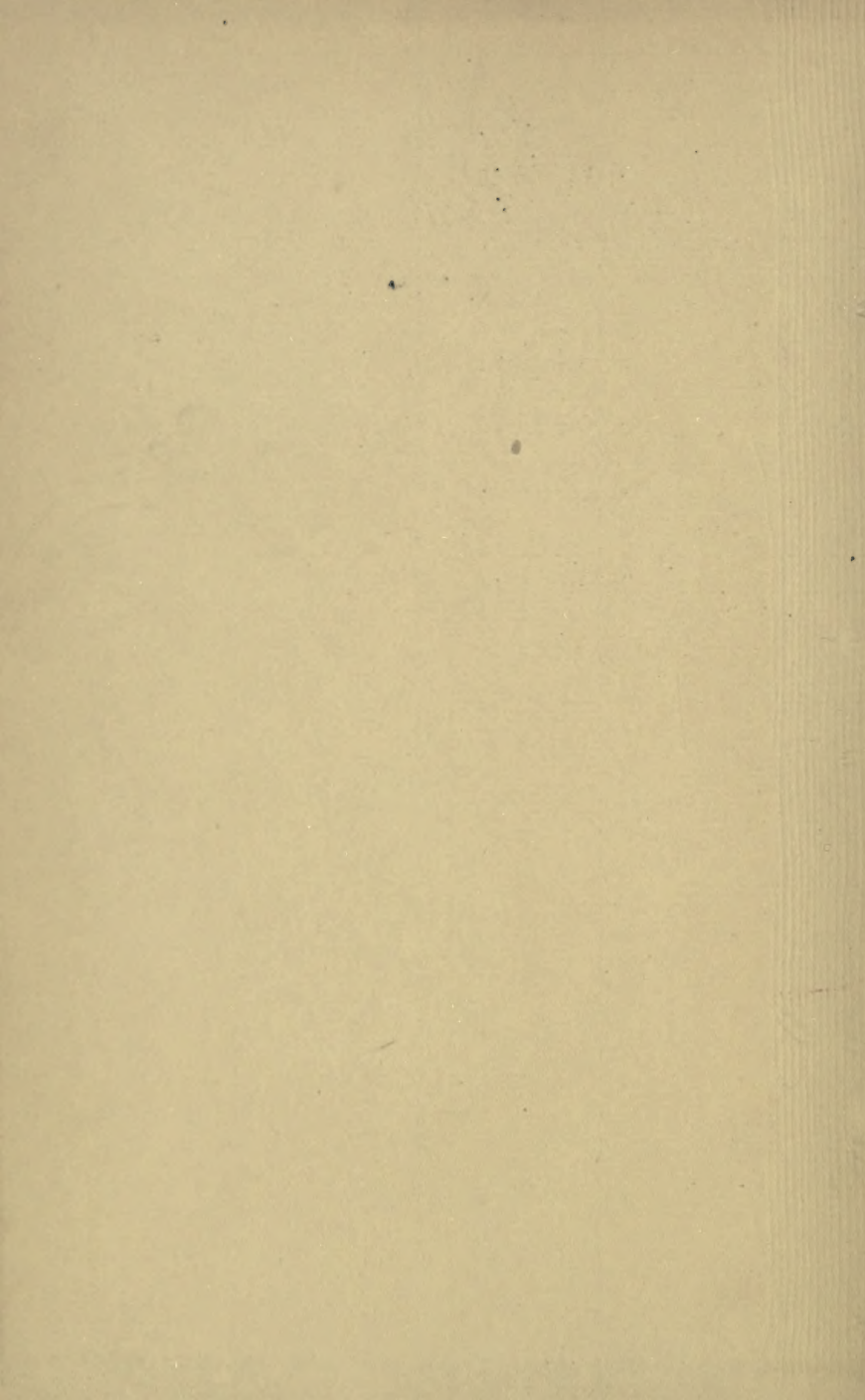



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SEVENTEENTH  
ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE  
DANTE SOCIETY  
(CAMBRIDGE, MASS.)

MAY 17, 1898.

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ACCOMPANYING PAPERS.

DANTE'S REFERENCES TO AESOP.

