

Introduction to this Edition

by *Barbara Boneschi*

The lectures: footprints on the sands of time

Jessie White Mario tells the story of how, when Carlo Cattaneo bid farewell to her and her husband Alberto Mario at Lugano in 1867, he did so in the following terms:

“And now”, said Cattaneo, as we parted, “I am going to be selfish – to shut myself up with philosophy, condense the studies of a lifetime, and leave some footprints on the sands of time”. The quotation is his; he knew Longfellow by heart. For him the “Slave’s Dream” was “the most graphic of modern poems”.¹

At the time, Cattaneo still nurtured the idea of compiling a work of philosophy that would bring together his life’s research in this area, a project which, however, he was unable to complete in the time left to him.

The six academic lectures that Cattaneo delivered on the theme of the “psychology of associated minds” at the Istituto Lombardo between 1859 and 1866 would certainly have formed part of the work he had in mind. These lectures are the fruit of Cattaneo’s mature reflection on this subject, and contain the theoretical nucleus of his social psychology. The lectures deal with the following individual subjects:

¹ Jessie White Mario, (1875, p. 482). Jessie White Mario (1832-1906); Alberto Mario (1825-83); Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807-82).

- Idea of a psychology of the sciences;
- On the formation of systems;
- On antithesis as a method of social psychology;
- On sensation in associated minds;
- On analysis as the operation of several associated minds, divided into two lectures.

They were delivered at the Istituto Lombardo, the scientific, literary and artistic academy founded in the time of the Cisalpine Republic. On 25 December 1810 it was renamed the Istituto Reale di Scienze Lettere ed Arti, finding its home in the Palazzo di Brera in Milan, in a room where the Institute's members still gather. After the fall of Napoleon, the Institute came under the control of government of Austria, and then, in 1859, that of Italy. Its name has undergone several changes over the years, but it is now known as the Istituto Lombardo Accademia di Scienze e Lettere.²

Cattaneo was admitted to membership of the Institute on 21 January 1843, and in the years that followed, received several important commissions.³ In the aftermath of the five days' uprising in Milan, in which he was a leading figure, once the Austrians had returned, Cattaneo was forced to leave Lombardy in August 1848; he hurriedly sought refuge in Lugano (in Canton Ticino, Switzerland), which ended up becoming the permanent home for his exile.

In 1859, having been reinstated as a member of the Istituto Lombardo, he returned to Milan, given recently to the Kingdom of Sardinia, to deliver the first of these lectures; the second was delivered in 1860, then, following a hiatus in the years of 1861 and 1862, he delivered the next four from 1863 to 1866 at a rate of one per year.

His teaching of philosophy at the cantonal high school in Lugano covers the same period, albeit over a more extended timespan (from 1852 to 1865). These, then, were the years when Cattaneo's original thinking was turning in practice towards social psychology, the same subject he addressed in his Milanese lectures.

The relationship between lessons and lectures is clear from analysis of the manuscripts, which show traces of the former being used in the latter: the presence of the idea of "associated minds" as an appendix to

² Henceforth I shall refer to it either as Istituto Lombardo or as Istituto or by the abbreviation *IL*. The history of the *IL* fills the three volumes of the *ILASL*.

³ On relations between Cattaneo and the *IL*, see Bolognesi, 2005, pp. 93-123.

his school lesson on “sensation”; his returning to the same subjects covered in the lessons, namely sensation and instinct, systems, antithesis and analysis, broadened to encompass a more social and historical perspective.

His predilection for the experimental method, which had proved to be such a productive and inexhaustible source of discoveries; the emphasis on scientific thought; and the social bond in the formation of thought, all dominant themes in the lectures, are present in the Lugano school lessons as well. For instance: “The building of science is the work not of the solitary mind, but of minds that are *associated* with each other”;⁴ or again, “To which is added the action of *society*, which operates on individuals with education, sympathy and force, first encouraging natural abilities and then discouraging them” (these considerations are expounded on in the psychology lesson on instinct).⁵

