

DISPLAY OF THEIR BEING NOVEL IN SCOTT'S HISTORICAL NOVELS: DIFFERENCES IN STRATEGY FROM MANZONI'S *THE BETROTHED*¹

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Introduction: old Ariosto and guinea pigs

To tell events occurring in different places simultaneously and thus combine multiple plot lines are considered essential to the structure of the nineteenth-century novel. In his *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson theorizes that the print media («the two modes of imagination that first blossomed in eighteenth-century Europe, the novel and the newspaper», Anderson 2006 [1983]: 24-25) contributed to the formation of the imagined community of the nation, and it is imperative to his argument that the old-fashioned novel—the type of novel in which the narrator is outside the story and the point of view is not restricted—puts the reader in a position to know what is happening in more than one place at the same time. Emphasizing the novelty of the manner of presentation with the term “meanwhile”, Anderson adds the following note:

This polyphony decisively marks off the modern novel even from so brilliant a forerunner as Petronius's *Satyricon*. Its narrative proceeds single file. If Encolpius bewails his young lover's faithlessness, we are not simultaneously shown Gito in bed with Ascyllus (Anderson 2006 [1983]: 25)

However, these findings might be exaggerated. Certainly, considering

¹ This article is based on a study first reported in Japanese in *Studi di lingua e letteratura offerti a Kei Amano*, a cura di K. Kunishi, Y. Shimoda e Y. Murase, Dipartimento di italianistica dell'Università di Kyoto, 2018.

that the classical poetics of the 17th and 18th centuries, following Tasso's example, made a sharp distinction between the main plot and secondary plots and firmly subordinated the latter to the former, the modern novel, which tells multiple storylines that arise simultaneously, represents a new trend that could be called post-classical (cf. Bigazzi 1996: 30). However, it would be rash to assume that there was no precedent for the presentation of multiple parallel situations. For example, let us consider Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*.

Scott (1771-1832) provides a clear answer to this question. With the success of his first novel, *Waverley*, published anonymously in 1814, Scott established the genre of the historical novel and, with the success of his subsequent novels (the *Waverley Novels*), presented to the Western world a model for the early 19th-century novel. In some of his novels, the narrator, in passing from one plot to another, makes the following comments, or meta-level discourses, on the structure of his own story. Two similar examples can be found: The first is at the beginning of Chapter XVI of *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* (1818).

Like the digressive poet Ariosto, I find myself under the necessity of connecting the branches of my story, by taking up the adventures of another of the characters, and bringing them down to the point at which we have left those of Jeanie Deans (*The heart of Mid-Lothian*, XVI, 163; underline mine).

The other is at the end of Volume II, Chapter III [Chapter XVII in total] of Scott's famous novel *Ivanhoe* (1819).

The occasion of this interruption we can only explain by resuming the adventures of another set of our characters; for, like old Ariosto, we do not pique ourselves upon continuing uniformly to keep company with any one personage of our drama. (*Ivanhoe*, Vol. 2, Ch. 3, 152; underline mine)

In both instances, it can be said that by interjecting a meta-level discourse where it would have been sufficient to simply use a connecting word such

as “in the meantime,” the narrative act itself that connects the two strands is foregrounded. In this sense, these comments can be said to suggest that such a connection was not a conventional one but one that merits attention, while the words «like Ariosto» indicate that Scott was clearly aware of a precedent or model for this kind of connection, namely Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*.

However, this raises a new question. Historical novels are supposed to tell realistically conceived stories grounded in historical facts, albeit mixed with the products of the literary imagination. Wouldn't it be inconvenient, then, for the narrator to compare his own mode of narration to that of *Orlando Furioso*, whose fictionality everyone knows? In other words, if the purpose of the text is to convey the “reality” of history through a narrative in line with historical facts, is it not detrimental to that purpose to suggest the fictional nature of that narrative within the text?

Indeed, the Italian writer Alessandro Manzoni (1785-1873), who was more sensitive than Scott to the problem of communicating “facts” through narrative containing fiction, carefully avoided it. In foregrounding the very act of narration that connects two events that occur simultaneously, he does not refer to the tradition of narrative literature (fiction) but rather to the everyday scene in front of him. In the middle of Chapter XI of the historical novel *I promessi sposi* (*The Betrothed*, first published 1825-27, definitive edition 1840-42), when the narrative shifts from the story of the antagonist Don Rodrigo to what the protagonist Renzo was doing “in the meantime,” the narrator comments:

Ho visto più volte un caro fanciullo, vispo, per dire il vero, più del bisogno, ma che, a tutti i segnali, mostra di voler riuscire un galantuomo; l'ho visto, dico, più volte affaccendato sulla sera a mandare al coperto un suo gregge di porcellini d'India, che aveva lasciati scorrer liberi il giorno, in un giardinetto. Avrebbe voluto fargli andar tutti insieme al covile; ma era fatica buttata: uno si sbandava a destra, e mentre il piccolo pastore correva per cacciarlo nel branco, un altro, due, tre ne uscivano a sinistra, da ogni parte. Dimodoché, dopo essersi un po' impazientito, s'adattava al loro genio, spingeva prima dentro quelli ch'eran più vicini all'uscio, poi andava a prender gli altri, a uno, a due, a tre, come gli riusciva. Un gioco simile ci convien fare co' nostri personaggi: ricoverata Lucia,

siam corsi a don Rodrigo; e ora lo dobbiamo abbandonare, per andar dietro a Renzo, che avevam perduto di vista (*PS*, XI, 49).²

If we consider only the function of scene change, this note is unnecessary, as Raimondi (1974: 250-1) reasonably points out. By the immediately preceding statement—that while Don Rodrigo intended to enlist the lawyer Azzecca-garbugli in disturbing Renzo with legal tricks, Renzo himself was unexpectedly working to serve Don Rodrigo’s purposes³—the plot shift is well prepared. In other words, such a note deliberately calls attention to the act of narration in the relationship between the story and the narrator.

It is clear that *The Betrothed* owes much to the model presented by Scott⁴ and inherits much from the Italian narrative literary tradition, including *Orlando Furioso*, without going through Scott. The representation of the act of narration is also evidence of such an inheritance,⁵ but it is important to note that the narrator of *The Betrothed* does not explicitly talk about its “debt” to this tradition. In the novel’s setting, the narrator of *The Betrothed*

² «I myself have often observed a dear impish little boy, a little too impish, to be honest, but showing signs of wanting to become a fine man. I have often observed him, as I was saying, toward evening, attempting to round up his herd of guinea pigs, which he allows to run free in the yard all day. He tries to get them to go into their pen together, but it’s always in vain. One heads right, and while the little shepherd runs to corral him back, one, two, or three others escape to the left, and in every direction. Eventually, after losing his patience, he adapts to their game, and pushes the ones closest to the gate inside, and then collects the others, in ones, twos, or threes, as he can.

We should play a similar game with our characters: Having found shelter for Lucia, we raced to Don Rodrigo; and now we have to abandon him to chase after Renzo, of whom we had lost sight» (*The Betrothed*, p. 196).

³ «But (as sometimes happens in this world) while he was thinking that the lawyer was the best man to help him in this matter, another man, a man whom no one would have imagined—Renzo himself, to be precise—was working wholeheartedly to serve the nobleman’s purposes more surely and swiftly than anything the lawyer could have dreamed up» (*The Betrothed*, p. 196).

⁴ On the ways in which Manzoni was influenced by Scott, see, for example, Leri 2002.

⁵ Raimondi (1974: 249-50) notes that the cited passage from *The Betrothed* is a variant of the discourse found in chapter LXX of *Waverley*, which compares the novel’s narrative to the “pastime” of a boy rolling a stone off a mountain top.

is the discoverer of an unpublished manuscript from the 17th century and thus is not telling a fictional account. In this setting, the narrator does not directly compare his storytelling style, including plot development or the reality of the story's content, with other narrative literature (fiction).

Of course, the linking of multiple stories that occur simultaneously is not something found only in works of fiction (it may also be found in history books, for example). Thus, the fact that Scott's novels explicitly state that the method of plot linkage is homogeneous with that of Ariosto may not by itself mean that narrative texts expose their own fictionality. However, as we will see, Scott's novels do not try to hide the fact that they are novels (fiction), and from this perspective, the meta-level discourses in *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* and *Ivanhoe* also suggest a fictional nature. In Scott's later historical novels set in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, including *Ivanhoe*, the logic of storytelling tends to take precedence over accurate and authentic reconstruction of the past world, whereas it is said that his earlier novels about Scotland—not only *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, but also his first novel, *Waverley*, fall into this category—are subject to various restrictions from the real world because they take their subject matter from the not-so-distant past (cf. Yonemoto 2007: 15-6). However, it seems that Scott's references (or more precisely, those of the narrators of the *Waverley Novels*) in his works to the “novelness” of his works have nothing to do with the freedom of the content against the constraints from historical facts. In fact, the first novel, *Waverley*, is based on the Stuart royalist (Jacobite) rebellion of 1745, about which Scott himself was able to hear as a boy from those who participated in it and is considerably more in line with historical reality than *Ivanhoe*, which is set in 12th century England, but even there, the fact that the story is a novel is indicated many times within the text.

In this paper, I would like to discuss this characteristic of the display of “novelness” in Scott's novels with a particular focus on *Waverley* by comparing it to Manzoni's *The Betrothed*, which never displays it in the narrative—at least not in the same obvious way.

