Modern Italy, 2016
Vol. 21, No. 2, 171–184, doi:10.1017/mit.2016.7

Illuminating *Botteghe Oscure*'s British network

Sara Sullam*

Dipartimento di Lingue e Letterature Straniere, Università degli Studi di Milano

(*Received 15 September 2015; final version accepted 11 December 2015*)

Working at the intersection between literary history and periodical studies, this article investigates the role played by the literary journal *Botteghe Oscure* (Rome, 1948–1960) in processes of Anglo-Italian literary transfer. The article charts the journal's British network, analysing quantitatively the presence of both established and new writers. Further, it focuses on *Botteghe Oscure*'s publishing and distribution policy in the United Kingdom, drawing on its founder Marguerite Caetani's correspondence in order to interrogate the location of the journal within the Italian and the English literary systems, and thus illuminate the journal's role as a site of literary production as it was shaped in both Italy and Britain.

Keywords: *Botteghe Oscure*; literary history; periodical studies; Anglo-Italian literary transfer

Botteghe Oscure: an exception

The literary journal *Botteghe Oscure* was founded in Rome in 1948 by Marguerite Caetani, Princess of Bassiano, who had already been the leading figure of the journal *Commerce* in Paris during the interwar years (1924–1932).[1] In its 25 volumes, issued biannually and distributed internationally from 1948 to 1960, *Botteghe Oscure* published creative texts in Italian, French, English, German and Spanish,[2] without any form of criticism or translation to accompany them. Within the Italian context of those years, the Palazzo Caetani in via Botteghe Oscure stood out as the centre of an exceptional transnational network. The list of advisors responsible for each section accounts for the journal's exceptionality: Elena Craveri Croce, Benedetto Croce's daughter, was a close friend of Caetani and provided her with contacts with Italian writers, critics and publishers, for example, the Neapolitan Ricciardi; writer Giorgio Bassani became Caetani's main advisor for the Italian section,[3] together with Guglielmo Petroni and Ignazio Silone. The German section relied on the young Pietro Citati who, before becoming one of the most prominent critics in Italy, had worked as a lecturer in Munich and succeeded in making contact with Paul Celan, who in turn introduced the Austrian writer Ingeborg Bachmann, who lived in Rome from 1953 to her death in 1973. As to the English language section, Caetani's main and long-term advisor was American writer Eugene Walter.[4] Relationships with foreign publishers in charge of the journal's distribution were equally remarkable, ranging from Farrar, Straus & Giroux in the United States, to Faber & Faber and Hamish Hamilton in the United Kingdom, to name but a few.

Paradoxically enough, however, while *Botteghe Oscure* represents an invaluable case study through which to investigate the role of journals within wider processes of international literary

*Email: sara.sullam@gmail.com

© 2016 Association for the Study of Modern Italy

https://doi.org/10.1017/mit.2016.7 Published online by Cambridge University Press

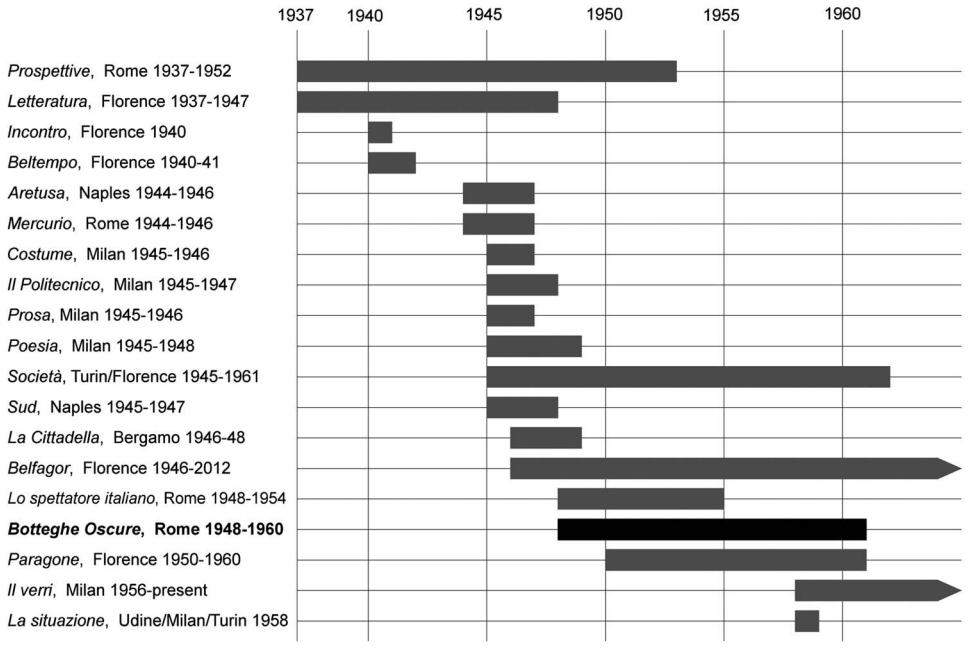


Figure 1. Graph 1

transfer in the post-war period, its foreign sections are still comparatively under-researched.[5] The only thorough study available (Risset, Santone and Tamassia 2007) concerns the correspondence with French authors, while the edition of the correspondence with American and German[6] authors is still in preparation.

In this article, I will focus on *Botteghe Oscure*'s British network[7] to illuminate the journal's *exceptionality* within the Italian context of those years. To this end, I will compare *Botteghe Oscure* with a number of Italian literary and cultural journals, featuring creative texts in English and/or critical essays on British literature in the period 1940–1960, as listed in fig. 1.

I will specifically consider four aspects of *Botteghe Oscure*'s 'exceptionality': (1) the journal's life span, (2) the amount of texts published, (3) the formation of the journal's pool of contributors and its composition, and (4) the location of the journal within the Italian literary system. To consider the first two aspects, I will use quantitative analysis to measure and visualise *Botteghe Oscure*'s impact on the Italian literary field, and to address issues related to the reception of British literature in Italy (and Italian literature in Britain). For aspects (3) and (4), my claims will be supported by archival evidence sourced at the Caetani Foundation in Rome, with particular attention to Caetani's relationship to authors and publishers.

