

IN THE GARDEN OF LETTERS: MARGUERITE CAETANI AND THE
INTERNATIONAL LITERARY REVIEW “BOTTEGHE OSCURE”

Lorenzo Salvagni

A dissertation submitted to the faculty of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
Department of Romance Languages (Italian).

Chapel Hill
2013

Approved by:

Federico Luisetti (director)

Dino Cervigni

Ennio Rao

Roberto Dainotto

Amy Chambless

© 2013
Lorenzo Salvagni
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

ABSTRACT

LORENZO SALVAGNI:

In the Garden of Letters: Marguerite Caetani and the International Literary Review “Botteghe Oscure”
(Under the direction of Federico Luisetti)

This study focuses on the international, multilingual literary review *Botteghe Oscure* (1948-60), which has so far received undeservedly little attention, and its editor, the American-Italian Marguerite Chapin Caetani (1880-1963). In spite of her active role as founder and editor of two modernist anthologies, Marguerite Caetani has long been considered merely as a “lady bountiful” for the multitude of authors she supported during her forty-year career in publishing. Building on an extensive study of Caetani’s correspondence, which includes a great amount of unpublished material, my dissertation presents Marguerite Caetani as a protagonist of twentieth-century transatlantic literature and sheds light on her contribution to the formation of a new literary canon in post-war Italy.

Marguerite Chapin Caetani (1880-1963)



Fig. 1. Marguerite Caetani, ca. 1911.
Photo credit: Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES.....	vi
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	vii
Chapter	
INTRODUCTION.....	1
I. Life of Marguerite Caetani.....	29
II. <i>Commerce</i>	61
III. Main Collaborators: Eugene Walter and Giorgio Bassani.....	82
IV. <i>Botteghe Oscure</i>	109
V. Reception.....	142
VI. A Case Study: René Char.....	165
VII. Conclusion.....	185
APPENDIX A: List of Contributors to <i>Botteghe Oscure</i>	202
APPENDIX B: <i>Botteghe Oscure</i> Statistics.....	232
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	233

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Marguerite Caetani (ca. 1911).....	iv
Figure 1.1: Portrait of Marguerite Caetani by Pierre Bonnard.....	58
Figure 1.2: Portrait of Marguerite Caetani by Édouard Vuillard.....	59
Figure 1.3: Portrait of Camillo and Lelia Caetani by Édouard Vuillard.....	60
Figure 7.1: <i>La bibliotheque</i> by Édouard Vuillard.....	201

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AC	Archivio Caetani
BO	<i>Botteghe Oscure</i>
CCF	Congress for Cultural Freedom
GBP	Gene Baro Papers
JMP	Jackson Mathews Papers
KBP	Katherine Biddle Papers
NRF	<i>Nouvelle Revue Française</i>
NYT	<i>New York Times</i>
OSS	Office of Strategic Services
TLS	<i>The Times Literary Supplement</i>
TR	<i>Transatlantic Review</i>
TRP	Theodore Roethke Papers
USIA	United States Intelligence Agency
USIS	United States Information Service

INTRODUCTION

In the middle of the political turmoil that followed the collapse of the fascist regime at the end of WWII, Italian intellectuals' active engagement in the re-shaping of the country resulted in an outburst of creative energies. Their effect became evident in the great number of literary reviews that emerged in reaction to the intellectual stagnation of the fascist cultural apparatus. These publications propelled a new generation of writers and poets into notoriety. My study's goal is to retrace this unique era in Italian literary history by focusing on the international, multilingual literary review *Botteghe Oscure* (1948-60), which has so far received undeservedly little attention, and its editor, the American-Italian Marguerite Chapin Caetani.

Literary historians and critics agree on the importance of *Botteghe Oscure* in the post-war Italian cultural scene and acknowledge the fact that it published some of the most prominent literary contributions of the last century, including Dylan Thomas's *Do Not Go Gentle into That Good Night* (1952) and the first chapter of *Il Gattopardo* by Giuseppe Tomasi di Lampedusa (1958). It is rare, however, to find more than a paragraph on *Botteghe Oscure* in histories of twentieth-century Italian literature. This neglect is all the more surprising if one considers that *Botteghe Oscure* outlived most of the literary/cultural reviews and magazines that were born and died in the decade 1947-1957, including the celebrated *Aretusa* and *Il Politecnico* founded by Elio Vittorini, both of which lasted only two years. A possible explanation for this lack of attention might reside

in the fact that *Botteghe Oscure*, unlike its counterparts, never published anything but literature; it did not contribute reviews or criticism, provide any room for ideological confrontations, or offer critical reflection on the role of intellectuals that were so common in other publications.

As early as 1924, Giuseppe Sciortino, an intellectual close to Piero Gobetti, observed that Italy had entered “The Age of Criticism” (Borsellino 75). The observation lost none of its acumen in the following years; so much so that Natalino Sapegno, in analyzing the role and scope of literary criticism in the twentieth century, would observe: “La riflessione critica sui fatti artistici [. . .] acquista nel quadro della civiltà letteraria italiana del Novecento un rilievo inconsueto, una vastità e varietà di manifestazioni, un rigore metodico, quali forse non aveva conosciuto mai nei secoli precedenti [. . .]” (Sapegno 883). The abundance of criticism, overflowing from literary reviews into newspapers and even illustrated magazines, was a prominent manifestation of the tendency indicated by Sciortino and Sapegno. From *Leonardo* to *La voce*, from *Solaria* to *Letteratura*, down to the contemporaries of *Botteghe Oscure* like *Paragone* and *Officina*, the majority of highbrow periodicals dedicated ample room to dissect, analyze, praise or condemn literature past and present. Marguerite Caetani’s review, then, stands out as a remarkable exception, one that deserves further investigation precisely because of its singularity.

The absence of criticism is only one of the features that single out *Botteghe Oscure* among its counterparts. After an all-Italian first issue, the review began to expand its repertoire by including original contributions in other languages, without translations. Three to five languages were present in each issue: Italian, French, and English were the

standard fare, with the later addition of German and Spanish (starting in 1954). In his essay "Requiem for a Literary Haven," first published in 1960 in *Saturday Review* and later reprinted, slightly revised, as foreword for the *Botteghe Oscure Index* (1964), poet and Librarian of Congress Archibald MacLeish quantified the international scope of *Botteghe Oscure*: "During its twelve years the magazine published work by some 650 writers of thirty-odd nationalities, including 28 writing in Spanish (Spaniards, Mexicans, Cubans and South Americans), 39 writing in German (Germans, Austrians, Swiss), 98 writing in French (French, Belgian and Swiss) and 362 writing in English (more than half of them American and the rest British, Canadian, Australian, New Zealander) with five Filipinos, four Indians and a scattering from a dozen other countries" (MacLeish, *Requiem* 26). As MacLeish convincingly summarizes, *Botteghe Oscure* offered its readers a remarkable assortment of new international literature.

One of the promotional booklets printed for the magazine proudly announced that it stood as "a sort of United Nations of literature." Indeed, in a world increasingly divided into factions, blocks, and spheres of influence, the universalistic message sent by *Botteghe Oscure* could not pass unnoticed: the review became political without ever printing a word on politics; it became an example of the virtuous cultural exchange that took place in the free West. In reviewing *Botteghe Oscure*, several U.S. critics made this connection explicit, even if it is unlikely that Marguerite Caetani shared the propagandistic zeal of some commentators.¹ Nevertheless, a comprehensive analysis of

¹ For example, on June 2, 1957 Paul Engle writes in *The New York Times Book Review*: "We hear a great deal today about the unity of the free West. Yet in literature no university, government or foundation, with all its vast resources, does as much to realize it as one devoted lady in Rome [. . .] Far better than some official propaganda, this private publication [. . .] never argues about political matters. It offers something far stronger than argument: the finest, original poetry and fiction from the United States, England, Germany, Italy, France and Spain, all in their own languages."

the magazine must take the political aspect into consideration. Despite the journal editor's reluctance to participate in politicized national debates, I contend that *Botteghe Oscure* was ideologically just as significant as other contemporary journals; it helped strengthen that "Atlantic community of norms and values" that American officials and authors sympathetic to the cause of the Free West were actively pursuing during the cultural Cold War (Rietzler 156).² Marguerite Caetani fostered a productive exchange between European and American literatures at a time when most intellectuals deplored the growing influence of US culture in their countries. In fact, many Italian reviews contemporary of *Botteghe Oscure* were sympathetic to the ideals of the political Left or directly linked to the Italian Communist Party (PCI). At least three magazines from the latter category are worth mentioning: *Rinascita* (1944-91), founded by PCI's secretary

² The general elections held in Italy in 1948 had brought to power a group closely tied to US interests, the Christian Democratic Party (*Democrazia Cristiana*, or DC); this victory sanctioned Italy's adherence to the Atlantic block after a fierce political campaign, which directly involved the two world's emerging superpowers with covert financing and propaganda operations. In the following years, USA and URSS fought to gain the cultural upper hand in Italy and Europe by financing friendly publications, organizing lectures and conferences, and winning intellectuals and artists to their side. The first CIA-sponsored Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF) took place in 1950 in West Berlin; it was a response to a similar event backed by the Cominform in New York one year earlier under the name "Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace." After the Berlin conference the CCF became a permanent structure based in Paris, with branches in most European countries. The CCF financed the Italian Association for Cultural Freedom (Associazione per la libertà della cultura, 1951). The first reports from CCF operatives trying to rally support for the organization in Italy spoke of "provincialism and anti-Americanism" of the Italian intellectuals. In order to obtain results, the agents wrote in their report, it would be necessary to proceed slowly and discreetly (Saunders 102). The CCF gained an early supporter in Ignazio Silone, who joined the executive committee of the organization. Together with Nicola Chiaromonte, Silone started the review *Tempo Presente* (1956-68). A founding member of the Italian Communist Party in 1921, Silone later distanced himself from the leadership of Palmiro Togliatti and was expelled from the Party. He regularly attended the receptions hosted by Marguerite and her husband, prince Roffredo Caetani, at their Roman residence. Marguerite's brother-in-law, Francis Biddle, was also a member of the American Committee for Cultural Freedom, affiliated with the CCF. In the fall of 1945 Francis Biddle visited Roffredo and Marguerite in Rome for a few days, on a break from his duties as US judge at Nuremberg. Marguerite arranged a series of meetings for her brother-in-law including a lunch with Ignazio Silone, who had recently returned from exile. While publicly tied to the socialists (he was director of the historical socialist newspaper *Avanti!* in Rome), Silone was cooperating with the US Office of Strategic Services (OSS). To Biddle he expressed his hope that America would save Italy and the world from Communism. Biddle recounted his conversation with Silone in his memoir *In Brief Authority*: "Italians had learned, he [Silone] said, that Russians will never co-operate. They always destroyed, as the French had learned before the war, and we would all learn in time" (Biddle 392).

Palmiro Togliatti, which published the first *Lettere dal carcere* by Antonio Gramsci instrumental in shaping the development of militant criticism in Italy; the new series of *Società* (1945-61), which called for the reconstruction of Italian society along Marxist lines. Finally, Elio Vittorini's *Il Politecnico* (1945-47), which, subject to an increasing ideological pressure by party officials, led to a widely publicized feud between Vittorini and Togliatti.

In this context, Marguerite Caetani's efforts to promote Italian authors in the States and vice versa carried great political significance. For two years (1949-50), the Italian translation of English literature printed in *Botteghe Oscure* was issued in separate booklets by the title *Poeti inglesi e americani*. At the same time Marguerite Caetani edited an anthology of *Botteghe*'s Italian contributors for the British and American markets. The anthology, entitled *New Italian Writers*, was received favorably and opened the way to a wider circulation of contemporary Italian literature in both countries. Not only did Marguerite Caetani connect Italian authors to American and British publishers like Blanche Knopf and Jamie Hamilton, she also introduced the poetry of René Char to the American audience by promoting the publication of his first full-length anthology, *Hypnos Waking*, with Random House in 1956. Because of these and other editorial projects connected with *Botteghe Oscure*, which I will examine in the following chapters, Marguerite Caetani can be considered an important cultural mediator between her native country and Europe. She inspired other editors to follow her example, notably Joseph McCrindle, editor of the *Transatlantic Review* (1959-77).

This study will stress the importance of *Botteghe Oscure* for the creation of a transatlantic literary community, but it will also define the review's contribution to the

formation of a new literary canon in post-WWII Italy. Chief editor Giorgio Bassani looked beyond the dominant cultural trends of hermeticism and neorealism to include in *Botteghe Oscure* works that eschewed categorization like Guglielmo Petroni's novel *Il mondo è una prigione*, which features a tormented and doubt-ridden main character attempting to reconnect with a changed world in the wake of his imprisonment. This short novel challenged the clear-cut ideological reading common to other strands of post-war narrative; it appeared in the first issue of the magazine and obtained a number of flattering reviews in the press. It is thanks to *Botteghe Oscure* that Petroni's name started circulating in the literary world after years of silence; three more of his works were printed on *Botteghe Oscure* in the following years, establishing his reputation as novelist in Italy and abroad. One of *Botteghe Oscure*'s most important literary scoops, however, was the publication in the spring 1958 of the first chapter of *Il Gattopardo* by Tomasi di Lampedusa, almost one year after the author's death. Elena Croce delivered the manuscript to Bassani, who published the novel with Feltrinelli in the fall of the same year. The novel's pessimistic representation of the changes brought about by the *Risorgimento* in Southern Italy led to a mixed reception by the critics, who accused the book of being outdated and even reactionary. The examples of *Il mondo è una prigione* and *Il Gattopardo* show how *Botteghe Oscure* could challenge established cultural trends by introducing to the public authors who had been marginalized because of their unorthodox views.

The nature and purpose of *Botteghe Oscure* escaped many commentators, not only Italian ones. Its unusual format and remarkable size (over four hundred pages, with peaks of six hundred) made it hard to classify; it was defined "The biggest little magazine

of all time” in a 1957 article appeared on *Time* magazine (“Botteghe Oscure”). The label of “little magazine,” however, applies to *Botteghe Oscure* only in a very general sense; the journal did not appeal to any specific group of readers, never expressed a spirit of revolt, and – last but not least – was bigger than most books. Several formats coexisted in *Botteghe Oscure* – little magazine, luxury review, pocket book – which, combined with the absence of editorial statements, made any comparison with other periodicals rather difficult. A 1949 promotional brochure associated *Botteghe Oscure* with a number of periodicals that appeared in the U.K. after WWII: *New Writing and Daylight*, *Penguin New Writing*, *New Road*, and *Modern Reading*. According to the anonymous writer (probably John Lehmann, British publisher and close friend of Marguerite Caetani), all these magazines shared with *Botteghe Oscure* the desire to nurture a dialogue between literatures of different countries, in order to “re-establish contact on the spiritual and artistic plane, which is ultimately the only one capable of overcoming the barriers of nationalism and of antagonistic points of view.” In the last paragraph the author pens a programmatic statement that undoubtedly met with Marguerite Caetani’s approval, and is therefore of great interest for the purpose of this study:

To set the literature of all countries on an equal footing; to discover the best fruits which each literature is able to yield; to collect the younger and less known writers beside those who have already won a wide recognition, thus gauging the spiritual vitality of the different countries; to convey, as reflected in art, the most interesting problems of the various peoples; to harmonize many and different ways of life into the supreme way of being of poetical creation, so that knowledge and information may be obtained by making known first-rate work of varying tendencies – these are the aims of this new periodical, the only of its kind at present in Italy³

³ Written in English and printed in Rome, similar brochures were periodically made to advertise the latest number of *Botteghe Oscure* on the American market. They were sent to a mailing list that included editors, journalists, bookstores, and libraries all over the country.

The last point in the above passage suggests that Marguerite Caetani and the editors of *Botteghe Oscure*, in line with the modernist ethos, considered literature as a “supreme and irreplaceable form of understanding” (Bell 29) and each text as a self-sufficient entity that needed no further explanation.⁴ In this sense, *Botteghe Oscure* resembled interventionist anthologies like Pound’s *Des Imagistes* (1914) more than its contemporary counterparts. Instead of carrying the message of a distinct poetic current, however, Marguerite Caetani’s journal aimed to include “the best fruits that each literature is able to yield,” leaving open the question of how to determine which “fruits” were to be picked.

Marguerite’s idealistic interpretation of art, combined with her privileged social status, left her vulnerable to allegations of elitism and loftiness. Moreover, while the multi-lingual and cosmopolitan *Botteghe Oscure* did connect literary traditions, artists, and readers and exposed new work to an ever-increasing international readership, Marguerite’s central role in both the financing and editing of the review was not without criticism. A 1955 review of the *Times Literary Supplement*, besides positive remarks, deemed her publication “swollen with spoil” as it “loom[ed] strangely on the English literary scene”; another critic compared the review to “a literary jumble sale” (“Field for Experiment” 1955, Potts 1957). Such criticism was determined by the heterogeneous content of the review, which alternated masterpieces and works of dubious literary

⁴ It may seem paradoxical, but such views were similar to those expressed by New Critics like poets Allen Tate and Robert P. Warren, both of whom befriended Marguerite and published in *Botteghe Oscure*. The New Criticism became a useful tool in the Cultural Cold War since it seemed to justify neutral readings of politically unorthodox texts.

quality; but it also revealed a looming attitude toward Marguerite, who was often seen by her critics as a “lady bountiful” with an oversized checkbook and highbrow pretenses. Other women editors of the modernist age have suffered the same fate, their achievements debased or ignored altogether; only in recent years studies have appeared that call into question the validity of assumptions based on social attitudes and prescribed roles.⁵

Editorial Philosophy

An enduring connection to aesthetic principles associated with literary modernism informed Marguerite’s editorial philosophy. I have already mentioned her ideas concerning the autonomy of art and her cosmopolitanism, which led her to envision an ideal of global literature that would overcome nationalism and nihilism. In addition, in assembling the list of works present in each number of *Botteghe Oscure* she followed two main criteria, *novelty* and *quality*. It was paramount that each work included in the final selection should be unpublished and not reprinted for at least six months after its

⁵ In *Women Editing Modernism*, Jayne Marek shows how a biased historiography has systematically abated or erased altogether the role of women editors in the diffusion of modernist literature. “No compelling argument upholds such exclusion,” Marek observes: “Any assessment of the nature of modernism that aims to provide a sufficient overview [. . .] must address how women’s writing, criticism, and publishing affected literary history” (5). In this work I intend to address the issue Marek raises by focusing on several female protagonists of literary modernism who resided in Paris during the interwar period, and were part of the Franco-American community in which Marguerite also played an important role. Adrienne Monnier and Sylvia Beach were among the first women to own and run bookstores in France; life-long friends and partners, they operated “La Maison des Amis des Livres” and “Shakespeare and Company,” both on Rue de l’Odeon, on the Left Bank of the Seine. Monnier helped Marguerite to start her first literary magazine, *Commerce*; published in Paris from 1924 to 1932, *Commerce* contributed to the diffusion of English Modernist literature in France, publishing translations from authors like Joyce, Woolf, and Faulkner. Sylvia Beach is justly famous today for having published Joyce’s *Ulysses* (1922); it is less known that Marguerite and Monnier took charge of the novel’s first French translation, an excerpt of which appeared on the first number of *Commerce* (1924). In 1926 Marguerite obtained from Virginia Woolf permission to publish the second part of *To the Lighthouse*, one year before the novel was printed in England. “Time Passes” appeared on the tenth issue of the review, translated by Charles Mauron, with the title “Temps Passes.”

appearance in *Botteghe Oscure*. This policy was strictly enforced by Marguerite, and revealed a desire to claim exclusive rights on a text that would be “exhibited” not unlike a painting or a statue in an art gallery. Being an intrinsically subjective category, *quality* referred to Marguerite’s ability to evaluate the literary merits of a text; she reserved the right to include or exclude works from her collection, and to assemble them in the arrangement she saw fit.

Marguerite’s interest in both art collecting and editing helps to understand the notion of *value* she applied to aesthetic objects, be they paintings, sculptures, or texts.⁶ Her intense activity of collecting and commissioning artwork, both in France and Italy, deeply influenced her ideas on artistic creation and fruition. Applying the same principles to her editorial work, she interpreted her reviews – *Commerce* in Paris and *Botteghe Oscure* in Rome – as itinerant collections that carried an institutional purpose, i.e., to instill in her readers a modern and transnational artistic sensibility. In this sense, both periodicals can be considered as “provisional institutions,” a theoretical category used by author Jeremy Braddock in his book *Collecting as Modernist Practice* to indicate art collections and anthologies that embodied “a mode of public engagement modeling future [...] relationships between audience and artwork” (3). Braddock observes that a “collecting aesthetic” informs both the *form* of modernist art (e.g., works that are similar to collections for their structural use of citations and quotations: Eliot’s *The Waste Land*, Joyce’s *Ulysses*, Pound’s *Cantos* etc.) and the collecting *practices* associated with

⁶ The collection’s value transcends that of its components; moreover, the curator’s assemblage shows previously concealed affinities, and it can suggest alternative ways to interpret the author’s intentions. This form of active mediation became increasingly common in the modernist period; it responded to a perceived crisis in the system of values that regulated the fruition of art.

modernism, which aimed not only to represent but also to interpret the movement's call for social and cultural intervention.

The selection of certain works, the order and the context in which they are displayed, are all aspects of mediation between art and its audience. In the case of modernist art, the lack of a codified canon and the loosening of formal constraints meant that mediators – private collectors, editors of anthologies – used their individual sensibility to assemble innovative, sometimes idiosyncratic collections, which often challenged the views expressed in official institutions like public museums and academies. “Authored” collections became particularly influential in countries, like the United States, where the institutional dimension was far less developed and pervasive than in Europe; as Braddock observes, many American museums had not even been built in the 1920s, when modernism was at its heyday.

Braddock identifies the modernist anthology as the form of literary collection that most successfully contributed to the formation of new literary canons; the long-term influence of little magazines was comparatively weaker, mostly because their disruptive charge tended to exhaust itself rather quickly, whereas anthologies had a longer shelf life and were considered as dependable sources for years after their publication. Still, Braddock stresses the fact that, in some cases, editors did not perceive little magazines and anthologies as separate entities; they used those terms in an interchangeable manner when describing “hybrid” periodicals such as Margaret Anderson's *Little Review* or Amy Lowell's *Some Imagist Poets*.

Building on Braddock's insight concerning the aesthetics of collecting, I wish to consider *Commerce* and *Botteghe Oscure* as collections of texts assembled according to

Marguerite's idea of "quality" and meant to influence the formation of a new literary canon, transnational and multilingual, in both Europe and the U.S.A. Despite the important role played by her collaborators, Marguerite retained control on the reviews' content and demonstrated her unwavering commitment to preserve their artistic purity; hence the vetoes to any kind of criticism, advertisement, and the refusal to compromise quality for the sake of longevity when *Botteghe Oscure* ran into serious financial difficulties.

In order to better understand the context in which Marguerite's second review appeared, the next section of this introduction consists of a brief survey of literary reviews in twentieth century Italy. As a reference I used two essays written by Elisabetta Mondello and published in Borsellino and Pedullà's *Storia generale della letteratura italiana* (2004).

The fragmented and politically unstable nature of Italian society has always fostered the emergence of numerous groups and currents among its intellectuals. A unique set of geopolitical factors has hindered the acceptance and the diffusion of artistic and literary trends on a national scale. Whether to accept relatively homogenous, transnational cultural movements like Romanticism, Symbolism, or Modernism has always been a matter of heated debate for Italian intellectuals. These trends spread in Italy with considerable delay, when they were not rejected altogether. The country's political unification in the second half of the nineteenth century did not significantly alter the situation, although it advanced the diffusion of an authoritative school of literary criticism inspired by Francesco De Sanctis. The turn of the century brought about an impeachment of positivism in favor of a rediscovery of the individual, the unknown, the

irrational or the meta-rational. In Italy, the work of Neo-idealist philosopher and critic Benedetto Croce turned into the paradigm that would shape forty years of literary criticism and polarize the views of a new generation of writers, who took stance in favor or against Croce's ideas. From the tables of literary cafes the debate moved to newly founded reviews: *Il Leonardo*, *Il Regno*, *Hermes*, and Croce's own *La Critica* all started in 1903-04. For the first time, their animators called themselves *intellettuali* (intellectuals) rather than *letterati* (men of letters), and aspired to a broader involvement in social and political issues. Enthused over philosophical currents like idealism, vitalism, and aestheticism, these young minds ushered in the age of militant criticism.

A second wave of reviews started in 1908 when Giovanni Papini and Giuseppe Prezzolini published *La Voce*. The ecumenical reach and formative mission of the magazine were clearly stated by Prezzolini in the first issue: "Ci si propone qui di trattare tutte le questioni pratiche che hanno riflessi nel mondo intellettuale e religioso e artistico; di reagire alla retorica degli italiani obbligandoli a veder da vicino la realtà sociale; di educarci a risolvere le piccole questioni e i piccoli problemi, per trovarci più preparati un giorno a quelle grandi; di migliorare il terreno dove deve vivere e fiorire la vita dello spirito" (33). *La Voce* had a troubled existence and frequent changes of direction due to the different opinions expressed by its editors on issues like Italy's military interventions in Lybia (1911) and in WWI. In the meantime, the rapid spread of the futurist movement was transforming the way literary reviews were perceived and experienced. The futurists made large use of pamphlets, booklets, and magazines to further their ideas among the largest possible audience. From being an incentive to foster critical reflection and public discussion, the review became a tool of self-promotion and used aggressive marketing

strategies. The founder of the Futurist movement, Filippo Tommaso Marinetti, started three magazines (*Poesia*, *Roma Futurista*, and *Il Futurismo*) and inspired the creation of many others.

In the years following the war, Rome replaced Florence as the hub of highbrow editorial activity. A committee of seven members started *La Ronda* (1919-23), a review that marked a decisive break from the inclusive approach of previous periodicals. Its editors intended to abstain from any form of extra-literary “engagement” and to refuse the futuristic lures in the name of a renewed bond between classicism and modernity, symbolically represented by Alessandro Manzoni and Giacomo Leopardi. This proud detachment from politics for the sake of a higher literary ideal would prove inadequate when confronted with the rise of fascism.

A strong opposition to Mussolini’s liberticidal power came from Piero Gobetti’s *Il Baretto* (1924-28), a periodical of militant culture based in Turin. Gobetti had founded a small but prolific publishing house and directed two other reviews, *Energie Nove* and *La Rivoluzione Liberale*, both openly political in nature. Inspired by Prezzolini and close to Antonio Gramsci, Gobetti started *Il Baretto* to counter the mix of provincialism and populism set forth by the fascists; he aimed to expand the cultural horizons of its readers through a healthy dose of European literature. The magazine published numerous translations and critical essays on foreign authors. Gobetti understood that fascism drew consensus from the parochial mentality widespread among all social classes, and attempted to correct this attitude through his publications. His death in 1926, a consequence of physical abuse sustained at the hands of fascist goons, prevented Gobetti from setting up another publishing venture in Paris.

As the fascist grip on power intensified, Italian intellectuals split into opposite factions, pro and against the regime. The bitter feud between *Strapaese* and *Stracittà* represented two irreconcilable visions of literature, one provincial and organic to the regime, the other cosmopolitan and modernist. The battle was fought on the pages of two magazines, both established in 1926: *Il Selvaggio*, directed by Mino Maccari, and *900*, guided by Massimo Bontempelli and Curzio Malaparte (the latter switched sides one year later). The writers of *Il Selvaggio* claimed for themselves the role of guardians of national values and traditions against any foreign influence. They set out to defend the myth of a rural, pure, and archaic society, a model that was remarkably similar to the one proposed by the Southern Agrarians in the United States at approximately the same time.

Bontempelli's review came out four times a year as a 200-page volume, in French, entitled *900, Cahiers d'Italie et d'Europe*. The choice of French for a magazine published in Italy was unusual, and reflected the international reach of the magazine, whose editorial staff included Pierre McOrlan, Georg Kaiser, Ramòn Gomez de la Serna, James Joyce, and Ilya Ehrenburg; Corrado Alvaro and Nino Frank were editorial officers in Rome and Paris, respectively. *900* was an anthology of contemporary writings on various topics: fashion, sport, linguistic, entertainment, with a focus on music, architecture, and literature. It shunned literary criticism and aimed instead to present an ample selection of literature from different countries and to foster dialogue with other forms of art, in what could be roughly defined as a comparative approach. In the spring of 1927 the magazine became bilingual, French and Italian. In July 1928, after an interruption of several months, *900* resumed publication as a monthly magazine but – under increasing pressure from the authorities – lost the French language section and

became known as *Quaderni d'Italia e d'Europa*. Bontempelli aimed to establish an intellectual exchange between Italy and the rest of Europe in order to counter the provincialism of the *Strapaese* movement, which was inspired by principles of nationalism and autarchy in full synch with the fascist government. The cultural movement inspired by *900* was strongly criticized and ironically named *Stracittà* mocking its cosmopolitanism.

For its international scope, extensive network of collaborators, and for its focus on literature rather than literary criticism, *900* can be considered among the precursors of *Botteghe Oscure*, but the journal that most resembled Marguerite's concept was Alberto Carocci's *Solaria*, established in Florence in 1926. Some of its collaborators had worked at *Il Baretto* (1924-28), the literary supplement to Piero Gobetti's second review *La Rivoluzione liberale*. Like Gobetti, Carocci believed that Italy should embrace the culture and literature of other countries in order to renew its own; more specifically, *Solaria* documented the evolution of the novel in authors like Proust, Mann, Joyce, Woolf, Kafka, Gide, Hemingway, and Faulkner. The Italians were represented by Pirandello, Italo Svevo, and Federigo Tozzi for the prose; Eugenio Montale, Giuseppe Ungaretti, and Umberto Saba for the poetry. The review was also instrumental in developing a modern literary criticism through the publication of a series of critical essays by Giacomo Debenedetti, Sergio Solmi, Renato Poggioli, and others. Like many other magazines of its era, *Solaria* too was forced to close down in the mid-Thirties because of the censorship exerted by the fascist authorities. It passed the baton on to other reviews like *Letteratura*, *Campo di Marte*, and *Il Frontespizio*, which kept alive the communication with European literature and continued to host contributions by Hermetic poets.

Another forerunner of *Botteghe Oscure*, *Letteratura*'s first series ran for ten years, from 1937 to 1947; it was a quarterly publication based in Florence and directed by Alessandro Bonsanti, previously co-director of *Solaria*. It countered the provincialism of Italian culture by opening up to European literature; critics like Giuseppe De Robertis, Gianfranco Contini, and Carlo Bo published important essays on the latest literary production from abroad. Among the most notable collaborators of the review were Carlo Emilio Gadda, Elio Vittorini, Eugenio Montale, Salvatore Quasimodo, Umberto Saba, Tommaso Landolfi, Sandro Penna, Mario Luzi. *Campo di Marte* was a short-lived review (only one year, from 1938 to 1939) directed by Enrico Vallecchi, Alfonso Gatto, and Vasco Pratolini, but represented a brave experience of cultural dissent and published important essays on the relationship between literature and society.

Don Giuseppe De Luca, older brother of *Botteghe Oscure* printer Luigi De Luca, was an important contributor and animator of the Catholic literary magazine *Frontespizio*, published in Florence between 1929 and 1940. Thanks to its ties with the Church, *Frontespizio* was able to maintain a relative autonomy within the Fascist cultural apparatus. Two distinct editorial philosophies were represented in the review over the years: the first, conservative and Catholic, was embodied by Tuscan intellectuals such as Ardengo Soffici, Giovanni Papini, Domenico Giuliotti and Piero Bargellini; the second consisted of a new generation of authors and literary critics like Carlo Bo, Mario Luzi and Oreste Macrì, more receptive to influences coming from other countries and eager to project their writings on a national and European scale. The clash of these two currents eventually caused a schism within the magazine; the youngest faction migrated to other reviews like *Letteratura*, *Campo di Marte*, and *Corrente*. The *casus belli* was Carlo Bo's

essay entitled *Letteratura come vita*, published in 1938, in which the author advocates his idea of literature as instrument of self-knowledge, tightly connected with life itself and therefore irreducible to a set of pre-established rules and conventions. Bo's reflection makes explicit the principal themes that characterized the literary movement called *Ermetismo* (*Hermeticism*; the definition is Francesco Flora's): the poet's desire to find haven in an intimate space, in which to recover the sense of a verse pure and essential, free from the myths spread by Romanticism and Positivism; stylistically, the movement was characterized by the rejection of fixed forms and punctuation in favor of free-flowing verse and a heavy use of analogies, according to a model set by Ungaretti's collection *Sentimento del Tempo* (1933).

Some of *Il Frontespizio*'s "exiles" migrated to *Corrente* (1938-40), a little review that came out twice a month in Milan, founded by the seventeen-year old Ernesto Treccani, son of the publisher of the famous encyclopedia. During its two-year tenure, *Corrente di Vita giovanile* (the original title) dealt with literature, art, and politics; within the obvious limitations imposed by State censorship, the review hosted a number of contributions by anti-fascist intellectuals including works by martyrs of the Spanish Civil War like Garcia Lorca and Antonio Machado. Several issues of *Corrente* were dedicated to new Italian poets and featured a great number of works belonging to the Hermetic movement. Besides the review, *Corrente* was a cultural movement that included a group of painters (like Treccani) determined to pursue an innovative aesthetic ideal that looked beyond state-sponsored Neoclassicism and the abstract irrationalism typical of the Surrealists. They set up several art exhibits showing works by notable painters such as

Carlo Carrà, Giacomo Manzù, and Domenico Cantatore. These events were followed by roundtables attended, among others, by Renato Birolli, Renato Guttuso, and Aligi Sassu.

Corrente was also influential in the “rediscovery” of important composers like Bartók, Hindemith, Casella, Malipiero, and Schoenberg; furthermore, future film directors Alberto Lattuada and Luigi Comencini published in *Corrente* their reflections on cinematography that would later influence the development of Neorealism. The youthful enthusiasm of *Corrente*’s founder and director, eclecticism (which would become a staple of post-WWII magazines), and a desire to evade the narrow mentality of the dominant culture were the traits that attracted writers, moviemakers, painters, musicologists, and intellectuals in general to the review. They were also the reason why Mussolini decided to suppress it on June 10th 1940, the same day Italy went to war. *Corrente* continued its activities as a clandestine movement, publishing works by Salvatore Quasimodo, Vittorio Sereni, and Alberto Lattuada.

The number and variety of literary reviews that rose and fell in the first months of freedom after WWII testifies to a mercurial situation. In France, Jean-Paul Sartre had been the first to call for an *engagement* of the intellectual in the social, cultural, and political life of his time; at the same time, many hoped for a broader involvement of the masses. In Italy, the creation of a great number of publications dedicated to politics, literature, art, and society in general shaped the first stage of the post-WWII “literary renaissance.” In every public discussion that took place on these magazines, the main issue to be tackled concerned the role of intellectuals during and after the fascist regime. The debate was articulated around several questions: why were most intellectuals unable or unwilling to condemn the regime through their work? What must intellectuals do in

order to avoid repeating the same errors? To what extent should they take a stand in political matters? How can they contribute to shape a “new culture” in society?

Most publications dealt with such complex topics by adopting an interdisciplinary, eclectic approach; editors felt they had to avoid the traditional separation of literature and life, and freely juxtaposed writings about art, politics, philosophy, criticism, and social sciences. In the first issue of his *Quaderni della Critica* (1945), however, Benedetto Croce raised his authoritative voice against such “promiscuous” attitude, claiming that literary magazines should refrain from politics and economics. There should be only one clear partition between those publications who specialize in a certain area (mathematics, natural sciences, medicine, law, philology, glottology etc.) and those who instead adopt a more general approach to culture, and should therefore be concerned with literary history and criticism, historiography, and philosophy (111-12). Croce’s stance provoked a fierce reaction especially among intellectuals close to the political left. Many attacked the philosopher by questioning his credibility: his anti-fascism was too bland, they claimed, and could not effectively counter the regime’s agenda; how could he defend methods that proved to be so inefficient in countering the spread of fascist ideology? The diffusion of Antonio Gramsci’s writings from prison dealt a further blow to Croce’s position.⁷

⁷ Palmiro Togliatti supervised the publication of Gramsci’s notebooks in separate volumes from 1948 to 1951. Gramsci came to be considered as the anti-Croce. His appeal for a national-popular literature seemed to endorse the Neorealist movement, while hermetic poets were criticized for having retreated in their own world instead of confronting the systematic manipulation of words and ideas by the fascist propaganda. The culture-crunching machine of the dictatorship had successfully muffled all dissenting voices, relegating them to the rarefied atmosphere of “high poetry,” a genre less vulnerable to political pressures, where the main themes related to absence, isolation, separation between intellectuals and society, precisely the same elements that were now stigmatized by the “new culture.”

One of the first literary reviews of post-WWII Italy was *Aretusa*, published in Naples in 1944, directed by Francesco Flora with the collaboration of Elena Croce. This self-proclaimed “first creature of liberated Italy” promoted the study of the relationship between literature, politics, and society; it urged intellectuals to coordinate their efforts in order to restore Italy’s role as bearer of civilization, a role betrayed during the fascist regime. Palmiro Togliatti’s *Rinascita*, also founded in Naples in 1944, attempted a critical evaluation of fascist culture from a politically oriented perspective: the review was an instrument of the Italian Communist Party (PCI) and the first to publish Gramsci’s *Lettere dal carcere* (*Letters from Prison*). Published in Florence, *Società* was also directed by a group of Communist intellectuals concerned with getting past Croce’s idealist philosophy by elaborating a new theoretical approach.

One of the most influential among the first wave of post-WWII literary reviews was Elio Vittorini’s *Il Politecnico* (1945-47). Vittorini’s review hosted contributions on multiple areas of knowledge and soon engaged in a critical reflection on the role of intellectuals. Vittorini defended the autonomy of culture from political interferences in a long polemical exchange with PCI Secretary Palmiro Togliatti. *Poesia* (1945-47), directed by Enrico Falqui, was not as influenced by politics as other reviews of the same period. Its main objective was to offer a selection of the best literature available at the time, together with critical and theoretical writings, translations, and periodical updates on other European literatures. Other reviews untouched by extra-literary debates were *Lettere*, a short-lived publication based in Rome that published almost exclusively poetry and prose, and *La strada*, which rejected the eclecticism typical of other magazines but was equally skeptical toward an ideal of “pure” poetry.

The year in which *Botteghe Oscure* started its publication, 1948, witnessed the emergence of a second wave of literary magazines that are not easily classifiable according to one specific feature, like the programmatic eclecticism of the previous four years. The 1950s were characterized by a reaction against Neorealism, especially in reviews like *Officina* (established in Bologna in 1955) made by young and talented intellectuals like Pier Paolo Pasolini, Francesco Leonetti, and Roberto Roversi, later joined by Angelo Romanò, Gianni Scalia, and Franco Fortini. Equally detached from the hermetic poets as from the Neorealist movement, they invoked a new kind of poetry that showed more attention toward the issues deriving from the rapid transformation of Italian society. Differences within the team of *Officina* eventually caused it to disband; Pasolini joined *Nuovi Argomenti*, Fortini and Scalia collaborated with *Ragionamenti*, Roversi founded *Rendiconti*, and Leonetti went to *Il Menabò*.

The second half of the 1950s saw the diffusion of neo-avantgarde literature in reviews like *Il Menabò* and *Il Verri*. The first started in Milan in 1959 with the help of Elio Vittorini, who after *Il Politecnico* had collaborated with the influential book series *I Gettoni*. *Il Menabò* gave ample space to young and unknown authors and to foreign literature; it was instrumental in shaping the features of Italian neo-avantgarde one year before the movement held its founding convention in Palermo in 1963. The death of Vittorini in 1966 marked the end of *Il Menabò*; one last issue was published the following year to celebrate the memory of its founder. *Il Verri* was started in 1956 by Luciano Anceschi; his collaborators were poets and critics such as Sanguineti, Pagliarani, Giuliani, and Porta, who shared an ambition to overturn the traditional values of historicist idealism while avoiding the politicization of culture operated by the Left. The

intolerance for ideological dogmas resulted in a preeminence of works characterized by a high degree of linguistic and structural innovation.

The emergence of neo-avantgarde movements roughly coincided with the end of *Botteghe Oscure*'s tenure. The two events are not necessarily connected; Marguerite's health issues and the death of her trusted printer and consultant, Luigi De Luca, precipitated this negative outcome. It is also true that, by the end of the 1950s, the repertoire published in the magazine was no longer in sync with the latest literary trends. In accordance with the aesthetic sensibility of its creator, *Botteghe Oscure* remained faithful to more traditional narrative models.

The literary precursors of *Botteghe Oscure* can be found in those reviews that opened up to foreign literatures, eschewed local onslaughts, and envisioned the renewal of national cultures through a constant and constructive literary and linguistic exchange. But rarely did such features coexist in a single magazine, especially in post-WWII Italy and at the onset of Cultural Cold War. Marguerite was inspired by modernist anthologies of the interwar period (including her own *Commerce*) and chose not to directly participate in ideological debates, a position that did not keep her from taking a stance.

For all its cosmopolitanism and independence, *Botteghe Oscure* orbited around CIA-funded organizations such as the Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF); Marguerite wanted to distribute it through the United States Information Services (USIS) libraries all around the world, persuaded as she was that her review would make good propaganda as the best example of cultural freedom. *Botteghe Oscure* certainly was an example, if only from a literary point of view; Marguerite directly inspired Joseph McCrindle, founder of the *Transatlantic Review*, helped George Plimpton run his *Paris Review*, and was

consulted by countless aspiring editors. In Italy, her contribution was more elusive, but essential to de-provincialize many writers starting with Giorgio Bassani, who came to value American culture and literature thanks to his job as chief editor of *Botteghe Oscure*. Another writer to benefit from Marguerite's cultural openness was Guglielmo Petroni, whose first novel was published in the first issue of the magazine, after being refused and denounced by other editors for its supposedly lukewarm attitude toward the "new order" most intellectuals hastily proclaimed only days after the end of twenty grim years of dictatorship.

Chapters Synopsis

The first chapter of this study is a biography of Marguerite Caetani. Except for a biographical essay wrote by Helen Barolini and included in her book *Their Other Side: Six American Women and the Lure of Italy*, no account of Marguerite's remarkable life has ever been recorded.⁸ A modern, cosmopolitan woman, Marguerite had the enviable opportunity of witnessing the rise of modernism and meeting some of its protagonists, from Picasso to James Joyce, from T. S. Eliot to Stravinsky. Her privileged status and artistic sensitivity allowed her to support artists, writers, and composers through

⁸ Since Marguerite Caetani left no published work of her own, very little is known about her views on politics, arts, and life. Such views cannot even be glimpsed from the writings of her contemporaries, who barely mentioned her. Author Helen Barolini remarks that despite her remarkable literary activities, Caetani "remained curiously unremarked upon even by her close associates in their written reminiscences of those times" (198). Barolini adds that the writers who knew her would likely mention aspects of their meetings such as "a pleasant occasion, nice surroundings, good food but leave no trace of the woman in their letters, recollections, diaries and journals" (199). A wealthy American living in Paris and later in Rome, Caetani relinquished her own national ties; yet, her commitment to a pre-war France and later a fascist-governed Italy were not without ambiguities. She rebelled against conventional understanding of gender by living as a singer in France and committing herself to a demanding editing work; yet, she clearly capitalized on her class privileges. As Barolini notes, "She was generous but with that went her sense of privilege, of being entitled to demand what she wanted" (223).

commissions, donations, and finally by publishing their work in *Commerce*. She followed her husband to fascist-ruled Italy and had to deal with the growing hostility between her two countries, until the war broke out and her only male son was killed. After the conflict Marguerite promptly restarted her activity as cultural animator, fostering a productive dialogue between Italians and Anglo-Americans. Finally, with *Botteghe Oscure* she established a platform for young and unknown writers to publish their work regardless of their language, country, or political ideas.

In the second chapter I describe Marguerite's transition from art collector to literary editor in Paris in the 1920s. *Commerce* was Marguerite's contribution to the growing number of little magazines, often edited and/or financed by women, which had such a fundamental role for the diffusion of modernist literature; it gave her the possibility to enter the world of publishing as a protagonist, and to work with the best creative minds of her time. In presenting a wide selection of international literature, this publication excluded any extra-literary content, implicitly subscribing to the modernist view of literature as "supreme and irreplaceable form of understanding" (Bell 29). During the first phase of her editorial career, Caetani relied primarily on the use of translation, a tool she considered essential to the development of a global "commerce of ideas" that could counter the rise of nationalism and nihilism in Europe. To this end, she introduced her readership to the latest works produced in her native language; from Joyce's *Ulysses*, translated in French for the first time by Valery Larbaud and Auguste Morel, to Virginia Woolf's *To the Lighthouse*, published before the original was printed in England. *Commerce* represented an ambitious attempt to realize an anthology of the best

international literature that focused on the present without forgetting the past, and relied on translation to convey its intercultural message to a French-speaking audience.

The cosmopolitan and pan-historical modernism at the core of *Commerce*'s editorial philosophy satisfied the sophisticated taste of a small but influential readership; operating in a deeply transformed historical context, *Botteghe Oscure* aimed to extend its reach beyond the Atlantic to foster a productive exchange between American and European writers. Marguerite Caetani's boldest bet was abandoning the systematic use of translation in favor of a multilingual edition. Specifically targeting learning institutions such as university and public libraries, she was able to increase the magazine's circulation to over five thousand copies (versus the two thousand of *Commerce*).

The third chapter of my study presents Marguerite's two principal collaborators in *Botteghe Oscure*, chief editor Giorgio Bassani and assistant to the editor Eugene Walter. As I will show, their contribution shaped the review's identity in very different ways. Marguerite hired Bassani when he was a young and little-known poet; his role as editor of the Italian section of *Botteghe Oscure* allowed him to advance rapidly in the literary establishment. He published all but one of his *Storie Ferraresi* on Marguerite's review, and received credit for discovering Tomasi di Lampedusa's *Il Gattopardo*. Even if Walter is almost completely ignored by the extant literature on *Botteghe Oscure*, his all-encompassing role in managing the review deserves a close examination. He started working for Marguerite in Paris in the early 1950s, but she asked him to move to Rome to set up an office for *Botteghe Oscure* at Palazzo Caetani. Walter left a detailed and witty account of this experience in his memoir, *Milking the Moon*, which challenges in several aspects the "official" narrative put forth by Italian literary historians.

In the fourth chapter I examine technical details and provide statistical data concerning *Botteghe Oscure*'s format, distribution, and publication history. I took particular care in describing Marguerite's vexed relationship with editors and distributors. Her strong character and unwillingness to make compromises caused *Botteghe Oscure* to retain its prestige and authority, but it also negatively affected the review's diffusion. In the second part of the chapter I present significant examples of Marguerite's interaction with authors at different stages of their career. In this section I show how Marguerite was able to encourage and support budding and seasoned writers alike. For example, Dylan Thomas was able to establish fruitful connections in the States thanks to Marguerite's intercession, but he took advantage of her generosity and ultimately betrayed her; William Wilcox, a young student of Italian literature at Yale University, enthusiastically promoted the review among his peers and helped *Botteghe Oscure*'s subscription campaign in the States; finally, poet Theodor Roethke became a friend and confidant of Marguerite until his tragic death. By studying her correspondence with these and other authors, one is able to discern the nuances of Marguerite's editorial work. She reached out to "her" writers with the utmost trust, to the point of being naïve.

Nowhere is this tendency more evident than in Marguerite's relationship with the French poet René Char. She adored his poetry, which appears in twelve out of twenty-five issues of *Botteghe Oscure*. She used all her influence to promote Char's work in her native country. After a long search she elected a scholar of French literature, Jackson Mathews, as the "official" Char translator, and helped him produce the first anthology of Char's poetry in the U.S.A., published by Random House in 1956 with the title *Hypnos*

Waking. This volume pioneered a fertile field of “Char studies;” the compelling story behind its publication constitutes the fifth and last chapter of my dissertation.

CHAPTER I

Life of Marguerite Chapin-Caetani

Marguerite Chapin was born in 1880 from a wealthy New England family. Her father, Lindley Hoffman Chapin, started traveling in his youth; first he went to Italy, where he hoped the mild climate would improve his health condition (he was suffering from a throat ailment).⁹ He reveled in the splendor of Italian art and culture, and was so enraptured after a visit to St. Peter's Basilica, in Rome, that he decided to convert to Catholicism. Then he travelled to Paris, where he was able to master the language in a short time and adopted the French way of life.¹⁰ Here he married Leila Gibert in 1878, and shortly after moved back to the States with his wife. The Chapins lived comfortably

⁹ Detailed information on Marguerite's father can be found in the *Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography*, Volume 8 (1918), ed. By James Grant Wilson and John Fiske: "Chapin, Lindley Hoffman, capitalist, b. in Springfield, Mass., 16 Feb. 1854; d. in New York City, 25 Jan., 1896, son of Abel Dexter and Julia Irene (Clark) Chapin. His first American ancestor, Deacon Samuel Chapin, came from England with his wife, Cicely Benney, before 1642 and settled in Springfield, Mass. (...) His father was a prominent man in Springfield, and president of the Hadley Falls Bank. Mr. Chapin was educated in the schools of Springfield, and at St. Mark's and St. Paul's Schools in Southboro and Concord, N. H. Not being engaged in active business, he spent much of his early life in traveling abroad, and later became interested in the managing and improving of his country place at New London, Conn., containing sixty acres of land, which was mostly given over to a farm, specializing in intensive cultivation vegetable gardens. In this he took keen and intelligent interest, with satisfactory results. Mr. Chapin was a talented man, was fond of music, and spoke several languages – a well-bred, Christian gentleman in the highest sense of the term. He married twice: first, in November, 1877, Leila M., daughter of Frederick E. and Margaret (Reynolds) Gibert, of New York, who died in 1885; second, 14 Feb. 1888, Cornelia Garrison, daughter of Barret H. and Catherine M. (Garrison) Van Auken, of New York, and granddaughter of Commodore Cornelius Kingsland Garrison. By his first marriage he had one daughter, Marguerite Gibert, who married Roffredo Caetani, Prince of Bassiano, in 1911; by his second marriage, one son, Lindley Hoffman Paul Chapin, and two daughters, Katherine Garrison and Cornelia Van Auken Chapin, who reside with their mother in New York City."

¹⁰ The information about Lindley Chapin comes mostly from an interview his daughter Katherine (half-sister of Marguerite) gave to Mary Ann Scheuhing ("Princess Marguerite Caetani and the Review *Commerce*") in 1970.

between the family townhouse in New York City and their country residence at Goshen Point, off the coast of Waterford in Connecticut. Lindley deeply loved and cared for this property, which included a greenhouse, stables, and a chapel. This is where their daughter Marguerite was born on June 24, 1880; she was baptized in the chapel, a richly decorated building that contained notable artwork including a chalice crafted by Benvenuto Cellini.¹¹ The young Marguerite was influenced by her father's love of art and by her mother's European heritage; she read poetry, learned French, and showed an early disposition for singing, which motivated her to study Italian and German as well.

Leila Gibert Chapin died when Marguerite was only five years old; in 1888 her father entered a second marriage with Cornelia Garrison Van Auken, who bore him three more children: Katherine, Cornelia, and Paul (Lindley Hoffman Paul). Marguerite loved her stepsiblings but detested their mother; she deeply missed Leila's presence and often felt excluded from the life of the family, e.g. when they would all go to Protestant service while she alone attended mass in the Chapel with the Irish housekeepers (Barolini 187). Her half sister Katherine remembered her as "very much an older sister, someone to be proud of and to be admired for her loveliness and kindness, someone who spent time talking and reading to Cornelia and myself, although we were quite a bit younger than she was" (Scheuhing 4).

Beside her mother's premature death, Marguerite's childhood was indelibly marked by two more dramatic events: first the fire that burned down the house at Goshen

¹¹ Regarding Marguerite's year of birth most sources agree on 1880, with one important exception: *The Chapin Book of Genealogical Data*, a massive work (over 2000 pages) listing the descendants of Deacon Samuel Chapin until the 12th generation, compiled by Gilbert Warren Chapin and published in Hartford, Mass., care of The Chapin Family Association. The second volume (p. 1616) indicates that Marguerite was born one year later, in 1881.

Point; New London's daily newspaper, *The Day*, gave great emphasis to the fire on its issue of November 12, 1894. As much as he would have loved to, Lindley never had the time to rebuild his beloved home; he died in 1896 for the consequences of a badly treated hunting wound.¹² Cornelia took residence at the 37th St. townhouse in New York City with the three children and a now adolescent Marguerite, who continued her music studies, read poetry, and fulfilled a variety of social commitments. At the turn of the century she decided to leave for France, officially to refine her singing skills, but there was also the desire to break free from her stepmother. Marguerite had inherited most of her father's fortune and was eager to retrace her natural parents' life in Europe. In 1902, aged 21, Marguerite left the United States for Paris, escorted by a Canadian *dame de compagnie*.¹³ Initially she lived with her mother's relatives at 101 avenue des Champs-Élysées; later she moved with them to a flat at 44 avenue d'Iéna.

When Marguerite arrived in Paris, the city was at the peak of a scientific and artistic renaissance. This era of prosperity and optimism was later to be called "La Belle Époque;" its most distinctive symbol was the tower built for the 1889 *Exposition Universelle* by Gustave Eiffel. Visitors walked under the tower's iron arch to access the fair, which consisted of a series of pavilions representing nations and cultures from all around the world. Many "exotic" countries like Turkey, Cambodia, China, and Japan offered a brightly-colored display of ethnic art, clothing, craft, and music. Another fair was held in 1900 to celebrate the new century; it featured the latest technological

¹² Several sources report Lindley's death in 1896, with one exception: an article on *The New York Times* dated 29 October 1911 (written to announce Marguerite's wedding) refers to his passing ten years earlier, in 1901. Such a date would reduce to one year the interval between Marguerite's departure to Europe and her father's demise.

¹³ There is again a degree of uncertainty about this date. Francis Biddle and Gloria Groom report 1900; Helen Barolini and Margaret Schehuing, 1902.

advancements like movies with synchronized sound and an internal combustion engine built by Rudolf Diesel. At a time when the streets of Paris were still bristling with horse-drawn carts, Paris Métro opened its first line, adorned by iconic art-nouveau signs that soon became part of the city's extraordinary artistic heritage.

Paris offered Marguerite the spiritual nourishment she had always longed for; thanks to her curious, outgoing personality and to her financial independence, she was able to delve deep into the city's lively artistic and intellectual milieu. She became the youngest voice student of celebrated tenor Jean de Reszke. It is likely that she had heard one of his legendary performances at the Metropolitan Opera; she was also attracted by the group of artists and intellectuals that gathered at his private study-theatre, where she sometimes performed.¹⁴ Through her Gibert relatives Marguerite befriended princess Marthe Bibesco and her cousins Antoine and Emmanuel. Members of a noble Romanian family, the Bibescos enjoyed long stays in Paris where they had important connections in both the artistic and the political world. Marthe was a successful writer and shared with her cousins a passion for the arts. Antoine and his wife Elizabeth Asquith hosted a popular salon in their Quai Bourbon home; writer Marcel Proust was a frequent guest and a good friend of Antoine's. The Bibescos introduced Marguerite to many artists including painters Pierre Bonnard and Édouard Vuillard, initiators of the "Nabis" movement.¹⁵

¹⁴ Jean De Reszke was hailed as the greatest tenor of his generation. His siblings Edouard and Josephine were also professional singers. They often appeared together on stage, the two brothers especially, and their reputation was so widespread that Sir Arthur Conan Doyle put them in his Sherlock Holmes novel, "The Hound of the Baskervilles:" [Sherlock Holmes] And now, my dear Watson, we have had some weeks of severe work, and for one evening, I think, we may turn our thoughts into more pleasant channels. I have a box for 'Les Huguenots.' Have you heard the De Reszkes? Might I trouble you then to be ready in half an hour, and we can stop at Marcini's for a little dinner on the way?" (Doyle 395).

¹⁵ In both Hebrew and Arabic the word "Nabi" means prophet. Poet Henri Cazalis first used the term to identify a group of young and rebellious artists who "rejected Impressionism's emphasis on effects and concentrated on reducing the elements of a painting to an interplay of shapes and colors"

Marguerite immediately started supporting their work through purchases and commissions.