*By Kenneth McKenzie.*

ADDITIONS TO THE DANTE COLLECTION IN THE HARVARD COLLEGE  
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*Compiled by William Coolidge Lane.*

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## STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS.

Prize fund in the hands of the Treasurer of Harvard University, May 18, 1897 . . . . .	\$100 00	
Balance in the hands of the Treasurer of the Dante Society, May 18, 1897 . . . . .	95 79	
Received from assessments . . . . .	315 00	
Received from Ginn & Company on account of sale of the Society's Reports . . . . .	29 39	
		\$540 18
Printing of the Sixteenth Annual Report . . . . .	\$268 04	
Special Prize paid from the Treasury of the Dante Society . . . . .	25 00	
Printing, postage, etc. . . . .	17 57	
Prize fund in the hands of the Treasurer of Harvard University, May 17, 1898 . . . . .	100 00	
Balance in the hands of the Treasurer of the Dante Society, May 17, 1898 . . . . .	129 57	
		\$540 18

## BY-LAWS.

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1. THIS Society shall be called the DANTE SOCIETY. Its object shall be the encouragement of the study of the Life and Works of Dante.

2. Any person desirous to become a member of this Society may do so by signifying his or her wish in writing to the Secretary, and by the payment of an annual fee of five dollars.

3. An Annual Meeting for the election of officers shall be held at Cambridge on the third Tuesday of May, of which due notice shall be given to the members by the Secretary.

4. Special meetings may be held at any time appointed by vote of the members at the Annual Meeting, or by call from the President and Secretary.

5. The officers shall be a President, a Vice-President, a Secretary and Treasurer, and a Librarian, who, together with three members thereto chosen, shall form the Council of the Society. All these officers shall be chosen at the Annual Meeting, and their term of service shall be for one year, or until their successors are elected. Vacancies in the Council shall be filled for the remainder of the year by the Council.

6. The President, or, in his absence, the Vice-President, or, in the absence of both, any member of the Council, shall preside at all meetings of the Society and of the Council.

7. The Secretary and Treasurer shall keep a record of the meetings of the Society and of the Council, shall collect and receive all dues, and keep accounts of the income and expenditure of the Society, shall give notice of meetings, and shall perform all other duties appropriate to his office.



8. The Council shall hold meetings at such times as it may appoint, shall determine on the use to be made of the income of the Society, shall endeavor to promote the special objects of the Society in such ways as may seem most appropriate, and shall make an annual report of their proceedings, including a full statement of accounts, at each Annual Meeting. This report shall be made in print for distribution to the members.

9. No officer of the Society shall be competent to contract debts in the name of the Society, and no expenditure shall be made without a vote of the Council.

10. A majority of the Council shall form a quorum for the transaction of business.

11. Any person distinguished for his interest in the purposes of the Society, or who has rendered it valuable service, may be chosen an Honorary Member at any regular meeting of the Society, and shall be entitled to all its privileges without annual assessment. The number of Honorary Members, however, shall not at any time exceed six.

12. The preceding rules may be changed at any time by unanimous vote of the Council.

## THE DANTE PRIZE.

IN MEMORIAM CHARLES STERRETT LATHAM.

THE prize offered for 1889-90 was awarded to Mr. C. S. LATHAM, of the class of 1884, A. B. Harv. 1888, for a translation of the Letters of Dante with a historical and critical comment. Mr. Latham died on July 21, 1890. He did not live to learn the award of the prize.

In accordance with the desire of his mother, the prize adjudged to him of one hundred dollars is now offered again to be competed for. The competition is open not only to the students in any department of Harvard University, and to Harvard graduates of not more than three years' standing, but also to students and graduates, of similar standing, of any college or university in the United States.

The annual prize of one hundred dollars offered by a member of the Dante Society for the best essay by a student in any department of Harvard University, or by a graduate of not more than three years' standing, on a subject connected with the Life or Works of Dante, is withdrawn for the present, but the offer will be renewed after the award of the Latham Prize.

For the year 1898-99 the subjects proposed are as follows :

1. *A translation of the Quaestio de Aqua et Terra, and a discussion of its authenticity.*
2. *The scientific attainments of Dante, measured and illustrated by those of Roger Bacon, as shown in his Opus Majus (ed. Bridges, 1897).*
3. *A translation into verse of the Canzoni of the Convito.*

Essays must be deposited with the Dean of Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass., on or before the *first day of May*, 1899.

