

Why Should We Study the History of Reading?

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[Abstract: In my essay I would like to explain why I believe it is important to study the history of reading to reach a better understanding of any literary tradition. The study of reading practices and readers' communities of the past compels the literary scholar to imagine the literary process not as a linear one, but rather as a plurality of communicative trajectories that develop at different rhythms. The study of the history of reading forces the scholar to take into consideration elements such as readers' education, the impact of translated literary works, or mass literature on the various communities of readers. All these factors are important to chart the literary position of an author, his horizon of expectation and his narrative strategies. I will focus in particular on the use of the sources that we have at our disposal to study the history of reading, from library catalogues and registers of loans, to booksellers' business catalogues, private diaries and correspondence of the readers. In conclusion, I would like to underline how one of the fascinating aspects of studying the history of reading is its interdisciplinary nature. Studying not only the authors and the literary texts but also their readers, forces scholars to research a series of issues linked to economic history, social history, education and everyday life, that are particularly relevant in such a complex context as the Indian literary traditions.]

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In this short essay I would like to explain why I believe it is important to study the history of reading. I also would like to reflect on some of the main difficulties involved in such a study and, in particular, on the use of the sources at our disposal. Since I am not a specialist in Indian Culture, I will mention mostly examples from the culture I know best, namely the Russian Culture, but I will refer also to the broader European cultural context. I am afraid my knowledge of the Indian context is too limited. So I will mention just few cases about the Indian context. Still I believe that what I am going to write about can be relevant also to the Indian culture.

In 1922 in *Praise of Idleness*, the famous Russian critic Iulii Aichental'd wrote: "A Writer is not what he has written but rather what of his has been read" (89).

In the same year, the critic Aleksandr Beletskii, stated that for an in-depth understanding of the history of literature, you had to start from a history of reading. Beletskii wrote that “without a history of the Russian reader, the history of literature has no solid basis: it is mutilated; its conclusions, as rigorous as they may be, are partial, and none of its periods can be seriously evaluated” (39). Beletskii’s conclusions may be too categorical, and yet, despite the time that has passed, few scholars appear to have taken up the invitation to study what has been read in Russia.

Aichenvald and Beletskii’s statements are not random. Between the end of the 19th century and the 1920s there was a period in which reading was at the centre of the critics’ attention in Russia. Thanks also to the efforts of Nikolai Rubakin, in those years valuable works had been published, such as *Studies of Russian Readership* in 1895¹. During the 1920s Russian Formalists paid special attention to the issue of the reader, also from an historical point of view. At the end of the Twenties, several important studies by the formalist Viktor Shklovskii and his students came out, highlighting certain interesting aspects of the history of reading in Russia in the 18th and early 19th centuries². And yet this phase of interest in the USSR was short lived. Starting from the 1930s, despite the Soviet propaganda slogans that claimed that the Soviet Union was “the country with the broadest readership in the world”, works of any merit about Soviet readers, and particularly about the readers of the past, were rare. Even since the end of Gorbachev’s “Perestroika”, there have been few books on the history of reading in Russia. In general, most scholars have focused on *what* people read in the past, while only a handful have looked at *how* they used to read.

In the West, too, the history of reading is a relatively recent discipline. In 1986 the famous American historian Robert Darnton published an article with a significant title: *First steps toward*

¹Nikolai Rubakin N.A., *Etudy o russkoi chitaiushchei publike. Fakty, tsifry, nabliudeniia*, Saint Petersburg, Moscow, Izdanie O.N. Popovoi, 1895.

² Viktor Shklovskii, Matvei Komarov, *zhitel' goroda Moskvy*, Leningrad, Priboi, 1929; Grits T., Trenin V., Nikitin M., *Slovesnost' i kommertsii. Knizhnaia lavka A.F. Smirdina*, V.B. Shklovskii i B.M. Eikhenbaum (eds.), Moscow, Federatsiia, 1929.

