My paper investigates two main angles of the relationship between Walter Scott and Ariosto’s *Orlando Furioso*. Each concerns what we might call magical agency in literature, along with the development of new creations out of old, across centuries of the *imitatio* tradition. The first angle brings together key markers in Scott’s fascination with the *Furioso*, as revealed through autobiographical memories, letters, and journal entries. Those markers begin in Scott’s schooldays, when Ariosto’s best-known poem became the point of departure for the future “Wizard of the North’s” own understanding of chivalric romance. (“The Wizard of the North” was one of Scott’s own assumed adult pseudonyms.) I aim to reveal a developing framework of thought and improvisation in which Ariosto’s brand of romance poetics serves as a touchstone for Scott’s literary career, and also for his handling of life more generally. The other angle to my talk investigates the *Furioso’s* intricate structural and thematic influence on Scott’s major literary output. That influence, I argue, positions Scott’s best known works - not just his collected ballads and early-nineteenth-century chivalric poems, but also his historical novels - as improvisations on an older tradition deriving from two strands: the Scottish and English oral ballad tradition on the one hand, and Italian chivalric romance on the other. The longer version of my talk, for publication after this conference, will explore Scott’s early development of Ariosto’s storytelling mode of *entrelacement*. That technique of interlacing several concurrently developing stories within one overall narrative through devices of interruption, digression, and narrative suspension not only provides a structural frame for Scott’s narrative poems and novels, but also lies behind the arrangement and rearrangement of ballads in the first of Scott’s major publications, *Mistresly of the Scottish Border*. The *Mistreslisy* in its various editions, accreting notes along with explanatory and literary historical essays, underpins everything that Scott wrote afterwards and is key to understanding his synthesis of Scottish vernacular poetics and the Italian Romance tradition.

In Canto IV of *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage: a Romaunt* (the 1818 Italian final Canto), Lord Byron famously compares Scott and Ariosto in a pair of soubriquets that look back and forth at one another across three centuries, and from Southern to Northern Europe:

. . . first rose  
The Tuscan father’s comedy divine;  
Then, not unequal to the Florentine,  
The southern Scott, the minstrel who call’d forth  
A new creation with his magic line,  
And, like the Ariosto of the North,  
Sang ladye-love and war, romance and knightly worth.  
(Lord Byron, *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage*, Canto IV, lines 356-360)

Following Dante (the Tuscan father and Florentine) as the “southern Scott,” Ariosto had “call’d forth a new creation” with its own “magic line.” Scott is then named as “the Ariosto of the North.”
The previous year, in the less public space of a letter to his publisher and Scott’s friend John Murray, Byron explained his comparison. He pointed out that while Scott shared a thematic likeness to Ariosto, he also had chosen a new line:

Surely their themes Chivalry — war — & love were as like as can be — and as to the compliment — if you knew what the Italians think of Ariosto — you would not hesitate about that. — But as to their ‘measures,’ you forget that Ariosto's is an octave stanza — and Scott's anything but a Stanza. . . I do not call him the ‘Scotch Ariosto’ which would be sad provincial eulogy — but the ‘Ariosto of the North’ — meaning of all countries that are not the South.5

I argue that Scott’s imitatio, deriving from classical and humanist practices of emulating, adapting, reworking and enriching sources from an earlier author, who in this case is Ariosto, extended through several stages, to move beyond poetic form and metrics, across genres to the prose fiction of the nineteenth-century novel.