Marguerite's move to 110 Rue de l'Université (ca.1910) brought her closer to the blooming artistic community of the Left Bank, which included other American expatriates like writers Ernest Hemingway and Djuna Barnes, poet Ezra Pound, New Yorker correspondent Janet Flanner, and playwright, poet and novelist Natalie Barney. Barney held a much-celebrated salon at 20 Rue Jacob, only fifteen minutes away from Marguerite's flat. A native of Dayton, Ohio, Barney had inherited a fortune from her father and used it to establish a cultural circle and support the work of countless artists, especially women. She never concealed her bisexuality and always opposed monogamy. While she is not remembered today as a particularly talented writer, she was among the first women writers to openly address lesbianism in her work. For sixty years Barney's salon hosted readings, plays, and concerts in her two-story pavilion and adjacent garden featuring a Doric "Temple of Friendship." We know that Marguerite attended some of these events, although her puritan ethics must have kept her from appreciating Barney's boldest theatrical events, like the one in which dancer Mata Hari rode a white horse into the garden dressed as Lady Godiva. Marguerite did take part in at least two fund-raising initiatives, one promoted by Miss Barney and the other one by Ezra Pound with Barney's help, to benefit Paul Valéry and T. S. Eliot, respectively.¹⁶

(<http://www.historyofpainters.com/nabi.htm>). The term was also employed mockingly, give that most "Nabis" painters had long beards and some of them were Jews.

¹⁶ It is hard to assess the extent of Barney's influence on Marguerite's decision to sponsor *Commerce*. According to biographer W. G. Rogers, author of *Ladies Bountiful*, Miss Barney was slightly annoyed when she learned of Marguerite's involvement in the editorial business: "People who had not lifted a finger in behalf of the writer, she [Natalie Barney] charged, now began to worry about his material comfort" (58). Since Marguerite supported only painters and sculptors, Barney stated, her sudden involvement with literature seemed insincere.

It is in her Left-Bank apartment that Marguerite met Édouard Vuillard on 11 March 1910. The luncheon was also attended by prince Emmanuel Bibesco and Pierre Bonnard, who would paint a famous portrait of Marguerite sitting on a blue sofa (fig. 1.1).¹⁷ Vuillard was quite smitten with the beauty and simplicity of her American host. He recorded impressions from that first meeting in his journal: he recalls admiring the simplicity of Marguerite's apartment, "almost bare" and with "pretty delicate things" (Groom 179-80). The painter soon obtained his first commission from Mlle Chapin: a portrait that would be known with the title *Interior with a Lady and her Dog* (fig. 1.2). In his journal Vuillard expresses his satisfaction in working with Marguerite; by the end of the summer he was given a commission for a more ambitious project: a large panel, similar to the ones he had already painted for the Bibescos, to decorate the library in Marguerite's flat.

Vuillard took this opportunity very seriously and for the next five months was deeply engaged in preparatory studies for the Chapin panel. Art historian Gloria Groom hints at the possibility that the artist's interest toward Marguerite could have been more than just professional; several entries in Vuillard's journal seem to avail her hypothesis, but there is no evidence of anything beyond a cordial friendship between the two.¹⁸ Six months later the panel was ready to be installed in Marguerite's library. In *La bibliothèque* Marguerite is portrayed in a dark green dress, almost black, severely cut; the large golden buckle on her shoe, Groom comments, could be "a visual pun on her Puritan

¹⁷ An earlier portrait of Marguerite by Bonnard has disappeared, probably sold or lost as many other paintings in Marguerite's collection.

¹⁸ For example, Groom cites the following journal entry, recorded after a luncheon with Marguerite: "Diplomatic chat, Fénéon [and] a few flirtatious exchanges with Mlle Chapin" (journal, 16 December 1910)

roots" (193). She was happy with the results and commissioned Vuillard a five-panel screen called "*La Place Ventimille*"; the work was completed in the spring of 1911.

If indeed Vuillard had tender feelings toward Mlle Chapin, he must have been sorely disappointed when, that very fall, she announced her engagement to prince Roffredo Caetani. Marguerite was an attractive woman and had no shortage of gallant suitors; in New York she was sometimes referred to as "the bachelor girl" because of her display of independence in setting up home in Paris "without taking the trouble of incumbering herself with a chaperon" ("Miss Chapin to Wed an Italian Prince" 1911) True to her byname, she politely but firmly refused any serious commitments and was still single at age 31, when one night at the opera changed everything. According to one version of the story, it was prince Bibesco who introduced her to a handsome forty-year-old composer, Roffredo Caetani, a prince in his own right as well as scion of one of Rome's most illustrious families. In a different rendering of the same story, it was prince Caetani who saw Marguerite from afar, still at the opera house, and immediately resolved to marry her. In both accounts the only constants are the opera and the fact that the couple fell in love within minutes.

They married in London that same year, 1911; news of the wedding can be found on all major newspapers in both New York and Paris. The day before the ceremony, October 29, the *New York Times* titled "Miss Chapin Becomes a Princess Tomorrow in London," sporting a full-page picture of the bride-to-be. The article pronounced that the ceremony was "of international interest," and that Miss Chapin's name would soon join the list of "American heiresses who have assumed the title of Princess through marriage with European nobility." The article presents Roffredo as "Prince of Bassanio [sic]" and

goes on to describe the Caetani family's millenarian history ("Miss Chapin Becomes a Princess" X4). The ceremony took place in the Royal Spanish Chapel at St. James' Palace and was nothing short of regal, both for the crowd in attendance and for the service itself: a "full choral service ... with a wedding march composed by the prince, who is an accomplished musician" ("Marries Italian Prince" 7).

It is ironic that Roffredo's title should cause so much uproar in the news of two continents; Bassiano was but a tiny mountain town with a population of 2420 (in 1911), about sixty kilometers southeast of Rome, on the brim of the large Pontine Marshes. The title made an impression, however, and for the following two decades Paris would speak with deference of the prince and princess Bassiano. They had a daughter, Lelia, born in 1913, followed two years later by a son, Camillo. In 1921 Vuillard, now reconciled with the family, made a beautiful portrait of the "Bassiano children" (fig. 1.3).

In the Caetani family music had always been more than simple entertainment. Roffredo's father, Onorato, was a gifted pianist and one of Wagner's first sponsors in Rome. Roffredo's grandfather, Michelangelo, used to host Franz Liszt at the Caetani residence during the composer's concert tours in central Italy.¹⁹ Liszt felt so close to the Caetanis that he accepted to be Roffredo's godfather and later became his musical mentor.²⁰

As a composer Roffredo was an amateur, in the positive sense of the word: he was free to explore different styles and genres without having to worry about the economical return of his work. His musical language was closer to Wagner than to Verdi; he wrote

¹⁹ Michelangelo's first wife, Polish countess Kalista Rzewuska (1810-1842), was an accomplished pianist and composer.

²⁰ To this day the Caetani's country retreat in Ninfa sports a grand piano that once belonged to Liszt.

mainly instrumental music with the exception of two operas: *Hypatia* and *La città del sole*, both very ambitious in scope and writing. His works were being performed in the States as early as 15 November 1902, when his *Preludio sinfonico* in E flat was performed at a concert of the Philharmonic Society. The young Caetani failed to impress the *New York Times* critic who the next day commented: "A title is not necessarily a disqualification for writing music with originality and force; but it was either that or something else that has kept both out of Don Roffredo's prelude. He has spoken in an impressive way, and has said little or nothing. His music may be approved for a certain command of orchestra color that it displays; but even that is taught better nowadays to talented conservatory pupils" ("Philharmonic Society"). Again in New York, on April 7, 1908, the Kneisel Quartet played at Mendelssohn Hall; the program consisted in Cesar Franck's piano quintet, with Olga Samaroff at the piano, Haydn's quartet in G major, Op. 76 No. 1, as well as a new quartet written by Roffredo Caetani. This time the NYT reviewer was more lenient: "Caetani is one of the few Italian composers who have turned their attention to absolute music. He studied in Germany and France as well as with Sgambati at Rome, and was spoken of as one of the ardent Italian adherents of Wagner ... The quartet is modern in style and with scarcely a hint of typically Italian musical utterance. The passionate unrest of the first movement and the poignant song of the second are even further removed from the rut of convention than the impetuous finale" ("The Fifth Kneisel Quartet").

Roffredo's first musical drama, *Hypatia*, premiered in June 1926 at the National Theatre in Weimar, under the conduction of Ernst Praetorius. The NYT correspondent expressed harsh criticism: "...the libretto is not particularly good and the music of Caetani

fails to give it life. It is so un-Italian, that a German might have written it. It is the work of a highly cultivated artist, who in his fifty-four years has amalgamated all styles, from Liszt to the present day. Caetani is a mixture of Liszt, Wagner, Strauss, Italian and French influences. He understands how to treat instrumentation and much of his orchestration is quite beautiful, but it lacks power, it lacks spiritual and personal potency and the true dramatic accent" ("The Dutch Co-opera-tie"). One must point out that the reviewers, especially the last two, seemed to be looking for some sort of "Italianness" that Roffredo was purposely trying to eschew in his music.

French and Italian critics were much more sympathetic than the American ones toward Roffredo's music. An article appeared on *Le Figaro* on 15 December 1902 thus comments on a performance by the Concerts-Lamoureux of the same symphonic prelude slated by the NYT one month earlier:

Don Roffredo Caetani a complété ses études à Berlin et à Vienne. La dualité de ces deux éducations musicales si différentes se fait jour à travers le beau et sévère *Prélude symphonique* que Chevillard nous a révélé hier. Cela est même frappant. Tandis que Mascagni, Puccini et Leoncavallo sont restés uniquement de leur race en répandant à profusion ces mélodies abondantes, faciles à retenir et à chanter, on sent au contraire chez don Roffredo Caetani l'influence de la symphonie allemande à laquelle sont venus se joindre un esprit et un sentiment nouveaux, mais profondément italiens. Sous l'instrumentation de ce *Prélude symphonique*, complexe sans obscurité, et traitée sagement sans la recherche vaine de l'effet, nous pouvons suivre, sans en perdre le fil, la trame mélodique, à la fois puissante et belle, émergeant de l'orchestre. Vivifier l'indestructible mélodie au commerce des grands maîtres, et la parer de tous les attraits de l'harmonie et de l'instrumentation modernes, n'est-ce point là que serait l'avenir de la musique? Quoi qu'il en soit, le public a fait un chaleureux accueil au jeune compositeur italien. (Salvagni 19)

The critic of *Le Figaro* was able to find in Roffredo's music a "new and deeply Italian feeling" his American colleagues apparently missed. In March 1904, at the St. Cecilia

Academy of Rome, a performance of Roffredo's symphonic prelude conducted by Pietro Mascagni received a standing ovation (“Il concerto di Mascagni a S. Cecilia”).

Roffredo's activity as a composer slowed down once he became administrator of the Caetani estate, a large stretch of land between Rome and Naples, facing the Tyrrhenian sea. In 1921 his older brother, Leone, gave up all responsibilities as administrator, sold off his share of the property, and expatriated to British Columbia together with his partner, Ofelia Fabiani, and their daughter Sveva. He was still formally married to Vittoria Colonna: divorce was taboo in Italy at the time. His decision put a strain on the relationship with the rest of the family; it seems that only Marguerite kept writing to him. Leone bought a house in Vernon, a small farming community in Okanega County, BC, and enjoyed living a simple life in the Canadian woods; he chopped trees, drove a small truck and took care of his orchard (“Sveva Caetani”).

Marguerite too felt the need to retreat in a world of her own, at times; her favorite pastime was gardening, an activity she may have taken up at Goshen Point following the example of her father. Marguerite's Parisian apartment housed an internal garden, much admired by her guests. One of them, the Anglo-German count Harry Kessler, left a vivid description of the garden in his diary:

Paris, May 28, 1911. Sunday.
Lunch at the beautiful Miss Chapin's, the American, 11, rue de l'Université: old Louis XV hotel. The salon and study, which has been painted by Vuillard, leads to a pretty, square, architectonically laid-out garden, where Miss Chapin has had yews planted in a strictly old-fashioned English style, also many irises and roses. This mixture of Louis XV and English Tudor gardening offers a very curious harmony, especially where the garden is reflected in the large Louis XV mirrors in the salon.”²¹ (Kessler 536)

²¹ Harry Graf Kessler (1868-1937) was a fascinating character of Belle-Epoque Europe. His multifarious interests included art, politics, publishing, and architecture. During his extensive stays in Paris, London, and Berlin he met and corresponded with some of leading figures of his time: Otto von Bismarck, Paul von

Marguerite's gardening skills were honed after she moved with her family to historical Ville Romaine in Versailles, after WWI. Their residence soon became one of Paris' most celebrated literary-artistic venues. The Caetanis' Sunday luncheons were attended by Paris' cultural elite: Joyce, Stravinsky, Paul Valéry, Gide, Bracque, Colette, Picasso, Claudel, Valéry Larbaud, St. John Perse, and many others. Their conversations provided the spark that ignited Marguerite's life-long commitment to literature. She decided to sponsor the publication of a review to share the sense of intellectual freedom and cosmopolitanism that animated those gatherings. The title chosen for the new periodical was *Commerce* because, in its editors' intention, authors of any background and nationality would exchange and compare their ideas on its pages. Larbaud, Léon-Paul Fargue, and Valéry would be co-editors along with Jean Paulhan and Alexis Leger (Saint John Perse) as non-official collaborators.²²

As for Marguerite, she did not want her name to appear at all; by reading her correspondence with editors and contributors, however, one immediately understands that her role went far beyond that of financial backer for the review. In a letter sent to Nietzsche's sister, Elisabeth, with the purpose of obtaining permission to translate and publish several texts written by the German philosopher, Marguerite clearly stated the mission her new publication would carry out: "... In such a combination of what is still young and will remain forever young together with the new contributions of our time I

Hindenburg, Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Richard Strauss, Igor Stravinsky, Sergei Diaghilev, Vaslav Nijinsky, Isadora Duncan, and many other personalities from the artistic and political milieu. Kessler co-founded the avant-garde journal *Pan* and in 1913 founded the Cranach-Presse, one of the most important private presses of the century. He might have introduced Marguerite to Elisabeth Nietzsche, the sister of the great philosopher, and to other members of the German intelligentsia.

²² As editor-in-chief of the *Nouvelle Revue Française*, Paulhan was able to offer Marguerite precious advice and access to the N.R.F. pool of manuscripts.

see the true meaning of a review like *Commerce*" (Levie 21). Marguerite thought that the adjective "young" should not be applied to new authors exclusively; rather, it indicated a larger category of works that preserved their "youngness" regardless of when they were created.

The use of translation played a pivotal role in carrying out the transnational scope of the review: the twenty-nine numbers of the review, which ran from 1924 to 1932, hosted translations from over fifteen languages including Chinese, Japanese, and other non-European idioms. At the time of its widest diffusion the review was available in nineteen countries. The editors of *Commerce* were determined to promote their ideal of Europe as a great cultural union whose most distinctive and valuable traits resided primarily in its artistic and literary production. Attention to the old and the new, cosmopolitanism, systematic use of translation, and a tendency to restrain from editorial statements: these are the traits that characterized *Commerce* and shaped Marguerite's editorial philosophy.

Despite her growing interest in literature, Marguerite's passion for visual art never faltered, not even two decades later when her financial standing had become less secure because of the stock market crash. On May 20, 1934 we find Marguerite's name in a *Washington Post* article reporting on a new association for the benefit of young artists, "*Les Amis de l'Art Contemporaine*" ("The Friends of Contemporary Art"). From this source we learn that the wife of a former Ambassador to Italy, Mrs. John Work Garrett of Baltimore, lent five salons in her beautiful Parisian residence to artists and sculptors from every country to exhibit and sell their work without being charged any commission

("Baltimore Woman's Plan").²³ Marguerite shared the position of vice president with Mrs. Garrett, but we may safely assume that it was she who provided the connection with artists and decided what works to display.²⁴

The global financial crash of the Thirties took a heavy toll on Marguerite's finances, to the point where she could no longer afford to finance *Commerce*. The sinking value of U.S. stocks and currency forced many Americans living in Paris to sell their properties and move back to the States. Marguerite and Roffredo decided to relocate to Italy, where his family owned most of the land between Rome and Naples. They took residence in the historic Palazzo Caetani on Via delle Botteghe Oscure in Rome; the street name can be roughly translated as "of the dark shops," and it refers to the vendors that once settled in the street-level arcades of an ancient Roman amphitheater. Shortly after WWII, when Marguerite decided to name her second literary review after her home address, many among her friends and collaborators expressed their concern that the title may originate some confusion; both the Jesuit Order and the Italian Communist Party were also headquartered on *Via delle Botteghe Oscure*, only blocks away from the

²³ From the same article: "The middleman is eliminated by the facilities of 'the friends of contemporary art.' The artist is charged nothing and no commissions are taken, but he has room to display his works in handsome surroundings and in company with great painters and sculptors. In the first display little-known artists showed their canvases beside those of Pierre Bonnard, Edouard Vuillard, Andre Masson and Dunoyer de Segonzac. Mrs. Garrett leased a fine old residence on Avenue George V, took the upper floor for a residence during the several months she expects to spend here each year in this work and transformed five salons on a lower floor into a permanent art gallery. American artists, both here and in the United States, are encouraged to exhibit; but it was too late this year to bring over a suitable collection. Displays will be changed every two weeks, so that many artists during the season may show their pictures under conditions ordinarily beyond the means of many. The underlying object is to promote the buying of good pictures. Aiding the artists is part of the program, but another phase is encouraging a wider public to own pictures. Mrs. Garrett says, 'It is growing more and more difficult for art patrons to possess great private collections, as everyone is being forced to retrench and live in smaller houses and apartments.'"

²⁴ Heading the association was prince Beauvau-Craon, and old acquaintance of Marthe Bibesco. Marthe's marriage to George Bibesco was not a happy one; since divorce was not a viable option at the time, they both agreed to pursue other relationships. In the 1910s she had a passionate love affair with Charles-Louis de Beauvau-Craon (Sutherland 78-88).

Palazzo. Marguerite would always reject the objection, on the ground that the Caetanis had been living there far longer than Jesuits and Communists.

The move from Versailles to the rather gloomy family palace in Rome must not have been easy on Marguerite, but she was too discreet to leave any written trace of any discomfort. Leone's first wife, Vittoria Colonna, who had also moved to the *Palazzo* with her husband, left a colorful account of her life with the Caetanis in her book of memoirs,

Things Past:

I remember the evening I arrived at Palazzo Caetani for the first time after my honeymoon at Frascati. Dusk was falling, dinner-time approaching, and there was no sign of life anywhere in my part of the house. I sat in the bedroom that had been allotted to me; my husband had been given one on another floor and so far off that I never really learned the quickest way to his room as there were several staircases and innumerable passages ... None of my family-in-law ever dressed for dinner, and during that first winter, when we lived all together, I think I sat longer at the dining-room table than I ever have since in my life. A bell rang before meals to summon us all, but no one ever dreamed of moving towards the dining-room on hearing it, for the Caetanis merely considered it as a symptom that food might be expected before long. The story ran that the Duchess always said on hearing the luncheon bell: 'That's nice; I still have time to go to the stables and see all the horses.' (Colonna, *Things Past* 52)

In the 1930s the palace lost part of its gloominess when the "street of the Dark Shops" was widened, as part of Mussolini's plan to give Rome a more grandiose look while improving the flow of traffic across the city. With the good season, though, Marguerite was always happy to leave the *Palazzo* for a stay at the Caetanis' country residence in Ninfa, about forty miles south of Rome.

Ninfa took its name from an ancient Roman temple consecrated to the nymphs; in the Middle Ages the settlement grew into a prosperous and independent merchant town, strategically positioned on the Appian way between the Lepini mountains and the Pontine marshes. A famous Caetani Pope, Boniface VIII (1294-1303), cleverly used his political

power to annex the city to the family estate; his nephew Pietro became Ninfa's feudal master in 1301. A long sequence of family quarrels caused Ninfa to be sacked and razed to the ground in 1381, never to be rebuilt. The story of Ninfa's dramatic demise was passed on to generations of visitors who came to ponder the ivy-covered ruins, the churches, and the distinctive tower overlooking the lake. The picturesque appearance of the site made a lasting impression on historian Ferdinand Gregorovius (1821-1891), who coined the famous definition of Ninfa as "Pompeii of the Middle Ages" (Quest-Ritson 22).²⁵

Roffredo's mother, Ada Bootle-Wilbraham, was a lively British woman with a passion for hiking and horse-riding; she enjoyed life in the country and used to take her children (there were six: Leone, Roffredo, Livio, Giovannella, Gelasio, and Michelangelo) out for a walk in Ninfa, which however was still uncultivated; its only caretakers were the tenants of a watermill that had been built on the stream. It was Roffredo's multi-talented brother Gelasio (1877-1934) who restored part of the ancient buildings and planted the garden. Among many other things, Gelasio was an engineer: he had studied at Columbia University and worked for several mining companies in the States. He made a detailed survey of all of Ninfa's remains before setting out to remove debris, repair walls and towers, and restore the old town hall into a country residence. He also regulated the course of the river that runs through Ninfa, preparing the way for further development of the garden by Ada, Marguerite, and Marguerite's daughter Lelia.

After Gelasio's premature death in 1934, Roffredo and Marguerite took over the restoration works at Ninfa. Roffredo perfected the garden's unique sound environment by

²⁵ Gregorovius's romantic description of Ninfa greatly increased its popularity among casual travelers from all over Europe.

varying the stream level, slowing or speeding up the current, and by creating a series of small waterfalls. Marguerite had learned the art of gardening at the Chapin estate in Connecticut, and perfected it at Villa Romaine in Versailles; Ninfa expert Charles Quest Ritson describes her contribution to the garden in the following terms:

She planted scores of flowering trees that grew well at Ninfa – Japanese cherries, crab apples, dogwoods and as many magnolias as would tolerate the alkaline soil – and created new visions of beauty by placing them alongside the ruins of old houses and churches within the town walls ... She sought to intensify the spirit of mystery that she sensed at Ninfa by greatly increasing the number of weeping willows, until sections of the riverbanks were almost completely hidden behind the drooping tresses of large pendulous trees. (53)

Many bushes of roses planted by Marguerite survive in the garden to this day, creating a beautiful show in the spring. Marguerite was perfectly at ease at Ninfa, working together with her daughter Lelia, who was greatly inspired by the views of the garden in her work as a painter. Quest-Ritson states that *Botteghe Oscure* editor Giorgio Bassani was thinking of the Caetani and their garden when he wrote *Il giardino dei Finzi-Contini*; the book brought the Italian writer widespread notoriety and later inspired a film by Vittorio De Sica:

It is true that the Finzi-Contini were Jewish and lived in Ferrara but, like the Caetani, they were a grand and super-cultivated family, not wholly Italian, whose sadnesses included the loss of an only son and who gradually turned in upon themselves, seeking solace in the beauty of their renowned 10-hectare (25-acre) garden, hidden from the world outside by high walls ... In the opulence of their gardens, each had created a world that might one day be their only monument, for both the Caetani and the Finzi-Contini were facing extinction. (57)

Camillo was killed on the Albanian front, near Progonat, on 15 December 1940. The tragic news reached his family a few days later, as Marguerite recounts in a mournful letter to her sister Katherine:

I must tell you all we know. We thought he was in the back, making fortifications, after having been in the melee for over a month. He was with five of his men placing mitrailleuse [sic], when he was suddenly surrounded and they were all killed instantly we hope. On Jan. 2nd we were told he was missing and we lived four days of anguish, I never leaving the telephone, hoping against hope we would hear that he was prisoner [sic]. Then Jan. 6th we were told the truth. I cannot tell you how I longed for you and Cornelia. It seemed to me as if I wouldn't bear it unless I were with you both. To you I could tell all the depth of my sorrow, with you I could cry all my tears. And I have so many bitter feelings in my heart about it all. (KBP 20 Jan. 1941)

Those bitter feelings had to do with the fact that Camillo should have never been fighting Mussolini's war. The dictator had decided to enter the war alongside Germany in June 1940, after a long period of hesitation and when France was already on the verge of collapse. As a consequence, he was entitled to take a share of defeated France's territory. Mussolini's actions destroyed the last shreds of Italy's image as power capable to counterbalance Hitler's expansionistic aims in southern Europe.

Unlike his uncle Gelasio, a war hero who had enthusiastically joined the Fascist party and served as ambassador in Washington, Camillo had very little sympathy for the regime. He was an attractive and lively young man, eager to see the world; before the war he spent one year studying at Harvard, although he appeared more interested in girls and sport cars than in books. He dropped out, some say because of a scandal involving a young girlfriend and an unwanted child, traveled south to Mexico, then stayed in Philadelphia visiting his aunt Katherine. He headed back to Rome with very little enthusiasm: "I would rather drive a taxi in New York than return to Rome," he told Katherine (Scheuhing 14). Camillo arrived home in 1939, on Christmas Eve; when war broke out he enlisted in the army and behaved honorably, following his family's distinguished tradition of service.

The circumstances surrounding Camillo's death have been object of much conjecture. Reportedly he was wounded in action and bled to death for lack of medical attention; according to Quest-Ritson and Marella Caracciolo he was killed by his own men, on Mussolini's order, in retaliation for Marguerite's proud stance against the regime.²⁶ Quest-Ritson writes of a phone call Marguerite received shortly after Camillo had left for the battlefield; "an aide of Mussolini" suggested that the only heir of the Caetani family could be assigned to a safe desk job in Rome. Marguerite's disdainful retort would have triggered the plot for Camillo's assassination. It seems quite an overreaction, even for a brutal and sanguinary regime, especially if one consider that the Caetani family was not entirely against Mussolini's rule. A similar theory, however, is endorsed by Marella Caracciolo in her book on Ninfa and the last Caetanis.²⁷ She quotes Schuyler Chapin, Marguerite's nephew, who spoke of a confidential inquiry led by Francis Biddle (Marguerite's brother-in-law) and General William Donovan, head of OSS (Office of Strategic Services, which later became the CIA). Biddle was appointed U.S. judge at the Nuremberg trial; at Marguerite's request he and Donovan carried out an investigation that confirmed Mussolini's involvement in Camillo's assassination.

The first months of 1941 must have been the hardest in Marguerite's life; it must have been in this period that she embraced what her brother-in-law Francis Biddle described as "a deep and defensive reserve to shield her against the cruelties and unfairness of life" (F. Biddle 329). She later reported her feeling of "heart-breaking

²⁶ John T. Whitaker, a friend of Camillo and *Chicago Daily News* correspondent from Rome, in an article dated 20 Jan. 1941 gives a gruesome detail about Camillo's death: "A fellow officer told me that he bled to death from his wounds – an unnecessary death had there been any organized medical service with the Italian army."

²⁷ Marella Caracciolo Agnelli (b. 1927) worked as editor and photographic contributor to Vogue magazine. Her passion for gardening led her to write two books about Ninfa. She married industrial magnate Giovanni (Gianni) Agnelli in 1953.

loneliness” to Katherine (KBP 22 May 1946). Besides the grief for the loss of her son, she had to cut down expenses and cope with an increasing shortage of goods. She relied on American relatives and friends for periodical shipments that often went lost or were robbed. On 17 February she writes Katherine:

Lelia and I are feeling frightfully neglected. All our friends receive packages continually. For instance Iris Origo has had 35 and a trunk sent through American Embassy. They are addressed to her and to American friend working here. The daughter of Pecci Blunt has received 45. I have received one from Caroline Philips of which part had been robbed! I begged Cornelia to get money from Lyon and send the things we need so badly. I am enclosing another list and perhaps [Raffaele] Mattioli would bring some things especially violin strings and vitamins... (KBP 17 Feb. 1941)

It is hard to fully empathize with Marguerite’s complaint, considering how well the Caetanis were faring compared to many others. The living conditions at the *Palazzo* worsened considerably over the course of the war, but Marguerite never had to starve, nor she lost the will to help her artist friends. Violin strings are certainly not essential for survival; and yet, by putting them before vitamins on her list, Marguerite unconsciously reveals something about her peculiar vision of the world.²⁸

The spring of 1941 brought new energies to Marguerite. On April 12, writing to Katherine, Marguerite first mentions the idea of starting up a literary publication on the example of *Commerce*. In the sort of punctuation-free, colloquial tone she often used with family and close friends she writes:

I am terribly tempted to try a sort of *Commerce* Prose and Poetry in French Italian and English no translations. One is suffocated here by the quantity of publications political, critical, historical dry as dust. One longs

²⁸ The strings were for the great violinist Gioconda de Vito, who enjoyed them very much; Marguerite later asked Katherine to send her some horsehair for Gioconda’s bow.

at least I do for some light and air and a bit of phantasy [sic]. Perhaps it is only a dream and impossible to accomplish now. (KBP 12 Apr. 1941)

This is the first mention of what would become *Botteghe Oscure*, and contradicts previous accounts of Marguerite as completely crushed from the loss of her son, incapable of taking initiative. As soon as the German troops left Rome she joined a new cultural project supported by some of her best friends.

Elena Croce, daughter of the idealist philosopher Benedetto Croce, recounts in her memoirs (*Le due città*) how she was contacted by Giuliana Benzoni, an antifascist member of Italian nobility, with regard to a cultural circle the latter was trying to get started in recently liberated Rome. Benzoni's variegated personality and dynamic lifestyle made her equally at ease with Princess Maria José as she was with members of the Italian Communist Party. She now wanted Croce to convince Marguerite Caetani to accept the presidency of the club, whose members would include American and British military. The primary purpose of the new association was providing Rome's liberators with a welcoming and "homey" retreat, where they could enjoy a series of cultural events and socialize with the locals. Croce acknowledges that Marguerite was the perfect candidate for the job: an American-born princess, married into one of Rome's most prestigious families, and sister-in-law of Francis Biddle, US Attorney General and Primary American Judge at the Nuremberg Trial. Furthermore, the Caetanis were considered the most liberal among the noble families that once dominated Rome, and less compromised with the previous government. Finally, Marguerite's brilliant reputation as patron of the arts and cultural promoter was solidly established since the times of *Commerce*.

Despite her obvious qualifications, Marguerite was hesitant to take on the offer. While she was keen on supporting a cultural initiative that could foster American-Italian integration and potentially improve international relations, she was not interested in the kind of visibility such a position would attract. Moreover, the name chosen for the club – “Il ritrovo” or “The Gathering Place” – sounded a little too “idyllic” for her taste. For lack of a better alternative, however, the name (which had been chosen by a Roman writer and critic, Pietro Paolo Trompeo) stayed and Marguerite eventually accepted the position (Croce “Un punto di ritrovo” 7-8). The club officially opened in November 1944 on the second floor of *Palazzo del Drago*, in Via de’ Coronari, and remained active for about two years. Its rules stated that all democratic parties from *Democrazia Cristiana* to *PCI* should be represented among its members, Elena Croce recalls, which led to interesting conversations and collaborations but also prevented “Il Ritrovo” from finding a precise collocation on the social scene. Depending on their political views, its detractors accused the club of being snob and elitist or “a nest of communists,” respectively.

In her typical energetic way, Marguerite prepared a calendar of daily activities that ranged from lectures to poetry readings, from art exhibits to concerts. The list of guest speakers included personalities like diplomat and anti-fascist politician Carlo Sforza, poet Umberto Saba, literary critic Antonio Russi; a series of public debates coordinated by art historian Bruno Zevi enjoyed great participation and increased the club popularity. The beginning of 1945 marked the period of greatest success, at a time when the North of Italy was still under German rule.

“Il Ritrovo” stayed active for almost two years, hosting a remarkable series of cultural events – lectures, poetry readings, concerts, art exhibits – until in 1946

Marguerite and the other members of the board quietly decided to put an end to its activities. The new social and political climate called for a different kind of organization, more focused and less ecumenical, which however hardly suited Marguerite's unwillingness to make compromises. Moreover, a new and more ambitious project was taking shape in her mind: a new literary review that would look beyond national boundaries and literary fashions, establishing a platform for writers and poets regardless of their language, country, or political ideas.

While *Commerce* aspired to reflect an idea of global and "timeless" literature, but remained in essence a French review, with *Botteghe Oscure* Marguerite aimed for a truly international readership; from the second issue (1949) the review became multilingual with the addition of an English section; French, German, and Spanish sections followed suit. The structure of the review was anthological: regardless of their reputation, authors were given enough space to display a representative sample of their work. This was made possible by the unusually large size of the review, which averaged well above 400 pages. Most texts were presented in the original language with no translation, except for brief selection of works from other countries like Korea and the Netherlands, which were translated in English.

Another striking feature of *Botteghe Oscure* was the absence of theoretical reflection on the role of intellectuals, a popular topic in most other reviews. Marguerite refused to publish anything but literature, with the exception of authors like Georges Bataille and Maurice Blanchot, who were breaking new ground in the field of literary criticism with their passionate and sophisticated analyses on the nature of writing.

Marguerite's ability to identify and nurture budding talents also showed in her decision to hire Giorgio Bassani as editor-in-chief and responsible for the Italian section of *Botteghe Oscure*. A relation based on mutual respect and esteem was soon established between the young writer and Marguerite, in spite of their different literary taste: whereas Bassani had a strong preference for prose, Marguerite loved poetry; while the first eschewed Hermetic poetry and experimentalism, the second was more open-minded toward certain forms of *avant-gardism*.²⁹ Marguerite retained a central role in the managing and editing of the journal, reading all the manuscripts, corresponding with the distributors and managing all the financial aspects of the publication.

As the years passed and distribution grew, the international scope of *Botteghe Oscure* became more prominent; in the fifth issue (1950) the Italian language section was reduced by half: from 287 to 191 pages, to the advantage of French and English. In the seventh issue (1951) English surpassed Italian by about thirty pages; the eleventh issue (1953) had 334 pages in English vs. 117 in Italian. The French section was also expanded and moved to the beginning of the review. German and Spanish appeared in 1954 and 1955, respectively. Marguerite relied on a large literary network to ensure that a constant flow of manuscripts reached her Roman residence; she also hired several editors over the years to help her managing the English language section.

Marguerite was now in her seventies and – once again – at the center of a thriving cultural environment. Her flat in *Palazzo Caetani* had become a pole of attraction for young writers and intellectuals from all over Europe; many visitors came from the States as well. William Weaver, a well-known translator of Italian writers such as Umberto Eco

²⁹ For more information on Giorgio Bassani as editor of *Botteghe Oscure*, see Chapter 3 (Collaborators).

and Italo Calvino, left a vivid description of Marguerite's living area in his book of memoirs, *Open City*:

We stepped into the dark courtyard of the great, grim palace, took an elevator to the piano nobile, and were shown into a huge, high-ceilinged hall, hung with dusty portraits (I looked around for Boniface VIII, the Caetani pope pilloried by Dante, but I couldn't identify him): then Dario, who knew his way around the palace, led me to a modern corkscrew staircase in a corner of the room. We climbed it and, passing through a plain little door at its top, stepped into a large, but cozy, New England living room: sofas covered in beige monkscloth, low tables, a fire in the fireplace, French windows revealing a broad terrace beyond. A large teapot stood on one table, and plates of sandwiches circulated. (7)

Weaver's friend and guide was Dario Cecchi, painter and writer, brother of Visconti's scriptwriter Suso Cecchi d'Amico and son of influential critic Emilio Cecchi. The feeling of being teleported from medieval Italy to Nineteenth-century New England was quite common among Marguerite's guests. Her aspect and attire also revealed a personality shaped by a mixture of different times and places. Alabama-born Eugene Walter, who would later become one of *Botteghe Oscure*'s most trusted collaborators, thus recalls how he made the princess's acquaintance in her Paris apartment:

When I rang the bell I expected to see this tall woman with black hair going gray, and I don't know why I thought there'd be clanking gold jewelry. That was my idea [...] Then the door opened and glunk, my head fell because it was this tiny little thing with hair pulled back to a knot on the back of her neck. A very beautiful, obviously French suit and a silk blouse with some sort of froufrou at the neck and no jewelry at all except a very beautiful old Roman quartz set in gold, obviously antique, obviously either ancient or Renaissance. The Chanel suit was rust and gray and white wool with jaggy lines of those colors all mingled. Silk stockings. And good American Keds. I don't mean the latest model. I mean white, 1930s, tennis-shoe Keds. Imagine a Chanel suit with Keds. (Walter, *Milking the Moon* 131)

Besides her unassuming aspect, Marguerite's international guests were also thrown off by the contrast between her cozy living room and the patrician pomp the last Caetanis still

indulged in. In the Fifties French scholar and translator Wallace Fowlie was in Rome to give a series of lectures organized by the US Information Service. He had published several pieces on *Botteghe Oscure*, and Marguerite invited him over for lunch. Roffredo was present, as well as the French ambassador and his wife. Fowlie recorded in his memoir an interesting discussion he had with Marguerite's husband:

During the luncheon most of my conversation had been with the Princess, but when we stood up, the Prince took my arm and said, "You have been in Rome for twenty-four hours. What has struck you the most?" Something had indeed struck me forcibly during the course of the meal, but I hesitated to mention it. He was aware of my confusion and said, "I am an old man, you couldn't shock me. Tell me the truth." So I blurted out my first strong impression. "It is the way you treat servants. I noticed it last night in Mrs. Hooker's apartment where she had invited Italian friends, and today at lunch in the Palazzo Caetani. You treat them as if they were automatons or subhuman. Never a word of thanks when they serve you – and you dismiss them with a gesture of the hand or a shrug." The Prince wasn't in the least disturbed or surprised. "It is you who are right, and we who are wrong. Each January the Pope has all the Roman nobles come before him and lectures to us exactly on that problem. He tells us that if we continue using such medieval behavior with the working class, the communists will take over Italy. But then we say to ourselves that we are all old and everything will change at our death. *Après nous le déluge...*" (145)

With his honest and direct inquiry, Fowlie obtains an equally candid admission from Roffredo; the old prince seems to revel in an ancient privilege, but he is conscious of being a relic of a dying world. He reminds us of Don Fabrizio Corbera, the protagonist of Tomasi di Lampedusa's novel *Il gattopardo*. Fowlie confirms this impression the following day, during a visit to Ninfa with poet Allen Tate and his wife. Pointing to the nearby town of Sermoneta, a small fortified town overlooking Ninfa and the Pontine plain, Roffredo declared: "They are my peasants. I own the entire town. Everyone in the town depends on me for a livelihood. The system, as you see, is still totally medieval. But it will all change at my death. Probably for the worse at the beginning. I am kind to my

peasants. They are devoted to me” (146).³⁰ This and the previous accounts highlight the difference between Roffredo and Marguerite and explain, in part at least, the sense of isolation that she felt at times. Speaking of their union Giorgio Bassani had once said: “They were a mixture of incongruities – aristocratic, elite and intellectual. Moreover, he was an Italian with a great tradition behind him while she was a brilliant, rich American. At the same time they both belonged to the same intellectual and international world” (Caracciolo 79).

It would be impossible to sum up in a few sentences a personality as complex as Marguerite’s. Alice B. Toklas, Gertrude Stein’s companion and another of the Paris expatriates who populated the Left Bank in the 1920s, aptly defined her “a bundle of complexity” (Caracciolo 80). Among the many authors who published in *Commerce* and *Botteghe Oscure*, some merely saw her as the rich American lady who was signing their checks; others, like Truman Capote and Archibald MacLeish, marveled at her energy, determination and generosity, and helped to promote her publications. She chose her collaborators from the pool of young talents she published and fostered after the war, like Eugene Walter and Giorgio Bassani. The latter eventually overshadowed her role in *Botteghe Oscure*, to the point where to some critics the review she created became “Bassani’s creature”: it was much easier to praise a well-known writer, and a man, rather than a foreigner like Marguerite. She never made any attempt at gaining center stage, persuaded as she was that the artist was the only one who deserved undivided attention.

The cosmopolitan atmosphere Marguerite absorbed in Paris never abandoned her; she remained convinced of the binding necessity to strive for a set of universal values, in art as in life. Both her strengths and weaknesses derived from that aspiration. She

³⁰ As second-born in the family after Leone, Roffredo had inherited the title of Duke of Sermoneta.

promoted the work of many known and unknown writers in Italy and abroad, but – with some notable exceptions like Renè Char, Guglielmo Petroni, and Dylan Thomas – the preference she accorded was often whimsical and could easily be withdrawn for trivial reasons. As an editor she could be very demanding toward her contributors and staff, but in other aspects she showed negligence: she often forgot to return manuscripts and to send payments, for example. She was quick to hold a grudge when she felt ignored or to snap back with a fiery retort to those who questioned her decisional power. Her spirited personality came with a very human need for affection, which sometimes emerges from her correspondence, expressed in an almost childish fashion. She must have had a very high opinion of her audience, probably based on her own personal traits: cultivated individuals, proficient in three or four languages and willing to devote many hours a day to reading. In reality, the sheer size of an issue of *Botteghe Oscure* was overwhelming for most readers, not to mention the lack of any translations, reviews, or criticism. It was almost as if she wanted to crystallize in her review a faithful image of the best prose and poetry available worldwide, so that there was no room left for anything else but literature.

More than any other expression of human spirit, Marguerite saw Art as the blueprint of civilization. It also was her personal refuge, a protective shield against painful memories in a world she no longer recognized. Born and raised in New York at the dawn of the Progressive Era, she witnessed the *Belle Epoque* and the rise of Modernism in France, the Fascist regime and the Cold War in Italy; she became part of European society at its heyday and watched it tear itself apart over the course of two world wars. Through all this, Marguerite stood firm in her belief that artists, writers, and poets held the key to a better future.

At the end of his visit to Ninfa Wallace Fowlie congratulated the princess for her accomplishments in the literary field and for all the support she gave to young artists and established writers alike: “She was totally unpretentious, totally dedicated to her work, totally indifferent to polemical literary discussion. She smiled faintly as she listened to us, and then said quite simply, ‘I live with the belief that the artist is the most important person alive’” (147). For twelve years Marguerite worked tirelessly to ensure that *Botteghe Oscure* respected its biannual cadence and maintained its high-quality standard; her failing health and the tragic death in a car crash of her friend and printer of the review, Luigi de Luca, ultimately forced her to suspend publications in 1960. Three years later she suffered a stroke on the Paris-Rome train. Brought to her beloved garden at Ninfa, she passed away on December 18, 1963.



Fig. 1.1 Pierre Bonnard, *Woman Seated on a Blue Sofa* (*Femme au canapé bleu*) (the Princesse de Bassiano), c.1916, oil on canvas, 61x73cm., private collection. Gloria Lynn Groom, *Edouard Vuillard, Painter-Decorator: Patrons and Projects, 1892-1912* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1993).



Fig. 1.2. Édouard Vuillard, *Interior with a Lady and Dog* (portrait of Marguerite Chapin), 1910, oil on millboard, 19x73.6cm., Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Gloria Lynn Groom, *Edouard Vuillard, Painter-Decorator: Patrons and Projects, 1892-1912* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1993).



Fig. 1.3. Édouard Vuillard, *Les enfants Bassiano*, 1921, oil on canvas, 84x104cm., private collection. Gloria Lynn Groom, *Edouard Vuillard, Painter-Decorator: Patrons and Projects, 1892-1912* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1993).

CHAPTER II

The Parisian Years and *Commerce*

When Marguerite arrived in Paris at the dawn of the twentieth century, the city was enjoying the effects of a long period of steady growth. Fueled by coal and cheap labor, industry had maximized production and was flooding the market with all kinds of goods. Traveling was becoming easier and faster, both within the city – thanks to a more advanced and efficient public transportation system, and later to the automobile – and abroad, because of a situation of relative political stability and good foreign relations with other European countries. The aristocrats and wealthy bourgeois lived in prosperity within the city center, redesigned by Baron Haussmann forty years earlier, while the working class concentrated in the periphery. A new dominant class was asserting its power, whose wealth derived mostly from commerce and urban speculation; its members considered themselves modern and open-minded, shopped in department stores, crowded Universal Expositions to admire the latest developments in craft and technology, and were eager to legitimize their status by commissioning artwork and attending social events.

The illusion that global prosperity and scientific progress would bring peace and unity to the entire continent was shattered by the Great War. France suffered great human losses and its economy was deeply damaged during the conflict. On the other hand,

women became aware of the importance of their contribution to the country's infrastructure; traditional assumptions about their function in society came now into question. Another consequence of the war was an increased presence of Americans on France's soil. By the twenties Paris had turned into a cultural Mecca for many young American writers, attracted by the favorable exchange rate and lively artistic environment. They were especially drawn to the Left Bank of the Seine, with its little cafés and bookshops, where they soaked in the cosmopolitanism, hedonism, and tolerance characteristic of Parisian society. Some of them took residence here and bonded with the locals, forming a rather heterogeneous and exuberant community. The names most often cited are those of Hemingway, F. Scott Fitzgerald, John Dos Passos, Ezra Pound, and Gertrude Stein; Janet Flanner (a.k.a. "Genêt") famously described this Franco-American artistic milieu from the pages of *The New Yorker*, in her "Letter from Paris" column.

This group of young English-speaking intellectuals were called "The Lost Generation": one of their favorite gathering places was a small bookstore on Rue de l'Odéon, *Shakespeare and Company*, which was owned and run by a native of Baltimore, Sylvia Beach. Today she is mainly remembered as the publisher of James Joyce's controversial novel *Ulysses*, but Beach spearheaded the diffusion of American literature in France and was a model of female entrepreneurship. She was not a wealthy woman, and had to ask her mother for a loan in order to open the bookstore in 1919. The idea of combining an English language bookshop with a lending library, however, turned out to be a winning one; *Shakespeare and Co.* became a popular gathering place for aspiring and established authors alike. Beach owed part of her success to her friend and partner Adrienne Monnier, whose shop *La maison des amis des livres* (established in 1915) was

just across the street from Sylvia's. The two facing bookstores featured a great selection of French and American publications, and hosted important literary events like the first public reading of *Ulysses*.

Not far from *Shakespeare and Company*, at 20 rue Jacob, stood another important social-literary venue: it was the salon held by the wealthy Natalie Barney, an American poet, playwright, and novelist, famous for her liberated sexual life and open celebration of lesbianism. In her native country she would have been publicly ostracized; in Paris, the "Wild girl from Cincinnati" was free to pursue her many affairs and extol the virtues of Sapphic love. Her glamorous "Fridays" were attended by a multinational mix of artists, intellectuals, and personalities from the most diverse spheres of society: bohemians, women of the demimonde, bourgeois and aristocrats, anyone who struck the host's fancy could receive a coveted invitation to join her at the next Friday.

The salon was at its heyday in the twenties: as many as two hundred guests could attend Barney's receptions, although a typical Friday would average around forty. Among them was Marguerite, who must have welcomed the opportunity to return to the Left Bank where she resided before moving to Versailles with her husband. The Caetanis held a social luncheon at Ville Romaine every other Sunday, and many of their guests were the same people who attended Barney's Fridays. It is thanks to her that Marguerite became acquainted with Paul Valéry, who would later join the editorial board of *Commerce*. A note sent to Versailles on January 15, 1921 reads: "Dear Princess Bassiano, so sorry you couldn't come here last Friday – (here is Paul Valéry's writing since this gives you an aperçu of him)" (Levie 62). Attached to the note was a short handwritten

letter by Valéry, who signed *Ed Teste*.³¹ Now that the ice was broken, Valéry started to visit Ville Romaine regularly; Marguerite and Roffredo, whom he also befriended, often sent him cards and presents.³² On January 28 Marguerite received another postcard from Barney:

Dear Princess Bassiano, If this card reaches you in time, and you feel in the mood to come to Paris – let it be to spend the evening at 20 rue Jacob. Madam Mardrus has just finished translating several of E. A. Poe’s poems and you, with your double ears, are most indicated to appreciate them!³³ So do drop in after dinner about 9:30... if you can. It will not be a wild rush as it was the other time, for tomorrow evening I am only inviting a few poets among whom Paul Valéry and Gide [. . .] I hope your prince charming will have returned in time to accompany you.

Barney had taken Valéry under her wing; in June 1920 she had devoted one of her Fridays to his work. She also was an early champion of female writers: in 1927 she created the *Académie des Femmes* (the Academy of Women) to counter the all-male *Académie-française*. The work of writers like Colette, Djuna Barnes, and Gertrude Stein was celebrated through a series of readings and performances at Barney’s two-story pavilion. When the weather was nice, the party moved to the garden where plays and concerts could be staged in front of the Doric temple dedicated to “Friendship.” Unlike

³¹ *Monsieur Teste* is an imaginary intellectual figure who first appeared in *La Soirée avec Monsieur Teste* (1896), a story that should have been the first chapter of a larger work dedicated to this character. In a letter to André Gide, Valéry describes *Teste* as “a young man who thinks.” The name *Teste* comes from an archaic form of the French word *tête* (head), but it also refers to the Latin word *testis* (witness). Valéry signs many letters to Barney as *Edm. Teste* or *Ed. Teste*.

³² The correspondence between Marguerite and Paul Valéry preserved at the Caetani archive dates from June 1921. Valéry’s writing is rather light-hearted and sparkles with witty remarks, testifying to his solid friendship with both Marguerite and her husband Roffredo.

³³ Novelist and poetess Lucie Delarue-Mardrus (1875-1945) was one of Barney’s lovers. She was married to the famous Orientalist Joseph-Charles-Victor Mardrus (1868-1949), who translated the unexpurgated *Arabian Nights* into French as *Le livre des mille nuits et une nuit* (The Book of a Thousand and One Nights; 16 volumes, 1898-1904). J. C. Mardrus once called on Barney to satisfy a rather unusual request: in order to spare his wife the burden of pregnancy, which would have negatively affected her literary output, he asked Natalie to bear their child instead. Untroubled, Natalie replied that she felt flattered but had to decline the offer not to betray her free nature (Barney 92).

its male counterpart, the Academy of Women accepted members of the opposite sex and, in fact, encouraged their participation: it was one of the rare occasions in which the talent of female writers was publicly honored by men.

Barney became friends with Ezra Pound after he moved to Paris in 1920. Pound became a regular presence at Barney's, and the two devised several plans to promote writers and to help them overcome their financial struggles; one of such projects is particularly interesting for the inspiration it may have given to Marguerite: they wanted to start a bilingual literary review in collaboration with Ford Madox Ford, editor of the *Transatlantic Review*. As Barney's biographer Suzanne Rodriguez reports:

At one point they even dreamed of having Sinclair Lewis, soon to win both the Pulitzer and Nobel Prizes, as their coeditor. This planned review was probably 'La livre d'Heures de l'Année.' Described by Natalie as a yearly 'review of reviews,' it was intended to gather and present the past year's best writing from various literary magazines published in English and French. 'If you had just dropped from the moon,' declared her draft advertising copy, 'or just returned from around or out of the world, you [would] need to know what to read to catch up with the times.' Unfortunately, this interesting publication – which would have covered not only literature, but art and science – never evolved beyond the planning stages. (Rodriguez 243-44)³⁴

Another of Barney and Pound's schemes consisted in subsidizing one French and one British writer by setting an annuity of fifteen thousand francs per author, to be covered by a number of wealthy "friends of literature" who would buy thirty "shares" valued at five hundred francs each. In return, the shareholders would receive an offprint of each edition signed by the author and a copy of the manuscript, for which lots would be drawn. The first candidates to benefit from this initiative, baptized *Bel Esprit*, were Paul Valéry and

³⁴ Rodriguez quotes from page 44 of Barney's *Mémoires secrets*, an unpublished manuscript held at the Jacques Doucet library in Paris.

T. S. Eliot, who was recommended by Pound.³⁵ At the time Eliot was employed in a London bank, which kept him from working on *The Waste Land*. As it turned out, neither of them was interested in what they considered a form of concealed charity; this fact, added to the difficulties in rallying enough sponsors, eventually killed the project.³⁶

Barney remained proud of having conceived *Bel Esprit*. In her memoirs she claims that her idea inspired copycat initiatives by Adrienne Monnier and Lucien Fabre; the first started another subscription program at her bookshop, while the second “set forth for me the desire of others of Paul Valéry’s friends, as well as of the *Nouvelle Revue Française*, to take the enterprise I had formed and relieve me of its leadership, so that *they* could bring it to a successful conclusion” (Barney 120). According to Barney, Marguerite was a chief subscriber to *Bel Esprit*; she took at heart the plan to subsidize Valéry, which was finalized during a luncheon at her residence in Versailles. Barney adds, not without a tip of malevolence, that Marguerite “previously was completely devoted to the plastic arts, and only amused herself slightly with literature” (121). On the other hand, Sylvia Beach once wrote that “the only time Barney opened books was when a writer was expected at her salon. So that she would at least ‘be familiar with the titles’ of her invited guest, Barney would send a chauffeur to the bookshop at the last moment for all his works” (Fitch 73).

It is hard to separate fact from conjecture in these books of memories, which may explain why Marguerite never wrote one. Her personality was quite the opposite of

³⁵ There is written evidence that Marguerite sent Barney a check for three thousand francs, which however was meant for Léon-Paul Fargue, not Eliot; this considerably upset Pound, who did not want the initiative to turn into a private charity and therefore returned the money.

³⁶ Valéry’s growing reputation in the literary world prompted the *Nouvelle Revue Française* to offer him a stipend of fifteen thousand francs – exactly the same amount set by *Bel Esprit*.

Barney's, and yet both women shared a desire to foster, using Barney's words, "an intellectual, international elite, an understanding across diverse languages" (Barney 115-16). As most women from wealthy American families, they did not receive a formal education and nurtured their literary interests through haphazard readings and, in Barney's case, against the will of a conservative father. Once they achieved independence, Natalie and Marguerite surrounded themselves with the best society had to offer in terms of beauty, artistry, and intellect. They did not like the word "salon," which sounded pretentious and slightly *démodé*; Barney's "Fridays" and Marguerite's "Sundays" catered to the intellectual needs of their community and established a strong female presence within a culture still largely dominated by men. They were part of a social and literary network that coalesced around their residences and those of well-known writers of the Left Bank such as Gertrude Stein and Edith Wharton.

Sylvia Beach and Adrienne Monnier's bookstores on rue de l'Odéon were also focal nodes of that network, even if their owners were not very fond of salons; Beach's attitude toward that kind of social engagements transpires from an exchange she had with Paul Valéry at her bookshop:

'You're all dressed up. You've been in a *salon*.' Laughing, he took off his hat and placed a finger through a hole in the crown. 'Princess [Bassiano]. Do you know her, Sylvia?'

'No,' she responded impishly. 'I know so few princesses.'

'But surely you know her, she is an American!'

'Now what would I do in a salon?' She asked. And they both burst into laughter at their exchange. (Fitch 174)

Despite her witty remarks, Beach was aware that a variety of important literary events took place in salons and she did know Marguerite – in fact, the princess became one of her best patrons. She kept placing orders of contemporary literature until 1940, shortly

before *Shakespeare and Company* was forced to close because of the Nazi occupation. In a postcard with the iconic bookstore logo, dated April 16 1940, Beach writes: “Dear Princess Bassiano, You very kindly asked me to let you know how your account stood and as I am now sending you the last book from your list – it has only just appeared – enclosed herewith is the statement. Pardon me if it comes at this anxious moment. I hope you and your children are well. I am looking forward to seeing you one day soon” (MCP).

Marguerite may also have attended the historic first reading of fragments from Joyce’s *Ulysses*, translated and delivered by Valery Larbaud at *La Maison des Amis des Livres* on December 7, 1921. The hype surrounding the event was tremendous: Natalie Barney was there, as were the majority of the Left Bank literati, crammed into the store’s two rooms with other two hundred and fifty people. Visibly tense, Larbaud introduced the author and then proceeded to read portions of the Sirens and Penelope episodes. Joyce was excited to see how well the work had been received by the audience. The first edition of the English *Ulysses* was published a few months later, in February 1922; Larbaud kept working on the French translation with the help of Sylvia Beach and Adrienne Monnier. The process was painstakingly slow; since Larbaud was engulfed in other projects, Monnier asked a young Breton poet whose work she had recently published, Auguste Morel, to help with the translation. The first excerpts from the French *Ulysses* would be published on the first number of *Commerce* in the summer of 1924.

The idea of publishing a new literary review first came to Valéry during one of the Sunday gatherings at Ville Romaine. Many years later Marguerite recalled that episode in the following terms:

Vous me demandez comment Commerce a commencé. Je vais vous le dire... Un jour Valéry dit tout à coup : Pourquoi ne continuerons-nous pas nos réunions en publiant, en revue, nos dialogues ? Comme titre, je suggère « Commerce », commerce des idées. Cette idée enchantait tous les présents. Les directeurs (Larbaud, Valéry, Fargue) furent désignés immédiatement. Adrienne Monnier et moi-même prîmes en charge la mise en train et nous commençâmes aussitôt. Quant au résultat, c'est à vous d'en juger. J'ai été énormément aidée par Paulhan qui m'a permis de chercher parmi les manuscrits qu'il recevait pour la *N.R.F.* de même que par Alexis Léger qui choisissait les poèmes que nous avons publiés (Brown 307).³⁷

According to Iris Origo, a close friend of Marguerite and one of the first to write about her life and work, it was Léger who suggested the title *Commerce*, while Valéry would have preferred *Propos*, and Larbaud *Echanges*.³⁸ Léger would have been inspired by a verse he had written, “ce pur commerce de mon âme . . .” (“This pure commerce of my soul . . .”), which can be found in the first canto of his celebrated poem *Anabase*. Marguerite, however, never endorsed this interpretation. In an unpublished letter sent to poet Theodor Roethke in 1949 she had already given credit to Valéry: “I had a review in Paris (. . .) called *Commerce* (Commerce des idées), title chosen by Paul Valéry who was a great friend of mine and one of the directors” (Roethke, 14 Feb. 1949).