The four aspects that I have chosen to consider are relevant, especially in their mutual interaction, in addressing the journal's role as an agent of literary transfer. As clearly emerges from Graph 1, the journal's longevity is remarkable if compared to the majority of journals featuring contributions of or on foreign literatures. This first aspect, combined with the considerable amount of texts published,[8] makes *Botteghe Oscure* the largest long-lasting repository of foreign literature within the Italian post-war literary field. This also holds, of course, for British literature. From 1948 to 1960 *Botteghe Oscure* published 75 British and two Irish authors, most of them more than

https://doi.org/10.1017/mit.2016.7 Published online by Cambridge University Press

once, with British texts making up 17 per cent of the journal's published output, the fourth most represented literature in the journal.[9] Thus quantitative analysis can profitably be employed to measure the impact of *Botteghe Oscure* on the reception of British literature in post-war Italy. The results of this analysis will be qualitatively assessed in order to compare *Botteghe Oscure*'s role with other journals in the Italian literary field.

The focus on *quantity* will allow me to illuminate the formation of the journal's British network. My claim is that *network* is the feature that accounts for the journal's uniqueness within the Italian context. Unlike the vast majority of literary journals, *Botteghe Oscure* was not the expression of a *group* with a clear and recognisable ideological direction (like, for example, *Il Politecnico*, *Sud*, *Società* and *La cittadella*) or explicitly promoting an aesthetical stance (i.e. *Paragone*, and *il verri* but, earlier on, one could also mention the Modernism-oriented *Letteratura* and *Incontro*), but rather a *network* whose structure *emerged* through the interaction between its several actors in a transnational environment. I refer here to *emergence* in its relevance for periodical studies as outlined by Murphy (2014) and Latham (2013). In this work he looks into the difference between *groups* and *networks* with special reference to the formation of literary movements (his focus is on Modernism) and their journals, pointing out that a network differs from a group in that its structure *emerges*[10] rather than being *designed* from the start (as in the case of a group or circle with a strong identity). Such a fact, I will argue, has important consequences in terms of *Botteghe Oscure*'s role for the reception of British literature in English, since the journal did not promote one single 'critical narrative' on British literature – for example the Auden generation's political narrative, High Modernism or the New Apocalypse – but enabled the coexistence, within the Italian literary field, of different authors coming from different backgrounds and experiences.

Furthermore, I will address *Botteghe Oscure*'s location within the Italian literary system. Jacqueline Risset has stressed the fact that *Botteghe Oscure*, albeit published in Italy, was not an Italian journal, unlike *Commerce* which, conversely, was definitely located within the French literary system (2007, xviii). To gain a deeper insight into this question and into its implications for the journal's transnational character, I will focus on the journal's *periodical codes*, as outlined by Brooker and Thacker's seminal 2009 contribution. *Periodical codes* describe a range of features including, among others, 'price […], networks of distribution and sales, modes of financial support, editorial arrangements, type of material published' (2009, 6). According to the two scholars (2009, 5) periodical studies have highly profited from the 'materialist turn' in modernist studies, advocating 'the importance of "examining modernism in its original sites of production and the continually shifting physicality of its texts and transmissions"'. Anna Antonello (2015, 139) has recently illuminated the fact that, unlike other journals (*Il Politecnico* and *Officina* for example) *Botteghe Oscure* – or rather, Caetani – decided to seek the collaboration of a publisher only for distribution and not for printing or editing matters: the first volume was published by the Neapolitan Riccardo Ricciardi, while subsequent issues were taken over by De Luca of Edizioni Istituto Grafico Tiberino. The key factor for the journal's actual diffusion, however, was the choice of what Antonello defines as a 'publisher-distributor': after the Libreria Cremonese in Rome, the distribution of the journal passed from Einaudi (vols II-VI) through Mondadori (VII-X), De Luca (XI-XIV), Garzanti (XV-XIX) and finally to Feltrinelli (XX-XXV), which ensured considerable visibility and impact throughout the country. Taking a cue from Antonello's work and analysing distributing and promotional policies in the United Kingdom, I will argue that the moment of the 'mediation of publishing' (Cadioli, Decleva and Spinazzola 1999) emerges as the key to investigate the transnational character of the journal and its function as an agent of cultural transfer, and that the journal's identity, its location within each single literary system, was strongly influenced by its publisher and the latter's publishing agenda.

https://doi.org/10.1017/mit.2016.7 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Botteghe Oscure's British network

While *emergence* can be used as a relevant category for all periodicals, in *Botteghe Oscure*'s case it becomes the ruling structural principle: the journal's pool of contributors took shape relying on different networks (publishers, emerging and established authors), each with its own operating principle. This finds further confirmation in the princess's correspondence with her collaborators in the United Kingdom. In order to source copy for the British section, Caetani resorted to her personal acquaintance with established figures in the British literary field; at the same time, she was very keen on making contacts with important publishers. This clearly emerges from the princess's correspondence with a figure who was both poet and publisher, and a prominent one at that: T. S. Eliot. On 13 May, 1948, upon Caetani's request, Eliot sent his suggestions on possible contributors for the journal – including Edith Sitwell, W.H. Auden, Louis MacNeice, Dylan Thomas, Cecil Day Lewis and Kathleen Raine – asking the princess whether she would consider established names or younger contributors.[11] Equally relevant is Eliot's contribution in his capacity as editor-in-chief at Faber & Faber, an imprint almost synonymous with poetry. Caetani was more than willing to establish a connection with the firm: this would, on the one hand, guarantee the quality and the visibility of published texts and, on the other, place *Botteghe Oscure* within a safe distribution chain. The fact that the journal's network was created both through personal contacts and by establishing connections with publishers is further confirmed in another letter from Eliot (1950), in which the names of the poets, both young and established, are divided according to their publisher: Norman Nicholson and Ann Ridler are referred to as 'our Faber poets', while Lawrence Durrell, John Heath-Stubbs and Alex Comfort are listed under Routledge.[12]