Walter Scott made no secret that Ariosto was his favourite poet from the European romance tradition and that Orlando Furioso was the epic poem that he most enjoyed and valued. In the autobiographical fragment of his early life, completed in 1808 when he was just 37 years old but not published until after his death, in his son-in-law John Gibson Lockhart’s Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott (1837-38 7-vol. ed., 1839 10-vol. ed.), Scott recalls how his consuming passion for romance poetry emerged while he was a schoolboy: “all that was adventurous and romantic I devoured.”3 He remembers his close childhood friend John Irving:

We lived near each other, and by joint agreement were wont, each of us, to compose a romance for the other’s amusement. These legends, in which the martial and the miraculous always predominated, we rehearsed to each other during our walks, which were usually directed to the most solitary spots about Arthur's Seat and Salisbury Crags.”4

Irving's letters corroborate the story, recalling that the boys took most delighted in “romances of Knight-errantry; the Castle of Otranto, Spenser, Ariosto and Boiardo.”5 That early enthusiasm for tales of valour and enchantment, set in a partly historical and partly fantastical Britain and Europe, would become a defining characteristic of Scott’s writing. Arthur’s seat itself was already associated with King Arthur’s legendary court at Camelot. A close affinity between enchantment, features of the land, poetry and storytelling emerged that would develop into a major theme in Scott’s own writing. Remembering his boyhood inspiration from the Furioso and Tasso’s Gerusalemme Liberata, both of which at that point in his life he read in John Hoole’s translations, Scott attributes to his early reading and imitation “no small effect in directing the turn of my imagination to the chivalrous and romantic in poetry and prose.”6

Notably, these were the same years in which Scott was also furiously and furtively reading Thomas Percy’s Reliques of Ancient English Poetry (first published in 1765). The Reliques were rendered even more exciting by their being embroiled in an authenticity controversy initiated by rival ballad and song collector Joseph Ritson, whose own antiquarian collections of medieval English songs and metrical romances would also become inspirational for Scott. Moreover, reading the Reliques reputedly so captivated the boy Scott’s imagination that he arrived late for family dinners: in his autobiography, he calls the songs “the Delilah’s of my imagination,” remembering that “I forgot the hour of dinner and was sought for with anxiety, and was still found entranced in my intellectual banquet.”7 That heady blend of Italian Romance epic and English vernacular poetry collected for a modern antiquarian readership shaped much of what Scott later wrote and published, from his early ballad collection, Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border (first published in 1802 and, like Wordsworth and Coleridge’s Lyrical Ballads, revised through several editions), his metrical romances and narrative long poems mainly published between 1805 and 1814, to the historical
novels for which he became best known and that include the five “crusader” novels *Ivanhoe*, *Kenilworth*, *The Betrothed*, *The Talisman*, and *Count Robert of Paris*, all published between 1820 and 1831 (*Count Robert* just nine months before Scott’s death in 1832). I shall explore the impact of Scott’s early reading and composition as my talk progresses, but for now will continue with the personal context of Scott’s ongoing interest in Ariosto and the *Furioso*.

At Edinburgh University, where he studied classics from the age of twelve, Scott recalls incurring the anger of Andrew Dalzell, Professor of Greek, for an essay that he wrote placing Homer behind Ariosto in poetical merit and interest. In the light of that adolescent essay, it is perhaps pertinent that the Ariosto borrowings, references and imagery in Scott’s mature work testify to a preference for the Romance and magical episodes in the *Furioso* over the more classically inspired, later additions and revisions. Disappointed by the time he reached his teens with what he called Hoole’s “flat medium,” Scott quickly took up Italian classes in Edinburgh in order to read Dante, Boiardo, Ariosto, Pulci and Tasso in the original, while he “fastened . . . like a tiger, upon every collection of old songs or romances which chance threw in my way, or which my scrutiny was able to discover.”

