from community to individual is captured in the portraits of artists and commentary by critics and arbiters of taste, and is recorded in correspondence, journals, and marginalia found among disparate pages of notebooks from that time. All roads lead to the emergence of an autonomous figure whose work resonates with a spirit and energy that lessens the need for self-representation and furthers the idea of a correspondence among the arts, epitomizing Richard Wagner's *Gesamtkunstwerk*, or total work of art. Thus, the definition of an artist in the nineteenth century cannot be easily categorized; it embodies, rather an organic form that expresses the new consciousness of himself and his uniqueness, as explicated through word, image, chord or any variation in between.

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ASBJØRNSEN, PETER CHRISTEN 1812–1885, AND JØRGEN MOE 1813–1882

Collectors and publishers of Norwegian folktales

In 1840, when Peter Christen Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe tried to find a publisher, for their first collection of folktales, they were told that "there are few who would not regard folktales as mere nursery talk, and any attempt to publish a collection of them as childish folly." The first publisher they turned to tried to cover himself by suggesting that the public should be invited to subscribe to such an enterprise. The response was minimal, and possibly, it seems, even nonexistent. Eventually, however, a publisher was found, but when the first slim collection of tales was published in 1841 it appeared without a title page, table of contents, or the authors' names. Despite this wretched launch, the collection was well received, and Norway's leading historian, P. A. Munch, wrote in a major German newspaper that the collection "was the most successful product of our young culture." For the second volume, which had the title *Norske Folkeeventyr* (*Norwegian Folktales*, 1842), Asbjørnsen and Moe had collected more tales, and their names appeared on the cover. By 1844 two additional collections had appeared and the first volume was sold out. The first complete collection appeared in 1851–52 and the first illustrated edition in 1879.

Asbjørnsen and Moe had met and become close friends in their teens when they were both studying for their university matriculation examinations with the local clergyman at Støren in Ringerike. After that their paths parted for a time. Moe started studying theology, although with little enthusiasm, because he fostered aspirations to a literary career. Asbjørnsen had to support himself by becoming a private tutor in Romerike. Here his enjoyment of folktales, which he had maintained since childhood, developed into an interest in collecting them. He sent a sample of his work to the clergyman Andreas Faye, whose *Norske Sagn* (*Norwegian Legends*, 1833) had been the very first collection of Norwegian folktales. Moe, too, had developed an increasing interest in the folktales after suffering a nervous breakdown and having to interrupt his studies and return home to Ringerike. It was not till the mid-1830s, however—when Asbjørnsen and Moe became aware of the work of Jacob Ludwig Karl Grimm and Wilhelm Karl Grimm—that their interest blossomed into the realization that the collecting and publishing of folktales was a project of national significance. But some years were still to pass before the first collection saw the light of day. They needed more material (most of which they found in Valdres and Dalen, which like Romerike and Ringerike are areas of eastern Norway to the north of Oslo), and Moe wanted to finish his studies.

Two things made their collections a success: the fact that they were in step with the spirit of the age, and the language and style in which the tales were written down. Norway had

gained a modicum of independence in 1814 when the Norwegians, had produced a written constitution that they had then used to defend their independence in relation to Sweden (with whom they were part of the twin kingdom of Sweden-Norway). Popular opinion held that being Norwegian was more than a political identity, and the people of Norway began searching for manifestations of a unique Norwegian culture. The folktales were one such manifestation. Here were stories that had been passed down from generation to generation in the farming community, which during this period was seen as representing the true essence of the Norwegian people, as the farming culture had continued in the valleys, with little influence from the culture of the Danish overlords.

The tales would not, however, have been the success they were if Asbjørnsen and Moe had not found exactly the right language for them. One of the reasons why Faye's *Norske Sagn* had not been a success was that Faye had had no desire to convey the mood or language of the tales but only the content, which he did in a rather dry and detached manner. Asbjørnsen and Moe, on the other hand, realized that if they wanted the educated reading public to accept them they could not go the opposite extreme and publish the tales in the dialects and speech patterns in which they had been told. Their solution was to try to retain the original flavor of the tales, which they believed they could do because of their intimate connection with the people who had told them, while at the same time lifting them and retelling them to the best of their literary and narrative ability. That they succeeded is clear from the endorsement they received from the Grimm brothers, "Die norske folkeeventyr sind die *besten* Märchen die es gibt" ("the Norwegian folk tales are the best folktales that exist"). What Asbjørnsen and Moe had managed to do was, as Olav Bø has put it, "retain a mood which is both native and imaginative. The naive alternates with the ambiguous, the delicate with the crude. Content, style and language work to the same end." Even so, many of the educated classes felt the result was too crude, and indeed some erotic tales were excluded altogther and only rediscovered in 1978.

Jørgen Moe, who was ordained in 1853, eventually abandoned his role as a folktale collector, but his son Moltke Moe was to become a leading folklorist who carried on his father's and Asbjørnsen's work, albeit with a more scientific approach. Asbjørnsen carried on as a collector of folktales and legends until his death, and made his own contribution with *Norske Huldreeventyr og Folkesagn* (*Norwegian Hulder Tales and Legends*; collected edition, 1870). These tales are set in frame stories that tell of the hikes and walking tours during which Asbjørnsen met his narrators, and are evocative of the Norwegian countryside and the people who live there.

MARIE WELLS

Biography

Peter Christian Asbjørnsen born, January 15, 1812. Matriculated 1833 and passed *andeneksamen* (general qualifying examinations) in 1837. Became government inspector of forests for the district of Trondheim in 1860 and head of the Government Survey of Peat Production in 1864. Retired 1876 and died, January 5, 1885.

Jørgen Moe born, April 22, 1813. Matriculated 1830 and completed his theological studies in 1839. University research fellow in folklore, 1849–50. Chaplain in Sigdal, 1853. Married February 2, 1854 and became vicar of Bragernes 1864–70 and of Vestre Aker 1870–75. Became Bishop of Kristiansands in 1875. Died, March 7, 1882.

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Norske Folkeeventyr. Collected and told by Peter Christen Asbjornsen and Jørgen Moe, 1852.

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Norske Huldreeventyr og Folkesagn. Peter Christen Asbjørnsen; collected edition, 1870.

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ATALA AU TOMBEAU 1808

Painting by Anne-Louis Girodet de Roussy-Trioson (known as Girodet)

Given Girodet's deep knowledge of and enthusiasm for literature, his penchant for ecstatic religiosity, and his friendship with François-Auguste-René, Vicomte de Chateaubriand, it is not surprising that he became the most profound interpreter in paint of a narrative that attracted and inspired many visual artists almost from its first publication.

Girodet's closeness to Chateaubriand during the period when he was working on *Atala au Tombeau* (known sometimes as *Les Funerailles d'Atala*) is attested to not only by his portrait of the writer (c. 1806–7) but by flattering references to Girodet in Chateaubriand's *Les Martyrs* (1809). *Atala au Tombeau* bears eloquent testimony not merely to this friendship, but to a remarkable sym-

pathy on the part of the artist with the themes of the novel, and a complex understanding of its affective structures.

Chateaubriand's *Atala*, first published in 1801 to great public success and reprinted many times before Girodet created his painting, was set in Louisiana in the eighteenth century. It is the story of the doomed love between Chactas, an Indian taken captive by enemies, and Atala, a Christian Iroquois Indian who falls in love with him and frees him. They take refuge with a Christian hermit, Père Aubry (Father Aubry). However, Atala has sworn to her mother that she would give herself only to God, and as she realizes the extent of her love for Chactas, and thus the danger to her vow, she poisons herself. Between them, the grieving Chactas and the hermit accord Atala a Christian burial, and Chactas vows to become a Christian himself.

Girodet's painting, as has often been pointed out, is not an exact illustration of any one scene in the novel, but is actually a synthesis of three different moments: the burial, the mourning of Chactas and Père Aubry over Atala's body, and the last communion. The mournful but simultaneously highly eroticized tone of the painting reflects key aspects of the pervasive atmosphere of the novel, and its use of plant and moon symbolism is perfectly attuned to Chateaubriand's own aesthetic.

While Girodet gives reign to sensuality, exoticism, and even eroticism (as illustrated by the sensual depiction of Atala's face and body, and the detailed representation of flora and the landscape), he seems to restrain these notes within a conception that owes its overall clarity, and the modeling of its individual figures, to an aesthetic evolved during his early career. Indeed, Girodet seemed to have been very conscious of neoclassical discipline and the ideals of "la belle nature" as he worked from freer and more adventurous preparatory drawings (for instance the version Angers, at the Musée Turpin de Crissé, in which Chactas has tattoos and a pronounced hair knot, or the rather frenzied sketch in the National Gallery of Canada in Ottowa) toward the finished painting.

The pervasive religiosity of Chateaubriand's text, and its particular tension, which emanates from the conflict between desire and religious duty, is communicated forcefully in Girodet's canvas. The painting is even more steeped in religiosity feeling, and more indebted to religious painting as a genre, than Girodet's most celebrated religious work, the *Pietà* (1789).

Atala au Tombeau. Reprinted courtesy of AKG.

It has been suggested that Girodet's pictorial construction in *Atala* was inspired by medieval imagery of the death of the Virgin. Scholars have pointed to specific examples, such as the *Death of the Virgin* tympanum in Strasbourg Cathedral, which may have helped shape Girodet's conceptions. The iconography of martyrs in ecstasy may have also provided inspiration for the creation of an image that was simultaneously religious and deeply emotional and sensual.

There is a subtle analogy to be drawn between the suffering of Atala and that of Christ in the way that Girodet styles and places his figures. In this sense, some of the profound Catholicity of the text is reflected in a rather uneasy role for Atala, hovering between the purity and self-sacrifice of Mary and the suffering of Christ.

The particular place and role of Atala in the painting, as in the novel, have drawn critical commentary from feminist scholarship. The composition of the picture perhaps inadvertently dramatizes the conflicts and expectations that serve to produce Atala's self-destruction. The heroine is in some ways the true prisoner of the tale and the painting, stretched lifeless and helpless even in life, between piety (represented by Père Aubry and the cross) and desire (as connoted in the picture by the bowed but unmistakeable physicality of Chactas and Atala's own sensuous beauty).

The critical reception for the painting was almost completely favorable, (a relief to Girodet after the rather lukewarm reception for his *Ossian* and *Deluge*), although most commentators commented on the fact that Atala did not really appear dead. They pointed to some of the tensions—between sensuality and the statuesque, between exemplarity and desire—that are evident in the canvas, but also remind us that the depiction of liminal, uncertain states was central to the affective power of some of the key canvases in French history painting, from Jacques-Louis David's *Socrates* and *Marat* to Theodore Géricault's *Raft of the Medusa*.

Girodet's painting did not escape the mania for visual and verbal parody; Louis-Leopold Boilly's *Flore au Tombeau* replaces the characters of the composition with dogs. Other, more conventionally related, compositions now in the public domain include a repetition of the painting (perhaps at least partially by Girodet's hand) in the High Art Museum, Atlanta, and a oil sketch in the J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles that may be a model or draft for the painting.

MARK LEDBURY

See also **Chateaubriand, François-Auguste-René de, Vicomte; Girodet de Roussy-Trioson**

Work

Atala au Tombeau, 1808. The Louvre, Paris.

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ATTERBOM, PER DANIEL AMADEUS 1790–1855

Swedish poet

Per Daniel Amadeus Atterbom was born into a vicarage family. He was an only child, and his doting mother sought to protect him from life's hardships. This sheltered upbringing did little to prepare him for the realities of the literary and academic world he was to enter. As a child he was an introverted dreamer and his companions were books, a situation that fostered his Romantic tendencies, evidence of which came in the addition of a third name, Amadeus, which he chose in his twenties. Many critics are of the opinion that Atterbom's literary talents have been overrated and his importance in literary history is primarily as a representative cultural icon. Nevertheless, Atterbom's name is remembered and proves significant in the Romantic era in Sweden.

Atterbom belonged to a group of student poets who joined the battle against the old school of classical poets started by Lorenzo Hammarsköld's spoof magazine *Polyfem* (1810–12). He never contributed to the magazine, but six months after the birth of *Polyfem*, the students started their own magazine *Phosphorus—Ljusbäraren* (*Phosphorus—Lightbearer*, 1810–13). The Phosphorists were, from the outset, serious; they shaped the form of Swedish Romanticism by following Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von Schelling's philosophy and distinguishing it from German Romanticism by its close association to the Renaissance nature philosophy and aesthetics. Atterbom contributed to the first issue of *Phosphoros* with the essays "Prolog" ("Prologue"), "Gullåldren" ("The Golden Age"), and the poem "Erotikern" ("The Erotically Inclined Person"), which appears to be a Romantic advertisement in verse directed at a female reader.

Noteworthy among the poems he published in the following years are the suite *Blommorna* (*The Flowers*), published in the annual *Poetisk kalender* (*Poetic Calendar*) in 1811, and the incomplete *Fågel blå* (*Bluebird*). The *Poetisk kalender* seems to have reached a relatively wide audience while a second publication, *Swensk Litteratur Tidning* (*Swedish Literature Magazine*, 1813–25), where several of Atterbom's most important contributions were published, only had a very limited distribution. Atterbom was not one a poet who managed to exploit the mass market; his career was for the most part limited to academic circles. He met his audience in person in their homes and in salons, and it was left to other poets to publicize the work of the Phosphorists.

Atterbom spent the years 1817–19 in Italy and this resulted in a collection of letters that he later published. During this time the battle between the old and new schools of thought had taken an interesting turn, as the popular poet Esias Tegnér had entered the scene. He brought the new school to the attention of the public, but did so by picking apart their arguments and deriding their leading figures. Atterbom tried to smooth things over by publishing a number of *Recensionsblommor* (*Review Flowers*) in *Poetisk kalender* (1821), which were dedicated to a number of poets, including Tegnér, and finishing with *Fridsrop* (*Cry for Peace*). His attempt failed to win any support.

Atterbom felt that it was necessary to consolidate his reputation as a poet by publishing a larger work; the first part of *Lycksalighetens ö* (*The Island of Happiness*) was therefore published in 1824, while the second part followed in 1827. It was not well received, even by his friends. The clumsy parody of democracy in the fourth section of the series laid him open to derision by the press. The publication of *Samlade dikter 1–2* (*Collected Poems 1–2*, 1837–38) was similarly ill-fated, as it received a bad review from his friend Erik Gustaf Geijer.

Atterbom progressed further in his academic career; he completed a doctorate in history and from there moved on to a professorship in theoretical philosophy, and later to a professorship in aesthetics and literature. He was voted into the Swedish Academy in 1839 which showed that his literary career was not a complete failure. It was in his academic role, however, that Atterbom showed real talent. He was a gifted interpreter of literature and had a feel for literary quality, especially in earlier authors and works. His work *Svenska Siare och Skalder 1–6* (*Swedish Prophets and Poets*, 1841–55) forms a strong basis for Swedish literary history, and it was Atterbom who championed the Swedish canon of poets before Olof Dalin (1708–63).

Atterbom's contemporaries said that to appreciate his poetry it was necessary to have met the man, whereas later critics have felt that it is Atterbom's personality that prevents appreciation of his work. Furthermore, his cowardly way of trying to get at rivals under a guise of friendship—perhaps a legacy of a solitary childhood—colors our perception of the poet. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that his work on the literary history of Sweden displays real talent, and he remained true to the Romantic idealization of the poet as the manifestation of art and spirit. Atterbom was childlike throughout his whole life in many ways, with a sense of wonder that never left him and an endless fascination with everything around him. He remained close with all his friends from his youth, but in his later years he was left increasingly without company, as one by one his friends died. Finally, his much-loved wife also died in 1854 and he followed her to the grave in 1855, shortly after the reworked edition of *Lyksalighetens ö* was published in her memory.

CAMILLA FRASER

Biography

Born 1790. Contributed to first issue of *Phophorus* in 1810 with "Prolog," "Gullåldren," and "Erotikern." In 1811, published

Blommorna in *Poetisk kalender* and part of *Fågel blå*. Travelled in Italy 1817–19. In 1821, published *Recensionsblommor* and *Fridsrop* in *Poetisk Kalender*. Publication of first part of *Lyksalighetens ö* in 1824 and second part in 1827. In 1837–38, *Samlade dikter 1–2* published. In 1839, voted into Swedish Academy. In 1841–55, published *Svenska Siare och Skalder 1–6*. Died in 1855.

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AUDUBON, JOHN JAMES 1785–1851

Artist and naturalist

In 1788, at the age of three, Jean Jacques Audubon sailed in the care of the ship's captain from Haiti (his birthplace) to Fracce. This adventure set the tone for much of his later life. In France he received the education of a country gentleman, learning to read, draw, dance, and play music. Academic studies were of little interest, but observation of nature captured his attention, and from his youth, the natural world was the subject of his pastels and watercolors. Faced with his son's conscription into Napoleon Bonaparte's army, Jean Audubon sent his son to the United States to tend to his land in Pennsylvania, and to become John James Audubon, creator of *The Birds of America* and *The Viviparous Quadrupeds of North America*.

Upon arriving in the United States, Audubon began drawing birds in earnest and soon developed his method for observing, capturing, mounting, and drawing the birds that he would utilize in his later work. As was true of his academic studies, Audubon was not a dedicated businessman, and at a particularly low point he served a jail sentence for debt. Much of the time Audubon was able to get by on his charm, but he was plagued by financial insecurity. Realizing that he was neither an intellectual nor a financial genius, Audubon reflected upon his natural capabilities—and his personal interests—and decided to use his artistic skills to support himself and his family. At various times he received lessons and/or advice from the American painters John Wesley Jarvis, Thomas Sully, and John Vanderlyn, among others, but this was probably the extent of his mature artistic education. He had experienced limited success teaching drawing and selling paintings of birds and painting portraits when he met and saw the work of Alexander Wilson, author of *American Ornithology* (1808–14). Audubon's business partner, Ferdinand Rozier, commented that Audubon's ornithological drawings were better than Wilson's, sparking Audubon's ambition to create what would become *The Birds of America*.

America's ability to distinguish itself from Europe lay in delimiting the aspects of the landscape that could be most closely associated with the act of Creation. As a result, natural historical projects undertaken by individuals such as Wilson and Audubon, as well as Charles Willson Peale and his son Titian Ramsay Peale, among others, were recognized, discussed and supported by natural history societies and individuals, and to some extent by the federal government.

The Birds of America was an immense and at times overwhelming undertaking. Audubon spent months alone, away from his family, pursuing his quarry and capturing it on paper, leaving his wife to support herself and their two sons by teaching. It was this time that he spent observing the birds and their habits, that made his work unique and compelling. The authenticity of experience conveyed in the images was unparalleled. He worked with others to illustrate the backgrounds, and to create the final composition. Finding a printer in the United States proved impossible due in part to Audubon's overconfidence and lack of scientific pedigree, and also to the rivalry between Wilson and himself. Wilson had many supporters and was well respected in Philadelphia, the home of American natural science. Without support from this community, Audubon knew he could not hope to succeed.

Failing in Philadelphia, Audubon went to England to find a printer and patronage. Upon his arrival he was introduced to Liverpool society with great success. In marked contrast to his experience in Philadelphia, where the scientific community found his untutored persona ridiculous, the English gentry found Audubon's backwoods self-presentation enormously appealing. While in England he wore fringed buckskin and kept his hair long. Upon request he performed bird songs and animal calls, sang folk songs, and perhaps best of all told colorful stories about the places, and particularly the people, he met on his travels through the wilds of the American continent. Audubon has been likened to James Fenimore Cooper's character Natty Bumpo in the *Leatherstocking Tales*, popular in England and America at the time of Audubon's visit. The ladies were particularly charmed by Audubon's appearance, and he used this to his advantage. He wrote to his wife in 1826 that, "My hairs are now as beautifully long and curly as ever and I assure thee do as much for me as my talent for painting." Audubon knew quite well that while the scientific community might praise or criticize his work, it was the "wealthy part of the community . . . [that] will fill my pockets," thus enabling him to finish his project and return home.

While in Edinburgh and London he had success in securing a printer (first William H. Lizars and then Robert Havell Jr.), and patronage. The 29.5 by 39.5–inch elephant folio of *The Birds of America* containing 435 plates was published in five-print installments between 1827 and 1838. Audubon followed this with an enormously popular and less expensive octavo edition of 500 plates on 6.5 by 10–inch paper. To accompany *The Birds of America* he published his *Ornithological Biography* (1831–39), a series of natural histories of the birds pictured with "episodes" from Audubon's life in the wilderness inserted to sustain the attention of a popular audience. The narratives from his life are primarily based upon his letters to friends and family, and on his voluminous journals. They were edited by William MacGillivray, a Scottish scientist who cleansed Audubon's writing of its grammatical errors, but also, unfortunately, some of its immediacy.

After Audubon's death, a sanitized version of his journals was published by his Victorian-era granddaughter Maria R. Audubon, who felt compelled to free them of any sensual observation or overwrought emotion. His letters, however, remain in their original form and convey Audubon's arrogance, charm, skill, successes, and failures. Writing from Edinburgh in December 1826 to his wife Lucy he describes the self-doubt he felt upon meeting one of the learned ladies of the community: "I know that at one glance she had discovered my great inferiority." In another letter later the same month he compares himself to Napoleon, writing "Since Napoleon became, from the ranks, an Emperor, why should not Audubon be able to leave the woods of America a while and publish and sell a book?" This fluctuation between uncertainty and exuberant confidence continued through his second and final major work, *The Viviparous Quadrupeds of North America* (1845–48). Ultimately, the sacrifice that he and his family made to his creations was rewarded with popular praise and scientific approval.

KATHLEEN L. BUTLER

Biography

Born in Les Cayes, Santo Domingo (now Haiti), April 26, 1785. Illegitimate son of Jean Audubon, a French sea captain and plantation owner, and his Creole mistress. He was taken to Nantes, France, and formally adopted by Jean Audubon and his wife, 1794. Moved to his father's home near Philadelphia, 1803. Married Lucy Bakewell, 1808. Suffered a number of failed businesses and bankruptcy. Moved to New Orleans, 1821. Earned income by teaching art and doing commissioned portraits. Traveled to Scotland and England to seek a patron and publisher for his art, 1826. *The Birds of America* published in London in four volumes, 1827–38. *Ornithological Biography*, written with William MacGillivray, published in 5 volumes, 1831–39. Divided his time between Europe and the United States; settled in New York, 1839. Published *The Viviparous Quadrupeds of North America* in three volumes, 1845–48. Died 1851.

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AUSTEN, JANE 1775–1817

English novelist

Jane Austen's self-imposed restriction of "3 or 4 Families in a country village" enabled her to focus on the development and interplay of characters within narrowly discriminated classes in a provincial community presented in realistic detail. Austen herself, through her immediate family, had access to a far wider range of experience of the church, the navy, the large estate of her brother Edward, and the fashionable London life of her banker brother Henry. Deftly alluding to war, politics, slavery, religion, consumerism, medicine, the professions, and patronage, Austen extends the range of the "feminine" novel of the period to reflect the impact of the larger national world on courtship, family life, and local relationships. Her restricted settings also aid the careful plotting and structuring of her novels in which parallels of plot, situation, and character allow ironic juxtapositions and give the novels unity of theme. She combines the dramatic tradition of the epistolary novel with the potentially unifying power of a narratorial viewpoint in a mobile technique of presentation.

Austen's technical achievements recommended her to the Jamesian school of novelistic criticism of the early twentieth century. Though the Jamesian aesthetic was developed from Coleridgean ideas of unity and organization, Austen was, and often still is, regarded historically as the culmination of eighteenth-century novelistic art, due to her use of its novelistic conventions, her predominantly rationalistic viewpoint, and an apparent nostalgia for eighteenth-century certainties communicated through a solid language of shared moral and social values. Of particular interest was Austen's innovation in the customary courtship plot whereby the heroine has to undergo a process of education in self-knowledge, rather than merely learning how to comport herself in society as a respectable young lady. The emphasis on the heroine's subjectivity and on "timeless" inner

virtues shadowed developments in the Romantic theory of the mid-century.

Marilyn Butler's study of 1975 inaugurated the modern school of Austen criticism by relating her work to the "war of ideas" of her time. Though her initial characterization of Austen as a Burkean conservative who found an ideal order in the landed gentry of her day has been substantially modified, the novels and their language have been opened up to the debates among historicists. Much recent criticism, taking its tone from Claudia Johnson's study of Austen's relation to feminism, sees her taking inherited forms and subtlely undermining "from within" their conservative bias. Such approaches align Austen with Romantic writers like William Wordsworth, whose works suggest a reconciliation of aristocratic and middle-class values. It is characteristic, however, that the emphasis should be on the subversive quality of her art rather than on undoubted assertions.

Northanger Abbey (1805, published 1818) has a clear connection with Austen's exuberant juvenilia in which she parodies fictional modes and the literary conventions of character and behavior that reflect social constructions. The contrast between fiction and reality is established only to be destabilized, and the narrator, far from providing a reassuring authority, mimics several authoritative voices varying from the conventionally moralistic to the worldly wise, and becomes a surrogate author satisfying the expectations of readers with a patently manipulated conclusion. The misleading appearances and types of distress associated with sentimental/Gothic fiction reappear, toned down in the representation of "ordinary" social life, but still require in the character Catherine some of the qualities of a heroine.

Many of these disconcerting features appear to a lesser extent in Austen's later novels. The narrator's voice is infiltrated by other discourses and in turn infiltrates the represented thoughts of characters in the novelistic innovation of "free indirect discourse." Conclusions are hastily summarized in an ironic tone, with appeals to readerly desires, especially in *Sense and Sensibility* (1811) and *Mansfield Park* (1814). In general, the point of view of the narrator follows the physical possibilities of one main heroine and has privileged entrance only to her thoughts. Much of the comedy and moral seriousness of the novels arises from the limitations of such awareness, and the perceptions and judgments of the main character tend to become a central concern of the novel. Titles such as *Sense and Sensibility* and *Pride and Prejudice* (1813) might be reminiscent of the political conflicts of the 1790s, but if sensibility is a potentially subversive force it subverts not society but the perceptions and psychic health of the character Marianne. The character Darcy might initially suggest the pride and prejudice of rank justified politically by Edmund Burke, but Austen's characters have to struggle with the more personal and moral senses of the terms.

The three complete novels produced as an established author show approaches to more topical public themes, in conscious rivalry with authors such as Maria Edgeworth and Walter Scott. *Mansfield Park* can readily be taken as a metaphor for England's old "family" establishment, prey to the temptations of regency dissipation and political and financial corruption. Old forms of power, dependency, and moral obligation are put under stress by a pervasive spirit of exploitation. The character Fanny Price, as a woman and a dependant, feels the obligations and suffers the injustices of her situation but remains dedicated to what she believes Mansfield Park stands for. In *Emma* (1815), the heroine comes to terms with a fluid, enterprising society that challenges traditional hierarchies. Her idea of gentility is broadened socially and she becomes more morally sensitive to the exercise of patronage. In *Persuasion* (1818), the character Anne Elliot's new sense of self-worth, confirmed by her valued activities in different social settings, allows her to rise above the degenerate aristocratic values of her family and resist the modern glorification of the self-made man of talent.

The experience of Austen's heroines opens onto general aspects of "alteration, perhaps improvement." Female experience is strongly focused but is connected with the experience of other comparable social groups; even heroes have to follow parallel paths of self-education. General themes suggest the possibility of individual and social progress in integrity, sensitivity, and social responsibility, but Austen's heroines remain engaged in their passionate, individual struggles toward fulfilment, regarded with tolerant irony by the narrative voice.

CHRIS JONES

Biography

Born in Steventon, near Basingstoke, Hampshire, December 16, 1775, seventh of eight children of Rev. George Austen, a Church of England clergyman. Educated at home in Steventon and at Mrs. Cawley's School, Oxford. Lived in Bath with her family after her father's retirement, 1801. Moved to Southampton after her father's death, 1805; lived with her mother and unmarried sister Cassandra in a house owned by her brother Edward in Chawton, near Alton, Hampshire, from 1809. Published *Sense and Sensibility* (1811), *Pride and Prejudice* (1813), *Mansfield Park* (1814), and *Emma* (1815) anonymously, leaving another novel, *Sanditon*, uncompleted at her death. Died, after a lengthy illness, in Winchester, July 18, 1817. *Persuasion* was published posthumously (together with *Northanger Abbey*) in 1818 after its retrieval from publishers who had purchased but failed to publish it in 1805.

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AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL WRITING: BRITAIN

Between 1760 and 1850, the autobiographical genre grew both in number of publications and in popularity throughout Britain. Although Robert Southey is often credited with first using the word *autobiography* in an 1809 book review, it has been shown that forms of the word appeared in English as early as 1797 and before then in continental languages; thus, the development of the word and its use parallels the rise of the autobiographical genre as a whole.

Prior to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, British autobiographies tended toward one of two genres: the spiritual autobiography or the memoir. Although St. Augustine's *Confessions* still stands as the prototype of spiritual autobiographies, John Bunyan's *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners* (1666) remains arguably the most well-known English work of this genre as it contains, like most spiritual autobiographies, a close focus on the writer's internal and emotional relationship with God along with comparatively little attention to the historical events of the writer's life. Inversely, memoirs, such as Edward Gibbon's unfinished *Memoir* (1796) and Mary Robinson's *Memoirs* (1801), concentrate primarily on the people, places, and events surrounding the author's life while the writer spends comparatively less time on his or her personal feelings.

In his *Confessions* (1782–89), Jean-Jacques Rousseau combines the elements of these two genres to create an autobiographical work that both recounts the historical events of the author's life and explores the deepest emotions the author felt while experiencing, causing, or even remembering those events. The *Confessions* afforded primacy to the author's thoughts and feelings, both positive and negative, which changed the focus and content of autobiographies, and its influence extended beyond the borders of France. Although spiritual autobiographies remained popular in England following the publication of the *Confessions* in English in 1783–90, many writers turned their attention toward describing their emotions as well as their relationships with themselves, other individuals, and society.

While the array of autobiographical works produced since 1760 is indeed diverse, the suggestion of a few basic categories may provide some means of understanding the variety. As writers turned inward, accounts of their literary growth and maturation often became the subject of their autobiographical writings. For example, William Wordsworth's *Prelude, or, the Growth of a Poet's Mind* (1805) provides a verse retelling of important emotional landmarks in Wordsworth's development. Other writers provide a more conventional and chronological retelling of the literary and nonliterary events of their lives, such as in Leigh Hunt's *Autobiography* (1850), while still others, such as Samuel Taylor Coleridge in his *Biographia Literaria* (1817), fuse personal recollections with literary theory and criticism.

Another branch of autobiography concerns authors whose life writing includes fictionalized incidents or autobiographical personas. Such is the case in Thomas de Quincey's *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater* (1822) in which de Quincey portrays his life only as it relates to his opium addiction and its effects; he thus recounts the poverty he experienced as a result of his addiction as well as fantastical opium-induced dreams. Thomas Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus* (1831) traces the intellectual development of Diogenes Teufelsdröckh, whose emotional struggles parallel those of Carlyle's own youth. In verse, Lord Byron's *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (1812–18) similarly creates a fictional main character whose adventures mirror those Byron himself experienced.