*a history of reading*³. However, since the 1970s a series of brilliant works by authors such as Donald Mackenzie, Carlo Ginzburg, Robert Darnton, Roger Chartier and others, have encouraged scholars not to underestimate the political function of reading. Coming to India, a collection of works edited by C. D. Narasimhaiah appeared in 1967. ⁴Priya Joshi started publishing her groundbreaking works on the history of reading in India in 1990s⁵. These publications have shown how the history of reading can be an excellent access key for investigating various fields of knowledge, such as intellectual history, the history of private life, the history of emotions, etc. Some of their studies have shown how reading is an intellectual activity strongly conditioned by the concrete editorial forms of the text, by the space and by the precise circumstances in which reading takes place and by the way in which it is performed. The variety of forms of collective reading out loud that we find in the past suggests how reading has been not only a means for entertaining or for educating those who have not learned to read, but also an important socializing tool. While individual reading may have fed forms of protest against the powers that be, collective reading has often played a crucial role in cementing different intellectual and religious groups and communities. A history of reading thus helps us to reconstruct the concrete ways in which texts were circulated and the use that a society makes of knowledge.

Here I shall contend that studying the history of reading helps to foster the understanding of literature. My work starts with questions like: How does literature appear if observed not from the point of view of the authors or of the critics, but through the eyes of the readers? Why do we believe it is so important to study the history of reading in order to better evaluate the history of literature?

First of all, the history of reading obliges the literary scholar to imagine the literary process as non-linear, but rather as manifold; it is a plurality of communicative trajectories that

³ Robert Darnton, "First Steps towards a History of Reading," *Australian Journal of French Studies*, 23, pp. 5–30 (2nd edit. in Robert Darnton, *The Kiss of Lamourette: Reflections in Cultural History*, New York, W.W. Norton, 1990, pp. 154–187). See also Jonathan Rose, "Arriving at a History of Reading", *Historically Speaking*, Volume 5, Number 3, January 2004, pp. 36-39

⁴ C. D. Narasimhaiah (ed.), *Fiction and the Reading Public in India*, Mysore, University of Mysore, 1967.

⁵ See in particular P. Yoshi, *In Another Country: Colonialism, Culture, and the English Novel in India*, New York, Columbia UP, 2002 and Oxford UP, 2003.

develop at different rhythms. Usually we tend to imagine the literary process as a linear movement from one phase to another. In the case of India, from the Indian Classical Literature written in Sanskrit, to the Medieval Indian Literature written in Persian, Arabic, Hindi and Urdu, to the modern Indian literatures written in modern Indian languages or English during the colonial and postcolonial period. The study of past readers obliges the scholar to think, at any given time, of a literary situation in terms of the simultaneous coexistence of different temporalities. They are represented by the tastes and preferences of different intellectual communities and groups of readers who read at the same time texts of different periods and in different languages. The complexity of the Indian cultural context with its coexistence of different cultural communities and dynamics make this approach particularly valuable. Beyond the struggle of the literary schools, the scholar has to take into account the struggle between the different schools and communities of readers, because the author bears in mind his readerships too while composing his work.