For the year 1899-1900 the subjects proposed are as follows:

1. *A review of Kraus's "Dante" (1897), Paget Toynbee's "Dante Dictionary" (1898), and Scartazzini's "Enciclopedia Dantesca" (1896-98).*
2. *The credibility of Boccaccio's "Vita di Dante," and of what he tells concerning Dante in his "Commento."*
3. *The verse endings in the Divina Commedia in which Dante has made "li vocaboli dire nelle sue rime altro che quello ch'erano appo gli altri dicatori usati di sprimere" (Ottimo Commento, Inf. x, 85).*

Essays must be deposited with the Dean of Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass., on or before the *first day of May, 1900.*

Essayists are at liberty to write on any one of the subjects which have been proposed for the nine years during which the Dante Prize has been offered.

On the title-page must be written an assumed name and a statement of the writer's standing, *i.e.*, whether he is a graduate or an undergraduate, (and of what college or university); if he is an undergraduate, to what class he belongs, and to what department of the college or university. Under cover with the essay must be sent a sealed letter, containing the true name and address of the writer, and superscribed with his assumed name.

The essays must be written upon letter paper, of good quality, of the quarto size, with a margin of not less than one inch at the top, at the bottom, and on each side, so that they may be bound up without injury to the writing. The sheets on which the essay is written must be securely stitched together.

The judges of the essays are a committee of the Dante Society.

In case the judges decide that no essay submitted to them deserves the full prize, they are at liberty to award one or two prizes of fifty dollars, or to award no prize.

The Dante Society has the privilege of retaining and depositing in the Dante Collection of the Harvard College Library any or all essays offered in competition for the Dante Prize, whether successful or not.

Since its establishment, the Dante Prize has been awarded to the following persons:

HEINRICH CONRAD BIERWIRTH . . . . 1887.

For an essay upon the subject: *Dante's Obligations to the Schoolmen, especially to Thomas Aquinas.*

GEORGE RICE CARPENTER . . . . 1888.

For an essay upon the subject: *The Interpretation and Reconciliation of the Different Accounts of his Experiences after the Death of Beatrice, given by Dante in the Vita Nuova and the Convito.*

CHARLES STERRETT LATHAM . . . . 1890.

For an essay upon the subject: *A Translation into English of Dante's Letters, with Explanatory and Historical Comments.*

KENNETH MCKENZIE . . . . 1894.

For an essay upon the subject: *The Rise of the Dolce Stil Nuovo.*

JEREMIAH DENIS MATTHIAS FORD . . . . 1895.

For an essay upon the subject: *Dante's Influence upon Spanish Literature during the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries.*

ANNETTE FISKE . . . . 1897.

For an essay upon the subject: *Dante's Obligations to Old French and Provençal Lyric Poetry.*

## ANNUAL REPORT.

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THE annual meeting of the Dante Society was held as usual in Professor Norton's library, Shady Hill, Cambridge, on the evening of the third Tuesday in May, 1898.

The Council of the Society regrets that the publication of this Report has been so long delayed, and that, owing to the absence of the Secretary, an account of the meeting and of the activity of the Society during the previous year cannot be presented.

CAMBRIDGE,

*February 9, 1900.*



## DANTE'S REFERENCES TO AESOP.

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No entirely satisfactory account has yet been published of Dante's references to Aesop (*Inferno*, xxiii, 4; *Convito*, iv, 30). This is owing to the fact that in treating the subject sufficient consideration has not been given to mediæval as contrasted with ancient fable literature. It is less important to know what answers modern scholarship gives to questions concerning the identity and the works of Aesop—and these answers are still far from complete—than to remember what Dante and his contemporaries meant when they spoke of "Aesop's fables." It will be well, then, to begin by recalling some features of the history of fables from the classical period to the fourteenth century.

In the first place, it must not be forgotten that in mediæval Italy Greek literature was little known except as it had taken a Latin form. The Greek fables, on account of the important part they played in ancient education, had early become a familiar element in popular tradition; as literature, however, they were transmitted almost exclusively through the Latin of Phaedrus,<sup>1</sup> who in the prologue to his first book mentions his source in these words:

Aesopus auctor quam materiam repperit,  
Hanc ego polivi versibus senariis.

