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**EIGHTEENTH CENTURY REPRESENTATION OF COLLECTIVE
IDENTITY IN TUSCANY:
CONTENT ANALYSIS OF TRAVELLER TESTIMONIES ABOUT ENGLAND**

Master's Thesis

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Hereby I declare that I worked out this thesis independently, using only the listed resources and literature, and I did not present it to obtain another academic degree.

Prague,

.....

*L'uomo che viaggia legge nel libro maggiore di tutti i libri, quale è il libro del mondo*¹

¹ MARTINELLI, Vincenzo: *Istoria critica della vita civile*, London 1752, p. 141.

Abstract

The Master's thesis is based on testimonies of eighteenth-century Tuscan travellers to England. The main questions of the research are how their own *identity* was created through the categorized and often-stereotyped image of the Other, whether and how it was related to the Enlightenment and what were the cognitive strategies that the travellers used when they encountered the English. The research is based on the method of content analysis applied to the Tuscan traveller Luigi Angiolini, who is then compared to five other Tuscan travellers. An analysis of various aspects of the definition of the Self and of *collective identification* ensues.

Key Words

Collective identity, Tuscany, England, travel literature, eighteenth century, Anglomania

Abstrakt

Tato magisterská práce vychází ze svědectví toskánských cestovatelů po Anglii v 18. století. Hlavní výzkumnou otázkou je, jak se jejich *identita* formovala v konfrontaci s cizím prostředím. Obraz tohoto prostředí přitom sami utvářeli, přičemž jej často podřizovali stereotypům a schémátům. S tím souvisejí i otázky, jak a zdali vůbec měl tento obraz vztah k idejím osvícenství a jaké byly kognitivní postupy, pomocí kterých se cestovatelé vůči anglickému prostředí vymezovali. Metodu práce tvoří obsahová analýza založená na srovnání cestopisu Luigiho Angioliniho (1750-1821) s dalšími pěti toskánskými cestovateli. Z různých aspektů této analýzy lze vyvodit závěry týkající se definice sebe sama a *kolektivní identifikace*.

Klíčová slova

Kolektivní identita, Toskánsko, Anglie, cestopisná literatura, 18. století, anglomanie

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Introduction

According to Fernand Braudel, “by crossing a frontier the individual becomes a foreigner.”² But what exactly happens in travellers’ minds at that moment when they leave their home? How do they deal with the unknown and what effect does it have on them and on their own *identity*? This research examines the process of *collective identification* in Tuscany in the eighteenth century through analysis of travel literature about England. The main premise is that the creation of one’s own *identity* is inseparably related to the categorization of the foreign and the unknown, i.e. the Other. As the French geographer Jean-François Staszak commented on the very general anthropological theory: “the ‘Other’ only exists relative to the Self, and vice versa.”³

The eighteenth-century Apennine Peninsula was divided into many very different states, often under the reign of foreign sovereigns. Tuscany was governed by members of the Habsburg-Lorraine dynasty, as early as from 1737. The official policy of Peter Leopold (reign 1756–1790) and subsequently of Ferdinand III (reign 1790–1801 and 1814–1824) was to put into practice reforms, which embodied the principles of European Enlightenment. The Enlightenment ideologically inclined to believe in progress and the country that represented it, according to the general opinion, was England with its incipient industrialization. The author of the thesis presumes that it was for these reasons that England became the centre of interest of many Tuscan travellers, which even gave rise to a phenomenon of positive stereotyping of England called *Anglomania*. Since England was a common target of travellers, it was here chosen as a country convenient for the analysis of the processes of *identity* creation. The main task of this research is thus to analyse how this process of *collective identification* was displayed in the testimonies of Tuscan travellers. The emphasis is put on concrete strategies of categorizing and stereotyping of the English and, relatedly, on definition of the Self.

Travel literature as a historical source offers many investigative possibilities. The researcher is invited to deal with interdisciplinary analysis built not only on “traditional” historical approaches, but also on anthropological, psychological and semiotic ones. This

² BRAUDEL, Fernand: *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, vol. II, Michigan 1973, p.770.

³ STASZAK, Jean-François: *Other/Otherness*, in: *International Encyclopaedia of Human Geography*, Elsevier, 2008, p. 2.

thesis is trying to go beyond the historical “factographical” or “positivist” narrative and analyse the travellers’ mental images and displays of their own *identity*, dealing with secondary literature, as well as with primary historical sources. Miscellaneous sources, as subjected to the method of content analysis, provide a variety of analytical possibilities.

Regarding the formal issues, the thesis is divided into three main parts. The first one, introductory and theoretical, prepares the background for the following, analytical ones. The second part is a case study of the travelogue of the Tuscan traveller Luigi Angiolini (1750–1821) and the last part is an analysis of the testimonies of five other Tuscan travellers: Antonio Cocchi (1695–1758), Vincenzo Martinelli (1702–1785), Filippo Mazzei (1730–1816), Giovanni Fabbroni (1752–1822) and Filippo Pananti (1776–1837). The outcomes of the thesis are fundamentally based on work with primary sources and, consequently, the thesis ascribes special importance to an accurate rephrasing of the travellers’ words. The original texts of the authors themselves can express their ideas without any distortions that would be caused by any kind of translation. Moreover, the author of the thesis, Czech by origin, does not feel experienced enough in the translation of eighteenth century Italian texts into English. Nevertheless, whenever the Italian citation is provided, it is always accompanied by an English explication.

The thesis argues that in contrast to the popular topic concerning English travellers in Italy known as the Grand Tour of aristocrats, the reversal, analysed in this thesis, is not very well known and examined by historians. The thesis might thus also supply the academic community with new knowledge. The examination of Tuscan *identity* might also add a piece of mosaic to a better understanding of the tricky question of “preunitarian” *identity* in the Apennine Peninsula. Not only in the past, but also nowadays regions still play a significant role in Italy. Therefore, the understanding of the *collective identity* in particular regions of the Apennine Peninsula in a historical perspective is necessary to fully understand the contemporary situation. A thesis dealing with “preunitarian” *identity* in Tuscany can thus easily touch upon the complex issue of contemporary Italian *identification*.

Approach, Methodology and Terminology of the Research

Although the thesis is based on a historical analysis, the general approach is interdisciplinary, which needs to be defined in this chapter together with the terminology used in the thesis. The very first and basic assumption of the research is that the temporal and spatial axis⁴ creates the general framework, which enables an analysis. Territory and any kind of borders are inseparably linked to *identity*, which is in a constant process of creation. How time and territory setting is defined is the subject matter of the following paragraphs.

The time period of the eighteenth century is considered to be a “borderline period” between the traditional mechanisms of the Medieval and Early Modern periods and a modern society whose onset was linked to the European Enlightenment. Enlightened thinkers optimistically believed in progress and rationality which both had power to make people happier and the society better. To address the Enlightenment, the temporal framework of the thesis is in practice determined by the journeys of the physician and natural scientist Antonio Cocchi who arrived to England in 1723 and Filippo Pananti who moved to London at the very beginning of the 19th century and stayed there until 1813. The thesis argues that since the chosen time period is relatively broad, some changes in the narratives are perceptible. Indeed, Pananti’s text offered to the public a different experience, with its sentimental, adventurous and personal manner of expression, than for example the Enlightened focused writing of Luigi Angiolini, Vincenzo Martinelli and Giovanni Fabbroni.

After having defined the research in time, it also needs to be defined geographically. The thesis is dealing mainly with two territories: the Grand Duchy of Tuscany and England. Although England was a part of Great Britain from 1707 onwards together with Scotland, Scotland is excluded from the focus of the thesis because Tuscan travellers visited it rarely. The relation between eighteenth century Tuscany and Italy is more complicated than that of England to Great Britain, since Italy was not a political unit. The Grand Duchy of Tuscany was historically a sovereign state until the unification of Italy in 1861. Nevertheless, since Tuscan travellers displayed a certain, mostly cultural attachment to Italy, this is considered an important component of their *identity*. For this reason, not only Tuscany, but also Italy is relevant to the research. When Italy is mentioned in the thesis, its meaning is naturally not political but geographical, corresponding to the Apennine Peninsula.

⁴ See: GIARRIZZO, Giuseppe: Preface *Dopo il tempo e lo spazio*, in: IACHELLO, Enrico: *Immagini della città, idee della città: Città nella Sicilia (XVIII-XIX secolo)*, Catania 2000, pp. 9-11.

The main premise of the thesis is that it is possible to observe at least some components of *collective identity* in eighteenth century Tuscany.⁵ The thesis argues that *identity* is in a process of creation, called *identification*. The travellers' *identification* was displayed, continually created and recreated in confrontation with the Other – those who does not belong to the in-group and among “us” – in this case Englishmen. The thesis uses another processual term called *othering*, which reflects the process of the creation of *otherness*, the characteristic of the Other.⁶ In this case, the term *Englishness* might also be used to characterize the English. By now the theoretical concept of Self-Other dichotomy has become very general in scholarship. Authors Michel Foucault and Edward Said are generally considered the most influential authors in this field. The thesis partially works with theoretical stances of Jean-François Staszak, Peter Burke and Richard Jenkins.

Another keyword that is *representation*, which is, as the author of the thesis believes, closely related to the internal process of *identification*. *Representation*, however, is an explicitly articulated display of *identification* in the text. Investigation of the meaning of the Self in the research is linked to the main research question, its content being the subject of analysis in the third part of the thesis.

The sources are examined by the method of content analysis. The analysis was done in two steps. First, the texts were inspected with the aim of finding out what the travellers wrote about. Arguably the best strategy for the first part of the analysis is to “let the travellers speak” in order not to distort their observations by applying predetermined categories. In this way the potential research topics and problems suitable for future analysis were outlined and a conclusive analysis was performed. Furthermore, the sources are investigated from the travellers' perspective in order not to misrepresent their testimonies by contemporary terminology. Such an approach, however, can cause some inconsistency with contemporary terms. The most striking example is the usage of the term “nation” by eighteenth century Tuscans with connotations of England or even Italy. From the point of view of contemporary historians and social scientists, modern European nations were created in the nineteenth century. In order not to stress this discrepancy the word “nation”, when used by the eighteenth century travellers, is always put into brackets.

The research examines mental processes such as the creation of stereotypes and *identities*. The most efficient approach to this type of research seems to be to analyse “what the travellers had on their minds” rather than to seek for what eighteenth century England

⁵ The theoretical framework to *identity* is provided in the Chapter 2.1 *Identity in the Research*.

⁶ STASZAK: *Other/Otherness*, pp. 1-2.

looked like “in reality”. Therefore, it is important to realize that even though the travellers were actually observing England, the centre of interest of the research is Tuscany.

When describing, for example, the process of making tea in the English countryside, Angiolini himself touched upon the power of mental projection. The analogy from his travelogue *Lettere sopra l’Inghilterra, Scozia e Olanda* might be used as an illustration of the real significance of projection of positive expectations into some specific activity, and consequently, for emerging of some real phenomena such as pleasure. Angiolini speculates as to whether the tea seemed so good to him because of the fact that he was familiar with the affectionate procedure of its preparation. He concludes that it was not really important whether he made himself believe, because the pleasure was real even if imagined, and that was what mattered:

“(…) e in verità ho l’illusione anch’io che senza queste formalità il tè non sia buono. Nè credo esser tutto effetto di pregiudizio; e metto nel conto del pregiudizio la vivacità che suppongo della sensazione, quando eccitato il desiderio del piacere dell’averlo vicino, ella è poi ritardata, quasi stentata nel soddisfarsi. Comunque sia, il tè par migliore; e che importa che sia o non sia? Il piacere anche immaginario è piacere, e passare un’ora con avere in vista sicuro un piacere, non è piacere?”⁷

Similarly to the tea, which became delicious because Angiolini believed in it, also *identity*, as argued, becomes real when the actors are involved in it and they believe in its existence. In other words, travellers’ images of England, however subjective, selective, distorted and stereotyped, were crucial for the process of creating their own *identity*.

Since the MA thesis has only limited extent, the author is aware that the issue naturally cannot be presented in its full complexity. In order to get a more elaborate image of England in eighteenth century Tuscany, it would be necessary to extend the research in several directions. For example Filippo Mazzei noted the important impact of English travellers such as Horace Mann and of domestic literary authors upon general opinion concerning the perfect English liberty in Florence.⁸ Influences on Tuscan–English relations were multifarious and intertwined. The Tuscan state, a formal authority promoting official Enlightened policy in Tuscany and diplomatic relations with England, also had impact on the process of the creation of the image of the English and on the *identity* in Tuscany.

⁷ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, Letter IX, pp. 102-103.

⁸ See the Chapter 4.3 *Categorization of England: Stereotyping and Generalizations*.

Other limitations are deriving from the nature of historical research as such. According to the famous cultural historian Peter Burke, historical testimonies are the only traces of the past that have remained.⁹ Thus, any historical research is dependent on the available sources that define its possibilities. The testimonies for this research provided only a social stratum of literate aristocrats rich enough to travel. In the case of a travelogue or a published source in general, possible propaganda and also norms and schematizations of genre should always be taken into consideration.

⁹ See: BURKE, Peter: *Eyewitnessing. The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence*, London 2001.

Primary and Secondary Sources

The last of the introductory chapters should reveal what are the methodological and theoretical possibilities that such travel literature can provide for research. It offers some general observations on the nature of a travel literature and also some remarks on the specific character of an Enlightened travelogue, the type of source presented in the case study. The rest of the chapter then gives a short overview of the concrete secondary and primary sources engaged in the thesis. The main focus is on the initial publishing of primary sources, the travellers' intentions and finally on other editions.

Travel literature has been a widespread genre popular from the Antiquity onwards. According to the historian Casey Blanton, it was popular across the centuries because it was related to human curiosity for the unknown. Travel literature has survived because it has evolved and adapted itself to changing conditions; the role of subjectivity was variable and dependent on societal trends or demands in a given period.¹⁰ Travel literature consists of a varied set of sources including travelogues, diaries, memoirs, ship logbooks and other narratives. It can be argued that travel writing is not only a genre between fiction and informative source, but also between historical and literary source. Indeed, travel literature offers several possibilities of interdisciplinary research. It can give evidence of the place where the travellers went but may also be used as a source that reveals the home culture. Such an approach is promoted by the German historian and anthropologist Michael Harbsmeier specializing in the development of travel literature.¹¹ Travelling is also related to other theoretical concepts such as cognitive mapping¹² and border studies.¹³ When a traveller leaves his or her home, he or she crosses not only physical or political borders, but also other kind of frontiers such as cultural, linguistic or religious ones. Possibilities of the research based on travel writing are then very open-ended.

¹⁰ BLANTON, Casey: *Travel Writing. The Self and the World*, New York and London 2002, p. 29.

¹¹ POWER, Martina: *Vnímání zemských hranic a jejich role v členění geografického prostoru: irsko-britská a česko-německá hranice v letech 1750-1850*, Prague 2012, p. 6.

¹² See: PICKLES, John: *A History of Spaces: Cartographic reason, mapping and the geo-coded world*, London and New York 2004; in the thesis is used a concept of Kevin Lynch: LYNCH, Kevin: *The Image of the City*, Massachusetts 1990.

¹³ See for example: KLUSÁKOVÁ, Luďa, ELLIS, G. Stephen (eds.): *Frontiers and Identities: Exploring the Research Area*, Pisa 2006 and KLUSÁKOVÁ, Luďa, TEULIERES, Laure (eds.): *Frontiers & Identities: Cities in regions and nations*, Pisa 2008.

Eighteenth-century travelogue¹⁴ is considered a specific source that implies certain characteristics. The thesis argues that Enlightened travel writing reflects prevailing tendencies in the eighteenth century, such as the will to educate and to contribute to “useful knowledge”, progress and a “better and enlightened” society. These tendencies in practice resulted in a general endeavour for objectivity of testimonies, which was, moreover, often stressed by the writers themselves. Personal opinions and experiences were, generally intentionally, missing. Even though travellers were convinced about the real objectivity of their reflections, from today’s point of view it is apparent that the personality and home environment of the authors had a strong impact on the writing. The authors’ assertions of objectivity and what it meant for them can thus be understood as a sign of *identification* with Enlightened ideas. The Enlightened travelogue was also related to the change of travel conditions in the eighteenth century. Easier, cheaper and safer routes and means of transport gave rise to the onset of journeys motivated by tourism. It should be also noted that the authors naturally wanted to sell their writing well. Consequently, the content of the travelogues was perhaps adjusted to the expectations of the reading public. A historian should thus take into consideration the nature of a source and not isolate it from the context of its genesis.

Let us now proceed to an overview of secondary and primary sources for this thesis. Since the topic of the thesis is concerned with eighteenth-century Italy, the crucial referential texts are to be found in the works of the Italian historian Franco Venturi.¹⁵ For orientation in Italian-English relations in the eighteenth century, Arturo Graf’s *L’anglomania e l’influsso inglese in Italia nel secolo XVIII* can be understood as the necessary starting point;¹⁶ despite being more than a hundred years old, the book is still considered as the most complex work to have been published in the field so far. Its biggest merit is that Graf provides a nearly exhaustive list of Italian travellers to England and circumstances of their respective stays. English-Tuscan cultural relations in particular are treated in a more recent monograph by Brian Moloney.¹⁷ It needs to be said that Moloney’s study is, naturally, referring to Graf’s one very often. Two more sources of mostly encyclopaedic and summarizing character which very much help to understand the general picture are *Dizionario Biografico degli italiani*¹⁸

¹⁴ See: POWER: *Vnímání zemských hranic*.

¹⁵ VENTURI, Franco: *Illuministi italiani. Riformatori Lombardi, Piemontesi e Toscani*, vol. 46, tomo III, Milan 1958-1975 and VENTURI, Franco: *Settecento riformatore*, Turin 1988.

¹⁶ GRAF, Arturo: *L’anglomania e l’influsso inglese in Italia nel secolo XVIII*, Turin 1911.

¹⁷ MOLONEY, Brian: *Florence and England: Essays on Cultural Relations in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century*, Florence 1969.

¹⁸ Provided on-line: <http://www.treccani.it/> (consulted the last time on 9 June 2013).

and an extensive study by Ettore Bonora *Letterati, memorialisti e viaggiatori del Settecento*.¹⁹ Without these texts providing informational background and knowledge concerning English–Italian (or rather, Tuscan) relations, this research could hardly have been realized.

The theoretical approach used in this thesis is based on the works of several authors. The main theoretical concept of *identity* and its related scholarship will be dealt with more thoroughly later.²⁰ For now, it should suffice to point to Rogers Brubaker’s article *Beyond „Identity“*, which clearly and synoptically introduces the *identity* issue as such.²¹ Among many others, Peter Burke²² and Casey Blanton²³ might be mentioned as authors who can be methodologically inspirational for any work concerning travel literature and the construction of an image of the Other. The main influences for the second part of the thesis, the case study, are American scholar Kevin Lynch,²⁴ French philosopher Michel Foucault²⁵ and also a reflection of the latter’s work in a key study by Czech historian Daniela Tinková²⁶. Last but not least, two dissertations were also closely related to the topic of the thesis: Michela Cortini’s *The Discursive Construction of Otherness in Travelogue*,²⁷ which inspired the author of the thesis to do a semiotic and linguistic analysis,²⁸ and the research done by Martina Power²⁹ who is dealing with Czech-Irish boundaries in the eighteenth century. This list is, of course, not meant to be exhaustive, but rather indicative of the main influences.

The particular choice of six Tuscan travellers as subjects of the research should be explained. The very first one was Luigi Angiolini, found thanks to his diplomatic letters being deposited in the National Archives in Prague. His travelogue then revealed a large number of other Tuscans who travelled to England in the eighteenth century. After the research topic of the thesis was defined, effort was made to choose a set of sources as varied as possible – the authors who were in the end chosen are spread out across the whole century and their occupations and motivations were miscellaneous, as well as the character of their testimonies.

¹⁹ BONORA, Ettore: *Letterati, memorialisti e viaggiatori del Settecento*, Milan and Naples 1951.

²⁰ See the Chapter 2.1 *Identity in the Research*.

²¹ BRUBAKER, Rogers, COOPER Frederick: *Beyond „Identity“* in *Theory and Society* 29, Dordrecht 2000, pp. 1-47.

²² BURKE, Peter: *Eyewitnessing. The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence*, London 2001.

²³ BLANTON, Casey: *Travel Writing. The Self and the World*, New York and London 2002.

²⁴ LYNCH, Kevin: *The Image of the City*, Massachusetts 1990.

²⁵ FOUCAULT, Michel: His lecture from 11 January 1978 in: SENELLART, Michel, EWALD, François FONTANA, Alessandro (eds.): *Sécurité, territoire, population: Cours au Collège de France (1977-1978)*, Paris 2004 and FOUCAULT, Michel: *Discipline and Punish: the Birth of the Prison*, New York 1975.

²⁶ TINKOVÁ, Daniela: *Hřích, zločin a šílenství v čase odkouzlování světa*, Praha 2004.

²⁷ CORTINI, Michela: *The Discursive Construction of Otherness in Travelogue*, dissertation from the University of Bari 2006.

²⁸ See the Chapter 4.5 *Meaning of the Self*.

²⁹ POWER, Martina: *Vnímání zemských hranic a jejich role v členění geografického prostoru: irsko-britská a česko-německá hranice v letech 1750-1850*, Prague 2012.

The final selection consists of six authors: Luigi Angiolini, Antonio Cocchi, Vincenzo Martinelli, Filippo Mazzei, Giovanni Fabbroni and Filippo Pananti. All of the travellers, however, were male aristocrats, as no travel testimonies by women could be found, even though some of them already travelled in the eighteenth century, for instance Mary Wollstonecraft (1759–1797), Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689–1762) and Elizabeth Craven, i.e. Lady Elizabeth Berkeley (1750–1828).

As for the primary sources, it was Angiolini's travelogue, which was chosen for a case study. Angiolini is the only author who provides a travel source homogeneous and broad enough to opens the way for a larger set of questions. The author published his travelogue anonymously in Florence in 1790.³⁰ Later on it was republished in two other editions.³¹ As has been mentioned, Angiolini's diplomatic correspondence is deposited in the National Archives in Prague and other sources are in the Archives of Lucca.³² Written sources, however, are not the only type of Angiolini's testimony that has been preserved until today. The traveller's villa Buon Riposo in Pozzi di Seravezza is being renovated by the notary and Angiolini's offspring Antonio Bagni Amadei into a museum. He kindly and passionately cherishes the family heritage.

The second author whose sources should be presented is Vincenzo Martinelli. Two of his books are used in thesis, both of them published in London in Italian and commented by the author himself when still in England. The 1752 treatise *Istoria critica della vita civile* was dedicated to the author's nephew Odoardo who studied in Pisa. In nineteen chapters, Martinelli treats societal topics such as education, government, liberty, science, poverty, wedding etc. The book was reedited so many times that a complete number of editions becomes difficult to trace.³³ Martinelli published his second book in England, *Lettere familiari e critiche*, in 1758. The book was edited and republished only once in 2006.³⁴ Martinelli's *Lettere familiari* is written in the form of fifty-nine letters addressed to different eighteenth-century intellectuals and scientists and treats several issues in a predominantly

³⁰ More about the topic in the Chapter 3.2 *Angiolini's Journey to England and his Travelogue*.

³¹ ANGIOLINI, Luigi: *Lettere sull'Inghilterra di Luigi Angiolini*, (ed.) DI PINO, Guido, Milan 1944 and ANGIOLINI, Luigi: *Lettere sopra l'Inghilterra e la Scozia*, (eds.) STÄUBLE, Michèle, STÄUBLE, Antonio, Modena 1990.

³² The correspondence concerning the marriage of Pauline Bonaparte and Camillo Borghese has been published: SANCHOLLE-HENRAUX, Bernard: *Le Chevalier Luigi Angiolini, diplomate toscan, 1750- 1821. Correspondance. Angiolini et le Prince Camille Borghèse. Le Mariage de Pauline Bonaparte*, Paris, 1913.

³³ MARTINELLI, Vincenzo: *Istoria critica della vita civile scritta da Vincenzo Martinelli*, Naples 1764 and MARTINELLI, Vincenzo: *Istoria critica della vita civile con indice copioso delle materie al nobilissimo signore Alfonso Co. Ercolani*, Bologna, Colle Ameno 1754. The book is available also in a French translation with some of Martinelli's "Lettere familiari": *Histoire critique de la vie civile, et lettres familières*, Amsterdam and Paris 1769.

³⁴ MARTINELLI, Vincenzo: *Lettere familiari e critiche* (ed.) DI DONNA PRINCIPE, Salerno 2006.

educative character (Letter XXXIV is even addressed to Antonio Cocchi). Since Martinelli was teaching Italian in London, many parts are dedicated to language questions and language teaching. The historian E. H. Thorne believes that Martinelli's *Lettere familiari* were addressed to English readers, mainly English students of Italian. Their purpose was apparently to serve as models of Italian letters for English-speaking readers. Martinelli's archival materials are deposited in the Archives of Montecatini Terme.³⁵

The main source for Filippo Mazzei is his memoir *Memorie della vita e delle peregrinazioni del fiorentino Filippo Mazzei*. He wrote it when he was almost eighty and was in his thoughts coming back to his young life, his stay in England and adventurous experiences from America and Poland. Mazzei finished the book in 1813, three years before his death. The memoir is dedicated to a friend, possibly Giuseppe Carmignani.³⁶ The first edition³⁷ consists of two volumes of around 750 pages together and is supplemented by Mazzei's correspondence, which is also partly utilized in the thesis. The unrestrained flow of the text, the often unpolished Italian and the absence of any division into chapters or sections make the text sometimes difficult to comprehend. Mazzei's memoir has been edited several times.³⁸ Another key source for the study of Mazzei is his correspondence, published in several editions.³⁹

The fourth traveller is the respected Tuscan scientist Antonio Cocchi. The crucial source is Cocchi's treatise on English education and way of living (*Lettera intorno all'educazione e al genere di vita degli'Inglese*), which is included in the first volume of his collected works and correspondence, *Opere: Discorsi e lettere di Antonio Cocchi* (published posthumously in 1824).⁴⁰ The second source consists of four of Cocchi's letters included in the volume *Lettere scelte di celebri autori all'abate Antonio Conti*.⁴¹ Two of those were

³⁵ Municipal Archives of Montecatini Terme, Partiti, b. 50, 5 apr. 1724.

³⁶ BONORA, Ettore: *Letterati, memorialisti e viaggiatori del Settecento*, Milan and Naples 1951, p. 767.

³⁷ MAZZEI, Filippo: *Memorie della vita e delle peregrinazioni del fiorentino Filippo Mazzei*, (ed.) CAPPONI, Gino, I-II, Lugano 1845-46.

³⁸ MAZZEI, Filippo: *Libro mastro di due mondi*, (ed.) ROMANI, Bruno, Rome 1944; MAZZEI, Filippo: *Memorie*, (ed.) PETRI, Aldo, Bologna 1975; MAZZEI, Filippo: *Memorie della vita e delle peregrinazioni del fiorentino Filippo Mazzei* (ed.) AQUARONE, Alberto, Milan 1970.

In the English translation: MAZZEI, Filippo: *Memoirs of the Life and Peregrinations of the Florentine Philip Mazzei 1730-1816*, (ed.) MARRARO, Howard Rosario, New York 1942 and 1973; MAZZEI, Filippo: *My life and wanderings*, (ed.) Margherita MARCHIONE, Morristown 1980.

³⁹ For example: GARLICK, Richard Cecil: *Philip Mazzei, Friend of Jefferson: His Life and Letters*, Baltimore-London and Paris 1933; *Un osservatore italiano della Rivoluzione francese: lettere inedite di Filippo Mazzei al re Stanislao Augusto di Polonia*, (ed.) CIAMPINI, Raffaele, Firenze 1934; *Lettere di Filippo Mazzei alla corte di Polonia (1788-1792)*, (ed.) CIAMPINI, Raffaele, vol. I (July 1788 – March 1790), Bologna 1937 (the vol. II has never been published).

⁴⁰ COCCHI, Antonio: *Opere: Discorsi e lettere di Antonio Cocchi*, vol. I-III, Milan 1824.

⁴¹ COCCHI, Antonio: *Lettere scelte di celebri autori all'ab. Antonio Conti*, (ed.) BETTIO, Pietro, Venice 1812.

written in London in 1726 and 1729 and two Cocchi wrote in Florence. The most precious, richest, but also not always easily comprehensible source is Antonio Cocchi's personal diary *Effemeridi*.⁴² It consists of approximately 110 sheets in Italian and partly also in French, English, Ancient Greek and other languages. Cocchi was writing it for the major part of his life. This source, so far little explored in scholarship, is a testimony not only of his personal life and travels but also of Eighteenth-century culture, society and politics.

