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Introduction

Inventing a European Romanticism

PATRICK VINCENT

'In the current state of Europe,' observed Germaine de Staël in 1800, 'the progress of literature must serve the development of all generous ideas.'[1] The Franco-Swiss writer belonged to an age marked by unprecedented social, political, and intellectual upheavals. Unwittingly echoing Friedrich Schlegel's call two years earlier for a 'progressive universal poetry',[2] her response to the perceived failure of the French Revolution and the Enlightenment ideas that lay behind it was to courageously plead for even more progress and enlightenment.[3] Many of Staël's contemporaries placed similarly ambitious – even sublime – hopes in literature, understood broadly to include imaginative writing but also philosophy, history, theology, and science. Indeed, the revolutionary changes in so many different spheres of life in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries gave literature an urgency that has arguably never been equalled, helping to explain why so many original ideas and works appeared during such a relatively short span of time.[4] Due in large part to Madame de Staël, this phenomenon came to be known, in Europe and beyond, as Romanticism.

Staël principally developed her aesthetic programme in two treatises. The first, labelled by French critic Charles-Augustin Sainte-Beuve a 'prospectus for a future Romanticism',[5] was published in the wake of Napoleon Bonaparte's

1 G. de Staël, *De la littérature*, ed. G. Gengembre and J. Goldzink (Paris, Garnier-Flammarion, 1991), p. 72.
2 F. Schlegel, '*Athenaeum* Fragment n. 116', in L. Furst, *European Romanticism: Self-Definition* (London, Methuen, 1980), pp. 4–6 (p. 4).
3 See J. Israel, *The Enlightenment that Failed: Ideas, Revolution, and Democratic Defeat, 1748–1830* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2019).
4 I. Berlin, *Political Ideas in the Romantic Age: Their Rise and Influence on Modern Thought* (London, Pimlico, 2007), p. 12.
5 C.-A. Sainte-Beuve, *Chateaubriand et son groupe littéraire sous l'Empire: Cours professé à Liége en 1848–1849*, 2 vols (Paris, Librairie nouvelle, 1872), I, pp. 66–7.

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Brumaire coup, and called for a socially and politically transformative literature that might develop virtue and regulate public opinion in a republic.[6] Titled *De la littérature considérée dans ses rapports avec les institutions sociales* [On Literature, Considered in Its Relations with Social Institutions], it applies Montesquieu's theory of climate to culture, presenting the work of individual authors as the product of an inspiration (what Staël also calls *enthousiasme*) that is at once universal and specific to a place or a people. She influentially divides the continent into the literature of the South ('du midi') and of the North. The former may be traced back to Homer and is found in France, Italy, and Spain. The latter is identified with Ossian, the 'Homer of the North', and is attributed to Britain, Germany, and Scandinavia. According to Staël, the literature of the North is more serious and philosophical, making it 'better suited to a free people'.[7]

In her next treatise, Staël expanded on her idea of a Northern literature, offering a synthetic but also selective overview of recent developments in German-language culture. Begun in 1808, published then pulped on orders of Napoleon in 1810, and reissued three years later in London in both English and French, *De l'Allemagne* [On Germany] played a pivotal role in introducing European readers to what its author, in a short yet important chapter, calls 'romantic poetry'. By this she means a 'modern' literature rooted in Christianity and chivalry, which she opposes to a 'classical' literature derived from pagan antiquity. Although Staël admired the ancients, she criticises their servile imitation in modern French culture, praising instead those literatures that are 'rooted in the soil' because they encourage the free expression of individual and national genius over the veneration of fixed forms, allow for improvement, and are closer to the people.[8]

Staël's definition of Romantic literature combined the Enlightenment ideals of universalism, republicanism, and perfectibility with the new, historicist emphasis on native genius, organicism, and nationalism. Hers was never an outright rejection of the Enlightenment but rather a continuation of the Enlightenment by other means. As Marshall Brown explains, Romanticism emerged out of the Enlightenment, turning against it 'from a historical logic already inscribed in the old, and still preserved in the new'.[9] Without losing

6 Staël, *De la littérature*, pp. 67–73, 412–13.
7 Staël, *De la littérature*, pp. 203–8. See also G. de Staël, *De l'Allemagne*, ed. S. Balayé, 2 vols (Paris, Garnier-Flammarion, 1968), I, pp. 45–8, 205.
8 Staël, *De l'Allemagne*, I, pp. 211–14.
9 M. Brown, 'Romanticism and Enlightenment', in S. Curran (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to British Romanticism* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 25–47 (p. 31).

