

The Gothic as a Cosmopolitan Literary Form: The Case of C. R. Maturin's *Melmoth the Wanderer*

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Abstract

Between the end of the eighteenth century and the first two decades of the nineteenth century, several Irish, English and Scottish writers – such as Maria Edgeworth, Sydney Owenson, Susan Ferrier, Sydney Morgan, John Galt and Charles Robert Maturin – focused their novels on the nationalistic/cosmopolitan dichotomy. Tellingly, in my view, this dialectics is not simply thematic, but concerns the formal organization of the text, the way a given novel is constructed. Thus, in those years, in the process of definition of a national identity and, consequently, a national literature, certain kinds of writing – variegated, encyclopaedic, non-linear – began to be stigmatized as dangerous projections of antagonist axiologies, not conforming to those parameters of homogeneity, order and rationality regarded as epitomizing the nation state and its symbolic forms. My essay discusses in particular the formal aspects connected to the way in which nationalism and cosmopolitanism intersect and yet are opposed in Charles Robert Maturin's masterpiece, Melmoth the Wanderer.

Keywords: Maturin, Melmoth, Wanderer, Gothic novel, historical novel, national tale, cosmopolitanism, national literature

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Introducing the Gothic novel, its origins, and the changes it underwent between the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, Terry Castle, in her essay on the subject in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, affirms that Jane Austen, Mary Shelley and the Brontë sisters brought the Gothic horror, long confined into a remote and foreign time and space, back home within the boundaries of the kingdom (704-706). The sense of menace that characterizes the genre, she argues, thus invaded everyday life, in search of literary metaphors capable, at the same time, of representing and concealing it. This is undoubtedly true. We should, however, add at least one other name, that of Charles Robert Maturin, the author of a number of sermons, short poems and theatrical pieces, as well as several novels, including the controversial *Melmoth the Wanderer*, conventionally regarded as the text that concludes the first phase of the Gothic novel.

A significant part of Maturin's work certainly reflects the European debate on cosmopolitanism of the time. Two of his most popular novels, *The Milesian Chief* (1812) and *Women; or Pour et Contre* (1818), for example, are influenced by Mme De Staël's *Corinne* (1807), in that they place at their centre female character exhibiting the distinctive traits of the cosmopolitan heroine. The two female protagonists display a free spirit, curiosity, the ability to adapt to and feel at ease in different situations and places, and, accordingly, a propensity for travel. Their roles, however, are not the same. In *The Milesian Chief*, from which Walter Scott declaredly drew inspiration for *Waverly* (1814), the young Armida appears as a perturbing force, the ultimate cause of many of the tensions and conflicts that will contribute to steer the course of events in a tragic direction.¹ This confirms the impossibility of harmonizing contiguous, but not convergent, historical, cultural and "sentimental" traditions, namely, continental cosmopolitanism; Irish nationalism, pervaded with a romantically revolutionary energy; and the levelling force, intolerant of diversity, of the central power represented by the victorious English army.

In *Women*, on the other hand, set in Dublin in 1814 and written in the turmoil of post-Napoleonic Europe, the cosmopolitan heroine, Zaira, though doomed to failure, acts as a catalyst to a dynamic and educated ideal of society, as an alternative to the traditional localistic model.

This dialectics between the idea of nation and cosmopolitan values informs the subject matter and characterization of many other novels written between the end of the 18th century and the first two decades of the 19th. Notable examples include Maria Edgeworth's "national tales", and the works of Sydney Owenson, Susan Ferrier, Sydney Morgan, John Galt, and others.² But what is possibly more striking is that in some cases this dialectics is also transposed to the formal level. Thus, in the long process of definition of a national literature, from a certain moment onward certain kinds of writing – variegated, encyclopaedic, non-linear – began to be stigmatized as dangerous projections of antagonist axiologies not conforming to those parameters of homogeneity, order and rationality, regarded as epitomizing the nation-state and the symbolic forms delegated to represent it.