The last but one to provide Enlightened reflexions upon England for the thesis is Giovanni Fabbroni, a diplomat of the Grand Duke of Tuscany. Since his vast correspondence concerning his stay in England is preserved in Philadelphia,⁴³ it was impossible to use in a direct way. Only some of his letters, those which were published or incorporated into secondary literature, could be quoted.⁴⁴ The rest of Fabbroni's correspondence is preserved in archives in Italy and England.⁴⁵

The last author to be explored, even if only partially, is Filippo Pananti. Only a few pages of his autobiographical *Avventure e osservazioni sopra le coste di Barberia* (first published in 1817)⁴⁶ actually involve England. The major part is dedicated to Algiers (the name *Barberia* used by Pananti derives from Berber tribes). Like Angiolini's and Mazzei's works, also this one is enormous, containing about 750 pages in two volumes. Pananti's vast literary experience⁴⁷ is reflected in the text, where he offers his adventurous life stories in a very poetic and smooth way. Apart from his *Avventure*, some of his letters addressed to Luigi Angiolini are also analysed in the thesis.⁴⁸ Although Pananti was active prolific writer, he has not been much reflected in the scholarship, neither by historians nor by literary scholars.

The possibilities of research dealing with travel literature have now been specified and the character of the genre of Enlightened travelogue has been introduced. The second part of

⁴² Antonio Cocchi's *Effemeridi* are available on-line: <http://www.sba.unifi.it/CMpro-v-p-466.html>, Biblioteca Biomedica Florence (the last consultation of the source 10 June 2014).

⁴³ Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society, Fabbroni Papers, BF 113; BF 113 n. 1, Mazzei Collection.

⁴⁴ PASTA, Renato: *Scienza, politica e rivoluzione: l'opera di Giovanni Fabbroni (1752-1822), intellettuale e funzionario al servizio dei Lorena*, Florence 1989.

⁴⁵ For example: The Florence State Archives, Carte Fabbroni, ff. 1-4; Ibid., Carte Pelli; Ibid., Archivio Fabbroni, cartt. 1-36; Florence, the Institute and Museum of the History of Science, Fond Fabbroni, ff. 1-37; Ibid., Manoscritti Fabbroni, 10; G. Pelli, *Efemeridi*, s. 2, VIII e XVIII; Florence, Bibl. naz., N. A. 1050: G. Pelli; Bologna, Bibl. del Dipartimento di discipline storiche, Carte Fabbroni, ff. 1-2.

Outside of Italy: London, British Library, in The Banks Papers; Pars, Institut de France, Fonds Cuvier;

Washington, The Library of Congress. The papers of T. Jefferson, letters from Fabbroni a Jefferson (1776-1805).

⁴⁶ PANANTI, Filippo: *Avventure e osservazioni di Filippo Pananti sopra le coste di Barberia*, Florence 1817.

Thereafter the book was republished twice: Ones in Mendrisio in 1841 and then in Milan in 1829.

⁴⁷ Among many books for example: PANANTI, Filippo: *Il poeta di teatro*, London 1808; PANANTI, Filippo: *Opere in versi e in prosa*, Florence 1824-25. Other pieces of work were published and commented: PANANTI, Filippo: *Scritti minori inediti o sparsi* (ed.) ANDREANI, Luigi, Florence 1897.

⁴⁸ SFORZA, Giovanni: *Il Pananti in Inghilterra*, in: *Giornale storico della letteratura* XIX 1892.

the chapter has offered an overview of the concrete primary and secondary sources used in the thesis. The emphasis was put on sources concerning England, that is, those, which are analysed later in the thesis. More about the authors themselves will be said in the Chapter 4.1. *Short Biographies: Antonio Cocchi, Vincenzo Martinelli, Filippo Mazzei, Giovanni Fabbroni and Filippo Pananti.*

Part One

1.1 *Identity* in the Research

The thesis is dealing with *collective identity* in eighteenth century Tuscany as analysed through travel testimonies. Thus, it is essential for the research to question the *identity* issue and *collective identity* as an analytical category, and to determine its meaning for this research. This general chapter based on theoretical literature concerning *identity* introduces the theoretical part of the thesis. Its objective is to prepare the ground for further analysis. In the first part of the chapter are presented the most notable methodological difficulties regarding the term. Subsequently, the way in which *identity* is created is analysed. In the final part there is presented a perception of *identity* for this concrete research.

When dealing with the term it is easy to get lost in a huge number of texts and authors who have examined it so far. The term originally appeared in academic discourse in psychology and social sciences, but afterwards it has been subjected to examinations from many scholars who have looked at it from various interdisciplinary perspectives.⁴⁹ In spite of an increasing ambiguity and a lack of clarity in the content and meaning of the term – or possibly just because of that – *identity* has been continually discussed in the academic writing of the last decades.⁵⁰ Authors have been looking at it from different points of view in accordance with the context of their researches and their own perceptions of the term. Moreover, they have often been using their own terminology and replacing the word *identity* by related terms (such as *mentalities* or *representations*). It can thus be beneficial to take into account how various perceptions of *identity* may differ one from each other.

First, some general theoretical and methodological problems of the term *identity* should be explained. Rogers Brubaker in his famous article *Beyond “Identity”* outlined the prevailing tendencies in the history of the term. Regarding *collective identity*, he distinguished two categories of it⁵¹ – the analytical and the practical. In other words, he pointed out that *identity* is used not only in academic discourse, but also as a popular idiom related to

⁴⁹ The possibilities of usage of the term and related issues are presented in: ŘEZNÍK, Miloš, KROCOVÁ, Martina: *Boundaries and Identities in Academic Discourse* in: KLUSÁKOVÁ, Lud' a, MOLL, Martin, IRA, Jaroslav (eds.): *Crossing Frontiers, Resisting Identities*, Pisa 2010, pp. 5-31.

⁵⁰ See: Rogers BRUBAKER, Frederick COOPER, *Beyond “Identity”*, in: *Theory and Society* 29, Dordrecht 2000, pp. 1-47.

⁵¹ The terms category of practice and analysis were used by Brubaker himself.

everyday social experience, native and folk practice and politics. When dealing with *identity* as an analytical category in a “scientific” discourse, methodological problems appear.⁵²

Brubaker continues with argumentation proving the vagueness of *identity*. According to him, “the term is richly – indeed for an analytical concept, hopelessly – ambiguous.”⁵³ “*Identity*,” he argues, “tends to mean too much (when understood in a strong sense), too little (when understood in a weak sense) or nothing at all.”⁵⁴ Whereas the weak or the soft meaning perceives *identity* as fluctuating, fluid, unstable, multiple and construed, the strong one describes it as deep, objective, homogeneous and abiding. Consequently, the term oscillates between a constructivist language required by academic correctness (weak sense) and the essentialist approach (strong sense), which makes the term effective in an analysis. Brubaker also argues that sometimes its content becomes even contradictory. Because of this, the term *identity* can no more provide conceptual clarity. The author suggests using other, more specific terms that can do the job better. The terms proposed are *representation*, *identification*, *self-understanding*, *commonality*, *connectedness*, *groupness* etc.⁵⁵ According to Brubaker, these concrete terms can effectively substitute the term *identity*.

There is another methodological problem concerning the issue: how to analytically apply such terms as *identity* or *representation* that are both only partly measurable by objective criteria, moreover when the terms deal with personal feelings such consciousness, the feeling of commonality, etc.? These questions are treated by Pierre Bourdieu in his article *Identity and Representation*.⁵⁶ According to him, there are some “objective” criteria (for example territory, language or dialect, as in the case of regional and ethnic identity) that are the subject of hardly measurable “mental representations” such as the feeling of belonging.⁵⁷ Similarly, Roger Chartier in his article *Le monde comme representation*⁵⁸ distinguished the “objectivity of structures” and the “subjectivity of representations” when dealing with representations. It is therefore clear that identity has two components: the “objective”, and the “subjective” or the “mental” one.

Semiotic theoreticians go even deeper into the issue. The American philosopher, mathematician and scientist Charles Sanders Peirce (1839–1914) who developed Ferdinand

⁵² BRUBAKER, COOPER: *Beyond “Identity”*, pp. 4-6.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-4, 6.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-47.

⁵⁶ BOURDIEU, Pierre: *Identity and Representation*, in: *Language and Symbolic Power*, Polity Press, 1992, pp. 220-251.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 223.

⁵⁸ CHARTIER, Roger: *Le monde comme representation*, in: *Annales*, HSS, n. 6, 1989, pp. 1505–1520.

de Saussure's (1857–1913) linguistic theory of *signifier* and *signified*⁵⁹ perceived three elements of a sign: an *object*, a *sign* and an *interpretant*. In a simplified way, the *object* is a subject matter of a *sign*, a *sign* represents the *object* and the *interpretant* represents the *sign's* meaning formed into a kind of idea or an interpretation.⁶⁰ Similarly, Richard Jenkins distinguished a *virtual* (a meaning, or an experience) and a *nominal* (a name) dimension of *identity* when he applied a similar approach to the *identity* issue.⁶¹ In other words, it is presupposed that *identity* has three elements: an *object/virtual* part, a *sign/nominal* part and an *interpretant* (understanding of a virtual and nominal relation). This theory can be applied to the *identity* displayed in the travel testimonies. Tuscan travellers expressed a virtual part of their *identity* (*object*) in written form (a *sign/nominal* part). It is up to a historian to understand and reconstruct the relation between the sources and their meaning.

Apart from semiotics, the other methodological task is to examine the process of the creation of *identities/representations*. The French scholar Pierre Bourdieu claims that social space is a field of power relations where agents are distributed accordingly to their capital (economic, cultural, symbolic, prestige, etc.). These social agents have power to create a group by imposing on common principles “a vision of its *identity* and an identical vision of its unity”. Therefore, according to Bourdieu, scientists and other authorities can contribute to the process of creating identities. Similarly, categorization, naming, external definition, the common past,⁶² a vision of the future, symbols etc. play an important role in *identity* formation.⁶³

The process of *identity* creation based on an inter-relationship between internal definition (made by the Self) and external definition (made by the Other) was also one of the main ideas of Jenkins' article *Rethinking Ethnicity*. In the author's words, internally defined social groups presuppose an audience without whom the process of *identification* makes no sense. The Other provides an externally derived framework of meaning (external definition). Therefore, *identity* basically obtains its meaning only when confronted with those who are

⁵⁹ See: DE SAUSSURE, Ferdinand: *Cours de linguistique générale*, firstly published in 1916, then in 1979 Paris.

⁶⁰ See for example: PEIRCE, Charles Sanders: *Collected Papers of Charles Sanders Peirce*, (eds.) Charles HARTSHORNE, Paul WEISS, W. BURKS, Arthur, vols. 1–6, Massachusetts 1931–35, vols. 7–8, Massachusetts 1958.

⁶¹ JENKINS, Richard: *Rethinking Ethnicity: Identity, Categorization and Power*, in: *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 17/1994, p. 202.

⁶² The role of a common past and national history in the construction of a national *identity* is examined in the texts of the Czech historian Miroslav Hroch.

⁶³ See: BOURDIEU: *Identity and Representation*.

excluded from the group. The group categorize the others positively or negatively while the others externally categorize the group.⁶⁴

When applying the term *identity*, it is essential to define it precisely for each specific case. Naturally, each research requires a different approach, according existing conditions. Although there are some common mechanisms of *identity* construction, it is clear that a national *identity* differs from an ethnic or group *identity*. The approach to *identity* should thus be defined for this concrete thesis. The interpretation of *identity* is defined with regard to texts written by several authors.

In the research a *collective identity* is analysed and understood in Brubaker's "weak sense". *Identity* is perceived as a process that is taking place in a social space. *Identity* is multiple and constructed through the interaction between the Self and the Other. Brubaker emphasizes that *identity* perceived in its weak sense is getting difficult to analyse. It is, however, hardly possible to analytically examine a feature that is fluid and in a constant process. In order to keep the analysis feasible, this fluidity of the *identification* process must be kept in mind at all times. The adjective *collective* in the notion of *collective identity* has been deduced from the concepts of collective memory⁶⁵ and collective image of the city.⁶⁶ In both cases the authors claim that individuals are these who remember or who create the image. Similarly, this thesis is based on individual travellers who share certain aspects of *collective identity*.

Since the term *identity* is extremely blurred, one must agree with Rogers Brubaker and use also the alternative terms: (*self-*) *identification* and (*self-*) *representation*. In contrast to *identity*, which designates a certain condition, *identification* is an active processual term that does not "necessarily result in the internal sameness, the distinctiveness or the bounded groupness."⁶⁷ Both, *self-* and *other-identification* vary accordingly to different situations and contexts. There can be agents of *identification* (persons or institutions) in the process that legitimate a symbolic force by imposing certain categories.⁶⁸ In the case of this research, the Grand Duchy of Tuscany might be considered as an identifier, as well as the English environment that contributed to the process of the *identity* formation.

⁶⁴ See: JENKINS: *Rethinking Ethnicity*.

⁶⁵ OLICK, Jeffrey K., ROBBINS, Joyce: *Social Memory Studies: From "Collective Memory" to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices*, in: *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol. 24 (1998), pp. 111.

⁶⁶ LYNCH: *The Image of the City*, p. 46.

⁶⁷ BRUBAKER, COOPER: *Beyond "Identity"*, p. 14.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

The second, additional term the thesis will be dealing with is *(self-) representation*. According to Brubaker, this term is not tacit (for example in contrast to *self-understanding*) and it suggests at least some degree of explicit discursive articulation.⁶⁹ In this research, *representation* derives from the internal process of *identification* and is displayed in travel writing whenever the traveller is confronted with England and Englishmen. To sum up, for the purposes of this research, *identification* is considered an internal process, a *virtual* part, and representation the *nominal* part expressed in the texts. Nevertheless, both *identification* and representation constitute *identity*.

The general assumption for the conception of *identity* in this thesis might be summarized into these five points:

- 1) *Identity* is questioned as a category of analysis
- 2) *Collective identity* is examined
- 3) It is perceived in its weak sense
- 4) Terms *(self-) representation* and *(self-) identification* are understood as components of *identity*
- 5) *Identification* and *representation* displayed in the testimonies are examined through the method of self-other dichotomy

This theoretical chapter has introduced some methodological tasks and difficulties regarding *identity* as mentioned by authors such as Rogers Brubaker, Pierre Bourdieu and Roger Chartier. Elements of *identity* were also analysed according to the semiotic theory of Charles Sanders Peirce. In the last part, *identity* and the understanding of it in the research were defined. As was outlined, although *identity* analysis involves certain difficulties, it might also provide a variety of possibilities if applied correctly and carefully.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 17.

1.2 *Anglomania*

This chapter has a descriptive character and its scope is to question the theoretical concept *Anglomania* as positive stereotyping of English. After the general approach to *identity* in this research has been defined, the next step is to specify a less general feature of eighteenth-century culture in Tuscany: the phenomenon of *Anglomania*. The attempt is to explain how *Anglomania* is defined, under what conditions it supposedly appeared in Italy and subsequently in Tuscany, and what traces it left in some of the eighteenth-century Italian testimonies. The chapter is directly related to the precedent theoretical one concerning the issue of *identity*, and to the subsequent one dealing with examples of concrete Italian and English relations and travellers, and most importantly it prepares the ground for the Part Three part of the thesis.

It is possible to examine certain collective cultural phenomena as *Anglomania*, *Gallomania* or *Gallofobia*. Such phenomena are features representing positive or negative stereotypes about certain countries (most frequently about England and France) that have appeared for certain reasons not only in Italy but also in other European states. These stereotypes might be based on objective factors but it is not necessarily required. As the Greek suffixes - *mania* and - *phobia* indicate, *Anglomania* (possibly also *Anglofilia* or *Anglophilia*) could be briefly defined as the admiration of England and the tendency to imitate everything English (in a similar way, *Gallomania* in the French case). Naturally, when observing any popular stream, there are always some reversal tendencies pointed against the prevailing ones. Therefore, *Gallofobia* that reflected an antipathy to France and the French emerged as a reaction to the majority opinion– the *Gallomania*. To sum up, any kind of “mania” regarding a certain unit is commonly understood as a positive stereotype and “fobia”, conversely, as a negative one.

The concept of “othering”, in fact, reflects a relationship between the perception of the Self and the English. Since the Other is classified, its’ categorization connotes positive or, more often, negative characterization (stigmatization) of the Other. *Anglomania* can be perceived the less usual case when the Other is stereotyped positively. Moreover, the phenomenon of *Anglomania* in the eighteenth-century Italian context is also particular because it inverted the “traditional” perception of what is “barbarian”. Whereas in antiquity everything north of the border of the Roman Empire was considered “barbarian”, in this case the travellers displayed the complete opposite.

If the Other is admired, the Self naturally tends to underestimate itself. The Italian historian Arturo Graf claims that *Anglomania* in eighteenth-century Italy emerged as one of the consequences of Italians feeling their own cultural decadence. In his opinion, it was connected mainly with the sense of decay of Italian literature and culture when compared to the glorified past of Roman Empire and the heritage of Renaissance. Such an impression was among other reasons reinforced by the geographical division of Italy into several small states that were ruled by foreign dynasties.⁷⁰ Graf labelled two tendencies that emerged as a reaction to own decadence. They basically reflected attempts to “resurrect” Italy. He called the first one “centripetal”. He explained it as an “inner” flow concentrating on Italy itself and its past. The general idea was to come back to the glorious roots. In contrast, the other, entitled “centrifugal” tendency, was searching for outside influences.⁷¹ The former tendency was principally expressed in the establishment of Italian literary academies⁷², which were trying to return to the pastoral literary tradition and to reduce the prevailing influence of the affected baroque style.⁷³ The first and the most important academy was the Academy of Arcadia (*Accademia degli arcadi*) founded in Rome in 1690 by men of letters Gian Vincenzo Gravina (1664–1718) and Giovanni Maria Crescimbeni (1663–1728). Not long afterwards, its literary “colonies” were being established in other cities in Italy.⁷⁴ Consciously coming back to the literary roots, academies offered the opportunity to defend “Italy’s honour”.

The second, so-called “centrifugal” tendency was to be open to influences from the rest of Europe and also to actively seek for new inspiration abroad. Politically and culturally strong, France was a leading country in eighteenth-century Europe. Italy was not the only country that tended to imitate it. The French influence could be easily perceived and subsequently took over for the geographical proximity of the both countries. Therefore, in the Italian aristocratic and literate circles it was almost obligatory to speak French and to know well French habits and culture: mainly philosophy, literature and drama. The strong influence of France can also be demonstrated in number of books that were sold in Italy or translated into Italian. As already outlined above, there was also a minor reverse tendency that was arguing with the positive stereotype by criticizing everything French.⁷⁵ Thus, French impact was manifested in both directions – as *Gallomania* and *Gallofobia*.

⁷⁰ Arturo GRAF: *L’anglomania e l’influsso inglese in Italia nel secolo XVIII*. Introduction, p. XXIII.

⁷¹ Ivi.

⁷² Ibid., p. XII-XV.

⁷³ It was represented by the school of marinists imitating and named after Giambattista Marino (1569–1625).

⁷⁴ See: PELÁN, Jiří (ed.): *Slovník italských spisovatelů*, Prague 2004.

⁷⁵ GRAF: *L’anglomania*, p. 1-31.

The role of *Gallomania* was extremely important in Italy in the process of creating a positive stereotype of England; Graf argues that *Anglomania* was mediated to the Apennine Peninsula through France. Indeed, the strong admiration for England appeared in the influential French philosophic texts of Voltaire (*Lettres sur les Anglais* – later *Lettres philosophiques*) and Montesquieu (*Esprit des Lois*).⁷⁶ These authors were very popular in the Italian Enlightened circles. In other words, it is argued that *Anglomania* primarily came to Italy indirectly through the French mediation.

The interrelationship between stereotyped pictures of Italy and England was explained by the writer Saverio Bettinelli (1718–1808) in his *Lettere virgiliane e inglesi*.⁷⁷

“Era dunque, non proprio in tutto, come vedremo, ma in massima parte, era ancor essa, l’anglomania, una conseguenza, e starei per dire, una forma della gallomania: fatto curioso e istruttivo per più rispetti, e tra gli altri per questo, che i due influssi un po’ si accordano, un po’ si combattono; la gallomania si crea nell’anglomania una rivale; l’anglomania diventa un correttivo della gallomania.”⁷⁸

The author perceived *Anglomania* mainly as a consequence or a form of *Gallomania*. As he believed, the phenomena corresponded to some extent but partly opposed one other. Nevertheless, as Bettinelli testified, *Anglomania* in Italy could not be separated from the French context.

It is argued that the appearance of the term *Anglomania* in Bettinelli’s and other eighteenth century texts demonstrates that the term is one from the past not established by contemporary historians. Additional evidence can be found in the writings of the Roman writer Pietro Metastasio (1698–1782), who in his correspondence from 1775 warned a friend “not to be seduced by *Anglomania* that has already reigned for years in some parts of Italy”⁷⁹, or the Tuscan traveller Filippo Mazzei, who depicted Tuscany as a country “where *Anglomania* reaches fanaticism” (*dove l’anglomania giunge il fanatismo*)⁸⁰ and whose anti-English position will be analysed in the following chapters of the thesis. Suffice it to say for now that he even uses the noun form “Anglomaniacs” (*gli anglomani*) in his writing.⁸¹ It is

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 36.

⁷⁷ Saverio BETTINELLI: *Lettere Virgiliane* (Venice 1757) *Lettere inglesi* (Venice 1766).

⁷⁸ Citation from: GRAF: *L’anglomania*, p. 33.

⁷⁹ Citation from: Ibid., p. 32..

⁸⁰ MAZZEI, Filippo: *Memorie della vita e peregrinazioni di un fiorentino Filippo Mazzei*, London 1782, p. 238, (quoted also in: MOLONEY, Brian: *Florence and England: Essays on Cultural Relations in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century*, Florence 1969, p. 147; The number of the page is wrongly quoted as n. 283 instead of n. 238.)

⁸¹ MAZZEI: *Memorie*, p. 255.

presupposed that the examples provided by the two authors are enough to prove that *Anglomania* was named and perceived as an existing phenomenon in the eighteenth century Italy.

Although eighteenth century authors perceived the *Anglomania* phenomenon critically, England as such was not collectively criticized. Arturo Graf claims that due to historical, political and geographical reasons, no real *Anglofobia* (in contrast to the frequent *Gallofobia*) came into being in Italy. Given the fact that there had never been any direct conflicts in the history of the two countries, unlike in the case of France, which had traditionally made claims to the territory of the Apennine peninsula, aversion to England was practically absent in Italy. Furthermore, the relatively large distance between Italy and England helped to stimulate the curiosity and interest of Italians.⁸² The image of England was devoid of a distinct negative historical experience, so a positive stereotype could easily come into existence.

The next step is to ask what the process of construction of *Anglomania* looked like. Circulation of information played the most significant role in the process. Information was spreading not only through literature and written sources but also directly from oral and also written testimonies of travellers. Indeed, there were English travellers who had been traditionally visiting Italy (often as part of their *grand tour* or for political reasons such as diplomacy). It is assumed that English travellers in Italy “*self-represented*” England abroad in their way of behaving and informing.

Apart from Englishmen, there were also Italian travellers (as well foreigner non-English travellers), with both groups giving an account of their stay in England or at least of their opinion on it. Their perception from the outside perspective contributed to the formulation of the English *representation*. Therefore, it can be argued that the stereotyped image about England was created as a consequence of different information flows. Apart from the written sources, there were travellers who contributed to it. The image of the country was a result of the interplay between *self-representation* and *representation*. Nevertheless, one should bear in mind that the social space was organic, heterogeneous and in a continual process.

The objective of this thesis is not to analyse *Anglomania* in the whole of Italy, but to concentrate on what shape it took in Tuscany. In his monograph concerning cultural relations between Florence and England, historian Brian Moloney distinguished two forms of

⁸² GRAF: *L'anglomania*, p. 38-39.

Anglomania in Tuscany: a fashionable fad on the most “superficial” level, as well as a deeper-lying sentiment on the “more sophisticated” level. Concerning the former, Moloney pointed out literary examples illustrating the popularity of English clothing style, English coaches, lap dogs and bred horses that won races in Florence.⁸³ In addition to these most visible and superficial aspects of English influence, there are other topics, related to the ideas of the Enlightenment, which were treated mainly by Tuscan intellectuals: government and politics, liberty, literature, philosophy and science. These issues will be examined later on in relation to sources written by various Tuscan travellers.

To illustrate *Anglomania* with a concrete literary example, we may now turn to the Tuscan poet Lorenzo Pignotti (1739–1812). Although he is not a suitable candidate for a full-length examination in the thesis (for the simple reason that he, in fact, never went to England), his sensitive perception of *Anglomania* demonstrates the way in which stereotypes spread. In his writing, he mentioned some frequently repeated features of *Anglomania* such as the idea of the declined glory, liberty and virtue of Italy being related to the decadence that found a new place in England. A representative passage may be found in one of Pignotti’s poem in a contemporary translation:⁸⁴

O nutrice d’Eroi, madre seconda
Di tutte le virtù dell’arti belle
Anglia, nel di cui seno incerta errante
La combattuta Libertà Latina
Depose i fasci, e il lacerato manto
Ricomponendo, e la negletta chioma
Riprese il fasto usato, e la franca e lieta
D’astrea s’ affise al non temuto fianco,
Anglia, ed è ver che dell’incauta figlia,
Figlia che ormai sdegna il materno impero,
In altro cielo ed in straniero lido
Or muovi irata a lacerare il seno?

⁸³ MOLONEY: *Florence and England*, p. 131-132.

⁸⁴ A poem of PIGNOTTI, Lorenzo translated by MERRY, Robert: *Roberto Manners: Poemetto*, Florence 1785, p. 18-19.

*O frightful Parent of the noblest arts
And all the brightest virtues, England! Still the
Nurse of genuine heroes; on thy breast
Now, long unsettled Roman Liberty
Has placed the mighty fasces of her sway:
Her flowing mantle, dishevell'd hair,
All readjusted show their wanted glory;
While at her side Astraea smiles serene.
Alas! Dear Britain! Thy untoward child
Contemns a gentle mother's soft controul;
In other climates and on distant shores
She can compels thee with unwilling force
To wound her bosom, yet incautious child!*

This poem can serve as a conclusion to the chapter concerning the *Anglomania* phenomenon. It significantly pictured positively stereotyped England that keeps “long unsettled Roman liberty”. We now understand what *Anglomania* is, how it was constructed and perceived by eighteenth century authors and how it appeared in Tuscany. To summarize, *Anglomania* emerged in eighteenth century Italy as a consequence of the “centrifugal” tendency of intellectuals to look for new stimuli in the influential France. Although England itself was criticized very rarely and no real *Anglofobia* appeared in Italy, some eighteenth century authors perceived *Anglomania* as such negatively. Generalization and positive stereotyping of England is analysed further in the thesis.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ See the Chapter 4.3 *Categorization of England: Stereotyping and Generalizations*.

1.3 Meeting the English

This chapter analyses some of eighteenth-century relations between Italy and England and other aspects related to the creation of the image of England among Italians. Since the Tuscan state was incorporated into a broader geographical Italian unit, both territories were interconnected. It is therefore not possible to remove the Tuscan unit from the broader context and study it in isolation. The first two topics to be presented, both of which concern the mutual relations of the two countries, are travel guidebooks to England and English language knowledge in Italy. Then, in order to get an insight into the situation and the general motives of travellers' interest, the best-known travellers from Italy to England are introduced. This chapter should complement the preceding one, which was examining the genesis of the term *Anglomania* and the theoretical assumptions related to it, with concrete examples of Italian travellers. It also paves the way for the biographies of the Tuscan travellers coming up later in the thesis.⁸⁶

Travel guidebooks represented an important element of travelling practice. These books usually provided very practical information about the country they were describing, and as will be shown, they were not deprived of stereotyping. They actually contributed to the formation of the general image of England, which potential Italian travellers acquired. At this point it should be noted that there were no Italian travel books generally available in eighteenth-century Italy which would deal only and exclusively with England.⁸⁷ The image of England can, nonetheless, be found inside a broader travel guide, for instance the one by the then-popular Giuseppe Miselli whose *Burattino veridico* appeared in a number of editions in the late seventeenth century.⁸⁸ Miselli was dealing with several parts of Europe and included a section dedicated to England. He gives some basic geographical information such

⁸⁶ See the Chapters 3.1 *Angiolini's Biography* and 4.1 *Short Biographies: Antonio Cocchi, Vincenzo Martinelli, Filippo Mazzei, Giovanni Fabbroni and Filippo Pananti*.

