Reception and Reflection: Fashioning the Self in the Works of Louis-Antoine Caraccioli (1719-1803)

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Dominus illuminatio mea.

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Short Abstract

Louis-Antoine Caraccioli was a divisive figure. While his works proved a commercial success, he was deplored by figures such as Friedrich Melchior von Grimm who, in 1764, declared him 'l'un des auteurs les plus détestables de ce siècle.' This thesis takes Caraccioli's negative reception as its point of departure and explores the ways in which the author fought to craft his authorial identity in the public sphere. Drawing upon the concept of self-fashioning, I adopt a dual approach, considering Caraccioli's practice in relation to his theories of selfhood. This is the first study to unite these distinct but complementary facets of the author's work, and the first to pay close attention to his conscious crafting of a public image. I draw upon a range of texts, including the paratext and content of the author's publications, and periodical press reviews, in addition to two previously undiscovered sources: a portrait of Caraccioli, and a manuscript catalogue entry concerning his works. The first half of this thesis establishes Caraccioli as an author wholly conscious of his reputation, and actively engaged in attaining literary success with a view to posterity. In producing 'fashionable' texts to appeal to the *goût du siècle*, Caraccioli invites consideration of the role of appearances in cultivating (authorial) selfhood. In a second strand, this thesis questions the relationship between 'fashion' and 'fashioning.' I first consider a dynamic whereby surface might shape depth, before taking an 'inward turn' with Caraccioli to explore the formation of the interior world through metaphors of the mind, modelled upon the public sphere. What emerges is a porous vision of self-fashioning, in which the world without 'impresses' upon the world within, and vice versa. Despite this fluid exchange between the public and private realms, Caraccioli nevertheless indicates the impossibility of ever 'realising' true selfhood in life. Instead, he points towards the immaterial afterlife as the fullest expression of

selfhood. This view in turn opens up new possibilities for interpreting Caraccioli's formation of his authorial identity and his drive for both contemporary and posthumous success.

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Long Abstract

Louis-Antoine Caraccioli divided the eighteenth-century literary world. The popularity of his works scandalised *philosophe* Friedrich Melchior von Grimm who, in 1764, declared him 'l'un des plus détestables auteurs de ce siècle.' The author of the *Correspondance littéraire* went on to assault Caraccioli's avowed profession, reducing him to a mere 'aventurier', and an opportunistic 'barbouilleur de papier.' These insults were not unique to Caraccioli. To strip an author of his status, and the symbolic authority which it would entail, was a common strategy in the sometimes combative Republic of Letters. This thesis takes Caraccioli's negative reception as its point of departure, and asks what he made of it. Or, rather, asks how he 'made himself' through it.

This thesis traces instances of self-fashioning in Caraccioli's life and works, beginning with his practice and concluding with his theory. It draws upon a diverse range of sources, from the author's publications, to periodical press reviews, a previously undiscovered portrait, and manuscript records, to argue that the concept of self-fashioning was central to Caraccioli's thought and practice. It is the first study to unite these distinct but complementary facets of the author's work, and the first to pay close attention to Caraccioli's conscious crafting of his authorial identity. The project is situated within a current of literary history which seeks to evaluate the emergence and construction of authorial identities in relation to the public sphere.

The Introduction lays out the conceptual framework for the study. It highlights two central components of 'authorial identity' in the eighteenth century, namely character and reputation. The critiques levied by Grimm against Caraccioli draw upon both of these in different ways, and both have the propensity to be fashioned from within or without. Throughout his career, Caraccioli shows himself to be consious of his reputation. While at times dismissing esteem as *vain fumée*, he nevertheless considers it a *richesse* to be treasured and nurtured. Character also has the capacity to be cultivated through habit. I argue that Caraccioli's interest in his reputation and

its mutability inclines him towards self-fashioning. Drawing upon the concept first developed by Stephen Greenblatt, I offer two additional terms which articulate my understanding of self-fashioning, and serve as a point of departure for the chapters which follow. The first of these is self-mythologisation, which relates to the ways in which an author might craft his public image to develop a certain celebrity, and to keep his name in circulation among his peers. The second is self-cultivation, which concerns the inward process of reflexive formation by which a person might develop their character. These two heuristic tools open up avenues for interpreting the authorial self as a mutable entity encompassing both character development and reputation management, with a view to contemporary success and an enduring legacy.

Chapter I introduces two additional methodological tools which guide the first half of this work. The first of these is the framework expounded by Alain Viala in *Naissance de l'écrivain* (1985), which charts the emergence of the author-figure in the Classical age. The second is paratexual analysis, based upon Gérard Genette's seminal work of classification, *Seuils* (1987). I engage with Caraccioli's paratext to trace the construction of his authorial identity and his strategies for success. Considering first Caraccioli's authorial 'pre-history', I establish him as a prime candidate for self-made authorship. Before delving into his texts, the chapter considers the shaping of Caraccioli's public image in his portrait, assessing the author's clerical portrayal before considering the painting's composition as symbolic of its sitter. Of note in particular are several discarded papers, which suggest the transience of literary works; this ephemerality is, nevertheless, undermined by the enduring medium in which it is enshrined. The mutability of authorship informs the following section, which considers Caraccioli's naming practices. Tracing a clear evolution in the use, omission, or masking of the author's name on his title pages, I highlight Caraccioli's increasing agency in his self-presentation. Pseudonyms, in particular, constitute an intentional strategy of revelatory dissimulation, whereby Caraccioli adopted narratorial guises in order to amplify his authorial presence and sustain public intrigue. Having established the authority Caraccioli amassed in the framing of his texts, I consider the public authorities to whom he expressed devotion in dedicatory epistles. The first two of these involve the spectral presences of abstract 'Time' and the seventeenth-century philosopher Malebranche, under whose patronage Caraccioli situates himself. In the second two epistles, Caraccioli addresses conventional patrons. Throughout, the letters' self-referential nature serve as a means of self-aggrandisement which constructs an image of the author, rather than of the dedicatee.

Chapter II continues to employ tools for paratexual analysis in considering Caraccioli's prefaces. These first cast the reader into the world of commerce, demonstrating the author's awareness of his market and its capricious nature. He appeals to taste, and expounds one view of what literature should do – that is, *intéresser les sens*. By exposing the *goût du siècle*, Caraccioli implicitly critiques it it, yet, nevertheless concedes to its shaping power both over the domain of letters in general and over the work of authors in particular. While authors may attempt to fashion themselves, those who wish to sell books are more likely to be fashioned by their readers. To consider how Caraccioli engages with his readership, this chapter first acknowledges the difficulty of ascertaining who they were. Since the public addressed in prefaces is always abstract, or putative, we must consider it fictive. When Caraccioli 'speaks' directly to his reader, his words are monologic. They serve to craft an image of him as author, as much as they form their object.

What emerges is a porous process whereby reader fashions author, and vice versa. All the while, the author, in addressing an unrealised future, simply holds up a mirror to himself. This is true particularly of criticism, which Caraccioli considers inevitable. In anticipating critique from others, he instead simply generates it himself. Predicting a text's immediate reception from readers and critics alike, Caraccioli casts his gaze forwards and muses upon posterity. This chapter considers how self-fashioning might operate in the 'posteriorising' of another's work, and in anticipating the afterlife of one's own. Caraccioli becomes an agent in the process of immortalising another author, and refashions an outmoded work to appeal to his contemporaries. In doing so, he reflects upon the unstable nature of literary longevity. Because of multiple parallels between Caraccioli's own authorial strategies and the edits he makes to the seventeenth-century text, we can suggest that the posterity in which Caraccioli is an agent is that which he desires also for himself. At the end of this chapter, we return to the notion of ephemerality in self-fashioning. Caraccioli highlights the cultural contingency whereby works become outmoded, and frames himself as one who can resurrect and re-contextualise another. He suggests, then, that his own authorial identity, transmitted in his texts, might be subject to change. An evocation of the Cumean Sibyl's predictions, written on oak leaves and dispersed by the wind serve as an implicit call for future generations to gather and refashion Caraccioli's own discarded pages.

Chapter III provides a close reading of three of Caraccioli's most striking texts. The chromatic *Livre à la mode* à verte feuille, *Le Livre à la mode* nouvelle édition, and *Le Livre de quatre couleurs*. This chapter serves as a juncture between the paratexual approach of the first half of this thesis, and

the theoretical focus of the latter half. It is also the point at which we shift from consideration of Caraccioli's own public image to his theories of self-fashioning. The chromatic series served to project an image of Caraccioli to his peers, and is the component of his corpus which has garnered the most posthumous attention. In engaging with these three texts, this chapter asks: what is the link between fashion and self-fashioning? (How) do outward appearances affect a person's inward nature? I first consider the title pages to the works, which offer insight into the themes which will follow. In particular, Caraccioli's use and amendment of the Horatian commonplace 'what prevents one from speaking the truth while smiling?' provides a point of departure for analysis. The author changes 'while smiling' to 'by means of smiling' – jovial appearance (understood in this chapter to refer to the coloured ink) becomes not just an incidental veneer, but a means of communication. We can extend this principle and apply it to the author's conception of fashion as outward display. While frivolous, transient and, ostensibly, superficial, fashions nevertheless have the potential to change a person's nature. In employing colour in his works, Caraccioli indicates the operative function of the printed book. The shades of green and pink are seen to generate spontaneous reactions in those who behold them, and possess a didactic power. By printing in colour, the author seeks to give rise to such reactions. These can be illustrated through the metaphors of the mirror and the magic lantern. First, the works, which are 'dressed up' in clothing or make-up, present a reflection of their readership. Readers want nothing more than to see themselves depicted on the pages of texts and Caraccioli, appealing to the *goût du siècle*, delivers. The same readers wish their books to be magic lanterns, producing dazzling, kaleidoscopic visual displays. Caraccioli delivers this too, however, in crafting the books in the image of their readers, his projection is didactic. Readers are faced with caricatures of themselves in the coloured pages, and their mirror images become an instrument of a virtuous self-fashioning.

Chapter IV takes an inward turn, and examines Caraccioli's conception of the interior life in order to determine what virtuous self-fashioning might look like. He likens the cultivation of one's character to an interior mentorship, whereby individuals take distance from themselves to observe behaviours before, it is implied, altering them. We encounter a varied interior realm. Caraccioli takes the outmoded trope of the 'little world' and updates it, drawing it into conversation with Newtonian physics and, once again, colour theory. Interiority is conceptualised as a mirror image of the external world, and the same processes of self-fashioning are at work. Reflexive self-writing, and interior galleries and spectacles become ways to shape private images of oneself which are impressed faithfully upon the world, in an ideal not of

superficial concealment but of transparency and porosity between the outside and the in. The flux which characterises self-fashioning in the external world is nevertheless present within and, in evoking the ubiquity of illusions within the self, the author indicates the impossibility of ever fully 'becoming' oneself. Instead, he points towards the immaterial afterlife as the fullest realisation of selfhood.

A motif of incompletion, ephemerality, and transience runs though this thesis. By way of a conclusion, I bring this to the fore. Caraccioli's own Protean, evasive literary identity – his repeated adoption of masks – finds another expression in his vision of posterity as mutable. The author's concept of selfhood is one which is based upon an iterative process of descent into the heart, and impression upon the world. The finality of this process – the complete 'making of oneself' – is unattainable on earth and, like enduring literary success, can only be achieved in the religious afterlife. This thesis, with its dual approach, has been able to identify the teleological dimension of self-fashioning and trace its manifestations both in Caraccioli's own authorial drive for contemporary and enduring success, and in his theoretical writing. It offers more scope for the resurrection and reappraisal of ostensibly minor authors, for further reflection on the act of 'posteriorising', and for future considerations of expressions of self-fashioning both in the thought and practice of eighteenth-century literary figures.

List of Figures

With thanks to the Réunion des Musées Nationaux et du Grand Palais for permission to reproduce their image of Caraccioli. All other figures can be found in the public domain.

Figure 1: Jan Josef Horemans II. *L'Abbé Caraccioli*, oil on canvas (1770), Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon (Versailles). © Gérard Blot. Used with permission.

Figure 2: Louis-Antoine Caraccioli. *Le Livre à la mode*, de l'imprimerie du Printemps, au Perroquet, 1759. University of Lausanne, digitized Aug 2009.

Figure 3: Louis-Antoine Caraccioli. *Le Livre à la mode*, nouvelle edition, marquetée, polie & vernissée, en Europe, chez les Libraires, 1759. Princeton University, digitized Jan 2009.

Figure 4: Louis-Antoine Caraccioli. *Le Livre de quatre couleurs*, aux quatre-elements, de l'Imprimerie des Quatre-Saisons, 4444 (1760), BnF Gallica.

Notes on Editions, Gender, and Spellings

The research for this thesis has been conducted both from digitized editions and using physical copies of Caraccioli's texts available at the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), Paris and in the Taylorian Library, Oxford. For convenience, however, all quotations are drawn from digitized texts, consultable online using Gallica and Google Books. I give the publishers' details and page numbers for each of these. As far as possible, I have sourced quotations from the earliest edition of each of Caraccioli's texts. The only exception to this is *La Conversation avec soi-même* (1753), for lack of an available first edition. When referencing this text I have taken quotations from the *nouvelle édition* published in 1759 and digitized by the BnF.

When referring to undefined 'authors', I use the male pronoun. This reflects the focus of my work, on the self-fashioning practices of a male author in relation to predominantly (though not exclusively) male peers. To redress the balance, when referring to undefined 'readers' or individuals in general, I use the female pronoun.

All original spellings have been preserved.

Introduction

In 1764, an Italian diplomat travelled to Paris from London; his name was Domenico Caracciolo. The then ambassador to England from the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies received a frosty welcome as a visitor in the city which, six years later, would become his home. In his *Correspondance littéraire*, the German critic Friedrich Melchior von Grimm recounts: '[Caracciolo] n'a vu personne à son passage qui n'ait frémi à son nom.'[1] Furthermore, 'on était tenté de lui fermer toutes les portes.'[2] Such a hostile reception must have come as a surprise for the diplomat. While resident in England, he had corresponded frequently and amicably with the Abbé Galiani, who in turn had introduced him to Madame Geoffrin and Madame d'Epinay, among others. He would go on play an active role in the *salons* hosted by these women; his affability, wit and charm were as appealing to members of Parisian intellectual society as his political and intellectual support for, and admiration of, the *philosophes*' projects. Yet, in early 1764, the same circles regarded him with suspicion. Mistrust, in this instance, arose not from anything Caracciolo himself had said, written, or done, however. Instead, his was an unfortunate case of mistaken identity. Those in enlightened circles were tempted to shut the diplomat out purely on account of his name and, more specifically, on account of another figure, of near-identical appellation.

Louis-Antoine Caraccioli in many ways resembled his name-fellow. The author – and subject of this thesis – was also said to be affable, witty, and charming in society.[3] He was a distant cousin of the Sicilian ambassador (although through a ruined branch of the family) and, as such employed

[1] Friedrich Melchior von Grimm, *Corréspondance littéraire, philosophique et critique de Grimm et de Diderot*, t. 3, ed. by Jules-Antoine Taschereau, A. Chaudé, 1st February 1764 (Paris: Furne, 1829-1831), p. 407.
[2] Ibid.
[3] In her thesis on the author, Martine Jacques highlights accounts of Caraccioli's affability. At school, for example, 'il [se] distingua par sa facilité et son goût pour les belles-lettres, par la gaieté de son caractère, les agréments de son esprit, et par le talent singulier pour imiter, de la voix et du geste, toutes sortes de personnes, au point qu'on s'imaginait converser les originaux dont il n'était que la copie.' Martine Jacques, 'Louis-Antoine Caraccioli. Écrivain et voyageur' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Sorbonne Université, 2000), p. 29.

an identical title; both were known in French as 'Le Marquis de Caraccioli'. And like his relative, Caraccioli was known in elite Parisian circles, and by *philosophes* such as Grimm. Unlike Caracciolo, however, Caraccioli would never be admired by these Enlightenment intellectuals – rather the opposite. When happenstance meant that both Caraccioli and Caracciolo were present in Paris in February 1764, the extent of their contrasting reputations and receptions was revealed. The collective shudder which would run through the room upon the announced arrival of 'Le Marquis de Caraccioli', was because those present believed the author, and not the diplomat, had entered the room. With characteristically sardonic wit, Grimm recalls how 'l'auteur de tous ces beaux écrits sur *La Jouissance de soi-même*, *La Gaieté* &c.' was an unwelcome presence. Indeed, he was said to be 'l'écrivain le *plus plat* et le *plus ennuyeux* du monde chrétien.'[4] So, in an effort to calm the fears of guests and hosts alike, Grimm recounts how 'ceux qui présentaient [Domenico Caracciolo] dans les maisons criaient d'avance: "ce n'est pas lui!"'[5] That is, 'it is not the author, but the diplomat who has arrived.' Shudders may well have been transformed, instantaneously, into a united sigh of relief, with guests sharing knowing glances and smiles with one another, before resuming their conversation…

At the threshold of this thesis, I should perhaps make my own announcement: 'c'est lui!', for the work which follows may well seem consecrated to the 'wrong' Caraccioli. Unlike the diplomat, in whom scholars have shown interest for his roles as a politician and social reformer,[6] the author Caraccioli has received relatively little scholarly attention.[7] It is perhaps unsurprising that a figure considered so controversial, derisive, and irksome by his influential contemporaries should possess a negligible posthumous legacy. His career had begun in 1751 with the publication *Dialogue entre le siècle de Louis XIV et le siècle de Louis XV*. Library inspector Joseph d'Hémery's manuscript entry in

[4] Grimm, *Correspondance littéraire*, p. 408. My emphasis.
[5] Ibid.
[6] See: Angus Campbell, *Sicily and the Enlightenment. The World of Domenico Caracciolo, Thinker and Reformer* (London: Bloomsbury, 2021).
[7] With the exception of a handful of notable studies with which I will engage shortly.

the *Historique des Auteurs en 1752* reveals that this work 'n'a pas eu grand succés'[8] despite being given printing permission by Malesherbes.[9] The disappointing start to Caraccioli's career was compounded, d'Hémery reveals, by another text presented for publication entitled *Les aventures du Prince Schelar Vardido, ou du Prince Edouard*, 'dont la permission lui a été refusée ayant été trouvé fort mauvais.'[10] This manuscript appears to have been lost, and there are no records of any further attempts at publication by the author before the successful appearance of his second work, *La Conversation avec soi-même*, one year later in 1753. Yet, by the time Grimm shared his tale in 1764, Caraccioli was certainly not an obscure author; from difficult beginnings, he quickly rose to literary fame. By 1764, he had published seventeen distinct works, many of which were followed by repeated re-editions. The most ostensibly popular of these was *La Jouissance de soi-même* (1759) which was reprinted seven times. This is followed closely by *Le Véritable mentor* (1759), which appeared in at least four editions. Furthermore, in 1759 and 1760, Caraccioli produced a series of works printed in coloured ink – an innovation which we will explore in detail in Chapter III of this thesis, and whose very existence is indicative of a certain degree of prior commercial popularity. In just over a decade, the obscure author's renown had grown to such an extent that extracts from eight of his works, plus a series of diverse fragments, were combined to form an anthology, *L'Esprit de Monsieur le Marquis de Caraccioli* (1763), published by the Belgian printer, J.L. Boubers.[11] Such anthologies were high accolades – a sort of 'greatest hits' collection – serving both as means of displaying literary glory, often posthumously, and increasing it. As a genre, the anthology flourished during the eighteenth century, a time in which technological advances made literature more widely available. Collections such as this one also reveal much about the way literary

[8] Joseph d'Hémery, *Historique des auteurs en 1752*, MS, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), N.A. Fr. 10781, fol. 77. Henceforth: *Historique*.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid.
[11] *L'Esprit de Monsieur le Marquis de Caraccioli* (Liège, Dunkerque: J.L. Boubers, 1763). The anthology contains extracts from: *La Conversation avec soi-même* (1753); *La Jouissance de soi-même* (1759); *Le Véritable mentor* (1759); *Le Tableau de la Mort* (1760); *L'Univers Enigmatique* (1760); *La Grandeur d'âme* (1761); *Le Langage de la Raison* (1763); *Le Langage de la Religion* (1763) and in addition to miscellaneous 'Mélanges'.

works were (re)produced and (re)presented to the reading public. In extricating and recontextualising specific passages of text from larger bodies of work, compilers might refine their contents, selecting salient passages and drawing filial links between them. While individual authors may have profited by extension from the publicity generated through anthologies, they did not benefit from them financially in any direct way. Instead, publishers were the primary beneficiaries of revenue gained from sales, and this to the extent that the anthology was long-considered the publishers' genre *par excellence*.[12] Compilers seeking opportunities to line their pockets would, therefore privilege authors and books which would likely prove lucrative. That Caraccioli was the subject of one such collection is a sign of his capacity to sell. And prior sales spark the promise of future success.

The anthology's compilers, though surely motivated by mercenary ends, nevertheless highlight a more 'noble' goal for their work. In condensing the ten volumes of Caraccioli's works already in print, they seek to 'ranimer le cœur du Chrétien ébranlé par les sarcasmes de la Philosophie.'[13] Grimm was scandalised by the fact that Caraccioli, an author so *plat* and apparently hostile to the Enlightenment project, was paid such an honour. In the same *Correspondance littéraire* entry, in February 1764, the *philosophe* exclaimed:

> Je ne sais quel est l'indigne compilateur qui a osé publier *l'Esprit de Caraccioli*, c'est-à-dire une quintessence des ouvrages de M. le marquis de Caraccioli, colonel au service du feu roi de Pologne, électeur de Saxe, et un des plus détestables auteurs de ce siècle.[14]

Grimm's critique is once more saturated with superlatives. Not only is Caraccioli himself an irremediably dull author, and abhorred in society for this reason, so too anyone who sees merit in his works and aims to promote them is considered *indigne*. This scathing assessment both of author and compiler is taken one step further when Grimm, referring to the confusion between the two

[12] Barbara M. Benedict, 'The eighteenth-century anthology and the construction of the expert reader', *Poetics*, (28) 2001, 377-397.
[13] *L'Esprit de Monsieur le Marquis de Caraccioli* (Liège; Dunkerque: J.L. de Boubers, 1763), p. i.
[14] Grimm, *Correspondance littéraire*, p. 407.

Caracciolis, states: 'La conformité de nom peut quelquefois être fâcheuse, surtout lorqu'un homme de mérite porte celui qu'une espèce d'aventurier a rendu célèbre.'[15] Louis-Antoine Caraccioli, then, does not deserve in Grimm's eyes to be called an 'author' at all. Instead, he is an *aventurier*, a term whose most common usage is given in the 1762 *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* as: 'Celui qui n' a aucune fortune, & qui vit d'intrigues.'[16] He is presented, then, as a mere opportunist and a mercenary. The fact that he appears to earn at least part of his living through his works paradoxically devalues his literary production. Two years later, in the *Correspondance littéraire* dated 1st April 1766, Grimm denies Caraccioli the title of author once again. Reviewing Denesle's *Préjugés du Public sur l'honneur* (1766), he associates the two writers: 'Il faut atteler M. Denesle avec cet impitoyable barbouilleur de papier qui s'appelle marquis de Caraccioli, et qui vient de publier un *Éloge historique du pape Benoît XIV*.'[17] Grimm tars Denesle and Caraccioli with the same brush: neither is deserving of 'authorship', and so both, we may infer, are equally detestable. In one fell swoop, the *philosophe* removes their authorial legitimacy, and in so doing, calls into question the authority they have over their subject.[18] The image presented is one of a chaotic, unintentional and qualitatively unworthy literary production.

It is, of course, highly unlikely Caraccioli was ever aware of these insults. The *Correspondance littéraire* was in no way a popular periodical. It was a manuscript journal, disseminated to subscribers across Europe once a fortnight over a period of around forty years. The precise number and identities of the recipients are unknown, however it is estimated that there were just fifteen beneficiaries at the publication's height;[19] among them, were various European elites, members of the German

[15] Ibid.
[16] 'aventurier' n. *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, quatrième édition, t. 1 (1762). '*Ce n'est qu'un Aventurier. Ce n'est qu'une Aventurière.* Cette acception est aujourd'hui la plus commune.'
[17] Grimm, *Correspondance littéraire*, t. 5, 1st April 1766, p. 72.
[18] Kevin Dunn, *Pretexts of Authority. The Rhetoric of Authorship in the Renaissance Preface* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994).
[19] Ulla Kölving, Jeanne Carriat eds, *Inventaire de la Corréspondance littéraire de Grimm et Meister* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1984), p. xxiv.

nobility and, notably, Catherine the Great of Russia. While small in number, then, the *Correspondance littéraire*'s addressees held significant power and influence. Unbeknownst to him, Caraccioli's name and reputation would have spread far and wide, and his reception formed along with it. Dena Goodman has commented upon the dual genre of the *Correspondance littéraire*. As its title would suggest, the periodical served both as epistolary communication – forging links between individuals – and as a more formal, literary 'piece of writing' – a work of art and, therefore, a potential object of study in itself.[20] For Goodman, this duality represents a more general fluidity in the eighteenth century which saw private correspondence transform into public forms of literature, including periodicals and pamphlets.[21] Throughout the articles, and more specifically in the two aforementioned extracts, this porosity is evident, as personal anecdotes are intertwined with literary evaluation. The insults levied against Caraccioli in the periodical are clearly influenced by a disdain for the style and content of his literary works, however, they are directed as much towards his person or identity as they are towards his writings. It is not one specific text which is described as *plat*, or *détestable*, but rather Caraccioli himself. As a result, his peers do not simply want to avoid his books, but instead seek to avoid all social interaction with him. Caraccioli's reception is thus situated as much in the domain of his identity and 'self' as it is in that of his ideas. In combining gossip with criticism, Grimm points towards the inextricable link between literary production in the eighteenth century, and an author's biographical presence.

The tirades Grimm directed against Caraccioli are but a few examples among many literary quarrels and disputes in which the author, whether consciously or not, was involved throughout his career. In-depth study of his works reveals the vast extent of his engagement with the divided and

[20] Dena Goodman, 'Enlightenment Salons: The Convergence of Female and Philosophic Ambitions' in *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 22 (1989), 329-350, (p. 342).
[21] Ibid.

querulous eighteenth-century literary sphere.[22] A number of critics have explored Caraccioli's intellectual position(s) in the context of such debates and in the broader context of the eighteenth century. Robert Mauzi, in his magisterial work *L'idée du bonheur au XVIII^e siècle*, highlights the role played by Caraccioli in negotiating the apparent rupture between the Catholic Church on the one hand and society, deemed worldly, on the other. The author, Mauzi argues, 'incarne à merveille le compromis entre l'esprit chrétien et l'esprit du monde.'[23] He suggests that Caraccioli holds a state of 'contradiction inconsciente', 'en voulant jouer le plus gros jeu possible sur les deux tableaux.'[24] As a Christian writer, he does not promote a simple, comfortable piety, but rather places emphasis on multiple occasions on the condition of '[le] pécheur […] qui soudainement entrevoit l'horreur de sa damnation.'[25] Caraccioli similarly eludes middle ground when it comes to engagement with the world: '[il] aime la joie, le rire, tous les étourdissements de la vie, non la triste procession de vertus et de plaisirs également guindés.'[26] Nothing, for Mauzi, seems to indicate that Caraccioli sought to reconcile these two facets of his thought and outlook on the world. Instead, he 'pirouettes' from one to the other, apparently seamlessly,[27] living 'les deux experiences à la fois.'[28] The image is thus painted of Caraccioli as a kind of pendulum, oscillating smoothly and readily between two poles, but settling at neither or, rather paradoxically, somehow settling at both.

Sylviane Albertan-Coppola has further explored Caraccioli's mediation between the sacred and the profane spheres, and pursues a theme similar to Mauzi's, characterising Caraccioli as an *apologiste*. In her study of eighteenth-century Catholic apologetics, for example, the author features

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[22] On the literary 'pamphlet war' between the *philosophes* and their adversaries, for example, see: Olivier Ferret, *La Fureur de nuire: échanges pamphlétaires entre philosophes et antiphilosophes (1750-1770)* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2007).
[23] Robert Mauzi, *L'idée du bonheur au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris: Colin, 1960), p. 195.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Ibid., p. 195.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Indeed, Caraccioli himself acknowledges the surprise his readers might feel when his 1761 text *Tableau de la mort* is followed just one year later by *De la Gaieté*.
[28] Mauzi, p. 195.

prominently, along with another theologian: the Abbé Nicolas-Sylvestre Bergier.[29] The two writers illustrate for Albertan-Coppola the common ground to be found between *philosophes* and the Catholic Church. Despite being 'adversaires déclarés des Lumières', Albertan-Coppola observes that many apologists adopted the language of their opponents.[30] Indeed, eighteenth-century apologetic writing in general 'fait corps avec son temps.'[31] Terms such as 'raison, esprit, lumières, préjugés, aveuglément', for example, recur almost as much in apologetic texts as in philosophical works, and Albertan-Coppola sees in this prevalence not simply the evidence of a shared culture[32] which would in turn lead to the creation of a shared vocabulary, but also the sign of an active effort, made on the part of apologists, to adapt their language, incorporating the lexicon, arguments, and even values of the *philosophes* into their own rhetoric.[33] Developing this, Didier Masseau identifies Caraccioli as an *anti-philosophe*, placing him in the same camp as other thinkers and writers, such as Elie-Catherine Fréron, who formed the so-called Counter-Enlightenment movement.[34] The labels of *apologiste* and *anti-philosophe* are by no means inaccurate. They point to

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[29] Nicolas-Sylvestre Bergier was a royal confessor and a canon of Notre Dame Cathedral. Born in 1718, he was a direct contemporary of Caraccioli, though there is no record of the two ever meeting or corresponding. Unlike Caraccioli, Bergier was praised by *philosophes* such as Grimm, and *Encyclopédistes* Edme Mentelle and Antoine Court de Gebelin, who admired his 1766 work *Origine des dieux de paganisme et le sens des fables découvert par une explication, suivie de quelques poésies d'Hésiode*. Following this, Bergier turned towards polemical writing, including a treatise entitled *Certitude des preuves du christianisme, ou Réfutation de l'Examen critique des apologistes de la religion chrétienne* (1767). See: Alfred J. Bingham, 'The Abbé Bergier: an Eighteenth-Century Catholic Apologist',*The Modern Language Review*, 54 (1959), 337-350. More recently, in 2010, Sylviane Albertan-Coppola published a monograph on the figure: *L'abbé Nicolas-Sylvestre Bergier, 1718-1790. Des Monts-Jura à Versailles, le parcours d'un apologiste du XVIII*e *siècle* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2010).

[30] Sylvaine Albertan-Coppola, 'L'apologétique catholique française à l'âge des Lumières', *Revue de l'histoire des réligions*, 205 (1988), 151-180, (p. 171).

[31] Ibid.

[32] As, for example, critics such as Jean-Robert Armogathe had previously argued, noting 'on a longtemps oublié, en trenchant le XVIIIe siècle entre Lumières et Ténèbres […] qu'une culture appartient à tous les contemporains. Le maniement de la langue française comme l'intérêt pour la critique historique valent autant pour les "philosophes" que pour leurs adversaires.' See: 'Les Apologistes chrétiens dans la *Corréspondance littéraire*', *Actes du Colloque de Sarrebruck, La Corréspondance de Grimm et de Meister*, ed. by Bernard Bray and others (Paris: Klincksieck, 1976), p. 204.

[33] Albertan-Coppola, p. 171.

[34] Didier Masseau, *Les ennemis des philosophes: L'anti-philosophie au temps des Lumières* (Paris: Editions Albin Michel S.A., 2000). Isaiah Berlin's 1973 essay 'The Counter Enlightenment' is widely understood to be the origin of this term, which was readopted in 2001 by Darrin McMahon and subsequently began to gain increased critical attention. McMahon's work addresses similar themes to Masseau's, and examines discourse of thinkers hostile to the Enlightenment project and its manifestation in *philosophie*, laying out

Caraccioli's enduring legacy and his place within a grand narrative vision of the eighteenth century and its movements. Many of his works can be classified as apologetic, and, although he did not disapprove unequivocally of philosophy writ large, nor even of the works of every Enlightenment *philosophe*,[35] he nevertheless cautioned against prioritising reason to the detriment of faith. However, neither *apologiste* nor *anti-philosophe* were terms used to describe the author in his day. When we begin to interrogate, as this introduction has already set out to do, the adjectives employed to describe Caraccioli – either by himself or by his peers – we discover that his public image was rather more complex.

Martine Jacques provides the most comprehensive study of Caraccioli's life and works in her thesis, 'Louis-Antoine Caraccioli, Écrivain et voyageur'.[36] My work owes much to the foundation this study lays and the avenues for further analysis Jacques' extensive account of the author's career trajectory opens up. She notes, in particular, the significance of travel in forming Caraccioli's intellect, a factor which, as we shall see in Chapter I, affects not just the author's theoretical landscape, but determines the way he presents himself to the public. Jacques presents a thorough analysis of the author's political engagement, both with ruling powers in central Europe,[37] and through the tumult of the Revolution.[38] In the context of the latter, the author was especially vocal and celebrated the social unity which he saw emerge in the wake of the *Etats Généraux* 'par le

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both the beliefs and strategies of the 'forgotten Counter-Enlightenment world' of clergy, aristocrats, censors and journalists. See: Darrin McMahon. *Enemies of the Enlightenment: The French Counter-Enlightenment and the Making of Modernity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

[35] On the publication of the *Encyclopédie*, for example, Caraccioli states: '[elle] n'est pas sans défauts, comme les auteurs en conviennent eux-mêmes, mais [elle] renferme bien des choses intéressantes, et [elle] a exigé bien des recherches.' Caraccioli, *Dictionnaire critique, pittoresque et sentencieux, propre à faire connaître les usages du siècle ainsi que ses bizarreries*, t. 1 (Lyon: Duplain, 1768), p. 138.

[36] Martine Jacques, 'Louis-Antoine Caraccioli. Écrivain et voyageur' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Sorbonne Université, 2000).

[37] See Chapter 4 of Jacques' thesis, 'Les Liens avec l'Europe Centrale.'

[38] In 1789, for example, Caraccioli celebrates the *prise de la Bastille*. In *La Captiale délivrée par elle-même*, he writes: 'On se précipite [à la Bastille] pour voir enfin de ses propres yeux ces chambres redoutables où la tyrannie n'enchaîna que trop souvent l'innocence.' Caraccioli, *La Capitale délivrée par elle-même* ([n.p.]: [n.pub.], 1789), p. 6.

moyen d'une presse libre' and in which 'chacun 's'estim[a] heureux d'appartenir à une Nation aussi éclairée.'[39] For Jacques, such optimism – which was nevertheless somewhat restrained[40] – stems from the realisation of the author's utopian vision wherein 'on n'est inconnu pour personne.'[41] In this dream, public and private spaces exist in complete porosity: 'toutes les tables comme les maisons sont ouvertes à quiconque veut se loger.'[42] Jacques presents a convincing social reading of Caraccioli's vision, which is said to establish heaven on earth.[43] The images of transparency (with clear rousseauian overtones) and of the perfect harmony of the outside with the inward also hold true for the author's conception of the ideal individual, which we shall examine further in Chapter IV.

A final major study to note is by Stéphanie Géhanne Gavoty, who draws attention to *L'Affaire Clémentine* – a literary quarrel in which Caraccioli was the primary actor.[44] This monograph traces the controversies which arose when, at the end of 1775, the author published *Les Lettres intéressantes du Pape Clément XIV*. While it was initially thought to be authentic, soon doubt was cast over the provenance of the correspondence, and Caraccioli – who had posed as the work's editor – was exposed as its author. In her detailed consideration of this curious case, which saw Caraccioli propelled into the literary limelight, Géhanne Gavoty examines its political and religious import, highlighting in particular the scandal caused to contemporaries of an ostensibly devotional and edifying text being founded upon a falsehood. This work is again one to which this thesis owes a great debt, and on which it will build. While Géhanne Gavoty considers the affair in relative

[39] Caraccioli, *La Petite Lutèce devenue grande fille* (Paris: Cuchet, 1790), p. 232.
[40] Caraccioli was especially concerned by the relegation of clergy, recognising that while some held great wealth and privilege, many were members of the *petit bourgeoisie* and, as such, led modest lives. See: Caraccioli, *Lettre d'un paysan à son curé* ([n.p.]: [n.pub.], 1789)
[41] Caraccioli, *La petite Lutèce*, p. 275
[42] Ibid.
[43] Ibid., p. 255.
[44] Stéphanie Géhanne Gavoty, *L'Affaire Clémentine: une fraude pieuse à l'ère des Lumières* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2014).

isolation from the rest of Caraccioli's corpus, in Chapter I, I will consider it in light of a broader literary strategy which, I suggest, had the intended effect of keeping the author in the public eye.

In taking Grimm's tale as a point of departure for my thesis, I seek to highlight the extent to which identity in particular was a source of contention throughout Caraccioli's career. His name in the first instance causes confusion; various labels are subsequently attached to him, either to affirm or deny his authorial identity by critics like the anthology compliers, or by Grimm. The tendency to condense Caraccioli's public self into single words, or to place him in particular camps, subsequently continues in present day scholarship. All of this points towards an overarching preoccupation, and a fundamental question when it comes to understanding Caraccioli's literary image. Who did Caraccioli say he was? And what effect did this have on the judgement(s) cast on him? How did he craft a literary identity in so hostile an environment, and how might this have contributed to his 'strategies' as an apologist and *anti-philosophe*, but also as an author seeking to build a reputable and sustainable career? In this thesis, I will explore Caraccioli's public identity and authorial image, as they were crafted and fashioned by him, and as they were affirmed or, conversely, altered, distorted, and called into question by others. My guiding intution is that Caraccioli is an author who was entirely conscious of his public image(s), and for whom self-fashioning was central, both to thought and to practice. I propose that principles of self-fashioning should be brought to the fore when it comes to interpreting his texts and engaging with his corpus.

I. Character and Reputation

Before we turn to consider definitions of self-fashioning in particular, which will allow us to examine the ways in which the practice was at play throughout Caraccioli's life and career, it is useful initially to explore two central facets of 'authorial identity' in an eighteenth-century context.

These are the notions of character and reputation. Both of these have the potential to be fashioned by the individual they concern or by others, and Grimm places emphasis on both in the aforementioned *Correspondance littéraire* entries. The insults directed towards Caraccioli relate, as we have seen, overtly to his status (or lack thereof) as an author. However, in their tone, they are distinctly personal and relate also to the writer's character. Since his character is the target of attacks, it must be connected to his authorship, but since his character is also used to deny him authorial status, it is also in some way distinct from his writings. Similarly, much is revealed in the *Correspondance littéraire* about Caraccioli's mixed reputation. Grimm presents the author as someone about whom news – or perhaps more accurately gossip and opinion – has circulated in society. He is therefore somebody who possesses a reputation, and one which precedes him in discourse within a certain group. A consideration of both character and reputation as discourse over which an individual might have little or no control will therefore prove fruitful to our initial discussion. To phrase this latter idea as a question: could Caraccioli have exerted control over his reputation, expressed in terms of character, and how (if at all) did he seek to do so?

Let us turn, in the first instance, to the notion of *caractère* or character which is defined in the 1762 *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* as 'ce qui distingue une personne des autres à l'égard des mœurs ou de l'esprit.'[45] Character is the element of the self which individuates a person.[46] Where Caraccioli's name failed to distinguish him from the ambassador of the same name, his nature – perceived as detestable where his counterpart's was considered admirable – would do so. The

[45] 'Caractère' s.m. in *Le Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, quatrième edition, t.1 (1762).
[46] What constitutes the 'we' or the 'I' was a preoccupation for many eighteenth-century thinkers and philosophers. Across the Channel, in 1711, the Earl of Shaftesbury composed his *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinion and Times.* He argued that the 'seeming logic of a famous modern […] "We think therefore we are"' is insufficient, and in order to ascertain the nature of a subject, or self, the question must be asked: 'what constitutes the We or I?' See: Anthony Ashley Cooper, *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinion and Times* (1711), t. 3 ([n.p.]: [n.pub.], 1758), p. 134. Furthermore, it is necessary to ask 'where the I of this instant be the *same* with that of any instant, preceeding or to come.' Hume, in *A Treatise of Human Nature* (1739-1740), concludes that the 'sameness of person' the abiding self is nowhere to be found, and 'identity which we ascribe to the mind of man is a fictitious one.' David Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature* (1739-1740), ed. by Antony Flew (New York: Collier Books, 1962), p. 264.

Encyclopédie definition of 1753 suggests that character is not something fixed or predetermined, but rather has the potential to be shaped. It is defined as 'la disposition habituelle de l'âme, par laquelle on est plus porté à faire, & l'on fait en effet plus souvent des actions d'un certain genre, que des actions du genre opposé.'[47] Character, then, emerges as an organic result of the performance of certain actions, stemming from the interior, inert dispositions of the soul and flowing outwards. Since it is rooted in habit, character is not something inherent, but rather is contingent and subject to conscious change. It can, furthermore, be distinguished from personality which scholars of character and its expressions define as 'the totality of a person's stable features.'[48] Within the broad category of personality, character's mutability places specific emphasis on the moral dimension of the person. It implies certain value judgements which might be attached to conduct and demenour; someone may be deemed of 'good' character or of 'bad', depending on traits considered desirable or deplorable by society. Perception of the good or the bad is, of course, always contextual. Every culture and age develops its own ideas about appropriate virtues and modes of behaviour for different social groups, and in different settings.[49] That Caraccioli might be declared 'boring' by those who disliked him is indicative, for example, of the eighteenth-century ideal of politeness, which saw wit and amiability in conversation lauded as the highest of social virtues. Through contextual determination and evaluation of (in)appropriate modes of being, we begin to see the ways in which an individual's character might exert influence over their reputation.

Defined in the 1762 *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* as 'renom, estime, opinion publique',[50] the notion of *réputation* goes hand in hand with the emergence of what Jürgen Habermas would term

[47] 'Caractère' [morale] in *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers etc.*, ed. by Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert (1753) 2: 666. University of Chicago: ARTFL *Encyclopédie* Project, ed. by Robert Morissey and Glenn Roe. <https://encyclopedie.uchicago.edu> [Accessed 7th January 2023].
[48] Martijn Icks, Jennifer Keohane, Sergei A Samoilenko, Eric B. Shiraev eds, *Routledge Handbook of Character Assassination and Reputation Management* (New York: Routledge, 2017). No pagination.
[49] Icks et al., *Handbook of Character Assassination*, no pagination.
[50] 'Réputation' s.f. in *Le Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, quatrième edition, t.2 (1762).

'the public sphere',[51] referring to the realm of social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed, and to which access is guaranteed to all citizens. While character is concerned with the traits a person actively cultivates or possesses, reputation is a matter of public opinion, and relates to the reception of a person as 'good' or 'bad' by others. So, while character may be formed from within, and while an individual has the capacity to influence and shape it, reputation is in the realm of exterior perception and – it would seem – outside of the bounds of control. Mechanisms for establishing and spreading public opinion – such as the discourse exemplified in eighteenth-century journal culture – have the capacity to fashion and alter a person's reception independently of any direct action by the individual themselves.

A person's reputation does not always and necessarily reflect her actual character traits; on the contrary, it may distort them. The *ad hominem* attacks and uncivil tone of Grimm's account, for example are typical expressions of what might be termed 'character assassination'. This ubiquitous phenomenon comes in varied guises and is carried out in persuasive communicative acts which do not alter a person's character per se – such a change can only be effected reflexively – but which use appeals to inward nature in order to alter the ways an individual is perceived and judged by others.[52] Character assassination, then, is one particular means of influencing a person's reputation for the worse. Although an individual has little to no direct influence over her reputation, she nevertheless cannot be considered indifferent to it. The *Encyclopédie* recognises the natural curiosity and concern of each person for the way others see them:

> nous ne *devons* point naturellement être insensibles à l'estime des hommes, à notre honneur & à notre réputation. Ce seroit aller contre la raison qui nous *oblige* d'avoir égard à ce qu'approuvent les hommes, ou à ce qu'ils improuvent le plus universellement & le plus constamment.[53]

[51] Jürgen Habermas, 'The Public Sphere: An Encyclopedia Article (1964)', *New German Critique*, 3 (1974), 49-55.
[52] Icks et al., *Handbook of Character Assasination*, no pagination.
[53] Réputation, Considération in *Encyclopédie*, 14: 161.

The moral dimension of a person's concern for the way in which they are perceived is emphasised in Louis de Jaucourt's dual reference to obligation, highlighted in italics. Not only are individuals naturally concerned with how they appear to others, but they have a moral duty to be concerned with it. *Réputation* is given a second *Encyclopédie* article, under the category of 'morale'. The anonymous *encyclopédiste* acknowledges that the act of conserving or of caring for one's public image poses problems in the discrete domains of nature, philosophy, and religion. In each of these domains, the notion of *réputation* is fraught with contradiction. In the first instance, men and women naturally experience pleasure when they are esteemed by others. Yet, to be seen to overtly seek such regard leads to 'une sorte de flétrissure.'[54] Secondly, philosophy 'tend à nous rendre indépendans des jugemens que les hommes peuvent porter de nous.'[55] Nevertheless, pure philosophy does not condemn the desire to be honourable.[56] On the contrary, 'non seulement elle l'autorise, mais elle l'excite et l'entretient.'[57] The contradiction inherent to religion's conception of reputation and esteem is perhaps the most stark:

> La religion ne nous recommande rien davantage, que le mépris de l'opinion des hommes, & de l'estime qu'ils peuvent, selon leur fantaisie, nous accorder ou nous refuser. L'Evangile même porte les Saints à desirer & à rechercher le mépris; mais en même tems le S. Esprit nous prescrit d'avoir soin de notre *réputation*.[58]

It is in the context of these seemingly irreconcilable tensions that Caraccioli articulates his own view of what it means to possess a reputation. When we begin to interrogate Caraccioli's life and works, we see that legacy, reputation, and reception were a near constant preoccupation for him. This is the case both in the abstract, as he explores the nature and significance of *réputation*(*s*) in general, and in the concrete as he reflects upon his particular reception. 'Il est étonnant comme on fait et défait des réputations'[59], the author exclaims at the very end of his career in *Paris, métropole*

[54] Réputation [morale] in *Encyclopédie*, 14: 161.
[55] Ibid.
[56] See: Tim Stuart-Buttle, 'A burthern too heavy for humane sufferance': Locke on reputation' *History of Political Thought* (2016), 644-680. For Locke, concern for reputation powerfully shapes an individual's conduct, and can become the driving force for social development.
[57] Réputation [morale] in *Encyclopédie*, 14: 161.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Caraccioli, *Paris, métropole de l'univers* (Paris: Le Normant, 1802).

de l'univers (1802). This text is at once a depiction of Parisian life and customs – in the trend of Louis-Sébastian Mercier's 1772 *Tableau de Paris* – and something of an autobiography, with nostalgic anecdotes interwoven throughout by the author.[60] The work is a final testament of sorts, in which Caraccioli – now eighty-two years of age – reflects on what has, and on what might have, been. He is avowedly conscious of his publications' reception, describing his surprise, for example, when his early works saw rapid success, repeated editions, and translations 'tant en anglais qu'en allemand, en italien qu'en espagnol.'[61] He makes claim to his works' broad influence. Across European nations and tongues, he attests, 'il y a eu peu de personnes qui les aient méconnues.'[62]

The self-proclamation of literary success is an act of reputation forging, or attempted reputation control in itself. Such reflexive and self-aggrandising claims are a pervasive feature of Caraccioli's commentaries on his own life and career. In reflecting positively upon his perceived great success when 'prêt à terminer [sa] carrière',[63] Caraccioli also reveals his own view of professional authorship. The positive reception of his texts becomes a kind of laurel wreath, which the author bestows upon himself as consolation, perhaps, as his life draws to its close. It must be noted that at this time, following the Revolution, Caraccioli's literary success had long waned. He received a small *pension* and died one year after the publication of *Paris, métropole de l'univers*, in 1803, almost destitute. [64]

In his final literary act as a struggling and near-penniless former 'household name', Caraccioli alludes to a definition written several decades before, in the *Lettres intéressentes de Pape Clément XIV*

[60] Lettre XVIII, for example, describes the 'manie d'écrire' which overcame Caraccioli at the age of 19. This frenzied image of inspired authorship will be examined in greater detail in Chapter 2 of this thesis.
[61] Caraccioli. *Paris, métropole de l'univers*, p. 37.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Robert Darnton reveals Caraccioli's offence at the lack of *pension* awarded to him in 'The High Enlightenment and the Low Life of Literature in Pre-Revolutionary France', *Past & Present*, 51 (1971), 81-115, (p. 87).

(1777) where he declares: 'Notre richesse doit être notre réputation.'[65] Adopting the narratorial voice of the recently deceased Pope Clément XIV, Caraccioli makes a religious allusion, indicating that the most valuable wealth is immaterial. While financial treasures, it is implied, must not be 'stored up on earth'[66], the care of one's public image constitutes a commendable kind of fortune; and, when all else is stripped away, reputation endures. In what follows, Caraccioli's definition of the term offers a resolution to the problematic contractions raised in the *Encyclopédie* article. Reputations, for the author, can be built and therefore treasured only if they are 'fondée[s] sur le désintéressement.'[67] That is, a person should certainly care for their reputation, but this care is expressed and enacted in the very fact of holding it at a distance, in assuming a state of *mépris* vis-à-vis oneself. The best of reputations are thus forged as the spontaneous result of a life well lived and, in the words of Caraccioli's pope 'la pratique de toutes les vertus.'[68]

The author's vision of reputation is not devoid of contradiction, however. In the *Lettres à une Illustre Morte décedée en Pologne depuis peu de temps* (1770), he claims to be detached from any renown which may result from his authorship: 'j'écris pour moi-même et non pour la reputation qui n'est qu'une vaine fumée.'[69] In this inconsistency, we touch upon a defining characteristic of Caraccioli's writing, and a foundational difficulty when it comes to understanding his life and works as they relate to one another; in short, his words do not always reflect his practice. This phrase, and its context, exemplifies this. As an author, Caraccioli is strikingly conscious of the fact that his writing will be subject to scrutiny by others and that the result of this scrutiny will be the formation of a public image – either positive or negative. In publishing his works, the author consents to this scrutiny; a book which is sold and read by others is in no way 'écrit pour soi-même'. The epistolary

[65] Caraccioli, *Lettres intéressantes du Pape Clément XIV (Ganganelli)* (Paris: Lottin le Jeune, 1775) p. 45.
[66] Matthew 6.19-20.
[67] 'Réputation' s.f. in *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*, quatrième édition, t.2, 1762.
[68] Caraccioli, *Lettres à une Illustre Morte décedée en Pologne depuis peu de temps* (Paris: Bailly, 1770), p. 45.
[69] Ibid., p. 283.

genre is, in the words of Terence Cave, 'ostensibly private'.[70] Since the *Lettres à une Illustre Morte* consists of a series of intimate letters sent from the narrator Caraccioli to the 'ombre' of his deceased friend, their deeply personal contents might be considered an unveiling whereby the author, under a narratorial guise, places himself on display in order to construct a particular literary *persona*. Since the vast majority of Caraccioli's works are written in the first person, and since they frequently feature distinctly autobiographical elements, we can consider there to be a porosity between textual and authorial *personae*. While these two are distinct, and this thesis will be careful not to conflate authorial and narratorial voices, they are nevertheless interconnected.

Between a *richesse* to be treasured, and *vaine fumée* to be rejected, Caraccioli's view of reputation and its value or lack thereof for an author writing and submitting his texts for public evaluation is far from disinterested or neutral. Instead, throughout his *œuvre*, the author demonstrates the primacy of public image in literary success. This thesis suggests that Caraccioli proactively 'took care of' his reputation and that, as the *Encyclopédie* implies, he was never disinterested towards it, but on the contrary sought to fashion his public character in order to influence his reputation. I ask the foundational question: who was Caraccioli? And explore the further query: how did he wish to be judged, both by his contemporaries and by posterity? Since a person cannot, nor should not be indifferent to their reputation, and should care for it, how did Caraccioli react to the 'bad press' he received? How did he construct, fashion, or form his (literary) identity in such a hostile climate? And how might his response(s) shape our reading of his texts, and our understanding of the author in his context?

II. Self-fashioning – approaching a definition

[70] Terence Cave, *The Cornucopian Text: Problems of Writing in the French Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 47.

Since Stephen Greenblatt both coined the term and developed the concept of 'self-fashioning' in 1980, it has proven an invaluable tool for literary scholars examining the significance of writing as a means of identity formation. The concept as initially conceived by Greenblatt in *Renaissance Self-Fashioning from More to Shakespeare* is, the critic argues, of universal significance. Wherever there is a 'self' there are always 'some elements of a deliberate shaping in the formation and expression of identity.'[71] The act of writing in particular lends itself well to the process of an individual's self-creation. In the context of the sixteenth century, Greenblatt acknowledges 'a change in the intellectual, social, psychological and aesthetic structures that govern the generation of identities'[72] and recognises the effect literature had on society, where a shift was occurring 'from absorption by community, religious faith, or diplomacy towards the establishment of literary creation in its own right.'[73] Works which constituted 'literature' in the sixteenth century were increasingly dissociated from the institutions which once cradled them. The advent of authorial rights, most notably the creation of copyright laws across Europe, led to the establishment of a distinctly literary sphere. Literary terrain continued to shift well into Caraccioli's era and beyond, as Enlightenment discourse called into question the authority of institutions and, more specifically, the exertion of such authority over the written word.[74]

In the eighteenth century, the dismantling of traditional institutions was teamed with the establishment of new modes of authorial legitimation, and fora for literary criticism. Printed journals and periodicals, which had begun to appear in the seventeenth century, became increasingly widespread. These ranged from the exclusive, such as the *Correspondance littéraire* we have already seen, to the partisan – Elie Fréron's *Année littéraire* for example, became one of the

[71] Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: from More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), p. 1.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid.
[74] See: Sophia Rosenfeld, *Writing the History of Censorship in the Age of Enlightenment* (London: Routledge, 2001).

anti-philosophes' primary outlets. Both of these journals, in addition to others, played central roles in Caraccioli's literary career, both in terms of its establishment and affirmation, and its questioning. For Greenblatt, the emergence of an increasingly autonomous literary sphere, which acts as an arbiter for public opinion, lays crucial foundations for authorial self-fashioning. Greenblatt's analysis has a sixteenth-century focus, however when we recognise the vast proliferation of printed sources in the eighteenth century – both primary texts and secondary works of contemporary criticism, such as the aforementioned periodicals – we must also appreciate the salience of self-fashioning, as a concrete instrument by which authors sought to influence their receptions.

Until the end of the seventeenth century, the court had been the primary locus of literary activity. Authors were typically financially independent amateurs, or were supported in their activities by wealthy patrons. However, by the early eighteenth century, a literary 'marketplace' had begun to emerge wherein writers became professionals, dealing directly with printers and book-sellers to promote their craft to an increasingly literate public.[75] With the upsurge of readers and the growing influence of periodical literature came an increase in the number of men (for the most part) who sought to live by the pen and, as such, had to build a name and forge a reputation for themselves in order to succeed**.** Caraccioli himself confesses to being a part of this group, and does not conceal the fact that many of his works were at least partially motivated by mercenary desire or, on occasion, acute financial need. His relative precarity, I contend, led him to seek publicity actively, and throughout this thesis we will encounter the multiple ways in which Caraccioli positioned himself in the public eye, engaging with and combatting his critics in order not only to forge a literary identity, but to promote it.

[75] See: Geoffrey Turnovsky, *The Literary Market: Authorship and Modernity in the Old Regime* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010).