1. Display of its being novel in *Waverley*

1.1 The protagonist who reads “romances”

As already mentioned, *Waverley* is a historical novel about the Jacobite rebellion of 1745 (it has the subtitle “or, ’Tis Sixty Years Since,” sixty years ago in terms of when the first part of the novel was written in 1805). The protagonist, Edward Waverley, was brought up as heir to an uncle who was a Tory and sentimental Jacobite (a supporter of the Stuart family), while his father was a Whig who had risen in the Hanoverian administration. Edward grew up reading his uncle’s vast library of books, but according to the father’s wishes, he was commissioned as a captain in a regiment of dragoons stationed at Dundee in Scotland (on the Hanoverian side). There (in the Lowlands), Captain Waverley visits his uncle’s friend, the Baron of Bradwardine, and, in search of romantic things, travels further into the outback to the Highlands, where he is welcomed by the ardent young Jacobite chieftain, Fergus Mac-Ivor.

Edward’s desire for romantic things is due to his fondness for reading and dreaming of chivalric tales from his uncle’s library, which includes Ariosto (and Tasso). In the description of the garden at Tully-Veolan in the Lowlands—which had such a charm as not to destroy the illusions drawn from his “fancy”—the reference to the witch Alcina’s gardens in *Orlando Furioso* and to the witch Armida’s gardens in *Gerusalemme Liberata* is clearly based on the protagonist’s fantasy (delusional) habit of trying somehow to see the romantic in reality.

The scene, though pleasing, was not quite equal to the gardens of Alcina, yet wanted not the ‘*due donzelle garrule*’ of that enchanted paradise, for upon the green aforesaid two bare-legged damsels, each standing in a spacious tub, performed with their garments (I should say garment, to be quite correct), over their limbs, which their occupation exposed somewhat too freely, and, with a shrill exclamation of ‘Eh, sirs!’ uttered with an accent between modesty and coquetry, sprung off like deer in different directions. (*Waverley*, IX, 81)

Nevertheless, the novel is set in “real” Scotland of 60 years before (70 years before, given the year of publication), however extraordinary a world it may have been for Waverley and many readers. As Yonemoto (2007: 15-6) points out, «a romance world so close to the real world in time and space is subject to various constraints from the real world». Indeed, the passage quoted above also depicts an everyday scene of young girls washing their clothes with their feet, contrary to our expectations of the romance world. Yonemoto (2007:50) states that «there is always a gap between the romance world he [Edward] longs for and the real world, and the narrator tries to make the reader aware of this gap». ⁶ In other words, by making aware of this gap, the narrator of *Waverley* rather impresses upon the reader that the narrative world is a “realistic” world in which the ideals of romance are not realized.

Thus, the protagonist of *Waverley* is a character who reads romance and tries to see its elements in the real world. Since he does not lose the distinction between reality and fantasy, he also sees in Scotland a “reality” that cannot be romantically adapted, which is also an important point to emphasize the “realism” of the novel, but it is impossible not to associate him with a certain character: Don Quixote, of course. In fact, the narrator of *Waverley* anticipated this and stated that the protagonist of his story was not the same as the protagonist of *Don Quixote*. This is his comment at the beginning of Chapter V.

From the minuteness with which I have traced Waverley's pursuits, and the bias which these unavoidably communicated to his imagination, the reader may perhaps anticipate,

⁶ The following example clearly points out that real-world “degrading incidents” can hinder immersion in the world of romance: «He had now time to give himself up to the full romance of his situation. Here he sate on the banks of an unknown lake, under the guidance of a wild native, whose language was unknown to him, on a visit to the den of some renowned outlaw, a second Robin Hood perhaps, or Adam o' Gordon, and that at deep midnight, through scenes of difficulty and toil, separated from his attendant, left by his guide. – What a variety of incidents for the exercise of a romantic imagination, and all enhanced by the solemn feeling of uncertainty, at least, if not of danger? The only circumstance which assorted ill with the rest, was the cause of his journey – the Baron's milk-cows! This degrading incident he kept in the background» (*Waverley*, XVI, 138).

in the following tale, an imitation of the romance of Cervantes. But he will do my prudence injustice in the supposition. My intention is not to follow the steps of that inimitable author, in describing such total perversion of intellect as misconstrues the objects actually presented to the senses, but that more common aberration from sound judgment, which apprehends occurrences indeed in their reality, but communicates to them a tincture of its own romantic tone and colouring. (*Waverley*, V, 55)

By comparing Don Quixote's (or rather Alonso Quijano's) "total perversion of intellect" with Edward Waverley's "more common aberration from sound judgment," the narrator seeks to establish his narrative as less fantastic and more realistic than Cervantes'. However, it is important to note that this is a claim that his story is more realistic "novel" than *Don Quixote*, because here the story is compared to a work of fiction at the level of content, and the content is treated as determined according to the "intention" of the narrator, who calls himself "I." The narrator comments as the author of this story, with Waverley as the protagonist; that is, he does not hide the fact that it is a novel.