⁸⁷ GRAF: *L'anglomania*, pp. 71-72.

⁸⁸ MISELLI, Giuseppe: *Il Burattino veridico, o vero istruzione generale per chi viaggia, con la descrizione dell'Europa, distinzione de' regni, provincie, e città, e con la tavola delle poste nelle vie più regolate, che al presente si trovano*, Rome 1682, pp. 81-91. Other reprints are from Rome (1684) and Bologna (1688). Their titles slightly differ but the content is almost identical. The third, Venice edition (1789) is called *Il viaggiatore moderno ossia la vera guida per chi viaggia. Con la descrizione delle quattro Parti del Mondo; regolamento esatto per il novello Corriero, i prezzi delle Cambiature, Vetture, spese di Vitto, cognizione delle Monete di ciascun Dominio etc. E diversi utili avvertimenti per conservarsi sani per mare, e per terra*. This edition is introduced as a corrected Roman version with a general introduction to travelling and some useful general advice.

as the position of posts offices on the way from Calais to London.⁸⁹ Furthermore, he provides some details regarding currency, warns about the humid English climate, and describes the beauty of a typical English landscape with the “lovely white herds of sheep that graze the always-fresh grass.”⁹⁰ As we can notice, the goal of the guidebook was to provide mainly practical information and picture England in a positive way.

The subsequent image of Englishmen provided by Miselli can be considered a generalized or even stereotyped one. According to Miselli, the people were robust and had beautiful features and fresh and vermillion-tinted faces (*di statua grande, e di fattezze bellissime, con viso fresco, e vermiglio*). They are also said to be “awesome, liberal and even though they have a very elevated spirit they are very polite and cherish foreigners” (*magnifici, e liberali, e benché di spiriti molto elevati, sono cortesi e accarezano [sic.] i forestieri*).⁹¹ Miselli also pointed out the English military (and especially naval) brilliancy. Besides the “magnificent, rich and splendid” (*la magnificenza, lo splendore, e la ricchezza*) London, which was surely the main interest of the majority of the Italians, the author also highlighted the importance of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge.⁹² Miselli’s example thus confirms that the tendency towards a positively stereotyped image of the English could be reinforced also by travel guidebooks.

Miselli’s basic dictionary provided in the travel guidebook included vocabulary in French, Polish, German and even Turkish but not in English.⁹³ This leads us to the second topic, i.e. the question of English language knowledge in Italy. Generally speaking, English was known very sparsely and poorly, and only a limited number of English books and grammars were available in on the Italian market.⁹⁴ French, on the other hand, was a very common language. According to the Italian linguist Alessandra Vicentini, English grammar books not only bear witness to the initial development of the grammaticographical tradition,

⁸⁹ This road was followed, for example, by Luigi Angiolini.

⁹⁰ MISELLI, Giuseppe: *Il Burattino veridico*, Bologna 1688, pp. 71-80.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 75.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 226-245.

⁹⁴ According to Vicentini (VICENTINI, Alessandra: *English Language and Cultural Stereotypes in the Eighteenth Century: The First Grammars for Italian Learners*, in: *Quaderni del CIRSIL*, 8-9 (2009-2010)): PLEUNUS, Arrigo: *Nuova e Perfetta Grammatica Inglese*, Leghorn 1701; ALTIERI, Ferdinando: *Grammar Italian-English, English-Italian*, London 1728; BARETTI, Giuseppe: *The Grammar of the Italian Language, with a copious Praxis of Moral Sentences. To which is added An English Grammar for the Use of the Italians*, London 1760; BARKER, Arthur Edward: *Nuova e Facile Grammatica della Lingua Inglese per gl’Italiani*, Siena 1766, DALMAZZONI: *Nuova Grammatica della Lingua Inglese per Uso degl’Italiani*, Rome 1788 and BASELLI, Giovanni Alberto: *Grammatica Analitico-Pratica della Lingua Inglese*, Venice 1795-p-1 Carmelite Friar living in Tuscany wrote a successful grammar book *Nuova e facile grammatica della lingua inglese per gl’Italiani* (firstly published in Siena 1766).

but also reveal the stereotypes and specific *topoi* of the English language and culture as seen from an Italian perspective.⁹⁵ Thus, grammar books, like guidebooks, can contribute to the construction of the image of Englishness in Italy.

Even though English was not known very well, the attitude towards the English language and culture was in general, at least according to grammar books, positive. In the grammars' prefaces and introductions, numerous and diverse praises of the English government, art, literature and science reveal a strategy employed to stress the importance of studying English.⁹⁶ It should be specified that, as Vicentini claims, the orientation of the grammar books was mostly practical, as they were destined to tradesmen and merchants who for business and intellectual interest wanted to go to London and who were also supposed to be able to read English literature.⁹⁷ Let us take an example from Edward Barker's⁹⁸ grammar, a text motivating English learners by way of describing the English population as renowned for the excellent form of their government, for their virtues, stoicism, science and culture, excellent arts, agriculture, and other things that directly belong to civil society:

“Inoltre questi Isolani medesimi son di presente, e furon anche ne' Secoli scorsi rinomati per la eccellente forma del loro Governo, per le loro severe virtù, e per un certo loro Stoicismo, che è rarissimo a' giorni nostri; Chiari, e famosi eglino sono per la profondità nelle Scienze, per la cultura di tutta la loro erudizione, per la eccellenza delle Arti, non meno che dell'Agricoltura, e per la buona riuscita delle cose tutte, che alla Civil Società direttamente appartengono.”⁹⁹

The examples of Miselli's travel guidebook and Barker's English grammar book have shown that these kinds of publications could contribute to the view that Italians had of England. At this point, concrete Italian travellers heading towards England will be presented. Motives for their journeys are various. Besides “traditional” purposes such as commerce, education, religion, and diplomatic or military reasons, new motives can be found such as mere interest, curiosity or just fashion, all related to the onset of tourism, which appeared in the eighteenth century.

Although the following list of travellers consists mainly of wealthy and known aristocrats, it is important, as Graf argues, to take into account a huge number of vagabonds

⁹⁵ VICENTINI: *English Language and Cultural Stereotypes*, pp. 1-2.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁹⁸ Barker was born in London but he was living in Tuscany.

⁹⁹ BARKER, Arthur Edward: *Nuova e Facile Grammatica della Lingua Inglese per gl'Italiani*, Florence 1771.

and adventurers who went to England hoping for better fortune and from whom we do not have any written evidence.¹⁰⁰ One of the most common reasons why aristocrats went to England was their interest in politics, culture, science and industry. Many of them thus probably paid for the journey at their own expenses like Luigi Angiolini did. Most of them were travelling to England as part of their journey across European countries including, for instance, France, Holland, Germany or Russia. They also varied in how they spent their time in England. Many of them even went on to live there for a longer time and make a living mostly as writers (often publishing in England, either in Italian or in English), translators, Italian language teachers or musicians.

Although it was sometimes difficult to distinguish which out of several occupations was the main one, we can see two basic groups coming to England – men of letters and scientists. As for members of the first group, we need to look no further than to the already mentioned Giuseppe Baretti¹⁰¹ (Turin 1719 – London 1789). In 1751 he went to England for the first time and stayed there for nine years. In 1760 he went back to Italy through Portugal, Spain and France. He published his most famous work *Lettere familiari e critiche ai suoi tre fratelli* (1762–63), in which he describes his travel experience and English manners and society, in both Italian and English. Afterwards “the fervid admirer of England” (*fervido ammiratore dell’Inghilterra*)¹⁰² returned there in 1771 and stayed until his death in 1789. During this thirty-year period he was teaching Italian and participating in many cultural activities in London, e.g. working in the theatre or writing literary critiques. He also became a secretary of the Royal Academy of Arts and got involved in the direction of the Italian Theatre. He was writing many of his books in London, most importantly his English grammar book.¹⁰³ Giuseppe Baretti can be considered a generally well-known Italian author.

Another person from literary circles who requires attention is Alessandro Verri (Milan 1741 – Rome 1816). After his law studies he became famous for his work for the Enlightened Milanese periodical *Il Caffè*. He was contributing there with his brother Pietro (Milan 1728 – Milan 1797) and other Enlightened intellectuals such as Cesare Beccaria (Milan 1738 – Milan 1794). Alessandro Verri became well-known for his translation of Shakespeare as well as for his own writings, for instance his novel *Le notti romane al sepolcro degli Scipioni* (1792, 1804). Verri went to England at the end of 1766 and although he expected a shorter stay, he

¹⁰⁰ GRAF: *L’anglomania*, p. 76.

¹⁰¹ See: FUBINI, Mario: *Giuseppe Baretti* in: *Dizionario Biografico degli italiani*, vol. 6, (1964) and GRAF: *L’anglomania*, pp. 60-61.

¹⁰² GRAF: *L’anglomania*, p. 32.

¹⁰³ See the Chapter 2.3 *Meeting the English*.

remained there for two months and a half. According to Arturo Graf, he sent several letters to his father and his brother informing them about England and his stay there.¹⁰⁴

Vittorio Alfieri (Asti 1749 – Florence 1803) was considered as one of the few eighteenth-century writers admirable for his free and creative spirit. He went to England several times, in 1768, 1770, 1783 and 1791. Alfieri depicted his journey to England in his autobiography *Vita scritta da esso* (1804) and in his letters. Graf claims that Alfieri's testimonies show that he considered England as a happy and liberal country and that he was impressed, particularly during his first stay in England. During the second stay, however, he was disillusioned and in his last account he was complaining, mainly about the intolerable climate, which had harmful influence on his health.¹⁰⁵ He visited London but his interest brought him also to the English countryside and to Scotland.

Another author providing a testimony of England was Carlo Castone della Torre di Rezzonico¹⁰⁶ (Como 1742 – Naples 1796). He was particularly interested in English theoretical literature. After his stay in England he wrote *Giornale del viaggio in Inghilterra negli anni 1787-1788* and other travel diaries, such as *Frammenti sulla città di Londra* (both are included in his *Opere*, vol. IV-VII). The poet and dramatist Ippolito Pindemonte (Verona 1753 – Verona 1828)¹⁰⁷ came from a rich aristocratic family, which allowed him to travel widely in Europe, including a few months in London. His journeys undertaken in the years 1788–1791 were described in his *Viaggi*.

Alongside literary intellectuals, the other large group are scientists. It can be argued that a number of scientists chose England mainly for its developed science and inventions. In practice, they were particularly interested in the Royal Society of London¹⁰⁸ and in the idea of meeting the famous physicist Isaac Newton (1643–1727). To give a specific example, the scientist and philosopher Antonio Conti (Padua 1677 – Padua 1749),¹⁰⁹ one of the correspondents of Antonio Cocchi, went to England in 1715 to meet Newton and to observe the solar eclipse. He stayed there with a short intermission until March 1718 when he was forced to leave the country because of his asthma. The poet Paolo Rolli (Rome 1687 – Todi

¹⁰⁴ GRAF: *L'anglomania*, p. 65.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 65-66.

¹⁰⁶ See: GRAF: *L'anglomania*, p. 66, and VERCELLONE, Guido Fagioli: *Carlo Castone della Torre di Rezzonico in: Dizionario Biografico degli italiani*, vol. 37 (1989).

¹⁰⁷ GRAF: *L'anglomania*, p. 67-68.

¹⁰⁸ Royal Society of London was founded in 1660 and granted by a Royal Charter of King Charles II.

¹⁰⁹ See: GRAF: *L'anglomania*, pp. 55-57 and GRONDA Giovanna: *Antonio Conti*, in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 28 (1983).

1765)¹¹⁰ came to England for the same scientific reasons as Conti. He, however, stayed there for thirty years. He became a private teacher of Italian language and literature in royal and noble families in London. The poet and natural scientist Francesco Algarotti¹¹¹ (Venice 1712 – Pisa 1764) came to England twice, in 1736 and in 1739. He became well-known for his popularizing treatises concerning Newton's theories.

The list of scientifically motivated journeys to England can be even longer: the Benedictine monk and future cardinal Angelo Maria Querini (Venice 1680 – Brescia 1755) was exchanging letters with Newton and in 1710 went to England.¹¹² There were more scientists, such as Paolo Frisi (Melegnano 1728 - Milan 1784), a mathematician and astronomer who departed from Italy to France and England in 1766 to find an intellectual stimulus and who met French and English scientists and intellectuals.¹¹³ Alessandro Volta's (Como 1745 – Como 1827)¹¹⁴ reasons for going to England were also mainly scientific. During his travel in France, Holland, Belgium and in England in 1781-1782, he was appreciated by the Royal Society of London, to which he presented his work on electrostatics. Also Scipione Maffei (Verona 1675 – Verona 1755)¹¹⁵ became a member of the Royal Society of London. His field of interest was natural philosophy.¹¹⁶

In London there were also places where Italians often assembled, such as the Orange Coffee House in the Haymarket, the centre of Italian life in London and a common meeting place.¹¹⁷ Another one is the Italian King's Theatre in Haymarket, famous for its Italian opera. Indeed, some Italian musicians including Nicola Francesco Haym (Rome 1678 – London 1729) and the librettist Lorenzo da Ponte (Ceneda, nowadays Vittorio Veneto, 1749 – New York 1838)^{118,119} became involved in London musical life.¹²⁰

In the first part of this chapter, the discourse of travel guidebooks and of English grammars was exposed. It was argued that information regarding the English and England

¹¹⁰ See: GRAF: *L'anglomania*, p. 57.

¹¹¹ See: Ibid., p. 59 and BONORA, Ettore: *Francesco Algarotti*, in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 2, (1960).

¹¹² Ibid., p. 55-56.

¹¹³ See: GRAF: *L'anglomania*, p. 66 and BALDINI, Ugo: *Paolo Frisi*, in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 50 (1998)

¹¹⁴ GRAF: *L'anglomania*, p. 66.

¹¹⁵ See: Ibid., p. 59.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., p. 49.

¹¹⁷ THORNE, E. H.: *Vincenzo Martinelli in England, 1748-1774*, in: *Italian Studies XI* (1956), p. 96.

¹¹⁸ GRAF: *L'anglomania*, pp. 66-68.

¹¹⁹ See: SCARABELLO Giovanni: *Lorenzo da Ponte*, in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 32, (1986).

¹²⁰ See: GRAF: *L'anglomania*, pp. 58 and ROSTAGNO, Antonio: *Nicola Francesco Haym*, in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 61 (2004).

obtainable in Italy was not very detailed. Knowledge of English was very rare and no travel guidebook fully dedicated to England was published. If at all provided, the information tended towards positive stereotyping. In the second part of the chapter were presented travellers going to England, along with the motivations for and circumstances of their respective stays. In order to analyse the image of Englishness in Tuscany, some ways of “meeting the English” in the Italian context were revealed.

Part Two: Luigi Angiolini

2.1 Angiolini's Biography

It is essential to present a traveller's background in order to better understand his or her perception of the Other. The home environment of Tuscany, education and social background formed not only the travellers themselves but also their image of England and their expectations of the country. *Self-identification* with homeland (whatever homeland represented for them)¹²¹ played important role at the moment of encounter with the Other. At that moment of confrontation of the Self with the Other, display of *identification* might be observed. Since the second part of the thesis is dealing with the case study based on Luigi Angiolini, his biography is included before the further analysis is done.

Luigi Angiolini was born in Seravezza in the part of Tuscany called Versilia on 7 March 1750.¹²² His parents were Giuseppe Maria and Anna Maria from Pietrasanta. Angiolini spent his childhood in Seravezza and in a nearby family villa San Cristoforo (latter renamed Buon Riposo). After being educated in Seravezza and Prato, he started his university studies in Pisa and Padua. During this time and in his early adulthood he became involved in the intellectual and political circles of Tuscan aristocrats.¹²³ In 1781 after his unsuccessful candidature for the post of a diplomat of the Grand Duke Peter Leopold, Angiolini decided to travel to Veneto and Lombardy. During his stay he established more contacts with Enlightened scientists and intellectuals.¹²⁴

Angiolini was still searching for a stable occupation. Nevertheless, neither his second attempt to get into a monarch's service was realized as he unsuccessfully applied for employment in Naples in the court of Maria Carolina of Austria, queen of Naples and Sicily. Because of these circumstances, Angiolini decided to leave Italy. He joined a Neapolitan ship going to England in 1787. Although Angiolini had a diplomatic mission in Spain and in Portugal to fulfil at the beginning of his journey, the chief purpose of his travel was tourist endeavour undertaken with the aim of (self-) education. As far as is known, he paid the travel

¹²¹ Examined particularly in the Chapter 4.5 *Meaning of the Self*.

¹²² Angiolini's biography is based on the author's BA thesis: PROKOPOVÁ, Oldřiška: *Luigi Angiolini – Život ve službách Toskánska*, Prague 2011.

¹²³ He struck up a friendship for example with Lucrezia Quarantotto, Francesco Monti, Federico Manfredini (1743–1829), Neri Corsini (1771–1845) and Vittorio Fossombroni (1754–1844).

¹²⁴ Giovanni della Bona (1712–1786), Melchiorre Cesarotti (1730–1808) and Giuseppe Parini (1729–1799).

expenses in England and Scotland on his own. He published his travelogue *Lettere sopra l'Inghilterra, Scozia e Olanda* in 1790, not long after he came back to Tuscany.

Angiolini finally gained employment in a sovereign's court. First, he worked as the Grand Duke Ferdinand's secretary in Florence and later from 1794 as his diplomat in Rome. Angiolini's mission was to represent Tuscan neutral policy towards pre-Napoleonic France. During his stay in Rome he established friendly contacts with Napoleon's brother Joseph Bonaparte (1768 –1844), Spanish diplomat José Azara (1730–1804) and Roman nobleman Camillo Borghese (1775–1832). In the years 1797 and 1798, to maintain the neutral position of Tuscany was getting diplomatically harder: France became more expansive and Pope Pius VI was escorted as a prisoner to Tuscan Siena. Consequently, at the beginning of 1798 Angiolini was sent to Paris as Ferdinand's diplomat in order to calm the tense situation between Tuscany and France.¹²⁵ Since Tuscan Grand Dukes were from the House of Habsburg-Lorraine, Tuscany was not completely detached from the Austrian affairs. Therefore, despite Angiolini's diplomatic efforts, the French army occupied Tuscany shortly after France declared war to Austria, in March 1799. Grand Duke Ferdinand was forced to go to exile to Vienna. In the meanwhile, his diplomat Angiolini was still in Paris.

After the war broke out, Angiolini's diplomatic mission in the French capital was not effective anymore. Moreover, since Tuscany became a belligerent country, his respected diplomatic position was radically shaken. For these reasons, Angiolini decided to leave Paris and to go to Vienna to see again the exiled Grand Duke Ferdinand. However, after his arrival, he was expelled because he came with a French passport. From that moment started Angiolini's almost two-years-long troublesome wander in what were mainly German speaking countries.¹²⁶ As reveals Angiolini's correspondence with the Grand Duke, Angiolini was trying to obtain a new passport and financial support during the whole time. Unfortunately for Angiolini, Ferdinand had not paid particular attention to him until 1801. The situation changed after the peace in Lunéville in December 1800 when the loss of Tuscany for Ferdinand was definitively confirmed. Angiolini was called upon again and his diplomatic task was to discuss a potential restoration of Tuscany or at least a compensation for it with Napoleon Bonaparte.

¹²⁵ See: TINKOVÁ, Daniela: "Povera nostra Toscana" a "francouzská uzurpace". Z exilové korespondence arcivévody Ferdinanda a toskánského vyslance ve Francii, Luigi Angioliniho (1799-1803) v pražském Národním archivu, in: *Napoleonské války a historická paměť. Sborník příspěvků ze stejnojmenné konference konané ve dnech 21.-22. dubna 2005 v Brně*, Brno 2005, pp. 125-143.

¹²⁶ Documented in: National Archives in Prague, Rodinný archiv toskánských Habsburků (NA, RAT), Ferdinand III., carton 10, *Précis historique*.

Angiolini's correspondence from the National Archives in Prague¹²⁷ gives a picture of how talks with Napoleon Bonaparte were going on. The evidence shows that Angiolini's initial enthusiasm was replaced by doubts and episodic disillusionments. After several months Angiolini realized that the possibility of the restoration of Tuscany was getting more and more unreachable, but since he was already in Paris, he started to cooperate with Napoleon Bonaparte. Literally in the role of a "Servant of Two Masters", Angiolini arranged the marriage of his Roman friend Camillo Borghese (1775–1832) with Napoleon's sister Pauline Bonaparte (1780–1825) in 1803. As their married life ended in separation a few years later Angiolini's mission in Paris finally went awry on all fronts.

In 1806 Angiolini returned back to Italy and stayed there until the end of his life, with only a short trip to Paris in 1807. After the collapse of the Napoleonic system in 1814, Grand Duke Ferdinand restored his reign in Tuscany. Angiolini, after overcoming a personal crisis and hesitations whether to continue in Ferdinand's service, decided to stay for good in his family villa San Cristoforo. He significantly renamed it Buon Riposo (Good Rest). The former diplomat decided to dedicate the following years to farming and family life. He spent his last years with his wife Elisa Caterina Bresciani of Pietrasanta and his extramarital daughter Luisa Sofia. Angiolini's family was also joined by the Swiss painter Carlo Muller who depicted the villa in several of his paintings.

According to Angiolini's personal correspondence, he had never been happier than during these years in Buon Riposo. In a letter to his friend countess de Bourke¹²⁸ Angiolini vividly described his beautiful garden with roses, the orchard of citrus and olive trees. He put himself also to animal breeding. He describes that he had more than two hundred merino sheep that "happily grazed in his meadow" and his bee house was the most beautiful of the whole Tuscany. He also stressed the advantages of the location of his villa with regard to the beauty of the surrounding hills, proximity to seashore as well as the accessibility of the cities of Pisa, Livorno, Florence and Genoa. His house was full of books and paintings.¹²⁹ Angiolini lived this calm life until the age of 71. He died suddenly on 14 July 1821, shortly after he entered his couch that was supposed to take him to Florence.

As has been shown, Angiolini's life and career were closely related to the intellectual environment of Tuscany and Italy, and to the political representation of the Grand Duke. His

¹²⁷ National Archives in Prague, Rodinný archiv toskánských Habsburků (NA, RAT), Ferdinand III., cartons 2 and 10.

¹²⁸ A letter from 1812: In: ORLANDI, Danilo: *La Versilia nel Risorgimento*, Roma 1976.

¹²⁹ ORLANDI: *La Versilia nel Risorgimento*, p. 232.

education and his contacts with Enlightened circles influenced the way in which he perceived England. The following chapter is concerned with the analysis of the characteristics and circumstances of both Angiolini's journey to England and his travelogue and of how they related to the Enlightened influences from his homeland.

2.2 Angiolini's Journey to England and his Travelogue

After answering the question of who was Luigi Angiolini, other issues should be examined, such as when, why, how, and for what purpose he went to England, what the travelogue looked like and under which circumstances it was published. Last but not least, examination is necessary as to why the travelogue is considered to be Enlightened. Therefore, this chapter treats practical aspects of Angiolini's journey to England on the one hand, and the formal structure and character of the travelogue on the other.

With the information from his *Lettere sopra l'Inghilterra, Scozia e Olanda*, Angiolini's approximate travel plan during his stay in England in 1787–1788 can be identified. Since not all the "letters" were marked with a date, the complete time-place itinerary cannot be provided. The two basic routes are, nonetheless, quite clear.¹³⁰ Regarding the first route (December 1787 – Spring 1788), the first information provided was from December 1787 from London, where Angiolini arrived from Dover. He probably stayed in London until the beginning of February (besides two small trips to Chelmsford and Weybridge) when he left for Bath, Bristol, Oxford and Cambridge. As Angiolini claims in the letter XIX, he was already back in London by April 1788. Geographically speaking, the first route took place in Southern England.

The second journey began in May 1788 and finished in late July 1788. This period contained a visit of industrial cities (Birmingham, Leeds, Manchester, Worsley, etc.) in Northern England and Scotland. Angiolini crossed Scottish borders on the way from Carlisle in June 1788. The very last date from the whole travelogue that Angiolini mentioned is from Edinburgh on 23 July 1788. Since his base was in London, it is probable that he went there again on his way from England to the continent. During the year and a half on the road, Angiolini was most likely keeping notes about the places and his ideas. Otherwise he would hardly have been able to remember all of the information provided in more than 700 pages of his writing. Angiolini himself confirms this theory in the very first "letter" where he claimed that in a country such as England he had always a lot to add to his notebook.¹³¹ Therefore, some possible evolution of his ideas in the course of the writing should be taken into account.

¹³⁰ See: *Appendix*.

¹³¹ ANGIOLINI, Luigi: *Lettere sopra l'Inghilterra, Scozia e Olanda*, vol. I, Letter I, p. 6, Florence 1790.

Although it is documented that Angiolini returned back to Italy passing through Belgium, France and Holland, the travelogue involves only England and Scotland. Apparently, he intended to write a travelogue consisting of three books instead of just the two, which were actually published. The third, unpublished volume was meant to be about Holland, as demonstrates Angiolini's original title for the travelogue *Lettere sopra l'Inghilterra, Scozia e Olanda* where *Olanda* means Holland. The possible reason why he abandoned this idea was the first two volumes, published anonymously in Florence in 1790, met with little success.¹³² The fact that the travelogue was probably not well accepted by readers can be demonstrated upon a funny anonymous poem that circulated in Florence:

*Mio carissimo Angiolino,
Chi sarà quell babbuino
Che sei Giuli voglia mettere
Pelle vostre insulse lettere.*¹³³

It's meaning in English is approximately as follows:

“My dear Angiolini,
who is that fool
who wants to invest six papal coins [*Giuli*]
in your vapid letters.”

Whether and why in actuality the travelogue was not successful and why Angiolini did not introduce himself as its author can be only a subject of speculations. No historical evidence regarding the reactions of the public is available. By 1790 it may have been too late to publish an Enlightened travelogue in Tuscany (the argumentation why it is considered to be Enlightened is provided further). In 1789 broke out the French Revolution that attracted a lot

¹³² See: EINAUDI, Luigi: *Saggi bibliografici e storici intorno alle dottrine economiche*, Rome 1953.

¹³³ EINAUDI: *Saggi bibliografici e storici*, p. 84.

of attention and Enlightened reforms were not promoted by the new Grand Duke Ferdinand III.

Perhaps Angiolini did not sign the travelogue because he already anticipated that it might not be well accepted by the reading public. He himself admitted that his observations might be not only “useful and interesting”, but sometimes also “disparate and outlandish”: *Le mie osservazioni saranno dunque come saranno, utili e curiose, sconnesse e stravaganti qualche volta; per altro sincere sempre e di bona fede.*¹³⁴ Whatever the truth is, Angiolini did not try to publish anything more after his experience from 1790.

Angiolini’s *Lettere* now deserve an analysis as to their form and content. To start with the formal aspects, the travelogue is divided into two parts: the first and the second volume. The former contains twenty-three and the latter twenty chapters. There is no dedication in the beginning and no illustrations provided. As there is no dedication, it seems that Angiolini paid all the expenses concerning not only his journey, but also the publishing on his own. The chapters were presented as letters addressed to a fictive friend representing a reader. Sometimes he is even addressed directly, often at the beginning or at the end of a chapter, for example when Angiolini apologizes for the excessive length of his “letter”.¹³⁵ According to Jürgen Habermas, this way of creating an epistemological fiction, typical for the eighteenth century, makes the passive reader a real participant.¹³⁶ Angiolini apparently wanted to attract and engage his readers in order for the travelogue to be selling well.

As examined in the following paragraphs, Angiolini’s travelogue is considered to be an Enlightened one. Angiolini explains at the very beginning that his writing was supposed to be neither a treatise, nor a description of his journey. In his own words, his goal was to “reflect and write day-to-day observations about persons and things.”¹³⁷ Indeed, his personal experience is almost missing (apart from the chapter called *Di Bristol, Hot-Wells ec.*,¹³⁸ the only one written as a kind of diary, and some other very brief notions). Angiolini’s goal seems to have been to provide as objective a reflection of England as possible – in that, the travelogue is in keeping with the Enlightenment’s general attempt at “objectivity”.

The term “useful” (*utile*) that often appears in his writing is important for the understanding of some of Angiolini’s stances. Enlightened thinkers believed that human

¹³⁴ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter I, p. 6.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹³⁶ HABERMAS, Jürgen, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, Massachusetts 1991., pp. 49-50.

¹³⁷ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter I, pp. 5-6.