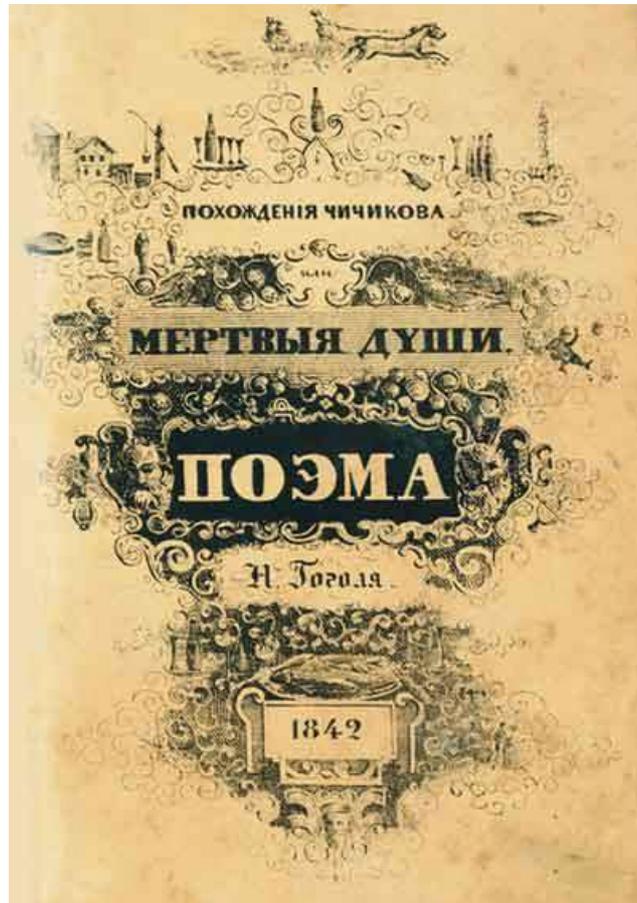
Secondly, the study of the history of reading forces the scholar to take into considerations elements such as the education of the readers, the impact of translated literary works, and the impact of mass literature on the various communities of readers. Starting from Thomas Babington Macaulay's *Minute on Education* in 1835 to our time the status of English as a literary language has significantly changed in the Indian cultures depending on the political context of the moment. Therefore, only studying the education and the cultural background of the readership of the past we can recover the real impact of an Indian literary work in English on its readership. No less important is to study the influence of translated literatures and of mass literature on the reading public of a certain period in order to fully evaluate the horizon of expectation of its writers and their narrative strategies. These are factors which, though mentioned by the scholars in theory, are not sufficiently well-known in practice. But still they are crucial in reconstructing the literary position of an author when he or she addresses his/her public.

No less important is the editorial form in which a literary text is read. The history of reading suggests that the original versions of literary texts are not immediately known by their readers. Many texts often reach the readers first through oral storytelling, summaries, abridged

Editions, popular re-makes, songs. Poetry often penetrates certain circles through songs or popular dramas rather than through books. Many popular readers were familiar with the Classic works of the Western literature in deformed and abridged popular re-elaborations before they had the chance to see the original editions. These editorial forms strongly condition the construction of the sense of the text read by the public and end up also influencing the reading of the original text. According to Meenakshi Mukherjee, a strong interaction between oral tradition and written texts was a crucial factor that influenced the literary process not only in 16th and 17th century European cultures, but also in the several Indian literary traditions up until the 20th century⁶. Only studying the different forms taken by a literary text in different reading communities can we hope to uncover the aesthetic and ideological effect of a literary work?

Certain elements of the editorial form of a literary work, such as the cover, have an extraordinary influence on the interpretation of the text by its reader. The book cover designed by Nikolai Gogol' for the first editions of his masterpiece *Dead Souls* (1842) had a significant impact in stimulating multiple and diverse interpretations of his novel among his contemporary readers. If we don't keep in mind the material form of a text, we risk to miss its original meaning and its aesthetic and ideological effect on coeval readers.

⁶Meenakshi Mukherjee, "La narrativa indiana tra epica e romanzo", in Franco Moretti (ed.), *Il romanzo*, vol. 2, Torino, Einaudi, 2002, pp. 477-479



N.V. Gogol', Book cover for *The Dead Souls* (1842)

Of course, in countries that enjoyed greater press freedom, there is a privileged relationship between the history of publishing and the history of reading. This is why in France and in Britain the history of publishing and the history of reading are often presented together. During the 18th and 19th Century in Russia, as well as in India, considering the control exercised for so long by the State on what was published, the relationship between the history of publishing and the history of reading needs to be assessed carefully. According to Robert Darnton, although the English colonizers granted a substantial freedom of the press in India during the XIX century, there came times when Indian literary production was subject to a much heavier censorship, for

instance in the first decades of the 20th century⁷. In Russia, the novel *The Possessed* by Dostoevskij could come out in its original version (including the chapter on Stavrogin's confession) only 117 years after its first publication in 1871-1872. The chapter on Stavrogin's confession was read by the author to several people and circulated among some contemporary readers, but was first published in Russia only in 1902. The Novel *The Master and Margarita* by Mikhail Bulgakov was written in the USSR during the 1930s, but started circulating in Soviet Union in typewritten copies only in 1960s and was first published in 1966-1967. Russian readers spent nights copying forbidden novels and spreading them among friends literally risking their life to read them⁸. The history of reading forces us to question not only what *is* read in a certain community, but also what *is not* read, or what the public is *forbidden to read* which thereby acquires a special value for the readers. No less important is what is forgotten or removed from the public eye, the different duration of the success of certain authors and of certain texts in the eras following their publication. These too are literary factors that historians of literature need to take into account. As Priya Joshi has brilliantly pointed out in *In Another Country*, despite a certain pressure imposed by the colonizing British publishers, the Indian reading public managed to keep a high degree of freedom in their choices and judgement about the imported British novels⁹.