Still later, in an 1814 letter to William Southerby, he wrote “‘I am delighted that you are turning your talents to the Italian poetry. I believe I am wrong but Ariosto is a greater favourite of mine than Tasso.’” Again, that preference shows Scott’s inclination towards Ariosto’s earlier Romance style over the turn of Italian epic towards renaissance classicism that came to the foregound with Tasso. Moreover, in this letter to Southerby, Scott mentions that he had just received from his own Edinburgh publishers a copy of the latest edition of his poem *The Vision of Don Roderick*. That imitation romance, written in Spenserian stanzas, is one of several by differing authors published during the Napoleonic wars that treated the story of Spain’s passing in the eighth-century into Moorish Islamic rule and its subsequent return to Christian leadership. All of these poems use epic tradition and historical semi-fiction to justify and glorify Britain’s involvement in the Napoleonic Iberian wars. In Scott’s metrical-romance version, Don Roderick, the defeated Christian king of the Goths, takes refuge in an enchanted, cavernous underground vault where two giant statues armed with a combination of scythes, clubs, an hourglass and a book come to life and reveal to him the future of the Spanish nation down to the time of the defeat of Napoleon in the Peninsular wars. Scott’s aim was to bring together, in the words of his introduction to that poem, “strange tradition and many a mystic trace / Legend, vision, prophecy and sign,” combing “the wonders wild of Arabesque . . . with Gothic imagery” (stanza XII).

The influence of the *Furioso* in *Don Roderick* is evident not just formally and in the role of magical action and the coming to life of giants, but also in the poem’s mode of *imitatio* or referential, intertextual dialogue with prior texts, such as Donald Beecher, Massimo Ciavolella and Roberto Fedi have explored as being so central to Ariosto’s own style. Scott’s intertextual *imitatio* extends back through his formal, metrical acknowledgement of Spenser, to thematic and imagistic borrowings from Ariosto and Boiardo, and only then to classical Latin and Greek tropes of sibyls, seers and visits to the underworld. Despite a deep time return to the Greek and Latin classical roots of the western literary tradition, a Romance-style narrative of martial and marvellous action combined with an early nineteenth-century aesthetic of vastness and the supernatural, consistent with the Burkean Sublime, carries Scott’s poem to its conclusion. The relationship of style and purpose in *Don Roderick* also follows in Ariosto’s Romance epic tradition, as well as that of Spenser (and earlier, the classical epic of Virgil), because the poem works as a legendary, literary and partly-historical paean to Britain’s final, recent triumph over Napoleon at Waterloo, recalling, as it does so, the *Furioso’s* mythologisation of the rise of the House of Este.

Writing to Miss Marianne Clephane of the Isle of Mull, a friend and regular correspondent, Scott had five years earlier in 1809 distinguished between what he interpreted to be the near equivalent moral and political allegories of *The Faerie Queene* and the less prominent political content of *Orlando Furioso* alongside its “bona fide romance”: "If you read with attention the history of Queen Elizabeth's time you may perceive that besides his moral allegory Spenser had a political allegory couched under his tissue of romantic fiction. . . . [S]ome traces of political allegory may be
discovered in the *Orlando Furioso* but they are in detached portions of the poem, which generally speaking is a *bona fide* romance.”\(^{13}\) At that time, Scott was also completing his next poem, *The Lord of the Isles* (1815), a tale in which romance and chivalry are embedded mainly in the Scottish western isles, west coast and highlands during the fourteenth-century reign of Robert the Bruce, culminating in the Scots’ victory over the English army of Edward II at the Battle of Bannockburn. Motifs of romantic intrigue, veiling and disguised identity, particularly in the actions of the heroines Lady Edith of Lorn, who is abandoned by her fiancé, and the Bruce’s sister Isabel, and on the part of the Bruce himself, help carry the narrative of that poem, along with tropes of enchanted grottos, sea nymphs and the actions of knights involved in pursuit of romantic liaisons, all of which show a debt of style and mode to the Scottish episodes in the *Furioso*. However, as with *Don Roderick*, there is clearly a political subtext to Scott’s courtly romance, which historically grounds the teleological path of Scotland toward the full British Union.