¹³⁸ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter XV, pp. 180-195.

civilization could develop through progress achieved by science and study. Angiolini's endeavour to provide "useful knowledge" thus only confirms his Enlightened way of thinking. That he was searching for utility can be supported by more examples, such as the fact that he refused to talk about London because according to him, all of the travel books spoke about it.¹³⁹ Similarly, he did not accord any attention to the factories of Bath¹⁴⁰ and Manchester,¹⁴¹ as the topic was already too familiar. In short, Angiolini did not treat those things, which were already known because his evidence would not be sufficiently useful.

Since Angiolini wrote the "letters" in Italian and published them in Florence, it can be supposed that the text was aimed at the Italian-speaking public of the Apennine Peninsula. Angiolini's aim was thus to educate and inform his countrymen about the situation in England and Scotland. The fact that the objective of Angiolini's effort to provide "useful" and "objective" evidence was public edification also supports the theory of the Enlightened orientation of the travelogue.

This chapter has offered a preliminary cursory analysis of Angiolini's travelogue. First were examined the circumstances of his journey and of the publishing of his "letters". Already when analysing the formal aspects and first-sight observations about the publication, its general content, its epistolary form, and the objective of the travelogue, it can be assumed that Angiolini wrote it in an Enlightened way. This theory will be investigated further by content analysis in the following chapters of this thesis.

¹³⁹ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter I, p. 4.

¹⁴⁰ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter XIV, p. 161.

¹⁴¹ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. II, Letter VII, pp. 126-127.

2.3 The Case Study: Angiolini's Image of England

2.3.1 English Government and Liberty

At the centre of Angiolini's interest in the travelogue was the human being as such, as well as its relationship to the society and the state. From the traveller's perspective, the organization of a state was one of the most important aspects to influence the quality of people's lives. That Angiolini really believed so is supported by the fact that he dedicated many of the "letters"¹⁴² of his travelogue to the exposition of state institutions of the United Kingdom, such as the judicial practice in Chelmsford, the constitution, politics and the role of political opposition. This chapter will offer an analysis of his stances towards British public policies: first, the British constitution and with it its relationship to the parliament, the king and the people, then the importance of political opposition, liberty of press and the question of loss of personal liberty in the case of recruitment of mariners in Portsmouth. These latter all relate to the encompassing idea of liberty with emphasis on its importance in public life; other kinds of liberty treated by Angiolini, such as a "spirit of liberty" that Englishmen obtained in early childhood, liberty to commit suicide and liberty in the context of industrialization and commerce, are analysed in some of the next chapters.¹⁴³

Before Angiolini's opinions are examined, it must be said that just the fact that he raised issues regarding state and liberty can be seen as a promotion of the ideas of Enlightenment on his part. To latter mentioned topics is related a question of liberty that incidentally emerged from the whole travelogue in different contexts and situations. In the thesis are distinguished more types of it. In this chapter is observed liberty that is related to the state: the relationship between liberty and the British constitution, opposition and democracy, liberty of press, and personal liberty that Angiolini treated in Portsmouth.

Angiolini perceived the British constitution in a very positive light. He believed the British constitutional monarchy to be very special in the division of power between the king, the aristocracy and the people. Angiolini elaborately examined the whole system of government: in his opinion, if it ensured that the distribution of power were divided equally

¹⁴² Chapters V, X, XI, XII and XIII in: ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I.

¹⁴³ Chapters 3.3.2 "Englishness" and 3.3.4 *The Perception of the Industrial Revolution and Commerce*.

between “the monarch, aristocracy and democracy”, and none of these bodies could achieve dominance over the other, this form of government might be the most suitable one for humanity. Consequently, Angiolini argues, it might be the best one that had ever existed. He further adds that Englishmen had considered the constitution to be a basis of their liberty and welfare, while for foreigners it was the object of envy and desires.¹⁴⁴

The constitution, in Angiolini’s view, was worthy of admiration. However, when he describes its application and concrete political practice, some criticism regarding the strong power of the king and the parliament appears. Since Angiolini was also well-oriented in the current political situation, he could provide several specific examples that supported his claims. In his eyes, the king’s power in parliamentary issues was excessive and, for instance, even “too scandalous” in the case of the war with American colonies. Angiolini was particularly worried about the situation when the king is in agreement with the parliament. If this happens, their power is unlimited. In his opinion, it is so decisive that it could transform or uproot the constitution in its very basis and even destroy England.¹⁴⁵ In other words, the real danger appears if the power is not divided proportionally.

Such statements were slightly more moderate in the next “letter” where Angiolini admits that such a situation could not actually happen. He reminds the reader that there was still the “tribunal” of the English people and of their public opinion, which was always above the parliament with its public powerful jurisdiction (*Questo è il tribunale del popolo inglese e della pubblica opinione, che ha quell’ ultima tremenda giurisdizione...*). Liberty purportedly kept people happy and content and it also made them vivid protectors of liberty against a possible despotism.¹⁴⁶ Previous bad experiences of the English people made them conscious of the value of liberty.¹⁴⁷ In this context Angiolini declared a general statement about liberty: thanks to it, he claims, the English were more powerful, rich, content and happy than any other men had ever been. Finally, as a people they became old and fervent friends of liberty (*e questo popolo, vecchio e fervido amico della libertà...*), since they had experienced both how good it is to have it and how bad not to.¹⁴⁸

Angiolini continued with more observations about the democratic system. He referred to Jugurtha, the king of Numidia who was convinced that it was possible to obtain Ancient

¹⁴⁴ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter X, pp. 114-115.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 119-120.

¹⁴⁶ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter XI, p. 123.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.122-123.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p.122.

Rome by buying off the senate. According to Angiolini, such a practice would never have worked in England. It would be necessary to buy off the whole country in order to acquire England (*bisogna comprar tutta l'Inghilterra stessa*).¹⁴⁹ The meaning of this statement is that there was a democracy based on public opinion, which controlled the state. In an interesting simile, Angiolini likened the opposition party to a hydra whose heads always regrow and whom public opinion keeps awake and watchful:

“Vi ho dimostrato come l'opposizione è un'idra le cui teste rinascon sempre; se non deriva da lei la pubblica opinione, ella è che ha interesse a tenerla desta e vegliante. Aggiungete ancora che questa idra ha la sua riproduzione per natura e per interesse nel corpo che ha questa pubblica opinione cioè nel popolo.”¹⁵⁰

Therefore, democracy together with the opposition keeps the system working.

Concerning political opposition, Angiolini had a keen perception of its rotten roots. He believed that human nature consists of both virtue and vice, or a “good part” and a “bad part” (*la parte buona, la parte cattiva*). Similarly, he was conscious of corruption in English political practice and claimed the opposition party to be based on corruption on the part of members of parliament. The party itself was immoral because it promoted immorality, hypocrisy (*mala fede*) and intrigues, but in spite of that the party had an extremely important role in defence against despotism. There were two reasons for that: First, it always represented an opposition against parliament and it kept people attentive and suspicious of excessive usurpation. Angiolini compared this democratic system with countries where opposition was missing and the government consisted from only one party. In his opinion, there was a huge risk of the constitution being wrecked if the “vice prevailed”, which sooner or later happened.¹⁵¹ To sum up, according to Angiolini, the opposition party, however corrupted, worked as a safeguard against the despotism.

Angiolini continues with the examination of the English system. It seems to him that the English were generally happy with the system in spite of some governmental defects. The most important aspect for them was the previously-mentioned democracy. If was concentrated in one man's hands, however intelligent and honest he would be and however much the country would thrive, the English people would have doubts and would not be content

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., pp.129-130.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 130.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., pp. 124-126, 129.

anyway.¹⁵² Angiolini was simply convinced about the positive effect of the democratic division of power. In his own words, ancient opinion held it that men were made to be governed and are always better satisfied when they feel that they are governed by themselves:

“ (...) abbiamo anche qui una prova della già antica opinione, che gli uomini son fatti per esser governati; e solo si può aggiungere da quell che ho detto, che bene o mal che lo siano, son più contenti quando par loro di governarsi da se.”¹⁵³

Angiolini repeats this idea again in the “letter” from Bath.¹⁵⁴

Angiolini often polemicizes with the idea of applying the English constitution to other countries.¹⁵⁵ In his opinion, it would be “madness rather than shame” to try it. The reason is that in order to have such a constitution it is necessary to also have this sort of people who had experienced certain historical situations (*...penso che sarebbe pazzia piuttosto che vergogna; perché per aver questa costituzione bisogna aver questo popolo;...*).¹⁵⁶ This remark was not far from the actual problems that the Tuscan Grand Duke Peter Leopold was dealing with. It may be that Angiolini was treating this topic because he was aware of its importance for Tuscany: the new Tuscan constitution was definitely an issue that the ruler was consulting with the minister Francesco Maria Gianni (1728–1821), Angiolini’s acquaintance. They were examining the existing constitutions, mainly the English and the American one. In the end it was the American one that was chosen as a model for the future constitution. It was, however, never achieved because in 1790 after the death of his brother Joseph II, Peter Leopold was called to Vienna.

Apart from the issues dealing with the state, constitution and politics, Angiolini also admired the English liberty in the context of freedom of press. Thanks to that, England allegedly had the best political and personal customs and liberty out of all European countries (*ha più buon costume e libertà che tutt’altro paese d’Europa, sì politica che personale*).¹⁵⁷ The thesis argues that the press was a very important institution of the emerging public sphere containing its function for political consciousness.¹⁵⁸ This aspect is pointed out also by Angiolini as he finds the merit of press in the fact that it could prevent abuses deriving from imperfections in laws. If someone was unjustly offended, he could get his satisfaction from

¹⁵² ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter XIII, pp.155-156.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp.157-158.

¹⁵⁴ See: ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter XIV.

¹⁵⁵ See the Chapter 4.4 *Strategies of “Othering” Displayed in the Travel Writing*.

¹⁵⁶ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter XI, p. 131.

¹⁵⁷ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter IV, p. 21.

¹⁵⁸ See: HABERMAS: *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*.

the person by informing about it in the press.¹⁵⁹ In Angiolini's opinion, it was thus possible to seek justice thanks to the press.

Angiolini claimed that the gazettes in London were printed in enormous numbers and treated politics, commerce, history, moralities, physics, literature, arts, crafts and books. Consequently, people could read whatever they were interested in and everyone had at least a superficial knowledge about almost everything. Gazettes were therefore one of the primary causes of the education, the industry and the public spirit of the "nation" (*è forse una delle prime cagioni dell'istruzione, dell' industria, dello spirito pubblico di questa nazione*).¹⁶⁰ Angiolini also noted that as the press also contributed to general literacy, there was almost nobody in England who cannot read and write.¹⁶¹

Other positive consequences ensued. Reading the press helped men who for some reason could not find employment, Angiolini argues, and whereas in other countries they would have died useless and out of sight, in England they could learn about and nurture their talent and capabilities thanks to reading the gazettes. As a result, in England there were "greater men in any kind of profession" than in the other countries. Angiolini was convinced that for these reasons the human race there in England was brighter than elsewhere: *Per questo in Inghilterra vi sono più grandi uomini in ogni sorte di professione che in ogni altro paese. Né crediate che qua la razza umana abbia più ingegno che altrove*;¹⁶² Expanding on this stereotyped opinion, Angiolini contrasted the situation with that in Italy, where men were unsure and had to keep trying to find out what their proper employment was. In England, quite contrarily, men understood their inclination and they followed it.¹⁶³

Angiolini provided also some criticism during his stay in Portsmouth. He arrived there full of positive expectations, as it was the first English city he would visit, claiming that even such a small city could help one to obtain "the best idea" about the richness or rather opulence of London and of the "nation". However, shortly afterwards, he fell into some serious doubts about "the greatness of English liberty". The reason for this was the way of recruitment of mariners. He describes how the men were embarked and constrained without them or their families being asked whether they wished "to leave their peaceful and sure lives". They had to "undertake hardship of a life of mariners that were exposed to danger of waves and enemies".

¹⁵⁹ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter IV, p. 20.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 24.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 24-25.

Angiolini called the recruitment an “act of violence” (*atto di violenza*) which was, in his opinion, contradictory to the common principles of justice and natural rights of man, and became doubtful about the real, “intrinsic” existence of the glorified British personal liberty (*...mi nacque della reale intrinseca sussistenza della tanto decantata libertà personale Britannica.*). He concluded the argument with the statement that he would not like to experience such a situation in the country where he lives and he hopes that the parliament will sooner or later abolish this practice as tyrannical, very dangerous and intolerable abuse (*un abuso intollerabile, perché tirannico e di massimo pericolo*).¹⁶⁴

Angiolini attempted to examine the British constitutional monarchy in some depth. In general, he appreciated the system mainly for the existence of democracy and the constitution, which he admired. Even the opposition party, however morally rotten, was not troubling Angiolini as it fulfilled its given role. Apart from the role of liberty in the British state as such, Angiolini also treated the liberty of press, which he viewed positively, and the “violent” recruitment of mariners in Portsmouth, of which he was very critical. Angiolini’s general opinion could be summed up thus: the basis of the state, the constitution, was laudable, but the actual practice, as parliamentary laws manifested in the case of sailor recruitment, was sometimes far from the perfect.

2.3.2 “Englishness”

In this chapter are presented Angiolini’s observations of the English society, analysing certain features of the character of the English people by way of looking for the causes of their behaviour. There are also examined such issues as education, both parental and formal, or the influence of natural and social environment. Like in the previous chapter, Angiolini also deals with liberty, but in a different sense. The kind of liberty he talks about in this context is not the one provided by institutions and democratic constitution, but a certain kind of liberty which was contained in very the character of Englishmen. Angiolini believed that each nation had its specific character and in his comparative endeavour described the English society with keeping in mind the Italian one that was usually regarded as inferior. He categorized English by searching for its’ characteristics: *Englishness*.

¹⁶⁴ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter I, pp. 9-11.

Angiolini starts his analysis with English education in childhood, claiming that the decisive characteristic of Englishmen is involved in the complex of values that all of them unknowingly learn “with milk” (*con latte*)¹⁶⁵ in the early childhood. Angiolini believed that in this period of life the human being is extremely predisposed to be influenced by its parents: (...) *le prime idee, quelle della infanzia, abbiano un’influenza decisiva sopra il carattere dell’uomo adulto (...)*¹⁶⁶ These values – in the English case mainly their sense of liberty and independence – gained in the early age without regard to the social status of the parents, become the base of peoples’ lives and will never change or disappear.¹⁶⁷ Angiolini saw in this “package” of “national ideas” (*idee nazionali*) the basis of the highly-valued “being Englishmen” (*essere inglesi*).¹⁶⁸

Not only children unconsciously acquired what it means to be English very early, but were also subjected to conscious educational efforts. These generally consisted in the endeavour of the parents to lead the children to physical strength, regular alimentation, order and cleanness. Parents and relatives allegedly dedicated a lot of attention to the youngest as the smaller children, for instance, were constantly entertained and spoken with even to the point, Angiolini claimed, that they could not find the opportunity to cry. There was a common habit of taking even the small children outside and expose them to fresh air whatever the season and outside temperature.¹⁶⁹ Thus, concludes Angiolini, the children were cared for but ultimately resilient.

The fundamental part of the education was the encouragement towards an independent attitude, which produced frankness and courage.¹⁷⁰ Angiolini provides two examples. First, he mentions a two-year-old child that run where and how it wanted without restriction. It was free to run in the gardens and public streets without being watched, called at and stopped. If the child fell down, it always stood up unharmed. Second, he describes a winning bet that concerned a three-year-old child that was able to pass from one of London’s city gates to the church of St. Paul. The “immense crowd” (*il popolo immenso*)¹⁷¹ on the street made way for

¹⁶⁵ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter VII, pp. 65-66.

¹⁶⁶ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter VIII, p. 74.

¹⁶⁷ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter VI, p. 66.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 65- 66.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 55- 57.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

the child that safely arrived to its mother. According to Angiolini, there was to be no fear about children brought up by Englishmen.¹⁷²

Angiolini further claims that because of the freedom they were allowed, the children exhibited signs of mental and physical advancement compared to other countries. The consequence of the English style of upbringing was that children were mature very early. Children at the age of three in England seemed as advanced as eight-year-olds elsewhere, while the ages of seven or eight were equal to twelve and twelve to seventeen. Englishmen at the age of eighteen, writes Angiolini, are as developed and independent as other men over thirty:

“È certo che in Inghilterra sono generalmente i bambini a tre anni quello che altrove non sono i ragazzi a otto; sono questi a sette e otto quello che altrove non sono a dodici; e a dodici quello che altrove non sono i giovani a diciassette; e che a diciotto sono uomini, hanno già fatto il piano della loro vita, han già cominciato a porlo in esecuzione con insistenza, con fervore con tanta determinazione e indipendenza, quanta può averne un uomo altrove nella sua piena e libera potestà sopra i trent’anni.”¹⁷³

Angiolini was clearly convinced about the superiority of English education.

Angiolini continues with English adolescence and early adulthood. He stressed the fact that it was very common in England for young people at the age of seventeen or eighteen to be left to their own devices by their fathers. They would then carve out their career in commerce or other professions and often come back even richer than their fathers.¹⁷⁴ Due to this education leading to independence, people in England are said to have been better prepared to overcome any kind of difficulties and stimulated to develop industry (*industria*).¹⁷⁵ Angiolini again concludes with a reflection upon the applicability of the system and claims that this kind of unrestrained upbringing would not be possible in a country with different organization, constitution and laws – it would, quite contrarily, have destructive consequences as the children would become unhappy and anguished.¹⁷⁶ Angiolini claims that such education was feasible only in England.

Apart from the character and consequences of English education, Angiolini was also aware of the influences of environment, referring specifically to topics current in late-

¹⁷² Ibid., pp. 58-59.

¹⁷³ Ibid., pp. 57-58.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., pp. 64-65.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., pp. 83-84.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 83.

eighteenth-century society such as a gloomy fascination with cemeteries¹⁷⁷ or the reading of sentimental novels. In his opinion, the character of young Englishmen in the city as well as in the countryside was strongly influenced by the fact that they often took walks in the spacious surroundings of churches and parishes. These spaces with alleyways and low walls were also frequently situated close to cemeteries; according to Angiolini, the habit to visit graves and to be close to the deceased sooner or later contributed on the creation of a serious, sad part of the English personality.

This closeness also meant, however, that the English attitude to death was calm and stable. Angiolini again made a direct comparison: Englishmen were not afraid of death, unlike the Italians who were afflicted by the imagery summoned in religious ceremonies, as they accepted death as a necessity of nature. Angiolini applied this approach to death to the perception of rules in general. English in contrast to Italians accepted rules. Also Italians knew that they could not avoid them but they were trying hard not to be conscious of it: *Anche noi sappiamo che non si può evitare, ma facciamo tutto quello ch'è in nostro potere per non saperlo; ne siamo convinti, non persuasi.*¹⁷⁸ Also in this case was Angiolini convinced about English superiority.

After addressing children and men, Angiolini gives some attention also to English women. He noticed that women predominantly exhibited virtue, humanity, and decency in contact with their children.¹⁷⁹ Regarding influences upon women's characters, Angiolini stressed the importance of the reading of sentimental literature. He claimed that in England this literary genre had more morality, philosophy and is more solid (*hanno più solidità*) than in the case of other "nations".¹⁸⁰ Novels allegedly supplied women with warmth that they would perhaps not have experienced naturally. Englishwomen then seemed to be sweeter, more sincere and virtuous than other women.¹⁸¹ Like before, Angiolini analysed an issue not only by way of observation, but also by seeking for the cause of the behaviour.

Angiolini dedicated a whole chapter to the description of the life and habits of people living in the countryside near London. It is worth noting that the chapter is introduced by the depiction of an ordinary day of a rural man and woman from the morning to the evening (reminding of the structure of the then-famous eighteenth century satirical poem *Il giorno*

¹⁷⁷ Angiolini might have been inspired by the widespread literary theme concerning the sepulchral literature that appeared in late eighteenth century.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., pp. 82-83.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 69.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 92.

¹⁸¹ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter VIII, pp. 91-92.

written by Giuseppe Parini¹⁸² that likewise described a daily routine, but of an aristocrat). Angiolini lists several activities that men and women did during the day. Women first dedicated time to themselves and did the housework. After that they went out to the forest with dogs and enjoyed the sunlight debating with friends. They entertained themselves with music, painting, reading and writing. Men, on the other hand, dedicated a lot of time to hunting, horse riding and interesting debates. Angiolini mainly appreciated the fact that life in the countryside was very pleasant.¹⁸³

The most frequently repeated feature of life in countryside is moderation in general and in alimentation. According to Angiolini, English rural meals were healthy, modest but abundant. He notices that the English did not cook the compound, complicated and expensive plates “that fill the stomach but do not nourish the body”. Other positive features pointed out several times include thoroughness, cleanliness and a sense of order maintained by the English people. Men from the countryside were also exhibiting the best of the English character in that they were reserved, physically fit, polite, sincere and good friends.¹⁸⁴

Following his precedent treatment of liberty in the political sense,¹⁸⁵ Angiolini here introduces liberty also as a natural part of English character. He believed that liberty in the English society was absolute because no one was obliged to speak and search for anyone else. This fact, on the other hand, did not prevent people from socializing, being in touch and maybe even making friendships:

“Avrete rilevato che questo luogo è montato sul piede della più assoluta libertà e nel tempo istesso presenta tutte le opportunità possibili per stare insieme, per fare relazioni e corrispondenze, anche amicizie forse. Se nulla si vuole di tutto questo non si ha che tacere; in Inghilterra non cercando alcuno, nessuno ricerca.”¹⁸⁶

In this sense, liberty meant release from social conventions.

Angiolini’s final remark concerning the English character touches on social rights. According to Angiolini, “welfare” (*il bene*) was available more or less to everyone in England, not only to a certain social class like in others countries. Angiolini saw the reason in the “spirit of equality” that did worth to get inspired to: *Il bene è più o meno per tutti. Non è di privative, come in altri paesi, soltanto di certa classe. Ed ecco una nuova ragione di*

¹⁸² PARINI, Giuseppe: *Il giorno*, 1763, 1765.

¹⁸³ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter IX, pp. 98-103.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 101-107.

¹⁸⁵ See the Chapter 3.3.1 *English Government and Liberty*.

¹⁸⁶ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. II, Letter V, p. 97.

sollevarsi al benefice Spirito d'uguaglianza.¹⁸⁷ The notion of the “spirit of equality” is mentioned more times in the text and will be examined further in the context of Angiolini’s remarks upon industrialization.

To conclude, the chapter clearly shows several of the topics in which Angiolini was interested, but also the manner in which his analysis functioned. His aim was to depict the character of English children, men and women (and also, more specifically, of people living in the countryside) and connect it to his general statements about the English take on liberty and “spirit of equality”. As for his conclusions, Angiolini definitely considered the English as a superior people; as for the way he came to them, his main analytical method was to always look for causes, an approach, which certainly confirms him as an Enlightenment thinker. This notion is also supported by his choice of the topics such as education and liberty – all being at the heart of current Enlightened discussions.

2.3.3 “Enlightened Remarks” – *Suicides, Slavery, Police, Justice*

The Eighteenth century can be perceived as a borderline period, a time of passage from the “ancient regime” to the modern society. Angiolini, influenced by the Tuscan Enlightened way of thinking, was very sensitive to the incipient “new system”. This chapter describes some of the aspects of this change and explains how Angiolini reflected them. The first and a very representative topic are suicides (related again to the question of liberty), the second, directly linked to the first, are prisons. The third one is police, which controlled the society. Last but not least comes Angiolini’s perception of slavery which the author treats elsewhere but which merits attention here because, like the other topics, it is related to the question of human equality and of basic rights of every human being which all emerged in eighteenth century.

The perception of the problem of suicides went through considerable changes in eighteenth century European law. The many-sided process of secularization related to the Enlightened way of thinking influenced also the perception of human body, morality and criminal law. In medieval and early-modern society, self-killing was punished as a serious crime against God. Human creature endowed with life was not allowed to thwart the divine

¹⁸⁷ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter XXIII, p. 299.

gift. According to the past conception of law, not only the soul, but also the dead body had to be punished.¹⁸⁸ Such practice started to disappear in the eighteenth century.

The turning point in the criminal law discourse was a book by the Milanese philosopher and economist Cesare Beccaria. It came out in 1764 in Tuscan Livorno.¹⁸⁹ Beccaria was the first author who pointed out the uselessness and cruelty of a crippling physical punishment and the “medieval” conception of criminal law. The so-called “Beccarian revolution” can be considered as a breakthrough of the Enlightened way of thinking into the sphere of law. The first state which applied it in practice was Tuscany. The Grand Duke Peter Leopold, strongly influenced by this author, abolished the death penalty in Tuscany in 1786 as the first European monarch to do so. Tuscany thus had a particularly close relationship to the sweeping change in criminal law.

Angiolini wrote the chapter regarding English suicides in London in April 1788. Thus, it might be presumed that he was already familiar with these on-going discussions leading to changes of mentality in the society. Education and acquaintance with a number of Italian intellectuals and Tuscan scholars from the Arch Duke’s milieu certainly made him more sensitive to the perception of some problems. Already in the introduction to one of his “letters”, Angiolini points out the ambiguity of the problem of suicides that made philosophers indecisive in confrontation with the issue:

“Eccovi uno di quegli avvenimenti che nell’esame dello spirito umano lasciano indeciso il filosofo se ha da crederli prodotti o dalla forza o dalla debolezza, nè ardisce pronunziare che siano figli della follia o della ragione.”¹⁹⁰

Angiolini dedicated a part of the text to the description of what the practice was in England when a suicide was committed. According to him, the dead corpse was examined first by a magistrate called the *coroner* and afterwards by the assembly of twelve jurors. The task of both was to find out the cause and the circumstances of the act and subsequently decide whether the deceased was a culprit. If he was, the English law punished it by confiscation of property and burying the body pierced by a wooden pole in the middle of a public road.¹⁹¹ Angiolini pointed out that these officials were sometimes vulnerable to be seduced by bribes and cajoling on the part of the members of family of the deceased. Those

¹⁸⁸ See: TINKOVÁ, Daniela: *Hřích, zločin a šílenství v čase odkouzlování světa*, Praha 2004.

¹⁸⁹ BECCARIA, Cesare: *Dei delitti e delle pene*, Livorno 1764.

¹⁹⁰ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter XIX, p. 245.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 247-248.

were usually trying to persuade the officials that the suicide victim was insane – which means not guilty. Angiolini conceded that, in fact, no one had any interest in an accurate and rigorous process on the body of a dead person being carried out.¹⁹² In other words, the strict punishments were not really respected.

Angiolini expands on the interesting question of insanity whose emergence also indicated the change in the perception of suicides. According to him, being a “lunatick”¹⁹³, or mad, was in England used a “pretext”¹⁹⁴ for the abolishment of the criminal proceedings in the case suicides. To contextualize Angiolini’s testimony, the Enlightenment, which involved increased attention to science in general, also revised the attitude to certain mental disorders. In the late eighteenth but mainly in the nineteenth century, suicide was definitively decriminalised, in coincidence with the birth of psychiatry.¹⁹⁵ Thus, Angiolini’s perceptive observations registered the mental changes in the Enlightened English society.

Suicides were awarded a lot of attention by the Tuscan traveller and, when compared with other topics, received a relatively lengthy treatment from him. That might indicate that he encountered an issue, which he was not used to see in Italy and therefore wanted to explain it to the Italian public. This hypothesis finds partial confirmation in his claim that in England, suicides happened very often and across all social strata. As usual, the author decides to examine the main causes. He claims that this “strange desire” to prematurely terminate one’s life afflicted not only persons hit by misery and misfortune or deranged by a sense of guilt, but also those whose spirit was naturally predisposed. He finally points out two basic reasons for this perceived predisposition: the quality of the climate (mainly dangerous vapours in London) and the strong, innate (*passato in sangue*) English sense of liberty.¹⁹⁶

The secondary negative effect of the latter was that it permitted the people to do whatever they wanted. This together with the “national pride” (*l’orgoglio di questa nazione*)¹⁹⁷ meant that the English felt free to behave in a manner natural to them without any kind of pretence.¹⁹⁸ Moreover, adds Angiolini, there was no wonder that these people who felt a pressing need to be the masters of their own destiny (*padrone di se medesimo*)¹⁹⁹ then

¹⁹² Ibid., pp. 248-249.

¹⁹³ Ibid., p. 248.

¹⁹⁴ Ivi.

¹⁹⁵ See: TINKOVÁ: *Hřích, zločin a šílenství*, (according to Michel Foucault).

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., pp. 249-252.