It is significant that in both occasions Marguerite used the exact same words, “commerce of ideas;” to my knowledge no one has ever pointed out the striking resemblance between her expression, *commerce des idées*, and the opening paragraph from Madame de Staël’s “De l’esprit des traductions” (On the Spirit of Translations), which concludes: “D’ailleurs, la circulation des idées est, de tous les genres de

³⁷ Marguerite’s answer to French Ambassador in Rome Gaston Palewski, who organized an exhibit dedicated to *Commerce* in 1958.

³⁸ In her biographical essay on Marguerite, Iris Origo writes that Léger first proposed to perpetuate the spirit of those conversations on the pages of a review and suggested a title: *Commerce*, as in “*commerce d’esprit*” (Origo, Atlantic 82).

commerce, celui dont les avantages sont les plus certains” (“the circulation of ideas is, among all possible kinds of commerce, the one that grants most certain profits.” De Staël 387).³⁹ The context of the passage seems more pertinent than Léger’s poem in defining the scope of Marguerite’s editorial enterprise. Given her no-nonsense upbringing in puritan New England, she was particularly receptive to the juxtaposition of ideas and commodities, which conveyed a rather pragmatic approach to literature. It is also significant that she should name her second review after the street of the “Dark Shops,” or *Botteghe Oscure*, a pun that played on multiple levels: it alluded to the unknown authors whose works she wanted to unearth, as if they were raw diamonds; but it could also refer to the dark rooms of *Palazzo Caetani*, which housed the editorial office.

In the intentions of its creators, *Commerce* should come out four times a year, one number per season, but this cadence was only respected for a period of five years (from 1926 to 1930). A total of twenty-nine numbers were published from 1924 to 1932; each number averaged two hundred pages. Circulation started at 1600 copies and reached a maximum of 2900 copies beginning with the fall 1926 issue. The editors’ preference went to previously unpublished texts, but exceptions were made for non-contemporary and foreign literature. The latter was presented in French, sometimes side-by-side with the original; texts were refused if the quality of the translation was deemed unsatisfactory by the editors. Criticism, reviews, and any correspondence with the readers were completely absent.

The editorial board included some of the most faithful attendees of her Sunday luncheons at Versailles: besides Paul Valéry, there were Léon-Paul Fargue and Valéry

³⁹ De Staël’s open letter to all intellectuals was translated into Italian by Pietro Giordani and published on the first number of *Biblioteca Italiana*. In Italy, it spurred a long and heated debate on the opportunity of opening up to the new cultural trends of the Romantic movement.

Larbaud plus two unofficial collaborators, Alexis Léger (known in the literary world as Saint-John Perse) and Jean Paulhan. There was no editor-in-chief: the directors were supposed to contribute in equal measure to the review and they all shared the same amount of decisional power. Valéry, Larbaud, and Fargue already had a solid reputation as writers and translators; they contributed to *Commerce* with their own writings and by recommending authors they found worthy of publication. There never was a plenary meeting of the board, a programmatic statement, or an editorial office: day-to-day operations were conducted at Monnier's bookshop in rue de l'Odéon.

Valéry shared with Marguerite his conviction that the new review should distinguish itself from all the magazines that were crowding the literary scene at the time: it should not yield to the norm-shattering push of the avant-garde, nor make any particular effort to gain the favor of a wide readership; rather, it should strive to recreate the atmosphere of the gatherings at Ville Romaine, and propose only the best available literature to be enjoyed by a selected circle of *connoisseurs*. Marguerite took this programmatic statement quite seriously: for nine years – the life span of *Commerce* – she made sure that a steady flow of manuscripts of the highest quality reached her editorial board. Paulhan greatly helped her in this regard: as chief editor of the *Nouvelle Revue Française* he had access to a large pool of manuscripts, which often ended up on the pages of *Commerce*.⁴⁰

Monnier was the *gérante* (manager) of the review, an administrative position that officially precluded her from intervening on its content. She did however help Larbaud in translating the episodes from *Ulysses* for the first number; this job proved to be extremely

⁴⁰ In a letter dated 5 February 1948 Saint-John Perse defines Paulhan “the best secret counselor and recruiter of *Commerce*” (Perse, *Cahiers* 39).

taxing and was eventually turned over to August Morel. Joyce's correspondence helps reconstructing the chain of events that led to Monnier's disengagement from *Commerce*. On the eleventh of July Joyce writes to her editor and patron Harriet Shaw Weaver, in London, bringing her up to date on the forthcoming publication:

I left Paris in the usual whirl of confusion. The first fragments of *Ulysses* translated are to appear in *Commerce*, a *revue de luxe* this month. Mr Larbaud being away the fragments chosen were insufficient. I asked to have others added. When this was done the princess di Bassiano objected to some of the passages. This I overruled. (This correspondence must now cease. AUTHOR.) Then the French printer who set *Penelope* (or part of her) struck out punctuation but put in accents. I insisted on their deletion. This caused fright. In the end, at the suggestion of Miss Monnier or the other two editors Mr Larbaud was telegraphed to. He replied bilingually to make sure there would be no mistake: Joyce a raison Joyce ha ragione. This gem now blazes brightly in my crown." (Ellmann 99)

The lack of coordination between translators, Marguerite, and printers, caused a series of complications that made Joyce very impatient. On August 17 he writes to Sylvia Beach from Saint Malo: "What is wrong about *Commerce*? Has that dog, who is so fond of raw posteriors, eaten the first batch?" (106)⁴¹

Tension kept building up even after publication. It is again Joyce who informs Harriet Weaver: "I suppose you received *Commerce*. I arrived here [in Paris] to find a first class battle in progress between one of the editors Mr Fargue and princess Somebody on the one hand and Miss Beach and Miss Monnier on the other. Thank goodness I am out of it" (108). The argument degenerated to the point where Sylvia Beach and Valery

⁴¹ In order to understand this reference, we must backtrack to an episode narrated by Beach in her memories: Joyce was invited at Villa Romaine to celebrate the publication of *Ulysses*. Suddenly Marguerite's shaggy dog entered and leaned on Joyce's shoulders with its big paws; the writer was very afraid of dogs and almost had a heart attack. Marguerite immediately pushed the animal away reassuring Joyce that her pet was harmless, although she conceded that once it had chased a plumber out the window and commented, "I had to buy the man a new pair of trousers." Upon hearing this Joyce whispered into Sylvia's ear, "She's going to have to do the same thing for me" (Beach 143).

Larbaud stopped talking: “a complicated *imbroglio* of frustrated interests,” is Larbaud’s only comment to Joyce. It is Joyce himself who recapitulates to Harriet Weaver on November 9:

As I expected the temperature is on the rise. I am now deep in the confidence of both camps. Larbaud has now definitely broken with Fargue who is closely connected with Ippolita (M-d-e- la Pr-nc-ss d- B-st-n-. I give her this name because that is the name of a lady who throws somebody or herself under an Italian goods train set in motion by signor Gabriel of the Annunciation who is sentimentally championed by Larbaud who has been denounced by Miss Monnier who is helped by Miss Beach. Larbaud has been warned not to walk, run or creep through the rue de l’Odéon. Ippolita told several people that A. M. was a bookseller and A. M. told me about Ippolita and several people and V. L. told me about A. M. and Fargue and Ippolita and then we had some steak followed by fried bacon with rashers and two pounds of Ippolita which was quite tender after the goods engine followed by a splendid muddle.” (110)

Despite Joyce’s cryptic references the general context is clear; the contrasts emerged between Monnier and Fargue had to do with the fact that he was often apathetic and unable to work unless someone else pushed him; that someone, for *Commerce* at least, was Adrienne Monnier. It came to the point where she had to transcribe his poems while he dictated them as a telegram to a secretary. In an early draft of Beach’s memoir Fargue is described as a man who “had great riches pouring from his tongue but a somewhat constipated pen” (Fitch 181). According to Beach, Monnier almost had a nervous breakdown in dealing with Joyce on one side and Fargue on the other. In the end she made clear to Marguerite that no further collaboration with Fargue would be possible from her part, and in December relinquished all ties to *Commerce*. In a very formal letter Marguerite asked her to return the list of subscribers and all documents still in her possession.

As owner of a florid bookstore, Monnier had a large network of potential subscribers and was well acquainted with the publishing business; the fact that she had an important role in setting up *Commerce* is confirmed in a letter Marguerite sent to Larbaud, in which she stated that the review had “Two mothers and four fathers” (Levie, *Commerce* 68): besides herself, Larbaud, Fargue, and Valéry, it seems likely that Marguerite was referring to Adrienne Monnier and Roffredo. The strong character of these two “mothers” made collaboration difficult and eventually led to a separation. Shortly after giving up her position at *Commerce* Monnier started her own review, *Le Navire d’Argent*, which published many American writers and introduced Hemingway’s work to the French readership.

Besides the fragments from *Ulysses*, the first number of *Commerce* included writings by the three directors and St. John Perse. Marguerite’s name did not appear anywhere in the review, nor there were any statements on its editorial policy. The clearest indication in this regard can be found in a letter Marguerite sent to Elisabeth Förster-Nietzsche in order to secure the rights on two of her brother’s texts for inclusion in *Commerce*.⁴²

Commerce hat es sich zu Aufgabe gestellt, nicht nur die zu Worte kommen zu lassen, die heutzutage gerade jung sind, sondern gerade und vor allem die, die es für alle Zeiten sind. [...] Gerade in dieser Vereinigung (sic) von dem, was jung geblieben ist und ewig jung bleiben wird mit dem Neuen, was unsere eigene Zeit bringt, sehe ich den eigentlichen Sinn einer Zeitschrift wie *Commerce*. (Levie, *Commerce* 29)

The goal of *Commerce* is to give voice not only to those who are young today, but first and foremost to those who will stay young forever. [...] It is precisely in the combination of what is still young, and forever will be, with the novelties brought about by our age, that I envision the purpose of a review like *Commerce*.

⁴² *Le Drame musical grec* was published in the tenth issue; *Socrate et la Tragédie* in the thirteenth.

Marguerite makes clear that *Commerce* adopted a diachronic approach in the selection of texts, (which in fact spanned from the Fifth century B. C. to 1932); she seems to uphold a set of universal values on which to judge the quality of such texts, and in a previous letter to Nietzsche's sister emphasizes the importance of "the great cultural union that for us represents Europe" (Levie, *La rivista Commerce* 21).

In order to carry out the transnational scope of the review, Marguerite relied on a network of collaborators spread across several countries: her cousin T. S. Eliot in England, Rainer Maria Rilke and Hugo von Hofmannsthal in Germany, Giuseppe Ungaretti in Italy, and D. S. Mirsky in Russia. Their task was to report on the latest literary trends in their respective countries and to search for potential contributors. Bernard Groethuysen, a German Philosopher who lived in Paris and was part of the *comité de lecture* (reading committee) of the *Nouvelle Revue Française*, especially helped Marguerite with the selection of non-contemporary texts (Levie, *Commerce* 24-25). It was Marguerite who kept the correspondence with these collaborators, some of whom were already involved in other editorial projects (it is the case of T. S. Eliot with *Criterion*; Hoffmannsthal was editor of the *Neue Deutsche Beiträge* (1922-1927); Mirsky worked for the review *Versty*).

It appears that Marguerite gave precise tasks to each associate and skillfully used their connections to enhance the prestige of her review on the international scene. The network also allowed *Commerce* to publish many foreign authors who were still unknown to the French readership. Moreover, through the reports of her correspondents Marguerite could monitor the development of new literary currents in most European countries. Ungaretti's letters are full of remarks on the pitiful state of Italian literature and

criticism.⁴³ In these letters Ungaretti expressed his frustration toward the narrow views of Italian critics, depicted as obtuse and unable to appreciate innovative work. Ungaretti felt suffocated and planned to react by founding his own literary magazine; a project that, however, would never see the light. *Commerce* gave him the opportunity to fulfill at least in part that dream, and Marguerite's hospitality at Versailles allowed him to deepen his connections with the poets he most admired. He later described Marguerite's house as "Casa italiana sul suolo di Francia, casa aperta, come era nel programma di *Commerce*, a chiunque, senza distinzione di paese, le sembrasse illuminato dalla poesia" ("An Italian house on French soil, an open house, like *Commerce*, to those she deemed enlightened by poetry, without distinction of nationality").⁴⁴

Ungaretti published two series of seven poems each entitled "Appunti per una poesia" ("Notes for a poem") in *Commerce* 4 and 12, respectively, plus a "Note sur Leopardi" ("A note on Leopardi") in the fourteenth issue of the review. The first seven poems are dedicated to Benito Mussolini, "In segno di gratitudine" ("As token of my gratitude"), while the second series is inscribed to Léon-Paul Fargue. Levie observes that the fragmentary nature and polyphonic texture of these poems bring to mind the verses of Paul Valéry, while their dialogic structure can be likened to Paulhan's prose (Levie, *Commerce* 191). Valéry's authority was openly acknowledged by Ungaretti, who addressed him "Caro Maestro" ("Beloved Master") and once signed "Il suo discepolo" ("Your disciple").

⁴³ The Caetani archive holds twenty-three letters sent by Ungaretti to Marguerite.

⁴⁴ From Ungaretti's introduction to *Hommage a Commerce*, the volume that accompanied the 1958 exhibit at Palazzo Primoli in Rome (14).

Ungaretti's poems were printed in Italian and French, side by side; the translation were his own, thus fulfilling another important tenet of the review: poetry should be translated by poets. The translations published in *Commerce* were ambitious attempts at recreating the original text, preserving its spirit but operating substantial changes to its structure and meaning; they were adaptations rather than literal renditions. St. John Perse translated a fragment by Eliot, "We are the hollow men," which appeared on the third issue (Winter 1924) with the generic title "Poème" and followed by the word "Adaptation" in parenthesis. The same work was later included in Perse's *Ouvres complètes* with the title "En hommage à T. S. Eliot: 'Traduction d'un poème'" (Patterson 40). In *Commerce*, like with Ungaretti's poems, the translation was mirrored by the original text, so that a reader proficient in both languages could appreciate the creative contribution of the translator without losing sight of the poet's intention. The impact of this approach on the development of a transnational literature should not be overlooked; Patterson, for example, underlines the instrumental role of these "studies in translation" in shaping "the development of a shared Symbolist heritage" (41). Where most literary magazines had a specific section dedicated to foreign literature, with reviews, tables, and commentaries, *Commerce* "cut the middleman" and provided its readers with a first-hand experience of writing from other countries including Chinese, Japanese, and other "exotic" texts.

Often the results of the connection established between editors and foreign collaborators became visible outside the pages of the magazine. Perse's influential *Anabase* never appeared in *Commerce*; it was originally published on the *Nouvelle Revue Française*. The immediate success of the poem owes to the significant number of

translations that followed its release in 1924. Levie emphasizes the fact that many of the writers involved in the translation of *Anabase* were part of Marguerite's entourage: Larbaud wrote a preface to the Russian version (1926); Groethuysen translated the poem in German together with Walter Benjamin in 1929, with an introduction by Hugo Von Hofmannsthal; T. S. Eliot authored the English version in 1930, for which he also wrote an introduction; Ungaretti did the same for the Italian *Anabase* one year later. Levie makes the suggestive hypothesis that it was Marguerite who discreetly intervened with her collaborators to favor the poem's widespread diffusion (Levie, *La rivista Commerce* 17).

Directly or indirectly, Marguerite Caetani continued to support Léger-Perse from a distance during the latter's self-imposed exile to the States.⁴⁵ Director of the Library of Congress Archibald MacLeish, whose work as a poet started to circulate thanks to *Commerce*, raised enough funds to sponsor a position at the Library for Perse. Marguerite's half-sister Katherine and her husband Francis Biddle gave the poet friendship and hospitality; Katherine, an accomplished poet in her own right, interceded on Perse's behalf with the Bollingen Foundation, which granted him a stipend in exchange for the rights of translation of his work in the U.S.A. within the prestigious "Bollingen Series."

While she relied on her collaborators to fetch original work from all over Europe, Marguerite had the last word on what was to appear in *Commerce*. Her decision to exclude the Symbolists caused a certain embarrassment in Valéry and Larbaud, who respected and valued their work, but she also refused texts by writers like Italo Svevo,

⁴⁵ Alexis Léger's anti-Nazism caused the abrupt end of his diplomatic career in 1940, following the fall of France; after the Vichy government revoked his French citizenship he left the country.

Thomas Mann, D.H. Lawrence and Ezra Pound. There does not appear to be a single set of criteria on which Marguerite based her acceptance of certain works and the rejection of others; in general terms, she disliked writing that was vulgar or blatantly political; she did not care for subversive literature, and yet she published Surrealist poets like Louis Aragon and André Breton even though such choice put her at odds with Paul Claudel, one of her most prominent contributors. (Levie, *La rivista Commerce* 27). The consistently high quality of the repertoire published in *Commerce* testifies to the goodness of Marguerite's literary taste, but her idiosyncrasies could affect her judgment; such tendency will become more evident in her second review, *Botteghe Oscure*, where her decisional power was not inhibited by an authoritative board of editors.

Marguerite's involvement in the editorial policy of the review was not always welcomed by its contributors, especially by those who saw their works rejected. Such was the case of Ernest Hemingway, who in February 1927 sent Marguerite a short story, "A Pursuit Race," through their common friend Archibald MacLeish.⁴⁶ MacLeish was one of the American expatriates who orbited around *Shakespeare and Company*; according to Sylvia Beach, he was "one of the few Americans in Paris who took the trouble to read French literature" (Donaldson 147). Another of those Americans was Marguerite; this mutual interest brought them together and allowed him to join the ranks of *Commerce* contributors as early as 1925. MacLeish later became Librarian of Congress and one of Marguerite's most trusted collaborators for the English section of *Botteghe Oscure*.

⁴⁶ Marguerite's refusal considerably upset Hemingway; he wrote a nasty letter to MacLeish, who however took Marguerite's defense: "I don't like that story [...] I thought the first paragraph sounded like a parody of your stuff & had nothing honest to do with the story" (MacLeish, *Letters* 198-99).

After a difficult start *Commerce* succeeded in elevating itself above many other “little magazines” circulating in Paris between the two wars; the review became very well known outside France and was available in nineteen countries at the time of its broadest diffusion. Among the factors that determined these positive results were Marguerite’s networking ability and her generosity toward contributors, which ensured that *Commerce* could always count on a large pool of manuscripts. The reputation of its editors gave the review a head start in terms of prestige and authority on the literary scene.

The triumvirate that shared direction of *Commerce* with Marguerite Caetani (Valéry, Larbaud, and Fargue) were convinced that the review should refrain from any concession to a larger public; its readers were only allowed, quoting Valéry, “to peek from a window” (Origo, *Marguerite Caetani* 82). Such attitude caused *Commerce* to become known as a “luxury version” of the *Nouvelle Revue Française*; the two publications had many traits in common, including a “shared” editor (Paulhan), but differed in that the NRF did not refrain from taking a stand in literary controversies, published reviews and criticism, and was more transparent toward its readership with regard to its editorial policy. *Commerce* never made public the names of its foreign collaborators, nor shared any information concerning its selection criteria. Another distinctive aspect that singled out *Commerce* among its French counterparts was the systematic use of literature in translation: thanks to her collaborators in other countries Marguerite was able to obtain many remarkable pieces that in some cases had not yet been published in the original, let alone in translation; such is the case for Virginia Woolf’s “Time passes” from *To the Lighthouse*, that appeared in the tenth issue of

Commerce (Winter 1926) as “le Temps Passe” one year before the novel was printed in the U.K. (Levie, *Commerce* 174).

The desire to circulate great literature across national borders constituted one of the most fascinating aspects of Marguerite’s first literary magazine, one that will have a still greater impact on *Botteghe Oscure*, a multilingual publication aimed to a truly international readership. Like Madame de Staël a century before, Marguerite believed that a nation’s artistic renewal depended on its intellectuals’ ability to expand the radius of their cultural horizon by engaging in literary counterpoint with authors from other countries. She fostered productive exchange between European and non-European writers, a process she considered the best antidote to the dangerous spread of nationalistic propaganda.

Commerce had to suspend publications in 1932 because of the global financial crash that took a heavy toll on Marguerite’s finances. The “Roaring Twenties” were over, swept away by the Great Depression; many of the American expatriates were forced to leave Paris. Marguerite and Roffredo decided to relocate to central Italy, where the Caetanis owned a vast estate. They took residence in the historic Palazzo Caetani on Via delle Botteghe Oscure (Street of the Dark Shops) in Rome. The following years turned out to be the hardest of Marguerite’s life; she had to cope with the growing hostility of the Fascist regime toward her native country and bear the hardships of wartime in which she lost her son, Camillo. It goes to her credit that after this dark passage she found the motivation to resume her editorial activities with renewed strength.

CHAPTER III

Main Collaborators: Eugene Walter and Giorgio Bassani

When she started her second magazine Marguerite was almost seventy years old and still full of energy. She had a flat on the third floor of Palazzo Caetani, but spent several days a week working in the garden of Ninfa with her daughter, Lelia: “My daughter and I are real gardeners and we are only happy in the country,” she confessed to poet Theodor Roethke (TRP 30 May 1949). She also traveled regularly to France and Switzerland over the summer. Such extensive traveling, together with the remarkable amount of correspondence she was able to handle each day, allowed her to rekindle many relationships that had been severed by the war. In Paris, she reconnected with many authors who had contributed to *Commerce* before the war; of that review’s unofficial board of directors, only St. John Perse and Valery Larbaud were still alive, but they never contributed to *Botteghe Oscure*.

A new generation of American and British writers swarmed to the French capital after the war, eager to retrace the steps of Hemingway, Pound, and other members of the “Lost Generation.” Marguerite had many opportunities to make new acquaintances, especially after her magazine became available in the U.S.A. and France. *Botteghe Oscure* represented a novelty that could hardly be ignored; even though her name did not appear on its pages until the fifth issue, the open invitation printed on the last page of the

magazine prompted many writers to send their manuscripts to the editor. One of them was a young native of Mobile, Alabama, named Eugene Walter, who would become Marguerite's most trusted assistant after Giorgio Bassani.

Walter had seen a copy of the magazine (No. 6, fall 1950) at the Gotham Book Mart in New York, shortly before leaving for France on his G.I. bill. He was almost thirty and eager to publish; struck by the review's unusual looks and by the quantity of young authors represented on its pages, he sent six of his poems to the editor.⁴⁷ Marguerite took all of them, and invited Walter to her apartment on Rue du Cirque for an informal talk. His recollection of that first meeting features a memorable description of Marguerite wearing a Chanel suite adorned by an ancient quartz set in gold, and at her feet a pair of white Keds. They took immediate liking in each other even though their background and personality could not have been more different: Walter was fascinated by cats and monkeys, she loved dogs; he came from Alabama, "North of Haiti" as he used to say, and boasted of being General Lee's great-grandson; she was born and raised in WASP New England and descended from Samuel Chapin, a seventeenth-century Puritan deacon. He was a gourmet chef, flaunted an encyclopedic knowledge of herbs and spices, and wrote several cookbooks; she cared little for food and relied on her cooks and servants for its preparation.

Walter understood the practicality of Marguerite's footwear when she invited him to lunch at her favorite bistro three blocks away from the flat. He also found out that the princess's beverage of choice for her guests was plain orange juice; it took him weeks to convince her that writers "really did absorb stronger beverages." In the following days he

⁴⁷ Walter's poems would be published in No. 8 (fall 1951).

received many other invitations from the princess. Despite all their differences, Marguerite enjoyed Walter's company and appreciated his free spirit and surreal humor. She soon started to involve him in various aspects of her editorial work. Marguerite was still well-known in the French literary world as editor and publisher of *Commerce*, and on her occasional visits to Paris, she enjoyed receiving friends in rue du Cirque and organizing meetings at the Ritz or other hotels in town. But she needed someone like Walter to keep an eye on the streets, where a new generation of local and international authors was brooding in the cafes and smoky restaurants she could no longer visit. He would contact and recruit new collaborators on her behalf, attend luncheons and parties, go to concerts, entertain guests. Working with Marguerite Caetani was like having "a ticket of admission to everything in Paris" (Walter, *Millking the Moon* 163).

Thanks to her, Walter received an invitation to Natalie Barney's salon, a coveted venue for any Parisian intellectual. Marguerite also introduced Walter to a couple of young Harvard graduates, George Plimpton and Peter Matthiessen, who were about to launch a new magazine, the now legendary *The Paris Review*. Plimpton and Matthiessen had asked Marguerite for financial support, something she could not provide because of the heavy expenses related to *Botteghe Oscure*. Instead, she offered to "lend" them Eugene Walter as potential contributor and collaborator. Despite his lack of an Ivy-League education (actually he never attended college), Walter was able to impress them with his dazzling personality. Plimpton was looking for a short story to put in the first number of the review, something humorous to contrast the general seriousness of other contributions. Walter's piece "Trobador" turned out to be the perfect match. His style

had a natural lightness to it; he always said he could not write the “gloom and doom” type of stories that were so popular among Faulkner’s imitators.

His collaboration with *Paris Review* gave Walter a chance to meet many authors, some of whom he introduced to Marguerite – it was the best way to return her kindness. Most of these meetings took place at the Café Tournon, just across the street from the review’s office; it was a multipurpose environment, or in Walter’s words: “literary salon, permanent editorial board meeting, message center, short-order eatery, debating club, and study hall. There were several literary reviews in English, one in French, and who knows how many books and other works springing forth from this noisy, smoky, clattery, raunchy, beat-up café” (*Milking the Moon* 151).⁴⁸ Most of the decisions regarding the review were made while sitting at a café somewhere in the Latin quarter, not in an office, and somewhat on the spur of the moment: “Our whole point was the here and the now, Americans in Paris, in the tradition of Hemingway, Djuna Barnes, and all the Americans who were in Paris in the twenties” (153). Marguerite saw the charm and the importance of this youthful energy unleashed in the streets of Paris; she became the link between two generations of expatriates with a passion for literature and a burning desire to forgo the rules set by the establishment.

⁴⁸ Walter made many new acquaintances, American and not, lingering by the Café du Tournon. One of them was Max Steele, who would later teach creative writing in Chapel Hill. Another was writer Daphne Athas, daughter of Pan Athas, who taught Greek and Classical Mythology at UNC Chapel Hill. Walter also met poet Vilma Howard, Catherine Morrison, Sally Higginson, Tom Keogh and his wife Theodora (granddaughter of Theodor Roosevelt), who would later move to Rome; also Jean Garrigue, Francine du Plessix (daughter of the founder of *Vogue* magazine), and Alan Lomax. Marguerite introduced Walter to poet Christopher Logue: “He had no money and survived entirely on what the princess gave him when she bought poetry from him” (*Milking the Moon* 148). Walter also met novelist Evan Connell, Gurney Campbell, Julia Randall, James Broughton, Carson McCullers, and poet Alfred Chester. “He was a very gifted writer who was always hanging around the *Paris Review*, and I sent him to meet Princess Caetani. I think I took one of his manuscripts to show her. We published his first things in *Botteghe Oscure*” (149).

Marguerite's intuition about Walter's talent was confirmed in 1954, when his novel *The Untidy Pilgrim* won the Lippincott Fiction Prize for young novelists. By that time his work had already appeared in *Botteghe Oscure* for three consecutive years (1951-53). Walter became a contributing editor of other publications, including the *Transatlantic Review* (or *TR*), which started publications in 1959 in Rome before expanding its market to London and New York.⁴⁹ His resourcefulness was much appreciated by Marguerite; on one occasion, she introduced him to Carson McCullers, who had just moved to Paris. She and her husband, Reeves, wanted to start a Southern garden in the old monastery where they lived. Walter had his friends from Mobile mail him the flower seeds they were looking for.

His abundant energy allowed Walter to perform a variety of tasks, "all the dirty work of publishing," as he put it (*Milking* 135). Walter's work was proving indispensable for Marguerite; thus in 1956 she invited him to move to Rome as editorial assistant to *Botteghe Oscure* to establish a closer form of collaboration with him. She badly needed help; submissions piled up on her desk at an alarming speed, the magazine continued to grow in size, and typos abounded because of the Italian printer's lack of confidence with foreign languages. Walter's responsibilities included setting up the review's office on the first floor of Palazzo Caetani. Even though Marguerite insisted that he stay at the palazzo, Walter preferred to rent a small apartment in Trastevere, across the river and a few blocks away from via delle Botteghe Oscure. This way he was free to host whomever he pleased

⁴⁹ *The Transatlantic Review* was named after Ford Madox Ford's 1924 literary journal. Over the course of its long life (it closed down in 1977), *TR* printed the work of young American and British authors who did not find space in other magazines, together with contributions by leading contemporary writers. Its founder, literary agent and art collector Joseph McCrindle, found Marguerite's work inspiring; it was Walter who introduced them to each other. McCrindle had worked with the OSS (Office of Strategic Services, the U.S. agency that would later become the CIA) during his stay in London, in 1944.

without giving explanations or feeling embarrassed. He knew that some of his guests would not have been welcomed at the Caetani residence. One such guest was the then still young and unknown Allen Ginsberg who, looking quite disheveled, went to meet Walter one day at the Palazzo to offer some of his poems for publication in *Botteghe Oscure*. But Marguerite was not impressed by the poet's verse, much less by his rough appearance. To her, Ginsberg's abundant use of profanity seemed unnecessary and unnatural.

Walter then opened his own home to a variety of guests for free and uncontrolled conversation and to enjoy the latest tidbits. True to his southern roots, he viewed gossip as an essential activity for any writer, regardless of whether it took place in the streets or literary salons. This side of his character made Walter a great storyteller, but not entirely reliable. By his own admission, he "didn't let the facts stand in the way of a good story." He could not help combing the story of the Caetanis with some juicy gossip he heard in Rome, voices that circulated wildly even though nobody else ever dared to put them down in writing: stories about Roffredo's many affairs, for example, or about Franz Liszt being Roffredo's father, not his godfather (Walter, *Milking the Moon* 132). There were times when Marguerite did not tolerate Walter's vagaries and frowned upon his frequentations. She did enjoy his company, however, which brought some lightness to the seriousness of the Caetani entourage. As he used to say, "I was an American imp for her. That's why we were friends" (205). Marguerite's many foreign visitors also appreciated Walter's sense of humor and his talent as organizer of social events. Being a natural entertainer, he became Marguerite's unofficial social relations manager at the Palazzo. Some of his activity had unsuspected literary outcomes. When Isak Dinesen came to

Rome, Walter organized a concert and several parties in her honor. He also took her to Sermoneta, the historic Caetani feud on the hills surrounding Ninfa. The Danish writer used Sermoneta's beautifully preserved castle as a setting for "Echoes," a short story included in *Last Tales* (1957).⁵⁰

Among the many outings and social events Walter arranged, the most memorable one might have been a cocktail party in honor of T. S. Eliot and Alberto Moravia in 1958. Eliot was in town to receive an honorary degree from the University of Rome. Besides being a leading figure in the world of letters, he was Marguerite's distant cousin, and she wanted the reception to be a resounding success. But she was also extremely nervous because there were many rivalries and unresolved quarrels among the writers who would be present. Thus, she instructed Walter to take all the necessary steps to avoid inconvenient disturbances.

Walter decided that Eliot and the other guests would be less likely to bicker if they were served the right amount of alcoholic beverages. Therefore, the day of the party he recovered a huge punch bowl from some forgotten armoire in the cellars and proceeded to mix his famous "23rd Field Artillery Punch:" sliced oranges and lemons, cognac, white rum, gin, and cold champagne. It tasted like fruit, but delivered a different kind of punch. A common pre-party drink among the young male population across the Gulf Coast, it also proved a success across the globe in Rome. That night at the party, Walter's concoction soon made everyone achieve, in his words, "a rosy view": envious and malicious comments gave way to innocuous jokes and rhymes. "Mr. Eliot himself," Walter recalls, "remembered some football cheers from Midwestern colleges, which he'd

⁵⁰ In 1985 Orson Welles wanted to make a movie inspired by two of Dinesen's works, *The Dreamers* and "Echoes;" his project remained unfinished, however, as he only shot twenty minutes of film.

heard in his youth. He had a yellow rose in one hand and a punch cup in the other, wielded like a pom-pom, and my favorite was: *Rah-rah-rah / Sis-boom-sah! / Go to war, / Holy Cross! Bim ‘em, bam ‘em, / Skin ‘em, scam ‘em, / Rip ‘em, ram ‘em, / Holy Cross!’* (190). Eliot was reciting the cheerleader only after two glasses of Walter’s “23rd Field Artillery Punch (Walter, *Milking the Moon* 191).

Walter’s tasks at *Botteghe Oscure* were of various kind and importance, from reading manuscripts to proofreading and to even mailing copies of the magazine. He eventually assumed this last task, which was previously relegated to the non-specialized and at times barely literate staff of the palazzo, after a footman unceremoniously dumped a batch of the latest issue in a storeroom instead of carrying it to the post office. When the copies were discovered, Marguerite was furious; Walter had never seen her so upset before. She reprimanded the footman harshly and soon after left for Ninfa. The footman was still so ashamed a few days later that he walked all the way from Rome to the Caetani summer residence to atone for the offense; he announced that he was going to jump into the lake to end his wicked life, to which the princess only replied “Oh no, Gino, for heaven’s sake, behave” (185). The footman did not have to leave the palazzo, but from that point on it was Walter who began to deliver the magazines to the post office.

Walter was now working for Marguerite full time, but he had not yet received any payment. Their collaboration started so informally that Marguerite had simply forgotten to put him on salary. Too embarrassed to ask, Walter resorted to borrow money from the Caetani administrator every now and then. Eventually someone sent a memo to the busy princess and he began to receive paychecks. Such distractions were not uncommon, as

Walter would soon discover; contributors did not receive their checks for months, or received twice the amount they had originally asked for; refused manuscripts were misplaced and never returned; moreover, Marguerite's traveling between Rome, Ninfa, and Paris was a constant source of headaches for her collaborators. Partly because of the Princess' forgetfulness and partly because of his growing dissatisfaction with some of the aspects of his job, Walter grew more and more reluctant to depend on her as his sole employer for a living. He owed Marguerite a great deal, but always tried to maintain a degree of separation from the "professorial circles," as he called them, that orbited around the princess (153).

He had at least one sworn enemy, *Botteghe Oscure*'s chief editor Giorgio Bassani. Bassani owed Marguerite a great deal; he was still a young and little known poet when she hired him to help her start the magazine in 1948. A few years earlier Bassani had moved to Rome from Ferrara, a provincial town that could not contain his great ambition. Marguerite entrusted him with many different tasks, the most important of which was supervising the Italian section of the review. He gradually acquired more decisional power on who was going to get published, which gave him great leverage when it came to publishing his own works in other magazines. *Botteghe Oscure* was a prestigious venue for new and seasoned writers alike, and he used it as a platform to reach first-rate editors, critics, and journalists. Italian critics came to see *Botteghe Oscure* as Bassani's creature, a gross misconception that Marguerite never cared to rectify.

When she brought Walter onboard, however, Bassani felt threatened. There were other collaborators, of course, but their role was far less important and none of them were credited in the magazine except for Bassani. His name, in fact, had been the only one to

appear on the first four issues; Marguerite only added her name when the review had become exactly what she wanted: a multilingual anthology of international literature with a focus on young and little-known authors. When Walter arrived in Rome to take on the position of “segretario di redazione” (assistant to the editor), Bassani made no effort to hide his sour feelings in front of the new assistant. Walter would recall one evening in particular when Bassani’s arrogance reached new heights. Marguerite was briefing Walter in the large apartment on the third floor when Bassani knocked on the door. Since she was at her desk, far from the entrance, it was Walter who let him in. Bassani darted in without acknowledging his presence and greeted Marguerite with a big smile: “Principessa!” Walter took the offense graciously, but in the following months other events reinforced his conviction that Bassani was, in Walter’s words, “a wonderful writer but a pompous little ass” (185).

There were other clashes between them. Bassani had published on *Botteghe Oscure* all but one of his *Storie Ferraresi*, stories that were later collected in a book by Einaudi without mention of their previous appearance in Marguerite’s review. With Marguerite’s approval – or so he claims – Walter wrote a “nasty” letter to the publisher complaining about the omission, much to Bassani’s dismay. Walter’s most sensational claim, however, regards Tomasi di Lampedusa’s celebrated novel *Il Gattopardo*, whose first chapter was published in *Botteghe Oscure* No. 21 (spring 1958). Having already received rejections by several publishers, including Mondadori and Einaudi, Tomasi di Lampedusa sent the manuscript to Elena Croce, pleading her to forward it to Marguerite for inclusion in *Botteghe Oscure*. According to Walter, Croce did not think much of it, but passed it on to her friend as the author requested. As Walter recalls, “The princess

read it. She loved it. By then I had enough Italian, and I said, ‘Well, you know, Princess, I’m a novice at Italian, but it was fascinating.’ She said, ‘We’ll publish it.’ She said, ‘I’d already decided, but I was curious to see what you’d make of it.’ But Bassani said, ‘Oh no, this is trash, this is some journalist. I advise you not to publish it, it’s not worth it’” (187). Walter’s recollection of the events is very different from the version commonly accepted and reported on most Italian sources. According to the “official” version of the story, it was Bassani who “discovered” *Il Gattopardo*; he received the manuscript from Elena Croce, and immediately understood the novel’s literary value. It is a fact that, in March 1958, Bassani contacted the author’s widow in order to secure publication rights with Feltrinelli, in the “Contemporanei” series. Bassani seemed in a great hurry to publish the book within the year, even though the manuscript in his possession was incomplete; this fact became clear during his phone conversation with Licy (Alexandra Wolff Stomersee), Tomasi di Lampedusa’s wife. The writer had died less than a year before (23 July 1957) without the satisfaction of seeing his work in print. Bassani recovered the famous chapter of the ball from Licy’s sister Lolette, then rushed to Palermo in order to look for any other missing parts. Back in Rome, he edited the manuscript, added a preface and submitted everything to Feltrinelli who published *Il Gattopardo* in November.

Bassani’s harsh criticism toward *Il Gattopardo* does not seem to reconcile with his later behavior; and yet, he might have attempted to dissuade Marguerite from printing the first chapter in *Botteghe Oscure* before he had secured the publication rights from Licy. Once he realized that the chapter would appear in the spring issue of the magazine, he had to act quickly in order to beat any eventual competition. Given the rapid sequence

of events, this hypothesis seems to be the only one coherent with both Walter's account and Bassani's active role in the publication of Tomasi di Lampedusa's masterpiece. One year later *Il Gattopardo* won the prestigious *Strega* prize; Bassani was there to proudly receive the prize, as the one who discovered the manuscript and gave it to the world (187).⁵¹

In 1957 Marguerite was awarded the Légion d'honneur. The newly appointed French ambassador to Italy, Gaston Palewski, decided to honor her with an exhibition dedicated to her first magazine, *Commerce*, and Walter was involved in the planning of the event.⁵² He thought of putting on display not just letters and manuscripts, but also pictures and objects that had a particular meaning for the people represented. There were toy soldiers collected by Paul Valéry, and for Marguerite Walter gathered packages of seeds, piles of books, some of her favorite paintings, and a gardening basket full of manuscripts. The exhibition, which included paintings from Marguerite's collection, was a great success; it gave many former collaborators the opportunity to praise *Commerce* after twenty-five years of silence. Walter, however, did not have time to rest; there was the twentieth number of *Botteghe Oscure* to deal with. It would be a volume of over six hundred pages, with a special introduction by Archibald MacLeish – an exception to the

⁵¹ A similar story involves not Bassani but T.S. Eliot, who was Marguerite's distant cousin and literary consultant since the times of *Commerce*. *The Portobello Road*, a short story by Muriel Spark, was published in *Botteghe Oscure* No. 18 (fall 1956). When she sent the story to the magazine, Spark was just starting to write fiction. Eugene Walter read it and loved it immediately, but Marguerite was reluctant to publish it because Eliot had advised her against it. Walter prevailed in the end, and *Botteghe Oscure* published yet another author who would become famous a few years later.

⁵² Palewski spoke English and was a convinced Anglophile. He fought for the French Free Army during the war, and became a close collaborator of Charles de Gaulle, which greatly helped his political career. Palewski helped founding the Gaullist party, and in 1951 was elected to the National Assembly. In London, during the war, Palewski began a relationship with novelist Nancy Mitford. The two never married, mainly because of his reputation as a womanizer, but he remained close to Mitford until her death in 1973. One of Mitford's character, Fabrice, duc de Sauveterre, who appears in two of her novels, was inspired by Palewski.

rule of never addressing the readers directly – that required an intense data-gathering activity on Walter’s part. He was overworked and might have made some mistakes, or maybe it was – as he writes in *Milking the Moon* – just a series of unfortunate circumstances and people badmouthing him; at any rate, early in 1959 Walter was suddenly fired by Marguerite.⁵³ He declined the princess’ offer to pay for his return trip; instead he stayed in Rome and set on a completely different path.⁵⁴

While working for Marguerite, Walter had befriended Ginny Becker, a former Broadway actress from Louisiana who lived at the Palazzo with her husband, John, and their two children. She had a marionette theater bought for her them, and Walter loved marionettes; soon they were making puppets and performing for an adult crowd that included Isak Dinesen, Robert Graves, and Federico Fellini. Fellini greatly enjoyed the show, and invited them to perform in an episode of *La Dolce Vita*, but at that time Walter was fully absorbed in the preparation of the fall number of *Botteghe Oscure* while

⁵³ Walter writes that only two numbers of the review were published after he left. If that is the case, he must have stopped working for Marguerite early in 1959. This time frame is confirmed by Katherine Biddle in a letter sent to T. S. Eliot, Marguerite’s distant cousin, and dated July 19, 1959: “In December and January she [Marguerite] had a change of assistance on B. O., dismissing Eugene Walter” (KBP).

⁵⁴ The circumstances of Walter’s dismissal are not entirely clear. Marguerite thought he had become too cocky and not “serious” enough for the job. The last drop fell when Marguerite gave him the task of preparing an “Index” of both *Commerce* and *Botteghe Oscure*; according to what she wrote to her friend, poet Gene Baro, Walter did not rely on the usual proof correctors, but hired some “ambiguous friends,” which resulted in a first print full of errors (GBP April 18 1959). Marguerite was furious; she had to throw out the entire batch with great waste of time and money (a first edition of the *Index* was published in 1958, its distribution very limited; only in 1964, after Marguerite’s death, a second amended edition was published by Wesleyan UP). Walter’s version of the story is quite different: he does not mention the *Index*, and claims instead that a number of people badmouthed him because they were envious of his position and angry at his impudence. In addition, Marguerite’s condition had worsened considerably over the years: “The princess was tired. She was getting crankier and crankier, and her eyes were falling. She was going blind, poor darling. Toward the end, especially with poetry, I read a lot aloud to her. I realized that she was getting old and that she wouldn’t be able to do it much longer. In a sense, I was relieved that I didn’t see her decline” (*Milking the Moon* 208). Despite everything, Walter was not resentful; he continued to speak highly of Marguerite whenever he could, and in 1991 wrote a flattering portrait of the princess for the exhibition in her honor at the Harry Ransom Center for the Humanities in Austin, Texas.

Marguerite was in Paris.⁵⁵ ⁵⁶ Fellini did not forget about him, however, and a few years later cast him for 8 ½, in which Walter plays an American journalist who interviews Marcello Mastroianni.⁵⁷ Thus Walter began to work as an actor in a number of movies of various kinds, from *The Pink Panther* (he plays Peter Seller's butler in an Italian villa) to *Giulietta degli spiriti*, where Fellini had him dressed in a mother superior costume. He also translated Fellini's scripts for American producers, and wrote the lyrics for a famous song in Zeffirelli's *Romeo and Juliet* ("What is a Youth"). After many more adventurous years of acting and partying, Walter went back to Mobile; he had spent almost two decades in Rome.

The mysterious alchemy between Walter and Marguerite, which curbed their differences and let them work together for eight years in Paris and Rome, was based on mutual respect and deep affection. Sometimes she would care for him as a grandmother; upon learning that he was ill, she once sent a footman to deliver a bowl of hot soup to his apartment in Trastevere. Another time, afraid that he might be cold in his office, she came down to visit ("dressed as if she was going to the North Pole," Walter recalled) and immediately gave disposition to move him to a warmer wing of the building. She felt for him as a fellow American and did not want him to bear the gloom of the palazzo, "the

⁵⁵ Walter states that the Becker family inspired the fictional Steiner family in *La dolce vita*: "Their apartment had been reproduced. Ginny is a very good painter, and Fellini went to the gallery that represented her and rented some of her paintings to dress the set. He reproduced the hooded thing that Ginny Becker always wore [. . .] And a lot of the people at the Steiner party are people who went to Becker parties. Iris Tree plays herself. There is an awful Irish poet that I hate who plays me. Fellini wanted us to do the marionettes in that episode, not telling us that he'd done the Steiner episode (*Milking the Moon* 211)."

⁵⁶ The dates do not seem to coincide with Walter's reconstruction. *La dolce vita* was shot during the spring/summer 1959, when Walter was no longer working for *Botteghe Oscure*. He may be referring to the fall 1958 issue, however.

⁵⁷ Recalling the experience of working in 8 ½ Walter wrote: "I was so enchanted with everything. Everybody loves being in a Fellini film. It's not like work. It's like Carnival. It was one big cocktail party. When he began shooting 8 ½, he took a little piece of brown paper and taped it near the viewer of the camera. It said REMEMBER THIS IS A COMIC FILM" (*Milking the Moon* 214).

weight of all those centuries of Caetani” (*Milking the Moon* 185). She understood his desire to live independently because of her own yearning for freedom, which is why she kept a flat in Paris for as long as she lived.

Walter reciprocated Marguerite’s attentions by going above and beyond his duties. He took care to recover countless manuscripts from the cramped space between Marguerite’s bed and the wall, where she carelessly stuffed them so that he could mail them back to the senders. He sat with the princess through many thunderstorms in a room with padded walls, with all the shutters closed and thick curtains drawn on each window because she was afraid of thunders. Walter’s affection for Marguerite ran deeper than the courteous attitude showed to her by most collaborators including Bassani. He did not have her money or social status, but knew about loss and the inquietude that derives from it. He felt she was trapped in a shell of puritan zeal and medieval customs, caught in a net of sticky obsequiousness; in vain he hoped that one day she would rediscover her “cat and monkey” spirit and poke fun at the Bassanis and the Eliots just as he did.

Giorgio Bassani

Marguerite relied on a large nexus of domestic and foreign consultants to help her produce and manage a biannual review that was bigger than most books, but the executive power always stayed firmly in her hands. When it came to choosing new collaborators, her recruitment process was straightforward: she would exchange a few introductory letters with a new contributor; this could be someone who had been recommended to her by another writer, or who had simply sent a sample of his/her work to the magazine. If the author showed interest in the publication (as it was often the case),

Marguerite asked for a list of potential subscribers and/or contributors. This method could be replicated ad infinitum, granted an exponential increase in contacts, and it added that personal touch Marguerite was so fond of; she liked to explore new literary circles, how writers connected to each other, what their preferences were. Gradually her network extended to the point where she had to write dozens of letters every day just to keep track of all the incoming lists. One of her typical closing formulas was “In great haste, Marguerite,” and one can safely assume she really meant it.⁵⁸

When Elena Croce recommended to Marguerite a young Giorgio Bassani as editor for her new literary magazine, neither of them could predict how felicitous this decision would be for the future of *Botteghe Oscure*, nor how radically it would transform the career of the Italian-Jewish writer. Bassani had published two books of poetry when Marguerite hired him as editorial assistant; since she found Italian prose much easier to read than poetry, she asked him to write a short story for the first number of the magazine. Even though at the time he considered himself a poet, not a novelist, Bassani responded with *Storia d'amore*, a work that – with the title *Lida Mantovani* – would open a series of five narrative pieces known as *Storie ferraresi*.⁵⁹ Bassani published all but one of them in *Botteghe Oscure*; in 1954 Marguerite refused *Gli ultimi anni di Clelia Trotti* because of its explicit political content. By that time, however, Bassani's star was rapidly ascending in both the literary and the editorial world; in 1955

⁵⁸ Among Marguerite's most frequently consulted collaborators were René Char in France, T.S. Eliot in England, Archibald MacLeish, Truman Capote, Stanley Moss, and Katherine Biddle in the States, Paul Celan, Ingeborg Bachmann, and Hans Magnus Enzerberger in Germany. Then there were several on-site collaborators to help Marguerite with various aspects of the review. Three of them were Americans: Stanley Moss, Ben Johnson and Eugene Walter; among the Italians, Ignazio Silone, Guglielmo Petroni, and Giorgio Bassani, the only one who remained for the whole run of the review. Sean O'Criadain and Florence Hammond were the last two foreign collaborators, chronologically speaking, in the life of the review.

⁵⁹ Bassani's story, translated by Margaret Bottrall, was also included in the volume *An Anthology of New Italian Writers*, published by Marguerite in the U.S.A. with New Directions (1950).

he gave the rejected story to *Paragone*, the review founded by Roberto Longhi and Anna Banti, where Bassani had started working as editor.

The five *Storie ferraresi*, bound together in a single volume, were awarded the prestigious *Strega* prize in 1956. As Eugene Walter punctually noted in his memoir, the book gave no credit to *Botteghe Oscure*, a fact that is all the more surprising if one remembers how much Marguerite cared about this kind of recognition. Bassani himself, years later, would acknowledge the role played by Marguerite in his decision to write prose: “Se nel primo numero di *Botteghe Oscure*, che è della primavera del ’48, mi ripresentai narratore (fra il ’42 e il ’47, gli anni in cui da Ferrara mi ero trapiantato a Roma, avevo composto quasi esclusivamente poesie) non fu tanto per obbedire al richiamo di una vocazione espressiva ineluttabile, quanto per corrispondere all’attesa, affettuosa e imperiosa insieme, di una persona amica. È la pura verità” (935-36). Marguerite also helped Bassani’s career as a poet; she introduced him to William Weaver, who translated some of Bassani’s poems to be included in the 1950 anthology of Italian writers sponsored by Marguerite and distributed in both the U.K. and the States (*New Italian Writers*, published in the States by New Directions). Finally, by frequenting Marguerite Bassani had the opportunity to expand his cultural horizon; he came to appreciate American literature and – in the last period of his career – extensively traveled the U.S. and dedicated several poems to that country.⁶⁰

As his reputation improved, so did Bassani’s decisional power on the Italian section of *Botteghe Oscure*; by the second half of the 1950s he was practically a co-

⁶⁰ In the spring 1976 (March-April) Bassani was invited to teach a course on his work at Indiana University, Bloomington. This experience made a lasting impression on the writer, who wrote a poem to his friend Mario Soldati, titled “Dal campus,” in which he ironically portrays his role of culture bearer among a crowd of foreign students (Cappozzo 48).

director of the magazine. The thinning out of his correspondence with Marguerite testifies to this growing independence; he did not feel the need to consult her as often as in the past. After 1955 Bassani did not publish any more of his work in *Botteghe Oscure*, although he kept managing the review until it ceased publication, in 1960.

Bassani's tasks encompassed virtually all aspects of the review's management, from choosing fonts to reading proofs, to selecting and paying contributors. Whenever Marguerite was away from Rome, she expected Bassani to keep her up to date on everything. Her letters to him were rather short and to the point, even though she often included some personal notes about common friends or family.⁶¹ By comparing these letters with her correspondence in English it becomes evident that Marguerite did not like to write in Italian, and never mastered the language of the country she lived in. This fact never prevented her from criticizing the works Bassani wanted to publish and that she did not like; sometimes he was able to persuade her, sometimes not. A recurrent matter of discussion was the proportion between Italian poetry and prose, as Bassani tended to include more of the former while Marguerite preferred narrative works. He also had to protect his section from the constant threat of being overwhelmed by the French and the Anglo-American ones; even though *Botteghe Oscure* was based in Italy, its content – following Marguerite's directions – became increasingly international with every issue. After an all-Italian first number, the pages in Italian drastically shrank in order to accommodate a section in English and then another one in French. The switch was most visible in the fifth issue, where the Italians lost almost one hundred pages (from 287 to

⁶¹ The correspondence between Giorgio Bassani and Marguerite, edited by Massimiliano Tortora, has been published in 2011 by the Camillo Caetani Foundation.

191); it was the same issue, not coincidentally, in which Marguerite's name appeared for the first time next to Bassani's.

It was a symbolic gesture that carried great significance; Marguerite shunned every kind of public attention, and she had never wanted her name to appear in *Commerce*. In a letter to Gene Baro she admitted that with the fifth issue *Botteghe Oscure* became the kind of review she had envisioned (GBP September 12 1955). The most noticeable difference between the fifth and the previous numbers, as I have mentioned, is the reduction of the Italian section and a corresponding increase in the Anglo-American one; the French section also increased in size, from sixty-eight pages in the third issue (there was no French section in the fourth one) to eighty-nine. In light of these numbers, one can safely assume that Marguerite aspired to reach a balance between the different sections presented in each number of *Botteghe Oscure*, without giving the impression of being partial to Italian authors. In the sixth issue (fall 1950) the proportion became almost perfect, with 151 pages dedicated to Italian, 151 to French, and 161 to British and American writers. The space allotted to the Anglo-Americans, however, grew exponentially in the following numbers; what made the scale tip in their favor?

In an interview she gave to Eugene Levin in 1958, when she was seventy-eight years old, Marguerite explicitly stated that European writers struck her as less prone to experiment with language: "Instead, they appear to be trying to consolidate and refine the use of the written word." Marguerite used James Joyce as an example of positive experimentation; excerpts from *Ulysses* had been published in *Commerce*'s first issue, translated by Auguste Morel. "From America comes work that appears to be more lively, more varied, more original than what is produced in Europe," Marguerite added,

“Perhaps it is because the United States is so much bigger, so much more diversified.” She went on to identify national writing attitudes: “There is quality in the writing of young British writers, but less variety than we find in the Americans.” The harshest criticism was reserved for the French: “[They] have come up with relatively little. We have found many interesting, accomplished writers and poets whom we have published... But on the whole current French writing is not so exciting. There are too many prizes. People here are writing to win prizes. They write alike. They all write about Paris” (Levin 6). It must be noted that the article does not mention Bassani; instead, Marguerite and Eugene Walter are presented as editor and chief editorial assistant, respectively. Marguerite does not speak about Italian writing, but her tribute to American literature helps to explain the growing presence of her compatriots on the pages of *Botteghe Oscure*. Walter surely had a say in the matter, given his role as editorial assistant (which surely did not please Bassani) and his energetic promotion of U.S. writers, especially those belonging to the Southern tradition. Finally, the increased presence of American authors was part of a strategy to better sell *Botteghe Oscure* on the U.S. market and to obtain funding from the Ford and the Rockefeller Foundations.

While the Italian section in *Botteghe Oscure* never went back to its original size, Bassani still had more than enough room in each issue to carry out his editorial vision. In many ways, his literary taste was similar to Marguerite’s; they both were advocates of sobriety, in life as in literature, and therefore opposed excesses of any kind: the rarefied poetry of the hermetics, the mannerism of the late neorealist production, most of the avant-garde, and any writer with an all-too-evident agenda were excluded. The editors of *Botteghe Oscure* also abhorred profanities and obscenity: Marguerite refused to publish

Alberto Moravia's story *Luna di miele, sole di fiele* because of its crude wording.⁶² In another occasion she wanted Bassani to ask Pasolini to change some words in the poem *Picasso* (*Botteghe Oscure* No. 12, fall 1953), but Bassani (luckily) dissuaded her.