1.2 A flying chariot drawn by hippogriffs and an humble English post-chaise drawn upon four wheels

There are other passages in *Waverley* where the "I," who acts as the author, makes an appearance and does not hide the fact that the story he is now telling is a novel but insists that it is a realistic type of novel, not a ridiculous one. The following comment is placed at the end of the same Chapter V.

I beg pardon, once and for all, of those readers who take up novels merely for amusement, for plaguing them so long with old-fashioned politics, and Whig and Tory, and Hanoverians and Jacobites. The truth is, I cannot promise them that this story shall be intelligible, not to say probable, without it. My plan requires that I should explain the motives on which its action proceeded; and these motives necessarily arose from the feelings, prejudices, and parties of the times. I do not invite my fair readers, whose sex and impatience give them the greatest right to complain of these circumstances, into a flying chariot drawn by hippogriffs, or moved by enchantment. Mine is an humble English

post-chaise, drawn upon four wheels, and keeping his Majesty's highway. Such as dislike the vehicle may leave it at the next halt, and wait for the conveyance of Prince Hussein's tapestry, or Malek the Weaver's flying sentry-box. Those who are contented to remain with me will be occasionally exposed to the dulness inseparable from heavy roads, steep hills, sloughs, and other terrestrial retardations; but with tolerable horses and a civil driver (as the advertisements have it), I engage to get as soon as possible into a more picturesque and romantic country, if my passengers incline to have some patience with me during my first stages. (*Waverley*, V, 63)

By apologizing to readers who read “novels” only for pleasure, the author-narrator “I” conveys that what he is writing is also a novel, though of a different kind (the words “My plan” also amount to a declaration that the story is “my” creation). According to the author, his novel is conceived as rooted in the realities of a particular time and place, such that in order to “explain the motives on which its action proceeded,” he has to speak of “the feelings, prejudices, and parties of the times.”⁷ Therefore, instead of a succession of marvelous tales, such as the hippogriff-drawn carriage—again, the reference is to Ariosto—the story is realistic, like “an humble English post-chaise, drawn upon four wheels”. Of course, “I,” the driver, does promise to take us to a “picturesque and romantic country” at the end, but this is due to Scotland as a subject, and as we have seen above, its elements of romance are constrained by reality, especially the reality of the everyday.

These examples have already shown how “I,” as the author of *Waverley*, discloses that the story is a novel in the text rather than in the introduction or other paratexts. Of course, the point here is not to admit that the story

⁷ Erich Auerbach, in his article *Romanticism and Realism*, wrote that in the case of works such as *La Princesse de Clèves* or *Manon Lescaut*, or even *Adolphe*, it would be easy to transpose one of those novels into a different “milieu” without having to change it in any essential way, whereas Stendhal's realism is characterized by its inability to do so (Auerbach 2010 [1933]: 11), and in Scott's novels, which were a major influence on Stendhal, the story seems to have been conceived in such a way that it would be difficult to develop it in a different environment.

is a novel in itself but to insist that his story, even if it is fiction, is not a ridiculous story but one in accordance with the reality of a specific time and space, in other words, to insist on the “reality” of the story. In addition to this kind of reality, which is highlighted by comparison with other typical fiction,⁸ there is also a reality that relies on the fact that something similar to the event has actually happened (and that the reader is informed of that). In the next chapter, I will turn to this kind of reality—the use of a true story—which can be said to be specific to historical novels. Interestingly, the narrator of *Waverley*, even in displaying that kind of reality, displays the novel nature of the story at the same time.

2. Differences in methods of emphasizing the reality of the story in *Waverley* and *The Betrothed*

2.1 The author-narrator of *Waverley* reveals that it is based on a true story

Waverley is a historical novel about a real rebellion that took place in 1745 in which real historical figures, including Prince Charles Edward of Stuart, real cities such as Edinburgh, and real battlefields and battles, are also described in a factual manner. However, in addition to Edward Waverley, the main characters, including Baron Cosmo Comyne Bradwardine and Fergus Mac-Ivor, are fictional characters created by the author as people who must have existed at the time, even though some of them are considered to have clear models. Fictional places with characteristics of real places in Scotland are also depicted.

For example, the mansion of the Baron of Bradwardine, “Tully-Veolan,” does not exist but was imagined based on reality. This is clarified in the footnote at the end of Chapter VIII: “there is no particular mansion under the name of Tully-Veolan,” but its description is inspired by several real seats

⁸ On the manner in which Manzoni’s *The Betrothed* suggests realism in this sense without directly disclosing its own fictionality, see my article (Shimoda 2017).

in Scotland.⁹ This note also explicitly states that the story is fictitious but, at the same time, based on reality and not just a figment of the imagination. While in this case, it is mentioned with a note, not in the text, in Chapter XXIV, which describes a big hunt in the Highlands, it is stated in the text that the description of certain scenes in the story is made by borrowing from a reality that closely resembles it.