¹⁹⁷ Ivi.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., pp. 252-254.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 255.

decided to act when a difficult situation suggested to them to terminate their life. Angiolini claimed that a similar tendency towards suicide was to be found in Ancient Rome.²⁰⁰ It might be deduced from this statement that Angiolini wanted to show the greatness and the strong sense of liberty of the Italian ancestors, which was eventually weakened after the fall of the Roman Empire. It was not the first, nor the last time that he complained about the declined glory of Italy.²⁰¹

Angiolini concluded his reflections with the statement that liberty and the government that permitted its growth were inseparably related to their negative effect, the large number of suicides. According to him, it was necessary to withstand some evil in order to achieve the greater good: *Mi raccolgo perciò in me stesso, e concludo con rattristarmi sopra la sorte nostra, esser nel Mondo indispensabile forse l'aver certi mali per poter godere i sommi beni.*²⁰² Thus, in Angiolini's opinion, suicides were simply an inevitable consequence of the English strong sense of liberty.

Like criminal law, also prisons were subjected to a radical change. In medieval and early modern times they were mainly utilised as places where people were awaiting the execution of a punishment. According to the Czech historian Daniela Tinková, a prison was reborn in the eighteenth century as a place where prisoners were supposed to become "teachable and useful". The interest of the society was not any more to eliminate individuals but to try to reform them and bring them back into the society and therefore, a new type of prison was formally defined in Enlightened legal codes.²⁰³ Foucaultian analysis with regard to power-relations between the Enlightened state and the people within the framework of its *disciplination* is not in the scope of this thesis,²⁰⁴ and so the issue will be only touched upon as raised by Angiolini's writing.

According to Michel Foucault, buildings designated as prisons proper had not existed in the early periods. Cells were often situated in the basements of municipal houses.²⁰⁵ Angiolini describes one recent purpose-fitted prison that, as he says, used to be the gothic castle of Lancaster. He then continues with a report about the internal sections of the building,

²⁰⁰ Ibid., pp. 252-256.

²⁰¹ See the Chapter 4.3 *Categorization of England: Stereotyping and Generalizations*.

²⁰² Ibid., p. 257.

²⁰³ TINKOVÁ: *Hřích, zločin a šilenství*, pp. 50-52.

²⁰⁴ See: Michel FOUCAULT: *Surveiller et punir: Naissance de la prison*, Paris 1975 and for example his lecture from 11 January 1978 in: Michel SENELLART, François EWALD, Alessandro FONTANA (ed.): Michel FOUCAULT: *Sécurité, territoire, population: Cours au Collège de France (1977-1978)*, Paris 2004.

²⁰⁵ TINKOVÁ: *Hřích, zločin a šilenství*, p. 52, (according to Michel Foucault).

even though he did not visit it personally and only received second-hand information. He believes the health and security regulations in place to be very well-prepared. The English made an effort to make the stay of unconvicted arrestees as easy as possible, because a man is already punished just by being deprived of his liberty. In Angiolini's words: (...) *gl'Inglesi si credono in dovere di alleggerire l'infelicità di quelli di cui le leggi vogliono assicurarsi per supposti delitti. In fatti l'uomo è assai gastigato quando gli è sospeso l'esercizio della sua libertà, (...)*.²⁰⁶ He also states that Italian prisons were in much worse state. According to him, it was impossible not to feel disgust, horror and perhaps remorse and pity (*ribrezzo ed orrore, e forse rimorso e pietà*) upon seeing the situation.²⁰⁷ The Tuscan traveller thus clearly expressed the idea of a new conception of punishment where prisoners should not suffer in bad conditions.

As was already mentioned, Tuscany was the first country in the world to abolish capital punishment. It was in 1786, more than two years before Angiolini commented on the topic. Although he admitted that it was still possible to find "ancient atrocity" (*antica atrocità*) in the "obsolete" death penalty cases in the English law, the practice ordinarily changed it to the transportation of the condemned to the Australian Botany Bay. Regardless of capital punishment, Angiolini considered criminal procedure in England as masterpiece of justice and humanity and a real support of people's liberty: *Nel convenire che la procedura criminale in Inghilterra è il capo d'opera della giustizia e dell'umanità, e il vero sostegno della libertà di questi cittadini (...)*.²⁰⁸ Angiolini thought again about the application of the system to Italy and he once more came to the conclusion that it would not work. To achieve such perfection would not have been possible as it was not in the character of the ("our") institutions and nature of the ("our") people: (...) *anche in questo capo d'opera si vede, che la perfezione non può essere nel carattere delle nostre istituzioni, perché non è della natura nostra*.²⁰⁹

Another of these "Enlightened" topics is police. Like prison, also police in the modern sense was born in the eighteenth century, as a consequence of Enlightenment state policy.²¹⁰ In his "letter" from Bath, Angiolini notices that public police had been established approximately three years before he came. It received public funding in the form of annual

²⁰⁶ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. II, Letter X, pp. 175-176.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 176.

²⁰⁸ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter V, pp. 35-36.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

²¹⁰ TINKOVÁ: *Hřích, zločin a šílenství*, pp. 52-53.

payments from the citizens of Bath and was as an institution designated to protect the inhabitants from various kinds of criminals. In Angiolini's opinion, the consequence was that there was no safer place in England than Bath. To support this statement, Angiolini cites a friend according to whom many inhabitants kept open windows and doors in summer without being worried.²¹¹ Angiolini thus perceived the impact of the police on Bath as definitely positive.

The essential qualities of the English police were that it was "fixed, determined and same for everyone". In other countries, "restrictions of liberty" might be smaller but they were more difficult to support because their distribution was accidental and unequal.²¹² Also in this context, Angiolini restates the importance of laws or restrictions being the same for everyone. Such a notion is again close to what Angiolini termed the English "spirit of equality" when examining the English character and industrialization.

Apart from Bath, Angiolini gave two other examples of the character of police: in Paris and in Tuscany. Although Angiolini admits that Parisian police served as a model to most other countries (excepting England), he was decisively criticizing its practice. In his opinion, the system was based on "frightening espionage" (*spionaggio spaventoso*) and consequently, the regime "disquieted" and "tormented" (*che inquieta, che tormenta*). Moreover, it pushed people into a continuous state of distrust and suffocated and destroyed everything in them that could make them "good" (*render buoni*). People lost all of the simple pleasures nature and society could provide.²¹³

The most serious problem of this system was, Angiolini follows, that it was very dependent on the people who were leading it. If the head had been enlightened and the staff as well, such a system might have had results; unfortunately, such a combination occurred very seldom. In order to make work a system such as that implemented in Paris, there would have had to be another numerous police corps to check upon the already existing police agents – which would again not be useful but harmful and irritating for the civil peace and liberty (*perché nociva o molesta sempre alla pace e alla libertà civile*).²¹⁴ Angiolini thus perceived the Parisian police system as unsatisfactory.

²¹¹ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter XIV, pp. 177-178.

²¹² ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. II, Letter I, pp. 20-21.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.

A description of Tuscan police practice was actually one of a very few remarks that Angiolini made upon Tuscany under the reign of Peter Leopold. Angiolini claims that the economical reforms introduced by the monarch required police control. Leopold's conception of police was allegedly aiming to allow the greatest civil liberty possible to achieve in a monarchical type of state (*è da desiderarsi che voglia applicarla tanto quanto si può e servirsene d'istrumento per dar senza pericolo alla libertà civile tutta quella estensione che è compatibile con la natura della monarchia*).²¹⁵ Angiolini apparently hoped that the new police force would not reduce liberty in the way the Parisian one did.

Eighteenth-century Europe was dealing with another issue of civil liberty: the problem of slavery. It is well known that European understanding of what was “barbarian” was undergoing a gradual change. The perception of other cultures, which in the early modern period were seen as something decidedly inferior, began to change. Scientists discovering non-European tribes realized that the human body did not differ according to ethnicity. Since other ethnic groups were now considered human, a new discourse emerged in moral and ethical discussions about slavery. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, literature even started to portray the “barbarians” as innocent “noble savages” living in symbiosis with nature and not “corrupted by the worst European features.”²¹⁶ The perception of slaves changed in accordance with the change of the image of what was “barbarian”.

Angiolini perceived this change of paradigm in the case of the transports of slaves in England. He arrived at the exact time of the anti-slave discussions as in 1778 the transportation of slaves was abolished in Virginia. Since his aim was to observe the English society, he commented on this question as well. Angiolini observed the practice in Liverpool, the port used for slave trade between America and Africa. Angiolini mentions a petition proposed by the Member of Parliament Sir William Dolben (1726–1814) in 1788, concerning limitation of commerce with slaves from Africa. The petition was approved on June 18, three days before Angiolini wrote this “letter”. Slavery was declared illegal in Great Britain already in 1772 but it was definitively prohibited only as late as in 1807 there and in 1833 in British colonies.²¹⁷ The fact that Angiolini dealt with the slavery issue confirms that by the time of his visit, the question had already begun to be a “hot topic” in London circles.

²¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 12-13.

²¹⁶ Inspired by the lectures of KŘÍŽOVÁ, Markéta: *The Old World and the New: Understanding Civilisation*, Charles University in Prague, winter semester 2012.

²¹⁷ A reference in: ANGIOLINI, Luigi: *Lettere sopra l'Inghilterra e la Scozia*, ed. STÄUBLE, Michèle, STÄUBLE, Antonio, Modena 1990, pp. 182-183.

Angiolini decided to make an overview of the situation. He found out that Liverpool had 4/5 of the whole commerce based on the slave trade. Abolition would therefore have meant a huge loss with far-reaching economical consequences. Angiolini went to see some of the ships that transported the slaves for his own eyes, guided by a friend. The friend explained to him that the slaves were well-fed and freed from their chains immediately after the ship sets sail. Angiolini confirms that the conditions of the slaves were indeed satisfactory – it was, in fact, in the interest of the captains to keep the slaves in good condition in order to be able to sell them afterwards. Angiolini, on the other hand, also elaborately describes the practice of brutal abuse of women by the captains and the crew, which made him doubt the system.²¹⁸

Angiolini's opinion concerning the slaves' living conditions thus shows some ambiguity. The most ambiguous, however, and also significant part of this "letter" comes at its very end. He arrives at the conclusion that slavery was more "an object of curiosity than of importance worthy of hate". According to him, it regarded a history of men that was never known enough. Although the slaves "are different from us in colour, in body structure, in conventions and customs, they are still humans," and thus "they can be interesting for someone who loves human beings":

"(...) essendo tale oggetto più di curiosità che d'importanza e odioso per se stesso. Quel che ne ho detto riguarda più che altro la storia degli uomini, non conosciuta mai troppo; questa, ancorché riguardi esseri dissimili da noi in colore, in fattezze, in leggi, in costume, e per altro uomini, potrà sempre interessare che ama gli uomini."²¹⁹

This short treatment of the slavery question shows that Angiolini touched again upon one of the "Enlightened" topics. Whereas he followed the ideas of "the new system" in the question of criminal law and police, he was not sure how to deal with the issue of slavery. As he could not resolve the conflict between the economical "utility" for Liverpool and the fact that slaves were also human beings, he rather concludes the chapter in a very unclear and ambiguous way.

To sum up, it might be said that Angiolini's interest in criminal law and its practice, along with his keen perception of the changing status of slaves, all demonstrated his inclination towards Enlightenment. Current judicial treatment of suicides and public opinion of them are captured at their turning point. There were visible encounters of the attributes of the previous form of law as the punishment of a body, together with the evident abolishment

²¹⁸ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. II, Letter IX, pp. 171-172.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 172.

of the rigid application of law. The cases when the execution for different motives was not concluded (mainly because of the fact that the crimes against God were not anymore in the centre of interest of “the age of reason”) were becoming more common. Moreover, Angiolini in his observations touched again the common issue of liberty in the case of suicides and a prison.

2.3.4 The Perception of the Industrial Revolution and Commerce

Angiolini dedicated a proportionally large part of his travelogue to the English commerce, the onset of the Industrial revolution and their causes and consequences such as English “selfishness”, “spirit of equality”, infrastructure and factories. His interest in these issues was related to the intellectual environment of Enlightenment Tuscany as well as to his personal interest. One hypothesis holds that Angiolini’s main objective was to educate and inform his compatriots about the latest developments in industry and commerce. Whether that is or is not the truth, the process of modernization held an essential place in Angiolini’s image of England and this chapter is going to offer an account of his observations about it.

It is essential to point out at the beginning that, generally speaking, Angiolini perceived the transformations in England very optimistically.²²⁰ He believed that the growth of industry and commerce was the essential condition for an improvement of living standards, rectification of work conditions and increase of wealth. He depicted England several times as the richest “nation” in the world (*la nazione più ricca del globo*),²²¹ intelligent and industrialized (*la nazione intelligente and industriosa*)²²² and he admired the luxury and wealth of Englishmen (*il lusso, la ricchezza*).²²³ Moreover, he believed that well-run industry together with liberty could make people happy: (...) *industria e libertà ben regulate son capaci di render gli uomini felici*.²²⁴ This unconditional trust in progress can also be perceived as being coincident with ideas of the Enlightenment.

As was already emphasised, Angiolini was generally looking for the causes of the phenomena, which he was treating. In this case he searched for the main cause of the English

²²⁰ The relation between Enlightenment and the British Industrial revolution is well explained in: MOKYR, Joel: *The Enlightened Economy: An Economic History of Britain, 1700-1850*, Yale 2007.

²²¹ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter XXIII, p. 293.

²²² *Ibid.*, p. 297.

²²³ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. II, Letter I, p. 14.

²²⁴ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. II, Letter II, p. 37.

industrial and economical growth. He believed one of the major causes to be the geographical location of the British Isles. The isolation from the continent, the unfavourable climate and the infertile soil formed the character of the people who were ready to overcome disadvantages. As a result, the English focused more on themselves and were more “unified and compact”.

There was a strong consequence of this feature in the English character: their innate “national’ selfishness” (*selfish nazionale*). According to Angiolini, it was strikingly stronger than in any other country and all of the monarchs actually reinforced it by promoting market and industry.²²⁵ It is important to stress that the word selfish does not seem to carry a negative connotation. The translation from English to Italian provided by Angiolini himself was self-love (*amor proprio*)²²⁶ or egoism (*egoismo*). English “selfishness” thus allegedly had positive consequences as it helped to overcome the difficult geographical and environmental situation. In other words, English advancements were partly caused by adverse conditions.

Such was the importance of English potent commerce to Angiolini that he devoted three entire chapters²²⁷ of the travelogue to it. His positive attitude bordering on fascination with trade can be demonstrated upon his first “letter” treating the issue. He found similarities between English commerce and the expanse of the sea that surrounds the islands. Amazed that free-market trade seemed to function by itself, independently of state decision-making and control, Angiolini likens the trading of goods to the self-reliant waves that steadily come to the seashore. His metaphor describes waves pushing up the beach, taking water from the precedent ones, and then retreating. He concluded that one could be sure that abundant harvest would come. In Angiolini’s words:

“Il mare che fascia l’Inghilterra è la vera immagine del commercio di lei. Si stia fermi al nostro punto, si prenda l’acqua dell’onda che viene: riparte, non si dissipi quanto si è preso; intanto ritorna, si seguiti a prendere; si può esser certi di un abbondante e sicura raccolta alla fine.”²²⁸

Angiolini distinguished internal commerce and external trade. In discord with the then-current consensus that considered overseas commerce a major component of British

²²⁵ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter XXV, pp. 324-327.

²²⁶ *Amour-propre* was a concept of Jean Jacques Rousseau perceiving self-love dependent on opinion of others.

²²⁷ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letters XX, XI and XXII.

²²⁸ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter XXI, p. 269.

industrialization,²²⁹ Angiolini was persuaded that prosperity derived mainly from internal trade. In his opinion, the country would be wealthy enough even without the colonial market, which was a kind of exchange directly related to the “selfishness” (in his own words *selfish* and *egoismo*) and to a desire for luxury. Although Angiolini deemed the external trade superfluous, he indeed admired the English commerce in general, even claiming that all the European monarchs wished their economies to become like the English and every scholar engaging with economics was searching for a way to emulate it.²³⁰

Angiolini, as usual searching for causal relationships, saw the real origins of the fast and well-functioning trade in the “spirit of equality” (*spirito di uguaglianza*). Equality, which Angiolini repeatedly extolled, arose from the long-lasting liberal tradition based on the English constitution. Angiolini claims that “from this natural virtue emerged uniformity of material requirements and desires across the country and even across social classes”. A tangible connection between the “spirit of equality” and commerce eluded Angiolini, but he at least remarks that if people’s demands did not differ, commerce could be more effective and faster.²³¹

In order to maintain both, internal and international exchange, it was necessary to have a certain level of networking and infrastructure. Angiolini was conscious of this fact and he admired not only the efficiency of the circulation of goods (see above) but also the fast, comfortable and safe transport of people. In his opinion, such good service was to be found nowhere else than in England.²³² In another “letter” he emphasises the importance of the infrastructure facilitating overseas commerce in the port of Liverpool, noting its proximity to industrial cities such as Manchester, Halifax, Leeds and Prescott, which supply the port with products for export.²³³

Concerning transportation of goods, Angiolini dedicated a “letter” to the canal leading from Worsley to Manchester. It was built in 1761 to allow coal to be shipped from Duke Bridgewater’s mines in Worsley. Angiolini admired the precise work and good knowledge of geometry that was needed for the construction of the canal. Even a small error could have rendered the whole work futile. The very positive impression that he got from the canal was

²²⁹ RIELLO, Giorgio, O’BRIEN, Patrick K.: *Reconstructing the Industrial Revolution: Analyses, Perceptions and Conceptions Of Britain’s Precocious Transition to Europe’s First Industrial Society*, London 2004, p. 27.

²³⁰ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter XX, pp. 258-260.

²³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 261-264.

²³² Topic concerning ways of traveling in England Angiolini treated in: ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. II, Letter I, pp. 3-37.

²³³ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. II, Letter IX, pp. 156-157.

only weakened by the fact that the area was allegedly very humid and infected with dangerous vapours. Aside from that, the channels were “shiny monuments of glory” which “would bring fortune to the descendants and a supreme advantage to the “nation” (*un monumento luminoso di gloria a se, di fortuna a suoi eredi e di sommo vantaggio alla nazione*).²³⁴ Clearly, Angiolini was conscious of the relation between well-functioning circulation of goods and infrastructure.

Let us now turn to the question of industrialization and to the way in which Angiolini notices different aspects of it in several of the cities he visited. Angiolini was conscious of the fact that the growing manufacturing industry affected the character of English and Scottish cities. He dedicated at least one chapter each to the cities of Birmingham,²³⁵ Leeds²³⁶ (both wool industry) and Manchester²³⁷ (cotton industry), with special interest in machinery, division of labour, free market and also in the possible drawbacks of industrialization.

The first of the industrial cities that Angiolini visited was Birmingham, a city famous for its trinket factories and luxury goods. As an outside visitor Angiolini was fascinated by the inventions and machines that made manual work easier but also by the final products. As he claimed in Manchester: “*La semplicità e perfezione che ha portata Inghilterra nelle sue macchine sarà sempre una delle superiorità della sua industria.*”²³⁸ Although the machines were at the heart of his interest, he did not provide any descriptions. He confessed that even after someone had explained to him how they worked, he did not remember it well enough to be able to explain it – he explained, however, that he was convinced his forgetfulness was not a serious problem, because many people knew anyway and many books were available on the topic.²³⁹

Apart from the machinery, Angiolini’s Birmingham chapter stresses another very important aspect of the industrialization, the division of labour. He explains the phenomenon very accurately with the help of the example of the fabrication of a shirt button. Before the final product was done there were eight persons who had been working on it without knowing the work of the others. The final product could then be sold astonishingly cheaply.²⁴⁰

²³⁴ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol II, Letter VIII, pp. 142-152.

²³⁵ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. II, Letters II and III, pp. 28-67.

²³⁶ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. II, Letter VI, pp. 99-124.

²³⁷ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. II, Letter VII, pp. 125-141.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

²³⁹ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. II, Letter II, pp. 29-30.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

Luigi Angiolini emphasized the importance of the free market in several parts of his travelogue. His personal interest in economic theories can be substantiated by a part of the travelogue dedicated to Adam Smith whom he met in Edinburgh. Angiolini was impressed by this encounter and he considered Smith to be one of the most talented men in Great Britain (*uno degli uomini d'ingegno più acuto e più profondo che abbia avuti la Gran Bretagna*).²⁴¹ In Angiolini's view, industry can be stabilized only if arts, crafts (*mestieri*) and commerce are maximally liberal – there must be only small restrictions that are fixed and the same for everyone. Angiolini clearly repeats his opinion about the importance of liberty and equality only this time in the context of industrialization and commerce.

Angiolini perceived the process of change from a broader perspective involving also negative social, political and geopolitical consequences of industrialization. Angiolini pointed out one of the very serious social problems related to industrialization: alcoholism and poverty in the cities. He explained that there was a huge amount of workers who were drinking alcohol the whole weekend and then on Monday were not able to come to work.²⁴² Angiolini's friend Thomas Hadley showed him all manufactures in Birmingham; when they were in a factory that produced buckles (*staffe da fibbie*), he provided the Italian traveller with a peculiar solution of the problem.²⁴⁴ According to Hadley, it was important not to pay too much money to the workers, because otherwise they could become corrupted, ill, indolent or profligate.²⁴⁵ As was shown before in the case of the problem of slavery in Liverpool, although Angiolini was a supporter of “progress”, he also recognized its drawbacks.

To conclude on a positive note, we shall look at Angiolini's “letter” about manufactories of Leeds, which ends with an almost fairy-tale story about a Flanders-oriented entrepreneur M. Bowyer. According to Angiolini, Bowyer came to Lincolnshire in order to bring wool manufactures to the country. At the beginning he had to overcome a lack of understanding on the part of the inhabitants. Later on the entrepreneur managed to convince them and wool production in Lincolnshire started to flourish. After he managed “to wake up the inhabitants from lethargy” and convinced them to work for his wool factory, they were supposedly so happy that they were ringing bells, dancing and jumping around him when he was coming to the village. In Angiolini's words:

²⁴¹ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. II, Letter XVIII, p. 355.

²⁴² Angiolini confused Adam Smith and the author John Smith who treated economic impact of wool in his book (see: EINAUDI, Luigi: *Saggi bibliografici e storici intorno alle dottrine economiche*, Rome 1953, p. 86.

²⁴³ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. II, Letter II, pp. 37-38.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

“Scossa la provincia del letargo in cui era e in mezzo ai vantaggi che ne risente, ora quando egli passa da qualche Villaggio appena è scoperto, il popolo dà per gioia nelle Campane e gli va incontro ballando e saltandogli intorno; lo riguarda come il suo Benefattore, come il suo padre.”²⁴⁶

In the closing words Angiolini even explains that the inhabitants of the village considered Mr. Bowyer as their benefactor or father. This story about the establishment of a factory in Lincolnshire certainly supports the hypothesis that Angiolini truly believed in positive consequences of the “progress” represented by the Industrial Revolution.

Angiolini’s thoughts about industrialization and commerce in England thus begin with what he saw as necessary preconditions of the development, such as “spirit of equality” and “selfishness”, and move towards a commentary on the process of industrialization itself, supported by personal testimony. However “idealistically” Angiolini saw the on-going processes, he was also able to observe the drawbacks of industrialization such as alcoholism and poverty. At the same time, he was ready to overcome certain inconveniences so as to support the positive processes of modernization.

2.3.5 Angiolini’s “Mental Landscape” – Image of Cities and “Sentimental” Countryside

Angiolini expressed interest in many places in England, bordering sometimes on fascination. Although he was more interested in cities, he also paid some attention to the countryside and nature. The objective of this chapter is to question how Angiolini’s perception of space projected onto the travelogue. Angiolini’s treatments of both cities and landscape are analysed, with the help of the theory of the American urban planner Kevin Lynch.²⁴⁷ In contrast to the precedent chapters of this thesis, in which mainly Angiolini’s opinions and contemplations were analysed, here the greatest importance is found in descriptions. English nature arguably induced Angiolini to use a different style of writing than that which appeared in the rest of his descriptions.

The first part of the analysis is dealing with Angiolini’s image of English cities. Since according to Kevin Lynch, “there is always too much stimulus in a complicated structure of a

²⁴⁶ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. II, Letter VI, p. 124.

²⁴⁷ Kevin LYNCH: *The Image of the City*, Massachusetts 1990.

city – more than human’s eye can see and an ear can hear,²⁴⁸ human beings create their own general image of a city.” Such an image is predominantly overlapping with an image of an individual.²⁴⁹ Similarly, this research is not dealing with the “objective” situation in the eighteenth-century England but rather with its image. The subject of this thesis is not the set of cities and parts of countryside, which Angiolini visited, but their image as a mental construction made up by the traveller. This chapter thus shows concrete examples of some of the strategies applied by Angiolini when he tried to understand, characterize and classify space around him.

During his travels, Angiolini was systematically trying to categorize the places he visited. He clearly distinguished the cities as to their size and purpose (e.g. Birmingham, Manchester and Stafford were industrial cities, Bristol was a commercial city, Oxford and Cambridge were university towns and Bath and Matlock were spas). This kind of a categorical distinction by purpose corresponds to Angiolini’s very practical (even Enlightened) way of thinking. The primary basis for categorization applied to most of the cities was whether manufactures and commerce were present in the city or not. This kind of basic classification together with a comparison between the cities helped Angiolini to create his first, elementary image of the cities.

To cite some specific examples of Angiolini’s application of classification criteria: “[Portsmouth] is a small city and it would not be considered if not were one of the principal places of maritime power of Englishmen. It is not for passing through, it has no commerce (...).”²⁵⁰ “I am in Bristol which is the second most important city in England for the extent of its commerce.”²⁵¹ “I am in Birmingham; I am in this famous city that gives a real fame to England for its manufactures of trinkets, (...).”²⁵² “Leeds is a great emporium in this realm for its huge fabrics of wool (...).”²⁵³ “This city [Liverpool] has the most extensive commerce after London. At this moment I believe without doubt that it is even bigger than Bristol.”²⁵⁴ As was shown, the cities are clearly categorized by Angiolini according to their size and purpose.

²⁴⁸ LYNCH: *The Image of the City*, p. 1.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

²⁵⁰ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter II, p. 7.

²⁵¹ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter XV, p. 180.

²⁵² ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. II, Letter II, p. 28.

²⁵³ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. II, Letter VI, p. 99.

²⁵⁴ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. II, Letter IX, p. 153.

A more concrete description of English cities follows. According to Kevin Lynch, there is another term related to image called imageability, i.e. a “quality in a physical object which gives it a high probability of evoking a strong image in any given observer.” Similarly to Lynch who established five types of physical elements that are basis of imageability (paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks),²⁵⁵ it is observable that also in the traveller’s descriptions are characteristic aspects and places of interest that were continually appearing. Since Angiolini was not subjected to any systematic survey, as Lynch had done in his book, it is possible to get only inspired by Lynch’s idea in some extent. Nevertheless, it is appropriate “to let Angiolini speak” before doing a further analysis.

Descriptions of the cities of Portsmouth, Birmingham and Manchester are provided. According to Angiolini, the small city of Portsmouth fascinated a foreigner coming from continental Europe with clean paths, elegant buildings and shops, a decent manner of clothing, and a content and peaceful atmosphere (*La pulizia delle strade, l’eleganza delle case e delle botteghe, il vestiario decente delle persone, l’aria loro contenta e di agio, e questo in un piccolo paese (...)*).²⁵⁶ Angiolini offered another description similar to this one in the “letter” regarding Birmingham and its manufactures. He appreciated the very regular and elegant architecture (*architettura così regolare ed elegante*) and nice dwellings that “pleased the spirit and enlivened the body” when wandering around.²⁵⁷ Manchester was depicted as one of the big cities of England that was, like Birmingham, “extending very quickly every day”. Nevertheless, when comparing both cities, he found Manchester more elegant and luxurious, with streets new and broad, well-paved and lined with sidewalks (*In questo ella uguaglia Birmingham e la supera di gran lunga nell’eleganza e nel lusso; le strade nuove sono tutte larghe, ben lastricate con marciapiedi, le case sono grandi e di buon disegno*).²⁵⁸

In contrast to the clean and elegant Portsmouth, Birmingham and Manchester, Angiolini described the cities of Cambridge and Bristol as lacking in appearance. The former was said to be poorly designed, with narrow badly paved streets and without sidewalks (*mal fabbricata, con le strade strette, mal selciate e senza marciapiedi*), while the latter was apparently waiting for a reconstruction encouraged by William Pitt. Streets were supposed to be enlarged and straightened, pavement improved and the whole city illuminated night.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁵ LYNCH: *The Image of the City*, pp. 9, 47-48.

²⁵⁶ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter II, p. 7.

²⁵⁷ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. II, Letter III, pp. 53-54.