Caetani, however, did not seek contacts only with established figures. She was very keen on exploiting her relational capital in order to promote young and relatively unknown authors. Among them we find Christopher Logue, a representative of the younger 'contingent' of the journal's contributors and one of the most prolific, with five entries in the journal's list. As emerges from his correspondence with Caetani, he was one of her most trusted talent-scouts.[13] For Logue the dialectic between established authors and new entrants was very clear, as confirmed in a letter that he wrote to Caetani when, in 1951, the American publisher Anchor Books offered to issue an anthology of works from the journal:

> It is very clear to anybody who reads *Botteghe Oscura* [*sic*] that your intention has been to create a 'free' (i.e. without strict editorial policy) panorama of young writing in prose and verse. True, you have admitted many 'established' writers to the review. These have completed the picture of what was going on, and made the review easier to sell. But the body of the thing is *Botteghe Oscura* [*sic*] was your choice from totally unknown or little known writers. This has been your contribution; quite aside from the fact that amongst the many wealthy people of the West, you are the sole example of a persistent and concrete effort to do something.
>
> The proposed anthology limits its choice to the 'established' writers. About one quarter of the Review pages. In [*sic*] can in no just sense be called representative, it is a lie.[14]

On a first reading, Logue's words seem to present Caetani's role almost exclusively as the promoter of young writers. Still, Logue, who defined Eliot as 'The Old Man', on whom the princess should 'work her evils' in order to get the best deals for the publication of Faber's authors,[15] was well aware that to remain a magazine that could guarantee a showcase for younger authors, *Botteghe Oscure* had to preserve its *network* structure, relying, as it did, on different sources and not promoting a single group, be it a 'generation' or a movement.

On the contrary, the majority of other journals (see fig.1) were led by a group interested in promoting 'critical narratives' on British literature, often in keeping with their ideological line. This clearly emerges if we make a quick survey of the presence of English literature in Italian journals and magazines of the period 1940–1960: such a survey yields almost the same names.

https://doi.org/10.1017/mit.2016.7 Published online by Cambridge University Press

These can be arranged in groups that have become the categories on which British literary historiography is still built: Modernism (*Letteratura*, *Prospettive*, *Aretusa*), the New Apocalypse (*Il Politecnico*, *Sud*, and, later, *il verri*), the Auden generation in its *engagé* version (*Il Politecnico*, *Sud*). Journals like *Mercurio* and, later, *Paragone* were more open to contemporary novel writers (Greene, Orwell, Waugh). Only Mondadori's short-lived *Prosa* and *Poesia* featured a wide-ranging selection of creative texts, often as a run-up to their publication in book form. To gain a deeper understanding of the specificity of *Botteghe Oscure* in Anglo-Italian literary transfer, we shall look more closely at the way in which the journal's large 'index of names' relates to such clusters.

Quantity/quality

The assessment of the journal's exceptionality is best performed if grounded in a quantitative analysis of the journal's British pool of contributors based on the journal's index of names, analysed choosing significant divides (i.e. established figures versus new entrants; authors featured only in *Botteghe Oscure* versus authors present also in other journals). Only thus can the notion of network really illuminate the journal's specificity in terms of presence within the Italian context.

Both in *Commerce* and in *Botteghe Oscure* the word 'index' does not indicate a mere list of names arranged in alphabetical order. This is highlighted by the 1958 publication of a booklet containing both *Commerce*'s and *Botteghe Oscure*'s indexes, *Commerce Index: 1924–1932 Botteghe Oscure Index: 1948–1957* (Società Grafica Romana, Rome 1958). Besides the complete indexes of both journals, the booklet features four essays on the journals themselves: American poet Archibald MacLeish's 'Reader to Readers (a parenthesis)'; French writer George Limbour's 'Ode à l'index' (on *Commerce*); British writer and critic Alan Pryce Jones's 'Twentieth Century Writing' and Petroni's 'La coda di due comete'. MacLeish insisted on the diverse composition of the journal's pool of contributors, stressing the importance of the co-existence of established and emerging authors. Pryce-Jones (a very authoritative critic, having worked for *The London Mercury* and being, in 1958, the editor of the *TLS*) emphasised the role of *Botteghe Oscure* in reacting to the competition between literature and emerging media and in showing writers 'in relation to one another'.

Established figures versus new entrants

The first divide, as already suggested in Logue's letter and further confirmed by MacLeish, is the one between established figures and new entrants, which a graph of the contributors listed by age allows us to visualise more effectively (see. fig. 2):

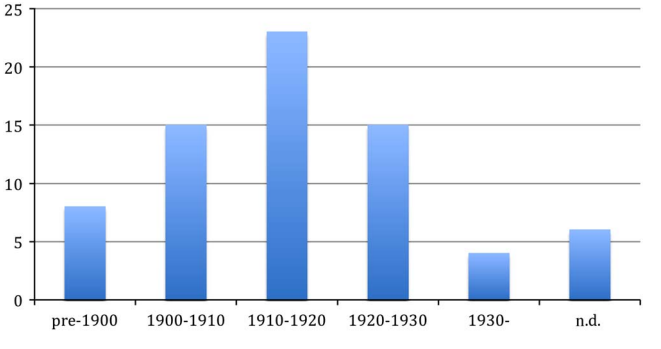


Figure 2. Graph 2, Contributors divided by birthdate

https://doi.org/10.1017/mit.2016.7 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Besides the obvious predominance of authors born between 1910 and 1920, that is, belonging to Dylan Thomas's generation, there is a significant balance between the so-called 'Auden generation' and authors born between 1920 and 1930. While the former were in part also received in other journals, the latter – even the names that are nowadays definitely canonical like Thom Gunn or Charles Tomlinson – appeared exclusively in *Botteghe Oscure*. Yet, these were not the 'young poets who only manage to have some poem published here and there (more often in *Botteghe Oscure* than in English magazines)' (Melchiori 1955),[16] but authors who found in the journal an international venue to publish, acquire visibility and, above all, to create their own network. The case of Thom Gunn is paradigmatic, since he was featured as early as 1954. All of the 15 authors born between 1920 and 1930 were known in Italy only through *Botteghe Oscure*: their work was translated and published in book form in Italy at least ten years later. In this sense, the journal was a genuine space for innovation as it anticipated authors and trends, stressing their *co-temporality* with dominant trends and currents. The journal allowed young writers to 'find each other and so to find their generation' (MacLeish, *s.d.* quoted in Valli 1999, 30).