But without further tyranny over my readers, or display of the extent of my own reading, I shall content myself with borrowing a single incident from the memorable hunting at Lude, commemorated in the ingenious Mr. Gunn's essay on the Caledonian Harp, and so proceed in my story with all the brevity that my natural style of composition, partaking of what scholars call the periphrastic and ambagitory, and the vulgar the circumbendibus, will permit me. (*Waverley*, XXIV, 187)

This conveys that the description of the hunt is not based on the author's own imagination but rather on documentary support. At the same time, it also conveys that the description is borrowed and not itself depicted as fact. It could be argued that readers are being shown on the spot the art of making fiction realistic in a story based on a real incident.

Besides, in "A postscript, which should have been a preface" placed in the final chapter of the novel (Ch. LXXII), there is a comment by the narrator or author that «Indeed, the most romantic parts of this narrative are precisely those which have a foundation in fact» (*Waverley*, LXXII, 493). This is well-known as an indication of Scott's strategy in historical novels, which was to find elements of romance in reality and introduce them into the novel, even in an age when the "novel," which tells of ordinary, everyday events, had emerged as opposed to the "romance," which tells of

⁹ «There is no particular mansion described under the name of Tully-Veolan; but the peculiarities of the description occur in various old Scottish seats. The House of Warrender upon Bruntfield Links and that of Old Ravelston, belonging, the former to Sir George Warrender, the latter to Sir Alexander Keith, have both contributed several hints to the description in the text. The House of Dean, near Edinburgh, has also some points of resemblance with Tully-Veolan. The author has, however, been informed that the House of Grandtully resembles that of the Baron of Bradwardine still more than any of the above» (*Waverley*, VIII, 79)

extraordinary and marvelous events.¹⁰ This comment relates closely to our argument because, immediately afterward, it is stated that «The exchange of mutual protection between a Highland gentleman and an officer of rank in the king’s service [...] is literally true» and that «The accident by a musket shot, and the heroic reply imputed to Flora, relate to a lady of rank not long deceased» (ibid.). The latter is an episode told at the beginning of Chapter LI, a detail not directly related to the plot but also having a note by Scott («The incident here said to have happened to Flora Mac-Ivor actually befell Miss Nairne, a lady with whom the author had the pleasure of being acquainted». *Waverley*, 508). The author-narrator repeatedly explains that the hard-to-believe story that happened to the characters in the novel was based on a true story. As for the story of “a Highland gentleman” and “an officer of rank in the king’s service” (both with indefinite articles) helping each other, it is said to be “literally true,” but in the sense that the episode of the relationship between Waverley, who is from England and joined the Highland Army, and England officer Colonel Talbot—which concerns the whole plot—relies on that story. In the end, this also tells the reader that the story is fictional but based on a true story.

Of course, the “most romantic parts” could be seen as simply the creation of ridiculous stories if left as they are, and it is clear that by telling the reader that these stories are borrowed from facts and true stories, the author is trying to make the reader understand that they could have happened in reality. However, is it difficult for an author-narrator to tell the reader that a story could have actually happened (or that a similar event actually happened) without explicitly stating the fictional nature of the story? That this is technically possible is confirmed by the example of Manzoni’s *The Betrothed*.

¹⁰ On the rise of the Novell, see Watt 1957; on the relationship between Novell and romance, see e.g. Mazzoni 2011.

2.2 The narrator of *The Betrothed* suggests that events similar to those in his story actually occurred

Manzoni has done a meticulous historical survey in order to give a factual portrayal of the reality of northern Italy around 1630, but, of course, he has not shown that every single word and deed of the characters in the story has this or that source. Many critics and researchers have therefore searched for possible sources and debated the correctness (or incorrectness) of Manzoni's account (for example, the fact that Renzo's friend Tonio makes polenta from buckwheat flour rather than corn flour is an indication of Manzoni's accuracy). Nevertheless, some of the key events that are supposed to be described in the 17th-century manuscript are set up in such a way that the text of the novel shows that they could have actually happened at the time.

For example, we can take up the interruption of the marriage, which is the beginning and keystone of the plot, with the threat of the *bravi* to the priest Don Abbondio that «questo matrimonio non s'ha da fare, né domani, né mai» (this marriage ain't gonna happen. Not tomorrow, not never; *PS*, I, 31). Manzoni is said to have been inspired for this episode by seeing a *grida* (decree) issued by the Governor of Milan on 15 October 1627, stating that threatening to prevent weddings from taking place and threatening priests not to fulfill their duties were deliberately named as punishable offenses, which means that it was assumed at the time that they could happen (or rather, they actually happened).¹¹ Manzoni does not introduce the existence of such a decree to the reader in the form of an author's note, as Scott does, but makes it known naturally to the reader through the events in which the characters learn about it. Let us consider the scene in Chapter III of *The Betrothed* in which Renzo consults the lawyer Azzecca-garbugli and is shown the decree in question.