²⁵⁸ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. II, Letter VII, p. 126.

²⁵⁹ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter XVIII, pp. 231-232.

Bristol was not nice and clean neither. Allegedly, it had narrow streets with busy traffic caused by its vast commerce (*Non è bella per altro, nè pulita: con strade strette e molto movimento per il suo vasto commercio di mare, non può essere altrimenti: (...)*)²⁶⁰ To sum up, it is argued that the criteria of maintaining was important in the Angiolini's perception of cities.

Angiolini's places of interest, apart from the often-mentioned cemeteries,²⁶¹ included hospitals in Manchester and in Birmingham, to which he dedicated many pages,²⁶² libraries (Birmingham),²⁶³ theatres, public gardens, baths, promenades and book shops (Manchester).²⁶⁴ In Bristol he mentioned a superb square with an equestrian statue of William III, the river Avon, a forest and a cathedral.²⁶⁵ Most of the places, which Angiolini treated in his text were public spaces and buildings. There were clearly some distinctive elements that Angiolini was particularly interested in. Significantly, he alludes several times to elegance and tidiness and praises well-paved, broad streets. Such criteria, upholding the idea of well-organized, clean and well-used space, were closely related to Angiolini's classicist and Enlightened aesthetic norms. As was shown in many examples, these aspects were involved in Angiolini's personal mental image that he built in the cities.

It is important to point out that for Angiolini, cities were not empty structures but primarily places with a purpose or function. The cities and spaces that were appearing in his descriptions were being utilised by people, by their inhabitants. To give some examples, Angiolini was touched by a scene of children playing in spring and summer on a square that resembled a garden. Such a "spectacle" seemed "interesting and tender" to him: *É interessante e tenero lo spettacolo che dà il numero dei bambini e dei ragazzi nella primavera e in estate più che altrove nei prati intorno Londra e sulle piazza che sono una specie di giardini; (...)*²⁶⁶

The second example comes from Manchester, the city of manufacture where Angiolini noticed how the daily rhythm was changing on different days of the week. On Saturday, for instance, people took their products to the market to sell. On that day Manchester was full of

²⁶⁰ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter XV, p. 180.

²⁶¹ See the Chapter: 3.3.2 "Englishness".

²⁶² ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. II, Letter III, pp. 53-55 and ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. II, Letter VII, p. 141.

²⁶³ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. II, Letter III, pp. 61-63.

²⁶⁴ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. II, Letter VII, p. 141.

²⁶⁵ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter XV, pp. 182-183.

²⁶⁶ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter VII, p. 61.

men, women, wagons, horses and mules, which made passage on foot very difficult and carriage travel even more so:

“Teri, giorno di sabato e di pubblico mercato, in cui la gente di campagna porta alla città i suoi prodotti e il lavoro fatto e viene a prendere dai mercanti i materiali per quello della settimana seguente, vidi che cosa è un paese di manifatture, La città era così piena di uomini, donne, carri, baricci, cavalla, muli che mi fu difficile passare a piedi, non che in carrozza (...).”²⁶⁷

Angiolini’s cities” were most definitely “living”.

To summarize, Angiolini perceived cities as places with a certain function that were supposed to serve its inhabitants and visitors. The first thing that he took into consideration was the size and the main purpose of the city. His criteria further included the elegance of the buildings and he was also particularly interested in paths, pavements and sidewalks. Angiolini’s image of English cities, concerned with the current state of modernization of urban spaces, was displayed in an “Enlightened way”. As is analysed in the next paragraphs, Angiolini was not deprived of sentimental perception of landscape neither.

Gardens, parks and orchards were, alongside urban space, another type of space of artificial character that Angiolini was drawing attention to. One of the parts of his travelogue comes from the palace of Clifton where Angiolini admired English gardens and orchards and where he enjoyed a relaxed walk in a well-cut park with evergreen trees.²⁶⁸ In another “letter” Angiolini described typical English gardens as “offsprings of a simple nature” (*figli della semplice natura*) which was “not a friend of straight symmetric lines” (*poco amica delle linee rette di ciò che si chiama simmetria*). Thereafter, the traveller’s attention was attracted to garden beds where Englishmen cultivated herbs and vegetables. He claims that the plants required special care. English put only one variety of them together. If there was a weed courageous enough to mix into them it “did not survive a night”. Angiolini also claims that vegetables from English beds tasted better than “our” Italian ones, their taste being more vivid and decisive (*che hanno in fatti maggior gusto dei nostri: il loro sapore è più vivo, più deciso*).²⁶⁹ The Tuscan traveller repeatedly mentions English artificial green spaces as an interesting feature which probably differed from his experience from Italy.

²⁶⁷ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. II, pp. 137-138.

²⁶⁸ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter XV, p. 189.

²⁶⁹ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter IX, pp. 109-110.

As Angiolini's "Letters" were intentionally presented by the author himself as a testimony informing about the "objective" current situation in England and Scotland, the majority of them were written in an impersonal and educative way. Only some of them differ in their character and style when in a few parts of the travelogue the author abandoned general explications written in the "Enlightened way" and perceived landscape and space around him in a more "personal" and "sentimental" manner. An example can be found in the chapter where he characterizes Bristol, Hot-Wells, Clifton, the villa of Kings Weston and Tintern Abbey, i.e. in the only part written in diary form. Perhaps another form of telling liberated him from the Enlightened patterns and allowed him to use more personal style and express his feelings and sentiments. The approximate translation of the Angiolini's statement is provided:

"It was the most beautiful morning that I have seen in England: the sun looked like the sun in Italy in April: there was a lucid and bright atmosphere: I have never breathed such a pure air, never stayed in such a tranquil and quiet place: I did not hear other sounds than that of the wind, or other voice than that of rooks that were flying around and often coming to peck close to me. The singularity of the place and silence made me resign to the sweetest meditations; (...)."

The original text in Italian is provided:

"Era la più bella mattina da me veduta in Inghilterra: Il sole pareva quello di aprile in Italia: era lucida e chiara l'atmosfera: mai non respirai aria più pura, nè vissi in luogo, che non so se ho da chiamare abitato, più tranquillo e più quieto: non sentivo altro rumore che quello del vento, nè altra voce che quella dei corvi che mi volavano intorno, e spesso venivano a pascersi vicini a me. La singolarità del luogo e il silenzio fecero abbandonarmi alle più dolci meditazioni; (...)"²⁷⁰

A similar emotionally tinged description can be found in the part concerning Derbyshire. Angiolini gives a description of his everyday morning wandering: "There is nothing that could enrapture me so much as this spectacle of multiform mountainous perspectives. It prevents me sweetly from everyday concerns" (*Per me non conosco spettacolo che più mi rapisca alle inquietudini della vita e che mi trattenga più dolcemente di quello che mi presentano le multiformi prospettive delle montagne*).²⁷¹ Angiolini offers some more examples of sentimental and personal descriptions as he mentions the beauties of the

²⁷⁰ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter XV, p. 187.

²⁷¹ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. II, Letter V, pp. 89-90.

varied and romantic landscape of the river Ribble (*paesaggio de' più variati e romanzeschi che possa immaginarsi*), his trip from Kendal to the lake of Windermere with water temperate and bright (*le sue acque sono placide e chiare*) and hills all around²⁷² and also Matlock Baths and the surrounding nature.²⁷³ Since these statements are tending towards sentimental literature, perhaps the outset romanticism of the end of the eighteenth century had already influenced Angiolini. Or maybe he just sometimes forgot about the educative purpose of his travelogue and was carried away by the beauties of English nature and countryside.

This chapter has questioned the way in which the Tuscan traveller was “reading” the space around him. Angiolini was interested mainly in the description of cities, less often in landscape, but never completely forgot other green spaces – parks, gardens, and orchards. The Enlightened influence is clearly visible in the city descriptions. Landscape descriptions, however, are much more personal and sentimental. Even though the Enlightened approach definitely prevails in Angiolini’s travelogue, some features of romanticism or Angiolini’s personal sentimentality protrude from his “objective” descriptions.

²⁷² ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. II, Letter X, pp.173-179.

²⁷³ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. II, Letter V pp. 87-91.

Part Three: *Identification* of Tuscan Travellers

Following the analysis of Luigi Angiolini's travelogue in the second part of the thesis, the third part incorporates five more travellers: Vincenzo Martinelli, Antonio Cocchi, Filippo Mazzei, Antonio Pananti and Giovanni Fabbroni. Angiolini's travelogue, in contrast to the other sources, can be considered the only one to reflect England and its society in a complex way, and therefore it was chosen as the main referential point for the third part of the research. The other Tuscans are used in order to help describe and highlight some important issues and stress certain aspects. In this part, they are presented mainly as individuals subjected to the same influences of their home environment of eighteenth-century Tuscany, an environment which also facilitated a common, shared perspective of the Other.

According to the Lynch's concept of mental mapping, images created by individuals are found to generally overlap with the common image. It can thus be argued that the analysis of individual images of England as set forth by the six Tuscan travellers can reveal much about the *collective identification*. However, before analysing the self-other relationship, it is necessary to ask who the Self is, for which reason the travellers' biographies are presented. The following analytical part of the third section of the thesis deals exclusively with the strategies of forming one's own *identity* through the Other. This part of the research shows which topics the travellers' have in common (both the topics they are all interested in and those they all leave out) and it continues to other ways of "othering" on the writers' part: stereotyping of England related to the feeling of one's own decay, the Enlightened approach and, finally, explicit displays of one's own *identification*. The outcomes of the third part of the thesis contribute to a better understanding of some of the features of the complex process of *collective identification* in Tuscany.

3.1 Short Biographies: Antonio Cocchi, Vincenzo Martinelli, Filippo Mazzei, Giovanni Fabbroni and Filippo Pananti

Luigi Angiolini's biography has been provided in Part Two. This chapter presents the often-adventurous life stories of the other five Tuscan travellers: Antonio Cocchi, Vincenzo Martinelli, Filippo Mazzei, Giovanni Fabbroni and Filippo Pananti. An insight into their background, motivations and consequences of their stays in England leads to a better understanding of their writing. The biographies are presented chronologically.

Antonio Cocchi²⁷⁴ is the first one to be presented. He was an Enlightened scientist and intellectual with vast literary output. Historians have examined him not only for his contribution to natural sciences, but also for his wide-ranging interests: in addition to many texts concerning medical topics, he commented also on linguistics, social life and more. Antonio Cocchi was born in 1695 in Benevento in Southern Italy but his family moved to Florence soon after his birth. The young boy entered a Piarist school and in 1713 began his studies of medicine in Pisa. His interests led him to additional courses in mathematics and probably also to private lessons of philosophy. He returned to Florence to start his medical practice there in 1717. After a year on Elba he came back to Florence and learned several modern and classical languages (Spanish, French, English, Ancient Greek, and the basics of Arabic and Hebrew) in order to understand foreign medical sources. Thanks to his linguistic abilities he became the preferred doctor of Englishmen in Florence. He met Theophilus Hastings, 9th Earl of Huntingdon (1696–1746), whom he joined as a personal doctor for his journey to England in 1722.

Cocchi split from the Duke after several months in London, mainly because of unsatisfactory financial conditions. Subsequently, the young doctor started his private medical practice and worked on a Latin translation of the Greek philosopher Xenophon of Ephesus (2nd–3rd Century AD), published in 1726 as *Xenophontis Ephesii Ephesiacorum libri V. De amoribus Anthiae et Abrocomae*. In the same year his father died and Cocchi returned to Italy where he had been promised a post at the university of Pisa. He first started to teach a course in theoretical medicine in Pisa, later he was teaching at the university of Florence and worked in the Santa Maria Nuova Hospital. Cocchi's interests were becoming broader and broader after he became a doctor and a close friend of the Englishman Horace Mann (1706–1786)

²⁷⁴ See for example: BALDINI, Ivo: *Antonio Cocchi*, in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 26 (1982).

who inspired him to become a member of Freemasonry in 1732. Cocchi was arguably the first Tuscan and perhaps the first Italian ever to do so. Thanks to his historical and palaeographical interests Cocchi was nominated in 1737 to work as an antiquary of the Grand Duke. During his Florentine stay he wrote a number of essays regarding medicine, medicaments, diet, baths, hygiene and natural sciences. Cocchi was married twice and had two children. He died in Florence in January 1758 and was buried in the Basilica of Santa Croce. Antonio Cocchi has become to be known among historians as a very influential person in the eighteenth-century intellectual and scientific circles.

Not much is known about the life of the Tuscan writer Vincenzo Martinelli, so only basic information can be provided.²⁷⁵ He was born on 1 May 1702 in Montecatini and spent his early life in Tuscany where he obtained a law degree from the university of Pisa and where he also met and admired Antonio Cocchi. Martinelli's literary career started in Venice as his first book got published there, a comedy called *Il Filizio Medico*. In the years 1738–1746 he lived in Naples in the state service of king Charles III of Spain (1716–1788). After this experience Martinelli left Italy in 1748. He travelled to England through German states, France and Holland. During his stay in London he was teaching Italian and became a prolific writer, publishing first *Istoria critica della vita civile* (1752) and then *Lettere familiari e critiche* (1758).

In 1762 Martinelli published an edition of Giovanni Boccaccio's *Decameron* (*Decamerone*) and wrote a book on the history of England, *Istoria d'Inghilterra*, which was published also in London in 1770–73. The latter was generally appreciated more for the simple fact that it was the first history of England written by an Italian than because of any originality or value.²⁷⁶ Martinelli's contacts with both Englishmen and Italians living in London were abundant. According to the evidence from his correspondence he was visiting English friends in Houghton Hall, Warwickshire and near Devizes. He also met well-known Italian men of letters Alessandro Verri, Giacomo Casanova and Giuseppe Baretti.²⁷⁷ Martinelli probably returned to Tuscany in 1774 and published his last book there, *Storia del governo d'Inghilterra e delle sue colonie d'India e nell'America Settentrionale*, a broadening of his *Istoria d'Inghilterra*. He also touched upon the often-treated question of American

²⁷⁵ See for example: NATALI, Giulio: *Vincenzo Martinelli*, in: *Enciclopedia Italiana* (1934), BONORA: *Letterati, memorialisti a viaggiatori del Settecento*, pp. 876-879.

²⁷⁶ BONORA: *Letterati, memorialisti a viaggiatori del Settecento*, p. 878.

²⁷⁷ See: THORNE: *Vincenzo Martinelli in England*, pp. 92-107.

colonies. With the financial help of the Grand Duke Leopold, he spent the rest of his life in retirement and died in Florence on 19 May 1785.

Filippo Mazzei²⁷⁸ was born in Poggio a Caiano on 25 December 1730. He studied in Prato and then moved to Florence to start working as a surgeon in the Hospital of Santa Maria Nuova. There he met Antonio Cocchi whom he admired for his scientific work.²⁷⁹ After a disagreement with his brother concerning family heritage, young Filippo Mazzei decided to leave Italy. In 1752 he departed for Izmir with his friend Salinas, a Jewish doctor, passing on his way through Venice, Vienna, Pest, Timisoara, Nikopol, Hadrianopolis and Constantinople. Mazzei spent two years in Izmir as a surgeon, until the end of 1755 when he joined an English ship heading to England. He arrived in London for the first time at the beginning of March 1756.²⁸⁰ He abandoned his original surgery career path and he rather occupied himself with teaching Italian and with his Italian warehouse in New Bond Street. Mazzei was in touch with Vincenzo Martinelli²⁸¹ and he even had some disagreement with Giuseppe Baretti.²⁸² Mazzei came back to Italy for the first time in 1760, after four years in England.

Mazzei returned to England in 1767. His English stay was negatively affected by the fire of his second shop in Haymarket in 1769. Mazzei's life, however, took another direction after he met Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790) and John Adams (1735-1826), a friend of Thomas Jefferson. Influenced by them and by his other friends from Virginia, he decided to go to America where he arrived at the end of November 1773. He participated as a soldier in the war for American independence and he unsuccessfully made endeavour to establish commercial cooperation between Tuscany and Virginia. His anti-English position influenced also the young Tuscan Giovanni Fabbroni.

In 1777 Mazzei obtained a diplomatic mission in Europe. However, during his voyage he was captured by Englishmen who forced him to throw his diplomatic documents into the sea. In 1785 Mazzei went to Paris together with Jefferson and in 1788 published anonymously his book *Recherches historiques et politique sur les États Unis de l'Amérique septentrionale*. His diplomatic career continued in 1791 when he became an agent of the Polish–Lithuanian king Stanisław August Poniatowski (1732–1798). Mazzei went to Petersburg in 1802. He,

²⁷⁸ TORTAROLO, Edoardo: *Filippo Mazzei* in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 72 (2008).

²⁷⁹ BONORA: *Letterati, memorialisti e viaggiatori del Settecento*, pp. 767-768.

²⁸⁰ See: BECATTINI Massimo: *Filippo Mazzei mercante italiano a Londra (1756-1772)*, Poggio a Caiano 1997.

²⁸¹ Martinelli was mentioned in Mazzei's *Memorie*, for example p. 447.

²⁸² See the Chapter 3.1 *Meeting the English*.

like Angiolini, spent his last years in Tuscany where he occupied himself with agriculture and wrote his *Memorie*. Filippo Mazzei died in Pisa on 19 March 1816.

Giovanni Fabbroni²⁸³ was born in Florence on 13 February 1752 as a child of Orazio and Rosalinda Werner. In his early childhood he learned German from his mother who was of German origin. Even though the family atmosphere led him towards theatre and musical life, his main interest became natural sciences. Young Fabbroni's life changed completely when he was introduced to Peter Leopold and to Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826). Jefferson offered him to go to Virginia in 1773 together with Filippo Mazzei.

Fabbroni frequented the painting academy in Florence's Hospital of Santa Maria Nuova where the academic environment influenced Antonio Cocchi and his students and followers in the field of natural sciences. Afterwards, Fabbroni travelled in Italy. In 1775 Grand Duke Peter Leopold sent Fabbroni together with the physicist Felice Fontana (1730–1805) to Paris. In 1778 both moved to London where Fabbroni stayed until November 1779. He was in touch with the Royal Society of London and made a trip to the Northern provinces of England.²⁸⁴ The journey in Europe and polemics with former French and English scientists inspired Fabbroni to write several texts concerning agriculture, mineralogy, chemistry, vegetation, etc. Among many other works published by Fabbroni, his *Réflexions sur l'état actuel de l'agriculture* (Paris 1780) can be considered as the most important one.

After Fabbroni returned to Tuscany in 1783, he was elected member of the agrarian academy *Accademia dei Georgofili*²⁸⁵ and a year later he became their secretary of correspondence. As some of his books show, he was mainly interested in the English agrarian revolution and its applicability in Tuscan context. Fabbroni's other occupation was in *Florentine Journal of Agriculture* (*Giornale fiorentino d'agricoltura*) where he worked between 1786 and 1787. His numerous publications, however, were concerned with other topics as well, such as political and social issues and criminal law.

In 1798 Fabbroni departed to Paris as a representative of Grand Duke Ferdinand III. He participated in the international commission for reforms of weights and measures. During these years of Napoleonic occupation of Tuscany, Fabbroni was politically active. His correspondence with Luigi Angiolini who was at that time involved in diplomatic circles has been preserved. In 1801 Fabbroni entered the service of the house of Bourbones-Parma in the

²⁸³ PASTA, Renato: *Giovanni Fabbroni* in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 43 (1993).

²⁸⁴ See the Chapter 4.2 *Frequent Issues: Common Topics, Tendencies and Negative Evidence*.

²⁸⁵ *Accademia dei Georgofili* was founded in Florence in 1753.

new Napoleonic Kingdom of Etruria. This period offered him a lot of possibilities, including a professorship in Pisa and some state functions. In 1782 Fabbroni married Teresa Ciamagnini and a year later, they had a son called Leopoldo. Giovanni Fabbroni died in Florence on 17 December 1822.

Filippo Pananti was a Tuscan poet born in Ronta del Mugello in 1766. Although his initial education directed him towards an ecclesiastic career, he eventually obtained a degree in law in Pisa. He left Italy for political reasons in 1799 and started to travel. Apart from France, Spain and Germany he also went to England. Although at the beginning he did not expect to stay for a long time because he did not speak English, he went on to live there for twelve years. In his own words, he fell in love with the country and its inhabitants (*innamoratissimo del paese e de'suoi abitatori*).²⁸⁶ During his stay in London he was writing his literary works and teaching Italian.²⁸⁷ Some letters to Luigi Angiolini from the first years of his London stay have survived until today.²⁸⁸ Pananti also commented on Angiolini's observations about England and found them always true and insightful (*vere e fini*).²⁸⁹ On his way back from England to Italy in 1813 he was captured by Algerian pirates and subsequently liberated from slavery by an English consul. Filippo Pananti died in his hometown in 1837.

Regarding his literary career, Pananti wrote poems and prose predominantly in a humorous style. He published his epic poem *Il poeta di teatro* in London in 1808. His *Avventure e osservazioni sulle coste di Barberia*, in which he described his adventures in Algiers and further, were first published in Florence in 1817. Some of his other poetry and prose got published as *Opere in versi e in prosa* (Florence 1824–25) and yet more material, with a commentary by Luigi Andreani, as *Scritti minori inediti o sparsi* (Florence 1897). Although his literary output is relatively vast he and his work have not been much reflected so far.

Short biographies of the five Tuscan travellers were provided. From their life stories it is apparent that most of them didn't spend their lives only in their home Tuscany, but travelled in Italy and abroad to England and elsewhere, some of them having travel experience from outside Europe as well. Although the outcomes of their English stays differed, as did their subsequent fates, it can be said that those who stayed there longer were

²⁸⁶ GRAF: *L'anglomania*, p. 67.

²⁸⁷ Pananti provided its' description in a letter to Angiolini, in: SFORZA, Giovanni: *Il Pananti in Inghilterra*, in: *Giornale storico della letteratura*, XIX, 1892.

²⁸⁸ See: SFORZA: *Il Pananti*.

²⁸⁹ SFORZA: *Il Pananti*, p. 391.

generally well-integrated in the society, often teaching Italian and publishing in London. All of the presented travellers definitely deserve the attention of the academic community and should not be forgotten.

3.2 Frequent Issues: Common Topics, Tendencies and Negative Evidence

The travellers' biographies have revealed how different their life stories were. Despite diversity among them, their home Tuscan environment predisposed them share certain similar approaches in their perception of the English. Most of the authors therefore treat a shared set of subjects and show similar tendencies and patterns in their writing. The most strikingly repeated subjects appear to be liberty and education, industry and science, the climate, the current political situation, the government and the recruitment of mariners. These all receive explicit attention from the travellers, who felt the need to discuss them for the sake of their readers. Apart from these commonly treated topics the travellers also displayed similar general mechanisms, tendencies or patterns, which come to the surface indirectly and independently of the authors' explicit intentions. The tendencies analysed in this chapter consist of resemblances of routes and places of interest, Enlightened inclinations and finally negative, i.e. the aspects and subjects that were omitted.

Among shared mechanisms certainly belong also other common features such as the positive stereotyping of England related to the feeling of decadence of the Self and to the heritage of the glorious Ancient Rome, and also other mental processes of "othering", all of which will be analysed later in the thesis. Commonly treated subjects as well as mental mechanisms and tendencies were ways of defining the Self and displaying one's own *identification*, which had formed when the Self was confronted with the Other, the English.

As was argued, some informative value might be found not just in the topics explicitly treated by the travellers, but also in the very choice of the places of interest they visited and the routes they took. Let us consider the features common to the journeys of Luigi Angiolini and Giovanni Fabbroni, the only two travellers who travelled outside London. Both went up to the northern part of the country in order to visit industrial sites. The crucial difference between them was that Angiolini went to England of his own initiative, in contrast to Fabbroni who was sent by the Grand Duke Peter Leopold as his informant. It was thus the emperor who ordered him to fulfil a specific travel plan on the trip in 1779 and pay attention

mainly to the process of modernization, for example in the industrial exploits of manufactures and mining.²⁹⁰

Angiolini's stances towards industrialization have already been sufficiently examined.²⁹¹ We therefore afford more attention to Fabbroni who also followed two routes with targets similar to those of the other traveller. The cities of his first route (treated also by Angiolini) were Leeds, Manchester and Liverpool. After staying in London for several months, Fabbroni made the second journey towards Birmingham, Newcastle and Oxford. Fabbroni diligently informed his sovereign about new technologies in industry, mining, metallurgy, and in the textile industry. He visited the mines of Derwent, Derbyshire, the steel mills of Rotherdam, the button and cutlery factories of Sheffield, the spinning mills of Manchester, a pin factory in Warrington, etc.²⁹² To get a better picture of production, Fabbroni visited Leicester, Manchester,²⁹³ a factory between Matlock and Derwent, Sheffield, Stockport; for mining, he went to Newcastle.²⁹⁴ To sum up, Fabbroni's and Peter Leopold's orientation was directed towards industrialization, not far from Angiolini's interests.

However, the most obvious intersection of the two travellers' itineraries can be detected in Worsley, where Angiolini makes an explicit remark concerning Fabbroni's text. Angiolini says that Fabbroni had been there before him, observed the carbon fossil and, thanks to his qualification in natural sciences, had a better understanding of the technical issues concerning coal excavation.²⁹⁵ One can only ponder whether and to what extent Angiolini's travel plans were inspired by Fabbroni. Be it as it may, since there were two travellers (one actually supported by the Tuscan monarch) whose routes had a significant geographical and thematic overlap, it is evident that speculation about the process of modernization played an important role in Tuscan society and politics of the period.

English inventions related to the process of industrialization represented another common subject of the travellers' testimonies. Since the invention of the steam engine had appeared recently, in the 1760s and 1770s, the works of the inventors Matthew Boulton (1728–1809) and James Watt (1736–1819) were a hot topic for Angiolini as well as for Fabbroni. Indeed, Angiolini visited Boulton in his factory, where he received a guided tour by

²⁹⁰ PASTA, Renato: *Scienza, politica e rivoluzione: l'opera di Giovanni Fabbroni (1752-1822), intellettuale e funzionario al servizio dei Lorena*, Florence 1989, p. 118.

²⁹¹ The two journeys he undertook and the cities he saw in 1788 are illustrated by the map in the Appendix.

²⁹² PASTA: *Scienza, politica e rivoluzione*, pp. 121-122.

²⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

²⁹⁵ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. II, Letter VIII, p. 146.

the English entrepreneur and was shown some of the machinery.²⁹⁶ In contrast to Angiolini who refrained from attempts at explaining the machines' inner workings, Fabbroni was particularly interested in these technical aspects of modernization. He was amazed by the work of the steam engine as applied in the factories of Sheffield and Rotherdam. He elaborately described the functioning of many different machines and was particularly interested in Watt's invention. In Fabbroni's opinion machines in general were admirable because they facilitated human work and made it more effective.²⁹⁷

Science was a topic shared by all the travellers. It was even one of the important aims of the travellers to go to England to meet "the father of the English philosophers" Isaac Newton²⁹⁸ and to visit or become a member of the Royal Society of London.²⁹⁹ Natural scientists Antonio Cocchi, Giovanni Fabbroni, together with Luigi Angiolini, paid due attention to science and so did the intellectual Vincenzo Martinelli who stated that English science was worthy of admiration and went on to suggest that the number of scientists in England alone probably exceeded even the number from the whole of scientific Europe.³⁰⁰ The topic was, in fact, noted by all of the travellers except Filippo Pananti.

Another subject stressed by the Tuscan travellers was the English medical system. Angiolini as well as Fabbroni³⁰¹ paid some attention to English hospitals. In Birmingham Angiolini visited a hospital, which was in his words "the best-staffed and regulated that he had ever seen". Interested also in the treatment of patients, he was surprised when he saw a young blind girl who was receiving electric shock treatment. Although Angiolini admitted that such treatment was not generally recommended at present, he believed in the future success of the doctors.³⁰² In contrast to Angiolini, the surgeon Antonio Cocchi expressed serious criticism of the English level of health care in the case of a man who was, in Cocchi's words, treated worse than a horse in Italy.³⁰³ Three out of six Tuscan travellers thus mentioned this topic in their testimonies.

Two more topics addressed by the travellers were those of English commerce and agriculture – both related to the process of modernization. Apart from Angiolini, commerce

²⁹⁶ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. II, Letter III, pp. 63-67.

²⁹⁷ PASTA: *Scienza, politica e rivoluzione*, pp. 122, 131.

²⁹⁸ COCCHI, Antonio: *Lettera intorno all'educazione e al genere di vita degl'inglesi* in: *Opere*, Milan 1824, p. 450.

²⁹⁹ Angiolini mentioned the Royal Society of London in: ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter XVII, p. 218.