Cattaneo’s psychology is concerned with mind and thought. One innovative feature of his studies is the fact that the moral link that joins or associates individuals is located not only in social aggregations or institutions, but also in the thinking part of the individuals themselves: “each mind entered into the course of thought already marked by the thought of others”.⁶

In searching for an appropriate definition of the discipline he was developing, Cattaneo had thought of several titles: *On Associated Minds or Second Psychology*; *On Scientific Thought*; *Idea of a Psychology of the Sciences*; *Second Psychology or History of Associated Minds*, not in opposition to, so much as superimposed on, as he himself suggested, the *Psychology of the Solitary Mind*, or individual psychology or first psychology. He wavered between emphasizing the social dimension of thought or its scientific nature, but in his lectures to the Institute, there seems to be a preference for the title by which this portion of his civil philosophy has now come to be known.

It is possible to see the lectures as the point at which various strands of Cattaneo’s vast erudition converge and take form to develop a theory of knowledge and thought deeply rooted in the fabric of society and the historical tradition. As Cattaneo himself had written several years previously, “it is obvious that the field of scientific enquiry is identical to that of history. It is obvious that science will not be complete, until we have examined all histories philosophically, and

⁴ “Della psicologia in generale”, *SF*, II, I, p. 127.

⁵ “Dell’Instinto”, *SF*, II, p. 135.

⁶ Cf. sixth lecture on “Analysis”.

clarified how the intelligence and will of the individual peoples positioned itself in each of them”.⁷

Though Cattaneo’s philosophy is incomplete, the lectures nonetheless are a work replete with important intuitions, profound reflections, and suggestions that find a surprising number of echoes and developments even in contemporary thought. This much has emerged from the various meetings held to coincide with the publication of the critical edition I curated. The first, promoted by AC-HII (A Colorni-Hirschmann International Institute), was held in Naples on 6 March 2017 with the title *Attualità della lezione cattaneana e le aree metropolitane di Napoli e Milano*; the second conference, entitled *Filosofia e Scienze umane. Modernità di Cattaneo*, took place at the Istituto Lombardo in Milan on 26 January 2017, the proceedings of which were published by the Institute itself in 2018; and finally, on 18 October 2017, *Un libro filosofico in corsa con il tempo. Il testamento incompiuto di Carlo Cattaneo*, a conference held at the Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana.⁸

Notes to this Edition

The text in this volume is based on the critical edition of Carlo Cattaneo’s philosophical lectures delivered to the Istituto Lombardo, which I curated, and which was published by the Istituto Lombardo (*PMA-EC*). My intention in *PMA-EC* was to reconstruct the lectures as an organic work. The text which resulted was the product of research carried out primarily at the Carlo Cattaneo archive and the Istituto Lombardo itself, both of which are in Milan.

My research indicated that as far as the philosophy lectures were concerned, both the number and date of which had previously been uncertain, a total of six were delivered in the period from 1859 to 1866, on the dates mentioned earlier. *PMA-EC* also contained the summaries of the lectures which Cattaneo himself compiled for publication in the Istituto Lombardo’s *Atti* and *Rendiconti*; along with other versions or editions of them from the same period.

⁷ *SF*, I, p. 150, “Considerazioni sul principio della filosofia”, published in *Il Politecnico* VII. 39 (1844), 292-313, and republished with additions and amendments in *AS*, III, pp. 39-60, then again in *SF* (I, pp. 143-70).

⁸ A video recording of the meeting, chaired by Biancamaria Frabotta with Tullio Gregory, Sergio Bucchi, Stefano Gensini, Carmela Morabito, Marina Piperno and Carlo Lacaïta participating, can be seen on the Treccani Channel website on YouTube.

The present edition is based on *PMA-EC* but is more focused on the text of the lectures themselves. Two texts contained in *PMA-EC* have also been included as an appendix; the “Preface, 2nd draft”, and the outline, or contents, “Psychology of Solitary Mind, Second Psychology or The History of Associated Minds”; both of which may be dated to 1855, and demonstrate Cattaneo’s intention to compile a systematic work on the subject of minds in association which was never in fact completed. I have added my own notes to each of the lectures and two texts contained in the appendix, to provide further information, commentary and context.