It is possible that bad press may have helped, rather than hindered Caraccioli's career. Indeed, that his reception by certain journals was unequivocally negative is not insignificant, and is a crucial element of the self-fashioning process as conceived by Greenblatt. Despite the universality of self-fashioning for Greenblatt, it is also a phenomenon that arises from a particular set of circumstances. The individual who begins the process of self-fashioning does so in response to 'something perceived as alien, strange, or hostile.'[76] They perceive this 'threatening Other' – which may, in Caraccioli's case, include though is not restricted to the *philosophes* –as either unformed and chaotic, or false and negative. In the act of self-creation, then, a person enters into a kind of combat with their perceived opponent in order at once to destroy the 'alien' and to affirm a different 'authority'. This authority, for Greenblatt's Renaissance authors, is a power 'situated at least partially outside the self', for example 'God, a sacred book, an institution such as church […] administration.'[77] It is important to note, then, that agency in Greenblatt's model is never absolute. An individual is always limited, constrained in some way by circumstance and community. In submitting to an institutional authority of some kind, the 'self' becomes a contextual entity. Any resulting *persona* may well be the inevitable result of historically-determined factors.

Taken to its extreme, such a view of self-fashioning precludes the self's autonomy and ability to counter external forces. Indeed, in *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*'s Epilogue, Greenblatt surmises that 'the human subject [seems] remarkably unfree', and is simply the 'ideological product of the relations of power in a particular society.'[78] The individuality to which authors are said to cling at the end of the self-fashioning process is 'conceived as a fiction', subordinate to the 'reality' of the society which constructs it.[79] My thesis tempers this view. It resists the historical determinism of

[76] Greenblatt, p. 9.
[77] Ibid., p. 9.
[78] Greenblatt, p. 256.
[79] Ibid.

which Greenblatt's model of self-fashioning has been accused,[80] and instead argues that the so-called submission of Caraccioli to the authorities at play in his literary life – the Catholic Church, notably, but also the emerging institution of literary criticism – is primarily motivated and stirred by his own will. In practice, this involves the employment of multiple strategies of self-fashioning in Caraccioli's formation and assertion of an individual authorial identity. Of course, the means by which he does this, and many of the literary 'sites' in which the author's self-fashioning is effected, are historically contingent. We will see, for example, Caraccioli make use of dedicatory epistles to construct a public image: a practice still common (though waning) in the eighteenth century, but near-unheard of today. The author's immersion in his context does not, however, render him powerless to influence, question, or challenge it. On the contrary, frequent appeals to 'le goût du siècle' which we will see Caraccioli make both implicitly and explicitly throughout this thesis demonstrate his capacity to reflect upon the charactersitics of his age, and to engage with them on his own terms. In this way, the role of social context in the process of self-fashioning is not diminished, rather the emphasis shifts. In resisting the view that Caraccioli's individual authorship is bound by his time, this thesis will open up the possibility of him using contextual factors as instruments to position himself in relation to his peers, and to distinguish himself from them. Self-fashioning thus emerges as a series of porous encounters between Caraccioli's will and the world.

The concept of self-fashioning as conceived by Greenblatt is an essential point of departure, and it lays the foundations of this thesis' methodological framework. However, for the reasons outlined above, the New Historicist view of the self is limited in its applicability. As I explore and define the self-fashioning at play in Caraccioli's life and career, I therefore take a broader view than Greenblatt. This is both to avoid the pitfalls of historical determinism, and to account for the nuance which is at the heart of Caraccioli's own self-fashioning, both ideal and enacted. This

[80] See, for example: Andreas Schönle, 'Social Power and Individual Agency: The Self in Greenblatt and Lotman', *The Slavic and East European Journal*, 45 (2001), 61-79.

nuance comes to the fore when we consider the relationship between exterior and interior selves, for the shaping power an individual holds over their reputation will not be the same as the one they hold over their character.

To engage with the notion of the external self – that is the image(s) of the self projected or displayed by an individual to the outside world which receives, and perhaps distorts, them – the idea of 'self-mythologisation' can prove useful. By 'myth', I here refer to the phenomenon by which an image or a name acquires a new signification over a period of time, as a result of its circulating in society – either visually or in discourse – independently of its original object. The process by which an object or a person is mythologised may be spontaneous; the more a potential myth circulates, the more it is likely to acquire a new significance which goes beyond it. In this case, a myth is akin to an extended reputation, which surpasses its referent who exerts no control over it. Mythologising can, however, also be calculated and to an extent planned. This is the case, Roland Barthes argues in his 1957 book *Mythologies*, in twentieth-century bourgeois society for which myth-making was a means of promoting certain ideologies.[81] In this thesis, I suggest that Caraccioli too sought intentionally either to create a myth of himself or to profit from the myths propagated in discourse which arose around or about him.

The notion of 'myth' in an eighteenth-century context is co-extensive with the phenomenon of celebrity, which has been the focus of a major study by Antoine Lilti. In *Figures publiques*, Lilti resists reductive definitions of celebrity, and argues that the phenomenon has its roots in the very heart of modernity, in forms of public recognition which appeared during the Enlightenment.[82] He defines a celebrity as an individual who is known to a vast group of people 'avec lesquels il n'a aucun contact direct, qui ne l'ont jamais rencontré et ne le renconreront jamais, mais qui sont

[81] See 'Le Mythe Aujourd'hui' in Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* (1957) (Paris: Seuil, 2014).
[82] Antoine Lilti, *Figures publiques: l'invention de la célébrité 1750-1850* (Paris: Fayard, 2014).

fréquemment confrontés à sa figure publique, c'est-à-dire l'ensemble des images et des discours associés à son nom."[83] As in the case of a myth, celebrity might be considered an extended reputation. However, celebrity is not merely a different degree of renown, it is a different kind. Conversations about a celebrity figure become increasingly dissociated from the person herself the more famous she becomes. And when a person is known simply for their 'well-known-ness' they are no longer evaluated by a standard of criteria specific to their original activity, rather they are judged with respect to their ability to capture and maintain curiosity on the part of the audience.[84] So, it is in the interest of someone who wants to self-mythologise to actively seek to maintain curiosity of others.

While Caraccioli was not an eighteenth-century 'household name' in the manner of, for example Voltaire, recent database studies have shown the most frequently-listed works in private library catalogues of the period are not necessarily those by now-canonical Enlightenment figures; in addition to the texts we might expect, a multitude of lesser-known religious and pedagogical, so-called 'middlebrow' authors feature. Among them, Alicia Montoya reveals, is Louis-Antoine Caraccioli.[85] Authors like Caraccioli represent for Montoya a distinct category, 'engaged in creating a set of holistic, universal values for a new, ideal society, in which the opposites were united that others had considered irreconcilable: reason and faith, high and low culture, male and female practices, private and public, geographic centres and peripheries.'[86] The significance of such authors in shaping the public sphere, and their success in garnering wide reading audiences should not be underestimated. We must understand Caraccioli's literary celebrity in this context. Throughout this thesis, we shall see the author divulge autobiographical details which cross the porous boundary from the private to the public sphere. I argue that this active effort to sustain

[83] Lilti, p. 13.
[84] Ibid., p. 10.
[85] Alicia C. Montoya, Middlebrow, Religion, and the European Enlightenment: A New Bibliometric Project MEDIATE (1665-1820) in *French History and Civilization*, 7 (2017), 66-79, (p. 71).
[86] Ibid, p. 76.

and increase curiousity on the part of the reader played a significant role in his literary success. His case might serve as exemplary of the swathe of (often forgotten) middlebrow authors whom Montoya and the MEDIATE project seek to resurrect.

In addition to considering the practice of self-fashioning and its strategic role in Caraccioli's career, this thesis will pay close attention to theories of self-fashioning expounded in the author's thought. The second half of my work is consecrated to a broader exploration of the self and its construction, as expressed in Caraccioli's writing. In this context, reflection will emerge as a heuristic device which illuminates both the way a person's public image might be projected onto the world, and the way their self might be constructed inwardly. So, while the notion 'self-mythologisation' is useful when we consider a person's 'external' self, the formation of the interior life – which includes though is not necessarily restricted to character – requires a different term. I propose 'self-cultivation' as a means to deepen our understanding and analysis of self-fashioning as it relates to the life of the mind, character, and the emotions. The concept has long been employed in philosophical traditions to denote a form of reflexive pedagogical action, and in the context of literary history corresponds to the German *Bildung*, theorised in particular by eighteenth-century polymath Alexander von Humboldt. In his 'Theory of *Bildung*', Humboldt describes the 'ultimate task' of human existence as 'to achieve as much substance as possible for the concept of humanity in our person, both during the span of our life and beyond it, through the traces we leave by means of our vital activity.'[87] I will lean upon this twofold definition. In the first instance, self-cultivation here refers to the process by which an individual comes to know herself, or comes to 'realise' – in both the sense 'actualise' and 'become aware of' – herself as a person, distinct from others. For Caraccioli as for Humboldt, such a realisation is a lifelong endeavour; indeed, both suggest that a

[87] Wilhelm von Humboldt, 'Theorie der Bildung des Menschen', *Werke in fünf Bünden: Vol. 1 Schriften zur Anthropologie und Geschichte* (1793-1794) (Barmsadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1969). See: Ian Westbury, Stefan Hopmann, Kurt Riquarts eds., *Teaching as Reflective Practice. The German Didaktik Tradition* (London: Routledge, 2000), p. 58.

person may never fully attain the desired authenticity in this life, and thus the process of self-cultivation spans 'beyond it'. In the second instance, Humboldt's definition of *Bildung* indicates that such growth or development does not take place in a vacuum. On the contrary, a person must enter into a dialogue with their community or society, both to be formed by the world, and in turn to leave an impression upon it. Self-cultivation is therefore a dynamic process whereby an individual's identity is formed not merely as a result of societal influence – as is the logical consequence of the New Historicist self-fashioning – but conversely is effected in and through the individual's influence on society: the 'traces' they leave.

In introducing two alternative terms, I highlight the porosity inherent to individuals' relationships with the world around them. The self which is mythologised externally may radically differ from the self which is cultivated within, just as a person's reputation may not correspond to their character. While distinct, the outer and inner selves are nevertheless interrelated – each has the propensity to 'fashion' the other. The dynamic relationship between within and without is reflected in the sequence of my chapters. Chapter One will make use of frameworks proposed in Gerard Genette's *Seuils* and Alain Viala's *Naissance de l'écrivain* to engage with the author's paratext – in particular instances of *onymat*, *pseudonymat*, and *anonymat* on title pages, in addition to the inclusion of dedicatory epistles – to argue that Caraccioli actively sought to create and sustain his own notoriety. We have already seen discourse circulate about the author outside of his control. I suggest that the renown that Grimm's account exemplifies is part of a broader trend in Caraccioli's career in which he actively publicised his name and created around himself a curiosity and an intrigue on the part of his readers, crafting, in a sense, his own 'celebrity'.

III. Structure

In the first instance, Chapter One deals with the *personæ* Caraccioli constructed and asserts, or disavows in the construction of his public image. Understanding *persona* in its etymological sense, meaning a theatrical mask, I consider first the identities which Caraccioli might be expected to claim but does not, before exploring those he does. Having traced the author's pre-history through his early biography, my second port of call will be two previously unexplored sources which shed light on Caraccioli's reception: d'Hémery's *Historique des Auteurs,* which we have already briefly considered, and a portrait of the author, painted by Jan Joseph Horemans II, and which has lain undiscovered by Caraccioli scholars until now. Analysis of the visual portrayal of Caraccioli will unearth both his (literal) public image, and offer clues about his designs for success. Following this, I will consider the uses, distortions, veilings, and revelations of Caraccioli's name on his works. This paratextual analysis will illustrate the ways Caraccioli made of himself a 'protagoniste de l'acte littéraire' (adopting Alain Viala's phrasing).[88] The public curiosity to which Caraccioli's name and authorial voice gave rise results, I suggest, from a ludic strategy of masking and unveiling, whereby the author kept his name in circulation amongst his peers. This contributed to his contemporary commerical success, which in turn is underscored by the author's rejection of conventional models of partronage. The final section of the chapter considers this in light of Caraccioli's dedicatory epistles, in which he constructs an image of himself as a primary religious and moral authority, and, it would seem, sets the stage for his own enduring literary legacy.

Chapter Two remains at the threshold of Caraccioli's works, and considers the significance of prefaces for self-fashioning. In these privileged sites of authorial agency, authors conventionally offer interpretative keys for their texts to their readers. Through evocations of taste, Caraccioli demonstrates kind of author he is, the kind of texts he writes, and the kind(s) of readers he wishes to attract. With regards the latter, Caraccioli uses prefaces to identify, address, and ultimately

[88] Alain Viala, *Naissance de l'écrivain* (Paris: Minuit, 1985), p. 8.

construct his readership. However, the readers addressed in Caraccioli's prefaces are always putative or desired and, as such, fictional. In a second strand of argumentation, I suggest that Caraccioli's characterisation of those who may purchase his texts reveals more about him than it does about his readers. So, the 'fashioning' of a readership is also a reflexive act of self-formation. This is true not least of Caraccioli's engagement with his critics, whom he addresses frequently. In prefaces, the author prefigures critique to the point of generating it, and as such might be said to fashion his own reception. The chapter will conclude with a consideration of this reception in relation once more to the conversion of transient success into lasting posterity.

The second half of this thesis departs from the paratextual analysis which illuminates the practice of self-mythologisation, to look at theories of self-cultivation in Caraccioli's texts. In the first instance, Chapter Three makes the most of the polysemy of *fashion* to engage with three of the author's most curious published works. *Le Livre à la mode* à verte feuille, *Le Livre à la mode* nouvelle édition, and *Le Livre de quatre couleurs* appeared in quick succession in 1759 and 1760. Each book is printed in a different colour of ink: green for the first, then pink, followed by – unsurprisingly – four colours (green, yellow, red, and brown). The works all present a humorous and pointed satire of the ostensibly frivolous French society. In each, Caraccioli highlights the dangers of being fixated with one's appearance to the detriment, it is implied, of the interior life. Yet in each, the physical appearance of the text is not mere superficial artifice, but rather is the vector for a moral message. Colour is not just an adornment, but central to the content of the works if it is to be understood correctly. I argue that through colour, the texts themselves are 'fashioned' – made-up, and embellished – in order to mirror their readers. In their visual evocation of *dames* and *petit-maîtres*, these texts blur the line between word and image, and are bestowed a visual communicative power which is instrumental to Caraccioli's own didactic aims. The intstructive function of colour in the works invites further analysis of the relationship between the fashioning of outward

appearances to the formation of character, which this chapter will explore through motifs of flux and mutability.

Chapter Four considers the relationship of interiority to self-fashioning through analysis of reflexivity in Caraccioli's works. I argue that the process of fashioning identity finds echoes in the author's pedagogy, and in his account of the role of the mentor. I explore the idea of the 'inward turn' as a first step in the self-fashioning process, highlighting the author's presentation of isolation in terms of universal desire. However, Caraccioli does not necessarily advocate for a physical retreat from the world. Instead, he builds a picture of the interior self as a series of spaces, accessible through self-reflection. Entering this metaphorical world, a person can view her actions and come to a deeper knowledge of herself. Through analysis of various images of the interior life, including the notions of the reflexive journal and the *conversation avec soi-même*, I demonstrate that Caraccioli's interiority has an outward-facing role and serves ultimately to make an 'impression' on society, where character begins to meet reputation.

Employing self-fashioning as an analytical tool both to assess Caraccioli literary career and to enrich an understanding of his thought will, for the first time, bring the author's theory into conversation with his practice. What emerges is an image of an author for whom the self is a mutable entity which presents an opportunity for character development and both contemporary and posthumous literary success. Considering the didactic and strategic strands of Caraccioli's life and work in tandem with one another thus opens up rich interpretative avenues for exploring the significant relationship between artifice and authenticity, surface and depth, or the exterior and interior life in the currents of eighteenth-century thought often considered marginal.

Chapter I

Identity and Masquerade: Lessons from the Paratext

Introduction

In 1753, English author and lexicographer Samuel Johnson designated the eighteenth century 'The Age of Authors.' This comment, made in *The Adventurer*, was satirical. Johnson lamented the proliferation of writers which he considered coextensive with a decline in literary quality. The same era might just have well have been called 'The Age of Texts' for, as Johnson again observes, there was never a time when so many 'were posting with ardour so general to the press.'[89] In directing his sardonic wit towards authors in particular, rather than towards the works they produce, however, Johnson betrays a feature of the eighteenth-century literary landscape which has been the subject of much scholarship since. The author figure was fast becoming 'a very conspicuous part of the nation.'[90] The heightened social and cultural visibility of authors was a widespread phenomenon throughout Europe, and not least in France. Alain Viala has notably observed, by the mid-seventeenth century, authors had emerged as 'les protagonistes de l'acte littéraire.'[91] In the critic's seminal work *Naissance de l'écrivain*, he charts the rise of the author figure across the Classical age. If so many appear in the figurative Panthéon of the literary canon, he argues, it is because 'ces écrivains se sont trouvés engages dans des processus historiques qui ont fait d'eux des modèles reconnus.'[92] These historical processes involve 'des instances de jugement et de légitimation qui

[89] Samuel Johnson, *The Essays of Samuel Johnson. Selected from the Rambler, 1750-1752; the Adventurer, 1753, and the Idler, 1758-1760. With Biographical Introduction and* Notes (London: W. Scott, 189-), p. 251.
[90] Samuel Johnson, 'A Project for the Employment of Authors', *The Universal Visiter* (1756), *The Works of Samuel Johnson with an essay on his life and genius*, ed. by Arthur Murphy, 12 vols (London: 1824), p. 45.
[91] Viala, p. 8.
[92] Ibid., p. 9.

confèrent à l'éphémère, ici le succès littéraire, la pérennité qui l'érige en valeur sociale.'[93] A result of such enduring success is not merely the enduring reputation of individual authors in particular, but the perennity of 'authorship' as a reputed social phenomenon and, therefore, authorhood as a social status. For Viala, the institutional breakthrough of 'Authors' is exemplified both in the fact that the literary classics have become central components of school curricula, and that appreciation of 'literature' has become a marker of social refinement.[94] We might add to this that the names of certain revered authors are frequently employed metonymically to refer to one or more of their works; secondary school pupils are often said to study 'Shakespeare' in general, for example, when they are actually reading specific texts, such as *Romeo and Juliet*, or *Macbeth*.

Viala's work establishes a grand narrative wherein the modern status of authorship is framed as the strategic work of the authors themselves, aided and bolstered on occasion by particular cultural or institutional frameworks. Viala's arguments can also helpfully inform a narrower study of particular authors and the means by which they sought legitimacy from their peers. This chapter will thus apply certain questions posed, and conclusions drawn, by Viala to the case of Caraccioli. I will consider Caraccioli's own ephemeral literary success and the processes of legitimation which, I argue, contributed to it. During his lifetime, the author received a degree of institutional approval; twenty-one out of forty-eight texts published pre-1789 were given the *approbation* and the *privilège du Roi*. However, Caraccioli's position within the emerging 'institution' of the public literary sphere, which we considered in the Introduction to this thesis, was rather more complex. As we have already begun to see, the author's engagement with this sphere was marked by conflict. Grimm, in particular, casts negative light upon Caraccioli's popularity, attempting to strip away his authorial status through critique. Significant here is the fact that this status can be conferred or repealed by

[93] Ibid.
[94] Ibid. We might recall the outcry in 2006 when Nicolas Sarkozy questioned the value of including questions on *La Princesse de Clèves* in the *concours d'attaché d'administration*. The then President of the Republic's comments gave rise public readings of the seventeenth-century novel throughout France in an assertion of the text's cultural worth.

a reading public. For Caraccioli to achieve legitimacy within the literary sphere, then, I suggest that he was obliged to seek it actively from his readers. To what extent was the author's literary success a result of his own constructive efforts? In what ways was Caraccioli involved in the processes which made of him '[un] modèle reconnu?'

It is important at the outset to highlight the notion of ephemerality which underscores both the Caraccioli's adoption of momentary strategies and the *kind* of legitimacy he achieved (and, perhaps, sought). For Viala, the birth of the classic writer through the process of legitimation is premised upon the shift from transient contemporary success to an enduring literary legacy. The ephemeral status of living authors becomes permanent only when the aforementioned institutional frameworks continue to value his output posthumously. Approval in posterity is that which ultimately confers status both upon an author in particular and, by extension, upon authorship in general. But what of authors who never achieve posthumous approval and for whom contemporary success was, perhaps, so fleeting as to be negligible? Caraccioli may well be considered one such example, but he is surely not alone. Can we speak of such writers as 'protagonistes de l'acte littéraire' at all? Throughout this chapter and the next, I argue that we can, and I will demonstrate the ways in which Caraccioli's strategies served to forge his career making him, in the very least, the 'protagoniste de *son* acte littéraire.'

To respond to these questions, I will explore Caraccioli's strategies of legitimation through the prism of the self. This exploration will have four primary strands. Before asking how Caraccioli came to be 'self-made', however, we must ask *why* he needed to be, through a brief foray into his biography. In the first instance, then, and since Caraccioli is a marginal figure, I will briefly trace the elements of the author's early life which illuminate the identities he possessed and, perhaps, disavowed. Secondly, I will consider a previously unstudied portrait of Caraccioli, assessing the visual representation of authorship it provides. My third strand of assessment will engage with the

way Caraccioli uses, distorts, or conceals his name on the title pages of his works. Through this, it is possible to assess the author's strategic efforts to sustain his presence in the public eye. Finally, having engaged with Caraccioli's named literary identity or identities, I will consider the networks and people to which he claimed affiliation in and through dedicatory epistles.

In this chapter, in addition to the initial approach Viala provides, it will be useful to adopt a second methodological framework to analyse strategies for authorial (self)-legitimation – that of paratextual analysis. Gerard Genette's 1987 work *Seuils* complements Viala's text, published just two years earlier. While the latter informs an overarching view of the period just preceding Caraccioli's (and in the currents of which he can be said still to participate), Genette's classification of paratexts and their functions both literary and social provides tools for close textual analysis of printed 'thresholds', as they shed light at once on particular texts and on the culture(s) which gave rise to them. They have been defined by thinkers such as Genette and Philip Lejeune as liminal spaces, at which the boundary separating everything outside the text from the text itself is porous. As such, they inform both sides of the divide. As 'privileged sites of authorial agency', paratexts are also the loci in which authors might set themselves up as protagonists – placing themselves at the forefront, either implicitly or explicitly, of their published works. Because of this, they will prove useful in this chapter's exploration of Caraccioli's literary *personae* and identities. Paratext, for Genette, is made up of 'epitext' and 'peritext'. This chapter will consider both. Epitext, firstly, refers to materials concerning works located physically outside of them. This might include reviews and advertisments. Here, we will lean upon the epitextual account we begun to consider in the introduction to this thesis: d'Hémery's *Historique des auteurs*. Peritext, in contrast, is contained within a book's binding. It is that which frames and announces the text to come. Authorial names and dedicatory epistles will fall into this category. Let us begin, then, by exploring what preceded Caraccioli's authorial career, and what makes him a candidate for self-legitimised authorial protagonism.

I. Before Authorship

The young Caraccioli did not seem destined for authorship. Like Greenblatt's Renaissance authors, he had been 'displaced in significant ways from a "stable, inherited world."'[95] On his baptismal certificate, dated 6th November 1719, Caraccioli's parents are given as Marc-Antoine Caraccioli, marquis d'Ortononsan and Marie-Espérance-Catherine Bouvet. For Martine Jacques, who traced a biography of the author in her 2001 thesis 'Louis-Antoine Caraccioli: Écrivain et voyageur',[96] the marriage of a nobleman to 'une honnête bourgeoise' is an indication of the probable financial difficulties which had befallen Marc-Antoine. His family – the Neapolitan House of Caracciolo, of which the ambassador Domenico Caracciolo was a member – was otherwise illustrious. Archival research conducted by Jacques has revealed that Marc-Antoine had been born in Belcastro, in the Calabria region in the south of the Italian peninsula. He is described as a 'Colonel du Régiment des Cuirassiers de l'Empereur et Commandant des officiers réformés' ; he also claims to be a 'chimiste.'[97] As a young man, Marc-Antoine Caraccioli travelled extensively in Italy, France and England, and was hosted in Le Mans by the Dame Bouvet du Parc, whose daughter, the aforementioned Marie-Espérance-Catherine, he went on to marry on 21st April 1712. It was subsequently revealed that Marie-Espérance-Catherine, born in 1692, was in fact the illegitimate child of Louis Bouvet and his mistress, Françoise Mahot.[98] Following their marriage, Marc-Antoine Caraccioli left for Spain, where he remained for five years. Upon his return in 1717, he discovered that his wife's sister had married a man claiming to be the Prince de Valois. It was only when accompanying the apparent Prince on his travels that he discovered that 'ce n'[était] que le fils d'un bourgeois de Paris.'[99]

[95] Greenblatt, p. 7.
[96] Jacques, p. 8.
[97] Ibid.
[98] Ibid., p. 11.
[99] Ibid., p. 10.

Marc-Antoine Caraccioli's familial situation was complicated further when, in 1718, Bouvet's servants were accused of disseminating counterfeit money in Le Mans. Moreover, Louis Bouvet and his wife were accused of having manufactured it.[100] Marc-Antoine and his wife were subsequently embroiled in the legal dispute which ensued, with the former being arrested as a witness on the 16th April 1719. It is from the legal documents recounting the subsequent interrogation that much of the family's biography has been lifted.[101] Notes from the trial suggest that the ex-soldier and self-avowed chemist did not give an unembellished, factual account of his life, but rather, as Jacques states, 'un récit détaillé, curieux, voire romanesque de sa vie aventureuse.'[102] Further documents reveal that by the time Louis-Antoine Caraccioli was born later that year, his father had departed once again. Marc-Antoine's name may have been given on his son's Baptismal Certificate but, as was common, he was not present for the ceremony.[103]

Louis-Antoine Caraccioli's familial prehistory is significant, not least for the plurality of characters which abound therein.[104] The lives of the author's immediate relatives – his parents, his grandparents, his aunt and uncle – were rife with instances of identities fabricated, asserted, mistaken, and revealed. Marc-Antoine himself, while a constant presence in the tales which he narrated, nevertheless shows himself to be mercurial; his shifting public image might be exemplified both in his physical itinerance, and his self-proclamation as a *chimiste*. No further details

[100] Ibid., p. 12. The alleged crime was committed during a time of great financial instability in France, centring around a phenomenon known now as the 'Mississippi Bubble': the project involved wealth creation through incentives to invest, and the generation of cash. The company purchased the right to mint new coins in France, as well as to print paper money. Such economic optimism may well have spurred the Bouvets on, in a case of economic opportunism which, like the Mississippi Bubble on a larger scale, soon backfired. Its eventual crash in 1720 led to the financial ruin of many.
[101] See: Jacques, p. 8.
[102] Ibid.
[103] Ibid., p. 12.
[104] I employ the term 'prehistory' here in direct allusion to Terence Cave's 1999 work *Pré-histoires: textes troublés au seuil de la modernité* (Geneva: Droz, 1999) and the critical discussions to which it continues to give rise, which encourage 'listening more attentively to the testimony [historical] objects offer', and 'reading without distortion the signs of a future story.' Anna Holland and Richard Scholar, 'Introduction', *Pre-Histories and Afterlives: Studies in Critical Method for Terence Cave*, ed. by Anna Holland and Richard Scholar (London: Legenda, 2009), 1-13, (p. 3).

are provided regarding this occupation, a fact which is unsurprising perhaps given the legal context of the revelation. Nevertheless, the occupation betrays a certain proclivity to novelty and mutability. In the early eighteenth century, chemistry remained associated with chrysopoeia: the alchemical hypothesis that lead, or another base metal, might be changed into gold. While the practice of gold-making was increasingly repudiated within the discipline, new theories of metallic transmutation were still being developed within the *Académie Royale des Sciences* until at least 1713.[105] It is highly likely that, in declaring himself a chemist, Marc-Antoine associated in some way with the practice, and, by extension, with the art of decomposing and recomposing objects to discover their properties.[106] That the prevalence of identity-fashioning among Louis-Antoine Caraccioli's close relatives mirrors his father's interest in the fabrication of materials is fortuitous; this phenomenon will find further reflection in the author's own protean literary *persona(e)*, which we will go on to examine shortly.

This brief insight into Caraccioli's close lineage also, and perhaps most clearly, reveals that the author was not 'nez aux lettres.'[107] That is, while Marc-Antoine had an active imagination and a penchant for storytelling, the family did not have a long tradition of literary heredity which might have predisposed Louis-Antoine to taking that path. Neil Kenny, in highlighting the phenomenon of *Ancien régime* 'family literature' in his recent work *Born to Write*, observes the clustering of literary producers within certain families. He identifies certain literary 'dynasties' whose influence, he argues, should not be understated.[108] Appeals to this function saw authors highlight the ways in

[105] See: Lawrence M. Principe, 'The End of Alchemy? The Repudiation and Persistance of Chrysopoeia at the Académie Royale des Sciences in the Eighteenth Century', *Osiris*, 29 (2014), 96-116. Principe references in particular the work of Etienne-François Geoffroy, and notably the paper: 'Des teintures des métaux & particuliérement des teintures d'or' Archives de l'Académie des Sciences, Paris, Procès-verbaux (15 March 1713), vol. 32. Much of this focuses on the making of potable gold. See Principe, p. 100.
[106] The definition of 'chimie' as 'l'art de décomposer ou d'analyser les corps, & de les recomposer de nouveau', did not appear in the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française* until 1762.
[107] See: Neil Kenny, *Born to Write. Literary Families and Social Hierarchy in Early Modern France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020).
[108] Kenny, p. 48.

which their works had emerged from within a family, becoming a means for them to signal their literary, and literal, filiation.[109] For Kenny, such appeals were a central component of certain writers' crafting and assertion of their legitimacy. To be openly associated with a literary dynasty was to align oneself directly with an elite authorial stratum from which, it is implied, one inherits similar talent. Caraccioli makes no appeal to this function in his texts, and never evokes any writerly relations.[110] This fact is significant in itself. It reflects that his parents were not authors, but might also indicate that Caraccioli saw his literary career as a solitary affair, at least insofar as it related to his familial relations. Such a view is compounded by the fact that there were actually other authors in his family. Joseph d'Hémery reveals Caraccioli to be the nephew of 'l'Auteur Bonneval.'[111] Although the annalist gives no further details, this can plausibly be supposed to be René de Bonneval (1700-1760) whose 1750 work *Lettre d'un hermite à J.J. Rousseau de Genève* pulled no punches against the *philosophe* whose *Discours sur les scienes et les arts* (1750) Bonneval believed to be 'd'une très dangereuse conséquence.'[112] It is possible that Caraccioli simply omitted to make reference to Bonneval for reasons of neutrality. It is also possible that the author, an avowed admirer of Rousseau, sought actively to disassociate from his uncle's less-than flattering evaluation of the thinker. While his specific intentions may never be determined, however it is clear that the 'family function' played a role for Caraccioli which, if not avowed by himself, nevertheless influenced his reception. The author's connection to Bonneval was deemed significant enough by d'Hémery to merit a mention. The *Historique des Auteurs* thus appeals to the family function on Caraccioli's behalf. In this instance, association with Bonneval may not situate the author in an

[109] Ibid, p. 35.
[110] Though he does appeal to the function of nobility repeatedly, which we will consider shortly.
[111] Joseph d'Hémery, *Historique*.
[112] Réné de Bonneval, *Lettre d'un hermite à J.J. Rousseau de Genève* ([n.p.]: [n.pub.], 1753), p. 4. The full quotation reads as follows: 'Je vous dirais donc, que j'ai trouvé votre sentiment & tout ce que vous avez écrit pour l'appuyer, pernicieux à la Société, & d'une très dangereuse conséquence. Il y a même de l'inhumanité dans votre opinion.' Bonneval also published *Réflexions sur l'anonyme et sur ses 'Conseils à M. Racine au sujet de son poème de la Religion* ([n.p.]: [n.pub.], 1742) in which he speaks against adapting to the taste of the day:'tout ce que l'on met pour flatter l'imagination diminue les sentiments du cœur et affaiblit les lumières de l'esprit', p. 3.

illustrious literary lineage, but it nevertheless places him in context, and in relation to another literary producer. Such a reference might, therefore, be considered to confer a degree of cultural legitimacy upon Caraccioli which he, ostensibly, declines to confer upon himself.

Having considered Caraccioli's familial network, it is useful now to turn towards his education and early career. The author's schooling took place with the Oratorian religious order in Le Mans and, as an adult, Caraccioli embarked initially upon a teaching career with the same community. Martine Jacques reveals that he became a schoolmaster at the age of just twenty in the institution he previously attended.[113] In 1737, Caraccioli defended his thesis in logic, again in Le Mans, before being sent, in 1739, to an Oratorian House of Formation in Paris.[114] Having studied theology for four years there, he became a tonsured member of the order and moved to Saumur, where he was named regent of *sixième* at the Oratorian school.[115] His teaching career was successful; he was able to earn a living, and was named regent of the *cinquième* class in another school, this time in Angers. However, in 1743, Caraccioli proved restless. He left the Oratory 'sans indiquer une nouvelle situation'[116] but was, in fact, travelling in Italy.[117] In returning to his father's land of origin, the author began what would become a series of appeals to his heritage which shaped his intellectual output and the way he fashioned his authorial identity. This initial trip, however, was only brief. One year later, Caraccioli returned from his travels and taught for four more years at the Collège de Vendôme in Paris. He then left the Oratorians permanently.

[113] Jacques, p. 29.
[114] Ibid.
[115] Jacques observes that: 'c'était une tradition de l'Ordre […] les éducateurs étaient recrutés tout juste sortis de l'institution ce les rapprochait des elèves et leur permettait de ne pas se couper brutalement de leurs formateurs.' Jacques, p. 29.
[116] Jacques, p. 30. *Archives oratoriennes*, Etat des collèges, M.M.590.
[117] This proves significant for Jacques' analysis and will too for a different purpose here.

Archival material reveals little about Caraccioli's motives for leaving the Order, stating him simply to be 'dans sa famille.'[118] Little too is known about the author's reasons for abandoning his clerical state more generally and, perhaps as a consequence, scholarship has been largely silent on the matter, and its influence on the way he positioned or framed himself. This is almost certainly because Caraccioli himself never refers to his life in religious formation in his writings.[119] On two occasions he writes about the Oratorian order, which he continued to admire especially for its pedagogy, all the while omitting any reference to his own personal connection to the community. As with the 'family function', this absence in Caraccioli's texts nevertheless became a present element of his reception. Just as d'Hémery identifies Caraccioli's relationship to Bonneval when the author neglects to do so himself, so too he refers to him as an 'ex-oratorien.'[120] This mention of the author's prior religious affiliation is worth noting. In this instance, affirmation is effected through negation; the reader learns what the author is not, or is no longer, which subsequently invites the inference of his present state. We might term this an 'apophatic identity.' In highlighting a negative quality – that Caraccioli is no longer an Oratorian – d'Hémery's account operates a rhetorical inversion wherein this quality is nevertheless affirmed. Caraccioli's clerical state, though renounced, becomes a central facet of his identity. The author's public image, then, is suspended perpetually between clerical and lay, but is not wholly either. As a layman, he is always an 'ex-oratorian', yet his affiliation to the religious order is never current, but always former. In its depiction of Caraccioli as caught between the poles of clergy and laity, d'Hémery's epitext contributes to the liminality inherent to the author's public image. Such liminality and, by implication, mutability of identity invites a deeper consideration of the author's own active *persona* construction both within and as a result of the shifting terrain of his life and occupations.

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[118] Jacques, p. 30.
[119] He does, however, refer to his experience as a school pupil with the Oratorians. See, for example, *La Vie du Révérend Père de Condren, second general de la congregation de l'Oratoire en France* (Paris: Nyon, 1764), p. 237.
[120] D'Hémery, *Historique*.

Having examined the identities absent from the author's writing, let us now turn towards Caraccioli's cataphatic identities – those he both avows and cultivates. To do this, we will first assess one final piece of epitext, before going on to engage with the author's paratext.

II. A Portrait of the Author

In 1770, Flemish artist Jan Josef Horemans the Younger (1714-1792) produced a portrait of Caraccioli, entitled *L'Abbé Caraccioli* (Fig. 1).[121]

Jan Josef Horemans II. *L'Abbé Caraccioli*, oil on canvas (1770), Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon (Versailles). © Gérard Blot. Used with permission.

[121] Horemans is best known not for his portraits, though he produced several, but rather his still-lifes and interior scenes, for example: *The New Song*, oil on panel (1740-1760), Rijksmuseum.

To commission a portrait, whether of oneself or of another, is a mark of confidence both in the present 'value' – cultural, financial, or personal – of its subject, and in the potential longevity of this value. To hark back to Viala, portraits are a means of imbuing transient success with perennity. It is unclear whether this portrait of Caraccioli was commissioned, and if so by whom. Its creation would certainly have represented a significant expenditure and, therefore, points towards a desire to celebrate and commemorate a successful authorial career, and a certain optimism about the endurance of Caraccioli's legacy. The scene depicts the author in his *cabinet*, seated at a writing desk, a quill in hand and inkwell open. He has just been interrupted from his work, or from 'l'acte littéraire', to once again readopt Viala's phrasing. The iconography of authorship which permeates this portrait serves a clear, performative purpose. This is a depiction of Caraccioli as an author active in his craft. The atmosphere is of a comfortable, leisurely study. The *cabinet* is decorated with luxurious fabrics, *chinoiserie*, and artwork. Each detail of the composition, from the objects surrounding the author, to the textures and fine details, and the author's own posture and clothing, serves to form Caraccioli's *persona*, illuminating both his profession and something of his character. The relationship between portraiture, authorial status, and the portrayal, or construction, of selfhood must be considered in light of the painterly conventions by which portraits such as this were bound. These conventions are expounded in Jonathan Richardson's 1715 *Essay on the Theory of Painting*. This treatise, translated into French in 1728, highlights the tension between truthful representations of painted subjects and the social role of portraits which both stage and fashion the civil self. In portrayals of individuals for Richardson, painterly intention is key, and is 'exercised in the choice of the air, the attitude, action, drapery, and ornaments, with respect to the Character of the person.'[122] The artist and critic emphasises that in order for it to be seen 'whether a person is grave, gay, a man of business, or wit plain or gentile', their character must be shown with 'an

[122] Jonathan Richardson, *An Essay on Theory of Painting* (1715) (London: A.C; A. Bettesworth, 1725), p. 185.

attitude and dress; the ornaments and background proper to it.'[123] The setting of a portrait thus becomes a symbol of its sitter. This symbolism may be truthful, or idealised. Richardson goes on to state that to portray is not merely to give a visual account of a person's character, but rather to 'raise' it. Depictions must 'divest an Unbred Person of his Rusticity, and give him something at least of a Gentleman; to make one of a moderate Share of good Sense appear to have a Competency.'[124] The role of portraiture, then, is not simply to show an image of the sitter, but rather to fashion and to perfect him.

In Horeman's portrait, Caraccioli is presented first and foremost as a religious man. Though an 'ex-oratorian' who does not explicitly avow clerical status in his written works, Caraccioli nevertheless appears in a cassock. The portrait's title, 'l'Abbé Caraccioli', further betrays the author's ecclesial association. A wide-reaching designation, the term *abbé* was employed in the eighteenth century as an honorific title, given to canons, curés, and other churchmen, with the exception of bishops, monks, and friars. It was also employed more generally as a form of nominal address covering those who, at some point in their life, had been tonsured, but who had subsequently left holy orders.[125] Caraccioli fits into this second category; his title and apparel serve as outward signs of his prior vocation.[126] While it was certainly not unusual for former members of religious communities to both retain and actively employ this clerical appellation, the practice was not without controversy.[127] John McManners, in his study of eighteenth-century *abbés*,

[123] Richardson, pp. 100-101.
[124] Ibid, pp. 185-186.
[125] See: John McManners, 'Abbés', *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France. Volume 1: The Clerical Establishment and its Social Ramifications* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 647-682. McManners also highlights that at Port-Royal, members of the Jansenist society still employed 'abbé' in its original sense to refer to the ruler of a monastic house (such a usage endures today in the English 'Abbot'). This usage is said nevertheless to have been 'archaic and strait-laced' at the time. p. 647
[126] Ibid.
[127] Elie-Catherine Fréron, for example, retained the title of *abbé* for seven years after leaving the Jesuits. He renounced the title when he began living with his niece, whom he subsequently married, in 1748. It was also common for others to continue referring to the person in question as *abbé*, even if he had ceased to do so himself. Ibid, p. 662.

demonstrates that certain critics considered it a non-rank, a profession for those who have none. The title, it was argued, is not indicative of a useful social function, but rather is a mere 'costume'.[128] *Abbés*' performativity extended from the mask of their title to their physical appearance. Many would don clerical dress as a means, McManners argues, of improving their social standing and of gaining the good consideration of their peers. In his *imago personæ* of Caraccioli, Horemans bestows upon him the dual disguise of name and attire and, in the case of the latter, further extends its artifice. It was certainly common for *abbés* to distinguish themselves both from the conventional laity and from other members of the clergy by their dress. Typically, they would adopt a short, brown overcoat, adorned with gold buttons and a white *petit collet*, made of either linen or lace.[129] Long, black cassocks, such as that worn by Caraccioli in this depiction, were in contrast reserved for pastoral clergy. The author is not, therefore, fashioned as a peripheral figure in the Catholic Church's hierarchy, rather the opposite. Richardson had called for painters to improve the character of their sitters; so here, Caraccioli's apparel might elevate his station, conferring upon him the authority of a still-professed clergyman. Such a portrayal held the capacity to garner respect and reverence for the author whose religiosity is framed as coextensive with his literary profession.

The portrait's emphasised religiosity is nevertheless limited. While the author's attire is priestly, his hairstyle betrays more secular leanings. Whether Caraccioli retained his monastic tonsure or not is impossible to determine, for in Horeman's painting he has adopted a wig. Again, such a practice was not uncommon. Indeed, it was fashionable for *abbés* to cover their heads. Some did so out of practicality, to conceal baldness or to conserve heat. Often, wigs in these cases would nevertheless simulate a tonsure and, as such, retained an air of solemnity. For others, and most notably for Caraccioli here, however, the wig had no hole in the middle, and instead served as an artificial concealment of the wearer's 'natural' tonsure, or lack thereof. The semblance of a full head of hair

[128] See ibid.
[129] Ibid, p. 651.

was more fashionable, and would thus render the wig-wearer's appearance more congruous with, and perhaps better accepted in, polite society.[130] The extent of Caraccioli's serious, clerical image is, therefore, only partial. In his very appearance he communicates a tension between sobriety and modishness, and between devotion and worldly attachment.

Such a tension is reinforced by the portrait's composition and its evocation of Caraccioli's authorship. In the background of the room there stand bookshelves housing a number of weighty tomes. These hefty and therefore, one might infer, intellectually substantial texts are contrasted with flimsy papers in the foreground. Small bound books, loose papers, and letters are scatted about Caraccioli's desk. Two works have been cast, carelessly it would seem, onto the floorboards directly in front of the table. We might consider the discrepancy between the shelved and dispersed texts illustrative of the difference between the books Caraccioli reads and those he writes. The latter, as we saw in the Introduction to this thesis, were intended to be accessible to and digestible by the literate, non-scholarly public. Depiction of the former serves to showcase the author's own literary pursuits, the contents of which, it is implied, constitute the foundation of Caraccioli's production. It must be noted that none of the bookcases which frame Caraccioli at his desk is completely full. Rather, there are gaps interspersed throughout. The portrayal of author as reader may well still be at play here. In order to consult a tome, Caraccioli would surely have to remove it from its place. As such, negative space further emphasises the author's scholarly rigour; the books are not mere ornaments, but are practical and are put to use. On the other hand, the empty spaces might be considered a figuration of the gaps in human knowledge which Caraccioli's works intend to fill. In this interpretation, the viewer is invited to consider emptiness as aperture; openings point towards the possibility for eventual plenitude and Caraccioli, seated at his desk, has embarked industriously upon the task.

[130] Ibid.

The question of literary influence dovetails with the notion of posterity. To be accorded a place in a bookcase is to be assured of at least a degree of enduring legacy. If Caraccioli's texts are to be housed in the vacant spaces, they may one day be consulted by another reader, and may become the basis for future scholarly endeavours. However, the portrait, while inviting a consideration of Caraccioli's posterity, nevertheless resists it. The progressive fortune of the author's works can instead be traced through the implied line leading diagonally down from Caraccioli's hand to the bottom left-hand corner of the frame. The viewer's gaze is drawn to this line, with each section serving as a different focal point. The author's hand, firstly, is in a writing posture. However, the quill has been removed not only from the page, but also from the surface of the writing desk. Its redundant nib points directly to the two loosely-bound books on the ground. The more visible of the two has been thrown open to its title page: *La Vie de Ganganelli*.[131] Once written, the author's works might be opened and read, but also jettisoned. The ultimate focal point to which the viewer's gaze is drawn is the discarded tome, which might be regarded as the final 'fate' of the author's texts.

The discarded books' visual appeal to ephemerality is, however, undermined by their medium. One of the primary functions of portraits such as this, in addition to *persona* creation, was the commemoration or immortalisation of the sitter, whose likeness would be preserved and displayed to future generations.[132] Of course, to modulate one's ambitions for literary glory, or to deny one's

[131] This title closely resembles that of Caraccioli's later work *La Vie du Pape Clément XIV (Ganganelli)* published in 1775, five years after Horeman's portrait was completed. No bibliographic record can be found of a 1770 *Vie de Ganganelli*. The title's presence here may indicate the existence of a much earlier edition of the text than is currently accounted for in scholarship.

[132] There is an irony in the fact that this painting has not proven to be an enduring component of Caraccioli's reception. While its materials remain intact, scholarship until now has neither identified nor commented upon its existence and composition. The images of Caraccioli which abound on the internet are misattributed. Most notably that attached to the author's Wikipedia entries both in English and in French does *not* depict the author. It is an engraving of Pope Clément XIV which accompanies Caraccioli's *Lettres intéressantes du Pape Clément XIV* (1775). An additional layer of irony is added when we consider that the author posed as the Pope, adopted the 'likeness' of his voice and, as this chapter shall soon highlight, profited from the controversy surrounding his disguise. It seems apt, therefore, that Caraccioli's current visual legacy is not of him but rather of the figure he relentlessly impersonated. See: <

designs for a lasting legacy, are age-old authorial strategies. We will see various expressions of the authorial humility posture recur throughout this thesis. Nevertheless, the placement of ephemerality at centre stage in Horeman's work cannot be considered a mere *captatio benevolentiæ*. Instead, the symbolism of the discarded text should be viewed as reflective of the author's character. As a *persona*, ephemerality becomes a kind of mask behind which Caraccioli conceals (yet paradoxically, by nature of the medium, reveals) his designs for endurance.

Horeman's portrait thus unveils a dynamic of self-legitimation in and through self-deprecation which we will see recur throughout Caraccioli's written work. Just as the composition presents an image of Caraccioli which is suspended between *vraisemblance*, or faithful *mimesis*, and an idealised fiction, so too in his texts the author can be seen oscillating between reality and representation. Let us now turn away from epitext, and from the images propagated of the author by others to consider the discursive claims he makes about himself. In the next section, we will consider the author's naming practices on the title pages to his works and what they can tell us about his attempts to create and sustain his public image.

III. What's in a name?

In anglophone common parlance, when we speak of the ways in which the reputations of public figures might be forged, sustained, or tarnished, a lexicon of 'naming' proves fertile. A person may 'make a name for herself', or may 'be a household name.' Celebrities who have fallen from grace are said to have their 'names dragged through the mire.' In French too, and as we saw in the introduction, we may speak of a figure's *renom*, stemming from the combination of the Latin intensifier *re-* prefixing the verb *nominare,* 'to name'. To possess renown, therefore, is to have one's

www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Louis-Antoine_Caraccioli> and <www.fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Louis_Antoine_Caraccioli> [Accessed 18th April 2023].

name be intensified, or widespread. We have already seen the extent to which Caraccioli's name, conflated with that of ambassador Domenico Caracciolo's, revealed negative public opinion about him. Yet, and as Kate Tunstall has indicated, Viala's *Naissance de l'écrivain* says little about the legitimising function of the authorial name – be it present or absent, real or fictional – and its circulation in spoken word or in print.[133] In order to assess the role of Caraccioli's name in his own publishing practice, we will engage with its inclusion (or lack thereof) in the author's paratext.

Genette divides usages of an author's name into three categories: *pseudonymat* (pseudonymity), *anonymat* (anonymity), and, in a neologism derived from the former two, *onymat* (onymity, or the conventional use of an author's name). In Caraccioli's *œuvre*, it is possible to find examples of all three, with differences in prevalence which can be sketched through three loosely chronological stages of the author's career. By way of an overview, this chronology can be delineated as follows. Caraccioli attempted to debut in 1751 under a pseudonym, *Le Chevalier Des Ruaudières*. This publication was rejected, however. Later that year, he published the *Dialogue entre le siècle de Louis XIV et le siècle de Louis XV* anonymously. Following this, Caraccioli began to use his name and titles: 'le Marquis Caraccioli, Colonel au Service du Roi de Pologne, Electeur de Saxe.' This appellation is employed on the front pages of seven works in the decade between 1753 and 1763 (out of a total of fifteen texts published during this period, of which just over half, nevertheless, are anonymous).[134] The shorter form of this title – 'le Marquis Caraccioli' is employed just once, and slightly later, in *La Religion de l'honnête homme* (1766). Following this early burst of onymity, from 1764, the author's name is for the most part omitted. In its place, Caraccioli begins to be referred to in relation to his previous publications, as 'l'auteur de X'. Between 1764-74, eight out of a total of twelve publications adopt this designation. Some prior works are evoked more than others.

[133] Kate E. Tunstall, 'Introductory Note', '*Naming, Unnaming, Renaming*', *Romance Studies*, 31 (2013), 137-138.

[134] In: *La Conversation avec soi-même* (1759); *Le véritable mentor ou l'éducation de la noblesse* (1759); *La jouissance de soi-même* (1759); *L'univers énigmatique* (1759); *Les caractères de l'amitié* (1760); *De la gaieté* (1762); *Le langage de la religion* (1763).

'L'Auteur de la *Conversation avec soi-même*'[135] appears three times, and 'L'auteur de la *Jouissance de soi-même*' appears twice,[136] for example. 'Par l'auteur' de *la Vie du Cardinal de Bérulle*, des *Caractères de L'Amitié*, des *Lettres récréatives et morales sur les mœurs du temps*, and de *la Gaieté*, each appear once. Outside of this ten-year period, there are only two other occurrences of 'par l'auteur de': the *Dictionnaire critique, pittoresque et sentencieux* (1768) is attributed to 'L'auteur de *La Conversation avec soi-même*, and *La Vraie Manière d'élever les princes destines à régner* (1788) harks back to *La Vie de Madame de Maintenon* published in the same year.

A significant majority of Caraccioli's works are devoid of any authorial designation; most of these fall during what can be termed Caraccioli's late career – from 1774 to 1802. In fact, of the thirty-nine anonymous books published by the author in total, only ten appear in the 'early to mid-career' period of 1751-74, in contrast with seventeen works attributed to Caraccioli directly, or to him as author of a previous work. 1774 marks a distinct shift; almost all books published after that date are anonymous. Pseudonymity, in contrast both to onymity and anonymity, is rare in Caraccioli's *corpus*. Furthermore, there is no apparent chronological trend in the author's veiling of his name behind another('s). However, and as we shall see in the next section of this chapter, it does seem to be indicative of a strategy of *persona(e)* creation during periods when Caraccioli sought to bolster sales or to keep himself in the public eye (or indeed both). Following the initial 'false start' pseudonym to which we have already made reference, we can observe only two other instances of pseudonymity across the author's career. The first of these instances may be conceived as a singular literary event in which Caraccioli nevertheless adopted a plurality of false identities; the masks which Caraccioli adopted throughout this controversy, ostensibly to deflect attention away from himself, had the opposite effect of amplifying his authorial voice. One final use of pseudonymity

[135] In *Le cri de la verité contre la séduction du siècle* (1765) ; *Lettres récréatives et morales sur les mœurs du temps* (1767), and *Les Derniers adieux de la maréchale de ***, à ses enfans* (1769).
[136] In *Le tableau de la mort* and *Le Chrétien du tems, confondu par les premiers chrétiens* (both 1766).

comes towards the end of Caraccioli's career, when the author posed as a *paysan* in the *Lettre d'un paysan à son curé, sur une nouvelle manière de tenir les états généraux* (1789).

Having classified the various instances of 'naming, unnaming, and renaming' in Caraccioli's *corpus*, it is possible to assess the import of each on his public image.[137] In what follows, we will consider the author's adoption and adaptation of names and naming conventions as a means of composing and asserting an authorial identity. We will follow the evolutionary clarity of the author's literary trajectory, looking first at his use of the *onymat* (with focus on the period 1754-64), followed by instances of 'par l'auteur de' (from 1764-74). This latter designation does not fall neatly into any of Genette's naming categories, or conversely may well be said to fall into all three of them. We shall see that scholarship is divided on the matter, and in light of this, here we shall treat 'par l'auteur de' as a category of naming unto itself. Following this, we will explore the anonymat (from 1774-1802), before assessing the two 'interludes' of *pseudonymat* in 1777 and 1789. The picture which emerges will throw the composition of Caraccioli's identities into relief.

II.i *Onymat*

For Genette, the presence of the author's name on the title pages of a work is 'le moyen de mettre au service du livre une identité, ou plutôt une "personnalité"' rather than 'une simple déclinaison d'identité.'[138] In this sense, it seems initially to offer the greatest propensity for self-publicity. In providing an author's name to a text which would by default be anonymous, it might be assumed that he is therefore someone worth knowing. In Caraccioli's lifetime, names began to accrue legal, as well as social, significance. For a long time, scholarship has drawn links between the professionalisation of authorship, the increased prominence of authors' names on title pages, and nascent copyright legislation. While in France an author's ownership of the content of his books

[137] I take the tripartite 'naming, unnaming, and renaming' from the introductory note which accompanies the aforementioned special issue of *Romance Studies,* edited by Kate E. Tunstall, and published in 2013. The issue's subject began as a conference, given the same name and held in Oxford in 2010.
[138] Genette, p. 40.

was not enshrined in law until during the Revolution (in the 1791 *Loi Le Chapelier*) the cultural conversation surrounding intellectual property was nevertheless in full swing.[139] Over the period, as Mark Rose has explained, the author's name became a kind of brand, or a recognisable sign by which the book, as a cultural commodity, could be assessed and valued.[140] As the author's name gained both legal and mercantile weight, so its scope began to extend metonymically to texts. A work's quality thus would be assessed not just by what it contained, but by whom it was written. The rise of authorial responsibility had multiple ramifications. The first, and perhaps most serious, was that authors of subversive texts could now be readily identified and penalised for their productions. The consequences also extend to questions of literary judgement. If a work is of good standard, that reflects on its author and vice versa. This was certainly a compounding factor in Caraccioli's social rejection by Grimm and other *philosophes*, where the author's perceived poor literary quality rebounded on him.

The process by which a work's (lack of) literary quality might reflect positively or negatively upon the person who created it can also be reversed. As we saw at the beginning of this chapter, an author's name can be extended to metonymically denote either a specific text written by him, or to his *œuvre* as a whole. Reflecting upon the nature of metonymy, Terence Cave defines the figure as a rhetorical displacement, or contiguity, through which one item in an adjacent pair might stand in for the other, rendering the first of the two salient.[141] In this case the author's name 'stands

[139] See: Gisèle Sapiro, 'Droit et histoire de la littérature:la construction de la notion d'auteur', *Law and the History of Literature: the Construction of the "Author"*, 48 (2014), 107-122. Already in the sixteenth century, the author's name became a category by which discourse could be classified and organised. Gisèle Sapiro highlights 'l'adoption en 1554 du nom d'auteur comme principe d'organisation des bibliographies d'ouvrages proscrits par la faculté de théologie de Paris.' She adds: 'Ce n'est, toutefois, qu'au XVIII[e] siècle que le droit d'auteur est reconnu en France par l'État, d'abord comme une grâce, selon l'arrêt de 1777, puis comme un droit naturel sous la Révolution (en 1791 et 1793), au terme d'un long débat.'