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faith in the Enlightenment's progressive ideals, and always considering art and politics as part of the same struggle for liberty, Staël understood that no progress could be achieved when opposed to the forces of history and tradition. The French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars accelerated this new sense of historical relativism and causality, challenging the hegemony of reason and giving more value to felt experience.[10] Yet Staël's interest in national cultures never invalidated her belief in the importance of a universal literature that might rally readers around the liberal vision of a federated Europe made up of free, independent nation states.[11] Staël, in other words, imagined a Romanticism that was at once national and transnational, local and pan-European.

Some scholars still debate the extent to which Staël's theory of Romanticism was her own. The writer had visited Germany during her ten-year period of exile that began in October 1803; in Weimar, an English philosophy student, Henry Crabb Robinson, helped her interpret Friedrich Wilhelm von Schelling's lectures on aesthetics, and in Berlin, she hired the literary critic August Wilhelm Schlegel as her children's tutor.[12] Starting with her use of the term 'romantic', first theorised in 1798 by August Wilhelm Schlegel's brother Friedrich, many but not all of the concepts in her chapter are derived from German sources. On the other hand, when developing her notion of Northern literature around 1800 together with other members of the Coppet circle, she was not yet familiar with the ideas of the Schlegels or of Schelling that played so central a role in the development of German Romanticism. Moreover, her adoption of these new ideas in *On Germany* was deliberately selective. According to John Isbell, Staël never intended her treatise to be a faithful reflection of what was happening across the Rhine.[13] Instead, as Isbell writes, she appropriated the Romantic label 'for her own global agenda . . . She thereby invented a European Romanticism.'[14]

Since the publication of *On Germany*, which quickly sold out its first edition and was read in many parts of Europe, thousands of studies have attempted

10 F. C. Beiser, *Enlightenment, Revolution, and Romanticism: The Genesis of Modern German Political Thought 1790–1800* (Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1992), p. 5.
11 B. Fontana, 'Literary History and Political Theory in Germaine de Staël's Idea of Europe', in P. Hamilton (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of European Romanticism* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 35–51 (p. 41).
12 See M. R. Higonnet, 'Madame de Staël and Schelling', *Comparative Literature* 38.2 (1986), 159–80 and P. Hunnekuhl, *Henry Crabb Robinson: Romantic Comparatist, 1790-1811* (Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 2020).
13 J. C. Isbell, *The Birth of European Romanticism: Truth and Propaganda in Staël's 'De l'Allemagne', 1810–1813* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 141–56.
14 Isbell, *The Birth of European Romanticism*, p. 5.

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like Staël to either explain or dismiss Romanticism as a critical concept. Like all histories, these are necessarily selective, contingent, and provisional, reinventing the meaning and scope of the phenomenon in response to their own circumstances. This *Cambridge History* is no different: it was conceived in the same spirit as Madame de Staël's cultural and political agenda at a time when her 'generous idea' of Europe is being challenged on all sides, and when critics are urging that Romanticism be taught from a less parochial perspective.[15] Aimed primarily at English-speaking readers, the book presents European Romantic literature not as the sum of its parts but as a cultural phenomenon that superseded national borders, contributing to what Georges Gusdorf has called a 'new sense of European cultural identity'.[16] The fact that Staël appears in fourteen out of the collection's twenty chapters reminds us of the continuing importance of her mediating role and of her liberal, cosmopolitan worldview. By showcasing in particular the ways in which British literature helped shape but was also shaped by Continental culture, the volume hopes to reactivate critical examinations of Romanticism from a historicised European perspective.