Compared to the apparatus of *PMA-EC*, some footnotes have been removed, others added. Some of the footnotes contain references to others of Cattaneo’s works, documenting the links with his Swiss philosophy lessons, the patterns underlying his interests and readings, and the wealth of knowledge he accumulated as thinker, writer, reviewer and teacher.

PMA-EC was a critical edition based on rigorous philological criteria, starting from the manuscripts and printed editions, with no attempt made to correct, normalize, standardize or modernize the text. Rather, I followed the manuscripts step by step, adding critical and philological apparatus to document the transcriptions and data to allow reference to be made to the original versions.

This edition is based on the same transcriptions as in *PMA-EC* but the following have been excluded from the previous edition: a) footnotes documenting variants or deletions; b) marginal annotations which provide no indication of where they are to be included and on their own are meaningless. I have also elected to omit a limited number of instances in the original texts where Cattaneo left ellipses or empty parentheses as a reminder to himself to insert sources, quotations or other references. By contrast, I have on two occasions included a full stop, and on one occasion the inverted commas closing a quotation, which were missing in the original, without drawing attention to this in footnotes, the reason being that the former were almost certainly mere oversight, and the latter quite possibly due to a different convention prevailing at Cattaneo’s time. It goes without saying that Cattaneo’s punctuation has not been followed absolutely in the English translation, which nonetheless has sought to be as respectful as possible of the author’s choices.

The phrase “Cattaneo’s note” indicates the three occasions on which Cattaneo himself added footnotes to his text. Every other footnote or parts of footnote not marked “Translator’s note” or with any other indication of author are my own. The phrase “Translator’s note” refers to instances where further information has been added for the benefit of the English-language reader, typically

translations of phrases in other languages (Latin in particular; where possible existing translations, suitably documented, have been used). Square brackets display editorial interventions.

As in *PMA-EC*, underlinings in the manuscripts have been transcribed in italics.⁹ The criteria adopted by Cattaneo were clearly not consistent in form or substance, hence no effort was made in *PMA-EC* to standardize such usage, and no effort has been made in this edition either.¹⁰

With reference to the titles of the individual lectures, lastly, the “List of Texts” shows the original titles, which contain a number of formal and stylistic inconsistencies, while in the rest of the work I have used only the simplified titles of the lectures, omitting sub-titled and additional specifications.

Acknowledgements

I should like to thank all those who have helped me in publishing this book. I am grateful in particular to Professor Carlo G. Lacaita, who encouraged me to do research on the texts that make up Cattaneo’s *Psychology of Associated Minds*, for the care and attention with which he continued to supervise my work through to publication.

I would also like to express my thanks to the institutions in which Cattaneo’s papers are kept: the Istituto Lombardo Accademia di Scienze e Lettere, the same institution where the lectures themselves were delivered; and the Civiche Raccolte Storiche of Milan City Council, which holds the majority of Cattaneo’s manuscripts. Finally, I should like to thank the Comitato italo-svizzero

⁹ Translator’s note: The translation inevitably reflects the nature of the work as a critical edition, hence the preference has been for formal as well as dynamic equivalence. Clearly this decision affects graphic and textual features as well.

¹⁰ Translator’s note: In some cases this decision means that the conventions of standard English are not respected (for instance, certain book titles or foreign words are not in italics, to respect the original usage). Capitalization, by contrast, is one aspect in which the translation has sought to follow the rules of standard English usage. Also worth pointing out in this connection are the criteria adopted for the use of gender-inclusive language. While Cattaneo was clearly writing in a different period of history from our own, where possible in the translation efforts have been made to ensure that terminology whose intent was inclusive is inclusive in modern practice as well: hence “uomo” may be translated as “person” or “people”, and so forth. Such usage is not absolute, however, and the reader is asked to bear this in mind.

per la pubblicazione delle opere di Carlo Cattaneo and the Comitato per il 150° anniversario della morte di Carlo Cattaneo, and the other institutions that have contributed financially to the publication of this volume.

I would like to thank the translator David Gibbons for the stimulating and insightful dialogue that has developed as a result of the initiative to publish Cattaneo's work in English. I thank the publisher for their kind and careful work.