[140] Mark Rose, *Authors and Owners: The Invention of Copyright* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), pp. 1-2.

[141] Terence Cave, 'Weird Collocations: Language as Infrastructure in the Storyworlds of China Miéville', *Planned Violence: Post/Colonial Urban Infrastructure, Literature and Culture*, ed. by Elleke Boehmer and Dominic Davies (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2018), 289-304.

adjacent', or is affixed, to the book. Distanced from the empirical writer, it accrues a new significance, superseding the title of the work which carries it. A name's salience thus extends from the author's tangible person to his production. For Robert J. Griffin, this extension demonstrates a name's strategic potential. Since, in the eighteenth century as today, signing one's legal name on a published work is not obligatory, the act must be read as a conscious choice, indicative of an author's desire to associate only certain pieces with the persona he seeks to project.[142] Caraccioli recognises the capacity names hold for strategic metonymy. In *Les Lettres récréatives* (1767), he observes: 'On embouche la trompette parmi nous, sitôt qu'un Livre, portant un nom connu, vient à paroître, & c'est ce nom seul qui decide du mérite de la production.'[143] He goes on: '*Lycas* a écrit des mêlanges & des Romans qui sont admirables, parce qu'il est l'homme du jour, & qui ne seroient que des inepties sous la plume de tout autre.'[144] The disdain in Caraccioli's tone is evident. The admiration which authors like the mentioned Lucas attain is not founded upon literary talent – indeed, his works are considered inept – but rather upon the public's favourable predisposition to his name. Since reputation, and not merit, is the guarantor of authorial glory and since, as we saw in the introduction, in elite circles Caraccioli's reputation was negative, the contempt he conveys is unsurprising. In fact, he expects that he, like any author, will attract criticism as a result of the simple act of putting his name to his works: 'Tout homme qui écrit doit s'attendre à voir son nom servir de satyre ou d'amusement, à je ne sais combien de faiseurs de brochures, dont toute la science consiste à médire et à critiquer'.[145] The metonymy whereby an author's name becomes shorthand for his works is reversed. The book no longer stands in for the author, but rather vice versa. A work's quality, publicly evaluated, is displaced and becomes a lens through which judgement upon the person of the author is cast.

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[142] Robert J. Griffin, 'Anonymity and Authorship', *New Literary History*, 30 (1999), 877-895.
[143] Caraccioli. *Les Lettres récréatives sur les mœurs du temps*, t. 1 (Paris, Liège: Bassompierre père; Bruxelles: J. Van den Bergen, 1767) p. 256.
[144] Ibid.
[145] Ibid., p. 95.

When Caraccioli does employ his name in publications, he attests to a degree of reluctance. This is particularly evident in his attitude towards the inclusion of his title. In *Les Lettres récréatives*, he reflects upon French and Italian conventions when evoking his marquisate:

> Nos Comtes Italiens repassent, & viennent m'enlever pour me promener avec eux. Ils s'étonnent de ce qu'il n'y a que quelques Gentilshommes François qui prennent le titre de *Comtes* ou de *Marquis*; tandis que tout Noble en Italie se pare de ce nom. Il est vrai que, lorsque j'étois à Naples, je ne pus me defendre de répondre à cette denomination que mes parents & mes amis me donnoient malgré moi. Il fallut même me qualifier de *Marchese* dans un petit Ouvrage que je fis imprimer en Italien. Le Censeur l'exigea; & les Imprimeurs depuis ce temps, soit en France soit en Italie, n'ont cessé d'ajouter ce titre à mon nom. Il ne m'a plus été possible de l'empêcher.[146]

We saw in the introduction that the name 'Caraccioli' prefixed by 'Le Marquis de' caused confusion in society. To this day, bibliographies of Louis-Antoine Caraccioli's works perpetuate this confusion. Many include the *Lettre de M. le Marquis de Caraccioli, à M. d'Alembert* (1781), for example. This was written neither by Louis-Antoine nor Domenico Caraccioli, but rather by Philippe Henri de Grimoard disguised not as the author Caraccioli, but as the diplomat. Despite its giving rise to repeated and enduring cases of mistaken identity, the title of Marquis is added repeatedly to Louis-Antoine Caraccioli's name in his early career. However, the author denies having any involvement in the decision to include it. He first appeals to convention to explain his titular appendage. In Italy, as a minor noble, it is more unusual *not* to style oneself as *Marchese* than it is to do so. In overtly adopting the title, Caraccioli seeks to fit in, rather than to stand out. It was certainly not unusual for early modern authors across Europe to craft and assert their credibility through the addition, legitimate or otherwise, of a rank to their name. Genette remarks that, across the Channel, 'les auteurs anglais de l'époque Classique se disaient volontiers, faute de mieux, *Esquire*.' [147] Little further analysis is proposed by Genette of the addition of titles or accolades to an author's name; any mention of them is regarded simply as an 'annexe éventuelle au nom d'auteur.'[148] While 'certains sont obligatoires' others 'parfois les mêmes, sont de bonne politique commerciale.'[149]

[146] Ibid., p. 202.
[147] Genette, p. 53.
[148] Ibid.
[149] Ibid.

Caraccioli's use of a title certainly falls into both domains. First, *marquis* is employed in an act of obedience to a censor's mandate. Subsequently, it is presented as his printers' decision, stemming from tradition or mere habit. In both cases, Caraccioli disavows any personal involvement, as if to shirk responsibility for the controversy which arose.

We must note that *Les Lettres récréatives* were published three years after Domenico Caracciolo's visit to Paris, which sparked Grimm's anecdote. They were not attributed to Caraccioli by name, but rather to him as 'l'auteur de *La Conversation avec soi-même*', a construction which we shall engage with shortly. While Caraccioli would not have been conscious of Grimm's particular attack, he would likely have been aware of the second Marquis' presence in Parisian society. Both the work's lack of direct attribution and its content suggest the author, conscious of his reputation, sought to distance himself from the title which had drawn him criticism. He appeals to the reader of the letters, addressing her directly, in order to further renounce the marquisate imputed to him:

> Vous me connoissez assez pour savoir que, quoiqu'il ne soit pas toujours necessaire d'avoir des Marquisats pour être appellé Marquis, que quoique plusieurs personnes de mon nom aient toujours pris ce titre & le prennent encore, je ne me glorifie que de l'honneur d'exister. Je redis volontiers ce que M. de Préfontaine écrivoit autrefois au fameux Saumaise: *Ne me marquisez plus, je vous prie, car vous n'ignorez point qu'il n'y a pas jusqu'aux chiens, qu'on appelle marquis.*[150]

Caraccioli's repudiation of the courtesy title might be read as a humility topos. He claims that glory is borne not through illustrious associations – what we might call cultural capital – but rather through the simple fact of existing. This understanding makes renown open to all; prestige is no longer reserved for a narrow group of elites born into a privileged state, but rather everyone – author and readers alike – through common humanity, can share in an equal honour. As such, by reproving public use of his titular address, Caraccioli does not stoop down in modesty so much as elevate himself, and indeed all who exist, to a higher glory. Beyond humility, we can read Caraccioli's expressed disdain for his title as an attempt to seize control of his public image over

[150] Caraccioli, *Lettres récréatives*, t. 2, p. 203.

which, he claims, he previously had none. Having established himself successfully, and having submitted to his publishers' desires for over a decade, he seeks and gains a certain emancipation. At stake here is the fidelity of Caraccioli's public image to his private character. In distancing himself from the other Marquis '[qui a] toujours pris ce titre', and in relinquishing his credentials, the author enacts what we might today call a public relations strategy. He shifts the blame for the confusion arising from homonymity away from himself and onto a third party.

Caraccioli also rejects, at least overtly, the commercial strategy of which the appeal to nobility is a sign in favour of a more *honnête*, that is polite and convivial, authorial image. For authors of the *Ancien régime*, mercantile authorship was the mark of a failed adaptation to the norms of polite society. Geoffrey Turnovsky has highlighted that writers' interest in the sales of their works was indicative of social marginality, evoking 'an inability to be integrated into the community.'[151] In turn this might lead to speculation about an author's lack of sociability, their selfishness, arrogance, and ambition. Gestures whereby an emerging figure could reject commerce in favour of 'aristocratic leisure' could, therefore, point in the opposite direction: towards an author's legitimacy.[152] Caraccioli's case is somewhat contradictory. Rather than creating a distance between Caraccioli and the literary market, the author's title, employed against his will by his publisher, becomes itself a commercial act. Caraccioli can therefore only attain 'aristocratic leisure' through the disavowal of his noble ties. Stripping himself of his title becomes a means for Caraccioli to explicitly reject the commercial climate in which his career had begun and to gain authorial credibility through the paradoxical act of self-effacement.

[151] Geoffrey Turnovsky, *The Literary Market. Authorship and Modernity in the Old Regime* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), p. 205.
[152] Ibid.

Despite the controversy surrounding it, the inclusion of Caraccioli's name and title by his publishers on the majority of his early works attests to the commercial success which it promised.. Its repeated use also represents the draw of the nobility. *Le Marquis de Caraccioli*, re-establishes Caraccioli's place in the Neapolitan heritage of the House of Caracciolo. The affirmation of this noble heritage might be read as an inverse form of what Alain Viala terms *anoblissement*. The notion, defined in *Naissance de l'Écrivain*, refers to the means by which seventeenth-century authors would seek to gain social status through their craft; it is 'une stratégie sociale de conquête.'[153] Just as soldiers seize territory, and thus either establish dominion or gain freedom, through battle, so for the writer: 'leur gloire d'écrivain leur conquiert la noblesse.'[154] While in this instance, rank is obtained through 'l'héroïsme littéraire', as a result of audacious and influential writing, for Caraccioli's publishers, the use of noble titles is not a result of, but rather the precursor to, literary authority. Harking back to his ancestral roots, this rank is also consistent with a 'volonté de légitimation de son […] œuvre.'[155] As a *marquis*, the otherwise unknown author is endowed with the authority and social influence of the elite.

The marquisate is not the only honour which Caraccioli avows in his early career and from which he dissociates himself in his mid to late career. A second rank was attached to his name when, at the request of Polish Prince and General Wacław Rzewuski, for whose son – Severin Rzewuski – he was the private tutor, he was named *'Colonel du roi de Pologne, électeur de Saxe'*. Once more, this accolade connects Caraccioli to Europe. Having spent many years in Poland at the service of the Rzewuski family, the author retained a great love for the country which, like his love for Italy, is evident across his corpus. Notably, the author was an active political voice denouncing the Russian regime which dominated Polish affairs in the mid-eighteenth century.[156] Caraccioli was made a

[153] Viala, p. 223.
[154] Ibid.
[155] Ibid.
[156] See: Caraccioli, *La Pologne, telle qu'elle a été, telle qu'elle est, telle qu'elle sera* (Varsovie, Poitiers: Michel-Vincent Chevrier, 1775).

colonel under Augustus III, who also served as Elector of Saxony. Augustus III died in 1763 and, in 1764 following a Russian coup d'état, Catherine the Great placed her former lover, Stanisław August Poniatowski on the Polish throne; following the appointment, King Stanisław II faced widespread and vehement opposition, not least from Caraccioli.[157] It is notable, then, that the year of Augustus' passing, 1763, marks the author's departure from the onymat, and his omission of the title from his works. There are only three exceptions to this. First, in re-editions of *L'Univers énigmatique* (which was reprinted multiple times between 1763 and 1768), where the construction is shortened simply to 'Colonel du roi'. Second, much later in the 1782 work *La Vie du comte Wenceslas Rzewuski, grand-général et premier-sénateur de Pologne*. It is unsurprising that Caraccioli or his publishers would re-evoke the honour bestowed upon him by Wenceslas Rzewuski in a text which memorialises him. The author nevertheless makes a slight amendment, giving his name as 'Caraccioli *ancien* Colonel au Service du Roi de Pologne, Electeur de Saxe' (my emphasis). The author's re-averring of this rank, over two decades after its previous appearance, might be read as an act of gratitude to his former employer. *Ancien* conveys a nostalgia at once for the author's past life – that is, his early career and illustrious social connections – for the life of Rzewuski, and for the 'life' of the Polish nation as the author knew it.[158] Third, the title appears on Caraccioli's final publication, *Paris, métropole de l'univers*, another wistful texts in which he reminisces, as we saw briefly in the Introduction here, about his former literary glory.

While Caraccioli's own references to his past rank are scarce and either abbreviated or consciously nostalgic, at times his critics employ the address to undermine him. In the *Correspondance littéraire*, for example, Grimm cites the second half of the author's title as 'Colonel du *feu* roi de Pologne,

[157] Marc Fumaroli, *Quand l'Europe parlait français* (Paris: Fallois, 2001), p. 276.
[158] The work begins with a praise of Rzewuski and an implicit lament of Poland's political climate: 'Un Polonois armé de son propre courage, martyr du patriotisme, esclave de la Religion & de la liberté, devient le Héros de tous les siècles & de toutes les Nations. On aime à voir des armes républicaines lutter contre le despotisme, s'élever au-dessus des factions, mépriser les clameurs, defender les lois, ne s'énorgueiller que du titre du citoyen: tel fut le Comte Rzewuski, dont j'écris l'histoire.' pp. 5-6.

électeur de Saxe' (my emphasis). The addition of *feu* here is accurate; by the time of writing in 1764 Augustus II had been deceased for a year. In contrast to *ancien*, which Caraccioli employs to refer to himself, *feu* refers to the monarch. Both temporal markers suggest a past, rather than an actual, glory. Grimm's version is distinctive, however, in its implication that Caraccioli was still employing the title, even after the King had died. *Feu* serves to de-legitimise the author not by stripping him of his rank, but rather by demonstrating that the authority by whom this rank had been conferred is no more.

Thus far, Caraccioli's naming practices have revealed his complex relationship both with his publishers and his critics. From 1764 onwards, Caraccioli, divested of his titles either by his own will or by others, begins increasingly to veil his identity. The distance he takes from his name is gradual, and begins with the construction 'par l'auteur de', which we will now consider.

II.ii 'Par l'Auteur de'

Scholarship is divided as to whether the construction 'par l'auteur de' is a variation on onymity, anonymity, or pseudonymity. While Genette classifies 'par l'auteur de' as an anonymity structure, others, such as Robert J. Griffin, have made the case for it falling under pseudonymity.[159] I would suggest that if we consider anonymity to be the omission of a name, and pseudonymity to be the conscious veiling or fictionalising of a name, and onymity to be the explicit inclusion of a name, 'par l'auteur de' actually falls somewhere between all three and, as such, can serve as a bridge between each.

On the surface, 'par l'auteur de' omits Caraccioli's name. Readers encountering a text with this designation, and who have never read the connected work, would still be in the dark. Yet, for

[159] Griffin, p. 880.

readers in the know, or for those who seek out the other work, the author's identity is only thinly veiled. It is pseudonymous in the sense that the author is given a label which is not his real name, and instead is identified with his prior works, but it nevertheless evokes something of his empirical, that is not fictive, identity. By incorporating elements of anonymity, onymity, and pseudonymity, the 'par l'auteur de' serves a triple purpose. First, since texts to which the readers are directed often explicitly give the author's name, it reveals, albeit in a deferred way, Caraccioli's identity. Secondly, previous works begin to function metonymically to evoke the author, who is identified first through his texts before anything else. Because of this, 'par l'auteur de…' serves also to point out the works which had particular commercial success; the texts which are most readily recognisable by the public are those which would be likely to feature. This has a direct effect on *persona*-shaping. Caraccioli's authority in these works is not grounded in his name or social ranking first and foremost, but rather in his publication history. His authorship becomes cumulative as the works themselves grow in reputation which, subsequently, reflects back at him.[160] The effect of this is a cumulative corpus in which works do not stand alone but are rather relational. This informs the third and final function of 'par l'auteur de' as an advertisement for previous works. It suggests that if readers enjoyed, for example, *Le Tableau de la mort*, they will love *La Jouissance de soi-même*. Furthermore, even if the prior work means nothing to the reader, 'par l'auteur de' serves as an assurance that the book is by a previously-published author who, implicitly, has had some form of success already. This publicity function reveals much about the texts at hand, as it draws them into a network with one another. In the above example, this network may seem incongruous; *la mort* seems at odds with *la jouissance*. However in this instance the connection serves to reinforce claims made by the author in the preface to another text, *De la gaieté*, which proclaims: 'on sera sans doute surpris de voir l'Auteur du *Tableau de la Mort* donner un ouvrage sur la Gaieté; mais je me flatte que

[160] Genette draws attention to the fact that Philippe Lejeune 'dit quelque part qu'un auteur ne devient tel qu'à sa deuxième publication, lorsque son nom peut figurer en tête, non seulement de son livre, mais d'une liste des œuvres "du même auteur."' Genette, p. 49.

lorsqu'on l'aura parcouru, on avoue qu'il ne contredit rien en cette Philosophie Chrétienne que j'ai tâché d'inspirer.'[161]

In employing 'par l'auteur de', Caraccioli therefore begins to offer the reader keys to the interpretation of his works. He also defends his varied corpus, and resists generic determinism, a phenomeon which he derides in the *Lettres récréatives:* 'On voudroit qu'un Auteur, qui écrit gravement, fût grave comme ses Ouvrages; c'est-à-dire, qu'une personne ne devroit ni parler, ni se remuer, parce que son portrait n'a ni parole, ni movement.' Instead, he contends that writers should instead 'écrire comme [ils sont] affecté[s].'[162] 'Par l'auteur de' bears out in practice what the *Lettres récréatives* expound in principle. The author, free to write about the subjects he chooses, is not defined by the static 'portrait' of one particular text, nor that of his public image as a whole, but rather creates a fluid self-image through a web of textual relations.

II.iii *Anonymat*

That Caraccioli's works would be overwhelmingly anonymous is not surprising. It was not unusual for *ancien régime* authors to omit their name, and certainly would not signify, in Genette's terms, 'un incognito farouchement protégé'[163] as the withholding of an author's identity may do today. Rather, in distancing himself from his named identity, Caraccioli adheres to a longstanding convention which was still prevalent to an extent in the eighteenth century. The motivations for actively-chosen anonymity, defined broadly as the absence of legal name on the title page to a work, may be multiple. For Robert J. Griffin these include, though are not restricted to, 'an aristocratic or a gendered reticence, religious self-effacement, anxiety over public exposure, fear of prosecution, hope of an unprejudiced reception, and the desire to deceive.'[164] For Kate Tunstall,

[161] Caraccioli, *De la gaieté* (Francfort, Paris: Nyon, 1762), p. iii.
[162] Caraccioli, *Lettres récréatives*, t.2, p. 15.
[163] Genette, p. 43.
[164] Griffin, p. 885.

anonymity in the early modern period is also an expression of *honnêteté*. Even as 'the author' was emerging as a social persona, she argues, his works may not bear his name 'for reasons that were often to do with the desire not to (be seen to) indulge in the unseemly act of self-promotion.'[165] *Honnêteté*, and the self-effacing drive which characterises a particular brand of aristocratic anonymity is an act of subterfuge. For Aaron Brunn, writing on literary strategies of *moralistes*, this produces an image of the author 'à la fois exhibé et dissimulé, publié et denié.'[166]

Each of these avenues might illuminate the reasons for Caraccioli's shift to anonymity in his mid-career. Out of a posture of *honnêteté*, perhaps, the author rarely elucidates his reasons for self-concealment, with the exception of two occasions. In the first of these, Caraccioli is only thinly veiled. *La Vie du Cardinal de Bérulle* (1764) refers to the author at the end of the preface, only by his initials, L.A. This text complements another, published anonymously later that year, *La Vie du reverend Père de Condren*. Both treat similar subject matter – the lives of superiors of the French Oratory – and so might reasonably be taken together regardless of the author's name. In these texts, Caraccioli expresses his intellectual and spiritual debt to the clerics, and his motivation for effacing his own identity. The work, he explains, seeks to 'écarter [des] voiles et faire sortir du nuage l'homme que l'Eglise elle-même a intérêt de manifester.'[167] In unveiling the life of Bérulle, Caraccioli deems it necessary to veil himself. He explains: 'souvent je me tairai pour le laisser parler, bien convaincu qu'il n'y a que lui-même qui puisse se peindre tel qu'il a été.'[168] The sincerity of this statement is debatable. The author, as we have seen, certainly held the Oratorians in high regard, and the hagiographic tone here reflects this. The author's self-silencing, evidenced in the text's anonymisation, may just be a humility posture. However, it has the opposite effect of drawing the

[165] Kate E. Tunstall, '"You're either anonymous or you're not!": Variations on Anonymity in Modern and Early Modern Culture', *MLN*, 126 (2011), 671-688, (p. 674).
[166] Aaron Brunn, *La laboratoire du moraliste: La Rochefoucauld et l'invention moderne de l'auteur* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2009), p. 234.
[167] Caraccioli, *La Vie du Cardinal de Bérulle* (Paris: Nyon, 1764), p. iv.
[168] Ibid., p. vii.

reader's attention not simply to the author's presence, but to his voice, and therefore reinforcing that the primary narrator here is not the admired religious superior, but rather the author himself.

Elsewhere, Caraccioli reveals the pleasure he takes in the mask of anonymity:

> J'ai quelquefois goûté le plaisir qu'on éprouve à n'être pas connu. Alors j'entendois dire du bien ou de mal de mes Ouvrages, sans qu'on me soupçonnât d'y prendre aucun intérêt. Je me souviendrai toujours qu'une bonne Religieuse vouloit me prêter, à toute force, la *Conversation avec soi-même*, comme un Livre qui venoit de paroître, & que je n'avois sûrement point vu. Ces méprises amusent infiniment.[169]

While on occasions, an author's veiled identity serves to pique the curiosity of the reader, here the reverse is true. Caraccioli avers a clandestine satisfaction when he is made privy to candid reactions to his works. The author's posture here is a far cry from the disinterested ideal of *honnêteté*. Rather, his duplicitous subterfuge – for he does not, it seems, reveal his identity as the author of *La Conversation* to the trusting nun – serves to assure him of his own work's merit. Furthermore, in including the anecdote in another text, he undoes any attempted self-effacement, instead using the *anonymat* as a means to promote himself. It must be observed, too, that Caraccioli frames the fact of being unknown as a relative rarity; his true identity goes unnoticed only *quelquefois*. The reader might infer that the majority of the time Caraccioli is recognised by others. In a rhetorical reversal, the author appeals to the anonymat in order to both claim and perform his celebrity.

The creation and sustaining of curiosity is, as we saw in the Introduction, a key component of the emerging culture of celebrity in the eighteenth century. Having established that Caraccioli shunned self-effacement and sought to promote himself through the act of veiling, it is useful to consider his final, and perhaps most striking act of literary dissimulation in the *pseudonymat*.

[169] Caraccioli, *Lettres récréatives* , t.2, p. 21.

II.iv *Pseudonymat*

Defined by Genette initially as 'l'usage du nom fictif'[170] *pseudonymat* is situated 'parmi l'ensemble plus vaste des pratiques consistant à ne pas inscrire en tête d'un livre le nom légal de l'auteur.'[171] This kind of pseudonymity is rare for Caraccioli, but striking. D'Hémery recalls its first occurence in his catalogued description of the author's 'false start' in 1750. The first manuscript Caraccioli put forward for publication was given with the pseudonym 'Chevalier des Ruaudières,' A search reveals that this could refer to one of two locations around Le Mans – the author's place of birth. The first, a *lieu-dit* located in La Chartre sur le Loir stands at an equidistance between the town and Tours, where he taught for a time, and he could plausibly have known it. The second possibility is a small hill, situated outside of the village of Gesvres, some fifty kilometres north of Le Mans. Both the hill and the *lieu-dit* share the same name – des Ruaudières. As a topographic pseudonym, this anchors Caraccioli in his local region. Though unsuccessful – Caraccioli never employed it again – the name presents a further illustration of the author's impulse to associate himself with his home and heritage, if not familial than at least geographic. It also provides another example of Caraccioli staking a public claim to nobility, this time of his own accord.

By far the most conscious and strategic instance of Caraccioli's pseudonymity is the 1775 publication of the *Lettres intéressantes du Pape Clément XIV*. The collection, of which Caraccioli purported to be the editor, revealed intimate details of the recently-deceased Pope's private life from what was claimed to be his intimate correspondance. It was instant success, and was translated contemporaneously into German, Dutch, Spanish and English at least. However, critics such as the *Année littéraire*'s Elie-Cathérine Fréron were quick to comment and openly doubt the veracity of the work. Stéphanie Géhanne Gavoty has detailed the resulting polemic in her recent

[170] Genette, p. 46.
[171] Ibid.

book *L'Affaire Clémentine: une fraude pieuse à l'ère des Lumières*.[172] She suggests multiple interpretations of the *affaire*, notably as a political and ecclesial statement from Caraccioli – the *Lettres* are quick to defend the pontiff's suppression of the Jesuits, for example. Bringing to light the intermingling of truth and fiction in the *affaire*, Géhanne Gavoty also demonstrates the changing face of apologetics in the eighteenth century and the Church's growing acceptance that 'le faux [soit] mis au service de la religion.'[173] Here, I seek to add another angle to Géhanne Gavoty's analysis, focusing on the utility of fiction not for religious ends, but for the development of Caraccioli's own literary *persona*.

The chronology of the *affaire* is as follows. Following the *Lettres* appearance in 1775, various voices debated their content and origin in a series of published exchanges. Initially, the reception of the *Lettres* was neutral. Various summaries were published in the *Mémoires secrets*,[174] the *Journal de politique et de littérature*,[175] and the *Mercure de France*,[176] for example.[177] The first signs of controversy arose in February of 1776 and the publication a *Lettre à l'éditeur des lettres de Clément XIV sur la crainte qu'on a que ce Pontife n'en soit pas auteur*, signed with the initials L** M** B**. Following this, in March 1776, a *Réponse de l'éditeur des lettres à l'auteur de la letter de Clément XIV, sur la crainte que ce Pontife n'en soit pas auteur* appeared, though the name of the supposed editor was not disclosed. In May 1776, another letter was published, this time entitled *Lettre du Frère François, cuisinier du Pape Ganganelli, sur les lettres de ce Pontife à un Parisien de ses amis*. Debate as to the true provenance of the *Lettres* raged, and Caraccioli became a prime suspect. May-June 1776, the *Année littéraire* released a lengthy article making the case for Caraccioli as the author of the *Lettres*, and thus perpetrator of the fraud. One

[172] Géhanne Gavoty, *L'Affaire Clémentine: une fraude pieuse à l'ère des Lumières* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2014).
[173] Ibid., p. 452.
[174] Louis Petit de Bachaumont, *Mémoires secrets pour server à l'histoire de la République des Lettres en France*, t. 9, 1er février, (Londres: John Adamson, 1776).
[175] *Journal de politique et de littérature, contenant les principaux événements de toutes les cours, les nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, 15 février, (Bruxelles, Paris: 1776), pp. 221-222.
[176] *Mercure de France dédié au roi par une société de gens des lettres*, (Paris: La Comle, 1776), pp. 82-98.
[177] For a comprehensive account of the *Lettres*' reception in the eighteenth-century periodical press, see Géhanne Gavoty, Annexe I, pp. 479-489.

final letter, written by Caraccioli, was published in reaction to this – *Remerciement à l'auteur de l'Année littéraire de la part de l'éditeur des Lettres du Pape Ganganelli* (1776). The final major work to cast doubt on the *Lettres* provenance was the book-length *Tartuffe épistolaire démasqué*, published (ironically) under a pseudonym. The 'Curé Kokerbourn de Quimper-Corentin', later revealed to be Jesuit priest Jacques Julien Bonnaud, directly accused Caraccioli of falsifying the letters. Following this, the affair died down. In the space of little under a year, then, Caraccioli adopts four different *personæ*. In posing first as the Pope, then as editor, cook and, finally as himself, Caraccioli demonstrates the flexibility of his own authorial identity. In each of these works, Caraccioli conceals himself not just behind a pseudonym, but also behind the voice of the first-person narrators. As such, his pseudonymity is not restricted to the peritextual site of the author's name, but rather spans and is inherently connected to the entire content of the work in question. What can Caraccioli's multiple pseudonymous masks reveal about the author's own identity and voice?

Géhanne Gavoty identifies Caraccioli's motivation for publishing the *Lettres* as both religious zeal and more mercenary desires: 'le polygraphe se faisait romancier épistolaire dans une visée assurément pragmatique, servant des objectifs pécuniaires et de profondes convictions religieuses.'[178] By 1775, the *pension* upon which Caraccioli was financially dependent had ceased as the Rzewuski family fell into ruin; it is almost certain, then, that the author would have been seeking new ways to support himself. While he had already forged a successful career as an apologist, it is not unlikely that the name of the deceased Pope would have proved a desirable, authoritative platform. Despite these clear elements of pragmatism in this work, there is also evidence of a strategy of playfulness. The *affaire Clémentine*, while certainly a *fraude pieuse*, can be regarded as an elaborate identity game. The fictive network of *personæ* each connected to the Pope is particularly striking in the way it reveals Caraccioli's ludic masquerade.

[178] Géhanne Gavoty, 'Controverses Clémentines: 1776-1777', *Apologetique 1650-1802; la Nature et la Grace*, ed. by Nicolas Brucker (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010), 261-282, (p. 272).

Following the Pope himself, the first mask worn by Caraccioli is that of 'l'éditeur des *Lettres*'. He adopts this persona in response to a letter addressed to the purported editor from a concerned reader. The reader praises the editor for the work which, he predicts, 'vivra éternellement'.[179] He goes on, however to express his sadness at the doubts surrounding the letters' authenticity, imploring the author to publish the originals in Italian in order to allay all accusations. In his response, Caraccioli, seeks to evade responsibility. Under the guise of 'l'éditeur des *Lettres*', he writes: 'mon intention a toujours été d'en faire une édition; mais il était naturel qu'on les vît en France paraître en français avant de les donner dans une langue étrangère.'[180] Throughout the work, the narrator seeks to distance himself from the creation of the *Lettres*, asserting that 'toute la gloire de ces Lettres est pour le Pontife, et non pour l'éditeur.'[181]

Caraccioli's play of dissemblance continues with the second pseudonymous mask, Frère François – a papal cook who publishes a letter asserting the veracity of the *Lettres*. The text begins with an introduction to the cook himself, who claims that 'depuis la mort du Saint-Père, de cuisinier que j'étais, je me suis fait littérateur.'[182] With a chiasmatic flourish, the former cook both announces his career change, and displays its effects to the reader. The presence in the very centre of the chiasmic stucutre of the repeated personal pronoun 'je' highlights the personal nature of this account, and its reflexive context marks an initial parallel between the narrator and Caraccioli. Both, though the latter does not avow it in such simple terms, are self-made. The narrator seeks to assert his identity throughout the work, which is constituted almost entirely of anecdotes recalling the cook's interactions with the pontiff and is replete with culinary allusions. The narrator

[179] L**M**B**. *Lettre à l'éditeur des Lettres de Clément XIV sur la crainte qu'on a que ce pontife n'en soit pas l'auteur* (Paris: Boudet, 1775), p. 4.
[180] Caraccioli, *Réponse de l'éditeur des Lettres de Clément XIV à l'auteur de la lettre sur la crainte qu'on a que ce pontife n'en soit pas l'auteur*, p. 26.
[181] Ibid., p. 26.
[182] Caraccioli, *Lettre du Frère François cuisinier du Pape Ganganelli*, p. 3.

claims that his two professions – chef and writer – are not as opposed as they may seem since 'elles exigent également du goût, et l'on retire de l'une et de l'autre beaucoup de fumée.'[183] The work continues in a similarly comical tone, as the reader is implored not to expect 'une lettre écrite en beau Français et que l'esprit en assaisonne les phrases et les pensées',[184] Sincerity is balanced with irony as 'Frère François' responds successively to eminent critics of the *Lettres*. Each response follows the same formula. The critic is first quoted as addressing the friar 'mais, mon cher frère, me disait...' The critic's rank is given, followed by his concerns. Frère François then replies to the critic, addressing him once again by rank, in the superlative. For example:

> Mais, mon cher frère, me disait un vénérable Religieux, il y a des dates inexactes ; et je lui en répondais: *Révérendissime*, cela vient des Imprimeurs, ou d'une écriture difficile à déchiffrer, et c'est ce qui me prouverait que l'Editeur a réellement agi de bonne foi.[185]

The humorous effect results from repeated hyperbole. The formula is repeated six times in the first seventeen pages of the text and, while beginning plausibly, the interlocutors are exaggerated and amplified successively until a climatic: 'mais enfin, mon cher Frère, me répétaient cent personnes à la fois […] et je ne cessais de leur crier à tue-tête: Eh! *Messieurs les Élégantissimes*.'[186] Any plausibility the friar-narrator may have initially possessed is diminished, and Caraccioli's own literary playfulness becomes apparent. In concealing his authorial identity behind a fictitious *persona*, Caraccioli here only amplifies it.

In the end, it is this porosity of voices which betrays Caraccioli's identity as the fabricator of the *Lettres* and all connected publications. In 1776, the *Année littéraire* devoted an extensive article to revealing 'quelques nouveaux sujets de doutes qui n'ont pas encore été proposés'[187] regarding the true author of the *Lettres*. The reviewer presents an extensive list of the inconsistencies and

[183] Ibid., p. 4.
[184] Ibid.
[185] Ibid., p. 12.
[186] Ibid., pp. 16-17.
[187] Jean-Baptiste Grosier, Elie-Cathérine Fréron, *L'Année Littéraire*, t. 3 (Paris: Le Jay, 1776), p. 97.

incongruities of the original letters, and subsequent publications such as the *Lettre du Frère François*. In one letter, for example, it is recorded that Pope Clément requested that a statue be erected in his honour in Verona. The reviewer notes, however, that 'il avait déjà reçu cet honneur à l'époque de cette lettre.'[188] He goes on to remark that, in the *Lettre du Frère François*, '[l'auteur] persiste à dire que ce monument ne lui fut érigé qu'après sa mort'.[189] Such inconsistencies in the narrative are pervasive, and signal, perhaps, the author's initial carelessness. Indeed, the *Année littéraire* article highlights that '[des] bévues et des invraisemblances qui étaient échappées à M. de Caraccioli dans sa première édition ont été soigneusement corrigées dans la seconde.' [190] However, in considering the ludic nature of the entire collection, inconsistency is key and for the attentive reader, allows for the deciphering of Caraccioli's cryptically veiled identity. Are inconsistencies Caraccioli's deliberate attempt at attention seeking? It is certainly plausible, especially when we consider the presence of his own authorial voice which continually seeps into the narrative.

The reviewer in the *Année littéraire* meticulously lists expressions, employed either in the *Lettres* or in follow-up works, each of which has a distinct 'air de famille.'[191] Evoking the idea of Caraccioli's corpus as a filial network – a phenomenon we observed through the designation 'par l'auteur de' – the reviewer announces his cause for suspicion following discovery of 'de Nouvelles raisons, qu'une lecture attentive et réfléchie de ces deux volumes vient de nous fournir.'[192] He goes on to enumerate the extensive 'traits de ressemblance' throughout the *Lettres* 'prétendues *originales*, [qui] n'étaient qu'une refonte de divers ouvrages publiés en différents temps par M. de Caraccioli.'[193] The *traits* come predominantly from two of Caraccioli's earliest works, *La Conversation avec soi-même* and *La Jouissance de soi-même*. The intertextual traces which the reviewer goes on to reveal, and which

[188] Ibid., p. 107.
[189] Ibid.
[190] Ibid., p. 100.
[191] Ibid.
[192] Ibid., p. 75.
[193] Ibid.

we will consider, might be seen as instances of visual parity, drawing the texts into an hereditary relationship with one another and thier creator. If Caracccioli is the father of his corpus, *La Conversation avec soi-même* and *La Jouissance de soi-même* become his eldest children.

As the anonymous critic unveils the echoes between works, he follows a formulaic structure, giving direct citations from each text, and beginning always with the *Lettres*. A typical example is as follows:

> *Lett. De Clément XIV*, t. 1, p. 195 'Il faut convenir que nous vivons dans un siècle bizarre; on n'a jamais eu moins de religion, on n'en a jamais plus souvent parlé; on n'a jamais eu plus d'esprit, on n'en a jamais plus abusé.
>
> *Jouissance de soi-même*, p. 218 'On conviendra que notre siècle est véritablement original: jamais les hommes ne parlèrent tant de Religion, et jamais ils n'en eurent moins; jamais l'esprit et le bon sens ne contrastèrent d'une manière plus frappante.[194]

In each instance, the two texts bear an uncanny resemblance; Caraccioli is simply paraphrasing himself. While tenses are changed – 'on conviendra' becomes 'il faut convenir' – and vocabulary altered – 'original' becomes 'bizarre' – the inherent message remains the same. The structure of the two passages is identical. Caraccioli begins with a claim which he frames – through appeal to obligation or inevitability – as impossible to refute. In both, he draws the reader into a one-sided conversation, establishing shared culture through the pronoun *nous* in the first instance and the possessive adjective *notre* in the second. The second phrase is simply inverted from one passage to the other, with an identical tripartite repetition of *jamais*. This is a prime example, for the reviewer, of the (self-)plagiarism which serves as proof of a literary forgery. It is significant that the *Année littéraire* draws a relationship between these two acts. Both may be considered an inexcusable imposture, and in both an author might be accused of appropriating another's 'property' – his name or his words – as his own. Caraccioli has, in this case, substituted another's name for his own, in adopting the *persona* of the Pope. His plagiarism, however, is not of another's discourse, but of his own. Try as he might to disguise his narratorial voice behind the identity of another, in

[194] Ibid., p. 80.

the end Caraccioli's authorial presence cannot be denied. The reviewer in the *Année littéraire* goes on to ask: 'Comment M. de Caraccioli justifiera-t-il cette conformité frappante entre les lettres qu'il attribue à Clément XIV et les deux ouvrages que je viens de citer?'[195] The tone, once formulaic, becomes juridical. The reviewer, having laid out his evidence, turns to the reader (cast in the role of juror), to ask this rhetorical question. The truth, it is implied, is self-evident.[196]

In this literary trial, the *Année littéraire* was not the only voice of prosecution. Many other voices contributed to Caraccioli's public unmasking and denunciation. In *Le Tartuffe épistolaire démasqué*, the accusations are particularly vehement: 'c'est en effet un labeur fatiguant que de *piller, piller, piller*.'[197] Adopting a similar method to the *Année littéraire*, Bonnaud selects phrases from the *Lettres*, citing them in italics before subsequently refuting their veracity in roman print. One particularly striking example, and the sole we shall dwell on here, sheds additional light on the reception of Caraccioli's name:

> *Donner un nouveau lustre à votre* [Ganganelli's] *nom*… il ne sera pas possible d'oublier votre *nom*. Dans tous vos ouvrages vous y introduisez quelque Caraccioli, tantôt *Cardinal*, tantôt *Marquis*…
> *Votre* [Ganganelli's] *nom déjà si recommendable & si connu*… Oui, *très-connu*…[198]

The crux of the scandal, as expressed by Bonnaud here, is Caraccioli's perceived lack of *honnêteté*. The *Lettres* claim to be promoting the name of the deceased Pontiff. This does not wash with the critic, who considers Caraccioli's references to renown to be reflexive and self-serving. The greatest of crimes, then, is not the impersonation of another, but rather the promotion of oneself. The game is up, and Caraccioli is unveiled along with his strategy, though only momentarily.

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[195] Ibid.. p. 83.
[196] The language of jurisprudence employed throughout the *affaire clémentine* is consonant with the dynamics of eighteenth-century literary *querelles*: written protestations against perceived transgressions. See: Alain Viala, 'Un temps de querelles' *Littératures classiques*, 81 (2013), 5-22, (p. 11).
[197] Jacques Julien Bonnaud, *Le Tartuffe épistolaire démasqué* (Liège: 1777), p. 31.
[198] Ibid.

Caraccioli's response to the accusations levied against him is revelatory. In 1777, he published an open letter entitled *Remerciement à l'auteur de l'Année littéraire* which begins: 'Grand merci, monsieur, et trois fois grand merci, de ce qu'enfin, par un jugement définitif, vous venez de prononcer que j'étais l'Auteur, et non l'Editeur des Lettres du feu Pape.'[199] What begins as an apparent admission of authorship, however, is quickly turned around; Caraccioli does not admit outright that he wrote the letters. Rather, he makes a disingenuous concession stating that, in light of the *Année littéraire*'s persuasive review, he too, like the readers, must believe himself to be author. There is a subtle distinction. Caraccioli can believe that he wrote them, but his belief may not be true. Indeed, quickly after this, Caraccioli once again asserts that he is not the author of the *Lettres*. It would be impossible, he states, that he 'surtout qui sur vingt-quatre heures, n'en donne que trois ou quatre au travail, sans compter des jours entiers et des semaines même où [il] ne fai[t] rien'[200] could possibly have written such an extensive work.[201] Following this, the letter continues as a stream of excuses and explanations, assuring the reader that he could only possibly be the *editor* of the *Lettres*. Echoing the *persona* of Frère François, he first claims that 'les anacronismes singuliers qu'on a pu trouver dans les Lettres, viennent des Copistes ou des Imprimeurs.'[202] He again appeals to his own authorial voice, dissociating it from that of the supposed Pope, asserting that 'si le style des *Lettres* est antithétique et guindé, comme vous le prétendez, ce n'est donc pas mon Ouvrage; car on ne m'a jamais reproché le goût des antitheses.'[203] Finally, he concedes that it may well be the case that some of the pontiff's expressions or phrases overlap with Caraccioli's own idiom, because as translator such porosity of voice would be inevitable: 'il n'est point étonnant que dans ma

[199] Caraccioli, *Remerciement à l'auteur de l'Année littéraire de la part de l'éditeur des Lettres du Pape Ganganelli* (La Haye: Monory, 1777), p. 3.
[200] Ibid., p. 7.
[201] This reflexive insight into the author's own writing process provides another example of intertextual confluence, which critical voices in the *affaire Clémentine* neglected to raise. Caraccioli claims that *Le Livre à la mode* (rose) 'n'a été composé que dans les moments de récréation […] & ne [l]'a coûté que quatre soirées.' *Le Livre à la mode* (rose), pp. 5-6.
[202] Caraccioli, *Remerciement à l'auteur de l'Année littéraire*, p. 25.
[203] Ibid., p. 36.

traduction des *Lettres* de Ganganelli, il se rencontre des expressions et même des idées répandues dans mes différens Ecrits.'[204]

Towards the end of this final open letter, there seems again to be a flash of authenticity. Caraccioli admits that it would be in his interest to perpetuate the confusing game because, 'plus vous attaquez les Lettres, plus vous leur procurez de Lecteurs.'[205] Again, however, this statement which seems overt and sincere is qualified as he continues '[…] il y a des gens qui s'imaginent que je m'entends avec vous pour prolonger ces débats.'[206] The reader is in a constant state of suspension. What is true? Is any narrator in this affair to be trusted? The only fact that Caraccioli seems wholly concerned with is the propagation of his own works. He is certain that any censure imposed upon him 'ne détruira sûrement pas l'impression qu'ont fait mes Ouvrages jusques chez les Nations étrangères, où l'on a eu la bonté de les accueillir avec Plaisir et même de les traduire.'[207] He goes on to immediately to assert: 'ce sont des faits.'[208]. Regardless of all polemic surrounding their creation, and regardless even of the true identity of their author, the *Lettres* proved an immense success throughout Europe. The masking and posturing are instrumental in Caraccioli's success and he seems to relish the game.

IV. Dedicatory Epistles

In the final section of this chapter, we will move away from the networks of identity which Caraccioli fashioned for himself, or had fashioned for him, to consider the names, figures, and groups upon which he based his authorial legitimacy, through study of the author's dedicatory

[204] Ibid., p. 57.
[205] Ibid.
[206] Ibid., p. 78.
[207] Ibid., p. 80.
[208] Ibid.

epistles. The significance of *épîtres dédicatoires* in the development of the author-figure cannot be doubted. Genette demonstrates how 'les origines de la dédicace d'œuvre remontent au moins à la Rome antique.'[209] Conventions range from the simple naming of dedicatee(s), to the lengthier full epistle. Dedicatory epistles soon became 'des sources de revenu de l'écrivain.'[210] Addressing a wealthy patron, offering praise and adulation, an author would be rewarded both financially, and in terms of reputation; the inclusion of the name of an influential patron would add social capital to a piece of work. Both Genette and Viala highlight weaknesses in the system, however. Genette draws attention to authors who, already in the seventeenth century, were resisting convention and abstaining from seeking patronage, regarding the practice as 'quelque peu dégradan'.[211] Viala, too notes the complexity of the relationship between author, letter, and patron. He emphasises the 'caractère aléatoire des gratifications'[212] and the instability of patronage which was by no means guaranteed following the publication of a dedicatory epistle. He affirms that 'la valeur principale du mécénat résidait bien dans la reconnaissance de gloire qu'il apportait à l'écrivain.'[213]

Caraccioli's use of dedicatory epistles is multi-facetted. He does not cast off the practice as degrading, yet equally he does not wholeheartedly embrace the conventional formula of fawning praise which may be expected in the dedicator-dedicatee interaction. As a whole, dedicatory epistles are rare in Caraccioli's *œuvre*. Of the author's fifty-nine texts, only fourteen contain any dedication.[214] At times these solicit patronage and social approbation from influential sources. On other occasions, unconventional dedications are addressed to deceased figures or abstract

[209] Genette, p. 110.
[210] Ibid., p. 112.
[211] Genette, p. 113.
[212] Viala, p. 78.
[213] Ibid., p. 77.
[214] These are: *Dialogue entre le siècle de Louis XIV et le siècle de Louis XV* (1751); *La Conversation avec soi-même* (1753); *La Jouissance de soi-même* (1759); *Le Livre à la mode* à verte-feuille (1759); *Le Livre à la mode* nouvelle édition (1759); *Le Livre de quatre couleurs* (1760); *La Grandeur d'âme* (1761); *Dictionnaire critique* (1768); *Lettres à une illustre morte* (1770); *La Vie du comte Wenceslas Rzewuski* (1782); *La vie du Pape Benoît XIV prosper Lambertini* (1783); *Qui mettriez-vous à sa place?* (1789); *Lettre d'un paysan à son curé, sur une nouvelle manière de tenir les Etats généraux* (1789); *La vie de Joseph II* (1790); *La Petite Lutèce devenue grande fille* (1790).

concepts. In this final section of the chapter, we will consider four of the author's most striking dedications in chronological order to illuminate Caraccioli's gradual positioning of himself at centre stage of his works.

Caraccioli's first book *Dialogue entre le siècle de Louis XIV et le siècle de Louis XV* is dedicated 'Au Temps.' The three-page letter seeks the favour of the enigmatic 'Time', upon which Caraccioli acknowledges his full dependence: 'que de raisons pour priser vos faveurs, pour en bien user ! L'on ne peut être avec une plus entière dépendance que je le suis de vous.'[215] It is significant that the author should choose not to address his first printed work to a wealthy patron; significant still is the fact that this book, as we saw at the start of this chapter, was published anonymously. He privileges neither the authority of a patron, nor even his own authority, but rather frames this text, and therefore to a certain extent his entire literary project, within Time's all-encompassing authority. Despite its perennial 'presence', Time is ghostly and intangible. Caraccioli asks his invisible interlocutor 'sçais-je bien à qui je m'adresse?'[216] He goes on: 'pourrois-je vous définir, vous qui n'êtes plus, dès que je veux vous saisir, ou vous appercevoir, vous dont on ne peut jamais dire il est, mais il a été, ou il sera.'[217] In addressing the incorporeal figure of transience, this epistle is marked as much by the absence as the presence of its dedicatee. In its nature as disembodied passage, Time poses a threat to material fixity; it 'ravit nous-mêmes' along with the 'objets sur lesquels se reposent nos cœurs et nos esprits.'[218] In the literal sense of *ravir* immobile rest is replaced by dynamic, even violent, degeneration. In the analysis of Caraccioli's portrait with which this chapter began, we saw a visual evocation of transience. Papers strewn about the ground pointed to the inevitable demise of literature's material state. The *Dialogue*'s dedicatory epistle also highlights the centrality of impermance to Caraccioli's work. This is true both of the text which

[215] Caraccioli, *Dialogue*, p. vi.
[216] Ibid., p. iii.
[217] Ibid., p. iv.
[218] Ibid.

this dedication accompanies – a conversation between two fleeting ages – and, by virtue of this dedication's primacy, of the author's corpus as a whole. [219]

The revised edition to Caraccioli's second published work, *La Conversation avec soi-même* (1759), also contains an unconventional *épître dédicatoire*. This time Caraccioli addresses the soul of Nicolas Malebranche, the seventeenth-century cleric and philosopher, whose ghost provides guidance and inspiration. 'A l'ombre de Malebranche', like 'Au Temps', is structured like a conventional *épître dédicatoire* in terms of style and content. In this thirteen-page dedication, Caraccioli begins by expressing gratitude to the philosopher for his 'sublimes Ecrits,'[220] and lamenting the fact that he will never meet him. He lauds the virtues of his intellectual patron, echoing Fontenelle: 'si S. Augustin et Descartes posèrent les fondements de l'édifice sur lequel vous avez bâti, vous l'avez porté si haut, dit Fontenelle, qu'eux-mêmes peut-être en auraient été surpris.'[221] Through quotation, Caraccioli draws the celebrated author of the *Entretiens sur la pluralité des mondes* into the dedicatory conversation. Fontenelle is not strictly a dedicatee, but his presence in the letter is one of approbation. In evoking him, Caraccioli leans upon and constructs his own legitimacy through that of an influential elder. Fontenelle died in 1757, two years before this reedition of *La Conversation avec soi-même*. His spectre is not a guiding one in the same way as Malebranche's. Nevertheless, his authorising presence is partial and deferred; his voice is mediated by that of Caraccioli, who affiliates himself to him and invokes his authority.[222]

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[219] Two decades later, in 1771, Louis-Sébastien Mercier dedicated *L'An 2440, rêve s'il en fût jamais* to an 'auguste & respectable Année […] si désirée & que ses vœux appellant.' Like Caraccioli's *Temps*, Mercier's *Année* is also spectral; it can be perceived only in a 'songe.' Both dedications appeal to the authority of time's passage as an antidote to the perceived decadence of their contemporary age. See: Louis-Sébastien Mercier, *L'an 2440, rêve s'il en fût jamais* (Londres: [n. pub.], 1771), pp. iii-viii.

[220] Caraccioli, *La Conversation avec soi-même* (1753) (Liège: Bassompierre; Bruxelles: J. van den Berghen, 1759), p. iii.

[221] Ibid., p. v.

[222] Fontenelle's *Nouveaux dialogues des morts* themselves evoke the notion of transient glory and the means by which authors' posthumous authority may be appropriated, or manipulated, by their successors. See: Bernard Le Bovier de Fontenelle, *Nouveaux dialogues des morts* (1683), (Paris: Michel Brunet, 1711). On the *Dialogues des morts* and posthumous glory, see: Jessica Goodman, 'The View from Upstream: Authority and

In the case of Malebranche, as with Time, favour is sought where favour cannot be given. The *épître* is here structured as a panegyric, addressed directly to its subject using the personal pronoun *vous*. Caraccioli laments the state of those on earth, himself included, who believe they must 'changer de Philosophie comme d'habits',[223] expressing his desire to see 'la vérité dans le point immuable de l'éternité',[224] as the late philosopher is now able to do. Again, the concept of time is central to Caraccioli's text; specifically, here the relationship of time to eternity. Malebranche transcends temporality. Like 'Time', he is detached from the world and its fleetingness. Transience and endurance are contrasted throughout, with Malebranche framed as the exemplar of eternal stability and Caraccioli as the unwilling inhabitant of earthly precarity: '[les] grandeurs dont nous nous repaissons [sont] comme des chimères, […] vous fixez immuablement l'éternité et vous vous nourrissez de la Lumière incorruptible'[225] Earthly life, it implies, is quixotic, and even its joys do not compare to the immutable fruition of life in eternity. As the letter progresses, however, this pattern is inverted. Despite dwelling in eternity, Caraccioli reveals that on Earth Malebranche's writings 'ne sont plus à la mode,'[226] Caraccioli, however, is endued with heavenly intransience and remains an 'admirateur perpetuel' of Malebranche's work. As a writer, then, Caraccioli presents himself both as a figure whose identity shifts and evolves, and whose intellectual convictions stand firm; they participate in some way in the 'eternal'. In addressing the letter to Malebranche, the author also succeeds in sketching his own self-portrait; his fervour for Malebranche is as immutable as the deceased philosopher himself. Caraccioli frames himself, then, as the sole mouthpiece of the philosopher, going so far as to ask the question: 'Est-ce ici Malebranche que

Projection in Fontenelle's *Nouveaux dialogues des morts*', in *The Routledge Companion to Death and Literature*, ed. by Daniel K. Jernigan, Neil Murphy and W. Michelle Wang (London: Routledge, 2020), pp. 83-90.

[223] Ibid., p. vii.

[224] Ibid.

[225] Ibid.

[226] Ibid.

j'honore? & n'est-ce pas plutôt moi-même?'[227] Caraccioli fashions himself not only as the last of the faithful apostles of the philosopher on earth, but also as his incarnation.

The common thread which connects these initial dedicatory epistles is twofold. Caraccioli is wholly dependent on both 'Time' and Malebranche. Neither offers financial patronage, but both offer the author a perennial companionship. In addition to dependence, the theme of endurance is central to both epistles. While a conventional patron may offer support during their lifetime, both 'time' and the soul of Malebranche will endure in perpetuity. At the end of the letter, it emerges that Caraccioli disdains the conventional format of *épîtres dédicatoires* 'où l'auteur en dit toujours trop, quelque abrégées qu'elles soient.'[228] Both in form and in content he therefore abandons this formula. These two dedicatory epistles are clearly intended to fashion an image of Caraccioli both for his own benefit and that of the reader. *Au Temps* presents a distilled account of a thread which will pervade Caraccioli's *œuvre*, namely how to make the most of one's time when Time itself 'vole avec […] célèrité.'[229] The *lettre à l'ombre de Malebranche* also reveals much about the author's intellectual hinterland, fixing his own intellectual project firmly within a philosophical tradition. This is not simply a subversion of the custom of dedications, but rather a recasting of the practice as overtly, rather than implicitly, crafting the author's *persona*.

The letter to *l'ombre de Malebranche* is the final extended *épître dédicatoire* addressed to a non-living person. Yet in his more conventional dedicatory epistles, Caraccioli continues to fashion his authorial image in relation to his addressees. Let us consider two salient examples of this, beginning with *La Jouissance de soi-même*.

[227] Ibid., p. viii.
[228] Ibid.
[229] Caraccioli, *Dialogue*, p. iii.

There are at least seven editions of *La Jouissance de soi-même*, published between 1759 and 1771; all are addressed and dedicated to:

> Son Altesse sérénissime électorale Monseigneur Clément-Auguste, Electeur de Cologne, Grand-Maître de l'Ordre Teutonique, Evêque et Prince de Hildesheim, Paderborn, Munster & Osnabrug, Duc des Deux Bavières etc.[230]

Clément-Auguste succeeded his uncle as Archbishop of Cologne in 1725, aged just 25. As his title indicates, the cleric possessed a significant scope of power and influence. Not only did he serve as Archbishop but he was also a prince of the Holy Roman Empire, and a knight of the Teutonic Order. It is unclear whether Caraccioli and Clément-Auguste ever met. Whether the Archbishop was known to him personally or simply by reputation, however, Caraccioli in the first edition of *La Jouissance de soi-même* makes use of the *épître dédicatoire* to laud his dedicatee for his virtues which, if '[elles] étaient moins connues, [Caraccioli] craindrait d'en affaiblir l'idée par [ses] expressions.'[231] Faithful to convention, the author first places himself in a posture of humility. It has long been established that, in such letters, praise of the dedicatee, couched often in the lowering of the dedicator, serves as a means for the author to gain the approval of someone of more dignified social standing. While pure praise is not the sole aim of the *épître dédicatoire*, its role in *captatio benevolentiae* cannot be doubted. In this instance, Caraccioli praises the archbishop for his 'bonté naturelle', his 'zèle ardent pour la Religion', and for his 'générosité à toute épreuve' all of which 'font l'honneur du siècle, ainsi que la gloire de l'humanité.'[232] The hyperbolic quality of this first letter is wholly in keeping with convention, as is the link that Caraccioli subsequently draws between the virtues of the dedicatee and the subject of the text.

> La jouissance de soi-même, si difficile et si rare dans le sein des richesses et des honneurs, étant précisément ce qui distingue d'avantage Votre Altesse Sérénissime, plus j'ai parlé contre les faux Grands dans mon Ouvrage, plus j'ai relevé votre véritable grandeur.[233]

Clément-Auguste is here revealed to be an exemplar of one who *jouit de lui-même*. The virtue, conceived of and expounded by Caraccioli in the body of the work, is so intrinsic to the character

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[230] Caraccioli, *La Jouissance de soi-même* (Utrecht: H. Spruit, Amsterdam: E. van Harrevelt, 1759), p. v.
[231] Ibid., p. iv.
[232] Ibid., p. v.
[233] Ibid., p. vi.

of the dedicatee that, while praise is given in the *épître dédicatoire*, in fact the entire text could be considered a panegyric. The archbishop, a true 'Grand' in Caraccioli's eyes does not require, therefore, an exposition of 'l'ancienneté de l'Auguste Maison de Bavière' to affirm his nobility of status and character. Echoing Bossuet, since 'louange languit auprès de grands noms'[234], Caraccioli goes no further in his dedication, but rather leaves the entire text as his tribute to the cleric. The author's deference towards the archbishop leads him to take this second posture of humility. In the first instance, Caraccioli states his unworthiness to express faithfully the virtues of Clément-Auguste yet in the second, and with an almost direct contradiction, he asserts his ability to reveal the dedicatee's greatness in the entirety of the text which ensues. Caraccioli here conceals his self-approbation, transferring credit for the work away from himself and towards Clément-Auguste. In so doing, he affirms his own talents all the more strongly. This trope is not uncommon. As Viala states: 'par ce transfert sur le mécène, la gloire du poète est d'autant mieux attestée et d'autant plus logiquement digne d'approbation.'[235]

In the second and all subsequent editions of *La Jouissance de soi-même*, published between 1760 and 1771, the double transfer of credit from the author to the patron, and back to the author, is rendered more explicit. It was not uncommon that *épîtres dédicatoires* would change in content from one edition of a work to another. Such letters may even be addressed to an entirely different patron. Here, the dedicatee is not altered, but the text of the letter is entirely changed. Clément-Auguste, having read *La Jouissance de soi-même*, transmits his praise to Caraccioli who quotes it back to him, and the reader:

> Votre altesse Serenissime ayant daigné me marquer elle-même, dans les termes les plus flatteurs et es plus honorables, que *La Jouissance de soi-même* était un Ouvrage estimé de tous ceux qui ont du gout pour les choses solides, et qu'on ne pouvait mieux écrire sur une matière aussi intéressante, je me hate d'en instruire le Public.[236]

[234] Ibid., p. vii.
[235] Viala, p. 71.
[236] Caraccioli, *Jouissance*, p. v.

In this *épître*, which functions more like an endorsement, the author is unabashed in his self-promotion. Through the use of litotes, such as the assertion that the success of the work's first edition, 'ne peut être attribué qu'à l'Auguste nom de Votre Altesse Serenissime qui en fait tout le mérite et tout l'ornement,'[237] Caraccioli again draws the reader's attention to his own glory and merit. As in the original *épître dédicatoire*, the author takes a posture of humility. While in the first instance, however, this humility serves, at least on the surface, to magnify the virtues of Clément-Auguste, here the archbishop is only praised insofar as he has endorsed Caraccioli's own virtues. Caraccioli does not hide the true destination of this epistle – the public, from whom he seeks not simply favour, but custom.

Another notable epistle appears in *La vie de Joseph II, empereur d'Allemagne roi de Hongrie et de Bohême: ornée de son portrait et suivie de notes instructives* (1790), and is addressed to the author's tutee:

> Son Excellence Monseigneur le Comte Severin Rzewuski, Générale de la couronne de Pologne, chevalier des Ordres de l'Aigle blanc et de Saint-Stanislas, Seigneur de Podhorcé, d'Olesko, &c.[238]

Caraccioli assures Severin that he is 'doublement attaché à [son] excellence et par mon grade de colonel au service de Pologne, et par le souvenir que j'aurai toute ma vie de [ses] bontés.'[239] As we have seen, the author was made a Colonel by the family, and so would have been indebted to them for his promotion in society. Accompanying Severin on his *Grand Tour* enabled the author to continue to travel, and to visit his beloved Italy on several occasions. The *épître dédicatoire* serves the double function of displaying gratitude to the young Count and his family and demonstrating Caraccioli's close relationship with another figure of influence. The author's personal connection to his patron is highlighted in the following anecdote recalling a *fête* during which the author's family celebrated the virtues and benevolence of Severin.

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[237] Ibid, p. v.
[238] Caraccioli, *La vie de Joseph II, empereur d'Allemagne roi de Hongrie et de Bohême: ornée de son portrait et suivie de notes instructives* (Paris: Cuchet, 1790), p. vi.
[239] Ibid.

> Sentiment [la reconnaissance] qui m'est d'autant plus précieux, que me trouvant à Naples il y a nombre d'années, j'eus la satisfaction de le voir ratifié par vingt personnes de ma famille, au milieu d'une fête qu'elles vous donnèrent à cette intention. (1) ce fut au pied du mont Vesuve. *Alla torre dell'anunciata*.[240]

As if to jog Severin's memory, Caraccioli adds a footnote to the end of this account. But it can hardly be considered that the phrase was included for the nobleman's benefit. The pair travelled extensively and, while it is of course possible that Severin would have forgotten the *fête*, it is less plausible that Caraccioli would have sought to remind him of the location in a letter meant simply for dedication. It is more likely that the image, simple yet evocative, of the assembly of Caraccioli's relations gathered to celebrate Severin in the shadow of the great Mount Vesuvius, situates the Caracciolis on the same social level as Severin. Indeed, Caraccioli is the one who is able to host a party for the nobleman, rather than the other way around; and he is therefore the one who welcomes Severin into Italian noble circles. Attachment between the pair, then, is clearly leveraged by Caraccioli to accrue social capital. The text of this short anecdote is self-referential. Caraccioli employs the first-person pronouns *je* and *me* four times. In a striking contrast to the rest of the *épître dédicatoire*, in which first-person pronouns are scarce, Caraccioli here once again turns the *épître* towards himself. Whereas in *La Jouissance de soi-même* self-reference is only introduced in the text's second edition, here Caraccioli and his relations are brought to the fore. The choice to include details about his Neapolitan heritage becomes yet another means for him to assert his legitimacy.

Conclusion

Throughout his works, Caraccioli presents his readers with conflicting images of who he is. He first implicitly disavows the social and institutional identities upon which readers might expect him to lean. It is only in epitextual sources, such as D'Hémery's *Historique des Auteurs* that we learn of his familial connections to other authors. Furthermore, Horemans' portrait provides the only explicit representation of the author as a cleric. This rejection of conventional sources of authorial

[240] Ibid.

legitimacy continues. Despite publishing under the title of Marquis for a decade, in the *Lettres récréatives* Caraccioli is quick to distance himself from its usage. Claiming his subjection to the will of his publishers, he ostensibly adopts a posture of *honnêteté*, and his subsequent progressive move towards onymity in his works may suggest the author's drive to a noble self-effacement and rejection of commercial gestures. However, even when shrouded in the veil of anonymity, Caraccioli nevertheless engages in strategies of self-promotion, announcing his celebrity in no uncertain terms. In the *affaire clémentine*, the author's ludic play of masking and unveiling himself served to keep his name in circulation among periodicals. The polemic surrounding the affair is testament not only to his reputation, but also to his skill at crafting intrigue and, ultimately, serving his mercenary needs. His name, a subject of intrigue, becomes a myth – dissociated from him, while always pointing back to him. The sustaining of public curiousity becomes unabashed self-promotion, and the same self-referencing tendencies pervade his dedicatory epistles. In associating himself with deceased and abstract figures, the author rejects conventional patronage in favour, once more, of self-aggrandisment. What emerges is an image of an author wholly conscious of the literary market in which he is operating, and willing to manipulate it to his own ends. In all of this, and to hark back to Viala, his shifting *personae* are brought to the fore, and he makes of himself a protagonist in the scene of his career.

Viala's designation of literature (or literariness) as an *acte* is useful for the broader interpretative lexicon it opens up – notably that of the theatre. In many instances, Caraccioli's literary self might be considered a performance. This is true not only of the shifting narratorial and paratexual masks which the author adopts, but also of the evocations of transience which we have seen emerge most notably in his portrait and dedicatory epistles. We began this chapter by considering the link between ephemeral authorial success and enduring literary legacies. We can be sure the author actively pursued the former. His approach to the latter seems more complex. In the case of his portrait, at least, designs for enduring reputation are expressed through a paradoxical disavowal:

Caraccioli's papers are discarded, yet their disposal is immortalised on canvas. The relationship beween transience and endurance will continue to run as a motif throughout this thesis, both in relation to Caraccioli's self-fashioning practices and his theories of selfhood. To explore this, we will continue to cross the threshold of his works, engaging now with prefaces.

Chapter II

Shifts in Time: Prefaces as Spaces of Self-Fashioning

Introduction

When considering the authorial *persona(e)* which Caraccioli crafts and asserts throughout his texts, it is useful to engage with prefaces as privileged sites of authorial agency. Title pages and dedicatory epistles give some indications to the reader of the kind of work she has in hand, the identity – veiled or revealed – of its author, and the cultural and intellectual context in which the book is inscribed. However, it is in this final textual 'threshold' that an author's voice is most clearly discernible. This chapter will engage with prefaces as spheres of enunciation, in which Caraccioli speaks distinctly as the author of a given text, and addresses its reader – or potential reader – directly in relation to the body of content which is to follow. The addresses contained in prefaces operate a threefold exchange between author, reader, and text which, this chapter will argue, facilitates the 'fashioning' of each. Following on from the last chapter, I will consider the contribution of this tri-directional communication to Caraccioli's overarching strategy of self-legitimation and self-mythologisation.

Caraccioli, we have established, was consistently concerned with the images he put forward of himself as an author and, by extension, an authority. His self-referential techniques are often ludic or dissimulating. The masks he adopts, or those which are bestowed upon him by others, are evident in the names Caraccioli employs for himself, and the literary networks with which he chooses, or declines, to affiliate. The many *préfaces*, *discours préliminaires*, *avertissements*, and *introductions*, which precede Caraccioli's texts also reveal a conscious curation of his public image. Furthermore, just as instances of the *onymat* and the use of dedicatory epistles proliferate in the

1750s and 1760s, so too do prefaces. Of thirty-eight works which include introductory material, twenty-one were published between 1751 and 1770. This figure does not include amendments made to prefaces in re-editions of texts such as *La Jouissance de soi-même* since none of the reprinted texts contains entirely distinct prefatory material from their predecessor(s). I will nevertheless give consideration to certain edited prefaces in this chapter, insofar as they can inform our understanding of the reception of their accompanying works – since edits made to prefaces in second or subsequent editions often serve to clarify aspects of the work, or to correct publicly-made (mis)interpretations of the original text.

The reasons for such a marked proliferation in the two decade span 1751-1770 are multiple. During this period, and as we began to explore in Chapter One, Caraccioli faced attacks — often personal — from critics; on many occasions, the author responds to, challenges, and refutes these attacks in his prefaces, and we shall examine this in greater detail during this chapter. It is also the period in which the author was most consciously and strategically forging his career, and accruing a readership. We know that he was successful in this. From his obscure debut publication, he steadily grew in popularity. The ways in which Caraccioli himself fashioned and constructed this growing renown are both evidenced in and enacted by the front matter to many of the works which appeared during this time. The same period is also distinct in terms of the genres in which Caraccioli published. The majority of his apologetic and moralising texts appeared during this time, whereas the later periods of his career were devoted to biography, novels, and essays related to the plight of the Third Estate, as we saw in the Introduction. Indeed, all of the author's apologetic and moralising works are accompanied by a preface; in these, and as we shall see, Caraccioli often addresses his readers directly, suggesting prefaces' facilitation of vocative diadacticism. The following study of preliminary matter in Caraccioli will take two primary lines of argument. The first will explore the multifarious roles of prefaces for the author, and the ways in which he used these functions to identify, address, and ultimately construct his readership. In

the second, I will consider the importance of this in Caraccioli's own self-fashioning, and will examine the different images of authorship presented in prefaces and their influence upon text, reader, and author.

I. Why Prefaces?

The first question to ask at the outset of this chapter, before delving into its material, is quite simple: why study prefaces? In the conclusion to his study of the paratextual genre, Kevin Dunn argues that 'the prefatory threshold has become little more than an ornamental façade, a façade that shows in its pillars and tracery the vestiges of a once functional structure of rhetoric.'[1] Contemporary readers may well be used to skimming over front matter. Indeed, increasingly readers engaging digitally with texts do not encounter traditional paratextual 'thresholds' at all.[2] Dunn does not locate the dismantling of the prefatorial edifice in the modern day, however, but rather sees the beginnings of its demise shortly after its Renaissance 'heyday.'[3] The hermeneutic significance of preambles in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is difficult to dispute. Censors, for example, were obliged to scrutinise them as much as they would the body of the work as, it was assumed, salacious prefatorial content would not go unnoticed by readers.[4] But what of the eighteenth century? Are prefaces in this context a mere shadow of their formerly significant selves?

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[1] Kevin Dunn, *Pretexts of Authority: The Rhetoric of Authorship in the Renaissance Preface* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), p. 154.

[2] Dunn alluded to this phenomeon already in 1994. Over the past two decades scholarship has increasingly applied paratextual theory to the digital sphere, expanding Genette's conception of the textual threshold beyond the traditional material boundaries of the printed book. In 2000, Peter Lunenfeld proposed that the line between paratext and text becomes 'undifferentiated and blurred' in the context digital media. More recently, scholars such as Roswitha Skare have argued that digital platforms do not necessarily eradicate divisions between text and threshold, but rather give rise to new kinds of paratexts which merit their own analysis. See: Peter Lunenfeld. 'Unfinished Business', *The Digital Dialectic: New Essays on New Media*, ed. by Peter Lunenfeld (Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 2000); and Roswitha Skare. 'The Paratext of Digital Documents', *Journal of Documentation*, 77 (2021), 449-460.

[3] Dunn, p. 153.

[4] Dunn references the unfortunate case of William Prynne who in 1637 lost both of his ears as a punishment for publishing libellous claims about Queen Henrietta Maria in the preface, rather than in the body, of *Histrio-Mastix* (1633). The tale is also recounted by Annabel Patterson in *Censorship and Interpretation* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984), p. 48.

If so, what are we to make of the so-called vestiges nevertheless frequently appended to texts? Furthermore, how can we tell that the average reader then would not too have skipped ahead? I cannot purport to make any definitive remarks or attempts at a conclusion regarding these questions here. Determining who read what, when, and where in the eighteenth century, as in almost any age, is near impossible. Traces of readership, barring censors' approval and reviews in journals, are scarce. However, we can safely assume that authors, in crafting prefaces in the first place, intended for them to be consumed by someone. As such, while a given author's works tell little of who his readers actually were, they reveal much about who he intended them to be

A second note on prefaces' importance within eighteenth-century literature draws more broadly from attitudes towards the genre at the time. While a modern approach to introductory material reveals a certain apathy, for Caraccioli's contemporaries, a preface could elicit a strong reaction. In the postface to his 1751 novel *Rézéda*, for example, François Béliard addresses 'les dames ennemies déclarées des préfaces et de tout ce qui en tient lieu.'[5] Such readers, he says, would be 'au comble de leurs vœux littéraires de n'en point avoir trouvé à la tête de cet ouvrage.'[6] Women, for Béliard, are not indifferent to but rather in direct conflict with authorial preambles. The author gives no further explanation as to why this may be. The apathy he depicts, however, demonstrates that the eighteenth-century preface was not a neutral category of text.

Béliard's explicit choice to omit a preface in favour of a post-face which performs the same function is ironic. Genette affirms that the two perform the same paratextual function and the only difference is their location.[7] Both prefaces and post-faces are explicatory: they clarify the work they accompany, and present the reader with the author's direct commentary on the text and its wider context. Béliard's claim that he will omit a preface because women dislike them, while

[5] François Béliard, *Rézéda* (Amsterdam: [n.pub.], 1751), no pagination.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Genette considers the postface 'une variété de préface, dont les traits spécifiques incontestables, [lui] paraissent moins importants que ceux qu'elle partage avec le type général.' Genette, p. 164.

nevertheless including a postface which, one might assume, could well have been placed at the head rather than the tail of the work, becomes a guise. In 1700, Christophe Bruslé de Montpleinchamp had employed a similar strategy. In the *Déclaration* to *Le Festin Nuptial*, he proclaims: 'je quitte le mot de préface parce qu'il est trop usé et parce qu'il fait peur aux esprits vifs qui vont d'abord au fait.'[8] Readers who over centuries had come to expect a work to be prefaced grew tired and, as a result, the genre's traditional interpretative authority began to wane. A new trend thus began, in which Montpleinchamp, Béliard and, as we shall soon see, Caraccioli participate; prefaces became self-referential. Prefatory rhetoric, turned inwards, begins to question itself, its role, and its very existence.

For Dunn, this parodied individualism formed the first stage of prefatorial disfunction.[9] The role of the preface to provide authorial justification, as it had in the Renaissance, had been stripped away and instead, the preface was obliged to justify itself. However, while Dunn contends that this reflexivity contributed towards removal of the genre's rhetorical function, this chapter will argue otherwise. The hermeneutic significance of the preface, both in contemporary and eighteenth-century literature is not to be understated. Particularly in the latter context, their continued inclusion and the generic innovation which saw certain conventions for preface-writing upended, indicate their importance. Prefaces may well no longer have been simple sites of authorial self-justification, but the eighteenth-century examples we have seen begin to open up broader questions surrounding the nature of literature itself, and the role of readers in constructing a literary experience. In all of this, the author is not absent, but rather might adopt different postures vis-à-vis his text, and experiment with new expressions of self-justification.

[8] Jean Chrisostome Bruslé de Montpleinchamp, *Le Festin Nuptial* (Pirou, en Basse Normandie: Florent A-Fable, 1700). Christian Angelet and Jan Herman's collection, *Recueil de Préfaces de romans du XVIII^e siècle: 1700-1750* (Saint-Étienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Etienne, 1999) is an indispensable tool for the study of prefaces and their trends in the period.
[9] Dunn, p. 153.

II. Luring in the Reader

> Soit coutume, soit bienséance, un Livre ne seroit pas bien reçu s'il n'avoit une Préface ; elle est d'ailleurs souvent nécessaire pour donner cours à l'Ouvrage. C'est une affiche qui promet beaucoup, un hameçon qui trompe les lecteurs.[10]

So begins the preface to Caraccioli's first published work, *Dialogue entre le siècle de Louis XIV et le siècle de Louis XV* (1751). It succeeds the dedicatory epistle 'Au Temps' which, as we have seen, is concerned with transience and celerity. Here too, Caraccioli is preoccupied with movement: a preface is what enables a book to circulate or, in other words, to sell. Such a notion affirms Genette's definition of the preface as a 'zone de transaction'; this prefatorial voice, establishing the role it plays *vis-à-vis* the work it precedes, is distinctly and explicitly commercial. While for Genette, this transaction is effected between author and reader as they negotiate meaning —transactional prefaces ensure a text's 'bonne lecture'[11]— Caraccioli's transaction in this instance is purely mercenary. The self-referent preface is less concerned with making sure a text is read well, or even making sure it is simply read, than with ensuring the book simply gets bought. Readers in 1751, Caraccioli suggests, expect books to be prefaced, and so he gives them just this.

As in the cases of Montpleinchamp and Béliard, this preface is self-conscious; it draws attention to itself, becoming the reflexive medium wherein the author reflects upon the very nature of preliminary material in general. The prefatorial voice is aware of its relationship with the text. Spatially, it is liminal. It stands at the threshold to the rest of the work, linking the outside to the in. So, as an *affiche*, it faces outwards and serves as a display whose role is to attract the putative buyer's eye. In their engagement with the printed book, preface pages are among the first a reader would encounter and, once her eye has been caught, the same reader must be convinced of the work's value.[12] In more conventional prefaces, the author might offer a summary of the text which

[10] Caraccioli, *Dialogue entre le siècle de Louis XIV et le siècle de Louis XV* (La Haye: [n.pub.], 1751), p. v.
[11] Genette, p. 200.
[12] Though, crucially, they are the last written and added by the author – we shall consider this shortly.

follows, or an explanation as to the work's genesis, or sincere statements of authorial intent. Traditionally, the 'promises' made in prefaces are sincere, and their account of the text to come is authentic. In the above passage, however, alluring displays and claims are revealed to be false. The bipartite phrase, and equation of contrasting terms, performs a linguistic unveiling, as the nouns 'affiche' and 'hameçon' are placed on the same syntactical level as one another, as are the verbs 'promettre' and 'tromper'. The reader's expectations for a text are set up and then immediately torn down as the ultimate artifice of the prefatorial genre is revealed. Caraccioli's first preface is not simply self-conscious, it is self-discrediting. In highlighting prefaces' dupery, it calls into question the legitimacy of the genre and, by extension, casts authorial legitimacy – both in general and Caraccioli's own – into doubt. If prefaced works consistently over-promise and under-deliver, what is to say this text will be no different?

Paradoxically, undermining claims to reliability can instead bolster them. This is the case here. In making the reader privy to the mechanics of the literary market, and explicitly acknowledging the commercial end of prefaces, Caraccioli draws her into a space of intimacy. The act of unveiling is almost salacious; the reader sees the underside of a normally immaculate illusion, its 'pillars and tracery' are no longer hidden but on full display, and the effect is one of enticement. The insight afforded into the tricks of the trade, of which readers are usually deprived, puts them on equal footing with authors; they are no longer the unwitting victims of trickery, but rather can engage with the text with eyes open. Far from undermining authorial legitimacy, this preface establishes trust. Caraccioli lays his cards on the table right from the start. In a posture of honesty, he suggests that an author's goal may well be commercial, but at least he, perhaps unlike others, is frank about it. Furthermore, in acknowledging that prefaces are ultimately mercantile, and by extension, in alluding to the wider commodification of literature in the eighteenth century, Caraccioli draws authors and readers into a relationship of complicity. In order for their books to sell, authors who deceive readers require readers who are deceivable.

In drawing attention to its artificiality and to the newly-emerging literary market, this preface also shows that it is 'of its time'. Its self-reflexive content, and the commercial theme it evokes, are typical tropes of the eighteenth century or, to reference the work's title, 'le siècle de Louis XV'. However, this preface does not wholly renounce 'le siècle de Louis XIV'. Its first line is an appeal to custom and propriety – *coutume* and *bienséance*. In first appealing to established convention before departing from it, the preface begins to reflect the work's title and central premise; tradition is brought into dialogue with innovation. The appeal to custom is significant when we consider this preface's parodic function. Through generic self-reference, Caraccioli sets up the *Dialogue*'s introduction as a conscious caricature of itself. But, for metaliterary parody like this to be recognised as such, readers must be able to identify the already established form which is being inverted. So, in including a preface the author does not discard the past, but rather allows it to abide as a living presence. Being anchored in an historic literary form confers legitimacy upon the preface and, by extension, the work it accompanies, yet the genre is not static. As a 'living presence' its mutability results in a sustained appeal, and readers, who by now would know what to expect, would find in the parodied preface a source of amusement and renewed interest.

Throughout the *Dialogue*, itself a response to Voltaire's *Le Siècle de Louis XIV* (1751), the eighteenth century is in competition with its predecessor.[13] The preface draws the two centuries into dialogue, but also exposes eighteenth-century preoccupations with the visual, as it continues:

> Ici, une magnifique Enseigne sous les plus brillantes couleurs, une énumeration des marchandises détaillées avec art, enfin le nom du Marchand écrit en lettres d'or supposant des superbes Magazins; là une belle relieure [*sic*] en maroquin, une Préface bien embellie, les titres pompeux d'un Prince ou d'un Seigneur, mis au Frontispice d'une Epître Dédicatoire n'annoncent rien moins qu'un Ouvrage excellent![17]

The reader is cast again into a world of commerce which, in this instance, is a collaborative one; Caraccioli reveals eighteenth-century literary culture to be an amalgam of diverse crafts and trades.

[13] 'Si l'on blâme la témérité de l'Auteur d'avoir parlé si brièvement de deux siècles fameux, il faudra faire le procès à M. de Voltaire lui-même qui, dans ses 31 pages nous a donné l'Essai du Siècle de Louis le Grand. Je n'ai point voulu faire des dissertations, mais un simple Dialogue' p. viii.

Authors, binders, and booksellers are each instrumental in the production and dissemination of any given work. In fact, the impact of a book is visual before it is intellectual. Before the preface can even begin to '[promettre] beaucoup', the materiality of the work determines whether or not it will be purchased. Superficial details concerning the image and design of the work exert, at least initially, a greater influence over the buyer than the content itself. For Caraccioli, consumers are sure to judge a book by its cover, and the resulting lexicon here is one of pure advertisement. The demonstrative adverbs *ici* and *là* are both dynamic and deictic — they draw the reader's attention to the various ways in which the text presents itself in its specific physical context. Adjectives highlighting the quality of the book's material components entice the reader further. Natacha Coquery, in her analysis of eighteenth-century marketing, has shown that advertising would focus frequently on 'a multi-faceted notion of quality: quality as it related to the shopkeeper, to the consumer, to the shop and of course to the products.'[14] Caraccioli shows himself to be conscious of the pivotal role played by skilled craftsmen at every stage of the production process and their influence on the success of sales. He therefore employs superlatives – 'les plus *brillantes* couleurs' – and appeals to consumers' aesthetic sensibilities – 'une *belle* relieure' (my emphasis) – to indicate the fine quality of the materials used and the attractive appearance of the shop itself.

The preface begins to resemble an almanac entry which, Coquery reveals, played a crucial role in the marketing of semi-luxury – or 'popu-luxe' – items.[15] Unlike, for example, trade cards, which would be decorated with 'refined and theatrical image[s]' to promote a particular vendor or his wares, almanacs were textual and, as such, would rely upon ekphrastic descriptions of the goods or shops they were promoting. Here, the preface describes the book in terms of art and, in doing so, indicates the primacy of the visual to entice and to provoke a reaction in its object.

[14] Natacha Coquery, 'The Language of Success: Marketing and Distributing Semi-Luxury Goods in Eighteenth-Century Paris', *Journal of Design History*, 17 (2004), 71-89, p. 76.
[15] See: Cisse Fairchilds, 'The Production and Marketing of Populuxe Goods in Eighteenth-Century Paris', *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London: Routledge, 1993).

The author takes a figurative walk with the reader-consumer, from the street sign inwards. The focus draws ever narrower, from the shop's façade, to its book's binding, and finally to the paratext within. In its evocation not just of luxury design but of the entire shopping process, the preface also offers readers theatricality – in these first few lines, they live vicariously through the text what they might also experience, or wish to experience, in real life. Finally, just as the materials are luxurious, so too are the people associated with the text; the highest 'quality' of patron may be addressed in dedicatory epistles which complement the visual allure of the book. Here Caraccioli flatters the putative buyer. The inclusion of 'les titres pompeux d'un Prince ou d'un Seigneur' implies that, in possessing the book, the reader will be connected to the nobility and, as a result, will grow to resemble its members.

III. A Question of Taste

In appealing to material luxury and visual allure, Caraccioli's first preface outlines one particular view of what literature should do. Books, it is suggested, have the capacity to act and to effect a change in the reader. The luxurious book's enticing effect in this instance is not described as the author's doing, but rather is framed as the natural consequence of a desirable material object's influence. The physical import of printed texts must be understood in the epistemological context of sensualism. This philosophy finds roots in the peripatetic axiom, 'nothing is in the intellect which was not first in the senses'[16] which, in turn, forms the basis of empiricism.[17] John Locke in England and the Abbé de Condillac in France formulated the logical extension to empiricism: that

[16] *Nihil est in intellectu quod non prius fuerit in sensu.* Variations on this phrase were used by Locke in *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*. In Latin, it was employed by Robert Burton in the first edition of *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621). However, the axiom has much earlier origins in Thomistic developments of Aristotelian thought. See: Paul F. Cranefield, 'On the Origin of the Phrase *nihil est in intellectu quod non prius puerit in sensu*', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, XXV (1970), 77-80.
[17] See, for example: Jean de Groot, *Aristotle's Empiricism* (Las Vegas, Zurich, Athens: Parmenides, 2015).

sensibility, or sensory experience, is the basis of cognition.[18] Caraccioli engages directly with this philosophy, both when outlining the allure luxurious books may have, and later, when he makes the bolder claim that books must 'intéresser les sens.'[19]

Caraccioli's engagement with sensualism and its consequences operates on three contrasting levels, each of which will be useful to explore in the section which follows. Let us first take the claims the author makes at face value. We have already seen him give an exposé of eighteenth-century attitudes towards literature, which is crystallised in the commodification of the book. When he proclaims that the material of texts must touch or influence the senses, he is first acknowledging that this is what readers want. The quotation can be found in the preface to *Le Livre à la mode* (vert), which was printed in green ink, the visual import of which we will assess in Chapter III. For now, it is useful to consider its discursive claims. The author and his contemporaries, influenced perhaps by Condillac's well-known treatise or, at least, participating in its reception, 'n'approfondi[ssent] rien.'[20] The result: 'Il n'y a que nos sens qui semblent agir, & qui agissent réellement.'[21] Identifying with his peers, Caraccioli highlights the primacy of feelings in apprehending and in interacting with reality. Life becomes a series of haptic motions, from which the mind or intellect is disengaged. If the author unites himself with readers here, it is to reinforce the claim 'je connois le siècle'.[22] And, from this knowledge, he is able to present what the consumer desires – after all, 'les Ouvrages ne sont pas plus excellents que les auteurs qui les composent'.[23]

This is far from the only occasion Caraccioli claims to give readers exactly what they want. In the preface to *L'Europe Française*, for example, he recalls a woman 'aussi distinguée par sa naissance

[18] Udo Thiel, 'Self and Sensibility: From Locke to Condillac and Rousseau', *Intellectual History Review*, 25 (2015), 257-278.
[19] Caraccioli, *Le Livre à la mode* (vert), p. vii.
[20] Ibid., p. xiv.
[21] Ibid., p. xv.
[22] Ibid., p. xii.
[23] Ibid.

que par son esprit', asking him 'En combien de Volumes sera cet Ouvrage?'[24] To this the author responds: 'Oh! […] en un tout au plus, conformément au genie du siècle, qui ne s'accommode ni des productions volumineuses, ni des Ecrivains diffus.'[25] Incorporating an interlocutor enables the author to make a witty retort – a book may well be in one volume 'at the most', but it must also necessarily consist of one volume at the least. The relayed conversation also serves to project an image of a considered author, whose concision and brevity might ingratiate him to potential buyers. Caraccioli makes similar claims throughout his career. In the second edition of *La Conversation avec soi-même* (1759), for example, he states: 'je me suis accommodé aux tems'.[26] And, over three decades later in *Les Entretiens du Palais-Royal* (1786) he again claims, 'cet Ouvrage ne contient que la superficie des matières qu'on y traite; mais il falloit l'adapter à la situation du siècle.'[27] The so-called spirit of the age takes things lightly. Readers seek texts which will move and affect them, but only at a sensory – that is superficial – level. Caraccioli's constant and conscious adaptation to his contemporaries' means of engaging with the world around them becomes a question of appealing to widespread habits of consumption and collective literary taste.

Itself in the lexicon of sensuality, taste, or *goût*, was a constant preoccupation of eighteenth-century *gens de lettres*. The *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* accounts for multiple figurative definitions of the term, which can be condensed in 'le discernement, la finesse du judgement', and can refer at once to the particular character of a work, to the aesthetic preference(s) of the reader, and to the distinctive qualities of its author.[28] In a century preoccupied with matters of quality, and in which modern aesthetics is considered to have emerged, it will come as no surprise that questions of taste

[24] Caraccioli. *L'Europe Française* (Turin, Paris: Veuve Duchesne, 1774), p. v.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Caraccioli, *Conversation*, p. xxxix.
[27] Caraccioli, *Les Entretiens du Palais-Royal* (Utrecht, Paris: Buisson, 1787), p. v.
[28] 'Goût'. *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, quatrième édition, t.1 (1762). To illustrate each of these three components of 'taste', consider the differences between the following statements, taken also from the 1762 *Dictionnaire*: 'Cet ouvrage est de bon goût' ; 'il n'a pas de goût pour les vers' ; 'Ces vers-là sont dans le goût de Malherbe.'

were highly contested.[29] In the domain of literature, authors such as Voltaire and Diderot, for example, positioned themselves as guardians of quality, insisting that they alone might mediate between the sphere of ideas and the ever-growing mass of readers.[30] Jennifer Tsien highlights that 'for an ordinary person to attempt to practice literature was, in their view, as impracticable as for that person to practice cutlery or clock-making without the proper apprenticeship.'[31] That book-craft should be reserved for a certain social stratum or literary elite came as a response to the commercialisation of literature, which this chapter has already considered. Voltaire and Diderot, among others, stood vocally against so-called hacks: authors who published prolifically, vulgarising philosophy for broad consumption to the detriment of literary quality.

Caraccioli has for a long time been considered one of these hacks. Didier Masseau places him among 'une meute d'écrivains' who jumped at the opportunity to write for a popular audience. Caraccioli frequently criticises works destined to reach only a small number of intellectuals, and announces: 'ne vaut-il pas mieux avoir un ouvrage qui passe de main en main, qui soit à la portée des uns et des autres et attache également le noble et le roturier, la mère et la fille, les vieillards, les jeunes gens ?'[32] Literature must be literally and figuratively within reach of popular readers. Yet, all the while accommodating for the spirit of the age, and envisaging a democratised literary sphere, Caraccioli nevertheless concurs with *philosophes* like Voltaire and Diderot. On multiple occasions he bemoans the mass of apparently unworthy literature, lauding instead the virtue of literary restraint. It is useful to digress momentarily from prefaces to illustrate this. In *La Jouissance de soi-*

[29] On the early-modern origins of aesthetics, and the relationship of (subjective) taste to the emergence of modern State democracy – understood as a consensus among individuals, see Luc Ferry. *Homo Aestheticus. The Invention of Taste in the Democratic Age*, trans. by Robert de Loaiza (Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 1993). For engaging and comprehensive studies of 'goût', its influence, and its debates, see both: Elena Russo, *Styles of Enlightenment: Taste, Politics, and Authorship in Eighteenth-Century France* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), and Jennifer Tsien. *The Bad Taste of Others: Judging Literary Value in Eighteenth-Century France* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvannia Press, 2012).
[30] Tsien, p. 36.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Caraccioli, *Lettres récréatives*, t.1, p. 215. See also: Masseau. *Les Ennemies des philosophes*, p. 277.

même, Caraccioli laments: 'jamais les études profondes ne furent plus négligées; & jamais on ne vit tant d'Ecrivains.'[33] Elsewhere in the text he concedes that 'le plaisir de composer a quelque chose de si attrayant, que, lorsqu'on le goûte, on ne veut plus en sentir d'autre.'[34] But, this predilection must be tempered: 'Nous ne prétendons pas que chaque homme devienne Auteur. Hélas! Il n'y en a que trop en tout genre.'[35] While young people capable of writing may 'se livr[er] à cette agréable & utile occupation', those of lesser talent should not pollute the literary sphere.[36]

As an author caught between the desire for popular engagement with his texts while nevertheless valorising philosophical depth and literary quality, Caraccioli's evocations of *le goût du temps* are laced with insincerity. Here we come to the second level of Caraccioli's engagement with sensualism and 'what readers want.' Whenever the author makes an appeal to his era, and claims to adapt to his readership, he does so with a certain cynicism. In ekphrastic depictions of alluring shop-fronts and dazzling signage, Caraccioli illustrates that books' opulent materiality has superseded their content. Works of literature are simply bought and owned, becoming ostentatious curiosities. In the preface to *L'Europe française* too, Caraccioli evokes the fate of 'une brochure chez les hommes à la mode.'[37] This text, it would appear, has been tailored exactly to its targeted public. Its form is ephemeral, and the way it is used reflects this. *Une Brochure* is 'exactement un Bouquet' and, rather than reading it, its buyers 'la flairent et la mettent sur une cheminée.'[38] Though displayed for a time, 'quelques jours après, on ne la retrouve plus. Elle est fanée.'[39] The book engages the senses, but not necessarily the right ones. Latent in this description is a critique of the superficiality

[33] Caraccioli, *Jouissance*, p. 223.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Ibid.
[36] 'Si l'on osait nommer ici ce nombre immense de Livres extravagens & frivoles dont on a surchargé notre malheureux siècle, on rougirait sans doute d'être né contemporain de tant d'écrivains ridicules.' Caraccioli, *Jouissance*, p. 225.
[37] Caraccioli, *L'Europe française*, p. vi.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Ibid.

which not only leads book buyers to avoid works with depth, but also means they cannot engage beyond the surface with ostensibly light texts.[40]

So, Caraccioli exposes the *goût du siècle* and implicitly critiques it, yet, on a third level, nevertheless concedes to its shaping power both over the domain of letters in general and over the work of authors in particular. Books should be adapted to their age, he argues, because 'il est triste de n'écrire que pour des gens qui n'existent pas.'[41] In a melancholic, and somewhat reluctant way, Caraccioli reveals his hand. He adapts to his time because 'autrement, point de lecteurs.'[42] As the literary market expands, so readers begin to exert power over the authors who seek to please them. Scholars such as Annie Becq have remarked upon the relationship between the reign of taste in the mid-eighteenth century and the shift from a court-based model of literary patronage to a market-centred relationship between readers and authors.[43] As consumers of books came to know what they sought, so the expectation would be placed on writers to deliver this. Becq suggests that the rise of the market led to an increasing autonomy of the intellectual and artistic field.[44] For some this may well have been the case – many authors no longer had to appeal to wealthy patrons, but could write largely what they wanted. However, Caraccioli's relationship with his readers in these instances shows little sign of autonomy. Rather, as a man seeking to live by the pen, he is bound by the market to produce works which will sell.

In the preface to *De la gaieté* (1762), Caraccioli yields to the power of the market: 'tout Auteur doit savoir qu'un livre imprimé appartient au Public, & que c'est une donation qu'on n'a plus droit de

[40] Chapter III will explore the further implications of literature 'on display' in its engagement with fashion and the text. See Tsien Chapter 1: 'Too Many Books', pp. 14-38, which expands on eighteenth-century concerns surrounding 'bibliomania.'
[41] Caraccioli, *L'Europe française*, p. x.
[42] Caraccioli, *Conversation* , p. xxxix.
[43] See: Annie Becq, *La Genèse de l'esthétique française modern 1680-1814* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1994).
[44] Becq, p. 25.

revendiquer.'[45] He alludes not only the fact that the public determines what is written, but also that readers becomes proprietors of a printed text after its publication. Any apparent authorial independence has been all but eliminated by the market. In truth, of course the eighteenth-century public did not own the rights to the content of the books they bought. But then again, neither did their authors. Under the copyright laws which we considered in Chapter I, editors and publishers 'possessed' the contents of a text once its manuscript had been handed in.[46] While authority over intellectual property lay outside of authors and readers however, the latter, in possessing physical copies of works, nevertheless held power over their unofficial circulation and, perhaps most crucially, over their reception. Readers' criticisms, Caraccioli later observes, 'cherchent souvent à mordre plutôt qu'a instruire.'[47] As an author bound to his market Caraccioli demonstrates keen insight into its dynamics, and the need to seek and, where possible, sustain goodwill in order to succeed. But who, exactly, is the public to which Caraccioli relentlessly appeals? And how did the author conceive of, and attempt to construct, his market?

IV. Which Public?

Alain Viala has highlighted the difficulties in speaking of a homogenous or unified 'public' in the *Ancien régime*'s growing literary market. While traditionally, writers would address two spheres – the clergy and the court – in the seventeenth century a new public began to appear, and became 'une autre force de consécration.'[48] We have already seen the effect of this on Caraccioli's authorial strategies. The public, holding the ultimate authority to approve or condemn, accrues a quasi-

[45] Caraccioli, *De la gaieté*, p. xv.
[46] See Hanna Roman, 'Making an Authorial Voice: Buffon and the Anti-Anonymity of Natural History', *MLN*, 126 (2011), 825-837. In England, the Statute of Anne, or the Copyright Act of 1710, granted authors exclusive rights to control the copying of their books, which previously lay with publishers. While it took over eighty years for a similar practice to cross the Channel, questions surrounding intellectual property were nevertheless in the air.
[47] Caraccioli, *De la gaieté*, pp. xiv- xv.
[48] Viala, p. 123.

ecclesiastical ordaining power.[49] In reality, this institution is fragmented: 'l'expansion rapide du nombre de lecteurs entraîna aussi leur division de plus en plus marquée en catégories distinctes.'[50] For Viala, this raises two questions: 'celle des capacités de consécration représentées par le public, et, préalable necessaire, celle de la configuration de ce public, de sa formation.'[51] Both of these are useful for our purposes. Having already considered Caraccioli's view that the public possesses a high capacity to 'consecrate' or, conversely, to reject authors and their works, we now turn attention to this mass's configuration.

This section will focus on the formation, or fashioning, of Caraccioli's public(s), and the ways in which he employed prefaces as a means to this end. Viala makes use of the polysemy of the word 'formation' in his arguments, which explore at once the constitution of literary publics and the influence of education, both in forming readers' proclivities, and legitimising intellectual activity.[52] Here, following Viala, we will consider the composition of Caraccioli's readership as he conceived of it. Deviating from Viala, however, here 'formation' will not refer to readers' prior education, and will instead focus on how the author sought to use literature as a means of readerly fashioning. This pedagogical formation is significant, because, for Caraccioli 'une lecture qui intéresse' is necessarily one 'qui convainque [sic], & qui nous éleve.'[53]

It is essential to note that when we speak of prefatorial 'publics' – diverse and fragmented, yet authoritative – we refer to an abstraction. Caraccioli may well seek to write for 'des gens qui existent', but he has no way of knowing who exactly they are. When he evokes the reader, therefore, he is to an extent creating a fiction. In addressing his anonymous public, Caraccioli

[49] The lexicon of 'consecration' and 'ordination' will prove significant at the end of this chapter, when we consider authorship as a 'high calling' in Caraccioli's conception of it.
[50] Viala, p. 123.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Ibid, p. 137.
[53] Caraccioli, *La Grandeur d'âme* (Liège: Bassompierre, Bruxelles: J. van den Bergen, 1761), p. 48.

engages with his own vision – or projection – of who they are. The ambiguity of the term 'projection' is especially useful here. When someone makes a projection, they make a statement as to what they expect or anticipate a future reality to be. In a second definition, however, 'projection' refers to the displacing of one's own feelings or emotions onto another person; in this instance, a person's identity is said to extend outwards from herself and is mapped onto another. In this next section, I will take advantage of this dual meaning in order to argue that, while Caraccioli's statements about his readers may give insight into those who receive his works, they contribute more to painting a picture of the author. The window Caraccioli provides into his readership through prefaces is really a window into himself.

On multiple occasions, Caraccioli invokes his readers directly. In the foreword to his 1763 work *Le Langage de la raison*, for instance, he exclaims 'O vous qui parcourez actuellement ces lignes…'[54] 'Dear Reader' addresses were a common rhetorical trope in the eighteenth century, and were employed frequently in novels. These extra-diegetic interpellations 'break the fourth wall', bringing writers into direct communication with their readers. The address here serves this purpose. In directly addressing his reader in the second person and in the present tense – reinforced by the adverb *actuellement* – Caraccioli effects at once a dialogical expansion and a chronological collapse. The dialogical expansion comes in the creation of an extra-textual interlocutor. Heretofore – with the exception of the distinguished woman evoked in *L'Europe Française* – Caraccioli's authorial voice has been largely one of soliloquy. In introducing an auditor, he begins concretise the reader and to construct an image of her. In this case, the image is broad. The interjection implicates anyone who happens to be glancing through the text, be it the printers arranging blocks on their press, or Caraccioli's contemporary readers, or even readers today. The personal deixis is at once general – 'vous' might apply to anyone anywhere – and particular: the 'you' which springs to mind

[54] Caraccioli, *Le Langage de la raison* ([n.p.]: Bassompierre, 1763), p. x.

for readers will, most likely, be themselves. In this short phrase, Caraccioli makes the reader incarnate, identifies her (or, more accurately, makes her identify herself), and draws her into a conversational relationship with him.

In rendering the reader present, Caraccioli also narrows, at least initially, the temporal distance which separates the act of reading from that of writing. Through *actuellement*, he brings the reader's action into his authorial one. However, this compressed chronology, wherein the reader is always present to the writer and vice versa, paradoxically has the opposite effect. The *actualité* of Caraccioli sitting down at his manuscript is always and necessarily different to that of the reader sitting with the printed book. Readership is therefore constantly deferred, and is distanced from authorhood. This temporal lag is reinforced spatially in the author's evocation of materiality through the demonstrative 'ces lignes.' The lines to which Caraccioli refers, at least in their literal sense, are those on his manuscript paper; they do not equate to the lines readers would observe on the printed page.[55] So, in its reference to medium, what begins as an interpellation of the reader rebounds onto the author. 'Vous' therefore fashions as much of an image of Caraccioli and his craft as it does of his public.

Caraccioli's authorial presence extends further, as he comments upon possible ways of reading his texts:

> [O vous] qui vous disposez à lire cet Ouvrage, regarderez-vous cette lecture comme un simple passe-temps, ou plutôt n'en profiterez-vous pas pour vous rendre plus attentif à la voix de votre Raison.[56]

Once again, the tone here is one of dialogue. At one level, Caraccioli elicits an introspective response from his reader by engaging with her directly. Freedom and agency are given to the reader to choose her own mode of approaching the text. The passage presents two contrasting options

[55] On appeals to materiality see Chapter 3, 'The Theory of Paper' in Christina Lupton, *Knowing Books: the Consciousness of Mediation in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012).
[56] Caraccioli, *Le Langage de la raison*, p. viii.

for this; she may approach the book as an inconsequential pastime, or reading may bear fruit in the moral and interior life. Of course, while the reader is in principle at liberty to choose her own path, the derisive tone of the adjective *simple* implies a moral hierarchy between the latter and the former. This is further emphasised as Caraccioli proceeds to implore the reader to listen to the voice of reason which '[lui] parle depuis l'âge de sept ans, & peut-étre sans aucun fruit.'[57] Seven, in the Catholic tradition, is the 'age of reason', the *annus discretionis*, and, as such, is understood to be the earlist stage at which a person might distinguish good from evil. *Le Langage de la Raison* offers the reader a lexicon by which she can decipher this voice, which offers a moral compass. While she remains free to ignore it, there is an implicit judgement placed on her actions by the author. The book which follows is both apologetic and didactic – the author, by necessity, is therefore not impartial. Nevertheless, he concludes his address to the reader by claiming detachment. As to whether or not reason has borne fruit in the reader's life, he implores: 'Jugez-en vous-mêmes.'[58] The detachment here reads as wholly disingenuous. If the reader is to be the judge of herself, what is the point of a book which is overtly instructive? Although Caraccioli encourages a degree of reflexivity, and ostensibly gives the reader freedom to choose her own 'mode de lecture', in fact he retains this power for himself.

As an author, Caraccioli claims to be heavily invested in the moral status of his future readers. In *La Jouissance de soi-même*, for example, he addresses them once more:

> O vous! Qui faites encore un légitime usage de votre raison; vous qui gémissez de la degradation à laquelle on veut réduire notre ame, dans quelque endroit que vous soyez, recevez ce Livre, s'il parvient jusqu'à vous comme un hommage rendu à la nature humaine. Lisez cet Ouvrage comme les titres de votre veritable noblesse.[59]

As in *Le Langage de la Raison*, in *La Jouissance de soi-même* the author claims to know and understand his implied reader's interior disposition, and therefore her moral standing. The reader here is not

[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Caraccioli, *Jouissance*, pp. xiv-xv.

to be her own judge, rather Caraccioli himself makes the appraisal. His implied reader is one who, like the author himself, purports to be reasonable. Once again, the exclamation 'O vous!' creates a tone of immediacy and intimacy; the reader is made present in some way through this address. Rhetorically, this passage serves not only to engage the reader directly, but also to flatter her. Using of the age-old strategy of *captatio benevolentiæ*, Caraccioli imbues the reader with moral qualities; she will recoil from the perceived depravity of her peers and of a society whose mores are considered lax and irrational, and instead incline towards virtue. Already in picking up the book – an action highlighted by the imperative *recevez* – she has purportedly shown herself to be superior. Caraccioli goes even further to hyperbolize this flattery. His readers, he claims, because of their right reason, are noble. This nobility, while not created by the work at hand, is displayed and formalised by it. Furthermore, it is a nobility which anyone might attain; it is based on their inner life, manifested in the act of reading, rather than on a quirk of birth. In his appeal to human nature, the author alludes further to this universality but simultaneously reflects back to himself. While all may share in a universal human experience, it is nevertheless the author who has the capacity to pay it homage. It is also the author who confers nobility upon the reader through his text. Any moral qualities he attributes to his readership are therefore framed as necessarily possessed by him, and to a greater degree.

The existence of this divide is reinforced by the distinction Caraccioli makes between readers and non-readers of *La Jouissance de soi-même*. The nobility of his readership is contrasted with 'ces sortes de gens qui se confondent avec les bêtes.'[60] The tone here is overtly adversarial. With blunt antagonism, he draws social dichotomies, dividing moral nobility from depravity, men from beasts. Those who 'resemble beasts' would reject religion, finding it odd, for example, that Caraccioli would 'citer aujourd'hui l'Evangile.'[61] They would not lean on or comprehend 'les vérités

[60] Ibid., p. xiv.
[61] Ibid.

éternelles.'[62] Such people, he claims, are excluded from his audience: 'Notre intention ne fut jamais d'adresser cet Ouvrage à des singes ou à des castors, mais à des hommes.'[63] The dichotomy is stark, and the reader is given an apparent choice: which side is she on?

Caraccioli's combativeness must be read as a rhetorical strategy. Through highlighting stark divisions, he positions himself as a defender of the truth; he is right and his opponents are wrong. His readers, if they indeed are on his 'side', themselves become a privileged group, possessing the same moral superiority to which the author lays claim.

V. In combat with critics

In the year following *La Jouissance de soi-même*, Caraccioli published *Le Tableau de la mort* (1760). In the preface, he claims at first to doubt the existence of any allies at all:

> je souhaite que mes Lecteurs (supposé qu'il s'en trouve d'assez courageux pour s'occuper des effrayantes vérités que je traite) n'apperçoivent dans mes sentimens que des opinions toutes semblables à celles que la liberté des Ecoles permet d'enseigner.[64]

What at first glance appears to be simple self-aggrandisement, however, is again an attempt to flatter the assumed reader. On the one hand, Caraccioli here claims to stand alone. He purports that the truths about which he writes are too horrifying for the average reader; the author himself may be the sole individual daring enough to apprehend them. In so doing, he simultaneously makes unsubstantiated and hyperbolised claims regarding his own unicity, offers a flattering incitement to boldness to the potential reader. Once again he draws a dichotomy: is the future reader courageous, and therefore with Caraccioli, or is she fearful, and therefore against him? Having posed this divisive challenge, he is quick to qualify that although his words may seem frightening,

[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Caraccioli, *Le Tableau de la mort* (Paris, Liège: Bassompierre, 1761), p. ix.

in fact they contain nothing controversial. His texts do not contradict the teaching of the *Ecoles* and so cannot be censured. While claiming to stand alone, Caraccioli appeals to a higher authority. The unicity which he initially wielded is retracted almost immediately. Such deference to authority for Caraccioli is a posture of humility which, while contrasting with previous claims to moral superiority, is equally an attempt at rhetorical persuasion. In the preface to *De la gaieté* (1762), he claims that 'les foibles Ouvrages qu'[il a] osé […] presenter [au lecteur]; […] n'ont d'autre mérite que la vérité.'[65] Said works, he claims, may be 'quelquefois diffus, & d'un style inégal'[66], but what they lack in refinement of style they make up for in content. This is a modesty topos which frames Caraccioli as a weak servant of a more powerful master. In anticipating criticism, he does more than just signal humility. He implies that any reader who accuses him of inelegance, and who claims to be against his writings would in fact be staking themselves against the truth.

The anticipation of criticism is a motif which runs throughout Caraccioli's prefaces. Indeed, while he cannot predict exactly who his readers will be, he is sure that there will be opponents among them. In *La Grandeur d'âme*, for example, he imagines that 'on sera frappé de la disproportion qui se trouve entre la subliminité du sujet & la médiocrité du style & des pensées.'[67] A procataleptic phrase such as this would conventionally be followed by a direct refutation of the criticisim advanced. Caraccioli does not do this. Instead, he places the onus on the reader to excuse his style in order to serve a higher purpose: 'mais je me flatte qu'en faveur de la Religion, qui fait la base de cet Ouvrage, les personnes raisonnables m'excuseront.'[68] The rhetoric of self-flattery serves to assert the author's credentials as a religious writer. Caraccioli reverses this posture of self-flattery in *Le Tableau de la mort*, where he claims, 'je me flatte qu'on ne me reprochera pas que je parle ici d'une matière hors de ma sphere.'[69] In expressing a reaction that he hopes his readers will not have

[65] Caraccioli, *De la gaieté*, p. xv.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Caraccioli, *La Grandeur d'âme*, p. x.
[68] Ibid.
[69] Caraccioli, *Le Tableau de la mort*, p. xi.

to his text, he paradoxically actualises it. His effort to assuage critics' concerns thus has the effect of conjuring them. In the case of this apologia, Caraccioli offers a rebuttal, in another appeal to universality. The matters broached in the work cannot be beyond his authorial scope, because 'il n'y a rien qui soit plus commun à tous les hommes que la Mort.'[70] In placing himself one step ahead of his sceptical projected readership, Caraccioli gives an implicit warning. Those who criticise him will either be unreasonable or blind to the ubiquity of human experience. The author thus presents himself as more lucid than those who counter him. Furthermore, he subverts the traditional direction of polemic; by reversing readers' disapproval and directing it towards himself, he attempts to exert control over it and, as a result, over the reader's engagement with the text too.

While Caraccioli prefigures reproach to the point of creating it, he also engages with criticisms and misreadings of his texts which had already materialised. In a supplementary letter to *La Jouissance de soi-même*, which is appended to the *discours préliminaire* in its second and all subsequent editions, the author attributes the work's success to a misunderstanding of its title, 'qui aura trompé bien du monde.'[71] In a century in which 'chaque parole forme un équivoque', *jouissance* for many readers would signify 'la volupté qui perpétue la chaîne des êtres vivans.'[72] It is hard to believe this meaning, quoted here from Diderot's *Encyclopédie* article on the topic, would have escaped Caraccioli. The author seems, on the contrary, to profit from its double-entendre. He is quick to clarify that by *jouissance* he does not refer to sensual pleasures, but rather describes an interior disposition: 'on jouit de soi lorsqu'on est maître de son cœur, lorsqu'on tient son âme entre ses mains, lorsqu'on commande à des passions & qu'on dirige les sens.'[73] The libertine definition of *jouissance* is, however, not absent in the first edition. In fact, the author claims that the work 'paroîtra sans

[70] Ibid., pp. xii-xiii.
[71] Caraccioli, *Lettre de Mr. le Marquis de Caraccioli, colonel au service de Pologne, sur La Jouissance de soi-même* (La Haye; Francfourt; Liepzig, 1759). A parallel case can be observed just under a century later when, in 1734, Sainte Beuve published *De la volupté*. Readers purchased the work, expecting it to be a libertine tale, rather than a fictionalised biography of the author.
[72] 'Jouissance' s.f in *Encyclopédie*, 8: 889.
[73] Caraccioli, *Lettre de Mr. le Marquis de Caraccioli, colonel au service de Pologne, sur La Jouissance de soi-même*, p. 8.

doute chimérique à nos voluptueux, qui n'estiment de jouissance que celle des plaisirs'[74] before clarifying that 'on n'y verra que le plus parfait usage de la Raison [et] qu'une indifférence totale à l'égard de la Matière.'[75] He even asserts that the book has 'très peu d'espérance de succès.'[76] Such claims can only be disingenuous. This aporia, Caraccioli's expression of doubt, is contradicted when, later in the same preface, the author draws explicit attention to the work's title and its potential misinterpretations: '*La Jouissance de soi-même*, quel titre! Chacun au premier abord l'interprétera selon son goût.'[77] That the phrase might be construed differently by different people is something which Caraccioli both overtly accepts and profits from. And since the 'first glance' would be over the title page, and not over the preface with its explanatory comments which might eventually dissuade some potential buyers, it seems as though the openness of *jouissance* to subjective interpretations formed part of Caraccioli's marketing strategy from the start.

The strategic use of *jouissance*, rather than a synonym, comes to light when we consider Caraccioli's further justifications of his choice of term. In a final argument, found in the work's original preface, the author breaks down the whole title, analysing and defending each component. *Soi-même* is elucidated, and is said to incorporate 'toutes les facultés de l'esprit & du corps.'[78] In presenting this detailed reading, Caraccioli makes a visible effort to avoid any readerly equivocation. In the supplement, he goes one step further, and argues that 'la jouissance de soi-même est le seul titre qui convenoit à [son] objet, & qui aye pu rendre fidèlement [sa] pensée.'[79]

[74] Caraccioli, *Jouissance*, p. xii-xiii.
[75] Ibid., p. xiii.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Ibid.
[78] Caraccioli, *Jouissance*, p. xvii.
[79] Caraccioli, *Lettre de Mr. le Marquis de Caraccioli, colonel au service de Pologne, sur La Jouissance de soi-même* (La Haye; Francfourt; Liepzig, 1759), p. 8.

One central role of prefaces is to provide readers with the tools for the 'correct' interpretation of texts, as conceived by the author.[80] On the surface, this is precisely what Caraccioli does. Yet, while ostensibly leaving no room for ambiguity, in reality he facilitates it. He gives credence to a sensual interpretation of *jouissance*. That is, he acknowledges that a culturally (if not morally) valid definition of the term points to corporality, and that, what is more, this definition has benefitted him financially. While he is not seen to allow for equivocation in the work's title, in truth its significance rests on this. The word is employed purposefully, to draw in readers who would not naturally pick up his book. Like the preface we saw at the start of this chapter, *jouissance* becomes a hook, entrapping the putative reader before showing them that there is a superior form of pleasure. Yet the term's interpretation becomes a dynamic and multi-directional process. Before offering a key to what he considers a legitimate reading of the text, Caraccioli nevertheless draws attention to, and to an extent validates, readers' erroneous analysis of it.

By clarifying terms in *La Jouissance de soi-même*, Caraccioli displays an impulse for self-editing and for metaliterary reflection on the genesis of his works. This drive is also evident in other texts, and serves to fashion an image of the writer in and through his engagement with readers. The author presents *Le Véritable mentor* (1759) as a re-edition of a previously unseen text written by the author, but which had lain dormant for many years. The public, he asserts, seems to desire this work, which had been printed initially in Breslau in 1756. So Caraccioli '[a] cru devoir le faire réimprimer.'[81] This is another appeal to critics. If, it is implied, anyone takes issue with this text, he is unjustified; its publication comes as a response to readerly demand. The veracity of this demand is unclear, not least because the account of the initial edition's fate strikes a farfetched tone. Caraccioli claims that under normal circumstances '[il se] seroi[t] dispensé de donner cette

[80] See, for example, Genette p. 200. 'La préface auctoriale assumptive originale […] a pour fonction cardinale d'*assurer au texte une bonne lecture*.' My emphasis.
[81] Caraccioli, *Le Véritable mentor, ou l'éducation de la noblesse,* p. iii.

nouvelle Edition.'[82] However he recounts that the printed books had been held in a bookshop 'en captivité'[83] as a result of the war raging in the country. The author here refers to the Seven Years' War and, more specifically, the Third Silesian War which saw the Prussian and Austrian armies fight throughout the central European provinces. Early in the conflict, in 1757, the Battle of Breslau led to the loss of over eleven thousand soldiers.[84] While Caraccioli's account of his books' situation is anchored in a verifiable historical context, it is nevertheless exaggerated to the point of becoming fictitious. In the first instance, he personifies the works; that they are 'held captive' implies they have some kind of natural agency or autonomy. The copies, Caraccioli suggests, would roam free if only they were given the chance.[85]A further speculative tone is struck through the use of the 'discarded text' topos – a component of the humility topos, which we have already considered. The author imagines his books held prisoner 'supposé qu'ils n'ayent pas servi à bourrer quelques fusils.'[86] This trope, through which the author undermines the literary value of his works by asserting their material utility, recurs throughout Caraccioli's corpus. In *Le Livre à la mode* (rose), for example, he contemplates the fate of its predecessor, *Le Livre à la mode* (vert), suggesting that its pages may well have become '[des] papillotes […] chez le Petit-maître à frisure en cabriolet' or '[un] bouchon de quelque jolie fiole chez nos Coquettes.'[87] Recycling paper points towards the natural obsolescence of material goods. This obsolencence is doubled; the deconstructed pages become fashionable objects, oriented towards ephemeral pleasures – the creation of a hairstyle, or a stopper for a scent bottle. Fashion, as we shall consider in greater detail in Chapter III, is itself a sign of inevitable desuetude. At the incipit to *Le Livre à la mode* (vert) Caraccioli evokes his works' origins, but also anticipates their demise. In referring to paper, he highlights the materiality which

[82] Ibid.
[83] Ibid.
[84] See: Walter Ruddiman Jr, 'A Summary of Political Affairs in the Year 1757', *The Edinburgh Magazine*, 2 (1758), 43-49.
[85] In Chapter III, we will give further consideration to representations of the autonomy of the book and its agency in its own circulation.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Caraccioli, *Le Livre à la mode* (rose), p. viii-ix.

is at once the necessary vector for the text, and that which renders it readily jettisoned. In the case of *Le Véritable mentor*, he constructs a cyclical image of literary production. The books must be reprinted because the first copies have likely been destroyed. Is there anything to prevent this new act of creation leading to a similar eradication?

Formally, a preface, by its very nature, facilitates this temporal collapse, as Jacques Derrida observes:

> Pour l'avant-propos, renformant un vouloir-dire après le coup, le texte est un écrit—un passé—que, dans une fausse apparence de présent, un auteur caché et tout-puissant, en pleine maîtrise de son produit, présente au lecteur comme son avenir. Voici ce que j'ai écrit, puis lu, et que j'écris que vous allez lire.[88]

As a medium, prefaces are at once anterior and posterior to the work they accompany, and in content their retrospection is always in some way anticipatory. In many cases, and as we have seen, prefaces anticipate a book's interpretation, or its positive or negative reception. In incorporating the discarded book topos, Caraccioli draws in another prefatorial strategy; introductory matter also serves to anticipate a book's posterity, or lack thereof.

VI. Posterity and the Preface

In the final section of this chapter, we will examine the multiple ways in which Caraccioli reflects upon posterity – both his own and that of the text – in his prefaces. Until now, our consideration of prefatorial content has been concerned only with a book's immediate reception. Does the author hold any long-term ambition for his works' influence?

To explore this question, it is first useful to consider the role played by Caraccioli in establishing a legacy for another book, *Le Chrétien du temps confondu par les premiers Chrétiens* (1767). This work,

[88] Jacques Derrida, 'Préfaces', *La Dissémination* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1972), p. 13.

while often attributed to Caraccioli, is in fact a re-edition of an earlier text, published first in 1654 and written by the Franciscan priest, Révérend Père (R.P.) François Bonal.[89] Caraccioli was commissioned, he claims, to republish this work by another cleric, R.P. Villain, of the Cordelier order, who, Caraccioli states, was 'un prédicateur plein de zèle.'[90] It is unclear whether or not the Père Villain truly existed. However, either as fabrication or a genuine figure, the cleric's named presence in this preface serves the same rhetorical function. Caraccioli defers to Villain's authority and, as a result, frames himself as an obedient servant of the religious cause. Nevertheless, while this task was demanded of him by another, the author attests to his personal conviction of its merit, sensing 'à la premiere lecture qu['il fit] de cet Ouvrage qu'il étoit important de le reproduire, à raison des excellentes vérités qu'il contient.'[91] As his authorial identity transforms, Caraccioli becomes a reader in a necessary precursor to editorship. In highlighting the act of reading, the author presents his obedience to Villain as neither blind or passive. Instead, in his first encounter with the work, Caraccioli conveys a flash of inspiration which becomes the motivation for his accepting the task. Later in the preface, he further emphasises his own will and agency in the process of reproducing Bonal's work, attesting 'avec verité, qu'il [lui] en auroit moins coûté pour composer un Livre, que pour refondre celui-ci.'[92] Caraccioli's editorship, framed at once as an act of obedience and as the result of inspiration, now becomes a sacrifice. The costs associated with reformulating the seventeenth-century work are, we might infer, both temporal and financial; Caraccioli may well have believed he could produce an original text in less time and with a greater promise of returns. The sacrifice is also, and perhaps most pertinently, one of status. In editing this work, Caraccioli abnegates his own authorship – which, he implies, comes to him with ease – and places himself at the wilful service not just of a religious authority, but of the authority of what he considers to be a great text. The primary motor here is not religious obedience (authentic or

[89] François Bonal, *Le Chréiten du temps en quatre parties* (Lyon: François Comba, 1668).
[90] Caraccioli, *Le Chrétien du temps confondu par les premiers Chrétiens* (Paris: Nyon, 1767), p. i.
[91] Ibid., p. ii.
[92] Ibid., p. v.

fictive) so much as it is a sense of duty to a deceased author – and a 'théologien vénérable'[93] – who had articulated an enduring truth, and a belief in the value of restoring literary greatness to a work which had been cast into obscurity.

Throughout the preface, Caraccioli unveils the creative process by which he draws Bonal's text out of the shadows. First and foremost, he seeks to give the work 'une nouvelle forme, afin de l'accommoder selon le goût du temps.'[94] Literary invention, we have seen, is limited by authors' need to meet and satisfy their readers' expectations. In this familiar refain, however, the tastes of a prior age are revealed to be at odds with those of the present. In the seventeenth century, Caraccioli observes, 'la plupart des Ecrivains […] n'avoient point la méthode qu'on observe dans celui-ci.'[95] Authors of the *Grand siècle*, in Caraccioli's eighteenth-century judgement, 'revenoient sans cesse sur le même objet, […] manquoient toujours de prouver ce qu'ils avançoient, […] & étoient souvent défigurées par un défaut de précision & de symmétrie.'[96] So, Caraccioli gives an indication of why Bonal's text did not endure in the first place. While 'chaque morceau plait lorsqu'il est lu séparément, l'ensemble produit un tout qui n'a rien de régulier.'[97] This criticism directly echoes complaints that Caraccioli anticipated would be made of his own work. We recall the prefigured accusation in *De la gaieté* that Caraccioli's own 'foibles ouvrages' might be 'quelquefois diffus, & d'un style inégal.'[98]

The parallels between Caraccioli's own authorial strategies and the edits he makes to this text are myriad. He amends the work's title to make it more precise, for example, explaining his reasoning as he did in *La Jouissance de soi-même*:

[93] Ibid.
[94] Ibid., p. iii.
[95] Ibid., p. iv.
[96] Ibid.
[97] Ibid., p. v.
[98] Caraccioli, *De la gaieté*, p. xv.

> Il m'a semblé que le *Chrétien du temps* étoit une indication trop vague, & qu'en mettant à la suite, *confondu par les premiers Chrétiens*, tout le plan du Livre seroit parfaitement développé. Le but de l'Ouvrage est en effet de faire voir par des exemples tirés de la primitive Eglise, & par l'affreuse peinture de nos mœurs, combien nous avons dégénéré de la vertu de nos Peres, & combien leur force & leur zele condamnent notre lâcheté.[99]

The work's subject stands in stark contrast to its renewed style. Although Caraccioli seeks to update it to suit contemporary tastes, *Le Chrétien du temps* remains a reactionary appeal to the wisdom of primitive Christianity. This gives rise to a further question. If the book holds the epoch of the early Church to be a golden age, and if it identifies the passage of time with decadence, why does it need to be updated at all? Of course, it could simply be another means for Caraccioli to earn money through sales, however another answer to this question lies in Caraccioli's view of what posterity is and how it functions.

Since antiquity, discourse on posterity has been permeated by appeals to stability. Since Horace's *exegi monumentum*, an author's published works might be considered a more enduring than bronze; while he may pass away, his writings remain and serve to immortalise him.[100] In Caraccioli's portrayal of the posterity of Bonal's book, however, we see a more fluid depiction of textual legacy. The author celebrates the fact that 'après plus de cent ans écoulés' he is able to 'faire renaître un Livre qu'on n'eût jamais dû oublier.'[101] In an adaptation of the book-as-child *topos*, Caraccioli does not himself engender the text, but rather facilitates its rebirth. This revival – in which Bonal and Caraccioli collaborate in a form of joint parenthood – is a laboured process which encompasses not only the book itself, but also extends metonymically to its posthumous author. Caraccioli breathes life into the 'cendre d'un auteur dont le souvenir ne peut être trop cher'[102] and whose memorial, exemplified in a static *tombeau*, would be best honoured through readerly activity: 'la lecture de ses inestimables productions.'[103] The work itself is said to encapsulate the flux between

[99] Ibid., p. vi-vii.
[100] See: Horace, *Odes* III, XXX 1-4.
[101] Caraccioli, *Chrétien*, p. vii.
[102] Ibid.
[103] Ibid.

solidity and fluidity. Wisdom is said to reign in the text, and is as precious as its *solidité* which, paradoxically, is expressed in terms of outward motion: 'l'énergie des pensées, lui donne un mérite bien supérieur aux Livres ordinaires de devotion.'[104] The result is not just the reproduction of a work previously consigned to dust, but the assurance, for Caraccioli, of its dynamic endurance. In shaping Bonal's discourse to suit the tastes of his eighteenth-century contemporaries, Caraccioli demonstrates the centrality of mutability to any authorial posterity. We have already seen author's evocations of ephemerality and textual disposal in Chapter I of this thesis. Here, the image is nuanced. Texts may well be discarded, but they can also be reconstituted. In light of this, could the posterity that Caraccioli envisages for Bonal's work be the kind he desires for his own?

Jessica Goodman draws the useful distinction between actual and anticipated posterity in her introduction to the issue of *Early Modern French Studies* consecrated to the topic. She highlights that for some, anticipating or perhaps craving a posthumous legacy, the drive for survival may compromise the faithful representation of reality.[105] This goes both for the individual anticipating their own legacy, and those who posthumously create or perpetuate the legacy of another. In the latter case in particular, Goodman suggests, the author's existence becomes a 'semi-fiction' rooted in a flexible discourse which, by necessity, is reshaped and recontextualised in order for its object to survive.[106] Caraccioli is an agent in this process for Bonal. He contributes to, or indeed creates, the posterity of the cleric, bringing movement to his inanimate ashes. But in drawing continual attention to his own agency in re-fashioning Bonal's text, Caraccioli also points towards his own desires for literary longevity. It is possible that Caraccioli is using Bonal as a stepping stone, hoping to gain some form of visibility by association with a writer of the past whom he considers to be important. In adopting and reflecting upon the role of the editor, the preface to *Le Chrétien du temps*

[104] Ibid.
[105] Jessica Goodman, 'What, Where, Who is Posterity?', *Early Modern French Studies*, 40 (2018), 2-10.
[106] Ibid.

certainly raises questions about the relationship of the old to the new, and of originality to imitation. In some ways, this is conflictual. We recall that Caraccioli presents innovation as a simpler task than reconstruction. Nevertheless, the imagery of rebirth, and of resurrection suggests not a tension between creation and imitation, but rather the unification of the two. Authorship becomes a filial chain in which later writers are responsible for keeping their predecessors alive and helping them to adapt. The work of literature is cumulative. New authors might credit the old by perpetuating their discourse, all the while building upon it and bringing to it novelty (in this case, of form). Literary creation becomes a dynamic enterprise which promises an open-ended endurance both for writers and their texts.

The active (re)fashioning of the written word as an instrument of posterity is a motif that runs throughout Caraccioli's *corpus*. *Les Derniers adieux d'une Maréchale à ses enfants* (1769), for example, recalls a series of evening conversations in which the eponymous noblewoman imparts her final testament to her family. The setting is liminal. As the *maréchale*'s life slips away, so too does the daylight. The vespertine atmosphere is reflected in the work's account of its own genesis. As the conversation took place, it is claimed, a secretary 'copiait à mesure que [la Maréchale] parlait.'[107] Rather than sitting in the room with her, however, the scribe is hidden, and remains 'séparé de l'appartement de la Maréchale par une simple cloison.'[108] The setting is reminiscent of a confessional: a dim setting, where the speaker is set apart from the listener. In the Catholic sacrament, intimate details of the penitent's interior life and experience might be openly shared, and the priest, as sole listener, is bound by a figurative 'seal' which prevents confided information being propagated. A similar image of trust and discretion is created here, and serves to assert authenticity – it is implied that the conversation recounted is candid and intimate; the *maréchale*'s speech has not been edited, consciously or unconsciously, because of the disruptive presence of a

[107] Caraccioli, *Derniers adieux*, p. ix.
[108] Ibid, p. viii.

possible stranger. So, as a pentitent might be spurred to reveal their inmost self, so too the *maréchale*'s interior life is unveiled. However, whereas in a sacramental context, the priest as invisible auditor is bound to silence, in this case the secretary perpetuates discourse. Spatially, the secretary is situated at a partition between two spaces. The scribe is physically as well as figuratively placed 'betwixt and between.'[109] In transcribing her speech, he at once concretises transient words and draws her utterances out from the air to the page, and from the living space to the partition. Spatially and through the act of writing, the scribe embodies both the process of death, understood in terms of 'rites of passage' as the change from one state to another, and the act of immortalising.

The writing act as one of passage from life to death is evoked by Caraccioli in relation to his own authorship. In the preface to *Le Tableau de la mort*, he claims to dépéri[r] […] à chaque mot qu'[il] écri[t].'[110] As his life expires, it is transferred to the paper. Manuscript pages are not simply signs of a posthumous legacy, but rather are the cause of it – literary creation itself is that which hastens death and actively renders its creator posterior. The self-sacrificial nature of writing reflects the author's view that '[sa] fonction est un ministère public & sacré.'[111] As a kind of priesthood, authorship is not a career to be pursued for vain glory. Caraccioli observes that some might pursue the status for this reason, figuring for themselves 'une posterité où il[s] vivr[ont].'[112] However the author cautions against this, aware – perhaps from his own experience – that he who writes 'devient comptable de ce qu'il avance à des milliers de sots qui se mêlent de le lire.'[113] Posthumous glory may well be sought out but a positive posthumous legacy is outside of an individual's control. While Caraccioli makes use of the writing as-monument trope – 'les personnes qui écrivent

[109] See: Victor Turner, 'Betwixt and Between: the Liminal Period in *rites de passage*', *The Proceedings of the American Ethnological Society* (Washington: University of Washington Press, 1964), 4-20.
[110] Caraccioli, *Le Tableau de la mort*, p. x.
[111] Caraccioli, *Jouissance*, p. 185.
[112] Ibid., p. 179.
[113] Ibid.

impriment des choses qui durent'[114] – he nevertheless attests to this particular monument's instability.

When describing his own authorship, both in evoking his writing process and reflecting upon his reasons for pursuing an authorial career – Caraccioli avoids the language of static heritage, and instead anchors his reflections in the present. He evokes the satisfaction he feels 'à s'arracher à l'ennui'[115] by composing a text, and the seductive effect of writing which '[l]'a entraîné dans ce labyrinthe comme malgré [lui].'[116] The image here is not of an author constructing a considered self-image to hand down through the ages, but rather of one who has relinquished control over his pen to a higher power or inspiration. While in many contexts, and as we shall see especially in the following two chapters, Caraccioli cautions individuals against being dominated by their passions, authorship it seems is an exception. As the desire to write 'se change insensiblement en passion, un Ouvrage en amène un autre; & les jours se passent à produire des pensées & à les exprimer.'[117] So, 'la plume suit la main, & la main est poussée par une impétuosité que rien n'arrête.'[118] This dymanic 'volupté'[119] is, for Caraccioli, the greatest of riches.

The preface to the author's final work, *Paris, métropole de l'univers* (1802), revives the lexicon of seduction and inspiration. Reflecting back on his early career, Caraccioli recalls that he 'eu[t] la manie d'écrire dès l'âge de dix-neuf ans.'[120] This *fureur* is again said to have overcome him, leading him to write while travelling in Italy, Holland, France, Germany, and Poland.[121] Yet, as the author's restless pen is reflected in his restless legs, the preface to this work suggests 'qu'il vaut encore

[114] Ibid., p. 185.
[115] Caraccioli, *Lettres récréatives*, t.1, p. 165.
[116] Ibid.
[117] Ibid., p. 166.
[118] Ibid.
[119] Ibid.
[120] Caraccioli, *Paris, métropole de l'univers*, p. 36.
[121] Ibid.

mieux de rester chez soi.'[122] In this final testament, the author reflects on the futility of writing for any stable legacy. He describes a vision in which he is transported to the lair of the Cumaean Sibyl, the mythological priestess who, in Virgil's *Æneid*, inscribed her prophesies on oak leaves. Evoking this tale, Caraccioli's oneiric vision sees him 'environné d'autant de feuilles volantes qu'elle rendoit d'oracles.'[123] While an oak tree might represent stability and endurance, its leaves are fragile and, caught by a gust of wind, they are scattered. In evoking Virgil, and in drawing an implicit link between the dispersed leaves and the printed page, Caraccioli discards his texts and disregards their legacy. He suggests that immortality and immutability are impossible for authors to attain. Since 'chacun dépeint [le monde] d'après ses passions ou ses préjugés', and since this world is 'impossible de bien connaître', everything is contingent, or open to interpretation. If everyone approaches the world through a different lens, the same might be said of his texts. They have painted the world in one way, he implies, but there may well be other ways of doing so. In addressing subjectivity in his final literary act, Caraccioli seems to anticipate or even call for the same posthumous treatment as he gave Bonal decades earlier. Perhaps readers of a future generation which, he speculates, 'vaudra mieux que nous,'[124] will approach his works with, and adapt them to, their own 'goût du siècle.'

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have seen the author define and address his putative readers, drawing them into dialogue with his writing, capturing their attention and, at times, flattering them in the hope of inciting their good will. In calling upon one group of allies, however, he establishes another group of opponents. While in some cases these adversaries are considered 'non-readers', in others,

[122] Ibid., p. ii.
[123] Ibid., p. i.
[124] Ibid., p. iii.

they constitute the very audience to whom Caraccioli addresses his text. Having fashioned or created an initial public, he then sets out to instruct, or 'form', them morally. However, since Caraccioli cannot know his readership in advance, the author's didactic prefaces serve to create an image of him as much as they do the reader. Appeals to polemics surrounding his works demonstrate that Caraccioli saw his critical readers as valuable interlocutors. In his discussions of the title to *La Jouissance de soi-même*, it would seem the author deliberately employed an ambiguous term in order to visibly refute it. The public nature of writing in general, and of prefaces in particular, is always at the forefront of Caraccioli's mind. In editing another's works, he highlights the value he places on authorial posterity as a mutable process which can nevertheless be influenced. Yet in his autobiographical reflections on authorship as an inspired and deeply personal vocation, rather than a trade, he draws readerly attention away from his legacy, and instead anchors his writing in the present. In employing Virgil's figuration of leaves dispersed in the wind, which we can read as an image of the *feuilles de papier* which make up a book, he offers an implicit call for future generations to collect and to reassemble them. What emerges is another image of a dissimulating author, who says one thing but means another. Just as Caraccioli adopted different authorial masks to reveal his identity in and through concealment, so too in his prefaces, veiling of meaning serves only to amplify it. In the next chapters, we will move away from the paratextual analysis which has illuminated Caraccioli's career strategies, to instead focus on the principles of self-fashioning which run through it. We will first examine another instance of revelatory dissimulation through the use of coloured ink.

Chapter III

Are you what you wear? Fashioning and the fashionable in *Les Livres à la mode* (1759) and *Le Livre de Quatre couleurs* (1760)

Introduction

When we consider Caraccioli's posterity, and his modern-day legacy, it is difficult to ignore *Le Livre à la mode* à verte feuille (henceforth, 'vert'), *Le Livre à la mode* nouvelle edition (henceforth 'rose'), and *Le Livre de quatre couleurs*. These works, each of which was mechanically printed entirely in coloured ink, represent a summit of eighteenth-century technical innovation.[1] The sheer effusion of colour onto the pages of the texts has, therefore, long fascinated book historians and collectors.[2] In their materiality, the three books point towards the success Caraccioli enjoyed in his early career; to produce them would have required a significant financial investment, and demonstrates firm market confidence. Moreover, the correspondence of the works' form to their content suggests a high degree of authorial agency in the publishing process. Caraccioli, like many authors of the period, exerted little control over the physical appearance of his works. In Chapter One, for example, we encountered the claim that his noble title had been included on title pages against his will. The chromatic series, in contrast, seems the result of meticulous planning, necessitating interaction and cooperation between author and publisher at every stage.

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[1] During the period, readers were likely to encounter coloured ink only in limited contexts. The title pages of books published in The Netherlands and England, for example, were printed in red and black. Other texts might contain coloured illustrations of animals or plants, for instance, however these were usually hand-shaded and most plates were inserted at the time the book was bound, rather than being printed with the text. See: Janine Barchas, *Graphic Design, Print Culture, and the Eighteenth-Century Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 60.

[2] In the nineteenth-century, for example, the works featured in the monthly journal of printer and bibliographer Alkan Ainé. See: Gustave Silbermann, 'Impressions polychromes' in Alphonse Alkan, *Annales de la typographie française et étrangère. Journal spécial de l'imprimerie, de la fonderie, de la gravure, de la librairie, de la papeterie* (Paris: Bureau du Journal, 1839).

As both a visual and a literary phenomenon, the chromatic series plays a central role in the fashioning of Caraccioli's public image. While published anonymously, the three works were soon attributed to him, and received a mixed reception. In 1759, *L'Année littéraire* published a frosty review of *Le Livre à la mode*: 'Ce livre prétendu *à la Mode* ne l'a jamais été […] ou du moins a bientôt cessé de l'être.'[3] In contrast, one year later, the same periodical received *Le Livre de quatre couleurs* with greater warmth. The commentator praised 'l'auteur qui ne manque pas d'esprit' and who 'a beaucoup de légèreté & d'abondance dans le style.'[4] These works which further divided Caraccioli's contmporaries present an obvious avenue for enquiry in a thesis about fashioning. We, of course, cannot overlook the polysemy inherent to 'fashion', of which this chapter will make use. The first half of this thesis has considered 'fashioning' solely in the sense of formation. We have seen Caraccioli fabricate a series of public identities for himself and lay out his project to shape his readership and sell his books. The same commercial strategies are at work here. It is highly likely that the works' novelty would have enticed buyers in pursuit of amusement and diversion. We can, however, add a new lens of analysis. In the coloured works, Caraccioli fashions his authorial image, but he also comments upon the place of fashion itself in society. These two facets of the works are distinct, but intertwined, and throughout this chapter we will consider the ways in which the 'fashionable' feeds into and relates to the act of 'fashioning.'

The striking appearance of each of the books exemplifies the eighteenth-century fashion for the frivolous which saw both the proliferation of an extravagant rococo aesthetic in the fine and decorative arts, and the theorising of ephemerality in literature and philosophy. In their form, the coloured books are ornamental – they are intended for viewing and for display as much as they are for reading. In their content, they describe Caraccioli's contemporary society. The pastimes of

[3] Elie-Cathérine Fréron. *L'Année littéraire*, t. 3, (Amsterdam: Lambert, 1759), p. 258.
[4] Fréron. *L'Année littéraire*, t. 3, (Amsterdam: Lambert, 1760), p. 217.

frivolous *dames* and *petit-maîtres* are described at length. 'Une belle main tirée d'un Eventail' is lauded along with descriptions of *des navettes à faire des nœuds* – a tatting shuttle used to produce a lace trim known as a *frivolité*.[5] *Le Livre de quatre couleurs* even concludes with a fictional 'testament', given by an Alexandre-Hercule Epaminondas, 'Chevalier de *Muscoloris*' and 'Grand Petit-Maître de l'Ordre de la Frivolité.'[6] At its heart, the depicition of frivolity in these texts is satirical. Through characters like Alexandre-Hercule, the author parodies the *dames* and *petit-maîtres* who expend immense time and effort crafting and refining their wardrobes, adorning themselves with jewellery, and putting store in trends which ultimately are transient. The sub-text appears clear – over-fixation on outward displays, it is said, cannot lead to enduring happiness.

However, the portrayal of frivolity in the works is not unequivocally negative. Instead, it should be understood in the context of the eighteenth-century debate around the nature of the frivolous and its value – both monetary and moral – in society.[7] While certain moralists denounced frivolity as a sign of social decline, others lauded it. And some moralists did both. In this chapter, I will argue that Caraccioli was one such writer. Another, who presents a notable point of comparison, was Pierre-Joseph Boudier de Villemert. The latter was also a Catholic apologist and, like Caraccioli, published prolifically. His corpus comprises philosophical tomes alongside vulgarising texts intended for broad dissemination. In 1750, he published an anonymous brochure entitled *Apologie de la frivolité, Lettre à un Anglois*, in which he lauds the French as the frivolous nation *par excellence*. He thus defends this French spirit against accusations of vice, recasting it as a virtue. As Jean-Alexandre Perras has highlighted: 'la frivolité, vertu sociale et agréable […] contribue au bonheur et à l'agrément de la nation.'[8] However, while Boudier de Villemert perceives a certain

[5] Caraccioli, *Le Livre de quatre couleurs*, pp. 16-17.
[6] Ibid., p. 90.
[7] Jean-Alexandre Perras, 'Le 'Siècle de la frivolité': sur l'invention d'un lieu commun au XVIII[e] siècle', *Early Modern French Studies*, 37 (2015), 64-74.
[8] Ibid., p. 70.

social benefit in superficial engagement, he nevertheless highlights the potential moral dangers of such an approach to life.

A later text by Boudier de Villemert makes clear the moral risks of frivolity to the individual person. In *L'Ami des femmes* (1758), the author adopts a tone of condescension in the name of pedagogy, positioning himself 'terre à terre avec nos belles Philosophes', to propose to them 'quelques idées de réforme.'[9] Of significance here are less the proposals Boudier de Villemert makes, than his motivations for making them. These become apparent in Chapter V, in which the author complains that the female imagination 'se nourri[t] continuellement de details de bijoux, d'habillemens, &c.'[10] He adds:[Les femmes] s'emplissent tellement la tête de couleurs, qu'il ne leur reste plus d'attention pour des objets qui la méritent mieux. […] L'Esprit des femmes glisse sur des qualités essentielles, & ne s'attache qu'à la draperie'.[11] The moralist wishes to reform superficiality, which he deems rife among women in particular, and which is exemplified in their attachment to material goods. His complaint echoes Jean-François de Saint-Lambert's 1757 *Enyclopédie* article on *frivolité*, which defines the phenomenon as an attachment to objects, 'autour desquels l'esprit vole sans méditer', and the consequent neglect of depth or essence: 'le cœur reste vuide.'[12]

The paradoxical valorisation of frivolity as a social virtue, all the while cautioning against its excesses provides a useful starting point for our engagement with Caraccioli's coloured works. It cannot be said that any of these texts condemns frivolity outright. In many ways, and as I have suggested throughout this chapter so far, the works' success depends upon frivolous readers. In a mercenary way, the coloured ink has commercial value. Does the value of frivolity in Caraccioli's

[9] Pierre-Joseph Boudier de Villemert, *L'Ami des femmes* (Hambourg: Chrétien Herold, 1758), p. 83.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid.
[12] 'Frivolité' s. f. [Morale] in *Encyclopédie,*7: 311.

coloured texts extend only to commerce, however? Or might the alluring physical appearance of these texts possess some measure of moral significance for the author?

In order to respond to these questions, I will consider the ways in which Caraccioli uses the *Livres à la mode* and the *Livre de quatre couleurs* to 'fill the heads' of his readers with colour. I will argue that colour does not function merely as a hook to lure readers in, but rather is itself imbued with communicative power; the chromatic works are crafted to be fashionable, but also effect a 'fashioning' of their readers. First, I will explore the way the texts are framed, leaning for a final time on paratextual analysis to comment upon the distinctive title pages of each of the works, as thresholds which offer interpretative keys to the reader from the outset. These keys operate a twofold fashioning. First, and as we might expect, they shape a particular reading of the texts they accompany, and give clues as to the reasoning behind the works' appearance. Second, they contribute to the formation of Caraccioli's authorial identity. Here, this involves framing him and his project in relation to Classical literary tropes and sources. This title-page analysis will subsequently open out to a broader discussion of fashion in the fashioning of identities through symbolic self-display. From this, I will move to a consideration of the role(s) played by specific colour in the texts, exploring two related metaphors: the text as mirror and the text as magic lantern.

I. A Window In

The *Livres à la mode* and *Le Livre de quatre couleurs* are first and foremost playful. Initial indication of their whimsical nature is given on their unconventional title pages which, with *fausse adresses* and ludic imagery, are fashioned to catch the readers' eye. The *Livre à la mode* (vert), for example, is

described as being 'à verte-feuille, de l'Imprimerie du Printemps, au Perroquet.'[13] Said parrot is depicted perched upon a dais – a position of oration – on the typographical ornament at the centre of the page. The date of publication is absent, and is replaced simply by 'L'Année Nouvelle.'[14] *Le Livre à la mode* (rose) is presented as a 'nouvelle édition' of the first. However, it is in fact an entirely different work, containing no overlapping text from its predecessor, except for the title. The pink edition is described as being, 'marquetée, polie, et vernissée.'[15] The natural imagery of *Le Livre à la mode* (vert), with its evocation of springtime, its leaf-like pages, and avian motif, has been replaced by suggestions of artificial adornment. Taken together, the two works present contrasting images of novelty – a theme which pervades each text and, consequently, this chapter. For Caraccioli, the colour green symbolises the rebirth exemplified by the seasons. Novelty, in this first context, is both a natural process and perpetually iterative, and this reiteration is both seasonal and annual. The latter is reflected, for example, in the designation 'Année Nouvelle', which is at once demonstrative of the work's freshness, and the creator's desire for its eternal relevance. Wherever the reader may be, or rather whenever she may read it, the work will be forever 'new.' In displacing natural regeneration by suggestions of artificiality in *Le Livre à la mode* (rose), Caraccioli likens the text an object of furniture, which does not spontaneously revitalise. Instead, in order for it to be renewed, the actions of applying patterns, of polishing, or of varnishing must be performed to it by another. And in contrast to leaves, for example, which in springtime are fully renewed, a wooden table will only be coated with a varnish veneer. Its interior remains the same and so its novelty, we might infer, is only superficial.

In their design, the title pages begin already to evoke the work's content. Astute readers may recognise their encoded interpretative keys, while for others the logic behind the pages' aesthetic

[13] Caraccioli, *Le Livre à la mode* (vert).
[14] Ibid.
[15] Caraccioli, *Le Livre à la mode* (rose).

layout becomes clear only in retrospect. The double role of title pages to draw readers in and to present to them a particular expression of novelty finds another expression in the typographical ornament featured in *Le Livre à la mode* (rose). Didier Travier has postulated that the image depicts a rose.[16] This would be congruous with the 'rose' text which the title page precedes. However, upon closer inspection, we see that the floral stamp possesses rounded petals, and that it has no thorns. Furthermore, at the centre of the flower, there is an opening, containing a multitude of what appear to be seeds. I would suggest, therefore, that the ornament depicts not a rose but rather a pomegranate; indeed, its appearance conforms to traditional heraldic renderings of the fruit. If we accept this, then the symbolism attached to the image is enriched. A pomegranate is an ancient symbol of fertility which carries with it sensuous connotations.[17] Significantly for our purpose here, it plays a central role in the Old Testament Song of Solomon, a love poem which draws a direct connection between the fruit and amorous encounters: 'Let us get up early to the vineyards; let us see if the vine flourish, whether the tender grape appear, and the pomegranates bud forth: there I will give thee my loves.'[18] In affixing a pomegranate to the front of his text, printed initially as an un-bound *brochure*, Caraccioli makes explicit his desire to seduce his readers. This seduction is that which compels custom and, as we saw in Chapter Two, ensures that the work is purchased. It might also represent the seduction of novely more generally, and the hold which fashion exerts over his peers, and we will explore this facet of the works in greater detail shortly. Stemming from its inclusion in the Song of Soloman, which many biblical exegetes consider an allegory of the love between God and humankind, in the Christian tradition, the pomegranate becomes a symbol of resurrection. It figures both creation and rebirth – the making of things new.[19] Caraccioli, I would

[16] Didier Travier, 'Louis-Antoine Caraccioli ou les amusements typographiques d'un moraliste mondain', L'*Écrivain et l'imprimeur* ed. by Alain Riffaud (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2010), 175-192.
[17] Mary Abram, 'The Pomegranate: Sacred, Secular, and Sensuous Symbol of Ancient Israel', *Studia Antiqua*, 7 (2009), 23-33, (p. 31).
[18] Song of Solomon 7:12.
[19] The former is the case in the Greek myth of Persephone, for example, in which Persephone eats six pomegranate seeds in order to be released from Hades and reunited with her mother. As a result of her consuming the fruit, she must return to the underworld for six months of each year. But because of eating six seeds, for six months of the year she had to return to the underworld. On the adoption of the

venture, employs the image in light of this dual connotation. The work's appearance is alluring, and its theme (as a wholly regenerated *nouvelle édition*) is innovation.

Caraccioli, like Boudier de Villemert, would caution against preoccupation with superficial pleasures which might include (though is not restricted to) the pursuit of novelty. In associating the threshold of his work with a Christian symbol of simultaneous allure and renewal, the author also indicates a possible third connotation; the 'making of things new' may be, in some way, redeeming. Here, we encounter the intended moralising potential of the chromatic series, the goal of which finds clear expression on the title page to *Le Livre de quatre couleurs*.

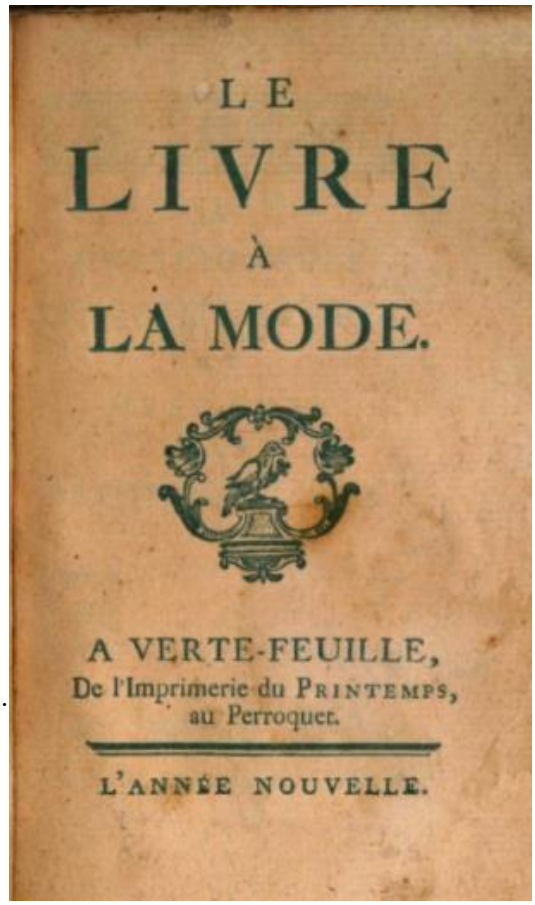

Fig. 2 Louis-Antoine Caraccioli. *Le Livre à la mode*, de l'imprimerie du Printemps, au Perroquet, 1759.
University of Lausanne, digitized Aug 2009.

image in Christianity, see: Hope Johnston, 'Catherine of Aragon's Pomegranate, Revisited', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 13 (2005), 153-173.

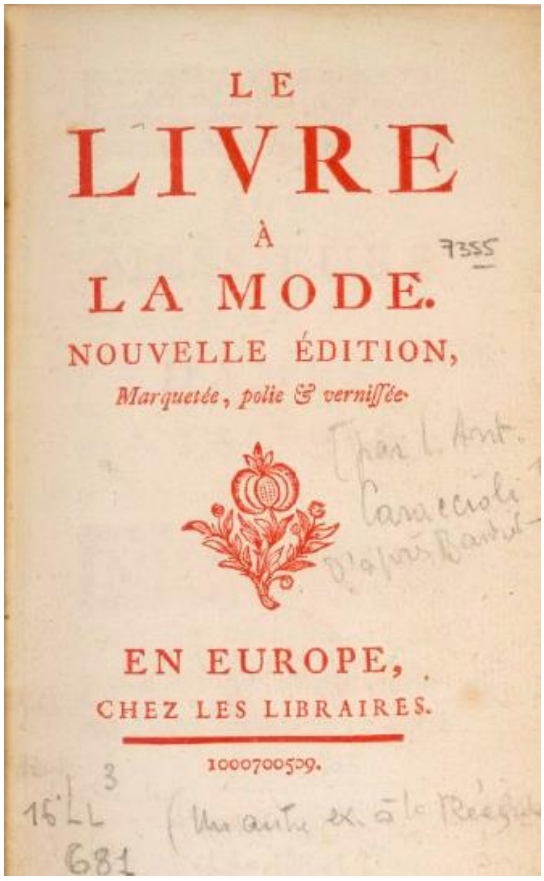

Fig. 3 Louis-Antoine Caraccioli. *Le Livre à la mode*, nouvelle edition, Marquetée, polie & vernissée, en Europe, chez les Libraires, 1759. Princeton University, digitized Jan 2009.

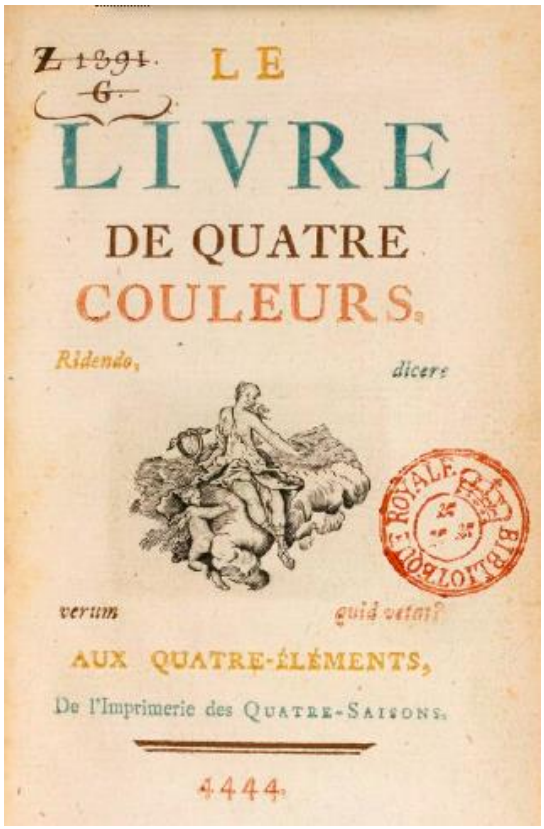

Fig. 4 Louis-Antoine Caraccioli. *Le Livre de quatre couleurs*, aux quatre-elements, de l'Imprimerie des Quatre-Saisons, 4444 (1760) BnF Gallica.

Le Livre de quatre couleurs is the only text of the series to contain an epigraph – a paratextual feature often overlooked in literary analysis but which, like a preface, offers interpretative keys to the texts it accompanies.[20] Readers of *Le Livre de quatre couleurs* would be unlikely to skim past this introductory phrase which is spread out over four quadrants, thus becoming a feature of the page's striking layout. The line is taken from Horace's *Sermones* and reads *Ridendo, dicere verum quid vetat?* This is a slight distortion of the original, where the first word of the phrase is not 'ridendo', but rather 'ridentem.' This change proves significant when we consider its sense in translation. Horace's 'Ridentem, dicere…' can be translated as 'what prevents one from speaking the truth *while* smiling?' *Ridentem* here is an accusative subject of the infinitive *dicere*, and therefore modifies the understood subject of 'speaking.' Smiling is here a question of presentation. One might speak the truth, and coincidentally appear joyful, but the two actions are independent of one another. In the *Sermones*, Horace frames this as a strategy of persuasive rhetoric. He gives the example of a teacher who may bribe his pupils with cakes in order to tempt them to learn the alphabet. Learning the alphabet is unpleasant, but it can be rendered palatable (literally) with sweet treats. The philosopher argues that this tactic may be used rhetorically too, on occasion, to express important matters. In Horace's poem, the reference to 'cakes' is an evocation of his predecessor, Lucretius who in *De Rerum natura* had written of doctors using honey-laced cups to conceal bitter treatments. So too Horatian levity here is a didactic means of concealing and rendering palatable a truth which at its core is bitter.[21] The nature of the truth is unchanged – it remains unpleasant, and the pleasurable substance is just a superficial veneer.

[20] Rosemary Ahern laments this fact at the beginning of her collection *The Art of the Epigraph: How Great Books Begin*. Skimming speedily past 'those intriguing quotations' represents for her 'an offering refused.' See: Rosemary Ahern, *The Art of the Epigraph. How Great Books Begin* (New York: Atria Books, 2012), p. xi.
[21] Lucretius *De Rerum Natura*, IV: 17-22, trans. by William Ellery Leonard (New York, E. P. Dutton. 1916) 'Young boys the nauseous wormwood, first do touch / The brim around the cup with the sweet juice / And yellow of the honey, in order that / The thoughtless age of boyhood be cajoled /As far as the lips, and meanwhile swallow down / The wormwood's bitter draught, and, though befooled, / Be yet not merely duped, but rather thus / Grow strong again with recreated health.'

In adopting the phrase, Caraccioli engages both with Horace, and with Horace reading Lucretius, in what Richard Thomas has termed 'windowed intertext.'[22] Scholars such as Didier Travier and Anne Richardot have argued that the epigraph is proof of the author's seductive strategy. In the manner of Lucretius he lures readers in, using colour specifically as a whimsical veneer to conceal a displeasing moral message.[23] The change in phrasing has heretofore been overlooked, however it provides an alternative reading of the role played by colour in the chromatic texts. Caraccioli has changed the accusative 'ridentem' to the ablative of means gerund, which modifies the verb 'to speak.'[24] What results is a new translation: 'What prevents one from speaking the truth *by means of smiling*?, rather than '*while* smiling.' A 'smile' is no longer a mere veneer which conceals a message to render it palatable, but rather becomes a communication of the message itself, and constitutive of what it expresses. We must, therefore, understand colour in these texts not just as a coating, or a means of seduction (though this remains a component of its role), but instead as a carrier of meaning. Its communicative value extends not least to Caraccioli himself. In order to discover how the chromatic texts serve to fashion a public image of their author, let us look further into the phrase's original context, and its eighteenth-century reception.

In the *Sermones*, the statement 'quid vetat' is made as a dismissive aside.[25] Horace implores his reader not to pass over his subject matter with a smile, but rather to take it seriously. In an instance of prateritio, Horace then tells the reader what he is *not* going to do, before going on to do it: 'Then

[22] Richard Thomas, 'Virgil's Georgics and the Art of Reference', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 90 (1986), 171-198.
[23] See: Anne Richardot, 'Introduction' in Caraccioli. *Le Livre à la mode suivi du Livre des quatre couleurs*, ed. by Anne Richardot (Saint-Étienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne, 2005), and: Didier Travier. 'Louis-Antoine Caraccioli ou les amusements typographiques d'un moraliste mondain', L'*Écrivain et l'imprimeur* ed. by Alain Riffaud (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2010), 175-192.
[24] I would like to express my gratitude to Cynthia Liu for her assistance in parsing this phrase.
[25] Horace. *Sermones*, I, I: 23-28, ed. by Friedrich Klingner (Los Angeles: Packard Humanities Institute, 1991). The full quotation in translation is as follows: Then again, not to pass over the matter with a smile / Like some wit – though what stops one telling the truth / While smiling, as teachers often give children biscuits / To try and tempt them to learn their alphabet? / No: joking aside, let's turn to more serious thoughts: / The farmer turning the heavy clay with sturdy plough… &c.

again, not to pass over the matter with a smile / Like some wit – though what stops one telling the truth / While smiling?' However his digression serves ultimately to 'lay joking aside.' While Horace is jocund elsewhere in the *Sermones*, here he implies that while wit may on occasion be a useful complement to instruction, it is more proper to express grave matters in a solemn way. In contrast, Caraccioli's use of the phrase is an affirmation of joviality. [26] *Le Livre de quatre couleurs* does not lay joking aside, but rather embraces it fully. The epigraph's allusion is thus a rhetorical practice known as *oppositio in imitatio*. While the sense of the phrase can only be known through referencing the imitated passage in Horace, Caraccioli diverges from it, first changing its language, and then altering its sense. Alain Viala identifies such divergence from ancient sources as a sign of authorial audacity.[27] In adopting a Horatian mode of pleasurable didacticism, Caraccioli appropriates, to an extent, the genre of Horatian satire. Employing one code of this 'institution littéraire', the author uses it as a 'moyen d'innovation.'[28] As such, this epigraph should be read not only as an explanation of why the book is 'fashioned' – that is, wearing coloured 'clothes' – nor simply as a way of fashioning or informing readers' interpretations of the text, but also as an act of authorial self-fashioning, wherein Caraccioli crafts his public identity in relation with, but ultimately in a departure from, ancient sources.[29]

The phrase had become something of a commonplace by the eighteenth century, and is notably referenced by La Rochefoucauld, on the frontispiece of the *Maximes* (1665),[30] and by the Third Earl of Shaftesbury who, in 1708, used the phrase (as it appears originally in Horace) as the

[26] Jennie Batchelor, *Dress, Distress, and Desire. Clothing and the Female Body in Eighteenth-Century Literature* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005).
[27] See the chapter 'De L'audace' in Viala, *Naissance de l'écrivain*, pp. 217-238.
[28] Ibid., p. 231.
[29] The epigraph resembles Jean-Baptiste de Santeul's *castigat ridendo mores* (one corrects customs by laughing at them): a commonplace in the eighteenth century, but one which Caraccioli does not reference directly.
[30] See the chapter 'Reading La Rochefoucauld' in: Michael Moriarty, *Disguised Vices: Theories of Virtue in Early Modern French Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

epigraph to the *Letter concerning Enthusiasm*.[31] Learned readers of Caraccioli would have been familiar not only with the phrase's classical roots, but also with its contemporary reception. The intertext here operates on both of these levels, and if we bring Caraccioli's epigraph into conversation particularly with Shaftesbury's use of the same, it offers illumination of the way the chromatic texts contribute to Caraccioli's own self-fashioning. In particular, the epigraph provides a response to the question of how an author of satire should relate to those he or she is satirising. Patrick Müller has argued that for Shaftesbury, a satirist must be able to turn attention towards himself, and 'only those who can bear to inspect their own views' merit the title.[32] Further, 'Shaftesbury's philosopher-satirist is an admirer of everything that is proper and becoming in (human) nature.'[33] 'True' satire, exemplified for Shaftesbury by Horace and his amiable rejection and refined critique of stoicism, must stem from admiration, and must have the potential for self-reflexion. We can apply these principles to another of Caraccioli's epithets. The author has often been characterised as a *moraliste mondain*, a term which springs from his engagement with and apparent acceptance of the worldliness of his peers.[34] This acceptance might be seen as reluctant, or as just another 'seductive strategy' for accruing a readership. However, in Shaftesbury's horatian vision, true satire, which necessarily has the potential to turn in on itself, and a satirist must not simply deride the behaviours of a community to which he is exterior, but must participate in, and to an extent admire, that community. So, just as colour is not simply a veneer, but is constitutive of the message Caraccioli conveys in the text, so too levity in general is not just a mask Caraccioli wears in order to sell books, but is constitutive of his authorial identity. The author's satire is effective because he recognises and accepts that he is wholly immersed in the society that he is mocking.

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[31] Translated into French in 1779, later than the texts here, but Shaftesbury celebrated in France since translation of Ethics, and readers may well have been familiar with his other works.

[32] Patrick Müller, '*Ridentem dicere verum quid vetat*: Shaftesbury, Horatian Satire, and the Cultural (Ab)uses of Laughter', *Revue de la Société d'études anglo-américaines des VII^e^ et VIII^e^ siècles*, 'Autour du Rire', 70 (2013), 47-71.

[33] Ibid.

[34] See: Didier Travier. 'Louis-Antoine Caraccioli ou les amusements typographiques d'un moraliste mondain', L'*Écrivain et l'imprimeur* ed. by Alain Riffaud (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2010), 175-192.

The title pages, then, present a cumulative series of tools to the reader which, though veiled to a greater or a lesser degree, nevertheless provide a window into the texts which they accompany. Paradoxical evocations of renewal as natural or artificial will recur as we examine in greater detail the presentations of fashion and the fashionable throughout the works. As the apogée of Caraccioli's chromatic project, *Le Livre de quatre couleurs* reveals the author's intention for colour to become a means of expression, rather than a superficial disguise. This in turn has implications for Caraccioli's own self-fashioned identity as a satirist who, by necessity, is fully implicated in his society.

If we apply these preliminary conclusions more broadly, we can postulate that Caraccioli does not reduce appearances to mere accidents. That is, the particular form an object or a person takes is not just an external property which can be amended or removed entirely without consequence. Rather, it seems that presentation, in the case of colour at least, is the outward sign of an immanent reality and, therefore, must be considered to participate in the domain of essence. This is the case in the author's instrumentalising of the levity exemplified in colour, which becomes itself a means of expression, rather than simply coincidental with it. From this, several questions now arise. Can this principle be extended to the author's consideration of other outward displays, for example to dress and people's modification of their bodies? And if so, by what mechanism exactly do appearances communicate that which is interior for the author? Finally, how does Caraccioli consider the fashioning of outward appearance to participate in or be constitutive of a fashioning of the self? A study of Caraccioli's definition(s) of fashion and the fashionable, through engagement with his presentation of novelty and trends throughout the three texts, will begin to illuminate these questions, the responses to which we will apply once again to the communicative operation of colour in general, and coloured ink here in particular, in the final section of this chapter.

II. Fashions in Flux

The opening pages of *Le Livre à la mode* (rose) are marked by a sense of alarm. 'Eh vîte, vîte, qu'on fasse courir cette Brochure'[35], implores the narrator, 'qu'on la critique, & puis qu'on la lise.'[36] The three 'on' pronouns refer to three different figures – propagator, reader, and critic – who, it would seem, can be one and the same. With irony, Caraccioli makes the same concession he repeats elsewhere, and which we saw in Chapter II – that authors should anticipate criticism from the outset of a work's publication, and that this is the only kind of textual engagement which is guaranteed. The same principle applies here, but is modified. Whereas in previous instances, the author has taken a position of defence against pre-empted attackers, here it is implied that those who disparage the work before reading it (for that is the order of action here) are in the right, for they will have at least been able to judge the book before it disappears. And it is perhaps better to do this than to attempt reading as, 'cette couleur, maintenant à la mode, ne durera peut-être qu'un heure & vingt minutes.'[37] From its inception, the book is threatened not by critics then, but by obsolescence. Such was the fate of its predecessor, which is said to have lasted just eight days, 'ainsi que toutes les modes.'[38] The pink book's predicament is not unique, and its destruction sooner rather than later is inevitable, for in fashion the annihilation of the old is the necessary precursor to the advent of the new. This is reflected in the *Encyclopédie*'s definition of the same. Fashions, it is said 'se détruisent & se succèdent continuellement quelquefois sans la moindre apparence de raison.'[39] While critics may threaten a work's success from without, the destructive action of fashion is reflexive. As a phenomenon, fashion is dependent upon and sustained by the continual flux of individual trends and so, paradoxically, the very existence of 'the fashionable' is contingent upon these trends' iterative self-destruction.

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[35] Caraccioli, *Le Livre à la mode* (rose), p. 1.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Ibid., no pagination.
[39] 'Modes' [Philos. & Log.], in *Encyclopédie,* 10: 598.

Elena Esposito has highlighted further paradoxes inherent to fashion, commenting notably upon the phenomenon she terms 'the stability of the transitional.'[40] The only constant, she observes, in fashion is the fact that it exists in flux. For organisational scholars like Esposito, this mutability is by no means negative, but rather is the instrument of fashion's appeal. She argues:

> We follow [fashion] even if we know that it goes by – indeed precisely for this reason. We know that last year we didn't like it and next year we will no longer like it, but this in no way weakens its present strength (on the contrary, we like it precisely because of this). Fashion implements a very efficient combination of flexibility and reliability: we can count on it, but we can also count on the fact that it will change.[41]

Such 'scheduled transitoriness', to adopt the terminology of German sociologist Niklas Luhmann, means that instability is not necessarily burdensome.[42] Precisely because fashion's ephemerality will paradoxically endure, the narrator of *Le Livre à la mode* (rose) can put his trust in it. The work is sure to achieve success, even if it lasts only an hour and twenty minutes. The principle of perpetual flux finds its roots in Heraclitean philosophy. The pre-Socratic thinker proposed a theory wherein opposites could be unified, and so that which is changeable might also possess stability. In its fullest expression, Heraclitean flux is cosmological – it postulates a universal impermanence in which all matter at once exists and is undergoing transformation. The *Livre à la mode* (rose) exists within this tension of existence and obsolescence. The alarm with which the narrator addresses readers at the start stems from this; from the moment of its conception, the end or destruction of the book is already and necessarily in progress.

The narrator of the work possesses a privileged insight into perpetual flux which characters in the work do not seem to have. Seeing the ways in which fashionable objects are created and discarded, he knows that this will be his book's inevitable fate and can predict when this will happen, almost

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[40] Elena Esposito, 'Originality through Imitation: the Rationality of Fashion', *Organization Studies*, 32 (2011), 603-613, (p. 607).
[41] Ibid., pp. 607-608.
[42] Niklas Luhmann, 'Individuum, Individualität, Individualismus', *Gesellschaftsstruktur und Semantik. Studien zur Wissenssoziologie der modernen Gesellschaft*, 3 (1989), 149-258, (p. 256).

down to the minute. He furthermore perceives the onset of its precipitated demise when 'déjà […] une femme toute celeste' appears, 'en fanfreluches de bleu pale, à dessein d'en inspirer le goût.'[43] Far from being a distant observer, the narrator is privy not just to action, but also to intention. He knows that the 'celestial' woman's plans pose a threat to the pink pages. This omniscience is evident not least in the relationship the speaker has to the physical book. We have already seen his dismay at its imminent demise. Initially, the text is not attributed agency in its attempted perpetuation. The imperative 'qu'on fasse courir' is directed to the reader, or potential reader, actively holding the book in her hands. Yet, just a page later, the author addresses the text directly: 'Ah, mon pauvre Livre, qu'allez vous devenir, si vous ne percez toute à l'heure les cercles, & si vous n'allez unir vos nuances à celles des robes qu'on porte encore aujourd'hui?'[44] The text plays on the genre of the 'it-narrative', which saw a marked proliferation in the 1750s and 1760s. In these texts, inanimate objects would be imbued with consciousness, and would relate tales of their own circulation.[45] In this case, it is the book which begins to act and circulate as a commodity. In personifying the book, the narrator breathes life into it, dislodging himself from centre stage and casting the material text as the protagonist. As a rhetorical device, personification is age-old. In Greek, it is termed *prosopopoeia*, and has the literal sense of bestowing of a voice upon the silent. It might also refer to the conferral of a mask or a face onto an inanimate object or abstract concept. Here, the book is given neither a face nor a voice, however, but clothing. It is 'dressed' in pink, after the fashion of the day, and as a result is able to present itself in society. As the book becomes a person (or at least an actor), it enters into a different sphere of intimacy with or relationship to its narrator, whose omniscience becomes the source of generative potency.[46] The speaker adopts the role and the voice of creator. The work has been fabricated by him, and it is 'son Livre.' It

[43] Caraccioli, *Le Livre à la mode* (rose), p. 2.
[44] Ibid., pp. 2-3.
[45] Lynn Festa, 'The Lives of Things: Objects, It-Narratives, and Fictional Autobiography, 1700-1800', *A History of English Autobiography*, ed. by Adam Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 133-147.
[46] While omniscient, the author-creator is not omnipotent. He can bring the text into being, but he cannot avert its destruction.

exists and acts independently of him, but nevertheless he retains an interest in its fortune. The author-as-creator is another common trope of literature, and is related to the book-as-child topos – in both, the text is fashioned in the image of its creator, in this case its father. The idea of the author-god finds eighteenth-century echoes once more in Shaftesbury, who claims 'a poet is indeed a second Maker. […] He forms a whole, coherent and proportioned in itself.'[47] The narrator, who may in this instance be equated with the author, is he who fashions – both forms and makes fashionable – the book.[48] As the narrator takes the place (or undertakes the functions) of a deity, an allusion is made to the creation of man and woman in the Book of Genesis, where God is said to have 'formed man from the dust.' As we saw in Chapter II, the green book is said in the preface to its successor to have been recycled, its pages becoming 'papillotes.' We remember too that the pink text is said to have been merely an updated, 'polished' version of the first. Perhaps creation here is not *ex nihilo*, but rather is from the 'dust', the remnants of what came before. Such a metaphor finds further resonance in the pink book's projected fate. When cast from Eden, the first man and woman were warned to take heed, 'for you are dust, and unto dust you shall return.'[49] So the cycle of Heraclitean flux continues.

The narrator makes a second reference to the fate of the green book as he continues: 'votre ainé, qui fut verd, ne peut plus se montrer. Encore une fois vite & vite, vous n'avez qu'une heure, & peut-être pas, pour vous produire.'[50] The metaphor shifts; the green text has no longer been torn to shreds, but nevertheless is obsolete. Its redundancy is now manifested in a retreat to the invisible shadows, and the pink text must speed to show itself before it suffers the same. The *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* (1762) gives multiple definitions of *se produire*, of which two are particularly

[47] Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, *Soliloquy. Or, Advice to an Author* (London: John Morphew, 1700), p. 55. The trope has roots in fifteenth-century Florentine neo-platonist thought, see: E.N. Tigerstedt, 'Poet as Creator: Origins of a Metaphor', *Comparative Literature Studies*, 5 (1968), 455-488.
[48] See Richard L. Regosin, *Montaigne's Unruly Brood: Textual Engendering and The Challenge to Paternal Authority* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 13-47.
[49] Genesis 3.19.
[50] Caraccioli, *Le Livre à la mode* (rose), p. 3.

pertinent. In a social context, it is synonymous with 'introduire, faire connaître'[51] – thus the book, acting independently of its maker, is urged to go out, to introduce itself to others. This incorporates a second sense: 'to perform.' While the green book's disappearance is a sign of its extinction, the pink book must show or introduce itself to others, and this theatrical display becomes a generative act.[52] The author-creator is here displaced, for now it is in exhibition, and through the affirmative gaze of others, that the book comes into being. As the spectator-creator emerges, new questions arise. The coloured series begins not just to interrogate how fashioning occurs, but also asks 'who does the fashioning?' and, stemming from this, 'who *should* do it?' A transcendent author-creator, or affirmative onlookers, or someone else entirely?

To ascribe cosmic weight to fashion is to attribute vast significance to that which is ultimately frivolous. This irony would not have escaped Caraccioli who, like many of his contemporaries, saw in the empire of fashion the emergence of a new religion: 'La mode est insensiblement venue à bout de tout assujetir à ses loix, de sorte que la Religion même seroit tributaire.'[53] As fashion gains authority over people, Caraccioli portrays its regulation of their behaviours, and the ways they spend their time. *Chevaliers de l'ordre de la frivolité*, for example, abide by a series of twelve commandments.[54] The tenth stipulates with irony that they reduce 'les heures de la toilette […] à quatre.'[55] but anyone who neglects the *toilette* entirely faces immediate excommunication, '[il] cesse, *ipso facto*, d'être Membre de l'Ordre.'[56] Women's time is equally consumed by pursuits in the name of fashion, such that they are exempted from the traditional day of rest, and permitted to knot or pursue other agreeable pastimes: 'Il convient qu'une femme du monde & du bon ton, ne mette

[51] 'Produire', v.a. in *Le Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, quatrième édition, t.2 (1762).
[52] A third, non-reflexive definition of *produire* bears upon this. To produce is to 'engendrer, donner naissance.' See ibid.
[53] Caraccioli, *Dictionnaire critique*, t. 2, p. 75.
[54] This is departure, perhaps, from the motif of the Ten Commandments, but the number 'twelve' nevertheless holds biblical significance. It might be seen as a reference to the twelve tribes of Judah in the Old Testament, for example, and the twelve apostles in the New Testament.
[55] Caraccioli, *Le Livre de quatre couleurs*, p. 87.
[56] Ibid.

point de difference entre le Dimanche & le Samedi; ces distinctions ne sont bonnes que pour le peuple.'[57] So, while the whims of the fashionable are not, it is implied, of real cosmic import, in practice they might be perceived as such. Caraccioli mocks and exaggerates them, perhaps, but in so doing he demonstrates the extent of fashion's dogmatic influence. And he is not the only writer to concede to this ostensibly inconsequential phenomenon's paradoxical weight. Louis de Jaucourt, writing in the *Encyclopédie*, acknowledges the exponential influence of 'les modes' which, despite arising 'de la frivolité de l'esprit', are nevertheless 'un objet important, dont un état de luxe peut augmenter sans cesse les branches de son commerce.'[58]

The case of the personified pink book shows us the source of fashion's importance, as Caraccioli perceives it in his peers. For the narrator anxious to see his creation thrive, fashion is not a mere question of appearance, but of existence. The book 'is' when it is presented and accepted in society, and it 'is not' when the same society considers its style passé. The relationship between being fashionable and simply being is further illuminated thanks to the links the narrators of each of the coloured works draw between changing appearance and changing nature. In *Le Livre à la mode* (vert), for example, we read of the narrator's long-held project, 'de mettre la bourse à cheveux de même couleur que l'habit.'[59] When initially spotted, this new trend is not affirmed by those who see it. The narrator predicts that he will be 'persifflé pendant quelque temps,'[60] but that, eventually, '[sa] metamorphose deviendra la nouvelle courante, jusqu'à ce que cinq ou six petits-maîtres de bon ton rendront [sa] mode importante.'[61] The first thing to note here is the language of possession. The narrator's visual style is both individual – it 'belongs' to him – and individualising

[57] Ibid., p. 19.
[58] 'Mode' (Arts) in *Encyclopédie*, 10: 598. Much has been written about the 'luxury debate' in the eighteenth century. Notable studies include André Morize's seminal work *Apologie du luxe au dix-huitième siècle et 'Le Mondain' de Voltaire*, 1909 (Geneva:Slatkine Reprints, 1970). More recently, in 2010, Felicia Gottman produced an extensive study: 'The Eighteenth-Century Luxury Debate: The Case of Voltaire' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 2010).
[59] Caraccioli, *Le Livre à la mode* (vert), p. 11.
[60] Ibid, p. 11.
[61] Ibid., pp. 11-12.

– it is that which sets him apart from his peers. A relatively minor change in hair-piece becomes a question of identity, a sentiment which is further reinforced by and figured in the notion of metamorphosis. This term cannot be dissociated from Ovid[62], and must be read in the context both of the Roman poet's eighteenth-century reception, and of Caraccioli's own engagement with Classical literature. We have already seen the author adopt and subvert a Horatian commonplace. The *Metamorphoses* had attained a comparable everyday status in literature. What does the term 'metamorphosis' – either associated with or dissociated from its Ovidian roots – demonstrate about the relationship between appearance and identity?[63]

The process of metamorphosis is one of innovation. Indeed, the preface to the poem begins *in nova fert animus mutates dicere formas corpora*: 'I wish to speak of bodies changed into new forms.' In his introduction Ovid invokes the gods who, as the conventional source of poetic inspiration, are said to guide his composition. They are also the instigators of change, both of the work itself as it develops[64], and of the many characters figured within it. Indeed, metamorphosis, for Ovid, is

[62] The term 'metamorphosis' was not only literary. It gained scientific significance in 1651when it was employed by William Harvey to describe the way in which certain animals (in particular, insects) entered maturity through the total decomposition of their previous form. The transformation of a chrysalis into a butterfly was also described in these terms. The porosity between scientific and figurative metamorphosis is particularly evident in the eighteenth century in Diderot's *Encyclopédie* definition of the social figure of the *petit-maître*, described as: 'un insècte leger qui brille dans sa parure éphémere, papillonne, & secoue ses aîles poudrées.' 'Petit-Maître' in *Encyclopédie* 12: 465. Certain thinkers imbued the metaphor with religious significance. In the Abbé Noël Antoine Pluche's *Le Spectacle de la Nature*, for example, the transformation of a caterpillar into a butterfly becomes a symbol of Christ's resurrection. See: Catherine Bruguière, Olivier Perru, and Frédéric Charles, 'The Concept of Metamorphosis and its Metaphors. Possible and Impossible Transformations of Life; Metamorphosis in Children's Literature', *Science & Education*, 27 (2018), 113-132.

[63] On the reception of Ovid in the seventeenth century, see Helena Taylor, *The Lives of Ovid in Seventeenth-Century French Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017). Ovidian tropes were particularly widespread during, and influential upon, the reign of Louis XIV who self-mythologised through employment of ovidian allusions. Jean-Pierre Néraudau has demonstrated, for example, that portaits of the Sun King as Apollo by Joseph Werner were modelled upon illustrations from the *Metamorphoses*. See: Jean-Pierre Néraudau, *L'Olympe du roi-soleil:muthologie et idéologie royale au grand siècle* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1986), p. 327.

[64] *Di, cœptis (nam vos mutastis et illas) / adspirate meis primaque ab origine mundi / ad mea perpetuum deducite tempora carmen*. O Gods, inspire my beginnings (For you changed them too) and spin a poem that extends from the worlds first origins down to my own time. Ovid, *Metamporphoses*, 1:1-4, trans. by Stanley Lombardo (Indianapolis, Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company Inc, 2010).

wholly the operation of the divine. Throughout each of the myths, the gods alone are agents. Whether they are instigating change in a mortal, or in another god, they exert power, offer protection and, on occasion, punish transgressions.[65] Scholars of the epic poem have argued that the process of metamorphosis does not represent volatility or instability but on the contrary, is an act of clarification.[66] The emphasis of the myths is, it is argued, on the restoration of order, putting an end to the flux inherent to the human condition. Andrew Feldherr has observed that in each of the tales, change is 'emphatically final', and leaves its objects with no possibility of returning to their original form.[67] In contrast, Caraccioli's metamorphosis is always auto-generated, and is itself changeable. The green book's narrator instigates his own change in appearance by altering his headpiece. Elsewhere, in *Le Livre de quatre couleurs* 'une dame de Cour se métamorphose et se peint d'invention.'[68] Both accounts imply that the reflexive act of metamorphosis is also repeatable. The green book's narrator predicts that once he has been teased by his peers, he will be imitated by them, however, and as later tales will show, this change will be short lived. New fashions are sure to overtake the old. Metamorphosis, in Caraccioli, becomes not a way to overcome the instability or flux of human nature, but rather to contribute to and perpetuate it.[69]

The satire here is founded upon irony; it is clear that taming long locks with a fabric *bourse* of any colour does not constitute an entire physical metamorphosis. Such exaggeration pervades each of the three coloured texts, and casts light upon Caraccioli's mockery of those who put too much

[65] Jupiter, for example, punishes the impious King Lycaon by turning him into a wolf as he attempts to flee; Apollo turns Daphne into a laurel tree when she refuses his advances.
[66] Andrew Feldherr, 'Metamorphosis in the *Metamorphoses*', *The Cambridge Companion to Ovid*, ed. by Philip Hardie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 163-179, (p. 170).
[67] Feldherr, p. 171.
[68] Caraccioli, *Le Livre de quatre couleurs*, p. 40.
[69] Ovidian intertext in Caraccioli can be traced further when we consider the similarities between *Le Livre à la mode* (rose) and *Medicamina Faciei Femineae* (*Cosmetics for the Female Face, or the Art of Beauty)*. In this didactic elegy, Ovid defends Roman women's *cultus* – that is, 'cultivation' or 'adornment' with make-up or jewellery. Whereas Ovid promotes and lauds artificial self-enhancement, even providing the reader with five recipes for facial treatments, Caraccioli cautions against it, as we shall see in the penultimate section of this chapter.

store on appearance. Nevertheless, the rhetoric of metamorphosis does betray a certain anxiety about the relationship of clothing to the body, and its possible influence upon a person's nature more broadly. Questions surrounding the potential ontological import of formal change are not unique to Caraccioli in the eighteenth century. Lynne Festa, for example, has highlighted the tensions which arose surrounding the practice of wig-wearing in England. Numerous querulous tracts were published expressing scandal surrounding the growing market for hair prosthetics. For Festa, such disputes reveal worries about 'the way the worn thing can redefine not only what it means to possess but also what constitutes the individual doing the possessing.'[70] The question of whether a wig belongs to its wearer, and to what extent an individual self can possess 'manipulable external qualitites'[71] is complicated by the fact that the hair used to create these headpieces formerly belonged to another, and was attached to them, before being subsequently detached, and reconstituted. In addition, wigs have a dissimulating function; they are ornamental, but their ornament stems from the imitation of the natural.[72] The adornment which instigates metamorphosis for the narrator of the green book, in contrast, makes no claim to naturalness, nor had fabric used to make the *bourse à cheveux* previously belonged to another's body, as in the case of the hair used to make a wig. However, while the parallel with wig-wearing is limited for these reasons, it nevertheless provides a valid point of comparison. Using the language of metamorphosis, Caraccioli's texts equate material change to bodily change. The narrator's headpiece is, in a sense, a prosthetic in that it covers and contains a natural part of his body, and thus becomes an extension of it, transforming his entire physique.

[70] Lynn Festa, 'Personal Effects: Wigs and Possessive Individualism in the Long Eighteenth Century', *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 29 (2005), 47-90, (p. 48).
[71] Festa, p. 48.
[72] Far from tending towards the natural, eighteenth-century dress wigs became increasingly extravagant and ostentatious. Caraccioli evokes their artifice, comparing them to birds' plumage in *Le Livre à la mode* (rose): 'Mais aussi quelle folie! Auroient dit nos pères, s'ils nous avoient vus en talons rouges, en souliers à pied dehors, en chapeaux grands comme la main, *en perruques qui semblent la houpe d'un oiseau*…' p. 10. My emphasis.

The relationship of the body to its adornments is not just one of extension, but of subjection, according to *Le Livre de quatre couleurs*: 'Il n'y a pas de minute où le corps d'un Petit-maître ne paie un tribut à la mode'[73] Dress holds the power to alter, control, and distort the corporeal. The body serves the clothes, rather than the other way around. The loss of physical agency evidenced here reveals yet another preoccupation when determining the relationship between fashion and the self. Namely, how dependent is an individual upon her possessions? In the above quotation, both syntactically and figuratively, the individual *petit-maître* is caught between his body on the one hand, representing stability, and fluctuating fashion on the other. If the body is subjected to the whims of the fashionable, what of the individual 'self'? Is the *Petit-maître* in any way autonomous from his possessions?

For many of Caraccioli's contemporaries, both in France and throughout Europe, these questions were applied more broadly to the symbolic nature of clothing as expressive of social hierarchies and distinctions. The rise of uniformity in trends sparked concerns for many who perceived it as a threat to class distinctions. Across the Channel, Daniel Defoe had complained 'it is a hard Matter now to know the Mistress from the Maid by their Dress.'[74] Consumers' habits changed as clothing became commercially available, open to anyone who could pay, rather than reserved for those born into a certain rank. For those like Defoe, the concern was that the supposedly natural distinctions of rank would be eroded.[75] Caraccioli, too, expressed concerns regarding homogeneity in *Le Livre à la mode* (rose). Earlier in this chapter, we encountered the *femme céleste* whose appearance in society posed an existential threat to the personified text. It is useful to return to this anecdote which, as it continues, sheds light on the way in which particular fashions arise and subsequently become ubiquitous.

[73] Caraccioli, *Le Livre de quatre couleurs*, p. viii.
[74] Daniel Defoe, *Every-body's Business, is No-body's business* (London: [n.pub.], 1725), pp. 18-19.
[75] Batchelor, *Dress, Distress, and Desire*, p. 12.

While parading around, displaying her blue *fanfreluches*, the heavenly woman is said to 'faire des signes de tête […] pour accréditer sa couleur favourite.'[76] We know that her style is original – the blue of her dress stands in stark visual contrast to the pink garments which everyone, including the book, is said to be wearing. The woman possesses performative agency, and is able to draw attention actively to her novel appearance by moving her body. Once more, the physical is placed at the service of the sartorial, and the new style is noticed. Three *petits-maîtres* 's'approchent & s'exhalent en superlatifs sur les agréments de la parure.'[77] In many ways, the figure is the instigator for what Daniel Roche has termed 'la culture des apparences' in the eighteenth century.[78] The *petit-maître* is considered by many to be a precursor to the nineteenth-century fop, or dandy. Relentlessly social figures, *petits-maîtres* sought to be seen, displaying their affable charms and wit in conversation, and embellishing their dress to facilitate this.[79] For Caraccioli, as for others, the *petit-maître* exemplifies conscious, visual self-fashioning. In this tale, they are not themselves the spectacle, however, but rather are spectators, first observing and then vocally praising the woman's style. While the woman holds some power to direct others' gaze towards her attire, it is only the three men who see her who can exert full influence. The narrator reveals that this trio is made up of the same characters who 'par un seul mot d'approbation, mirent en vogue l'an dernier, les *Lésardes* & les *Séduisantes*, ces coëffures magnifiquement admirables.'[80] In contrast to the physical gestures whereby the woman drew attention to her embellished garments, men here are bestowed with the authority of the spoken word. With a single word, they are able to give the imprimatur,

[76] Caraccioli, *Le Livre à la mode* (rose), p. 2.
[77] Ibid.
[78] See: Daniel Roche, *La Culture des apparences: Une histoire du vêtement* (Paris: Fayard, 1989).
[79] In his study of the figure, Pierre Saint-Amand evokes Montesquieu's *Lettres Persanes*, in which '[des] petits talents' introduce inanimate objects into their conversation in order to animate it, and '[font] parler leur habit brodé, leur perruque blonde, leur tabatière, leur canne et leurs gants.' See: Pierre Saint-Amand, 'Petits-Maîtres and Fops in the Eighteenth Century', trans. by Jennifer Curtiss Gage, *Fashion, Modernity, and Materiality in France from Rousseau to Art Deco*, ed. by Heidi Brevik-Zender (New York: State University of New York, 2018), 11-31.
[80] Caraccioli, *Le Livre à la mode* (rose), p. 2.

enabling the dissemination of a fashion deemed worthy. This authority is, nevertheless, limited. *Lésardes* and *Séduisantes* have clearly been forgotten, in an implicit illustration of the obsolescence built into all things fashionable. *Magnifiquement admirables* is a hyperbole which ridicules the act of admiration for things, it is suggested, which clearly do not merit it.

The authority of the *petit-maître* is never unequivocal. The narrator observes that while certain styles seem to merit superlative praise, others take longer to catch on. One solitary figure, for example 's'avisa d'endosser un habit verd.'[81] His peers' initial reaction was of horror. '[Il] fut poursuivi dans les Tuileries, & presqu'insulté par une foule innombrable.'[82] Vocalised opinions held power in this case, too: 'on le nomma perroquet pendant quelques jours.' But, 'bientôt ce perroquet en fit d'autres, & tout Paris fut verd une semaine après.'[83] In an evocation of *Le Livre à la mode* (vert)'s title page, we here see the fine lines which are drawn between ridicule and admiration, exemplified in the image of the parrot. The first association of the creature is one of mockery and scorn. Parrots often have green feathers, and the green-clad *petit-maître* strikes a comparable figure. As the vast crowd derides him, their insults transform into an echo. It becomes an oral 'fashion' to compare the individual to the exotic bird. The parrot's significance rapidly shifts, however, as widespread vocal insult becomes ubiquitous physical appearance. In a matter of days, the avian style, once the mark of an outlier, has become the norm. The narrator evokes the creature in yet another way as he alludes to the means by which the green trend circulates. The people concerned 'parrot' one another, first imitating insulting speech, before imitating dress. There is irony in the fact that the initial 'parrot' – the *petit-maître* – is not the one doing the 'parroting'. Rather, he is original and is 'parroted' eventually by others. What results is an indistinguishable mêlée wherein individuals are

[81] Caraccioli, *Le Livre à la mode* (vert), p. 11.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Ibid.

no longer identifiable. Furthermore, all of Paris is not dressed *en vert*, but it is simply entirely *vert*. The cityscape itself has metamorphosed, and its inhabitants have become homogenous.

Fashion throughout these accounts begins with originality or novelty, but tends towards ubiquity. Rather than suggesting an expression of interior self, then, the author's presentation of trends and the way they spread indicates the effacement of individuality through the erasure of the features which make one person distinct from another. The chromatic books evoke a similar uniformity in passages which connect clothing to social status and, most notably, gender. Scholars have long seen the *petit-maître* as an effeminate figure, who subverts norms for visual gender expression. It has also been established that this blurring of lines sparked concern throughout society, among moralists and libertines alike. Rétif de la Bretonne, for example, stressed the importance of visual markers to separate men from women. For the latter in particular, clothes become a key means of self-expression. In the author's 1784 work *Les Dangers de la ville*, for example, the character of Ursule describes her dress: 'Ma chaussure ne m'exerce pas moins que mes robes: c'est la partie de la parure où l'*âme* d'une femme se montre d'avantage.'[84] Later, in the *Nuits de Paris*, de la Bretonne's epistolary narrator exclaims: 'tout, dans les Femmes, doit avoir un sexe, l'habillement, la coîfure, les chaussures […] il est très-important pour les mœurs, très-important pour les Femmes, que leur habillement tranche avec le nôtre!'[85] Whereas before we saw the body 'pay tribute' to clothing, here clothing itself becomes the embodiment of a woman's soul. It does not just reflect a woman's sex, but rather clothing itself *is* sexed. As such, it begins to possess physical attributes. Garments again are presented as an extension of the person but here, crucially, clothing does not just have communicative power to express the female body, but rather is the very thing which bestows

[84] Nicolas-Edmé Rétif de la Bretonne, *Les Dangers de la Ville, ou Histoire effrayante et morale d'Ursule, dite la Paysanne-Pervertie* (1784) ed. by B. Didier (Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1972), p. 380.
[85] Nicolas-Edmé Rétif de la Bretonne, *Les Nuits de Paris, ou le spectateur nocturne*, t. 4 (Londres: [n.pub.], 1788), p. 1837.

womanhood upon a person. Gender is therefore not reflected in surface adornments, but is realised in and through them.

Morag Martin suggests that moral anxieties surrounding gendered clothing were heightened by a desire to confirm and maintain a hierarchy in which men and women were opposites but in no way equal. Effeminate dress, it was supposed, drained men of their natural force, leading to their weakening and eventually to their loss of identity.'[86] We see this dynamic at play, and developed further, in Caraccioli. The tale of the *femme celeste*, for example, at first seems to affirm a socially accepted gender divide. The woman is silent while the men are audible. She merely gestures to draw attention to herself, while the men speak and influence others. However, in the private space of the *toilette*, *petits-maîtres* grow to resemble the women they admire. Since the beginning of the eighteenth century, for Caraccioli, the *toilette* has become 'un meuble indispensable pour les hommes du bel air.'[87] Everyone, from knights to chefs to valets sought to obtain one. Like women, men owned '[des] poudres, [des] mouches, [des] odeurs, & [des] fards'[88] and would spend so much time preening that soon 'on y confondit les deux sexes.'[89]Superficial adornments effect additional changes on the subject's body. *Petits maîtres* would carry bouquets in an ostentatious 'suite de la toilette.' These flowers, 'gros comme la gorge d'une nourrice' render the bearer's form effeminate, but also oppress it. They 'obombrent la poitrine de nos petits-maîtres, & les rendent autant de parterres ambulants.'[90] As the body is altered, it is dehumanisied and the line dividing the human person from the natural world is blurred. We have seen *petit-maîtres* tranform themselves into animals. Here, vegetation becomes the essence of the person and takes primacy over them. The character is not an *individu fleuri*, where the flowers consitute a superificial adornment. Rather he *is*

[86] Morag Martin, *Selling Beauty: Cosmetics, Commerce, and French Society 1750-1830* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), p. 83.
[87] Caraccioli, *Le Livre de quatre couleurs*, p. 46.
[88] Ibid.
[89] Ibid.
[90] Ibid., p. 48.

a *parterre* who happens, in walking, to demonstrate a human behaviour. While bouquets might overcome their carriers, wearing them down and subsuming their person, elsewhere in the work, we see the *petit-maître*'s body so subjected to fashion and the whims of a novelty-driven society that it starts to dissipate. The *Chevalier de Muscoloris* – whose name means mouse-colour – dies chasing a butterfly 'qui voltigeoit de fleurs en fleurs.'[91] The bland figure aspires to attain the butterfly's state. Eventually he possesses the same delicacy as the creature with which he is fascinated, and falls 'comme un jeune jasmin que le vent deracine.'[92] The ultimate metamorphosis is found in the effacement of the body, its 'dematerialisation'[93] and its full participation in the transience of the fashions to which it is subjected.

Appearances, then, are not incidental or powerless for Caraccioli. In satirising the characters who submit to fashion's rule over them, and in exaggerating their fixation, the author nevertheless confirms its importance. As for many of his contemporaries, for Caraccioli clothing has both figurative and physical power to bestow significance, or to impart a certain identity, upon its bearer. The chromatic works expose the power of fashion, and implicitly caution against founding one's outward image upon that which is transient, but they are significantly *not* a repudiation of the view that identity is constituted in and communicated through surface appearance. On the contrary. Clothing has a communicative force which is operative, and which has the propensity to rebound onto the body and to alter it irrevocably. If surface appearance has the power not just to alter external perceptions but also an interior reality of some description, how might this be applied to the coloured books themselves and to their function?

[91] Ibid., p. 89.
[92] Ibid.
[93] Caraccioli, *Le Livre à la mode* (vert), p. 17.

III. Colourful Communication

In 2005, a new edition of all three of Caraccioli's coloured texts was published, together with an introduction and annotations by French scholar, Anne Richardot.[94] This was the first such re-print in over three hundred years, and much of the collection is commendable. Richardot's insightful introductory analysis, in particular, has proved foundational for the research of this chapter and will continue to inform its arguments. However, while the edition itself is welcome, its form and elements of its content are lacking. *Le Livre à la mode* (vert) and *Le Livre à la mode* (rose) are both reproduced faithfully in green and pink ink respectively. *Le Livre de quatre couleurs*, in contrast, is printed in just two. The original shades of red, green, yellow, and brown are replaced with just blue and pink once more. What is more, its title has been transformed into *Le Livre des quatre couleurs*. This is unfortunate not least, as Nathalie Ferrand has also remarked, because there are more than four colours in the spectrum.[95] Finally, the concluding pages of the text – containing notably the Testament of the *Chevalier de Muscoloris* and subsequent exposition of *l'Ordre de la Frivolité* – have been omitted. Ferrand again laments this. It is, she argues, 'comme si finalement peu importait le texte puisque l'auteur a joué du sémantisme de l'objet et de sa matière, et que donc le texte peut passer sans grand dommage au second plan.'[96] Since both the material object and the text have been fundamentally altered here, it seems that both have in fact been relegated to the background; any semantic value of form or of content has therefore been compromised. For Ferrand, the distortions oblige the reader to return to the original copies, and to the matter itself – both ink and word.[97] Such a return to the source is, of course, no bad thing. This chapter will continue to engage with original copies of the texts. The 2005 alterations do, however, raise important questions about

[94] Caraccioli, *Le Livre à la mode suivi du Livre des quatre couleurs*, ed. by Anne Richardot (Saint-Étienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne, 2005).
[95] Nathalie Ferrand, 'La Matière de la littérature: les narrations polychromes de Louis-Antoine Caraccioli', *Aux limites de l'imitation. L'ut pictura poesis à l'épreuve de la matière (XVI^e^-XVIII^e^ siècles)* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 155-167, (p. 156).
[96] Ibid.
[97] Ibid.

the relationship of colour to content in the works, and so provide a useful point of departure for the final section of this chapter.

We have seen that in his coloured works, Caraccioli seeks to express a truth 'by means of smiling', and that this 'smile' might refer at once to the ludic tone of the three texts and to their amusing appearance – the coloured ink thus becomes a means of expression. In society, clothing has communicative power and exerts an influence over the body. If we consider coloured ink to be a kind of garment worn by the book, how might it relate to, communicate, and potentially alter the textual body? And are the specific colours used instrumental, or incidental?[98] To begin to answer these, we must first briefly consider colour in its historical context.

III.i 'Une oasis colorée'

Historian Michel Pastoureau begins his study on the history of colours and colour words with the reflection that all description or notation of colour is both cultural and ideological: 'Le fait même de mentionner ou de ne pas mentionner la couleur d'un objet est un choix fortement signifiant, reflétant des enjeux économiques, politiques, sociaux ou symboliques s'inscrivant dans un contexte précis.'[99] The specific colours used or those attributed to objects described in the two *Livres à la mode* and *Le Livre de quatre couleurs* are significant, but so too is the fact that colour, or colours, are even mentioned at all. Colourfulness inscribes these works in a particular cultural context – first, and most broadly, that of the eighteenth century. Studies such as the recent journal issue of *Dix-Huitième siècle* entitled *La couleur des Lumières* have argued that the profusion of colour and the colourful is inherent to eighteenth-century culture. For editors Aurélia Gaillard and Catherine

[98] This final question is important, not least because as I write this chapter, and as you read it, citations from the original texts will almost certainly not appear in any colour other than black. Does this mean any comment or criticism included here is necessarily based on erroneous information, with quotations as unfaithfully reproduced as if they were littered with typographical errors or word substitutions?
[99] Michel Pastoureau, *Noir: Histoire d'une couleur* (Paris: Seuil, 2008), p. 15.

Lanoë, echoing Pastoureau's study of colour, 'le siècle des Lumières est "une oasis" ou une "parenthèse colorée."'[100] Colour is everywhere, and perhaps most especially in the consumer culture which characterises social elites – and in which light Caraccioli's tales of the fashionable *femme céleste* and the *petit-maître* must be read.

If eighteenth-century material culture shows proclivity towards the colourful, in the era's scientific exploration this tendency is equally all-encompassing. Investigations into colour production saw a marriage of the two. Academic studies of colour – its physics and its chemistry – were applied to practical ends, and the quest for new understandings of the operation of colour and its uses embraced all spheres of society.[101] In art and literature, in the natural sciences, and even in music, thinkers experimented with colour, proposed explanations of it, and established ways to put it at the service of cultural advancement.[102] Caraccioli participates in this wave of colour-mania, proclaiming himself a new Isaac Newton in the dedicatory epistle to *Le Livre à la mode* (vert): 'ce livre pourra parier avec celui de Newton: que dis-je! Il ira plus loin, il [l']effacera.'[103] The book which Caraccioli claims will be effaced by his own, is the *Opticks* – Newton's major study of light and colour, published first in English in 1704 and translated into French in 1722. It sparked a revolution in colour theory which, while initially controversial, by the mid-century had become the

[100] Aurélia Gaillard, Catherine Lanoë eds., 'Couleur(s) sur les Lumières', *Dix-huitième siècle*, 51 (2019), 13-29, p. 15.
[101] For a comprehensive study of colour in the eighteenth century, see: Sarah Lowengard, 'Cultures of Sciences, Cultures of Technology', *The Creation of Colour in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), <http://www.gutenberg-e.org/lowengard/print.html> [Accessed 20th March 2021]
[102] I am thinking here of a number of phenomena unique in many ways to the eighteenth century. In 1725, for example, Louis-Bertrand Castel, a Jesuit priest, published his proposal for a *clavecin pour les yeux*. The ocular harpsichord would create 'music for the eyes'; when each key was pressed, light would shine through a different shade of stained glass, creating a synaesthetic impression of 'seeing' the diachronic scale. See: Rosalind Holmes Duffy, 'Ocular harpsichord: colour-sound analogy at large in the Enlightenment' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 2018). Later in the century, in 1784, Bernardin de Saint-Pierre published *Les Études de la nature*, in which he expounds his own colour theory, distinct from that of Newton, which postulated the origin of colour in the uniting of scientific, moral, and aesthetic reflection. See: Marco Menin, 'La philosophie des couleurs de Bernardin de Saint-Pierre', *Dix-huitième siècle*, 51 (2019), 127-140.
[103] Caraccioli, *Le Livre à la mode* (vert), p. vii-viii.

accepted model due in part to the popularity of Voltaire's *Éléments de la philosophie de Newton* (1738).[104] Caraccioli is posturing once again. Of course his work will not replace that of Newton's. In another instance of audacious self-fashioning, the author pits himself against an influential figure, not discarding him in this case, but claiming ironically to outdo him. This self-aggrandisement is echoed in *Le Livre de quatre couleurs*, which claims not to replace *le Dictionnaire Encyclopédique,* 'mais il courra plus vîte.'[105] While Caraccioli's self-comparison with Newton must be read ironically, it nevertheless reveals something of the author's project. The texts might be considered a quasi-scientific experiment, after the fashion of Newton, interrogating the nature and function of the colourful.

Scholars are in agreement that the appearance of these works is significant. However, little has been said about the role played in the texts by the particular colours themselves. Richardot broaches the question, only to warn of the danger of reading too much into 'le sémantisme de ces couleurs [rose et vert], ou d'autres.'[106] The reader, she argues, should be 'très prudent' and must not 'surinterpréter le choix, ludique et polychrome, de l'auteur.'[107] Ferrand, on the other hand, does not deny that the exact colours used are significant but concedes that 'suivre Caraccioli dans son "symbolisme" des couleurs est ardu.'[108] It is true that the vast, often chaotic, and sometimes contradictory associations which the author draws between colours and various objects or characters lack clarity. This diffuseness is not unique to Caraccioli, however. It reflects wider issues relating to colour and the study of thereof, evident first in its ineffability.

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[104] Newton's colour theory stood in contrast to the cartesian model which hypothesised the existence of a *plenum*, a substance which permeates all matter. From this concept of a 'full' universe came Descartes' theory that transmission of light was akin to a transfer of energy, rather than a transport of individual bodies or particles. Newton, on the other hand, dismissed this theory of light, proving instead that from every light source there emanate particles. When passed through a prism, these particles are refracted, and white light is split into the colour spectrum. See: Abdelhamid Ibrahim Sabra, *Theories of Light from Descartes to Newton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).
[105] Caraccioli, *Le Livre de quatre couleurs*, p. i.
[106] Richardot, p. 19.
[107] Ibid.
[108] Ferrand, p. 159.

A well-known thought experiment demonstrates the problems it poses for language. It is difficult to describe a shade without using its name. Even more challenging is describing a colour without employing any colour words at all. When we seek to articulate colour experiences, we encounter a limitation. To overcome this, colours are often attributed meaning. Red, for example, is frequently said to connote love. However, the shade can also be symbolic of anger, or violence. These associations all make sense, when we consider instances of 'redness' in the observable world. These contradictory emotions could also be united under one – passion, which for many is associated with the same colour. Certain allusions concerning pigments seem to make sense. Others, however, are arbitrary. Let us take the same example, but transpose it from emotion to the political sphere. During election season in the United Kingdom, Labour politicians and their supporters may wear red ties, or other garments, displaying their affiliation to the Left. Across the Atlantic, however, red is not the colour of the Democrats, but rather the Republicans and, therefore, the political Right. Neither of these associations is anchored in something concrete or observable in nature. They are simply cultural. In many instances, then, colour association oscillates between sense and the senseless.

It is in light of linguistic and associative contingency that we must read and understand Caraccioli's colour symbolism. Much of *Le Livre à la mode* (vert) is devoted to creating a system wherein multiple significations are attributed to each colour. These significations are separated into broad categories. In the first instance, to cater for readers' appetite for novelty, Caraccioli outlines his plans for an entire series of multicoloured publications:

> je travaille maintenant à donner régulièrement tous les mois *le Journal à la mode*, & […] chaque Journal aura sa couleur particulière. Janvier en noir, Février en brun, Mars en gris, Avril en verd, Mai en lilas, Juin en ponceau, Juillet en cramoisy, Août en bleu, Septembre en violet, Octobre en jaune, Novembre en moire dorée, & Décembre en feuille-morte.[109]

[109] Ibid., pp. xxvii-xxvii.

The colours chosen here are logical. Dark shades are attributed to months in the depths of Winter, while Spring and Summer are represented by the bright hues which feature in nature during those times.

Having first proposed the *Journal à la mode*, Caraccioli then suggests that books be attributed shades according to their genre:

> On dit des Livres bleus, & ce sont les contes; on dit un Livre rouge, & c'est un Grimoire, où l'on suppose les mauvaises actions inscrites; on dit une Bibliothèque jaune, & cela signifie des Ouvrages défendus.[110]

He builds upon pre-existing connotations exemplified in the *Bibliothèque Bleue* – an editorial format, invented by the Oudot printing family in Troyes which saw cheap books, printed in large quantities, peddled throughout towns and country villages with rough blue paper covers.[111] Roger Chartier's study of this textual form reveals the extent of its popularity, which was imitated throughout Europe.[112] In referencing the collection, whose corpus was diverse and encompassed religious works, fictional texts, and craft manuals,[113] Caraccioli appropriates a well-established format and leans his own commercial strategy upon it: 'Pourquoi ne diroit-on pas un livre verd? & ceci voudra dire des productions à la mode.'[114] In contrast to his competitive self-comparison with Newton and the *Encyclopédistes*, in referencing the *Bibliothèque Bleue* Caraccioli does not claim to efface his model, but rather supplements it. The same might be said for the broadening range of each colour's symbolism. That the 'green' of fashionable publications might also be the colour of 'April' need not matter. As in any colour system, wherein associations are cumulative, any contradictions within Caraccioli are not necessarily eradicative. Just as 'red' can denote at once

[110] Caraccioli, *Le Livre à la mode* (vert), p. xx.
[111] Chapter VII of Chartier, *Lectures et Lecteurs dans la France d'Ancien régime* (Paris: Seuil, 1987), pp. 247-271.
[112] Chartier gives the examples of English chapbooks, which were printed in their hundreds of thousands. 'En 1664, par example, un libraire londonien, Charles Tias, en a en magazine près de 100,000 exemplaires, ce qui répresente un exemplaire pour une famille anglaise sur quinze', p. 247.
[113] Chartier, p. 249.
[114] Ibid.

love, and anger, Left and Right, so too overlap here should be taken as both-and, rather than either-or.

Elsewhere, colours are used to communicate not books, but rather specific characters within them:

> On écrira toujours les Financiers en lettres d'or, pour les designer d'avantage; les jolies femmes en couleur de rose; les vieilles, en couleur de souci; les Prélats, en violet; les Prêtres & les Moines, en brun; les Courtisanes, en jaune; les Militaires, en rouge; les Ministres, en gros bleu; les Auteurs, en verd.[115]

Little explanation is needed to grasp why financiers might be represented by gold, or clerics in the brown of a monastic habit. The choice of colours here is not random. Caraccioli plays on stereotypes, categorising individuals first by their profession before reducing them to a shade of ink. Depiction begins to take primacy over description. The expressive power of the visual to convey an identity is further highlighted as Caraccioli proposes that texts portray their authors. Black ink is reserved 'aux Prêtres qui écrivent' like 'le cramoisi aux Souverains, le bleu aux Ministres, le jaune aux Financiers, [et] le verd à tout le monde.'[116] Caraccioli proposes this breakdown because 'il est à propos qu'un Livre annonce par quelque marque distinctive, son Auteur.'[117] Such a distinction 'ne peut avoir lieu que moyennant les couleurs.'[118] Language is now insufficient. An author's name may well indicate his social standing, as we saw in Chapter I, but it is only through image that his nature may be fully apprehended.

For the most part, there is a difference between the colours Caraccioli references notionally, and the ink in which the words are printed. Up until this point, our engagement has been with the author's notional colours. When Caraccioli writes in *Le Livre à la mode* (vert) 'la couleur de rose est une couleur libertine'[119], the word 'rose' is printed in green ink. It's rose-ness remains notional,

[115] Ibid., p. 58.
[116] Ibid., pp. 77-78.
[117] Ibid., p. 77.
[118] Ibid.
[119] Ibid., p. 2.

indicative only of an absent or distant concept, but not actualised in the text. In contrast, when the author writes, 'il n'y a point de couleur […] plus amie des yeux que la couleur verte,'[120] in the same book, the subject itself is materially, tangibly present: the word 'verte' is expressed by a visual 'greenness.' Notional colour associations are varied and cumulative for Caraccioli. Can the same be said for the colours which are physically used?

In *Le Livre à la mode* (vert), Caraccioli proposes a method for teaching children to read, whereby 'ils connoîroient la langue par les couleurs.'[121] In this technique, the colour of the word on the page would correspond with that of the object it signifies. For example, 'le mot *cerise* [serait] toujours écrit en rouge, & celui d'*Orange*, toujours en jaune.'[122] In this way, children would learn to make a visual association between the red and orange fruits which they consume, and the red and yellow words on paper. Before deciphering letters and engaging with words as language, they would encounter words as images, and in reflecting reality in a visual way, the written word becomes illustrative. Caraccioli proposes this to 'éclairer le genre humain'[123] and to give instruction 'par le moyen des modes.'[124] Both in its phrasing and its reference to pedagogy, this phrase echoes the horatian epigraph to *Le Livre de quatre couleurs* which we saw earlier in this chapter. It also confirms its application. Words, when printed in colour, become pedagogical tools, operating as much through their appearance as through the intellectual concepts they express. How, then, do the coloured inks that Caraccioli employs function pedagogically? To answer this question, let us consider them in turn.

[120] Ibid., p. 1.
[121] Ibid., p. 59. The pedagogical setting here can be read as an additional layer of intertextual allusion to Horace.
[122] Ibid.
[123] Ibid.
[124] Ibid.

III.ii Green

For the narrator of *Le Livre à la mode* (vert), as we have seen, the colour green is 'la plus amie des yeux.'[125] It is as prevalent as it is pleasant, since 'la Providence a pris plaisir à la répandre sur toute la terre, de sorte que les arbres et les prairies n'ont point d'autre nuance.'[126] Spring 'ne nous enchante que parce qu'il ranime la verdure.'[127] There is a direct causal link between the season's loveliness and its luscious shades, which serve as a sign of new life: green is a symbol of hope and renewed vitality. The pastoral landscapes of England and Italy, apparently, 'ne ravissent l'œil du voyageur que parce qu'on y voit des jardins tout verts au mois de décembre et de janvier.'[128] In these months, where nature is typically dormant, evergreens are all the more pleasing to the eye. Fauna, too, owes its appeal to its tone. Peacocks, for instance, 'ne nous semblent merveilleux qu'à raison de leur queue, semée d'émeraudes.'[129] The repetition of restrictive 'ne… que' constructions lends each of these examples a hyperbolic quality. Green is of course not the only spring colour which evidences nature's reawakening. Nor is the appeal of the Italian or English countryside owed solely to the presence of evergreens (and winter greens are not unique to these landscapes). Peacock feathers are certainly impressive but can be considered so for many reasons.

Green reflects the natural world but is also linked to the correction of behaviour. The narrator recalls that: 'on guérissait autrefois, dans bien des pays, la fureur de faire des dettes par un bonnet vert.'[130] Here, an item of clothing becomes an explicit social marker. The wearer, like parrots or peacocks, stands out from his peers, bearing a visible sign of prior wrongdoing. Such public shaming would, it seems, have a moralising effect: 'quiconque s'en affublait était sûr de perdre tout

[125] Caraccioli, *Le Livre à la mode* (vert), p. 1.
[126] Ibid.
[127] Ibid., p. 2.
[128] Ibid.
[129] Ibid.
[130] Ibid., p. 3.

crédit et de ne pas trouver une obole à emprunter.'[131] The bonnet in this instance changes the disposition not of the wearer, but of the observer. Those subjected to the penalty may still seek to borrow money, however the green colour serves as a sign or a deterrent, altering the way they are perceived.

Though ostentatious, the green hat is a temporary castigation. Another penalty, evoked in *Le Livre à la mode* (vert), is more permanent. The narrator recounts the following cautionary tale:

> Tout le monde se souvient encore de ce fameux abbé qui, plongé dans une chaudière de teinture verte, devint un objet de curiosité dans tout Paris, et ne pensa plus à courtiser la teinturière dont il était idolâtre. Sa tête, qui semblait un chou, disons mieux, la tige de quelque tilleul, lui rappela toute la vie combien il est dangereux d'aller voir la femme de son voisin.[132]

In the tone of an urban legend, the narrator first asserts the renown of the story. The opening, 'tout le monde se souvient' is instantly reinforced by the adjective 'fameux.' Echoing the previous account, wherein the bonnet is reportedly used to correct debtors in 'bien des pays', commonality lends the narrative a hyperbolic authority. The punishment has a twofold effect on the wayward *abbé*. The vibrant tincture of his dyed skin is first an object of curiosity. Like the *femme céleste* and the *petit-maître*'s in the stories recounted previously, the *abbé*'s appearance attracts the gaze of others across the city. The narrator employs ludic similes to describe the effect of the dye, highlighting once again the proximity of association between the colour and the natural world. Unlike the green garments worn by the *petit-maître*, green skin dye will never become fashionable, and the clergyman is deterred from promiscuity for the remainder of his life. The effects of the punishment, in stark contrast to those of fashionable garments, are enduring. You can cast off clothes, but you cannot change your skin.

[131] Ibid., pp. 3-4.
[132] Ibid., p. 4.

Both in the natural world, and in the life of society, the colour green conveys a message. This message is at first appealing; the spectator is drawn in, attracted by the shade which corresponds to the beauty of the natural world. As a colour, however, green possesses a corrective force which functions in three ways. First, the shade represents a metaphorical calling back to nature. The punished person is pushed towards virtuous behaviour as a result of being made to alter their appearance. In the second instance, the colour is illustrative – the bonnet and skin dye both tell the story of a person's prior behaviour not through words but through image. The truth of a person's character is thus revealed through their appearance. As a result, the shade is instrumental – it can effect a change in the way people are perceived, and can alter the behaviour both of the observers and the wearers. These fictional tales are cautionary, and their evocation of colour is by no means arbitrary. It points towards the pedagogical operation of the text. Just as children learning to read might be presented with associative word-images, so too the reader of the green text will come to relate its pages to moral correction.

III.iii Pink

Le Livre à la mode (rose) presents an even more explicit instrumentalising of the text. For readers observing its pages, 'il n'y a pas moyen de s'empêcher de rire.'[133] The book gives rise to a spontaneous reaction which it is impossible to control. [134] Whereas green's agency fell in the domain of moral correction, pink operates in, and gives rise to, levity. The colour is widely associated in eighteenth-century French thought with amusement, and also with beauty. References to the shade in literature frequently evoke the gallant ideals of tenderness and delicacy.[135] This is reflected in *Le Livre à la mode* (rose), which associates the colour with with charm:

[133] Caraccioli, *Le Livre à la mode* (rose), p. xi.
[134] See:Ferrand, p. 162.
[135] Kim Gladu, 'Le style "couleur de rose" de Marguerite de Lubert', *Dix-Huitième siècle*, 51 (2019), 289-304, (p. 290).

> L'on doit savoir que dans le monde il y a des imaginations couleur de rose, c'est-à-dire des imaginations qui voient tout aimable, tout charmant, des imaginations qui savent se feindre les objets les plus enchanteurs et qui, comme les abeilles et les papillons, ne se reposent jamais que sur des arbres et des fleurs.[136]

Kim Gladu links the parallel drawn by Caraccioli between '[les] imaginations de couleur de rose' and 'le butinage des abeilles et des papillons'[137] to 'le caractère ephémère associé à l'esthétique rococo.'[138] Pink, though gentle and charming, has none of the qualities of durability attributed to green; it is associated with transience, and therefore with the fashionable. Pink is fleeting, we observed this earlier in the urgency expressed by the narrator on behalf of the near-outmoded text. Its ephemerality is also evidenced by the fact that pink is not associated here with the concrete or the physical – as green is used to describe tangible natural beings, flora and fauna – but rather with the intangible, abstract imagination. 'Des imaginations de couleur de rose' are not themselves bees and butterflies, but instead merely resemble them in their flitting from object to object. Furthermore, these imaginings are 'feints.' Detached from the physical world, they present a distorted reflection of reality. A similar metaphor endures– if a person is said to view or remember a situation through 'rose tinted glasses', his perception or recollection is distorted. He does not engage directly with reality, but rather seeks in some way to craft reality according to his own conscious or unconscious desires.[139]

As a subjective apprehension of the world, pink indicates error or falsehood. This representation is reinforced by the prevalence of the shade in references to the eighteenth-century phenomenon

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136 Caraccioli, *Le Livre à la mode* (rose), p. xi.
137 Gladu, p. 297.
138 Ibid.
139 Bernard Quemada and Berndard Cerquiglini pinpoint the formal origin of the expression *voir la vie en rose* to 1955. See: Bernard Quemada and Bernard Cerquiglini, *Le Rose. Dictionnaire de la couleur. Mots et expressions d'aujourd'hui (XX^e-XXI^e siècles)* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2002). A variation of the idiom might be seen in the expression 'à l'eau de rose' denoting a sentimental, cloying style. It has been in use since at least 1795, when it appeared in Act II, Scene V of Charles-Pierre Ducanel's *L'intérieur des comités révolutionnaires, ou Les Aristides modernes comédie en trois actes et en prose par le citoyen.* The character of Aristide announces with irony: 'Nous serons en faveur du sensible M. Dufour des révolutions à l'eau de rose.' Caraccioli's association of rosy shades with saccharine, idealistic visions of the world can therefore be read as an example of a cultural precursor to the emergence of both idioms.

of *la toilette*. With no little irony, in *Le Livre de quatre couleurs*, Caraccioli describes at length the grooming rituals of fashionable *dames*:

> Il y a différentes sortes de Toilettes. Celles de cérémonie se font toujours en grondant, celles de voyage en fredonnant, celles de négligé en s'évanouissant, celles de galanterie en se pâmant, celles de dévotion en tempêtant, celles de campagne en lisant. C'est l'art du grand monde, que celui de se modifier selon les lieux & les circonstances, & de savoir les moments où l'on doit rire & où l'on doit se fâcher, où l'on doit froncer le sourcil & clignoter des yeux.[140]

Just as those with rosy imaginations alter, or 'fashion', the world around them through misperception, at the *toilette*, women modify their behaviour, developing a rehearsed personality according to what will incite the most desirable reaction from their peers. The *toilette* as a process is devoid of naturalness or spontaneity. All manners are rehearsed according to what is appropriate, or perhaps what is fashionable. It is a display of artifice, and which concerns not only a woman's personality, but also her appearance. 'Il faut encore qu'une femme du bel air connoisse l'optique, afin de prévoir, pendant sa Toilette, l'impression que les couleurs de son visage pourront faire sur un jeune homme de vingt ans à une certaine distance.'[141] At the *toilette*, the women make colour the instrument of attraction. Their made-up faces, crafted through intricate knowledge and manipulation of shades, 'impress' observers in the most literal sense of the term. Ferrand alludes to the double meaning of *impression* in Caraccioli, which can denote at once the physical impression of the words upon the page, and '[l'impression] que le livre produit sur les lecteurs.'[142] The face of woman at her *toilette* here becomes a metaphor for the book.