Botteghe Oscure versus other journals: switching voices and identities

Another significant divide in the contributors' pool is the one between authors who, as far as their presence in Italian journals is concerned,[17] published only in *Botteghe Oscure* (75 per cent) and the ones who also appeared in other journals (25 per cent), as shown in graph 3.

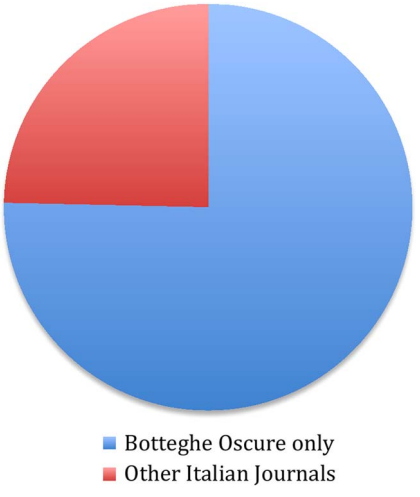


Figure 3. Graph 3

The group of authors who published only in *Botteghe Oscure* can be further subdivided into two subsets. In the first one, we find some less-known names that were clearly co-opted into the journal through networks of friendship (for example the Charles Madge-Kathleen Raine couple). These writers belong to a younger generation (born around the 1920s) who, as mentioned earlier, found their first publication outlet in *Botteghe Oscure*. In this sense, Caetani was a traditional

https://doi.org/10.1017/mit.2016.7 Published online by Cambridge University Press

patron who, thanks to her social position, could afford to promote and subsidise authors who were still outside the publishing circles. A case in point is Muriel Spark, whose first Italian appearance was in *Botteghe Oscure*, considered a trusted repository of foreign authors by the Italian publishers, and who was later taken over by big publishers such as Mondadori and Bompiani.

The second subset includes authors born before 1900, for example the English novelist Leslie (L.P.) Hartley and Anglo-Irish popular novelist Elizabeth Bowen.[18] Their case is paradigmatic of how *Botteghe Oscure* allowed established authors to reshape their Italian (and not only Italian) identity. Hartley was not at all a marginal figure; his novels had already been translated and had found a place in the catalogues of big and medium publishers (Rizzoli and Garzanti). Giorgio Melchiori (who was very close to *Botteghe Oscure* through his acquaintance with Elena Craveri Croce) devoted an essay to Hartley's *The Go-Between*, entitled 'Il romanzo perfetto', which appeared in the 1954 issue of *Lo spettatore italiano* (a journal founded by Elena Craveri Croce). Melchiori began his piece with the phrase 'Leslie Hartley is no young writer',[19] thus underlining the importance of the interplay between generations. He highlighted the novelist's 'belated' success, his ability to fit the formal innovations of more experimental authors, like James, into more traditional and public-oriented novels: such is precisely the case of the short-story 'Up the Garden Path', published in *Botteghe Oscure* in 1952, in which Melchiori detected James's influence in the handling of elements of suspense and mystery. As to *The Go-Between* (1953), Hartley's most famous novel, Melchiori defined it 'the perfect novel': what made it such, according to the critic, was Hartley's ability to blend the tradition of the past ('the ideal model of the genre "novel" in the very form it had in its moment of full technical development, that is, at the end of the nineteenth century' [1955]) with a very personal touch that made the novel 'contemporary'. Melchiori's opinion on Hartley is relevant inasmuch as it is in keeping also with *Botteghe Oscure*'s taste, as we find it explained, for example, in Bassani's *Congedo*,[20] when he mentions 'the refusal of any indulgence towards avant-garde literature' (Bassani 1960, 434). Hartley's 'compromise' is comparable to what Bassani, a couple of years later, would see in Forster's *Howards End*, with which he launched Feltrinelli's 'Classici Moderni'[21] series. This becomes even more significant if we consider that Bassani deliberately released in the same year (1958) both *Howards End* and Tomasi di Lampedusa's *The Leopard*, another novel that mixes traditional elements with a contemporary sensibility. *Botteghe Oscure* therefore functioned also as a workshop of a new taste that would be fully developed in the late 1950s and in the 1960s.

The case of Elizabeth Bowen also deserves attention, for it features an established author, who is eager to change her 'voice', to reshape her literary identity. By the time she published 'A Day in the Dark' in *Botteghe Oscure*, in 1955, two of her novels – *The Death of the Heart* (1938)[22] and *The Last September* (1929)[23] – had already been translated into Italian by Mondadori, and her post-war work, *The Heat of the Day* (1949) was under contract.[24] During the 1950s Bowen was apparently keen to experiment with a poetic voice, which the short-story genre allowed her. Her intentions are spelt out in a letter to Caetani:

> I think my idea is a sort of prose ballad. I mean like a prose form […] of one of the Hardy story-poems. The situation (love for the uncle) seems to me to be too buried in the girl's mind to be dramatically capable of expansion – or rather buried in the mind of the rather frozen, dulled woman she would have become.[25]

Bowen was particularly interested in the relation between prose and poetry and its realisation within the genre novel (to which Melchiori devoted special attention in his aforementioned article on the Irish writer): 'A Day in the Dark', the short story she contributed to *Botteghe Oscure* can therefore be read as an attempt – right when *The Heat of the Day*, her 'spy-novel' was achieving

https://doi.org/10.1017/mit.2016.7 Published online by Cambridge University Press

international success – to find a 'new voice'. And such it was: among Bowen's short stories 'A Day in the Dark' is one of the few written in the first person (see Christensen [1997, 299]). And we can guess that the short story was a milestone in Bowen's career, since ten years later it would give its title to the last collection of short stories published during her lifetime.[26]

Let us now turn to the 25 per cent (18 names) of contributors who also feature in other journals. Graph 4 shows the other venues in which these authors were published in the years 1940–1960.