During the Middle Ages, however, the fables of Phaedrus were known only through the prose paraphrase of a writer of the Carolingian period, who calls himself Romulus, and who in his prologue ascribes the book to "Aesopus, homo Grecus," but claims the honor

<sup>1</sup> *Phaedri Fabularum Aesopiarum Libri*, ed. Müller, Leipzig, 1877; Hervieux, *Les Fabulistes Latins*, I, II (2<sup>e</sup> éd.), Paris, 1893-94. We may disregard the fables of Avianus, which in the Middle Ages usually formed a collection by themselves, or else, as was often the case, were ascribed to Aesop.

of having translated it: *Id ego Romulus transtuli de greco in latinum*.<sup>1</sup> Even the name of Phaedrus was lost, and the innumerable versions derived from him through Romulus bear in some form the name Aesop. Thus to the mediæval as to the ancient mind, all fables were Aesop's fables. Denoting as it did a certain kind of literature, his name was applied even to collections like the twelfth century French one of Marie de France, which contained also purely mediæval material. "Apparently Aesop never wrote such a fable," says Dr. Moore,<sup>2</sup> commenting on *Inferno*, xxiii, 4. But what collection of so-called Aesopic fables did Dante have in mind? This is a question of interest, whether that particular fable was or was not originally written by the somewhat mysterious Phrygian.

Of the two references by Dante to Aesop, that in the *Convito* (iv, 30) is as follows:

È da notare che, siccome dice nostro Signore, non si deono le margarite gittare innanzi ai porci; perocchè a loro non è prode, e alle margarite è danno; e, come dice Esopo poeta nella prima Favola, più è prode al gallo un granello di grano, che una margarita; e però questa lascia, e quello ricoglie.<sup>3</sup>

Now the fable of the Cock and the Pearl does not occur at all in Greek, and no source has been found earlier than Phaedrus, in whose collection it is the twelfth of the third book. It is the first, however, in Romulus and in nearly all his derivatives.<sup>4</sup> Romulus, closely following Phaedrus, gives it as follows:

In sterquilinio quidam gallinacius dum querit æscam invenit margaritam in indigno loco iacentem. Quam ut vidit, sic ait: Bona res, in stercore iaces. Te si cupidus invenisset, quo gaudio rapuisset, ut redires ad splendorem pristinum decoris tui. Ego te inveni in hoc loco iacentem; potius mihi escam quero. Nec tibi ego prosum nec tu mihi. Hec illis aesopus narrat qui non intelligunt.

<sup>1</sup> See Oesterley, *Romulus*, Berlin, 1870; Hervieux, *op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> *Studies in Dante*, Oxford, 1896, p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> *Opere di Dante*, ed. Moore, Oxford, 1894. In his *Studies in Dante*, p. 294, Dr. Moore says: "The well-known first fable is at once recognized"; but he does not state of what collection it is the first. Cf. Toynbee, *Dante Dictionary*, s. v. *Esopo*: "The fable of the Cock and the Pearl, which D. calls 'la prima favola.'"

<sup>4</sup> Cf. E. du Ménil, *Poésies Inédites du Moyen Age*, Paris, 1854, p. 90, note 4.



In most of the direct derivatives the wording is nearly the same.<sup>1</sup> There is a difference of some importance, however, in one of them, — the collection of fables in elegiac distichs, written probably in the twelfth century, published many times before 1500, and commonly called, after Névelet, who edited it in 1610, the *Anonymus Neveleti* (now ascribed to one Walter of England and to various others). This reads as follows :

Dum rigido fodit ore fimum, dum queritat escam,  
 Dum stupet inventa iaspide gallus, ait :  
 Res vili preciosa loco natiq̄ue nitoris,  
 Hac in sorde iacens nil mihi messis habes, etc.<sup>2</sup>

Since this last was the most widely known fable-book of the Middle Ages, we should expect Dante to have been familiar with it, and his phrase *Esopo poeta* seems to indicate that he at least knew some metrical version ; yet since he uses the somewhat rare word *margarita*,<sup>3</sup> and not one corresponding to *iaspide*, it seems likely that he had here the version of Romulus in mind. Perhaps he knew both Romulus and Anon. Nev., and quoting from memory combined the two ; or, he may have been influenced in his choice of words by the verse of the Bible to which he refers. This reads in the Vulgate (Matt. VII, 6) :

Nolite dare sanctum canibus : neque mittatis margaritas vestras ante porcos, ne forte conculcent eas pedibus suis, et conversi dirumpant vos.