In the present essay, I would like to look further into these aspects in the light of an analysis of Charles Robert Maturin's masterpiece, *Melmoth the Wanderer* (1820).³

The Wanderer as a demonic pilgrim: here is one of those literary metaphors of menace I was referring to above, which can be ranked with others, possibly more common and better known, such as the monster or the vampire. *Melmoth* tells the story of an Irish gentleman born in the 1600s who, being versed in magic and wishing to venture out in the open

ocean of knowledge, makes a pact with the devil. What damns him, as he himself confesses, is the angelic sin of intellectual presumption. Melmoth gives up his soul to appease his thirst for knowledge of the forbidden in the course of a life extended by supernatural means to one hundred and fifty years. A citizen of the world, which for him is a space without boundaries, distances, or secrets, Melmoth – once he gains consciousness of the fate he has doomed himself to – tries to retrace his steps by seeking somebody willing to take over the pact and thus give him back his liberty and the hope for eternal salvation. However, in his endless ramblings he cannot find anybody willing to accept the conditions of the pact, although he seeks out and tries to tempt individuals whom human misadventures have cast into the pit of desperation.

The recurring apparition of the Wanderer is the only slim *trait d'union* in a text that speaks little about him and much about other things. In fact, *Melmoth* is not written as a single unified story, or even organized around a main narrative core; on the contrary, it plays on the juxtaposition of a multiplicity of stories with no real centre or hierarchy. Here we are beyond the structural organization of the eighteenth-century novel, which did often feature interpolated stories, but woven into the fabric of a solid and well-organized plot, or kept together by a structural, semantic or formal unifying element – even in such borderline cases as Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*, to which *Melmoth* has often been compared. We are also beyond the Chinese-box structure of Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*, where the relationship between the different “first person” narrations appears motivated and binding. In fact, the impression of fragmentation resulting from this episodic and digressive narration is the most striking aspect of Maturin's text and, significantly, one that was immediately attacked by contemporary critics. John Wilson Croker, for example, in his review of the novel in the *Quarterly Review*, after emphasizing its lack of verisimilitude and its attacks on decency and religion, dwells at length on the “clumsy confusion” with which the stories follow one another, linked with extemporaneous and unconvincing narrative pretexts, in the absence of a structure produced by “a nice workmanship”. A chaotic text, Croker argues, whose disorder “disgraces the artist, and puzzles the observer” (304).

A more interesting comment can be found in the July 1821 issue of the *Edinburgh Review*. In this review – anonymous, but probably by Hazlitt (Carver 392-93) – the peculiar formal organization of *Melmoth* is interpreted in a broader perspective. The reviewer highlights the dichotomy between local and continental models, between cosmopolitanism and the idea of nation, going so far as to define Maturin's novel as antipatriotic, antinational, and Jacobin – according to the equation established by Edmund Burke some time before –⁴ a result, the reviewer argues, of the author's provincial origins and his openness to a variety of foreign influences. The work's fragmentation thus becomes a *figure* of a threatening and destabilizing peripheral cosmopolitanism.⁵

Let us now look at the text itself and try to lay bare the literary mechanisms that produce this feeling. *Melmoth the Wanderer* spins out, intertwines and overlaps at least four plot levels, intersected in turn by a number of secondary threads.

The novel opens on the young John Melmoth, who leaves Dublin in 1816 and travels to County Wicklow, to the country estate of a dying uncle whose universal heir he has been designated. There John is made privy to the existence of a “strange family story” regarding an ancestor, also named John, who was born in the 1600s but is still alive. The secret is concealed in a document which the uncle's will requires his nephew to read, and in a

picture labelled “J. Melmoth 1646”, which, again according to the instructions of the will, is to be removed from the wall where it hangs and burned. Young John Melmoth’s quest as he attempts to unravel the mystery of the character portrayed in the picture forms the first narrative plane. It provides a sort of general framework for the subsequent narrative level, consisting of three independent tales that make up the bulk of the novel: the tale of Stanton, which transports us to Spain in the second half of the seventeenth century, then to England during the Restoration, and then to Ireland; the tale of the Spaniard Monçada, set in Madrid in the early nineteenth century, and thus contemporaneous with the time of the general narration; and, finally, old Melmoth’s short conclusive dream. To the subsequent level, which we could define as that of the “tale within a tale”, can be ascribed the story of Donna Ines de Cardoza, related by Stanton in his “memoirs”; and “The Tale of Indians”, whose protagonist is the young Immalee, a solitary queen of an island in the Indian Ocean who by a strange fate ends up in Spain – in Madrid, where she is adopted by the Aliaga family under the name of Isidora. Her story, chronologically coeval with that of Stanton, is entrusted to a parchment scroll which Monçada consults in the shelter of the Jew Adonia, who is also privy to the mystery concerning the elder Melmoth. Finally, there is a fourth level constituted by tales inserted in or generated within “The Tale of Indians”; that is, within the third narrative level. These include “The Tale of Guzman’s Family”, told to Aliaga by a stranger whose rash curiosity will cost him his life; and the “Lover’s Tale”, centred on the destinies of the Mortimer family, also told to Aliaga, but this time by Melmoth the Wanderer himself.⁶