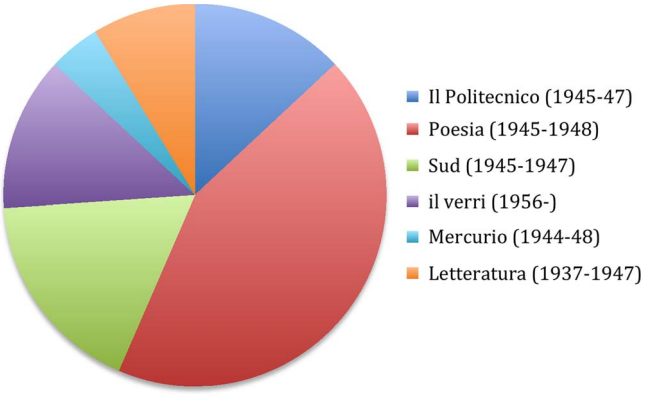


Figure 4. Graph 4

The largest number of coincidences is to be found with *Poesia*. Both journals published only creative texts, and on many occasions *Botteghe Oscure* took over where *Poesia* had left something off: this is the case with Stephen Spender, Dylan Thomas, Vernon Watkins, W.H. Auden, Brenda Chamberlain, Roy Fuller, Charles Madge, George G. Barker and David Gascoyne. Furthermore, the majority of these writers also appeared in three other journals, *Sud* and *Il Politecnico*, in both cases thanks to translator Tommaso Giglio during the late 1940s, and *il verri* during the late 1950s. For all these authors, *Botteghe Oscure* meant embracing a different identity, experimenting with new genres. The most interesting cases are those of Auden and Spender: their presence in *Il Politecnico* and *Sud* was still very much indebted to their *engagé* season, the 1930s and to the *Left Wing* movement, evident in Spender's 'Lo scrittore e il mondo reale', published in *Sud* (1946, 7). Equally 'political'[27] was *Sud* and *Il Politecnico*'s take on the New Apocalypse, notably in Tommaso Giglio's crucial 'Poesia come apocalissi in Inghilterra' (1946, 33–34). Paradigmatic is the case of Dylan Thomas, who experimented with the radio play thanks to Caetani's generous support, which allowed him to publish *Llagerub* (*Under Milk Wood*) in *Botteghe Oscure* (1952, V).

Released from the pressure of literary criticism, *Botteghe Oscure* could thus serve as a laboratory for authors – old and young – willing to 'test' different ways of writing: Dylan's engagement with the radio play can for instance be read following Pryce-Jones's suggestion on how *Botteghe Oscure* reacted to competition with new media. Such an extraordinary opening was also favoured by the fact that the journal was a *transnational* zone, with different interlocutors – including both publishers and readers – in each country, which released the journal from the burden of relating to a single literary system. The question to address is whether such an enterprise eventually became a *mode of literary production* or whether its function was bound to remain limited to years of great transformations in literary (and artistic) production, in Italy and abroad.

https://doi.org/10.1017/mit.2016.7 Published online by Cambridge University Press

'Let me also point out that this magazine is international': *Botteghe Oscure*'s transnational social codes

Unlike other Italian literary journals, *Botteghe Oscure* was widely distributed abroad: as mentioned earlier, Caetani relied, in Italy as well as abroad, on a 'publisher-distributor'. This shaped the journal's identity differently in each country, but also the journal's actual status. As it turns out, despite the vocal refusal to be read as an anthology expressed by Bassani in his *Congedo* (1960), by Logue and, later, by Risset (2007, xviii), *Botteghe Oscure*'s success was inevitably bound to its potential as a generator of anthologies. This is not the place to debate the function of anthologies.[28] Still, at least as concerns Anglo-Italian literary relationships, 'survey anthologies' (Korte)[29] of Italian writing were crucial for the formation of a modern Italian canon abroad.

Such a fact finds confirmation in Caetani's correspondence with her British publishers, John Lehmann and Hamish Hamilton. With the former, Caetani had established a contact advised by T. S. Eliot, upon the princess's request that Faber be the British distributor for the journal. Eliot declined the offer to distribute *Botteghe Oscure*, suggesting that this should be discharged by a small firm specialising in foreign literature, for example that of John Lehmann.[30] Lehmann had been trained by the Woolfs at the Hogarth Press and had already gained remarkable experience in launching 'transnational' literary products, first and foremost Christopher Isherwood's Berlin novels (see Sullam 2010). The letter was written when, in 1950, Caetani envisaged the possibility of promoting some (then) young Italian writers on the English-speaking market, through an anthology. John Lehmann eagerly accepted and *An Anthology of New Italian Writers* came out in 1950. Thanks to Lehmann's relational capital – accumulated in twenty years of successful activity as a middleman – the book enjoyed a fair success, as Lehmann wrote to Caetani mentioning two reviews by no less than Edwin Muir and Margaret Bottrall.[31] For Lehmann publishing the anthology resulted in a deal with Longanesi for the publication of Mario Soldati's *A cena col commendatore* (1950).[32] The deal came out of a conflict with the Italian publisher concerning copyright: as Lehmann's letter shows, Longanesi wanted Lehmann to stop the distribution of the anthology but subsequently 'agreed that I should publish *A cena col commendatore* as a book, and in view of that waive their objections to my continued sale of your *anthology*.'[33]

It was Lehmann who eventually refused to continue distributing the journal and who put Caetani in contact with Jamie Hamilton of Hamish Hamilton, a publishing house (founded 1931) that played an important role in the transition from High Modernism (Joyce, Woolf, Eliot, Pound) to the literature of the 1930s and 1940s. Hamilton was very happy to take over the distribution of the journal, as his words of praise to Caetani show; he explained that he had chosen to distribute *Botteghe Oscure* 'both because I have always admired your courage and enterprise in producing it, and also because I regard it as an important link in the intellectual life of both countries.'[34] Hamilton had a genuine interest in Italian literature, as witnessed by his frequent requests to further his knowledge of emerging Italian authors.[35] At the same time, he demonstrated an awareness of differences between the English and the Italian literary fields, showing himself to be, in a word, a real middleman, who each time questioned the potential of a certain author in the United Kingdom. For example, as concerns Calvino, he doubted whether his *Visconte dimezzato* (1952) would enjoy any success in England:

> *Il visconte dimezzato* couldn't possibly interest Anglo-Saxon readers, I'm afraid. It has great literary merits, which might or might not be retained in translation. But themes as fantastic as this never appeal here – witness the failure of *Tête de chien* and other things merely regarded here as far-fetched.[36]

Besides actively fostering Anglo-Italian literary relationships, Hamilton also advised Caetani on publishing matters. Following a partially negative review of one of the journal's issues,[37]

https://doi.org/10.1017/mit.2016.7 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Hamilton suggested the publisher's name be printed on the cover, so that potential readers could find a kind of guarantee for the journal's quality. Hamilton's suggestion meant that the moment of the *mediation of publishing* remained crucial and that, therefore, *Botteghe Oscure* needed to be marketed as a *book* belonging to a publisher's catalogue.