In the case of some fables — the one to be mentioned presently,

<sup>1</sup> Text of Romulus in Oesterley, *op. cit.*, and Hervieux, *op. cit.*, II, 195 ; text of various derivatives in Hervieux, *ibid.*, pp. 246, 262, 418, 461, 474, 513 (Romulus Nilantii), 564 (so-called LBG — a fable-collection represented by MSS. at London, Brussels, Berlin, Göttingen, and Trèves — on which see works by Mall and Warnke, cited below). Text of other early derivatives directly from Phaedrus, *ibid.*, pp. 131, 190.

<sup>2</sup> Hervieux, *op. cit.*, II, 316 ; Foerster, *Lyoner Ysopet . . . mit dem kritischen Text des Lat. Originals (sog. Anon. Nev.)*, Heilbronn, 1882, p. 96.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Par.*, ii, 34 l' *eterna margarita* (the moon ; so in the sonnet *Chi guarderà giammai*, p. 172, *Opere*, ed. Moore) ; *Par.*, vi, 127 *la presente margarita* (planet Mercury) ; *Par.*, xxii, 29 *margarite* (spirits). Scartazzini and others spell it *margherita*, and in this form Petrocchi, *Dizionario*, gives it as *termine letterario* for *perla*, mentioning the proverbial expression *le margherite davanti a' porci* ; *margarita*, which appears to be a Latinism, he gives as meaning a mineral (perhaps the same as Eng. *margarite*).

for instance — the question might arise whether a writer of the fourteenth century knew them from a book of the Phaedrus-Romulus family, or from popular tradition. In this case, however, we cannot doubt that Dante had in mind some book in which the fable came first; and from his words it would appear that in this book the fables were in verse, and that the word *margarita* was used in the first of them. Neither the Romulus nor the Anon. Nev. exactly fulfills these conditions, yet probability points on the whole to the combination of the two, as the Romulus is the best known of the versions containing the word *margarita* in this fable.

It may be urged, however, that some other mediæval collection of fables may have been Dante's source. Mr. Paget Toynbee, for example, has hinted at a possible influence of Marie de France for the explanation of the fable we have still to consider.<sup>1</sup> It seems well, therefore, to say a few words about the peculiarities of such collections as might possibly be brought into this connection. Other mediæval and later versions of the fable very frequently have the *precious stone*, going back to the Anonymus Neveleti, while some have the *pearl* of Romulus. Marie de France, whose source was an English collection, now lost, derived in part from the Romulus Nilantii (so-called from Nilant, who published it in 1709), has *une chiere gemme* (fable 1); this seems to suggest the influence of the Anon. Nev.<sup>2</sup> The old Italian versions, which are prose translations from the Anon. Nev. and from Marie de France, have *una pietra preziosa*;<sup>3</sup> thus, even if

<sup>1</sup> *Dante Dictionary*, s. v. *Esopo*.

<sup>2</sup> According to Mall (in *Zeitschrift f. rom. Phil.*, IX (1885), 181, 200) the change from the words of Romulus must have been due to the writer of the lost English collection, who, however, was not likely to have known the Anon. Nev. The change may have arisen in the translating through English into French. The rest of Marie's fable, especially the lines *S'uns riches huom ci vus trovast | bien sai que d'or vus honurast*, suggests Rom. much more than Anon. Nev. Text of Marie in: *Die Fabeln der Marie de France*, hrsg. von K. Warnke, Halle, 1898.