In judging the quality of a literary work, Bassani often relied on the concept of *necessity*: "[S]enza intima necessità," he wrote of Calvino's *Il barone rampante*. He thought that no one should ever write unless he was compelled to do so by an internal urge, something comparable to a vocation. Such concept was tightly connected to the idea of *truth*, in the sense that a writer could only be "true" in his writing when he acted in response to an intimate *necessity*. It must also be specified that, in Bassani's vision, *true* did not always coincide with *real*, a fact that explains Bassani's occasional rejection of realist writing when it did not correspond to his aesthetic principles. What exactly such principles were, it can be inferred by the criteria Bassani adopted in selecting works to be published on *Botteghe Oscure*.

Bassani set forth some of those criteria in the only editorial ever to appear in *Botteghe Oscure*; a reflection that closed the twenty-fifth and last issue and was aptly entitled "Congedo" ("Farewell"). Looking back on twelve years of editorial work, Bassani made some general observations that can be thus summarized:

1. *Botteghe Oscure* never printed literary criticism; the choices made by its editors, however, were informed by a precise strategy, and therefore helped shaping the development of contemporary Italian literature.
2. *Botteghe Oscure* expressed a strong preference for those writers who were still unknown (or hardly known) in their own countries, especially if they were young.

⁶² Moravia's play *Beatrice Cenci* was later included in the fall 1955 issue (No. 16) of *Botteghe Oscure*. It remained his only contribution to the magazine.

3. *Botteghe Oscure* eschewed “experiments” (*prodotti sperimentali*) of any kind, and rejected the so-called “avant-garde literature.”
4. *Botteghe Oscure* refused to indulge in a sterile commemoration (*commemorazione*) of old-fashioned, pre-war poetic models.

With regard to the third point, one must observe that experimental works did find space in *Botteghe Oscure*, notably Dylan Thomas’s radio play, *Llareggub*, which would later become *Under Milk Wood*. To remain in the Italian area, the magazine published verses by the future *Officina* group (Volponi, Roversi, Pasolini, Romanò etc.) and, for the prose, two stories by Italo Calvino: *La formica argentina* (No. 10, fall 1952) and *La speculazione edilizia* (No. 20, fall 1957). At least some space was conceded, therefore, to authors whose work was highly innovative and openly defied literary tradition. It appears that, in speaking against “experiments,” Bassani was referring to works lacking maturity and structural cohesion.

In the last point, the refusal of pre-war models, it is easy to read a reference to hermeticism, which dominated Italian poetry during the fascist period. We do find in *Botteghe Oscure* contributions by authors who belonged to that movement (such as Alessandro Parronchi, Piero Bigongiari, Leonardo Sinisgalli, Libero De Libero, Alfonso Gatto, and Mario Luzi), but they are not stylistically identifiable as hermetic, and in most cases show a return to more traditional narrative modes. This negative attitude toward hermeticism may also explain why Giuseppe Ungaretti, who was Marguerite’s consultant for Italian poetry at the times of *Commerce*, never published anything in *Botteghe Oscure*.

In his introduction to the recently published correspondence between Marguerite and Giorgio Bassani, Italian literature scholar Massimiliano Tortora organizes the Italian poetry contributions to *Botteghe Oscure* in three main stylistical areas: the first area is called “linea sabiana” (from poet Umberto Saba); it relies heavily on the narrative mode, uses a simplified vocabulary, and opens up to mundane and autobiographical themes. Besides Saba, the other poets in this area are Giorgio Caproni, Attilio Bertolucci, Sandro Penna and Giacomo Noventa, plus the lyricists Pasolini grouped under the label “Officina parmigiana”: Francesco and Gaetano Arcangeli, Gian Carlo Artoni, Alberto Bevilacqua, Franco Giovanelli, Mario Lavagetto, Antonio Rinaldi, and Bernardo Bertolucci. The second area identified by Tortora is the “experimental” one, formed primarily by the *Officina* group, which we have already mentioned. Tortora remarks that these poets were able to “make the cut” in *Botteghe Oscure* mainly because they remained highly sophisticated both stylistically and linguistically. The third and last area of poets who contributed to *Botteghe Oscure* belongs to a category Tortora defines as “modern classicism” (“classicismo moderno”): authors who were able to combine classical form with concrete, present-day subject matter.⁶³ First among them is Eugenio Montale, whose poem *L’anguilla* (“The Eel”) opened the first issue of the magazine. In 1926, Montale himself had defined his poetics as “classicismo *sui generis* e quasi paradossale” (Tortora XXI). Other “modern classicists” published on *Botteghe Oscure* include Franco Fortini, Luciano Erba, and Giorgio Orelli. Given its heterogeneity, the selection published in *Botteghe Oscure* well represents the new Italian poetry of the second half of the twentieth century. For the prose, on the other hand, Tortora points out how all the texts published in

⁶³ Tortora refers to the category used by G. Mazzoni in the volume *Forma e solitudine* (Milano: Marcos y Marcos, 2002).

Botteghe Oscure can be framed within the realist narrative genre, structurally solid and substantially untouched by the “open work” formula theorized in the 1950’s but practiced since the beginning of the century (Tortora XXII-XXIII).

In 1957 Marguerite asked Bassani to write a report on the latest literary production in Italy. Bassani responded on August 29, 1957, citing the most recent works by the following authors:

Alberto Moravia, *La ciociara* (Bompiani)

Elsa Morante, *L’isola di Arturo* (Einaudi)

Mario Soldati, *Il vero Silvestri* (Garzanti)

Natalia Ginzburg, *Valentino, La madre, Sagittario* (Einaudi)

Italo Calvino, *Il Barone rampante* (Einaudi)

Carlo Cassola, *Un matrimonio del dopoguerra* (Einaudi)

Carlo Emilio Gadda, *Quer pasticciaccio brutto de via Merulana* (Garzanti)

For poetry, Bassani listed three volumes:

Sandro Penna, *Poesie* (Garzanti)

Pier Paolo Pasolini, *Le ceneri di Gramsci* (Garzanti)

Mario Luzi, *Onore del vero* (Neri Pozza)

For each work Bassani provided a mini-review that emphasized its importance in the context of the respective authors' production. We can now add to Bassani's list the year and issue in which the above-mentioned authors appeared for the first time in *Botteghe Oscure*:

Alberto Moravia	BO 16, fall 1955, <i>Beatrice Cenci</i>
Elsa Morante	BO 7, spring 1951, <i>L'avventura</i>
Mario Soldati	BO 5, spring 1950, <i>La finestra</i>
Natalia Ginzburg	BO 8, fall 1951, <i>Valentino</i>
Italo Calvino	BO 10, fall 1952, <i>La formica argentina</i>
Carlo Cassola	BO 3, spring 1949, <i>Due racconti</i>
Carlo Emilio Gadda	BO 14, fall 1954, <i>L'egoista</i>
Sandro Penna	BO 1, spring 1948, <i>Poesie</i>
Pier Paolo Pasolini	BO 6, fall 1950, <i>Versi friulani</i>
Mario Luzi	BO 3, spring 1949, <i>Monologo</i>

The table makes evident how *Botteghe Oscure* represented the Italian literary scene of the late 1950's; many of the writers acclaimed in 1957 had been hosted in Marguerite's review up to ten years earlier. It is also interesting to note how quickly Bassani changed his opinion on Calvino's novel, *Il barone rampante*. In a letter to Marguerite dated 27 June 1957, only two months before, he had written: "Ha letto il libro di Calvino, *Il barone rampante*? Dopo le prime ottanta pagine, molto promettenti, comincia la delusione. È una novella, tirata in lungo a romanzo, ma senza intima necessità. Un vero

peccato... di presunzione letteraria. Speriamo che il nostro racconto sia meglio!” (Tortora 164). In August, as we have seen, Bassani included Calvino’s novel among the best works of 1957 and commented: “Italo Calvino, col *Barone rampante* (Einaudi), ha tentato con successo il romanzo allegorico, con chiare allusioni politiche e moralistiche: secondo la linea di un precedente felice racconto, stampato qualche anno fa sempre da Einaudi, e cioè *Il visconte dimezzato* (Tortora 183). In 1957 Calvino (together with Pasolini) had won the *Viareggio Prize*, which may explain Bassani’s swift reevaluation.

Botteghe Oscure played a vital role in launching Bassani’s career, both as a writer and as an editor. Coming from a small town, Ferrara, which could not offer him any professional opportunities, Bassani found in Rome the perfect occasion to fulfill his ambitions; much like Eugene Walter had done in Paris, Bassani “used” Marguerite’s platform to promote his undeniable talents, and was soon lifted from a provincial to an international stage. One could say that *Botteghe Oscure* and Marguerite did to Bassani what they did to many other Italian writers, de-provincializing them and improving their chances of publication in and outside Italy. On the other hand, Bassani is largely accountable for *Botteghe Oscure*’s enviable publication record; his correspondence with the magazine’s contributors, which deserves to be analyzed in a separate study, leaves no doubt in that regard.

In Paris, many years earlier, Marguerite had chosen three accomplished poets – Valéry, Fargue and Larbaud – as directors of *Commerce*. The highbrow community recognized their undisputed authority, and prestige for the review ensued. Twenty-four years later Marguerite opted for a different approach, choosing two young talents as editors of her second magazine. She envisioned *Botteghe Oscure* as an international

anthology of contemporary literature, to be distributed in university libraries so that students may read the last generation of writers on both sides of the Atlantic. Marguerite accepted and indeed sought the help of young men and women whose only credential was a passion for writing. She saw the unexpressed potential of young writers like Walter and Bassani, who were granted access to an international network of authors, critics and journalists. There were clashes between them, quarrels and jealousies, profoundly different views that reflected on the pages of the review, but in the end all this enriched the unique variety of its repertoire. In the next chapter I will write about other people who helped Marguerite setting up and running *Botteghe Oscure*, from the printers to the authors – both established and aspiring ones – she most frequently corresponded with. I will also examine technical aspects related to the magazine's printing and distribution.

CHAPTER IV

Botteghe Oscure

The international, multilingual literary review *Botteghe Oscure* was published in Rome two times a year, in the spring and in the fall, from 1948 to 1959; the twenty-fifth and last number was issued in October 1960. Each number (with the exception of the first, which was dedicated to new Italian writing) featured a selection of texts by authors of various nationalities presented in their original language, with no translation. The editor only accepted previously unpublished contributions, but did not put any other restrictions as to style, format, or genre. Another of the magazine's defining features was the absence of extra-literary content: advertisements, book reviews or rubrics of any kind were excluded. Criticism was also banned, but exceptions were made for essays that held literary value in Marguerite's eyes, like Georges Bataille's letter to René Char on the "incompatibilities of the writers" (No. 6, fall 1950). In light of these rather strict criteria, *Botteghe Oscure* presented itself as a quite unique-looking anthology of international literature, in which a heterogeneous flow of prose and poetry ran smoothly from the first to the last page, without any interruptions. The only visible partition in the magazine was based on language: as many as four different idioms were present in each volume, which averaged over four hundred pages.

The first issue of *Botteghe Oscure* was printed in July 1948 by the Neapolitan publishing house of Riccardo Ricciardi. He had been warmly recommended to Marguerite by Raffaele Mattioli, an affectionate visitor of Palazzo Caetani; the collaboration, however, proved to be difficult.⁶⁴ Ricciardi was an accomplished craftsman, well-educated, and up to date with the techniques used in the latest literary magazines; Marguerite, however, was looking for a technician: someone who could follow her directions quickly and without raising objections, especially for what concerned literary matters. Their correspondence reflects a clash of strong personalities: the practical, no-nonsense Marguerite and the artistic, knowledgeable Ricciardi. Marguerite was expecting someone who would solve problems instead of asking additional questions; Ricciardi was probably annoyed by her lack of clarity in giving typographical directions.

In the “Congedo” (Farewell) that appeared on the last number of *Botteghe Oscure* and briefly summarized the magazine’s history, Giorgio Bassani wrote that Ricciardi’s laboratory lacked the technical means to produce a biannual publication of over 200 pages; it employed a work force made by Neapolitan street boys, little orphans with no previous experience in composing a literary review, which resulted in drafts full of typos. I suspect that in this case the reality was slightly bent in order to defend Marguerite’s choice of letting Ricciardi go after the first number of *Botteghe Oscure*. Bassani portrays Ricciardi following the Neapolitan stereotype: compassionate but indolent, ingenious but

⁶⁴ Raffaele Mattioli (1895-1973) was an anti-fascist economist and intellectual, remembered for his moral and financial support to Antonio Gramsci during the latter’s long imprisonment. After the war, Mattioli sponsored literary reviews like *La Fiera Letteraria* and *La Cultura* and became President of the Italian Institute for Historical Studies. He also held the position of Cultural Advisor for publishing house Ricciardi, and was at the head of the Italian-American Association, an organization based in via Michelangelo Caetani that sponsored cultural events, concerts, and lectures to promote the relationship between Italy and the U.S.A.

fatally slow, and wary of technological innovations. The impression one receives in reading Ricciardi's letters to Marguerite is very different: the printer asks detailed questions, gives sound advice regarding both layout and content of text, and urges Marguerite to decide on important matters like the format of the review.

Whether the reasons adduced by Bassani are well grounded or not, the fact remains that Marguerite was dissatisfied with Ricciardi's work and decided to replace him with Luigi De Luca after just one issue of the review. De Luca's typography (Istituto Grafico Tiberino) was based in Tivoli, not far from Rome, and it already printed *Lo Spettatore italiano*, a review edited by Elena Croce.⁶⁵ Marguerite did not follow Croce's advice of waiting until the second number was out before switching to a new printer, but De Luca did not disappoint her; he started working on *Botteghe Oscure* 2 in September 1948 and by December 30th the magazine was out for distribution, thus respecting (barely) the biannual cadence. An editor himself, De Luca shared with Marguerite a passion for discovering new literary talents; like Marguerite, he too loved modern art and more than once assisted her in buying and selling artwork. De Luca soon became a friend and one of Marguerite's most precious collaborators; his untimely death in a car accident was one of the principal reasons behind the closure of the review in 1960.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Elena Croce (1915-1994), daughter of the philosopher Benedetto, was an influential figure in the post-war Italian cultural scene. Immediately after the war she co-founded the review *Aretusa* in Naples (1944-46) and, after moving to Rome, directed the literary magazine *Lo Spettatore italiano* (1948-55) together with her husband Raimondo Craveri. In her Roman residence, only a few steps away from Marguerite's, Croce hosted an international community of writers, artists, and intellectuals. The two women became friends and coordinated the activities of the cultural circle "Il Ritrovo" (1944-46) together with Giuliana Benzoni and Nina Ruffini. Later Croce introduced Marguerite to Luigi De Luca of Istituto Grafico Tiberino, who would replace Ricciardi as printer of choice for *Botteghe Oscure*, and recommended Giorgio Bassani as editor of the Italian section. An accomplished writer in her own right, Croce authored novels, essays, and translations. In 1956, together with Bassani and other intellectuals she founded the association *Italia Nostra* for the promotion and protection of Italy's environmental and artistic heritage.

⁶⁶ The information provided here and in the following paragraphs come from Stefania Valli's introduction to the correspondence between Marguerite and the Italian authors of *Botteghe Oscure* (8-10).

Even after switching to De Luca, Marguerite decided to keep the cover design developed with Ricciardi; ivory-colored, simple and elegant, with the title *Botteghe Oscure* printed at the top and the volume number at the bottom. The review looked minimalist and classy; a “v” substituted the “u” to partially Latinize the word *Oscure* in the title. One issue cost 700 *lire*, an annual subscription 1200. In the U.S.A. the price became \$2.50 and \$4, respectively. For practical rather than aesthetic reasons (some fonts were not easy to procure in post-war Italy) the font used in the magazine was a bodoni size 10, italic for poetry and normal for prose, with some exceptions: Marguerite decided to print some narrative text in italics to give it more emphasis. Minor changes in format were introduced over the years; the most important ones were the reduction of line spacing to include more text on each page, and the addition of short biographical notes for each author at the end of the review (these were later expanded in a section called *Bio-Bibliographical Notes*). There was a general tendency to fill with text every single inch of space, avoiding to print any editorial information unless it was absolutely necessary and eliminating blank pages wherever possible. Some of the last numbers (17-24) included one page of advertisement: it was an attempt by Marguerite to reduce costs after her daughter’s husband, Hubert Howard, administrator of the Caetani estate, had expressed his concern at the considerable expenses connected with *Botteghe Oscure*.

The good reception of *Botteghe Oscure* 1 prompted Marguerite to follow up on her original plan of giving it international resonance. Starting with the second number *Botteghe Oscure* became multilingual with the addition of an English section that included both American and British authors; a sixty-two-page appendix to the volume provided an Italian translation made by Salvatore Rosati and Nina Ruffini. This was an

exception to the general rule of presenting each work in its original language without translation; in this case Marguerite wanted to make sure that American, British, and Italian authors had the chance to know about each other's work.⁶⁷ For the same purpose in 1950 she published in her native country *An Anthology of New Italian Writers*, a selection from the pages of *Botteghe Oscure* translated in English and distributed by New Directions.⁶⁸

Since the first run of *Botteghe Oscure* No. 1 had sold out so quickly, Marguerite asked De Luca for a reprint that was completed in the summer of 1949. By that time the third issue was already out, with a French section added to the Italian and the Anglo-American ones; this remained the standard format until 1954, when the addition of a German section in No. 14 brought the total languages to four. All but two of the following issues included either a German or a Spanish section.

For distribution in Italy and abroad, Marguerite initially relied on a network of small bookstores, switching to major publishing companies only when the magazine's sales started to take off. In Italy, after a first phase in which the review was distributed through the "Libreria Cremonese" in Rome, from 1951 on contracts were stipulated with several big distributors: Einaudi (whose conditions Marguerite considered as excessively onerous, hence refusing the deal), Mondadori (for a 2-year contract, issues 7-10),

⁶⁷ Another exception was made for texts originally written in less-common languages like Dutch or Korean, which were translated and published in English.

⁶⁸ New Directions is a publishing company based in New York City. It was established in 1936 by American poet James Laughlin and soon became popular for its attention to experimental literature by American and European authors alike. Laughlin came from a wealthy family, and was therefore able to economically sustain New Directions until the company turned a profit in 1946. Through its annual publication "New Directions in Prose and Poetry" New Directions introduced readers to the early work of such writers as William Saroyan, Louis Zukofsky, Marianne Moore, Wallace Stevens, Dylan Thomas, Thomas Merton, James Agee, and Lawrence Ferlinghetti, many of whom were also present in *Botteghe Oscure*. Laughlin showed great interest in publishing foreign writers in translation, and gladly accepted to take care of the distribution of Marguerite's anthology *New Italian Writers* in the summer of 1950.

Garzanti (issues 15-19), and Feltrinelli (20-25). No distributor is indicated for No. 11, while for Nos. 12-14 De Luca took charge of both printing and distribution.

Marguerite followed a similar strategy to market *Botteghe Oscure* in the U.S.A. In 1949 the magazine was available at bookstores in New York (Holliday), Washington D.C. (Whyte's Gallery), Cambridge (MA) (Schoenhof), and Chicago (Red Door Bookshop). The Manhattan Gotham Book Mart, a small but influential bookshop founded by Frances Steloff in 1920, started selling *Botteghe Oscure* in 1950. This shop was an important center for the diffusion of Modernist literature in the States; by the early 1950s, when it began handling *Botteghe Oscure*, it had gained the status of cultural landmark.⁶⁹ In *Wise Men Fish Here: the Story of Frances Steloff and the Gotham Book Mart*, author W. G. Rogers indicates that orders for *Botteghe Oscure* placed through the bookstore went from a few dozens in 1950 to over a thousand when publishers Farrar, Straus & Young took over distribution in 1952 (121).

Table 1

List of US Universities and Libraries Subscribing to *Botteghe Oscure* through the Gotham Book Mart as of February 25, 1957

1. Alabama Polytechnic Institute, Auburn, AL
2. Newark Colleges Library, Newark, NJ
3. [Illegible]
4. Los Angeles Library, Los Angeles, CA
5. Ohio University Library, Athens, OH
6. Ripon College, Ripon, Wisconsin
7. Denison University Library, Granville, OH
8. University of Buffalo, Buffalo, NY
9. Sarah Lawrence College Library, Bronxville, NY
10. Colgate University Library, Hamilton, NY

⁶⁹ Steloff received the first batch of *Botteghe Oscure* (ten copies of No. 5) on July 14th, 1950. On the same day she wrote to Marguerite requesting copies of the first four issues (Steloff). In the following two years circulation rose steadily to a peak of over a thousand copies sold through the Gotham Book Mart alone.

11. The Honnold Library, Claremont, CA
12. Antioch College Library, Yellow Springs, OH
13. Duke University, Durham, NC
14. St. John's College Library, Annapolis, MD
15. St. Louis Public Library, St. Louis, MO
16. Roosevelt University Library, Chicago, IL
17. St. John Fisher College, Rochester, NY
18. Haverford College Library, Haverford, PA
19. University of Kansas City, Kansas City, MO
20. University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI
21. San Francisco State College, San Francisco, CA
22. St. Lawrence University, Canton, NY
23. Stephen College, Columbia, MO
24. University of California – Santa Barbara, Goleta, CA
25. Hunter College Library, New York, NY
26. Williams College Library, Williamstown, MA

Source: *Botteghe Oscure* Files from Gotham Book Mart. Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin. Duplicate entries have been omitted.

Additional data gathered from the Gotham Book Mart records allows to integrate the above list with a certain number of schools, periodicals, and bookstores that placed at least one annual subscription to *Botteghe Oscure* between 1952 and 1956.

Table 2

Additional subscribers to *Botteghe Oscure* according to the Gotham Book Mart sale records, 1952-56

27. Brown Book Shop, Houston, TX (Sep 1952)
28. Readers Digest (Nov 1952)
29. Virginia University Library, Charlottesville, VA (Mar 1953)
30. The New Yorker magazine, New York, NY (Apr 1953)
31. Mademoiselle Magazine, New York, NY (Feb 1954)
32. Yaddo Artist Community, Saratoga Springs, NY (June 1954)
33. Wellesley College, Wellesley, MA (Jan 1955)
34. Time Inc., New York, NY (May 1955)
35. Harper & Bros., New York, NY
36. St. Basil's Prep School, Stamford, CT (Nov 1956)
37. Borestone Mt. Poetry Award, L.A., CA (Nov 1956)
38. Esquire Editorial Dept., Esquire, Inc., New York, NY (June 1957)

39. Ball State UL, Muncie, IN (Jan 1958)

Source: *Botteghe Oscure* Files from Gotham Book Mart. Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin.

In entrusting big publishing companies, like Farrar-Straus and later Noonday, with the distribution of *Botteghe Oscure* in the States, Marguerite was hoping to expand the reach of the magazine along with its sales; the results, however, turned out to be unsatisfactory. A number of factors concurred to this negative outcome, including mishandling of shipments, overcomplicated US custom policies, and lack of communication between editors, printers, and sellers. All issues notwithstanding, by the mid fifties the review could count on a solid base of subscribers, and had made its way into high-education institutions, bookstores, and public libraries all across the country.

While its total circulation never exceeded five thousand copies, over the years *Botteghe Oscure* became available in a growing number of countries. In 1954 Marguerite received a report from the foreign department of Hachette Bookstore in Paris, listing the destinations of seventy-nine copies of *Botteghe Oscure* as follows:

Argentina: 2	Chile: 1	Ethiopia: 3	Libano: 2	Switzerland: 14
Belgium: 32	Colombia: 1	Greece: 1	Mexico: 5	Turkey: 1
Brazil: 10	Egypt: 2	Haiti: 1	Portugal: 3	Venezuela: 1

As the table shows, by this date the review's market was expanding even outside Europe and the U.S.A. In 1955 the Spanish philosopher Maria Zambrano informed Marguerite

that *Botteghe Oscure* was well known in Mexico, Argentina, Peru, and Cuba;⁷⁰ other countries reached by the magazine included South Africa, Australia, and Japan.

In Europe, Marguerite always had a special relationship with the British press and publishers, whom she considered more serious and professional than their American counterparts. In 1952 she entrusted Hamish Hamilton with the distribution of *Botteghe Oscure* in the U.K. Jamie Hamilton (founder of the firm) was glad to take on the offer because, as he wrote to Marguerite, “I have always admired your courage and enterprise in producing it [*Botteghe Oscure*], and also because I regard it as an important link in the intellectual life of both countries” (AC 14 Feb. 1952). The first issue distributed in the U.K. by Hamish Hamilton was No. 9; the first batch of one hundred copies sold out quickly and Marguerite hastened to send more; the following number had a circulation of a thousand copies in England alone. Hamilton held Marguerite in high esteem and continually asked her for advice on promising Italian authors, but he never seemed to follow up on Marguerite’s best suggestions; she recommended, among others, Guglielmo Petroni, Italo Calvino, and Elsa Morante. Commenting on a flattering article on *Botteghe Oscure* published in *The Observer* he wrote: “I do congratulate you on the consistently high standard which entirely justifies the *Observer*’s praise. It seems to me that you are rapidly taking the place of *Horizon*, *New Writing*, and all the other intellectual magazines, with the added attraction of enabling people to exercise their linguistic ability” (AC 8 Jan. 1953).

Marguerite did not, at least initially, envision a wide commercial distribution of her magazine; in February 1949 she confided to poet Theodor Roethke: “I think *Botteghe Oscure* must confine itself to university libraries, Poetry reading rooms etc. which would

⁷⁰ Unpublished letter from the Caetani archive, quoted in Risset 2007 (XI).

be already very fine [. . .] We are getting around to quite a number of the principal ones [. . .] With the 3rd number we will start a subscription price which I think will be something like \$3 for the two yearly numbers about 600 pages which we would expect university libraries to pay” (TRP 14 Feb. 1949).⁷¹ Soon, however, Marguerite became aware of the urgent necessity to increase circulation and sales in order to manage costs and guarantee the survival of her magazine; this meant opening up to the international market. Starting with No. 6 (fall 1950) the Italian section lost its prominence on the English and the French ones; from the eighth issue it was moved to the end of the review.

Such moves were part of a plan to make *Botteghe Oscure* more appealing to the American readership. In 1952 Marguerite signed a contract with the prestigious firm Farrar, Straus & Young to distribute *Botteghe Oscure* in the U.S.A. The first issue handled by the company was No. 10 (fall 1952). Marguerite’s relationship with publishers and distributors was never easy, as she detested relenting control of any part of her business and lacked the logic of a salesman. Her correspondence with Roger Straus reflects a clash between two opposite mentalities; he insisted that, given the actual sales, handling *Botteghe Oscure* was “a labor of love,” and encouraged Marguerite to adopt a different editorial strategy to make her review more popular in the U.S.A. She, on the other hand, pushed to expand distribution and asked for more publicity.

Marguerite thought of publishing a second *Botteghe Oscure* anthology for the U.S. market, which ideally should have consisted of two volumes, one for prose and one for poetry. She asked Roger Straus for help in finding a publisher; in a letter sent on February 17 1953 to George Dekay at Doubleday he wrote:

⁷¹ \$3 in 1949 correspond to around \$28 today.

Princess Caetani has given me the right to act for her in any business arrangement that I see fit and this, of course, would be from our point of view a labor of love and the lion's share of any advance, token or otherwise, could be spent to get first-rate translations of the French and Italian stories selected. I believe that an anthology (and I see no reason that it must be called Botteghe Oscure, which is a toughy) should carry such names and such good stories as those done for that publication by Elsa Morante, Rene Char, Henry Michaux, Maurice Blanchot, Marguerite Young, James Agee, Truman Capote, Sylvia Birkman, William Sansom, Bryan MacMahon, Alexander Trocchi, which I think speak for themselves [. . .] Let me also point out that the distribution of this magazine is international with Hamish Hamilton of London as the English distributor. (Straus 17 Feb. 1953)

Straus's main concern was to make the anthology marketable; to this end he wanted to include all "big names" and find a title less obscure (no pun intended) to the American readership. This was pretty much the opposite of what Marguerite had in mind; she saw the anthology as an opportunity to promote her youngest and less-known contributors, and was certainly not keen on altering the name *Botteghe Oscure* in any way. Moreover, Straus's assumption that he had the right to act on Marguerite's behalf was bound to create tensions that ultimately resolved in the dissolution of their partnership.

At the end of 1953 Marguerite gave mandate to Jackson Mathews, who was then translating Char's poems for an upcoming book of his poetry – the first ever published in the U.S.A. – to look over Straus's maneuvering and report to her. She was especially concerned with Straus's choice of publishers after he told her that there had been talks of publishing the anthology with The Popular Library, a paperbound book company that was not exactly renowned for the quality of its repertoire. Straus and Mathews met on December 21 in New York; Mathews left the meeting with the impression that negotiations with The Popular Library were well underway, and immediately informed Marguerite. Her reaction was swift; on December 27 she wrote a nasty letter to Straus,

threatening to withdraw her business from his company unless he stopped the deal in its tracks:

If you consider that as distributor of the magazine in the U.S.A. you have the right to act in this way, I am afraid our points of view are too different to make it possible for us to continue working together. An anthology of “Botteghe Oscure” should be done by the best of the “Pocket Books” and the “Popular Library” I should say is one of the worst, so I beg you to stop this project at once until we have had time to study it fully. (JMP 17 Dec. 1953)

Straus was flabbergasted; he accused Mathews of misinterpreting his words and assured that no deal would be finalized without Marguerite’s consent:

I have not the power, nor do I wish it, to sign contracts on behalf of extra rights for Botteghe Oscure [. . .] I have spent a considerable amount of time and energy in attempting to get for you a reprint house, whether it be Popular Library or someone else, and I have talked to at least six as a way to make your magazine better known and as a way also to bring you additional income. This I have done because of my admiration for your publication. God knows there is “nothing in it” for me or for the firm. (Straus Jan. 4 1954)

This “misunderstanding” undermined the relationship between Straus and Marguerite, but his company continued to handle *Botteghe Oscure* for over a year, until no. 15 (spring 1955). For the anthology, a contract was eventually stipulated with Anchor Books with a tentative publication date of May 1955; this was still an unsatisfactory arrangement in Marguerite’s opinion, as we gather from a letter she wrote to Gene Baro in February: “I had a terrible fight over the ‘Selection’ and it ended in a rather unsatisfactory compromise. I suppose and hope it will be good propaganda anyhow and so I let it go at that. I hope soon to do an anthology of only poetry somewhere that is what I really care

about” (GBP Feb 14 1955).⁷² At the beginning of May, however, the ill-fated editorial project was withdrawn by mutual consent and the contract with Anchor abrogated.

The anthology incident shows that Marguerite was tempted to approach a larger audience but afraid of losing prestige in the process; she did not accept the fact that publishing with a paperback company implied the necessity of making compromises, as Roger Straus underlined in a letter written on February 2 1954:

As far as I can see, and I know a good deal about this field, Avon and Popular Library are absolutely indistinguishable in terms of the kind of books they select, the way they sell them, the kind of covers they put on them, etc. The fact really is that, with the possible exception of Anchor Books, there is no prestige involved in being published in paper. There are two other things that are involved, mass circulation and distribution, and money and that is the long and short of it. Anyone who says differently doesn't know what he is talking about. (Straus)

Marguerite was also sensitive to the issue of her review not being readily available to customers; she forwarded every complaint she received to the distributors, not considering the fact that a more extensive coverage would have required much greater resources than Roger Straus or any other distributor could afford. “Please believe me when I say to you that we are doing as good a job as is possible to be done, but I am convinced now that you will never be sure of this until you have someone else do the job for you,” Straus wrote her on March 24 1955, when it was clear that their ways were about to part.

It goes to Marguerite's credit that, for all the financial difficulties related to *Botteghe Oscure*, she never considered the idea of reducing the number of pages or

⁷² Anchor Books was created by Jason Epstein while he was an editor at Doubleday. Anchor spearheaded the trade paperback format, which would become extremely popular and profitable in the following years. Like Straus, Epstein was also convinced that the *Botteghe Oscure* anthology should be revised for commercial reasons, an idea Marguerite fiercely opposed.

cutting the generous rates she paid her contributors, as many of her friends and collaborators recommended. Poet Allen Tate for example wrote her in December 1953: “I would make *Botteghe Oscure* smaller and less distinguished in type and paper, and otherwise retrench. I am scarcely the person to advise an editor to lower the rates to contributors; but perhaps a ten or fifteen percent cut would not be serious. ANYTHING to remain independent” (caps in the original). The risk of losing independence was specifically related to Marguerite’s intention to ask for a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. Stanley Young (of Farrar, Straus & Young) was more sympathetic than Straus to Marguerite’s cause and met several times with John Rockefeller in order to discuss a possible involvement of the Foundation in the financing of *Botteghe Oscure*. In December 1954 Young was able to obtain a copy of a report on Marguerite prepared by Edward D’Arms, Rockefeller’s coordinator in Europe; the document listed several objections to the financing request, the main one being that *Botteghe Oscure* should become a non-profit incorporation to be eligible for financial help. The report also stated that the Foundation’s previous contributions to the so-called “Little Magazines” had achieved little or no effect (Young). Negotiations went on for a few months, but in the end Marguerite was forced to give up on the idea and resort to alternative sources of funding for the review; she had already begun to sell artwork from her invaluable collection.

Stanley Young was able to see some of his creative work published in *Botteghe Oscure* (Nos. 15 and 17, spring 1955 and 1956, respectively). He had words of praise for the magazine, which Marguerite should keep alive because “the outlets for creative work are narrowing, if not petering out altogether. If the ‘lights’ are to stay on in the Western

world it will only be because of the vision, plus the stubborn effort and labor, of you and a few great souls like you who are still alive. I often wish we lived close by, so that I could stand beside you on dark days and help a bit when help is needed” (9 February 1955). Young did help Marguerite finding another distributor for the States, and in 1956 *Botteghe Oscure* was taken on by Noonday Press (starting with the spring issue, No. 17). Again, Marguerite was not happy with the results. Less than a year later, on 11 March 1957, Young tried to explain why things were not working as she wanted; I quote at length from his letter because it offers an interesting picture of the market in which Marguerite was trying to make a dent:

I’ve done quite a bit of inquiring about Cecil Hemley’s operation, Botteghe in America, and your problem there. It appears that he is only selling some 300 to 400 copies, and that F. Steloff still remains the best outlet. I have also talked to Hemley. His excuses, or defenses, are many. He says the price of B.O. is too high and can’t compete with the new Evergreen Review at \$1. and the revived Anchor Review at the same price. He feels an all-English edition would be preferable for B.O. and at a reduced price. I know you’ll never give into that because such a thing denies the whole premise and purpose of your unique publication. Hemley further maintains that the general increase in sales of paperback books has cut into the potential sales of Botteghe. At the same time, he admits that Botteghe could sell 10000 copies in America. “How?” I asked. Hemley says you need a promotion man on salary in N. Y. who would do nothing but drum-beat for your magazine and develop new outlets. Roger Straus, at dinner the other night, said about the same thing – that Botteghe needed a press agent. Well, I don’t know. But it is true that in America things have to be sold. Sales don’t come automatically on the basis of quality, and the rush of life here continues to obliterate intellectual pursuits.

Young suggested that Marguerite came to New York to explore possible alternatives and to deal with agents and distributors directly; she did not. Determined to safeguard the spirit of her magazine, she started to look for different distribution channels, ones that did not necessarily obey to the rules of the market. In early 1956 she established a connection

with the U.S. Information Services with the purpose of placing *Botteghe Oscure* in the USIS libraries and branches throughout the world.⁷³ James Clement Dunn, U.S. ambassador in Rio De Janeiro, on June 11 1956 informed Marguerite that the headquarters of the agency in Washington had approved the purchase of *Botteghe Oscure* by the American agencies; as for the worldwide network of USIS libraries, Dunn wrote, “The placing of subscriptions would depend entirely on the judgment of the Director of the Information Service in each country.” A good friend of Marguerite, author and literary critic Mark Schorer, investigated on her behalf the reason why the agency had refused to distribute *Botteghe Oscure* abroad. Schorer forwarded to Marguerite a letter he had received from an USIA representative in Washington, Jacob Canter:

Dear Dr. Schorer, I appreciate very much your letter of May 14, concerning the periodical *Botteghe Oscure*. All of us concerned with portraying America’s cultural achievements abroad are agreed that *Botteghe Oscure* is a periodical of high literary quality. However, the initiative for requesting publications for use in our USIS libraries comes from our overseas posts. Seldom if ever does the Washington office of the Information Agency make world-wide placement of any book or periodical except in the obvious instance of standard reference books. Our post request those publications which they feel will have particular program utility in the countries in which they are located. Those posts which feel that *Botteghe Oscure* will be useful to them in their programs are perfectly free to obtain subscriptions. (4 Jun 1956)

Canter seemed to imply that *Botteghe Oscure* did not have an intrinsic value in terms of cultural propaganda, but could be useful in some specific cases. Schorer underlined that, in his opinion, “to have it [*Botteghe Oscure*] at every post would do more by way of

⁷³ USIS was a division of the U. S. Information Agency (USIA), an organization created in 1953 by President Dwight D. Eisenhower with the purpose of promoting the image of the U.S.A. in foreign countries and fostering dialogue between U.S. nationals and institutions and their counterparts abroad. USIA had a major role in the cultural Cold War, actively countering Communist propaganda and conducting research on foreign public opinion about the U.S. and its policies.

‘selling’ the United States than a dozen undersecretaries” (28 June 1956), but the final decision was not his to make. A few foreign detachments did order the review, but the widespread distribution Marguerite was hoping for never took off.

The circulation of *Botteghe Oscure* never met Marguerite’s high expectations, mostly because she always refused to alter the magazine’s nature in any way. She always sought help and counsel from publishers, friends, and collaborators, but their suggestions were often dismissed to preserve the integrity of the review. As we have seen, Marguerite’s attempts – turning *Botteghe Oscure* into a pocket book for the American market, securing external financing, and taking advantage of the USIS’s distribution network – were frustrated by her unwillingness to follow the market, to relent control over the magazine, and to somehow politicize its content, respectively. Ironically, her status and title did not help her to gain the sympathies of many professionals in the publishing business who only saw her as a rich and capricious amateur. Still, she could count on the support of her closest friends like poet Robert Lowell, who in 1960 – when *Botteghe Oscure* was about to cease publications – wrote the following honest words of praise: “I think you can proud of your years of service, of bringing the many nations together, and of pepping up so many young poets. Your magazine is part of the story of Europe’s rising out of the flatness and desolation of the war. I know you will miss your work, and many will miss their sympathetic correspondence with you” (28 April 1960).

First Collaborators and Editorial Practices

Unlike *Commerce*, *Botteghe Oscure* never had an editorial board; Marguerite felt she now had enough experience to manage the review without relying on a team of directors. Indeed, of the triumvirate that originally led *Commerce*, only Valéry contributed to Marguerite's second journal (in two issues, Nos. 3 and 5). This time there were three female friends to help her set things in motion: Elena Croce, Nina Ruffini, and Elsa Dallolio. The first two were among the animators of "Il Ritrovo" ("The Retreat"), a short-lived but very active cultural association Marguerite had presided in Rome immediately after the city was liberated by the Allies.⁷⁴ Elena, daughter of the philosopher Benedetto Croce, was for a time Marguerite's neighbor; she too had edited a short-lived but influential literary journal in Naples, *Aretusa*, and was starting another review in Rome called *Lo Spettatore italiano*. She introduced Marguerite to a young and enthusiast poet, Giorgio Bassani, who would become *Botteghe Oscure*'s chief editor, and to its future printer Luigi De Luca. Nina Ruffini did many Italian-English translations for *Botteghe Oscure* together with Salvatore Rosati, whom Marguerite once described as "the best translator in Italy."⁷⁵ For the first two years Marguerite published Italian translations of all English poems that appeared in the review; this attempt to foster a dialogue between English-speaking and Italian authors would remain one of Marguerite's main objectives throughout the life of the magazine. Elsa Dallolio's role in the making of *Botteghe Oscure* is more elusive. She probably met Marguerite through their common friends Giuliana Benzoni and Nina Ruffini, who belonged to the planning committee of "Il Ritrovo;" the correspondence between Dallolio and Marguerite indicates a solid and warm friendship.

⁷⁴ For more information about "Il Ritrovo," see chapter 1.

⁷⁵ In a letter to Theodor Roethke, undated but most likely written in early 1949 (TRP).

Most of Dallolio's letters preserved in the Caetani archive date from the summer of 1951 and deal primarily with the publication of No. 8, but from references made by other correspondents (printer Luigi De Luca, Giorgio Bassani) one understands that her collaboration started earlier and continued long after that number. Unlike Croce or Bassani, Dallolio never had a prominent role in the literary world; nevertheless, writer Iris Origo – who dedicated a book, *Un'amica (A Friend)*, to her – described her as an intelligent, sensitive, and cultivated woman, albeit very reserved and discrete (Valli 46-47). There is a sort of protective shield surrounding the group of women who gathered around Marguerite to start *Botteghe Oscure*. Other characters used the review to gain notoriety, but not its female founders, who instead made every effort to stay in the background: their names never appeared on the pages of the magazine.

Elena Croce wrote in her memoir *Le due città* ("The Two Cities") that at the beginning of their collaboration Marguerite only had a vague notion of the magazine she wanted to publish: "Le sue aspirazioni, ancora imprecisamente formulate, si svolgevano ad una collana di grandi quaderni di poesia" ("Her aspirations, only vaguely formed, were oriented toward an important poetry series"; Croce 50). Croce's statement, however, is contradicted by an earlier source: a letter dated April 12, 1941, in which Marguerite communicated to her sister Katherine the desire of creating a new literary review. Marguerite described the salient features of the new publication: "A sort of *Commerce*," she wrote, "Prose and Poetry in French Italian and English [with] no translations" (KBP).

The reference to *Commerce* is very important. Marguerite took it as a model, but immediately pointed out the key features that would set the new review apart from its predecessor: multiple languages, no translations. French was by far the dominant

language in *Commerce*, and translations were a defining feature of that review, which aspired to collect the best available literature from different ages and various countries; works that would stay “forever young,” as Marguerite wrote to Elisabeth Nietzsche, picked by a small circle of highbrows who were not interested in reaching a wide readership. In the intention of its editors *Commerce* was meant to evoke the lofty atmosphere of a literary salon, where readers were only allowed to “peek from a window,” to quote Paul Valéry, as if they were uninvited guests (Levie, *Commerce* 27). In *Botteghe Oscure*, on the contrary, Marguerite aimed to the ambitious goal of making a luxury publication with a democratic nature, bent on giving maximum visibility to contributors without compromising its high quality standard.

In order to achieve such goal, Marguerite perfected the system she had already employed for *Commerce*: she used her international connections to form a large network of consultants (editors, authors, critics, artists and intellectuals) who operated as recruiters, reviewers, or agents on her behalf. The impressive amount of correspondence she was able to sustain testifies to her ability and persistence in fostering these connections as well as procuring new ones. It surely helped that her letters, hastily scribbled on thin sheets of blue-colored paper, were often accompanied by big checks. Marguerite’s generosity in rewarding her contributors was well known in the literary world; it was not uncommon for her to pay authors two or three times the amount normally given by other reviews. Such largesse was certainly a key factor in securing the collaboration of so many writers, but it would not have been as effective without the added value of Marguerite’s reputation as editor of great taste and sensitivity. Publishing in *Botteghe Oscure* soon became a sign of distinction for any serious writers.

Unlike *Commerce*, *Botteghe Oscure* had an editorial office: it was located on the first floor of Palazzo Caetani, in Rome, in the same building where Marguerite and Roffredo had their residence. The magazine only accepted original, previously unpublished literature. A statement printed on the last page of the review recited: “I manoscritti debbono essere inviati alla Redazione, in Via Botteghe Oscure n. 32, Roma. Quelli non pubblicati saranno restituiti agli autori entro il termine di tre mesi” (“Manuscripts must be sent to the editorial office, 32 Via Botteghe Oscure, Rome. The unpublished ones will be returned to the authors within three months”). Divided by language, all submissions were reviewed by Marguerite with the help of Giorgio Bassani and various other collaborators who worked with the editorial staff more or less officially. While she listened carefully to her advisors, Marguerite always retained the final word on what was to be printed and how. The magazine was her house, and whoever wanted to enter had to play by her rules; still, its doors were wide open (more so than for *Commerce*) and all writers invited, whether known or unknown.

Marguerite could be quite demanding with authors, and often protested when they sent work to other magazines; she was especially possessive toward an inner circle that included poets like Dylan Thomas, René Char, and Theodor Roethke.⁷⁶ She also protested when other reviews published works that had appeared on *Botteghe Oscure* without giving it proper credit; this happened quite often, and was a constant source of frustration for Marguerite.

Early in her correspondence with a new collaborator, Marguerite would often sketch a short biographical note with information about her previous review, *Commerce*,

⁷⁶ In 1949 Marguerite writes to Roethke: “I am terribly disappointed not to have the poem ‘I Cry Love! Love!’ Or any of the song sequence. Perhaps you didn’t realize that I can’t use any poem which have already appeared in magazines anywhere” (TRP).

and sometimes *Botteghe Oscure*. These notes reveal Marguerite's own thoughts about her publications and the pride she took in them. In a letter to Gene Baro written from Paris and dated September 12 (the year is not indicated, as usual, but it is probably 1954), Marguerite outlined a brief history of her two literary reviews. Baro was a prolific author and a regular book reviewer for the New York Herald Tribune; Marguerite was hoping that he could write a piece on *Botteghe Oscure*. This is what she wrote:

I think you know that from '24 to nearly all '33 I had a literary review here in Paris. Valery, Leon Paul Fargue, and Valery Larbaud were the directors but again I did everything myself. It acquired a really fine reputation. Many of Valery best things were published there and we had the first texts of many who have become famous since. Jackson Mathews wants to make an Anthology of "Commerce" (name given by Valery as commerce des idées) we had the "Hollow Men" of Eliot translated by St. John Perse, the first translation in French of a part of Ulysses trans. by Larbaud etc. etc. I may say in passing [that] it was child's play in comparison with Botteghe [. . .] This was given up in '33 and I missed it terribly. Then during the war I dreamed of doing another but from Rome and in 3 languages. Everyone discouraged me especially Eliot, and St. John Perse. I must say I wasn't very discouraged but started off as soon as possible, first intending to have Italian and French in one volume and Italian and English in the other. But I understood very quickly that this wouldn't do, and after feeling about in the first issues finally in No. 5 it became just what I had wished as to form. My object [*sic*] and hope in doing it you know as well as I do. (GBP)

The passage contains important information on the genesis of the new review, and reveals something about its author's personality. Marguerite proudly asserts her determination in pursuing her ambitious plans despite the skepticism expressed by authoritative collaborators, such as T. S. Eliot and St. John Perse; at the same time, she admits her cautiousness in shaping the review's format until it finally met her expectations; it was in fact with the fifth issue that Marguerite considered her editorial project fully realized. The English language section was now almost the same size as the Italian one (179 vs. 191

pages); the French section also gained 20 pages compared to its first appearance in No. 3 (89 vs. 68 pages).⁷⁷

Marguerite's Relation with Authors

The study of Marguerite's correspondence with authors offers precious insight about her ideas on art, literature, and publishing. The letters she sent daily from Rome, Paris, or Ninfa are also revealing of Marguerite's personality; each of them contains a fragment of a remarkably coherent narrative on her literary achievements, private life, and plans for the future. Her active social life did not keep her from engaging in epistolary conversations with the writers she most admired, and from whom she longed to receive constant news, updates, as well as new works for *Botteghe Oscure*. She felt especially close to those poets, like Theodore Roethke or Dylan Thomas, whose human fragility both threatened and nurtured their artistic talent; she had for them an almost maternal kind of protection that went beyond financial and editorial support.

Theodore Roethke was one of the first American poets hosted in *Botteghe Oscure*. It was British publisher John Lehmann who introduced Roethke's work to Marguerite. Roethke's poetry, full of references to nature and its secret voice, struck all the right chords in Marguerite's soul. She wrote him letters of praise for his first book, *Open House*, and he reciprocated by expressing his admiration for what she was trying to accomplish with *Botteghe Oscure*. Their correspondence went on for twelve years, until

⁷⁷ It is significant that Marguerite's name appears on the inside cover for the first time in this number (No. 4 only had Bassani's name on it, while the first three issues were completely anonymous).

Marguerite's sight deteriorated to the point where she had to dictate her letters to a secretary. All her energy and enthusiasm are fully present when, in February 1949, she describes *Botteghe Oscure* to Roethke: "It is run almost entirely by me helped by a young poet called Giorgio Bassani, [. . .] we have a printer and a bookshop as general agent and that is all. I haven't got a secretary and I do all the foreign part, collecting texts and proofreading. There are a few misprints alas and I hoped so much there wouldn't be any. Anyhow it is a great success here and that is a great satisfaction and I love doing it" (TRP 14 Feb. 1949). Marguerite could not conceal how pleased she was with her magazine; at the end of another letter written a few months later we find a similar statement: "Did I ever tell you that the review is a great success in Italy. They have never had anything quite like it before" (25 Apr. 1949).

Marguerite was right: *Botteghe Oscure* was an absolute novelty on the Italian editorial scene. Nobody had ever seen a literary magazine that published so much literature and stayed so placidly untouched by criticism. There were no commentaries, no rubrics or reviews: only text after text, without even a demarcation line to separate one language from the other. In an earlier message to Roethke she had outlined the transnational scope of the review: "Ours is an Italian Review but with each number beginning with the 2nd coming out in November we will always have important foreign contributors and always unpublished works. It will be circulated besides Italy in Switzerland, France, England and the U.S. and is mainly to help young writers, especially poets, to get known outside this country" (TRP 20 Oct. 1948). The second issue had not come out yet, but Marguerite was already giving details on foreign distribution and highlighting the mission of her review, dedicated to promote the work of young and

unknown Italian poets on the international scene. This emphasis on the international dimension and the search for writers young and unknown were reaffirmed in response to Roethke's concern that the review could go back to printing only Italian authors like in the first number: "Don't worry about the review becoming ever only Italian, on the contrary it will probably become more international and I would be very grateful if you would suggest poets especially young or who are having difficulty to get known."

One of these young poets was Dylan Thomas. Marguerite was an early supporter of his talent and did her best to help him, both financially and morally, until his premature end. Dylan's attitude toward her, however, was never completely honest. His histrionic ability to elicit compassion worked well with Marguerite, who did not seem able to refuse him anything. He constantly complained about the dire circumstances that made impossible for him to write; his letters are passionate, beautifully written, and full of drama. They can be summarized as a long sequence of heartfelt thanks for the money received and desperate requests for more. In the end he betrayed Marguerite's trust by selling to another review the work he had repeatedly promised her, and for which she had already paid.

The work in question was the radio play *Under Milk Wood*, whose first part appeared on the ninth issue of *Botteghe Oscure* (spring 1952) under the curious title "Llareggub: a Piece for Radio Perhaps." "Llareggub" is the name of the village where Dylan sets the play; it resembles the name of a Welsh village but it is also the reverse of "bugger all," a vernacular expression Marguerite would not have approved of – but maybe she was not aware of the pun. On the other hand, she seemed inclined to forgive much to the unruly poet, as we gather from his own recollection of their first meeting that

took place in the fall of 1949, in London. Dylan's poem "Over Sir John's Hill" had been published in *Botteghe Oscure* that spring (in No. 4); Marguerite was eager to make his acquaintance, but the poet could not contain himself. As he recalls, "[A]ll I could do was to talk, disconnectedly, about myself, scatter you with ash, gollup your whiskey and soda, make an inexact arrangement with you about a short story of my own, and then rush off unto the London night I loathe" (2 Nov. 1949). Dylan's letters to Marguerite were characterized by a dramatic, ominous tone mixed with bits of dark humor. He did not enjoy his frequent stays in London, necessary as they were to sustain him and his family. He worked best at "The Boat House," the cottage built on a cliff overlooking the Taf's estuary in Laugharne, Wales.⁷⁸

Dylan would often disappear from the radar; in order to receive news on his whereabouts, Marguerite had to rely on periodical updates sent by John Davenport, a common friend and collaborator. Davenport described his friend's dilemma in the following terms: "It is only in Wales that he functions really happily. The maddening paradox is that the trips to London are an economic necessity, but that London absorbs back again all the money gained, so that the situation remains virtually the same; that is to say, unsolved" (29 Jan. 1951). Davenport emphasized to Marguerite what he called "the romantically self-destructive side of Dylan's character" and openly admitted that the only way to improve the situation would be to grant his family a permanent income, so that he could focus on his work. Davenport also warned Marguerite that Dylan could be

⁷⁸ The cottage was bought for Thomas by his lover Margaret Adams, first wife of the historian A. J. P. Taylor.

overly dramatic and insincere in his letters; “I would not write to you in this way if I did not feel you to be a true friend of Dylan’s,” he added.⁷⁹

When Thomas first went to the U.S.A., in 1950, he knew almost nobody in that country. Marguerite gave him a list of contacts which included her sister, Katherine, future poet-laureate and librarian of congress Archibald MacLeish, and poet Richard Wilbur. Even though his financial troubles were still a major concern, Dylan seemed to be in a slightly better mood; he answered Marguerite’s concern about his drinking habit by offering some insight on his complex personality:

Yes, I am frightened of drink, too. But it is not so bad as, perhaps, you think: the fear, I mean. It is only frightening when I am whirlingly perplexed, when my ordinary troubles are magnified into monsters and I fall weak down before them, when I do not know what to do or where to turn. When I am here, or anywhere I like, and am busy, then drink’s no fear at all and I’m well, terribly well, and gay, and unafraid, and full of other, nicer nonsenses, and altogether a dull, happy fellow only wanting to put into words, never into useless, haphazard, ugly, and unhappy action, the ordered turbulence, the ubiquitous and rinsing grief, the unreasonable glory, of the world I know and don’t know. (12 Jan. 1950)

At the end of that same year, though, things got worse. The money made in the States had been swallowed by expenses, tax, and poor management; Thomas and his wife, Caitlin, were again forced to move into a small room in London so that he could seek for work. She was pregnant again, but given their financial situation the couple decided not to keep the baby. Dylan vividly described their dramatic condition to Marguerite: “It really’s the squalid devil, all in one London room with napkins and food and spilt books and flung clothes and a baby rampant” (11 Nov. 1950). Dylan had sent Marguerite another poem, “In the White Giant’s Thigh,” which came out that spring in the sixth issue of the review.

⁷⁹ Davenport was one of Marguerite’s many foreign collaborators and recommended many potential contributors for *Botteghe Oscure*; he also translated some of René Char’s poems into English, at Marguerite’s request, before Denis Devlin and Jackson Mathews.

The generous payment sent by Marguerite gave a much-needed break to the poet, and allowed him to concentrate on a new project: “Now, I am writing a long radio play, which will, I am sure, come to life on the printed page as well [. . .] With luck – I mean, if I can live till then – it will be finished early in the New Year. I am enjoying writing it enormously. It is not like anything else I have done, though much of it is poetry” (11 Nov. 1950). This is the first time Dylan mentions the piece that would become *Under Milk Wood* in a letter to Marguerite. Its gestation turned out to be much longer than expected, mainly because Dylan’s attention was constantly distracted by other, more pressing tasks.

In May 1951 he sent Marguerite the poem “Lament” and told her that two more pieces would follow soon. One of them was the villanelle “Do Not Go Gentle Into That Good Night,” written for Dylan’s dying father, which would become one of his best-known works. In the letter accompanying the manuscript Dylan presented it as “a little poem” that could create a nice contrast with “Lament.” He commented, “The only person I can’t show the little enclosed poem to is, of course, my father, who doesn’t know he’s dying” (28 May 1951). “Do Not Go Gentle Into That Good Night” was printed on the fall 1951 issue (No. 8) of the magazine, together with “Lament.”

In the summer of 1951 Dylan was working on a series of “Birthday Poems” he wanted Marguerite to have; he thought they were very good, “better than anything I have done for a very long time,” as he wrote on July 18th. At the end of August, however, since he needed money and could not get a job in London, he sold the first poem “for ten pounds.” To Marguerite he wrote, “I don’t think I need [. . .] to tell you how ashamed I am. The poem, good or bad, was for you; I wanted, more than anything, for it to appear in

Botteghe Oscure, the only periodical” (31 Aug. 1951). Despite this setback, Marguerite sent him another check along with a friendly letter. Dylan was moved by her gesture: “Oh, how many times you’ve saved my lives now! I’ve as many, I suppose, as a Hallowe’en of cats. And the lovely letter of forgiveness was so good to have, though it made me feel only more ashamed that, in a moment of need, I had to sell my best poem for years to an aloof stranger” (15 Sep. 1951).