The use of fictional elements in writing about the self heavily influenced the development of the autobiographical novel: see, for example, Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* (1847) and Charles Dickens's *David Copperfield* (1849–50). In these and other autobiographical novels, specific events, people, and places from the author's life may be depicted in an exaggerated fashion, realistically, or even allegorically, but the author's experience remains the basis for the representation. Many critics have suggested that this genre has found its fullest artistic expression in such later works as James Joyce's *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916).

A discussion of Romantic-era autobiographical writings must also include reference to the many writers whose journals and

letters, which, although not published during their lives, have become important texts to contemporary scholars. The letters of John Keats are often considered among the most interesting literary letters of the nineteenth century, and they reveal his rapid poetic development and sense of humor in a manner his verse cannot. Keepers of journals have also offered important information about their lives, societies, and literary efforts. Dorothy Wordsworth's *Grasmere Journals* provide an interesting and informative counterpoint to her brother William's autobiographical poetry, and *The Journal of Sir Walter Scott* details the literary and financial struggles Scott faced after he found himself in debt following the collapse of his publishing house in 1809. Other notable journal keepers were Mary Shelley and George Eliot.

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See also **Autobiographical Writing: Germany**

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AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL WRITING: GERMANY

Autobiographical writing in Germany during the Romantic period, which stretched roughly from the mid 1790s to the second decade of the nineteenth century, is characterized by diversification. The hitherto established forms of pragmatic-historical autobiography, the then only recently introduced psychological-autobiographical novel (by Karl Philipp Moritz, with his *Anton Reiser*, 1785), and the widely debated model of autobiography as a radical personal account (as introduced in Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Confessions* [1782–89]), all met with skepticism among the representatives of the early Romantic movement. Their critique of these forms of autobiography expressed general doubts about the possibility of an objective, valid autobiographical self-examination. Friedrich Schlegel's ironic aphorism on "pure autobiographies," whose authors he considers "mentally ill people obsessed with their Ego," and his further comments on this subject in the *Gespräch über die Poesie* (*Dialogue on Poetry*, 1800) display these fundamental doubts. Schlegel's views are in line with those of contemporary thinkers, such as his fellow contributor to the *Athenaeum* journal, the theologian Friedrich Schleiermacher and the philosopher Immanual Kant (1798). Schlegel's disapproval of the autobiography is at the same time accompanied by reflections on the close relationships among confessions, travelogues, letters and novels, and on his notion of Romantic poetry as rooted in historical truth, a concept that dissolves the distinction between historical truth and afiction. Furthermore, he considers these other forms of autobiographical writing, along with the novel, as the main genres of the Romantic *Naturpoesie*. Within the concept of Romantic poetry as a "progressive and universal poetry" that reunites all literary genres and academic disciplines, and that proclaims an interchangeability of art and life, forms of autobiographical writing acquire the status of fiction and vice versa, since according to Schlegel, "novels are nothing more than barely disguised confessions of their author."

The effect of this detachment of autobiographical writing from the genre's typology is reflected in the wide use of autobiographical material in all forms of Romantic writing. An example of the use of autobiographical material, which was controversially discussed at the time, is Friedrich Schlegel's novel *Lucinde* (1799), perceived as a roman à clef about the relationship between Schlegel and his then partner and later wife Dorothea Veit-Mendelssohn. Schleiermacher's *Vertraute Briefe über "Lucinde"* (*Intimate Letters on "Lucinde,"* 1800) defended the novel publicly against the accusation of obscenity.

Other examples of German Romantic autobiographical writing are Sophie Mereau's epistolary novel *Amanda and Eduard* (1803), which incorporates whole passages of the correspondence between Mereau and her student lover from the years 1795–97, and the collaborative novel *Die Versuche und Hindernisse Karls* (1808) by Karl August Varnhagen von Ense, Wilhelm Neumann, Friedrich de la Motte Fouqué, and August Ferdinand Bernhardi; the main characters Karl and Warner are both modeled on Varnhagen.

Clemens Brentano, certainly one of the most ambivalent characters of the Romantic movement and one of its most prolific writers, pushes autobiography far beyond its status as source material. His work displays the manifold ways of blending autobiography and fiction in the early Romantics' programatic sense, taken to an extreme. His letters oscillate among diary, confession, and fiction (e.g., those to Sophie Mereau or Achim von Arnim) while his poetry and fiction draw on experiences and memories (e.g., *Romanzen vom Rosenkranz; Godwi*, 1802; "Preface to the Gockel fairy tale," 1838). Even his so-called religious works, such as the *Bittere Leiden unsers Herrn Jesu Christi* (1833) hover between fact and fiction according to the notion of art as life and life as art, and are in general models of self-presentation in poetry. Brentano's so-called general confession (*Generalbeichte*, 1817) as well as his confessional letters to Joseph Görres, Wilhelm Grimm, and Philipp Otto Runge, are to be seen within the wider context of a larger literary project, planned together with Achim von Arnim: the project of collecting biographies and autobiographies, and also writing their own (early 1810), although the latter aim was never realized.

Autobiographical forms of writing, such as journals, diaries and letters, have always been used particularly widely by women, during the Romantic period an increasing preference among women writers for these genres is apparent. Among these women the Berlin salonière of the turn of the century, Rahel Varnhagen, is probably the most interesting intellectually, and her literary oeuvre the most challenging. Her work, vast and consisting almost exclusively of letters and aphoristic diaries, offers a different, however no less characteristic aspect of Romantic autobiographical writing. Her autobiographical writings are, on the one hand, a measure and means of meticulous self-observation and self-analysis (here we see the tradition of autobiographical writing developed during the eighteenth century) but are simultaneously perceived as an art form. Rahel's autobiographical writing oscillates continuously between the pragmatic and the aesthetic. The posthumous publication *Rahel Ein Buch des Andenkens für ihre Freunde* (3 vol., 1834), prepared by herself and her husband Karl August Varnhagen von Ense, blends both pragmatic and aesthetic aspects in an artistic arrangement of edited text passages to give a rounded portrait of Rahel.

Parallel to this overtly Romantic autobiographical writing, the first decades of the nineteenth century saw the rise of the autobiographical genre in the sense of a continuous narrative account of one's life. In the first instance, there is a waning, from 1790 on, of the traditional forms of the scholar's or artist's autobiography, as well as of Rousseauesque self-analysis, as rejected by the Romantics. Autobiographies of that period, such as the composer Carl Friedrich Zelter's *Selbstbiographie* (*Self-Biography*, 1808), and the fifth volume of Johann Heinrich Jung Stilling's *Lebensgeschichte* in 1804, *Lehrjahre* (*Years of Apprenticeship*), neither engage exclusively in psychological self-examination nor address sequences of significant events or steps in a professional career. Examples such as Johann Gottfried Seume's *Mein Leben* (*My Life*, 1809) illustrate the new attempt to find a balance between individual and epochal analysis, a move that culminates eventually in Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's autobiographical writings, *Dichtung und Wahrheit* (1811ff) and his *Italian Journey* (1816f). Particularly in *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, Goethe's concept of the double mirror imaging of the individual, as well as the practice of treating the individual life as symbolic of human existence, found its most profound expression.

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See also **Autobiographical Writing: Britain**

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B

BAILLIE, JOANNA 1762–1852

British dramatist and poet

Joanna Baillie was the leading British playwright of her day. She was widely praised by critics and was famously proclaimed by her fellow Scot, Sir Walter Scott, to be "the best dramatic writer whom Britain has produced since the days of Shakespeare and Massinger." Although she watched her popularity fade in her own lifetime, her work is now being reread in the context of Romantic recanonization. Both her plays and her poems place Baillie within a framework of Romantic egalitarianism and innovation.

Baillie is best known for her three-volume "Plays on the Passions," published as *A Series of Plays: In Which it is Attempted to Delineate the Stronger Passions of the Mind, Each Passion being the Subject of a Comedy and a Tragedy*. These appeared over a span of fourteen years and gained both popular appeal and critical acclaim. Her first volume, published anonymously in 1798, received highly favorable reviews and was variously attributed to William Cowper, Matthew Lewis, and Ann Radcliffe before Baillie put her name on the 1800 edition. This first volume contained a comedy on love (*The Tryal*), along with tragedies on love (*Count Basil*) and hate (*De Monfort*). Appearing in 1802 and 1812, the second and third volumes continued this project, providing a comedy on hate and also presenting comedies and tragedies on ambition and hope. In the space between these two later volumes, Baillie brought out two other volumes, *Miscellaneous Plays* (1804) and *The Family Legend* (1810).

As her preoccupation with the passions suggests, Baillie's plays are primarily psychological dramas. They unswervingly and insistently demonstrate the effect of a particular passion on an individual and on those around him, with much of their suspense and consequence deriving from what takes place in the hero's mind. For example, the character De Monfort in *De Monfort* struggles with an intense hatred for another that ends in murder and self-destruction; Basil in *Count Basil* is consumed by an unrequited love that drives him to suicide and his loved one to remorse and a nunnery; and Ethwald in *Ethwald* (1802) eventually finds that his ruthless ambition brings him military success but domestic and psychological ruin. Thus, the inner torments and eventual alienation faced by Baillie's protagonists foreshadow the misanthropy of the Byronic hero. Indeed, Lord Byron was a great admirer of Baillie's plays, which is especially significant in light of his open contempt for women writers.

On another level, however, Baillie is concerned with more than Romantic heroism. Her dramatic theory, outlined in the prefaces to *A Series of Plays*, demonstrates Baillie's commitment to having her plays performed and removes her from the phenomenon of the closet drama now associated with the Romantic age. This theory also provides a rationale for the psychological emphasis of her plays that goes beyond Byronic brooding. Baillie insists on the power of drama, and of literature in general, to effect a positive change in the life of the reader. In the "Introductory Discourse" to the first volume of *A Series of Plays*, Baillie suggests that, in representing the effect of the passions on an individual, her plays offer her audience the chance to observe human nature. Through this observation, which Baillie labels "sympathetic curiosity," the audience learns "the proprieties and decencies of ordinary life," since "i[n] examining others, we know ourselves." Central to Baillie's didacticism are her innovative ideas on acting and theatrical space. In the preface to the third volume of *A Series of Plays*, Baillie recommends the use of smaller and more intimate performance spaces, and she reiterates her preference for more natural acting styles. For Baillie, the unadorned speech and actions of common life are more interesting and tragic—and hence, instructive—than grand theatrical gestures. In her desire to represent the speech of the everyday and the raw emotions of human nature, and consequently to provoke a sympathetic moral response, Baillie looks forward to the poetics that William Wordsworth would propose in the pre-

face to *Lyrical Ballads*, a year after Baillie's first dramatic publication.

Although she was better known as a playwright, Baillie also published a small but significant body of poetry. Indeed, she began her literary career in 1790 with a volume of poetry entitled *Poems: Wherein it is Attempted to Describe Certain Views of Nature and of Rustic Manners; And Also, To Point Out, In Some Instances, the Different Influence Which the Same Circumstances Produce on Different Characters*. Poor sales, however, prompted her to channel her energies into drama. Later in her career, she published a set of poetical narratives, *Metrical Legends of Exalted Characters* (1821), an oriental romance, *Ahalya Baee* (1849), as well as a collection entitled *Fugitive Verses* (1840). Her poetry reifies the ideas propounded in her dramatic theory and practice. Her early poems are primarily realistic depictions of farm life, whose gently humorous descriptions of farm labor foreshadow Wordsworthian pastoralism and echo the rural lyrics of Baillie's compatriot Robert Burns.

In her narrative poetry, Baillie takes her interest in everyday heroism further and demonstrates her commitment to a gendered ideology of separate spheres. In *Metrical Legends*, for example, Baillie presents several poetic tributes to various heroes, such as William Wallace and Christopher Columbus, and pointedly adds her little-known ancestor, Lady Griseld Baillie, to the set. Baillie's point is that Griseld's domestic achievements are just as important as the epic deeds of the men she praises. Yet Baillie's celebration of female heroism was not a radical challenge to existing gender norms. As with Jane de Monfort in *De Monfort*, Griseld's female fortitude is meant to be complementary to, and not interchangeable with, masculine valor. Baillie herself practiced her ideal of respectable domesticity: her strict observance of household and philanthropic responsibilities and her preference for sober, quaker-like dress were well known to her readers and friends.

The impact that Baillie made in her time was due largely to the originality of her literary and dramatic ideas. The combination of natural blank verse, psychological tension, and direct didacticism resulted in influential and popular plays that today not only reveal much about the Romantic stage but retain, in works such as *De Monfort* and *Count Basil*, moments of dignity and poetic merit. Just as important, the democratic poetics and elegant realism of her poetry deserve a critical detailed reassessment, as does her discourse of domestic yet rational womanhood.

ADELINE JOHNS-PUTRA

Biography

Born at Bothwell, Lanarkshire, Scotland, September 11, 1762. Daughter of a Presbyterian minister, a professor of divinity at Glasgow University, 1776–78. Attended boarding schools in Glasgow from 1772. Moved with her mother and sister to Long Calderwood, Lanarkshire, after her father's death, 1778. Lived with her mother and sister in London from 1784; frequented the *conversazione* (salons) of her aunt, Anne Hunter. Moved with her mother and sister to Hampstead, 1802; met Sir Walter Scott, 1806. Published *Plays on the Passions*, 1798–1812. Remained unmarried but assumed the title of Mrs. Baillie from 1814. Died in Hampstead, London, February 23, 1851.

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BALKANS: HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL SURVEY

Turkish rule (established across the Balkans states since the late fourteenth century) had never extended to the autonomous principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, which allowed its late seventeenth century rulers, Dimitri Cantemir and Constantin Brancoveanu, to retain a degree of native cultural independence not seen elsewhere in the Balkan Peninsula. Cantemir presided over a glittering Romanian court and wrote the first novel in the native language, while his Wallachian colleague was a brilliant patron of the arts and architecture. When they sided with the Russians against the Turks in 1711–12, the first Romanian renaissance was swept away. But even under the hated Greek-speaking princes known as the Phanariots, Romanian culture flourished.

During the Russo-Turkish War (1806–12) the last vestiges of de facto Ottoman rule were swept aside and replaced by imperial Russia's hegemony. To avoid being swallowed up by their giant northern neighbor, the Romanians tried to resurrect their culture, language, and history. Russia had forfeited her role as protector by annexing Bessarabia in 1812. The Romanians, as a Latin-speaking nation, were influenced by France in matters of taste and culture; they also looked to Italy, whose ideas of unification they adopted. Their nationalist leaders sought to unify the two principalities, which remained a dream until after the Romantic age. The one major attempt to unify the country came in 1848, but was crushed by a combined Russo-Turkish invasion. At least the Romantic era had produced two major writers, Costache Negruzzi and Vasile Alecsandri, and had lead to the establishment of a national theater by the 1840s.

Turkish rule had not extended to the principality of Montenegro, either, where a population of stubborn Serb-speaking mountaineers maintained a precarious existence and independence under the leadership of their prince bishops. It was under the most brilliant of these, Prince Peter II Njegosh, that Montenegro established an international reputation via the prince's poetry and political deeds.

Montenegro's example inspired the Serb population in Turkish-occupied Serbia to rise up against their overlords in 1804. This uprising was led by Kara Djordje (Black George) until Russia was distracted by the Napoleonic invasion of 1812, which allowed the Turks to reoccupy Serbia. Among the refugees that fled across the border to Austria was a private secretary to one of the rebel leaders, a young intellectual named Vuk Stefanovich Karadzic, who not only eventually established a modern Serb language, but would also go on to collect a great number of Serb folk songs. His fickle employer and patron, the new leader of the rebellion, Prince Milan Obrenovic, ruled Serbia long enough to secure de facto independence by 1830.

By that time, the Serb uprising was entirely overshadowed by the Greek war of independence (1821–29), which had been inaugurated by Prince Alexander Ypsilantis's invasion of Moldavia; his failure there served only to spark the uprising in Greece itself. The Greeks, although a trusted and privileged group in the Ottoman Empire, had by the late eighteenth century begun to look back to the glories of ancient Athens and the Byzantine Empire. The Phanariot princes in Romania proved to be generous patrons of the arts, and the first modern Greek play was staged in the Moldavian capital of Iasi (Jassy) in 1805.

As in Serbia, the question above all others was which language the Greeks were to speak and write in. Conservatives and the clerics wanted to keep ancient Greek, even though it was a dead language and quite inadequate to the needs of a modern nineteenth-century state. It was only in the latter part of the nineteenth century that modern Greek, established by Andreas Kalvos, was generally accepted.

The Greeks benefited from international support and sympathy, not least through the pointless yet heroic death of the British Romantic poet Lord Byron at Missolonghi in 1827. Count Ioannis Capodistrias, a Corfiate nobleman in the service of Imperial Russia, managed, as President of the Greek Republic (1821–33) to get all the great powers to support the fledgling country. The naval victory at Navarino, where the Turco-Egyptina fleet was sunk by the allied forces in 1829, paved the way for Greece's independence.

In the northwestern part of the peninsula, the struggle for independence during the Romantic era was not against the Turks, but against the Austrians and the Hungarians. In Slovenia the struggle to establish a national language, culture, and identity faced not only Italian cultural influence but also Austrian political oppression. Under the guidance of Baron Ziga Zois a group of intellectuals sought to promote the renaissance of the national language, culture, historical heritage, and ideas of Enlightenment. The first Slovene language paper was founded in 1797, and while Valentin Vodnik led a group of neoclassicists, the Slovene Romantics dreamed of a free, independent Slavic state. From 1830 onward France Preseren, founder and editor of the journal *Cbelica* (*The Bee*), led a group of young intellectuals who freely mixed Romantic nationalism and writing. After the Hungarian uprising of 1848 was suppressed, the Austrian authorities visited censorship and arrests upon the Slovene nationalist and Romantic movement.

Slovenia's southern neighbor, Croatia, dreamed the same Romantic, nationalist dreams of independence, free from the grasp of imperial Austria. Part of the Kingdom of Hungary, as an autonomous principality the Croats were proud of their history and the fact that they had escaped Turkish rule. They were also proud of the fact that the city of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) had been the seat of Renaissance and baroque cultural developments, while the rest of the peninsula was under Muslim rule. Under Ljudevitj Gaj, the Croat language was Latinized and modernized as Gaj headed the romantic Illyrian movement. Ultimately the

Illyrians hoped to unify not only all the Croats, but also the Bosnian and Serbs in a south (Yugo) Slav union. He had the sympathy and support of Karadzic, who tried to unify the two languages of Serb and Croat into one. These attempts failed with tragic results, as seen during the last century in the Balkan region.

CHRISTER JÖRGENSEN

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BALTIC REGION: HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL SURVEY

Until the twelfth century, the Baltic region was outside the Catholic-Christian world of western Europe. Only Poland and Denmark were truly Christian by this time, and Sweden had only superficially become so. These newcomers to the faith set out to do their religious duties by instituting crusades against the pagan peoples on the southern and eastern shores of the Baltic Sea.

The Danes turned their attentions against the Slavic Wends and Finno-Ugrian Estonians. In the latter case they managed, by the thirteenth century, to conquer the northern half of Estonia while the Swedes turned their attentions against Finland. The Swedes had already colonized Åland, but went on to conquer the mainland of Finland by force. The Finnish tribes, including the Tavast, succumbed only after fierce resistance, while the more easterly Karelians were never conquered outright. The Karelians located in the more western part of their region became Catholic subjects of the Swedes, while the eastern tribes, converted peacefully by Orthodox missionaries, gave their loyalty to the Russian principality of Novgorod.

Further south, the Slav tribes of the Wends and Pomeranians, as well as the Baltic tribes of the Prusy, were conquered, colonized and eventually "Germanized" to such an extent that they became part of the German nation. The development in the Baltic region proper was somewhat different. Here the Teutonic crusader orders (the Livonian and the Sword) had, despite fierce resistance from the Estonians and Latvians, become masters of the entire region, with one vital exception. In the heavily wooded regions of Semgallia, the Lithuanians, under King Minduagas (d. 1263) resisted successfully the Teutonic onslaught and during the following century, under Vytautus the Great, expanded to the south and east to became a great regional power. In 1385 Lithuania, now a Catholic nation, entered into a dynastic union with Poland, which became a fully fledged political union in 1569.

Starting in 1561 when they occupied Reval (Tallin) the Swedes spread their influence and power across the Baltic in the wake of the decline of the Teutonic orders and the Hansa, which had predominated the Baltic during the Middle Ages. During several bloody wars the Danes and Poles sought to stem the Swedish tide. The Swedes had, since 1618 (the Peace of Stolbova), cut off Russia from the sea, and by 1629 they had gained control over the Baltic states. They also became the preeminent power in Northern Germany after 1648. Under Charles X (1654–60) the Swedish Baltic Empire reached its greatest territorial extent and pinnacle of power. Only the maritime powers' support of Denmark prevented the Swedes from making the Baltic their "mare nostrum."

Only Courland managed to retain her independence in the face of Swedish hegemoncy under several brilliant Dukes of the Kettler family. Under Duke Jacob (1642–82) Courland had a powerful fleet and even an overseas colonial empire in Tobago and Gambia. The rise of Russia under Peter the Great (1682–1725) ended Swedish hegemony in the Baltic by 1721 when it ceded, at the Peace of Nystad, Vyborg, and its Baltic provinces to Russia. The decline and political impotence of the commonwealth of Poland-Lithuania gave Prussia and Russia an opportunity for expansion. In 1772, 1793, and finally 1795 the commonwealth was divided between these two predatory powers. Imperial Russia, under Tsar Alexander I, conquered what remained of Swedish Finland in 1809, and Finland became an autonomous grand duchy within the Russian Empire.

The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were a period of unprecedented cultural renewal in all of the Baltic states. Sweden under Gustavus III was, for the first time, a center of European arts. Tobias Sergel won prominence as a sculptor and Carl Michael Bellman was a national composer of songs of unsurpassed brilliance. In Finland the nineteenth century gave rise to a flourishing national culture. Johan Ludvig Runeberg (1804–77) became Finland's national poet, with his epic collection of poems entitled *Fänrik Ståls sägner*, published between 1848 and 1860. Zacharias Topelius (1818–67) was a poet of equal stature and an accomplished historian whose *Fältskärns berättelse* (1853–67) brought him popular and critical acclaim.

Nevertheless, nothing did more to raise Finnish culture to as prominent a level as Swedish culture than the publication of the national epos, *Kalevala* (1835–48), under the supervision of Erik Lönnroth. Finland, it should be pointed out, was also the only Baltic state that had a composer of the same international stature as Norway's Edvard Grieg, in the person of Jean Sibelius (1865–1957), whose first symphony, *Kullervo* (1892), was

inspired by the *Kalevala*. His first three symphonies were classical works, but his symphonies of 1919 and 1925 were more modern in tone.

Cultural life in the Baltic states was hampered by stricter Russian control and German cultural predominance. Estonia had a flourishing cultural life under Swedish rule, exemplified by such accomplished artists as Michael Sittow, who painted a portrait of Catherine of Aragon and Arent Passer. After the Russian occupation (1721) Peter the Great sponsored the building of Katrinental in the Russo-Italian baroque style. During the nineteenth century Estonian culture went through a renaissance: *Kalevipoeg*, the national poetry collection on a par with the Finnish *Kalevala*, was published despite Baltic German and Russian resistance. A host of talented artists appeared: Anton Köler (1826–99), Konrad Mägi (1878–1925), and Addo Vabbe (1892–1961), who introduced cubism and futurism to Baltic painting. In Lithuania, support for the Polish uprisings of 1830 and 1861 meant harsh Russian censorship and a stunted cultural life. In Latvia the first literary success in the vernacular, native tongue was the publication of *Dziesminas* (*Poetry*) in 1856 by Junis Alunans, who also published *St. Petersburgas Avizes*, with the support of the Latvian community in St. Petersburg. Owing to vehement Baltic German opposition, the Tsarist authorities censored it.

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Baltic region was marked by artistic upheaval and development and a relatively placid political climate. That would change in the twentieth century, as the Russian Revolution, the two world wars, and recent independence (for Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania) created a new set of political problems.

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BALZAC, HONORÉ DE 1799–1850

French novelist and dramatist

Honoré de Balzac produced more than one hundred works of fiction and nonfiction, and is considered both a Romantic and a realist writer. This apparent contradiction is explained by the authors who influenced him and by his own acute observation of the world. First, the plays of William Shakespeare and Pierre Corneille provided him with complex human dilemmas. Second, the English Gothic novel and E. T. A. Hoffmann's fantastic tales revealed to him the importance of the supernatural. Third, through Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's *Faust* and Lord Byron's *Manfred*, he saw the necessity of a multiform pact—not with Satan, but through often nefarious associations. Fourth, Walter Scott and James Fenimore Cooper showed him how to resurrect the past through the accurate depiction of costumes and objects, the participation of historical figures, and the re-creation of daily existence.

In addition, Balzac borrowed techniques from scientists to develop his conception of human behavior. After Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, he classified individuals according to their social class, profession, or marital status while keeping in mind that Georges Cuvier demonstrated how one bone could reconstruct an entire animal and thus that one ruin could evoke a whole civilization. Similarly, Franz Joseph Gall and Johann Lavater helped him understand personality through examining cranial and facial features, although Balzacian psychology is usually reduced to single, overpowering passions (monomanias).

After several potboilers in the Gothic manner written between 1819 and 1825, *Les Chouans* (*The Chouans*, 1829) was the first book to be published under Balzac's name. It already presented a number of themes and ideas that would be further explored later, such as those of a topographical milieu or historical context as determining influences on actions. *La Peau de chagrin* (*The Wild Ass's Skin*, 1831), however, is a better model for all the novels that would eventually comprise *La Comédie humaine* (*The Human Comedy*), since it asks the essential Balzakian question: How does one succeed? That is, how does one become famous and/or loved?

There are two ways to achieve fame: through the mind or through money. The thinker, the artist, the poet, the inventor each gives himself body and soul to an overriding idea he wants to impose on the world. That his work is at once the origin of martyrdom and of joy (often shared with a devoted companion) only underscores the Romantic notion of genius, and this despite the hero's ultimate failure (in, for instance, *La Recherche de l'absolu* [*The Quest of the Absolute*, 1834]), or madness (as in *Louis Lambert* [1832–35]). In fact, several of his characters are attracted to suicide as a way of escaping their acute *mal du siècle* (world-weariness). Therefore, it behooves superior human beings to try to overcome life's pitiless, even cruel, constraints through their will (in a Bergsonian sense) by bending in order not to break, by resisting without cracking, by withdrawing to fight another day.

To secure an eventual victory, they resort to vast conspiracies, criminal and otherwise: in so many cases, individuals are defeated—since *l'union fait la force* (strength lies in numbers)—by an actively aggressive collectivity converging, sometimes only temporarily, to destroy them: "[T]he entire society [was] armed against her and her cousins" (*Une ténébreuse Affaire* [*The Gondre-*

ville Mystery, 1841]). In fact, there were a number of occult organizations with such metaphorical names as The Thirteen (*Histoire des Treize* [*History of the Thirteen*, 1834–35]) or the Society of ten thousand, whose purpose was to defend and advance their members' ambitions.

Money, because it is the overriding personal and social motor, is the focus of many of Balzac's protagonists, who are bent on acquiring it by whatever means. Furthermore, as he states in *Le Père Goriot* (1834–35), "Money is life; money does everything." It is not just a source of power but also a condensation of energy in the modern world. This is why bankers, usurers, and politicians, in particular, and the ambitious young men out to conquer, are the exemplars of the new capitalist, highly mobile society. Admiring efficacy over morality and legalism over justice (not unlike Charles Dickens's novels), they struggle in their relentless drive toward gaining more and more wealth. To survive, they must keep control over their emotions, even hide them, and use anyone in order to succeed, for people are either "executioners" or "victims."

Love, and its concomitant marriage, are not totally selfless feelings. Like any emotion, love, too, can be based on financial considerations as another way of succeeding. A few exceptions prove the rule: *Les Chouans*; "La Bourse" ("The Purse, 1832); Part I of *Illusions perdues* (*Lost Illusions*, 1837–43); and *Le Lys dans la vallée* (*The Lily of the Valley*, 1835–36). Ironically, it often happens that the young lover—man or woman—misjudges the potential fortune of the intended as he or she then moves on to an apparently more lucrative liaison. This is how Charles rejected Eugénie in *Eugénie Grandet* (1833) or Emilie refused to consider young Maximilien de Longueville in *Le Bal de Sceaux* (*The Ball at Sceaux*, 1830). On the other hand, love also kills: Esther Gobseck dies of love (in *Splendeurs et misères des courtisanes A Harlot High and Low*, 1838–47), as does Père Goriot, killed by too much paternal love for his ungrateful daughters.

Honoré de Balzac. Reprinted courtesy of Bildarchiv.

Goriot is the typical monomaniac whose idée fixe brings about his ruin. Like him, many become obsessed with some egocentric passion by which they live, and, sometimes, eventually die. Béatrix (in the eponymous 1839–45 novel) lives by the sadistic destruction she wreaks on others; Corentin by his cruel vindictiveness (in *Les Chouans*); and Cousin Bette (in *La Cousine Bette*, 1846) by her evil deeds. Bette is a monster in her unyielding pursuit of revenge against her family. From childhood on she had suffered constant humiliation from her relatives. However, when in her maturity she has at last found the one man who can make her happy and fulfilled and she loses him to her cousin's daughter, she lashes out in a rage—"I would have given him [Wenceslas] my blood"—as she plots all the culprits' downfall. Her keen but primitive intelligence, her will and her tenacity, the naturalness of her hypocrisy—these qualities make her a great, albeit wicked, heroine.

Two pivotal events occurred in Balzac's literary life. In 1834, he conceived the original idea of reappearing characters (first used in *Le Père Goriot*) to show the interrelatedness of human existence as well as to give a virtual density to his people. This quality is quite different from that found in the mere maturing and aging protagonists presented in "novels in sequence" (to use in John Galsworthy's phrase). Then, in 1842, after successive attempts at taxonomy, he organized all his fictional works published by that time under the overall title of *La Comédie humaine*, perhaps in contrast to Dante's *Divine Comedy*. Borrowing from ecology, he divided them into a series of six scenes—from private life, from provincial life, from parisian life, from political life, from military life, and from country life—and two studies, philosophical and analytical to which he added an *avant-propos* (preface). In this elaborate and well-argued general preface he laid out the rationale of the thought and purpose of his magnum opus.

The *Scenes from Private Life* depict childhood and youth, and the false steps to which they are prone. The *Scenes from Provincial Life* show the age of passion, calculation, self-interest, and ambition. The *Scenes from Parisian Life* portray finally the various tastes and vices, with all the unbridled forms of behavior of capital cities, for it is there that good and evil meet and have their strongest repercussions.

Balzac did not live to complete the *Scenes from Military Life*, and he had hardly begun the planned *Scenes from Political Life* and *Country Life*.