<sup>3</sup> Versions from Anon. Nev.: *Esopo volgarizzato per uno da Siena*, ed. Berti, Padova, 1811; *Favole d' Esopo volgarizzate*, Firenze, 1864 (several MSS. and various editions of this translation); *Il Volgarizzamento delle Favole di Galfredo, dette di Esopo*, ed. Ghivizzani, Bologna, 1866. From Marie: *Volgarizzamento delle Favole di Esopo*, ed. Rigoli, Firenze, 1818 (cf. Warnke, *Fabeln der Marie*, pp. lxxiv ff.). In all these collections also the fable is the first. Another MS. of the translation from Marie was published at Lucca in 1864.

old enough to have been known to Dante, they did not influence his conception of the fable.

The intrinsic interest of the subject will perhaps justify a few words more about the history of this fable. Various Latin versions were derived from one or other of the sources just mentioned, including one by Jacques de Vitry.<sup>1</sup> The Hebrew version of Berachyah ha-Nakdan very closely resembles that of Marie de France.<sup>2</sup> Ulrich Boner's *Edelstein*, the popularity of which is indicated by the fact that it was the first book printed in German, is a fourteenth century translation from the Anon. Nev.; it received its name from the first fable.<sup>3</sup> In Heinrich Steinhöwel's *Aesop* (about 1480), of which the first four books are from Romulus, the first fable is *Von dem han und dem bernlin*; and this version is the source of various others, including Caxton's and Martin Luther's.<sup>4</sup> La Fontaine also shows the influence of Romulus in his fable (i, 20), *Le Coq et la Perle*. While, as we have seen, no other source than Phaedrus can be pointed out, it is interesting to compare the words of the New Testament which Dante quotes, and also the following Oriental tale from Saadi's *Rose Garden*:<sup>5</sup> A traveller, lost in the desert and without provisions, comes upon a bag in which he hopes to find wheat; and he is bitterly disappointed on discovering that it contains pearls.

<sup>1</sup> *The Exempla of Jacques de Vitry*, ed. Crane, London, 1890, p. 21; Hervieux, *op. cit.*, II, 383, 654, 714; *Fabularum quae hoc libro continentur . . . Goudanus, etc.*, Argentorati, 1518, first fable (cf. Braune, *Die Fabeln des Erasmus Alberus* (1550), Halle, 1892, pp. xxix ff.); *Fabulae Aesopicae . . . Camerarii, Lugduni*, 1571, no. 188.

<sup>2</sup> *Parabola Vulpium Rabbi Barachiae Nikdani*, trans. by Hanel, Pragmae, 1661, no. 4, p. 19. This fable supports what Warnke says, *op. cit.*, pp. lxxviii ff., about the collection of Berachyah having been influenced by Marie.

<sup>3</sup> First edition printed at Bamberg in 1461 (see R. C. Hawkins, *Titles of the First Books from the Earliest Presses*, New York, 1884); also published by Pfeiffer, Leipzig, 1844.

<sup>4</sup> *Steinhöwels Aesop*, hrsg. von Oesterley, Stuttgart, 1873 (cf. Keidel in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XI, 46); Jacobs, *The Fables of Aesop as first printed by Caxton in 1484*, London, 1889; *Luthers Fabeln*, hrsg. von Thiele, Halle, 1888.

<sup>5</sup> *The Gulistan or Rose Garden by Musle-Huddeen Sheik Saadi*, trans. by F. Gladwin, Boston, 1865, chap. iii, tale 17, p. 231; *Sadi's Rosengarten*, hrsg. von Graf, Leipzig, 1846, p. 107.

The other passage in which Dante speaks of Aesop is as follows (*Inf.*, xxiii, 4-9):

Volto era in sulla favola di Isopo  
 Lo mio pensier per la presente rissa,  
 Dov' ei parlò della rana e del topo:  
 Chè più non si pareggia mo ed issa,  
 Che l' un con l' altro fa, se ben s'accoppia  
 Principio e fine con la mente fissa.

In both Romulus and the Anon. Nev. the fable is the third, and in Romulus it runs as follows:

Mus cum transire vellet flumen, a rana petiit auxilium. Illa grossum petiit linum, murem sibi ad pedem ligavit, et natare coepit. In medio vero flumine rana se in deorsum mersit, ut miserrimo vitam eriperet. Ille validus dum teneret vires, milvus e contra volans murem cum unguibus rapuit, simul et ranam pendentem sustulit. Sic enim et illis contingit qui de salute alterius adversa cogitant.