The following month, much to Marguerite’s delight, came the long-promised first part of Dylan’s radio play, under the “most provisional” title of *Llareggub. A Piece For Radio Perhaps*. Dylan explained to Marguerite the nature of this peculiar work, which, he wrote, “[I]s the first half of something I am delighting in doing and which I shall complete very shortly.” The idea for the play stemmed out, Dylan continues, from a comedy in verse and prose he was writing:

Out of it [the comedy] came the idea that I write a piece, a play, an impression for voices, of the town I live in, and to write it simply and warmly and comically with lots of movement and varieties of moods, so that, at many levels, through sight and speech, description and dialogue, evocation and parody, you came to know the town as an inhabitant of it. That is an awkward and highfalutin way of speaking: I only wanted to make the town alive through a new medium: and that, again, is wrong: I seem hardly able to write today, or, at least, to write about Llareggub: all I want to do is to write the damned thing itself. (Oct. 1951)

In order to do that, Dylan added, he needed to have enough money to pay his debts in Laugharn, which amounted to one hundred pounds: “[W]ithout being paid well and at once, I cannot finish it,” he stated. Once again Marguerite satisfied the poet’s request and sent him the money, but never received the second part of the manuscript.

Despite Marguerite’s unwavering support, Dylan seemed to be constantly broke. After settling his debts in Laugharn he sold the Boat House and moved to London with

Caitlin. Early in 1952 Davenport reports on his friend to Marguerite: “Dylan: no encouraging news. He thinks of nothing but his imminent departure (15th) for the U.S.A. and seems quite paralyzed and incapable of action” (6 Jan. 1952). Dylan left for New York with Caitlin. His economic prospects were now somehow improved, and he was able to buy the Boat House back, but did not seem able to uphold his deal with *Botteghe Oscure*. In November he sent Marguerite a long and confused letter in which he apologized profusely for not having been able to complete the work and promised that he would send it by the first of February, at the latest. At the end of this last letter, as if apologizing for the all trouble he had given her, he wrote: “I want, one day, to write you a happy letter. Because I am very often happy, and not always, here by the sea, without cause” (6 Nov. 1952). Consumed by heavy drinking, he fell ill and passed away in New York on November 9, 1953. By that time he had closed a deal to publish *Under Milk Wood* in the magazine *Mademoiselle*, behind Marguerite’s back.

Despite her four-year personal and financial commitment to Dylan Thomas, she had been betrayed. The upsetting news reached Marguerite only in January 1954, one month before the piece’s publication in *Mademoiselle*, through one of the trustees appointed by Dylan’s widow.⁸⁰ Marguerite could not publish *Under Milk Wood* after it had appeared in another review; she tried to reclaim her rights, which were backed by a vast amount of correspondence, but to no avail. In the end she had to settle for a rather unsatisfying agreement in which she received a refund of the advance given to Dylan,

⁸⁰ David Higham.

plus the permission to publish three of his letters, which were printed in the spring 1954 issue of *Botteghe Oscure*.⁸¹

Marguerite's passion for finding new talents led her to correspond not only with seasoned writers, but also with aspiring ones. In the summer of 1954 an undergraduate student at Yale University sent Marguerite a letter of praise for *Botteghe Oscure*. She was touched by the gesture and replied, starting an epistolary exchange that lasted over two years. The student's name was William P. Wilcox; in the second letter to Marguerite he candidly showed all his enthusiasm: "I do not now read Italian, but both my roommate and I, after discovering *Botteghe Oscure* this spring, signed up to begin classes in it this fall in order to be able to read the Italian selections!" (10 July 1954) Galvanized by Marguerite's encouragement, Wilcox started advertising *Botteghe Oscure* among his peers on campus: "I am also making two small signs to put on the bulletin boards in Yale Station asking those people who would be interested in *Botteghe Oscure* to contact me. Every member of the student body is sure to see the signs there" (6 Oct. 1954). Wilcox was prodigal in advice on how to better promote Marguerite's review in the States, and offered to write to other university libraries looking for subscriptions. He also sent her a short story, asking for a frank opinion. Not only did Marguerite like the story; she included it in the spring 1955 issue of *Botteghe Oscure*, sending Wilcox a \$100 check (worth approximately \$850 today), which he felt he could not accept; instead he used the

⁸¹ Three years later Caitlin Thomas was sitting at the table of a small restaurant in Anzio, near Rome. Unable to bear living in Laugharne after her husband's death, she had been traveling with her children first to Ireland, then Italy. She wanted to settle down but did not know the country well enough to make a decision. Looking for a place to bring up her children and forget the past, she wrote to Marguerite and asked for advice: "So I thought you might have some brilliant idea where I might look, as I am on my own, and don't know a simple English soul in Rome [. . .] I am contemplating the island of Ponza, but it is too early for any boats to go there; but it sounds like my kind of primitive rock" (1 Mar. 1957). Probably following Marguerite's advice, Caitlin Thomas picked the island of Procida; the one where Elsa Morante set her novel *L'isola di Arturo*, published in the same year.

money to buy stamps, and mailed 3500 letters to public libraries nationwide in support of *Botteghe Oscure*.

Marguerite continued to encourage Wilcox's literary ambitions; she accepted to read parts of his first novel and wrote a letter of recommendation for a Fulbright scholarship, which allowed Wilcox to study in Italy for one year. In October 1955, a little over a year after his first letter, he informed Marguerite of his research plan: "I am going to do a study of Verga and also Pirandello and Vittorini as his successors in the Sicilian tradition [. . .] I think there are parallels between the Sicilian writers and the Southern American ones. I want to spend a semester at the University of Pisa studying with Professor Luigi Russo [. . .] Then I want to go to Sicily for a time to get a feeling for the background of their work and also perhaps to do some writing myself" (24 Oct. 1955). William P. Wilcox's literary career never took off; he was one of many unknown writers who were given a booth in "the dark shops." Still, his story well exemplifies the kind of human connection Marguerite was able to establish with her contributors, no matter how well they fared in the world of letters; it also shows how *Botteghe Oscure* could and did influence the diffusion of contemporary Italian literature in the States. The fact that an undergraduate student felt motivated to study Italian language and culture after reading a number of *Botteghe Oscure* gave Marguerite yet another reason to believe in the goodness of the "commerce of ideas" she had been fostering so devotedly.⁸²

⁸² Further evidence in that sense came from another American author, Marguerite Young, who in the mid-fifties was teaching at Iowa University. Paul Engle was the director of the prestigious Iowa Writers' Workshop at the time, and he offered Young a job as writer in residence. She wrote to Marguerite that *Botteghe Oscure* was very popular among her students, and that she should not judge the success of the magazine from its subscription list: "I suppose it is next to impossible for you to imagine how many readers it really does have" (12 Feb. 1956; emphasis in the original).

Marguerite's idiosyncratic approach to publishing caused her to clash with other editors, printers and publishers, which severely limited the potential impact of *Botteghe Oscure* on the international market. Her dual role as editor and financial backer of the journal granted independence and continuity to the journal, but hindered the formation of a stable group of editors who might have been able to carry on the review's mission beyond its founder's life. At the same time, her relentless pursuit of quality at every stage of the editorial process established the review's prestige and authority among a small but influential audience. Moreover, she was able to extend the magazine's scope and reach well beyond those of *Commerce*, her first literary review, and without the help of any famous male co-director. Relying exclusively on personal resources and holding on to the same high standards, Marguerite carried on for twelve years; only in the last issues she considered adding a few pages of advertising for prestigious brands such as ENI (the Italian Petroleum and Gas Company) and TWA. Despite the usefulness of subscriptions lists and sale records, it would be wrong to quantify the readership of *Botteghe Oscure* based only on those numbers. Marguerite's primary objectives were to ensure that the magazine would be available in schools and public libraries, and to connect both established authors and new talents to an international community of readers; in this respect, she was successful.

CHAPTER V

The reception of *Botteghe Oscure*

In this chapter I will examine the reception of *Botteghe Oscure* by the international literary community. I will mainly refer to the press of three countries: Italy, U.K, and U.S.A. Marguerite collected and annotated many articles, which are still preserved among her documents at the Caetani archive in Rome. Her extensive operational network included writers who collaborated with various periodicals; she was aware of the necessity of bringing *Botteghe Oscure* to a larger audience, and her correspondence reveals a steadfast resolve to obtain quality press coverage. Some of the journalists cited in this chapter did contribute to *Botteghe Oscure*, either before or after they wrote about it, and their efforts were (as it was always the case) generously rewarded by Marguerite; hence, not all reviews can be considered unbiased. Articles written by authors who published in the magazine will be clearly indicated as such.

Reviews dealing directly with *Botteghe Oscure* will be the primary focus of this chapter. I will also examine articles dealing with authors “discovered” by Marguerite, i.e. whose work first appeared in her magazine when they were still largely unknown to the public (e.g. Guglielmo Petroni, whose fortune as a novelist owed much to Marguerite’s support).⁸³ Marguerite was very attentive toward this kind of “indirect publicity” and

⁸³ In the 930’s Petroni was an esteemed poet, painter, and illustrator. He was part of the Florentine circle of the “Giubbe Rosse” (Red Blouses), and collaborated to literary reviews such as *Letteratura*, *Prospettive*,

often collected clips related to “her” writers, even if *Botteghe Oscure* was not at all mentioned.

Hundreds of articles on *Botteghe Oscure* appeared during the magazine’s twelve-year tenure, and it would be impossible to discuss them all at this time; therefore, I based my selection on two criteria: (1) length – I did not consider articles running a half-column or less; in most cases all they did was announcing the availability of a certain issue and listing its content – and (2) relevance to a larger context of analysis – i.e. authors who discussed the novelty represented by *Botteghe Oscure* on the global literary scene, compared authors and literary trends of different countries, or examined the latest production of a specific nation, based on the repertoire presented in the magazine.

Furthermore, reviews of *Botteghe Oscure* can be subdivided in two categories: in the first one we find those offering detailed information about one or more specific volume(s); the authors of these reviews do not attempt an evaluation of the magazine’s scope and purpose, and do little more than providing a summary of its content. The second category includes reviews that go deeper in the analysis of the magazine; they offer criticism not just on the content, but also on the editorial philosophy that informed the whole series. For the purpose of this chapter, preeminence will be given to the second type of review.

Finally, there are articles dealing with works published in *Botteghe Oscure*; these mention the magazine parenthetically, only to acknowledge the fact that the work

Campo di Marte, Il Bargello, Il Frontespizio, Il Selvaggio, and Corrente. His fortune declined after the war, but – after being published in *Botteghe Oscure* – his novels slowly gained recognition and critical praise. After the war Petroni became a secretary of “Associazione per la libertà della cultura” (Association for Cultural Freedom), an organization discreetly sponsored by the American CCF (Congress for Cultural Freedom) and directed by Ignazio Silone. Marguerite asked Silone’s wife, Darina, to translate Petroni’s novel in English for future distribution in the U.K. and the States. The translation was completed but never published.

reviewed (or a previous work by the same author) had first appeared on its pages. This last kind of contribution can be interesting, if only because it allows us to follow the career of authors who were “launched” by *Botteghe Oscure*.

In *L'Italia che scrive: rassegna per coloro che leggono*, published in the late summer of 1948, a journalist who writes under the name of “Filostrato” introduced the first number of *Botteghe Oscure* to his readers as follows, quoting directly from a press release: “[U]na antologia della letteratura italiana d’oggi, accogliendo nelle sue pagine, oltre a scrittori già consacrati che continuano a rappresentare la parte più viva della nostra letteratura, gli scrittori più giovani, anzi rivolgendo ad essi la sua particolare attenzione...” (“Bosco Parrasio”). The language used in the first part of the sentence recalls *Commerce* and its emphasis on the “living past” represented by the canon, while in the last words we find the element of novelty, the shift of focus from the old to the young that was one of *Botteghe Oscure*’s defining traits. This programmatic declaration is followed by a summary of the first number, which featured selected poems by Eugenio Montale, Sandro Penna, Attilio Bertolucci, Antonio Rinaldi, and Mario Sabbatini, short novels by Guglielmo Petroni and Manlio Cancogni, plus Bassani’s “Storia d’amore,” which later became part of the *Cinque storie ferraresi* with the title “Lida Mantovani.”

Petroni’s short autobiographic novel, *Il mondo è una prigionia*, was the single most cited work in the first wave of review pertaining to *Botteghe Oscure*. Petroni wrote it in 1945 and “put in a drawer” the manuscript after a first unsuccessful publication attempt, until Marguerite asked it for the first issue of her review.⁸⁴ From the pages of *Il*

⁸⁴ In the afterword to Mondadori’s 1960 edition of *Il mondo è una prigionia* Petroni explained his lack of determination in promoting the manuscript by recalling the political climate of the time, in which, as he put it, “[C]hi si fermava a riflettere pareva volesse rimanere indietro per poca fede” (119). Petroni’s critical reflection was looked upon with suspicion, his tormented, introverted attitude did not resonate with the

Corriere della Sera (14 Sep. 1948) Piero Pancrazi salutes Petroni's debut as a work of rare musicality and poetic value, which approached a difficult theme (the author's problematic return to "normal life" after being imprisoned by the fascists) without falling into clichés and without betraying his personal style, intense yet restrained. "Egli [Petroni] non parla mai né di storicità né di Provvidenza ma, da come sopporta il male e il peggio, si sente che ne viene via via, acquistando il senso nella misura che fa per lui: che è poi quella di un'intelligente malinconia della vita. Cui si aggiungerà infine, come un regalo, un acquisto di carità: comunicare con le pene e il dolore dei più: senza di che nonché quelle carceri, *siamo noi stessi la nostra prigionia, è il mondo stesso una prigionia*" (Pancrazi). The critic adds that, after reading *Il mondo è una prigionia*, he went looking for Petroni's previous works, but he did not find in them the same openness and clarity of this novel, which reveals a new and promising talent.

Petroni's fortune continued throughout 1949, when *Il mondo è una prigionia* was published by Mondadori. The book came to be seen by many as the "moral winner" of the Viareggio Prize, even though the award was given to *L'Agnese va a morire*, a neorealist (in the traditional sense of the word) novel by Renata Viganò. Petroni's novel was reviewed by, among others, Giorgio Caproni, Emilio Cecchi, Goffredo Bellonci, and Giuseppe De Robertis. His second novel, *La casa si muove*, published on *Botteghe Oscure* in the fall, obtained equal praise. The literary critic of the *Corriere del giorno* (Taranto) observed that in this second work Petroni, as other young writers, had successfully avoided the self-extolling tone that was common to previous

widespread enthusiasm that followed the fall of fascism: "Considero più che giustificato lo stato d'animo che allora fece sì che, anche a molti ch'io stimavo, il libro apparisse segnato da un'ombra di tiepidezza; anzi si disse, da un vago sentore di disfattismo: già tornavano alcune parole, pensiamoci" (120). Some of the most fanatical antifascists, Petroni seems to imply, were often the same ones who had praised the regime just a few months before its demise.

autobiographical works (Piccioni 1950). On *Botteghe Oscure* Petroni also published his third novel, *Noi dobbiamo parlare* (1954) and a short story, “Le macchie di Donato” (1959). Moreover, together with Bassani, he had a role in selecting material for the Italian section of the review.

Another much-discussed novel to appear in *Botteghe Oscure* was Vasco Pratolini’s *Le ragazze di Sanfrediano* (No. 3, spring 1949). Pratolini’s vivid portrait of Florence and Florentines received mixed reviews. Umberto Marvardi noted that Pratolini’s characters and setting were only superficially sketched, serving as a playground for the author’s imaginative talent more than supporting the narrative: “[. . .] il racconto decade a prosa letteraria, di molto gusto, di raffinata manipolazione, ma da cui, nonostante, si scolla assai facilmente un contenuto povero e direi insignificante, perché privo anche di quella qualità catartica che trasforma in immagini il grezzo apporto della sensazione” (Marvardi 1949). Both Petroni and Pratolini were close to the post-Solarian group of young intellectuals who animated the Florentine reviews *Frontespizio*, *Letteratura*, and *Campo di Marte*.

1950 was a year rich of reviews for *Botteghe Oscure*. On January 9 Renzo Frattarolo presented the four hundred-page magazine as “rivista fiume” to the readers of *Il Corriere di Foggia*, and reproduced its mission statement from a brochure enclosed with the second issue:

‘Mettere la letteratura di tutti i paesi sullo stesso piede; scoprire i frutti migliori che ogni letteratura è capace di portare, adunare gli scrittori più giovani e meno conosciuti accanto a quelli che hanno raggiunto un vasto riconoscimento, attestando così la vivacità spirituale dei diversi paesi; raccogliere, riflessi nell’arte, i problemi più interessanti dei vari popoli; armonizzare i molti e diversi modi di vita nel supremo modo d’essere della creazione poetica di modo che la conoscenza e l’informazione possano

ottenersi facendo conoscere opere di prim'ordine delle varie tendenze.'
(Frattarolo 1950)

The unknown editor (most likely Bassani himself, with Marguerite's approval) called *Botteghe Oscure* "The only magazine of its kind in Italy today." This ambitious claim was warmly endorsed by Frattarolo, who added, " 'Botteghe Oscure' è, in effetti, la più cara e bella raccolta di prosa e poesia di questi giorni, che ha ospitato fin qui opere degne della miglior attenzione sia del critico sia del lettore di gusto." Again, a special mention was reserved to Petroni's novel, *Il mondo è una prigionia*, and to Bassani's own "Storia d'amore."

In February, an article appeared on *La Fiera Letteraria* listing the content of the first four issues of *Botteghe Oscure* and praising the magazine as "one of the most significant editorial enterprises in Italy." Both Marguerite and Bassani were given credit for this success. The journalist (who signed only with the initials: M. Fr.) mentioned Marguerite's experience with *Commerce*, and underlined the international dimension achieved by the magazine since its second number. S/he also assumed, given the format of the fourth and latest issue, that the review would in the future dedicate half of its pages to Italian authors, and the other half to foreign ones (" *Botteghe Oscure*, rivista d'esportazione"). Such information might have come from an informed source within Palazzo Caetani, in which case it would indicate an intention of the editors that would not, however, find practical application in the following numbers of the review. As we know, in fact, foreign literatures (American and British, in particular) soon outsized the Italian part. The change corresponded to a reduction of coverage in the Italian press, while *Botteghe Oscure* expanded toward new markets.

In London, a small network of bookstores distributed *Botteghe Oscure* until 1952, when Marguerite signed a contract with her personal friend and publisher Hamish Hamilton. The magazine was regularly advertised on *The Times Literary Supplement*, which promptly informed its readers when a new number became available. The second and third issues were presented together, on August 19, 1949; the reviewer pointed out that No. 2 included a large section dedicated to English poets, and remarked: “Not all the fare provided may appeal to everybody, but between, for example, the realism of the modern Italian story-teller and the more abstruse examples of contemporary verse there will be found much to justify the editorial purpose of serving a wide variety of work to a wide variety of readers” (*Botteghe Oscure II-III* 19 Aug. 1949)

In the English-speaking world, *Botteghe Oscure* gained notoriety thanks to the volume *An Anthology of New Italian Writers*, printed by John Lehmann in the U.K. and (a few months later) New Directions in the States. The volume, notwithstanding some typographical errors and some less than optimal translations, obtained mostly positive reviews in both countries. Bassani contributed with some poems and a prose piece, “Love Story” (“Storia d’amore”), which was later included in the volume *Cinque storie ferraresi* with the title “Lida Mantovani.” Bassani’s story was translated by Margaret Bottrall, an Australian-born author who lived in Rome from 1945 to 1950 with her husband, poet Ronald Bottrall. The couple befriended Marguerite, who had published some of Ronald’s work in *Botteghe Oscure*. In 1951 Margaret penned a comprehensive review of the anthology for *Statesman and Nation* (March 3, 1951).⁸⁵ In commenting on the selection of young authors she stated:

⁸⁵ The article was translated and reprinted on *Il quotidiano eritreo*, an Italian newspaper distributed in Asmara. The author’s name was Italianized in “Margherita Botrali.”

Nobody represented here is over forty-five, and probably the only name that will be known here is Pratolini's, for a translation of his *Street of Poor Lovers* was published recently. But though the writers may be unknown in this country, they are not novices or amateurs; neither are they members of a clique, literary or political. This is a great point in favour of the anthology, and of the review from which it is taken. (135)

Bottrall emphasizes the intellectual freedom characteristic of Marguerite's publication, at a time when provincialism and fierce partisanship seemed to be the norm:

It is unusual in Italy to find this juxtaposition of writers from various regions, for all the major, and most of the minor, cities have a vigorous literary life of their own and publish periodicals which absorb a great deal of the local talent. It is also unusual to find a review published in Italy which is not tied to any party or school. (135)

One could complain about certain exclusions, Bottrall argues, and about what could seem a questionable decision: the most famous authors published in *Botteghe Oscure* up to that point, names like Ignazio Silone and Eugenio Montale, were left out. This, however, was a precise choice made by Marguerite, one she would make again in occasion of the prospected second anthology that should have been published by Farrar & Straus a few years later; the project fell apart because of Marguerite's obstinate refusal to include "names" instead of the gifted but little-known writers she wanted to support. "There is nothing parochial," Bottrall concluded, "or deliberately exclusive about this anthology" (136).⁸⁶

⁸⁶ Ronald Bottrall was appointed the British Council Representative in Rome from 1945 to 1950. His main task was reconstructing cultural relations between Italy and Britain after the war. Ronald and Margaret lived at Palazzo Borghese, and in 1946 jointly published an anthology of English verse. Margaret was similar to Marguerite in many ways, besides her name; in an article published in *The Independent* to commemorate her death she is described as "aristocratic and unworldly;" she loved the countryside, and we can safely assume she visited Ninfa at some point during her stay in Rome (Piggott 1996).

Another friend of Marguerite and frequent contributor to her magazine, poet Edwin Muir, wrote about the anthology on *The Observer* ("The Italian Spirit," 4 Feb. 1951). Muir was director of the British Council in Prague and Rome from 1946 to 1949, which means that he knew and worked with the Bottralls. In the article he praised the scope of the anthology, which featured many young Italian writers still unknown in England. He singled out Petroni and Soldati among the narrators, but pointed out that all stories were "remarkable for their insight into life, their seriousness of spirit, their luminous clarity, and their mastery of form" (Muir 100).

A shorter article appeared on *The New Yorker* on November 18, 1950, introducing the anthology to the American readership. The reviewer was not impressed by the quality of the poems presented, but acknowledged the expressive power of some proses, in particular Tommaso Landolfi's "Cancroregina" ("a Poe-influenced scientific horror tale") and Mario Soldati's "The Window" ("a wryly neurotic love story in the Svevo tradition). Guglielmo Petroni earned a symbolic gold medal with his short novel *La casa si muove* ("The House is Moving"), aptly described as "a minor masterpiece in the type of symbolic realism we have come to associate with the best Italian films" (*New Italian Writers*).

Criticism toward the poetry selection in the anthology was expressed in another, longer article written by Thomas Bergin for *The Freeman* (NY). The article, titled "The Vital Italians," appeared on Christmas Day, in 1950. Bergin writes: "One has the impression that Italy's new poets have been trapped in the techniques of the old imagist school; one may find in these selections some striking images and here and there a deft use of symbols, but in total effect the verse seems undistinguished and somehow out of

date” (Bergin 219). Like the previous reviewer, Bergin too was impressed by the stories, especially the one by Petroni, in light of its “[U]niversal moral significance” (220). The Italian narrators presented in the anthology, Bergin concludes, are in possession of a solid technique, and their characters are skillfully depicted. He also recognizes the commendable absence of parochialism and provincialism (with the possible exception of Pratolini’s *Le ragazze di Sanfrediano*, to which however the critic attributes a different, and equally valid, kind of quality), and notes that the war is no longer a recurring theme but in two of the stories presented. “The anthology at hand,” he comments, “is a fair specimen of the contributions to the review and should give the American reader a good vision of what is going on in contemporary Italian creative writing” (219).⁸⁷

On February 4, 1951, the *Dallas Time Herald* published another review of the anthology, written by author Oscar de Liso. Again, Petroni received a special mention for *La casa si muove*; so did Joyce Lussu for her two short stories. De Liso, however, criticized the Italians’ tendency to “over-write,” noting that almost all the prose pieces were too long. Unlike his colleagues, De Liso praised the poetry selection as being “first rate,” albeit clarifying that “they seem ladders to better things.” Concluding his review, De Liso acknowledges the instrumental role of the anthology in introducing good, young Italian writers to the American readership (De Liso 1951).

Many of Marguerite’s friends occupied important positions in Anglo-American institutions, directed publishing houses, taught at universities, and wrote in various periodicals; thanks to their support, she was able to enhance the diffusion of new Italian

⁸⁷ Bergin was an eminent scholar of Italian literature. He specialized in medieval literature and did extensive research on Boccaccio, Dante, and Petrarch. Between 1943 and 1946 Bergin served as director of public relations to the headquarters of the Allied Control Commission in Italy. In 1956 he came back to Italy with a Fulbright scholarship.

literature both in the U.K. and the States. The work of young Italian authors was translated in English and printed on separate booklets that accompanied issues four, five, and six of *Botteghe Oscure*; in 1950, the publication of *An Anthology of New Italian Writers* represented the peak of a three-year strategy directed to expand the reach of the magazine in English-speaking countries. The reviewers recognized the importance of this “mission” and looked favorably at the selection offered in Marguerite’s publications, especially with regard to the prose, which featured a wide variety of styles and themes. Guglielmo Petroni’s poignant rendering of the internal turmoil experienced by his characters was most appreciated, together with the efforts made by other writers to expand their area of interest beyond war-related themes.⁸⁸

Some of the foreign reviewers accused the poets featured in *Botteghe Oscure* of being outdated, still locked in pre-war models like symbolism and imagism. Others confessed their inability to understand many of the poems; they blamed the translator, or evoked a sort of cultural barrier. The issue of “translatability” was at the core of the transition from *Commerce* to *Botteghe Oscure*; while the former was entirely in French, in the latter Marguerite opted for translating only the most uncommon languages like Dutch, Korean, or Greek, which were presented in English. The booklets with the English translation of Italian authors were discontinued after the sixth issue of the review, but Marguerite continued to envision and finance translation projects, like a second “Italian” anthology for the American market, a book of poems and a collection of critical essays

⁸⁸ Not all comments were positive, however. In reviewing the sixth issue of the magazine (fall 1950) The *Times Literary Supplement* writer observed: “More than one of the stories in Italian well exhibit the national strength and weakness in this genre: instinctive ability to evoke character, scenery and atmosphere, together with a disappointing lack of plot, purpose or shape.”

dedicated to René Char. *Botteghe Oscure*, however, remained faithful to its multilingual format, with a few important exceptions.⁸⁹

In an article published on *Il popolo di Roma* on September 15, 1951, Pier Paolo Pasolini confessed his own ambiguous feeling toward a multilingual review, like *Botteghe Oscure*, so abundant in its offering that it risked to overwhelm most readers: “davanti a un testo di poesia inglese, tedesca o anche francese, molte volte succede di restare disorientati, impreparati, e non raramente del tutto indisponibili,” he observed. Still, Pasolini praised Marguerite for encouraging such a virtuous mingling of genres, styles, and literatures, and linked the problem of translation to a more general question: “Ma esiste – ci chiediamo – un comune criterio di leggibilità dei versi che si scrivono nelle varie lingue europee, ossia esiste una Europa letteraria?” Marguerite’s answer would have been in the affirmative, no doubt; since her Parisian years, as we have seen (see Chapter Two: *Commerce*), she had been working to globalize literature. Pasolini, more cautiously, recognizes the existence of common threads and reciprocal influences; Ungaretti’s poetry would not be conceivable without the Symbolists, he affirms, nor Montale without Eliot (Pasolini 1951).

It is curious that Pasolini’s examples should involve three authors (Ungaretti, Montale, Eliot) who were very close to Marguerite. Ungaretti was a frequent guest at Ville Romaine, the Caetani’s residence in Versailles, and collaborated to *Commerce* from the onset. Eliot was also involved with *Commerce*, kept a steady flow of correspondence with Marguerite, and advised her about the English section of *Botteghe Oscure*.

Montale’s poem *L’anguilla* opened the first number of *Botteghe Oscure*, reinforcing

⁸⁹ One notable exception was Brecht’s play *La bonne âme de Sé-Tchouan*, translated by Jeanne Stern, which appeared on the sixth issue of the review (fall 1950).

Pasolini's impression that hermeticism was a starting point for defining the magazine's line, together with memoirs ("romanzo di memoria") like those by Petroni and Carocci.⁹⁰ Pasolini was a good friend of Bassani's, but here he seems to ignore the latter's aversion toward hermeticism; the line followed by *Botteghe Oscure* tended to lay a bridge between pre-war and post-war literary movements, but – as we have seen in the previous chapter – after 1952 the poets "officially" associated with hermeticism all but disappeared from the pages of *Botteghe Oscure*.

By that time the reputation of *Botteghe Oscure* had been solidly established, both in Italy and abroad. On January 6 Edwin Muir wrote another flattering review of *Botteghe Oscure* on *The Observer*; he pointed out how the magazine allowed readers to draw fruitful comparisons between literatures that, for all their differences, seemed to share a common matrix: "Perhaps its demonstration of the unity of the European imagination is the most valuable thing in *Botteghe Oscure*" (Muir 1952).

In an article appeared on *The New Yorker* on September 19, 1953, Louise Bogan looked back to the beginning of *Botteghe Oscure* and declared: "[I]t is most unlikely that anyone thought this periodical, in the short space of six years, would become an important factor in what is sometimes called 'the total cultural picture'" (113). Bogan noticed how Marguerite could afford to pay generously her contributors while keeping *Botteghe Oscure* completely free from any kind of advertising. "The flouting of commercial standards immediately brings up the question of patronage," she writes, raising a doubt very few Italian writers thought of expressing in writing; but promptly rebuffing any suspicions, she adds: "She [Marguerite] has succeeded in being a

⁹⁰ Giampiero Carocci (younger brother of Alberto Carocci, director of *Solaria*) published a short novel, *Memorie di prigionia* (No. 3, spring 1949), in which he looked back on his dramatic experience as prisoner in a German camp.

particularly open-minded and non-fanatical editor. She has in no way pushed her contributors in this or that direction; she does not play favorites and is not out to proclaim any creed save that of excellence” (114). While Marguerite is not immune from the occasional misjudgment, Bogan continues, the pros outweigh the cons by far in her unique review, which is an antidote to provincialism for both American and European writers (Bogan 1953).

Most commentators on both sides of the Atlantic shared Bogan’s opinion, but some wondered for how long Marguerite would be able to continue her costly editorial adventure. An unknown American critic observed that, unless there was a sudden increase in circulation, Marguerite would soon be forced to give up *Botteghe Oscure*. A dire prospect for creative minds, he added, since “In the U.S., the literary quarterlies have become forums for academicians whose most congenial task is to criticize each other’s criticism. Young writers and unconventional writers have never had too many places where they could turn, have fewer than ever today” (“Highbrow Refuge” 109).

Other reviewers in Italy objected to the growing internationalization of the magazine. An anonymous critic writing on the *Gazzetta di Parma* listed the many highlights of the ninth issue (spring 1952), which included Dylan Thomas’s radio play *Llarreggub* (first part of *Under Milk Wood*); he also complained, however, for the rapidly decreasing number of pages reserved for Italian authors (“Schede letterarie” 1952).

Marguerite’s desire of making *Botteghe Oscure* ever more international resulted in a gradual reduction of the Italian section, a fact that annoyed and disoriented some critics; others, more open-minded, welcomed the opportunity of exploring new repertoires and took advantage of it. Salvatore Rosati, whom Marguerite considered

among the best English-to-Italian translators, wrote a long article on *Il Mondo* (Dec. 17, 1952) introducing Dylan Thomas as a neo-romantic poet to the Italian readers. Thomas was among the young poets Marguerite took under her wing much before they reached widespread success. Rosati's analysis of Thomas's latest lyrics, "Over Sir John's Hill" and "In the White Giant's Thigh," both published in *Botteghe Oscure*, reveals an intimate knowledge of the Welsh poet's work (Rosati 1952).

Despite the presence of Dylan Thomas's poem, the English section in *Botteghe Oscure* No. 10 (fall 1952) received some negative criticism on British and American press. It was deemed somehow inconsistent in quality and not on par with the other sections. After conceding that *Botteghe Oscure* "is steadily establishing itself as the best as well as the most inclusive of literary periodicals," literary critic David Paul observed, "of the four sections in the present number the English one is the poorest in enterprise and achievement." He mentioned two stories by Italian authors, Silvio D'Arzo's *Casa d'altri* and Calvino's *La formica argentina*, as the finest contributions to the volume (Paul 1952).

In opening a review of the magazine's tenth issue for the *New Republic*, Mark Schorer showed much more enthusiasm: "And if it is a Street of Dark Shops, this among its products is a brilliant beacon on the European literary scene, for in five years *Botteghe Oscure* has firmly established itself as the most important review in Europe."⁹¹ Schorer noted that nearly all of the works featured in this issue were by little-known writers, and especially praised Marguerite for including a selection of poems by the French poet René Char (Schorer 1953). These were presented both in French and in English, translated by

⁹¹ Schorer contributed to the twentieth issue of *Botteghe Oscure* with the story "A Burning Garden" (328-38).

Denis Devlin and Jackson Mathews.⁹² Besides being one of her favorite poets, Char was Marguerite's consultant for the French section of the magazine; his heavy presence in the publications sponsored by the princess caused resentment in some of her former collaborators, notably Jean Paulhan, who accused Marguerite of publishing exclusively Char and his "imitators."⁹³

The New Yorker correspondent from Paris, Janet Flanner (also known as Genêt) had known Marguerite since the times of *Commerce*, and was particularly glad to help promoting the poetry of René Char in the U.S.A. through her celebrated column "Letters from Paris." As soon as the tenth issue of *Botteghe Oscure* was made available in Paris, she wrote: "There has been considerable animation in poetry circles here on seeing the first big selection of Char's work for foreign consumption – thirty-five pages, half in French, half in spirited English translation by Professor Jackson Mathews [. . .]" (Flanner 1953).

The promotion of Char became a top priority, almost an obsession for Marguerite. For his sake she broke the self-imposed rule of not publishing literary criticism; between 1952 and 1956 she sponsored a series of interpretive studies of Char's poetry, in French

⁹² For more details on Marguerite's instrumental role in promoting Char's poetry, see chapter six.

⁹³ Marguerite's incensed reply to Paulhan's criticism reveals both her admiration for Char and her knowledge of French poetry:

Cher Jean, / je suis très étonnée et peinée du ton et du contenu de votre dernière lettre. Vous constatez mon admiration pour René Char et vous me donnez raison, ce qui me fait plaisir parce que je le considère le plus grand poète vivant pour dire le moins que je pense. Mais pour ce qui suit nous ne sommes plus d'accord hélas! Quand vous dites que B.O. publie presque exclusivement les disciples de Char: je ne savais pas que vous, Artaud, Ponge, Bataille, Blanchot, Camus, Michaux, Limbour, Dhôtel, Garampon, Thomas, Tardieu, Devaulx, Guilloux etc. vous vous considérez les disciples de Char. Vous dites aussi que les œuvres de ses disciples (les jeunes) sont trop naïves et monotones. Le ne pense pas que vous avec votre acuité critique pouvez en réalité préférer les œuvres que vous publiez si souvent dan vos « Cahiers » de Lambrichs, Mandiargues, de Solier, Nimier, de Boissonnas, de Renéville. (Risset 33)

Paulhan contributed to *Botteghe Oscure* on two occasions only, in 1949 and 1951.

and English, written by Pierre Guerre, René Ménéard, Maurice Blanchot, Albert Camus, Georges Mounin, James Wright and others. It is not exaggerated to say that she spearheaded a new trend of “Char studies” in the English-speaking world. In 1956 Random House published the first volume of Char’s poetry ever to appear in the States. The collection, translated by Jackson Mathews, had a troubled gestation, and would have never appeared on the shelves was it not for Marguerite’s iron will to support her favorite poet (see Chapter 6).⁹⁴

In occasion of the tenth anniversary of the review (1957), the editors of *Botteghe Oscure* prepared two special numbers, the richest in the magazine’s history (circa six hundred pages each). The spring issue (No. 19) included fourteen newly found letters by Henry James, prose fragments by the French painter Eugene Delacroix, and a story by Isak Dinesen; the twentieth opened with a direct appeal to the readers written by Librarian of Congress and Pulitzer Prize for Poetry recipient, Archibald MacLeish. An old friend of Marguerite’s (*Commerce* had been the first non-American review to publish his poems, back in 1925), MacLeish emphasized the universal value of her editorial enterprise by contrast with other publications: “[W]hat we have in most of the countries of the world today is not a republic of letters concerned with the universal values of art but a literary parochialism concerned with the local fashions” (12). After touching on the defining traits of the magazine, like its healthy aversion to criticism (“This magazine is one of the few surviving periodicals concerned not with writing about writing but with writing itself”), MacLeish expressed his fear that *Botteghe Oscure* might soon be forced

⁹⁴ At around the same time, in Rome, the recently appointed French ambassador to Italy, Gaston Palewski, decided to honor Marguerite’s life-long commitment to literature with an exhibition commemorating her first review, *Commerce*. It made the news in several countries, giving Marguerite and *Botteghe Oscure* a popularity boost.

to close for lack of funding, and extended an invitation to all readers that they took action in order to avoid it.

The same plea echoed in the *New York Times* of December 1, 1957, where J. Donald Adams dedicated his column “Speaking of Books” to *Botteghe Oscure*’s uncertain future. Quoting at length from MacLeish’s article, Adams also praised Marguerite’s review for its “remarkable catholicity,” but observed that its current circulation (estimated at five thousand copies per issue) did not suffice to cover the costs; hence the need for alternative sources of funding (Adams 1957). Despite the efforts by MacLeish, Adams, and others who supported the magazine in their writings, *Botteghe Oscure* could not survive much longer in a market that was already shrinking because of the fierce competition posed by TV, digest-size magazines, pocket books etc.

Botteghe Oscure’s tenth anniversary became an opportunity to assess the review’s status on the current literary scene. In an article published on the *New York Times*, Poet and critic Paul Engle pointed out the magazine’s importance for the diffusion of new American writing: “[M]ore original work by Americans is to be found in these pages than in any publication edited in this country [. . .] It is amusing and heartening that the writers of America receive a fuller hearing in those Dark Shops of Rome than in those fluorescent-lit magazine offices of Madison Avenue” (Engle 245). Shifting from literature to politics, Engle went on to claim that, with her review, Marguerite Caetani did more than many powerful institutions to unify “the free West.” On the same note, *The Time* observed: “A magazine like *Botteghe Oscure* enjoys the uncommon freedom of a generous purse. By opening it to writers of a totally uncommercial kind it does all that can nowadays be done by any institution towards keeping alive the spirit of literature”

("Botteghe Oscure" 21 June 1957). There were also those who did not feel the same way and voiced their harsh criticism, like Paul Potts who compared *Botteghe Oscure* to a "literary jumble sale in a village church. For one thing that is good, there are dozens which are useless" (Potts 1957). Another critic described the magazine as "a regular triptych of devil-may-care writing," affected by "the syndrome of the Little Magazine" ("Poets' Column" 1957).

Toward the end of the decade, the press related to *Botteghe Oscure* became more celebrative in tone; it was almost as if critics wanted to commemorate Marguerite's achievements while she was still alive and working hard to save her magazine. Her attempt failed mainly because she was not willing to commercialize her product if this meant relenting control on even a small portion of its content. *Botteghe Oscure* remained a luxury publication that aspired to carry universal values and to reach a global audience. Marguerite especially cared about making *Botteghe Oscure* available to students and aspiring writers; she often asked her collaborators to send lists of potential subscribers, starting with schools and libraries, and stubbornly refused to raise prices even though many advised her to do so.

All difficulties notwithstanding, *Botteghe Oscure* carried on for five more numbers and three more years. In the fall of 1960 the *Saturday Review* published another article authored by Archibald MacLeish and titled "Requiem for a Literary Haven" (Nov. 26, 1960). MacLeish announced that *Botteghe Oscure* would cease publications after the current issue (No. 25, fall 1960), and offered a precious insight into the magazine's philosophy. It is worth quoting at length from his writing:

At any period in the world's history, a magazine dedicated so visibly to the proposition that literature exists in a wider and more integral world

than politics would have attracted attention. In a time as frantically nationalistic as ours, such a magazine becomes a prodigy and an anachronism. One wonders how it could have survived through a decade in which the vast literary world of Tolstoy was compressed to the stunted and parochial parish which rejected any writer – even a Russian, even a Pasternak – whom the politicians found distasteful: a decade in which political pressures continued to be applied even in the United States to make patriotism and art coterminous if not identical.

An obvious explanation would be, of course, that *Botteghe Oscure* survived in an alien time because the gallant and spirited woman who edited it made sacrifices for its support which everyone knows about but which few, even of her friends, are in a position to measure. But not even the resources and courage of Marguerite Caetani could have sufficed, alone, to explain the continuing appearance of those fat, oblong volumes. Writers in twenty-odd countries do not send their work off to be published for strangers and foreigners to read merely because a charming lady offers them the opportunity with a check enclosed. Obviously there was another reason – a reason which the editor of *Botteghe Oscure* did not so much invent as serve. And as the magazine closes and one looks forward to a literary world without it, one can begin to see a little more clearly what the reason was. *Botteghe Oscure* offered the writers, particularly the young writers, of its decade – or, more precisely, its thirteen years – an opportunity to find each other and so to find their common generation. And that opportunity, whether they realized it or not, was precious to them. (26)

[. . .] It was this, I think, that *Botteghe Oscure* made possible for the distracted generation in many languages and countries whose work it published. They felt each other's presence and so came to an enhanced sense of their own. A young writer cannot find another through a critic: the critic, however impersonal he may attempt to be, still stands between like a glazed door. The work itself is the only messenger, and Marguerite Caetani knew that. In an ignorant, nationalistic, and fanatical time, paralyzed by public hatreds, she kept a small flow of international literature alive and gave hundreds of young writers, in the loneliness of their defeated work, the hope that they too might become a generation – perhaps the first of all the literary generations to inherit the wholeness of the world. (39)

MacLeish succeeds in condensing the ultimate significance of Marguerite's enterprise as few other writers did. His words were backed by personal experience: it was thanks to

Marguerite that, back in the 1920's, he had come upon St. John Perse's *Anabase* and many other works that greatly inspired his own writing.⁹⁵

Marguerite's death in 1963 spurred another wave of articles on her life and editorial activity.⁹⁶ Goffredo Bellonci, journalist and founder of the prestigious "Strega" prize, wrote on *Il Messaggero* that her two reviews together formed the greatest literary anthology of the twentieth century (Dec. 20, 1963). Poet Attilio Bertolucci, one of the first to be hosted in *Botteghe Oscure*, drew a touching portrait of Marguerite on *Il Giorno*; (Jan. 8, 1964) similar articles came out on the principal Italian newspaper, written by friends or close collaborators, or both. Her death made news in the States as well, where obituaries appeared on *The New York Times*, *The New Yorker*, and many other periodicals.

In spite of all the words written in praise of Marguerite's publications, *Botteghe Oscure* did not attract the attention of literary critics and historians. Wesleyan UP published an updated version of the *Index* of both *Botteghe Oscure* and *Commerce* in 1964, with the cooperation of Marguerite's daughter, Lelia. MacLeish's *Saturday Review* article served as preface. Ten years later, in 1974, poet George Garrett edited a *Botteghe Oscure Reader*, still for Wesleyan UP, in collaboration with Katherine Garrison Biddle.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ MacLeish did not meet Alexis Léger (St. John Perse was a pen name) until 1940, when the latter had to abandon France following the occupation. Poet Katherine Garrison Chapin, Marguerite's sister, suggested that Léger could work at the Library of Congress, in the French literature section. MacLeish was glad to arrange his hiring, and eventually the two became good friends (Donaldson 324).

⁹⁶ Marguerite's adventurous life had always been the focus of much attention, often at the expense of the authors she would have wanted to promote. A picture with a short bio appeared on the American *Vogue* magazine in 1952 (Sep. 15), under the headline "Great Workers of Rome." Marguerite did not like to outweigh the review in the media; her status of "American princess," however, was an irresistible lure for both mainstream and specialized press.

⁹⁷ George Garrett (1929-2008) was a well-known American poet, novelist, teacher, and editor. He taught at Wesleyan University (Middletown, Conn.) from 1957 to 1960. He also held various research and teaching positions at prestigious institutions like Rice University, University of Virginia, and University of Michigan

With the benefit of hindsight, Garret could write in his introduction that “from the first issue onward *Botteghe Oscure* was early and tangible evidence, and, as such, against the apparent grain of the times, of the evolving communal artistic spirit of the future” (xvii). Making a selection from such a vast amount of material turned out to be a fearful task; Garrett followed the criteria he felt were consistently adopted in editing the magazine itself: (1) he did not choose exclusively from the pool of “big names,” (2) he stayed faithful to Marguerite’s practice of presenting a group of works by the same author, rather than a single piece (this was especially true for poetry, of course), and (3) he strove to achieve a good balance between prose and poetry. The *Reader* ended up looking more like a special issue of *Botteghe Oscure* than an anthology, a fact that would have probably pleased Marguerite Caetani.

It is be futile to look for a one-word definition that condenses all aspects of *Botteghe Oscure*’s, unless that word is *eclectic*. Little magazine, book, anthology, review: even its format is hard to pinpoint. In writing about *Botteghe Oscure* most critics mention features that are apparently undeniable: its multiple languages, the absence of any extra-literary content, and its connection to *Commerce*. No one has ever tried to assess *Botteghe Oscure*’s editorial philosophy beyond these facts; at best one can attempt an evaluation of a single section of the magazine, e.g. the Italian or the French. One problem is that many authors’ contribution to *Botteghe Oscure* did not correspond to the label(s) they are more frequently identified with; Italo Calvino, for example, or the hermetic poets. This makes hard to attempt a categorization of the repertoire Bassani, Eugene

(Ann Arbor). He was Contemporary Poetry Series editor at the University of North Carolina Press in Chapel Hill (1962-68) and U.S. poetry editor for *Transatlantic Review* ((1958-71). He contributed to *Botteghe Oscure* in 1959 with a short story, “The Moth” (24.165-74). His papers are housed in the Duke University Special Collections Library.

Walter, and the other editorial assistants selected under Marguerite's supervision. Their multifarious and anti-dogmatic approach baffled many commentators; lost in the overwhelming abundance of each issue, they could either focus on a few works or enumerate them all, running out of space in the process.

The reviewers' attitude toward *Botteghe Oscure* can be roughly subdivided in three phases: the *explorative* phase lasted approximately four years (1948-51); it mainly involved Italian and British periodicals, which attempted to classify the review from the repertoire it published and from the programmatic statements printed on brochures and pamphlets. During the *appreciative* phase (1952-57) the review expanded its circulation and size; critics admired its wide offering of literary genres and styles, and the tenth anniversary issue (No. 20) obtained the most positive reviews. Marguerite became a popular character, especially in the States. The last phase, which can be defined as *celebrative* and occupies the last three years (1958-60) of the magazine's run, saw a stall in the magazine's growth. Its image and role were now established and often expressed through formulas, and its reviews became somewhat repetitive and commemorative in tone. The *Reader* (1974) was the last publication of a certain importance about *Botteghe Oscure* for over twenty years. In the late 1990s the Camillo Caetani Foundation started to publish annotated editions of Marguerite's correspondence with authors, starting with the Italians; this project, which will take several years to complete, has the potential to rekindle a critical appraisal of *Botteghe Oscure* in Italy and abroad.

CHAPTER VI

A Case Study: Introducing René Char to the American Readership

Hypnos Waking, edited by Jackson Mathews and published in 1956 by Random House, was the first volume of poems by René Char ever to appear in English translation. In an article published on *World Literature Today* in 1977, twenty years after the book, literary critic and scholar L. C. Breunig reports on Char's popularity in the US literary community. In the article Breunig thanks Mathews "for having almost single-handed introduced René Char to the American public" (396). In the following sentence, however, Breunig notes that a number of Mathews' translations had already appeared in the US on the pages of *Botteghe Oscure*: an international, multilingual literary review printed in Rome and ran by the Massachusetts-born Princess Marguerite Caetani.⁹⁸ Breunig goes on to write that excerpts from *Hypnos Waking* were published by important literary periodicals such as *The Nation*, the *Atlantic*, and *Poetry*, and that — after slowing down in the sixties — Char's notoriety in the US soared once his poetry started to appear in anthologies for undergraduate courses in many French Studies departments. A number of doctoral dissertations on the French poet followed suit, and finally a full-length study by Mary Ann Caws (*The Presence of René Char*, 1976). Forty-five years have passed, and

⁹⁸ Char also wrote on the first page of *Hypnos Waking*: "I would like to acknowledge my indebtedness to Librairie Gallimard, original publishers of my works in the French language; and to *Botteghe Oscure*, in which publication some of the translations first appeared."

many more studies on Char have been published: three volumes with new translations of his poetry were released in 2010 alone. Char is today widely recognized as one of the greatest modern French poets.

Mathews recognized Marguerite as "Char's principal sponsor."⁹⁹ Unlike many other "ladies bountiful" who left detailed accounts of their every move, word, and thought, Marguerite always refrained from publicly speaking about her deeds; and yet, without her help, Jackson Mathews would have never been able to publish *Hypnos Waking*, no American reviews would have published his translations, and Char's poetry would have remained unknown to the American readership for a longer period of time.

Wealthy, fluent in both French and English, and with a remarkable sense of artistic intuition that allowed her to spot young talent, Marguerite was an important *trait d'union* between Char, Mathews, and their respective publishers in France and in the States. She provided precious connections with journalists, editors, and critics on both sides of the Atlantic; *Botteghe Oscure* hosted Char's poetry in twelve out of twenty-five issues, from 1949 (No. 3) to 1960 (No. 25).

Extensive correspondence between Caetani, Char, and Mathews allows drawing a fairly detailed picture of the painstaking process behind the publication of *Hypnos Waking*. The bulk of such correspondence constitutes part of the Southern Historical Collection at UNC-Chapel Hill (NC). The Jackson Mathews Papers include fifty-two autograph letters from Char and a considerable amount of correspondence with

⁹⁹ The expression can be found in a letter Mathews wrote on November 15, 1953, to Ray West, English Professor at Iowa University. West had invited Char to Iowa for a reading; since the poet could not speak English, Mathews stepped in to arrange the details of his visit. West was also founder of *The Western Review* and served as its editor from 1936 to 1959; in the letter Mathews complains about some translations from Char that had appeared on the review without his knowledge: "... Snyder and Young [authors of the article] must have known they didn't have Char's approval, since they had corresponded for a long time with Marguerite Caetani who, as you know, is Char's principal sponsor, and who had politely but firmly discouraged their interest in publishing their versions" (JMP 15 Nov. 1953).

Marguerite, spanning the years between 1952 and 1958. It appears that Mathews was much better than Marguerite at keeping records, which explains why I could only locate a small number of his letters at the Caetani archive in Rome. Incidentally, only one letter by Char is to be found there. According to one of the curators, Marguerite had probably thrown away Char's letters like she did for other correspondence, but such an explanation is not entirely convincing: why would Marguerite discard all of Char's letters? It is reasonable to suppose that the content of some might be too personal to be made public, but why would she want to cancel so completely any written memories of a poet she loved and cared for so much?

Be as it may, the letters preserved in Chapel Hill and Rome offer a good insight unto Marguerite's editorial philosophy and testify to her determination in promoting René Char's poetry. With Char's best interests at heart, Marguerite took upon herself the multiple roles of agent, publisher, and patron; she supported Jackson Mathews in his translating work and, as often happened with the collaborators she most esteemed, the two became lifelong friends.

When *Botteghe Oscure* started publications in 1948, it soon attracted Char's attention. He was a good friend of Marguerite and eager to participate in a new editorial project now that his own *Empédocle* had ceased publications because of financial problems (Greilsamer 268).¹⁰⁰ The third issue (1949) featured a short selection of Char's poetry (*Poésies*); the fifth published "La lune d'Hypnos"; the seventh, "La minutieuse." Starting from the eighth issue, published in 1951, Marguerite made a significant modification to the review's format: she switched around the French and the Italian

¹⁰⁰ Char and Albert Camus launched the magazine in 1940; its editorial board included Albert Béguine, Guido Meister, and Jean Vagne (Camus 42).

sections so that the former now opened the volume. Marguerite made such a drastic change in spite of the objections moved by her closest collaborators at the time, Giorgio Bassani and Elsa Dallolio (Valli 7). From now on, Char's work would occupy a special position in the review, always at the beginning of the French section, i.e. of the review, or at the beginning of the English section when published in translation.

Did Marguerite's decision of changing the order of the sections in the review originate from a desire to give the maximum prominence to Char's work? While it may be tempting to answer in the affirmative, given Marguerite's growing interest in Char's poetry, one should consider that the rearranging of the sections began with an issue that did not include any writings by Char. It is more likely that Marguerite wanted to emphasize the growing importance of *Botteghe Oscure* on the literary scene of other countries besides Italy. Data gathered in occasion of *Botteghe Oscure*'s tenth anniversary, in 1957, showed that 568 writers from over twenty different countries had contributed to the review (MacLeish, *Reader to Readers* 26).

As *Botteghe Oscure* became popular in Europe and in the States, Marguerite felt increasingly responsible toward her readership in regard to quality: she did not hesitate to reject works coming from friends or recommended by friends if they were not up to the standard, and she kept raising the bar as more and more works poured in. This predicament was especially true for all submissions in English and French, given her mastery of those languages. In 1953 she refused a whole set of poems by a young friend of Allen Tate; Tate himself had sent her the poems, recommending his pupil warmly. She wrote Mathews that she did not think that was poetry at all, adding: "I get so much material now that I feel I must not compromise in any way, especially for Poetry. I get

such a lot of competent, dull, earth-bound, soi-disant poetry which I can't bear" (JMP 15 March 1953). Even as she tried to be more selective, Marguerite hated constraining the authors she did choose within the apt proportions of a typical review, particularly the ones who were being published for the first time. Her unofficial policy was to publish several works of the same author in order to give a wide sample of his/her work at once. Such attitude caused *Botteghe Oscure* to grow in size at alarming rates, a problem Marguerite was well aware of: announcing the release of No. 11, in the spring of 1953, which for the first time broke the 500-page mark, she writes: "Botteghe Oscure is out here *just*, and you will get yours as soon as possible. It is a monster and if not 'heavy to the mind' at least it is 'heavy to the hand' I fear, but I swear never to make such a big one again" (JMP 11 May 1953). For the record, Marguerite was able to keep her promise - barely: the following issue had "only" 529 pages instead of 539.

In 1952, four years before the publication of *Hypnos Waking* in the States, Marguerite decided to open the English section in the tenth issue of *Botteghe Oscure* with a selection of Char's poems translated by Scottish-Irish poet Denis Devlin and Jackson Mathews.¹⁰¹ The prominence given to Char's work, strategically positioned between the French and the English sections, indicates Marguerite's goal of introducing her favorite poet to the US readership. Along with the review came an offprint of 39 pages containing Char's poems, press reviews, and a bibliography; the booklet also announced a forthcoming volume of Char's poetry translated by Mathews and including the French

¹⁰¹ Denis Devlin (Greenock, Scotland 1908 - Dublin 1959) was a modernist poet and translator of poetry, hailed by Samuel Beckett as "without question the most interesting of the youngest generation of Irish poets." Devlin's career as a diplomat brought him to New York, Washington, and Rome, where he connected with Marguerite Caetani. Devlin befriended many of the poets who were closest to Marguerite, including St. John Perse, Allen Tate and Robert Penn Warren. After Devlin's death, Tate and Warren edited a selection of his poems for publication.

originals. Besides the poems included in the review and the offprint, one more publication came out in the same year, this too sponsored by the princess, to further advertise the work of Char: a thirty-page essay in French by Pierre Guerre, aptly entitled “René Char,” of which 1500 copies were printed in Rome. Such an impressive concentration of publications leaves little doubt about Marguerite’s intention of boosting Char’s reputation on the international scene, preparing the way for his North-American editorial debut.

Marguerite had met Jackson Mathews in the summer of 1952, in her Paris apartment at 4 rue du Cirque. The two might have corresponded prior to this visit, but there is no evidence in that regard.¹⁰² In the fall, Mathews was back in America to resume his teaching duties at University of Washington. On October 18 Marguerite writes him asking for news: “Dear Professor Mathews, it seems so very, very far away that last day I saw you and my new and very warm and grateful friendship feels [illegible] by being kept so long without news, especially as you are just about as far away as you could possibly be” (JMP 18 Oct. 1952). Since Marguerite refers to a “new” friendship we can safely assume that the two had in fact met in Paris; her writing, however, denotes a degree of intimacy that could not develop after just one or two occasional meetings. It seems more likely that Marguerite and Mathews had met frequently and that a bond had already been established between them over the summer.