This monumental work, which can be read in any order, boasts that it easily competes with the Bureau of Vital Statistics. Not counting the few hundred real people, there are more than two thousand fictional characters, from whom emerge about thirty great starring and secondary roles whose universal stature and symbolic value (good or bad) compare favorably to those

in Shakespeare or Molière: from the debauched Baron Hulot (in *La Cousine Bette*) and all his fellow amoral, egotistical roués to César Birotteau, symbol of business probity (in *Grandeur et décadence de César Birotteau* [*The Grandeur and Decadence of César Birotteau*, 1837]), and from the single-minded and naive collector Sylvain Pons (in *Le Cousin Pons* [1847]) to Dr. Benassis, a modern-day apostle of charity (in *Le Médecin de campagne* [*The Country Doctor*, 1833]). Women, too, play their part along the good and evil continuum: from the pure, generous, and self-denying Madame de la Chanterie (in *L'Envers de l'histoire contemporaine* [*The Seamy Side of History*, 1842–48]), and all the devoted and loving wives and companions, to the many femmes fatales who destroy families without pity or remorse.

Balzac depicts, among others, statesmen, speculators, tradesmen, journalists, army officers, policemen, traveling salesmen, courtesans, all manner of jurists and criminals, artists and writers, and physicians alongside representatives of the bourgeoisie, peasant class, and aristocracy. (In a wonderful epigram Oscar Wilde once declared, "It is pleasanter to have the entrée to Balzac's society than to receive cards from all the duchesses in Mayfair.")

To accomplish his sociological task, he usually visited the locales of his novels, interviewed knowledgable informants, compiled encyclopedic documentation, and, above all, observed real life, be it clothes, homes, furniture, or even food. Unlike his Romantic brethren who seldom show their characters sitting down for a proper meal, his people eat real food: "Does one eat in *René*?" he pointedly asked in an 1820 text. In his *Traité de la vie élégante* (*Treatise of Elegant Life*, 1830) Balzac elaborated the method he had already analyzed in *Code des gens honnêtes* (*Code for Respectable People*, 1825): "Speak, walk, eat, or dress, and I will tell you who you are."

Since he believed in determinism, moreover, milieu, profession, and gender became very important criteria in evaluating character, both socially and morally, as well as in explaining temperament, and thus required detailed descriptions. Even names were endowed with occult, portentous meaning: "Z. Marcas! The man's entire life is in the fantastic combination of these seven letters . . . This Z . . ., this last letter of the alphabet offered the mind something fatalistic" ("Z. Marcas," 1840).

Balzac's depiction of the various passions that can dominate and tyrannize the soul appealed to Fyodor Dostoevsky, William Faulkner, and Thomas Hardy, while his grand picture of a French society teeming with life greatly influenced later novelists, who also wanted to portray humanity and social environments as they really were: Émile Zola's twenty-volume *Rougon-Macquart* series (1871–93), Henry James (who called Balzac a "towering idol"), and Marcel Proust's *A la recherche du temps perdu* (*Remembrance of Things Past*, 1913–27) come readily to mind. Friedrich Nietzsche, for his part, admired several Balzac heroes (for example, *Le Père Goriot*'s Vautrin) as the precursors of his own theory of the "will to power."

Thus, in evoking an entire world from the French Revolution almost to the end of the July Monarchy, the self-styled historian and "secretary" of the nineteenth century went beyond Walter Scott's lessons. He not only presented dramatically historic crises but also the complexity and richness of contemporaneous social life, along with its chaos, brutality, and destructiveness. He analyzed the mores of his time through the confrontation and subsequent struggle of the individual and society in the vain hope of stopping their unstoppable downfall. Early in his career, Balzac realized that "vouloir nous brûle et pouvoir nous tue" ("will burns us and might kills us"), and that this monomaniacal urge creates an imbalance that itself triggers a fall. It is no wonder, then, that he himself should be felled by his overpowering desire for fame and wealth. Like Raphaël of *The Wild Ass's Skin*, he saw his own "skin" diminish into nothingness. He died at age fifty-one, calling for Horace Bianchon, the devoted physician of his *Comédie humaine*.

PIERRE L. HORN

See also **Pere Goriot, Le**

Biography

Born in Tours, France, May 20, 1799. Son of a civil servant working in army supply department. Educated at schools in Tours, Vendôme, and Paris. Attended lectures in law at the Sorbonne while working as a law clerk, 1816–19. Received baccalauréat of law, 1819. Abandoned studies to write full-time, 1819: worked as a novelist, journalist, and editor under a number of pen names, 1820s. Attempted unsuccessfully to establish a career as a publisher, 1826–28. Achieved first literary success with *Les Chouans* (*The Chouans*, 1829), prolific fiction writer and dramatist from 1829 on. Began intimate correspondence with Madame Eveline Hanska (née Countess of Rzewuska; d. 1882), a Polish noblewoman living in Ukraine, from about 1832 on; met Eveline secretly in Neuchâtel, Switzerland, 1833, continuing the relationship after she was widowed, 1841. Owner, *La Chronique de Paris*, 1835–36. Published *La Comédie Humaine*, 1942–48. Travelled in Europe with Eveline, 1845–46; fathered, with Evelyn, stillborn daughter, 1846. Stayed at Eveline's estate in Verkhivnia, Ukraine, 1847–50. Married Eveline Hanska, March 1850; one stepdaughter. President, Societé des Gens de Lettres, 1839; chevalier, Légion d'honneur, 1845. Died of cardiac hypertrophy in Paris, August 18, 1850.

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BARATYNSKII (BORATYNSKII), EVGENII ABRAMOVICH 1800–1844

Russian poet

"Cold reason," "the reliability of naked truth," "cruel contradiction"—these are the Romantic poet Evgenii Abramovich Baratynskii's characterizations of his Weltanschauung. Aleksandr Pushkin said Baratynskii expressed thought well because he did so with feeling. Where other Romantic styles were emotive, Baratynskii undertook to express thought and feeling together, and to do so in a precise, harmonious style despite their tendency to negate one another. In his view, thought erodes the ability to feel, feelings interfere with rational thought. His struggle to overcome this contradiction, combined with thorough study of Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von Schelling and August Wilhelm von Schlegel and Friedrich von Schlegel, culminated in a metaphysical poetry whose uniqueness revealed new possibilities for Russian literature.

Baratynskii matured with a rejection of escapism titled "Istina" ("Truth," 1823), in which he posited that "[p]ainful truth" is better than "easy deception." The poet, he felt, must express the truth, although that truth may be rejected by his readers, thus relegating the poet to obscurity. He expressed anxiety about this possibility in several poems and announced his decision to risk loss in "Moi dar ubog . . ." ("Poor Is My Gift . . .," 1828), in which he assured himself, "A reader in posterity I'll find." Baratynskii's dedication to truth results in a generally pessimistic poetry characterized with a gloomy tone. "Dejection" is a favorite word, love lyrics are devoid of passion and trust in love, and happiness is impossible to attain.

This metaphysical Romantic articulated the schism between modern man and nature in compelling ways. He expressed a love of nature in "Vesna" ("Spring," 1820) and "Finlandiia" ("Finland," 1820, 1826). "Vesna, vesna! Kak vozdukh chist!" ("Spring, Spring! How Pure the air!" 1832) is a celebration of nature. Unhappily, however, spring is followed by "Osen" ("Autumn," 1836–37, 1841). The peasant "suffers life" but is fortunate to work and die close to nature, while the landowner suffers death *because* he is removed from nature.

Baratynskii's nature poetry realizes Schelling's Romantic teaching that the highest that a good man may achieve is dissolution of his ego in the Absolute, where contradictions between ego and nature disappear. He sought synthesis in antitheses: unity with, versus separation from, nature; primitive versus enlightened civilization; and natural beauty versus artificial order. He also expressed the Schlegelian teaching that modern man cannot commune with nature because his intuition has been weakened by his propensity to think. Anxiety over loss of contact with nature is expressed in "Primety" ("Signs," 1839): "As long

as man loved nature, / So she loved him in turn" and her greatest gift was that "She blessed him with language." When man ignored his natural instincts, his harmony with nature was destroyed, and the terrible consequence of this schism is loss of the gift of prophecy that goes with language.

Baratynskii is saved from utter pessimism by beauty. As with Schelling, beauty is an ethical as well as aesthetic value. When Baratynskii's poetry achieves synthesis, it is due to beauty. In the lyric "V dni bezgranichnykh uvlechenii . . ." ("In my days of boundless enthrallments . . .," 1831) he is saved from the demon of "uncurbed passions" by an ideal of harmonious beauty in his soul. He illustrates harmony by shifting gracefully between "discordant raptures" and "proportionate measures of beauty." He does not doubt "the mysterious power of harmony" in "Boliashchii dukh vrachuet pesnopen'e" ("The lyric poem can heal an aching spirit," 1832), and here again he successfully synthesizes feelings and reason in harmonious verse. Still, where truth must be expressed, the demon of thought lurks. Baratynskii's concerns in the 1830s were alienation from nature, death, the end of a great age, and a dystopian future. In "Kogda ischeznet omrachen'e" ("When will the darkness vanish?" 1832) he wonders when he will be free of the darkness of his sick soul. Even in "Naslazhdaites': vse prokhodit!" ("Revel in pleasure: all things pass!" 1832) he writes that life is both joy and grief at once, and death is brought by demonic fate. In the Byronic–Shakespearian "Cherep" ("The Skull," 1826) death is repulsive—the skull bears clots of hair and decayed flesh—and so is humankind's lot in life.

As feelings are to nature, thought is to civilization. This is the basic theme of "Poslednii Poet" ("The Last Poet," 1835), a mythic poem of the four ages and the utopia of the golden age on which rests the myth of the golden age of Russian poetry. "The hearts of men" in a new iron age are filled with bourgeois, utilitarian concerns; men have no use for the "childish dreams" of poetry. In this age a poet has appeared, but his songs are ridiculed and he has buried his "useless gift." This poem is set in modern Greece (as opposed to the Hellenic golden age when man was supposedly unenlightened and natural). The poet longs for "those days of ignorance" when man lived joyfully in the "primeval bower" of nature. But in this Rousseauian—and Schlegelian—poem, nature, and beauty have been destroyed by enlightenment. "Posledniaia smert" ("The Last Death," 1827) is another poem about the golden age that denounces enlightenment. Like Lord Byron's "Darkness" (1816), to which it responds, it is an expression of despair. Here the poet does not long for a past utopia; instead, he looks with dread into a future damaged by extreme devotion to reason. Initially the future is seen as a paradise on earth, where magnificent cities spring from tamed nature. But generations pass, and at last the cities lie in ruin, people have vanished into their graves, and the sun rises on a moribund world covered with fog.

Baratynskii's Byronic verse tales are conventional, but they are beautifully written and notably draw heroines and heroes as equal. "Eda" (1824) is a Romantic tale about the seduction of a Finnish maid by a Russian hussar; its Ossianic landscape is striking. "Bal" ("The Ball," 1825–28) is a satire on Moscow society featuring both a dark southern and a fair northern beauty. In "Nalozhnitsa" ("The Concubine," 1831), later retitled "Tsyganka" ("The Gypsy"), the heroine kills her lover while trying to win him back with a love potion.

Baratynskii failed to compete with Pushkin in the narrative genre. By following his own path in his lyric poetry, he achieved a synthesis of thought and feeling and showed Russian poets how to express ideas in precise, harmonious language. He died believing himself a failure, but is today increasingly considered a major poet.

LAUREN G. LEIGHTON

Biography

Born in Viazhlia, Kirsanov district, Tambov Province, Russia, February 19, (March 2), 1800. Son of Abram Andreevich Baratynskii, a major-general who had been ennobled by Pavel I for service to his country. Educated at home by his mother and by an Italian tutor. Lived in Moscow, 1808–10; attended a German boarding school in Saint Petersburg, 1812. Entered Corps of Pages, 1813; expelled for involvement in Schillerian "robber band" theft, 1816. Returned to Tambov Province, 1816–18; Moved to Saint Petersburg, entered army as common soldier, 1818. Associated with young writers in Saint Petersburg, including Anton A. Del'vig and Pushkin. Began literary career as conventional poet of Romantic melancholy, 1818–19. During military service as a noncommissioned officer in Finland, assumed literary persona of martyred exile, affiliated with the formal poets of the Pushkin pleaid and with the Schellingian Lovers of Wisdom poets, 1820–25. Promoted to officer rank (ensign) and returned to Saint Petersburg, 1825. Retired from military service and settled in Muranovo, near Moscow, 1826. Married Anastasia L'vovna Engel'gardt, 1826: nine children, two of whom died in infancy. Worked in the government land surveying office, 1827–31. Maintained closer friendship with Pushkin; contributed to Del'vig and Pushkin's journal *Severnye tsvety*, 1826–29. Published lyric poems and Byronic verse tales. Association with the philosopher Ivan Kireevskii, 1829 to mid-1830s. Contributed to Kireevskii's *Evropeets*, 1832. Traveled with his family to western Europe, including Germany, 1843, and Paris, 1843–44. Met Alfred de Vigny, Prosper Mérimée, and George Sand, among others. Died suddenly in Naples, Italy, June 29 (July 11), 1844.

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BARBAULD, ANNA LETITIA 1743–1825

British poet, essayist, and editor

Since she was born before the midpoint of the eighteenth century, many of Anna Letitia Barbauld's literary allegiances and influences were with her Augustan contemporaries, and in many ways it is helpful to think of her as a pre-Romantic rather than a full-fledged Romantic writer. Her poem "Corsica," published in her very successful 1773 collection, *Poems*, preempts Romanticism by lionizing the hero and leader of Corsican liberty, General Pasquale Paoli, as a solitary figure, with "eye sublime," striving for liberty and greatness against a backdrop of craggy, inhospitable mountains. It is clear, not just from her poetry, that Barbauld played an influential part in forming ideas that were to take off in the Romantic period, not least in her contributions to the important *Monthly Magazine*, edited by her brother John Aikin, and read by William Wordsworth and Samuel Taylor Coleridge, among others.

Rereadings of her work over the last decade have played a significant part in the recent renegotiation of Romanticism along gender lines. Barbauld's position as a woman writer is, however, in some ways anomalous, for while she was clearly one of the most respected figures of the late eighteenth century, it was also her supposed female presumption that was virulently attacked in Tory reviews of her major poem "Eighteen Hundred and Eleven" (1812). John Wilson Croker, who is said to have brought down John Keats's career with a bad review, also effectively put an end to Barbauld's poetic career. The poem "Eighteen Hundred and Eleven," a passionate, blank-verse poem about the disastrous state of the country, written from a liberal perspective, envisages the decline of the British empire, and the ruin brought about by war. In tone and form the poem owes much to Barbauld's eighteenth-century forebears: not just evoking James Thomson and Samuel Johnson by name, but also in the poem's style. But in writing this poem, Barbauld also presages Romantic poems—Lord Byron's "Darkness" (1816), or Percy Bysshe Shelley's "England in 1819" (1819) and "Ozymandias" (1817)—that envisage things falling apart, perhaps influenced by readings of Constantin François Chasseboeuf Volney's *The Ruins, or a Survey of the Revolutions of Empires* (1792), a book that had attained great popularity in England at the time. Croker specifically objected to Barbauld's use of satire, expressing his desire that "the empire might have been saved without the intervention of a lady-author," and her return to her "knitting needles," dropped in her hurry to write, was, for Croker, an absolute necessity. There are places within this poem that demonstrate Barbauld's own ambivalence, for while she is in many ways fulfilling the role of poet as prophet that was central to Wordsworth's vision, she also represents a collective voice, rather than a solitary one, fighting against oppression. Instead of the archetypal male Romantic vision of an individual ego that no chains can bind, Barbauld transfers this freedom to something she ambiguously designates "a spirit [that walks] o'er the peopled earth"—the spirit of civilization and imagination.

Barbauld's attitude clearly has as its backdrop the arguments over the education of women that raged from the 1780s onward, and, strangely, despite her connections to the Bluestocking circle of intellectual women, her attitude was in some ways aligned to that of Croker; she had strong reservations about the education of women and, despite her own highly trained mind, was certain that any knowledge gained, and displayed, by women would be "punished with disgrace." Her poem "The Rights of Woman" (1795) satirizes women's desires for "separate rights" and demands that women should "abandon each ambitious thought." It is an angry response to Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* written three years earlier, and embodies Barbauld's belief that there was "no bond of union among literary women."

This, however, makes her sound reactionary, which is far from the case. Brought up and educated by dissenters, she spent much of her career writing radical prose, including her *Address to the Opposers of the Repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts* (1790, published under the name A Dissenter), a pamphlet that profoundly irritated Edmund Burke because of its enthusiasm for the French Revolution.

By the 1790s Barbauld's attention was primarily focused on political and social matters, and like many of her contemporaries, including William Blake, Hannah More, and Ann Yearsley, she was deeply concerned about the abolition of slavery, a subject that comes to the fore in her *Epistle to William Wilberforce, Esq., on the Rejection of the Bill for Abolishing the Slave Trade* (1792), a poem, published in her own name, that as the title makes clear, deplores the failure of Wilberforce's abolition bill. The poem expresses Barbauld's anger that "still Afric bleeds; / Unchecked, the human traffic still proceeds."

Alongside these overtly political concerns were Barbauld's interests as an educationalist, stemming from the school that she ran until 1785 with her husband, a dissenting minister. A series of *Lessons for Children of* various ages, published between 1778 and 1779, and her *Hymns in Prose for Children* (1781) proved popular. They also demonstrate her engagement, once again, with contemporary concerns: her involvement in the "discovery" of childhood, often pinned to the eighteenth century, and growing out of the works of John Locke, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and Isaac Watts. Almost a decade before Blake's *Songs of Innocence*, Barbauld was forming part of the cultural milieu that was to push the child so squarely to the fore in the writings of such poets as Wordsworth.

Barbauld's creative writing was balanced with a talent for the critical. She reviewed fiction for the *Monthly Magazine* and edited both prose and poetry for the publication. She was the editor of Samuel Richardson's correspondence (1804), as well as the works of Mark Akenside (1807) and William Collins (1797), and also entered into the increasingly important debate over the role of fiction and its function in her essay "On the Origin and Progress of Novel-Writing" written for *The British Novelists* (1820). It is perhaps ironic, in the light of Barbauld's critical prowess that, as her editors claim, her reputation, at least in part, fell because of the failure of male Romantic writers to include women in their political and poetical vision.

LUCY BENDING

See also **Blake, William; Childhood; Coleridge, Samuel Taylor; French Revolution; Keats, John; More, Hannah; Shelley,**

Percy Bysshe; Slavery and Emancipation; Sublime; Volney, Constantin François Chasseboeuf; *Vindication of the Rights of Woman, A*; Wollstonecraft, Mary; Wordsworth, William; Yearsley, Ann

Biography

Born at Kibworth, Leicester, the older child of Dr. John Aikin and Jane Jennings. She grew up at her father's academy for dissenters in Warrington, and, in 1774, married Rochemont Barbauld, himself educated at the academy. Barbauld and her husband set up a school for boys where she taught the younger children until 1775, when Rochemont Barbauld's poor mental health led to the closure of the school and continental travel. In 1802 they moved to Stoke Newington, where he lived until 1808 when he drowned, and she until 1825.

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IL BARBIERE DE SIVIGLIA (THE BARBER OF SEVILLE)

***drama giccoso* in four acts by Giovanni Paisiello, 1782**
***comedia* in two acts by Gioachino Antonio Rossini, 1816**

Pierre-Augustin Caron de Beaumarchais was the last great writer of comedy during the ancien régime. His *Figaro* trilogy (*Le barbier de Séville, ou La précaution inutile; La folle journée, ou Le marriage de Figaro*, and *L'autre Tartuffe, ou La mère coupable*) was a radical departure from contemporary dramatic conventions. It was a daringly original conception that not only dealt with aristocrats outwitted by meritocratic servants but also created stage characters who, across the three plays, grow older and change, and have to be seen as having "real" lives beyond their authorial texts. The trilogy was notorious and this, in turn, earned it considerable fame all over Europe. The wit and stylish plotting of these plays gleaned enough support to overcome the strong censorship of most autocratic states. Being performed in French (and thus only accessible to the cultivated upper classes) also helped their progress across Europe, as did musical settings that deleted some of the most politically critical passages.

Originally, Beaumarchais's trilogy had been written as *opéras comiques* for the Comédie-Italienne, and would have been performed with numerous songs and incidental music. Even after revision into stage plays for the Comédie-Française, the plots still contained many incidents designed to be set to music, and this was how the first performances were delivered, with inciden-

tal music written by the principal violinist of the theater orchestra, Antoine-Laurent Baudron. The widespread fame of these plays, plus the innate musicality of the material, made them very attractive to composers. The most famous of these is the Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart–Lorenzo Da Ponte treatment of the second play as *Le nozze di Figaro* (*The Marriage of Figaro*, 1786), which they succeeded in staging despite strong opposition within the Viennese court.

The play of *Le barbier de Séville* begins Beaumarchais's exploration of the relationship between servants and masters. In it, Count Almaviva (disguised as a poor student) is courting Rosina, the beautiful (and potentially rich) ward of Dr Bartolo. Dr. Bartolo in turn is scheming to marry his ward, to which end he is using her music master, the dastardly Don Basilio, as his accomplice. After many entertaining setbacks, and by means of several disguises and with the help of his former servant Figaro (the barber of the title), Almaviva succeeds in outwitting Dr. Bartolo and marrying his beloved.

In 1780, a very successful performance of *Le barbier de Séville* in Saint Petersburg generated an opera based on this play by Giovanni Paisiello, the Italian chapel master to Catherine II. His opera was a setting of an Italian libretto (probably by Giuseppe Petrosellini) and it had its first performance in the Hermitage on September 26, 1782. Delivered by an excellent ensemble of Italian singers, it was a great success and quickly spread to major theaters throughout Europe, including those in Amsterdam, Lisbon, London, Madrid, Naples, Venice, and Vienna, it was also translated into German and French. This enormous success made it a staple of European opera houses and a model of its genre. Characteristically for its time, the orchestration is light, supporting (and sometimes doubling) the vocal lines. Paisiello's portrayal of humorous complexity is masterful. (See, for example, the wonderful trio in act 2 in which Dr. Bartolo is utterly frustrated in his attempts to discover who has been visiting his ward Rosina, because one servant constantly sneezes and the other cannot stop yawning.) In every way, the work's popularity was well merited, and by dint of music, its political message was softened.

In all, there were four operatic settings of *Le barbier*—by Georg Benda, Nicolo Isouard, Giovanni Paisiello, and Gioacchino Antonio Rossini. Although Rossini was greatly attracted by the subject matter, the huge popularity of Paisiello's setting was a major obstacle. Paisiello's setting was so famous, and his following so ardent, that when Rossini was invited to set the same drama for the 1816 season at the Teatro Argentina in Rome, he balked at the prospect. At first he tried to avoid the commission, and later issued numerous private and public statements in which he declared his admiration for Paisiello's opera and claimed that his work was new in manner, and not an attempt to compete with the earlier setting. Rossini was so concerned at the inevitable comparison that he even altered the title to *Almaviva* and did not restore the original title until after Paisiello's death.

The text that Rossini set was a reworking by Cesare Sterbini of Paisiello's original. The drama remains the same and Rossini even deliberately exploited similar effects. Although legend asserts that he composed the whole work in a matter of thirteen days, Rossini in fact devoted the greatest care on this composition. By modern criteria, all the comparisons are in Rossini's favor. However, this misconstrues the issues, for the treatment

The Barber of Seville. Reprinted Courtesy of the Lebrecht Collection.

of the two works is distinctively different and, if Rossini's work has endured, Paisiello's opera is unfairly eclipsed. Its lighter manner and lesser complexity also reveal an ability to project comic conflict and humorous dialogue with pointed ease. In the (admittedly eighteenth-century) context of the *opera buffa* of his age, Paisiello's setting of Beaumarchais's enduring comedy deserves to return to the stage.

Rossini's fears that Paisiello's popularity might make the audience antagonistic were well founded, the first night was a fiasco. Rossini was deeply upset by the audience's hostility and, despite his contractual obligations, refused to direct the subsequent performances; he even considered retiring from the operatic stage at that point.

Although *Il Barbiere di Siviglia* was not one of Rossini's most popular works with his contemporaries, its fame spread rapidly abroad. This popularity has continued unbroken; it has never left the stage, even when Rossini was out of fashion. This popularity has created many problems, both aesthetically and textually, over the years Singers have often made arbitrary alterations and took gross liberties, frequently turning the music lesson in act 2 into an extended cabaret of their favorite arias. If Rossini's score is respected, his setting is, in fact, a refined comedy of character, deftly colored by precisely pointed orchestration and exquisite dramatic timing. His exploitation of comic effects remains unsurpassed (as vividly exemplified in the aria "La calunnia," in which Don Basilio advises Dr. Bartolo to spread malicious rumors to discredit Almaviva).

In every dramatic, as well as technical, aspect (such as harmonic richness, vocal finesse, and orchestral brilliance), Rossini's opera is outstanding, its ethos sharp and penetrating. Ironically, the very brilliance and familiarity of the work rapidly diluted the biting social criticism of Beaumarchais's play and the opera has endured as a comedy of character rather than satire.

BENEDICT SARNAKER

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BARYE, ANTOINE-LOUIS 1796–1875

French sculptor, painter, printmaker

Son of a Parisian goldsmith, Antoine-Louis Barye, together with François Rude (1784–1855) and Pierre-Jean David d'Angers (1788–1856), forms the triumvirate of French Romantic sculptors. Rude's working class origins and neoclassical training gave rise to his monumental public art commissions (*La Marseillaise*, at L'Arc de Triomphe, Paris, 1833–36); David d'Angers was celebrated for his public commissions and numerous portrait medallions. Barye, however, was the earliest and most well known of the *animaliers*, artists who found their subjects in animals and beasts rather than historical or mythological narratives or portraiture. He created realistic portrayals of animals, monsters of legend and myth, as well as symbolical groups. Beyond these, Barye created monuments to historical figures, public sculptures for the Tuileries Palace and the Louvre, and interpretations from literature, including *Roger and Angelica* from Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*.

Like many visual artists in the Romantic era, Barye's training drew on the skills required of both the artisan and the fine artist. He took up metalworking before training in engraving, painting, and smithing, in addition to sculpture. After training under the sculptor François-Joseph Bosio and the painter Antoine-Jean Gros, Barye offered his work for competition at the École des Beaux Arts of the Academie Française, France's official school of art. Barye's entry received honorable mention, an impressive debut for an artist. To understand the intricacies of sculptural form, he made drawings after classical ancient sculptures and admired masters such as Titian and Caravaggio. In 1824, he sought training under Jacque-Henri Fauconnier, a goldsmith who encouraged him to produce small bronze bas-reliefs as ornamentation for furniture and clocks.

To create forms that evoked power and vigor, Barye studied animals inside and out. To observe their physical characteristics as well as their motion and poses, he visited the Jardin des Plantes, often with the Romantic painter Eugène Delacroix (1798–1863). To capture the movement and stasis in addition to melancholic confinement, they sketched in paint and pastel from direct observation. Additionally, Barye made rough sketches out of wax, to gauge modeling in three dimensions. To understand the anatomy of animals and the peculiarities of their fur, flesh, and bones, Barye attended lectures and observed dissections. Without traveling farther than Fontainebleau, he brought the title of *animalier* to one of distinction. His sketches, wax models, and later sculptural representations were the result of continuous anatomical study and, in the case of the bronzes, of tight control over casting techniques and reproductive technologies that yielded exquisitely detailed small sculptures.

He established his own studio in 1832, the same year that he exhibited *Lion Crushing the Serpent* (Tuileries) at the Salon. This was later cast by Honoré Gonon by the lost wax (*cire perdu*) method. The work was celebrated for its realistic portrayal that captured the expression, gesture, and fierce movement of provoked animals. In fact, the painter Henri Rousseau told his pupil Jean-Antoine Letronne that Barye's lion was more realistic than if it had been modeled hair by hair. Barye's work was noted for this realism rooted in scientific study and direct observation, and that elevated animals to a worthy subject for sculpture.

His most important patron was, perhaps, the Duke d'Orleans, son of King Louis-Philippe. He created colossal architectural ornaments which were grandiloquently public, such as the personifications for the Louvre facade (*war, peace, strength*, and *order*) that show heroes attended by *putti* (winged angelic children) seated upon animal attributes. Commenting upon Barye's fantastic abilities at realistic and evocative portrayals, Maxime du Camp commented, in her review of the 1855 Exposition Universelle, that his work was beyond compare for its truth of form and spirited nature.

Barye was instrumental in technical advances in casting and patinating bronzes. Today subtle gradations in tone (patina) of the bronzes and variations of different casts of a work bear witness to the diversity of the sculptor's output. While Barye produced no new works after 1869, following his death in 1875 the works of his studio (over 230 models spanning a career of forty years) were purchased by Ferdinand Barbedienne, to be cast posthumously at the Barbedienne Foundry. While those sculptures cast after the artist's death are clearly marked with a different stamp than those done during his lifetime, the bronzes were cast with extreme attention to detail and attempted to carry on Barye's interest in patination and exquisite detail. Surprisingly, recent research has shown that the gradations of patina, difference in detail, and quality of bronze vary among the different editions of casts produced during Barye's lifetime and afterward.

Exhibitions have demonstrated Barye's skill as sculptor, teacher, and craftsman. In 1889–90 his work was featured at exhibitions at the École des Beaux Arts and the American Art Galleries in New York. During the twentieth century, two major exhibitions were held at the Louvre (1956, 1996) that sought to enlighten the public about the inspiration, creation, and reception of many of Barye's works.

Théophile Gautier complimented Barye, calling him "Michel-Ange de la Ménagerie" and found in his art a fiery and energetic spirit. Gautier praised Barye's resistance to the established tradition that elevated history painting above all other genres. Instead, Barye's works were heroic in their elevation of subject and dramatic, compact, and vigorous handling. Animal forms were transformed; intertwining torsos and interlock-

ing paws resembled the entwined figures of medieval manuscript illumination. His artistic output was not limited in size or scope: the same sense of vigor, energy, and power greet the viewer, whether inside a home, strolling the entry of the Tuileries Palace, or gazing at the facade of the Louvre.

JUILEE DECKER

Biography

Born in Paris, September 24, 1796. Studied various arts and crafts; studied with sculptor François-Joseph Bosio (1768–1845); studied with the painter Antoine-Jean Gros (1771–1835); studied under Jacque-Henri Fauconnier (c. 1776–1839). *Lion Crushing Serpent* exhibited at French salon, 1831; opened his own studio, 1832. Director of casting at Louvre, 1848. Named professor of zoological drawing at the Musée d'Histoire Naturelle in Paris, 1854; exhibited at Exposition Universelle, 1855. Barye established a bronze foundry in the rue des Folies-Regnault of Paris, 1858. Died in Paris, June 25, 1875.