Taking Ariosto as the gold standard against which Romantic writers from other nations could be measured, Scott’s journal entry for 15 February 1827 proclaims that Goethe is “the Ariosto at once . . . of Germany”\(^{14}\). By this time Scott was fifty-six years old, had suffered a minor stroke and, because of his financial insolvency declared a year earlier, was rewriting his novels in order to pay his creditors. The *Furioso* remained important to him as a poem to which he could turn in order to provide space for the imagination during years that were dominated by material demands. Throughout his life the interplay between narratives of “fact” and tales of myth and legend established a space where the mind could function at its most creative. In his late, 1830 epistolary exploration of superstition and the supernatural, *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft*, he returned to the anonymous early-fourteenth-century English romance *Richard Coeur de Lion*, which together with the *Furioso* had inspired his novel *The Talisman*. Scott wrote that

like other romances, [the *Coeur de Lion*] was written in what the author designed to be the Style of true history, and was addressed to hearers and readers, not as a tale of fiction, but a real narrative of facts, so that the legend is a proof of what the age esteemed credible and were disposed to believe as much as if had been extracted from a graver chronicle.\(^{15}\)

Also in *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft*, he argues that just as “by the inhalation of certain gases or poisonous herbs, necromancers can dispose a person to believe he sees phantoms,” literature has a power of enchantment that enables the imagination to see the world in ways that are creative or destructive, depending on its use.\(^{16}\) The responsibility for good or bad “affect” lay with the author’s use of words, a theme that he had taken up at the beginning of his own career as a poet, in the motif of the book of spells in *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*.

To conclude the section of my talk concerned with Scott’s externalisation of Ariosto, I’ll say just a few more words about his interest in the *Furioso* beyond the immediate context of his development as an author. There are moments in Scott’s life circumstances when the *Furioso* informs his way of thinking about personal crisis and frustration. In late December 1814, his then thirteen-year-old son Walter junior contracted smallpox, despite having received both inoculation and Edward Jenner’s still recently developed vaccination.\(^ {17}\) Early in the new year, on 10 January, Scott wrote to Lady Abercorn that he and his wife were “alarmed enough, for the appearance of the smallpox in this generation is like one of the giants in Ariosto who comes alive after he is killed.”\(^{18}\) In a letter nine days later to James Ellis, he re-uses the analogy: “‘The circumstance of Ariosto’s enchanted champion after it was supposedly fairly slain is a little startling’”\(^ {19}\) (IV:17). While it might be stretching analysis too much towards conceit to contend that these literary analogies to smallpox were any serious form of engagement with the original works in question, the medical allusion here is perhaps worth considering because Scott extended it still further. The *Furioso*, as a poem that has at its centre infection with and recovery from feverish madness, comes to function as a form of vaccination against Scott’s own distemper of the imagination. By 1821, his friend William Stewart Rose was working on the eight-volume translation of the *Furioso* that he would publish in 1831. As
one of Rose’s main supporters in that venture, Scott remarked that when he (Scott, that is) was required to stay in town for a month or more, he always succumbed to “a sort of mental and bodily fever" that was best cured by daily reading in Ariosto’s Orlando.20 The prospect of an “Orlando cure” (my term) is intriguing. Scott claimed that he made a practice of reading the “Orlandos of Boiardo and Ariosto once every year.”

I’ll now look more specifically at Scott’s literary relationship with Ariosto and the Furioso. Barbara Reynolds has argued that Lord Byron was the British poet most similar to Ariosto, on account of his combined use of style, material and metrics. Indeed, while Childe Harold is written in Spenserian stanzas, Don Juan is in an ottava rima that goes back not just through Ariosto, but also through Pulci, Boiardo, Tasso and other Italian romance poets to Boccaccio. The intertextual references in Childe Harold canto IV mentioned earlier in this talk - Scott as “the Ariosto of the North” and Ariosto as the “southern Scott” - are consistent with Ariosto’s own humanistic practice of imitatio. Byron’s admiration of Scott’s affinity with Ariosto is layered back through Ariosto himself to Dante and, by dint of references to epic tradition, to Virgil and Homer. Metrical variation does not relegate Scott. On the contrary, I suggest, formal creativity is part of a process that shows Scott to be perhaps the most significant improvisatore, in the traditional sense of that word, of his time.