In the letter Marguerite speaks of gratitude; what was she grateful for? The answer can be found just a few lines below: “Char was able to see how you went on until

¹⁰² American poet Allen Tate may have provided the initial connection between Marguerite and Mathews. In a letter sent to Marguerite in 1952 and currently held at the Caetani archive in Rome he writes: “Jackson is not only a first-rate mind, he is one of the best men in the world, and Marthiel [Mathews’s wife] one of the best women. They are, in short, quite wonderful people. I think I have done both you and them a kindness, and it pleases me to reflect that I have” (Tate 22 Oct. 1952).

the last minute improving the translations and if he hasn't written to you yet it is my fault for not giving him your address and he has been continually away from Paris." The last statement reinforces the impression that Marguerite was an active agent in the collaboration between Mathews and Char. She thanks Mathews for his work on Char's poems – "You are an angel from heaven," she writes – and assures him that the French poet will get in touch as soon as she gives him Mathews' address. It appears that it was her who had introduced the translator to the poet, with a specific task in mind: the publication on *Botteghe Oscure* No. 10 (fall 1952) of a long selection of Char's work, translated by Denis Devlin and Jackson Mathews. Mathews soon replaced Devlin as Char's translator of choice for *Botteghe Oscure*; the American was more suited to the task, given his deep knowledge of French poetry and his previous work in the field of French-English translation.¹⁰³

Mathews replies to Marguerite on October 25th, in the same warm tone, confirming the circumstances of their first meetings: "I have not, as you do know, left off thinking of you, of our many talks at fine lunches, our projects, and especially the sudden great pleasure of our friendship, that put a shine on the summer that wasn't there in the weather" (25 Oct. 1952). Among their projects, the most important consisted in finding an American publisher for a volume of Char's poetry translated by Mathews. Their strategy involved a two-pronged attack: first Marguerite would send offprints from *Botteghe Oscure*; Mathews then followed with a letter to the editors. In one of these letters, addressed to Mr. Robert Giroux of Harcourt Brace & Co. and dated January 12th, 1953, Mathews writes:

¹⁰³ Mathews translated the works of Baudelaire, Gide, Perse, Char, and Yves Bonnefoy. He was general editor of the Bollingen Foundation's fifteen-volume *Complete Works of Paul Valéry*. His own translation of *Monsieur Teste* awarded him the National Book Award in 1974.

Dear Mr. Giroux, You will perhaps have received from Princess Caetani an offprint of her review Botteghe Oscure, containing a selection of poems by the French poet René Char, translated by Denis Devlin and myself. I hope you may also have seen Genêt's "Letter from Paris" in The New Yorker for January 10th, which speaks of Char's leadership of living French poets. I am at present translating with the help of Char and Signora Caetani, a good-sized volume of his work, and we wish to propose that Harcourt Brace publish it. (12 Jan. 1953)

Mathews underlines how both Char and Marguerite are helping him with the translations; clearly she is more than a wealthy patroness. Mathews keeps her informed of the progress he is making with the translations, and in a letter dated February 23 (1953) outlines the method he intends to follow:

I am seeing the poems much more clearly and feeling them more fully than last summer, without an already Englished text standing between me and them. My notion is to send them along to you and R.C. in batches, for your suggestions, and also for you both to pass them on to others for criticism, if you will. You or anyone else can write directly onto the sheets, and later you could return them to me? What do you think of this plan? These are first drafts, not final. And I have kept copies. My notion is to get them all done and in circulation through you, and then give them time to mature by revision, before publication. (23 Feb. 1953)

To add weight to his request, Mathews asked poet Robert Lowell to intercede with Harcourt Brace. The move was orchestrated by Marguerite; Lowell and his wife had just been in Rome, guests of the Caetanis, and Marguerite had him read the Char translations. After Harcourt Brace declined the offer, in spite of a second recommendation from another of Marguerite's friends, poet Allen Tate, Mathews contacted David MacDowell of Random House Press. The letter was accompanied by a series of articles drawing attention to the international reputation achieved by Char, and suggested that Random House publish a volume of his poetry. MacDowell's first reaction was positive, but months went by and no decision was made.

In the meantime, Marguerite kept track of all the articles on Char appearing in both specialized and mainstream press; she collected press clippings and sent copies out to critics and scholars in the States. No amount of praise toward whom she called “the greatest French poet” seemed to be enough for her. On April 18, 1953, commenting on a Times Literary Supplement article sent to Mathews she writes: “[. . .] almost giving him [Char] his place – all the others seem to disappear somehow – only he remains” (18 Apr. 1953).¹⁰⁴ She then adds with a certain pride: “Char has quite another international position than six months ago and this is what we must make these people we need such as publishers understand.” The *Nouvelle Revue Française*, recently reopened after the accusations of collaborationism, also published an essay on Char by Maurice Blanchot, titled “La bête du Lascaux” (The Beast of Lascaux). Marguerite had copies of both articles sent to her contacts in the States, including McDowell and Stephen Spender, editor of *Encounter* magazine and future US Poet Laureate.¹⁰⁵

In the summer of 1953 Mathews went back to Europe to continue his work with Char. He visited Marguerite in Rome and at her country residence, Ninfa. The visit strengthened their friendship; as a result, their correspondence has a more colloquial and intimate tone. “Dear Jack,” Marguerite writes in October, “I have been so happy to receive your two cards with the goods news of the weather. I was terribly worried. I miss you *so* much and only hope you will enjoy yourself every moment to make up for this” (22 Oct. 1953). She signs the letter “Maggie,” in a display of affection that was usually reserved to family members. Such warmth contradicts all previous descriptions of

¹⁰⁴ *Seuls demeurent*, ‘Only They Remain’ (1943), is the title of a book of poems by Char.

¹⁰⁵ *Encounter* (1953-1991) was sponsored by the Congress for Cultural Freedom, an organization covertly funded by CIA with the objective of supporting anti-communist literature. After evidence of such funding emerged in 1967, Spender resigned from his position.

Marguerite as detached, only capable of establishing superficial connections with her guests; on the other hand, she could also be demanding and impatient when she felt she was being ignored. On December 7th she writes to Mathews from her Roman *Palazzo*: "Dear friend, I arrived from the country a moment ago expecting *surely* to find a letter from you but nothing and I am *so* disappointed. After your telegram saying you were writing. Out of sight out of mind? ... I am almost wondering if you were offended that last day when you said you wanted to come a moment and then you let word that you couldn't come at all and sent in your place those lovely, unique flowers. Is there any truth in this? I hope not but it seems all so strange to me and now you are on the ocean!!" (7 Dec. 1953). Two days later Marguerite finally received Mathews' response and swiftly apologized: "Dearest Jack. I was an impulsive pig to write that nasty letter but perhaps you won't receive it ... I was so happy to get your letter from London this morning and full of remorse for mine ... I couldn't bear if you were cross with me. Please don't be ever" (9 Dec. 1953).¹⁰⁶

After consulting with Char, at the end of September Mathews was able to outline the terms of the book contract for McDowell; the volume would consist of two hundred pages of English translations, plus an appendix of a hundred pages with the French originals, printed in smaller font. Content would include the following poems: "Partage Formel," "Feuillets d'Hypnos," "Le Poème Pulverisé," "A Une Sérénité Crispée,"

¹⁰⁶ Marguerite's strong character and a tendency to act impulsively also emerge in a letter written many years earlier, at the times of *Commerce*. In 1925 Marguerite wrote to Bernard Shaw asking him to contribute to the review, only to obtain a lofty reply from his secretary: "Dear Madam, Mr. Bernard Shaw desires me to say that it is impossible for him to undertake any extra work, and that this is fortunate for *Commerce*, as the price of an article would be enormous" (27 May 1925). Marguerite decided not to burn any bridges, but she did jolt down a response that never left her Villa in Versailles: "Dear Mr. Bernard Shaw, Surely there has been some misunderstanding! There was never any question of offering you a remuneration and we only regret that you have failed to seize this unique opportunity of making yourself known through the enormous reputation of our review - *Commerce* per Marguerite Caetani P. Bassiano" (AC 30 May 1925).

“Lettera Amorosa,” “Rempart de Brindilles,” and a selection from the volumes *Fureur et Mystère* and *Les Matinaux*. Mathews hoped to have the manuscript ready by November 1, and he assured that Albert Camus would write an introduction to the book. Regarding compensation, Char and Mathews would split an advance of \$500 (approximately \$4000 today), plus any royalties.

Only at this point in the negotiation Mathews wrote to Char's editor, Gaston Gallimard, inquiring about possible copyright issues. In his letter Mathews mentioned the ever-growing interest for Char's poetry in the States, largely due to the review *Botteghe Oscure*. The answer came from Gallimard employee Denis Mascolo, who asked for more information, but preemptively warned Mathews that Gallimard had intention to publish an edition of the complete works of Char; therefore, they could only consent to the publication of a limited selection of his poems. Almost at the same time (21 Oct. 1953) McDowell sent a draft of the contract to Mathews, unaware of the impending complications.

Char wanted the deal to go through and suggested that Random House contact Gallimard directly; McDowell, however, decided to stall the project until the copyright issue between the poet and his editor was sorted out. On February 2nd, 1954, a letter from Mascolo informs Mathews that the contract stipulated between Random House, Mathews, and Char was not acceptable and that a new one needed to be drafted. In another letter, sent ten days later, Mascolo outlines the terms of the new contract to McDowell and recommends that Random House deal with Gallimard directly, de facto excluding Mathews from the loop. According to Mascolo, Char was bound by a previous contract

that included all future foreign editions of his work. McDowell immediately informed Mathews, and the project suddenly came to a stop.

Communication between Random House and Gallimard became rather sparse; it seemed that no agreement would be possible under the conditions dictated by Gallimard (a \$500 advance plus 7.5% royalties for the first five thousand copies, 10% for the following five thousand and 12.5% thereafter). McDowell wrote to Mathews in June 1954 that "[. . .] things are going ahead on the Char business and I hope to be able to give you a definite decision next week. I realize how impatient you are, but there have been specific reasons why it hasn't been settled earlier" (3 June 1954). The vagueness of McDowell's attitude puzzled Mathews and greatly annoyed Marguerite, who (on September 13) thus incites Mathews from Paris: "Jack dear couldn't you stir up McDowell to answer Gallimard which he should and René is so afraid that one day Gallimard will get his book up and chuck it all which would be terrible for everyone but most of all for René. It seems to be only on the subject of English rights and that is surely to be discussed between publishers and Random has never answered. Please attend to this. It makes me so nervous" (13 Sep. 1954). Marguerite put the blame on McDowell for not pushing the copyright issue with Gallimard; McDowell, on the other hand, was waiting for Char to clear up the issue with his editor before making a move. The poet was greatly annoyed by this impasse; he was particularly upset with Mascolo, whom he described to Mathews as "a serf acting as master" (1 Mar. 1954).

In the meantime, Marguerite continued to give maximum exposure to Char's work through her publications: an "Interpretative Essay on Two Poems by René Char," by René Menard, translated by Robert Fitzgerald (Mathews had kindly refused to do the

translation) and with the French originals; “Leaves of Hypnos (Estratti)” e “Lettera Amoroſa,” an offprint from *Botteghe Oscure* 14. Both were printed in 1954. Five thousand copies of the offprint would be printed and shipped to the States for distribution through Gotham Book Mart. In that regard Marguerite wrote to Mathews on October 17: “Yesterday René and I corrected the proofs of your offprint and it should be ready very shortly. Don't forget the list you promised me and how many do you want for yourself” (17 Oct. 1954). Besides the confirmation of her active role in editing Mathews' translations, the sentence sheds light on Marguerite's distribution strategy; while she relied on several distributors over the years, her preferred method consisted in obtaining lists of people and institutions that may be interested in *Botteghe Oscure* and help with its diffusion.

Being well aware of the necessity for targeted advertising, much more now than at the times of *Commerce*, Marguerite did not miss any opportunity to contact literary critics, columnists, employees of cultural institutes, whoever could add to the review's notoriety. Since each number of *Botteghe Oscure* averaged well over four hundred pages, she had offprints made to be sent before or in substitution of promotional copies in order to reach a wider audience and minimize costs. By asking her friends and collaborators to send her their contact lists, Marguerite meant to replicate on a larger scale the method she had adopted for *Commerce* many years earlier: establishing circles of cultured friends, attuned with Marguerite's literary taste, eager and capable to promote the review in their own environment, hence creating new acolytes. In the case of *Botteghe Oscure* No. 10, for example, she obtained lists from Mathews, Allen Tate, Charles Singleton, David McDowell, and many others.

Marguerite was growing increasingly restless at the Char business; she started corresponding with McDowell directly, informing Mathews of any developments. On November 20 she received an upsetting letter from McDowell and immediately informed her friend:

Dear Jack, I just received a letter from David McDowell from which I copy this which makes me furious: 'I am going to be writing to Gallimard about the Char business within the next few days. I think you understand that we were all ready to go ahead and had a contract drawn up, and that all of the delay is due entirely to the stubbornness of Gallimard. I do hope that we can get it worked out as soon as possible. I will let you know about it as soon as I hear. In any case however we would not be able to publish the book in the spring, but I don't think that Rene Char's trips over here in the spring would do anything but good for the book.' Isn't this too maddening. Do you think you can bring some pressure to bear? I don't think he [Char] would go over if his book is not out and after you won't be there and I am sure I would not go either. It is really a fearful mess. Do please try to do something. I will write him but of course I can't do much. (20 Nov. 1954)

Six days later Marguerite is still very upset and writes to Mathews again:

I am obsessed by this business of Rene's book and so furious at that beast of David McDowell. Couldn't you take it away from him and give it to say Harold Strauss of Knopf or that friend of everyone's of [ILLEGIBLE] Atlantic Monthly and Little Brown Seymour Lawrence [?] or someone else. I think McDowell doesn't appreciate it at all. If the book doesn't come out when you are there it will be disastrous and probably Rene won't go to the States if the book is not out ... He has only said how sorry he is on amount of you who have taken so much trouble about it. I am sure that for once and because Rene was so violent with him, Gallimard was all set to come to an agreement, although he found McDowell's conditions very miserable. (26 Nov. 1954)

Clearly McDowell's apparent inaction was putting a strain on the relationship with both Mathews and Marguerite. She suggested looking for another publisher, and Mathews responded accordingly. In December he asked his friend Stanley Young (of Farrar, Straus & Young, the main distributors of *Botteghe Oscure* in the States) to investigate about

Random House's real intentions regarding the Char volume. Mathews expressed his suspicion that they might be trying to "delay their way out" of the deal (22 Dec. 1954). He wondered about whether it would be possible to find another publisher in time for the book to come out in the spring. He also considered pulling back completely from any requests, an idea that considerably upset Marguerite: "We must fight this out by every means and I would so wish to take it away from that horrible McD. [McDowell] and give it to someone who realizes what it is!" She wrote on December 11th, "Couldn't you write to Seymour Lawrence et al. and Stanley? What if I paid your journey to New York and back? If it would not be too tiresome for you! I would do anything to get this well settled somewhere else" (11 Dec. 1954).

The deal with Random House was eventually made and the book came out two years later, in 1956. It sold 997 copies in the first six months after its release; "Not very many," comments Mathews to Marguerite, "But poetry hardly ever sells more than a thousand. Ted [poet Theodore Roethke] sells about 500. So maybe it isn't bad for six months" (18 Jan. 1957). By then Mathews had become Vice-President of the Bollingen Foundation, and was actively engaged with the promotion of *Botteghe Oscure* in the States. In the same year Marguerite published an anthology of essays on Char's poetry, in English; it included Blanchot's "The beast of Lascaux" translated by David Paul, plus other writings by Gabriel Bonoure, Albert Camus, George Mounin, Gaston Picon, René Menard (translated by R. Fitzgerald) and James Wright. It was a small volume: 133 pages, including a bibliography of Char's works, but it helped consolidate Char's first-rate position among contemporary French poets both in Europe and in the States.

It was through *Botteghe Oscure* that Char made his first appearance on the American literary scene: no other English translation of his work was available at the time. The brochure enclosed with the tenth issue of the review constituted a spearhead to break the initial resistance many editors could raise at the idea of publishing a French surrealist poet who was virtually unknown in the States. All the other offprints dedicated to Char, written in English and widely distributed to libraries, specialized journals, and mainstream periodicals throughout the country, contributed greatly to made Char known to the American literary intelligentsia.

The long editorial struggle behind *Hypnos Waking* saw Marguerite Caetani engaged at least as much as Jackson Mathews; it was thanks to their combined effort that the book was published and Char's poetry began to circulate among a wider audience. Marguerite's contribution, unfortunately, was all but forgotten; very few scholars do more than mention her name as one of Char's sponsor. Some hint at the possibility that she could have been his lover, like Laurent Greilsamer in his 2004 biography of the French poet (Greilsamer 268-69). The sources I have consulted, however, do not endorse the hypothesis of a love affair between the two.

Marguerite's passion for literature extended to the authors she generously supported; clearly she had a special consideration for Char, to the point where some accused her of giving space only to his followers and imitators (Risset 33).¹⁰⁷ I am more inclined to believe that Marguerite felt an affinity with Char's ideals: the "aesthetic of solitude" (definition by Carrie Jaurès Noland), expressed in his war-time diaries *Feuillets d'Hypnos* as "a collectivity of singular perspectives, a polyphony of voices that remain

¹⁰⁷ See Marguerite's response to such accusation in the letter of December 6, 1951 to Jean Paulhan (note 94).

distinguished" (Noland 570), must have resonated deeply with her editorial philosophy. Marguerite hosted in *Botteghe Oscure* a great number of writers, many of them young and unknown, whose voices entwined creating a multilingual arabesque; she did not expect nor want them to conform to any precast ideas about style or politics.

It would be wrong to consider Marguerite's cosmopolitanism as something superficial, *à la mode*; it had roots in her personal experience and was strengthened by a deep sense of loss: she was, after all, an orphan whose only son had died in a foreign land, fighting for a regime they both despised. In this sense she fits Edward Said's description of exiles as people who are aware of more than one culture, and therefore possess a "plurality of vision" that in turn gives rise to "an awareness of simultaneous dimensions, an awareness that – to borrow a phrase from music – is *contrapuntal*" (Said 172). Said's definition evokes the literary counterpoint indicated by Madame De Staël as a way to rejuvenate Italian culture and echoes Char's "polyphony of voices that remain distinguished;" it is in such a theoretical frame, in such an uncompromised aesthetic ideal, that we find the clearest expression of Marguerite Caetani's editorial philosophy.

Table 1

Char's poetry in *Botteghe Oscure*

Issue	Year	Title	Language	Page nr.	First in its section ?
III	1949	<i>Poésies</i>	French	387-389	N
V	1950	<i>La lune d'Hypnos</i>	French	203-207	N
VII	1951	<i>La Minutieuse</i>	French	387-388	Y
X	1952	<i>Poems, translated by Denis Devlin and Jackson Mathews</i>	English	128-162	Y
XI	1953	<i>Le Rempart de Brindilles</i>	French	11-12	Y
XIII	1954	<i>Marge d'Hypnos</i>	French	11-13	Y
XIV	1954	<i>Leaves of Hypnos, Lettera amorosa, Feuillet d'Hypnos, Lettera amorosa</i>	French, English	58-113	Y
XVII	1956	<i>Mon poème est mon vœu</i>	French	11-13	Y
XVIII	1956	<i>Which Rimbaud?</i>	English	85-92	Y
XIX	1957	<i>The Man Who Walked in a Ray of Sunshine</i>	English	62-74	Y
XXII	1958	<i>A une sérénité crispée, To a Tensed Serenity</i>	French, English	74-113	Y
XXV	1960	<i>Prompte</i>	French	11	Y

Table 2

A sample of Char's poetry and criticism in the U.S.A. before and after *Hypnos Waking*

Char, René. <i>Poems</i> . Trans. Denis Devlin and Jackson Mathews. Roma: Botteghe Oscure X, 1952. Print.
Char, René. Trans. Jackson Mathews. <i>Leaves of Hypnos (extracts) and Lettera Amorosa</i> . Roma: Botteghe Oscure XIV, 1954. Print.
Ménard, René. Trans. Robert Fitzgerald. <i>Interpretative Essay on Two Poems by René Char. To a Tensed Serenity, Lettera Amorosa</i> . Roma: Botteghe Oscure, 1954. Print.
<i>René Char's Poetry: Studies</i> . Roma: Botteghe Oscure, 1956. Print.
Char, René. Trans. Jackson Mathews. <i>Hypnos Waking</i>. Random House [1956], 1956. Print.
La Charité, Virginia A. <i>The Poetics and the Poetry of René Char</i> . Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968. Print.
Char, René. <i>Leaves of Hypnos</i> . New York: Grossman, 1973. Print.
---. <i>Poems of René Char</i> . Eds. Mary Ann Caws and Jonathan Griffin. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton UP, 1976. Print.
Caws, Mary Ann. <i>The Presence of René Char</i> . Princeton, N.J.: Princeton UP, 1976. Print.
---. <i>René Char</i> . Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1977. Print.
Lawler, James R. <i>René Char: The Myth and the Poem</i> . Princeton, N.J.: Princeton UP, 1978. Print.
Piore, Nancy Kline. <i>Lightning: The Poetry of René Char</i> . Boston: Northeastern UP, 1981. Print.
Char, René. <i>No Siege is Absolute: Versions of René Char</i> . Ed. Franz Wright. Providence, R.I.: Lost Roads Publishers, 1984. Print.
Char, René. <i>Furor and Mystery and Other Writings</i> . Eds. Sandra Bermann, et al. Boston, MA:

Black Widow Press, 2010. Print.
---. <i>Stone Lyre: Poems of René Char</i> . Ed. Nancy Naomi Carlson. North Adams, Mass.: Tupelo Press, 2010. Print.
Lancaster, Rosemary. <i>Poetic Illumination: René Char and His Artist Allies</i> . Amsterdam; New York: Rodopi, 2010. Print.
<i>Twentieth-Century French Poetry: A Critical Anthology</i> . Eds. Hugo Azérad and Peter Collier. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge UP, 2010. Print.

CONCLUSION

Collecting Texts: Marguerite's Aesthetic and Modernist Practice

During her long career in the arts, Marguerite Chapin-Caetani witnessed the unfolding of multiple manifestations of the complex cultural movement known as modernism.¹⁰⁸ While she never embraced any of its various “-isms” – surrealism, futurism, imagism, vorticism, etc. – Marguerite contributed to this unique period of artistic development by creating two international literary reviews, *Commerce* and *Botteghe Oscure*, which belong to the same modernist legacy. In this last chapter of my work I wish to relate Marguerite's editorial philosophy back to the “collecting aesthetic” that informed her previous activity as patron of the arts.

Marguerite's transition to publishing constituted a natural step in her artistic development. In shifting her focus between different artistic genres – music, visual art, and literature – Marguerite applied the same criteria to different types of aesthetic objects. By excluding rubrics, advertisements, and critical essays – beside a few relevant exceptions – Marguerite aimed to communicate a message based on her artistic sensitivity. In this sense, the anthology becomes an itinerant gallery in which the aesthetic value of each work is complemented by a collective value determined by the

¹⁰⁸ After WWII the US government began to support modernist art as a tool to counter the Communist influence among European intellectuals. While the movement lost some of its early connotations, including a relative independence from political power, I will continue to refer to it as “modernism” throughout this chapter.

processes of selection and assemblage. Hence, the “message” is the anthology itself as a cultural product aiming to establish an alternative canon and to propagate the editor’s views.

This objective was especially evident in *Botteghe Oscure*, which targeted the main nodes of cultural diffusion like universities and public libraries. *Commerce* featured works covering a wide chronological range, but the review’s circulation was limited; on the contrary, *Botteghe Oscure* focused on contemporary production and reached a broader audience. Moreover, translation played an important role in *Commerce*, whereas its use in *Botteghe Oscure* was reduced to a minimum. Despite these differences, both reviews were examples of a “super-art” practiced by the collector-editor to assert her authority in the relationship between writers and their audience.

By the time Marguerite Chapin-Caetani began her career in publishing (1924), the redefinition of basic concepts like space, time, and identity had fostered the development of new cognitive models that affected traditional ways of experiencing art and life. Men and women of the new century visited universal expositions and shopping malls, browsed catalogs, took the subway and drove cars; it was as if the world was shrinking and soon everything would be within reach – including the past. Age-old empires and exotic destinations inspired the artists-decorators of modernity; they adorned skyscrapers – new landmarks of the West – with geometric patterns reminiscent of Assyrian friezes and Egyptian tombs. In a more intimate setting, wealthy patrons and patronesses posed for portraits in the opulent comfort of their bourgeois homes, surrounded by everyday objects and souvenirs from recent travels.

As modernist instances spread in both Europe and USA, the urgency of negotiating new canons for the arts collided with the conservative structure of museums and academies; the timeliest response to modernity's changes came from an unprecedented expansion of the publishing industry. Reviews like Gordon Craig's *The Mask* and John Middleton Murry's *Rhythm* attempted to bridge the gap between drama, visual arts, and poetry; dynamic authors-editors like Ezra Pound and Filippo Tommaso Marinetti used reviews as sounding boards to further their artistic agenda; women like Harriet Monroe (*Poetry*) and Margaret Anderson (*The Little Review*) were instrumental in creating a platform for the diffusion of modernist verse.¹⁰⁹

Rapid technological advances in the field of printing combined with a general increase in the level of instruction led to an invasion of magazines of every kind. To build up exposure for their merchandise, storeowners printed brochures and catalogs that addressed customers in a simple and powerful way, using big fonts and bright colors to attract attention from the first glance. The same techniques were employed by avant-garde reviews like *Blast*, the official publication of the Vorticist movement, not to mention Marinetti's "liberated words" (*parole in libertà*).

As modernism scholar Robert Scholes remarked in the book *Modernism in the Magazines*, the semantic connection between publishing and collecting/storing was established early on. In 1731 the French word for "storeroom" (*magazine*) appeared in the title of the British periodical *Gentleman's Magazine* to indicate a "monthly collection" whose goal was "storing, as in a *magazine*," interesting pieces on a wide

¹⁰⁹ Reviews and anthologies played a major role in the diffusion of new literary and artistic trends. Since the difference between "review" and "anthology" was not always defined clearly, it would be unwise to attempt any generalization; one can observe, however, that while reviews were more concerned with the "here and now" and less with the long term effects of their action, modernist anthologies tended to adopt a stronger transformative stance as "provisional institutions" (Braddock 2012).

range of topics. In another review called *Monthly Museum* the focus shifted to the collection as display of notable items (Scholes 46). Clearly, activities such as storing and displaying objects – be they stamps, paintings, sculptures, or texts – could not be defined as inherently modernist; it cannot be denied, however, that the assemblage of pre-existing materials constituted an important aspect of modernist aesthetic.

Seminal works like Joyce's *Ulysses* and Eliot's *The Waste Land* were built upon a complex structure of citations and cross-references; these fragments from the present and the past were de-contextualized and re-assembled to form new meanings from old materials. Such practices informed both production and display of modernist art; collages, ready-mades, thematic galleries, and interventionist anthologies all shared the same collecting aesthetic.

The emphasis on objects arranged in a series or assorted in no apparent order, regardless of their value, age, and original context, revealed the collector's desire to take a stand and play the role of a demiurgic force. In Vuillard's 1911 painting *La bibliotheque*, for example, Marguerite embodies a sibylline character whose real nature can only be guessed by looking at the surrounding environment (fig. 7.1). Vuillard's installed this large canvas in Marguerite's apartment on rue de l'Université. The artist turned a rather conventional subject – tea hour in Marguerite's library – into a perceptive study of Marguerite's psychology.

Marguerite is standing on the right side of the canvas, wearing a dark green dress with lace inserts and black shoes. It is hard to miss the large brass buckle on the shoe, a wry reference to Marguerite's puritan roots. A picture-in-the-picture occupies the center of the painting: we see Adam and Eve under the Tree of Knowledge. She is holding the

forbidden fruit; Adam holds her arm as if trying to stop her. The scene is based on a similar painting by Tiziano and a copy of it made by Rubens; Vuillard saw both pictures at the Prado museum in Madrid (Groom 186). The upper part of the painting consists of a frieze copied from “The Muses’ Sarcophagus” that is still preserved at the Louvre and portrays the nine muses (Groom 183).

The presence of a meta-pictorial element combined with the decorative motifs of the frieze and the patterned wallpaper deviates the viewer’s attention from the “subjects” of the painting – the characters conversing in the lower section – toward the wall and the ceiling of the large room. The real subject of the painting is Marguerite’s mysterious nature: she occupies a liminal position within the frame, part of and yet detached from the social rite that takes place in the room. In spite of her austere appearance, Vuillard seems to suggest, Marguerite’s nature partakes of the muse and the temptress.

La bibliotheque is a miniature collection consisting of the works (the Roman sarcophagus, the painting by Tiziano-Rubens) assembled to adorn the room. Marguerite cannot be fully engaged in the scene because she is the collector, the aesthetic conscience that created the social space around her. In this sense the painting allegorically represents the act of collecting itself, an act that defines Marguerite even if her enigmatic pose does not reveal anything about her. The collection is of course a staged apparatus, hence its message can be deceiving; Vuillard hints at this possibility by portraying Marguerite at the edge of two worlds, the real and the imaginary.

Once Marguerite has performed the acts of selection and assemblage, any external judgment is suspended; the collection’s value is immanent and transcends its components. It is not important knowing that the frieze on the wall reproduces a Roman

sculpture, or that Vuillard copied Tiziano and Rubens in painting the Fall from grace. I am now breaking up the aesthetic object to look inside, according to a “digital” attitude that did not belong to Marguerite’s image of organic cohesiveness. Marguerite’s rejection of such attitude helps explain the absence of extra-literary content from her publications. While she listened to her collaborators’ advice, in selecting works for Commerce and *Botteghe Oscure* she ultimately relied on her intuition and aesthetic sensibility.

Within a collecting aesthetic, the concept of time loses its meaning; a Roman sculpture can very well represent modernity.¹¹⁰ It is as if mankind, having reached the apex of its cultural development, could now look back and create a compilation of objects taken from anywhere in history.

Another example of this pan-historical approach to collecting comes from the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston. Gardner was an art collector and philanthropist known for her energy and eccentricity. The museum, inspired by Venetian Renaissance architecture, was built for the specific purpose of accommodating Gardner’s vast collection. In setting up the exhibition, the curators followed her dispositions down to the smallest detail. To this day, visitors can feel Gardner’s presence from the moment they set foot in the building; women named Isabella do not pay the admission fee, and on Gardner’s birthday anybody can enter for free. Besides a remarkable picture gallery, the collection includes furniture, tapestries, and an assortment of decorative objects coming from various places and eras. There are also empty frames hung on walls or leaning on

¹¹⁰ An example of modernity’s temporal paradoxes is Italo Balbo’s 1933 transatlantic flight from Italy to Chicago in occasion of the Universal Exposition. Balbo and twenty-four seaplanes “landed” on Lake Michigan among wild cheering from the crowd in attendance at the fair. To celebrate this historic achievement, Mussolini had a Roman column taken from Ostia’s ancient seaport and shipped to Chicago. The column was put on display just across from the Italian pavilion. The link between a 2000 year-old artifact and Balbo’s transatlantic flight seems tenuous at best; and yet, the logic behind this operation reminds of the Roman frieze taken from a tomb to decorate Marguerite’s library.

other objects, which seem to underline the fact that *everything* around the observer constitutes the collection, not just the items conventionally recognized as “works of art.”

Just a few blocks away from the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, the Boston Museum of Fine Arts embodies a more traditional kind of art display. This particular institution was established in 1870; most American museums, however, were still unbuilt at the beginning of the 1920s (Braddock). Compared to Europe, the American artistic canon was not as solidly anchored to society; the role of poet-laureate had not been created, and only a few literary anthologies had been compiled. “It was in this situation,” Braddock writes, “that *material* collections of art and literature were advanced as means not simply (or even primarily) of institutional consecration but of cultural and social intervention” (2). Braddock employs the term “provisional institution” to indicate a collection arranged and displayed by one or more individuals with the purpose of influencing public taste and triggering some kind of social or cultural response. This aspect distinguishes it from institutional collections, which are bound to take a more conservative stance.

Both of Marguerite’s anthologies fit Braddock’s definition of provisional institutions, i.e. artifacts “intervening in and reforming cultural practice, doing so on the basis of [their] form” (6). As provisional institutions, Marguerite’s publications – especially the second one, *Botteghe Oscure* – aspired to represent an international community of letters informed by egalitarian and non-partisan principles, in which literature alone was the supreme form of understanding. In this sense *Botteghe Oscure* was a political project and it stood for the artist’s complete freedom; it aimed to fill a gap

in the existing system, providing space for unheard voices, and to find a place in real institutions – libraries, archives, even propaganda centers – to fulfill its purpose.

While Braddock specifically refers to anthologies published in the 1920s, at the peak of the modernist movement, his analysis can also apply to the period defined by the cultural Cold War, which roughly coincided with the tenure of *Botteghe Oscure*. By this time, art and politics were tightly connected; the USA and URSS both financed cultural initiatives for propaganda purposes on a regular basis. One could argue that, in this context, being apolitical was just as much of a strategy as it was being openly political. The freedom of artists in the West was waved around like a flag. The popularity of abstract expressionism and twelve-tone music received a boost when they were reclaimed by Western institutions as proof of their artistic openness and independence. The verb “to reclaim” is significant in this context for its double meaning of “claiming for oneself” and “cleansing, purifying.” During the total reclamation project, fascist authorities wanted to reclaim the man with the land. In both cases, we are not talking about freedom as much as indoctrination. In both cases there is an undesired element that needs to be eradicated, like weeds in a garden, so that “beauty” may emerge. Art was put on display as a trophy, like a perfectly engineered flower, but with it came the message, and the implicit or explicit message was “we are better than the others.” It was a display of imperialistic pride.

In this context, Marguerite’s rejection of “engaged literature” acquired special significance. It is significant that in 1950 she chose to publish George Bataille’s passionate letter to Char on the “incompatibilities of the writer” (fall 1950).¹¹¹ Written in

¹¹¹ Char was one of Marguerite’s favorite poets; besides including his work in *Botteghe Oscure* on multiple occasions (in fact, half of the volumes contain at least one contribution by him), she coordinated the launch

response to a question raised by Char from the pages of the review *Empédocle* on the existence of “incompatibilities,” the letter is a reflection on the role of the writer in society, a particularly sensitive topic in post-fascist Italy. Bataille’s argument is often paradoxical and thought-provoking, as was Char’s question; the letter reads more like literature than criticism, which might be the reason why Marguerite decided to publish it, no doubt under Char’s auspices, even though in so doing she broke the unwritten rule of never hosting critical essays in *Botteghe Oscure*.

In the letter Bataille states that, “Although the debate concerning literature and ‘engagement’ appears to have subsided, its decisive nature has not yet been clearly perceived” (34). According to Bataille, any writer – as artist – holds a form of freedom not unlike that of ancient priest-kings, that is, the freedom that comes from being inside and outside society at the same time. Unbound by rules, the artist cannot and should not serve any masters, nor should he attempt to lend his writing to a specific purpose. “Literature, when it is not indulgently considered to be a minor distraction, always takes a direction opposite the path of utility along which every society must be directed” (40). In a secular society, where religion does no longer detain absolute truths, and where the institution of power is no longer “divine,” writers have inherited the right to defy signification, and to do away with meaning. It is a blessing and a curse at the same time, writes Bataille, because – unlike kings and popes – writers know their myths are untrue. Such knowledge brings sadness and despair, but it also entitles the writer to the privilege “of being able to do *nothing* and to limit himself within an *active* society to the paralysis

of his poetry in both the U.K. and the U.S.A. Char was Marguerite’s most trusted advisor for the French section of the magazine; this fact caused resentment in other long-time collaborators of Marguerite like Jean Paulhan, who accused her of publishing only “Char’s disciples” (Risset 33). While Paulhan’s remark seems exaggerated and was promptly rebutted by Marguerite (see note 94), it is certain that Char did bring in a good number of French authors, both known and soon-to-be-known, including Georges Bataille.

of death before the fact” (43). Literature and engagement, then, are not only incompatible, they are opposites: literature, Bataille concludes, is “a movement irreducible to the aims of social utility” (41).

While Bataille does not object to writers taking a stand in political or social issues, he clearly states that in doing so they abdicate a unique prerogative, which Bataille infuses with almost mystical powers. It precisely the right *not* to intervene, he claims, that qualifies them as literates. Such an appeal must have resonated among Italian intellectuals, mindful of the harsh controversy staged by Togliatti and Vittorini on the pages of *Il Politecnico*. Vittorini acknowledged his responsibility when he wrote that, while attempting to foster a new culture, “abbiamo compilato, abbiamo tradotto, abbiamo esposto, abbiamo informato, abbiamo anche polemizzato, ma abbiamo detto ben poco di nuovo . . . Ci siamo limitati a gridare mentre avremmo dovuto dimostrare. E troppo spesso abbiamo dato sotto forma di manifesto quello che avremmo dovuto dare sotto forma di studio” (No. 28, 6 April 1946).

Conciliating social function and cultural independence was the issue at stake for many intellectuals, not only Italians. Char, the addressee of Bataille’s letter and one of Marguerite’s favorite poets, had fought with the French resistance during the war. On this experience he based *Feuillets d’Hypnos* (Hypnos was his codename in the Maquis), an anthology of poetic fragments in form of a cryptic journal, later published in *Botteghe Oscure* (No. 14, fall 1954). Char’s aphorisms transcended historical contingency to gaze upon the human condition; his poetry is detached from reality but remains deeply rooted in personal experience. As Carrie Noland convincingly shows in her article “The Performance of Solitude: Baudelaire, Rimbaud, and the Resistance Poetry of René Char,”

the poet's dispassionate detachment is a form of resistance against totalitarianism: by keeping his watchful stand, Char escapes manipulation and retains his judgment. Noland traces this attitude back to Baudelaire, who championed solitude as a way of protecting the poet's own vision; a position that evolved into Rimbaud's radical isolation, Noland argues, in which the poet is surrounded by a "holy loneliness" that puts him above society, able "to see without being seen, to enter the crowd and yet rise powerfully above it through an act of vision" (567). While Noland does not cite Bataille, her analysis of Char's poetry can apply to Bataille's essay and helps to understand Marguerite's rejection of engaged literature and criticism. Noland writes:

The *Feuillets d'Hypnos* are far from impersonal, rather they are the personal multiplied. Thus, the notebook represents a collectivity of singular perspectives, a polyphony of voices that remain distinguished, through proper names and diacritical marks, from one another. Whether the fragments of voices are mere inventions of the author or whether they are actual transcriptions of the utterances of fellow resisters is less important than the gesture of quotation itself. For such a gesture suggests rhetorically a model of nonconformity in which collective action and individual vision might comfortably coexist. (570)

Marguerite's reverence for Char's poetry suggests a deep consonance of artistic views. Noland's music-inspired simile ("a polyphony of voices") gives me the opportunity to broaden her analysis by introducing the concept of *counterpoint*, i.e., a non-hierarchical structure in which narratives ("voices") coexist as discursive practices applicable to the nexus culture-society without being framed in a restrictive editorial model, be it political, religious, or purely aesthetic. It was Edward Said who first used the term *counterpoint* to indicate a constructive dialogue between the center and the periphery of post-colonial societies; a horizontal communication model practiced by expat writers and, more in

general, by individuals who are aware of multiple realities (*exiles* in Said). The heightened sensitivity of their “inner ear” (Noland) allows them to develop a distinctive voice; they cultivate a new subjectivity, which encompasses the ultimate frailty of traditional bonds like state, nation, and institutions. I believe that Marguerite Caetani belonged to this category, and while she did not leave any creative work of her own (with the possible exception of a few translations that appeared in *Commerce*, her first literary review), she considered *Botteghe Oscure* as the purest manifestation of her artistic sensibility. Thus, I argue that in *Botteghe Oscure*, as in *Feuillets d’Hypnos*, we find a counterpoint of individual voices; its editor aimed to capture a “polyphony of voices” that preserved the identity and the language of each contributor regardless of their artistic views or political belonging.

In light of the above considerations, it becomes clear why *Botteghe Oscure* occupied a special position among its counterparts; rather than confronting head-on the social, political, and artistic issues of her time, Marguerite set on to assemble the best possible selection of new international literature, guided solely by her intuition and taste. Transposed from the creative to the editorial field, “the gesture of quotation” indicated by Noland as distinctive feature of *Feuillets d’Hypnos* becomes an act of selection.

If in *Commerce* Marguerite aimed to serve as mediator between a relatively small number of poets – first among all the three official directors of the review, Valéry, Larbaud, and Fargue – and a French-speaking, cultivated audience, with *Botteghe Oscure* she cast a wider net to reflect a mutated historical situation, in which the purpose had become to create a “new tradition” by reaching a global audience in order to avoid any resurgence of nationalism. This apparent oxymoron – “new tradition” – well defines

Marguerite's utopia and the ultimate goal of her review-anthology: to offer a generous amount of new works that, for no reason other than their intrinsic "quality," could represent the parallel evolution of national literatures and lay the ground for a meta-national aesthetic.

Afterword: In the Garden of Letters

Modernism is often referred to as a cosmopolitan and urban-centered phenomenon; there was, however, a corresponding pull leading away from the city toward an idealized rural environment. According to such view, the country represented a haven, depositary of traditional virtues that were rapidly fading in the frantic and machine-run modernity. As Robert Scholes writes in *Modernism in the Magazines*, "For every Eliot there is a Frost, for every Joyce a Hemingway, and for every Picasso a Matisse" (40). This tendency was especially evident in the Southern Agrarian movement of the 1930s, or in the Italian *Strapaese*.¹¹² The existence of a "provincial modernism,"

¹¹² The social and cultural instances carried on by the Agrarians were deeply political in nature, but they were grounded in a sort of pastoral utopia, an idealized view of rural life as reaction against modern management theories such as Taylorism. The Agrarians hoped to counter the de-humanizing effects of Northern industrialism by advocating a return to "tradition," which they identified with Southern rural culture. It was an arbitrary process, to be sure, since their version of the South was cleansed of any unwanted aspects like slavery and racism.

The 1930 Agrarian manifesto, *I'll Take My Stand*, endorsed a form of "social art" (Dorman 95) that would arise spontaneously among communities living organically, in harmony with nature. In his introduction to the volume, poet John Crowe Ransom stated: "out of so simple a thing as respect for the physical earth and its teeming life comes a primary joy, which is an inexhaustible source of arts and religions and philosophies" (9). By calling on nature as primary inspiration of all artistic output, the Southern Agrarians could forgo historicist readings, with their subversive potential, and retreat into a pre-urban stage of development in which men ruled over their living environment and were not subjected to social and technological forces they could not control.

Ostensibly antagonistic toward every form of ideology, equally distant from both capitalism and communism, the Agrarians were not immune from the lure of totalitarianism. The father of the movement,

exemplified in Italy by the “città rurali” built during the massive reclamation projects of the late 1920s, leads to some final considerations about Marguerite Chapin Caetani’s ideas on life and art.

During Marguerite’s life, it was customary for members of the American upper middle class to alternate living in the city with long sojourns in the country. Marguerite’s father personally supervised the cultivation of his sixty-acre lot in Connecticut; the Chapins’ country residence included a greenhouse where Marguerite took up gardening, a passion that would never abandon her. As she often confessed, gardening was the activity that pleased Marguerite above all else. She set up a much-admired indoor garden in her Parisian flat on rue de l’Université, and greatly enjoyed working in the park surrounding Ville Romaine, in Versailles, where she lived with her husband after WWI. Roffredo’s family belonged to the rural aristocracy of central Italy; the Caetanis proudly asserted their ties to the land between Rome and Naples. Roffredo enjoyed rural life, and personally supervised the administration of his large estate.

Marguerite’s bond with the natural world influenced deeply both her personality and her artistic choices. In a letter to her half-sister Katherine written in 1941, Marguerite

Seward Collins, in 1936 publicly declared his admiration for Hitler and Mussolini (Kaiser 271); even though he rejected Collins’s statement, poet Allen Tate (who would become one of Marguerite’s closest friends and collaborators) seemed to make certain concessions to fascism, seen as a radical cure against communism.

It is not hard to point out the similarities between fascism and Agrarianism; both movements created an idealized version of rural life, depicted as authentic and wholesome, and both denounced bourgeoisie and proletariat as conveyors of social unrest and individual corruption. Fascism and Agrarianism appeared in response to a crisis – moral, political, economical – and offered an alternative model to rebuild society from the ground up. The fascists were able to seize power in Italy because of their ability to project a multifarious image that appealed to diverse social groups, from the peasant to the wealthy industrial, without falling in contradiction. The Agrarians did not directly engage in politics; they did not have a charismatic leader comparable to Mussolini, and never coalesced into a party. Instead, their later essays focused on aesthetics and paved the way for a new theory of literary criticism. The New Critics envisioned the work of art as an organic whole, independent from the social, political, and historical circumstances in which it was created, and to be analyzed through formalist techniques.

dismissed the Italian periodicals for being “dry as dust.” Dust is dry and lifeless: nothing grows on it. It is the opposite of moist and fertile dark soil, ready to bear fruit. It is in such imagery that we find condensed Marguerite’s aesthetic vision of poetry as an organic whole, in opposition to all that is partial and atomized. Marguerite viewed the garden as a symbol of continuity and cyclic renewal. By contrast, the city constitutes a finite and two-dimensional entity, best represented as a map: an ensemble of discrete entities arranged on a digital platform (i.e., subdivided in quantifiable units and empirically measurable).

John Vernon, a scholar of psychology and modern literature, compared the dichotomy map/garden to the narrative modes realist-naturalist (map) and symbolic-fantastic (garden), respectively. The map embodies the real world purged of the immeasurable, like the sacred and the magic.¹¹³ The first garden, the Garden of Eden, is the place where body and nature constitute a seamless unity. The apple is the first object seen as such: an entity separated from one’s body, hence desirable; it is the first commodity, a category of objects defined exclusively by their function, destined to become waste once that function is exhausted. The inability to see beyond the practical use of an object, therefore, “creates” waste. Waste does not exist in the natural world, where everything undergoes constant change.¹¹⁴

¹¹³ In *The Garden and The Map* Vernon labels our society “schizophrenic” because of its system of arbitrary separations between subjective and objective spheres. Incidentally, such separations echo the split between naturalism and symbolism that, according to Scholes, modernist writers attempted to mend by developing symbolic realism in their works.

¹¹⁴ The modernist concept of “found object” (like Duchamp’s notorious *Fountain* of 1917) is often seen as an irreverent form of “art.” It can be argued, however, that ready-mades are not an attempt to desecrate art, but rather to re-consecrate objects regardless of their assigned function.

One of Marguerite's favorite American poets, Theodore Roethke, once observed: "[The greenhouse] is my symbol for the whole of life, a womb, a heaven-on-earth" (Roethke 51).¹¹⁵ Marguerite found her own heaven-on-earth at Ninfa, the garden built on the ruins of a medieval town near the spring of a pristine river. The town was burned to the ground in the Middle Ages, its inhabitants massacred. As a powerful symbol of death and rebirth, Ninfa could not fail to make a lasting impression on its visitors. Giorgio Bassani's most famous novel, *Il giardino dei Finzi-Contini*, was inspired by the secluded life led by the last Caetanis in their magnificent country residence. Poets like Katherine Garrison Biddle (Marguerite's half-sister), Kathleen Raine, Theodor Roethke, all wrote poems dedicated to or inspired by Ninfa. Compared to Marguerite's first literary salon at Versailles, Ninfa appeared as a place for meditation, a symbolic "return to the soil" partaking of Christian and animistic ideas about life and art.¹¹⁶

The word *anthology* comes from the Greek and means "flower-gathering" (*florilegium* in Latin). In Greek culture, flowers represented the highest sentiments that could only be communicated through poetry. Marguerite's last anthology is a living collection of flowers and trees, native to the region or imported from exotic lands, carefully arranged so that with each season a different part of Ninfa comes back to life.

¹¹⁵ A young Roethke spent long hours working in his father's greenhouse.

¹¹⁶ The last Caetanis shared this "organic" vision of reality. In 1951 they supported the constitution of the association "Italia Nostra," bound to protect and promote Italy's artistic and environmental heritage. Elena Croce and Giorgio Bassani were among its founding members.



Fig. 7.1. Édouard Vuillard, *La bibliothèque*, 1911, oil on canvas, 3x4m., Musée d'Orsay. Gloria Lynn Groom, *Edouard Vuillard, Painter-Decorator: Patrons and Projects, 1892-1912* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1993).