In the rest of this introductory chapter, I first explain the editorial choices behind the collection, including its expansive time frame, European focus, and comparative method. I then briefly survey Lord Byron's Continental reception to demonstrate the utility of a pan-European approach. Although extremely familiar, the case of Byron and of Byronism is of central importance to the history of European Romanticism because of the 'European role' that it gave to British literature,[17] but also because it brings to the fore some common problems raised when relying on Romanticism as a critical category. In the next section, I look at how literary historians have addressed these problems, then discuss some of the period's most salient features. In the final section, I provide a chapter-by-chapter synopsis in order to help readers navigate the volume. My hope is that this *Cambridge History* may serve as a helpful introduction to the period, and that the choice of texts and subjects, while inevitably resulting in omissions, simplifications, and some repetitions, strikes the right balance between erudition and general knowledge, appealing to a lay audience and to specialists alike.

15 See, for example, D. Higgins, 'Teaching European Romanticism', in D. Higgins and S. Ruston (eds), *Teaching Romanticism* (Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 49–61.
16 G. Gusdorf, *Le romantisme*, 2 vols (Paris, Payot, 1993), I, p. 297.
17 G. Mazzini, 'Mazzini on Byron and Liberty', in A. Rutherford (ed.), *Lord Byron: The Critical Heritage* (New York, Routledge, 2010), pp. 330–41 (p. 340).

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Overview and Rationale

Although the chronological limits of Romanticism are notoriously unstable and frequently contested, as we shall see, I have chosen to interpret the period generously, bookending it with Jean-Jacques Rousseau's groundbreaking *Discours sur les sciences et les arts* [Discourse on the Sciences and the Arts] (1750), or *First Discourse*, and two important retrospective accounts, both published posthumously: William Wordsworth's *The Prelude* (1850) and François-René de Chateaubriand's *Mémoires d'outre-tombe* [Memoirs from beyond the Grave] (1849–50). With the exception of some very late-Romantic writers, such as the Spanish poet Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer, these dates have the advantage of accommodating Romanticism's uneven development across Europe, beginning with early yet significant authors, works, and movements such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* [The Sorrows of Young Werther] (1774), and the *Sturm und Drang* (storm and stress) that have traditionally been labelled pre-Romantic, proto-Romantic or not Romantic at all,[18] and closing with late-Romantic writers sometimes labelled as *Biedermeier* or early Victorian.

The publication of Montesquieu's *De l'esprit des lois* [On the Spirit of Laws] (1748), with its new attention to geographical and cultural determinism; Adam Smith's Glasgow *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* begun in 1748, with their sociohistorical situatedness of judgements of taste; and especially Rousseau's *First Discourse*, which asserts that man was born virtuous and corrupted by society, all mark a new relativist and subjectivist turn in the history of ideas. At the same time, the beginning of the Seven Years' War in 1756 put into motion the end of French political and cultural hegemony, increasing the military, economic, and cultural clout of Great Britain and Prussia and signalling the commercial classes' growing influence. At the other end of the period, the revolutions of 1848, like the publication of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels's *Communist Manifesto*, represent the culmination and ideological crisis of bourgeois liberalism. As *The Prelude* and the *Memoirs* both make clear, Romanticism in 1850 could only look backwards, from beyond the grave, to what these works' authors and their generation considered as

18 See P. van Tieghem, *Le préromantisme: Études d'histoire littéraire européenne*, 2 vols (Paris, Alcan, 1930); P. Viallaneix (ed.), *Le préromantisme: Hypothèque ou hypothèse ? Colloque de Clermont-Ferrand 29–30 juin 1972* (Paris, Klincksieck, 1975); and M. Brown, *Preromanticism* (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1991).

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the 'master theme' of their age, the French Revolution, perceived as the cut-off point between everything old and new.[19]

Beginning earlier than most other period histories enables us to trace the genealogies of European Romanticism in a number of eighteenth-century discourses including antiquarianism, orientalism, classicism, landscape aesthetics, the ballad revival, the Shakespeare revival, stadial history, republicanism, Gothicism, the cult of sentiment, and philosophical idealism. These extended dates correspond to what some scholars have referred to as the 'Romantic century' or 'Long Romantic Period',[20] as well as to Reinhart Koselleck's influential notion of *Sattelzeit* or saddle period, during which the experience of time and space changed radically and many of the concepts that have come to define modernity arose. As Koselleck has argued, the 'old experience of time was denaturalized' between the mid-eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries; in other words, a new sense of dislocation and accelerating time, or *Verzeitlichung*, forced contemporaries to regularly reconfigure their knowledge in relation to historical change.[21] Among the many modern concepts that emerged in reaction to this acceleration, one may cite those of deep time, nature versus culture, organicism, industrial capitalism, historicism, nationalism, cultural pluralism, democratic citizenship, natural rights, class, subjectivism, and individualism.