To lend authenticity to his story, Maturin uses the literary device of the found manuscript: more precisely, several manuscripts kept in dark rooms, telling stories of segregation in cramped, oppressive places. *All* these documents are in a fragmentary state. They lack words, sentences, or whole pages, which results in breaks and logical and temporal leaps, signalled by asterisks. These gaps and ellipses in the narrative *continuum* occur both at the general level of text structure and at the lower level of the sources that one after the other trigger the narration.⁷ There is a further aspect that is worth highlighting: *Melmoth* is an “open work” with an uncertain ending, which leaves two of its stories uncompleted, namely, that of the Spaniard Monçada, who is far from having narrated all the vicissitudes that led to his shipwreck on the coasts of Ireland; and that of the Wanderer himself, whose death can only be surmised, given that his body was not found. Only a single trace is left of him: his handkerchief caught on the rocks, which he had around his neck on the night when his earthly life seemed about to come to an end and his eternal damnation to begin. The novel concludes, significantly, with Monçada and the young John Melmoth, who, terrified, go back into the house and into the living room, by definition a space for conversation and narration.

There is thus no unity of action in *Melmoth*, nor any unity of time or space. On a chronological level, the novel covers two periods, the second half of the seventeenth century and the early nineteenth century, but with no sequential continuity. The frequent intersections force us to move back and forth from one page to another to reconstruct the linear progression of the plot. Both character and reader thus seem to share the same destiny: Just as the young Melmoth strives to put back together the disseminated and dispersed pieces of the story of his ancestor from 1646 to 1816, so must the reader strive to restore order to a novel that is constantly bewildering him or her with its postponements, digressions, and

temporal and spatial dislocations. In its use of space, *Melmoth* is at once mobile and static, fluid and dense. On the one hand, it expands across a vast geographical range, moving from Ireland to Spain, Germany, England and India – the habitual geography of the Gothic novel, we could say, with the addition, in this case, of some incursions in London and its surroundings and, especially, the opening up to a rarefied, Edenic and literary Orient. On the other hand, except for the many pages devoted to Immalee's island, this geography is neither narrated nor described. The narrative covers thousands of kilometres in a few lines, to almost immediately shut itself up in closed rooms, within clearly delimited confines such as those of a castle, a convent, a country house, or, more often, the damp and mouldy walls of dungeons and crypts. In its alternation between open and closed spaces, the novel decidedly gravitates towards the latter, sometimes reaching extremes of oppressive claustrophobia, as in the memorable pages recounting Stanton's days in a lunatic asylum. The world in a room.

The novel's diversity extends even to the typographic form of the text, which incorporates a true encyclopaedia of languages and books, a library in 16mo of infinite quotations (here I use the term in a broad sense), some graphically set off as such, others modified or hidden. This complex play on intertextuality is amplified by the frequent intervention of the narrator in the role of an editor. The literary references appearing in Maturin's novel range from the Bible to Latin and Greek authors, from Homer to Virgil, from Pliny the Younger to Suetonius, from Zeno to Seneca, and from Cicero to Pindar and Juvenal; and, especially, Shakespeare, whose corpus of works, is almost entirely quoted (particularly the tragedies and histories). Then there are some other English classics, so to form an embryonic national canon: Beaumont and Fletcher, Ben Jonson, Milton, Dryden, the Restoration Theatre, Fielding, Sterne, Gray, Pope, Boswell, Southerne, Garrick, and the Gothic authors. Finally, there is some European continental literature: Dante, Metastasio, Cervantes, Perrault, and Diderot.