Marketing the journal as a book, though, raised the issue of copyright. This deserves further attention, as it further highlights the hybrid nature of *Botteghe Oscure* and its relationship with the anthological form. In 1953 Caetani was in touch with Farrar, Straus and Giroux, since the publisher had shown interest in *Botteghe Oscure* and been entertaining the idea of publishing an anthology of its best output. As emerges from a letter written by Roger Straus to one of the house's editors, George DeKay, Farrar Straus was already seeking to publish an anthology of new writing in collaboration with a literary journal. When the first attempt with the *Partisan Review* failed, Straus decided to turn to *Botteghe Oscure*. Writing to DeKay, he pointed out that the distribution of the magazine was international and that it could represent an asset for FSG. In his letter, Straus clearly states that the publication would be an 'anthology', a *book*, with a title of its own, which should *not* be *Botteghe Oscure*.[38] But if it was to be treated as such, the issue of copyright had to be settled. The correspondence held at the Caetani Foundation shows that Straus initially found a solution but later abandoned his publication plans, because they would be too expensive. At a certain point, Eliot too was asked about his opinion on the knotty issue of copyright, and his answer is revealing as to the relationship Caetani entered into with her contributors. Eliot wrote that *Botteghe Oscure* represented an unprecedented case for the complex handling of copyright; Eliot knew that Caetani had paid generously for her authors' contributions and that, for this reason, she would not pay copyright fees to publishers. Such a situation could not possibly continue once parts of *Botteghe Oscure* became a book, subject to a specific copyright legislation.[39]

Eliot's words highlight the hallmark of Caetani's enterprise. It is simultaneously *emergent* and *residual* (Williams), where the latter defines what 'has been effectively formed in the past, but it is still active in the cultural process, not only and often not at all as an element of the past, but as an effective element of the present', while the former's emphasis is on how 'new meanings and values, new practices, new relationships and kinds of relationship are continually being created'. (Williams 1977, quoted in Brooker *et al*. 2009, 17). As Brooker and Thacker argue, William's concepts are particularly useful for the investigation of periodicals, especially if we consider the co-existence of *emergent* and *residual* practices '*within* single magazines' (Brooker *et al*. 2009, 17). In *Botteghe Oscure*'s case, the co-existence is between the *residual practice* of a traditional patron and the *emergent network* structure of the journal, which required a formal engagement with publishers and literary agents in a systematic way. Such a coexistence, however, could not last long; in the end, the journal remained an *individual production* (Williams in Brooker *et al*. 2009, 18), centred as it was around Caetani's person, and never managed to become a *collective manifestation*, defined by Williams as produced by a group agreeing on a set of values (Williams in Brooker *et al*. 2009, 18). This did not happen because the princess and her collaborators were not interested in being perceived as a *collective manifestation*. Furthermore, as the copyright issue demonstrates, the necessary drift towards the book form necessarily implied the shift to another, more systematic, publishing structure. Such a structure, already present in the United Kingdom when *Botteghe Oscure* started its activity, took real shape in Italy during the 1950s,[40] thanks to new publishers such as Feltrinelli and Garzanti or to the first real literary agency of the country, established in 1946 in Milan by Erich Linder. As Eugene Walter once wrote to Linder, however, the princess alone took care of all publishing matters and she did not know what an agent might be.[41] The dynamics of literary transfer had become too complex and articulated for one single person to handle, which marked the end of the journal's very function, of its uniqueness

https://doi.org/10.1017/mit.2016.7 Published online by Cambridge University Press

as a genuine *transnational formation*. But Caetani's network left a significant and long-lasting mark on the literature of the second half of the twentieth century, one that has yet to be fully illuminated.

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank Caterina Fiorani at the Caetani Foundation in Rome for granting me access to Caetani's correspondence. I also wish to thank the heirs of authors whose correspondence I quoted for giving me their permission.

Notes on contributor

Sara Sullam is a post-doctoral fellow at the Università Statale in Milan. She has published on English Modernism in a comparative perspective, free indirect style in English literature, and the reception of English twentieth-century literature in post-war Italy. She co-edited *Transits: The Nomadic Geographies of Anglo-American Modernism* (Peter Lang, 2010, with Gianni Cianci and Caroline Patey) and *Parallaxes: Virginia Woolf Meets James Joyce* (Cambridge Scholars Press, 2014, with Marco Canani).