Like the Romantic period itself, the idea of Europe is of course not fixed, with its borders along with its political and cultural bearings shifting particularly frequently between 1750 and 1850.[22] Isolated from mainland Europe by the Coalition Wars and Continental Blockade, Britain already imagined itself as following a distinct path, whereas Russians continuously debated their attachment to Europe or Asia, and many smaller European nations, notably in Central and Eastern Europe, were only starting to take form as a cultural and territorial concept.[23] Even within Western Europe, borders were regularly being displaced as the continent passed from a limited state system to one in which nation states and empires sought to establish their dominance.

19 P. B. Shelley to Lord Byron, 8 September 1816, in *The Letters of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, ed. F. L. Jones, 2 vols (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1964), I, pp. 504–5 (p. 504).

20 See W. Galperin and S. Wolfson, 'Romanticism in crisis: The Romantic century', *Selected Papers of the NASSR 1996 Conference*, https://romantic-circles.org/reference/misc/confarchive/crisis/crisisa.html; A. Bilgrami, 'The political possibilities of a long Romantic period', *Studies in Romanticism* 49.4 (2010), 533–52.

21 R. Koselleck, *The Practice of Conceptual History: Timing History, Spacing Concepts* (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2003), pp. 5–7, 158.

22 A. Pagden, 'Europe: Conceptualizing a Continent', in A. Pagden (ed.), *The Idea of Europe: From Antiquity to the European Union* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 33–54 (p. 45).

23 See P. Stock, *Europe and the Geographical Imagination, 1760–1830* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2019).

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What Voltaire compared to 'a kind of great republic divided into several states' did not survive the French Revolution and Empire, which, in the name of universal rights, established a European order under a single sovereign who ruled over forty per cent of Europe's population before his defeat at Leipzig in 1813.[24]

Opposition to French hegemony played a fundamental role in the creation of a Europe of nation states based on their own *Volksgeist* or spirit of the people, whether derived from languages, local customs, or, most problematically, ethnic differences. If liberal writers such as Staël and Byron considered the independence of nations as the natural consequence of the French Revolution and 'the very *poetry* of politics',[25] others, including Alexander I of Russia but also former republicans such as Friedrich Schlegel and Britain's so-called Lake poets, drew on the same patriotic spirit to endorse the reactionary, anti-liberal ideology of the Restoration. The 'Concert of Europe', established at Vienna in 1815, bolstered the four Great Powers of Prussia, Russia, Austria, and Britain (later joined by France) at the expense of Europe's subjects and aspiring nation states. This in turn led to a second wind of liberal, internationalist Romanticism and to a string of revolutions and revolts in Italy, Greece, Spain, Poland, Russia, France, Belgium, and elsewhere.[26]

Despite its fluid borders and the fact that many territories were only just starting to be imagined as European, the idea of Europe as a coherent geographical, political, and especially cultural whole played a significant role in giving shape to Romantic literature, as we saw earlier with Madame de Staël. Romantic literature likewise contributed to the development of what Giuseppe Mazzini in an 1829 manifesto called 'una letteratura europea'.[27] For this reason, European Romanticism remains a valuable heuristic concept today, even if it helped reify some of the myths and stereotypes that remain hard to put to rest, including the division between the industrial North and the agricultural South, or the 'primitivism' of Europe's border regions, including the Celtic fringe, the far north, and the Caucasus.[28] Moreover, not all ideas of Europe at the time were liberal. Novalis's *Die Christenheit oder Europa*