³⁰⁰ MARTINELLI: *Istoria critica*, pp. 156-157.

³⁰¹ PASTA: *Scienza, politica e rivoluzione*, p. 301.

³⁰² ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. II, letter III, pp. 54-55.

³⁰³ MEGALE VALENTI: *Il viaggio europeo di Antonio Cocchi*, p. 106.

was also treated by Martinelli,³⁰⁴ the “spirit of commerce” by Pananti,³⁰⁵ and the possibilities of application of British commerce and agriculture in Tuscany by Fabbroni.³⁰⁶ Angiolini and Fabbroni also took interest in agronomy, a fact underlined by their later memberships in the Tuscan agronomic Accademia dei Georgofili. Fabbroni himself published some expert works concerning the topic.³⁰⁷ The two topics of commerce and agriculture exemplify how the travellers’ personal interests, while being displayed in their writing about England, related to their home country.

Having examined topics related to scientific progress and the process of modernization, we can now turn to the travellers’ interest in the English government and society. Angiolini and Cocchi put major emphasis on the educational system and the English way of living and pondered its applicability to Tuscany. The question of the English government was closely related to the issue of liberty, on which we will elaborate in the following chapters. Let us here only briefly remark on what opinion Martinelli held of the English government: just like Angiolini, he noticed the division of power in the English system between “monarchy, democracy and aristocracy” (*monarchia, democrazia, aristocrazia*). According to him, the involvement of poor people in the democratic process cultivated in them a lack of respect towards nobles. Since he was used to the mechanisms of absolutist government in Tuscany, he says, such behaviour was even more surprising for him.³⁰⁸ Fabbroni, like Angiolini, paid attention to the corruption in the English parliament, which was, he believed, trampling the tradition of English liberty.³⁰⁹ Another topic that raised doubts about the quality and extent of English liberty was the forceful recruitment of mariners, a phenomenon perceived in the same critical vein by both Angiolini and Mazzei.³¹⁰ The importance of the issues of democracy, liberty and education in the travellers’ testimonies cannot be underestimated, even more so in that these were often related to their personal experience and opinion.

Restricting our attention to the social domain, it is worth noting that the travellers were also attentive to the contemporary political situation. Such interest was discernible

³⁰⁴ MARTINELLI: *Istoria critica*, p. 153.

³⁰⁵ PANANTI, Filippo: *Avventure e osservazioni di Filippo Pananti sopra le coste di Barberia*, Florence 1817, p. 17.

³⁰⁶ See the Chapter 4.4.2 *Possibilities of Application*.

³⁰⁷ For example: FABBRONI, Giovanni: *Coltivazione ed utilità delle rape*, Florence 1800 and FABBRONI, Giovanni: *Réflexions sur l'état actuel de l'agriculture*, Paris 1780.

³⁰⁸ MARTINELLI: *Istoria critica*, p. 151.

³⁰⁹ PASTA: *Scienza, politica e rivoluzione*, p. 100.

³¹⁰ MAZZEI: *Memorie*, p. 165.

above all in Angiolini's writing, in which he exhibited good orientation in regional and national as well as international politics. He paid attention to the members of government such as the British Prime Minister William Pitt (1759–1806) and to other politicians such as Henry Dundas (1742–1811), George Rose (1744–1818)³¹¹ and Horace Walpole (1717–1797).³¹² Regarding international politics, the most striking question, and not only for Angiolini, was that of the American colonies.³¹³ This issue was also elaborately examined by Filippo Pananti in the broader political context,³¹⁴ and by Filippo Mazzei whose anti-English opinion corresponded to his active fight for the independence of American colonies.³¹⁵

Another topic treated by all of the travellers, regardless of their interest and occupation, was the climate. The perception of English weather was predominantly negative. In general, according to Martinelli, the weather was temperate;³¹⁶ according to Pananti, it was cold and changeable.³¹⁷ Among the travellers, Angiolini was the only one not to criticize it, claiming to enjoy it, at least in summer time. He states “rays of sun were never excessively hot, humid vapours kept the air fresh”. Consequently, “it enlivened a countryside that was covered by nice green vegetation.”³¹⁸ Both, Angiolini and Martinelli expressed the common opinion that the climate was the cause of some national features. According to them, many people ascribed the developed commerce and also English seriousness to the weather. Both of them, however, assert that the real reasons are different. In Angiolini's opinion, it was not the climate but rather the historical development towards a perfected commercial system (*il sistema perfezionato*) that contributed to their seriousness.³¹⁹ In Martinelli's opinion, English character was a product of their education, and not of their “gloomy” (*fosco*) weather.³²⁰ Nevertheless, English weather was a shared topic probably because it differed significantly from that in Italy.

The last of the issues in common is the so-called negative evidence, whose informative value can surely be as high as that of explicit testimony. Why certain aspects were abundantly treated (in some cases over and over again) and others not mentioned at all in the travellers' texts, can be attributed to miscellaneous reasons. Basically, the travellers

³¹¹ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letters XII, XIII, pp.133-160.

³¹² ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter X, p. 119.

³¹³ See the Chapter 3.3.1 *English Government and Liberty*.

³¹⁴ SFORZA: *Il Pananti*, p. 393.

³¹⁵ See the Chapter 4.3 *Categorization of England: Stereotyping and Generalizations*.

³¹⁶ MARTINELLI: *Lettere familiari e critiche*, p. 17.

³¹⁷ SFORZA: *Il Pananti*, p. 25.

³¹⁸ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter IX, p. 110.

³¹⁹ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, pp. 274-275.

³²⁰ MARTINELLI: *Istoria critica*, p. 154.

either did not notice the phenomenon, or they did not feel the need to discuss it for certain reasons. As was already hinted, a distinct role might have been played by the readers' expectations of topic and genre, especially if the traveller intended to publish his account. When dealing with an Enlightened travelogue, as in Angiolini's case, or with other sources written with Enlightened motivations, it might be assumed that at the centre of attention were mostly Enlightened topics, while other ones were altogether omitted or given limited space.

What were then the implicit aspects? In the writings of Angiolini, Martinelli, Fabbroni and Cocchi, feelings and personal experiences from the journey are expressed very rarely or are missing entirely. The only one that did include them regularly was Filippo Pananti whose testimony was a memoir written already in a different, more sentimental literary environment of the beginning of the nineteenth century. Generally speaking, descriptions of art, literature, architecture and nature are entirely or almost absent from the sources. This could then mean that the motivations of the authors were mainly Enlightened, as these kinds of topics were not at the centre of interest of the Enlightenment society. The basis of the negative evidence can thus be said to be inextricably related to the home environment that had first influenced the travellers. Thereafter, they consciously (because they wanted to fulfil the expectations of the reading public) or unconsciously omitted some topics in their writing.

This chapter has provided an overview of what the common issues noted by the travellers were. The Tuscans were mainly treating the consequences of the process of modernization in England and the English society and climate. Missing issues can be used as negative evidence, while both positive and negative evidence lead to the conclusion that the ideas of the Enlightenment were prevailing. From the fact that the travellers shared some topics and tendencies, it might be deduced that it was the common environment of Tuscany that influenced them. If that is indeed the case, an analysis of *collective identification* is also feasible and the following chapters can subject it to further investigation.

3.3 Categorization of England: Stereotyping and Generalizations

When one is defining one's own *identity*, the Other is categorized and related to the Self. Such a process is accompanied by the tendency to simplify, i.e. to stereotype and generalize the Other. This chapter describes how this process looked like in the case of eighteenth-century Tuscans in England.

It was explained in the theoretical part that *Anglomania* was a term for the phenomenon of positive stereotyping of England. It was also shown that the term had been used already in eighteenth-century Italy for the cultural phenomenon of admiration for England – mainly in a critical way. It was the Italians themselves (such as Filippo Mazzei) who recognized and denoted the content of *Anglomania* in the society. The original idea of the research was to search for displays of *Anglomania* by analysing travellers' statements about England. After initial observations it was becoming apparent that such an analysis might result in oversimplification as well as ambiguity and possibly yield misleading conclusions, since it is methodologically very difficult to define the precise content of *Anglomania*. This chapter therefore examines a broad scale of opinions on England that can be considered as displays of stereotyping or at least generalization, including statements, which present the opposite, critical pole. While it is up to the reader to decide to what extent the term *Anglomania* is appropriate, there is no denying that any kind of categorization of the Other, whether positive or negative, is crucial for the definition of one's own *identity*.

In the previous chapter some common patterns recognizable in the travel testimonies were investigated. This chapter is a continuation of the analysis, only here the emphasis is not put on the variety of topics but on the positive (or negative) categorization of the Other. Attention will be afforded to the most commonly stereotyped opinions concerning the perceived English superiority (English wealth and liberty). Set in contrast to the merits of the admirable England is the feeling of decadence of the Self in relation to the past glory of the Ancient Roman Empire. The analysis follows the testimonies of particular travellers. Most generalizations and stereotypes established by Angiolini and by the other travellers are presented in other chapters of the thesis. In this chapter these aspects are summarised and highlighted.

Before moving on to statements made by the other travellers, it will be helpful to recall those of Angiolini, as his account has undergone the most thorough analysis. As has

been shown, a certain level of generalization or stereotyping is present throughout his travelogue. Angiolini's opinions about "the famous English nation" (*I miei pensieri sopra la celebre nazione inglese*)³²¹ were displayed in his commentaries in praise of the well-developed commerce, industry, liberty and English character. Sometimes his admiration might seem even exaggerated, as in the case of an English vegetable, which, according to Angiolini, tasted better than its Italian counterpart. Generally speaking, nothing was better in Italy than in England. Probably the only real criticism appears when Angiolini does not agree with the violent recruitment of mariners in Portsmouth, at which point he even begins to doubt the English liberty. The only one thing that Angiolini considered to be more beautiful in Italy than in England were lakes. It is possible to conclude that in Angiolini's writing strong positive stereotyping of England can be observed.

For the chapter in which he describes his personal feelings when leaving England, another traveller, Filippo Pananti, chose the expressive name "The Genius of Albion" (*Il genio d'Albione*). When sailing away he said farewell to "the island powerful on sea", "the lucky country where the lay man reigns with a mildness of clemency" (*temperate della clemenza*) and where "protective spirits shine and divine breath blows" (*ove splendono quei geni protettori, e spira il soffio divino*).³²² According to these statements conveyed in a poetic mode, Pananti's opinion on England was generally positive. In a letter to Luigi Angiolini, Pananti expressed his perception of people in England as less cheerful and brilliant (*meno gaio e brillante*) but more knowledgeable (*istruito*), industrious (*industrioso*), free (*libero*) and happy than any other "nation" of Europe.³²³ Pananti's image of England and Englishmen, like Angiolini's, clearly was positively stereotyped.

Traces of nostalgia about leaving England are discernible not only in Pananti's text, but also in Antonio Cocchi's letter from Calais. After more than two years Cocchi left "blessed England" (*beata Inghilterra*)³²⁴ where he lived among "taciturn and highly thinking (*altamente pensante*) people." Now in France he "suffered because of the noise and liveliness" of the French.³²⁵ Cocchi's subsequent reflexion, however, cannot be considered as positively stereotyped. He claims it was peculiar that people in England were happier even

³²¹ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter I, p. 3.

³²² PANANTI: *Avventure e osservazioni*, p. 18.

³²³ SFORZA: *Il Pananti*, p. 390.

³²⁴ Citation from a Cocchi's letter to Riva from 19 August 1726, in: MEGALE VALENTI, Anna Maria: *Il viaggio europeo di Antonio Cocchi attraverso le sue "Effemeridi"*, in: *Miscellanea di storia delle esplorazioni*, V, Genoa 1980, p.132.

³²⁵ COCCHI, Antonio: *Lettere scelte di celebri autori all'ab. Antonio Conti*, (ed.) Pietro BETTIO, Venice 1812. A Letter to Antonio Conti from Calais.

though, in fact, life there was inferior to that in Italy and in Paris. He eventually realized that after years in England he did not think of his “blossoming” homeland (*senza pensare al mio fiorito nido*). His medical occupation led Cocchi to wonder whether possibly some strange vapours of narcotic force kept people in England happy.³²⁶ Cocchi’s testimony, in contrast to those of Angiolini and Pananti, seems to be lacking any distinct positive stereotyping.

If we scrutinize the most frequent reasons for making stereotypes, we see that England was considered to be a rich country with immense liberty. Angiolini depicted English riches mainly in his “letters” concerning industry and commerce.³²⁷ Also Mazzei,³²⁸ Cocchi, Martinelli and Pananti³²⁹ labelled England as a very rich country. Cocchi and Martinelli even sought to explain how England had come to acquire its great wealth. According to Cocchi, the reason why England was “the richest nation in the world” could possibly be the fertile land and very well-conceived laws which were not neglected (*neglette*), as was often the case in other countries.³³⁰ In Vincenzo Martinelli’s opinion, the reason for English wealth was altogether different. He believed that the real, natural and fundamental richness was made possible by the abundance of cattle (*bestiante*) and ample fodder (*biade*) for them.³³¹ To sum up, the sources show that English wealth was one of the primary motives for the travellers’ admiration of the country.

Regarding the second most common topic – liberty – the opinions were less homogeneous. As was shown, Angiolini mostly admired it. Likewise, also Pananti’s remark about the “air of liberty” in England is demonstrative enough. However, not all the travellers agreed with that. Giovanni Fabbroni’s and Filippo Mazzei’s opinions differed in particular. Fabbroni, who was influenced by Mazzei in his late childhood and early adulthood, displayed some criticism concerning England. He was sceptical about the solid basis of liberty in the American constitution and was concerned whether it was not simply an inferior copy of the English constitution (*una cattiva copia dell’inglese*). Franklin and Adams, however, assured him that they were selectively adopting only those laws, which were deemed appropriate and beneficial.³³²

³²⁶ PII, Eluggero: *Immagini dell’Inghilterra politica nella cultura italiana del primo Settecento*, Florence 1984, p. 90. and COCCHI, Antonio: *Lettere scelte*, p. 22.

³²⁷ For example: ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter II, p. 8 and Letter XXIII, p. 293; vol II, Letter I, p. 14.

³²⁸ MAZZEI: *Memorie*, p. 175.

³²⁹ PANANTI: *Avventure e osservazioni*, p. 18.

³³⁰ COCCHI, Antonio: *Opere: Discorsi e lettere di Antonio Cocchi*, vol. I-III, Milan 1824, p. 449.

³³¹ MARTINELLI: *Lettere familiari*, p. 17.

³³² PASTA, Renato: *La corrispondenza di Giovanni Fabbroni da Londra (1778-1779)*, in: *Critica storica*, XIX (1980), Messina, Florence and Rome, p. 302.

The main dissenter was Filippo Mazzei whose opinions were quite contrary to those of his fellow travellers. His perception of English liberty was influenced by his interest in the situation of American colonies and also by a personal friendship with the author of the Declaration of American Independence Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826). Mazzei mentions a discussion with Jefferson concerning the emerging American constitution. In order to make a good government, he claims, it was necessary to reject the English constitution as a model to be imitated. In Mazzei's opinion it was necessary to destroy the preconceptions of those who regarded the Englishmen as the embodiment of perfection: *Bisognava esser preparati a stabilire un buon governo. E per far ciò bisogna distruggere i pregiudizi di quei popoli, accostumati a riguardar l'inglese come il modello della perfezione*. Thereafter, Mazzei allegedly explained to his surprised American friend what the defects of the English system were.³³³ On the next page of his *Memorie*, Mazzei then goes on to repeat his argument for the reader and explains how “fallacious” the basis of public liberty in England was.³³⁴ Thus, Mazzei's opinion provides a critical view of the English liberty.

Mazzei expresses his thoughts about the nature of the positive stereotype of England several times in his account. Not only does he explicitly mention the *Anglomania* phenomenon with negative connotations,³³⁵ but he also gives some other examples of the atmosphere in Tuscany. In his words, he went to England with expectations from Florence where there was a prevalent belief that in England “a perfect liberty existed” (*che vi esistesse una perfetta libertà*), an idea even reinforced by the testimonies of some Englishmen staying in Tuscany.³³⁶ The author also describes how Jefferson himself claimed that Mazzei was taught as a child that the English government was the best possible, preferable even to that of the Roman Republic.³³⁷ The last example of a preconception about England concerns one of Mazzei's friends who was disgusted by England to the same extent as when he was in love with it after they had seen each other before Mazzei went to İzmir. Filippo Mazzei thus drew attention to the positive opinion about England and its liberty, an opinion widely accepted in Tuscany, and strived to discredit it.

Another issue related to the categorization of the Self and the Other is the feeling of one's own decadence. It emerged, as argued in the chapter *Anglomania*, as a constituent of the admiration for England as a country which, as was commonly claimed, adopted the glory of

³³³ MAZZEI: *Memorie*, p. 366.

³³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 367.

³³⁵ See the Chapter 2.2 *Anglomania*.

³³⁶ MAZZEI: *Memorie*, p.172.

³³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 366.

ancient Italy. This feature is more than apparent in the texts of Angiolini, Martinelli and Mazzei. Angiolini compared England with Roman and Etruscan civilisations several times. He compared first the English and the Roman senate,³³⁸ then also the high suicidal tendency in Rome and in England, in the both cases derived from the strong sense of liberty which made it a personal right to take one's own life.³³⁹ Angiolini goes on to make parallels between ancient civilizations and the outcomes of industrialization in eighteenth-century England and claims that Romans would not have felt disdain for the mining projects of the Duke of Bridgewater.³⁴⁰ Etruscs, in his opinion, would not have been able to achieve such perfection as had done Josiah Wedgwood (1730–1795) in his porcelain factory in Staffordshire.³⁴¹ The past glory of ancient civilizations of the Apennine peninsula was, in Angiolini's view, in some cases comparable or even superior to that of eighteenth-century England.

Angiolini regularly perceived England as superior when he confronted the “poor Italians” (*poveri italiani*)³⁴² and the declined glory of Italy with the English and their England. As for critical statements in his travelogue, Angiolini ascribed perhaps the most assertive one to an anonymous Englishman, putting it in his mouth probably to distance himself from it. Considering their glorious history, states the Englishman, Italians were now in a period of decline and dishonour under the governance of supercilious and invidious people and Italy was subject to mockery and insult: *Già scordati i vecchi Annali del Mondo, che provano per indigena vostra Terra la vera pianta dell'uomo, siete passati alla derisione e all'insulto*.³⁴³ Confronted with the situation at the arsenal of Portsmouth, Angiolini even writes about “our humiliating weakness” (*umiliante nostra debolezza*).³⁴⁴ To sum up, Angiolini clearly believed in the idea of Italian decadence.

Vincenzo Martinelli, like Angiolini, compared the democratic system of eighteenth-century England to that of Ancient Rome. According to him, the plebs in England was enjoying its democratic liberty and was proud of it. Poorer people were more conscious of the importance of their vote to the parliament. Consequently, they were not respectful to the noblemen who, at the same time, displayed tolerance and humanity towards them: *Ove è democrazia il popolo quanto è più basso, tanto è più fiero della sua libertà, e i magnati, che sono usi a quella fierezza non se ne formalizzano, anzi la giustificano maggiormente colla*

³³⁸ See the Chapter 3.3.1 *English Government and Liberty*.

³³⁹ See the Chapter 3.3.3 “*Enlightened Remarks*” – *Suicides, Slavery, Police, Justice*.

³⁴⁰ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. II, Letter VIII, p. 143.

³⁴¹ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. II, Letter IV, pp. 73, 69.

³⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 71.

³⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 71-72.

³⁴⁴ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter II, p. 12.

*loro tolleranza e umanità verso lo stesso popolo.*³⁴⁵ Such a system worked in a similar fashion in Ancient Rome where gentry were trying to please the plebs in order to get a vote. It is important to point out that Martinelli claims that a traveller coming to England perceives this pride (*fierezza*) positively: instead of complaining about it, he or she will take it as a sign of liberty of this people and glorify it (*loderà e ammirerà*).³⁴⁶

The next task is to analyse the relationship between contemporary Italian decadence and the Roman Empire in Martinelli's text. First, he stresses the "relics of 'our' ancient glory" (*le reliquie della nostra antica grandezza*), which were very attractive for travellers from abroad. Second, he refers to "our" Italian decadence (*nostra italica decadenza*) in contrast to the past, ancient glory of Italians (*grandezza antica degli italiani*). It becomes apparent that Martinelli perceived Italian decadence in a political sense: it seemed to him almost impossible that Italy, protected by the wall of mountains and by the sea, full of tough and valorous peoples (*agguerriti e valorosissimi popoli*), should arrive to be in the state in which it was (*pare impossibile che abbia potuto venire allo stato nel quale presentemente si trova*). According to Martinelli, this state of decadence should have warned monarchs not to attempt to obtain new areas, as it might cause the decay of too large a territory, which would then become impossible to keep.³⁴⁷

Both Angiolini and Martinelli, however, displayed not only disenchantment of Italy, but also a certain kind of sentimental attachment to it. Martinelli believes that although decadence was definitely present in Italy, the current city of Rome, reborn from the ash of the capital of the Antiquity, was still "the most beautiful and the most magnificent urban area of the universe" (*è nondimeno a detto la comune più bella, e più magnifica dello universo*). Martinelli also appreciated the beauty of other Italian cities such as Naples, Florence and Venice.³⁴⁸ Despite of his critical view of his own country, neither Angiolini turned completely away from Italy. He felt sorry for it, but he also kept the sense of belonging to the country. He concluded his discourse with the phrase that despite everything Italy was his passion (*la mia passione*) and with the confession of his own confusion.³⁴⁹

To sum up, some tendencies to categorize England were apparent in the traveller's testimonies. Positive stereotyping prevails in the whole of Angiolini's travelogue and also in the writing of other authors. Even if in Mazzei's testimony, admiration for England was not

³⁴⁵ MARTINELLI: *Istoria critica*, p. 151.

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p.152.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.163-164.

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 164-165.

³⁴⁹ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter VII, p. 72.

present, he was still the one to recognize and denote the phenomenon of the positive stereotype of England and even coined the name *Anglomania* for it. Even Mazzei, who was himself very critical of England, thus confirmed that positive stereotyping of it was very common in Tuscany. Cocchi and Fabbroni did not express any general statements concerning the whole country, but they admired some of its stereotyped aspects. All generalization and stereotyping can be said to appear in patterns as it is mostly linked to two commonly repeated aspects: English wealth and liberty.

This chapter argues that the natural consequence of a positive categorization of the Other was the underestimating of the Self on the travellers' part. This phenomenon clearly appeared in the travellers' testimonies in the context of the decay of the admirable Roman Empire. In the process of "othering", the Other is often stigmatized and criticized, but in the case of eighteenth-century Tuscan travellers the tendency was quite the opposite. Only Angiolini and Martinelli, despite their feelings of their own inferiority and decadence, exhibited also certain positive sentiment towards Italy.

3.4 Strategies of “Othering” Displayed in the Travel Writing

This chapter is divided into three subchapters, which analyse mental strategies of dealing with the English and England. In order to define one’s own *identity*, one must first define, characterize and categorize the Other. Two processes that appeared in the testimonies are analysed in this part, i.e. the comparison of the Self to England and the possible applicability of some English features. The last part examines what was contained in the definition of the Self for the Tuscan travellers and what kind of *identification* they felt and displayed. This chapter enriches the historical analysis of sources by approaches involving psychology of travelling and *identity* construction.

3.4.1 Comparison

Although the mental processes are here differentiated into two categories, comparison and application, it should be stressed that they are mostly overlapping and related to one another. As will be shown in this subchapter, comparison of the Self to the Other in many cases naturally enables and leads to a possible application. It is necessary to take into account in the analysis that the fundamental basis was the home environment considered as the “normative” one, the one that the travellers were used to. All other mental processes emerging in confrontation with the Other are grounded and derive from this socio-cultural home background. Speaking about the analysed travel testimonies in general, it is evident that when the travellers described England they always had on their minds the picture of their home country. They were making, whether consciously or unconsciously, a comparison that might be explicitly expressed in the text.

The very basic and the simplest way in which the travellers made the comparison was to compare the English feature with a similar one placed in a concrete geographical area in Italy. According to Peter Burke’s explication, this could correspond to the case when the Other is familiarized.³⁵⁰ Vincenzo Martinelli, for instance, compares the beauty of the gardens of Blenheim Palace in Oxforshire to similar gardens Boboli in the Medicis’ Palace Pitti in Florence and he also claims that the criminal justice of England and Venice are the best that

³⁵⁰ BURKE: *Eyewitnessing*, pp. 123-124.

he had ever seen.³⁵¹ Similarly, Luigi Angiolini compared straight and long ships used for the transportation of coal in Worsley to gondolas of Venice,³⁵² machines making silk ribbons (*nastri di seta*)³⁵³ in Manchester with the less admirable ones in Mantova and summer in England to winter time in Pisa and Naples.³⁵⁴

Apart from the comparisons that were concretely geographically set there is also a second type with broader categories, the less-specified category of the Self (often expressed as “ours”) then usually being related to Italy and Tuscany. The question of what exactly the Self means, ensuing from most authors’ texts, is investigated in the last part of the chapter.

In Angiolini’s case, the list of comparisons can be very long and some of them have been already provided, such as the example of religious ceremonies³⁵⁵ and of Italian and British prisons.³⁵⁶ In two “letters” from his travelogue he examines the advantages of the stereotypically admired English attitude towards unrestricted family education and the negative consequences of the Italian system where there were too many limitations, commands and rules on the one hand, while it was too supportive and caring on the other hand.³⁵⁷ Regarding formal education, Angiolini believed English colleges were similar to “ours” in Italy (*nostri d’Italia*).³⁵⁸

Such a mental process, naturally, did not appear only in Angiolini’s writing, but also in other texts. Vincenzo Martinelli compared the English and the Italian weather (winters are less cold and summers are warmer);³⁵⁹ Antonio Cocchi claimed that a man received worse medical treatment in England than even a horse in Italy (*che noi abbiamo*),³⁶⁰ and according to Fabbroni a culture of turnips, potatoes and agriculture in general was better-known in England than in Tuscany.³⁶¹

The examples of the Tuscan travellers Luigi Angiolini, Vincenzo Martinelli, Antonio Cocchi and Giovanni Fabbroni all feature the mental process of “othering” in the form of

³⁵¹ MARTINELLI: *Istoria critica*, pp. 211-212.

³⁵² ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. II, Letter VIII, p. 145.

³⁵³ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter VII, p. 132.

³⁵⁴ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter X, p. 187.

³⁵⁵ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*: vol. I, Letter VIII, pp. 82-83. See the chapter 3.3.2 “Englishness”.

³⁵⁶ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*: vol. II, Letter X, p. 176. See the chapter 3.3.3 “Enlightened Remarks” – *Suicides, Slavery, Police, Justice*.

³⁵⁷ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter VII, p. 71 and ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter VIII, p. 79. See the chapter 3.3.2 “Englishness”.

³⁵⁸ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter XVII, p. 225.

³⁵⁹ MARTINELLI: *Lettere familiari*, p. 17.

³⁶⁰ MEGALE VALENTI: *Il viaggio europeo di Antonio Cocchi*, p. 106.

³⁶¹ A Letter from Fabbroni to Niccoli from 20 September 1779 in: PASTA: *Scienza, politica e rivoluzione*, p. 141.

comparison, which can thus be considered an important strategy crucial to “othering” as such, and consequently also a process crucial to the creation one’s own *identity*.

3.4.2 Possibilities of Application

Another mental process, which the travellers displayed when confronted with the English was trying to assess the applicability of some of the English features in the Italian or Tuscan context. As observed in the testimonies of the Tuscan travellers Giovanni Fabbroni, Antonio Cocchi, Vincenzo Martinelli and Luigi Angiolini, application, if present, derived as a following step from comparison. Let us now examine how application was suggested in the texts and whether they considered the option viable or not. The fact that the travellers were willing to ameliorate home conditions by applying the English well-functioning aspects was perhaps related to the feeling of one’s own inferiority and decadence on the one hand and to the positive image of England on the other. The general belief of Enlightenment in progress might be also considered as an important factor reinforcing the willingness for a positive change for the home country.

The first author to be examined is Giovanni Fabbroni who contemplated the employment of some features concerning the English commerce and industrialization in Tuscany. It should be kept in mind that Fabbroni’s motivation might not have been completely personal but rather influenced by an endeavour to fulfil the request of his sovereign Peter Leopold. Fabbroni was thinking that concrete areas in Tuscany could be improved and developed. He, for example, suggested reopening mines in the part of Tuscany called Versilia. Particularly rich supplies of silver near Angiolini’s hometown Seravezza had been closed because of a leakage of underground water. Fabbroni was suggesting that the water could be drained if a new model of hydraulic pump improved by James Watt was used.³⁶² Another idea was to drain the small lakes of Maremma.³⁶³ Waterlogged soil could be transformed into fertile and easily cultivable land.