The vocabulary of pleasure, of enticement, and of artistry, in addition to the colour of these works – most notably that of *Le Livre à la mode* (rose) – inscribes Caraccioli's series within the heritage of the seventeenth-century debate between the *dessin* and the *coloris*, otherwise known as the quarrel of the Poussinists and the Rubenists. The conflict emerged in 1662 when the author of *L'Idée de la perfection de la peinture*, Roland Fréart de Chambray (1606-1676), denounced the decadence and

[140] Caraccioli, *Le Livre de quatre couleurs,* p. 36.
[141] Ibid.
[142] Ferrand, p. 157.

corruption of art. In his short polemic text, Fréart de Chambray accused colourists, or Rubenists, of tarnishing the artist's noble craft. Painting sullies line drawing, he argues, and painters are guilty of taking 'une nouvelle Maistresse, coquette & badine, qui ne leur demande que du fard & des couleurs pour agréer à la première rencontre, sans se soucier si elle plaira long temps.'[143] The mistress dazzles onlookers momentarily. By 'pleasing at the first encounter', she seduces. Likened to make-up, colour in painting arouses an illicit pleasure, one which is founded not in authenticity, but rather artifice, and what is more, one which because of its immediacy, is also ephemeral. For proponents of *dessin*, the use of colour in art was said to transgress limits of propriety in representation, drawing the observing subject into an unrestrained pursuit of pleasure.[144] Colour, with all of its material instability or contingency also figuratively represents moral dissipation.

The narrator of *Le Livre à la mode* (rose) seeks to '*peindre* les aventures qui se passent aux Toilettes' (my emphasis).[145] So, the reader becomes a spectator. Jacqueline Lichtenstein in *La Couleur éloquente*, observes that the pleasure incited by the seductive beauty of pictorial colouring 'excède la sphère des discursivités.'[146] Colour may be eloquent, but it evades verbal expression. The primacy of the image over the spoken or written word is central to Caraccioli's endeavour to please his readers, and the lexical field of the coloured series demonstrates this. The verb 'voir' appears significantly more frequently in these works than 'lire.' Furthermore, when reading is mentioned, it is not described as an engaging activity. Women might read Newton and Pascal, for example, but only in order to 's'endormir.'[147] In *Le Livre à la mode* (vert), some women 'n'ont pas le temps de lire.'[148] And in the closing pages of *Le Livre de quatre couleurs*, which contain the 'Testament [du] […] Grand

[143] Roland Fréart de Chambray, *Idée de la perfection de la peinture démontrée par les principes de l'art* (Le Mans, 1662), p. xvi.
[144] Jacqueline Lichtenstein, *La couleur éloquente: Rhétorique et peinture à l'âge classique* (Paris: Flammarion, 1989), p. 210.
[145] Caraccioli, *Le Livre à la mode* (rose), p. 30.
[146] Ibid.
[147] Ibid., p. 13.
[148] Caraccioli, *Le Livre à la mode* (vert), p. xviii.

Petit-Maître de l'Ordre de la Frivolité', the 'Chevaliers de l'Ordre' read only because 'ils sont obligés [de le faire]'[149]; even then, they read only insubstantial 'brochures.' Rather than grappling intellectually with works, the readers described here seek visual appeal. The text becomes an artwork, since 'les pensées ne peuvent plaire que lorsqu'elles s'annoncent d'une manière réjouissante.'[150] So, Caraccioli, who '[ne cherche] qu'à plaire & à amuser,'[151] turns the book into a predominantly visual ornament to be displayed, rather than read.

The book takes ornamentation a step further and incorporates it into the readers' own self-display. We have already seen Caraccioli employ the discarded book topos in his prefaces. It recurs in *Le Livre à la mode* (rose), which offers a suggestion as to how the text might be recycled:

> Peut-être qu'en pulvérisant celui-ci, & qu'en le tamisant, il formeroit quelque poudre rougeâtre, propre à nettoyer les dents, ou à émailler les cheveux ; car c'est encore un art qui nous manque, que celui de peindre la chevelure en couleurs vives & durables.[152]

Caraccioli reveals a central facet of the colour pink, and its significance in this text. Of all the visible signs of *coloris'* seduction, and debauchery, as identified by the *dessins*, *fard* is the most prominent. It is 'l'artifice qui s'affirme et s'affiche comme tel, un ornement dont l'unique fonction est de se donner à voir, un maquillage prenant plaisir à se montrer.'[153] *Fard* in French has two senses – make-up in general, and the red of powdered blush in particular. In likening his text to both, Caraccioli aligns his text wholly with artifice and deception. His text may not ever physically become make-up, but it is itself 'made-up', ornamented, and adorned.

Considering painting, Lichtenstein observes that 'lorsque sur un tableau l'ornement se transforme en fard, c'est la peinture qui devient femme.'[154] If the printed book, as we have seen, in Caraccioli

[149] Caraccioli, *Le Livre de quatre couleurs*, p. 85.
[150] Caraccioli, *Le Livre à la mode* (vert), p. xiii.
[151] Caraccioli, *Le Livre à la mode* (rose), p. xxxi.
[152] Ibid., p. 8.
[153] Lichtenstein, p. 204.
[154] Ibid., p. 205.

is likened to a painting, and if painting is said to metaphorically 'become' a woman through the use of colour, then the coloured book is personified. We considered one aspect of this personification at the start of the chapter, reading the pink text as a fashionable dress. Now, it is possible to go one step further. By printing in colour, the author depicts his readers. The pleasure which the shade arouses is one not of fascination with a passing beauty or striking mistress: it is reflexive. *Petits-maîtres* and *petites-maîtresses* are seduced by *fard*, but this *fard* is their own.

IV. Mirrors and Magic Lanterns

A large portion of the *Livre à la mode* (rose) is devoted to a 'conversation à la mode'[155] conducted between a marquise, a count, a knight, and a baron. This diffuse and wide-ranging discussion deals with frivolous, mundane topics, from ribbons and hairstyles, to spectacles and fairs. Towards the end, the knight extols the pleasures of Parisian life. Among the primary delights of the city, he claims, is the fact that: 'Mille glaces [le] reproduisent de toutes parts, et multiplient [sa] volupté en multipliant [sa] personne.'[156] For this, wholly worldly, character, the greatest joy is found in his own image. The sheer quantity of mirrors in the city means that the reflections cast are not static, and nor are they passive. The knight's thousand likenesses are operative: they actively 'multiplient [sa] volupté.' In *Le Livre à la mode* (rose), then, impression – of ink onto paper, or of the book on its readers – becomes a reflective expression of the readers themselves.

Readers of these texts want to see themselves, but also desire to 'tout voir dans une lanterne magique.'[157] This projection device, most likely invented by Dutch scientist Christiaan Huygens, was developed in the 1660s and subsequently became a feature of Baroque culture. Widely considered an ancestor of cinema, the optical instrument mediated between educated, popular and

[155] Caraccioli, *Livre à la mode* (rose), p. 28.
[156] Ibid., p. 68.
[157] Ibid., p. xxix.

courtly cultures, as well as serving a pedagogical function in scientific lectures, for example.[158] The lantern would operate by means of candlelight which would shine through a slide and be intensified by a concave mirror. This light would subsequently pass through a tube containing two convex lenses which served to magnify the picture painted on the slide, projecting it onto a wall or other flat surface. That the lantern remained a great curiosity in the eighteenth century, so fascinated by optics, is unsurprising. What does it mean, however, for Caraccioli to compare his books, or what his readers desire from books, to this device?

The seventeenth-century courts were fascinated by the emerging trend for visual projection.[159] The magic lantern, a novelty in itself, quickly became the vector for courtly games. Visiting entertainers would project illusory images which would enthral audiences, simulating and dissimulating reality before their eyes. Jesuit priest and polymath Athanasius Kircher (1602-80) made a catoptrical device which reflected the body of the spectator, with his head replaced by that of an animal.[160] The spectator, faced with his distorted likeness, would be at once amused and horrified. Through presenting the uncanny, the device held up a mirror to the audience, but one with a critical reflection. [161] A moral message would be conveyed to the courtier 'who could not distinguish his mask from his real face.'[162] Introducing an element of the grotesque into the mimetic process, the light display here communicates a sombre message, cautioning against the dangers of an inauthentic life. Kircher first imbues an apparently trivial, novel amusement with moralising power.

Unlike Paris' thousand mirrors which reflect their subject uncritically, however, the magic lantern contains a lesson. And, like the grotesque chimera projected to seventeenth-century courtiers, Caraccioli's coloured works employ a play of light to enthrall and correct their audience. If the

[158] Koen Vermeir, 'The magic of the magic lantern (1660-1700): on analogical demonstration and the visualisation of the invisible', *The British Journal for the History of Science*, 38 (2005), 127-159, (p. 128).
[159] Ibid., p. 136.
[160] Ibid.
[161] Ibid.
[162] Ibid.

magic lantern operates at a juncture between the scientific and the entertaining, so can fashion. Indeed, 'la science des modes est inépuisable.' At the heart of this science is the operation of light. Caraccioli's worldly readers do not find pleasure solely in their own reflection. The knight, so enamoured with his voluptuous likenesses, also lauds Paris for its abundance of fireplaces. Among the pleasures he enjoys the most is 'un feu qui ne s'étei[nt] jamais, une brochure semée de mots brillants.'[163] The hearth glows, just as the words in the *brochure* are illuminated. Here, the parallels between the text and the lantern go further. Just as the magic lantern operates through the exploitation of a candle flame, so too the coloured works can be said to function through light. Ferrand argues this in highlighting that 'la couleur d'un livre au XVIII[e] siècle, c'est d'abord le noir, c'est-à-dire […] l'absence de lumière.'[164] By printing in colour, Caraccioli shines light into his text, passing its ink through a prism, to reveal a radiant spectrum.[165]

As in the case of Caraccioli, moral instruction is latent in Kircher's display. Spectators would be expected to see themselves and be spurred to change. The process of moral didacticism is, in this case, reflexive. A similar strategy is at play in Caraccioli's chromatic works, and can be understood in re-evoking the author's adaptation of Horatian didacticism with which this chapter began. In producing three chromatic works, Caraccioli aims explicitly to 'speak the truth by means of smiling.' Up until now, we have read this 'smile' either as the work's levity in general or its use of colour in particular, a reading which is supported by the author's stated aim, to 'éclairer le genre humain'[166] and to give instruction 'par le moyen des modes.' The book, being colourful, is fashionable. But later we learn that it is fashionable insofar as it is a mirror image of the reader. Caraccioli does, then, speak the truth, but he does so by means of his readers who have become themselves the instrument of their own didacticism.

[163] Caraccioli, *Le Livre à la mode* (rose), p. 60.
[164] Ferrand, p. 157.
[165] Ibid.
[166] Ibid.

Conclusion

The relationship of fashion to self-fashioning for Caraccioli is multifaceted. In the first instance, the author's use of coloured ink seems simply to be a marketing strategy. Like the alluring 'affiche' which we saw at the beginning of Chapter II, the two *Livres à la mode* and *Le Livre de quatre couleurs* are 'fashioned' to catch buyers' eyes. The books' novel format is ludic, certainly. The whimsy of their title pages displays this at first glance however a deeper consideration of the works' format reveals a more considered strategy at play. In evoking and dismissing Horace in the epigraph to *Le Livre de quatre couleurs*, Caraccioli provides readers with the first key to interpreting colours' import as an operative component of the text, rather than merely as a superficial veneer. This relies first upon a view of superficial adornments in general being constitutive of a person's deeper self-identity. In Caraccioli's writings, as in various other eighteenth-century texts, clothing is said to effect a change in a person's being, expressed in and through their body. There is danger, for the author, in self-fashioning according to passing trends which leads either to the erasure of individuality or, in the case of the *petit-maître*, to complete self-effacement. In perceiving the power of the fashionable to operate a change, Caraccioli does not repudiate it but rather appropriates and adopts it to serve his own ends. He caters to readers' desires and presents a text which mirrors them. In the case of the pink book especially, the work is dressed and made up. The pink text will inevitably 'faire rire' (or at least 'faire sourire') as a result of this appearance. This 'smile' serves a second function. When reading the text, and therefore seeing themselves in the 'mirror', readers would be *éclairés*, both figuratively and, faced with a bright spectrum, literally. Like spectators attending a magic lantern show, faced with themselves they see the truth of who they are and, as a result, are spurred to a process of virtuous self-fashioning. To explore what this might entail for

Caraccioli, it is useful to take an 'inward turn' with him, and to consider the various loci of self-fashioning present, according to the author, in the mind.

Chapter IV

The Interior Life: Self-Cultivation as Self-Mentorship

Introduction

In 1759, Caraccioli published a manual for the formation of young noblemen. *Le Véritable mentor, ou l'éducation de la noblesse* draws extensively on his experience, both as a teacher at the Collège Oratorien de Vendôme, and as governor to the Polish prince Severin Rzewuski. The text – which was followed almost three decades later by *La vraie manière d'élever les princes destinés à régner* (1788) – is a pedagogical manifesto, or mirror for princes, in the tradition of Fénelon's *Aventures de Télémaque* (1699), from which it draws direct and explicit inspiration. The book opens with a challenge. Can a true 'Mentor' exist? Even 'Mr. de Fénélon [*sic*] lui-même crut devoir recourir aux Divinités pour donner un guide à son Télémaque.'[1] How can Caraccioli now, 'trouver des sages assez versés dans cet art?'[2]

The work, published over half a century after *Télémaque* and just three years before Rousseau's celebrated *Émile* (1762), is not the only one of its kind in mid eighteenth-century France. The period saw a proliferation of texts, fictional and non-fictional, depicting and theorising pedagogical relationships.[3] Many of the depicted pedagogues were capricious, perverse, or authoritarian.[4]

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[1] Caraccioli, *Le Véritable mentor ou l'éducation de la noblesse* (1759), seconde édition (Liège: J.F. Bassompierre, 1761), p. 1.
[2] Ibid, p. 2.
[3] This coincides with the expulsion of the Jesuits from France in 1764. Diane Brown compiled a select bibliography of educational treatises in the appendix of her thesis. [Diane Brown, 'Private Lessons: Mentors and the Anxiety of Education' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Harvard University, 2001).] She highlights 34 texts published between 1760 and 1770 which demonstrate a proliferation of the notion of mentorship. [pp. 248-249] In Chapter One, she references 1762 and 1763 as 'an intensified microcosm of the educational tensions, debates, and theories of much of the *ancien régime*', representing 'the apogee of the educational thought and concerns of the first half of the century', pp. 47-48. Caraccioli, writing in the run-up to this period, exemplifies the cultural imagination which culminates in a fixation on education and an interrogation of tutors' power in the mid to late century.
[4] Brown, p. 11. For further detailed portraits of eighteenth-century mentor-figures, see: Filisha Campbell Camara, 'The Voice of the Mentor and the Creation of the Self in the Eighteenth-Century French Novel

Images of severe mentor-figures, in their abundance, point for Brown to an equally profuse 'cultural anxiety' about pedagogical authority or the potential lack thereof.[5] Caraccioli's own concern in *Le Véritable mentor* is therefore not unique and, perhaps, not unfounded. A tutor holds great influence over his pupil, and in education, the stakes are high. Indeed, a wayward or neglectful mentor does not pose a risk solely to his student; the negative effects of an unsuccessful eduction can be wide reaching. In his 1769 *Salon*, for example, Diderot tells the tale of a young prince who, having taken hold of a painter's prized work, proceeds to destroy it. Scandalised by such malicious behaviour, the *philosophe* asks: 'Si ce prince, devenu souverain, fait le malheur de plusieurs millions d'hommes, est-ce à lui ou à son indigne gouverneur qu'il faut s'en prendre?'[6] Blame for the young prince's cruelty – which may well lead to more and worse atrocities when he becomes ruler – is not placed on the culprit, but rather on his educator.

The burden of pedagogical responsibility is a concern for Caraccioli to such an extent that in *Le Véritable mentor*, he focuses less on the education of young pupils, than, as the title suggests, on the requisite qualities of the mentor himself. He displays more hope than Fénelon; rather than portraying a divine guide – owing to the lack of worthy ones on earth – he instead makes the case for the existence of terrestrial 'ange[s] tutélaire[s]'[7] who would act as intermediaries. They would elevate their students, holding them 'dans la garde de Dieu.'[8] As the author crafts an image of this ideal mentor, he highlights a series of desirable virtues. Maximilian Gröne underlines the religious criterion: 'la piété', without which 'les bonnes mœurs sont équivoques, & la probité même douteuse.'[9] Nevertheless, and as Gröne demonstrates, 'le gouverneur idéal […] ne cède en rien à

from Fénelon to Sade' (unpublished doctoral thesis, New York University, 1985), Robert Granderoute, *Le roman pédagogique de Fénelon à Rousseau* (Paris: Slatkine, 1985), and Katherine Elliott Deimling, 'Teaching Vice: mentors and students in the eighteenth-century French novel' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Columbia University, 2001).

[5] Ibid.

[6] Denis Diderot, *Salon de 1769* in *Œuvres completes de Diderot*, 11, ed. by Jules Assézeat, Maurice Tourneux (Paris: [n.pub.], 1966), p. 425.

[7] Caraccioli, *Le Véritable mentor*, p. 4.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid., p. 40

la superstition'[10] but instead 's'avère un "Gouverneur éclairé.'"[11] A mentor, for Caraccioli, achieves balance, tempering the excesses of zeal, becoming 'pieux' rather than 'dévot.'[12] Above equilibrium, the most fundamental requirement does not lie in education or accomplishments, but rather in a prospective mentor's ability to 'descendre dans [son cœur] propre.'[13] To be 'véritable' he must already have performed the work required of his pupil; that is, he must have come to know and understand himself. Only after this might he perform his pedagogical role, for 'se connoître soi-même, c'est connoître les autres.'[14]

Through the image of descent into the heart, Caraccioli introduces the idea that self-fashioning is a reflexive process. In her study of the 'voice of the mentor' in eighteenth-century fiction, Filisha Campbell Camara comments on the 'uniqueness' of the mentor which 'stems from the portrayal of the figure as a product of his own introspection or self-scrutiny.'[15] The process of self-examination is not simple: self-mastery is, in the words of Martine Jacques, 'the achievement of a long, arduous lived experience – […] an agonising, but continuous process of self-scrutinization.'[16] In addition to Jacques, Maximilian Gröne and Stéphanie Géhanne Gavoty[17] have also conducted studies of Caraccioli's pedagogy, however little has been said about the precise role played by reflexivity and self-examination in his conception of self-fashioning. In a recent edition of *Coaching and Mentoring: Theory and Practice*, business scholars Bob Garvey and Paul Stokes recognise Caraccioli as one of the forerunners in modern mentor studies. They list the author alongside Fénelon and

[10] Maximilian Gröne, 'L'utilité d'un prince. Louis-Antoine Caraccioli entre Fénelon et Rousseau', p. 136.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Caraccioli, *Le Véritable mentor*, p. 44.
[13] Ibid, p. 3.
[14] Ibid., p. 1.
[15] Filisha Campbell Camara, 'The Voice of the Mentor and the Creation of Self in the Eighteenth-Century French Novel from Fénelon to Sade', p. 254.
[16] Martine Jacques, 'Vertus éducatives de l'apologétique selon L.-A. Caraccioli:éclairer l'homme, entre Grâce et Lumières', *Apologétique 1650-1802. La nature et la grâce*, ed. by Nicolas Brucker (Berne: Peter Lang, 2010), pp. 245-246.
[17] Stéphanie Géhanne Gavoty, 'Direction et éducation genrée dans *Les Lettres du pape Clément XIV* de Caraccioli', *Arts et Savoirs*, 13 (2020), <http://journals.openedition.org/aes/2611> [Accessed 11th March 2022]

Rousseau in their analysis of eighteenth-century texts, referencing the contemporaneous translation of the work into English – *The True Mentor, or an Essay on the Education of Young People* (1760). Caraccioli's 'staged and progressive mentoring model', they argue, passes from 'observation, to toleration, to reprimands, to correction, to friendship,'[18] before culminating in 'awareness': 'the main outcome of mentoring.'[19] This chapter seeks to build on this idea, and will argue that the awareness to which Garvey and Stokes refer is predominantly that of the self, proposing that in Caraccioli, self-fashioning – that is, the process by which a person cultivates their character and subsequently presents it to the world – can be considered an introspective 'self-mentoring'.

I. The Inward Turn

Reflexivity in Caraccioli can be likened to what Charles Taylor calls 'the inward turn.' In *Sources of the Self*, the philosopher pinpoints the origin of 'radical reflexivity' in Augustine of Hippo, whose notion of interiority is exemplified in the phrase: *Noli foras ire, in teipsum redi; in interiore homine habitat veritas.* ('Do not go outward; return within yourself. In the inward man dwells truth').[20] Interiority, for Saint Augustine, is expressed in terms of movement – a physical turning or folding inwards – and in this motion lies the key to knowledge of the self and, ultimately, the 'highest principle' or, God.[21] The turn is 'radical' for Taylor when a person becomes conscious of the primacy of their first-person perspective to the extent that they consider themselves to be the 'agent of experience.'

[18] Bob Garvey, Paul Stoakes, *Coaching and Mentoring: Theory and Practice* (SAGE Publications, 2021), no pagination.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self: The Making of Modern Identity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), p. 129. Taylor's evaluation of Augustinian interiority is not uncontested. Kerem Eksen questions the direct connection Taylor draws between the inward turn and self-reflexivity, arguing that his view is anachronistic. He proposes a new evaluation which determines the extent to which Augustine's theory 'breaks with ancient conceptions of "turn towards the self",' p. 131. For a detailed discussion of this, see: Kerem Eksen, '"Inward turn" and the Augustinian Self', *Diametros*, 25 (2010), 132-145.
[21] This in contrast, Taylor argues, to Platonic ways of knowing which place the focus on externally-perceptible objects, anchoring knowledge in the outward domain of the Ideas.

Such an agent perceives a fundamental difference between the way he experiences his own life, activities, thoughts, and feelings, and the way others view him from outside.[22] The centrality of subjectivity, and its positioning as the foundation of (self) knowledge provides a starting point for understanding Caraccioli's vision of the interior person. In *Le Véritable mentor*, the author instructs his readers to attend to themselves as inner beings before all else. In this way, he sees subjective experience as a means of understanding the world and perceiving truth – equated, both for Augustine and for Caraccioli, with an encounter with God, which we will explore later in this chapter.

Echoes of Augustine's 'inward turn' in Caraccioli are unsurprising. The seventeenth century had already sparked a revival of Augustinianism, as writers like Fénelon – in addition to Nicolas Malebranche and Pierre Nicole – developed a spirituality which, as Michael Moriarty has highlighted, 'drew sustenance from Augustine's combination of intellectual investigation with the quest for spiritual enlightenment.'[23] Charles Taylor has also demonstrated the influence of Augustinian interiority on Western thought, and notably its echoes in Descartes.[24] When we consider Caraccioli's eighteenth-century take on inwardness – as articulated in works like *Le Véritable mentor*, in addition (though not restricted) to the overtly reflexive *La Conversation avec soi-même* and *La Jouissance de soi-même* – we must begin by asking what kind of inward turn he takes. How should Caraccioli's mentor-figure 'attend to himself as inner'? Does the author simply bring forward an idea of interiority from the preceding century or is his conception of the inner self different? And finally, how does inwardness relate to the process of self-fashioning?

The first 'inward turn' a person must take, according to Caraccioli, is a retreat from the world. The promotion of retreat was a common trope in Christian discourse, with writers reacting strongly

[22] Charles Taylor, p. 131.
[23] Michael Moriarty, 'Augustinianism', *The Cambridge History of French Thought*, ed. by Michael Moriarty, Jeremy Jennings (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 135-140.
[24] See Chapter 8 of *Sources of the Self*, 'Descartes's Disengaged Reason', pp. 143-159.

against widespread scepticism towards enclosed forms of religious life in particular.[25] Caraccioli himself acknowledges the repulsion felt by his contemporaries towards isolation: 'On est si peu accoutumé à pratiquer son intérieur & à y faire des découvertes, qu'on commence toujours par s'étonner, quand on trouve quelqu'un seul: *Quoi! Vous êtes seul? Que faites vous seul?*'[26] Solitude, at least exteriorly, is a silent state. Disbelief that anyone could desire even momentary separation from society is expressed here through immediate and impassioned vocal interruption. Furthermore, the imagined interlocutor does not simply speak to his acquaintance, he asks questions which demand a response. Conversation and society are directly contrasted with, and considered a remedy for, silence and isolation.

Yet, Caraccioli contends that 'il n'y a point d'homme qui pendant ses premières années, où à la fuite de certains dégôuts, n'ait formé le plan de se construire un Hermitage.'[27] The author resists the idea that those who withdraw are anti-social oddities. Instead, he presents retreat as a universal desire. The rhetorical question might be read in part as a defence of Rousseau who, in 1756, famously retreated to the Hermitage in Montmorency, giving rise to criticism.[28] Diderot, for example, saw his withdrawal as a selfish refusal of societal duties, while others accused him of utter misanthropy. In this context, Caraccioli does not frame his notion of retreat as a rejection of society, but rather as a positive choice of an alternative. The key once again lies in motion. Stereotypes of the retreatant would often depict him as one who is repulsed – in the truest sense – by community. In Rousseau's case this could, arguably, be true. However the vocabulary of

[25] See Didier Masseau, 'L'idée et la pratique de la retraite dans le combat anti-philosophique', *Dix-huitième siècle*, 48 (2016), 41-56, (p. 41). On several occasions in *Le Dîner du comte de Boullainvilliers par Mr. De Sainte Hiacinte* (1728) Voltaire questions the motives of those who enter enclosed orders, and Diderot's portrayal of convent life in *La Religieuse* (c. 1780) paints a similarly dysfunctional picture.
[26] Caraccioli, *Conversation*, p. 217. Italics original.
[27] Caraccioli. *Jouissance*, p. 385.
[28] See the chapter entitled 'Only the Vicious Person Lives Alone. Social Duty and the Varieties of Solitude (ca. 1756-1778)', in Matthew D. Mendham, *Hypocrisy and the Philosophical Intentions of Rousseau* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2021).

temptation and seduction reveals Caraccioli's solitude to be a movement not away from something undesirable but instead towards something enticing.

Throughout this thesis, we have seen Caraccioli adopt and subvert a language of sensual pleasure in order to appeal to his readership. The association of seduction with spiritual retreat may seem incoherent, yet – as was the case of the pomegranate in Chapter III – the image has Biblical roots. In the book of Hosea, God is said to have lured his chosen people into the wilderness to convert them.[29] Such an allusion would not have been lost on Caraccioli's, largely Christian, readership. And elsewhere in later edition of *La Jouissance de soi-même*, the author adopts a similar language of pleasure, claiming that anchorites, for example, shut themselves off only 'pour jouir entièrement d'eux-mêmes et de Dieu.'[30] For Didier Masseau, this tone is indicative of Caraccioli's persuasive efforts vis-à-vis his 'worldly' readers; his argumentation is 'plus souple, […] et mieux adapté[e]' to the fashionable *dames* and *petits-maîtres* he targets. We have seen this strategy at play throughout this thesis.[31] Caraccioli can be said to be appealing to the pious and frivolous alike. However, the forward motion which is implied in 'séduction', teamed with the author's reference to a material 'ermitage' – rather than, say, isolation more generally – also points to the distinctly physical nature of solitude. It evokes a space set apart, in which a person is at no risk of interruption.

Le Véritable mentor does not, however, present an expectation of a physical renunciation of the world. On the contrary, a large portion of the work is dedicated to cultivating proper manners and engaging politely in society.[32] The mentor's role is, after all, the formation of princes or future statesmen. Nevertheless, Caraccioli does promote retreat as a physical disposition, and develops a

[29] Hosea 2.14. 'Therefore, behold, I will allure her, and bring her into the wilderness, and speak comfortably unto her.'
[30] Caraccioli, *La Jouissance de soi-même* nouvelle édition (Paris: Nyon, 1765), p. 429.
[31] Masseau, p. 47.
[32] For example, 'c'est un art de bien distinguer le ceremonial du monde, & cet art est necessaire.' Caraccioli, *Le Véritable mentor*, p. 143. Ceremonies described range from how to welcome visitors, and in turn be welcomed as a guest in another's home, to how to conduct oneself with dignity during a meal.

vision of the interior self which is spatial – that is, it is articulated as a relation to, and engagement with one's consciousness as a contained and delineated physical area. In order to understand what this actually consists in, and how retreat within both gives rise to pleasure and contributes to the process of self-recognition and self-fashioning, it is useful first to consider what exactly we find, and which spaces we occupy for Caraccioli, when we look inside.

II. The World Within

In *Le Véritable mentor*, Caraccioli compares the interior life to a world: 'Chaque jeune homme forme en soi […] un monde.'[33] The trope anchors Caraccioli's vision of the interior self in a centuries-long history of writers – moralists, philosophers, and spiritual writers alike – who imagined the human person as a world in miniature, a compendium of the universe. The metaphor, according to Louis van Delft, already at the end of the seventeenth-century 'touche à la fin de sa carrière.'[34] Reviving it in the mid-eighteenth century, Caraccioli is not just sightly outmoded; to a contemporary reader the image, and all it implies, would have anchored the author's work in an antiquated notion. The tradition to which this image harks back is, nevertheless, a dynamic one. In the seventeenth century, the trope was enriched by developments in the natural sciences, more particularly from elements of physics, astronomy, geography, and anatomy. As man's knowledge of the universe deepened, it was understood at once to be expansive – encompassing not one world, but multiple 'worlds' – and diverse, even fragmented. Van Delft writes of an *éclatement* wherein phenomena once considered unified became split into innumerable parts, each of these itself being infinitely complex. Just as scientists came to reject the traditional image of the universe

[33] Caraccioli, *Le Véritable mentor*, p. 2.
[34] Louis van Delft, *Spectateurs de la vie: généalogie du regard moraliste* (Saint-Nicolas: Presses Universitaires de Laval, 2005), p. 15 The trope is recurrent in seventeenth-century texts cited by van Delft, including Corneille's *La Veuve* (1633), Guez de Balzac's *Le Barbon* (1648), and the preface to La Fontaine's *Fables* (1668). See van Delft, p. 16.

as an integrated whole, in what Alexandre Koyré termed the shift 'du monde clos à l'univers infini'[35], so too 'l'éclatement du macrocosme se répercute au plan du moi.'[36] The act of descending into the heart, or turning inwards, is therefore also one of opening out, giving rise to the possibility of exploration. It is premised upon the idea that there are corners of the interior life which are obscure – like Montaigne's 'profondeurs opaques de ses replis internes'[37] – and unknown though, crucially, not unknowable.

Caraccioli's interior adventurer has some points of reference to guide him. On multiple occasions in *La Conversation avec soi-même*, Caraccioli reiterates that the 'little world' is 'semblable à celui que nous habitons'[38]; indeed, every man is a 'véritable abrégé de l'univers.'[39] The repercussions of the interior *éclatement* are not so great that its fragments cannot be unified and, as an *abrégé*, the interior world both mirrors natural phenomena and condenses them. Among the exterior realities which find their metaphorical counterpart within is the force of gravity. Just the physical world is subject to and affected by movements and changes in the cosmos, so too inside: 'il roule en soi des plaisirs, et plus souvent des chagrins et des projets.'[40] The interior world is mutable and, as Bernard Roukhomovsky has argued, its ebb and flow of joys, sorrows and resolutions constitutes an oscillation, a figurative 'mouvement gravitationnel.'[41] What is more, Roukhomovsky contends, 'il

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[35] Bernard Roukhomovsky introduces this reading in a 2002 article, highlighting the effect of the 'reconfigurations successives de l'*imago mundi* […] sur la morphologie du monde intérieur.' The expansion of the macrocosm, he argues with Louis van Delft, has a direct effect upon 'le plan du moi', with the latter expanding to a similar extent, and as a result disintegrating. ' "Nous sentons un monde au-dedans de nous": un avatar du petit monde au siècle des Lumières', *Recherches & Travaux*, 61 (2002), 77-91. < http://ouvroir-litt-arts.univ-grenoble-alpes.fr/revues/reserve/auteur/370--nous-sentons-un-monde-au-dedans-de-nous-un-avatar-du-petit-monde-au-siecle-des-lumieres> [Accessed 11th March 2022].
[36] Van Delft, p. 30.
[37] Michel de Montaigne, *Les Essais*, Book II, Chapter 6 (1580), ed. by P. Villey and V.-L. Saulnier, online edition by P. Desan, University of Chicago.
<https://artflsrv03.uchicago.edu/philologic4/montessaisvilley/navigate/1/4/7/> [Accessed 1st May 2023].
[38] Caraccioli, *Conversation*, p. 55.
[39] Ibid., p. 186.
[40] Ibid., p. 55.
[41] Roukhomovsky, no pagination.

arrive dans l'ordre moral les mêmes révolutions qu'en l'ordre physique.'[42] The little world begins to push the limits of metaphor in this direct comparison. Changes in the moral sphere, and so in interior disposition, are not just like physical changes, they are actually the same. This marks a departure from the earlier 'little world' tradition. For Roukhomovsky, it represents the influence of Newtonian physics on the moral imaginary: 'c'est rêver de l'existence de lois universellement opératoires.'[43] In physicalising interior processes, reflections and emotions, Caraccioli enages once more with sensationalism. The mind becomes subject to physical sensations. Unsurprisingly, the author does not go so far as to claim that changes in the interior life are *only* the result of the body's functioning. Nevertheless, the phrase offers evidence of another instance of re-contextualisation of an otherwise outdated trope.

For Roukhomovsky, this comparison demonstrates a broader 'imaginaire scientifique dominé par la diffusion de la physique newtonienne.'[44] As eighteenth-century appreciation grew for newtonian theories – not least for the idea that the laws governing nature are rational – they began to be applied widely. Moralists like Caraccioli highlighted 'une correspondance entre l'ordre de l'univers […] et l'ordre secret d'une âme bien faite.'[45] Seeking to ascertain and articulate reasoned principles for moral life, such authors developed a kind of science, becoming, as Kant would go on to say of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 'Newtons of the moral world.'[46] The application of this moral science to the little world metaphor reveals an effort to analyse, to comprehend, and to rationalise the tempestuous and changeable human temperament, seeking to reconcile disparities in a person's disposition.[47] Scientific theories equip mathematicians and physicists with tools to comprehend

[42] Ibid.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Cited in Patrick Riley, 'The Elements of Kant's Practical Philosophy: the Groundwork after 200 Years (1785-1985), *Politcal Theory*, 14 (1986), 552-583, (p. 571).
[47] On the continued development of 'moral science' into the late-eighteenth century, see Stefano Genetti. 'Considérations sur Sénac de Meilhan moraliste', *Cahiers de l'AIEF*, 59 (2007), 221-235.

the physical world. Similarly, a moralist's writings serve as a manual, guiding the reader through their descent into themselves. In an instance of what Robert Darnton terms the 'diagrammatic impulse' of the eighteenth century, Caraccioli becomes a cartographer, and maps out the interior terrain.[48]

III. Cartography of the Mind

In both *La Conversation avec soi-même* and *La Jouissance de soi-même* Caraccioli provides his reader with a 'map' for navigating their interior terrain. A person's consciousness is not presented as a unity. It is divided into discrete regions, each with its own distinct character. The first terrain into which both pupil and mentor are asked to 'descend' is the heart, described as:

> un labyrinte inexplicable où l'ame s'égare en mille détours différens; un alambic où se filtre l'amour le plus légitime, ainsi que le plus criminel; un laboratoire où l'esprit va rafiner ses pensées, & leur donner cette grandeur qu'on nomme héroïsme; un flux & reflux de desirs qui rendent en quelque façon l'homme immense; un réservoir où l'on puise à toute heure des espérances & des craintes; un volcan d'où s'exhalent tantôt des flammes, & tantôt des vapeurs; un abîme dont on ne peut trouver le fond; un vif-argent qui échappe, lorsqu'on veut le fixer.[49]

The idea that the heart is not just the physical organ which sustains life, but is also the 'seat of the passions' is a longstanding one – 'heart', of course, is frequently employed metonymically to denote a person's emotional life, and the trope of the untrustworthy heart is not uncommon. Vacillations of sentiment have often been described in terms of a physical 'flow' of bodily or other liquid, mirroring or serving as a metaphor for the function of the heart itself.[50] Here, liquids show themselves to be unstable; they are filtered, flowing, deep, and yet evasive. Through these contrasts, in addition to the repeated vocabulary of indecision, Caraccioli cautions against giving weight to feeling. In doing so, he echoes a host of early modern philosophers – not least

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[48] Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York: Basic Books, 1984), p. 278.
[49] Caraccioli, *Jouissance*, p. 38.
[50] Ulinka Rublack and Pamela Selwyn, 'Fluxes: The Early Modern Body and the Emotions', *History Workshop Journal*, 53 (2002), 1-16, (p. 2).

Malebranche and Descartes. Elizabeth Radcliffe highlights that for Malebranche the passions have 'power to distort our perception of good.'[51] In *La Recherche de la Vérité* – a work which Caraccioli admires and recommends to his readers on repeated occasions[52] – the philosopher asserts that 'l'aveuglement de l'esprit et le dérèglement du cœur font […] toute notre imperfection.'[53] For Descartes, too, the passions – while seated in the soul, and not the heart – can be both the source and symptom of an interior confusion which impedes self-discovery.[54] Within Caraccioli's geographical analogy a person whose life is dominated by emotion is powerless to advance or to ameliorate themselves. Such a person may well turn inwards, but in doing so 'il se consume & se desséche au milieu des desirs brûlans.'[55] Unable to navigate his interior landscape, 'il erre d'objets en objets sans guide & sans boussole.'[56] The aimless wanderer is not active in his search for the right path, but rather is passively 'emporté'[57] by excessive feeling.

Despite the clear negative connotations of the passions, Caraccioli does not wholly disregard their value. The seventeenth century marked a shift away from the sole identification of the passions and false judgement.[58] Instead, emotions in both Malebranche and Descartes can also act as motors, 'dispos[ing] the soul to want (will) the things for which they prepare the body.'[59] In particular, love, hatred, joy, sadness, and desire are all said to exist in order to 'move the soul to consent and contribute to actions which may serve to preserve the body or render it more

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[51] Elizabeth Radcliffe, 'Ruly and Unruly Passions: Early Modern Perspectives', *Royal Institute of Philosophy Supplement*, 85, 21-38, (p. 25).
[52] In his *Lettres à une illustre morte* (1770), for example, Caraccioli posthumously extols the intelligence of his deceased correspondent who, during her lifetime, was said to appreciate and – crucially for Caraccioli – understand this text.
[53] Nicolas Malebranche, *De la recherche de la vérité*, Livre v (Strasbourg: George André d'Olhopff, 1677).
[54] Jeffrey Barnouw, 'Passion as 'confused' perception or Thought in Descartes, Malebranche, and Hutchinson', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 53 (1992), 397-424. Passions here are considered in contrast to 'clear and distinct ideas', and therefore as barriers to rational thinking.
[55] Caraccioli, *Jouissance*, p. 42.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Ibid.
[58] See Anthony Levi, *French Moralists and the theory of the Passions 1585 to 1649* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964).
[59] Barnouw, p. 405.

perfect.'[60] For Caraccioli, in order for the passions to facilitate the satisfaction of physical needs, the emotions must be tempered, and subject to reason. In *La Jouissance de soi-même*, the author criticises those who 's'effarouchent au mot de passion'[61] out of ignorance. He argues: 'il ne s'agit que de diriger ces appétits que nous nommons passions vers des objets raisonnables, pour nous en faire une source de gloire & de mérites.'[62] It is while growing in this self-mastery that a person learns to keep balance and to 'arrêter le torrent'[63] of excess. The act of tempering, and of increasing the passions' usefulness in Caraccioli is best illustrated in the journey from the heart to the head.

'Dans le petit espace d'un crâne'[64] is to be found '[un] assemblage de pensées & de projets, d'espérances & de desirs, de craintes et d'affections.'[65] The 'little world' has contracted; we are no longer in the realm of expansive mountain ranges or deep valleys. The mind's domain is limited, literally, by the skull. In contrast to the unbounded volatility of the heart, here the passions are also limited and ordered. Within this 'world' we see a clear progression from emotion to reason**.** A person 'veut & ne veut pas, [...] imagine, [...] combine, dispute, raisonne, [et] juge.'[66] The list of actions is cumulative: desire leads to the imagining of possibilities and their consequences. The heart's vocabulary of indecision – *ainsi que*, *tantôt* – has been replaced with certitude and action. The thinker is not led passively astray: he possesses agency and can choose where he goes and what he does. Mathematical evaluation and philosophical argumentation allow him to weigh up possibilities, before passing judgement on a course of action. Rather than being trapped in the tumult of the heart's changeable emotions, a person who retreats into the mind can 'ébauche[r] le gouvernement des Empires'[67] and can 'forme[r] des plans pour la guerre.' He can 'cherche[r] [...]

[60] Ibid.
[61] Caraccioli, *Jouissance*, p. 58.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Caraccioli, *L'Univers énigmatique* (Avignon: Delaire 1759), p. 10.
[65] Ibid.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Ibid.

& trouve[r] les moyens de faire fortune.'[68] Through its power of reason and decision, the mind becomes a locus of design and command. Brad Pasanek's reading of eighteenth-century 'metaphors of mind' reveals an association of world empires 'with instability, if not corruption, decline, and fall.'[69] An empire, being in this period 'a territory with changing and permeable boundaries'[70] represents porosity, and therefore a degree of instability. The verbs employed in relation to the mind, with the exception of *trouver*, reinforce the sentiment of contingency; *ébaucher, former, chercher* are all concerned with making plans, but not necessarily fulfilling them.

The distinction between the unruly heart and the reasonable mind mirrors Caraccioli's vision of the mentor-mentee relationship. The mentor is instrumental in helping his student recognise and master the hazards of excessive passion. Early in *Le Véritable mentor*, for example, Caraccioli traces the stages of life, distinguishing 'trois zones différentes'[71] through which each man passes 'successivement, mais presque imperceptiblement.'[72] Like the 'little world', these 'zones' each possess distinct features, expressed through climatic metaphors: 'la torride est notre adolescence, la tempérée l'âge viril, la glaciale enfin notre vieillesse.'[73] Life, 'toujours en mouvement,' is 'un vif-argent, qu'on ne peut fixer'[74] – an almost identical formulation to Caraccioli's description of the heart which we saw earlier. And again, torrents cause a flux which sweeps us 'jusqu'au tombeau, sans nous apercevoir ce que nous avons vécu.'[75] The figure of the mentor, like the mind, can resist these elemental forces, and in many ways counters the transience and fluctuations which can pose a moral threat. He first distances himself, or retreats, in order to subsequently 's'accommoder aux

[68] Ibid.
[69] Brad Pasanek, *Metaphors of Mind: An Eighteenth-Century Dictionary* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015), p. 92.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Caraccioli, *Le Véritable mentor*, p. 10.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Ibid, p. 9.
[75] Ibid, p. 4.

tems & aux circonstances.'[76] Employing his reason, he determines the best way to act. On certain occasions, he may choose to transform himself into '[un] enfant une seconde fois' and on others he may relinquish the passions of youth to instead speak 'en maître.'[77] In everything, however, he is in control.

The lexicon of governance, imperialism, and war in Caraccioli's conception of the mind presents another point of comparison with *Le Véritable mentor*. The mind, rational though it may be, is still not infallible. In contrast, the young mentee, who will one day be a ruler, is instructed first to reign over himself with unwavering authority: 'chaque homme forme en soi une république, où il faut employer différentes manières de gouverner, tantôt le despotisme & tantôt la monarchie.'[78] Like the mentor, the mentee should be versatile; different situations may call for different responses which suppose kinds of 'leadership'. The citizens of the interior 'republic' might be seen as the passions: they are unruly at times, and in need of authority. Leadership here, through images of both monarchy and despotism, is considered to be a single seat of power, with both terms conveying similar notions of absolute authority. The difference, highlighted notably by Montesquieu in *L'Esprit des lois* (1748), is that monarchs are bound to externally established laws, while a despot rules according to his own will. In the increasingly charged political atmosphere of the eighteenth century, and as political theories abounded, these terms are not neutral, yet Caraccioli seems to equate them or, at least, sees their models of absolute rulership as a difference of degree, rather than of kind.

For Caraccioli, only one faculty holds absolute authority over the interior world. The soul 'comme un Etat despotique'[79] possesses the unique power to 'commande[r] aux passions.'[80] While heart

[76] Ibid, p. 22.
[77] Ibid.
[78] Caraccioli, *Le Véritable mentor*, p. 2.
[79] Caraccioli, *Conversation*, p. 55.
[80] Ibid.

and mind are mutable, the soul 'doit se tenir en garde' and 'se faire un rempart des vérités éternelles capables d'absorber tout mouvement, & toute sensation contraire au bon ordre.'[81] On occasion, a person may allow their senses and emotions to dominate over the 'vérités éternelles,'[82] and so 'il arrive […] que [les passions et les sens] viennent à bout de changer [le] gouvernenment [de l'âme] en Aristocratie.'[83] For Caraccioli, here aristocracy epitomises disintegration; as noble classes enter into conflict with absolute power, they 'usurpent l'autorité'[84] and 'mettent le désordre dans le centre même de la paix.' [85] It is for this reason that the soul's limits are and should remain fortified. The soul tempers a person's 'imperial consciousness'[86] and represents the flip side of what Pasanek terms 'metaphors of conquest.'[87] It is not an outgoing, bellicose force, but rather a place of retreat. Vulnerable to the tempests of a 'rebel will,'[88] it must surround itself with enduring principles, the stability and firmness of which oppose the heart's flux and the mind's changeable reasoning. Caraccioli's soul, fortified through a self-reflexive attachment to the truth, must also 'se replier sur soi-même [*sic*] & mettre à la chaîne les passions qui frémissent'[89], thus directly mirroring the movement of the person who retreats into their interior world and casts their gaze inwards. Just as this person can be said to 'fold' into themselves, away from the tangible world, so too the soul turns away from the tumultuous 'little world' of both the mind and heart, forming its own enclosed bastion.[90]

Having established that the interior life is a world unto itself, and that this world can tend towards chaos and so must be governed, Caraccioli goes on to explain that the ultimate authority is actually

[81] Caraccioli, *Jouissance*, p. 15.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Ibid.
[84] Caraccioli, *Conversation*, p. 55
[85] Ibid.
[86] Pasanek, p. 100.
[87] Ibid., p. 96.
[88] Ibid., p. 97, quoting Isaac Watts, *Horae Lyricae* (1706).
[89] Caraccioli, *Jouissance*, p. 15.
[90] Ibid.

located outside of the self. Without the presence of God, the external universe 'seroit comme s'il n'étoit pas.'[91] In a similar way, in the absence of order the interior life would remain cast into 'un informe chaos, tel que le monde fut dans son premier jour.'[92] Evoking Genesis, Caraccioli highlights the magnitude of the creative act. Any 'fashioning', be it of the physical realm or the interior world, must rely upon a founding principle: the presence of God. Roukhomovsky indicates that 'à l'image de l'univers, qui tout entier s'ordonne autour de 'Dieu, centre universel', le monde intérieur s'ordonne autour d'un centre unique.'[93] The interior world for Caraccioli thus situates man in an active relationship with the divine. As a person is drawn inwards and into the 'world' of their mind, they are drawn into the presence of God, whose omnipotent force moderates the turbulent inner landscape, acting as a counterweight to a person's inclination to disorder.

Throughout the little world model we have engaged with so far, the interior microcosm imitates the exterior, and so the authoritative presence of God comes from without. At times, however, Caraccioli inverts this metaphor. In *La Jouissance de soi-même*, for example, we are said to '[trouver] jusque dans le moindre effet de la Nature une copie de nos humeurs, de nos penchans, & de notre manière d'agir.'[94] Exterior phenomena in this case do not fashion a person's interior topography, quite the opposite: human nature seems to take precedence over the natural world. Man still carries within himself 'un Univers en abrégé,'[95] however observable natural occurrences are considered to be an extension of the self. Natural phenomena are likened to emotions, rather than the reverse, and the physical world itself is interpreted as an image or metaphor. In this inverted conception, the presence of God remains the governing principle. A person must still rule his passions 'comme Dieu lui-même regle le monde dans lequel nous habitons.'[96] Here, however, authority to rule is

[91] Ibid.
[92] Caraccioli, *Conversation*, p. 64.
[93] Roukhomovsky, no pagination.
[94] Caraccioli, *Jouissance*, p. 201.
[95] Ibid.
[96] Ibid.

bestowed upon the individual. Natural oscillations become the responsibility of each person: 'nous devons consequemment avoir soin de faire succéder en nous le jour à la nuit avec exactitude.'[97] With the 'little world' metaphor comes the notion of man as 'little god.'

To return briefly to Alexandre Koyré's 'univers infini', and the subsequent *éclatement* of the self, we can note that Caraccioli's notion of the world of the mind as expansive, self-governing, and authoritative over exterior phenomena is evidence of his response to man's apparently diminished standing. He expresses anxiety: 'si nous ne vivons pas en nous mêmes, nous ne sommes qu'un rien à l'égard de l'univers.'[98] Man, infinitesimally small in the face of the universe, finds the remedy for his inferiority by turning inwards towards another sphere in which he can dominate. Caraccioli's interior world is inherently anthropocentric.[99] Man, as 'lord' or governor of his own cosmos, takes primacy (as he was perceived to do before the discoveries of the seventeenth century). In an otherwise fragmented vision of the expanse of the universe, whereby man is considered as just one of many unique, autonomous and unrelated components, Caraccioli's vision of the interior self is unifying. In turning inwards, 'le moi se ramasse en son centre.'[100] For Caraccioli, the centring of man does not usurp the presence of the divine. On the contrary, as 'little god', a person is drawn to cooperate with the will of God, and it is in and through this cooperative action that he or she is able to develop a sense of self, *le Moi*.

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[97] Ibid.
[98] Caraccioli, *Jouissance*, p. 425.
[99] The anthropocentrism of the 'little world' trope is expounded by Louis van Delft in Chapter 1 of *Les Spectateurs de la vie*, pp. 21-22. He highlights English polymath Thomas Browne's notion of the '*cosmography of myself*' which, he argues, 'est source de conflit', p. 21. Anthropocentrism for Browne poses problems for the theocentric believer. The discovery of the interior world which is based upon and turns around man 'n'est pas une voie dans laquelle l'explorateur s'engage avec allégresse', p. 21. Unknown interior worlds are as much a source of fear as of inspiration and discovery, since 'elles [les terres] pourraient bien être situées "hors de la chrétienté"', p. 21. Caraccioli does not seem to share this fear, and throughout asserts the presence of a Christian God as guiding principle in all introspective exploration.
[100] Caraccioli, *Jouissance*, p. 4.

The cooperative anthropocentrism of man in his interior landscape contrasts with the selfish primacy of the individual in the world. Caraccioli notes the difference 'entre l'homme qui ne s'attache qu'à des dehors, et celui qui rentre souvent en lui-même.'[101] The person devoted only to worldly goods 'se croit un centre où tout doit aboutir', whereas the reflecting person '[se croit] une source qui doit couler de toutes parts.'[102] The contrast Caraccioli draws between the two figures is progressive, and their divergence is illustrated through the juxtaposition of four verbs – *s'attacher* is opposed by *rentrer*, and *aboutir* here denotes the inverse of *couler*.[103] The juxtaposition gives rise to a paradox. We might expect a person who is attached to the world outside of himself to be represented by the act of 'flowing', and for a person who withdraws to their world within to become a metaphorical end-point, or *aboutissement*, for themselves. Instead, the opposite is true. The person *attaché qu'à des dehors* enters a figurative *monde clos*; believing that the material world culminates in, or is oriented towards, them alone, this person becomes a kind of 'dead end'. In contrast, the person who turns their gaze inwards shows themself to be a *univers infini*. The stasis and finality illustrated in *aboutir* contrasts with the generative potency of a flowing source. In the verb *couler*, as an action which stems from introspective reflection, a person might be said to give of themselves to the world around them. Important to note is the further evocation of liquid, which we saw earlier in Caraccioli's depiction of sentimental instability. While in its previous context, fluidity represented the unpredictable, and therefore untrustworthy, vacillations of the heart, here the metaphor is employed positively, to affirm a behaviour – turning inwards – which is virtuous and, perhaps, is beneficial both for the individual and society. We will now begin to consider the ways in which the self, realised and cultivated inwardly, might turn outwards to

[101] Caraccioli, *Conversation*, p. 273.
[102] Ibid.
[103] Roukhomovsky has drawn attention to the parallels between Caraccioli's *Conversation avec soi-même* and Montaigne's notion of the *entretien avec soi-même*, in addition to the intertextual echoes from the *Essais*. He contrasts the fluidity and dislocation of Montaigne's 'forme du monde […] et du moi' – exemplified in the phrases: 'Je ne peins pas l'être. Je peins le passage', and 'nous sommes tous de lopins' – with Caraccioli's interior world which 'permet au moi d'échapper au tropisme de l'écoulement et de l'émiettement.' The unity of the self is fundamental for Caraccioli.

'impress' itself upon the world. Caraccioli's conception of the world inside can and should lead to a movement outwards. This extroversion is necessary for self-fashioning which is concerned with 'projecting' oneself onto the exterior world. The next step will be to consider how this takes place and, to do so, we will consider a series of additional 'metaphors of mind'.

IV. Light and the Soul

When describing the outward motions of the soul, Caraccioli repeatedly employs metaphors of light:

> L'ame des vrais philosophes est un firmament qui ne présente de toutes parts qu'une aimable clarté, tandis que la joye des libertins, comme ces lumières boréales qui brillent & s'éteignent tout à coup, ne laisse à sa suite qu'une affreuse obscurité.'[104]

We have already considered the significance of luminosity and optics for Caraccioli; in the previous chapter, we saw the author 'shine light' through his text, bringing colour to the printed page in order to reveal 'true' meaning. In many ways, the above quotation encapsulates the entirety of Caraccioli's moral thought. The virtuous soul does not seek pleasure covertly, in the obscurity of the shadows, but rather out in the open. When developing their character, a person should strive to become 'un vrai philosophe', taking pleasure in the enduring lucidity of a life of virtue, in contrast to alluring yet transient libertine pleasures, which subsequently plunge the reveller into deep darkness where moral danger is heightened. 'Une âme élevée jusqu'à l'Etre incréé' instead forms '[un] beau spectacle!'[105] Unlike the libertines, who actively flee revelation and seek to screen or veil their actions, the devout soul can and indeed should be on display.

[104] Caraccioli, *De la gaieté*, p. 57.
[105] Caraccioli, *Conversation*, p. 273.