Appendix A: List of contributors to *Botteghe Oscure*

Name	Year, Issue.Pages	Title(s)	Genre
Abbott, Kathleen	1958, 21.118-23	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Abse, Dannie	1952, 10.209-12	<i>A Meeting in the Morning, A Posy for Summer</i>	poetry
Adams, Leonie	1948, 2.276-77	<i>The Runner with the Lots</i>	poetry
---	1951, 8.220-21	<i>Light at Equinox</i>	poetry
Agee, James	1950, 5.336-37	<i>Two sonnets from a dream</i>	poetry
---	1950, 6.339-409	<i>The Morning Watch</i>	short story
---	1952, 9.224-48	<i>A Mother's Tale</i>	short story
Aguirre, Raul Gustavo	1954, 14.52-57	<i>Suavissima</i>	poetry
---	1958, 22.375-78	<i>Cuaderno de Notas</i>	poetry
Aichinger, Ilse	1957, 19.460-63	<i>Strassen und Platze</i>	poetry
Aiken, Conrad	1948, 2.272-75	<i>The Clover</i>	poetry
---	1954, 13.225-30	<i>The Walk in the Garden</i>	short story
Aldan, Daisy	1956, 17.238-39	<i>Meeting, Hope</i>	poetry
Aldis, George	1956, 17.135-36	<i>Love-Letter</i>	poetry
Aleixandre, Vicente	1956, 18.385-86	<i>La Apareicida</i>	poetry
Alfred, William	1953, 11.249-353	<i>Agamemnon</i>	play
---	1957, 20.220-22	<i>Elegy in the Harvard Yard</i>	poetry
Almansi, Federico	1950, 5.100-03	<i>Poesie</i>	poetry
Amor, Guadalupe	1955, 16.240-43	<i>Tan solo es un fulgor</i>	poetry
Andreas, Hans	1956, 18.226-34	<i>Eleven Poems</i>	poetry
Angioletti, Giannina	1949, 3.210-14	<i>Poesie</i>	poetry
Arcangeli, Francesco	1948, 2.118-21	<i>Da "Stella sola"</i>	poetry
Arcangeli, Gaetano	1949, 4.95-98	<i>Poesie</i>	poetry
---	1954, 14.377-81	<i>Ora il mondo è la stanza</i>	poetry
---	1958, 21.532-37	<i>L'Appennino</i>	poetry
Armi, Anna Maria	1950, 5.338-49	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Arpino, Giovanni	1954, 14.357-76	<i>Tre racconti</i>	short story
Arrowsmith, William	1957, 20.223-24	<i>In Memoriam</i>	poetry
---	1958, 21.278-81	<i>Awake at Night</i>	poetry
---	1960, 25.164-85	<i>Villanelle +</i>	poetry
Artaud, Antonin	1951, 8.11-30	<i>L'éperon malicieux +</i>	poetry
Artori, Gian Carlo	1958, 21.529-31	<i>A mio padre +</i>	poetry
Ascot, José García	1955, 16.204-06	<i>Poema, Poema</i>	poetry
Asher, Elise	1949, 4.296-98	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Aspel, Pauléne	1954, 13.72-77	<i>Triptyque américain</i>	novel (excerpt)
Athas, Daphne	1957, 19.289-308	<i>Father Penultimate</i>	short story
---	1958, 21.292-308	<i>Greece by Prejudice</i>	short story
---	1959, 23.221-41	<i>The Way to Find Hestia</i>	short story

Atkins, Russell A.	1955, 16.353-57	<i>Love Night</i>	poetry
Auden, W. H.	1948, 2.243-45	<i>Ischia</i>	poetry
---	1951, 8.222-23	<i>A Face in the Moon</i>	poetry
Auden, W. H., and Chester Kallman	1953, 12.164-210	<i>Delia or A Masque of Night</i>	play
Audiberti, Jacques	1952, 9.76-78	<i>Strasbourg</i>	poetry
Bacchelli, Riccardo	1949, 4.164-71	<i>Sui fiumi di Babele</i>	poetry
Bacchetti, Gino	1952, 9.444-78	<i>Il magazzino</i>	short story
Bachmann, Ingeborg	1954, 14.215-19	<i>Gedichte</i>	poetry
---	1957, 19.445-48	<i>Gedichte</i>	poetry
---	1959, 23.337-45	<i>Jugend in einer osterreichischen Stadt</i>	poetry
Balbo, Renzo	1958, 22.487-90	<i>Un'estate in città +</i>	poetry
Balestra, Tito	1951, 7.127-31	<i>I giorni si muovono</i>	poetry
---	1958, 21.473-74	<i>Satira prima</i>	poetry
Banti, Anna	1948, 2.194-213	<i>I porci</i>	short story
---	1950, 6.60-81	<i>Le donne muoiono</i>	short story
---	1959, 24.296-361	<i>Artemisia</i>	play
Barilli, Cecrope	1948, 1.151-52	<i>Poesie</i>	poetry
---	1951, 7.68-87	<i>Racconti brevi</i>	short story
---	1954, 13.463-66	<i>Marte, Ritratto +</i>	poetry
Barker, George	1951, 7.182-86	<i>A Vision of Beasts and Gods</i>	poetry
---	1953, 11.89-100	<i>Goodman Jacksin and the Angel</i>	short story
---	1954, 13.134-141	<i>Letter to a deaf Poet</i>	prose
Barker, L.	1949, 4.356-63	<i>Imogen</i>	short story
Barral, Carlos	1958, 22.370-74	<i>Ciudad Mental</i>	poetry
Baro, Gene	1953, 12.250-54	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
---	1954, 14.242-54	<i>Lonesome in the evening</i>	short story
---	1956, 17.271-84	<i>Norma among the Leaves</i>	short story
---	1957, 19.311-15	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
---	1957, 20.249-56	<i>Eleven Poems</i>	poetry
---	1959, 24.175-84	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Barolini, Antonio	1953, 12.477-93	<i>Visite all'Abbadessa</i>	novel (fragment)
---	1957, 19.529-32	<i>Elegie di Croton</i>	poetry
Bartolini, Luigi	1951, 7.53-64	<i>L'Eremo dei frati bianchi +</i>	poetry
Bassani, Giorgio	1948, 1.89-123	<i>Storia d'amore</i>	short story
---	1948, 2.191-93	<i>Dal profondo...</i>	poetry
---	1950, 5.90-91	<i>Quattro poesie</i>	poetry
---	1950, 6.161	<i>I fiori dei campi</i>	poetry
---	1951, 7.17-52	<i>La passeggiata prima di cena</i>	short story

---	1952, 10.444-79	<i>Una lapide in via Mazzini</i>	short story
---	1955, 15.410-51	<i>Una notte del '43</i>	short story
---	1960, 25.434-39	<i>Congedo</i>	editorial
Bataille, Georges	1950, 6.172-87	<i>Lettre à René Char...</i>	letter
---	1951, 8.105-15	<i>L'amour d'un être mortel</i>	poetry
---	1952, 9.23-38	<i>Le souverain</i>	short story
---	1953, 11.18-30	<i>Le Non Savoir</i>	short story
---	1954, 13.14-16	<i>L'Être Indifférencié n'est rien</i>	poetry
---	1956, 17.35-55	<i>Les larmes et les rois</i>	short story
---	1958, 21.20-30	<i>Le Pur Bonheur</i>	short story
Battistini, Yves	1958, 22.41-44	<i>Poèmes</i>	poetry
Bayley, Edgar	1958, 22.385-89	<i>Poemas</i>	poetry
Beaufret, Jean	1960, 25.15-30	<i>Héraclite et Parménide</i>	poetry
Béalu, Marcel	1953, 11.67-69	<i>Cinq Têtes</i>	poetry
---	1955, 15.55-57	<i>Miroirs</i>	poetry
Becker, John	1957, 20.349-61	<i>Lorie</i>	short story
Belvin, William	1951, 8.224-27	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
---	1954, 13.291-94	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
---	1958, 22.218-22	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Bellintani, Umberto	1952, 9.383-83	<i>Sopra una tomba... +</i>	poetry
Bellow, Saul	1958, 21.187-225	<i>Henderson in Africa</i>	story
Benaya, M.	1956, 17.331-38	<i>The Hills of the Negev</i>	short story
Bennett, Joseph	1958, 22.311-27	<i>Theseus</i>	short story
Benoit, Pierre A.	1956, 17.78-79	<i>Nous voulons devancer la vie</i>	short story
---	1958, 21.49-50	<i>Prédestiné</i>	poetry
---	1960, 25.45-46	<i>Première lumière +</i>	poetry
Bense, Max	1960, 25.248-52	<i>Attribute Epikurs</i>	poetry
Bergamini, José	1958, 22.358-69	<i>Romantica de Soledades</i>	short story
Berger, Georges	1958, 22.45	<i>Retour de l'exil +</i>	poetry
Berkman, Sylvia	1952, 10.249-60	<i>Beyond another Shore</i>	short story
---	1953, 11.372-79	<i>Flower, Blough, or Leaf</i>	short story
---	1955, 15.243-53	<i>Who Killed Cock Robin?</i>	short story
---	1957, 20.369-83	<i>A Quiet Room in Rome</i>	short story
---	1958, 22.223-44	<i>Ellen Craig</i>	short story
Bernard, Oliver	1955, 16.163-66	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
---	1959, 23.96-102	<i>His Chanson for Roland</i>	poetry
Bernard, Roger	1950, 6.162-71	<i>Ma faim noire déjà</i>	short story
---	1951, 8.31-104	<i>La hauteur de la nuit</i>	play
Bertolucci, Attilio	1948, 1.129-35	<i>Poesie</i>	poetry
---	1949, 4.73-76	<i>Da "La capanna indiana"</i>	poetry
---	1950, 6.9	<i>A Giuseppe, in ottobre</i>	poetry
---	1954, 14.331-34	<i>Bernardo a cinque anni +</i>	poetry

---	1957, 20.437	<i>I pescatori</i>	poetry
Bertolucci, Bernardo	1956, 17.445-48	<i>Voce di un mendicante +</i>	poetry
---	1959, 23.439-41	<i>Nuove poesie</i>	poetry
Besson, Robert	1952, 10.91-92	<i>Poèmes</i>	poetry
---	1953, 12.43-47	<i>L'étang de Berre</i>	short story
---	1955, 15.20-21	<i>La femme aux iris</i>	poetry
---	1959, 23.37-38	<i>Musicienne à Gournah</i>	poetry
Betocchi, Carlo	1951, 7.11-16	<i>Poesie</i>	poetry
---	1957, 19.558-62	<i>Poesie inedite</i>	poetry
Bevilacqua, Alberto	1958, 461-62	<i>I treni che segnano le ore +</i>	poetry
Bienek, Horst	1959, 23.356-58	<i>Gedichte</i>	poetry
Bigongiari, Piero	1952, 9.390-93	<i>Inverno arido +</i>	poetry
Bisiaux, Marcel	1950, 5.228-39	<i>La poursuite</i>	short story
Blanchard, Maurice	1956, 17.31-34	<i>Terre brûlée</i>	poetry
---	1956, 18.27-29	<i>Poèmes</i>	poetry
Blanchot, Maurice	1951, 7.416-24	<i>Le retour</i>	short story
---	1952, 10.39-53	<i>Le compagnon de route</i>	short story
---	1955, 16.28-36	<i>La calme</i>	short story
---	1956, 18.11-19	<i>Comme un jour de neige</i>	short story
---	1958, 22.22-33	<i>L'Attente</i>	short story
Blin, Georges	1959, 24.15-17	<i>Avoir du port</i>	poetry
Bloch-Michel, Jean	1953, 12.90-106	<i>Daniel Grunberg</i>	short story
Bloy Casares, Adolfo	1958, 22.346-48	<i>Las Visperas de Fausto</i>	poetry
Bly, Robert	1960, 25.191-93	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Blythe, Ronald	1957, 20.146-58	<i>The Common Soldier</i>	short story
Boissonnas, Edith	1950, 5.208-09	<i>Poésies</i>	poetry
Böll, Heinrich	1957, 19.449-54	<i>Abschied von Irland</i>	poetry
Bolton, Isabel	1950, 5.350-61	<i>The dressmaker's model</i>	short story
---	1953, 12.218-22	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Bonnefoy, Yves	1957, 20.46-49	<i>Huit Poèmes</i>	poetry
Bonnet, René	1957, 20.72-84	<i>Récit en Marge d'une Histoire</i>	short story
Borel, Jacques	1960, 25.50-54	<i>Mort des images</i>	poetry
Bottrall, Ronald	1948, 2.246-47	<i>Tenebrae...</i>	poetry
---	1950, 5.290-92	<i>Water from the rock</i>	poetry
---	1952, 9.168-72	<i>Natural Order</i>	poetry
---	1953, 11.101-104	<i>Adam Unparadised</i>	poetry
Bouvard, Hélène	1954, 14.35-39	<i>Janaka, Janaka</i>	poetry
Bowen, Donna	1949, 4.299-304	<i>The Components</i>	poetry
---	1956, 17.208-10	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Bowen, Elizabeth	1955, 16.85-94	<i>A Day in the Dark</i>	short story
Bowles, P. W.	1952, 10.206-08	<i>Letter</i>	prose
Brambach, Rainer	1960, 25.244-47	<i>Gedichte</i>	poetry
Brancati, Vitaliano	1948, 2.122-90	<i>Raffaele</i>	play

Brangwyn, Patrick	1957, 20.103-107	<i>Seven Poems</i>	poetry
Braun, Mattias	1956, 17.387-90	<i>Gedichte</i>	poetry
Brecht, Bertolt	1950, 6.199-312	<i>La bonne Ame de Sé-Tchouan</i>	play
Brewster, Henry	1957, 19.170-81	<i>Henry James and the Gallo-American</i>	short story
Brignetti, Raffaello	1950, 5.104-19	<i>Due racconti</i>	short story
---	1951, 7.100-22	<i>Destino</i>	short story
Brock, Edwin	1959, 23.129-33	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Brock, Midu	1960, 25.116-20	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Brooke, Jocelyn	1948, 2.249-51	<i>Travelling South...</i>	poetry
---	1949, 4.364-66	<i>Plaisong, A memory...</i>	poetry
Brooke-Rose, Christine	1957, 19.123-33	<i>The World a Catechumen</i>	short story
---	1958, 21.101-05	<i>The Island of Reil</i>	poetry
Broughton, James	1952, 9.299-304	<i>The Ballad of Mad Jenny</i>	poetry
---	1953, 12.367-75	<i>An Almanac for Amorists</i>	poetry
---	1955, 16.251-63	<i>True & False Unicorn</i>	short story
---	1957, 20.280-81	<i>Gavin and the Green Uncle</i>	poetry
---	1958, 22.214-17	<i>A Liturgy for Poets</i>	poetry
Brower, Ben	1957, 20.339-44	<i>In Their Element +</i>	essay
Bullock, Lotte	1958, 21.124-54	<i>Crumpled Sheets</i>	short story
Burford, William	1952, 10.291-93	<i>Night, A Madonna</i>	poetry
Burton, Anthony	1958, 21.158-60	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Cacciaguerra, Perla	1956, 17.535-39	<i>Idillio +</i>	poetry
Cacciatore, Edoardo	1953, 11.470-76	<i>Graduali</i>	poetry
---	1954, 13.345-51	<i>Altri graduali</i>	poetry
Caillouis, Roger	1957, 20.50-60	<i>La Masque du Fulgore</i>	short story
Calef, Vittorio	1957, 20.604-11	<i>Poesie varie</i>	poetry
Calet, Henry	1949, 3.412-17	<i>La Place de l'Etoile</i>	short story
Calkins, Clinch	1950, 5.362-63	<i>Hymn to the winter solstice</i>	poetry
Calvino, Italo	1952, 10.406-441	<i>La formica argentina</i>	short story
---	1957, 20.438-517	<i>La speculazione edilizia</i>	short story
Cameron, Norman	1951, 8.157-58	<i>"That weird shall never daunt me"</i>	poetry
Campbell, Diarmaid	1959, 24.68-69	<i>A Voice +</i>	poetry
Camus, Albert	1951, 7.395-406	<i>Un homme de lettres</i>	short story
Canali, Luca	1957, 20.602-03	<i>Uomini uccisi sull'altopiano +</i>	poetry
Cancogni, Manlio	1948, 1.157-226	<i>Azarin e Mirò</i>	novel
---	1954, 14.415-64	<i>Cos'è l'amicizia</i>	short story
---	1956, 18.467-75	<i>Parlami, dimmi qualcosa</i>	short story
Capitini, Aldo	1950, 6.45-53	<i>La festa</i>	poetry
Capote, Truman	1950, 6.414-29	<i>The House of Flowers</i>	short story

---	1951, 7.246-65	<i>The Grass Harp</i>	novel (fr)
Carafa, Brianna	1957, 19.549-57	<i>La porta di carta +</i>	short story
Carocci, Giampiero	1949, 3.217-339	<i>Memorie di prigionia</i>	novel
Carocci, Giovanni	1957, 19.533-45	<i>Nora</i>	short story
Caproni, Giorgio	1949, 3.141-44	<i>La funivia</i>	poetry
---	1950, 6.86-88	<i>Poesie</i>	poetry
---	1954, 14.411-14	<i>All alone</i>	poetry
Carballo, Emmanuel	1956, 18.393-96	<i>Habla Fulanita</i>	poetry
Carlile, Claney	1958, 21.353-69	<i>Roxanne</i>	short story
Carruth, Hayden	1948, 2.278	<i>Palinuro</i>	poetry
---	1949, 4.305-15	<i>The Return</i>	poetry
---	1952, 10.319-22	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Cassola, Carlo	1949, 3.161-93	<i>Due racconti</i>	short story
---	1955, 15.451-93	<i>La casa di via Valadier</i>	short story
---	1956, 18.420-50	<i>Rosa Gagliardi</i>	short story
---	1958, 21.477-528	<i>Angela</i>	story
Castellòn, Alfredo	1958, 22.390-93	<i>En Algun Lugar de Europa</i>	poetry
Cayrol, Jean	1954, 13.17-21	<i>Le Miroir de la misère +</i>	poetry
---	1955, 16.70-84	<i>Trois Contes</i>	poetry
---	1957, 20.61-71	<i>Zeedijk</i>	short story
---	1958, 22.34-40	<i>Les Debuts</i>	short story
Cazelles, René	1952, 10.89-90	<i>Poèmes</i>	poetry
---	1954, 13.22-25	<i>Poèmes</i>	poetry
---	1955, 16.25-27	<i>Poèmes</i>	poetry
---	1959, 23.18-20	<i>Poèmes</i>	poetry
Celan, Paul	1956, 17.385-86	<i>Vor einer kerze</i>	poetry
Cento, Miriam	1960, 25.391-96	<i>Poesie</i>	poetry
Ceresa, Alice	1952, 9.394-404	<i>Sabina e il fantasma</i>	short story
Cernuda, Luis	1955, 16.212-13	<i>Limbo</i>	poetry
Chadbourne, M.	1954, 13.298-301	<i>Storm before Dawin +</i>	poetry
Chamberlain, Brenda	1949, 4.367	<i>Island Fisherman</i>	poetry
---	1950, 5.293-303	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Champroux, Hugnette	1960, 25.47-49	<i>Divorce des prés</i>	poetry
Chang, Lin Ming-Hwei	1956, 17.269-70	<i>Song of a Crazy Monk</i>	poetry
Chappaz, Maurice	1950, 5.273-79	<i>Les villages descendant...</i>	short story
Char, René	1949, 3.387-89	<i>Poésies</i>	poetry
---	1950, 5.203-07	<i>La lune d'Hypnos</i>	poetry
---	1951, 7.387-88	<i>La Minutieuse</i>	poetry
---	1952, 10.128-62	<i>Poems, translated by Denis Devlin and Jackson Mathews</i>	poetry
---	1953, 11.11-12	<i>Le Rempart de Brindilles</i>	poetry

---	1954, 13.11-13	<i>Marge d'Hypnos</i>	poetry
---	1954, 14.87-113	<i>Feuillets d'Hypnos, Lettera amorosa</i>	poetry
---	1956, 17.11-13	<i>Mon poème est mon voeu</i>	poetry
---	1956, 18.85-92	<i>Which Rimbaud?</i>	essay
---	1957, 19.62-74	<i>The Man Who Walked in a Ray of Sunshine</i>	play
---	1958, 22.74-113	<i>A une sérénité crispée, To a Tensed Serenity</i>	poetry
---	1960, 25.11-12	<i>Prompte +</i>	poetry
Charpier, Jacques	1950, 6.191-92	<i>Journée d'une mésange +</i>	poetry
Charteris, Hugo	1954, 14.121-29	<i>Country Dance</i>	short story
---	1955, 16.119-128	<i>The Thelf</i>	short story
Chaulot, Paul	1955, 15.47-52	<i>Le ciel entre les doigts</i>	poetry
---	1956, 17.56-60	<i>Poèmes</i>	poetry
---	1958, 21.31-35	<i>Gisements</i>	poetry
Chédid, André	1953, 11.43-46	<i>Poèmes</i>	poetry
---	1954, 14.20-22	<i>L'oiseau de terre nous reviendra</i>	poetry
---	1955, 16.46-59	<i>L'étudiant et son témoin</i>	short story
---	1958, 21.36-37	<i>Poèmes</i>	poetry
Chester, Alfred	1952, 9.305-13	<i>Silence in Heaven</i>	short story
---	1953, 12.376-401	<i>Rapunzel, Rapunzel</i>	short story
---	1954, 14.280-315	<i>The Head of a Sad Angel</i>	short story
---	1957, 19.226-49	<i>The Anatomy of Coming Back</i>	novel (fragment)
Cicellis, Kay	1954, 13.175-212	<i>The Death of a Town</i>	radio play
---	1959, 23.140-83	<i>Beyond Corinth</i>	short story
Civinini, Sergio	1958, 22.463-83	<i>Il grande invalido</i>	short story
Clark, Leonard	1957, 20.139-41	<i>Three Poems</i>	poetry
Cohn, Hans W.	1957, 19.464-68	<i>Gedichte</i>	poetry
Coleman, Elliott	1950, 6.410-13	<i>Darkened Image Sonnets +</i>	poetry
Congdon, William	1955, 15.209-16	<i>Four Venetian Sketchs</i>	poetry
---	1957, 19.318-31	<i>Paris, Venice, Santorin</i>	poetry
---	1958, 21.309-12	<i>Greek Islands Steamer</i>	poetry
---	1959, 24.268-74	<i>Notes in Venice</i>	poetry
Conquest, Robert	1954, 13.154-58	<i>In the Marshes</i>	poetry
Conti, Gian Carlo	1955, 16.358-62	<i>Nostalgia di casa +</i>	poetry
---	1956, 18.497-99	<i>Villa gloria</i>	poetry
Coombs, Patricia	1959, 23.294-95	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Corboz, André	1955, 16.62-69	<i>Haute époque</i>	short story
Corke, Hilary	1953, 12.161-63	<i>The Bitter Ground, The Fountain</i>	poetry

---	1956, 17.205-07	<i>Poem</i>	poetry
---	1959, 24.110-19	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Cory, Daniel	1953, 12.293	<i>The Village Poet, Epitaph</i>	poetry
---	1958, 21.161-62	<i>Solstice +</i>	poetry
Costabile, Franco	1957, 20.518-25	<i>Giro in Paese</i>	poetry
Courtin, Bernard	1950, 5.220-25	<i>Poésies</i>	poetry
---	1950, 6.195-98	<i>Poèmes</i>	poetry
---	1951, 8.128-30	<i>L'amour et la vérité</i>	poetry
Creagh, Patrick	1960, 25.71-76	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Cronin, Anthony	1953, 12.144-45	<i>Surprise, Autumn Poem</i>	poetry
Culff, Robert	1955, 15.135-47	<i>A small World and Mamma</i>	short story
---	1959, 23.103-28	<i>A Childhood Without Caps</i>	short story
Cummings, E. E.	1948, 2.279	<i>Poem</i>	poetry
---	1952, 9.219-23	<i>Seven Poems</i>	poetry
D'Arzo, Silvio	1952, 10.352-400	<i>Casa d'altri</i>	short novel
---	1953, 11.477-78	<i>Due poesie</i>	poetry
Dalmàti, Margherita, e Nelo Risi	1960, 25.428-33	<i>Traduzione di 12 poesie di Costantino Cavafis</i>	poetry
Danco, Edoardo	1959, 24.70-72	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Davis, André	1956, 17.198-201	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Day Lewis, C.	1948, 2.257-58	<i>Outside and in</i>	poetry
De Baillet-Latour, Elisalex	1959, 23.77-78	<i>Lettre</i>	letter
De Bayser, Yves	1952, 9.59-64	<i>Poèmes</i>	poetry
---	1953, 11.49-51	<i>Poèmes de la Mort</i>	poetry
---	1954, 14.33-34	<i>Avec ce matin</i>	poetry
De Biedma, Jaime Gil	1956, 18.411-13	<i>Las Afueras</i>	poetry
De La Mare, Walter	1948, 2.254-55	<i>Pride, En angel</i>	poetry
De Lacerda, Alberto	1957, 20.98-102	<i>Donze Poèmes</i>	poetry
De Libero, Libero	1948, 2.103-06	<i>Versi per uno spettro</i>	poetry
De Madariaga, Nieves	1954, 14.194-97	<i>First of December in Tuscany</i>	poetry
---	1957, 19.424-26	<i>Looking at the Celio</i>	poetry
---	1958, 22.159-62	<i>One More December Pilgrimage</i>	poetry
De Mandiargues, A. P.	1953, 12.82-85	<i>Poèmes</i>	poetry
De Mesa, Diego	1955, 16.207-11	<i>Pasifae</i>	poetry
---	1956, 18.387-90	<i>Una muerte</i>	poetry
De M'Uzan, Michel	1952, 10.108-115	<i>En haut sous la terre</i>	short story
---	1955, 15.22-23	<i>Enfance</i>	poetry
Del Vecchio, Felice	1954, 14.382-410	<i>La chiesa di Canneto</i>	short story
Delacroix, Eugène	1957, 19.11-12	<i>Fragment inédit d'un Carnet de 1847</i>	prose
Delfini, Antonio	1949, 4.104-28	<i>Racconto non finito</i>	short story

Demby, William	1951, 7.313-21	<i>The Rainbow</i>	short story
---	1954, 14.261-72	<i>The False Spring</i>	short story
---	1959, 23.249-68	<i>From a Japanese Notebook</i>	short story
Demetillo, Ricaredo	1956, 18.358-60	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
---	1957, 19.455-59	<i>Gedichte</i>	poetry
Dessi, Giuseppe	1949, 3.120-40	<i>Isola dell'Angelo</i>	short story
---	1950, 6.100-60	<i>La frana</i>	short story
---	1957, 20.533-601	<i>La giustizia</i>	story
---	1958, 22.397-453	<i>Il disertore</i>	story
Deutsch, Babette	1949, 4.316-17	<i>Reality</i>	poetry
---	1953, 12.363	<i>A Villanelle</i>	poetry
---	1956, 18.237	<i>The Moors</i>	poetry
Devaulx, Noël	1950, 5.210-19	<i>L'Aquarelle, Le sacrifice...</i>	poetry
---	1954, 14.27-32	<i>L'étrangere, La voie</i>	poetry
---	1959, 24.43-50	<i>L'aubade à la folle</i>	poetry
Devlin, Denis	1952, 10.179-85	<i>The Colours of Love</i>	poetry
---	1959, 24.104-09	<i>Memoirs of a Turcoman Diplomat</i>	prose
Dhôtel, André	1949, 3.390-96	<i>Deux contes</i>	short story
---	1950, 5.247-72	<i>La maitrise des va-nu-pieds</i>	short story
---	1951, 7.431-52	<i>La chanson de Frédéric</i>	poetry
---	1952, 10.54-85	<i>L'enfant inconnu</i>	short story
---	1953, 12.55-79	<i>Le cousin Martial et les oiseaux</i>	short story
---	1955, 15.24-46	<i>La longue journée</i>	short story
---	1956, 17.14-30	<i>La tribu des ombres</i>	play
---	1957, 20.25-45	<i>David et la Trompette</i>	short story
---	1959, 24.23-34	<i>Les nuits de Malmont</i>	short story
Dinesen, Isak	1957, 19.367-417	<i>A Country Tale</i>	story
Dodson, Owen	1948, 2.280-81	<i>Crystal Us the Future</i>	poetry
Domin, Hilde	1960, 25.257-59	<i>Gedichte</i>	poetry
Donghi, Beatrice Solinas	1960, 25.286-358	<i>L'aiuto ai parenti</i>	short story
Drake, Carol C.	1956, 17.211-12	<i>Lazarus</i>	poetry
---	1957, 19.309-10	<i>Rain in the House</i>	poetry
---	1958, 22.258-62	<i>Five Elements +</i>	poetry
Druidi, Lucia	1956, 18.451-60	<i>La maestra di pianoforte</i>	short story
Du Bouchet, André	1950, 5.244-46	<i>Poésies</i>	poetry
---	1952, 10.105-07	<i>Poèmes</i>	poetry
---	1953, 12.52-54	<i>Je veux des mots...</i>	poetry
---	1954, 13.39-42	<i>Emplois de feu</i>	poetry
---	1955, 15.15-19	<i>Poèmes</i>	poetry
---	1955, 16.41-45	<i>Au deuxième étage +</i>	poetry

---	1956, 18.30-33	<i>Le voyage</i>	poetry
---	1957, 19.16-18	<i>Poèmes</i>	poetry
Du Perron, E.	1953, 12.20-42	<i>Le pays d'origine</i>	short story
Dumur, Guy	1952, 9.79-88	<i>Sacrifice</i>	short story
---	1953, 11.56-66	<i>La Rencontre</i>	short story
Duncan, Harry	1950, 5.364-66	<i>Found in a bottle, O pioneers!</i>	poetry
---	1951, 8.227-31	<i>Monodies for K.M.F.</i>	poetry
---	1955, 15.269	<i>Daphne</i>	poetry
---	1957, 20.282-84	<i>The Ballad of Mrs. Noah</i>	poetry
Duncan, Robert	1957, 19.339-45	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Duncan, Ronald	1949, 3.343-52	<i>"The Mongrel"</i>	poetry
---	1951, 7.194-95	<i>Three Songs</i>	poetry
---	1952, 10.213-38	<i>From Don Juan</i>	play
---	1958, 22.172-74	<i>Love Letter</i>	poetry
Dupin, Jacques	1950, 5.226-27	<i>Qui verra vivra, Chantage</i>	poetry
---	1951, 7.427-28	<i>L'iris, L'aconit</i>	poetry
---	1952, 9.73-75	<i>Poèmes</i>	poetry
---	1953, 11.40-42	<i>Poèmes</i>	poetry
---	1954, 13.66-68	<i>Poèmes</i>	poetry
---	1955, 16.22-24	<i>Poèmes</i>	poetry
---	1957, 19.13-15	<i>Poèmes</i>	poetry
---	1958, 22.18-21	<i>Lichens</i>	poetry
Duriau, Frederic	1960, 25.55-56	<i>La bataille du Jutland</i>	poetry
Eberhart, Richard	1948, 2.282-84	<i>Bright Hour of Europe...</i>	poetry
---	1950, 5.367-71	<i>The verbalist of summer</i>	poetry
---	1951, 7.336-39	<i>War and Poetry +</i>	poetry
---	1955, 15.202-08	<i>Soul, The Day-Bed</i>	poetry
---	1958, 22.255-57	<i>Three Lyrics</i>	poetry
Empedocle D'Agrigente	1952, 10.11-31	<i>De la Nature</i>	prose
Engle, Paul	1955, 16.279-82	<i>Montauk Wreck +</i>	poetry
---	1957, 19.219-25	<i>For the Iowa Dead</i>	poetry
Enrico, Harold	1953, 12.248-49	<i>Listen, Comedian, The Play</i>	poetry
---	1957, 20.362-64	<i>"I Hold a Beast, an Angel, and a Madman in Me..."</i>	poetry
Enright, D. J.	1955, 16.156-58	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
---	1958, 21.115-17	<i>Transports +</i>	poetry
Enzensberger, Hans M.	1958, 21.425-29	<i>Gedichte</i>	poetry
---	1960, 25.232-34	<i>Gedichte</i>	poetry
Erba, Luciano	1950, 6.96-99	<i>Poesie</i>	poetry
---	1955, 15.148-54	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Everett, Peter	1956, 17.172-75	<i>Poems</i>	poetry

---	1957, 20.142-45	<i>Four Poems</i>	poetry
Fallon, Padraic	1953, 12.127-29	<i>Eros, The Mother</i>	poetry
Fandel, John	1959, 23.296-98	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Fazzini, Anita Buy	1950, 5.125-200	<i>Un rimpianto terreno</i>	short story
Felipe, Leon	1956, 18.363-75	<i>El Ciervo</i>	short story
Ferretti, Massimo	1959, 23.419-38	<i>La croce copiativa</i>	poetry
Février, Paul	1954, 13.64-65	<i>Poèmes</i>	poetry
---	1960, 25.57-59	<i>Poèmes</i>	poetry
Field, Edward	1948, 2.285-86	<i>Two Poems</i>	poetry
---	1951, 7.292-94	<i>New York, Donkeys</i>	poetry
---	1951, 8.232-37	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
---	1953, 12.285-86	<i>Song, Aladin</i>	poetry
---	1958, 22.245-48	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Finkel, Donald	1958, 21.344-49	<i>The Hunt of the Unicorn</i>	short story
Fischer, Uve C.	1956, 17.393-97	<i>Gedichte</i>	poetry
---	1957, 19.469-85	<i>Gedichte +</i>	poetry
Fitzsimon, Shaun	1951, 8.159-67	<i>The Great Sad, Poems</i>	poetry
---	1952, 9.181-84	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
---	1957, 20.165-67	<i>Och Ochone's Unique +</i>	poetry
Flanner, Hildegard	1951, 8.238-39	<i>Nightingale at Orgeval</i>	poetry
---	1952, 9.298	<i>Music in Drought</i>	poetry
---	1953, 12.290-92	<i>The Moat, The Journey</i>	poetry
---	1958, 21.226-31	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Flottemesch, Robert	1950, 6.457-73	<i>Bingo Mountain</i>	short story
Fortini, Franco	1949, 4.99-103	<i>Poesie</i>	poetry
---	1951, 7.91-94	<i>Poesie</i>	poetry
---	1952, 9.407-39	<i>Sere in Valdossola</i>	short story
---	1953, 12.450-54	<i>Versi per R., Sestina a Firenze</i>	poetry
Fowlie, Wallace	1953, 11.354-66	<i>Prologue to Tobias</i>	short story
---	1955, 16.293-300	<i>Epilogue to the Story of Tobias</i>	short story
---	1957, 19.211-18	<i>Poem to Phaedra</i>	play
Fox, Ada	1955, 15.239-42	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Fox, Charles	1956, 17.193-97	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Francis, Michael	1959, 24.51-52	<i>Lettre à l'endormie</i>	poetry
Frankenberg, Lloyd	1949, 4.318-19	<i>Carnival</i>	poetry
---	1951, 8.240-45	<i>The Plate Glass Window</i>	poetry
Frassinetti, Augusto	1949, 4.293-95	<i>Traduzione dell'Ode sopra un'urna greca di Keats</i>	poetry
Fratini, Gaio	1959, 23.463-67	<i>Cinema a Val Melaina +</i>	poetry
Frenaud, André	1953, 11.52-55	<i>Poèmes</i>	poetry
---	1955, 15.11-14	<i>Poèmes</i>	poetry
---	1957, 19.19-21	<i>Le Turc à Venise</i>	poetry

---	1958, 21.11-19	<i>Poèmes</i>	poetry
---	1960, 25.33-37	<i>La lumiere de l'amour</i>	poetry
Frezza, Luciana	1951, 7.132-33	<i>Poesie</i>	poetry
---	1959, 24.367-70	<i>Con occhi di maga +</i>	poetry
Fowlie, Wallace	1960, 25.65-67	<i>Exercises</i>	poetry
Fox, Charles	1953, 11.157-61	<i>Canzone</i>	poetry
Ftyaras, Lewis G.	1958, 21.178-80	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Fuentes, Carlos	1955, 16.231-38	<i>Nueva Tenochtitlan</i>	short story
Fuller, Roy	1949, 4.368-70	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Gadda, Carlo Emilio	1954, 14.335-50	<i>L'egoista</i>	prose
Gaiser, Gerd	1956, 17.398-435	<i>Aniela</i>	short story
Garampon, Georges	1949, 3.408-11	<i>Poésies</i>	poetry
---	1952, 10.120-21	<i>Esquisse pour un portrait</i>	poetry
Gardner, Isabella	1954, 13.274-76	<i>Of Lesh and Bone</i>	poetry
Garrett, George	1959, 24.165-74	<i>The Moth</i>	short story
Garrigue, Jean	1951, 8.246-48	<i>This Day is not like That Day +</i>	poetry
---	1955, 15.306-45	<i>Summer: Pianissimo</i>	novel (fragment)
---	1956, 18.286-94	<i>For the Fountains and Fountaniars of Villa d'Este</i>	poetry
---	1957, 20.262-71	<i>The Horses of the Park</i>	short story
---	1959, 23.216-20	<i>Address from Firenze</i>	poetry
Garrison Chapin, K.	1949, 3.340	<i>Legend (Ninfa)</i>	poetry
---	1955, 15.217-27	<i>The other Journey</i>	short story
---	1959, 23.210-15	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Gartlan, Colm	1958, 21.174-75	<i>Green Innocence</i>	poetry
Gascoyne, David	1954, 13.118-121	<i>Elegiac Improvisation on the Death of Paul Eluard</i>	poetry
Gatto, Alfonso	1949, 3.194-96	<i>Romanzo 1917</i>	poetry
Gayscone, David	1949, 4.371-74	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
---	1950, 5.304-06	<i>With a cornet of Winkles</i>	poetry
---	1950, 6.313-19	<i>After Twenty Springs +</i>	poetry
---	1956, 17.110-17	<i>Night Thoughts</i>	short story
Giagni, Gian Domenico	1952, 9.440-41	<i>Lamentazione, Via Lagrange</i>	poetry
Gibson, Michael F.	1956, 17.87-90	<i>Cinq poèmes d'exode</i>	poetry
---	1957, 19.56-61	<i>Marches des deux Pays</i>	poetry
---	1958, 22.66-73	<i>Invocation pour la nuit de Noel +</i>	poetry
Gillet, Louis & Bernard Berenson	1956, 17.91-109	<i>Quelques Lettres</i>	prose
Ginzburg, Natalia	1951, 8.442-81	<i>Valentino</i>	short novel
Giovannelli, Franco	1960, 25.284-85	<i>Satira sul ponte +</i>	poetry

Giovannini, Romeo	1950, 6.82-85	<i>Poesie</i>	poetry
---	1953, 11.479-81	<i>A colei che non scherza più +</i>	poetry
Gittings, Robert	1959, 23.134-37	<i>A Breath of Air</i>	poetry
Gleason, Madeline	1955, 15.270-78	<i>The Office</i>	short story
---	1957, 19.346-57	<i>Come Love, and Love +</i>	poetry
---	1958, 21.237-42	<i>Family, Once and Upon</i>	poetry
Gold, Herbert	1951, 7.363-86	<i>Where a Man dwells</i>	short story
Gondhi, Kato	1954, 14.198-201	<i>Drawings</i>	poetry
Good, Thomas	1950, 6.320-22	<i>Aix-en-Provence</i>	poetry
Goodman, Paul	1952, 9.256-58	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
---	1953, 12.294-305	<i>The Galley to Mytilene</i>	short story
Gould, Florence	1957, 19.286-88	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Goyen, William	1951, 8.249-76	<i>A Shape of Light</i>	novel (fragment)
---	1953, 12.223-38	<i>The Figure over the Town</i>	novel (fragment)
---	1956, 17.213-20	<i>A People of Grass</i>	short story
Graham, W. S.	1951, 8.168-84	<i>The Nightfishing</i>	short story
---	1954, 14.114-20	<i>The ballade of the Broad Close</i>	poetry
---	1959, 23.79-86	<i>The Dark Dialogues</i>	dialogue
Gramigna, Giuliano	1952, 10.442-43	<i>Messaggio da piazza... +</i>	poetry
Grant, James Russell	1954, 13.159-61	<i>A Cloud of Ghost</i>	poetry
---	1955, 15.157-59	<i>Landscape...</i>	poetry
---	1958, 22.129-36	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
---	1960, 25.77-79	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Granville, Pierre	1950, 5.240-43	<i>Testament, Les pierres</i>	poetry
Grass, Gunther	1958, 21.413-24	<i>Der Kuckuck</i>	short story
Graves, Robert	1953, 12.114-123	<i>The Devil is a Protestant</i>	essay
Gray, Martin	1951, 8.185-86	<i>Death of Orpheus +</i>	poetry
Gregor, Arthur	1959, 24.194-201	<i>Returning to Vienna</i>	short story
Gregory, Horace	1954, 256-63	<i>Gifts of the Age +</i>	poetry
Grenier, Jean	1952, 10.93-102	<i>La disparition de l'homme</i>	short story
Griffin, Howard	1950, 6.430-32	<i>The Sleeper in the Hotel +</i>	poetry
Groethuysen, Bernard	1951, 7.453-67	<i>Ponponazzi</i>	essay
Guerena, Jacinto-Luis	1960, 25.60	<i>Pour la tombe D'Antonio Machado</i>	poetry
Guerre, Pierre	1952, 9.89-105	<i>Archipel Mélanésien</i>	short story
Guidacci, Margherita	1949, 3.215-16	<i>Poesie</i>	poetry
Guidi, Augusto	1948, 1.136-50	<i>Ricordi d'infanzia</i>	short story
Guillén, Jorge	1956, 18.391-92	<i>Pentecostés</i>	poetry
Guilloux, Louis	1951, 8.134-56	<i>La muet mélodieux</i>	short story

---	1953, 11.31-39	<i>Le Chercheur et la Servante</i>	short story
---	1956, 18.43-63	<i>Hameau 1935</i>	short story
Gunn, Thom	1954, 14.173-75	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Günzel, Manfred	1960, 25.260-65	<i>Deutsche Marchen</i>	short story
Haislip, John	1958, 21.313-16	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Hall, Carol	1953, 12.239-41	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
---	1956, 17.240-44	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
---	1957, 20.193-97	<i>Seven Poems</i>	poetry
Halpern, Martin	1957, 20.257-61	<i>Ishmael the Scrivener +</i>	poetry
Hamburger, Michael	1951, 7.196-99	<i>Interrupted Nocturne</i>	poetry
Hanke, Peter	1958, 21.317-38	<i>A Midsummer Saturday</i>	short story
Hanson, Kenneth O.	1953, 12.364-66	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
---	1955, 15.292-95	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Hanson, Pauline	1953, 11.380-81	<i>Poem</i>	poetry
---	1954, 14.277-79	<i>Poems for the Night</i>	poetry
---	1955, 16.343-50	<i>The Forever Young</i>	short story
Hardwick, Elizabeth	1953, 12.344-62	<i>A Memoir of the 1930's</i>	short story
Hargrove, Murrey	1957, 19.361-64	<i>The Parables of Arrival +</i>	poetry
Hartley, L. P.	1952, 9.185-203	<i>Up the Garden Path</i>	short story
Hatcher, Henry C.	1952, 10.186-89	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
---	1953, 12.146-52	<i>Elegy XII Jacques Cartier</i>	poetry
---	1955, 16.197-200	<i>Elegy to the Winds +</i>	poetry
Hauser, Marianne	1953, 12.255-72	<i>The Sun and the Colonel's Button</i>	short story
Hayman, Lee R.	1949, 4.320-21	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Heath-Stubbs, John	1950, 6.323-24	<i>Ibycus</i>	poetry
---	1951, 8.200-01	<i>Under Pisces, Prometheus</i>	poetry
---	1954, 14.165-68	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Hecht, Anthony	1955, 16.331-33	<i>Ostia Antica</i>	poetry
Heissenbüttel, Helmut	1960, 25.269-74	<i>Vier Parabeln</i>	short story
Henderson, Hamish	1948, 2.252-53	<i>El Adem</i>	poetry
Herbst, Josephine	1954, 13.310-44	<i>Hunter of Doves</i>	short story
Herschberger, Ruth	1955, 15.228-31	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
---	1957, 19.250-69	<i>A Dream Play</i>	short story
---	1958, 21.243-51	<i>Upstart Omen</i>	short story
Herzing, Albert	1954, 13.238-42	<i>Night Letter +</i>	poetry
Heym, Georg	1958, 21.370	<i>Der Tod des Schauspielers</i>	poetry
Heys, H.	1956, 18.142-44	<i>The Story of his Love</i>	poetry
Heywood, Terence	1949, 4.375	<i>Spring Balance</i>	poetry
Hilton Young, Elisabeth	1954, 14.169-72	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Hirschman, Jack	1958, 22.307-10	<i>A Correspondence of</i>	poetry

		<i>Americans</i>	
Hofmannsthal, Hugo Von	1952, 9.126-27	<i>Rudolf Kassner</i>	prose
Hölderlin, Friedrich	1952, 9.11-22	<i>Fondament d'Empèdocle</i>	prose
---	1953, 11.83-88	<i>Le Devenir dans le Périssable</i>	short story
---	1957, 20.16-21	<i>Fete de Paix</i>	poetry
Hollerer, Walter	1958, 21.408-12	<i>Gedichte</i>	poetry
Holmes, James S. (trans.)	1955, 15.346-64	<i>An Anthology of modern Dutch Poetry</i>	poetry
Hooton, Esmé	1955, 16.159-62	<i>Sycorax' Tree, The Castle</i>	poetry
Horan, Robert	1952, 10.242-48	<i>The Sleepers +</i>	poetry
---	1954, 13.213-24	<i>The Riddle of the Sphinx</i>	short story
Horn, Edward N.	1954, 14.236-37	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
---	1955, 16.327-30	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Howes, Barbara	1949, 4.322-23	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
---	1951, 7.310-12	<i>Primavera, Divertissement</i>	poetry
---	1957, 19.358-60	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Hubner, Johannes	1952, 9.130-31	<i>L'éternel voisin +</i>	poetry
Hugo, Richard F.	1956, 17.263-66	<i>Triangle for Green Men</i>	poetry
Humble, Christopher	1958, 21.172-73	<i>A Friday Metamorphosis +</i>	poetry
Humphries, Rolfe	1955, 16.301-04	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Huppler, Dudley	1959, 23.245-48	<i>Matter of Life and Death</i>	poetry
Husband, John Dillon	1951, 7.359-62	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
---	1957, 20.386-87	<i>Tide Marsh +</i>	poetry
Hyslop, John	1954, 13.150-53	<i>The Tide</i>	short story
Hyun, P. P. (trans.)	1954, 14.316-30	<i>Verses from modern Korea</i>	poetry
Ignatow, David	1950, 5.372-74	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Ik, Kim Yong	1956, 17.308-25	<i>Love in Winter</i>	short story
Ilio, Dominador I.	1956, 18.361-62	<i>Percival on an Island +</i>	poetry
Jabès, Edmond	1954, 14.40-43	<i>Le gardien du sol</i>	poetry
---	1958, 22.46-50	<i>Erigées sur nos fables</i>	poetry
Jaccottet, Philippe	1950, 5.280-83	<i>La semaison, Ninfa</i>	poetry
---	1952, 9.128-29	<i>Les eaux et les forêts</i>	poetry
---	1959, 23.21-36	<i>La poursuite du reel</i>	short story
James, Henry	1957, 19.182-94	<i>Fourteen Letters</i>	prose
Jarrell, Randall	1951, 7.237-45	<i>A Girl in the Library +</i>	poetry
---	1953, 11.382-89	<i>Woman</i>	short story
Jennings, Elisabeth	1953, 11.155-56	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
---	1954, 14.130-35	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
---	1958, 21.113-14	<i>Teresa of Avila</i>	poetry
Johnson, Uwe	1960, 25.281-83	<i>Besonders die kleinen</i>	poetry

		<i>Propheten</i>	
Jones, Thomas H.	1956, 17.202-04	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Joseph, Jenny	1955, 15.155-56	<i>Somnambulist</i>	poetry
---	1958, 21.163-66	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Jouffroy, Alain	1952, 10.103-04	<i>L'ènonciation</i>	poetry
Jourdan, Pierre-Albert	1958, 21.70-73	<i>Terre à mon pas</i>	poetry
---	1959, 23.74-76	<i>Ce torrent d'ombres</i>	poetry
Jouve, Pierre Jean	1959, 24.11-14	<i>Proses</i>	short story
Kaschnitz, M. Luise	1954, 14.202-06	<i>Gedichte</i>	poetry
---	1956, 17.378-82	<i>Gedichte</i>	poetry
---	1959, 23.329-36	<i>Das rote Netz</i>	short story
Kassner, Rudolf	1948, 2.221-42	<i>Morte di Menone</i>	poetry
---	1952, 9.106-25	<i>L'agonie de Platon</i>	prose
---	1953, 12.107-13	<i>Le paralytique de la piscine de Bethesda</i>	poetry
---	1955, 15.58-87	<i>Le Comte et son Double</i>	prose
---	1956, 17.352-77	<i>Das Auge</i>	short story
---	1959, 23.317-24	<i>Zwei Erzählungen</i>	poetry
Kay, George	1951, 8.187-88	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Kazin, Pearl	1952, 9.259-90	<i>The Jester</i>	short story
Kees, Weldon	1950, 6.433-34	<i>Speeches for a Play</i>	poetry
---	1953, 12.328-34	<i>The Hours</i>	poetry
Kennedy, Mary	1958, 341-43	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Kerell, Walter	1956, 18.322-23	<i>Poem +</i>	poetry
---	1958, 22. 328-33	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Kirkup, James	1955, 16.129-55	<i>The Descent into the Cave</i>	short story
Kizer, Carolyn	1956, 17.303-07	<i>The Flower +</i>	poetry
Klunner, Lothar	1952, 9.132-33	<i>Dans le miroir +</i>	poetry
---	1957, 19.486-89	<i>Ballade von Aigues Mortes</i>	poetry
Kops, Bernard	1957, 19.138-42	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Krinken, Alexandra V.	1955, 15.304-05	<i>Nothing but that to Prove your Blood and Mine</i>	poetry
Krolow, Karl	1954, 14.207-14	<i>Gedichte</i>	poetry
Kunitz, Stanley	1955, 15.265-66	<i>When the Light Falls +</i>	poetry
La Bigoterie, Marion	1957, 19.143-50	<i>The Rice-God</i>	short story
La Cava, Mario	1957, 19.563-90	<i>Il lungo cammino</i>	short story
Lafont, Maryse	1953, 11.47-48	<i>Poèmes</i>	poetry
---	1954, 13.37-38	<i>Mère extreme</i>	poetry
---	1956, 18.34-35	<i>Chant des feuilles</i>	poetry
---	1958, 21.45-48	<i>Vert et pourpre</i>	poetry
---	1959, 24.18-22	<i>Poèmes</i>	poetry
Landolfi, Tommaso	1949, 4.12-72	<i>Cancroregina</i>	novel
Lang, Theo	1960, 25.100-11	<i>The Watcher</i>	short story
Laporte, Roger	1954, 13.43-63	<i>Souvenir de Reims</i>	novel

			(excerpt)
---	1959, 23.39-60	<i>Une migration</i>	short story
Laude, Jean	1959, 23.61-65	<i>Etudes</i>	prose
Lavagetto, Mario	1959, 24.362-66	<i>Una note a Noceto +</i>	poetry
Lawner, Lynne	1960, 25.216-31	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Leclercq, Lena	1955, 16.60-61	<i>En attendant la pluie +</i>	poetry
Lee, Laurie	1948, 2.256	<i>Repeat Performance</i>	poetry
Lee, Ritten Edward	1956, 17.339-40	<i>Poema</i>	poetry
Lehmann, John	1951, 7.200-13	<i>The House</i>	poetry
---	1954, 13.142-45	<i>No Other Word +</i>	poetry
Leiris, Michel	1958, 22.13-17	<i>Songes de quietude et...</i>	poetry
Leleza Lima, José	1955, 16.230	<i>En sus momentos de volante</i>	poetry
Lely, Gilbert	1956, 18.20-26	<i>La mort du Marquis de Sade</i>	short story
Levenson, Christopher	1956, 18.145-49	<i>When We Lay Down</i>	poetry
Levi, Carlo	1950, 5.9-14	<i>Poesie dell'orologio</i>	poetry
---	1953, 11.423-26	<i>Su un vecchio manoscritto di Umberto Saba</i>	prose
Levine, Norman	1956, 18.129-41	<i>A Sabbath Walk</i>	short story
Levis Mano, Guy	1955, 16.37-40	<i>Il n'y a pas plus solitaire que la nuit</i>	poetry
Levy, Jonathan	1960, 25.208-10	<i>Schwartz</i>	poetry
Limbour, Georges	1949, 3.358-84	<i>La nuit close</i>	play
---	1951, 7.407-15	<i>Domino</i>	play
---	1952, 9.39-58	<i>Visiteurs et chantiers</i>	short story
---	1954, 14.11-19	<i>Le chien blanc</i>	poetry
---	1957, 19.28-55	<i>Description d'un Tableau</i>	short story
Lind, L. R.	1956, 17.326	<i>Poème</i>	poetry
Lloyd, Norris	1956, 18.241-79	<i>Dear Sisters</i>	short story
Logue, Christopher	1952, 10.172-78	<i>For my Father, Poem</i>	poetry
---	1953, 12.140-43	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
---	1955, 15.95-108	<i>First Testament</i>	short story
---	1957, 19.79-91	<i>She Sings, He Sings</i>	poetry
---	1959, 23.87-95	<i>The Story about the Road</i>	short story
Lohf, Kenneth A.	1960, 25.213-15	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Lord, James	1950, 5.381-95	<i>An evening at the fair</i>	short story
---	1951, 7.342-58	<i>The Human Bull's eye</i>	short story
---	1952, 9.314-35	<i>A Pretext for Mourning</i>	short story
Lorimer, George	1959, 24.222-26	<i>Success</i>	poetry
Lowell, Robert	1953, 11.487-92	<i>Il cimitero dei quaccheri a Nantucket +</i>	poetry
---	1959, 23.205-09	<i>My Last Afternoon with Uncle Devereux Wilson</i>	poetry

Lubin, Armen	1952, 10.116-19	<i>Transfert nocturne</i>	short story
Lucchese, Romeo	1960, 25.361-67	<i>Questa è la realtà +</i>	poetry
Lussu, Joyce	1949, 3.197-209	<i>Tre racconti</i>	short story
Luzi, Mario	1949, 3.154-60	<i>Monologo</i>	poetry
Lyon, Lilian B.	1948, 2.248	<i>A Failure</i>	poetry
Maas, Willard	1955, 15.301-03	<i>The burning Snows</i>	poetry
---	1959, 24.265-67	<i>Epithalamion</i>	poetry
MacDiarmid, Hugh	1949, 4.376-77	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
---	1951, 8.192-99	<i>Once in a Cornish Garden</i>	short story
MacDonagh, Donagh	1959, 24.73-98	<i>The Happy Day</i>	short story
MacLeish, Archibald	1953, 11.172-225	<i>This Music Crept by me on the Water</i>	play
---	1957, 20.11-15	<i>Reader to Reader's</i>	essay
---	1958, 21.181-82	<i>A View of the Lime Quarry</i>	poetry
MacNeice, Louis	1949, 4.378-85	<i>The Crash Landing</i>	poetry
---	1950, 6.325-29	<i>Areopagus</i>	poetry
MacMahon, Bryan	1952, 10.163-71	<i>The Candle is lighting</i>	short story
Madden, David	1959, 24.185-93	<i>Hurry Up Please It's Time</i>	poetry
Madge, Charles	1952, 9.209-12	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Maggioni, Cecilia	1960, 25.386-90	<i>Distrazione +</i>	poetry
Magli, Adriano	1948, 2.107-17	<i>Frammento da una lirica incompiuta</i>	poetry
---	1957, 19.100-08	<i>Marietta's Manuscript</i>	short story
Malraux, André	1953, 12.11-19	<i>Sur le pays d'origine</i>	prose
Mambrino, Jean	1951, 8.123-27	<i>La mer, Les deux hetres</i>	poetry
---	1953, 12.48-51	<i>Feuilles, Le poème...</i>	poetry
Manfredi, Antonio	1951, 8.401-02	<i>Poesia</i>	poetry
---	1953, 11.482-83	<i>Cielo toscano</i>	poetry
Mano, Guy Levis	1960, 25.38-41	<i>Le dedans et le dehors</i>	poetry
Manoll, Michel	1956, 18.36-42	<i>La Vénitienne</i>	poetry
Marchetti, Gianluigi	1958, 21.475-76	<i>Tugnì</i>	poetry
Marx, Roy	1952, 9.251-53	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Mathews, Jackson (trans.)	1954, 14.58-87	<i>Leaves of Hypnos +</i>	poetry
Mathews, Jackson	1955, 16.320-26	<i>How Time Flies</i>	short story
Mathieu, Henry	1952, 9.65-72	<i>Le cordiloque</i>	short story
---	1953, 12.80-81	<i>La jeune fille</i>	poetry
---	1955, 15.53-54	<i>Contre-feux</i>	poetry
Matthiessen, Peter	1952, 10.310-18	<i>Martin's Beach</i>	short story
Mauro, Gianni	1958, 22.491-536	<i>La sua breve ora felice</i>	short story
Mayhall, Jane	1959, 23.269-89	<i>Fever and Chill</i>	short story
Mazzaglia, Giuseppe	1960, 25.397-427	<i>La gebbia +</i>	short story
Mazzocchi, Muzio	1949, 4.134-37	<i>Da "Suoni Albeniz"</i>	poetry
McAllister, Claire	1960, 25.194-97	<i>Mystery</i>	poetry

McCaig, Norman	1951, 8.189-91	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
---	1953, 11.135-38	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
McCullers, Carson	1952, 9.213-18	<i>De Dual Angel</i>	poetry
---	1953, 11.226-48	<i>Clock without Hands</i>	short story
---	1955, 16.264-78	<i>The Haunted Boy</i>	short story
McElroy, Walter	1951, 7.322-24	<i>Atlantis, Terra Incognita</i>	poetry
---	1955, 16.248-50	<i>A Letter to a Friend</i>	prose
McLeod, Joseph	1957, 19.116-22	<i>Trastia</i>	poetry
Meckel, Christoph	1959, 23.346-50	<i>Gedichte</i>	poetry
Ménard, René	1950, 6.188-90	<i>Le chant des serviteurs +</i>	poetry
---	1951, 8.118-22	<i>Coriandres ou les dons de Vaucluse</i>	poetry
---	1953, 11.70-82	<i>Reflexions sur la Vocation de la Poésie</i>	essay
---	1954, 14.44-47	<i>La responsabilité des poètes modernes</i>	essay
---	1957, 19.22-23	<i>La Mer</i>	poetry
---	1960, 25.31-32	<i>Montagne</i>	poetry
Mendes, Murilo	1954, 14.48-51	<i>Poèmes</i>	poetry
Merino-Rodriguez	1958, 22.352-57	<i>Poemas</i>	poetry
Merrill, James	1952, 9.254-55	<i>Thistledown +</i>	poetry
Merwin, W. S.	1953, 12.273-84	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
---	1954, 13.285-90	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
---	1956, 18.238-40	<i>The Fish Hawk +</i>	poetry
---	1959, 24.217-21	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Mezey, Robert	1957, 20.272-79	<i>Six Poems</i>	poetry
Michaux, Henri	1951, 7.391-94	<i>Lorenza recoit une dernière visite</i>	poetry
---	1952, 10.32-38	<i>L'étranger parle</i>	poetry
---	1955, 16.11-21	<i>Vacances</i>	short story
---	1957, 20.22-24	<i>The Thin Man</i>	poetry
---	1960, 25.13-14	<i>Portes donnant sur feu</i>	poetry
Miguel, André	1957, 19.24-27	<i>Toison</i>	poetry
Miller, Edwin S.	1956, 17.341-46	<i>Ode to Other</i>	poetry
Minelli, Loredana	1949, 3.145-53	<i>Il racconto di quei ragazzi</i>	short story
Moffett, Cleveland	1951, 7.296-309	<i>Bug</i>	short story
---	1954, 13.277-84	<i>A Costrly Project</i>	short story
---	1956, 17.289-99	<i>Seventy Seven Horrifying and Disgraceful Sunsets</i>	short story
---	1957, 20.208-19	<i>The Importunities of M'sieur M***</i>	short story
Monnerot, Jules	1959, 24.35-42	<i>Situation scissipare ou encore comment l'auteur de ces lignes fut assassiné</i>	short story

Montagu, Elizabeth	1956, 17.180-92	<i>Castor Saint</i>	short story
---	1958, 22.163-71	<i>Interesting People</i>	poetry
Montale, Eugenio	1948, 1.1-2	<i>L'anguilla</i>	poetry
---	1949, 4.9-11	<i>Poesie</i>	poetry
Moody, Bruce R.	1959, 24.275-87	<i>California</i>	short story
Moore, Marianne	1948, 2.287	<i>At the Rest in the Blast</i>	poetry
Morace, Dom	1956, 18.170-74	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Moraes, Dom	1958, 22.122-24	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Morante, Elsa	1951, 7.123-26	<i>L'avventura</i>	poetry
---	1953, 11.493-539	<i>Lo scialle andaluso</i>	short story
Moravia, Alberto	1955, 16.363-461	<i>Beatrice Cenci</i>	play
Morgan, Frederick	1957, 19.283-85	<i>Interlude +</i>	poetry
Mortimer, Chapman	1953, 11.105-131	<i>The Runner</i>	short story
---	1956, 17.137-71	<i>Narayan</i>	story
---	1957, 20.108-138	<i>The Lures</i>	short story
Morvan, Jean-Jacques	1954, 14.23-26	<i>Poèmes</i>	poetry
Moss, Howard	1951, 8.277-78	<i>Widow's Walk</i>	poetry
Moss, Stanley	1956, 17.327-30	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Mothner, Ira	1959, 23.303-08	<i>One Bright Day in Autumn</i>	poetry
Mucci, Velso	1951, 7.95-99	<i>Poesie</i>	poetry
Muir, Edwin	1949, 4.386-88	<i>The Days, The Animals</i>	poetry
---	1950, 5.307-10	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
---	1950, 6.330-32	<i>From a Roman Bas-relief</i> +	poetry
---	1952, 9.156-58	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
---	1955, 15.88-92	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
---	1957, 19.75-78	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Muir, Willa	1959, 24.99-101	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Musil, Robert	1956, 18.175-225	<i>The Perfecting of a Love</i>	story
---	1960, 25.124-63	<i>The Temptation of Quiet</i> <i>Veronica</i>	short story
Nardi, Marcia	1949, 4.324-27	<i>In the Asylum</i>	poetry
---	1950, 6.435-40	<i>And I knew the Body a Sea</i>	poetry
---	1956, 17.300-02	<i>Ah, but the Unloved Have</i> <i>Had Power +</i>	poetry
Natoli, Glauco	1949, 4.84-94	<i>Preludio all'apocalisse</i>	short story
Nemerov, Howard	1949, 4.328-29	<i>Succession</i>	poetry
Nessi, Maria Teresa	1956, 17.449-534	<i>Sabato sera</i>	short story
Neumann, Gerhard	1956, 17.391-92	<i>Gedichte</i>	poetry
Newton, Douglas	1953, 11.141-51	<i>Rebus: Or The Poet's</i> <i>Education</i>	prose
---	1954, 13.146-49	<i>Foundations of our City</i>	poetry
---	1955, 15.163-99	<i>Lights with Us</i>	prose
Newton, Vernon	1953, 12.242-45	<i>Poems</i>	poetry