In the Anon. Nev. the ideas are the same, though the wording is different; the strife is dwelt upon more than in Romulus:

Muris iter rumpente lacu venit obvia muri  
 Rana loquax et opem pacta nocere cupit . . .  
 Pes coit ergo pedi, sed mens a mente recedit.  
 Ecce natant. Trahitur ille, sed illa trahit . . .  
 Rana studet mergi, sed mus emergit et obstat  
 Naufragio. Vires suggerit ipse timor. . . .

Either of these versions seems to contain all that is needed for Dante's comparison.

While not contained in the text of Phaedrus that has come down to us, this fable was probably in his collection, for it is found not only in Romulus but in two other mediæval collections which are independent of Romulus, but likewise derived in the main directly from Phaedrus.<sup>1</sup> But this fable, unlike the Cock and the Pearl, is found in Greek versions, which, though they may not in their present

<sup>1</sup> *Fabulae Antiquae* ascribed to Ademar Cabannensis (formerly called *Anonymus Nilantii*), no. 4; *Magistro Rufo Aesopus* (Wolfenbüttel MS., formerly Weisenburg), no. 3. See Hervieux, *op. cit.*, I, 241-324; II, 132, 159; Jacobs, *op. cit.*, I, 5-14; Havet, *Revue Critique*, XXXI (1897), 311 ff.

form be nearly so old as Phaedrus, yet show that the fable belonged to the Greek tradition. Of these, the one published by Nevelet in 1610, and republished by Furia, Coray, and Halm,<sup>1</sup> differs little from the version of Romulus. A mouse and a frog make friends, tie themselves together by the feet, and go about the fields seeking food; when they reach a pond, the treacherous frog plunges to the bottom, croaking with joy. The mouse drowns, comes to the surface, and is carried off by a kite (*ικτίνος*) together with the frog. Again, in the *Life of Aesop* ascribed to the Byzantine monk Maximus Planudes,<sup>2</sup> the fable is told by Aesop when his life is threatened by the Delphians. Here the frog, after dining with the mouse, invites the latter to return the visit; they tie themselves together and jump into the pond. The mouse is drowned, but not before it has declared that it will be avenged; and in this case they are both eaten by the eagle. In conclusion, Aesop declares that he likewise will be avenged.

Whatever may be the origin of this fable, it is Aesopic in a general sense. Aesop himself seems to have left no writings whatever, and we are in no position to determine which of the fables now existing in Greek versions he composed and transmitted to oral tradition; the most that we can say about any fable is that it was mentioned as his in ancient Greek literature, and we can say this of very few.<sup>3</sup> This particular fable does not happen to occur in our present text of Babrius or of Phaedrus. Nevertheless, as we have seen, it was probably in Phaedrus originally; and the Greek versions, as well as the assumed version of Phaedrus, may come from a much older original.

The early commentator of the Divine Comedy, Benvenuto,<sup>4</sup> says: "Fuit enim Aesopus antiquus poeta asianus, qui egregie finxit fabu-

<sup>1</sup> Furia, *Fabulae Aesopicae*, Lipsiae, 1810, no. 307; Coray's edition, Paris, 1810, no. 245; Halm, *Fabulae Aesopicae*, Lipsiae, 1881 (1st ed. 1852), no. 298.

<sup>2</sup> Printed in the *edit. prin.* of the Greek fables (about 1480) and often thereafter. I have it before me in the Froben edition, Basel, 1530, p. 94. If Planudes (*circa* 1260-1310) wrote it, he had a much older model; it was long a favorite *Folksbuch*. See Krumbacher, *Geschichte der Byzantinischen Litteratur*, 2te Aufl., München, 1897, pp. 543, 897; Gaster, *Greeko-Slavonic Lit. and its Relation to Folklore*, London, 1887, pp. 112 ff.

<sup>3</sup> According to Jacobs, *op. cit.*, I, 24-42, only about twenty.