Notes

1. On *Commerce* see Rabaté 2012.
2. Normally the journal did not offer texts in translation. Sole exceptions were issues IV, V and VI, which were complemented by a brochure with the translation of English and American texts into Italian. On the few occasions on which it published texts from less known literatures (Indian and Philippine, issue XII; Polish, issue XIII; Korean, issue XIV; Dutch and Pakistani, issue XV), they were translated into English in order to ensure a wider circulation of the journal.
3. On Bassani's role see Bassani and Caetani 2011; Tortora 2012; Ferretti and Guerriero 2011. Both studies clearly show how Bassani's work for the journal was a fundamental step in his career in publishing and for his later engagement with Feltrinelli (the publisher who also took over the distribution of the journal after De Luca, Mondadori and Garzanti).
4. Helped by poets Ben Johnson and Stanley Moss.
5. The Italian section, on the contrary, has been widely investigated (Valli 1999; Bassani and Caetani 2011; Tortora 2012).
6. In 2012 Sophie Levie and Klaus Bohnenkamp edited the volume *La rivista* Commerce *e Marguerite Caetani. I: Briefwechsel mit deutschsprachigen Autoren* (Bohnenkamp and Levie 2012). Mainly devoted to *Commerce*, the volume covers the period 1925–1959, thus overlapping with *Botteghe Oscure* and therefore includes the correspondence with Rudolf Kassner.
7. I have chosen to focus exclusively on the British section, not only because it always appeared separately from the American one, but also because the publishers involved in the journal's distribution were different in each of the two countries.
8. Stefania Valli has calculated the average length of a single issue, which amounts to 477 pages (1999, 5). For a chart with the page number of each issue see Valli 1999, 61.
9. If we exclude the occasional publication of collection of Dutch, Korean, Philippine, Indian, Polish and Pakistani texts (respectively issues XV, XIV, XIII, XII, XIII, XV), the most represented literature was American (35%), followed by French (21%), Italian (19%), German (4%) and Spanish (3%).
10. The hermeneutic potential of *emergence* (as outlined in Hayles 2005) for periodical studies has been stressed by Latham 2013 and has been furthered investigated in Murphy 2014.
11. Archivio Fondazione Caetani (henceforth FC), archivio letterario (henceforth AC), T.S. Eliot to Caetani, 13 May, 1948.
12. FC, AC, Eliot to Caetani, 11 September, 1950.
13. See Logue's 1950–1951 letters to Caetani, where he reports about his meeting with possible contributors (FC, AC, Christopher Logue to Marguerite Caetani). Interestingly (for a potential history of

https://doi.org/10.1017/mit.2016.7 Published online by Cambridge University Press

'extraterritorial' journals) Logue would later benefit from his experience in establishing transnational networks when he collaborated with the *Merlin Review*, founded in 1952 (and active until 1955) in Paris by Alexander Trocchi. Like *Botteghe Oscure*, the *Merlin Review* can be defined as an 'extraterritorial' journal, which explains its key role in the diffusion of foreign literatures and in the promotion of genuinely transnational authors, Beckett first and foremost (Knowlson 1996), but also its early failure. Later in the 1950s (in 1957, to be precise) Logue took over the *Nimbus Magazine* (founded in 1951), an enterprise in which, again, he could cash in on his 'relational capital' from the *Botteghe Oscure* years.

14. FC, AC, Christopher Logue to Marguerite Caetani, *s.l.*, 1951.
15. 'I have spoken to him about the "Selection" he has no objection himself and will ask Faber's if they have. On this point I suggest you write to the Old Man Himself (T.S.E.) and work your evils on him'. FC, AC, Christopher Logue to Marguerite Caetani, *s.l.*, *s.d.*
16. Giorgio Melchiori (1920–2009) was a key figure for English Studies in Italy, a very young discipline in those times. The AIA, the Italian English Studies Association, was established only in 1978, and Melchiori was its first president. His monograph on Mannerism in modern English literature (*The Tightrope Walkers: Essays on Modernism in Modern English Literature*) was first published in English (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London1956) and, subsequently, translated into Italian (Einaudi, Turin 1963). With other colleagues (Carlo Izzo, Glauco Cambon), he was a key advisor in matters of translation to the main publishers in the country.
17. We will consider only their presence in journals and not publications in book form.
18. The other names are Robert Graves, Arthur Waley, Hugh MacDiarmid and Iris Tree.
19. Hartley was 57 at the time of his publication on *Botteghe Oscure*.
20. *Congedo* is Bassani's personal contribution to the journal's last issue in 1960 (Bassani 1960), in which he looks back on the journal's experience and on its role. On Bassani's 'foreign' taste see Cesana 2010, Guerriero 2011 and Milani 2012. Together with Graham Greene, Joyce Cary, Henry Green, Anthony Powell, James Hanley and P.H. Newby, Hartley and Bowen were listed among the 'best English novelists' by W. Allen in his 1955 *The English Novel: A Critical History*, a book Melchiori reviewed in *Studi Americani* ('Tradizione americana e romanzo inglese', I.1955). Melchiori chose the definition of 'post-revolutionary novelists' (where the revolutionary had been the High Modernists).
21. To someone acquainted with Caetani's enterprises, the series title evokes *Commerce*'s '*esprit classique moderne*'. On the importance of *Botteghe Oscure* for Bassani's 'taste' see Guerriero 2011.
22. *Crepuscolo*, Mondadori, Milan 1948.
23. *L'ultimo settembre*, Mondadori, Milan 1948.
24. *L'ora decisiva*, Mondadori, Milan 1956.
25. FC, AC, Elizabeth Bowen to Marguerite Caetani, 25.7.1955.
26. *A Day in the Dark and Other Stories*, Jonathan Cape, London 1965.
27. With some baffling episodes (which would deserve a full-length study), such as Eliot's appearance in *Il Politecnico* (1945.12) with 'Il canto della classe operaia', a far cry from his Modernist *persona* as had been shaped in Florentine magazines.
28. In the case of the present article my aim is not so much to engage in a theoretical reflection on the subject but rather to show how the mention of the word 'anthology' brings to the fore the journal's contradictions, which at the same time represented its uniqueness. For both in the United Kingdom and in the United States the journal attracted publishers' interest in that it served to secure rights for the publication of *books* by Italian authors. On the role played by anthologies in processes of canon formation I refer to Re 1992 and Pautasso and Giovannetti 2004 for the Italian context and to Korte 2000 for a more general approach to the critical implications of the anthological form in literary history. Re 1992 is not in References (HH).
29. 'Survey anthologies can be devoted to a particular period or periods, a particular cultural context (such as nation or region) or a particular school or movement. In any case they strive for a certain generality' (Korte 2000, 15).
30. FC, AC, Eliot to Caetani, 10 August, 1950.
31. FC, AC, Lehmann to Caetani, 8 February, 1951: 'You will have realised from my telegram that *The New Italian Writers* had a good send off, with the specially excellent reviews by Edwin Muir in *The Observer* and Margaret Bottrall in *The New Statesman*'.
32. English translation: *The Commander Comes to Dine*, London, John Lehmann, 1952.
33. FC, AC, Lehmann to Caetani, 9 March, 1951.
34. FC, AC, Hamilton to Caetani, 14 February, 1952.

https://doi.org/10.1017/mit.2016.7 Published online by Cambridge University Press