---	1957, 20.300-27	<i>The Narrative of Johnny Appleseed</i>	short story
Nicholson, Norman	1948, 2.259	<i>On the Lancashire Coast</i>	poetry
Niemoller, Wilhelm	1955, 15.200-01	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
---	1957, 19.418-23	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Nims, John F.	1958, 21.282-84	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Norse, Harold	1955, 16.305-08	<i>Praises and Laments</i>	poetry
Norwid, Cyprian	1958, 22.178-99	<i>Letters, Twelve Poems</i>	poetry
Noventa, Giacomo	1948, 2.9-18	<i>Versi e poesie di Emilio Sarpi</i>	poetry
---	1958, 21.430-33	<i>In alto, in alto, nel ciel +</i>	poetry
Nugent-Head, M. S.	1955, 16.167-75	<i>Poem</i>	poetry
O'Connell, Richard	1958, 22.334-43	<i>Overture +</i>	poetry
---	1960, 25.198-207	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
O'Criadain, Sean	1959, 24.58-67	<i>A Song</i>	poetry
---	1960, 25.93-96	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
O'Grady, Desmond	1960, 25.121-23	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Oag, Shay	1958, 21.167-69	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Olivia	1949, 4.389-92	<i>The Roundel of Goethe's Loves</i>	poetry
Ombres, Rossana	1959, 23.442-45	<i>Le portulache +</i>	poetry
Orelli, Giorgio	1958, 22.394-96	<i>Nel cerchio familiare +</i>	poetry
Ozick, Cynthia	1957, 20.388-414	<i>Stone</i>	short story
Pack, Robert	1957, 19.316-17	<i>Parable</i>	prose
Parks, Lloyd	1953, 12.246-47	<i>The Bee, To a Fallen Apple</i>	poetry
---	1954, 14.238-41	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Parronchi, Alessandro	1952, 10.401-05	<i>Sera +</i>	poetry
Paseyro, Ricardo	1958, 22.344-45	<i>Poemas</i>	poetry
Pasinetti, Pier Maria	1957, 19.500-28	<i>Morte della Signora Elisabetta Canal Ved. Partibon</i>	short story
Pasolini, Desideria	1950, 6.89-95	<i>Mita</i>	short story
Pasolini, Pier Paolo	1950, 6.54-59	<i>Versi friulani</i>	poetry
---	1951, 8.405-36	<i>I parlanti +</i>	short story
---	1953, 12.402-10	<i>Picasso</i>	poetry
---	1954, 14.351-56	<i>Notte a Piazza di Spagna</i>	poetry
---	1956, 18.414-19	<i>Recit</i>	poetry
---	1958, 21.434-40	<i>A un ragazzo</i>	poetry
Paul, David	1954, 13.106-117	<i>The Kite</i>	short story
---	1955, 15.109-26	<i>A Letter from a Village</i>	short story
---	1957, 19.134-37	<i>Passacaglia +</i>	poetry
---	1958, 22.137-44	<i>The Precious Process</i>	short story
Paulhan, Jean	1949, 3.385-86	<i>La bonne soirée</i>	short story
---	1951, 8.116-17	<i>Le peintre devant la toile</i>	poetry

		<i>à raboter</i>	
Paz, Octavio	1955, 16.201-03	<i>Piedra de sol</i>	poetry
---	1956, 18.397-400	<i>El Rio</i>	poetry
Pea, Enrico	1951, 7.134-81	<i>Trealberi</i>	play
Pedìo, Renato	1960, 25.359-60	<i>Yorik +</i>	poetry
Penn Warren, Robert	1957, 19.203-06	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
---	1959, 23.199-204	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Penna, Sandro	1948, 1.86-88	<i>Poesie</i>	poetry
---	1951, 7.65-67	<i>Poesie</i>	poetry
Perret, Christopher	1956, 18.337-51	<i>The Assumption</i>	short story
Perret, Vivette	1952, 10.122-27	<i>Mon père, Lola, Marie</i>	poetry
---	1954, 13.26-36	<i>Les Mariés</i>	short story
---	1956, 17.61-77	<i>Fete</i>	short story
---	1958, 21.51-69	<i>Le Commencement</i>	short story
Petroni, Guglielmo	1948, 1.3-85	<i>Il mondo è una prigioniera</i>	novel
---	1949, 4.172-292	<i>La casa si muove</i>	novel
---	1954, 13.352-462	<i>Noi dobbiamo parlare</i>	novel
---	1959, 23.362-78	<i>Le macchie di Donato</i>	short story
Peyer, Rudolf	1960, 25.253-56	<i>Gedichte</i>	poetry
Phillips, John Nova	1957, 19.195-202	<i>A Twaddle of Graciousness</i>	essay
Peterkiewicz, Jerzy	1957, 20.183-92	<i>Metropolitan Idyll</i>	short story
---	1958, 22.200-13	<i>The Four Horizons</i>	short story
Piccolo, Lucio	1959, 24.291-95	<i>Ombre +</i>	poetry
Piontek, Heinz	1954, 14.220-23	<i>Gedichte</i>	poetry
Pinna, Mario	1949, 4.141-63	<i>Cinque racconti</i>	short story
Pirandello, Fausto	1952, 9.352-62	<i>Dal Diario: Occupato +</i>	short story
Pitter, Ruth	1956, 18.123-28	<i>Persephone</i>	poetry
Pleynet, M.	1960, 25.61-64	<i>Paysage en deux</i>	poetry
Pollet, Elizabeth	1953, 11.390-422	<i>The Green Seed</i>	novel (fragment)
Pomeroy, Ralph	1951, 8.279-81	<i>Mandarines or Tangerines</i>	poetry
---	1958, 22.249-54	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Ponge, Francis	1949, 3.353-57	<i>L'Araignée</i>	poetry
---	1951, 7.425-26	<i>L'anthracite</i>	poetry
---	1958, 22.11-12	<i>Au génie de la France...</i>	poetry
Poniatowska, Elena	1958, 22.379-84	<i>La Hija del Filósofo</i>	short story
Ponsi, Angelo	1956, 18.489-96	<i>Domenica</i>	short story
Prados, Emilio	1955, 16. 224-29	<i>Sitios del silencio</i>	poetry
Pratolini, Vasco	1949, 3.18-112	<i>Le ragazze di Sanfrediano</i>	novel
---	1951, 8.328-57	<i>L'amante di vent'anni</i>	short story
Press, John	1960, 25.114-15	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Pryce-Jones, Alan	1951, 8.202-05	<i>Fiascherino</i>	poetry
Puel, Gaston	1956, 17.80-86	<i>Ce chant entre deux astres</i>	poetry

---	1958, 21.74-76	<i>Requiem</i>	poetry
---	1960, 25.42-44	<i>Poèmes</i>	poetry
Purdy, James	1959, 23.299-302	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Raeber, Kuno	1960, 25.266-68	<i>Gedichte</i>	poetry
Rahames, Fyl	1956, 18.156-59	<i>Fuzzy-Wuzzy</i>	short story
Rago, Henry	1955, 16.351-52	<i>In That Fierce Country +</i>	poetry
Raimondi, Giuseppe	1950, 5.94-99	<i>Per ricordo...</i>	short story
---	1953, 12.455-66	<i>Una notte con la luna</i>	short story
Raine, Kathleen	1948, 2.260-61	<i>Only the Virgin Knows...</i>	poetry
---	1950, 5.311-16	<i>A sparrow's flight</i>	poetry
Randall, Julia	1950, 6.441-42	<i>An Entertainment... +</i>	poetry
---	1954, 13.231-37	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Randolph, John G.	1955, 16.336-42	<i>Adventure at Elean</i>	short story
---	1957, 19.332-38	<i>Night Rider</i>	short story
---	1959, 24.208-16	<i>The Crown of Lee Havey</i>	short story
Rao, Raja	1958, 22.145-58	<i>The True Story of the Policeman and the Rose</i>	short story
Ratcliffe, Eric	1957, 19.161-62	<i>The Celestial Lady +</i>	poetry
Ravaute, André	1950, 6.193-94	<i>Deux poèmes pour la captive</i>	poetry
---	1951, 7-429-30	<i>Plusieurs roses</i>	poetry
Reavey, George	1952, 10.203-05	<i>Seven Seas</i>	poetry
---	1953, 11.139-40	<i>The House of Great Longings</i>	poetry
Reed, Henry	1948, 2.262-64	<i>Ars poetica</i>	poetry
Reinert, Werner	1960, 25.275-80	<i>Gedichte</i>	poetry
Reverdy, Pierre	1951, 7.389-90	<i>Bonne Chance</i>	poetry
---	1953, 11.13-17	<i>Poèmes</i>	poetry
Reynolds, Lorna	1949, 4.393-95	<i>Sanctuary, The gentle West</i>	poetry
Rich, Adrienne C.	1954, 14.255-60	<i>The Perennial Answer</i>	short story
Richardson, Jack	1959, 24.227-64	<i>In the Final Year of Grace</i>	short story
Richelmy, Agostino	1949, 3.113-19	<i>Liriche brevi</i>	poetry
---	1951, 8.361-400	<i>Il passo dell'Orso</i>	short novel
---	1953, 12.498-529	<i>Vignula</i>	short story
---	1956, 18.483-88	<i>Novelle e sottovento</i>	poetry
---	1959, 24.288-90	<i>Ballata d'aprile per la ragazza del bar alla stazione di Carmagnola +</i>	poetry
Riddell, Alan	1953, 12.153-55	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Rilke, Rainer Maria	1956, 17.347-51	<i>Randbemerkingen</i>	short story
Rimbaud, Arthur	1958, 375-78	<i>Das Trunkene Schiff</i>	poetry
Rinaldi, Antonio	1948, 1.124-28	<i>Poesie</i>	poetry
---	1951, 7.88-90	<i>Poesie</i>	poetry

Rodgers, W. R.	1948, 2.265-67	<i>Autumn...</i>	poetry
---	1948, 8.206-07	<i>The Net</i>	poetry
---	1952, 9.159-67	<i>The Pursuit</i>	prose
Roditi, Edouard	1951, 7.340-41	<i>Meet Mr. Lacklove</i>	poetry
Rodríguez, Claudio	1958, 22.349-51	<i>A la Nube Aquella +</i>	poetry
Roethke, Theodore	1948, 2.288-91	<i>Praise to the End!</i>	poetry
---	1950, 6.443-49	<i>Give Way Ye Gates</i>	poetry
---	1951, 8.282-83	<i>Song</i>	poetry
---	1952, 10.239-41	<i>The Changeling</i>	poetry
---	1953, 12.211-14	<i>Words for the Wind</i>	poetry
---	1954, 14.224-26	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
---	1956, 18.235-36	<i>The Other</i>	poetry
---	1957, 19.207-10	<i>Third Meditation</i>	poetry
---	1958, 21.183-86	<i>Her Becoming</i>	poetry
Romanò, Angelo	1952, 9.442-43	<i>Il puro creato, Le sirene</i>	poetry
---	1955, 16.462-63	<i>Due sonetti</i>	poetry
Rondi, Brunello	1957, 19.546-48	<i>Pregghiera per il giorno d'Ognissanti</i>	poetry
Rosselli, John	1957, 20.168-82	<i>The Sideboard in the Floods</i>	short story
Roskolenko, Harry	1950, 5.396-99	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Rosso, Renzo	1956, 18.500-24	<i>Breve viaggio nel cuore della Germania</i>	short story
---	1959, 23.381-418	<i>Una lontana estate</i>	short story
Rothberg, Winterset	1950, 5.400-06	<i>Last class</i>	satire
Roud, Gustave	1950, 5.284-89	<i>D'une quète</i>	poetry
Roversi, Roberto	1949, 4.77-83	<i>Poesie per l'amatore di stampe</i>	poetry
Ruth, Stephan	1958, 21.252-77	<i>A Visit to Ninon</i>	short story
Ryan, Anne	1952, 10.295-302	<i>Fear</i>	short story
---	1958, 22.272-306	<i>The Darkest Leaf</i>	short story
Saba, Umberto	1949, 3.12-17	<i>Uccelli</i>	poetry
---	1953, 11.427-69	<i>Gli ebrei +</i>	poetry
Sabbatini, Mario	1948, 1.153-56	<i>Poesie</i>	poetry
Sachs, Nelly	1958, 21.371-74	<i>Gedichte</i>	poetry
---	1959, 23.325-28	<i>Gedichte</i>	poetry
---	1960, 25.235-37	<i>Gedichte</i>	poetry
Sansom, William	1950, 5.319-35	<i>A world of glass</i>	short story
---	1956, 17.118-28	<i>Measures of Security</i>	short story
Santayana, George	1953, 11.165-71	<i>Fragments</i>	poetry
Sardeau, Hélène	1952, 10.294	<i>Autumn Rose</i>	poetry
Sarton, May	1952, 9.293-97	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
---	1954, 14.273-76	<i>The Metaphysical Garden</i>	poetry
Sayers, Michael	1953, 11.132-35	<i>Verses for Singers, The</i>	poetry

		<i>Summer</i>	
---	1954, 13.162-74	<i>The Triumph of Rationalism</i>	short story
---	1954, 14.141-64	<i>The Message</i>	short story
---	1955, 15.127-32	<i>The underground Journey</i>	poetry
Sbarbaro, Camillo	1956, 17.436-44	<i>Spiccioli</i>	prose
Scheler, Lucien	1959, 23.11-17	<i>Lisières du devenir</i>	poetry
Schorer, Mark	1957, 20.328-38	<i>A Burning Garden</i>	short story
Schwarzenberg, E.	1951, 8.131-33	<i>Poésies</i>	poetry
---	1952, 10.86-88	<i>Poèmes</i>	poetry
Scialoja, Toti	1953, 12.470-76	<i>Memorie insufficienti</i>	short story
Scotellaro, Rocco	1948, 2.214-20	<i>Poesie</i>	poetry
---	1950, 5.92-93	<i>Dalle carceri di Matera</i>	poetry
---	1951, 8.358-59	<i>L'ingiustizia +</i>	poetry
---	1952, 9.385-89	<i>La capèra</i>	short story
---	1953, 11.484-86	<i>Costiera Amalfitana +</i>	poetry
Scott, Tom	1953, 11.162-64	<i>The Balconie, Epitaph</i>	poetry
Scovell, E. J.	1953, 12.156-60	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Segovia, Tomás	1955, 16.239	<i>En brazos de la noche</i>	poetry
Selig, Richard	1955, 16.287-92	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
---	1959, 23.309-16	<i>Last Poems</i>	poetry
Sermonti, Vittorio	1951, 8. 437-41	<i>Quattro poesie d'amore</i>	poetry
---	1959, 24.375-96	<i>Sette capitoli di romanzo</i>	novel (fragment)
Shapiro, Harvey	1951, 7.295	<i>Song</i>	poetry
Shapiro, Karl	1948, 2.292-93	<i>The Tingling Back</i>	poetry
---	1950, 6.450-51	<i>The Figurehead</i>	poetry
---	1954, 14.224-26	<i>An Incident in a Castle</i>	short story
Shattuck, Roger	1957, 19.279-82	<i>Streetsong, Springsong</i>	poetry
Shiffert, Edith	1959, 23.290-93	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Shoemaker, Jack	1960, 25.211-12	<i>Return of the rondo from K.614</i>	poetry
Siciliano, Enzo	1959, 24.397-400	<i>A Bernardo +</i>	poetry
Silkin, Jon	1956, 17.176-79	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
---	1957, 20.159-64	<i>Four Poems</i>	poetry
Silone, Ignazio	1950, 6.10-44	<i>Una manciata di more</i>	short story
---	1952, 9.336-42	<i>Una sera di luglio a Sant'Andrea</i>	short story
Simon, John	1956, 17.267-68	<i>Desertion +</i>	poetry
Singer, Burns	1951, 7.266-76	<i>Of Iron and Ice, Sunlight</i>	poetry
---	1952, 10.261-78	<i>The gentle Engineer</i>	short story
---	1954, 13.122-133	<i>The Love of Orpheus +</i>	poetry
---	1955, 16.95-118	<i>Sonnets for a Dying Man</i>	poetry
---	1957, 19.92-99	<i>Two Definitions</i>	poetry

---	1958, 22.114-21	<i>Biography of an Idealist</i>	poetry
Singer, Burns, and Jerzy Peterkiewicz, trans.	1959, 23.184-98	<i>Anthology of Polish Poetry</i>	poetry
Sinisgalli, Leonardo	1952, 9.405-06	<i>Corre oggi la brezza +</i>	poetry
Sisson, C. H.	1959, 23.138-39	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Sister Mary Jeremy	1957, 20.345-48	<i>Three Poems</i>	poetry
Sithwell, Edith	1948, 2.268	<i>The Song of Dido</i>	poetry
Slonim, Ruth	1958, 21.339-40	<i>Quarry</i>	poetry
Smith, Charles	1954, 13.295-97	<i>Four Poems on Pictures</i>	poetry
Smith, Sydney G.	1952, 9.173-76	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Smith, William Jay	1952, 9.291-92	<i>The Descent of Orpheus</i>	poetry
Snodgrass, De Witt	1953, 12.322-27	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Snodgrass, W. D.	1957, 20.365-68	<i>Deadlock</i>	poetry
Soavi, Giorgio	1949, 4.129-33	<i>Poesie</i>	poetry
---	1951, 8.403-04	<i>La vita in una stanza</i>	poetry
Soldati, Mario	1950, 5.15-89	<i>La finestra</i>	short story
---	1953, 12.494-97	<i>Tre componimenti in versi</i>	poetry
Smart, Elizabeth	1951, 8.211-19	<i>The Assumption of the Rouges and Rascals</i>	short story
---	1952, 12.132-39	<i>A Simple Statement</i>	short story
Smith, Sidney Goodsir	1953, 12.124-26	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Smith, William Jay	1948, 2.297	<i>Lachrymae Christi</i>	poetry
Soldati, Mario	1948, 2.19-102	<i>La giacca verde</i>	short story
Souza Viana, Antonio	1956, 18.406-10	<i>El Negro</i>	poetry
Spagnoletti, Giacinto	1953, 12.467-69	<i>Versi d'occasione</i>	poetry
Spark, Muriel	1956, 18.98-122	<i>The Portobello Road</i>	short story
Spaziani, Maria Luisa	1949, 4.138-40	<i>Poesie</i>	poetry
---	1958, 22.484-86	<i>Capricci boreali +</i>	poetry
Spencer, Theodore	1948, 2.294-96	<i>American Dream...</i>	poetry
Spender, Stephen	1949, 4.396	<i>Travelling Northward home</i>	poetry
---	1953, 11.152-54	<i>Messenger</i>	poetry
St. Martin, Hardie	1958, 22.263-66	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Stafford, William	1957, 20.384-85	<i>With My Crowbar Key +</i>	poetry
Stallman, Robert W.	1950, 6.452	<i>The Falling out</i>	poetry
---	1951, 8.284-87	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Stebel, Sidney	1956, 17.245-62	<i>One Big, Final Deal</i>	short story
Stein, Elliott	1956, 18.280-85	<i>Seven Poems</i>	poetry
Steiner, George	1956, 18.303-21	<i>The Depths of the Sea</i>	short story
Stevens, Wallace	1949, 4.330-34	<i>A half dozen small Pieces</i>	poetry
Stoneham, Gillian	1958, 21.170-71	<i>The Goat</i>	poetry
---	1960, 25.97-99	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Stuart, David	1954, 13.243-52	<i>Bird Man</i>	short story

Swanson, Damon	1957, 20.285-99	<i>The Marriage of Slokey Bean</i>	short story
Tamkus, Daniel	1956, 17.285-88	<i>The Crossing</i>	poetry
Tanner, Teresa	1957, 19.151-60	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Tardieu, Jean	1949, 3.401-07	<i>Les figurants</i>	short story
Taylor, Alexander	1957, 19.365-66	<i>My Love +</i>	poetry
Taylor, Eleanor Ross	1952, 10.289-90	<i>Moved</i>	poetry
---	1954, 13.264-69	<i>At the Carnival</i>	poetry
Tempesti, Fernando	1959, 23.446-62	<i>Nuccia</i>	short story
Tentori, Francesco	1959, 24.371-74	<i>Poesie 1949-'59</i>	poetry
Terracini, Jeanne	1956, 18.64-84	<i>Marie</i>	short story
---	1957, 20.85-97	<i>L'Insurrection</i>	short story
---	1959, 23.66-73	<i>Le visiteur</i>	poetry
Terrés, Jaime Garcia	1956, 18.403-05	<i>El Parque de Montsouris +</i>	poetry
Thomas, Calvin	1955, 16.314-19	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Thomas, Dylan	1949, 4.397-99	<i>Over sir John's Hill</i>	poetry
---	1950, 6.334-38	<i>In the White Giant's Thigh</i>	poetry
---	1951, 8.208-10	<i>Do Not Go Gentle Into That Good Night +</i>	poetry
---	1952, 9.134-55	<i>Llareggub</i>	radio play
---	1954, 13.93-102	<i>Three Letters</i>	prose
Thomas, Henri	1949, 3.397-400	<i>Poésies</i>	poetry
Thompson, Dunstan	1948, 2.298-99	<i>Another of the Same Shepherds...</i>	poetry
Tinio, Rolando S.	1956, 18.356-57	<i>Spring of Jasmines +</i>	poetry
Tobia, Enrico	1950, 5.120-24	<i>Poesie</i>	poetry
---	1957, 20.530-32	<i>La strage degli innocenti +</i>	poetry
---	1959, 23.379-80	<i>A scavar rimani... +</i>	poetry
Tobino, Mario	1952, 9.363-82	<i>I Biassoli</i>	short story
Todd, Ruthven	1956, 18.95-97	<i>Of Molds and Mushrooms</i>	poetry
Tomasi, Lillyam	1958, 22.454-60	<i>Elegia +</i>	poetry
Tomasi di Lampedusa, Giuseppe	1958, 21.441-72	<i>Una giornata del principe Fabrizio</i>	novel (fragment)
Tomlinson, Charles	1950, 6.333-34	<i>Poem, The Light and Dark</i>	poetry
Torres, Emmanuel	1956, 18.353-54	<i>Fear of Gates +</i>	poetry
Tree, Iris	1956, 17.129-31	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
---	1958, 22.125-28	<i>The Ballad of Beds</i>	poetry
Triem, Eve	1953, 12.335-37	<i>Us to Untouchable Ends, The Ghostmaker</i>	poetry
---	1955, 15.232-38	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
---	1957, 20.198-207	<i>Nine poems</i>	poetry
Triem, Yvonne	1953, 12.338-43	<i>How to Draw a Horse</i>	short story
Trypanis, Constantine	1958, 21.176-77	<i>Poems</i>	poetry

Trocchi, Alexander	1952, 9.177-80	<i>From "The Other Wind"</i>	poetry
---	1952, 10.190-202	<i>A Being of Distances</i>	short story
Tucci, Niccolò	1951, 8.288-305	<i>Those Long Shadows</i>	short story
---	1953, 12.411-449	<i>Morte di Scarandogi</i>	short novel
---	1955, 15.365-409	<i>Il segreto</i>	short novel
---	1959, 24.120-64	<i>This Particular Rich Lady</i>	short story
Turnbull, Gael	1957, 19.163-69	<i>To You, I Write</i>	poetry
Urseth, Sonja	1959, 24.202-07	<i>The Bridges +</i>	poetry
Vagne, Jean	1953, 12.86-89	<i>Moraines</i>	poetry
Vaide, Krishna Balde	1960, 25.80-92	<i>Silence</i>	short story
Valaoritis, Nanos	1957, 20.415-36	<i>Problems of an Empire</i>	short story
Valeri, Diego	1959, 23.359-61	<i>Sette poesie</i>	poetry
Valéry, Paul	1949, 3.9-11	<i>Poésies</i>	poetry
---	1950, 5.201-02	<i>Guidé par l'image...</i>	poetry
Valet, Paul	1954, 13.69-71	<i>Poèmes</i>	poetry
Vannier, André	1954, 13.78-92	<i>Les Prisonniers</i>	short story
---	1958, 22.51-65	<i>Chansons</i>	poetry
Viereck, Peter	1949, 3.341-42	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
---	1950, 5.407	<i>Homecoming</i>	poetry
---	1950, 6.453-56	<i>Stanzas in Love with Life and August</i>	poetry
---	1955, 15.267-68	<i>The blind Doge at 83</i>	poetry
Vigolo, Giorgio	1952, 9.343-51	<i>Via di Ponente +</i>	poetry
Villa, José Garcia	1953, 12.287-89	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
---	1956, 18.352	<i>Death and Dylan Thomas</i>	poetry
Vinkenoog, Simon	1957, 19.427-29	<i>Meeting</i>	poetry
Vivaldi, Cesare	1956, 18.461-66	<i>Fiumara +</i>	poetry
---	1958, 22.537-38	<i>Sulla soglia +</i>	poetry
Vivante, Arturo	1956, 18.476-82	<i>Il serpe, Il gabbiano</i>	short story
Vollaro, Saverio	1957, 20.526-29	<i>Matrimonio d'estate +</i>	poetry
Volponi, Paolo	1957, 19.490-99	<i>Il cuore dei due fiumi</i>	poetry
Von Doderer, Heimito	1957, 19.438-44	<i>Im brennenden Haus</i>	poetry
Von Hofmannsthal, Hugo	1957, 19.430-37	<i>Unveroffentlichte Fragmente</i>	poetry
Von Hofmannsthal, Hugo, and Carl Burckhardt	1958, 21.77-96	<i>Extraits d'un échange de lettres</i>	letters
Von Rezzori, Gregor	1958, 21.379-407	<i>Fragments</i>	short story
Von Winterfeld, Hans	1956, 17.383-84	<i>Bewusstsein +</i>	poetry
Vukelich, George A.	1954, 13.302-09	<i>The Memoirs of a Young Man</i>	short story
---	1958, 21.350-52	<i>Wisconsin Poems</i>	poetry
Wagoner, David	1954, 13.270-73	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Wainstein, Lia	1960, 25.368-85	<i>Il Granfrugnese ovvero La</i>	short story

		<i>speranza del nonno</i>	
Waley, Arthur	1951, 7.214-36	<i>Kutune Shirka</i>	short story
Walker La Follette, M.	1955, 16.309-13	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Wallace, Robert A.	1955, 16.334-35	<i>Poem, The Sundial</i>	poetry
Walser, Martin	1959, 23.351-53	<i>Bilderbogen</i>	poetry
Walter, Eugene	1951, 8.306-09	<i>The Southern Boy's Song +</i>	poetry
---	1952, 10.279-88	<i>In the Orchard</i>	short story
---	1953, 12.306-21	<i>Seven Panels, Fanfarade, Nightwatchman, Old Images</i>	poetry + novel (fragment)
---	1955, 15.296-300	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
---	1956, 17.226-37	<i>I Love You Batty Sisters</i>	short story
---	1957, 20.225-48	<i>The Blockade-Runners</i>	novel (fragment)
Watkins, Vernon	1948, 2.270-71	<i>The Strangled Prayer...</i>	poetry
---	1950, 5.317-18	<i>Testimony</i>	poetry
---	1951, 7.187-93	<i>Niobe</i>	poetry
---	1952, 9.204-08	<i>The Dead Shag +</i>	poetry
---	1953, 12.130-31	<i>Before a Birth</i>	poetry
---	1954, 13.103-05	<i>Elegy for the Latest Dead</i>	poetry
---	1955, 15.93-94	<i>Secrecy</i>	poetry
---	1956, 18.93-94	<i>Touch With Your Fingers</i>	poetry
---	1958, 21.97-100	<i>I, Centurion, Buried Light</i>	poetry
---	1960, 25.68-70	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Weaver, William F.	1950, 5.411-68	<i>A tent in this World</i>	short story
---	1951, 7.325-35	<i>On Earth as It is</i>	short story
West, Paul	1955, 15.160-62	<i>Practice Jump +</i>	poetry
---	1957, 19.109-15	<i>Breakage +</i>	poetry
---	1958, 21.106-12	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
---	1959, 24.53-57	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
West, Ray B. Jr.	1952, 10.303-09	<i>Ode</i>	poetry
Wilbur, Richard	1948, 2.303-05	<i>The When the Ample Season...</i>	poetry
---	1950, 5.408-10	<i>Parable, A problem...</i>	poetry
---	1952, 9.249-50	<i>Beats</i>	poetry
---	1953, 12.215-17	<i>Looking into History</i>	poetry
---	1955, 16.244-47	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Wilcock, J. R.	1956, 18.401-02	<i>Fiesta de San Juan</i>	poetry
Wilcox, William P.	1955, 15.279-91	<i>A red Light in the Closet</i>	short story
Wilde, Antonia	1956, 17.132-34	<i>Canzon: In Your Despite</i>	poetry
---	1959, 24.102-03	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Wilkins, Eithne	1954, 14.176-93	<i>Oranges and Lemons</i>	poetry
Williams, Tennessee	1949, 4.335-39	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Williams, William C.	1948, 2.300-02	<i>The Bird of Venus</i>	poetry

---	1949, 4.340-55	<i>Two Pendants</i>	poetry
---	1951, 8.310-22	<i>The Desert Music</i>	short story
---	1953, 11.367-71	<i>To Daphne and Virginia</i>	poetry
Wilson, Angus	1949, 4.400-19	<i>Such Darling Dodos</i>	short story
Windham, Donald	1951, 7.277-91	<i>An Island of Fire</i>	short story
---	1958, 22.267-71	<i>A Note on Anne Ryan</i>	poetry
Woodin, Noel	1956, 18.150-55	<i>A Country Sequence</i>	poetry
---	1958, 22.175-77	<i>Morning</i>	poetry
---	1960, 25.112-13	<i>The Daydream of the capital "I"</i>	poetry
Wool, Sandra	1951, 8.323-25	<i>The Two Queens +</i>	poetry
Woolsey, Gamel	1956, 18.326-36	<i>The Search for Demeter</i>	poetry
Wright, David	1955, 15.133-34	<i>An Invocation to the Goddess</i>	poetry
Wright, James	1955, 16.283-86	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
---	1957, 19.270-78	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
---	1958, 21.285-91	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
---	1959, 23.242-44	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
---	1960, 25.186-90	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Wurm, Franz	1959, 23.354-55	<i>Das angebrochene Haus</i>	poetry
Yorck, Ruth L.	1960, 25.238-43	<i>Georgenlegende</i>	poetry
Young, Elizabeth	1958, 21.155-57	<i>At the Back Door</i>	poetry
Young, Marguerite	1952, 10.323-51	<i>The Opium Lady</i>	novel (fragment)
Young, Stanley	1955, 15.254-64	<i>The middle Country</i>	short story
---	1956, 17.221-25	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Young, Wayland	1955, 16.176-96	<i>Gilda</i>	short story
Zambrano, Maria	1951, 7.468-75	<i>Le mystère de la peinture espagnole chez Fernandez</i>	essay
---	1955, 16.214-23	<i>La multiplicidad de los tiempos</i>	essay
---	1956, 18.376-84	<i>Diotima</i>	poetry
Zaturenska, Marya	1954, 13.253-55	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
---	1958, 21.232-36	<i>Poems</i>	poetry
Zukofsky, Louis	1950, 5.375-80	<i>Some time</i>	poetry
---	1951, 8.326-27	<i>"A" – 11</i>	poetry

APPENDIX B: *Botteghe Oscure* Statistics

BO nr.	Pg./eff.	Poesia	Prosa	Orig.	Trad.	ITA	ENG	FRA	SPA	GER	Al.
I - 1948	227/226	23	203	226	-----	226	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
II - 1948	367/297	164	195	305	62	234	63	-----	-----	-----	-----
III - 1949	417/409	66	343	409	-----	328	13	68	-----	-----	-----
IV - 1949	419/411	134	277	408	3	287	124	-----	-----	-----	-----
V - 1950	468/459	140	319	459	-----	191	179	89	-----	-----	-----
VI - 1950	473/463	96	367	367	-----	151	161	151	-----	-----	-----
VII - 1951	475/462	160	302	462	-----	171	204	87	-----	-----	-----
VIII - 1951	481/468	132	336	468	-----	153	171	144	-----	-----	-----
IX - 1952	478/467	103	364	467	-----	143	202	122	-----	-----	-----
X - 1952	479/467	121	346	432	35	128	224	115	-----	-----	-----
XI - 1953	539/529	89	440	518	11	117	334	78	-----	-----	-----
XII - 1953	529/519	153	366	519	-----	128	288	103	-----	-----	-----
XIII - 1954	466/455	166	289	455	-----	122	251	82	-----	-----	-----
XIV - 1954	464/454	230	224	399	55	134	225	73	-----	22	-----
XV - 1955	493/484	124	360	465	19	130	277	77	-----	-----	-----
XVI - 1955	463/453	165	288	453	-----	106	114	74	43	-----	-----
XVII - 1956	539/529	135	394	529	-----	104	238	99	-----	88	-----
XVIII - 1956	524/514	169	345	503	11	111	278	74	51	-----	-----
XIX - 1957	590/577	274	303	564	13	101	365	51	-----	60	-----
XX - 1957	611/607	124	483	607	-----	174	347	81	-----	-----	5
XXI - 1958	537/527	185	342	527	-----	108	273	86	-----	60	-----
XXII - 1958	527/517	257	270	517	-----	144	230	103	50	-----	-----
XXIII - 1959	467/457	188	269	442	15	109	238	68	-----	42	-----
XXIV - 1959	400/380	123	257	380	-----	103	235	42	-----	-----	-----
XXV - 1960	439/429	224	205	423	6	156	167	54	-----	52	-----

Bibliography

- Adams, Donald J. "Speaking of Books." *New York Times* 1 Dec. 1957.
- Armani, Ada S. *Un Anneau de corail: lettere di Paul Valery a Marguerite e Roffredo Caetani*. Roma: Bulzoni, 1986.
- Asor Rosa, Alberto, and Angelo Cicchetti. "Roma." Ed. Alberto Asor Rosa. *Letteratura italiana*. Vol. 7.3. *Storia e geografia. L'età contemporanea*. Torino: Einaudi, 1989. 547-652.
- "Baltimore Woman's Plan Gives Poor Artist's Exhibition Space." *Washington Post* 20 May 1934: R16. *Proquest Historical Newspapers: The Washington Post (1877-1994)*. Web. 14 Jan. 2012.
- Barney, Natalie C. *Adventures of the Mind*. New York: New York UP, 1992.
- Barolini, Helen. *Their Other Side: Six American Women and the Lure of Italy*. New York: Fordham UP, 2006.
- Bassani, Giorgio. "L'odore del fieno." *Opere*. Ed. Roberto Cotroneo. Milano: Mondadori, 2001.
- Batcheller, Tryphosa Bates. *Glimpses of Italian Court Life: Happy Days In Italia Adorata*. New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1906.
- Beach, Sylvia. *Shakespeare and Company*. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1959.
- Bell, Michael. "The Metaphysics of Modernism." *The Cambridge Companion to Modernism*. Ed. Michael Levenson. New York: Cambridge UP, 2011. 9-32.
- Benstock, Shari. *Women of the Left Bank: Paris, 1900-1940*. Austin: Texas UP, 1986.
- Bergin, Thomas G. "The Vital Italians." Rev. of *New Italian Writers*, ed. Marguerite Caetani. *The Freeman* 25 Dec. 1950: 219-20.
- Biddle, Francis. *A Casual Past*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1961.
- Biddle, George. *George Biddle Papers, 1863-1973*. Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.
- Biddle, Katherine. *Katherine Biddle Papers, 1907-1977*. Special Collections, Georgetown University Library, Washington D.C.
- Bogan, Louise. "Verse." *The New Yorker* 19 Sep. 1953: 113+

Bohnekamp, Klaus E., and Sophie Levie, eds. *Briefwechsel Mit Deutschsprachigen Autoren*. Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2012. La rivista "Commerce" e Marguerite Caetani 1.

Borsellino, Nino. "L'età della critica. Da Croce a Contini." *Storia generale della Letteratura Italiana*. Ed. Nino Borsellino and Walter Pedullà. Vol. 11. Milano: Federico Motta Editore, 2004. 75-124.

"Bosco Parrasio." *L'Italia che scrive: rassegna per coloro che leggono* Aug./Sep. 1948: 170.

"Botteghe Oscure." *Time* 21 June 1957.

"Botteghe Oscure, rivista d'esportazione." *La Fiera Letteraria* (Roma) 26 Feb. 1950.

Rev. of *Botteghe Oscure Quaderno II. Il Mondo* 7 May 1949: 8.

Rev. of *Botteghe Oscure Quaderno III. Il Mondo* 27 Aug. 1949: 8.

Rev. of *Botteghe Oscure Quaderno IV. Il Mondo* 29 Apr. 1950: 8.

Rev. of *Botteghe Oscure II-III. The Times Literary Supplement* 19 Aug. 1949: 542.

Bottrall, Margaret. "From the Dark Shops." Rev. of *New Italian Writers*, ed. Marguerite Caetani. *Statesman and Nation* 3 Mar. 1951: 135-36.

Braddock, Jeremy. *Collecting as Modernist Practice*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins UP, 2012.

Breunig, L. C. "René Char in English." *World Literature Today* 51.3 (1977): 396-400.

Caetani, Gelasio. *Documenti dell'archivio Caetani*. Perugia: Unione Tipografica Cooperativa, 1920.

Caetani, Marguerite, ed. *An anthology of New Italian Writers*. London: Lehmann, 1950.

---. "Botteghe Oscure", quaderno I. Napoli: Ricciardi, 1948.

---. "Botteghe Oscure", quaderni II-XXV. Roma: Istituto Grafico Tiberino, 1948-1960.

---. Correspondence, 1949-1964. MS. New Directions Publishing Corp. records, ca. 1933-1997. Publishing Corp. Records (MS Am 2077). Houghton Library, Harvard University.

- . Correspondence, 1952-1958. MS. Jackson Matthews Papers. #4012, Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
- . Correspondence, 1954-1970. MS. Katherine Biddle Papers, 1907-1977. Special Collections, Georgetown University Libraries.
- . Correspondence, 1916-1961. MS. Archivio della Fondazione Camillo Caetani, Roma.
- . Letter to George Bernard Shaw. 27 May 1925. MS. Archivio della Fondazione Camillo Caetani, Roma.
- . Letter to George Bernard Shaw. 30 May 1925. MS. Archivio della Fondazione Camillo Caetani, Roma.
- Caetani Sveva, Barbara Bell, Catherine Harding, and Andrea Thoth. *Caetani di Sermoneta: an Italian Family in Vernon, 1921-1994*. Vernon, B.C.: Greater Vernon Museum and Archives/Vernon Public Art Gallery, 2003.
- Camus, Albert, and Jean Grenier. *Correspondences 1932-1960*. Trans. Jan Rigaud. Lincoln: Nebraska UP, 2003.
- Cappozzo, Valerio. "Incontri indiani. Lettere inedite di Giorgio Bassani." *Poscritto a Giorgio Bassani*. Ed. Roberta Antognini and Rodica Diaconescu Blumenfeld. Milano: LED, 2012. 41-54.
- Caracciolo, Marella, and Giuppi Pietromarchi. *The Garden of Ninfa*. Torino: U. Allemandi, 1999.
- Chadwick, Whitney, and Tirza True Latimer. *The Modern Woman Revisited: Paris Between the Wars*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers UP, 2003.
- Chapin, Gilbert Warren. *The Chapin Book of Genealogical Data: With Brief Biographical Sketches, of the Descendants of Deacon Samuel Chapin*. Hartford, Conn.: Chapin family association, 1924.
- Chapin, Schuyler. *Musical Chairs : A Life in the Arts*. New York: Putnam, 1977.
- Char, René. *Hypnos Waking*. Trans. Jackson Mathews. New York: Random House, 1956.
- Clem, Robert. *Eugene Walter: Last of the Bohemians*. Stone Ridge, NY: Waterfront Pictures/New Media, 2008. DVD.
- Colonna, Vittoria. *Things Past*. New York: Appleton and company, 1929.
- . *Sparkle Distant Worlds*. London: Hutchinson, 1946.

Croce, Benedetto. "Postille. Dell'arte delle riviste e delle riviste letterarie odierne." *Quaderni della Critica*. 1 (1945): 111-12.

Croce, Elena. "Un punto di ritrovo." *Il Mondo* 21 Jan. 1964: 7-8.

---. *Due Città*. Milano: Adelphi, 1985.

Davenport, John. Correspondence with Marguerite Caetani. Archivio della Fondazione Camillo Caetani, Roma.

De Liso, Oscar. "Some New Italian Writers." Rev. of *New Italian Writers*, ed. Marguerite Caetani. *Dallas Times Herald*, 4 Feb. 1951.

De Staël, Germaine. *Oeuvres Complètes, Tome XVII*. Paris: Treuttel and Würtz, 1821.

Donaldson, Scott. *Archibald MacLeish. An American Life*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1992.

Doyle, Arthur C. *The Hound of Baskervilles*. London: Newnes, 1902. *Google Book Search*. Web. 16 Aug. 2012.

Dunn, James Clement. Correspondence with Marguerite Caetani. MS. Archivio della Fondazione Camillo Caetani, Roma.

Engle, Paul. "Literary Light from the Roman Street of Dark Shops." Rev. of *Botteghe Oscure XIX*, ed. Marguerite Caetani. *The New York Times Book Review* 2 June 1957: 245.

Ferris, Paul. *Dylan Thomas: The Biography*. Washington, DC: Counterpoint, 2000.

"Field for Experiment." *The Times Literary Supplement* 27 May 1955.

"Fifth Kneisel Concert." *The New York Times* 8 Apr. 1908: 7.

Fiorani, Luigi. *Ninfa. Una città, un giardino: atti del colloquio della Fondazione Camillo Caetani, Roma, Sermoneta, Ninfa, 7-9 ottobre 1988*. Studi e documenti d'archivio, 2. Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1990.

Fitch, Noel Riley., and James Ernest. Leeper. *Sylvia Beach and the Lost Generation : A History of Literary Paris in the Twenties and Thirties*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1983.

Flanner, Janet. *Paris Was Yesterday, 1925-1939*. New York: Viking P, 1972.

---. Rev. of *Botteghe Oscure X*, ed. Marguerite Caetani. *The New Yorker* 10 Jan. 1953.

Flanner, Janet, and Irving Drutman. *Janet Flanner's World : Uncollected Writings, 1932-1975*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1979.

Fondazione Camillo Caetani, and Luigi Fiorani. *Sermoneta e i Caetani: dinamiche politiche, sociali e culturali di un territorio tra medioevo ed età moderna: atti del Convegno della Fondazione Camillo Caetani, Roma-Sermoneta, 16-19 giugno 1993*. Pubblicazioni della Fondazione Camillo Caetani. Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1999.

Fowlie, Wallace. *Journal of Rehearsals*. Durham (NC): Duke UP, 1977.

Frattarolo, Renzo. "Una rivista fiume: *Botteghe Oscure*." *Il Corriere di Foggia* 9 Jan. 1950.

Garrett, George P. *Botteghe Oscure Reader*. Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan UP, 1974.

---. *George P. Garrett Papers, 1929-2008*. Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library, Duke University.

Giachery, Emerico. *Vita d'un uomo: itinerario di Giuseppe Ungaretti*. Modena: Mucchi, 1990.

Greilsamer, Laurent. *L'eclair au front: la vie de René Char*. Paris: Fayard, 2004.

Groom, Gloria Lynn. *Edouard Vuillard, Painter-Decorator: Patrons and Projects, 1892-1912*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1993.

"Highbrow Refuge. 'Botteghe Oscure' XII." *Time Magazine* [New York] 8 Mar. 1954: 108-09.

"Il concerto di Mascagni a S. Cecilia." *Il Giornale d'Italia* 15 Mar. 1904.

Johnson, Ben. "Rome Letter." *The Hudson Review* 5.2 (1952) : 270-75.

Kessler, Harry. Ed. Laird Eston. *Journey to the Abyss: the Diaries of Count Harry Kessler, 1880-1918*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2011.

Levenson, Michael. *Modernism*. New Haven: Yale UP, 2011.

Levin, Eugene. "New London Born Princess Now Famed Critic." *Westerly Rhode Island Sunday*, 10 Jan. 1958: 6.

Levie, Sophie. *La rivista Commerce e il ruolo di Marguerite Caetani nella letteratura europea, 1924-1932*. Roma: Quaderni della Fondazione Camillo Caetani 5, 1985.

---. *Commerce, 1924-1932: Une Revue Internationale Moderniste*. Roma: Fondazione Camillo Caetani, 1989.

"Little Magazines." *The British Library*. The British Library Board, n.d. Web. 18 Aug. 2012.

Lowell, Robert. Correspondence with Marguerite Caetani. MS. Archivio della Fondazione Camillo Caetani, Roma.

Luti, Giorgio. *Introduzione Alla Letteratura Italiana Del Novecento : La Poesia, La Narrativa, La Critica, Le Riviste E I Movimenti Letterari*. Roma: Nuova Italia scientifica, 1985.

---. *Critici, Movimenti E Riviste Del '900 Letterario Italiano*. Roma: Nuova Italia scientifica, 1986.

MacLeish, Archibald. *Letters of Archibald MacLeish*. Ed. R. H. Winnick. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1983.

---. "Reader to Readers." *Botteghe Oscure* 20 (fall 1957): 11-15.

---. "Requiem for a Literary Haven." *The Saturday Review* 26 Nov. 1960: 26+.

Macchia, Giovanni. *Il Paradiso Della Ragione, Studi Letterari Sulla Francia*. Bari,: Laterza, 1964.

Marchetti, Lauro, and Esme Howard. *Ninfa: a Roman Enchantment*. New York: Vendome P, 1999.

Marchetti Longhi, Giuseppe. *I Caetani*. Roma: Reale Istituto di Studi Romani, 1942.

Marek, Jayne E. *Women Editing Modernism: "Little" Magazines and Literary History*. Lexington: Kentucky UP, 1995.

"Marguerite Caetani Dead at 83; Literary Editor Was a Duchess." *New York Times* 19 Dec. 1963: 33. *ProQuest Historical Newspapers: New York Times (1851-2006)*. Web. 13 Dec. 2011.

"Marries Italian Prince." *The Washington Post (1877-1922)* 31 Oct. 1911: 7. *ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Washington Post (1877-1994)*. Web. 13 Dec. 2011.

Marvardi, Umberto. "Narrativa di Pratolini." *Terrazza* 1949: 5-6.

Mathews, Jackson. "Jackson Mathews Papers." MS. Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

"Miss Chapin to Become a Princess Tomorrow in London." *New York Times* 29 Oct. 1911. Society Home and Abroad sec.: X4. *ProQuest Historical Newspapers: New York Times (1851-2006)*. Web. 13 Dec. 2011.

"Miss Chapin to Wed an Italian Prince." *The Washington Post (1877-1922)* 23 Oct. 1911: 6. *ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Washington Post (1877-1994)*. Web. 13 Dec. 2011.

Mondello, Elisabetta. *Gli Anni Delle Riviste : Le riviste letterarie dal 1945 agli anni Ottanta, con un repertorio di 173 periodici*. Lecce: Milella, 1985.

---. "Le riviste del primo Novecento." *Storia generale della letteratura italiana*. Ed. Nino Borsellino and Walter Pedullà. Vol. 11. Milano: Federico Motta Editore, 2004. 286-310.

---. "Le riviste del secondo Novecento." *Storia generale della letteratura italiana*. Ed. Nino Borsellino and Walter Pedullà. Vol. 13. Milano: Federico Motta Editore, 2004. 82-106.

Muir, Edwin. "The Italian Spirit." Rev. of *New Italian Writers*, ed. Marguerite Caetani. *The Observer* 4 Feb. 1951: 100.

---. "European Writing." Rev. of *Botteghe Oscure IX*, ed. Marguerite Caetani. *The Observer* 6 Jan. 1952.

Nardi, Marcia. *Marcia Nardi Collection*, 1949. Archival material. Yale Collection of American Literature, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

Rev. of *New Italian Writers*. *The New Yorker* 18 Nov. 1950.

Noland, Carrie Jaurès. "The Performance of Solitude: Baudelaire, Rimbaud, and the Resistance Poetry of René Char." *The French Review* 70.4 (1997): 562-74.

Op de Coul, Paul. "Roffredo Caetani compositore. La formazione, le opere, il catalogo cronologico." *Roffredo Caetani: La personalità, la cultura, la musica*. Ed. Comitato Roffredo Caetani, presso la Fondazione Roffredo Caetani. Cisterna di Latina, 2011. 19-42. Quaderni di Ninfa 3.

Origo, Iris. "Marguerite Caetani." *Atlantic Monthly* Feb. 1965: 81-88.

---. *War in Val D'Orcia, 1943-1944: A Diary*. Boston: D. R. Godine, 1984, 1947.

Pasolini, Pier Paolo. "La capanna indiana." *Il Giornale* 18 Aug. 1951. Milano: Società Europea di Edizioni.

---. "Referto per 'Botteghe Oscure.'" *Il Popolo: Giornale del Mattino* 15 Sep. 1951: 3.

Pancrazi, Piero. Rev. of *Il mondo è una prigionia*, by Guglielmo Petroni. *Il Corriere della Sera* 14 Sep. 1948.

Patterson, Anita Haya. *Race, American Literature and Transnational Modernisms*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2008.

Paul, David. "Whispering Gallery." Rev. of *Botteghe Oscure X*, ed. Marguerite Caetani. 1952.

Perse, Saint-John. *Correspondance Saint-John Perse / Jean Paulhan 1925-1966*. Paris: Gallimard, 1991.

Petroni, Guglielmo. *Il Colore Della Terra*. Milano: Mondadori, 1964.

---. *Il mondo è una prigionia*. Milano: Feltrinelli, 2005.

---. *Il mondo è una prigionia*. Milano: Mondadori, 1960.

Petroni, Franco, and Massimiliano Tortora. *Gli Intellettuali Italiani E L'europa: 1903-1956*. San Cesario di Lecce. Lecce: Manni, 2007.

"Philharmonic Society." *The New York Times* 15 Nov. 1902: 9.

Piccioni, Leone. "Un romanzo di Petroni." Rev. of *La casa si muove*, by Guglielmo Petroni. *Il Corriere del Giorno* (Taranto) 15 Aug. 1950.

Piggott, Jan. "Obituary: Margaret Bottrall." *The Independent*. Independent.co.uk. 26 Mar. 1996. Web. 9 Aug. 2012.

Pireddu, Nicoletta. "La Rivista 'Botteghe Oscure' e Marguerite Caetani. La Corrispondenza Con Gli Autori Stranieri (1948-1960)." *Rivista di letterature moderne e comparate*. 63.1 (2010): 98.

"Poets' Column." *The New York Times Books Review* 1 Dec. 1957.

Potts, Paul. "Literary Jumble Sale." Rev. of *Botteghe Oscure XIX*. *The Spectator* 14 June 1957.

Prebys, Portia. *La bibliografia delle opere di Giorgio Bassani ; La memoria critica su Giorgio Bassani*. Ferrara: Edisai, 2010.

Prezzolini, Giuseppe. "Al lettore." *La Voce*. 1.9. 1909: 33.

Putnam, Samuel. *Paris Was Our Mistress*. London: Plantin Publishers, 1987.

Quest-Ritson, Charles. *Ninfa : the Most Romantic Garden in the World*. London: Frances Lincoln, 2009.

Rietzler, Katharina. "American Philanthropy and Cultural Diplomacy in the Inter-war Years." *Historical Research* 84.223, Feb. 2011. 148-64.

Risset, Jacqueline, Laura Santone, Paolo Tamassia, and Marguerite Caetani. *La rivista Botteghe Oscure e Marguerite Caetani: la corrispondenza con gli autori stranieri, 1948-1960*. Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2007.

Rodriguez, Suzanne. *Wild Heart, a Life: Natalie Clifford Barney's Journey from Victorian America to Belle Epoque Paris*. New York: Ecco, 2002.

Roethke, Theodore. *On Poetry and Craft : Selected Prose of Theodore Roethke*. Port Townsend, Wash.: Copper Canyon Press, 2001.

Rogers, Neville William. "'Botteghe Oscure,' Quaderno II, III." *Times Literary Supplement* 19 Aug. 1949: 542.

---. "'Botteghe Oscure,' Quaderno IV." *Times Literary Supplement* 17 Feb. 1950, Times Newspapers Limited, London: 110.

---. "'Botteghe Oscure,' Quaderno V." *Times Literary Supplement* 22 Sep. 1950, Times Newspapers Limited, London: 602.

---. "'Botteghe Oscure,' Quaderno VI." *Times Literary Supplement* 2 Feb. 1951, Times Newspapers Limited, London: 73.

Rogers, William G. *Ladies Bountiful*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1968. Print.
---. *Wise Men Fish Here: the Story of Frances Steloff and the Gotham Book Mart*. Harcourt, Brace & World, 1965.

Rosati, Salvatore. "Dylan Thomas, poeta neo-romantico." *Il Mondo* 27 Dec. 1952.

Said, Edward W. *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 2000.

Salvagni, Lorenzo. "Roffredo Caetani, musicista. La vita e le opere dell'ultimo Duca di Sermoneta, con analisi di alcune composizioni." MA thesis Università degli studi di Roma "La Sapienza," 2001.

Sapegno, Natalino. "La critica." *Storia della letteratura italiana*. Ed. Emilio Cecchi and Natalino Sapegno. Vol. 9. Milano: Garzanti, 1969.

"Schede letterarie." Rev. of *Botteghe Oscure IX*, ed. Marguerite Caetani. *Gazzetta di Parma* 10 June 1952.

Scheuhing, Mary Ann. *Princess Marguerite Caetani and the Review Commerce*. MA Thesis. Catholic University of America, Washington, 1970.

Schiller, Greta. *Paris was a woman*. New York: Zeitgeist Films [distributor], 2003. DVD.
Seager, Allan. *The Glass House: the Life of Theodore Roethke*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968.

Schorer, Mark. Correspondence with Marguerite Caetani. MS. Archivio della Fondazione Camillo Caetani, Roma.

---. "International Letters." Rev. of *Botteghe Oscure X*, ed. Marguerite Caetani. *New Republic* 20 Apr. 1953.

Steloff, Frances. Letter to Marguerite Caetani. 14 July 1950. MS. Alfred Knopf Inc. Papers. Harry Ransom Center, Austin.

Straus, Roger. Letter to George Dekay. 17 Feb 1953. MS. Marguerite Caetani Literary File. Harry Ransom Center, Austin.

---. Correspondence with Marguerite Caetani. MS. Marguerite Caetani Literary File. Harry Ransom Center, Austin (TX).

"Sveva Caetani: a Fairy Tale Life." Okanagan History Vignette. Ed. Greater Vernon Museum and Archives, BC, Canada. *National Adult Literacy Database*. Web. 16 Jan. 2012.

Tate, Allen. Correspondence with Marguerite Caetani. MS. Archivio della Fondazione Camillo Caetani, Roma.

"The Dutch Co-opera-tie." *The New York Times* 4 Jul. 1926: X5. *Proquest Historical Newspapers. New York Times (1851-2006)*. Web. 13 Dec. 2011.

Thomas, Dylan. Correspondence with Marguerite Caetani. Archivio della Fondazione Camillo Caetani, Roma.

Tortora, Massimiliano, ed. *Giorgio Bassani-Marguerite Caetani. «Sarà un bellissimo numero»*. *Carteggio 1948-1960*. Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2011.

---. "Introduzione." *La narrativa di Guglielmo Petroni: atti della giornata di studio della Fondazione Camillo Caetani, Roma, 27 ottobre 2006*. Ed. Massimiliano Tortora. Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2006. XI-XIX.

---. "Bassani e «Botteghe Oscure»." *Atti del convegno "Giorgio Bassani critico, redattore, editore."* Roma, Fondazione Camillo Caetani, 28-29 ottobre 2010. Ed. Massimiliano Tortora. Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2012. 127-42.

Valli, Stefania, ed. *La rivista Botteghe Oscure e Marguerite Caetani: la corrispondenza con gli autori italiani, 1948-1960*. Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1999.

Vernon, John. *The Garden and the Map: Schizophrenia in Twentieth-Century Literature and Culture*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973.

Vuillard, Edouard, Antoine Salomon, and Guy Cogeval. *Vuillard, the Inexhaustible Glance: Critical Catalogue of Paintings and Pastels*. Milan: Skira, 2003.

Walter, Eugene, and Katherine Clark. *Milking the Moon: A Southerner's Story of Life on This Planet*. New York: Crown Publishers, 2001.

Walter, Eugene. "Eugene Walter, 1921- Literary File, Photography Collection." Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin.

---. *Botteghe Oscure, a Multinational Literary Journal, 1948-1960: Being an Exhibition of Manuscripts, Correspondence, Books, Paintings, and Photographs Related to the Publication of Botteghe Oscure, from the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center Collections*. Austin, Tex.: Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin, 1991.

Weiss, Andrea. *Paris Was a Woman: Portraits from the Left Bank*. San Francisco: Harper San Francisco, 1995.

Wilcox, William P. Correspondence with Marguerite Caetani. Archivio della Fondazione Camillo Caetani, Roma.

Young, Marguerite. Correspondence with Marguerite Caetani. Archivio della Fondazione Camillo Caetani, Roma.

Young, Stanley. Correspondence with Marguerite Caetani. MS. Archivio della Fondazione Camillo Caetani, Roma.