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BATIUSHKOV, KONSTANTIN NIKOLAEVICH 1787–1855

Russian poet

Fluent in a wide range of languages, including French, Italian, and German, and steeped in European culture, Konstantin Nikolaevich Batiushkov achieved early prominence as one of the most accomplished of the poets belonging to the so-called school of harmonic accuracy. Together with contemporaries such as Vasilii Zhukovskii and Ivan Gnedich, Batiushkov perfected a style of lyric characterized by smoothness of sound orchestration and a meditative, near-solipsistic depiction of the lyric speaker. Batiushkov's first published poem, "Mechta" ("The Dream," 1804) is precocious and representative; it depicts the power of the imagination and of fancy to transport, and therefore celebrates the imaginative release that poetry affords from unfavorable circumstance. Much of the verse written before 1810 reflects an apprenticeship spent imitating the light verse of Jean-Baptiste-Louis Gresset, Évariste-Désirée de Forges de Parny, and Voltaire that broadened into an intertextual dialogue with Batiushkov's personal pantheon of great European lyric poets. Eventually his admiration for classical antiquity issued in the "Podrazhaniia drevnim" ("Imitations of the Ancients," 1821) epigrams that combine a timeless impersonality, simple linguistic perfection, and a lightness of philosophical touch. He was also the author of a number of distinguished essays on poetry, aesthetics, and psychology, which form an essential parallel oeuvre to his verse.

In his tragically brief mature period, Batiushkov produced a body of verse distinguished by verbal precision combined with suggestiveness, sparseness of metaphor with picturesque detail, balance and symmetry in syntax and skillful use of assonance and alliteration. The range of subjects and psychological complexity of the lyric speaker mark an advance on his precocious but somewhat precious early imitations. Apart from the epigram and elegy, where Batiushkov excelled, he left his mark on the verse epistle, which became a vehicle for Epicurean meditation on friendship and pleasure. In the only collection that he saw into print, the celebrated *Opyty v stikhakh i proze* (*Essays in Verse and Prose*, 1817), Batiushkov gave prominence to the theme of the ephemeral nature of pleasure and the anguish of disillusion once the poetic dream fades.

An interest in history was sparked by his military experience. His visit to Weimar proved an opportunity to immerse himself in Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiller, and Christoph Martin Wieland, and their aesthetics are reflected in Batiushkov's exalted sense of the poet and the importance of antiquity. He commemorated his experiences in "Perekhod cherez Rein" ("Crossing the Rhine," 1814) and "Na razvalinakh zamka v Shvetsii" ("At the Ruins of a Castle in Sweden," 1814). In the latter, Batiushkov, infused by Ossian, created a meditation on the nature of history set within features of a pre-Romantic landscape, including ruins, mist and gloom, inscription, and a passing traveler. In "Poslanie k Dashkovu" ("Epistle to Dashkov," 1813) shock at the devastation of Europe and Russia led to a crisis of faith in the legacy of the Enlightenment, the solution to which was a further celebration of friendship rather than the retreat into solipsism that marks the poetry of other early Russian Romantics.

Batiushkov is virtually the first Russian poet to give the status and role of the poet significant attention, and his treatment of the theme was to echo in later Russian poets from Aleksandr Pushkin to Osip Mandelshtam. In "Umiraiushchii Tass" ("The Dying Tasso," 1817) and the articles on Ludovico Ariosto and

Tasso (1815) and on "Petrarch" (1815), Batiushkov expressed a credo concerning the self-sacrifice of the poet whose gift was all-consuming and exclusive, and in some senses even tragic. His own biography seemed to assure for posterity the unique and fragile nature of poetic inspiration, and thus anticipated the later treatments by Pushkin and Evgenii Baratynskii, among others, of the theme of the poet's visionary powers. In his article "Nechto o poete i o poezii" ("A Word on the Poet and Poetry," 1815) Batiushkov attempted to expound a theory of poetic inspiration based entirely on the appreciation of a unique genius characterized by what he calls "active sensibility." At the height of inspiration he achieves a "freshness of reverie," and a unique perception of the beauty and moral order of life; and because these visionary moments are scarce and ephemeral, Batiushkov speaks, in an image that was to become more familiar in the Russian Romanticism of the next two decades, of the poet as a hierophant completely "taken over by poetry."

Yet the poet also wears another guise, now inspired by the poetry of Horace, dedicated to a modest Epicureanism in which simple pleasures and true friendships are celebrated. The locus classicus of this view comes in Batiushkov's famous "Moi Penaty" ("*My Penates*," 1814), where he describes the spirit of genius, stripped of wealth and worldly honors, that visits the poet at his ease in a humble country setting. His prose style is graceful, but lyrical and oblique, which means that intellectual sources for Batiushkov's views are diffused through his essays and remain difficult to pin down. At times he speaks of the poet as the product of factors akin to the forces in Charles de Secondat Montesquieu's theory of government. Poets are said to be shaped by climate and geography, but the ultimate purpose of such a theory is to assert the status of poets as speakers for individual national cultures. Batiushkov's belief in the centrality of the poet to a culture is most apparent in the remarkable elegy "The Dying Tasso," where the death of the poet occurs in a protracted monologue set on the Capitoline Hill in Rome. Traces of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's influence are also evident in the primacy that Batiushkov assigns to the natural goodness of individuals, which in the case of the poet is present in a higher degree. He argues his views on the basis of a series of idealized biographies, in which the lives of the poets, from the Roman Tibullus to the Russian Mikhail Lomonosov, are all meant to exemplify the timeless powers of the imagination that are the product of local culture and also transcend it. Nature remains a subdued presence in his poems until his remarkable last elegy ("There is Rapture even in the Wilds of the Forests") which ecstatically voices a romantic and frustrated yearning for oneness with nature and regrets the powerlessness of words to express feeling.

ANDREW KAHN

Biography

Born in Vologda, May 29, 1787, into landed gentry. Spent early years on his father's estate. Attended private boarding schools in Saint Petersburg; studied classics, French, and Italian. Lived with an uncle, the writer Mikhail Murav'ev, in Saint Petersburg, 1802. Served in the ministry of public education, 1803–7. Began to publish poetry, 1805. Joined Moscow literary circles; started publishing in Nikolay Mikhay Iovich Karamzin's journal *Vestnik Evropy*, 1809–10. Participated in Napoleonic campaigns, 1813–14, for which he was decorated, and visited Paris, England, and Sweden. Accepted into Nikolay Mikhay Iovich Karamzin's followers' Arzamas Society, 1815, and the Society of Lovers of Russian Letters at Moscow University, 1816. Transferred to the Household Guards; retired, 1816. Undertook diplomatic service in Italy, 1819–21. Granted indefinite leave owing to mental instability, 1821–22; suffered increasing and permanent insanity with intermittent periods in mental institutions, 1824–33. Stayed in the Maison de santé in Sonnenstein (Saxony), 1824–28 and in Moscow, 1828–33. Moved to Vologda and was released from official service and granted a life pension. Died in Vologda, July 19, 1855.

Selected Works

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BAUDELAIRE, CHARLES (PIERRE) 1821–1867

French poet, critic, and translator

Charles Baudelaire is best described as a writer whose work and career represent a transitional moment in literary history. In his poetry and prose written from the 1840s onwards he treats the notions of "Romantic" and "modern" not as discrete phases or styles but as complementary and intertwined. In his essay *Le Salon de 1846* (1846), he claimed that Romanticism is "l'expression la plus récente et la plus moderne de la beauté" ("the most up-to-date and the most modern expression of beauty"). For Baudelaire, Romantic was modern (and vice versa), and the artist must continually work his passage between the two, "de tirer l'éternel du transitoire" ("to distill the eternal from the transitory"). In Romantic pursuit of beauty and the higher forms of imagination (which he described as "the Queen of the Faculties" in his essay *Le Salon de 1859*), Baudelaire looked to the modern spectacle of contemporary Paris and the "l'héroïsme de la vie moderne" (the heroism of modern life); there, in the fashion

and manners of individuals swarming the crowded boulevards, he found aesthetic pleasure and inspiration. Outside and at the same time within the crowd, Baudelaire's artist was a figure of ambiguity, a man (never a woman) of the fleeting moment: "Observateur, flâneur, philosophe, appelez-les comme vous voudrez. . . . Quelquefois il est poète; plus souvent il se rapproche du romancier ou du moraliste; il est le peintre de la circonstance et de tout ce qu'elle suggère d'éternel" (Observer, *flâneur*, philosopher, call him what you will. . . . Sometimes he is a poet; more often he comes closer to the novelist or the moralist; he is the painter of the passing moment and of all the suggestions of eternity that it contains"). This dualism is present everywhere in Baudelaire, and it is part of the reason why his work resists categorization. Like Lord Byron, Baudelaire was an outraged classicist with a penchant for themes of passion and exile, but unlike his aristocratic counterpart, Baudelaire's interest was in "le bric-à-brac confus" (the nameless jumble), described in his poem "Le Cygne" ("The Swan," 1859).

Subsisting on a family inheritance and revenue from his art criticism, Baudelaire inhabited the Latin Quarter of Paris and led a Bohemian life of brothels, Swedenborgian séances, and experiments with hashish and opium. Briefly, in February 1848, he was caught up in revolutionary activity, participating in the barricades, but from 1850 onward Baudelaire concentrated on his writing, creating a reputation and income from translating the tales of the American writer Edgar Allan Poe (1855), and later a *succès de scandale* in 1857 with his collection of poetry, *Fleurs du Mal* (*Flowers of Evil*). In this volume, which contains what critics have termed the *Vénus noire* (*Black Venus*) cycle of poems inspired by his mistress, Jeanne Duval, the provocative juxtaposition of symbols, images, and sensations conveyed more powerfully than any poet before the antagonism between evil and good (*spleen* and *idéal*). His notion of correspondences, whereby the poet is able to effect, through symbol and metaphor, a synthesis of different realities, sensations, and feelings was one that inspired later decadent and symbolist poets, including Arthur Symons and W. B. Yeats. From his Guernsey exile, Victor Hugo described Baudelaire's *Fleurs du Mal* as creating a "frisson nouveau" ("new shudder"), and apart from a few scattered accolades from the decadent novelist Barbey d'Aurevilly, and poet Algernon Charles Swinburne, *Fleurs du Mal* met with outrage and disgust from the bourgeois public for its depravity and focus on low life and suffering.

The seizure of *Fleurs du Mal* by the police in the year that it was published did not augur well for Baudelaire's literary career as a poet. He was ordered by the court to remove six poems from the collection. In spite of this setback, Baudelaire was highly productive in the late 1850s and early 1860s, writing a new section, "Tableaux Parisiens" ("Parisian pictures"), for a new edition of *Fleurs du Mal* that appeared in 1861, and publishing essays on topics as diverse as caricature ("Quelques caricatures françaises" ["Some French Caricaturists," 1857]) and music ("Richard Wagner et Tannhaüser," 1861). The subject matter of Baudelaire's poems and prose was undoubtedly modern, but his vision of the artist and his belief in the artist as a translator of perceived reality were Romantic. To distill experience into art, he argued, the artist must have the naiveté and curiosity of the child, while at the same time the sophisticated reflection of the philosopher or moralist. Abandonment to life's sensations was deemed by him a prerequisite to creativity and was a recurrent theme in his life and work. In his prose poem "Enivrez-vous!" ("Get Drunk!" 1855–67), for example, Baudelaire exhorts the reader to lose control and become inebriated on wine, poetry, or virtue. And yet, he was extremely attentive to matters of style and form, often preferring to work precisely within the strict classical meter of the Alexandrine to create suggestive tensions between form and content.

Baudelaire rejected realism on the whole because of the way it inhibited the key roles played by imagination and fantasy (this was also his objection against photography). He applauded the works of the Romantic history painter Eugène Delacroix in particular, for his suggestive use of color and for the way his paintings were "une espèce de mnémotechnie de la grandeur et de la passion native de l'homme universel" ("like a mnemonic device of the greatness and the inborn passions of universal man"). We might say, therefore, that his writing gathers momentum in the interstices of Romanticism and modernism, and that, paradoxically for Baudelaire, the activity of writing involved acknowledging both the Romantic conventions into that he was born and the modernity that he was living and by which he was inspired. Baudelaire's achievements were not recognized until some time after his death in the 1890s, when English and French symbolists adopted him as the figurehead of their movement. Since that time Baudelaire's life and work have continued to stimulate and perplex the critics. Many prefer to describe him as decadent or modern because of his obsession with beauty and style, and his preoccupations with the morbid and erotic aspects of contemporary life, but this is to deny him his interest in Romanticism, or what he described in *Le Salon de 1846* as intimacy, spirituality, and a sense of the infinite.

JANE DESMARAIS

Biography

Born in Paris, April 9, 1821. Son of François Baudelaire, a wealthy civil servant and amateur painter and poet who introduced his to art and literature. François Baudelaire died, 1827. Charles suffered a problematic relationship with his stepfather, Colonel Jacques Aupick (later a diplomat and senator), whom his mother married in 1828. Educated at the Collège Royal, Lyons, 1832–36, and the École Louis-le-Grand, Paris, 1836–39; expelled from the latter and completed studies at Pension Levêque et Bailly, Paris. Passed baccalauréat, 1839. Studied law at the École de Droit, University of Paris, 1839–41. Here he lived a Bohemian lifestyle, falling into debt and contracting syphilis from contact with prostitutes. Sent to India by his stepfather, 1841; left the ship at Mauritius and spent several weeks there and in Île Bourbon (now Réunion). Returned to Paris, 1842, taking up residence in the Hôtel Pimodan in the Latin Quarter. Began writing poetry and experimenting with opium. Took a mulatto woman, Jeanne Duval, as his mistress and inspiration; associated with artists Honoré Daumier, Eugène Delacroix, and Édouard Manet, and started writing art criticism. Access to his inheritance restricted by his stepfather, 1844, because of his profligate lifestyle. Started reading the work of Edgar Allan Poe, 1847. Associated with revolutionary insurgence in Paris, February 1848. Met Théophile Gautier, 1848. Liaisons with the actress Marie Daubrun and Apollonie Sabatier, 1850s. First edition of *Fleurs du Mal* published, resulting in trial and prosecution for indecency: fined for offenses against public mor-

als, 1857–58. Lived in Honfleur intermittently with his mother, 1859. Published *Les Paradis Artificiels*, 1860; second edition of *Fleurs du Mal* (with thirty-five additional poems), 1861. Attempted unsuccessfully to gain membership of the Académie Française, 1861. Suffered further financial crisis when his friend and publisher, Poulet-Massis, was declared bankrupt. Became physically and mentally ill, dependent on alcohol and opium. Moved to Brussels, 1864; became increasingly ill and financially destitute. Returned to Paris suffering from general paralysis and aphasia; *Les Épaves* published, 1866. Spent his last months in a sanatorium in Paris, where he died on August 31, 1867.

Selected Works

Collections

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BEATTIE, JAMES 1735–1803

Scottish poet, moral philosopher, aesthetician, and man of letters

James Beattie spent most of his mature life as a professor of moral philosophy, rhetoric, and aesthetics at Marischal College in Aberdeen, where he played a central role in the Scottish Enlightenment and achieved fame as a poet, philosopher, defender of Christianity, and general man of letters. Beattie's 1770 *Essay on Truth* provided a popular and influential "refutation" of David Hume's philosophy and was quickly translated into German; it was widely read in Germany and contributed to Immanuel Kant's three philosophical critiques. At the same time, Beattie was one of the most influential poets in late-eighteenth-century Britain, as his poem *The Minstrel*, whose first and second cantos were published in 1771 and 1774, respectively, exerted major influence on British Romantic poetry and provided a precedent for a number of major Romantic themes, including the turn to nature, childhood, the quest narrative, and the central figure of the poet and his imaginative development. Beattie's later publications on aesthetics and rhetoric were similarly influential for the development of Romantic literary theory. In his own words a "friend to all," Beattie seems to have had a talent for friendship, making him central to the British literary and cultural circles of his time; he numbered among his friends David Garrick, Thomas Gray, Samuel Johnson, Lord Lyttleton, the aristocratic patron Lady Elizabeth Montagu, Sir Joshua Reynolds, and the Archbishop of York, to name only some of the more prominent.

The Minstrel narrates the childhood and imaginative development of its central hero, Edwin, amid the sublime natural scenery of the Scottish countryside. With a taste for solitude that marks him apart from his companions and from society generally, Edwin wanders alone through the wild landscape, giving free reign to his own poetic imagination until he meets a hermit in a far-off, cultivated mountain glen who helps him complete his education in a variety of eighteenth-century physical and moral sciences. Beattie never wrote the projected third canto, in which an accident was to rob Edwin of his inheritance and cause him to take up the profession of wandering minstrel.

Subtitled *The Progress of Genius*, *The Minstrel* was one of William Wordsworth's favorite poems throughout his life; its depiction of the imaginative sensibilities and development of its hero provided a direct model for Wordsworth's account of his own imaginative progress in *The Prelude* (1850). Although not explicitly autobiographical, Edwin as a minstrel or poet was generally understood as a thinly veiled self-portrait of the poet Beattie himself, and as such provided the first major precedent and a continuing influence for a wide variety of Romantic poems focusing on the figure of the poet and his imaginative development, both fictional and autobiographical, including Lord Byron's *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (1812–18); François-Auguste-René Chateaubriand's novellas *René* (1802) and *Atala* (1808); John Keats' *Endymion* (1816); Sir Walter Scott's *Marmion* (1808); and Percy Bysshe Shelley's *Alastor* (1816), *The Revolt of Islam* (1818), and *Adonais* (1821). Appealing to late-eighteenth-century tastes for sensibility, melancholy, the minstrel or bard figure, medievalism, primitivism, and didacticism, *The Minstrel* popularized what would become the Romantic themes of soli-

tude in a sublime natural landscape, the development of individual consciousness and imagination, the figure of the poet as aloof from society, and the importance of childhood—thus providing a kind of evolutionary bridge between neoclassical and Romantic poetics.

Beattie's greatest fame during his lifetime, however, derived from his *Essay on Truth*, an attempt to refute what he understood as the skepticism and atheism of David Hume's philosophy by asserting the clear and distinct "proof" of Christianity on the basis of its self-evidence to individual intuition. The essay's argument develops out of the commonsense school of the Scottish philosopher Thomas Reid, a fellow professor, and active member, together with Beattie and other prominent figures such as Alexander Gerard and George Campbell, of the Aberdeen Philosophical Society. The essay was quickly translated into French, Dutch, and German and was widely read in Germany at that time. Dismissed by Kant as a mere "appeal to the verdict of the multitude" and philosophically unpersuasive today, it was important in introducing Hume's philosophical positions to Kant and so awakening him from his "dogmatic slumber," as he later put it, thus leading to his formulation of his three critiques in the attempt to adequately respond to Hume's positions. Despite (or perhaps because of) its lack of merit as rigorous philosophy, the essay enjoyed huge public acclaim, continuing to appear regularly in new editions through the end of the nineteenth century. Lionized as a successful philosophical defender of Christianity by Samuel Johnson, among many others, Beattie continued his influential career as a moral philosopher and Christian apologist in later works such as *Evidences of the Christian Religion* (1786) and *Elements of Moral Science* (1790 and 1793).

In addition to his poetry and moral philosophy, Beattie wrote a number of essays on aesthetics that contributed significantly to the development of Romantic literary theory. In his 1776 essay "On Poetry and Music as they Affect the Mind" he wrote of poetry as "the language of nature" dictated by passion, although expressing a general rather than a specific human nature, a position that Wordsworth would recapitulate in his famous preface to the *Lyrical Ballads* (1798). In the essay, as well as in his later *Dissertations Moral and Critical* (1783), which were widely read at the time, Beattie celebrates individual genius as the source of great or sublime poetry and stresses the importance of imagination as a creative power distinct from the merely combinatory power of fancy (anticipating Samuel Taylor Coleridge's famous definition in *Biographia Literaria*, 1817). He also calls attention to the importance of sympathy in communicating the original consciousness of the creative artist to the consciousness of the reader or spectator, in what would become a general tenet of Romantic hermeneutic theory. The celebration of imagination and strong feeling in poetry and music is balanced by a stress on judgment and an insistence on the moral purpose of all art; none of Beattie's positions were radical in themselves, but Beattie's aesthetic and critical writings, like his poetry, established precedents for a wide number of Romantic critical positions and so provided an important evolutionary link in aesthetic theory.

SCOTT HESS

Biography

Born in Laurencekirk, Kincardineshire, Scotland, November 5, 1735; educated at Marischal College, Aberdeen, 1749–53. Schoolmaster and parish clerk, Fordoun, (near Laurencekirk) 1753–58; master at Aberdeen Grammar School, 1758–60. Professor of moral philosophy and logic, Marischal College, 1760–93; elected to Aberdeen Philosophical Society, 1761. Married Mary Dunn, 1767; they had two sons. Edited David Thomas Gray's *Poems* for Scottish publication; visited London: was celebrated by English social and literary elite and granted a pension by King George III, 1773. Declined offer of Edinburgh University professorship and various church livings, 1773; published subscription edition of *Essay on Truth*, 1776. LL.D., Oxford University, 1770. Died in Aberdeen after a series of strokes, 18 August 1803.

Selected Writings

Poetry

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Essays/Nonfiction

An Essay on the Nature and Immutability of Truth, in Opposition to Sophistry and Scepticism. 1770.
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BECKFORD, WILLIAM THOMAS 1760–1844

English writer and collector

William Thomas Beckford became the richest private citizen in Britain when his father died and he inherited the entire estate, at the age of nine, in 1770. This wealth had been founded on substantial slave-worked sugar plantations in Jamaica, but unlike Matthew Lewis, who found himself in a similar situation, Beckford never expressed any uneasiness about this legacy. Beckford also inherited from his father a name linked with political liberty. An impromptu rebuke to George III had made William Beckford senior a popular hero. Beckford junior was also groomed for high public office, but his political career amounted to nothing more than serving as member of Parliament for pocket boroughs (parliamentary constituencies owned by one man, known as the patron). Indeed, Beckford deliberately shunned the normal course of British patrician life and almost courted disapprobation. "I will seclude myself if possible from the World," he wrote in 1779. "I am determined to enjoy my dreams and my phantasies and all my singularity, however irksome and discordant to the Worldlings around." What the "Worldlings" found particularly irksome and discordant was Beckford's bisexuality, and particularly his liaison with Viscount William Courtenay, Eleven years old when Beckford first met him and sixteen when their sexual relationship became public knowledge in 1784. Although it is not certain that Courtenay's family would have risked scandal by prosecuting him, Beckford fled abroad in 1785. He did not return to take up permanent residence at the family home at Fonthill Splendens until 1796.

Descriptions of the early part of Beckford's erratic exile are to be found in his *Italy; with Sketches of Spain and Portugal* (1834) and *Recollections of an Excursion to the Monasteries of Alcobaça and Batalha* (1835). The former was in part a reworking of *Dreams, Waking Thoughts and Incidents*, which had been suppressed by his family after its initial appearance in 1783. Beckford had been writing since his late teens. His *Biographical Memoirs of Extraordinary Painters*, a satirical commentary on European art and the pretensions of collectors, was written in 1777 and published in 1780. Many other fragments, often written in an Oriental or Arcadian vein, also survive from these years. Beckford regarded himself as a professional writer and as a scholar of Persian and Arabic. His commitment to his writing is evident from the history of the publication of *Vathek*. He claimed that the tale was composed in three days, but it probably took at least three months in early 1782 and he delayed publication for another four years while he worked on several additional "episodes." He also enlisted a collaborator, the Reverend Samuel Henley, to provide scholarly notes to elucidate the Oriental setting, and to translate *Vathek* from its original (rather impaired) French into English. It seems certain that Henley also made Beckford's prose much lighter in tone. Henley had a text ready for publication as early as 1783, and Beckford's prevarication over the "episodes" eventually pushed Henley into publishing his version of *Vathek* in London in June 1786. It was passed off as "An Arabian Tale from an Unpublished Manuscript with Notes Critical and Explanatory," and Beckford's name did not appear. Beckford, in Switzerland, was understandably angry, and quickly commissioned a translation of Henley's text back into French, which was published in Lausanne under Beckford's name in December 1786, to be followed in June 1787 by a superior translation published in Paris. Beckford prepared a harmonized edition in 1816.

Based on the ostensibly historical account in Barthélemy d'Herbelot's *Bibliothéque Orientale*, Beckford's tale tells how the cruel Caliph Vathek became a servant of Eblis, the devil, in return for the treasures of the pre-Adamite kings. Vathek sacrifices fifty children and sets forth on a journey full of terrifying incidents until he finally reaches the halls of Eblis, where he is punished as his heart bursts into flames within his still-living body. Early reviews praised *Vathek* for Henley's notes and for its moral didacticism. The notes now seem turgid, and the final moral seems at odds with a tale that has enthusiastically celebrated the unrestrained appetite and the pursuit of forbidden knowledge. Lord Byron was an admirer of *Vathek* and acknowledged its impact on him in *The Giaour* (1813). Its influence may also be detected in the work of Benjamin Disraeli, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Walter Savage Landor, Thomas Moore, Edgar Allan Poe, Robert Southey, and many others. With its ambiguous morality and its celebration of the exotic and the sublime, *Vathek* developed the Oriental tale away from the neoclassicism of eighteenth-century versions like Samuel Johnson's *Rasselas*, yet the work is often considered as more properly pre-Romantic since it lacks any sustained insight into the protagonist's motivation.

Beckford published two other novels, both of which do little more than parody contemporary fashions in fiction, and from the late 1790s he devoted himself to collecting art and the construction of a new home, Fonthill Abbey. He patronized many contemporary artists, J. M. W. Turner and Benjamin West among them, and was responsible for bringing many works of art into Britain where they would remain after his collection was dispersed. Fonthill Abbey was to house the collection, as well as being his home and, he imagined, his mausoleum. First, as in Samuel Taylor Coleridge's *Kubla Khan*, he built a seven-mile wall to cut himself off from the world. The building James Wyatt designed in a series of uncoordinated phases over the next decades was one of the most important early examples of the Gothic revival. Its monstrous size was what set it apart from Horace Walpole's house at Strawberry Hill and all the other neo-Gothic edifices that had begun to appear in the late eighteenth century. Indeed, Fonthill might be considered more "performance art" than functional architecture. It was too stylized and impracticable to live in and, ultimately, too flimsy and too tall to remain standing. The tower, which eventually rose to almost three hundred feet, collapsed three times—the last, after Beckford had sold the building in 1822, and this time it destroyed the building almost entirely. Whether the monumental folly was approved of or not, Fonthill cannot have been ignored by later figures such as Charles Barry and Augustus Pugin, who were to do so much to make the Gothic respectable in the nineteenth century.

Though both took years to complete, *Vathek* and Fonthill were temporary projects. By contrast, Beckford ceaselessly culti-

vated his almost mythical self-image over the entire course of his life. He had always sought to portray himself as a solitary exile and persecuted aesthete, and ultimately, it is perhaps this Beckford myth, more than anything he wrote or designed, collected or commissioned, that contributed most to English Romanticism. His orientalism and medievalism, as well as his early love of nature, made him in many ways a Romantic archetype. His self-imposed exile from society made him a Romantic icon.

M. O. GRENBY

Biography

Born at Fonthill, Wiltshire, September 29, 1760, the only child of Sir William Beckford, member of Parliament and twice Lord Mayor of London, and Maria Beckford, formerly Marsh, née Hamilton. Educated at home privately; received lessons in drawing and architecture from eminent tutors and piano lessons from Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. Inherited significant fortune upon the death of his father, 1770. Traveled to Geneva and Italy to complete his education, 1777–78; toured England and met Viscount William Courtenay, 1779. Undertook grand tour of France, Germany, Holland, and Italy, 1780–82 (Forced to leave England for Germany and Italy due to scandal over relationship with a cousin's wife, 1782?). Married Lady Margaret Gordon, daughter of the Earl of Aboyne, 1783; they had two daughters. Member of Parliament representing Wells, Somerset, 1784–90. Went to Switzerland to escape scandal over relationship with William Courtenay, 1785; Margaret Beckford died during childbirth, 1786. Lived in Portugal, Spain, France, and Switzerland, 1787–93, alternating residence between Paris and family home at Fonthill 1789–93. Member of Parliament representing Hindon, Wiltshire, 1790–94. Returned to Lisbon, 1793–96. Supervised construction of Fonthill Abbey, 1799–1822. Independently attempted to negotiate a peace treaty between Britain and France, 1797–98. Returned to Portugal, 1798. Entertained Nelson and Sir William and Lady Emma Hamilton at Fonthill, December 1800. Traveled to France and Switzerland, 1801–2. Reelected as member of Parliament for Hindon, 1806–20. Sold Fonthill Abbey and moved to Lansdowne Crescent, Bath, 1822; built Lansdowne Tower. Died of influenza in Bath, May 2, 1844.

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Dreams, Waking Thoughts and Incidents. 1783 (suppressed).
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Modern Novel Writing, or the Elegant Enthusiast. 1796.
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Italy; With Sketches of Spain and Portugal. 1834.
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BEDDOES, THOMAS LOVELL 1803–1849

English poet and playwright

Thomas Lovell Beddoes, poet, physician, and writer of neo-Elizabethan tragedy, is best known for his literary fascination with death. The uniqueness of Beddoes's vision has left him predominantly on the periphery of Romantic studies, and he is often bracketed as a minor writer, with George Darley (who describes him as "a scion worthy of the stock from which Shakespeare and Marlowe sprung"), Thomas Hood, and Winthrop Mackworth Praed.

Beddoes's career began while he was in his first year at Oxford University with a volume of Gothic verse: *The Improvisatore in Three Fyttes* (1821), that introduces the themes of love, death, evil, and innocence that would be the main concerns of his later work. The poems employ the Romantic aesthetic of effortless composition, presenting the stories as songs performed by a minstrel with lyre accompaniment. The ornate language is reminiscent of John Keats and Edmund Spenser, and in content looks back to the Graveyard Poets (a group of early-eighteenth-century poets who were inspired by graveyards and contemplated death and mortality; chief among these were Robert Blair, Thomas Gray, and Edward Young). Beddoes later dismissed the volume as juvenilia, destroying almost every copy.

Beddoes's first major work, *The Brides' Tragedy* (1822), is an accomplished Gothic verse drama, though Beddoes believed at the time that "England can hardly boast anything that deserves to be called a national stage." The play links love with death, seeing the afterlife as the site of resolution of present dilemmas. The play can be viewed in the context of the novels of Matthew Lewis and Mary Shelley, as an expression of the darker side of the Romantic imagination. Daniel Watkins notes that it "painfully articulates the loneliness, fear, and dread which haunt Romantic literature particularly after 1815." *The Brides' Tragedy*, set in an undetermined feudal dukedom, focuses on the actions of the aristocratic antihero, Hesperus, whose father, Lord Ernest, is heavily in debt to Orlando's late father, the Duke. Orlando, Hesperus's friend and rival in love for Floribel, imprisons Lord Ernest ostensibly for the debt, but covertly in order to force

Hesperus to give up Floribel and marry Orlando's sister Olivia. Hesperus concedes, but is already secretly married to Floribel, a cottager who is keenly conscious of her humble life, and who longs for their marriage to be made public. Faced with abandoning his wife for another, Hesperus courts death, madness, and melancholy. Nevertheless, Hesperus, on becoming reacquainted with Olivia, whom he has not seen since childhood, falls in love with her and marries her. Olivia, schooled for her aristocratic position, submissively accepts her new husband. Feeling guilt at his abandonment of Floribel, Hesperus is left at the mercy of his imagination, becoming a solitary and brooding figure. He tries to end his torment by killing Floribel, stabbing her on the pretext that she may have been unfaithful to him. Hesperus's slaughter of the innocent Floribel is discovered and he is sentenced to death. Confessing to Floribel's mother, Lenora, that he truly loved her, Hesperus is pitied by Lenora, who poisons him with a bunch of flowers taken from Floribel's grave. He dies moments before he is due to be beheaded. Hesperus's body is melodramatically engulfed by "infernal flames," "serpents," and "hounds," and, Faust-like, he is claimed by hell.

Acclaimed by Beddoes's friend Bryan Waller Procter (the critic and poet known as Barry Cornwall) in the *London Magazine* (February 1823) as "undoubtedly one of the most promising performances of this 'poetical age,'" *The Brides' Tragedy* was well received, and identified as belonging to the tradition of William Shakespeare, whose *Macbeth* and *Hamlet* it echoes. As with Charles Lamb, Beddoes ascribes a vast and varied imagination to Shakespeare, encompassing the very particularities of existence. Beddoes's fascination with the Gothic aspect of Shakespeare recalls the paintings of Henry Fuseli; like Fuseli, Beddoes turns away from the natural world to a Gothic landscape inspired by twisted psychology and surreal terror.

After *The Brides' Tragedy*, very little of Beddoes's work appeared in print until Thomas Forbes Kelsall's posthumous editions in 1850 and 1851. Beddoes's departure for Germany in July 1825 removed him from the British literary scene, but his correspondence with Kelsall and Procter suggests that he continued to read the work of his contemporaries. In his lively and literary letters, Beddoes dismisses and celebrates the work of many writers of his day, greatly lamenting the loss of Percy Bysshe Shelley. Beddoes's letters also give an insight into the reception of English literature in Germany, and the English understanding and appreciation of German literature and ideas. The fragmentary nature of much of Beddoes's later work, and his increasing devotion to his medical studies, made it difficult for him to establish his literary reputation. While abroad, Beddoes read widely in German literature, translated poetry and medical texts, wrote poetry in German, and, in 1831–32 contributed political pamphlets to the radical journal *Bayerisches Volksblatt*. Inspired by the ideals of the French Revolution, Beddoes joined a university-based movement, the Burschenschaft, which sought to replace the small German states with a unified state governed by a constitutional monarch. Beddoes opposed censorship laws, and was a vigorous supporter of constitutional rights as well as education and freedom of the people.

Of the work that remained unpublished in his lifetime, the tragedy *Death's Jest-Book* (1850) is widely thought to be Beddoes's masterpiece. Begun in the 1820s and based on an unsubstantiated story that the Duke of Münsterberg was killed by his court fool in 1377, the play is complex. Isbrand, the fool and antihero, avenges the deaths of his father and brother by usurping the dukedom of their murderer. Isbrand rules tyrannically and is assassinated by Mario, a revolutionary. Much of the action is given over to necromancy and raising ghosts. Mandrake, a "zany" (jester or clown), persuaded to believe himself a ghost, muses on the lack of distinction between life and death. Isbrand mocks the "jester," death—"Let death wear the cap, let him toll the bells: he shall be our new court fool"—but death is no mere fool. Death mocks man's ambitious spirit, and the world is thus "death's jest-book." Regarded by its author as a "Gothic-styled tragedy," the play depicts a nihilistic world of shifting values in which characters switch allegiances and seemingly act arbitrarily. Mary Shelley, in a letter to Kelsall, describes *Frankenstein* (1818) as a "hideous progeny"; *Death's Jest-Book* is a similarly "gothic body," its "limbs being scattered and unconnected." Remaining unfinished, the play is dramatically not as tight as *The Brides' Tragedy*, but it is more ambitious. Beddoes's Romantic irony, derived from his reading of Ludwig Tieck, is exhibited in the play's mannered incongruity and antirealism. Beddoes calls the play his "sisyphean stone," and his frustration with it may have contributed to his suicide.

As a poet he is best remembered as the writer of the lyric "Dream Pedlary," and for "Pygmalion. The Cyprian Statuary," which has attracted critical attention because of its Romantic recasting of Pygmalion as a brooding solitary genius who attempts to dissolve the boundaries of life and art. The poem is a deliberate reworking of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Pygmalion* (1762).

Beddoes remains on the fringes of British Romanticism probably because of his unique interests and self-imposed exile in Germany for much of his writing career. Proclaimed by Lytton Strachey as "the last Elizabethan," Beddoes was admired by a range of poets. A collection of Beddoes's manuscripts was bequeathed to Robert Browning, and it is clear that Browning's interest in the grotesque was influenced by Beddoes. Browning writes in a letter to Kelsall that "the power of the man is immense and irresistible," and W. H. Auden, in his "Academic Graffiti" (1971), devote a clerihew to him: "Thomas Lovell Beddoes / Could never walk through meadows / Without getting the glooms / And thinking of tombs."

ESSAKA JOSHUA

Biography

Born in Clifton, Somerset (now in Bristol), June 30, 1803, son of the eminent scientist Thomas Beddoes (1780–1808) and nephew of the novelist Maria Edgeworth (1767–1849). Educated at Bath Grammar School, 1814–17, and at Charterhouse 1817–20; awarded prizes there for Latin and Greek composition. Studied at Pembroke College, Oxford University, 1820–25. Studied anatomy and medicine at the University of Göttingen, 1825–29; expelled from the university after a drunken incident. Worked on his poem *Death's Jest-Book: or, The Fool's Tragedy* (published posthumously, 1850). Studied Medicine at the University of Würzburg, 1829–31; received his M.D. Expelled from Würzburg and Bavaria for political activism, 1832. Attended the University of Zürich, 1833–37 and 1839–40. Fled from Switzerland, 1840; studied at the University of Berlin, 1840–42. Remained in Europe, returning to England briefly in 1846–47. Committed suicide, by poison, in Basel, Switzerland, January 26, 1849.

Selected Works

The Improvisatore in Three Fyttes, with Other Poems. 1821.
The Brides' Tragedy. 1822.
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BEETHOVEN, LUDWIG VAN 1770–1827

German composer

Ludwig van Beethoven, regarded by E. T. A. Hoffmann as a "purely romantic" composer, is paradoxically also a purely classical one. This contradiction is not simply a terminological confusion in music history where the term *Romanticism* appears somewhat belatedly, almost at the point of Beethoven's death in 1827; rather, it stems from the desire of Romanticism itself to formulate its own canon. Beethoven's classical status was conferred retrospectively as that of a Romantic icon, a modern classic. Indeed, after his death, Beethoven became a mythic figure, one immortalized by his music as the tragic genius and Romantic hero who summons composers into the pantheon of great masters. For many in the nineteenth century, his music stood as the monument of a new musical era to which they paid homage, both as a model to be emulated and as a spur for music's future. The symphony, in particular, lived under Beethoven's shadow; composers, including Johannes Brahms, Anton Bruckner, and Antonin Dvorák, felt compelled to allude to Beethoven's achievements in this genre as their point of departure; even Richard Wagner, who regarded the symphony as a compositional dead end, used Beethoven's Ninth Symphony with its choral finale to justify his advance into music drama.

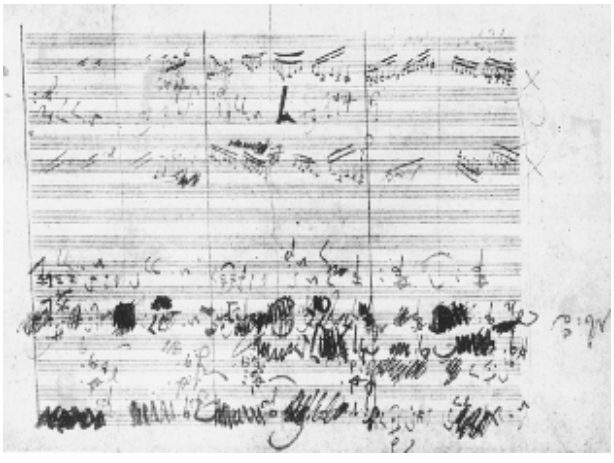
Traditionally, Beethoven's life and works have been partitioned into three periods: early, middle, and late. Although such divisions tend to generalize the distinctiveness of Beethoven's oeuvre, they also underline significant biographical, political, and aesthetic changes that came in his lifetime. The early period is one of apprenticeship, or, in the words of Count Waldstein in an album to commemorate Beethoven's journey in 1792 from Bonn to Vienna, to "receive from the hands of Haydn the spirit of Mozart." Whatever misgivings Beethoven may have had about his sporadic counterpoint lessons with Franz Joseph Haydn, he seemed to have absorbed from his teacher two techniques of composition that were critical to his progress: first, the technique of motivic development, where tiny elements are constantly in a state of "becoming" as they change and combine with other ideas in shaping the form; and second, the ability to harness the tonal system to create large structures out of bold, and often dissonant, harmonic maneuvers in order to dramatize the conflict and resolution inherent in sonata form procedures. Both techniques, which require the synthesis of contrasting materials —motif to form or dissonant to tonic harmony—have been equated by scholars such as Theodor Adorno with the Hegelian dialectic, although the overtly philosophical ideas expressed in Beethoven's music stem from his rudimentary knowledge of Immanuel Kant and Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiller.

Beethoven did not merely glean from Haydn a motivic and formal technique; he also adopted an aesthetic disposition. What hovers over the self-conscious manipulation of the material is a wit that plays with the illusion of art by thwarting the listener's expectations and revealing the music's construction; the music wears that wry and distant smile of romantic irony. In the opening movement of the Piano Sonata op. 10, no. 2 (1796–97), for example, Beethoven detaches the cadence at the end of the exposition, and manipulates this cliché of closure to contradict itself as a process of development, only to close that section with an illusion of closure—a false recapitulation. He also shares with Haydn an appetite for endless experimentation, perhaps in order to outwit his teacher; conventions are often reconfigured with striking originality, such as the unusual employment of the mediant key for the contrasting theme in the first movement of the Piano Sonata op. 31, no. 1 (1802).

The middle period is often described as the "heroic" period. Works such as the *Eroica* Symphony (1803), the Fifth Symphony (1807–8), the *Waldstein* Sonata (1803–4), the *Appassionata* Sonata (1804–5), and his opera *Fidelio* (1805, revised 1806 and 1814), capture the heroism of a revolutionary age inspired by Napoleon Bonaparte. It is apt that the *Eroica* Symphony marks the beginning of this period, for Beethoven famously dedicated the work to the first consul, only to scratch out the name when Napoleon proclaimed himself emperor. In this work Beethoven creates a revolution of his own, applying his motivic and formal technique to forge a symphony of hitherto unknown length and dissonance. Every thematic and harmonic implication seems to be consciously worked out with an inexorable logic that mirrors the psychological drama of a hero who presses ahead through danger and death to seize history as his moment of glory. Even the motivic technique enacts the hero's Bildungsroman; using the most basic musical element—the triad—

Beethoven forms the hero's identity through a struggle with the rhythmic and harmonic forces in order to create a full-fledged theme by the end of the first movement. This process of "becoming" is reinforced by the harmonic structure; Novalis's term, the *teleology of the revolution*, best describes the way in which the music masters time by exploiting each dissonant crisis to create vast trajectories that push ineluctably toward the harmonic goal. Similarly, the Fifth Symphony sets up a long journey that overcomes the ominous C-minor opening with a C-major finale of revolutionary victory; indeed, French audiences heard this moment as their own revolution. Yet, for Beethoven, it may also have symbolized something more personal, for the Promethean struggle that characterizes such heroic works coincides with his own struggle against deafness and his determination in his art to "seize fate by the throat," as he put it.

The Fifth Symphony is also the subject of a celebrated review by E. T. A. Hoffmann in 1810, in which he declares instrumental music to be "the most romantic of arts"; the organic structure of the symphony, which is constantly shattered by the "infinite yearning" of the sublime, is an expression of "the essence of romanticism," notes Hoffmann. This review highlights the pivotal role of Beethoven's music for early Romanticism: it confirms the Romantic vision of music as a pure language that speaks of the ineffable and gives an intimation of the absolute. What was regarded in the eighteenth century as merely an empty sign inferior to the articulations of vocal music has now become a metaphysical sign, pregnant with the meanings of what Hoffmann calls the "spirit realm." Beethoven establishes the content of instrumental music as a romantic utterance. Perhaps it was for this reason that he did not simply call himself a composer, but a "tone poet." His music poeticizes the world. Even a work as pictorial as the *Pastoral Symphony* (1808), with its bird calls, is, according to the composer, more about feeling than image. Part of Beethoven's power to communicate the Romantic aesthetic of "absolute music" derives from the fact that his life is a metaphor for his work: forced by his deafness to withdraw from performing his own pieces, Beethoven's music locates its meaning in the workings of the mind, as if it were deaf to the corruption of material reality; in Beethoven, music is seen to be pure, ideal, autonomous, and spiritual.



Ludwig von Beethoven. Op. 61, Violin Concerto. Reprinted courtesy of the Lebrecht Collection.

The years 1812 to 1817 were fallow years for the composer, no doubt partly as a result of the protracted and exhausting legal battles over the custody of his nephew, Carl. The crisis may have contributed to Beethoven's waning powers, but these years also witnessed a political and aesthetic transformation; the revolutionary ideals that inspired the "heroic" period had exhausted themselves and were finally muffled by the Congress of Vienna (1815). The congress itself signaled the beginning of a different Vienna, one with a less heroic but more honest, if somewhat mundane, Biedermeier taste. It is therefore ironic that it is in this declining moment of the middle period that Beethoven experienced the height of his popularity, with compositions as banal and bombastic as *Wellington's Victory* (1812). This work, which celebrates the defeat of the hero he had immortalized ten years earlier in the *Eroica*, is almost a parody of the heroic style, with its imitation of battle noises. As such, it marks the end of the heroic period, quite literally with a bang.

Perhaps the late works were forged in reaction to the facile adulation of the public, for the style that gradually emerged from these fallow years is an esoteric one. The String Quartet in F Minor, op. 95 (published 1816 but dated 1810) is the most prophetic; this work, said Beethoven, was "not to be performed in public"; its extreme contrasts and expressive contradictions give premonitions of a late style that neither panders to fashion nor courts popularity. The late works are mostly private chamber pieces; indeed, the last years of Beethoven's life were preoccupied solely with the composition of string quartets. But even public works such as the *Missa Solemnis* (1819–23) and the Ninth Symphony (1822–24), designed by Beethoven to convey universal messages to humankind, push the bounds of comprehensibility, seeming to demand a critical attention previously uncalled for. It is therefore not surprising that the late works were often denounced as the expression of a madman, and had little immediate influence on the generation after Beethoven. It was not until the late nineteenth century that these works assumed the spiritual aura they still have today.

With the *Hammerklavier* Sonata (1818) Beethoven discovers a resurgence of his creative energy. This time around, however, it is more violent and arcane; the fugue that closes the sonata is so abrasive and technically difficult that it almost damages the performer! But the music is also more lyrical; the monumental stillness of the slow movement is like an endless song that desires to communicate an inner experience. Such expressive extremes indicate that the late style is not really a single style but a questioning of the heroic music of his middle years, breaking up the organic and teleological structures with a diversity of elements that range from the arcane to the banal. Complex fugues, simple folk tunes, impassioned recitatives, and vast sonata-form structures all jostle with one another, seemingly without reason. It is true that sometimes these contrasting ideas share similar thematic material; it has even been suggested that the last five quartets revolve around two motifs. But in the late works, motifs do not necessarily stamp their identity on the piece; rather they tend to go underground, leaving a far more contingent surface that is prone to violent juxtapositions. The most extreme example of this is the String Quartet in B-flat Major, op. 130 (1825–26), which begins with a melée of dissociated fragments that contradict each other in tempo, texture, and character; the elements are held together by abstract thematic links that are hardly discernible. The tendency for oblique connections is also

evident in Beethoven's renewed interest in variational forms that do not so much vary the themes as strip them down to their most abstract essence. Similarly, counterpoint is used as a hidden logic beneath the surface, as if the composer were laying bare the very basics of composition. For example, as the first movement of the E-flat Major String Quartet, op. 127 (1823–25), comes to a close, the composer peels away the ornamentation of the main melody to reveal the contrapuntal shapes that underlie the music.

These works are not merely late in Beethoven's compositional output. As with many Romantics, there is a sense that these compositions are late in history; instead of participating in the trends of their own time, they express a historical awareness that alludes to different epochs. In one quartet alone, op. 132 in A Minor (1825), Beethoven refers to the Renaissance, the baroque, the rococo, and his own revolutionary times; he even quotes one of his latest works, the Piano Sonata, op. 111 (1822), at the close of his *Diabelli Variations* (1823), as if the present were already old. In the late works, history is no longer organized teleologically; time is not seized by a heroic act to secure the future but is broken up into fragments that seem to transcend into the timeless past of a Romantic ruin.

DANIEL CHUA

See also **Hammerklavier, Das; Symphony No. 9**

Biography

Born in Bonn, December 15 or 16, 1770. Son of Johann van Beethoven, musician at the electoral court, Bonn, and Maria Magdalena van Beethoven. Studied with Christian Gottlob Neefe, court organist in Bonn; appointed assistant court organist, 1784. Stayed in Vienna, 1787; met Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. Returned to Bonn to look after his two younger brothers after his mother's death, 1787–92. Met lifelong friend and supporter Count Waldstein; worked as music tutor in the Breuning household and also gave private music lessons. Moved to Vienna, November 1792. Father died, December 1792. Studied composition in Vienna with Johann Georg Albrechtsberger, Josef Haydn, Antonio Salieri, and Johann Schenk, 1792–1802; established a reputation as a virtuoso pianist and composer. Visited and performed in Prague, Dresden, and Berlin, 1795. First letters indicating his deafness, 1801. Relationship with Therese von Brunswick, early 1800s. Wrote the "Heiligenstadt Testament," addressed to his brothers, expressing despair over deafness (intended to be read after his death), October 1802. Established friendship and support of Count Andreas Razumovsky, c. 1805. Offered post of Kapellmeister by Jerome Bonaparte, King of Westphalia, at Cassel, 1807; refused and accepted instead an annuity from aristocratic patrons Prince Ferdinand Kinsky, Prince Josef Franz Maximilian Lobkowitz and Archduke Rudolph (son of Emperor Leopold II), on condition that he live and work in Vienna, 1809. Wrote the letter entitled "To the Immortal Beloved" (found after his death), addressed to an unknown woman, possibly Therese von Brunswick. Met Johann Wolfgang von Goethe in Teplice, 1810. Close friendship with Bettina Brentano (later von Arnim), 1810. Suffered increasing ill health and deafness from 1810. Visited his brother Johann in Linz, in an attempt to end Johann's immoral liaison with his housekeeper Therese (they married in 18??). After the death of his brother Caspar Karl, 1815, engaged in court battles with sister-in-law Johanna over custody of nine-year-old nephew Karl. Achieved sole custody, 1820; problematic and unhappy relationship with Karl ensued, due in part to Karl's rebellious and dissolute lifestyle. (Karl attempted suicide, July 1826.) Visited Baden annually for treatment of recurring dysentery. Died of cirrhosis of the liver in Vienna, March 26, 1827.

Selected Works

Symphonies
Op. 55, *Eroica*, in E-flat. 1803.
Op. 68, *Pastoral*, in F. 1808.

Piano Concertos
Op. 15 in C. C. 1795.
Op. 37 in C. C. 1800.
Op. 73 in E-flat. 1809.

Violin Concerto
Op. 61 in D. 1808.

Piano Sonatas
Op. 10, nos. 1–3 in C, F, D (1795–98).
Op. 31, nos. 1–3 in G, D, E-flat. 1802.
Op. 53, *Waldstein*, in C. 1803–4.
Op. 57, *Appassionata*, in F. 1804–5.
Op. 106, *Hammerklavier*, in B-flat. 1817–18.
Op. 111, in C. 1821–22.

Piano Variations
Fifteen Variations and a Fugue on an Original Theme (*Eroica* Variations) in E-flat. 1802.
Thirty-three Variations on a Waltz by Diabelli, op. 120. 1819, 1822–23.

Violin Sonatas
Op. 12, nos. 1–3 in D, A, E Flat. 1797–98.
Op. 24, *Spring*, in F. 1800–1801.
Op. 47, *Kreutzer*, in A. 1802–3.

Cello Sonatas
Op. 5, nos. 1–2 in F. G. 1796.
Op. 69 in A. 1807–8.
Op. 102, nos. 1–2 in C, D. 1815.

Piano Trios
Op. 1, nos. 1–3 in E-flat, G, C. 1794–95.
Op. 70, nos. 1–2 in D, E-flat. 1808.
Op. 97, *Archduke*, in B-flat. 1810–11.

String Quartets
Op. 95, *Serioso*, in F. 1810.
Op. 127 in E-flat. 1823–25.
Op. 130 in B-flat. 1825–26.
Op. 132 in A. 1825.

Operas
Fidelio oder Die eheliche Liebe, op. 72. 1st version, 1804; 2d version, 1806; final version, 1814.
Missa Solemnis, op. 123 in D. 1812.
An die ferne Geliebte, op. 98. 1815–16.

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Rosen, Charles. *The Classical Style*. London: Faber, 1971.
Solomon, Maynard. *Beethoven*. New York: Schirmer, 1977.
Thayer, Alexander Wheelock. *Ludwig van Beethovens Leben*. Berlin, 1866–79. Revised and edited by Elliot Forbes as *Thayer's Life of Beethoven*. Princeton, N.J.; Princeton University Press, 1970.

BEETS, NICOLAAS 1814–1903

Dutch pastor, poet, and writer

The vogue for Byronism that swept the Netherlands in the 1830s and 1840s was to be a crucial source of inspiration for the young student Beets, one of the most enthusiastic of the Lord Byron imitators in the Netherlands. Such was his veneration that he described Byron as "de zon der hedendaagse dichters, waaraan zij zich allen verwarmen" (the sun of contemporary poets, by whom they all warm themselves). This enthusiasm had already been expressed by Katharina Wilhelmina Schweickhardt, the wife of Willem Bilderdijk, who translated part of *Childe Harold* in 1819, and by Isaac da Costa, who published a Dutch version of the first act of *Cain* in 1822. The 1820s were also to see translations by Jacob van Lennep of *Marino Faliero* and *The Bride of Abydos*, as well as parts of *Don Juan* and *Manfred*. From the 1830s onward. Beets was to play a most active role in this group. He translated all the *Hebrew Melodies* into Dutch, as well as extracts from *Don Juan*. He also published a Dutch version of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, which had previously been attempted by J. J. L. ten Kate and others. Beets's translated works also include passages from *Lara* and from *Beppo*, the "Sonnet to Chillon" and *The Prisoner of Chillon, Parisina, Mazeppa*, and sections from *The Lament of Tasso*.

In 1833, Beets went to Leiden to study theology. His student years coincided with his early Romantic phase, which he retrospectively dismissed as his "zwarte tijd" (black period). At this time, he wrote his first narrative poetry. His early works included *José: een Spaans verhaal* (*José, A Spanish Tale*), *Kuser*, and *Guy de Vlaming* (*Guy the Fleming*). These poems, published between 1834 and 1837, are essentially examples of the genre of ballads and romances that had come into vogue in the eighteenth century. In his protagonists, Beets had intended to create characters whose greatness was found in the self-control they exerted over their own emotions. In reality, though, the great passion they display seems empty and bombastic in comparison with their Byronic counterparts.

In 1837, Beets decided to put his Byronic period behind him. In the same year he published *Vooruitgang* (*Progress*), under the pseudonym Hildebrand in the newly established monthly literary journal *De Gids*. However, his decision to stop writing Byronic poetry did not allow him to escape ridicule in the critical journal *Braga*, to which poets such as J. J. L. ten Kate and J. Winkler Prins contributed in the period 1841–42. If anything, parody of the oversentimentality in Beets's early work reached a climax in 1856 when Piet Paaltjens, likewise a student at Leiden, published the collection of poems *Snikken en grimlachjes* (*Sobs and Snickers*).

Over the course of his studies, Beets had penned a series of miniatures in prose that primarily represented scenes from the daily life of the bourgeoisie. These he published in the work entitled *Camera obscura* (1839), again under the pseudonym Hildebrand. The title itself refers to a photographic device widely used at the time: a darkened box with a lens or aperture for projecting an external scene onto a piece of frosted glass inside the box; the scene could thus be observed as if the object were in the box itself. Hildebrand's aim, as a perceptive observer, is therefore to give a detailed and true-to-life portrayal of domestic scenes of the time. These are described with a subtle ironic humor in the tradition of Charles Dickens. Charles Lamb, and Laurence Stern. However, *Camera obscura* is not merely descriptive: it is also a highly moralistic work in which the good receive due reward while the bad meet similarly appropriate fates. The genre pieces in this collection can therefore be seen to characterize the Dutch Biedermeier. The caricatured portraits in *Camera obscura* include the bashful student Pieter Stastok in *De familie Stastok*, the cad Van der Hoogen in *De familie Kegge*, Mr. Bruis and Dr. Deluw in *Een oude kennis* (*An Old Acquaintance*), and Robertus Nurks in *Een onaangenaam mensch in den Haarlemmerhout* (*An Unpleasant Person in Harlem Wood*). The weakness of *Camera obscura* is widely considered to be the central first-person narrator (who is Hildebrand himself), a figure too obviously noble, sensible, and calm. E. J. Potgieter, the leading critic of *De Gids*, also criticized Beets for what he termed his "kopijeerlust des dagelijkschen levens" (desire to copy everyday life), taking exception to *Camera obscura* because it was critical of the bourgeois society with which Potgieter identified so entirely.

In March 1839 Beets completed his doctorate in theology (with a dissertation on Pope Pius II) and was ordained. In the next year he took up a pastorate at Heemstede, marrying Aleida van Foreest. In 1854 he became pastor at Utrecht and from 1874 to 1884 professor of ecclesiastical history at the State University of Utrecht. His career in the church was successful on two fronts. Beets was greatly appreciated by his congregation; he also published widely, producing *Lectuur van het ziekenvertrek*

(*Reading for the Sick-Room*, 1879) and composing hymns. He became a leading supporter of the ethical movement within the Reformed Church (the so-called Réveil), and contributed to the theological journal *Ernst en Vrede* (*Gravitas and Peace*), but avoided becoming embroiled in arguments regarding the different movements within the church's organization.

Among his contemporaries he was above all popular for his collections of anecdotal poetry. However, toward the end of the nineteenth century, the rather nonesoteric nature of his work again bore the brunt of critical scorn. This time it came from the *Tachtigers* (the "eighties" movement). Frederik van Eeden's poem "Grassprietjes" ("Grass Stalks," 1885) is a good example of a parody on Beets's "Korenbloemen" ("Cornflowers," 1853).

From his student period onward. Beets also contributed to discussions concerning developments in the Dutch language and the compilation of the *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* (*Dictionary of the Dutch Language*). Toward the end of his life he published *Verscheidenheden* (*Miscellanea*, 1858–74) and *Nieuwe verscheidenheden: meest op letterkundig gebied* (1885–1902); (*New Miscellanea: Chiefly in Literature*, 1858–74), although these works are not considered to have great literary merit.

ALISON E. MARTIN

Biography

Born in Haarlem, September 13, 1814. Studied theology at Leiden, 1833–39. Obtained doctorate in theology, 1839. Pastorate at Heemstede, 1840–53. Pastorate at Utrecht, 1854–74. Professor of ecclesiastical history at the State University of Utrecht, 1874–84. Died in Utrecht, March 13, 1903.

Selected Works

Fiction

Hildebrand (pseu.). *Camera obscura*. 1839.
Verpoozingen op letterkundig gebied. 1856.
Verscheidenheden meest op letterkundig gebied. 1858–74.
Gesprek met Vondel. 1861.
De Reizangen in Vondels treurspellen benevens andere opstellen. 1871.
Nieuwe verscheidenheden: meest op letterkundig gebied. 1885–1902.
Na vijftig jaar. Noodige en overbodige opheldering. Van de Camera obscura door Hildebrand. 1887.
Beets, Nicolaas, Willem van den Berg, Henk Eiyssens, Joost Klock, and Peter van Zonnevel. *Camera Obscura*. Amsterdam: Athenaeum; Polak and Van Gennep, 1998.

Poetry

Gedichten. 1844.
Verstrooide gedichten uit vroeger en later tijd 1831–1861. 1863.
Madelieven. 1870.

Ecclesiastical Works

Dissertatio de Aeneae Sylvii, qui postea Pius papa secundus, morum mentisque mutationis rationibus. 1839.
De christen by en op het ziekbed. 1846.
De herstelde kranke. 1847.
Beets, Nicolaas and Gustav Doré. *Bijbel bevattende al de canonieke boeken van het Oude en Nieuwe Testament volgens de Statenoverzetting*. 1868.

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Gedichten. 3 vols.: *Navolgingen van Lord Byron. De gevangene van Chillon. Mazeppa. Parisina. Fragmenten. Joodsche gezangen. Verscheiden gedichten* (vol. 2). 1848.

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BELINSKII, VISSARION GRIGORIEVICH 1811–1848

Russian critic

The early years of Vissarion Grigorievich Belinskii's brief career coincided with the period when German Romantic and idealist thought came to exert an overwhelming influence on Russian intellectual life. Belinskii had little knowledge of foreign languages, but was part of a philosophical circle that had formed at the beginning of the 1830s under the inspiration of Nikolai Stankevich, and which numbered among its members Aleksandr Herzen and Mikhail Bakunin. Largely through this circle, Belinskii became acquainted with the ideas of Johann Gottlieb Fichte, G. W. F. Hegel, Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von Schelling, and Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiller, with Schelling's thought predominant for Belinskii in the middle of the decade and Hegel's assuming that role for roughly the period 1837–39. A restless and ever-evolving thinker, during the following decade Belinskii looked more to Ludwig Andreas Feuerbach and the French utopian socialists, although traces of his earlier outlook can still be discerned in his later writings as well.

Highly prolific, quick to absorb and apply the leading ideas in European thought, and possessing a knack for discussing the rapidly maturing Russian literary scene against the background of broad social and intellectual trends, Belinskii wielded an enormous influence on his contemporaries and on subsequent generations, through his more philosophical writings and through his practical criticism, which helped enshrine Aleksandr Pushkin and Nikolai Gogol as the great initiators of the nineteenth-century Russian literary tradition. Belinskii's unusually accurate ability to discern literary talent also enabled him to help bring early prominence to both Ivan Turgenev and Fyodor Dostoevsky, even though he did not live to see the novels that ensured their enduring fame. Indeed, it is hardly an exaggeration to say that Belinskii's opinions were to shape the appreciation of Russian literature into the twentieth century: his disinterest in neoclassical Russian writers of the eighteenth century as well as his aversion to what he saw as largely escapist literature helped push certain writers into the shadows, even as he helped secure Mikhail Lermontov's place as Pushkin's successor or, despite reservations, gave an early boost to the career of Ivan Goncharov.

Nearly all the concepts that shape his understanding and analysis of literature derive from German philosophy. In a series

of ten articles that appeared under the collective title *Literaturnye mechtaniya* (*Literary Reveries*, 1834), Belinskii already expresses an organic view of art, in which the individual work serves as a microcosm of the larger world; the greater the artist, the closer the work will come to portraying the single, eternal "idea" that embraces the whole world. Early in these articles Belinskii makes the startling claim that Russia has no literature; his point is that a genuine literature must (as Russian literature did not) express the spirit of the people and depict their inner life—a notion that similarly has its origins in German idealism.

If the influences of Johann Gottfried von Herder, Schiller, and, most directly, Schelling, pervade the first writings of Belinskii, it was, as Victor Terras has shown, Hegel who was to make the most profound and lasting contribution to Belinskii's thought. In several reviews from the late 1830s through the early 1840s, Belinskii's Hegelianism appears in his insistence on a realistic and objective art, in a wholehearted embrace of historicism (and thus for a while his acceptance of the current Russian political and social situation as a "necessary" stage in the country's development), and a dislike of any art that seems to reproduce nature too directly without the assistance of an organic idea. Typical in this regard is Belinskii's review of *Hamlet* (1838), which both expresses his "organic" notion that the play's greatness results from the fullness with which it serves as a replica of the world, as well as the Hegelian notion that Hamlet's struggle involves a reconciliation with the real: he must pass from his naive idealism, through an inner disharmony caused by the struggle between reality and his ideal, to the point of accepting the world as it really exists. Similarly, in his review of Mikhail Lermontov's novel *A Hero of Our Time* (1840), Belinskii emphasizes the work's reflection of the universal; the appearance of disharmony if anything makes the work stronger, he claims, for in illustrating how harmony eventually results from struggle the novel in fact illustrates a universal law of life. The novel's hero Pechorin, much like Hamlet, is a person in need of becoming reconciled with reality. Pechorin's state, according to Belinskii, is understandable because it reflects the present situation in Russian society, and thus Lermontov's protagonist is indeed a "hero of our time." Belinskii often distinguishes between a work's historical and absolute artistic merit; thus, while admitting that Pushkin's *Eugene Onegin* (1823–31) is without doubt the greater artistic creation, he also holds that the Lermontov novel is a more valuable work for the present day.

As a corollary of the emphasis on art's need to reflect what is typical and real, Belinskii rejects any form of romantic escapism, of the irrational or fantastic, or of the abnormal. Hence, he has little appreciation for the trend in Romanticism that explored the supernatural or states of madness. This outlook explains his praise for Dostoevsky's first novel *Poor People* (1845), which depicts a downtrodden clerk, while he would criticize his later *The Double* (1846), despite admiring its artistry, for its focus on an insane protagonist.

Some of Belinskii's most important writings were devoted to Gogol and Pushkin. He followed Gogol's career closely, and there are key articles devoted to him from all of Belinskii's periods. In the early *O russkoy povesti i povestyakh g. Gogolya* (*On the Russian Story and the Stories of Gogol*, 1835), Belinskii confronts the stories' concentration on ordinary reality, which provided a challenge to the idealism that he had just been advocating in his *Literary Reveries*. By 1842, when Belinskii wrote his review of Gogol's 1842 novel *Dead Souls*, he had moved beyond the notion of reconciliation with the existing reality, and now praised this work for its "subjectivity," its attack on the existing order, and thus its creator's willingness to affect developments in society, a goal elucidated by the French utopian socialists, who thus see the artist as not merely describing the world but as seeking to change it. Belinskii maintained his high view of Gogol's writings until the end, yet in his famous "Letter to N. V. Gogol" (1847) he castigated the great writer for the religious and political conservatism expressed in the latter's *Selected Passages from Correspondence with Friends* (1846). Conversely, the eleven articles on Pushkin (1843–46) all belong to a single period of Belinskii's career; here the critic attempts to define the greatness of Pushkin in his ability to reflect objectively the age in which he lived—albeit an age that has since passed.

That Hegelianism continued to pervade Belinskii's thought even in his post-Hegelian period is best evidenced by his unfinished article "Ideya iskusstva" ("The Idea of Art," 1841). Here he defines art as "the immediate contemplation of truth, or thinking in images." Art is thus a form of dialectical thinking; it has as its essence movement and development. Also expressed in this article are the notions that there are inner laws that bind together and determine the development of phenomena, and that the concrete work of art reflects a particular moment in history and represents a specific representation of the universal. Thus, at this central point in his career he defines art as revealing the truth; the artist, as the person who creates the specific work that embraces the universal, therefore holds a special place in society—a place that the Russian writer was to continue to hold for many generations to come.

BARRY P. SCHERR

Biography

Born in Sveaborg, Finland, May 30, (June 11), 1811, the son of a doctor. Educated at local school in Chembar, Penza, and gymnasium in Penza from 1825. Attended the University of Moscow, 1829–32; expelled, mainly for writing against serfdom without receiving a degree. Worked for the journal *Teleskop*, 1833–36, until it was closed for publishing Chaadaev's "Philosophical Letter." Editor of *Moskovskii nabluidatel'*, 1838–39. Moved to Saint Petersburg, 1839; appointed as literary critic of *Otechestvennye zapiski*, 1839–46, and then of *Sovremennik*, 1847–38. Married Mariia Vasil'evna Orlova, 1843: they had one son (died 1847) and one daughter. Suffered from consumption: traveled abroad for treatment, 1847. Died of tuberculosis in Saint Petersburg, May 26 (June 7), 1848.

Selected Works

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BELLINI, VINCENZO 1801–1835

Italian opera composer

Vincenzo Bellini chose to write primarily in one medium, the lyric theater, paralleling his contemporaries Gaetano Donizetti, a rival composer who also concentrated on opera, and Frédéric Chopin, the pianist-composer who focused almost exclusively on piano compositions. Bellini's reputation as a composer rests on the ten operas composed between his first student work of 1825 and his tragically premature death in 1835, most probably of amoebic dysentery, which was incurable at that time. Bellini's life story lends itself to a highly Romantic interpretation. Described by Heinrich Heine as a "sigh in dancing pumps," Bellini was tall, fair-haired, and blue-eyed, and considered by some to be a dandy. According to sensational contemporary reports, he engaged in a great many romantic involvements. The knowledge of this, added to his early death, tended to create an image of the tragic, beautiful but flawed, Romantic artist, one image that persisted well into the twentieth century.

Bellini's stature as an opera composer was affirmed by the enthusiastic popular response to his opera during his lifetime. After a period of neglect in the early twentieth century, his works have returned to the operatic repertoire, partly in response to bravura performances by great bel canto singers such as sopranos Maria Callas and Joan Sutherland. Bellini is now generally recognized as one of the greatest of nineteenth-century bel canto opera composers, alongside Donizetti and Gioachino Antonio Rossini.

Bellini was born into a musical family and given early piano instruction by his father. After age seven his musical education was in the hands of his grandfather, Vincenzo Tobia Bellini. During this time he wrote sacred music and ariettas, many of which were performed in the churches and aristocratic homes of Catania. By 1819 Bellini had exhausted local musical resources, and with financial support from the municipal government of Catania he began advanced studies at Real Conservatorio di Musica in Naples. From 1819 to 1826 Bellini studied with Carlo Conti, Giovanni Furno, Giaccomo Tritto, and the director of the conservatory, Nicola Zingarelli. His graduation piece was *Adelson e Salvini*, an opera performed at the conservatory in 1825. This work's success led to a commission from the Teatro San Carlo for the opera *Bianca e Gernando*, first performed in 1826.

Bellini spent the years between 1827 and 1833 mostly in Milan. His third opera, *Il pirata* (The Pirate, 1827), was performed at La Scala and established him as an opera composer. This opera was his first collaboration with librettist Felice Romani, who wrote the libretti for all of Bellini's subsequent opera except his last, *I Puritant* (The Puritans, 1833). *Il pirata* also signaled the beginning of Bellini's long, productive relationship with the tenor Giovanni Battista Rubini, who was already known for his interpretations of Rossini's opera. Other opera written during the Milan years include *La straniera* (The Stranger) and *Zaira* (both 1829); *I Capuleti e i Montecchi* (1830); *La sonnambula* (The Sleepwalker) and *Norma* (1831); and *Beatrice de Tenda* (1833). Of the opera written during this period, *Zaira* and *Beatrice de Tenda* were failures. However, *La sonnambula* was extremely well received, and *Norma*, though described by Bellini as a "total disaster" after the opening performance, was soon thereafter recognized as a masterpiece.

Bellini's personal life during these years was somewhat turbulent, owing to his passionate love affair with Giuditta Cantù, wife of merchant Ferdinando Turina, and a severe illness in 1830 from which he spent the entire summer recovering.

However, these difficulties were overshadowed by Bellini's growing success both in Italy and around Europe. In 1828 *Il pirata* was staged in Vienna, thus beginning Bellini's international reputation. Following Rossini's 1829 decision to cease writing opera, Bellini's place as an opera composer grew ever more secure.

Beginning in 1833 Bellini traveled abroad to prepare performances of his works in London. His close friend and favorite soprano Giuditta Pasta appeared in *Il pirata, Norma*, and *I Capuleti e i Montecchi*, and the great Maria Malibran was featured in *La sonnambula*. In August of 1833 Bellini went to Paris, hoping to arrange performances of his operas at the Paris Opéra or Opéra-Comique. These discussions never came to a satisfactory conclusion, but Bellini was able to get performances at the Théâtre-Italien for *Il pirata* and *I Capuleti e i Montecchi*. While in Paris, Bellini became friends with Rossini, and met Chopin and the great German poet and arbiter of the Romantic movement, Heinrich Heine. In 1834 he began composing *I puritani* to a libretto by Count Carlo Pepoli. (A second version composed for Naples was not used.) When in 1835 *La sonnambula* was performed to great acclaim, and the premiere of *I puritan*i was a triumph, Bellini felt that he had reached a high point in his career. He began to contemplate new projects and again tried to have his operas staged at the Paris Opéra or the Opéra-Comique; unfortunately, none of these plans materialized because of his illness and subsequent death.

Bellini was profoundly influenced by Rossini, especially by a performance of *Semiramide* that he heard in 1824. He also absorbed characteristics of Sicilian and Neopolitan folk music. Yet, his music has a strong individual stamp apparent in his sensitive text setting. His work is characterized by the lyricism and melodic shapes that so impressed Giuseppe Verdi, his novel placement of the melodic climax of an aria toward the end of the piece, frequent shifts between major and minor harmonies, and striking modulations. Although the Romantic era viewed Bellini's gift for delicate, melancholy expression as his most representative voice, he is also capable of genuine drama and passion, which partially explains why his work has gone in and out of style. His music demands singers capable of breadth of expression in order to be successful on stage. With recent studies of his life and works in print and a discography of superb opera performances easily available, Bellini's importance in opera history is clearer than ever and his reputation appears assured.

ANN SEARS

See also **Chopin, Frédéric; Donizetti, Gaetano; Opera; Rossinim, Gioacchino Antonio, Verdi, Giuseppe**

Biography

Born in Catania, Sicily, November 3, 1801, into a family of musicians. Studied music initially with his father, an organist, and later with his grandfather, Vincenzo Tobia Bellini, organist and composer. Awarded a scholarship from the Decurionato (city council) of Catania to attend the Real Conservatorio di Musica (Collegio San Sebastiano), Naples, under Nicola Zingarelli, 1819–26. After the first performance of his *Adelson e Salvina*, 1825, gained patronage of the impresario Barbaia, manager of La Scala in Milan and the Teatro San Carlo in Naples. Lived and composed in Milan, 1827–33. Achieved first operatic success, *Il Pirata*, at La Scala, 1827. Began a love affair with a married woman, Giuditta Turina, after meeting her at the house of the Milanese singer Giuditta Pasta, 1828. Stayed in Venice while his sixth opera *I Capuletti ed i Montecchi* was performed at La Fenice, 1830. Suffered from dysentery in Venice; returned to recuperate in Milan and by Lake Como, 1831. Visited Milan with Giuditta Turina, 1832. Ended the affair after she left her husband, 1833. Lived in London, April to August 1833; met Countess Granville, who established professional connections for him in Paris. Moved to Paris, August 1833; with Rossini's influence, won commission to write an opera for the Théâtre-Italien, *Il Puritani di Scozia*, performed in January 1835. Died of dysentery and a liver abscess while visiting English friends in Puteaux, near Paris, September 23, 1835.

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BENTHAM, JEREMY 1748–1832

British philosopher, jurist, and reformer

Jeremy Bentham's long intellectual career spanned the English Romantic period, exerting a powerful influence upon nineteenth-century politics, philosophy, and jurisprudence. Yet he has often been treated as the defining antitype of the Romantic sensibility, a coldhearted, philistine rationalist who once blithely declared that "the game of push-pin is of equal value with the arts and sciences of music and poetry." There is much that is unfair in such characterizations, for although Bentham's personal idiosyncrasies and visionary tendencies have always left him vulnerable to ridicule and opprobrium, he was in many respects a quite unselfish and even humane thinker. It remains clear, however, that Bentham could never be described as a *Romantic*, even allowing for the traditional imprecision of that term. His cosmopolitan ideals and resolute commitment to unfettered rational enquiry mark him out far more readily as a distinctive product of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment.

It is hardly surprising that Bentham was unhappy at Oxford University: he was only twelve years old when he arrived there. But he was equally disillusioned by his subsequent, short-lived experience in the legal profession. His first publication, *A Fragment on Government* (1776), was a devastating critique of the incompetence, obscurity, and corruption of the English legal system, along with its most celebrated eighteenth-century expositor, Sir William Blackstone. The *Fragment* proved something of a success, and brought its author to the attention of the Earl of Shelburne. It was at Shelburne's Bowood home that Bentham wrote the *Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation* (1781), which remains arguably his single most important work. Bentham had already formulated, in the *Fragment*, the basic premise of utilitarian ethics, namely that "it is the greatest happiness of the greatest number that is the measure of right and wrong." In the *Principles* he went on to explore the means by which such an end could be pursued. "Nature has placed mankind under the governance of two sovereign masters, *pain* and *pleasure*," he wrote in the powerful first sentences of this work. "It is for them alone to point out what we ought to do, as well as to determine what we shall do." The pursuit of pleasure, and the avoidance of pain, thus became both a descriptive, psychological fact of human nature, and a moral imperative around which the wise legislator might construct an ideal body of laws.

In the mid-1780s Bentham spent two years in Russia with his brother Samuel. It was here that he composed his *Panopticon; or, the Inspection House* (1791). This novel architectural design for an ideal prison was intended to maximize both the visibility of the prisoner and the transparency of penal institutions to public inspection. In 1797–98, Bentham recommended a national reform of the English poor laws and the construction of workhouses on the panopticon model. His proposals were extremely ambitious, but seemed destined to remain unrealized. Bentham's disappointment was compounded by the government's decision to reject his proposals for a panopticon penitentiary after considering the idea for several years. However, his notorious "less eligibility" principle did eventually find embodiment in the controversial New Poor Law of 1834. The "less eligibility" principle required that the conditions of paupers supported by public relief should not be more "eligible" (attractive) than those of the independent poor. The principle was commonly associated with the harsh conditions of the Victorian workhouses. In this case, as in others, the influence of intellectual disciples such as the sanitary reformers Edwin Chadwick (one of the architects of the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834) and Thomas Southwood Smith (a doctor and Unitarian minister) was essential to the diffusion of Bentham's ideas, particularly since his prose style showed an increasing tendency to degenerate into tortuous, mannered pedantry.

Bentham was made an honorary citizen of France by the revolutionary government (his writings on penal law and government procedure were published in French translation from the 1790s on). But he was repelled by the excesses of the French revolutionary Terror, and it was only in 1809 that he made a decisive turn to political radicalism, under the influence of James Mill. He soon attracted the attention of the radical journalist and poet Leigh Hunt, and thereafter Hunt consistently championed Bentham in his *Examiner* newspaper. The *Examiner* was also an important focus for the "second generation" of British Romantic writers, such as Percy Bysshe Shelley and William Hazlitt, who shared many of Bentham's political ideals, if not his suspicion of "fiction" and distaste for poetry and the arts. In the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars, Bentham's "philosophic radical" party exerted a profound influence upon the middle-class reform movement, while his far-reaching *Plan of Parliamentary Reform* (1817) consolidated his standing within popular radicalism. In 1823, Bentham helped to establish the *Westminster Review*, in opposition to the established Whig and Tory reviews. He was by now convinced that a powerful and aristocratic "sinister interest," in both Parliament and the press, was working against the realization of the greatest happiness principle. But Bentham's radical commitments were also informed by a deep and abiding anticlericalism. His incautious attacks on the established church intensified during the postwar years, and represent some of the most extreme statements of secularist ideals expressed in this period.

Meanwhile, Bentham's reputation continued to grow abroad. He corresponded with politicians and heads of state in Latin America, Poland, Portugal, Russia, Spain, and the United States, offering his services as a legislative and constitutional codifier. His legislative ambitions inspired Bentham to begin work on the *Constitutional Code*, the first volume of which was published in 1827. He continued to write prolifically until his death in 1832. By this time he had inspired admirers around the world, as well as a committed group of followers in England, many of whom were to play significant roles in Victorian intellectual life. Bentham's most curious legacy, however, was the Auto-Icon, constructed from his preserved corpse (specifically, his skeleton and original clothing, upon which sit a wax head) and bequeathed to University College London. (When UCL was founded in 1826, it embodied many of Bentham's ideas on education, such as admission without regard to religious belief.) Bentham intended it to act as a permanent reminder of the Benthamite creed, and an inspiration to his successors. A bizarre,

paradoxical product of quixotic idealism and uncompromising pragmatism, the Auto-Icon is perhaps a more revealing testament to his intellectual character than Bentham himself ever realized.

PHILIP CONNELL

Biography

Born in Houndsditch, London, February 15, 1748. Educated at Westminster School; studied at Oxford University, 1760–63; studied law at Lincoln's Inn, London, 1763–69; called to the bar, 1769; lived in Lincoln's Inn, 1766–92. Enjoyed patronage of Lord Shelburne (later First Marquess of Lansdowne), from c. 1780 on. Traveled to stay with his brother in Krichev, Russia, via Italy and Constantinople, 1785–87; returned to England, 1788. Published *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation*, 1789. Made honorary citizen of France by revolutionary government, 1792. Engaged in prison reform, 1790s; proposed design for a "panopticon" penitentiary, 1797. Lived in Queen Square, Westminster, London from 1792. Influenced by the philosopher James Mill and associated with the poet Leigh Hunt, from c. 1809. Helped to found the *Westminster Review*, 1823. First volume of *Constitutional Code* published, 1827. Helped to found the nondenominational London University, 1828. Died in London, June 6, 1832.

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BÉRANGER, PIERRE-JEAN DE 1780–1857

French poet and songwriter

Pierre-Jean de Béranger is now little more than a name, albeit one with a certain historical resonance. (He adopted the noble *de* during the Restoration, only to drop it after 1830, though by then it had stuck.) His works have long been out of print and are represented in only the most comprehensive anthologies of nineteenth-century poetry. The output of France's "national poet," as he once had the honor to be called, was not extensive, even considering the compositions he apparently destroyed, but he was without doubt the most well-known French poet of his day. One of Honoré de Balzac's characters, a bookseller, accurately states that during the Restoration there were only four poets of any consquence to the trade: Pierre-Jean de Béranger, Jean-François-Casimir Delavigne, Victor Hugo, and Alphonse Marie Louis de Lamartine.

Béranger's satirical and often scurrilous verses were not poems to be read, but songs to be sung to popular tunes that if not already known, were easily memorized. (He did not compose his own tunes but relied on established songs; those used by him from a separate volume in his *Complete Works*, 1875–76.) Although his songs were directed at the man in the street, they were also admired by such leading writers and intellectuals as François-Auguste-René, Vicomte de Chateaubriand, Lamartine, and Stendhal, who placed him on a level with Lamartine. To Lamartine, Béranger was "the fiddler whose every pull of the bow had for its strings the hearts of thirty-six million men," while Johann Wolfgang von Goethe extolled him as the equal of Horace and Shams ud-din Muhammad Hafiz, the thirteenth-century Persian poet. In his prime, Béranger enjoyed a place at the center of Parisian literary life, but he was, above all, an influential figure in the liberal opposition to the restored Bourbon monarchy. He was also widely regarded as the key figure in the creation of the Napoleonic legend. Such was his potential as a beacon for popular dissent that his death in 1857 led Napoleon III's government to fear that his funeral would be a pretext for demonstrations by the populace.

Although the early-nineteenth-century French *chanson* is now equated almost exclusively with the songs of Béranger, the genre was by no means his invention. He was a member of Le Caveau moderne, a Parisian society of songwriters founded in the early eighteenth century and that met, since 1806, in the celebrated Rocher de Cancale restaurant in the rue Montorgueil. (His songs include tributes to such other *chansonniers* as Évariste-Desiré de

Forges de Parny and his closer contemporary, Émile Debraux.) It was from this association that Béranger derived the frank epicureanism that characterizes so much of his work. His first songs were drinking songs or compositions celebrating the pleasures apparently offered by the easygoing girls of his acquaintance, an idiom that would continue to attract both himself and his audience for the rest of his productive years. The fictional Lisette, to whom some of the songs refer, became fixed in the popular imagination.

In 1813, Béranger wrote his first political song, "Le Roi d'Yvetôt,"("The King of Yvetôt") which remained one of his best-known compositions. This imaginary king of a small town in Normandy, whose simple epicureanism was shared with the persona assumed by his creator, was a mild but clear response to the increasing self-aggrandizement of Napoleon Bonaparte. His initial response to Louis XVIII, like many other liberals with their belief in constitutional monarchy, was not notably hostile. He was ready to believe that the new king would strive to be a monarch in the popular mould of Henri IV, a figure he recalled in several of his songs. His songs from this period are either completely nonpolitical or are to be regarded as merely patriotic. (He would later claim that the love of his country had been the great and only passion of his life.) His targets were the nations of the Holy Alliance (particularly the English), the self-interested turncoats, and those who openly embraced the country's former enemies.

It was in the wake of a changing attitude on the part of other liberals that Béranger placed his pen in the service of opposition to the new regime. Even then, his venom was initially reserved for courtiers, priests (especially the influential Jesuits, but also the pope), magistrates, the police, and certain parliamentary figures (see, for example, the two songs entitled "Le Ventru" ["The Potbelly"]). Only subsequently was this directed at the monarchy itself. Despite being lampooned both for his obesity and his impotence, Louis XVIII was, by all accounts, not unappreciative of Béranger's art.

By the early 1820s Béranger had a prominent voice in a group consisting of the novelist, political theorist, and parliamentary deputy Benjamin Constant, the pamphleteer, Paul-Louis Courier, statesman Marquis Marie-Joseph-Paul de Lafayette, and Constant's fellow deputy Jacques-Antoine Manuel. Though he lacked his colleagues' intellectual capacities and was bound to them more by common targets for attack, it was an appropriate group for one who claimed to have taught himself to read from a copy of Voltaire's epic poem *La Henriade* (1723). The increasingly political content of his songs, together with their capacity to incommode a delicate notion of public decency, earned him spells of imprisonment in 1821 and 1828–29. He satirized the king's mistress, Madame du Cayla, both under her own name of Zoé and that of "Octavie" (wife of the Emperor Nero). The coronation of Charles X in 1825 was mocked in "The Coronation of Charles the Simple" (the sobriquet of Charles III, who died in Péronne in 929, the town in which Béranger had grown up), a song which was soon to be heard on the streets. Among his anticlerical poems, "Les Révérends Pères" ("Men in black, where have you sprung from?") was particularly popular. In retrospect, Béranger's satire may seem anodyne, but in the politically sensitive period in which they were written, it was not difficult for poems such as "Le Vieux Sergent" ("The Old Sergent") or "Le Vieux Drapeau" ("The old Flag") to become "thinly veiled incitations to rebellion." As opposition to the repressive ministerial regime increased in the closing years of the Restoration, Béranger's songs could become still more direct, as may be seen most clearly in his attack on the ruling gerontocracy, "Les Infiniment Petits" ("The Infinitely Small").

Pierre-Jean de Béranger. Reprinted courtesy of Bildarchiv.

Béranger's increasing hostility toward the Bourbons (or the "Barbons" as he was apt to call them) led naturally to his reevaluation of the First Empire, and more especially to a glorification of its soldiers, who were now said to be dumbfounded by the mediocrity of the replacement regime. For a long time he was regarded as one of the founders of the Napoleonic legend, but as Jean Touchard has shown, he was relatively slow to write about the Emperor. In this, as in so much else, he followed the lead of others but through his successful formula for a popular art, he undoubtedly did much to disseminate the legendary image.

Béranger's concern with liberty also led naturally to involvement in the July Revolution, though his militancy has been exaggerated. More at home in opposition, he was unable to ally himself narrowly with any party or group. "Le Vieux Drapeau" nevertheless became the Revolution's unofficial anthem, with copies being handed out in the streets. The poet's initial assumption was that the chanson had been unseated along with Charles X, but he soon found himself revising his opinion (see "La Restauration de la chanson" ["The Restoration of the Song"]), thereby earning Stendhal's approval for not selling out to Louis-Philippe, as so many liberals had done. Béranger announced his retirement with the publication of his final collection in 1833,

though he continued to write occasionally with posthumous publication in mind.

Much of the popularity of Béranger's chansons derived from the fact that they matched simple words to simple tunes. The effectiveness of the words stemmed largely from their demotic challenge to the norms of polite language. The political songs gave a new prestige to the genre and were easily admired for their boldness in taking on the powers that be, for a directness that was seen as a gauntlet laid down to the authorities. However, they were greatly dependent on the context in which they were written. Scarcely had they been composed than it became necessary to provide footnotes identifying some of the individuals and events to which allusion was being made. If they were widely enjoyed for their gaiety and for the Gallic humor with which they abounded, this could also be seen as a backward-looking form of national pride in a century that was intent on finding a modern idiom. As such, they may be regarded as the equivalent of the licentious "gay novels" of Béranger's contemporary, Charles-Antoine-Guillaume Pigault de l'Épinoy (Pigault-Lebrun). It is difficult to concur with Constant when he claimed that "Béranger had written sublime odes when he thought he was writing simple songs," or to accept Robert Louis Stevenson's view of the songs as "little chiselled toys of verbal perfection." Although it is of questionable legitimacy to read the chansons for the words alone, the ultimate impression is that Béranger's language, as even some of his contemporaries realized, comes dangerously close at times to being flat or banal.

A useful aid to an assessment of Béranger's popularity in his own times can be found in the references to him in Balzac's *Comédie Humaine* (1842–46), even if they are colored by the fact that Balzac's views placed him at the opposite end of the political spectrum. Béranger is said to have been the only effective liberal pamphleteer, precisely because he courted a mass appeal. Various Balzacian characters are given a penchant for Béranger's songs. Alongside the former Napoleonic officer Fleury (*Les Employés* [*The Clerks*, 1837–44]) and the admirable republican Michel Chrestien (*Illusions perdues* [Lost Illusions, 1837–43]) it is from the shopkeeper-commercial traveler class that Béranger is said to draw his principal admirers and on whom the influence is regarded as adverse. That said, Balzac—who knew Béranger personally—may have turned to him for the chanson sung by Lucien de Rubempré in *Illusions perdues*.

In more advanced artistic circles, Béranger's reputation was indeed associated with an irredeemably philistine (and, it might be added, male) commercial bourgeoisie. Thus, Gustave Flaubert's smug petit-bourgeois and self-styled progressive Homais proclaims, in *Madame Bovary* (1857), "My God is the God of Voltaire, the God of Béranger," thereby aligning himself with the equally self-important Crevel, who in Balzac's *La Cousine Bette* (*Cousin Bette*, 1846) declares himself to be "the admirer of Béranger, the friend of Lisette, and the child of Voltaire and Rousseau." For Charles Baudelaire, Bérenger was the incarnation of stupidity, the poet of the bourgeoisie whom he arraigned in his preface to *Le Salon de 1846* for understanding nothing of art. When his own poetry led him to be charged with obscenity, he instructed his counsel to remind the court of the licentious nature of Béranger's "Ma Grand'Mère" ("My Grandmother") and "Jeanette."

Béranger's songs were widely translated. William Makepeace Thackeray included four "imitations of Béranger" in his *Paris Sketch Book* (1840); it was necessary for "Le Roi d'Yvetôt," present in two separate versions, to undergo a degree of bowdlerization. Oscar Wilde was another admirer of a poet who "preferred the Pont Neuf to Parnassus." In the twentieth century Béranger was eulogized, often inappropriately, by a number of (non-French) Marxist critics.

In addition to his regular collections of songs, Béranger wrote others that may be regarded as erotica. From 1829 onward his songs inspired numerous works for the popular theater. In 1835, Hector Berlioz produced a short choral setting of "Le Cinq Mai," ("The Fifth of May") a poem Béranger had composed on the death of Napoleon in 1821. The less-than-perfect match of text and music confirms the view that the words of Béranger's songs rarely survive detachment from the simple tunes they were designed to accompany.

MICHAEL TILBY

Biography

Born Pierre-Jean Béranger in Paris, August 19, 1780. Largely self-educated. Brought up by grandmother, an innkeeper in Péronne (Somme). Active in revolutionary youth club, early 1790s. Apprenticed to printer. Worked in father's *cabinet de lecture* and did hack work for publisher while composing first songs, 1800–1809. Secured financial support from Lucien Bonaparte, 1803. Clerk at the Imperial University, Paris, 1809–21. Elected to Le Caveau moderne (club for songwriters); first political poem, 1813. First collection of songs published, 1815, followed by others in 1821, 1825, and 1828. Imprisoned for three months for offending public decency, religion, and the king's person and encouraging sedition, 1821. Sentenced to nine months in prison, on similar charges and for inciting opposition to the government, 1828. Involved in July Revolution, 1830. Published final collection of songs, 1833. Elected to Constituent Assembly, 1848; resigned shortly thereafter. Refused to accept membership in the Académie Française. Died in Paris, July 16, 1857.

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BERCHET, GIOVANNI 1783–1851

Italian poet, essayist, and translator

An innovative poet and militant patriot, Berchet had been originally educated to work in his family's commercial business, receiving a thorough preparation in foreign languages, especially French, German, and English. His literary interests soon prevailing, however, he began to make contacts in the lively Milanese literary scene, publishing his first works in a period dominated by the neoclassical influence of Vittorio Alfieri, Ugo Foscolo, and Vincenzo Monti.

His knowledge of foreign languages enabled Berchet to obtain a post as a translator in the government of the French-occupied Milanese territories. At the same time, he worked at literary translation and published a version of Thomas Gray's "The Bard" as *Il bardo* (1807), in keeping with the Ossianic fashion (influenced by the "discovery" of the poems of the ancient Scottish bard Ossian, later dismissed as forgeries) much in vogue in Italy in this period, a translation that attracted Ugo Foscolo's attention. In addition, Berchet collaborated with the publisher Giuseppe Destefanis, who in 1809 started a series of modern novels. For Destefanis, Berchet translated Oliver Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield* (1810) and, although the attribution is still uncertain, Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiller's *Der Geistseher* (*The Ghost Seer*). Thanks to these first efforts and several later translations, he asserted himself as one of the major literary translators in Italian Romanticism, along with Silvio Pellico, the translator of Lord Byron's *Manfred*, and Giovita Scalvini, who produced a version of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's *Faust*.