35. FC, AC, Hamilton to Caetani, 1 October, 1953.
36. FC, AC, Hamilton to Caetani 1 February, 1954.
37. *The Spectator*, 22.1.1954: '*Botteghe Oscure* presents its usual mixture of the rather good and the quite unspeakable. In the English section there is a masque by Auden and Kallman, a good deal of Lallans (of course of Scotland) and a pleasant prose piece by Robert Graves. Among the French writers present is André Malraux on *Le Pays d'Origine*, a novel translated from the Dutch, of which an extract is also given. However, and by large, I am afraid the noes have it over the ayes in the present number'.
38. FC, AC, Roger Straus to George DeKay, 17 February, 1953.
39. FC, AC, Eliot to Caetani, 3 November, 1954.
40. See Ferretti 2007 where he speaks of 'capitalist reorganisation of the Italian publishing industry' (61).
41. Fondazione Arnoldo e Alberto Mondadori, ALI archive, Eugene Walter to Erich Linder, handwritten letter, 27 January, 1958.

References

Antonello, A. 2015. "Una principessa editrice e un editore distributore per *Botteghe Oscure*". *The Italianist* 35 (1): 139–156.

Bassani, G. 1960. "Congedo". *Botteghe Oscure* no. XV:434–439.

Bassani, G., and M. Caetani 2011. *Sarà un bellissimo numero: carteggio, 1948–1959*, edited by M. Tortora. Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura.

Brooker, P., A Thacker, S. Bru, and C.n Weikop (eds.). 2009. *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cadioli, A., E. Decleva, and V. Spinazzola 1999. *La mediazione editoriale*. Milan: Il saggiatore-Fondazione Arnoldo e Alberto Mondadori.

Caetani, M. 1999. *La rivista Botteghe oscure e Marguerite Caetani: la corrispondenza con gli autori italiani, 1948–1960, Studi e documenti d'archivio*, edited by S. Valli. Rome: Erma di Bretschneider.

Cesana, R. 2010. *"Libri necessari". Le edizioni letterarie Feltrinelli (1955–1965)*. Milan: Feltrinelli.

Christensen, L. 1997. "A Reading of Elizabeth Bowen's 'A Day in the Dark'". *Irish University Review* 27 (2): 199–209.

Ferretti, G. C. 2007. *Storia dell'editoria letteraria in Italia 1945–2003*. Turin: Einaudi.

Ferretti, G.C., and S. Guerriero 2011. *Giorgio Bassani, editore letterato*. San Cesario di Lecce: Manni.

Guerriero, S. 2011. "Le letterature straniere dei classici moderni". *In Ferretti* 2011:81–120.

Hayles, K. 2005. *My Mother was a Computer: Digital Subjects and Literary Texts*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Knowlson, J. 1996. *Damned to Fame: the Life of Samuel Beckett*. London: Bloomsbury.

Korte, B. 2000. "Flowers for Picking. Anthologies of Poetry in (British) Literary and Cultural Studies". In *Anthologies of British Poetry. Critical Perspectives from Literary and Cultural Studies*, edited by B. Korte, R. Schneider, and S. Lethbridge, 1–32. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Latham, S. 2013. "Affordance and Emergence. Magazine as New Media". Paper to MLA Convention, Boston, 2013.

Melchiori, G. 1955. "Poesia inglese contemporanea". *Lo spettatore italiano* 8 (3): 101.

Milani, A. 2012. "Giorgio Bassani critico di autori stranieri: 'nessuna risposta all'attuale crisi del romanzo europeo'". In Tortora 2012, 63–80. Murphy, J. S. 2014. "Introduction: Visualizing Periodical Networks". *The Journal of Modern Periodical Studies* 5 (1): iii–xv.

Pautasso, S., and P. Giovannetti, (eds.). 2004. *L'antologia, forma letteraria del Novecento*. Lecce: Pensa.

Rabaté, E. 2012. *La Revue Commerce. L'ésprit «classique moderne» (1924–1932)*. Paris: Garnier.

Re, L. 1992. "(De)Constructing the Canon: The Agony of Anthologies on the Scene of Modern Italian Poetry". *The Modern Language Review* 87.3:585–603.

Risset, J. 2007. "Un'internazionale di spiriti liberi. Marguerite Caetani e gli scrittori francesi di Botteghe Oscure". *In Risset, Santone and Tamassia* 2007:xi–xxvii.

https://doi.org/10.1017/mit.2016.7 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Risset, J. L. Santone, and P. Tamassia, (eds). 2007. *La rivista Botteghe Oscure e Marguerite Caetani: la corrispondenza con gli autori stranieri, 1948–1960*, Pubblicazioni della Fondazione Camillo Caetani Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider: Fondazione Camillo Caetani.

Sullam, S. 2010. "Berlin Transfer: Christopher Isherwood's Anglo-German Poetics". In *Transits. The Nomadic Geographies of Anglo-American Modernity*, edited by C. Patey, G. Cianci, and S. Sullam, 143–163. Oxford: Peter Lang.

Tortora, M., (ed.). 2012. *Giorgio Bassani critico, redattore, editore: atti del convegno, Roma, Fondazione Camillo Caetani, 28–29 ottobre 2010*. Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura.

Valli, S. 1999. "Introduzione". In Caetani 1999:1–72.

Italian summary

Lavorando all'intersezione tra storia letteraria e *periodical studies* il presente articolo indaga il ruolo svolto dalla rivista letteraria *Botteghe Oscure* (Roma 1948–1960) nei processi di *transfer* letterario anglo-italiano. Verrà dapprima delineata la rete britannica dei collaboratori della rivista, analizzando (e quantificando) la presenza di scrittori già affermati così come di nuovi entranti. In secondo luogo ci si soffermerà sulla pubblicazione e sulla distribuzione della rivista nel Regno Unito, così come si delinea nella corrispondenza di Marguerite Caetani (conservata presso la Fondazione Caetani di Roma) con gli editori. Ciò permetterà di interrogarsi sulla collocazione della rivista sia nel sistema letterario italiano sia in quello inglese e di illuminare così il suo ruolo come luogo di produzione culturale secondo le dinamiche proprie dei diversi contesti nazionali.

https://doi.org/10.1017/mit.2016.7 Published online by Cambridge University Press