Actually, the "quotes" are sometimes true rewritings. The "convent" pages of Monçada's biography, for example, are modelled so closely on Diderot's *Religieuse* that they border on plagiarism. One of the better known episodes in Lewis' *The Monk*, the murder of the Abbess, whose body is mangled and torn to pieces by the people of Madrid, provides the inspiration for the riotous crowd who attacks the representatives of the Inquisition in the imminence of a capital execution, also in Madrid. And the dialogue between Isidora leaning out from her balcony and Melmoth reproduces even too explicitly – and perverts – the balcony scene in *Romeo and Juliet*. The description of the Jew Adonia's shelter is also worth mentioning, as it translates certain well-known pictures into words. I am referring in particular to Vermeer's *Astronomer*, certain *Wunderkammer* images, and some of Bosch's visions. The world in a page.

This discursive multiplicity is also manifested in the mixture of genres. The first of these is, obviously, the Gothic tale itself. The settings of Stanton's tale are Gothic, as are, in particular, those of Monçada's story, where we find the classic "dark" repertory of caves, dungeons, tortured bodies, merciless monks, mysterious deaths, and the interrogatories of the Inquisition, all in a virulently anti-Catholic key. But Gothic clichés abound throughout the novel, which does not skimp on hermits, skeletons, weddings celebrated by demons, crumbling deconsecrated churches, stormy nights, shipwrecks, persecuted maidens, or the putrefying bodies of newborn babies.

A significant place is also accorded to another genre, the historical tale, in its most conservative version known as “King and Church”. This is the model for the tale of the Mortimer family, which contains itself a number of references to authors and books worthy of fame, another abbreviated canon of English literature, necessarily restricted to the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century settings.

Maturin’s unusual and pleasant descriptions of evenings at the theatre in London in the early years of the Restoration, conversely, have the cadence and tone of a *London Gazette* article: the colourful characters crowding the hall, jealousy behind the scenes, clandestine love affairs, and nighttime encounters in the park, where some fashionable dame leads the actor Kynaston, celebrated for his extraordinary and ambiguous beauty, still wearing his female stage clothes.

Finally, there is the exotic Oriental narrative, the story of Immalee, the only inhabitant of an Edenic island reminiscent in many ways of Rasselas’s happy kingdom. The girl’s primordial state of grace is shattered by her encounter with the Wanderer, which stirs in her a desire, arising from curiosity for what is different. But, once again, a thirst for knowledge and novelty is doomed to disillusionment, to the discovery that difference is illusory: in the end all is reduced to one and the same miserable identity. The hope for full contentment is hence projected into a fideistic Beyond.

Melmoth the Wanderer is thus a hybrid novel on the plane of language and on that of genre. This hybridity is also reflected in its choice of characters, at least as regards two of its protagonists, who can certainly be qualified as cosmopolitan, or rather, citizens of the world. One is Immalee/Isidora, divided as she is between East and West, animism and Catholicism, naturalness and culture; the other, obviously, Melmoth the Wanderer himself, a kaleidoscopic figure, a summa of a series of founding archetypes of the Western cultural and literary tradition. Melmoth displays aspects of Prometheus and Cain (he explicitly states that he carries the mark of the outcast); but also of Marlowe and Goethe’s Faust, the Wandering Jew, Milton’s Satan, Don Juan – the worldly libertine and great converser –, the evil genies of Oriental tales, Vathek, and the list could go on (Kennedy 41).

This multiform and incoherent text, as I mentioned above, was disparagingly branded as “antinational” for its extemporaneous character, for certain features regarded as “foreign”. At first consideration this judgment appears surprising. First of all because Gothic is, in many ways, the genre of Britishness. Secondly, because Melmoth is actually a summa of the negative characteristics associated with cosmopolitanism in satirical pamphlets as well as elsewhere.⁸ Melmoth is an individual locked in himself, in his anxiety to succeed, indifferent to all feeling for or bond with his neighbour or homeland; a man who does not recognize either law or morality and acts exclusively for his own “utility”. His figure acquires further negative connotations from being perceived and presented as a menace, a diabolical emanation. Melmoth is a demonic pilgrim and, as such, a reverse image of the Christian pilgrim hypostatized in the connoisseur of the Enlightenment. Maturin brings this menace closer, away from its habitual remote settings into Great Britain itself, threatening to destabilize an order which, by contrast, we must imagine as based on those very principles which Melmoth denies and disdains.