The Lay of the Last Minstrel, published in 1805 and described as a metrical romance, was intended by Scott for inclusion in the “Imitation of the Ancient Ballad” section of the revised Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border. In that poem, Scott does not only imitate older oral traditions, but writes in verse paragraphs that in places anticipate Gerard Manly Hopkins’s late nineteenth-century sprung rhythm. But let’s leave form aside, and look instead at the subject matter and pivotal function of this first long original poem by Scott. The story of The Lay involves a frame narrative of an aged minstrel who is lost in a bleak landscape; he is, in effect, out of time and place. That “last minstrel” wanders alone, a creative combination of a romance character such as we find in the Furioso and a Romantic Wordsworthian solitary. His harp is out of tune. He has been relegate to the status of a sturdy beggar or vagabond. But then he comes to a castle, where he is taken in, regains his ability to sing and play - using all of the tropes of chivalric love and martial action - brings alive after a banquet an historic tale of knights and Ladies, goblin pages, enchanted woods and magic books. I’ve written about that poem elsewhere, so will get to my point where this conference is concerned.21 Scott as author brings together in The Lay a combination of popular Scottish oral tradition (the legend of Gilpin Horner and accounts of haunted locations around Melrose, Selkirk and Hawick) with Ariostan epic romance. The story of this poem is his most directly Furioso-like composition. By the nineteenth century, Boiardo, Pulci, Ariosto and Tasso were regarded as high cultural poets, while Scott well remembered the raging, late-eighteenth-century Percy-Ritson argument over whether vernacular minstrels were elite professional improvisatori or combined that group with popular entertainers including wandering jongleurs. Ritson, who maintained the latter position, was of course right. The combination of high and low literary forms in The Lay essays that argument in a manner that is entirely consistent with the improvisatory style of Ariosto in the Furioso. I’d here like to acknowledge a paper on Italian romance and improvisatori by James Coleman of the University of Pittsburgh that I was privileged to hear last week at the American Association of Italian Studies conference in Baton Rouge. Coleman’s argument is that the epic romance style of Pulci and other Italian Romance poets represents through the figure of the improvisatore a reconciliation of elite and popular forms for a unifying social purpose. Scott’s bringing together of old ballads with what by that time was regarded as high romance had a similar function, and his representation of himself as a latter day minstrel configures him as an improvisatore in the older Italian sense.

So now to conclude my argument about the new creations and magic lines that Byron identifies as part of Scott’s method as a latter-day Ariosto. Walter Scott is undoubtedly best known now for his novels rather than for his poems. My claim is that those novels in their treatment of love, conflict, folklore and place, show sufficient debt to the themes of Ariosto to be considered
improvisations of romance poetry in nineteenth-century prose. Why would Scott take such a step and why didn’t he continue to express himself mainly in poetry? I suggest that the answer is more interesting than the usually cited anecdote about Byron having “bet him” (beaten him) as a poet. By the second decade of the nineteenth century, the novel was becoming the most popular form of literature, read by people of all classes and ages, and by both genders. Scott achieved through a new, magical mode of *imitatio* and improvisation the transformation of high-cultural chivalric romance epic and popular ballad style into the contemporary form of prose fiction where it would best be guaranteed a readership. His harp or *lira da braccio* (again, I am indebted to James Coleman for a wonderful explanation of that instrument as used by Italian *improvitori*) had been “re-strung” and retuned, as the pen of the three-volume novelist. Scott contrasted what he called in his journal in 1826 the “big bow-wow style” of his own novels with Jane Austen’s “finely written novels [and] exquisite touch, which renders ordinary commonplace things and characters interesting, from the truth of the description and the sentiment.”22 Returning to sources in British antiquarianism and folklore, including his own *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, the chronicles of Froissart and others, and French and Italian Romance, his novels are a hybrid of ballads and romances, bringing together the popular Delilah songs of his childhood and the imaginative food of romance poetry similarly discovered when he was a boy. To that end, his *Tales of My Landlord* covenanter stories, such as *Old Mortality* with its wandering restorer of words in stone on bleak moorland, and its storytelling of seventeenth-century love and violence, need to be read not only alongside his more obviously chivalric crusader novels, but also as developments of collected ballads such as “Thomas the Rhymer,” which tells a legendary version of the life and career of the archetypal Scottish poet. In that ballad, the third part of which was Scott’s own addition to the older original, the Rhymer comes alive as a poet only after a seven-year visit to subterranean elf land among the roots of the mythic Eildon Tree. He emerges with the gift of prophecy, meaning wisdom as well a more magical ability to see into the future. The key point for Scott is that the Rhymer cannot become a poet of substance until he experiences something much older than himself: in this case folklore and legend, that has a vitality to enchant and inspire imaginative improvisation. The visit to elf land for Thomas is similar to Scott’s early encounter with the *Furioso* and his composing of boyhood romances in nooks and hollows on Arthurs Seat.