The third example of Fabbroni’s suggestion for application is from Liverpool where he observed pin manufactures (*spilli*) which were operated almost only by women and girls. According to him, it might be very useful to plant these manufactures in refugee houses and prisons (*case di correzione*) in Tuscany.³⁶⁴ The process of fabrication could thus be assigned

³⁶² Cited from a letter to Niccoli, in: PASTA: *Scienza, politica e rivoluzione*, pp. 132-133.

³⁶³ *Ibid.*, p.132.

³⁶⁴ Cited from Fabbroni’s diaries, in: *Ibid.*, p. 121.

to people whose work might become a useful source of manpower. Generally speaking, Fabbroni's proposals Tuscan application were related to the domain of the modernization process.

The second author is Antonio Cocchi who believed his reader to be wondering whether there were some aspects of the English education system "useful and adaptable" to a man of "our country" (*se vi fossero alcune cose utili e adattabili ad un signore del nostro paese*).³⁶⁵ Cocchi was actually convinced that a son of a rich cavalier might become "a perfect man" in more likelihood than an Englishman after having applied some English elements of the education system. Florence, actually, according to him, had a really good academic environment manifested in a considerable number of scholars, frequent literary assemblies, beautiful libraries, a unique manuscript collection, good teachers of painting, various types of music (*musica d'ogni genere*), a good riding hall, excellent sculptures and paintings etc.

Moreover, Florence offered little authorisation (*licenza*) and therefore little possibility for the flourishing of vice. Sobriety (*sobrietà*), on the other hand, was almost universal in the city. Cocchi saw the main defect of the Florentine system in insufficient financial support of teachers. He claims that it was easy to find a literate gentleman dying of hunger because he had no work and money. Cocchi therefore suggests that Florentines should take the example from England and engage private teachers, esteem them and treat them not like slaves but as friends (*non come un servo, ma come un amico*). They should also send their sons to travel around Europe as Englishmen do (*come gl'Inglese fanno*).³⁶⁶ In Cocchi's text there is perceptible appreciation of the Florentine education system on the one hand, but a wish to improve it by the means of the application of the English approach.

Another fashion of application is suggested by Vincenzo Martinelli in a chapter from his book concerning public happiness (*Della vita felice*). After having elaborately analysed five stages of human development from childhood until death, Martinelli basically compared the unhappy (*infelici*) Italians and the happy Englishmen. Apart from other reasons of Italian unhappiness, there were many men in Italy who were unhappy because of the system of expensive awards of aristocratic titles. Martinelli mentions many poor aristocrats whose education presupposed them for better living conditions but who did not have enough finance to accomplish their standards and expectations. In contrast, the Englishmen dealt with this issue better than any other "nation". They were happy (*felici*) thanks to the legal system of peerage. Martinelli offered a way of application by saying that the major part of Italy needs

³⁶⁵ COCCHI: *Lettera intorno all'educazione*, p. 451.

³⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 451-453.

such a method more than any other “nation” (*Di questo metodo avrebbe bisogno in grandissima parte l’Italia più di altra nazione...*)³⁶⁷ The application proposed by Martinelli was thus related to the Enlightened concept of reaching the ideal of the felicitous society.

The analysis of Luigi Angiolini has been left for the very end because his applications differ from the applications of the other authors. Angiolini always concludes by declaring the treated English phenomenon unadoptable to Italy. The general reason of that was that the conditions and people in the two countries were too different. Most of Angiolini’s speculation concerning the possibilities of adoption of a certain English feature have been already mentioned in the Part Two of the thesis. For example, Angiolini in the argues that “it would be madness rather than shame” to apply the English constitution because the English people were in their past formed by a series of tragic events.³⁶⁸ It was likewise shown in that neither the application of the English education system would be possible, nor the application of the criminal system.³⁶⁹ Another two examples are clearly related to the already analysed feeling of one’s own Italian inferiority. The first one is from Portsmouth where Angiolini conceded that they would never achieve to have such a great arsenal in Italy.³⁷⁰ The other concerns the inapplicability of the library system from Birmingham, as Angiolini claims that they can only desire, and not actually have, similar advantageous institutions in Italy: *In Italia potremmo aver noi istituzioni sì vantaggiose? Pensatelo da voi: io credo che a noi non sia permesso che desiderarle.*³⁷¹ As was shown, Angiolini used the same pattern of inapplicability of admired English features many times.

Angiolini’s very last application to notice is also dealing with his desire of Italian unity. Angiolini touches upon this issue when he is explaining the English postal transportation system. He admits that such a system probably could not be applied to Italy because the country was divided into many different states without contacts among one another. Angiolini also mentions a certain feeling of connectedness that he calls the “national spirit that could be called Italian” which might emerge among fragmented areas. A wish for Italian unity at the end of eighteenth century gives more than enough evidence about the slowly arising tendencies leading to the unification of Italy in 1861.

The approximate translation of the essential part of Angiolini’s statement is as follows:

³⁶⁷ MARTINELLI: *Istoria critica*: pp. 291-292.

³⁶⁸ See the Chapter 3.3.1 *English Government and Liberty*.

³⁶⁹ See the Chapter 3.3.2 “*Englishness*” and the Chapter 3.3.3 “*Enlightened Remarks*” – *Suicides, Slavery, Police, Justice*.

³⁷⁰ See the Chapter 4.3 *Categorization of England: Stereotyping and Generalizations*.

³⁷¹ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. II, Letter III, pp. 62-63.

(...) When a Piedmontese will not be a stranger in Florence anymore and neither a Roman in Naples, when all of us become Italians, we could (...) also find us a fluent and easy way to communicate among us regardless of our mountains and swamps.

The original text in Italian is the following:

“Vero è che in Italia forse non si può fare altrimenti. Divisa com'è in tante diverse sovranità, con tanti rapporti più esterni che interni, non si può fare che come si fa, ancor quando immaginato fosse un sistema che, come quello degli antichi Anfittioni,³⁷² formando una benefica unione dei sovrani che la dominano, sorgere facesse uno spirito nazionale e stabilisse in lei un interesse che chiamar si potesse italiano; (...) quando il piemontese non sarà più forestiero a Firenze, né lo sarà il romano a Napoli, ma saremo tutti italiani, potremo ancor noi, incoraggiati da un piano luminoso di finanze che sia parimente italiano e che non si opponga a quello particolare dei nostri diversi stati, potremo, dico, trovare ancor noi un mezzo spedito e facile che ci comunichi l'uno con l'altro anche ad onta dei nostri monti e delle nostre palude.³⁷³”

It has been shown that application was a common strategy of “othering”. It was analysed in the texts of the Tuscan travellers: Fabbroni in the context of modernization, Cocchi education, Martinelli public felicity and Angiolini in many various disconnected cases. The very last of Angiolini's applications can now serve as a bridge to the last analytical chapter, which examines the meaning of the Self and of one's own *identification*.

³⁷² Amphictyonic League was a "league of neighbours" of tribes in Ancient Greece.

³⁷³ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. II, Letter I, pp. 16-17.

3.5 Meaning of the Self

The analysis of the image of the English and of England as related to *self-identification* is now almost complete. When questioning what the essential aspects of the travellers' *identity* and their "strategies of 'othering'" were, the Other was easily found out to be "Englishness". The answer to one more crucial question is, however, still missing: What exactly was the content of the Self? And other questions ensue: What did "ours" mean for the travellers? Did they identify themselves with the Tuscan state or with the whole Italy? In order to answer these questions we need to "decode" the language expressions and search for an inner meaning of the statements. This chapter involves a linguistic analysis dealing with the language issues, including Tuscan dialect, and asks what unit (in-group) the travellers were actually referring to and identifying with. Subsequently, in the second part of the chapter, in line with previous analysis done in the thesis, *collective identification* of the Self is questioned.

The sense of belonging to Tuscany is evident from the importance, which the travellers ascribed to Tuscan dialect. The relationship between the Tuscan dialect and the Italian language is specific, because the modern codified Italian was, in fact, based on the Tuscan literary dialect. Vincenzo Martinelli dedicated several parts of his book to language issues and his perception of the language situation can give an initial picture. Generally speaking, Martinelli defends and commends the Tuscan dialect. According to him, Tuscany was the fount of correctness and purity of the Italian language (*la fonte della proprietà e pulizia di essa lingua*). Martinelli also disagrees with a famous proverb "*Lingua toscana in bocca romana*" which means that the perfect language results from the combination of the Tuscan language and the Roman pronunciation. He argues that the Tuscan language itself is perfect even without the Roman contribution and that Tuscans knew the language better than others because they gained it by upbringing in childhood, thus naturally. Martinelli enriched the discussion with other Tuscan merits and not just linguistic ones. He claims that it was Dante who had sharpened the language, that it was the Tuscans who formed the vocabulary della Crusca³⁷⁴ and also grammar. The whole Italy was, moreover, purportedly governed by Tuscan laws.³⁷⁵ His references to Tuscany and his discussion of language lead to the conclusion that Martinelli identified himself with Tuscany.

³⁷⁴ Accademia della Crusca was a linguistic and philological academy founded in Florence in 1583.

³⁷⁵ MARTINELLI: *Lettere familiari*, pp. 42-45.

Also Filippo Mazzei touched upon the issue of Tuscan dialect. He could have used the expression “Italian language” in his *Memorie*, but instead he reasserts more times that he speaks the “Tuscan language” (*la lingua Toscana*). To be more specific, he claims in his writing that even though he spent more than a half of his life abroad in distant countries, he managed to conserve the native pronunciation when speaking in “Tuscan language” (*parlando la lingua Toscana...*).³⁷⁶ A few pages later he affirms that he did not want to continue with surgery practice in England and so he rather decided to teach the “Tuscan language” (*...mi consigliò d’insegnar la lingua Toscana.*).³⁷⁷ With regard to these two Mazzei’s statements, it can be argued that he displayed *identification* with Tuscany at least in the language context.

Another interesting point relates to the Tuscan verb *garbare* – “to like” – and its appearance in the texts of Antonio Cocchi and Filippo Pananti. The Italian linguist Matilde Paoli from the linguistic academy Accademia della Crusca claims that although the verb has been considered a marginal part of the general Italian lexical tradition, it has thrived and persisted mainly in Florentine and Tuscan language.³⁷⁸ It can thus be argued that through the dialectal expressions, the travellers Antonio Cocchi and Filippo Pananti expressed their sense of belonging to the Tuscan-speaking territory. Antonio Cocchi used the Tuscan form of the verb “to like” several times in his letters from London to a friend: *Qua è il fratello di Rolli, che pare un garbato e bravo giovine; È però sì garbato che essendo seco mi pareva che Bernstadt avesse torto (...); La garbata Mademoiselle Leti che ha veramente le qualità d’un gran galantuomo...*.³⁷⁹ The third example comes from Pananti, who expressed his opinion on Englishmen in a letter to Luigi Angiolini: (...) *gli uomini paion poco garbati, ma sono giusti (...)*.³⁸⁰ It seems right to assume that the sense of belonging to Tuscany and the *identification* with it were expressed also by the use of Tuscan dialect in writing; Cocchi and Pananti in showing *identification* with the Tuscan dialect displayed also regional *identification* with Tuscany.

We shall now deal with the definition of the Self in the cases of Giovanni Fabbroni and Luigi Angiolini. The first step is to present the cases where the travellers employ

³⁷⁶ MAZZEI: *Memorie*, p. 171.

³⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

³⁷⁸ PAOLI, Matilde: *Garbare è toscano o italiano?*, 25.7. 2008, consulted on-line 3. 5. 2014: <http://www.accademiadellacrusca.it/it/lingua-italiana/consulenza-linguistica/domande-risposte/garbare-toscano-italiano>.

³⁷⁹ Letters from 31 August, and 13 Novembre 1725 from London, to Riva, in: MEGALE VALENTI: *Il viaggio europeo di Antonio Cocchi*, pp. 129-131.

³⁸⁰ SFORZA: *Il Pananti*, p. 391.

expressions such as “we” and “our”, sometimes without making clear what or whom these pronouns actually represent. The second is to find out what the “signified” is, to reveal the meaning concealed behind the expressions. It should be noted that the same or similar expressions do not necessarily mean the same in Fabbroni’s and in Angiolini’s texts.

In Fabbroni’s text appear phrases such as: “We have/do not have” (*noi abbiamo/non abbiamo*),³⁸¹ “at ours/with us” (*da noi*),³⁸² “among us” (*fra di noi*)³⁸³ and “to our homeland” (*alla nostra patria*).³⁸⁴ Fabbroni explicitly mentions “our Tuscany” (*la nostra Toscana*) only once in the analysed correspondence.³⁸⁵ In the rest of the cases the Self is not named. One should, however, still keep in mind Fabbroni’s comparisons of Tuscany and England and the suggested applications of English aspects of modernisation to Tuscany,³⁸⁶ whereby he clearly relates himself to the Tuscan region. Even if the Self is rarely specified, it is evident that Fabbroni refers to Tuscany and the “we” are, in this case, members of the in-group of Tuscans; Fabbroni thus exhibits Tuscan *identification*.

If the same method is applied to Angiolini’s case, it is not *identification* with Tuscany, which can be observed but with Italy. Angiolini uses expressions similar to Fabbroni’s and likewise without further clarification: “we” (*noi*)³⁸⁷ “our” (*nostri*,³⁸⁸ *nostro*³⁸⁹, *nostra*³⁹⁰) and “among us” (*presso di noi*,³⁹¹ *tra noi*³⁹²). Apart from these unspecified ones there are also expressions clearly related to Italy, e.g. “among us in Italy” (*tra noi in Italia*)³⁹³ “we Italians” (*noi Italiani*),³⁹⁴ “our Italian lakes” (*laghi (...) nostri Italiani*)³⁹⁵, “in Italy it would be necessary for us (...)” (*In Italia vi sarebbe bisogno nostra*)³⁹⁶, “we in Italy” (*noi in Italia*)³⁹⁷, “our Italian nation” (*nostra nazione d’Italia*)³⁹⁸ “we have in Italy” (*in Italia abbiamo*)³⁹⁹, “we

³⁸¹ Cited from: PASTA: *Scienza, politica e rivoluzione*, pp. 124, 129.

³⁸² *Ibid.*, pp. 129, 141.

³⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

³⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p.129.

³⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 128

³⁸⁶ See the Chapter 4.4 *Strategies of “Othering” Displayed in the Travel Writing*.

³⁸⁷ For example: ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter XIII, p. 158; Letter XV, p.190 and Letter XVII, p. 222.

³⁸⁸ For example: ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter IX, p. 109 and Letter XXIV, p. 320.

³⁸⁹ For example: ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter XI, p. 168 and Letter XVII, p. 222.

³⁹⁰ For example: ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter V, p. 36.

³⁹¹ For example: ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter XVII, p. 222; Letter XIII, p. 158.

³⁹² For example: ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter VIII, p. 96 and vol. II, Letter II, p. 30.

³⁹³ For example: ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter I, p. 5.

³⁹⁴ For example: ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol II, Letter XVIII, p. 351.

³⁹⁵ For example: ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. II, Letter X, p. 180.

³⁹⁶ For example: ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol I, Letter III, p. 17.

³⁹⁷ For example: ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol., I, Letter XXIII, p. 300.

³⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 310.

³⁹⁹ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. II, Letter VIII, p. 149.

and our sons in Italy” (*In Italia noi e i nipoti nostri*)⁴⁰⁰, “ours of Italy” (*nostri d’Italia*)⁴⁰¹, “the peoples of Italy” (*I popoli d’Italia*).⁴⁰² Angiolini’s relationship to Tuscany, on the other hand, can be questioned. He actually mentions the Grand Duchy of Tuscany only three times in the whole travelogue consisting of almost eight hundred pages.⁴⁰³ This all suggests that Angiolini did not deal with Tuscany but with a broader, Italian unit. Thus, in contrast to other travellers, he did not display any *identification* with Tuscany in his writing.

As for Angiolini’s relationship to Italy, some of his stances have been already presented: he considered Italy to be inferior to England, which, however, did not mean that he was indifferent to it.⁴⁰⁴ He also perceived the fragmentation of Italy and even expressed his desire to make the fragmented states cooperate and become less isolated.⁴⁰⁵ Angiolini admired the strong sense of patriotism and national sentiment in England and felt a lack of it in his homeland. He gives the example of a fifteen-year-old boy condemned for murder. Because of his young age he could have saved his life by going to Botany Bay in Australia, but rather chose to die in England. Angiolini confesses that he was sad, touched by this saddening scene of love for the home country. According to him, wherever men think like that, they must be happy: “*Dove gli uomini pensano così (...) io concludo che questi uomini son felici.*”⁴⁰⁶ Angiolini, thus, would prefer a more unified and patriotic Italy.

Angiolini’s statement regarding the lack of patriotism is related to another attribute of Englishmen, which might be called self-confidence or consciousness. He admires it, even though he admits that it was probably “a defect and illusion”: in his opinion, “we” in Italy might be happy if “we” could have it together with “the stronger sentiment for “us” (*ma felice l’Italia se avessimo ancor noi questo difetto, questa illusione*). One of the consequences would then be that Italians would become enriched by “fervid national egoism” (*fervido egoismo nazionale*) which had produced so many good effects in England and France. Moreover, the fascination with everything foreign would become smaller and the esteem for “our things” would become bigger (*minor sarebbe la meraviglia nostra delle cose altrui e*

⁴⁰⁰ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol I, Angiolini, Letter II, p. 12.

⁴⁰¹ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. II, Letter XVI, p. 196.

⁴⁰² ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter XIII, p. 158.

⁴⁰³ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. II, Letter I, p. 25. (see the Chapter 3.3.3 “*Enlightened Remarks*” – *Suicides, Slavery, Police, Justice*) and ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. II, Letter XI, p. 198.

⁴⁰⁴ See the Chapter 4.3 *Categorization of England: Stereotyping and Generalizations*.

⁴⁰⁵ See the Chapter 4.4.2 *Possibilities of Application*.

⁴⁰⁶ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter VIII, pp. 86-87.

maggiore la stima altrui per le cose nostre).⁴⁰⁷ The traveller wished for self-confident Italians who would be as proud of themselves as the English were.

The conclusions reached in answering the *identity* question can now be summarized. The case study of Angiolini's travelogue prepared ground for more analysis, as it exposed the main topics and issues and allowed the introduction of *collective identification*, a notion further explored by with the help of the accounts written by other Tuscan travellers. The research has shown that *identity* was displayed on more levels. One of its crucial axes is Enlightenment, which was displayed in the way in which the Other was approached. Enlightened inclinations were evident in the topics and which the travellers treated, in the patterns their writing shows, as well as in the educative character of the texts, which were on the whole deprived of personal experiences. It has also been argued that the Enlightened home environment of the Tuscan state made the travellers more sensitive to the process of industrialization which, indeed, appeared as one of the most important issues.

The fact that industrialization was one of the best-admired elements leads us to another layer related to the question of (positive) stereotyping and generalizations of England. The research has shown that in *representations* produced by the travellers, there appeared the feature of admiration for England on the one hand and that of underestimating of the Self and invocation of the glorious Roman past on the other. Since *collective identity* is overlapping with individual *identification*, it has been argued that the Enlightenment, the stereotyping and the feeling of one's own decadence were the three main elements of *collective identity*. This, however, does not mean that all of the travellers necessarily had the same opinion on everything. Filippo Mazzei who was highly critical of England was intentionally chosen because of his opposition to the general opinion.

In the testimonies two main mental processes of *identification* were identified, comparison and application. They reflect the moment of encounter of the Self and the Other and the ways in which the Self deals with the situation. The notion of applicability moreover presupposes that the English feature is considered better, which leads again to the tendency towards positive imagination of the English. The third layer of the research has dealt with what is hidden the definition of the Self. In this part of the analysis, the *identification* of individual travellers was found not to be homogeneous. Angiolini was the only one whose perception of the Self was related to the larger, Italian unit. "Our" for him means Italian. Tuscan *identification* which, contrastingly, appears in abundance in the testimonies of the

⁴⁰⁷ ANGIOLINI: *Lettere*, vol. I, Letter I, pp. 4-5.

other travellers is not displayed by Angiolini. Angiolini is also the only one to explicitly claim that he would appreciate Italy not to be divided into several autonomous states. He, unlike the others, desires Italian patriotism, self-confidence and, to some extent, also Italian unity. Such statements, in fact slowly approaching the basis of *identity* of modern nation states, are undoubtedly interesting in the writing of a late-eighteenth-century Tuscan traveller.

Since *collective identity* is constructed by individuals it can be claimed that the Enlightenment, the collective memory of Roman past, the feeling of one's own decadence, and the positive stereotyping of the English are all features of *collective identification* of eighteenth-century Tuscany. In the texts of the majority of the travellers appeared also *identification* with Tuscany. Only in Angiolini's case did clearly appear *identification* with Italy. In the other testimonies it was displayed only in the perception of the glorious Roman past. The Self has now been discovered and the analysis of the *identification* of Tuscan travellers through the English and England has been finished.

Conclusion

The objective of the Master's thesis was to question *collective identity* in Tuscany in the eighteenth century through the lens of travel literature about England. The thesis puts emphasis on the anthropological theory which claims that one's own *identity* is formed only in confrontation with the Other which or who is outside the group: in the cases treated in the thesis, the Other was represented by the English. The crucial axis of the analysis was therefore the "We-They" dichotomy. The main question is how their own *identification* is displayed by Tuscan travellers in their travel testimonies and how it was formed. Several layers observable in the travel literature were analysed: the positive stereotyping of England, its relationship to Tuscan Enlightenment and, perhaps most importantly, certain cognitive processes whereby the travellers displayed their *identity*.

The analysis is based on travel sources chosen in order to provide as broad perspective on the issue as possible and to offer the picture of travellers' mental image of England in its complexity. Since their home environment is considered to be a principal variable in the process of *identification*, personal profiles of the travellers are also given.

The thesis is divided into three sections. Theoretical background delimiting the research is provided in the first part, together with the definitions of *identity* and of the *Anglomania* phenomenon, as well as with an overview of methodological and theoretical concepts applied in the research. The second part presents a case study based on the travelogue of Luigi Angiolini, a text which can contribute to the understanding of some important features of *collective identity* in Tuscany. Among these are the following: Enlightened aspects of the writing, positive stereotyping, and categorization of cities and space. The Enlightened inclinations – expressed by way of glorifying remarks on the English government and liberty, observations regarding criminal law, suicides and industrialization – both show the influence of the Tuscan home environment and the demands that Angiolini's travelogue was supposed to fulfil. In his essay on education and the way of living in England, Angiolini offers a positively stereotyped characterization of Englishmen ("Englishness"). The last chapter of the case study analyses Angiolini's perception of space in relation to Kevin Lynch's approach to the concept of mental mapping. The traveller categorized English cities according to Enlightened criteria based on their function and on the aesthetic norms of well-kept and clean space.

Angiolini's travelogue is confronted with other testimonies by Tuscan travellers in the third and last part of the thesis in order to for the process of *identification* to be analysed. The analysis has then successfully shown that individuals confronted with "otherness" displayed features of their own *identity* and that the individual's mental image overlaps with the collective one. The travellers' representations, however miscellaneous, indeed exhibited some common topics, tendencies and mental strategies of categorizing Englishness. From the image of the Other, attention was turned to the other side of the coin, the Self. "Us" and "Ours" was put into a binary opposition to "Them" and "Theirs". In order to decode the meaning of travellers' own *identification*, a linguistic and semiotic analysis was carried out.

The outcome of the thesis is that the examination of *collective identity* in the eighteenth century travel literature is feasible and, moreover, yields results and allows some conclusions. First of all, the Enlightenment as the official policy of Tuscany played an important role in most of the testimonies. Second, the travellers tended to categorize the Other by way of some specific cognitive processes. Besides the generally positive stereotyping, conscious or unconscious comparison of England and the travellers' homeland was observed to be a common tendency, involving also the repeated question of the applicability of English features to Tuscany/Italy. According to most of the testimonies, England was considered to be superior to the travellers' homeland. Italy, on the other hand, was displayed as a country of fallen glory of the Roman Empire. It was also made evident that all of the travellers apart from Angiolini exhibited Tuscan regional *identity*, with Tuscany their "Self". Only Angiolini, several decades before the unification of Italy in 1861, showed Italian patriotism and the wish to unite fragmented states.

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Appendix

Appendix n. 1: A map of Tuscany from Francesco Giachi, 1780, National Archives in Prague, Rodinný archiv toskánských Habsburků (NA, RAT), Mapy, inventory number 150

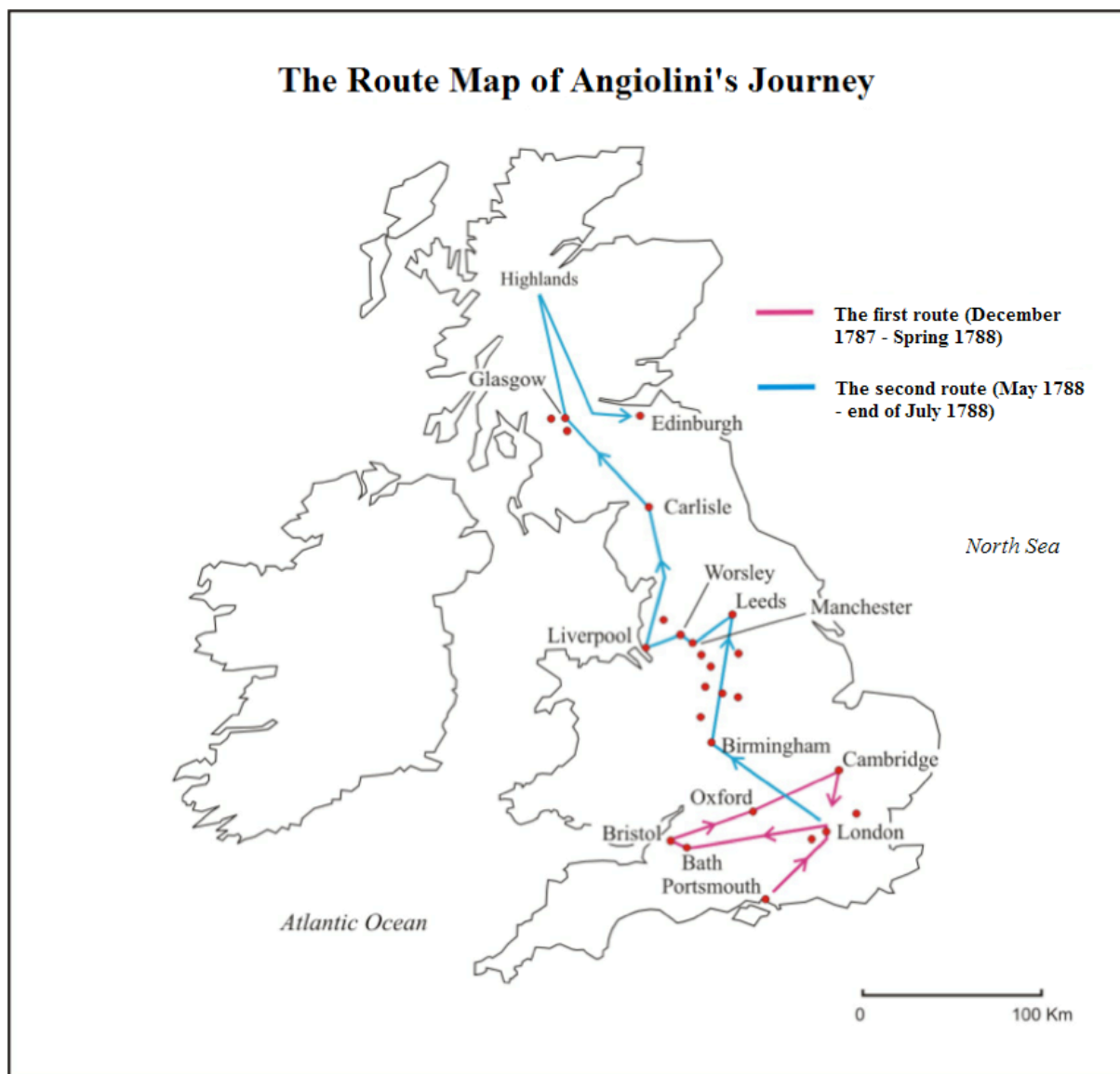
Appendix n. 2: The route map of Angiolini's journey

Appendix n. 3: The English and Scottish cities visited by Angiolini

Appendix n. 1:



Appendix n. 2:



Appendix n. 3:

