

Lodovica Braidà

University of Turin, Italy

e-mail: Lodovica.braidà@unito.it

ORCID: 0000-0003-3283-3472

THE USE OF ANONYMITY IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ITALIAN PUBLISHING. THE AMBIGUITIES OF THE “AUTHOR FUNCTION”

Abstract

The article explores the choice made by many authors to publish their works anonymously. This was a practice that spanned centuries and was present across Europe, but its importance has rarely been considered by scholars of literary criticism, intellectual history, or book history. Focusing on the Italian publishing landscape of the eighteenth century, this study highlights the historical, social, and cultural significance of anonymous authorship.

The use of anonymity always has different motivations, which can be identified either in the political and cultural context in which it is expressed, in the personal needs of the individual author (for authors belonging to a religious order, it is often an ethical matter), or in the genre to which the work belongs (as is the case with novels), or in issues related to censorship, in a complex interplay between authorial identity, genre conventions, and publishing practices. By challenging traditional assumptions about the centrality of the author, the article contributes to a broader historiographical reassessment of the “author function” and its ambiguities within the Italian eighteenth-century print culture.

Keywords: anonymity, authorship, “author function”, 18th century, history of publishing in Italy, anonymity in novels.

1. Methodological Challenges in the Study of Anonymous Authorship

During the nineteenth century, the scholarly world, and particularly the field of bibliography, appears to reflect, or perhaps, more accurately, to derive conclusions from a profound shift in the conception of authorship. This period witnesses the creation of national dictionaries specifically dedicated to anonymous and pseudonymous works. Numerous examples can be found across Europe, beginning with Antoine-Alexandre Barbier’s *Dictionnaire des ouvrages anonymes et pseudonymes français et latins* for France (Paris, 1806-1809), which served as a model

for subsequent editorial endeavors. In the following years, similar works were produced, such as Gaetano Melzi's *Dizionario di opere anonime e pseudonime di scrittori italiani, o come che sia aventi relazione all'Italia* (Milan, 1848-1859), Samuel Halkett and John Laing's *Dictionary of the Anonymous and Pseudonymous Literature of Great Britain* (Edinburgh, 1882-88), Martinho Augusto da Fonseca's *Subsídios para um diccionario de pseudonymos, iniciaes e obras anonymas de escriptores Portuguezes* (Lisbon, 1896), and in the first decade of the 20th century, the German and Spanish dictionaries. These are significant bibliographic works that should be linked to a new kind of national focus on a culture of attribution, which became established during the course of the eighteenth century, following the recognition of copyright (in 1710 in Great Britain and in 1793 in France).¹ Moreover, the "author function", to use Michel Foucault's well-known expression,² gains increased prominence throughout the eighteenth century, as the individuality of the author and the affirmation of creative originality emerge strongly, reaching their definitive consecration in the nineteenth century.

However, the history of publishing shows that during the eighteenth century, in the context of a growing book market, not only did authors feel the need to affirm their identity by all the means that printing allowed, but also, at the same time, chose to circulate their works anonymously, handing over their manuscripts to a trusted printer and asking friends not to reveal their names. This was often an open secret: in cultured circles, academies, and literary salons, almost everyone knew the identity concealed behind such anonymity, particularly if the author was already well known. This, however, was not the case for ordinary readers, who, being outside the sphere of literary life, would purchase or read a book without the author's name on the title page, often unknowingly holding in their hands works authored by prominent *hommes de lettres*.

It is precisely an author-centered culture that has progressively rejected the possibility of a literary work circulating without an attribution of intellectual responsibility, considering the author's name as an intrinsic component of the literary text, and essential for its interpretation.

¹ M. Rose, *Authors and Owners. The Invention of Copyright*, Cambridge (Mass.)-London, Harvard University Press, 1993; on the French debate, as expressed through the works of Diderot and Condorcet, see R. Chartier, *Epilogue: Diderot and His Pirates*, in R. Chartier, *Inscription and Erasure. Literature and Written Culture from the Eleventh to the Eighteenth Century*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007, pp. 126-143 (first ed. Paris, 2005). See also L. Moscati, *Tra copyright e droit d'auteur. Origine e sviluppo della proprietà intellettuale in Europa*, Napoli, Satura, 2012.

² M. Foucault, 'Qu'est-ce qu'un auteur', *Bulletin de la Société française de philosophie*, 1969, LXIV, pp. 73-104.

However, throughout the Ancien Régime, the recourse to anonymity, as well as the adoption of a pseudonym, was so widespread that it did not constitute an exception. This was a practice that spanned centuries and was present across Europe, but its importance has rarely been considered by scholars of literary criticism, intellectual history, or book history. As Robert Griffin has observed, “[English] literary studies exhibit a curious reluctance to acknowledge that most of the literature ever published appeared either without the author’s name or under a fictive name”.³ And this is also the case for the Italian context, where, prior to beginning the research that led to our book on “the absent author”,⁴ there were no studies, and the issue of anonymity seemed completely irrelevant to both intellectual history and book history studies.

Studying anonymity and its relevance in early modern printing is not easy, however. As Mark Vareschi has recently highlighted, the search is complicated by the difficulty of tracing works that have been published without the author’s name on the title page, as there is no cataloguing system that includes such data. Even online catalogues suffer from the same problems in terms of querying data. The only way to find books showing no indication of their authors is to search for a specific title. Thousands of eighteenth-century texts, however, turn out to be “doubly disappeared”: “unread and largely ignored because of their anonymity and inaccessible because of cataloguing methods and database design”.⁵ In order to get some idea of anonymous publications throughout the centuries, it is necessary to refer to what John Mullan has defined as “the great, but neglected, monuments to nineteenth-century scholarship”:⁶ the above-mentioned dictionaries of the anonymous authors and pseudonyms. Nevertheless, these only contain works originally published without the author’s name, but which, starting from publication or immediately thereafter, were then attributed to one or more authors. Those that have never been attributed are not found in Melzi for Italian

³ R. J. Griffin, *Introduction*, in R. J. Griffin (ed.), *The Faces of Anonymity: Anonymous and Pseudonymous Publication from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2003, p. 1.

⁴ L. Braidà, *L'autore assente. L'anonimato nell'editoria italiana del Settecento*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2019 (Eng. transl.: *Anonymity in Eighteenth-Century Italian Publishing. The Absent Author*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2022).

⁵ M. Vareschi, *Everywhere and Nowhere. Anonymity and Mediation in Eighteenth-Century Britain*. London-Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2018, p. 4. On the invisibility of anonymous works see also A. Rizzi, J. Griffiths, ‘The Renaissance of Anonymity’, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 2016, 69, pp. 200-212.

⁶ J. Mullan, *Anonymity: A Secret History of English Literature*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2007, p. 4.

works, in Barbier for French, or in Halkett-Laing for English.⁷ Much anonymous production, therefore, escapes any possibility of analysis, despite being a phenomenon that characterised a considerable portion of books printed in the early modern period.