The history of reading suggests that the original versions of countless literary texts are not immediately known. At the end of the 19th Century many Russian popular readers were already familiar with the works of Nikolai Gogol' in bizzare and deformed popular re-elaborations (*lubok* editions) before they had the chance to see the original editions. In the eyes of the popular reader, a work such as *TarasBul'ba* by Gogol', read out loud by literate peasants, along with the great classics of *lubok* literature, appeared very different from the one read by contemporaries of

⁷Robert Darnton, *Censors at Work: How States Shaped Literature*, New York, London, W. W. Norton and Co., 2014, pp. 87-144.

⁸On reading forbidden books in the USSR see Josephine Von Zitzewitz, "Reading the Samizdat", in D. Rebecchini, R.Vassena (eds.) *Reading Russia. A History of Reading in Modern Russia*, vol. 3, Milano, Ledizioni (forthcoming)

⁹ Priya Joshi, *In Another Country: Colonialism, Culture, and the English Novel in India*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2002.

Gogol' himself. Poetry often penetrates certain circles through songs rather than through books. Let's not forget the popularity of the songs of Aleksandr Pushkin in certain popular urban circles in the mid 19th century Russia. Many texts often reach the readers first through abridged editions for children, popular re-makes, songs, summaries, oral storytelling. These are all forms that strongly condition the construction of the sense of a text and that end up also influencing the reading of the original text.

Studying the reading practices of different communities helps us not only to understand the particular use presumed by the author in his work, but also the different use that was made of that text in other circles or in other eras. We often tend to imagine that a text was read in the past just as we read it ourselves. We forget that certain texts were conceived for different ways of reading, and that the same text, passing from one audience to another, where different reading practices have taken hold, has acquired another meaning. According to Robert Darnton, most of the Bengali literature that appeared in the second half of nineteenth century was often read aloud by professional readers to a mostly illiterate public¹⁰. As Darnton has pointed out, the reading performances of some of these professional readers had not only an important aesthetic impact on their public but they even played an important ideological role in the *swaraj*. The meaning of a work always depends on the concrete use that is historically made of it. Consequently, we need to try to reconstruct yesteryears' ways of reading, gestures that have been forgotten, lost reading habits, because they help us define the different interpretations of a work of literature given by the readers of the past.

One of the reasons why scholars have so far overlooked the history of reading, may be found in the difficulty of finding enough sources to reconstruct it. Authors leave numerous traces, readers very few. And yet, however faint, such traces do exist. There are plenty of catalogues and inventories of bygone libraries, there are copies of books marked by their readers' marginalia, there are booksellers' catalogues and readers' personal journals and private correspondence. I'll now try to make a short foray among Russia's mid-nineteenth century reading public, focusing

¹⁰Robert Darnton, *Censors at Work: How States Shaped Literature*, New York, W. W. Norton and Co., 2014, pp. 87-144.

on three types of sources: a. Private library catalogues and loan registers; b. Booksellers' business catalogues; c. Readers' journals and correspondence.