If Berchet's early literary activities were part of the neoclassical culture that flourished in Milan during the years of the Napoleonic occupation, his entrance into the Romantic literary scene, by contrast, corresponded with the restoration of the Austrians in Milan after the Congress of Vienna, and was closely linked with protorevolutionary movements in culture and politics. In a letter of October 30, 1816 to Ann-Louise-Germaine de Staël, Ludovico di Breme, one of the most active of the Romantic *literati*, asserted that his "faction" had recently made a new convert in Berchet, who promptly showed his allegiance by entering the polemics between classics and Romantics inaugurated by Madame de Staël's essay "Sulla maniera e l'utilità delle traduzioni" ("On the Manners and Usefulness of Translations," 1816). His major intervention in the debate was through the pseudonymous "Lettera semiseria di Grisostomo al suo figliuolo" ("Chrysostom's Half-serious Letter to his Son," 1816), published by Bernardoni in Milan, perhaps the best-known and one of the most effective assertions of Romantic poetics at the time. The "Lettera semiseria" opens with considerations on some technical points about translation, such as whether a poetic text is better rendered in verse or prose. Berchet exemplifies his views on translation by producing versions of Gottfried August Bürger's ballads "Lenore" and "Der wilde Jäger" ("The Wild Hunter") that inspired the Italian Romantics' interest in ballads and "*romanze*." Even more importantly, the "Lettera semiseria" discusses a point till then largely unaddressed by Italian literary theory: the need for poetry to be truly "popular" and to address a specific audience—the "people"—which Berchet generally defines as the middle classes. In his analysis, if art must to be coeval with its times and not anchored to passed stereotypes, its main aim must be to discover and satisfy the interests of this broad and constantly expanding class.

Berchet's entrance into the Milanese Romantic circle effectively began with his collaboration with *Il Conciliatore* (*The Conciliator*), a periodical founded in 1818 with the support of wealthy, liberal figures such as Count Federico Confalonieri, and with the consent of the Austrian government. In his numerous contributions to this journal Berchet touched on a variety of subjects while putting in practice his own theory that the new culture must be keyed to the needs and interests of its (middle-class) public. Offering reviews and essays on a variety of national and international publications and issues, *Il Conciliatore* perfectly captures the opening up of Italian culture to contemporary European developments in the Romantic period. And Berchet's contributions are evidence of this cosmopolitanism, as he reviewed and discussed works by Friedrich Bouterwek, Pierre-Louis Ginguené, the Abbé Grégoire, William Roscoe, and Jean Charles Léonard Simonde de Sismondi, as well as the English, German, and French translations of the ancient Sanskrit play *Sakuntala* by Kalidasa. In the same period Berchet made the acquaintance of Alessandro Manzoni, becoming a member of his circle of Romantic intellectuals, but without sharing Manzoni's political cautiousness. By contrast, Berchet embraced political activism, entering the Carboneria secret society in the autumn of 1820, thus perfectly embodying the coincidence of political and cultural subversion typical of the early phases of Italian Romanticism.

After the failed revolution in Milan in 1821, Berchet went into exile to escape imprisonment. In this period he completed *I Profughi di Parga* (*The Refugees of Parga*, 1823), published first in Paris and then in London. This narrative poem evokes the terrible fate of the city of Parga, on the Ionian coast of Greece, ceded by the British to the Ottoman empire, against which the Pargiotes had long been fighting to keep their independence. The most outstanding example of Philhellenic poetry in Italian Romantic literature, the poem is both a commentary on the political climate of post-Napoleonic Europe and a coded reference to the subjugation of Italy by the Austrians after the Congress of Vienna. During his English exile, Berchet also began to compose a series of work in the "romanze" style, a poetic genre similar to the ballad, describing the political situation of Italy, the hatred for foreign oppressors, and the failure of patriotic

resistance. These compositions—"Clarina," "Il Romito del Cenisio" ("The Hermit of Mount Cenis"), "Rimorso" ("Remorse"), "Matilde," "Il Trovatore" ("The Troubadour"), and "Giulia"—were eventually published in two editions, in 1824 with the title of *Poesie* (*Poems*), and as *Romanze* (*Ballads*) in 1826. After this date, probably due to the great number of long narrative poems on the English publishing market, Berchet turned to shorter poetry and started work on the *Fantasie* (*Fantasies*), which were published in Paris in 1829 and reelaborated national themes, especially the contrast between the grandeur of Italy in the medieval period and its present condition.

Generally, the bulk of Berchet's poetic output is distinguished by his predilection for narrative materials, a combination of "popular" rhythms and everyday expressions together with a recognizably poetic diction, the language and metrical structures of opera, and a variety of Romantic themes such as exile, ill-fated love affairs, virtuous figures, violence and revolutions, despairing and stoic freedom fighters. Critics have judged his medievalism as stilted, something akin to the French "genre troubadour" rather than Sir Walter Scott's more accurate reconstructions; but, when seen from an ideological perspective, Berchet's Middle Ages emerge as a time of lively social interaction, the idealized era of the *comuni* (central in the *Fantasie*) and the free spirit of the Italians. In terms of meter, he popularized the ballad and "romanza" forms, employed a variety of metrical schemes often in the same text, as in *I Profughi di Parga*, and, like Manzoni in the same years, widely experimented with decasyllables.

In his later years Berchet once more turned to translation. In 1829 he went to the University of Bonn to take its prestigious courses, and there he befriended August Wilhelm von Schlegel and started to translate the *Nibelungenlied* into Italian. The German epic, however, was left unfinished, and his major effort at translation appeared in 1837, in the collection *Vecchie Romanze Spagnuole* (*Ancient Spanish Ballads*), which not only responds to the more general Romantic vogue for Spanish poetry but also demonstrates Berchet's lasting interest in "popular" poetry. Once again, in this work Berchet confirms his central position as an important representative of an Italian Romanticism that is truly cosmopolitan, intent on introducing Italian culture to foreign literatures and developments, and making literature a fundamental instrument of historical and political intervention addressed to a specific, forward-looking public.

DIEGO SAGLIA

See also **Alfieri, Vittorio; Art and Medievalism; Foscolo, Ugo; Greece: Cultural and Historical Survey; Literature; Manifestoes; Nationalism; Orientalism: Literature and Scholarship; Ossian; Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von; Schlegel, August Wilhelm von; Sismondi, Jean Charles Léonard Simonde de; Staël, Anne-Louise-Germaine (Madame) de; Translation**

Biography

Born in Milan, December 23, 1783. Abandoned his studies and joined his father's commercial activity; journey to Rome and Florence, 1811; took part in the foundation of *Il Conciliatore*, 1818; entered the Carboneria, 1820; went into exile in France, 1821; moved to London, 1822; joined the exiled household of Arconati at Gaesbeek, Belgium, 1829; studied at University of Bonn, 1829–30; went to Paris to follow the events of the July Revolution, 1830; in Geneva, 1831; in Berlin, 1833–34; in Edinburgh, 1837; returned to Italy, November 1845; became involved in politics but, after the failure of the 1848 revolutions, became an exile again. Died in Turin, December 23, 1851.

Selected Works

Collections

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Lettere alla marchesa Costanza Arconati. 2 vols. A cura di R. O. J. van Nuffel. Rome: Vittoriano, 1956–62.
Opere. A cura di M. Turchi. Naples: Rossi, 1972.

Poetry

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I Profughi di Parga. 1823.
Poesie, 1824. Revised edition as *Romanze*, 1826.
Fantasie. 1829.
Vecchie Romanze Spagnuole. 1837.

Other

Sul "Cacciatore feroce" e sulla "Eleonora" di Goffredo Augusto Bürger. Lettera semiseria di Grisostomo al suo figliuolo (*On Gottfried August Bürger's "Wild Hunter" and "Lenore." Chrysostom's Half-serious Letter to his Son*) 1816. New, rev. ed. by Mazio Scotti. Turin: UTET, 1979.

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BERLIOZ, HECTOR 1803–1869

French composer, conductor, and music critic

Berlioz was a strikingly visionary and imaginative figure in nineteenth-century French musical Romanticism. His highly original approach to composition, strongly influenced by literature, produced works that often transcend the bounds of traditional genres, while his theatrical conception of performance emphasized massive ensembles and manipulation of the performance space to maximize the aural, visual, and psychological effects of his music. Writing about a performance of the *Sympho-*

nie fantastique in 1838, critic Stephen Heller noted: "With artists such as Berlioz, poetry, music, and painting exist simultaneously."

A true Romantic artist, Berlioz constantly placed himself at the center of his creative work, and many of his compositions have significant autobiographical levels of meaning. The most familiar example is the *Épisode de la vie d'un artiste* (*Episode from the Life of an Artist*, 1830), more popularly known by the title Berlioz himself generally used, *Symphonie fantastique*, whose written program depicts the composer's unrequited love for Shakespearean actress Harriet Smithson. *Roméo et Juliette* (1839) further portrays his passion for Smithson, who often played the role of Juliet; *Harold en Italie* (1834) recalls his sojourn on the Italian peninsula; while *La Damnation de Faust* (1846) manifests Berlioz's own brooding personality and reverential awe of nature.

Like Richard Wagner, Berlioz so closely identified himself with the totality of his compositions that he found it difficult to work with prepared texts and librettos, often substantially altering them or writing them himself. For example, in *Les Troyens* (composed 1856–58; Acts 3–5 first performed 1863) the grandest of his operas, Berlioz's literary contribution—his own translation of *The Aeneid* combined with original material inspired by Virgil—rivals the musical setting he created.

Berlioz's yearning for perfection led both to constant revision and polishing of "completed" works for many years after their premiers and to many abortive attempts at composition, the best parts of which he often reused in later works. As a conductor, Berlioz's insistence on polish often led him to omit challenging movements or sections that could not be performed to his satisfaction, and his scores abound with instructions regarding the number of performers, their physical placement, suggestions for rehearsing difficult passages, and special performance techniques.

Berlioz's flair for drama is manifest everywhere in his compositions, which often defy traditional genre expectations. Instead, his larger works that combine orchestra, chorus, and solo voice occupy various points along a continuum between operatic and concert music. For example, Berlioz vehemently asserted that *Roméo et Juliette* was a symphony, despite its inclusion of voices. The vocal text, he argued, was essential "to prepare the listeners' mind for the dramatic scenes whose feelings and passions are to be expressed by the orchestra." The succession of vocal, choral, and instrumental numbers in *La Damnation de Faust* is not far removed from *Roméo et Juliette*, yet its preponderant weight on vocal movements led Berlioz first to call it an *opéra de concert* and later a *légende dramatique. Harold en Italie* began as a *fantaisie dramatique* for orchestra, chorus, and viola, but eventually became a "symphony with viola soloist"; Berlioz described it as "a series of orchestral scenes in which the solo viola would be involved, to a greater or lesser extent, like an actual person, retaining the same character throughout." *La Fuite en Egypte* (1850), a nonliturgical religious work, was labelled a *Mystère*, while its expanded version, *L'Enfance du Christ* (1854), bears the appellation *Trilogie sacrée*. For one of his most radical works, *La Retour à la vie* (The Return of Life, 1832; revised end retitled *Lélio* in 1855), the composer adopted Thomas Moore's term *mélologue*. Its mixture of recitation with choral numbers, solo song, and instrumental music is so untraditional, and its subject so unabashedly autobiographical and topical to its period, that it has rarely been performed.

The spatial distribution of sound and visual placement of performers is a key component of Berlioz's aesthetics. The viola soloist in *Harold en Italie*, for instance, is instructed to sit "at front stage, near the public and isolated from the orchestra," representing the psychological distance between Harold the "narrator," and the orchestra. The act 1 finale of *Les Troyens* employs combinations of spatially divided stage bands to create the illusion of the passing of the Trojan horse. The Requiem spreads four groups of brass and percussion players apart from the main orchestra to represent, sonically and symbolically, the four quarters of the earth, while the spatial separation of the orchestra and organ in the Te Deum represents a "dialogue between church and state."

Berlioz's exquisite technical mastery and imagination in his use of orchestral tone color exerted a powerful influence on later composers such as Mily Balakirev, Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov, Gustav Mahler and Richard Strauss, and his treatise on orchestration is still considered a fundamental source on the topic. Imaginative effects abound in Berlioz's music, ranging from softening the sound of a clarinet by encasing its bell in a silk bag to having a chorus sing from a room backstage while gradually shutting the door, creating a muting effect similar to that of the swell box on a pipe organ. While Berlioz's compositions have become known for massive sonic effects, these are balanced by many gossamer passages of transparent delicacy.

Berlioz's music criticism is insightful, barbed, and witty, in every way as colorful as his music, and like his compositions, firmly embraces the Romantic deification of the composer or author as creator. He directed particular outrage toward those who "mutilated" the works of artists he revered as special geniuses, such as Ludwig van Beethoven and William Shakespeare, to fit the tastes or whims of performers and the public, or the business interests of impresarios.

Partly due to his acerbic pen and his distance from official academic music establishments, Berlioz never achieved the amount of recognition he desired or deserved during his lifetime. In the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries his music was largely overshadowed by that of German composers. Since the mid-twentieth century, however, Berlioz's music has experienced a renaissance, beginning with Jacques Barzun's impressive study of the composer in the context of the Romantic cultural milieu. Conductor Colin Davis championed the music of Berlioz in his concerts and recorded all of Berlioz's major works. Later in the century, John Eliot Gardiner made recordings of the symphonies using period instruments and nineteenth-century performance practices. Much outstanding research has now appeared from enthusiastic and dedicated Berlioz specialists such as Peter Bloom, David Cairns, D. Kern Holoman, and Hugh Macdonald, and a new complete edition of Berlioz's music, using newly discovered sources and modern critical techniques, is in progress.

GREGORY W. HARWOOD

See also **Music and Literature; Music, Romantic; *Symphonie Fantastique*; Symphony**

Biography

Born in La Côte-Saint-André, near Grenoble, December 11, 1803. Son of Dr. Louis-Joseph Berlioz, a physician. Educated in music and Latin by his father; learned the piano, flute, and

guitar, and taught himself musical harmony. Sent to Paris by his father to study medicine, 1821. Published first songs at own expense, 1822; abandoned medical studies and began studying composition with Jean-François Lesueur at the Conservatoire National Supérieur de Musique in Paris, incurring the disapproval of his parents, 1823. Made many attempts at composition, which were mostly abandoned or reworked into later compositions, 1824–29. Witnessed Shakespearean actress Henrietta (Harriet) Smithson's first Parisian performance as Ophelia, 1827; although as yet unacquainted with her, adopted her as the inspiration for his work. Continued studying at the Paris Conservatoire. Began relationship with a professor of pianoforte, Camille Moke, c. 1829. First performance of the *Symphonie Fantastique*, 1829. Began career as journalist, 1829; won the Prix de Rome on third attempt, 1830. Engaged to Camille Moke, 1831, relationship broken off shortly afterwards when Moke became involved with the piano maker Camille Pleyel. Traveled to Rome; stayed there and in the Roman campagna, 1831–32. Returned to Paris via northern Italy, May 1832. Met Harriet Smithson, 1832; married her, 1833: they had one son, born 1834. First performance of *Harold in Italy*, 1834. Began writing music criticism for the *Journal des Débats*, 1835; completed his most influential prose writing, the *Treatise on Orchestration*, 1842. Began career as traveling conductor, 1842–43, continuing to tour intermittently until 1867. Began relationship with singer Marie Recio, c. 1840; separated from Harriet Smithson, 1844. Lived in London as conductor of the Drury Lane Theatre, 1848. Founded and became principal conductor of the Société Philharmonique in Paris, 1850. Member of the French delegation to the Great Exhibition in London, 1851. After Harriet's death, married Marie Recio, 1854 (d. 1862). Traveled frequently to Germany and London from 1855 on. Member of the Institut de France on fourth attempt, 1856. Actively promoted revival of operas by Christoph Willibald Gluck and assisted in editing new Gluck scores, 1859–66. Completed *Mémoires*, dedicating them to childhood sweetheart Estelle (Mme. Fornier), to whom he had renewed an attachment, 1865; had a number of copies of the book printed and bound for friends, family, and patrons. Son Louis Berlioz, a sea captain, died tragically of yellow fever in Havana, Cube, January 1867. Made his final tour, seriously ill and depressed by his son's death, to conduct concerts in Saint Petersburg and Moscow, 1867. Returned to France, attempting to recuperate in Nice briefly, 1868. Returned to Paris terminally ill. Died in Paris, March 8, 1869.

Selected Works

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Correspondance générale. 7 vols. projected. General editor, Pierre citron. Paris: Flammarion, 1972–.

Collected Literary Works. 7 vols. Facsimile reprints of first editions. Farnborough, England: Gregg, 1973.

Operas

Benvenuto Cellini. 1838; rev. version, 1856.

Les Troyens. 1863 (Partial performance of acts 3–5 *Les Troyens à Carthage*; first complete performance 1890).

Béatrice et Bénédict. 1860–62.

Secular Works

Huit Scènes de Faust. 1829.

Neuf Mélodies Imitées de l'Anglais (Irish Melodies), 1829; revised slightly and republished as *Irlande*. 1840.

Le Retour à la vie, 1832; revised and retitled *Lélio, ou Le Retour à la vie*. 1855.

La Captive. 6 versions with varying performance requirements. 1832–48.

Les Nuits d'été. Version for voice and piano, 1840–41. Revision for voices and orchestra. 1856.

La Damnation de Faust. 1846.

Sacred Works

Messe solennelle. 1828.

Grande Messe des morts (Requiem). 1837.

L'Enfance du Christ, Trilogie sacrée. 1854.

Te Deum. 1855.

Symphonies

Episode de la vie d'une artiste. 1830.

Harold en Italie. 1834.

Roméo et Juliette. 1839.

Grande Symphonie funèbre et triomphale, version for military band, 1840; revised for full orchestra and chorus *ad libitum*. 1842.

Concert Overtures

Grand Ouverture des Franc-Juges. 1828.

Grande Ouverture de Waverly. 1828.

Grande Ouverture du Roi Lear. 1833.

Intrata di Rob-Roy MacGregor. 1833.

Le Carnaval romain. 1844.

Ouverture du Corsaire, first called *La Tour de Nice*, 1845; revised as *Le Corsaire*. 1854.

Writings

Grande Traité d'instrumentation et d'orchestration modernes, 1843 (assembled from previously published articles in *La Revue et Gazette Musicale*); 2d ed. with a new section called *Le Chef d'orchestra; Théorie de son art*, 1855. Translated by Hugh Macdonald as *Berlioz's Orchestration Treatise: A Translation and Commentary*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. A translation by Theodore Front, *Treatise on Instrumentation* (New York: Edwin F. Kolmus, 1948; reprint, New York: Dover, 1991) is based on a revision of the treatise by Richard Strauss to reflect late nineteenth-century orchestral practices.

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Mémoires, printed privately in 1865 and published in 1870. Translated by David Cairns; as *The Memoirs of Hector Berlioz*. London: Gollancz, 1969.

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———. "Berlioz's Self-Borrowings," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 92 (1965–66): 27–44; reprinted in *The Garland Library of the History of Western Music*. Vol. 9, *Nineteenth-Century Music*. New York: Garland, 1985.
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BERNARDIN DE SAINT-PIERRE, JACQUES-HENRI (1737–1814)

French writer

Jacques-Henri Bernardin de Saint-Pierre was born in Le Havre in 1737 and died in Eragny in 1814. His life was long and exciting, taking him to Russia, Eastern Europe, and Mauritius (then called the Ile de France) before he finally settled in Paris, made the acquaintance of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and became a major literary and cultural figure of the period from 1780 to 1800.

His first published work is the account of his journey to the Ile de France and a description of his life on the island (*Voyage à l'Ile de France* [*Journey to the Ile de France*, 1773]). The work was not a success, but it is considered today in the context of its relationship with the author's best-selling novel, *Paul et Virginie* (*Paul and Virginia*, 1788). This novel was first published in the third edition of *Les Etudes de la Nature*, the first edition of which appeared in 1784. Bernardin had compiled this major philosophical study of nature while living on the breadline in Paris and surviving through the generosity of a few friends and various charitable sources. The *Etudes* were a major literary success and brought about a change in his fortunes; he became a figure of note and received many letters from readers and admirers, most of which have survived in Le Havre library and which will form an important feature of the edition of his correspondence (in preparation). The *Etudes* represent, according to the author, an attempt to write the history of nature and to seek in nature the basis of morality and political and religious systems. Bernardin was greatly affected by the death of Rousseau in 1778; Rousseau's influence is felt throughout his writing. Bernardin was not a professional scientist, and he knew the botanical sciences only as an amateur observer. Nevertheless, he sought in the *Etudes* to demonstrate the harmony of nature and man's close relationship with the world in which he lived.

When the novel *Paul et Virginie* first appeared, it received immediate critical acclaim and encouraged many new readers to write to Bernardin. The novel was published independently in 1789 and it has been available in print ever since. The novel is a striking and beautiful love story set in an exotic paradise. Two young children are brought up close to nature, raised by their respective mothers and taught the virtues of frugal living and adoration of the divinity. Bernardin produced lavish poetic descriptions in this short novel, based on his firsthand knowledge of life on Mauritius. The idyllic love story has a tragic ending as the young heroine, Virginie, who is sent to France to see a rich aunt and is thus separated from her beloved Paul, returns to seek continued happiness on the island but is caught in a hurricane and is drowned in the sea within reach of safety, as she is unwilling to remove her clothes to allow a sailor to carry her to the beach. Critics have disagreed about the status of the ending; some believe that Virginie dies to preserve her modesty, others that she has been corrupted by her stay in Europe and cannot return, pure, to the island. Yet others believe that the conclusion is a religious one in which Virginie chooses to die to depart this world and live in a heavenly paradise. Whatever the interpretation of the conclusion, few critics would disagree that Bernardin has found the perfect recipe for a successful novel: a tragic love story, an exotic landscape, a serious political and religious message (there is a short episode on the fate of a female slave and a lengthy dialogue which involves serious criticism of contemporary France), and the finest example of poetic prose to be found in France in the eighteenth century. Bernardin is an evident precursor of François-Auguste-René de Chateaubriand, who was a great admirer of *Paul et Virginie*.

Such was the success of Bernardin's novel that a young writer, Etienne Pivert de Senancour, future author of *Obermann* (1804), wrote to him for advice about leaving civilization and settling on a tropical island that would offer him the benefits he read about in the novel. The letter survives in Le Havre, but we have no record of Bernardin's reply, if indeed there was one. In 1790, Bernardin wrote and published a short novel, *La Chaumière Indienne* (The Indian Cottage). The text is the account of a philosopher's journey in India, seeking happiness and the foun-

dations for it. It is an overtly deistic account in which the author withdraws his support for organized religion and shows that the key to happiness is a simple life shared with a good companion and spent trusting in God's generosity. The influence of Rousseau is clearly visible here.

The Revolution found Bernardin working on other projects, in particular the *Harmonies de la Nature* and a play involving a white slave, *Empsaël et Zoraïde*. Neither was published in Bernardin's lifetime. Many projects remained unfinished, but survive in the vast archives in Le Havre. Bernardin's widow became the wife of his secretary, Louis Aimé-Martin; they initiated a vast publishing operation in the 1820s and Aimé-Martin set about producing an edition of the complete works of Bernardin. It is apparent to us now that many of the posthumous works were not edited according to today's standards and norms; it is hoped that a reliable edition will soon be planned.

Bernardin's influence was enormous; it is safe to say that no writer of the Romantic era was unaware of the novel *Paul et Virginie*, and references to his text are to be found in authors as diverse as Gustave Flaubert and Albert Camus.

MALCOLM COOK

Biography

Born Jacques-Henri Bernardin de Saint-Pierre in Le Havre, January 19, 1737, to a bourgeois family. Sailed on an uncle's ship to Martinique, 1749. Returned to Normandy: studied at a Jesuit school in Caen and the Jesuit Collège de Rouen, until 1757: awarded a prize in mathematics. Attended the École des Ponts et Chaussées, 1757–58. After the school closed, transferred to the military school at Versailles; obtained a commission as a military engineer. Joined the Rhine army under the Comte de Saint-Germain, 1760. Returned to France; appointed to Malta as engineer-geographer, 1761. Returned home destitute after commission was refused recognition. Traveled to Holland and on to Russia, 1762: served as sub-lieutenant in the engineering corps at Moscow; obtained the protection of the French ambassador, the Baron de Breteuil. Traveled to Finland on a captain's commission from Catherine II. Returned to France via Poland, Austria, and Berlin, 1765–67. Left penniless after inheritance from his father went in its entirety to his stepmother. Lived in Paris, virtually destitute, 1767. Commissioned as engineer captain to sail to Madagascar, 1767; after a quarrel with the head of the mission, refused to disembark and continued to Mauritius; stayed as a builder until 1770. Returned to Paris, 1771. Published *Voyages à l'Île-de-France*, 1773. Stayed with Breteuil in the Tuileries; began associating with philosophers in Paris, including Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Volumes 1–3 of *Études de la Nature* published, 1783. Third edition, including *Paul et Virginie*, published 1787. *Intendant* (head) of the Jardin du Roi, later the Jardin des Plantes, 1792. Installed the zoo at the Jardin, 1792. The post of *intendant* was suppressed; granted compensation by the Convention, 1793. Married Félicité Didot (died 1799), daughter of the publisher of *Études*, 1793: one daughter, Virginie, and two sons, both called Paul, one of whom died in infancy. Appointed Professeur de Philsophie Morale at the École Normale Supérieure, 1794 (school was closed, 1795). Member of the Institut de France, 1795; Académie française, 1803. Married Desirée de Pelleporc, 1800: one son (born 1802; died 1804). Chevalier, Légion d'honneur, 1806. President of the Académie française, 1807. Awarded pension from Napoleon in acknowledgement of his support. Completed *Harmonies de la nature*, 1812. Died in Eragny-sur-Oise, January 21, 1814.

Selected Works

Les Etudes de la Nature. 1784.
Paul et Virginie. 1784. Published as: *Paul et Virginie*. Edited with an Introduction, by Jean-Michel Racault. Paris: Livre de Poche, 1999.
La Chaumière indienne. 1790.

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BERTRAND, ALOYSIUS (LOUIS) 1807–1841

French poet

Aloysius Bertrand's short life coincided with the height of Romanticism in France, and in many respects he projects the typical image of the Romantic poet: young, suffering from ill health and poverty, passionate, and in search of recognition of his tortured genius. It is true that his major work was not published until after his death and was soon to be forgotten. Nonetheless its influence eventually extended well beyond the confines of the Romantic era and of France.

Bertrand's urge to write found an outlet in two media: poetry and journalism. He started composing poems before leaving school, and soon came to the attention of poets like Émile Deschamps, Victor Hugo (who admired his craftsmanship and finely perfected form), and Charles Nodier. His early work, however, did not cause a lasting stir. Bertrand's renown, such as it was or is, rests almost entirely on one piece of writing: *Gaspard de la Nuit: Fantaisies à manière de Rembrandt et de Callot* (*Gaspard of the Night: Fantasies in the Manner of Rembrandt and Callot*, 1842). Written over a period of time around 1830, the work reflects both dominant trends in literary writing and innovative ideas.

Gaspard de la Nuit is composed of a collection of picturesque and bizarre prose poems demonstrating the revival of the taste for the medieval, the Gothic, and the grotesque. Using dreams and magic, its rhythmic language produces incantatory and nightmarish effects. At the same time, the prose poems resemble little tableaux; in fact the initial title

of the work had been *Bambochades romantiques* (*Romantic small burlesque paintings*). Traces of the influence of, among others, François-Auguste-René, Vicomte de Chateaubriand, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, E. T. A. Hoffmann, and Sir Walter Scott are clearly discernible.

The two prefaces reveal the poet's preoccupation with the question "What is art?" In this respect the work reflects the philosophical trend of negative transcendentalism as introduced by G. W. F. Hegel. The first introduction describes Bertrand's aesthetics: art is "sentiment" (feeling), God, and love; but the second condition of art, "ce qui dans l'art est idée" (that which in art is idea) belongs to Satan. Bertrand explores this duality by introducing the "new" poetic form. He seeks to convey ineffable aspects of the unconscious and the subconscious, the occult and the diabolic through the evocation of fantastic images and dreamlike qualities—in, for example, "Un Rêve" ("A Dream") or "L'Heure du sabbat" ("The Hour of the Sabbath") in the section "La Nuits et ses prestiges" ("The Night and its Marvels")— an approach that paved the way for surrealism. Nevertheless, he also initiated the modern prose poem. Charles Baudelaire called *Gaspard* the "mystérieux et brillant modèle" (mysterious and brilliant model) of his *Spleen de Paris*, and described prose poems as being musical without rhyme or rhythm. In fact, Bertrand's poetic prose is more defiant in its conception. Its novelty resides in its challenge to traditional and paradoxical assumptions about literary institutions: prose and poetry. He gave instructions to print his prose texts blocked like verse and interspaced with blanks to resemble couplets, making the empty spaces count as much as his words. Moreover, he attempts to "paint" with color and sound, rather than narrate his images, in the event inventing an "impressionnisme poétique" (poetic impressionism).

Bertrand first read excerpts of *Gaspard* to Hugo and to Charles-Augustin Sainte-Beuve in the salons he frequented while in Paris. Despite an initial show of interest in the work, however, he was unable to find a publisher. When the book finally appeared posthumously (1842), Sainte-Beuve was slow to write his foreword, and it did little justice to its generic novelty. Moreover, the few copies printed hardly sold. The *Revue des deux mondes* published a review of the book in 1843 that spoke of a certain charm and novelty, but remained skeptical. Deschamps in *La France littéraire* was more enthusiastic. But it was left to Baudelaire to draw proper attention to the poet and publicly announce his admiration. Bertrand's work achieved cult status with the symbolists. Several critics have pointed out Stéphane Mallarmé's affinity with Bertrand, whose "oeuvre exquis" (exquisite work) he revered. Jean Moréas took great interest in the poet and regretted that Paul Verlaine had not included him among his "poètes maudits" (accursed poets).

Bertrand's popularity was reawakened by the surrealists' taste for the cabalistic poetry at the heart of *Gaspard*. For André Breton, Bertrand was, together with Gérard de Nerval, one of the two fathers of the movement. Since then, Bertrand has intermittently been rediscovered. In fact, the interest in *Gaspard* has spread as far as Russia and Japan. Its topicality is confirmed by a 1993 conference in honor of Bertrand, as well as by the 2000 publication of the first edition of his collected works.

As a journalist, Bertrand started his career working for the *Provincial*, a short-lived literary journal founded by the Dijon Studies Society on the model of the (London) *Globe*. The paper was a convenient vehicle for the publication of Bertrand's early works. It also served the purpose of promulgating his ideas on writing. In an 1828 article in one of the last issues he places himself firmly on the side of the Romantics, proclaiming that classicism is useless and dead and that new times demand new poetry. The epic of the present, he maintained, should take the form of a drama written in prose. The article shows Bertrand as belonging to the avant-garde of French Romanticism. The poet did in fact also write several plays that until now had never been published. Only one play, *Monsieur Robillard [Le Sous-Lieutenant des Hussards]*, a comedy satirizing the bourgeoisie and the *juste milieu* (middle way), was produced in the theater (although it was performed only once, in 1832).