¹¹ Manzoni first saw the decree in the economist Melchiorre Gioia's (1767-1829) *Sul commercio de' commestibili e caro prezzo del vitto* (1802). See Stella e Repossi (1995: 701-2); Poggi Salani (2013: 88-9).

«Dov'è ora? Vieni fuori, vieni fuori. Bisogna aver tante cose alle mani! Ma la dev'esser qui sicuro, perché è una grida d'importanza. Ah! ecco, ecco.» La prese, la spiegò, guardò alla data, e, fatto un viso ancor più serio, esclamò: «il 15 d'ottobre 1627! Sicuro; è dell'anno passato: grida fresca; son quelle che fanno più paura. Sapete leggere, figliuolo?»

«Un pochino, signor dottore.»

«Bene, venitemi dietro con l'occhio, e vedrete.»

[...]

E cominciando dagli atti tirannici, mostrando l'esperienza che molti, così nelle Città, come nelle Ville... sentite? di questo Stato, con tirannide esercitano concussioni et opprimono i più deboli in varii modi, come in operare che si facciano contratti violenti di compre, d'affitti... eccetera: dove sei? ah! ecco; sentite: che seguano o non seguano matrimonii. Eh?»

«È il mio caso,» disse Renzo.

«Sentite, sentite, c'è ben altro; e poi vedremo la pena. *Si testifichi, o non si testifichi; che uno si parta dal luogo dove abita, eccetera; che quello paghi un debito; quell'altro non lo molesti, quello vada al suo molino: tutto questo non ha che far con noi. Ah ci siamo: quel prete non faccia quello che è obbligato per l'ufficio suo, o faccia cose che non gli toccano. Eh?»*

«Pare che abbian fatta la grida apposta per me.» (PS, III, 21-4)¹²

The passages in italics are also italicized in the original text, and quotations are italicized in the same way as when the narrator quotes the

¹² “Where is it, now? Come out, come out, wherever you are! You need to have many things at hand! But it must be here. It’s an important decree! Ah, here it is!” He plucked out a piece of paper, spread it out, glanced at the date, and adopting a more serious expression, shouted, “The fifteenth of October 1627! Right I was! From last year. A fresh decree—these are the ones we have to worry about. Do you know how to read, my son?”

“A little, sir.”

“Well, then. Look over my shoulder and you’ll see.”

[...]

“And, starting with acts of tyranny, experience shows that many, both in the cities and in the countryside... Did you hear that? ...of this State, in a tyrannical manner, do intimidate and oppress the vulnerable in various ways, such as forcing people to sell or to lease properties... eccetera—

“Where are you? Ah, here you are. Listen to this:

“—and to perform or not perform marriages—”

“My situation exactly,” said Renzo.

“Listen, listen, there’s more, and then we’ll see the penalties.”

“To testify or not, to leave one’s place of residence, eccetera, force some to pay a debt, another to leave a certain personage alone, another to purchase his flour at a specific granary—This part had nothing to do with us. Ah, here we are—force a priest not to perform his duties, or to do things he should not, Eh?”

“It sounds like this decree was tailor-made for me.” (*The Betrothed*, pp. 44-45)

decrees in the text; stylistically, it closely resembles other decrees. Therefore, the words in the decree should be regarded as quotes from the real thing, albeit quoted by a fictional character. The reader is thus able to infer that something like threatening a priest not to perform a marriage could have really happened at that time (7 November 1628, to be precise).

For another example, the incident in the story where Renzo is mistakenly accused of being an *untore* (anointer) who spreads the plague by applying a toxic substance and is chased by an angry crowd because of a trivial act (Chapter XXXIV) is supported by an episode presented as a quote from Ripamonti's *La peste di Milano del 1630* (describing private sanctions against suspected "anointers") in Chapter XXXII, known as the historical chapter.¹³ Thus, in *The Betrothed*, instead of inserting a true episode taken from elsewhere into a series of fictional events while introducing it as a true story, as Scott does, the true episode is told in its original historical context, and the events of the story are told in parallel with it. This allows the events of the story to be conveyed to the reader as realistic events that could have occurred without exposing the fictional nature of the story in the text.

Now, by comparing the ways in which the realism of the story is demonstrated in the two historical novels, it is easy to say that Manzoni's later approach is more sophisticated in that it achieves this without explicitly indicating in the text that the story is a novel (fiction). However, did Scott wish to conceal the novelty of his works if possible? In Chapter 3 of this paper, I will consider this in terms of where the "I" as the author of the story in *Waverley* and the "reader" to whom he is speaking are placed.

¹³ In the definitive edition of 1840-42, *Storia della colonna infame* (*The History of the Column of Infamy*) at the end of the book would also fulfill this function.