24 Quoted in B. Fontana, 'The Napoleonic Empire and the Europe of Nations', in Pagden (ed.), *The Idea of Europe*, pp. 116–28 (p. 119).
25 Byron, Ravenna Journal, 18 February 1821, in L. A. Marchand (ed.) *Byron's Letters and Journals*, 12 vols (London, John Murray, 1978), VIII, pp. 46–7 (p. 47).
26 Fontana, 'The Napoleonic Empire', pp. 123–5. See also J. L. Talmon, *Romanticism and Revolt: Europe 1815–1848* (London, Thames and Hudson, 1967).
27 G. Mazzini, 'D'una letteratura europea', in F. Della Peruta (ed.), *Scritti politici*, 3 vols (Torino, Einaudi, 1976), I, pp. 1–35. See also B. Didier, *Précis de littérature européenne* (Paris, Presse universitaire de France, 1998).
28 See R. Dainatto, *Europe (in Theory)* (Durham, NC, Duke University Press, 2007).

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[Christendom or Europe], for example, a fragment written in 1799, looks back to medieval Christianity in order to imagine an organic, unified Europe, a form of political theology that led to more troubling expressions of Romantic nationalism that are still with us today.

Staël's invention of a European Romanticism that was as much a product of universalism and cosmopolitanism as of nationalism may strike readers as paradoxical. As the chapters in this volume make clear, however, Staël and her contemporaries did not easily distinguish between Enlightenment and Romantic values, or liberal and conservative ones, often experiencing them dialectically and in tension. As Frederick Beiser reminds us, most of the German intellectuals Staël wrote about, including those we today identify as Romantic, also saw themselves as *Aufklärer*.[29] Furthermore, the eighteenth-century ideal of a European Republic of Letters, in other words a public sphere constituted of international networks and circulations of people, ideas, and texts, remained a crucial model in the first half of the nineteenth century. If Napoleon's dazzling rise to power and territorial expansion made it harder for women such as Staël to participate in the literary field, it also opened up borders, mixed populations, and facilitated the marketing of international celebrity, giving representative writers the status of world-historical figures alongside the French emperor. This of course begs the question of whether Europe might not be too limited a concept to contain the forces of Romanticism: as the Chronology in the beginning of this volume reminds us, modern Europe was being created at the same time as its overseas empires; wars, revolts, and revolutions were taking place not just on the continent but also in Asia, the Americas, and elsewhere; and Romantic culture was becoming increasingly global.

No one was more aware of this problem than Goethe, who developed his notion of *Weltliteratur* during the 1820s as a means of circumventing the narrow patriotism and parochialism that he so despised in his own country.[30] As Goethe well knew, literature formed imaginative communities that transgressed national borders just as often as they helped shape them. Originating far from Europe's capitals on the Protestant peripheries of Scotland, Germany, and Switzerland, Romanticism emerged in part as a response to what Antoine Berman calls the 'experience of the foreign', including exposure to newly discovered classical, medieval, and Eastern

29 Beiser, *Enlightenment, Revolution, and Romanticism*, pp. 6–10.
30 See, for example, J. W. von Goethe, *Eckermann Gespräche mit Goethe*, ed. C. Michel, in *Sämtliche Werke*, 40 vols (Frankfurt, Deutsche Klassiker, 1999), XII, p. 257 (18 July 1827), and F. Strich, *Goethe und die Weltliteratur* (Bern, Franke, 1957).

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sources.[31] Many of its most exemplary figures, including Goethe and Staël, but also Rousseau, Herder, Schiller, the Schlegels, Chateaubriand, Stendhal, Byron, Giacomo Leopardi, Walter Scott, Percy Bysshe and Mary Shelley, Alessandro Manzoni, Victor Hugo, Alexander Pushkin, José de Espronceda, and Adam Mickiewicz, read classical and foreign languages and spent time abroad, whether through travel or exile. All understood that the literature of their respective nations could not be understood or developed in isolation, and that cultural exchanges within but also between nations helped define their age. As we shall see, lesser known figures, many of them women, also played a vital hyphenating function in the transmission of ideas and texts, as did both older and more recent institutions within the literary field, including the salon and coterie, circulating libraries, foreign reviews, pirated editions, and translations. Addressed in various places in this volume, translation was essential to Goethe's *Weltliteratur* because it helped 'fertilise' national literatures, contributing to the Romantic ideal of *Bildung* or organic development of the self but also of a work, a language, and even a nation.[32]