The catalogues of private libraries are a somewhat 'reticent' source for the history of reading: above all they record what is purchased, rather than what is actually read. But, I'll begin with a rather special case, and the one that I know best, namely the catalogue of Alexander I's personal library in the Winter Palace . On becoming tsar, Alexander I had one of the largest and most modern book collections of his time: this included the personal library of Catherine II, Voltaire's and Diderot's libraries, that of the German geographer Büsching, the big collections of Berlin booksellers Nicolai and Zimmermann, and lastly that of his own tutor, the philosopher La Harpe¹¹. But this tells us nothing about how Alexander read his books. Nevertheless, a glance at the handwritten catalogue of his own personal library, preserved in the Hermitage archives, can provide a clue¹². The catalogue shows that the subjects and books in his library were arranged according to a classification criterion that was truly innovative for that time. As his librarian explains in the initial pages of the catalogue, Alexander's library featured a new "world map of knowledge". For instance, the science sector came right at the beginning of the catalogue¹³. Christian theology had been classified under the intellectual sciences, alongside the exact sciences and the applied sciences. The tsar could find orthodox religious texts in a section alongside those on deism and atheism. It was a significant break with the past. In any Russian catalogue of that day, Christian theology was a section in itself, and it opened the table of subjects, on the assumption that it was true knowledge, coming directly from God. Alexander had chosen to follow the cataloguing criteria of Diderot's and D'Alembert's Encyclopaedia, which aimed at the closest possible link between subjects and fields of knowledge. The word Encyclopaedia meant exactly that: a "linking of knowledge". The particular classification of the subjects in the catalogue of the tsar's personal library encouraged his reader to find as many links and connections as possible with the most up-to-date knowledge of his day. The order of the books in that library directed Alexander towards reading that favoured the links between subjects

¹¹See Vasilii V. Scegllov, *Sobstvennye ego imperatorskogo velicestva biblioteki i arsenaly*, Petrograd, 1917, p. 17.

¹² Catalogue de la Bibliothèque particulière de Sa Majesté l'Empereur Alexandre I, in Archiv Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha, fond 1, opis' 1, 1837, edinita 11.

¹³ Ibidem, ll. 1-18.

and branches of knowledge. In addition, for numerous books he had had a history of their editions and a brief summary of their contents included in the catalogue. That catalogue thus represented not only a radical reorganization of knowledge according to the principles of the Encyclopaedia, but also showed the historicity of both texts and subjects. So, reflecting on the order and arrangement of the subjects within a personal library sometimes helps us to understand the research priorities of its owner and, to some extent, to reconstruct the way he read books.

More precise indications as to what was read come from the loan registers of the public or private libraries of the past. The Winter Palace archives hold some of the palace library loan registers, especially from the time of Tsar Nicholas I. There are loan registers of the library used by the heir to the throne, the future Alexander II, and by various members of the imperial family and of the court of Nicholas I. But there is also the loan register of the library used by the Winter Palace servants, from cooks and waiters to porters and stokers¹⁴.

By analyzing the loan registers of big private libraries and provincial libraries we can achieve a fairly clear idea of the cultural dynamics that separated the main cultural capitals from the provincial cities, elite readers from popular readers. Which authors and which kinds of books did the members of the élites prefer and which ones did their valets, footmen, cooks and stokers choose? Which works did they both read and which ones differentiated these communities? What was the ratio of translated works to the books belonging to the national literary tradition? These sources enable us to trace some complex cultural dynamics that divided the reading habits of different social groups allowing us to reconstruct a more articulate picture of the literary production over the time.

We should now move on from the public and private libraries to the bookshops and circulating libraries (also known as lending libraries and rental libraries). Circulating libraries offered an alternative to the large number of readers who could not afford the price of new books. Circulating libraries were important cultural institutions in Britain, France, Germany, Russia and America during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth century, affording the rising middle class access to a broad range of reading material--poetry, plays, histories, biography, philosophy, travels, and

¹⁴On this see Damiano Rebecchini, "Reading Novels at the Winter Palace under Nicholas I: from the Tsar to the Stokers", *Slavic Review* (forthcoming)

especially fiction. Circulating libraries were first and foremost a business venture. The intention was to profit from lending books to the public for a fee. Most of its habitual customers were readers who could not afford large private collections of books, as testified by the low subscription fees. By subscribing for a year, six months, three months or just one month, readers could borrow recently published books rather than buy them. There were large and distinguished circulating libraries, such as those of London, Paris or Saint Petersburg, but also small circulating libraries run by remote booksellers in provincial small town. Usually they were operated out of stores that sold other items such as newspapers and books. Sometimes they were in stores that sold items completely unrelated to books.