Anonymous dictionaries attempt to distinguish between plagiarism, pseudonymity, and anonymity.⁸ These terms do not, in fact, designate the same concept, since the presence of a pseudonym or plagiarism indicates a deliberate action: in the former case, concealing one's real name; in the latter, passing off the work of another as one's own. Defining anonymity is less simple: it "bears a far more complex and less clear relationship to authorial agency".⁹ In many cases, it is indeed not possible to discern whether the choice of anonymity stems from the author, the printer, or if it is influenced by the editorial genre. It should also be said that there are texts which, due to their own particular characteristics (popular texts, prayers, recipes of various kinds, poems), do not always require an author. In other words, authorship is not always to be referred to the creator of an original text, but it can be "an instance" inherent in the text itself, as Alain Brunn suggests, overturning the terms of the Foucauldian "author function".¹⁰ In fact, there is not always an opposition between declared identity and anonymity, but rather a play with positions, since even anonymous texts generate the projection of a presence.¹¹ For example, in numerous travel accounts, the anonymous authors speak of their "personal" experience – anonymity, however, clashes with a type of text in which the writers declare they are depicting something "original", seen "with their own eyes",¹² something never observed before by other travel-

⁷ On the Italian dictionary of anonymous writers see L. Braidà, "Gli inganni letterari" e i dizionari degli anonimi e degli pseudonimi dell'Ottocento. Gaetano Melzi e il dizionario italiano (1848-1859)', in J. Boutier, et al. (eds.), *Le stagioni dell'erudizione e le generazioni di eruditi. Una storia europea (secoli XV-XIX)*, Bologna, Clueb, 2024, pp. 401-418; on the Halkett and Laing see L. Orr, 'The History, Uses, and Dangers of Halkett and Laing', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 2013, 107, 2, pp. 193-240; on French bibliographers Barbier and Quérard and their activity see A. Serrai, *Storia della bibliografia*, vol. 10. 1. *Specializzazione e pragmatismo. I nuovi cardini della attività bibliografica*, Roma, Bulzoni, 1999, pp. 39-60 and 79-146.

⁸ A. Taylor and F. J. Mosher, *The Bibliographical History of Anonyma and Pseudonyma*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1951; see also A. Serrai, *Storia della bibliografia*, vol. 4, M. G. Ceccarelli (ed.), Roma, Bulzoni, 1993, pp. 682-691.

⁹ M. Vareschi, *Everywhere and Nowhere*, op. cit., p. 17.

¹⁰ A. Brunn, 'Auteur, auctorialité', 2007 https://www.fabula.org/ressources/atelier/Auteur%2C_auctorialit%26acute%3B (accessed 3 September 2024).

¹¹ R. J. Griffin, *Introduction*, in R. J. Griffin (ed.), *The Faces of Anonymity*, op. cit.

¹² L. Braidà, 'Il ricorso all'anonimato nel Settecento: il caso dei libri di viaggio', *La Bibliofilia. Rivista di Storia del Libro e di Bibliografia*, CXX, 2018, 2, pp. 259-278.

lers. The use of anonymity, however, is almost never accidental and has an effect on how one's actual "authorship" is communicated.

It would be of great interest to analyse the long-term use of anonymity, starting with the establishment of the printing press in Europe, throughout the whole period of the *ancien régime*, but studies and bibliographical attention are still lacking and it is not possible to develop a comparative perspective over a broad chronological span. Here, therefore, a more limited spatial and temporal context has been chosen: the Italian eighteenth century.¹³ Certainly, the emergence – during the eighteenth century – of secular censorship, separate from the ecclesiastical one, had significant effects on publishing production, on the circulation of books and on the widening of a reading public,¹⁴ as various studies have shown and as can be gleaned from the breadth of offer that booksellers and printers indicate in their catalogues – full not only of books printed in Italy but of all the new works from French and Swiss publishers including prohibited, philosophical and literary genres.¹⁵ This was, however, a slow trend, since it was not easy to overcome the long-lasting effects of the Counter-Reformation which, for over two centuries, had cast the shadow of demonisation over books in the vernacular, over owning even more than reading them.¹⁶ However, these two elements of slow but significant change should not be overlooked: the expansion of book circulation and the new opportunities affecting access to reading, thanks to which it is possible to observe the behavior and strategies of authors, booksellers and printers in a publishing market where, compared to the past, it was becoming easier, albeit prudently, to circumvent ecclesiastical censorship.

¹³ On recent studies in these fields, cf. L. Braidà and S. Tatti (eds.), *Il Libro. Editoria e pratiche di lettura nel Settecento*, Roma, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2016.

¹⁴ On the emergence of secular censorship in Italy, cf. L. Braidà, 'Censure et circulation du livre en Italie au XVIII^e siècle', *Journal of Modern European History*, 2005, vol. 3, 1, pp. 81-98; for the European context, cf. S. Landi, *Stampa, censura e opinione pubblica in età moderna*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2011; E. Tortarolo, *The Invention of Free Press. Writers and Censorship in Eighteenth Century Europe*, Dordrecht, Springer, 2016; on royal censorship in eighteenth-century France, see R. Darnton, *Censors at Work: How States Shaped Literature*, New York, Norton and Company, 2014, chapter 1.

¹⁵ On bookseller catalogues, cf. L. Braidà, *Il commercio delle idee. Editoria e circolazione del libro nella Torino del Settecento*, Firenze, Olschki, 1995, chapter 5; R. Pasta, *Editoria e cultura nel Settecento*, Firenze, Olschki, 1997, chapter 3.

¹⁶ Cf. G. Fragnito, *Proibito capire. La Chiesa e il volgare nella prima età moderna*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2005; Ead., *Rinascimento perduto. La letteratura italiana sotto gli occhi dei censori (secoli XV-XVII)*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2019; P. Delpiano, *Il governo della lettura. Chiesa e libri nell'Italia del Settecento*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2007.

Here we focus on certain authors of literary texts, both famous and less well-known, who, in different ways, have resorted to anonymity.¹⁷ The fact that readers approached many books without being able to attribute a name to these texts is no trivial fact. This silence of the author has its own historical, social and cultural relevance, in the same way as the voice of those who, by contrast, did everything possible to document and protect every aspect of their artistic creation, in some cases even attempting to react against the dishonesty of printers who had published their works without their consent, as in the case of Carlo Goldoni.¹⁸

If the author's "voice" leaves various traces, the choice of silence, and the reasons for this, are more difficult to document. Anonymity, especially when there are no doubts about the attribution of a work, is, as mentioned, a theme that literary history does not address. Moreover, many critical studies exhibit a lack of bibliographic sensitivity: in most cases, anonymous works in their first edition, later attributed to specific authors, are cited in footnotes without indicating the name in square brackets, thereby unintentionally falsifying the edition's data. For many scholars, the absence of the author's name from the title page is not, in itself, considered a significant detail. What matters is the association between that text and a name to which intellectual responsibility is to be attributed, regardless of the materiality of the edition. In reality, the title page and other paratextual spaces (prefaces, indexes, dedications) contain information regarding how the author and printer perceived the work and how the author constructed or denied his or her identity. The impression, gained from the certainty of the bibliographic data that literary history provides, is that the link between the author and the work had been an established fact since the first edition. This is often not the case, though: years might pass before the work carried the author's name on the title page, and in some cases it was necessary to wait until the author's death.

Classical philology, which traces the entire manuscript tradition of a work in order to establish a text as close as possible to the author's wishes, or which, in the absence of manuscript evidence, evaluates all the variants in the different editions supervised by the author, often does not take into account that in many cases the text completely escaped the writer's control, arriving in readers' hands through pirated editions, at much lower prices than the first edition.¹⁹ The social history of the book,

¹⁷ The examples provided here all pertain to anonymous works that were later attributed.

¹⁸ See L. Braidà, 'Carlo Goldoni and the Construction of Authorship on the Printed Page', *Quaerendo*, 50, 2020, pp. 241-265.

¹⁹ On publishing piracy see R. Darnton, *Pirating and Publishing. The Book Trade in the Age of Enlightenment*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2021.

therefore, recounts a different story: the story of a proliferation of editions controlled neither by the first printer nor by the author, of a mobility of texts,²⁰ transformed into different editions, sometimes merged with others, sometimes enriched by illustrations and new paratexts, sometimes impoverished by the neglect of printers. And, unlike the idealisation of texts assigned, in literary tradition, to an author, the social history of the book also invites us to take into account the denial of intellectual responsibility. In other words, the silence of the author.

2. The Reasons for Anonymity

For the period we are dealing with here, it should be noted that anonymity was not linked exclusively to a logic of control – it did not, in other words, only concern the genres that ecclesiastical censorship had condemned as immoral or irreligious, such as the so-called *livres philosophiques*.²¹ It also concerned genres with a wide circulation, not so much out of fear of censorship (often these were perfectly legitimate books), but above all because writing books with a low cultural profile could harm the good name of the author: it was preferable, therefore, to take refuge in anonymity. This was the case with almanacs, texts for the first stages of literacy, books of ancient practical knowledge linked to trades, and in general books that did not receive a great deal of care during the printing process. In particular, the use of anonymity is widely observed in the complex and diverse world of almanac production, in which illustrious authors also participated, almost all of them firmly remaining anonymous.²² Carlo Goldoni admits as much in his *Mémoires* (Paris, 1787): not finding a job as a lawyer, just after graduating, he spent his time writing almanacs, knowing that “Faire des Almanachs, soit en Italien, soit en François, c’est s’occuper à des imaginations inutiles”.²³

This was also the case for some successful genres, such as novels and travel literature. Whereas in the case of novels, authorial silence is

²⁰ On the concept of mobility of the texts cf. R. Chartier, *Éditer et traduire. Mobilité et Matérialité des textes (XVI^e–XVIII^e siècle)*, Paris, EHESS-Gallimard-Seuil, 2021.

²¹ On the definition of *livres philosophiques*, see R. Darnton, ‘Livres philosophiques’, in G. Barber and C. P. Courtney (eds.), *Enlightenment Essays in Memory of Robert Shackleton*, Oxford, The Voltaire Foundation, 1988, pp. 89–108.

²² On anonymity in eighteenth-century almanacs and on the identification of certain authors, cf. L. Braidà, *Le guide del tempo. Produzione, contenuti e forme degli almanacchi piemontesi nel Settecento*, Torino, Deputazione Subalpina di Storia Patria, 1989, pp. 78–94.

²³ C. Goldoni, *Mémoires*, ed. Giuseppe Ortolani, vol. I, Milano, Mondadori, 1935, p. 111.

also linked to the fear of ecclesiastical censorship, in the case of travel books, it is more difficult to understand the reasons. However, it is surprising that the numerous critical studies have never paid attention to the fact that a not inconsiderable part of this fashionable genre was published with no indication of the author's name. It should also be remembered that even with regard to anonymous books, each edition has a story of its own and it is not enough to study the *editio princeps*. In some cases, new editions reveal important details of the subtle game played by the author as, absent from the title page, he reveals his name, or simply his initials, in the dedicatory text. This is a further sign that a rigid approach, limited to the duality of presence-absence of intellectual responsibility, is not suitable for the study of anonymity, because there are numerous ways in which the author, translator or editor leaves his or her traces. As some studies on French and English publishing show, numerous possibilities emerge between the total absence of the name on the title page and its clear indication: the use of pseudonyms, anagrams, initials, the inclusion of the name in a poem preceding the actual text, or in a dedicatory letter. These are strategies, if they can be defined as such, which do not have the same value as the name on the title page, but which provide information regarding the author's wish to at least partially reveal his own identity.²⁴

In the repertoires of anonymous works from the 17th and 18th centuries, the metaphor of the mask is often referenced when discussing anonymity. This metaphor appears both on the engraving of the title page of the famous *Theatrum anonymorum et pseudonymorum* by Vincent Placcius (Hamburg, Liebernicketel, 1708) and in the title of a work that preceded Placcius's *Theatrum: Auteurs, déguisez sous des noms étrangers* by Adrien Baillet, published in Paris in 1690. Baillet considers various reasons why authors should choose to publish their works anonymously and identifies fourteen of them, including: prudence due to fear of censorship; the embarrassment of having a ridiculous name; the shame of publishing a work unworthy of the author's status; modesty; fear of personal criticism; or simple *divertissement* ("gayeté de cœur").²⁵

²⁴ B. Parmentier, *Introduction* to B. Parmentier (ed.), *L'anonymat de l'œuvre (XVI^e-XVIII^e siècles)*, monographic issue of *Littératures classiques*, 2013, 80, pp. 5-16.

²⁵ [Baillet, Adrien], *Auteurs, déguisez sous des noms étrangers, empruntez, supposez, feint à plaisir, chiffrez, renversez, retournez, ou changez d'une langue en une autre*. Paris: Dezallier, 1690. On this work by Baillet, see F. Waquet, 'Une pensée morale de l'anonyme. D'après Adrien Baillet (1685-1690)', in B. Parmentier (ed.), *L'anonymat de l'œuvre (XVI^e-XVIII^e siècles)*, op. cit., pp. 225-235; see also M. Cochetti, 'Adrien Baillet', in A. Serrai, *Storia della bibliografia*. VI. *La Maturità disciplinare*, Gabriella Miggiano (ed.), Roma, Bulzoni, 1995, pp. 149-166.

For religious figures of any order and office, omitting their names is often an ethical choice: especially in the case of a literary work, anonymity is a way to avoid being judged as guilty of pride, of exhibitionism in search of fame. In other cases, there was no choice but that of authorial silence in order not to incur severe criticism from the religious order to which they belonged. From this perspective, it is necessary to consider not only the genre of the text but also the status of the author. A pertinent example is the Jesuit Saverio Bettinelli, who, shortly after the anonymous publication of his *Lettere inglesi* in Venice in 1766, sent a copy to Pietro Verri with the request that he pass it on to Cesare Beccaria. In doing so, he warned his friend: “The booklet I am sending to Mr. M. Beccaria is a most serious contraband in our domestic trade and legislation; it is a whim more dangerous abroad than the *Letters of Virgil* [...]. Therefore, the author’s identity is a secret in Venice, and I would prefer it remain so in Milan as well”.²⁶

There are numerous instances of religious figures who preferred to hide behind anonymity, yet a study that identifies all the types of works for which these authors chose to conceal their names, starting from known attributions, is still lacking. Religious authors often opted for anonymity not only when publishing literary works (as in the case of Bettinelli) but also when publishing moral and behavioral instruction works, where they expressed views on family, marriage, education, and women’s studies as in the case of *La damigella istruita* (*The Educated Damself*), published in 1787 and attributed to the friar Gaspare Morardo, or *La felicità del matrimonio* (*The happiness of marriage*), first published in Milan in 1760, with subsequent editions in Venice and Turin, attributed to the abbot Tommaso Campastri, or *L’educazione delle fanciulle* (*The Education of Maidens*), in 1765, behind which stood the pen of the Friar Gioacchino Trioli.²⁷ The decision to remain anonymous was certainly driven by ethical considerations, a deliberate attempt to avoid what might be perceived as a form of arrogant self-promotion in pursuit

²⁶ “Il libretto che mando al sig. M. Beccaria è un contrabbando nel domestico nostro commercio e legislazione gravissimo; è un capriccio più pericoloso al di fuori che quel delle Lettere di Virgilio [...]. Gli è dunque un segreto l’autore a Venezia, e vorrei che il fosse a Milano”. Bettinelli’s letter to P. Verri (Verona, 6 December 1766) was published in *Lettere inedite d’illustri italiani che fiorirono dal principio del secolo XVIII fino ai nostri tempi*, Milan, Società Tipografica dei Classici Italiani, 1835, pp. 33-34. His prudence in revealing his name was linked to the fact that he had already been harshly criticised for his *Lettere Virgiliane* (Venezia, Modesto Fenzo, 1758 [but 1757]) by the Jesuit Order to which Bettinelli belonged.

²⁷ On the treatises concerning the education of women, see L. Guerri, *Per una storia delle donne nell’Italia del Settecento*, E. Strumia (ed.), Alessandria, Edizioni dell’Orso, 2023 (first ed. Torino, 1987-1988).

of fame. However, it was also a means of self-protection against potential censorship, should the ideas expressed regarding the education of women be deemed by the superiors of their religious orders as overly inclined towards concessions that the Church of Rome was unwilling to accept.

In many cases, anonymity was determined by the kind of genre to which the work belonged. Such was the case with the novel, both for reasons of censorship and for commercial reasons: early on, while the novel as a genre was gaining ground, it was more advantageous to pretend that a book was the translation of an established French author rather than the work of an unknown Italian author. In some cases, especially for those authors who knew themselves to be innovative with regard to tradition, their choice of what might be called “transparent anonymity” was part of a sort of game: rather as had been the case with philosophical works, which had often come out anonymously, with educated readers almost always being aware of the author’s identity.²⁸

In other cases, the choice of an attribution of false authorship, or at least the reference to a false “author function”, such as the fake translation from French or English of a reputedly famous author, was to be ascribed to the fact that the literary “field”²⁹ created the conditions of reference to a tradition or a genre of success in a particular country and, therefore, an unavoidable touchstone for those who aimed to conquer the market. The cases of Abbot Pietro Chiari and Antonio Piazza are particularly significant. The former’s name does not appear either on the title page of the *Filosofessa italiana* (*The Italian Lady Philosopher*, 1753) or in the novels that immediately followed. When famous, Chiari would be credited with works by Piazza in an incessant game of confusion relating to the “author function”.³⁰ This denial or false attribution of intellectual responsibility could be defined as “a functional ambiguity”, to use the same category with which some scholars have analysed the concept of

²⁸ Cf. D. Ribard, *Anonymat philosophique et exigence autoriale à l’époque moderne*, in C. Calame and R. Chartier (eds.), *Identités d’auteur dans l’Antiquité et dans la tradition européenne*, Grenoble, Editions Jérôme Millon, 2004, pp. 119-126; Ead., *Raconter, vivre, penser. Histoires de philosophes 1650-1766*, Paris, Editions de l’EHESS-Vrin, 2003. On anonymity in philosophical works, both manuscript and printed, see G. Artigas-Menant and A. McKenna (eds.), *Anonymat et clandestinité aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*, Actes de la journée de Créteil, 11 juin 1999, *La lettre clandestine*, n. 8, 1999 (monographic issue); A. McKenna, *Les masques de Pierre Bayle: pratiques de l’anonymat*, *ibid.*, pp. 237-248.

²⁹ P. Bourdieu, *Les règles de l’art. Genèse et structure du champ littéraire*, Paris, Seuil 1992.

³⁰ C. Bertoni, ‘Editoria e romanzo fra Venezia e Napoli nella seconda metà del Settecento’, in A. M. Rao (ed.), *Editoria e cultura a Napoli nel XVIII secolo*, Napoli, Liguori, 1998, pp. 697-722.

“freedom of the press” in English cases, underlining the extent to which it was the result of a complex balance between censorship and public opinion.³¹ And ambiguity, even in the case of tacit or falsified intellectual responsibility, allows for flexibility and adaptation according to context.

3. The Uncertainties of Author’s Silence in Novels

The novel is, par excellence, a genre for which authors and printers resort to the use of anonymity or pseudonymity for various reasons. As studies on French and English literature have shown, not only were novels often published anonymously, but in many cases, especially in France, they were published under false imprints to escape censorship.³² An illustrious example was the first French translation of Fielding’s *Tom Jones*, for which the title page read “Jean Nourse, Londres” (sic), while in fact it was published in Paris by Jacques Rollin in 1750 and prohibited by state censorship that same year.

However, Italian novelists not only had to fear ecclesiastical censorship but also the lack of regard, and at times even the disdain, with which educated scholars judged a literary genre that achieved great success from the second half of the eighteenth century onwards. Literary studies have emphasised that literary polemics developed on different levels, being in some cases of an aesthetic nature, in others of a moral character, and more often joining aesthetic to ethical judgment. They go from the literary delegitimation of the genre, held in reprobation for pleasing men and women from all walks of life, to the admission that its success is due to novels being “the school most suitable to the taste of a corrupt century” (*“la scuola più confacevole al gusto del secolo corrotto”*).³³ Several reasons may be given as a foundation for such disavowal, partly linked to control of content and, therefore, to the need to comply with the provisions of ecclesiastical censorship, and partly of an aesthetic nature: the novel is a genre that does not fit into a previously codified literary tradition and, thus, struggles to find its way into it.

Studies on English editions shows that 80% of novels published in Britain between 1750 and 1790 were published anonymously and in

³¹ A. Patterson, *Censorship and Interpretation: the Conditions of Writing and Reading in Early Modern England*, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1984.

³² G. May, *Le dilemme du roman au XVIII^e siècle. Etude sur les rapports du roman et de la critique (1715-1761)*, Paris, PUF, 1963.

³³ The expression is found in an anonymous reply to an essay by Pietro Chiari, a text attributed to [G. Manzoni], *Riflessioni critiche sopra alcune proposizioni trovate nel libro intitolato “Il Genio e i costumi del secolo corrente” proposte al sig. ab. Pietro Chiari da un accademico planomaco*, Venezia, n. p., 1762, 83-84.

the 1780s there was an increasing use of expressions, on the title page or in other parts of the paratext, such as “by a lady”, “by a young lady” or “by the author of”.³⁴ In particular, this last expression refers to an “author function” that can be indicated, if not with a real name, with the idea of a connection between different works. As Griffin has noted, the use of “by the author of” signals “the status of a certain kind of texts, works as a principle of classification, and establishes a relation of homogeneity and filiation between texts”.³⁵ This filiation also exists when the author is fictional or when the author remains unknown. In other cases, before revealing their name, authors preferred to pretend that the work was a translation from a foreign novel. The first edition of *The Castle of Otranto* (1765) by Horace Walpole, for example, is presented as the translation by “William Marshall, Gent” of a sixteenth-century text printed in Naples. This is also the case with numerous novels published in Italy, as we shall see.

Attribution of intellectual responsibility is a real challenge and, in the field of novel’s authorship there is still a lot of work to do. Not only because more than 80% of the titles came out anonymously,³⁶ either with the wording “published by” or as translations of foreign authors, but because, in most cases, these are actual bibliographic puzzles, complicated by the layer upon layer of false attributions that have accumulated over time. The category includes various types of bibliographic intricacies and ghost editions, as with *Tom Jones*, translated, in all probability, by Abbot Chiari. There were two Venetian editions, one by Giovanni Battista Tavernin, *L’Orfano fortunato (The Lucky Orphan)*, in 1751, and the other by Giovanni Battista Regozza, the *Storia di Tom Jones*, in 1756. Due to Chiari’s habit of publishing his novels with the bookseller Angelo Pasinelli, it was mistakenly believed for a long time that there was also an edition by the selfsame enterprising Venetian bookseller.³⁷

Matters were further complicated by both editorial piracy and the use of false imprints. In addition to Pasinelli, numerous Venetian booksellers and printers were in the market competing for Chiari’s novels, including Giuseppe Bettinelli, Domenico Battifoco, the Basaglia brothers

³⁴ J. Raven, ‘The Anonymous Novel in Britain and Ireland, 1750-1830’, in R. J. Griffin (ed.), *The Faces of Anonymity*, op. cit., pp. 141-166.

³⁵ R. J. Griffin, *Introduction*, *ibid.*, p. 9

³⁶ T. Crivelli, “*Né Arturo né Turpino né la tavola rotonda*”. *Romanzi del secondo Settecento italiano*, Roma, Salerno Editrice, 2002, pp. 301-326.

³⁷ For the complex history of the translation of *Tom Jones* cf. L. Giari, ‘Le peripezie delle prime traduzioni del “Tom Jones” tra Francia e Italia’, *Problemi di critica goldoniana*, IX, 2002, pp. 229-249.

and Modesto Fenzo.³⁸ In many cases, the reissues were the result of commercial agreements between Pasinelli and other small printers, such as Filippo Carmignani of Parma.³⁹ But it was the Neapolitan printers more than any others, and Giacomo Antonio Vinaccia in particular,⁴⁰ who republished Chiari's successful novels, often without authorisation, creating a parallel market for counterfeits that hindered the spread of Venetian editions in Southern Italy. In some cases, the Neapolitan printers even managed to make use of Venice as a false place of publication on their pirate editions and some of these even managed to evade checks and to find their way on to the shelves of Venetian bookshops.⁴¹ Antonio Piazza's novels, too, went through numerous new editions, were subject to counterfeiting and the distorted use of intellectual responsibility. He began to make his name in the publishing market in the 1760s long after Chiari's ascendancy, guaranteeing large profits to printers and booksellers in various cities. Printers in Naples, therefore, in particular Vinaccia, Migliaccio and the Flauto brothers, attributed several of Piazza's novels to Pietro Chiari.⁴²

An analysis of the various types of introductions and announcements preceding the texts reveals an ambiguous situation: on the one hand, publishers were putting their money on a genre enjoying a great deal of success; on the other hand, authors felt almost smothered "between the demands of the text and those of the market, as if they were opposed to one another, still irreconcilable".⁴³ The result is an uncertainty of tone when authors address readers and a lack of clarity in the publishing offer, which often features a certain secretiveness with regard to the

³⁸ On Pasinelli, see M. Infelise, *L'editoria veneziana nel '700*, Milano, Franco Angeli, 1989, *ad indicem*; G. Mannironi, *Un genere per pochi? Pubblico e mercato del romanzo a Venezia nel secondo Settecento*, in L. Braidà, S. Tatti (eds.), *Il libro*, op. cit., pp. 282-286; on Chiari's publishers, see the essay by C. Cappelletti, 'Un diluvio di romanzi perniciosi', *Per una storia editoriale dell'abate Chiari*, *Studi sul Settecento e l'Ottocento. Rivista internazionale di Italianistica*, IV, 2009, pp. 39-54, which takes into consideration those in Venice, Genoa, Parma and Naples, in particular Vinaccia, responsible for numerous copies of Pasinelli's editions.

³⁹ C. Cappelletti, 'Un diluvio di romanzi perniciosi', op. cit., pp. 41-42, pp. 47-48.

⁴⁰ On Vinaccia, *ibid.*, pp. 44 and 51; A. Scannapieco, 'Un editore goldoniano nella Napoli del secondo Settecento', *Problemi di critica goldoniana*, IV, 1997, pp. 7-152 (with the reconstruction, in the appendix, of the catalogue of books printed by Vinaccia).

⁴¹ C. Cappelletti, 'Un diluvio di romanzi perniciosi', op. cit., pp. 47-48.

⁴² A. M. Morace, *Il prisma dell'apparenza. La narrativa di Antonio Piazza*, Napoli, Liguori, 2002, p. 8, n. 10.

⁴³ D. Mangione, 'Ruoli e funzioni di autore e lettore nel dibattito settecentesco italiano sul romanzo', in R. Loretelli, U. M. Olivieri (eds.), *La riflessione sul romanzo nell'Europa del Settecento*, Milano, Franco Angeli, 2005, p. 115. See also D. Mangione, *Prima di Manzoni. Autore e lettore nel romanzo del Settecento*, Roma, Salerno editore, 2012.

product itself, disguised as a translation of a successful French author or by resorting to anonymity or false attribution. Anonymity is, in many cases, unless when dealing with censorship issues, an indication of delegitimisation. As has been mentioned, Chiari's name does not appear on the title page of the *Filosofessa italiana* (1753), while some of his theatre editions as well as, above all, his poetical works display his name on the title page, often together with the status-enhancing description of "poet to His Serene Highness, His Lordship, the Duke of Modena" ("*poeta di Sua Altezza Serenissima il Sig. Duca di Modena*").

The Venetian publisher Pasinelli, or someone in his stead, in the introduction to the *Filosofessa italiana* presents the work as the translation of a successful French novel. When, in 1755, the Neapolitan printer Vinaccia published a counterfeit of the work, he confined himself to making a slight change to the title (the *Filosofessa* becomes the *Filosofante*), while following Pasinelli in the decision not to include the name of Chiari on the title page. Despite the enormous success of the *Filosofessa* in the areas around Venice and Naples, Chiari's name appears neither in the new editions nor even in the *principes* of the immediately following novels, being absent from the title page of *La ballerina onorata* (*The Honoured Dancer*, 1754), *La cantatrice per disgrazia* (*The Accidental Singer*, 1754) and *La commediante in fortuna* (*The Fortunate Actress*, 1754). In the last case, however, his name does appear in the initial letter ("To all his greatly beloved and most respectable friends, Abbot Pietro Chiari" ("*A tutti gli amatissimi e rispettabilissimi amici suoi l'abbate Pietro Chiari*"). Within the text itself, the author establishes an authorial link between different works, employing a metaliterary reflection to make the protagonist (Rosaura) declare that she had found the strength to write by observing the example of other women writers, such as the *Filosofessa italiana*, the *Ballerina onorata* and the *Cantatrice per disgrazia* – in other words, the narrative voices of Chiari's first three novels.⁴⁴ Once Chiari had reached fame, many works by other authors would be attributed to him, as has been said – so much so, that Chiari himself would have to resort to some sort of self-certification, publishing a list of his writings in the *Gazzetta Veneta* of 7 November, 1761: "For one thing – he explains – this review of my books is almost necessary, because there are works passed off as mine, which I never even dreamed of publishing".⁴⁵ Even when Chiari's name appears on the title page, the preference is for

⁴⁴ V. Tavazzi, *Nota al testo*, in P. Chiari, *La commediante in fortuna*, in V. Tavazzi (ed.), p. LVIII, Roma, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2012.

⁴⁵ The quotation from *Gazzetta Veneta* is taken from L. Giari, 'Le peripezie delle prime traduzioni del «Tom Jones»', quoted above, p. 242: "Per l'una parte questa ras-

resorting to narrative fictionality, whether it is a matter of “memories” or “adventures” written by a *Viniziana di spirito* (*A witty Venetian Lady*) or a *Giucatrice di lotto* (*A Lady who Plays the Lottery*), with the indication “published by”, an expression that makes one think more of curatorship than of actual authorship. Chiari himself speaks of the vocation of many authors to remain in the shadows: “They strive in general to seek concealment, or at least they do not much care to make themselves known in their work”.⁴⁶

The narrative strategies typical of the novel, namely the first-person epistolary form (as in the case of *Pamela* and many novels by Chiari and Piazza) and memoir-style of writing, seem to require the author to hide. As John Mullan observes, with regard to both Defoe and Richardson, the choice of a female disguise is unlikely to be an issue of either author’s modesty or mischievousness, but more of a “creative necessity”. Defoe needed to seem true to female experience because women represented his most loyal audience; Richardson needed to seem true because recounting one’s experience through letters was felt more as a feminine practice.⁴⁷ And so must have thought Chiari, who resorts to the fiction of autobiographical writing in many of his novels. For instance, in *La viaggiatrice* (*The Traveller*, Venice, Pasinelli, 1760), he addresses his readers by saying that he merely publishes letters that a woman has sent him in which she recounts her “bizarre incidents” (“*bizzarri accidenti*”).⁴⁸ Lynn Hunt has pointed out that eighteenth-century novels, in particular French and English ones, helped to foster empathy in readers: the formula of writing in the form of an exchange of letters was the most appropriate in terms of hiding the identity of the author and of making room for the emotions of the protagonists.⁴⁹ This is why Italian Catholic moralists feared the “pitfalls” of novels: they were certain that readers,

segna de’ libri è quasi necessaria, perocchè si spacciano come mie delle cose, che non ho mai sognato nemmeno di pubblicarle”.

⁴⁶ *La Francese in Italia o sia Memorie critiche di Madama N.N., scritte da lei medesima, e pubblicate dall’abate Pietro Chiari, Poeta di Sua Altezza Sereniss. Il Sig. Duca di Modena, Venezia, presso gli eredi di Pellicchia, a spese di Giacomo Antonio Venaccia, 1759, vol. I, p. 10* (“Studiano per l’ordinario di nascondersi, o non si curano almeno gran fatto nell’opere loro di farsi conoscere”).

⁴⁷ J. Mullan, *Anonymity*, op. cit., p. 4. See also G. Paku, *Anonymity in the Eighteenth Century* <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199935338.013.37>. Published: 06 August 2015.

⁴⁸ L. Clerici, *Il romanzo italiano del Settecento*, Venezia, Marsilio, 1997, pp. 92-93.

⁴⁹ L. Hunt, *Inventing Human Rights: A History*, New York-London, Norton & Company, 2007, p. 40. On the effects of reading novels, on the identification and empathy aroused in readers, cf. also R. Darnton, *The Forbidden Best-Sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France*, New York-London, Norton & Company, 1995, pp. 217-231; R. Loretelli,

and especially female readers, would identify with the protagonists of these adventurous stories. The Jesuit Roberti understood this danger very well: "It is impossible to welcome the passions of others into one's bosom, without provoking one's own".⁵⁰ For him, it was unthinkable that "in the midst of the fascination with so many longed-for sweet temptations, the imagination should not be altered and in the end the heart not be corrupted".⁵¹

In many cases the author's name, absent from the title page, appears at the bottom of the dedicatory letter. This can be seen in many editions of Antonio Piazza's work: he takes advantage of this space to insert autobiographical elements, such as his status as a writer, with all the difficulties that the publishing market entails. For example, in the dedication to Daniele Barbaro, which prefaces *La Turca in cimento* (*The Trials of a Turkish Lady*), he informed the illustrious Venetian that his own "schooling had gone little beyond the ABC" and that only thanks to his willpower had he managed to achieve good results. He did not hide, however, a certain bitterness when admitting that, despite being a professional author, he was "forced to entertain the Idle with the dreams of his own imagination".⁵² Similarly, in the dedication to Daniel Bonfil which introduced *L'amante disgraziato, avventure del conte E.H.R.* (*The Unfortunate Lover, adventures of Count E.H.R.*, 1770) he dwelt on his economic precariousness and on the exploitation to which he was subjected by dishonest printers "who were able to prevail wickedly over my needs to rob me of the best fruit of my labour", with pirated editions "at cheap prices, which do very serious harm to legitimate Editions".⁵³ Via such

L'invenzione del romanzo. Dall'oralità alla lettura silenziosa, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2010, pp. 139-158.

⁵⁰ [G. Roberti], *Del leggere libri di metafisica e di divertimento trattati due con prefazione sopra un libro intitolato De la predication par l'auteur du dictionnaire philosophiques aux delices* 1756, Bologna, Stamperia del Sant'Uffizio, 1769, p. 218: "È impossibile accogliere nel seno le altrui passioni, e non provocare le proprie".

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 263 : "[è impossibile che] in mezzo al fascino di tante dolci volute tentazioni la fantasia non si alteri, e il cuore alla fine non si corrompa". On the involvement generated by reading, in Catholic doctrine manuals and in printed sermons, see P. Delpiano, *Il governo della lettura*, op. cit., pp. 54-65.

⁵² *La Turca in cimento o sia l'avventure di Zelmira scritte da lei medesima e dedicate a S. E. Daniel Barbaro*, Venezia: Antonio Decastro, 1765, vol. 1, III, VI: "[i miei] studi scolastici s'estesero poco più in là dell'Abbicci"; "costretto a divertire gli Oziosi co' sogni della sua fantasia".

⁵³ *L'amante disgraziato. Avventure del conte E.H.R. – Seconda edizione riveduta e migliorata in più parti*, Venezia, presso Angelo Pasinelli, 1770, p. IX: [stampatori scorretti] "che si seppero prevalere empivamente de' miei bisogni per rapirmi il miglior frutto de' miei sudori", [con edizioni contraffatte] "a buon mercato con gravissimo pregiudizio dell'Edizioni legittime".

a digression into the paratext, enlarging upon details of his lived experience, he disrupts the masking game that anonymity and the first-person narration of many of his novels' female protagonists had granted him. In confiding his difficulties and frustrations to his readers, Piazza sought to elicit their empathy, and perhaps their curiosity, for an author who, though not openly declaring his name, had no shame in revealing how much suffering and insecurity accompanied the craft of writing.

References

- Artigas-Menant G. and McKenna A. (eds.), *Anonymat et clandestinité aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*, Actes de la journée de Créteil, 11 juin 1999, *La lettre clandestine*, n. 8, 1999 (monographic issue).
- [Baillet Adrien], *Auteurs, déguisez sous des noms étrangers, empruntez, supposez, feint à plaisir, chiffrez, renversez, retournez, ou changez d'une langue en une autre*, Paris, Dezallier, 1690.
- Bertoni C., 'Editoria e romanzo fra Venezia e Napoli nella seconda metà del Settecento', in Rao, A. M. (ed.), *Editoria e cultura a Napoli nel XVIII secolo*, Napoli, Liguori, 1998, pp. 697-722.
- Bourdieu P., *Les règles de l'art. Genèse et structure du champ littéraire*, Paris, Seuil, 1992.
- Braidà L., *Le guide del tempo. Produzione, contenuti e forme degli almanacchi piemontesi nel Settecento*, Torino, Deputazione Subalpina di Storia Patria, 1989.
- Braidà L., *Il commercio delle idee. Editoria e circolazione del libro nella Torino del Settecento*, Firenze, Olschki, 1995.
- Braidà L., 'Censure et circulation du livre en Italie au XVIII^e siècle', *Journal of Modern European History*, 2005, vol. 3, 1, pp. 81-98.
- Braidà L., 'Il ricorso all'anonimato nel Settecento: il caso dei libri di viaggio', *La Bibliofilia. Rivista di Storia del Libro e di Bibliografia*, CXX, 2018, 2, pp. 259-278.
- Braidà L., *L'autore assente. L'anonimato nell'editoria italiana del Settecento*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2019 (Eng. transl.: *Anonymity in Eighteenth-Century Italian Publishing. The Absent Author*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2022).
- Braidà L., 'Carlo Goldoni and the Construction of Authorship on the Printed Page', *Quaerendo*, 50, 2020, pp. 241-265.
- Braidà L., '“Gli inganni letterari” e i dizionari degli anonimi e degli pseudonimi dell'Ottocento. Gaetano Melzi e il dizionario italiano (1848-1859)', in J. Boutier et al. (eds.), *Le stagioni dell'erudizione e le generazioni di eruditi. Una storia europea (secoli XV-XIX)*, Bologna, Clueb, 2024, pp. 401-418.
- Braidà L. and Tatti, S. (eds.), *Il Libro. Editoria e pratiche di lettura nel Settecento*, Roma, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2016.
- Brunn A., 'Auteur, auctorialité', 2007 <https://www.fabula.org/ressources/atelier/?Auteur%2C%20auctorialit%26eacute%3B> (accessed 3 September 2024).
- Cappelletti C., '«Un diluvio di romanzi perniciosi», Per una storia editoriale dell'abate Chiari', *Studi sul Settecento e l'Ottocento. Rivista internazionale di Italianistica*, IV, 2009, pp. 39-54.

- Chartier R., *Epilogue: Diderot and His Pirates*, in R. Chartier, *Inscription and Erasure. Literature and Written Culture from the Eleventh to the Eighteenth Century*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007, pp. 126-143 (first ed. Paris, 2005).
- Chartier R., *Éditer et traduire. Mobilité et Matérialité des textes (XVI^e–XVIII^e siècle)*, Paris, EHESS-Gallimard-Seuil, 2021.
- [Chiari P.], *La Francese in Italia o sia Memorie critiche di Madama N.N., scritte da lei medesima, e pubblicate dall'abate Pietro Chiari, Poeta di Sua Altezza Sereniss. Il Sig. Duca di Modena*, Venezia, presso gli eredi di Pellecchia, a spese di Vinaccia, 1759, 2 voll.
- Clerici L., *Il romanzo italiano del Settecento*, Venezia, Marsilio, 1997.
- Cochetti M., 'Adrien Baillet', in Serrai, A., *Storia della bibliografia*. VI. *La Maturità disciplinare*, G. Miggiano (ed.), Roma, Bulzoni, 1995, pp. 149-166.
- Crivelli T., "Né Arturo né Turpino né la tavola rotonda". *Romanzi del secondo Settecento italiano*, Roma, Salerno Editrice, 2002.
- Darnton R., 'Livres philosophiques', in G. Barber and C. P. Courtney (eds.), *Enlightenment Essays in Memory of Robert Shackleton*, Oxford, The Voltaire Foundation, 1988, pp. 89-108.
- Darnton R., *The Forbidden Best-Sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France*, New York-London, Norton & Company, 1995.
- Darnton R., *Censors at Work: How States Shaped Literature*, New York, Norton and Company, 2014.
- Darnton R., *Pirating and Publishing. The Book Trade in the Age of Enlightenment*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2021.
- Delpiano P., *Il governo della lettura. Chiesa e libri nell'Italia del Settecento*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2007.
- Foucault M., 'Qu'est-ce qu'un auteur', *Bulletin de la Société française de philosophie*, 1969, LXIV, pp. 73-104.
- Fagnano G., *Proibito capire. La Chiesa e il volgare nella prima età moderna*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2005.
- Fagnano G., *Rinascimento perduto. La letteratura italiana sotto gli occhi dei censori (secoli XV–XVII)*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2019.
- Giari L., 'Le peripezie delle prime traduzioni del "Tom Jones" tra Francia e Italia', *Problemi di critica goldoniana*, IX, 2002, pp. 229-249.
- Goldoni C., *Mémoires*, G. Ortolani (ed.), vol. I, Milano, Mondadori, 1935.
- Griffin R. J. (ed.), *The Faces of Anonymity: Anonymous and Pseudonymous Publication from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.
- Guerci L., *Per una storia delle donne nell'Italia del Settecento*, Strumia, E. (ed.), Alessandria, Edizioni dell'Orso, 2023 (first ed. Turin 1987-1988).
- Infelise M., *L'editoria veneziana nel '700*, Milano, Franco Angeli, 1989.
- Landi S., *Stampa, censura e opinione pubblica in età moderna*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2011.
- Lettere inedite d'illustri italiani che fiorirono dal principio del secolo XVIII fino ai nostri tempi*, Milano, Società Tipografica dei Classici Italiani, 1835.
- Loretelli R., *L'invenzione del romanzo. Dall'oralità alla lettura silenziosa*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2010.

- Mangione D., 'Ruoli e funzioni di autore e lettore nel dibattito settecentesco italiano sul romanzo', in Loretelli, R. and Olivieri, U. M. (eds.), *La riflessione sul romanzo nell'Europa del Settecento*, Milan, Franco Angeli, 2005, pp. 103-117.
- Mangione D., *Prima di Manzoni. Autore e lettore nel romanzo del Settecento*, Rome, Salerno editore, 2012.
- Mannironi G., 'Un genere per pochi? Pubblico e mercato del romanzo a Venezia nel secondo Settecento', in Braidà, L. and Tatti, S. (eds.), *Il Libro. Editoria e pratiche di lettura nel Settecento*, Roma, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2016, pp. 282-286.
- [Manzoni G.], *Riflessioni critiche sopra alcune proposizioni trovate nel libro intitolato "Il Genio e i costumi del secolo corrente" proposte al sig. ab. Pietro Chiari da un accademico planomaco*, Venezia, n. p., 1762.
- May G., *Le dilemme du roman au XVIII^e siècle. Etude sur les rapports du roman et de la critique (1715-1761)*, Paris, PUF, 1963.
- McKenna A., *Les masques de Pierre Bayle: pratiques de l'anonymat*, in Artigas-Menant, G. and McKenna A. (eds.), *Anonymat et clandestinité aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*, Actes de la journée de Créteil, 11 juin 1999, *La lettre clandestine*, n. 8, 1999 (monographic issue), pp. 237-248.
- Morace A. M., *Il prisma dell'apparenza. La narrativa di Antonio Piazza*, Napoli, Liguori, 2002.
- Moscato L., *Tra copyright e droit d'auteur. Origine e sviluppo della proprietà intellettuale in Europa*, Napoli, Satura, 2012.
- Mullan J., *Anonymity: A Secret History of English Literature*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2007.
- Orr L., 'The History, Uses, and Dangers of Hallkett and Laing', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 2013, 107, 2, pp. 193-240.
- Paku G., *Anonymity in the Eighteenth Century* <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxford-hb/9780199935338.013.37>. Published: 06 August 2015.
- Parmentier B., *Introduction to Parmentier, B. (ed.), L'anonymat de l'œuvre (XVI^e-XVIII^e siècles)*, *Littératures classiques*, 2013, 80, (monographic issue), pp. 5-16.
- Pasta R., *Editoria e cultura nel Settecento*, Firenze, Olschki, 1997.
- Patterson A., *Censorship and Interpretation: the Conditions of Writing and Reading in Early Modern England*, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1984.
- [Piazza A.], *L'amante disgraziato. Avventure del conte E.H.R. Seconda edizione riveduta e migliorata in più parti*, Venezia, Angelo Pasinelli, 1770.
- [Piazza A.], *La Turca in cimento o sia l'avventure di Zelmira scritte da lei medesima e dedicate a S. E. Daniel Barbaro*, Venezia, Antonio Decastro, 1765.
- Raven J., 'The Anonymous Novel in Britain and Ireland, 1750-1830', in Griffin, R. J. (ed.), *The Faces of Anonymity: Anonymous and Pseudonymous Publication from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2003, pp. 141-166.
- Ribard D., *Anonymat philosophique et exigence autoriale à l'époque moderne*, in Calame, C. and Chartier R. (eds), *Identités d'auteur dans l'Antiquité et dans la tradition européenne*, Grenoble, Editions Jérôme Millon, 2004, pp. 119-126.
- Ribard D., *Raconter, vivre, penser. Histoires de philosophes 1650-1766*, Paris, Editions de l'EHESS-Vrin, 2003.
- Rizzi A. and Griffiths J., 'The Renaissance of Anonymity', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 2016, 69, pp. 200-212.

- [Roberti G.], *Del leggere libri di metafisica e divertimento trattati due con prefazione sopra un libro intitolato De la predication par l'auteur du dictionnaire philosophiques aux delices 1756*, Bologna, Stamperia del Sant'Uffizio, 1769.
- Rose M., *Authors and Owners. The Invention of Copyright*, Cambridge (Mass.)-London, Harvard University Press, 1993.
- Scannapieco A., 'Un editore goldoniano nella Napoli del secondo Settecento', *Problemi di critica goldoniana*, IV, 1997, pp. 7-152.
- Serrai A., *Storia della bibliografia*, vol. 4, M. G. Ceccarelli (ed.), Roma, Bulzoni, 1993, pp. 682-691.
- Serrai A., *Storia della bibliografia*, vol. 10. 1. *Specializzazione e pragmatismo. I nuovi cardini della attività bibliografica*, Roma, Bulzoni, 1999, pp. 39-60 and 79-146.
- Tavazzi V., *Nota al testo*, in Chiari, P., *La commediante in fortuna*, Tavazzi, V. (ed.), Roma, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2012, pp. VII-LI.
- Taylor A. and Mosher F. J., *The Bibliographical History of Anonyma and Pseudonyma*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1951.
- Tortarolo E., *The Invention of Free Press. Writers and Censorship in Eighteenth Century Europe*, Dordrecht, Springer, 2016.
- Vareschi M., *Everywhere and Nowhere. Anonymity and Mediation in Eighteenth-Century Britain*. London-Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2018.
- Waquet F., 'Une pensée morale de l'anonyme. D'après Adrien Baillet (1685-1690)', in Parmentier, B. (ed.), *L'anonymat de l'œuvre (XVI^e-XVIII^e siècles)*, *Littératures classiques*, 2013, 80, (monographic issue), pp. 225-235.