3. Inside or outside the story: the difference between post-chaise passengers and 25 readers

3.1 Relationship between the introduction and the main part of the story

In Manzoni's *The Betrothed*, the "Introduction" is already inside the novelistic fiction. The "I" who speaks in it is not Manzoni, the author of the novel (fiction), but someone who has discovered a seventeenth-century manuscript and is rewriting it. Of course, the reader (the "implied reader") is expected to read with the understanding that the method of the "found manuscript" is only a "setting," but that setting, already initiated in the Introduction, is adhered to throughout the book without overt violation. In *The Betrothed*, the narrator's audience, or "narratees," are set through the famous address in Chapter I¹⁴ to "25 readers"—that is, an unspecified group of readers represented by the words—who, together with the narrator, hear the story as if the manuscript really exists.¹⁵

In contrast, it is "I" as the author of the fictional story who is speaking in the preface or introduction to *Waverley*. The part that should have been a "preface" is placed at the end of the novel as the "postscript" (see below; see also Section 2.1 of this paper), and the first chapter is titled "introductory" and is treated as an "introduction" or "preface." The chapter is then devoted to a discussion of the title and subtitle of the work, "Waverley; or, 'tis sixty years since." It says that the title character's name, Waverley, unlike chivalrous-sounding names such as Howard and Mordaunt or sentimental-sounding names such as Belmour and Belville, is "an uncontaminated name" that is not subject to prejudgment by the existing categories of fiction. As for the subtitle, it is explained that, just as "A Tale of other Days,"

¹⁴ «Pensino ora i miei venticinque lettori che impressione dovesse fare sull'animo del poveretto, quello che s'è raccontato» (*PS*, I, 60; «Dear readers, all twenty-five of you, imagine the impression the meeting with two bravi must have made on the poor man!» *The Betrothed*, p. 20).

¹⁵ The narratee in *The Betrothed* differs in this respect significantly from the implied reader who is supposed to read it, knowing it is fiction. Note that the uses of the terms of narratology in this paper basically follow the definitions of Grosser 1985.

for example, would evoke a Gothic novel, the author considered several candidates and the subcategory of novels they evoke and decided on “‘tis sixty years since” to avoid this. Chapter I then ends with an explanation of what the story would be like if the setting were to be set “sixty years before” (note that the last words of the chapter are “Sixty Years Since”¹⁶). The story itself begins in Chapter II; however, it is important to note how it begins. The opening sentence in Chapter II is as follows:

It is, then, sixty years since Edward Waverley, the hero of the following pages, took leave of his family, to join the regiment of dragoons in which he had lately obtained a commission. (*Waverley*, I, 37; underline mine)

The fact that Chapter II begins with the phrase “it is sixty years since...” and the insertion of “then,” after the explanation in Chapter I of the implications of setting his story sixty years before—the fact that Edward Waverley is called “the hero” from the beginning may arguably be included—seems to indicate a continuity at the level of narration between the two chapters. As might be expected from the fact that the transition is from Chapter I to Chapter II rather than from the introduction to Chapter I, there is no clear boundary placed between the outside and the inside of the story. The “I,” who speaks to the reader as the author in Chapter I and the narrator of the story in Chapter 2 onwards, are originally continuous.

With this in mind, let us now look at how the novel ends.

3.2 End of the textual journey: the stagecoach metaphor again

In both Manzoni's *The Betrothed* and Scott's *Waverley*, the novel does not close with the end of the protagonists' stories but returns to the “I” who tells the story and the “readers” as the audience, just as the novel begins. However, their relationships with the story differ as they differed in the

¹⁶ «a task not quite so easy in this critical generation as it was ‘Sixty Years Since’» (*Waverley*, I, 36)

beginning.

In *The Betrothed*, the narrator and reader do not step outside the novelistic conceit but rather end up reaffirming the setting in the manner of the found manuscript.

La quale [=la storia], se non v'è dispiaciuta affatto, vogliatene bene a chi l'ha scritta, e anche un pochino a chi l'ha raccomodata. Ma se in vece fossimo riusciti ad annoiarvi, credete che non s'è fatto apposta. (*PS*, XXXVIII, 69)¹⁷

In this last paragraph of the final chapter (Chap. XXXVIII) of *The Betrothed*, the writer and rewriter of the story are lined up (the former refers to the anonymous author of the manuscript, and the latter to the narrator “I”). This shows that they are inside the setting until the end, including “you,” the readers. The narrator of *The Betrothed* is certainly situated outside the world of the protagonist Renzo and the others, but he is not in a position to tell his story as a novel (fiction).