Featuring a chapter on global Romanticisms (Chapter 16) as well as discussions of race, empire, and citizenship that transcend Europe's narrow confines, I hope this collection has been able to heed Goethe's warning and to avoid an overly limiting Eurocentrism. I also hope it will not be viewed as too Anglocentric. Histories of European Romanticism often leave Great Britain out; this one deliberately gives British literature generous coverage because of the island nation's many exchanges with other European literatures and because of its significant contribution to the period as a whole. Imagined in the form of a collaborative history rather than as a handbook, companion, or anthology, the volume does not claim to be encyclopedic, nor does it seek to replace existing histories organised according to distinct national literatures, authors, or genres.[33] Attentive instead to the period's pan-European circulation of people, ideas, and texts, it proposes to 'rethink' the period comparatively,[34] paying particular attention to various forms of cultural mediation and transfer, and to the productive tensions, synchronicities, and interactions within and across borders. The

31 A. Berman, *The Experience of the Foreign: Culture and Translation in Romantic Germany*, trans. S. Heyvaert (Albany, State University of New York Press, 1992).

32 Berman, *The Experience of the Foreign*, p. 4. See also R. Robertson, '*Weltliteratur* from Voltaire to Goethe', *Comparative Critical Studies* 12 (2015), 163–81.

33 For a fine study of Romanticism by country that also looks at smaller nations, see R. Porter and M. Teich (eds), *Romanticism in National Context* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1988). See also the Further Reading section at the end of this volume.

34 M. J. Valdés and L. Hutcheon, 'Rethinking literary history – comparatively', ACLS Occasional paper 27, http://archives.acls.org/op/27_Rethinking_Literary_History.htm.

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collection is organised chronologically, with a genealogical section followed by two sections punctuated by the French Revolution and the Restoration, the period's most significant events. Each chapter focuses on its assigned time frame but also necessarily looks backwards and forwards. The aim was to provide a more coherent historical narrative than in recent publications, without writing a linear history or completely erasing individual nations' cultural and temporal specificities, as was often the case in earlier synthetic studies.

In addition to chronology, some chapters are structured around discourses such as natural history (Chapter 2) and aesthetics (Chapters 3 and 5), or else keywords like 'revolution' (Chapter 7), 'cosmopolitanism' (Chapter 8), 'nationalism' (Chapter 11), and 'globalisation' (Chapter 16). One is dedicated to women writers' networks (Chapter 10) and two others focus respectively on drama and fiction (Chapters 12 and 17), genres that were often overlooked by critics in favour of poetry. The last two chapters (Chapters 18 and 19), finally, are dedicated to Romanticism in Scandinavia and in Russia, where the phenomenon ended later. Due to their significance to European Romanticism as a whole, but also for reasons of expertise, chronology, and space, the volume mainly considers the literatures of Germany, England, Ireland, Scotland, France, Italy, Spain, Russia, Ukraine, Poland, Denmark, and Sweden. Smaller nations, and ancillary topics such as literature's relation to the other arts, could unfortunately only briefly be touched upon or were subsumed under other headings. Some chapters analyse a few texts and authors closely; others provide distant readings of a large number of titles. Authors, texts, events, and concepts reappear in different chapters, often from different angles, showing the interdependence of the categories organising the narrative; whenever possible we have signposted these overlaps for the sake of comparison. While the interpretations are chiefly historicist, in line with academic research in the last four decades and with Romanticism's own worldview as discussed later, most are also interdisciplinary and integrate questions related to gender, race, empire and ideology, aesthetics and affect, material culture and book history, environmental criticism, and the relation between science and literature.

Byron and European Romantic Poetry

'Only from a heart o'erflowing / Comes the power upon the heart.' Phorkyas's call in Act III of Goethe's *Faust,* Part II (1832) for a new, expressive art freed from classical rules is answered by Euphorion's meteoric appearance.[35] As many

35 J. W. von Goethe, *Faust: Part II*, trans. P. Wayne (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1959), p. 201.

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