Booksellers provided a catalogue listing all the works available in their stores that their customers were entitled to borrow. Fortunately, the catalogues of a large number of circulating libraries scattered all over Europe still survive today. They are an extremely useful source to understand the rates of book readings especially in the urban working class. The volumes were arranged in index books which did not follow any complex classification criteria, but rather the practical requirements of the readers. The most popular genres and works were classified according to the most convenient and understandable definitions. To engage ever broader portions of the general public, booksellers offered subscriptions with up to 8 differentiated rates according to the various types of readers: those who wished to read books only or also magazines; city readers or provincial readers, to whom the books were posted; rates for readers who wanted titles hot off the press, or who were willing to wait 1, 3 or 6 months after publication, and so on¹⁵.

By examining the subscription regulations in the catalogues, along with the arrangement of the subjects, the appearance and disappearance of sections, the number of titles in the sections or fluctuations in the book prices, you can get a fairly precise idea of the changing tastes of the European public of the capitals or of the provincial cities. The catalogues show the shifting preferences for certain editorial forms, for national literature or for translations, for certain literary genres and for certain topics.

¹⁵ See f.i. *Rospis' rossijskim knigam dlja ctenija iz biblioteki Aleksandra Smirdina*, Saint Petersburg, 1828, pp. XVII-XIX.

For example, the advent in the 1820s of sections on “romantic poems” or in the 1830s for “novels translated from foreign languages”, or in the 1860s’ sections of books on “the diseases of the soul”. These sections of the bookshops’ catalogues paint a picture of the transformations taking place in the interests of the European reading public¹⁶.

While the bookshop catalogues or the loan registers of large libraries help us to identify the reading habits of numerous groups, they tell us nothing about how the books were read. Private letters and diaries, on the other hand, are a vital source for reconstructing the reading habits of certain circles, and for researching the effects of reading on individual readers.

Now we’ll end our journey amongst the 19th century reading public in Moscow’s aristocratic English Club in the mid 1870s. William Mills Todd has published the diary of what he called a “colleague of Karenin”, the governor of Moscow, prince Vladimir Mikhailovich Golitsyn. From the armchairs of the English Club the liberal young prince read the latest edition of a Russian magazine, noting down in his diary, month after month, chapter after chapter, his reactions to Tolstoy’s masterpiece *Anna Karenina*. As Todd wrote: “Golitsyn was neither an aesthete, nor a critic, nor a gifted interpreter, nor a particularly perceptive literary historian, but he was a thoughtful reader with strong opinions about aesthetics, fiction, morality, and the state of Russian Society”¹⁷. The reactions and associations that the novel aroused in him help us to place the novel correctly within the concrete intellectual and aesthetic context that Tolstoj was addressing. It is interesting to note, for example, how Golitsyn saw in the “false and disgusting realism” of certain passages of Tolstoj’s novel, such as the description of Kitty’s birth, the influence of Zola’s naturalistic novel; at the same time, Prince Golitsyn contrasts the “disgusting” Tolstoyan novel with the positive model of novels by the forgotten French writer Octave Feuillet. But perhaps the most interesting part is to see how Prince Golitsyn’s opinion evolves during the serial publication of *Anna Karenina*, from 1875 to 1877. Golitsyn’s diary helps us to consider the reaction to a literary text not as the elaboration of a static, definitive and consistent opinion, such

¹⁶ See f.i. *Sistematcheskii katalog russkim knigam prodajushcim v knizhnom magazine Aleksandra Fedorovicha Bazunova*, Saint Petersburg, 1869.

¹⁷ William Mills Todd, “V.N. Golitsyn reads *Anna Karenina*: How one of Karenin’s Colleagues responded to the Novel”, in Damiano Rebecchini, Raffaella Vassena (eds), *Reading in Russia. Practices of reading and literary communication*, Milano, Ledizioni, 2013, p. 192.

as the one we find in critics' reviews, but as a dynamic experience that develops in time. We can see how the reading proceeds, how, the reader develops psychologically and how his/her historical and cultural context evolves. As is well-known, many European novels published in the 19th century, and partly in the 20th century, from Dickens's to Dostoevsky's and Tolstoy's, came out in instalments. Considering the importance of the serial publication of literary works in magazines, these sources help us to reconstruct the effects on a reader not of a work as a whole, but of individual sections of a work. Diaries and letters are useful for reconstructing the reading in its process, in its dynamic effects.