In *Waverley*, the story itself ends in Chapter LXXI, but there is still a Chapter LXXII, which is “a postscript, which should have been a preface.” Just as the alternative to the preface was Chapter I, the postscript is also a numbered chapter, which begins as follows:

Our journey is now finished, gentle reader; and if your patience has accompanied me through these sheets, the contract is, on your part, strictly fulfilled. Yet, like the driver who has received his full hire, I still linger near you, and make, with becoming diffidence, a trifling additional claim upon your bounty and good nature. You are as free, however, to shut the volume of the one petitioner as to close your door in the face of the other. (*Waverley*, LXXII, 491)

Here, reading the novel is likened to a journey made by the “I” who is speaking and the “gentle reader” as companions on the road, in which

¹⁷ «Which, if this story hasn't displeased you, should make you think kindly of the man who wrote it and, also, a little, of the man who revised it. But if we have only succeeded in boring you instead, believe me, we didn't do so on purpose». (*The Betrothed*, p. 648)

the “I” plays the role of “driver.” This clearly takes on the metaphor of the “humble British post-chaise” of Chapter V, discussed in Section 1. 2. of this paper.¹⁸ At the time, it was argued that his novel was a realistic type of narrative (fiction) by comparing it to *Orlando Furioso*. Here, again, although the journey is supposed to be over, if the reader does not close the book, he or she is left with the “I” who comments on the story that he has told as his own creation (novel). The explanation that part of the story is based on a true story, as discussed in Section 2.1. of this paper, is also found in this “postscript.”

Thus, if we look at the beginning and end of the novel, paying attention to the inside and outside of the fictional narrative, we can see that in the historical novel *Waverley*, it is not a whim or mere failure of the author-narrator but rather something not so strange in the narrative setting of the novel. The “readers” of this story, who are metaphorically the passengers of the post-chaise, unlike the narratee “25 readers” of *The Betrothed*, are set up as people who are not only hearing the story itself but are also watching how the “author of *Waverley*” is producing a novel (fiction).

However, it is apparently not the case that these narratives are entirely coherent. This is because—and this may have something to do with the fact that the story is posed as realistic, based on actual historical events—the author-narrator of *Waverley* sometimes states that he does not know or at least cannot be sure about the characters’ feelings, motives for their actions, or the effects of their deeds as if he were telling facts that exist independently from him. This creates the inconvenience of not being able to explain how he can deny his own

¹⁸ It should be noted that the metaphor of comparing reading a novel to being a stagecoach companion is emblematic of the new relationship between author and reader in the modern era, in which the author is no longer dealing with a familiar group of readers who share a particular interest, but with a broad range of modern readers with a variety of interests, and was already presented decades earlier in Fielding’s *Tom Jones* (1749): At the beginning of the final book (XVIII), the narrator “I” and the reader are likened to “Fellow-Travellers in a Stage-Coach” (*Tom Jones*, Book XVIII, Ch. I, 913); Cf. Barenghi (2000 [1992]: 132-5).

omniscience unless we temporarily forget that the “I” who tells the story was acting as the person who created the story. Whether this inconsistency is due to whim or unintentional failure or whether there was some kind of aim, I do not have an answer at the moment, but I would like to examine this in the future in the context of the narration of Scott’s other works.

Conclusion

Both Walter Scott and Alessandro Manzoni were recognized as outstanding poets before they wrote novels, and it was a risk for them to turn their hand to the novel, which was not regarded as a first-class literary genre. However, even if they shared the common feeling that writing a novel would have been a challenge, the situation of the novel as a genre in the English and Italian literary traditions of their time was quite different.

The novel did not develop as a genre of recognized literary value in Italy until the early 19th century, and its status was much lower than in other European countries. This was not irrelevant to Manzoni’s strategy. In *The Betrothed*, Manzoni does not willingly acknowledge that his story is a novel, even though he confronts the methods of existing literary works (fiction), but only indirectly differentiates it from other literary works (see note 7). Moreover, by continuing to emphasize the “not being a novel,” Manzoni rather succeeds in creating the impression that the story exists as an uncontrollable “fact” that does not move according to the will of the “I” who tells it, without sacrificing the coherence of the narration as Scott does. This can even be seen in the meta-narrative commentary, which likens the connection of the storylines around each of the multiple characters to the way the guinea pigs are returned to their hut. The expression “al loro genio (to their game)” could be seen as suggesting the autonomy of the characters over the control of the “I” who is telling the story.¹⁹

¹⁹ For such an interpretation, see Alberti 2001.

In contrast, in English literature, the novel emerged in the 18th century with writers such as Defoe, Richardson, and Fielding. There were also “novel readers” who could infer a sub-genre from a novel's title, and Scott wrote his novels with them in mind. For Scott, who, unlike Manzoni, did not have to create a novel tradition from scratch, it seems important to clearly show what kind of narrative literature he was modeling his method on, what made his work different, and what was new compared to other novels. In this sense, the peculiar way of Scott's historical novel, which admits that it is a novel but insists on being a realistic type of novel rather than a ridiculous story—a way that seems “peculiar” when compared to the ideas of Manzoni, who emerged in Italy, where the novel genre was less developed—can be considered to have been shaped to suit the author's intentions, even if there are a few inconsistencies.

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