While working for *Le Spectateur* and then *Le Patriote de la Côte d'Or*, 1830–32, Bertrand gave vent to his political opinions. He produced strongly worded articles vilifying the royalists and fiercely supporting the republican cause. His polemical articles extend to subjects such as art and the École des Beaux-Arts in Dijon. During this revolutionary period he adopted the pen name Ludovic, just as he used Aloysius for his poetic compositions. His journalistic writings exhibit a great talent for irony, a feature that also marks *Gaspard* and the plays.

Literary history has marginalized Bertrand's work, underplaying the major impact it has had on modern French poetry. A true Romantic in his sources and inspiration, Bertrand also provided the starting point for a poetic revolution. Yet so far his originality, his modernity, and his genuine contribution to the aesthetic movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have been neither fully recognized nor properly valorized.

FELIZITAS RINGHAM

Biography

Born Jacques-Louis-Napoléon Bertrand in Ceva, Piedmont, France (today part of Italy), April 20, 1807. Son of a lieutenant in the Imperial guard. Moved to Spoleto, 1812. Moved to Dijon, 1815. Attended the Collège Royal, Dijon, 1818–26; received the "prix de discours français," 1825, and the "premier prix de rhétorique," 1826. Joined the Société d'Études de Dijon (Dijon Studies Society), collecting historical archives, 1826–28. Manager of the periodical *Le Provincial*, Dijon, 1828. Worked as a writer in Paris; met Victor Hugo and Charles-Augustin Sainte-Beuve, among others, 1828–30. Adopted pen name Aloysius Bertrand. Worked for the liberal journal *Le Spectateur*, Dijon, 1830–31 until its suppression by the press laws of Charles X. Chief editor of the revolutionary journal *Le Patriote de la Côte-d'Or*, Dijon, 1831–32. Moved to Paris, 1833; worked in impoverished conditions as a writer and, for a time, as secretary to Baron Roederer; tried to find a publisher for his work; suffered first signs of tuberculosis. Engaged to Célestine F. [*sic*], 1834. *Gaspard de la Nuit* accepted for publication by Victor Pavie, a publisher in Angers, 1839. Died of tuberculosis exacerbated by malnourishment in Paris, April 29, 1841.

Selected Writings

Collections

Oeuvres Complètes. Edited by Helen Hart Poggenburg. 2000.

Le Keepsake Fantastique: Poésies, chroniques et essais, théâtre inédit, correspondance. Edited by Bertrand Guégan. 1923.

Poetry

Gaspard de la Nuit: Fantaisies à la manière de Rembrandt et de Callot. Foreword by Charles-Augustin Sainte-Beuve, 1842.

Gaspard de la Nuit: Fantaisies à la manière de Rembrandt et de Callot. Edited by Bertrand Guégan, with a review by Charles-Augustin Sainte-Beuve, 1925. Translated by John T. Wright as *Gaspard de la Nuit: Fantasies in the Manner of Rembrandt and Callot*. 2d ed. 1994.

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Rude, Fernand. *Aloysius Bertrand*. Paris: Seghers, 1971.

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BESTUZHEV-MARLINSKII, ALEKSANDR ALEKSANDROVICH 1797–1837

Russian writer, poet, critic, and revolutionary

Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Bestuzhev-Marlinskii, led a Byronic life that Byron himself might have envied. He was a handsome officer of the dragoons whose seductions were legion. He was a polymath and a master of languages. His coeditorship of the literary almanac *Poliarnaia zvezda* (*Polar Star*, 1823–25) enabled him to champion "the new, so-called Romantic school." He was a key leader of the failed revolt of December 14, 1825 that spawned Decembrism. Bestuzhev spent the rest of his life in Siberia and the Caucasus Mountains, where he began a meteoric new literary career as Aleksandr Marlinskii, an ultra-Romantic writer whose popularity exceeded that of Aleksandr Pushkin and Nikolai Gogol. He was spied upon by the authorities and sent to remote posts, quarantine duty, and numerous battles. He suffered scandal when a young girl was accidentally shot in his bed. He may have been a government spy, a secret friend of rebels, or both. He was killed leading a charge against Circassian mountaineers; his body was not found, and immediately the legends of Marlinskii began. He was said to have sought death or to have used his contacts with bandits to escape abroad or to a free life in the mountains as a bandit, rebel, holy man, or lover of a beautiful maiden. He was quickly dismissed as a serious writer, but continued to enthrall adolescents for over a century.

Marlinskii's writing started in 1821 with a historical account of the Baltic, "Poezdka v Revel" ("Journey to Reval"), and a Gothic horror tale, "Zamok Venden" ("Castle Wenden"). This and two other "castle tales" of a Livonian cycle dramatize bloody revenge in the Baltic German age of chivalry. Sir Walter Scott's influence is strong in these and other historical tales, and "Revel'skii turnir" ("Tournament at Reval," 1825) is straight from *Ivanhoe*. In this tale the young merchant Edwin dons a knight's armor, defeats his haughty aristocratic rival, and wins the hand of Minna. For the tales of a Russian historical cycle Marlinskii relied on the national historian N. M. Karamzin. "Roman i Ol'ga" ("Roman and Olga," 1823) is an adventure tale about another socially unacceptable hero. Roman saves democratic Novgorod from autocratic Moscow and wins the hand of Olga.

The best early tale is "Izmennik" ("The Traitor," 1825), a Shakespearian-Schillerian tale of envy and lust for power in which the villainous Vladimir Sittsky sells his soul, betrays his homeland, and murders his brother. Among the later of Marlinskii's supernatural tales are "Strashnoe gadanie" ("The Terrible Divination," 1830) and "Latnik" ("The Cuirassier," 1831). In the former tale an impassioned young officer rushes to an illicit rendezvous. During a halt in a village he is subjected to a divination that saves him from his sinful ways. The latter tale dramatizes a murder mystery in a sinister mansion. This is a castle tale: the cuirassier returns and kills the villain who imprisoned and murdered his beloved.

Marlinskii wrote several Byronic society tales, the best of which are "Vecher na bivuake" ("An Evening at a Bivouac," 1823) and "Vtoroi vecher na bivuake" ("A Second Evening at a Bivouac," 1823). These are tales of love and duels over unworthy society darlings; both are composed of stories told around a campfire and framed by anecdotes. To these "tales of men and passions" Marlinskii later added "Ispytanie" ("The Test," 1830), a comic satire in which two hussars attempt to outwit each other while testing the fidelity of a beautiful woman and are saved from fighting a foolish duel.

Marlinskii also wrote naval adventures. In "Fregat *Nadezhda*" ("The Frigate *Hope*," 1832) a young captain of the finest Russian ship is carried away by his love for a society darling, allows her to use her husband's influence to sail aboard his ship, neglects his command, and is injured while saving the *Hope* in a storm. On his deathbed he confesses his betrayal of duty directly to the tsar. This elaborate tale is an allegory and an encoded confession of the author's role in the Decembrist conspiracy.

Marlinskii's fiction reaches its greatest extravagance in his tales of the Caucasus. "Ammalat-bek" (1831) is a story of terrible betrayal. A young Tatar chief is befriended by a Russian officer who hopes to show that Russians and Caucasians can learn to trust each other. Deceived by a mountain rebel into believing his Russian mentor plans to betray him, and lured by the villain's promise of his daughter's hand in marriage, Ammalat kills his benefactor, only to learn that he murdered a true friend. "Mulla Nur" (1836) is the tale of dreamy young Iskander Bey who undertakes to end a drought by bringing miraculous snow from a mountain top. He is aided in his quest by the famous bandit Mulla Nur.

Marlinskii's tales have been called transpositions of the Byronic verse tale into prose. This can be seen in his stylized authorial image, the heroes who hold themselves apart from crass society and have been betrayed by love, and the use of digression to negotiate narrative transitions. His skills show in quick, frequent shifts among narrative modes: now description, exposition, or declamation, suddenly direct authorial address sprinkled with witticisms, then digression or dialogue. His talent for telling a tale is undeniable. Marlinskii's specialty was *byt*—detailed, expert, and technical descriptions of cultural milieu. His tales are saturated with terms derived from his exceptional linguistic reserves. The castle tales are a lesson in medieval architecture. The Caucasian tales are enriched by explications of language and mores. His weakness, however, was his hyperbolic ultra-Romantic style, known as "marlinism"—a parade of metaphors, similes, epithets, personifications, and antitheses. Its syntax is made graceful by shifting rhythms, change of tone or pace, repetition, parallelism, and multiple clauses. Hyperbole and attention-getting word plays abound.

Marlinskii's poetry is conventional, with the exception of the revolutionary "Agitatsionnnye pesni" ("Agitational Songs") and "Podbliudnye pesni" ("*Under-the Saucer-Songs*") he co-authored in 1823–25 with the civic poet Kondratii Ryleev. Far better are Marlinskii's laments of exile, love lyrics, translations of Goethe, and imitations of Caucasian folk songs. He was also a superior critic, devastating "literary old-believers" with wit and demolishing their works with linguistic expertise. Marlinskii's Caucasian essays are models of political and military reportage. A theoretical essay, "O romantizme i romane" (1833; "On Romanticism and the Novel") is notable for its erudition and imaginative arguments for a Romantic view of history.

LAUREN G. LEIGHTON

Biography

Born in Saint Petersburg, October 23, 1797. Enrolled in Cadet Corps of Engineers, 1806; admitted to elite Light Dragoon Regiment, 1817. Critic, translator, polemicist, travel memoirist, writer of historical and Byronic society tales, 1817–23; coeditor with Kondratii Ryleyev of the literary almanac *Polar Star*, 1823–25. Member of secret revolutionary Northern Society, 1824–25, led mutinous regiment in failed revolt of December 14, 1825. Incarceration in Finland, 1826; Exile in Yakutsk, 1826–29. Service as common soldier, allowed to resume writing career under pseudonym Marlinskii; popular author of supernatural, naval, society, and Caucasian prose tales, 1829–37. Killed in battle at Cape Adler on Caspian Sea, June 7, 1837.

Selected Works

Ammalat-Beg, 1831; translated by J. B. Shaw as *Ammalat-Beg; or A Russian Colonel's Head for a Dowry*, 1845. Authorship as *Sultanetta* claimed by Alexandre Dumas.

Mulla Nur, 1836; translated from the French by Alma Blakeman Jones as *The Ball of Snow*, 1895, authorship claimed by Alexandre Dumas.

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Selections in *Russian Romantic Prose: An Anthology*. Edited by Carl R. Proffer. Rydel Anthology: Ditto, 1979.

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BEWICK, THOMAS 1753–1828

English printmaker and illustrator

Born in 1753 into a farming family, Thomas Bewick resisted conventional schooling, often playing truant, spending days (and nights) fishing, bird-watching, wandering, or wading in rivers and lakes. Though not without academic ability in school (he learned some Latin, for example), he was happier educating himself with rural ballads, ghost stories, and the recollections of retired soldiers—the kind of material that William Wordsworth observed and incorporated (from a gentlemanly perspective) in *Lyrical Ballads* (1798). Some exploits of Bewick's "active wild disposition" sound similar to the "glad animal movements" Wordsworth recalls in "Tintern Abbey." Bewick began drawing by instinct, filling in blank areas of his slate at school, and the margins of books, with tiny sketches. From here he progressed to drawing with chalk on grave stones, the church floor, and the hearth at home. Eventually he was given paper, pen, and painting materials, but he had no formal tuition and drew solely from "the Beasts and Birds which enlivened the beautiful Scenery of Woods & Wilds, surrounding my native Hamlet." In 1767

Bewick was bound apprentice to Ralph Beilby, an engraver in Newcastle, who taught him various methods of engraving on metal. Bewick took over the wood-engraving side of the business, developing it far beyond his master's abilities. In 1774, with his apprenticeship over, Bewick took a walking tour in Scotland before going to London to seek work. The metropolis disgusted him and he returned to Newcastle in 1777, becoming Beilby's partner. He visited London once more before his death, but otherwise remained determinedly provincial, visiting his family home at Cherryburn regularly and spending much of his spare time in solitary walking. He continued to frequent graveyards, on one occasion, in 1815, spending several hours talking to his own father's skull which had been disinterred during the excavation of a new grave.

His father had died on November 15, 1785. On that day, Bewick engraved a dromedary on a woodblock, thus initiating a long-cherished project to produce an accurately illustrated natural history. In 1790 he published a *General History of Quadrupeds*, with his own wood-engraved illustrations. It was confessedly unsystematic and derivative (from Georges-Louis Leclerc de Buffon in particular), but there was a strong concentration on animals that Bewick had actually seen himself. In 1797 a more ambitious work began to appear, with the first volume of his *History of British Birds*. This volume, devoted to land birds, contained descriptions compiled by his partner Beilby and derived from Buffon, Thomas Pennant, and Gilbert White; but Bewick corrected them on the grounds that his own habits led him "to a more intimate acquaintance with this branch of Natural History." The illustrations were a stunning success; Bewick had perfected the art of engraving on the end grain of very hard boxwood blocks with tools of his own construction, and the clarity of the results was unprecedented. In the second volume of *History of British Birds* (1804), devoted to water birds, Bewick wrote the descriptions himself and made great efforts to base his illustrations on observation. Two months at Marmaduke Tunstall's house in north Yorkshire allowed him to use that collection of stuffed birds; sportsmen and naturalists who had heard about the project brought him recently killed or living specimens to draw. Most of the descriptions are concluded with a small vignette engraving of some scene of rural life: boys playing in a churchyard, a man fishing, a snowman, a suicide, a goose pecking an old woman. These miniatures, humorous and Gothic by turns and without obvious connection with the texts, formed one of the most influential features of Bewick's books.

In his instinctive association with rural pursuits and nocturnal ramblings, Bewick resembled Wordsworth. In his combination of conventional engraving work with a highly developed sense of his individual craft, he was like his close contemporary William Blake, whose radical politics he also shared. But there was nothing of the hermetic visionary about Bewick, and his literary tastes remained conservative. His illustrated editions of poems by Oliver Goldsmith, Thomas Parnell, and William Somerville, and his quotations from James Thomson (whom he called "the naturalist's poet") indicate his true allegiances. Although he appears to have read nothing of the literature now regarded as Romantic, he was undeniably influential on the contemporary literature of his day: his natural history works were often cited in the notes to poems throughout the nineteenth century, and he may have been partially responsible for the remarkable number of poems about birds by Samuel Taylor Coleridge, John Keats, and Percy Bysshe Shelley, and William Wordsworth.

In Wordsworth's "The Two Thieves" (1800), Bewick's genius for vivid miniature characterization was celebrated as a kind of untutored wizardry, superior to the book-learned skills of writing. In the opening pages of Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* (1847) the heroine finds a Gothic strand in Bewick's *History of British Birds* that suits the loneliness and oppression of her condition. Reading about the bleak and remote habitats of sea fowl of the arctic circle, Jane forms a "shadowy . . . but strangely impressive" idea that she connects with the darker vignettes in the text: wrecked boats, isolated rocks, twilight churchyards, devils, and "the cold and ghastly moon glancing through bars of cloud at a wreck just sinking." The impressiveness of these mysterious images is later confirmed by Jane's own highly Gothic artwork.

Another admirer of the vignettes was the bird painter John James Audubon, who visited Bewick in 1827, and who declared that Bewick "was purely a son of nature, to whom alone he owed nearly all that characterized him as an artist and a man." The study of Bewick's natural history illustrations was recommended to all aspiring artists by Charles Robert Leslie, in his *Handbook for Young Painters* (1855), and John Ruskin celebrated Bewick's "magnificent artistic virtue" in several books. Bewick's autobiographical *Memoir*, begun in 1822 and recording his rural boyhood and political views in vivid detail, was published by his daughter Jane in 1862; a London exhibition was mounted in 1880, and a memorial edition of his major books, using the original blocks, came out in 1885, confirming the continued interest in his engravings through the nineteenth century.

PAUL BAINES

Biography

Born at Cherryburn, Eltringham, Northumberland, August 10 or 12, 1753. Son of John Bewick, farmer. Educated at Ovingham Parsonage, c. 1763–67. Apprenticed to metal engraver Ralph Beilby in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1767. First engravings on wood published in Charles Hutton's *Mensuration*, 1768. Undertook walking tour of Scotland; traveled to London to seek work, 1776. Returned to Newcastle; entered into business partnership with Beilby, with brother John Bewick as apprentice, 1777. Moved to Circus Lane, the Forth, Newcastle, 1781. Married Isabella Elliot (d. 1826), 1786: one son, three daughters. Published *A General History of Quadrupeds*, 1790. Started work on *A History of British Birds*, 1791. Moved to a new engraving studio in St. Nicholas's churchyard, Newcastle, 1795. Partnership with Beilby dissolved, 1797. Joined by his son Robert as apprentice, 1804. Became seriously ill; moved to Gateshead, 1812. Elected member of the Society of Dilettanti, Edinburgh, 1818. Visited by the painter John James Audubon; completed his *Memoir*, 1827. Traveled to London, 1828. Died in Gateshead, November 8, 1828.

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Rosen, Charles, and Henri Zerner. *Romanticism and Realism: The Mythology of Nineteenth-Century Art*. London: Faber and Faber, 1984.

Ruskin, John. *Aratra Pentelici*, 1872; *Ariadne Florentina*, 1876; *The Art of England*, 1883.

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BIEDERMEIER

The word *Biedermeier*, which combines an adjective meaning upright, conventional, and unpretentious (*bieder*) with a very common German surname (Meier), derived from the pseudonym Gottlieb Biedermaier used by the students Ludwig Eichrodt and Adolf Kussmaul for the satirical poems they published in the 1850s that mocked the philistine values of the *Spiessbürgertum* (petite bourgeoisie). The term was first applied in the later nineteenth century to the culture of German-speaking Europe and Scandinavia from the period spanning the peaks of Romanticism and realism—that is, approximately 1815–48. In this usage it referred to the simple, plebeian taste associated with the era's visual arts, especially furniture, decorative arts, and painting; subsequently it has been applied also to the literature and musical culture of the era, and has even come to denote the mood of the entire sociohistorical epoch. While it was intended as a derisive statement about the earlier period's unsophisticated aesthetics, it was tinged also with nostalgia for what was perceived to be an uncomplicated idyll of domestic comfort and family values that were lost with the arrival of the industrial revolution.

The turbulent beginning and end dates that mark the course of the Biedermeier epoch—two great upheavals of the Napoleonic wars and the March Revolutions—bolster its image as a time of tranquillity. However, it is telling that the period was interrupted and finally brought to an end by the outbreak of protest and insurrection. Percolating tensions were underlying the apparent complacency of the age of Metternich (1815–48; so named for Austrian statesman Clemens Lothar Wenzel Metternich, whose extreme conservatism marked the politics of time); these were brought about by censorship, crackdowns on liberal movements, and the suppression of attempts at political reform. Thus, the period's relative stability was sustained through force and repression, a factor that may be seen as informing many of the cultural trends of the day.

The Congress of Vienna (September 1814 to June 1815), with its conservative drive toward restoration, set in motion the prevailing monarchistic character of the Biedermeier era. Yet it was in fact the bourgeoisie that left its stamp on the period's taste and values, a phenomenon fostered by the high number of art, literature, and music *Vereine* (associations) that sprang up to accommodate the growing participation of the middle classes in the arts. Biedermeier culture bloomed especially in royal cities such as Berlin, Copenhagen, Munich, and Vienna, and the encroachment of the bourgeois aesthetic on the period as a whole is apparent in the way that the aristocracy adopted its understated sensibility in its own furnishings, fashion, and commissioned portraits.

The lines that demarcate what the term *Biedermeier* encompasses cannot be drawn too strictly, for much of what has been incorporated under its rubric can be ascribed also to Romanticism and realism. Biedermeier might be seen as a link between the two, overlapping both to some degree while resisting wholesale subsuming into either. While continuing many of the themes addressed by Romanticism, such as an introspective attachment to nature, the rediscovery of native folklore and homeland, and the exploration of inner life, Biedermeier culture was marked by a retreat from the grand visionary pursuits of Romanticism, reducing its lofty aspirations to a more manageable size. Indeed, an inclination toward small format characterizes Biedermeier cultural production in general. Pictures suitable for the scale of a bourgeois home, with favorite themes consisting of genre, landscape, still life, and portraiture, found a more willing audience than large historical or religious paintings. Mass-produced media such as lithographs and etchings made such images more accessible to a larger population. Folk and fairy tales, short stories, novellas, and one-act plays comprise much of Biedermeier literary work, while a thriving amateur writing culture found an outlet in journals, almanacs, guestbooks, and letters. *Lieder* (songs) and other short musical forms appropriate for performance by family and friends in the intimate setting of a private salon proved extremely popular.

A penchant for highly detailed description and rendering of the observed world is typical of the Biedermeier aesthetic. Works by artists such as Eduard Gaertner and Johann Erdmann Hummel, in their polished images of Berlin and its occupants, epitomize the smooth, tight handling of paint characteristic of much Biedermeier painting. Portraits were often particularly candid,

Die Familie des Malers Carl Begas. Reprinted courtesy of Bildarchiv.

depicting their subjects without embellishment, such as Johann Baptist Bastiné's frank depiction, *Frau Hasselbach* (c. 1820). Nature's tiniest details found their way into the writings of authors such as Annette von Droste-Hülshoff and Adalbert Stifter, or into the regional landscapes of artists such as Ferdinand Georg Waldmüller. The meticulous scrutiny of societal manners and morality also spoke to the Biedermeier sensibility, with an artist like Carl Spitzweg poking gentle fun at the ways of the bourgeoisie in his humorous anecdotal scenes (e.g., *The Love Letter*, c. 1845–46).

The bourgeois home was at the center of Biedermeier culture, and Gemütlichkeit, or coziness, was the principle behind its interior decoration. Households were furnished modestly with functional, simply ornamented, and comfortable pieces that deviated from the more formal Empire style prevalent at the beginning of the century. Rooms were arranged not with strict symmetry, but informally to allow for intimate socializing and to accommodate the comings and goings of daily living. The common accoutrements of the Biedermeier home (furniture, paintings, figurines, decorated glass, and porcelain) were lovingly rendered in countless paintings and drawings of interiors, and suggest the significant role played by the artist-craftsman in the decades just before industrialization firmly took root.

The child assumed a role of unprecedented importance in Biedermeier society, and the era saw a proliferation of children's literature and genre pictures of children at play. The Biedermeier esteem for the idea of domesticity is evident also in the numerous depictions of contented families relaxing at home, (e.g., Carl Begas's painting *The Begas Family*, 1821) and the vignettes of joyful domestic scenes that appear in literary works such as Eduard Mörike's poem "Der alte Turmhahn" ("The Old Weathercock," 1840–52). But alongside the idylls and contented scenes, much of Biedermeier literature conveys a tone of quiet resignation and general *Weltschmerz*, as in Franz Grillparzer's drama *König Ottokars Glück und Ende* (*King Ottocar, His Rise and Fall*, 1825) or Christian Dietrich Grabbe's *Don Juan und Faust* (1829). In light of the period's repressive atmosphere and shattered hopes for political reform, the emphasis on the security of the familial sphere might be read as a withdrawal into an interior world, away from the disillusionment experienced in the outside one.

The term *Biedermeier* cannot be used too sweepingly for an era that also produced the music of Ludwig van Beethoven, the poetry of Heinrich Heine, and the architecture of Karl Friedrich Schinkel. And despite similar trends elsewhere—that is, toward genre and a realistic impulse—there are no real analogues to the particularities of the political and social situation experienced in Germany. Just as the ending of the Napoleonic Wars marked the beginning of the Biedermeier period, it was the revolution and protests of 1830, and the awakening of dormant feelings across the European continent, that marked the beginning of its end. In the years before the March Revolution (the Vormärz), as the economic trauma left in the wake of Napoleon's occupation subsided, a more politically engaged literary culture was emerging. The simplicity of early Biedermeier style began to give way to more flourish and embellishment in furniture, fashion, and painting. Artists began to handle paint more loosely, and paid increasing attention to the effects of industrialization on their beloved landscape. A modest political awakening was underway, where Biedermeier's simplicity would seem less idyllic and more provincial.

MARGARET DOYLE

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BILDERDIJK, WILLEM 1756–1831

Dutch poet, jurist, scholar, and writer

Willem Bilderdijk's versatility as a scholar and writer was as phenomenal as his output, and his mastery of the Dutch language second to none. When he died in 1831, he left behind more than 300,000 lines of verse covering an extraordinary range of genres. His legacy further includes religious and legal treatises, numerous translations, linguistic studies on spelling and grammatical gender, annotated editions of medieval and Dutch renaissance poetry, a geological study on the formation of the earth, and a treatise on perspective. He corresponded with Jakob Ludwig Carl Grimm and Robert Southey, was an accomplished draftsman, engraver, and painter, and taught some of the most brilliant minds in the country while never failing to propagate his reactionary principles in word and deed. He was self-willed and full of contradictions, with a reputation that dwindled as fast after his death as it had risen in his youth.

Bilderdijk was born in Amsterdam on September 7, 1756, into a family of staunch defenders of the Dutch monarchy. Since the capital was mainly antiroyalist, the medical practice of Bilderdijk's father Izaäk did not do particularly well. Izaäk therefore accepted the post of tax inspector, offered to him at the intercession of Willem IV's widow. Willem Bilderdijk, who inherited his parents' unconditional support for the ruling House of Orange, had a prodigious nature, mastering French and Latin at a very young age. When he was six, he injured his left foot

during a scuffle at school, and because of the deficient treatment he received would remain crippled for the rest of his life. Confined to his bed, the young boy turned into a shy recluse and passed the time by voraciously reading both literary and scientific works.

Because of his limp, the military career Bilderdijk had once aspired to was now out of reach. Instead, the precocious young man wished to continue with his studies but had to agree on a compromise with his father first: in 1776 he accepted a job as an accountant in his father's office until his brother was able to take over his duties. It was in the same year that Bilderdijk obtained the gold medal from a literary society in Leiden for a long Pindaric ode, "Invloed van de dichtkunst op het staetsbestuur" ("The Influence of Poetry on State Administration"). Similar prizes soon followed, turning the timid young man into something of a local celebrity. In 1779 he published an acclaimed translation of Sophocles' *Oedipus*, followed by a string of sensuous love poems collected in *Mijn verlustiging* (*My Delight*, 1781). Barely two years after enrolling at Leiden University, he graduated with a law degree in 1882. By then he had already been hailed as one of the foremost poets of the age, writing in an idiom that is instantly recognizable, but that must strike the modern reader as rhetorical and verbose. Technically flawless, his poetry has been characterized as "moving on stilts designed for giants."

Bilderdijk established himself as a successful barrister in The Hague and before long married Catharina Rebecca Woesthoven. In January 1795, when Napoleon Bonaparte's brother Louis was inaugurated as the new ruler of the kingdom of Holland, Bilderdijk, with typical stubbornness, refused to subscribe to the principles of the French Revolution and was forced into exile. He would never see his wife again. He eventually settled in London (1795–97), where he met Katharina Wilhelmina Schweickhardt, who became his second wife on May 18, 1797, without his original marriage having been dissolved first. Bilderdijk moved to Brunswick, Germany, 1797–1806, where he made a living as a private teacher in a wide range of subjects. During that period he still found time to publish more than ten volumes of poetry, including rhymed translations of James Macpherson's Ossian poems (1805), which number among his finest achievements. In 1806, Bilderdijk finally returned to the Netherlands, hoping in vain for a professorship in Dutch literature and linguistics. Despite the poet's fervent Orangist sympathies, King Louis Napoleon engaged Bilderdijk as his private tutor and offered him posts on a number of scientific and literary committees. In return, Bilderdijk wrote his notorious "Ode aan Napoleon" ("Ode to Napoleon," 1806), which his detractors saw as proof of the poet's rank opportunism. He also started work on an epic poem in alexandrines, *De ondergang der eerste wareld* (*The Destruction of the First World*), which is an account of the events leading to the biblical flood and Noah's rescue. The work breaks off in the middle of the fifth canto, never to be resumed; the unfinished work was published in 1820.

When Louis Napoleon was finally expelled by his own brother and the Netherlands became annexed to the French Empire, Bilderdijk lost his state pension and soon found himself in dire straits. Opium brought him only short-lived solace. Nonetheless he kept on writing, and in 1811 published *De kunst der poëzy* (*The Art of Poetry*), a curious, didactic poem in which he explains his poetological principles in terms that seem to link him firmly to the international Romantic movement, yet that also hark back to an older, more "rational" tradition. The work contains the famous line: "Uw hart, uw zelfgevoel, ô Dichter, is uw regel!" ("Your heart, your self-awareness, o Poet, is your dictum!") and ends on a defiant note: "Blaas me aan, gevoel der kunst! ik wil geen meesters meer" ("Inspire me, artistic feeling! I no longer wish for masters"). These quintessentially Romantic ideas, however, are offset in Bilderdijk's work by a proportionate depreciation of the role of the *verbeelding* (imagination) in the creative process: "Neen, 't is verbeelding niet (. . .) / Waar Dichtkunst in bestaat" ("No, it is not the imagination / That constitutes Poetry"). This makes it very difficult to categorize the poet as a Romantic *pur sang*.

Exactly half a century before Jules Verne's *Cinq semaines en ballon* (*Five Weeks in a Balloon*, 1863), Bilderdijk published one of his most original works, the *Kort verhaal van eene aanmerklijke luchtreis en nieuwe planeetontdekking* (*A Short Account of a Remarkable Aerial Voyage and Discovery of a New Planet*, 1813), purported to have been translated from Russian and relating the "shipwreck" of a balloonist on a small, unknown moon circling the earth. The tale can be read as the sublimation of his acutely felt loneliness and the sense of being an outcast that pervades much of his oeuvre. Another of Bilderdijk's liminal works of the same period is "De geestenwareld" ("The Spirit World"), a poetic discourse with strong Swedenborgian overtones on the nature of the afterlife, first published in the volume *Daffodillen* (*Daffodils*, 1814).

With the restoration of the Dutch monarchy in 1813, Bilderdijk produced an overwhelming amount of patriotic poetry. It did not help him to obtain a coveted professorship, however. From 1817 to 1827 he gave private lectures on national history and related subjects in his own home in Leiden, counting among his students Isaac da Costa, Jacob van Lennep, and Groen van Prinsterer. The last five years of his life were spent in Haarlem, where he died on December 18, 1831, at age 75.

KRIS STEYAERT

Biography

Born in Amsterdam, September 7, 1756; accountant in father's office, 1776; law degree at the University of Leiden, 1882. Married Catharina Rebecca Woesthoven, 1785; exiled from Kingdom of Holland, 1795; lived in London, 1795–97, and Brunswick, Germany, 1797–1806. "Married" Katharina Wilhelmina Schweickhardt, May 1797; later annulment of his first marriage, 1802. Returned to the Netherlands and appointed private tutor of King Louis Napoleon, 1806–10. Gave private lectures in Leiden, 1817–27; moved to Haarlem, 1827, where he died December 18, 1831.

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