However, these “conservative” traits, nationalist “by difference”, were not appreciated, being outweighed by the perceived menace. A menace that did not lie, however, in immoral words or violent images, however abundant these may be in the book; or in the

“internationality” of the characters. The anonymous reviewer of the work in the *Edinburgh Review* states the question in explicit terms. Writers like Maturin, he argues, by indulging in rhetorical and formal excess, rouse the passions rather than exercising judgment. Such writers, mostly Irish, with their “uncontrolled exuberance” (355), are representative of a literature reflecting “a nation in one of the earliest stages of civilization and refinement” (355). What drives them is an insatiable “thirst for novelty” (354), the same that possesses Melmoth; a thirst that sets back the clock of civilization and history, conceived, in line with Edmund Burke’s thought, as the fruit of a linear process of constant progress and improvement in *unbroken continuity* with the past.⁹ By not embracing a specific genre, but combining several, and by not employing an “unstudied and familiar” style (356), but drawing on a variety of styles and mixing them, authors like Maturin, with their “unlinear” writing, pose a serious threat. Thus, the formal organization, as well as subject matter, of works such as *Melmoth the Wanderer* can turn them into true “tumor[s] of words” (354), capable of infecting and corrupting, so that, “By degrees, the whole literature of a country becomes changed and deteriorated” (355).

The reviewer thus sees the novel as a negative and potentially destructive model. So what is the implicit counterpart to the fragmentary and reticular nature of *Melmoth the Wanderer*? Probably, the novels of other contemporary authors, such as Jane Austen or Walter Scott. Austen and Scott’s novels, as Moretti maintains (Moretti, “Romanzo” 14 ff), trace a convergent and complementary geography, with the singular coincidence that Scott’s stories end, geographically, just where Austen’s begin. Austen’s novels are set in the central part of England; Scott’s in a space far removed from the centre, close to the border. In Scott’s novels movement in space reflects a movement in time, from a modern centre to an archaic border, highlighting the variety of manners and customs, and the different degrees of development and civilization coexisting in a state: the “contemporaneity of the non-contemporaneous” (*die Gleichzeitigkeit des Ungleichzeitigen*), to quote Bloch’s celebrated formulation (104). Scott’s aim is to harmonize heterogeneity, in order to obliterate any internal division, in favour of a single boundary line delimiting the Nation from the outside. This process also requires, I would suggest, a single and well-ordered literary space.

The world reflected in *Melmoth* is different: to use a seventeenth-century image, it is traced with a broken compass. With his syncopated writing, proceeding by fragments and imposing different reading levels, Maturin creates an opaque and disquieting text; a text contradicting the fundamental assumption of the sentimental, historical, urban, and, I would add, Victorian novel, according to which the world is an epistemologically stable and, hence, knowable system, which can be measured, reproduced and deciphered. In Maturin’s novel, the unified space of the nation-state is pulverized into a physical and narrative multiplicity, a multiplicity also of languages and styles. Polyphony, or rather, cacophony: a disorienting din. An encyclopaedia turned into Babel. The unitary, linear, teleological novel, the symbolic form of the nation-state, is something very different from Maturin’s novel,¹⁰ which is heterogeneous, permeable and incomplete; in short, positively *cosmopolitan*.

Melmoth the Wanderer is composite and all inclusive. With its encyclopaedia – or Babel – of genres and languages it is truly a novel of the whole world, and not just of its educated, enlightened and advanced part. It is a singular *mélange* of words placing itself

and its “hero” outside the boundaries of what is encoded and prescribed. It represents not order, but anxiety and indecipherability.¹¹ This is why, possibly even beyond the intentions of Maturin himself, *Melmoth* was a novel of an ideologically dangerous “type”, to be relegated to the margins, to side paths, at least until a new menace appeared at the horizon, in search of new blood.

Notes

¹ The main characters’ dramatic fate is narrated against the background of an almost contemporary historical event: the 1798 uprising in Ireland, inspired by Theobald Wolfe Tone’s Society of United Irishmen and put down bloodily.

² Cf. Trumpener (“National Character” 687–90). Her essay is important for the light it sheds on the common characteristics of and differences between the so-called “national tale”, both Irish and Scottish, and the historical novel.