To perform an action overtly, of course, means that it is open to judgement, and both judging and seeing are intimately connected for Caraccioli. He asserts a person must 'connaître l'optique morale'[106] in order to ascertain the true value of worldly phenomena. This curious phrase appears to have been coined by Caraccioli, and Roukhomovsky understands it to refer to the physical operation of sight as '[l']analagon [et le] paradigme de l'opération du jugement.'[107] As in the case of the little world, Caraccioli unites the scientific – here the anatomical – to the moral domain. In his subsequent work, Roukhomovsky has adopted the term of *optique moralisée* to denote 'une lecture allégorique, à finalité dévotionnelle, des phénomènes optiques.'[108] There are numerous points of encounter between optics and morality in Caraccioli, many of which are also connected to the interior life and the fashioning of a virtuous character. The act of observation is foundational in *Le Véritable Mentor*, for example, for a good mentor must hold himself at a distance from his mentee, 'comme en vedette'[109] before intervening or correcting behaviour. So too in gazing inwards, the reflecting person becomes a spectator of her life, as we will see throughout the remainder of this chapter.

In Chapter III, we considered one of Caraccioli's prismatic approaches to self-fashioning in *Les Livres à la mode* and *Le Livre de quatre couleurs*. The author makes use of coloured imagery once again in *La Conversation avec soi-même*, where the soul is likened to 'un prisme qui réunit en soi toutes les couleurs' and 'un cristal qui recueille dans un seul point tous les rayons, & qui rassemble ce qui peut échauffer, embellir, éclairer.'[110] From the seventeenth century onwards, fascination with the scientific phenomenon of the prism began to infuse moral discourse. In 1700, for example, an essay by Pierre Nicole entitled *Le Prisme* was published posthumously. In this text, Nicole uses the

[106] Caraccioli, *La Grandeur d'âme*, p. 187.
[107] Roukhomovsky, 'Du bon usage de la science: de l'optique moralisée à l'optique de la morale', *Etudes Epistémè*, 10 (2006), no pagination. <https://doi.org/10.4000/episteme.960> [Accessed 10th March 2022].
[108] Ibid.
[109] Ibid, p. 14.
[110] Caraccioli, *Conversation*, p. 368.

object as a literary tool representing 'les différentes dispositions [qui] font juger différemment des mêmes objets.'[111] He observes, for example, that 'pour voir tous les objets renversés par le moyen d'un prisme, il ne faut que les regarder d'une autre manière que celle qui nous les fait voir colorés: le seul changement des rayons de notre vue bouleverse à notre égard toute la nature.'[112] Just as a prism can alter a person's field of vision or perception of what they see, so too for Nicole can 'la vue de la foi.'[113] Through the faith, 'sans qu'il arrive rien de nouveau dans le monde, elle le renverse aux yeux de notre esprit.'[114] Prisms, like faith, change the way a person interacts with the world around them. The emphasis here, then, is less on the act of seeing, than on that of perceiving. Distinct from vision, perception is not a mechanical process, but rather something which involves a degree of choice, or individual engagement. As Delphine Reguig-Naya puts it, for Nicole vision is conceived as 'un instrument manié par la volonté et l'imagination.'[115] Similarly for Caraccioli, the act of perception involves a degree of subjectivity.

In *La Grandeur d'âme* (1762) Caraccioli again employs the prism metaphor. Here, however, it is not the soul which is likened to the object, but rather, 'nos préjugés':

> nous ne voyons, dans toute l'étendue de l'univers, que les faibles lueurs, que nous appelons biens ou dignités. Nos préjugés, tels qu'un prisme, nous les représentent sous les plus vives couleurs ; et sitôt que l'âme donne un coup d'œil, ce qui nous semblait azur, ou pourpre, n'offre plus qu'un fond rembruni, tout semblable à l'arène qu'on foule aux pieds.[116]

For Caraccioli, as for Nicole, the prism is a paradoxical curiosity. At once simple and scientifically complex, it is a source of both serious and ludic, even frivolous, wonder. It was also a fashionable object and, at times, an example of falsehood, trickery and enchantment.[117] The colours it projects

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[111] Pierre Nicole, *Le Prisme* (1682), ed. by Henri Bremond (Paris: Bloud & Cie, 1909), p. 230.
[112] Nicole, p. 18.
[113] Ibid.
[114] Ibid.
[115] Delphine Reguig-Naya, 'Voir et juger chez Pierre Nicole', *L'Optique des moralistes de Montaigne à Chamfort. Actes du Colloque international de Grenoble Université Stendhal, 27-29 mars 2003*, ed. by Bernard Roukhomovsky (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2005), 125-140, (p. 133).
[116] Caraccioli, *La Grandeur d'âme*, pp. 289-290.
[117] The prism's appeal was not uncontentious. Writing of Newton's experiments, the Jesuit inventor of the 'ocular harpsichord' Louis-Bertrand Castel wrote: 'Je me défiais du prisme et de son spectre

may appear to be captivating, but its effects are ephemeral; it suffices to extinguish or reposition the light-source for the prism's marvels to disappear. At times distortion may be positive; the so-called 'reversals' of a faith which 'nous fait voir les grands petits et les petits grands'[118] for example, represent the power of the metaphorical prism to rectify nature, to bring about justice. On other occasions however, the warping of reality may prove morally nefarious. Prejudice is one such occasion. Precipitous judgement may make life appear brighter and bolder, but it is ultimately false. Like Nicole's heart, it can be considered 'un milieu qui altère la couleur naturelle des objets, et qui nous les fait paraître autres qu'elles ne le sont.'[119] While the prism of the soul is able to illuminate, 'échauffer, embellir, [et] éclairer', here the object becomes a veil. The perceiver's vision is covered or obscured by his perception of grandeur. Only the soul is able to remove the distorting lens, and reveal the truth.

Through references to veils and obstacles, Caraccioli adopts a distinctly rousseauian tone. Echoing the philosopher, he posits the positive effects of a physical unveiling in *De la gaieté*:

> Si les corps étoient transparents, on y verroit les effets de la gaieté, qui, comme un nouveau suc, dilate les muscles, donne à tout notre être une nouvelle agilité, & le red en quelque sorte plus cher à lui-même.[120]

The body previously presented an obstacle; senses impeded moral development, and flesh represented the clear, and ideally impervious, boundary between the exterior and interior worlds. Here, however, the diaphanous body no longer is a site of rupture, or in the words of Jean Starobinski, 'n'est plus une opacité interposée.'[121] Through a rousseauian vision of complete openness, Caraccioli highlights the potential positive effects of emotion, framing *la gaieté* as

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fantastique. Je le regardais comme un art enchanteur; comme un miroir infidèle de la nature, plus propre par son brilliant à donner l'essor à l'imagination, et à servir l'erreur, qu'à nourrir solidement l'esprit.' Castel, 'Réponse', *L'Optique des couleurs* ([n.p], [n.pub], 1739). Criticism like this is representative of a broader suspicion of Newtonian physics in the seventeenth century, which had largely been resolved by the mid-eighteenth century. See also 'Newtonianisme', *Encyclopédie,* 11: 122.

[118] Nicole, p. 18.

[119] Ibid.

[120] Caraccioli, *Gaieté*, pp. 146-147.

[121] Jean Starobinski, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau. La transparence et l'obstacle* (Paris: Gallimard, 1971), p. 167.

transformative; as the sentiment liberates and loosens the body, onlookers would be given insight into a 'vécu immédiat de la conscience'[122] For Starobinski reading Rousseau, the body's motions reveal meaning. For Caraccioli too, transparency marks a step away from discursive self-expression; gaiety, which has the reflexive effect of making a person 'plus cher à lui-même', is communicated instead through vision.

Caraccioli does not, however, go so far in this instance as to abolish the need for discourse in self-fashioning altogether. Elsewhere in *De la gaieté*, he asserts that 'la parole & la pensée sont deux liens qui attachent l'homme à lui-même & aux autres.'[123] Spoken word and thought are central features of the two 'sortes de Sociétés' the author perceives in the world. The first 'se forme en nous, lorsque donnant carrière à nos désirs & nos pensées, nous nous amusons par le secours de la mémoire & de l'imagination.'[124] The second arises 'lorsque nous produisant au-dehors, nous nous divulguons nous-mêmes, & nous devenons en quelque sorte diaphanes.'[125] Both, he argues, are necessary to flourish, for the person who does not know both, or does not 'en user alternativement' loses out: '[il] se prive du plus grand bonheur de la vie.'[126] While the author, again echoing Rousseau, certainly does value and promote silent solitude to a certain extent – and in developing the metaphor of an interior world encourages his readers to withdraw into themselves – he nevertheless diverges from the *philosophe* in seeking an 'état pur[127] which does not abolish but rather embraces language.

Unsurprisingly, both discourse and sociability are given pride of place in *La Conversation avec soi-même*, where radiant transparency bestows the power of speech: 'Il faut avouer que l'ame qui

[122] Ibid.
[123] Caraccioli, *Gaieté*, p. 103.
[124] Ibid., pp. 102-103.
[125] Ibid., p. 103.
[126] Ibid.
[127] Starobinski, p. 166.

réfléchit, répand sur tous les objets une lumière qui les rend transparents, & qu'elle prête à toutes les créatures un langage éloquent.'[128] Starobinski observes that Rousseau imagines a language which is 'direct [et] à peu pres infaillible', and is reserved for 'un petit nombre d'*initiés*.'[129] For Caraccioli, however, clarity of expression can be universal. The soul facilitates not only communication, but also the comprehension of sacred mysteries: 'On diroit alors qu'elle ouvre à nos yeux le firmament comme un volume, qu'elle nous y fait lire en caractères de lumière la magnificence & la sagesse de l'Etre créateur.'[130] Words have a truth-telling power; they are not an obstacle to authenticity or transparency, but instead through visual illumination facilitate open, discursive expression.

Words, in society, help display the interior self:

> Rien n'est plus utile à l'homme que de trouver sur ses lèvres le pinceau de sa propre pensée: il exprime, par ce moyen, d'une manière toute corporelle, une chose toute spirituelle, & il développe son intérieur aux yeux des hommes avec autant de facilité que s'il étoit transparent.[131]

Speech is again conflated with vision, as self-expression is said to be not audible but visible. Writing the self and depicting or performing the self become one and the same action, and social transparency becomes possible through the medium of the spoken word. Because speech unites the corporeal and the spiritual, it dismantles the obstacle of the body. Language – experienced both as word and image – is the most faithful link between the outside world and the realm within. Through metaphors of language, Caraccioli deepens his conception of the interior life, and develops several introspective images of the self. The first of these to look at is the metaphor of the interior journal.

V. The Interior Journal

[128] Caraccioli, *Conversation*, p. 43.
[129] Starobinski, p. 182.
[130] Caraccioli, *Conversation*, p. 44.
[131] Ibid., p. 271.

The idea of keeping an intimate journal containing experiences, doubts, thoughts and emotions was uncommon in the eighteenth century and, with the exception of travel-logs which, he indicates, a mentor should oblige his mentee to write each evening[132], Caraccioli says little about personal documentation. In such logs, young travellers would be encouraged to provide 'un abrégé de ce qu'[ils] aura[ient] vu dans la journée', placing the exact time and date of events at the head of each page.[133] The collected entries would serve as a memory aid, enabling the traveller to recall with precision where he had been and when.[134] The *Encyclopédie* definition of *journal* –'[un] memoire de ce qui se fait, de ce qui se passe chaque jour'– is similarly factual,[135] and Caraccioli does not deviate from standard eighteenth-century practice, wherein journaling is more akin to chronicling than to a reflective, and affective, practice. It is worth noting, however, that the details included in the journal – specifically locations visited – are spatial. As a collection of memories of physical places, the journal itself becomes another 'little world', a microcosm of life. This parallel is reflected in Caraccioli's language: 'le monde en abrégé', which we saw earlier, is echoed in 'l'abrégé du jour.' As entries accumulate over time, the diarist could build a detailed picture of his occupations and engagements, which may be of benefit in future social settings. We recall from the first chapter the relative precision with which Caraccioli recounts the memorable time spent with Severin Rzewuski and members of the House of Caracciolo 'au pied du mont Vesuve.'[136] It would be plausible to assume that this event could have merited an entry in the author's own travel-log (if he kept one), with key details subsequently made public in a dedicatory epistle to both assert and solidify a social connection.

[132] Caraccioli, *Le Véritable mentor*, p. 293.
[133] Ibid.
[134] Ibid.
[135] 'Journal' s.m., in *Encyclopédie*, 8: 896.
[136] Caraccioli, *La vie de Joseph II, empereur d'Allemagne roi de Hongrie et de Bohême: ornée de son portrait et suivie de notes instructives* (Paris: Cuchet, 1790), p. vi.

In conceiving of an interior journal, Caraccioli begins to draw the activity to the wholly private realm of the mind. The idea appears in *La Jouissance de soi-même*, in which the author compares the mind of a 'vrai philosophe' to 'un journal exact.'[137] The entries in this mental log would not be dissimilar to those in a physical notebook. The thinker-writer, 'par une attention continuelle à se suivre et à se connaître', would 'grave[r] tout ce qui arrive, de sorte qu'on peut se rappeler sans effort presque tous les événements de sa vie.'[138] The mind becomes a comprehensive chronicle of memories which can be recalled at will, much like details noted in a physical book can be referenced and shared. However, while the instructions for journaling in *Le Véritable mentor* stipulate the exact method of effective log-keeping, here the craft of writing – or, Caraccioli mixes his metaphors, 'engraving' – is presented as the spontaneous result of a conscious life. The interior journal does not require its keeper to spend dedicated time each day describing events; instead, everything is automatically retained and stored in the faculty of memory. Clarity of recollection – for Caraccioli the primary accomplishment of a well-ordered life[139] – also becomes spontaneous. At any moment, a person can begin to read themselves, 'comme on lit un Ouvrage.'[140]

Philippe Lejeune notes that *La Conversation avec soi-même*, as a 'manuel de "développement personnel"'[141] may also provide a model for reflexive self-writing. However, since Caraccioli 'n'émet [jamais] l'idée que cette conversation intime pourrait passer par l'écriture, laisser des traces et permettre un dialogue dans le temps,'[142] Lejeune takes this as proof that the notion of a *journal intime* destined only for its author, was non-existent. However, the interior journal seems here to provide an interesting counterpoint. On the act of remembering, Caraccioli writes: 'on ne scaurait croire combien il est agréable de ramener le passé, & de reproduire en soi-même des faits

[137] Caraccioli, *Jouissance*, p. 33.
[138] Ibid., p. 33.
[139] For example: 'Si nous jouissions de nous-mêmes notre mémoire serait beaucoup meilleure.' Caraccioli. *Jouissance*, p. 33.
[140] Ibid.
[141] Philippe Lejeune, 'Le journal au seuil de l'intimité', *Itinéraires*, 4 (2009), 75-9 (p. 75).
[142] Ibid.

accompagnés de leurs dates, & de leurs circonstances, de la même manière qu'ils sont arrivés.'[143] Lejeune is, to a certain extent, correct in his evaluation – the content of the interior journal in many ways does not differ from that of its physical equivalent; entries record concrete facts, and are not explicitly 'intimate', that is, Caraccioli makes no reference to emotion or affect. However here, unlike in *La Conversation avec soi-même*, Caraccioli does 'passer par l'écriture,' at least metaphorically. Storing memories is akin to writing, and recalling them is an act of reading.[144] Events leave traces, and when remembering, a person enters into a kind of dialogue with himself. While physical journals would always be in some way public, or at least publicizable and enduring, the interior journal remains within. Nostalgia – in its spontaneous resurrection of details – gives pleasure first and foremost to the person remembering.

Evoking a process of reflexive self-writing, the interior journal finds parallels in the emerging genre of autobiography which also sought to articulate individual experience in an authentic way, sounding the depths of interior life. Autobiography, like Caraccioli's ideal society, seeks to bring about 'the utopian promise of transparency between exterior and interior' through language.[145] Nicholas D. Paige's use of the term 'utopian' is apt here because, as a 'medium of subjectivity' – to employ another of the critic's phrases – published autobiography is by nature limited. As a genre, it presents to the reader an ideal of candid self-diclosure which, by virtue of its format, is unattainable. However intimate the autobiographer's revelations purport to be, the author is

[143] Caraccioli, *Jouissance*, p. 32.
[144] The notion of writing and subsequently reading the 'journal' of the self recalls Suzanne Necker's work *Sur un nouveau genre de Spectateur*, published posthumously in 1801. Appearing several decades after Caraccioli's interior journal, the short text develops a similar method of observation, documentation, and retention. For Necker, 'les événements et les choses' would be documented alongside 'des idées chancelantes et passagères'which would be deepened through reflection. As with Caraccioli, nothing is excluded from the mental text. And as he merges speech and vision, so does Necker, who seeks in the journal to describe 'ce qui se passe au dehors […] comme on le voit au-dedans de soi.' Subjectivity is articulated in terms of image, which we will see recurrently in Caraccioli as we explore his other visual metaphors. See: Suzanne Necker, *Sur un nouveau genre de Spectateur*, *La Fabrique de l'intime. Mémoires et journaux des femmes du XVIII^e siècle*, ed. by Catriona Seth (Paris: Robert Laffont, 2013), p. 257.
[145] Nicholas D. Paige, *Being Interior: Autobiography and the Contradiction of Modernity in Seventeenth-Century France* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), p. 13.

nevertheless always, and necessarily, conscious of the public gaze to which they will be subjected. The utopia of the authentic, published life-account is – as the term is translated literally from Greek – a 'no-place.' Furthermore, the self, on display in the text and in circulation among readers, becomes an object; the printed words on the page alienate the subject from himself, leaving him open to misinterpretation. Caraccioli's interior text resolves this problem. Here, reader and writer are one and the same, and so the ideal of transparency is attained within the self. The author does not deny that some 'external' reading is necessary – not least to arm oneself against the dangers of modernity: 'il faut converser avec les morts, & se garantir de la malignité des vivants.'[146] Again, 'les hommes ont plus besoin de se feuilleter eux-mêmes que de feuilleter des volumes.'[147]

In internalising the act of reading and writing, Caraccioli does not only render both practices more intimate, he also draws the whole practice of sociability, and the crafting of reputation in a public sphere, within. A person reading the autobiography of another may well feel an increased kinship with its author; the revealing of intimate details by an author to his reader – however 'transparent' or not this may be – establishes a social connection. In the case of autobiography, however, this link is unidirectional. The author, as sole speaker, creates a one-sided conversation through his text. Caraccioli's notion of '*la conversation avec soi-même'* can be considered to constitute a similar form of monologic discourse. While we have engaged with the content of the book with the same name, it will now be useful to consider the concept itself, in addition to its implications.

VI. Self as Soliloquy

Theories of conversation abounded in the eighteenth century. Literary and philosophical salons became sociable worlds, promoting the advancement of ideas through apparently equal and

[146] Caraccioli, *Conversation*, p. 50.
[147] Ibid.

reasonable verbal exchange in spaces governed by the rules of civility. The very notion of the Republic of Letters is premised on free textual interaction, through private correspondence as well as published works, which crossed national boundaries, establishing relations between both individuals and communities. The end of conversation was not purely that of serious intellectual development. The seventeenth-century tradition which prioritised pleasure and amusement in dialogue continued to carry weight. In this domain, politeness also reigned, with exchanges dominated by the principle of gratuity; as each participant contributed, or gave of themselves, freely – that is, with no expectation of reciprocity – a reciprocity nevertheless emerged, and conversation could be sustained.[148] Sociable talk thus became a generative activity, bringing the reality of 'le monde' into being.[149] This is reflected in the very definition of conversation which emphasised its physical dimension. In 1694, for example 'converser', according to the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, denoted: 'estre ordinairement avec quelqu'un.'[150] Verbal exchange thus goes hand in hand with existence within a social space and, by implication, possesses delineated boundaries separating the outside from the in.

'*La conversation avec soi-même*' for Caraccioli is a means for individuals to live 'au milieu d'eux-mêmes.'[151] The conversant becomes present to himself, inhabiting the very centre of his interior domain. Just as exterior conversations can be said to actualise the reality of the world, so too it can be understood that the interior conversation is instrumental in the creation of the person. It 'élève et soutient l'homme dans un amour de soi-même qui lui est naturel.'[152] Yet again, Caraccioli's vocabulary is replete with images of motion. Where the mentor was asked to descend into his heart, the conversation now elevates and perfects him. The embodied nature of worldly

[148] See Elizabeth C. Goldsmith, *Exclusive Conversations: The Art of Interaction in Seventeenth-Century France* (Philadelphia: University of Pensylvannia Press, 2016).
[149] Ibid., p. 12.
[150] 'converser' v., *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, première édition, t. 1 (1694).
[151] Caraccioli, *Conversation*, p. 62.
[152] Ibid, p. 33.

conversation is also expressed in terms of movement. In contrast to the definite directedness of 'élèver' or 'descendre', here the picture is a rather more chaotic one.

> Il faut se figurer un assemblage de caractères, aussi différents que les visages; une multitude de passions, qui jouent leur rôle tour à tour & quelquefois toutes ensemble; un amas d'opinions, qui se contredisent les unes les autres ; un mélange de bien et de mal […] une foule d'idées, […] un nombre infini de projets […]; enfin un commerce d'ennui. C'est au milieu de cet étalage confus qu'on doit approuver ou condamner, rire ou larmoyer. Toute l'habileté consiste à le savoir faire à propos; & à ne point équivoquer sur aucun de ces devoirs.[153]

In the mêlée of society, it is easy to lose oneself; the demands of politeness – the obligation to respond in the correct manner at the appropriate time – can easily lead one to inauthenticity. The world of conversation becomes nothing more than a performance. Amanda Moehlenpah sees in this passage an image of eighteenth-century *contredanse*, a form of 'danced sociability.' Expressions like 'tour à tour' and 'tous ensemble', she argues, directly echo choreography.[154] Exchanges are embodied, and adhere to certain rules; moves are codified so that, even within unpredictable interactions, behaviours may be regulated. Caraccioli's language of dispersal and disparity here reveals, however, his mistrust of the ostensible 'order' of sociable interaction. Those who spend too much time in society may be drawn out of themselves irreparably. Again evoking an image of dance, Caraccioli cautions against worldly life:

> [les sens] tiennent l'homme dans les bornes d'un cercle qui, roulant sans cesse, nous empêche de voir & le centre & le circonférence. On n'est occupé que de ce tournoyement rapide, qui couvre enfin la vue, & ne permet plus de rien démêler.[155]

The '*conversation avec soi-même*' puts a stop to relentless spinning, which traps a person between desire and indecision – 'incapables de savoir tout, & d'ignorer tout absolument, nous brûlons de désir d'approfondir, & nous ne faisons qu'effleurer.'[156] The definitive motion, enacted by the

[153] Ibid., pp. 286-287.
[154] Amanda Moehlenpah, 'Danced Sociability in Eighteenth-Century France', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 54 (2021), 577-593, (p. 581).
[155] Caraccioli, *Conversation*, p. 47.
[156] Ibid.

conversation itself, is one of 'rapprochement [des] deux extrêmités'[157] – another image of folding in, or of *receuillement*, whereby a person reattains order.

While the interior conversation employs metaphors of movement, it is important to note that Caraccioli nevertheless asserts its ultimately disembodied nature. The 'plus excellente companie' which we find within is intended to 'nous ravi[r] au delà de ce monde matériel.'[158] The preeminence of this conversation over all others is a means of attaining a wholly spiritual existence, the best image of which, for Caraccioli, is found in the experience of fainting. Dissociated from their body, yet still alive, the fainter 'éprouve entre le plaisir et la douleur un je ne sais quoi qu'on ne scaurait définir.'[159] In this liminal state, when a person stands at the threshold of transcendence, words fail definitively. In a final section of this chapter, then, we will move away from language to explore the primacy of the image, both in relation to and contrasted with verbal expression, in the interior life.

VII. The Interior *cabinet*

In *La Conversation avec soi-même*, the mind becomes a 'cabinet de peintures'[160] , an enclosed space through which a person can wander in order to see in image form the recollection of 'tout ce qu['il a] lu.'[161] Consciousness once more passes freely from word to image, and from present to past. Fénelon's *Traité de l'existence et des attributs de Dieu* (1713) is the source of this metaphor: in his text,

[157] Ibid.
[158] Ibid., p. 18.
[159] Ibid., pp. 5-6.
[160] Caraccioli, *Conversation*, p. 86
[161] Ibid. For more information on the *cabinet* as an intimate space, see: Michel Le Moel, *L'architecture privée à Paris au Grand Siècle* (Paris: Service des travaux historiques de la ville de Paris, 1990); Anne Debarre, Monique Eleb, *Architecture de la vie privée XVII^e – XIX^e siècles* (Paris: Hazan, 2002), and Orest Ranum, 'The Refuges of Intimacy', *A History of Private Life*, Vol. III, ed. by Roger Chartier (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1993).

the author describes at length the process of turning inwards and of visualising the interior world as an act of remembrance. He evokes 'tous les corps de l'univers qui ont frappé [ses] sens depuis un grand nombre d'années.'[162] They create imprints in the narrator's mind's eye; he retains 'des images distinctes qui les representent' so that he 'croi[t] les voir lors même qu'ils ne sont plus.'[163] For Fénelon, the mind is replete with traces of things – objects or people – encountered once tangibly and preserved forever immaterially.

These mental images for Fénelon 'se remueroient et se rangeroient au gré du maître de la maison.'[164] Caraccioli changes this phrasing; here the paintings are shifted 'au gré de *l'ame, qui est la maîtresse de tout l'édifice*.'[165] Both Fénelon and Caraccioli share the notion that the images of the mind are fluid; they may at times come to the fore, and at others they may retreat into the background of a person's recollection. Both writers also hold that the *cabinet* is a private, withdrawn space where authority is exerted.[166] Fénelon's verbs indicating fluidity, change or passage are given in the conditional tense. For Caraccioli such motion, in the present indicative, is definite. For Fénelon the master of the house is simply the reflecting subject, however, in Caraccioli master becomes mistress – the soul. The author's prior emphasis on the centrality of soul to the 'self' precludes the possibility that such a change in wording could have been made in error; for Caraccioli, as we have seen, a person cannot be governed by their mind alone. The author describes Fénelon as 'élégant'[167], and his inclusion as an intertextual source is a testament of this admiration, however the deliberate alteration of the original content can, once more, demonstrate Caraccioli's intention to go beyond his referent. Man here is not master of himself; both he, and by extension the *cabinet*

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[162] François de Fénelon, *Traité de l'existence et des attributs de Dieu* (1713) (Paris, 1878), p. 57.
[163] Ibid.
[164] Ibid.
[165] Caraccioli, *Conversation*, pp. 86-87 (my emphasis).
[166] Like the royal *Cabinet des tableaux*, created in 1670 by Louis XIV, the interior *cabinet* might be considered a figurative space of authority, in which official depictions of events are established and sanctioned. It could also simply refer to an enclosed space in which paintings are contained and displayed. See: 'Cabinet' s.m. *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, quatrième édition, t. 1 (1762).
[167] Caraccioli, *Conversation*, p. 86.

of optical recollections, are wholly subordinate to the soul. Such a form of interior hierarchy is present in another artistic metaphor in *La Conversation avec soi-même*: 'Heureux qui sait faire une tablette de son propre cœur, & peindre au dedans de soi-même de véritables vertus, au lieu de n'en avoir que les images sur des murailles & sur des lambris!'[168] The reflecting subject is now active in the process of self-creation, and rather than simply inspecting finished works in the interior gallery, he becomes the artist; instead of painting memories of his own life, he depicts 'de véritables vertus': images of the person he can and should be. The interior gallery becomes overtly instructive.

One principle of didacticism, as it relates to the modelling or fashioning of a person in perceived need of instruction, relies on their malleability – their capacity for change. This image is reinforced by Caraccioli's reference to the soul as 'une tablette' of wax, another age-old trope. In a disordered mind, 'le cerveau ne reçoit que de mauvaises impressions'[169] ; a person must therefore 'veiller sur l'effort que les impressions vont faire sur [son] esprit.'[170] The soul 'reçoit les impressions'[171] ; and 'l'impression de la vérité' cannot 's'effacer de notre cœur.'[172] In its expansive and varied terrain, the world of the heart, mind, and soul can, like a tablet of wax, be pressed upon, moulded and formed. As this selection of quotations demonstrates, the act of stamping may be either nefarious or beneficial. Impressions may be imposed with 'effort' by sensory experiences from which a person cannot escape, or actively received. In all these instances, however, the effect is enduring. It is for this reason that mutability, though an opportunity, for Caraccioli also poses a risk. Pasanek highlights the link between the act of stamping wax, or of being stamped, and the development of character: 'stamps made by God or Nature are one thing; more worrisome are those impressed by

[168] Ibid., p. 23.
[169] Caraccioli, *Conversation*, p. 189.
[170] Ibid, p. 320.
[171] Caraccioli, *Jouissance*, p. 34.
[172] Ibid, p. 86.

nursemaids, the beau monde, unreliable associates, or frivolous novels. If we do not stamp ourselves, we will be stamped from without.'[173]

Caraccioli repeatedly links impressions within to the hand of the divine, and states his ideal: 'chaque impulsion de notre cœur est une impression de la Divinité.'[174] A person must '[sentir] au dedans […] de vives impressions d'un Dieu'[175] in order to best use his 'intelligence & […] amour'[176] on earth. Furthermore, in the author's imagining of the transparent beatific vision, 'lorsque le voile se déchire', a person will be 'délivrée de toute impression matérielle.'[177] The impact of material goods is enduring only on earth, and in heaven 'l'ame […] ne se sent plus que [l'impression] de Dieu.'[178] The malleability of the interior life, its potential for change, presents for Caraccioli an opportunity for conversion. Stamping the self, or painting an interior self-portrait is virtuous only if a person does so in union with God.

When they are recalled, the impressions made on the interior life are a source of pleasure. In *La Jouissance de soi-même*, Caraccioli claims that: 'Il n'y a rien de plus beau que de se promener en soi-même, & d'y voir, ainsi que dans une galerie, les tableaux de tous nos âges et de toutes nos actions.'[179] The faculty of memory is figured in the reflecting person's strolling at leisure through their own consciousness. As in Versailles' *galerie des glaces*, built in the previous century, the subject would see their own likeness reflected back. However, unlike the mirrored halls loved by courtiers and, as we saw in Chapter III, fashionable *petit-maîtres*, the resulting images are not dynamic and

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173 Pasanek, p. 151.
174 Caraccioli, *Jouissance*, p. 41.
175 Caraccioli. *Conversation*, p. 356.
176 Ibid.
177 Caraccioli, *Jouissance*, p. 17. This biblical image is also employed by Rousseau. The motif of the veil (intact or torn), pervades *Julie, ou la Nouvelle Héloïse*. In addition to Starobinski's seminal work *Jean-Jacques Rousseau, la Transparence et l'Obstacle*, to which this chapter has already referred, see also: Stéphane Loijkine, 'Représenter Julie: le rideau, le voile, l'écran', *L'écran de la représentation*, ed. by Stéphane Loijkine (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2001), 7-65.
178 Ibid.
179 Caraccioli, *Jouissance*, p. 37.

changeable catoptric reflections, but rather static impressions of discrete instances. Unlike the mirror image, the visual scenes here do not reflect the present, and therefore fleeting, moment, but rather the past. In contrast, then, to the frivolous conception of self-reflection and self-image explored in the previous chapter, whereby appearance changes in accordance with external expectations, here a person's vision of their self is fixed.

The term *tableau* in this instance can denote either a painting or a theatre scene. The latter signification features prominently in mid-century texts, notably Diderot's *Entretiens sur Le fils naturel* (1757). *Tableaux* in the *drame bourgeois* stand in contrast to dynamic and dramatic *coups de théâtre*; rather than moving swiftly from one scene to the next, actors in the *tableaux* would intermittently freeze in posture, enabling the audience to study them. Diderot in conceiving of a temperate performance, sought to encourage spectators to identify with characters portrayed, and ultimately to imitate their virtues. The psychological process behind the shift from observation to imitation is a complex one. For Jean Marsden, the most crucial step was the 'establishment of the sympathetic bond between audience and character.'[180] This sympathy, or 'fellow-feeling', was for eighteenth-century critics the prompt to imitate perceived goods, and avoid vices.[181]Caraccioli's *tableaux* of the mind can be understood in light of the *drame bourgeois* which, in its collapsing of distance – both physical and social – between actor and spectator sought to establish filiation. In turning the interior world into a visual performance, Caraccioli takes literally Jean-Jacques Rousseau's call in the *Lettre à d'Alembert* (1757): 'donnez les spectateurs en spectacle; rendez-les acteurs eux-mêmes; faites que chacun se voie et s'aime dans les autres, afin que tous en soient mieux unis.'[182] There can be no closer unification than a total identification of stage and audience, and so 'fellow-feeling' is sourced entirely in the self. Such a sentiment is mirrored in *Le Véritable*

[180] Jean Marsden, *Theatres of Feeling: Affect, Performance, and the Eighteenth-Century Stage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), p. 28.
[181] Ibid.
[182] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Lettre à d'Alembert sur les spectacles* (1757) (Paris: Garnier Flammarion, 2003), p. 182.

mentor, as in Caraccioli's pedagogy the mentor is to be 'le meilleur ami'[183] of his mentee. Friendship here does not blur lines of authority, it amplifies them. For Caraccioli, only a true friend can offer useful instruction. The mentor, as he is aware of the 'petits chagrins'[184] experienced by his pupil, is able to speak to him 'de cœur si telle action convient.'[185] Reflexivity, as an extension of mentorship, must also be understood in terms of friendship for it to give rise to effective self-fashioning.

Friendship and sentimental association are all components of the interior spectacle, which is frequently described in terms of beauty and pleasure; it is 'le plus beau spectacle de l'âme pour l'âme même.'[186] This stands in contrast to Caraccioli's view of worldly theatre, in which he aligns directly with Rousseau, agreeing that the introduction of such a diversion would be 'le plus grand des malheurs qui pourrait arrive à Geneve.'[187] One of the greatest disadvantages of theatre is not necessarily spectators' proclivity to vice, but, once again, the phenomenon's transience: 'Un spectacle ne saurait toujours durer: le jeu le plus amusant finit, la fête la plus brillante se passe.'[188] In order for feelings of pleasure to transform the interior life, they cannot be short-lived, and so the '*conversation avec soi-même*' becomes an occasion for prolongation:

> toujours tranquille & toujours uniforme, [elle] ignore cette cruelle alternative de joies & de chagrins. Par l'art qu'elle a de se représenter tout ce qui lui plait, elle jouit de l'harmonie des concerts & de la magnificence des décorations, sans en ressentir aucun désagrément.[189]

Bringing enjoyment to the fore may well be Caraccioli's effort at making his didacticism palatable, however such a view risks underestimating the primacy of play as a thread which runs through much of his *œuvre*, and his pedagogy in particular. It must be remembered for the author that virtue consists in taking oneself lightly, and that 'le vrai philosophe sait s'amuser partout.'[190] Amusement,

[183] Caraccioli, *Le Véritable mentor*, p. 124.
[184] Ibid.
[185] Ibid.
[186] Caraccioli, *Jouissance*, p. 344.
[187] Ibid.
[188] Caraccioli, *Conversation*, p. 134.
[189] Ibid.
[190] Caraccioli, *Gaieté*, p. 238.

then, is not merely a tactic or a mask which is discarded as soon as the unwitting reader has been lured in. Instead, it must be considered a disposition, and the primary end to which all of life is ordered. If a person must come to know themselves, and then fashion their character, it is in order to ultimately cultivate a deep capacity for enjoyment.

The ludic nature of the interior spectacle can be seen clearly in Caraccioli's most explicit description of the 'play' of the self. Turning inwards,

> On se fait un magnifique spectacle à soi-même des désirs et des pensées qui nous agitent; on se regarde au fond de son propre cœur, et l'on y découvre un jeu de passions qui souvent sont plus comediennes que les Actrices même; on se considère comme un Acteur, qui, jouant un role dans l'univers, y parait sous une forme empruntée, et vient y exercer une fonction plus ou moins brillante, et ensuite disparaître.[191]

Up until now, it has appeared that reflexive self-fashioning has centred around a discovery and development of authenticity and a cultivation of virtue, through mastery of the passions, a move towards transparency, and inward depiction of moral goodness. The mentor was instructed to know himself, yet here it seems that self-knowledge is limited and, even within themselves, a person cannot escape the mask-wearing and illusion of the *theatrum mundi.* If this is the case, how might Caraccioli sustain such a contrasting position? Can it be possible to come to know oneself, while remaining somewhat an actor?

To consider the notion of 'play' in this context presents one avenue for interpretation here, and it is useful to turn once more to *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, in which Greenblatt writes of Thomas More:

> [his] life seems nothing less than this: the invention of a disturbingly unfamiliar form of consciousness, tense, ironic, witty, poised between engagement and detachment, and above all, fully aware of its own status as an invention.[192]

One consequence of this, Greenblatt argues, is that the fictive merges with the real. The more narratives are formed both by a person and about him, the more that same person will live 'as a

[191] Caraccioli, *Jouissance*, pp. 337-338.
[192] Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, p. 31.

character thrust into a play, constantly renewing [himself] extemporaneously and forever aware of [his] own unreality.'[193] We have already seen in chapters one and two of this thesis the extent to which narratives by and about Caraccioli contributed to the fashioning of his own authorial persona. The author's conception of the interior life has here also shown itself to be narrative-based: the interior journal, gallery, and spectacle all constitute aspects of a reflexive 'story-telling', in word or in image, of a person's life and experiences. The self-awareness which such story-telling brings, and which is the precursor to the changing or the moulding of character, is itself grounded in a kind of performance, a performance in which fictions may well be indistinguishable from reality or 'authenticity.'

The homonymity of 'play', which denotes both performance and the ludic, is fortuitous. In his theory of the latter, sociologist Johan Huizinga highlights the distinct 'irreality' of play, which involves a 'stepping out' of common reality and entering a different order.[194] Standing outside of ordinary life, play inhabits its own physical space – which is distinct and bounded – and develops its own rules. When playing a game, a person must abide by these new codes, in a sense suspending their disbelief or preconceptions, lest the bubble be burst and the fun be spoiled.[195] In conceiving of the interior life as performance, albeit one whose boundaries are porous, as it spills out into the 'real' world, Caraccioli creates a distinctly playful vision of the self. The actor-spectator, reader-writer, or painter-beholder inhabits a mutable space where illusions – illusion etymologically meaning 'in-play' – are sustained as much as they are broken.

VIII. Taking Perspective

[193] Ibid.
[194] Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens: a Study of the Play-Element in Culture* (1944) (London, Boston & Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980), p. 13.
[195] Ibid., p. 11.

Another approach to the tension between illusion and authenticity in Caraccioli's interior world is to consider it through the lens of sight and perspective. As we saw in the previous chapter, painting, and the act of painting have long been associated with inconstancy, artifice and the creation of illusion. In likening the interior life to an artwork or performance, Caraccioli implicitly indicates that his readers can, and perhaps should, regard and evaluate themselves as a spectacle.

Readers of Caraccioli are implored to 'juge[r] des hommes ainsi que des perspectives,'[196] That is to say: 'il faut les voir à une distance proportionnée.'[197] In the 1762 edition of the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, 'perspective' denotes 'cette partie d'Optique qui enseigne à représenter les objets selon la différence que l'éloignement & la position y apportent, soit pour la figure, soit pour la couleur.'[198] In painting, the science of perspective is used to bring about an illusion. A unidimensional composition is given the appearance of depth through the precise placing of linear forms, converging to a vanishing point.[199] Theories of perspective, such as those developed by fifteenth-century architects Filippo Brunelleschi (1377-1446) and Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472), would instruct neophyte artists; manuals like Alberti's *De Pictura*, also contain educative indications for the spectator: 'Know that a painted thing can never appear truthful where there is not a definite distance for seeing it.'[200] Similarly, Roger de Piles stipulates that 'tous les tableaux ne sont pas faits pour être vus de près ni pour être tenus par la main et il suffit qu'ils fassent leur effet du lieu où on les regard ordinairement.'[201] Only when viewed from a certain distance can a

196 Caraccioli, *Conversation*, p. 96.
197 Ibid.
198 'perspective' s.f. *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, quatrième édition, t. 2 (1762).
199 Rudimentary theories of perspective were developed in antiquity, and in the fifteenth-century linear perspective was devised by architect Filippo Brunelleschi (1377-1446) and formalised in writing by Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472). For a comprehensive overview of the practice's history, see: Giulio Carlo Argan and Nesca A. Robb. 'The Architecture of Brunelleschi and the Origins of Perspective Theory in the Fifteenth Century', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 9 (1946), 96-121.
200 Leon Battista Alberti, *De Pictura* (c. 1435-36) translated with introduction and notes by John R. Spencer (1956) (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970), p. 57.
201 Roger de Piles, *Conversations sur la connaissance de la Peinture* ([n.p.] : [n.pub.], 1677), p. 300.

painting's lines and shading converge and become a cohesive, and importantly, convincing image; illusion demands that the spectator not scrutinise his object.

For sociologist Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, beholding an artwork is an occasion for education in judgement**.** The same could be said for for the moral act of 'beholding' or observing the world:

> comme les peintres nous apprennent peu à peu à voir, et nous rendent sensibles à des 'valeurs', à des oppositions des couleurs et à des jeux de lumière qu'un œil sans éducation ne remarque pas; de même, les moralistes nous enseignent à saisir en nous-mêmes et chez les autres les nuances subtiles des sentiments et des passions. Nous ne les verrions pas, s'ils ne nous les décrivaient, ou nous n'en aurions qu'un sentiment confus.[202]

The moralist seeks to educate readers, helping them to discern between truth and artifice. Lévy-Bruhl continues: 'si les moralistes de ces temps lointains ont dû être des hommes d'action, ceux des époques civilisées, et surtout ceux des périodes littéraires, tiennent plutôt de l'artiste.'[203] In their pedagogy, both moralists and artists assist the novice in refining their vision, so as to better judge the image that is before them, whether that image is a static depiction or a dynamic, lived scene. At certain points in the process of self-discovery, a person may become a 'connoisseur' – a role which de Piles reserves for a privileged few permitted to approach the artwork from a different angle, and so to perceive its illusion. Roukhomovsky explains that for such people 'la vue de l'artifice procure […] un surcroît de plaisir esthétique.'[204] Education in self-knowledge might be seen as a development of connoisseurship; the ideal is to take pleasure in the dismantling of obstacles and the revealing of artifice as such. However, Caraccioli concedes, in the process, a reflecting person might well still be fooled.

In society, illusion and artifice are deemed to be necessary. People who refuse to keep an appropriate distance from those they observe risk '[d'avoir] le genre humain en aversion.'[205] The

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[202] Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, *La morale et la science des mœurs* (1903) (Paris: Les Presses universitaires de France, 1971), p. 167.
[203] Ibid.
[204] Roukhomovsky, 'Une ombre au tableau. Les moralistes et le paradigme pictural', *Europe*, 933-934 (2007), 75-90.
[205] Caraccioli, *Conversation*, p. 96.

admiration a person might have for a heroic or stately figure would be shattered, and the observer would be 'obligé […] de rétracter les hommages qu['il] [lui] rend'[206] were he to get too close. In the place of esteem or respect would be left only disdain.[207] It is no surprise that Caraccioli, among other moralists, adopted 'perspective' and used it as a figurative expression of the act of moral judgement, even within. The language of art and perception here enters the domain of civility and sociability, where to impress or to remain impressive is to not be examined too closely.

The need for the right perspective also holds for the interior sociability inherent to self-fashioning. Just as a mentor first stands apart from his mentee to observe them, so too the individual must take distance from himself. Strolling through his interior gallery, or watching the interior spectacle, a person experiences initial dissociation. And as the mentor through observing comes to know his pupil so too through interiority a person becomes a connoisseur of himself. Through the various figurative spaces and materials which form the interior world for Caraccioli, we can conclude that his vision of self-fashioning – equated often with self-mastery – is a process of continual creation. A person can achieve perfection through iteration: descent into the heart (the equivalent of the aforementioned action of *rentrer*) both precedes and determines the impression one makes on the world (a reiteration of *couler*). The ultimate goal of this process may well be full transparency, but this is not achieved instantaneously. For Caraccioli, such perfection can only be achieved in total transcendence, and the full dissociation of the soul from the body, prefigured in the liminal experience of fainting, but achieved in plenitude through encounter with God in the afterlife. While on earth, and until a person knows every facet of themselves, certain illusions may remain.

Conclusion

[206] Ibid.
[207] Ibid.

Self-fashioning, even when experienced as an inward self-mentorship or self-cultivation, operates in the realm of perception. An individual, descending into her heart, must stand metaphorically outside of themselves in order to judge and subsequently alter their behaviour. They first turn their gaze inwards, observing themselves and a mentor would observe a mentee. This observation leads to exploration; by navigating interior terrain, a person comes to perceive a parity between the world within and the world without. Such spectatorship is not passive. Instead, the reflexive observer becomes a 'little god' by mastering and commanding unruly passions. It is in this act of active spectatorship that Caraccioli's internal vision of the self and its cultivation meets his external strategies of self-fashioning. To bring this back to a literary context, it might be said that when turning their gaze inwards, the reflective self-observer takes the place of a critic. They assess a form of creative output and they express an opinion about it, through the interior journal and monologic conversation. As reflexive discourse circulates within, so too do images. In strolling through their metaphorical mind-gallery, a person 'takes perspective' on their life and experience.

In all of this, we see that Caraccioli's means of conceptualising the self is anchored in the phenomenon of the public sphere in which he operated as an author. Written journals, conversations, paintings, spectacles are drawn into a private realm, where they can be read, observed, or experienced. While in the exterior realm an individual possesses little control over the way they are received, their reputation might be tarnished by falsehoods, in the interior landscape there exists a perfect correspondence between reality and perception. In the ideal of transparency, Caraccioli suggests his ideal for the perceptible world, in which the figurative impressions made by individuals onto the world might be transposed faithfully into the printed discourse (the *impression*) which circulates about them.

Conclusion

After a Fashion

At various points in this thesis, I have leaned on the polysemy inherent to the word 'fashion' in order to establish 'self-fashioning' as a key concept in Caraccioli's thought and practice. I have employed the term in the broad, verbal sense of 'formation' – both of outward public image and inward character – and in the narrower, nominal sense to refer to superficial adornments, and the fluctuating social structure which determine an individual's appearance. By way of conclusion, I wish to add to this a third related signification which will inform a final, and brief, lens of analysis. The idiomatic expression 'after a fashion', which I have adopted as a title for the statements which follow, is used when referring to a task which, though completed, is so to an approximative or unsatisfactory degree. Employed nominally, 'fashion' in this case denotes a 'manner, mode, or way' of being.[1] This polysemy also exists in French. In the feminine *la mode* designates style trends, while the masculine *le mode* refers to the particular manner in which a phenomenon is manifested. Each of my chapters has, in different ways, considered the various modes in which a person can exist, and can manifest themselves both inwardly and to the world. Yet in each of its expressions, 'being' in Caraccioli points not to a stable state, but rather to an insufficiency, an incompleteness, or an *inachèvement*. In drawing together the various strands of argument which this thesis has put forward, the idiom and its connotations can open up promising interpretative avenues.

We have seen that Caraccioli's mode of being within the public literary sphere is one of evasion. Study of the author's public image(s), as displayed through his paratexts, reveal a dynamic in which he disavowed (either passively or actively) aspects of his identity – his family ties, his titles – and

[1] 'Fashion', n. in *OED Online*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022) <www.oed.com/view/Entry/68389> [Accessed 15th December 2022].

fabricated masks for himself as a means of garnering intrigue and keeping his name in the public eye. On multiple occasions, and most notably in the *affaire Clémentine*, he proves to be mercurial, ostensibly escaping the grasp of identification, while simultaneously drawing attention to himself. In the various *personæ* which he adopts, Caraccioli demonstrates the extent to which literary identity is contingent upon external factors and, most significantly, the anticipation and attempted control of his reception. Caraccioli's Protean identities become a means for him to carve out a situation for himself both in the figurative space of the public sphere and on the physical pages of periodicals. The place that Caraccioli is accorded in public consciousness through printed discourse is, however, by nature limited and short-lived. Unlike published books, journals do not generate re-editions. Much ink may be spilled over a particular controversy in one issue and the same scandal be forgotten in the next. The contemporary success which Caraccioli gained was always and necessarily unstable. Despite recourse to a series of transient identities, his renown remained *inachevé*.

Temporality is another thread which runs throughout this study. Through repeated evocations of ephemerality, Caraccioli presents himself as one who can overcome the ravages of time. Horemans, in his portrait of the author, preserves the jettisoned pages of Caraccioli's books. In his dedicatory epistles and prefaces, Caraccioli laments time's passage and attempts to override it, resurrecting the figures of Malebranche and Bonal and presenting himself as their modern incarnation. The very act of crafting a book's paratext depends, I would suggest, upon a temporal collapse. Many of the paratextual strategies we have seen in Caraccioli are oriented towards the goal of attracting a readership. In order to do this, and as we saw in Chapter II, the idea of the future reader, their desires and their interests, is fashioned or conceived pre-emptively by the author. The generative effect of this preconception can also be seen in Caraccioli's approach to textual criticism, which he prefigures to the point of creation. A final prefatorial anticipation of a future reality can be observed in Caraccioli's imagining of his books' (lack of) posterity. Here, the

anticipation and potential control of future realities encounters its limitation. While the author is able to assure the posterity of another, namely Bonal, in the act of editing and updating his texts, there is nothing that assures him of a similar future remembrance. Nor can Caraccioli anticipate the *goût du jour* which will determine how his texts are edited if they do endure. In evoking Virgil's Cumean Sybil in the preface to his final work *Paris, métropole de l'univers*, Caraccioli imagines his books' pages figuratively scattered to the four winds. From this image of chaos and uncertainty, the author goes on to describe the tombstone of a 'tartuffe du premier ordre.'[2] We recall that during the *affaire clémentine*, Jacques Julien Bonnaud had published an invective against Caraccioli, entitled *Le Tartuffe épistolaire démasqué*. Here, Caraccioli unmasks himself. Any imposture of which he was guilty in life is unveiled as he approaches the afterlife. In evoking the Sybil while pointing towards his imminent afterlife, Caraccioli imagines his own works to be dispersed. As his *corpus* disintegrates, so too his life's work, having been completed, dissipates.

The inevitability of flux and transience was also the focus of Chapter III. I paid attention to the way fashion's instability is put at the service of Caraccioli's didactic project, and the communicative power of clothing and appearances. These apparently frivolous concerns hold the capacity to effect lasting, detrimental change upon a person's character. Indeed, Caraccioli cautions against excessive self-fashioning according to passing trends which might lead either to the erasure of individuality or, in extreme cases, to complete self-effacement; preoccupation with transient appearances can engender an *inachèvement* of the self. In perceiving the power of the fashionable to operate an ontological change, Caraccioli does not repudiate it but rather appropriates and adopts it to serve his own ends. These ends are first didactic. The shaping power of appearance means the works' shades cannot be considered an incidental veneer, but rather they serve to visually convey their message. In their appearance, the texts become dynamic, reflective images of the reader: 'magic

[2] Caraccioli, *Paris, metropole de l'univers*, p. iii.

lantern' spectacle. The coloured project is, however, also oriented towards more mercenary ends. Indeed, the very existence of the three coloured texts might be considered an instrument of the author's own literary posturing. Their striking appearance serves to lure in a worldly readership, and their whimsical nature has led to Caraccioli's enduring epithet: *moraliste mondain*. So, paradoxically, what are arguably the most context-specific of the author's works (colour was, after all, the eighteenth-century *goût du jour*) have contributed the most to his posthumous legacy. Although still anchored in motifs of flux and transience, the coloured corpus and its lasting traces proves to be a step away from fashioning as failure, and the end-point of Caraccioli's literary trajectory comes into view.

A teleological vision of self-fashioning informs Caraccioli's conception of the interior life. Through the inward turn, I explored Caraccioli's theory of self-fashioning as lifelong self-mentorship effected through reflexive perception. In the development of the interior life, we might observe three, somewhat contrasting, goals. The first is the development of an authentic and virtuous self. By tempering the passions, and submitting to the inward rule of the soul, an individual might bring order from chaos, and counter the instability of flux. The second goal of introspective self-fashioning is the faithful impressing of one's authentic self onto the world. Here, the inward bears upon the outward, and a person may be assured of a faithful reception by others. This final goal offers something of a counterpoint to the previous two. Having established that the process of self-fashioning is oriented towards the realisation of an authentic and impressible self, the emphasis Caraccioli places upon the endurance of inward illusions indicates that such a task is, in this life, impossible. For the author it is only in death, when liberated from the contingencies of the physical body, that a person's true 'self' is fully realised. We return, then, to the idea that self-fashioning, in its plenitude, is always and necessarily *inachevé* on earth.

What emerges, then, is a process of self-fashioning which is marked by impermanence. This is true both of Caraccioli's fabrication of multiple authorial identities in his practice, and of his theorising of the mutable and perfectible self. At the end of this thesis, we must therefore look towards the 'afterlife' in order to grasp self-fashioning's import, both in Caraccioli's life and career and in the careers of the multitude of middlebrow eighteenth-century authors who, like him, have been consigned to posthumous obscurity. Because, it is crucial to state, Caraccioli's 'true' posterity, outside of a narrow community of scholars, is negligeable or, we might say, *inachevé*. He is remembered, but only after a fashion.

Anna Holland and Richard Scholar, in their introduction to *Pre-histories and Afterlifes: Studies in Critical Method*, have highlighted the instability of literary posterity. After the work of Terence Cave, they observe the difficulty of tracing textual legacies across time. An implicit thread which has run through this thesis is that of textual legacies present in Caraccioli's work, from Classical poets, to Montaigne, and Fénelon. The author's intertext is rich, and would certainly merit further analysis. But for every intertextual reference recognised, there are surely more which have and will continue to go unnoticed. For, as networks of authorship extend across the ages, and as authors *font renaître* one another, as Caraccioli did Bonal, so cumulative allusions become indiscernible. To trace one author's posterity is to observe his discourse '[crossing] a succession of thresholds into diverse downstream contexts, metamorphosing as it goes.'[3] For Holland and Scholar, those seeking to discern a text or an author's legacy must remain 'sufficiently flexible and fleet of foot to 'move with' the chosen object in its onward path through time.'[4] While a person might, in their afterlife, become the truest and final expression of themselves, textual afterlives remain marked by impermanence.

[3] Anna Holland and Richard Scholar, 'Introduction', *Pre-Histories and Afterlives*, p. 8.
[4] Ibid.

In approaching Caraccioli's works through the lens of self-fashioning, and in performing the task of reconstituting and re-contextualising elements of his life and work, this thesis in many ways enacts the author's vision, articulated in Chapter II, for literary longevity. In the very fact of doing literary history, and of drawing attention to an otherwise obscure figure, this study (albeit in a small way) has become an instrument of posterity. Caraccioli's belief in appealing and adapting to the *goût du siècle* may well have been motivated by a mercenary drive for ephemeral success and renown, but it also provides the key for understanding and establishing an enduring legacy. And if Caraccioli had his eye on the first, he certainly wasn't blind to the second. Indeed, his repeated appeals to ephemerality point instead to his belief in his ability to survive. For middling authors such as him, there is scope to endure in the ways their texts both illuminate and add texture to understandings of eighteenth-century literary life and culture, from the combative masquerade of the literary marketplace, to the conception of authentic yet illusive selfhood. Self-fashioning has provided an interpretative key to understanding both of these phenomena and would prove a useful lens for engagement with other authors and texts. For this reason, we should continue to delve deep into unfamiliar corpuses, and should further explore the strategies ostensibly minor authors employed to survive, as well as the myriad ways they engaged with and contributed to their contemporary currents of thought. Their book pages, like the Sibyl's leaves, may well be dispersed in the figurative winds, but they can always be regrouped.

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