In conclusion, I would like to underline how one of the fascinating aspects of studying the history of reading is its necessarily interdisciplinary nature. Studying not only the authors and the literary texts but also their readers, forces scholars to research a series of issues linked to economic history, social history, education and everyday life, that they would otherwise have ended up overlooking. I believe that this approach can be fruitful in investigating such a complex, multilingual tradition as we find in India, where political, linguistic and cultural factors are so tightly intertwined. Only this coming together of disciplines enables us to fully understand how a practice such as reading, which on first sight may seem static, if not immutable, has certain moments of extraordinary transformation, such as the one we are living today, which need to be taken into account.

NOTES

¹Nikolai Rubakin N.A., *Etudy o russkoi chitaiushchei publike. Fakty, tsifry, nabliudeniia*, Saint Petersburg, Moscow, Izdanie O.N. Popovoi, 1895.

²Viktor Shklovskii, Matvei Komarov, *zhitel' goroda Moskvyy*, Leningrad, Priboi, 1929; Grits T., Trenin V., Nikitin M., *Slovesnost' i kommertsii. Knizhnaia lavka A.F. Smirdina*, V.B. Shklovskii i B.M. Eikhenbaum (eds.), Moscow, Federatsiia, 1929.

³Robert Darnton, "First Steps towards a History of Reading," *Australian Journal of French Studies*, 23, pp. 5-30 (2nd edit. in Robert Darnton, *The Kiss of Lamourette: Reflections in Cultural History*, New York, W.W. Norton, 1990, pp. 154-187). See also Jonathan Rose, "Arriving at a History of Reading", *Historically Speaking*, Volume 5, Number 3, January 2004, pp. 36-39

⁴C. D. Narasimhaiah (ed.), *Fiction and the Reading Public in India*, Mysore, University of Mysore, 1967.

⁵See in particular P. Yoshi, *In Another Country: Colonialism, Culture, and the English Novel in India*, New York, Columbia UP, 2002 and Oxford UP, 2003.

⁶Meenakshi Mukherjee, "La narrativa indiana tra epica e romanzo", in Franco Moretti (ed.), *Il romanzo*, vol. 2, Torino, Einaudi, 2002, pp. 477-479

⁷Robert Darnton, *Censors at Work: How States Shaped Literature*, New York, London, W. W. Norton

and Co., 2014, pp. 87-144.

⁸On reading forbidden books in the USSR see Josephine Von Zitzewitz, "Reading the Samizdat", in D. Rebecchini, R.Vassena (eds.) *Reading Russia. A History of Reading in Modern Russia*, vol. 3, Milano, Ledizioni (forthcoming)

⁹Priyia Joshi, *In Another Country: Colonialism, Culture, and the English Novel in India*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2002.

¹⁰Robert Darnton, *Censors at Work: How States Shaped Literature*, New York, W. W. Norton and Co., 2014, pp. 87-144.

¹¹ See Vasilii V. Scegllov, *Sobstvennye ego imperatorskogo velicestva biblioteki i arsenaly*, Petrograd, 1917, p. 17.

¹² Catalogue de la Bibliothèque particulière de Sa Majesté l'Empereur Alexandre I, in Archiv Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha, fond 1, opis' 1, 1837, edinitsa 11.

¹³Ibidem, ll. 1-18.

¹⁴On this see DamianoRebecchini, "Reading Novels at the Winter Palace under Nicholas I: from the Tsar to the Stokers", *Slavic Review* (forthcoming)

¹⁵ See f.i. *Rospis' rossijskimknigamdljactenijaizbiblioteki Aleksandra Smirdina*, Saint Petersburg, 1828, pp. XVII-XIX.

¹⁶ See f.i. *Sistematicheskii katalog russkim knigam prodajushcim v knizhnom magazine Aleksandra Fedorovicha Bazunova*, Saint Petersburg, 1869.

¹⁷William Mills Todd, "V.N. Golitsyn reads *Anna Karenina*: How one of Karenin's Colleagues responded to the Novel", in Damiano Rebecchini, Raffaella Vassena (eds), *Reading in Russia. Practices of reading and literary communication*, Milano, Ledizioni, 2013, p. 192.

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