³ Many stimulating insights on the different facets of “cosmopolitanism” in Maturin’s works, and specifically in *Melmoth the Wanderer*, can be found in Wohlgemut’s study *Romantic Cosmopolitanism*, particularly in the chapter “Cosmopolitan Figures and Cosmopolitan Literary Forms” (119–142).

⁴ Burke first postulated a relationship between the cosmopolitanism of the Enlightenment, universalism, and the French Revolution – and, hence, Jacobinism – in his *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790), and reaffirmed and elaborated on this relationship especially in his later essays *Thoughts on French Affairs* (1791), *Observations on the Conduct of the Minority* (1793) – where he stigmatizes the threat posed by English “Jacobins” –, and *Letters on a Regicidal Peace* (1795–7). In his perspective, cosmopolitanism, the inspiration of some fundamental “revolutionary” ideas, is a destructive force, incompatible with national principles and bonds, and with the very idea of nation and state; significantly, he called post-revolutionary France not a “state” but a “faction”.

⁵ Katie Trumpener, again, in another essay, at the conclusion of a broad discussion of connections between the various socio-cultural and literary components of Great Britain, confirms that “cosmopolitan provincialism” is a distinctive and characterizing trait “of modern Scotland and Ireland”. Hence, she argues, it is hardly surprising that, from the 1700s and until the 1900s, “in both cultures the tradition of the national, and sometimes nationalist, novel takes on decidedly cosmopolitan forms” (“Cosmopolitismo periferico” 228; my translation). This is an aspect deserving further investigation, especially as regards the subject of literary figures of cosmopolitanism.

⁶ Interestingly, the novel also alternates between different narrative voices. While the narration is prevalently conducted in the third person, both Stanton and Monçada’s “biographies” are in the first person.

⁷ The device is especially to the fore here, but was already known to readers of sentimental novels of the 1760s and 1770s; examples can be found in Sterne’s novels, and especially in Henry Mackenzie’s *The Man of Feeling* (1771).

⁸ These characteristics are almost all already found, for example, in *Le cosmopolite, ou le citoyen du monde* (1750), by Louis-Charles Fougeret de Montbron. In the absence of the limits set by the norms and values that uphold national communities, the cosmopolitan’s world becomes an undifferentiated international space which he or she roams at will to satisfy merely individual interests and impulses.

⁹ “We wished [...] and do now wish, to derive all we possess as an inheritance from our forefathers. Upon that body and stock of inheritance we have taken care not to inoculate any cyon alien to the nature of the original plant. All the reformations we have hitherto made, have proceeded upon the principle of reference to antiquity; and I hope, nay I am persuaded, that all those which possibly may be made hereafter, will be carefully formed upon analogical precedent, authority, and example” (Burke 31).

¹⁰ *Melmoth the Wanderer* shows some of the distinctive traits of what Moretti defines as “world-works” of modern epic, although it does not match these works in stature and complexity, as *Melmoth* remains a *genre* novel, however lofty and manifold. I find especially significant the following observation by Moretti, which elaborates on the antithesis made famous by Bakhtin between the monologism of epic and the polyphony of the novel: “In sum, centripetal epic and centrifugal novel: until the 1700s a persuasive contrast, but after that things change [...] the nineteenth-century novel, for example, with its dialectics between province and capital, which places narrative at the centre of the nation-state, acts in the opposite way to a centrifugal force. And the same is true for conversation in novels, or the impersonal voice of the narrator: instead of fueling polyphony, they reduce it drastically, giving rise to a ‘verbal-ideological’ world that becomes more compact and homogeneous at every new generation. [...] in sum, the polyphonic form of the modern West is not the novel, but rather epic itself, which becomes specialized in the heterogeneous space of the world-system, and must hence learn to put on stage its myriad of different voices” (Moretti, *Opere mondo* 53; my translation).

¹¹ In the climate of instability that followed the collapse of the Napoleonic empire in 1815, one witnesses a vigorous revival and re-actualization of apocalyptic themes, both in painting and in literature; we thus have, on the one hand, views of London, Berlin or Paris pictured as immense expanses of ruins immersed in a ghastly emptiness; on the other, many literary texts (poems, novels and dramas) centred on the end of the human race and civilization, from Byron’s *Darkness* (1816) to Mary Shelley’s *The Last Man* (1826) (Steiner 19 ff.; Sterrenburg 325–327).

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