Living up to the accolade “Ariosto of the North,” Scott honoured the *Furioso*’s style and importance three centuries after Ariosto, by doing his part to keep alive the vitality of Romance through imitation and improvisation. Dennis Looney has shown how Ariosto’s “process of literary historicization” used paraphrase and allusion to encourage readers to return, reread and rethink the originals in light of later improvisation or *imitatio*.23 The Book of spells in Scott’s *Lay of the Last Minstrel* is easily recognised as an allusion to Canto 2 of the *Furioso*, in which the hermit whom Angelica meets in a wood during the duel between Rinaldo and Sacripante produces a book from which springs a mischievous Sprite, willing to use his powers to serve the master that he first sees. The sprite, like Scott’s Goblin page, is able to change his outward appearance in order to deceive. By drawing attention to that power of literature to work magic that could be benevolent or malevolent - pages and spelling, if we want to pun - Scott emphasises the responsibility of authors as *improvitori* to use their powers of *imitatio* in morally responsible ways. In doing so, the layers of original text remain visible to create a framework of literary memory. It seems fitting that as we celebrate this half-century of the first version of Ariosto’s great poem *Orlando Furioso*, not just remembering but exploring its continuing contribution to literary memory, Scott’s works, which count among the most internationally influential creations to emerge from the nineteenth century, are also reaching their bicentenaries.

Notes:

1 For a study of hunting motifs and *entrelacement* in the *Waverley* novels see Fiona Robertson, “Romance and the Romantic Novel: Sir Walter Scott,” *A Companion to Romance: From Classical


Ibid., 63. Irving, who similarly entered the legal profession at a later stage, not in the role of a semi-rural Sheriff such as Scott took up in Selkirk, but as a Writer to the Signet licensed to confer the seal of the medieval Kings of Scotland.


Walter Scott, Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft (London: John Murray, 1830), 77.

Ibid., 46.

Inoculation using the variolation method of deliberate infection with a mild form of smallpox had been available since Lady Mary Wortley Montagu introduced it from Turkey in 1711. Edward Jenner invented his more effective method of vaccination using material infected with cowpox in 1796. Both preventative measures were still regarded with scepticism, even by many doctors and by large sections of the general public. Scott and his wife had decided not take chances with his son’s health and the boy had received both forms of prevention.


Orlando Furioso Sir John Harington's translation of Orlando Furioso (Centaur classics). Read more. 11 people found this helpful. And for sheer entertainment value (coupled with the elitism of Ariosto's sly jabs at the very people for whom the work was composed), this work is all but impossible to beat-- his original audience, after all, was not the literati, but the idle rich. Read more. 46 people found this helpful.