<sup>4</sup> *Benvenuti de Rambaldis de Imola Comentum*, Florentiae, 1887, ii, 156 (*Inf.*, xxiii, 4).

las . . . et graece scripsit magnum opus ex quo defloratus fuit iste parvus libellus quo latini utuntur, in quo inter alios apologos ponitur iste de rana et mure." The contemporary commentary by Buti<sup>1</sup> says: "Isopo è uno libello che si legge a' fanciulli che imparano Grammatica, ove sono certe favole moralizzate per arreararli a buoni costumi." Very little later than these is the *Commento d' Anonimo Fiorentino*,<sup>2</sup> which says: "Isopo fu uno poeta d' Asia antichissimo inanzi al tempo d' Aristotele, et fece uno grande et uno bello libro che si chiamò Isopo, et è in grammatica greca. È vero che questo Isopetto, che è in lingua latina, fue tratto da quello certi fioretti come piacque allo scrittore. È adunque nella terza sua favola di questo Isopo, che comincia *Muris iter rumpente lacu, etc.*, che la rana . . ." The line quoted is, as we have seen, the first of the third fable in the Anon. Nev., and this is undoubtedly the *parvus libellus* of Benvenuto, and probably also the *Isopo* of Buti.

Now, the Greek versions and Phaedrus are important in determining the original source and the history of mediæval fables; but it is surprising to find modern commentators speaking of them as having any immediate and direct connection with Dante. The older commentators were more accurate, if their comments are rightly understood. Dean Plumtre<sup>3</sup> shows needless distrust when he says: "The fable had *probably* found its way into a Latin reading book of the 13th century." Mr. Paget Toynbee, in his new and very valuable *Dictionary*<sup>4</sup> speaks of the versions of Vincent de Beauvais (*Speculum Hist.*; it occurs also in the *Sp. Doct.*) and Marie de France, but without stating that they are derived from Romulus. He quotes from Benvenuto and from Buti, and adds: "A Tuscan version (Cent. xiv) of the 'Fables of Aesop,' representing apparently the book referred to by Buti, was published at Florence by Manni in 1778." It is true that in some points Buti's version of the fable suggests this Tuscan translation of the Anon. Nev. rather than the

<sup>1</sup> *Commento di Francesco da Buti*, ed. Giannini, Pisa, 1858.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Fanfani, Bologna, 1866. On these commentaries cf. Scartazzini, *Dante-Handbuch*, Leipzig, 1892, pp. 466-473.

<sup>3</sup> *The Commedia and Canzoniere of Dante*, London, 1886.

<sup>4</sup> *A Dictionary of Proper Names and Notable Matters in the Works of Dante*, Oxford, 1898, s. v. *Esopo* and in Addenda.

Latin original, and possibly he was familiar with it.<sup>1</sup> Buti may have made his own translation or adaptation from the Latin; and, moreover, when he says *Grammatica* I believe that he means Latin,<sup>2</sup> and hence I conclude that, like Benvenuto and the Anonimo Fiorentino, he refers to the Anon. Nev.<sup>3</sup> Mr. Toynbee suggests further that Dante may have followed a version of the Marie de France group. Marie wrote before 1200, and her fables became widely known; we have several manuscripts of an early Italian translation,<sup>4</sup> beside other collections influenced by her. The source of this group of versions is the Romulus Nilantii,<sup>5</sup> in which there are some slight changes from the original Romulus,—the frog ties a cord to his own foot, but around the neck of the mouse; the mouse is not drowned, but both are carried off by the kite. Marie<sup>6</sup> makes a

<sup>1</sup> The Cod. Farsetti published by Manni is supposed to be derived from one of the MSS. published respectively by Berti, *Esopo volgarizzato per uno da Siena*, Padova, 1811, and by Le Monnier, *Favole d'Esopo volg. p. uno da Siena*, Firenze, 1864. See Ghivizzani, *op. cit.* (another translation of the Anon. Nev.), pp. xcvi ff., clxi ff. The Anon. Nev. mentions but one frog, while the Cod. Laur., ed. Le Monnier, says: "Il Topo . . . pervenne a uno fiume, nel quale aveva molte Ranocchie." Buti: "Lo topo . . . pervenne a una fossa d' acqua ov' erano molti ranocchi." It is to be noticed, however, that the word for *frog* is of different gender in the two versions; and other differences are more striking than the points of similarity. Both in Latin and in Italian the fables are *moralizzate*; the Anon. Nev. is often called *Esopus moralisatus*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. title of the fables published by Rigoli in 1818: "Questo libro si chiama Isopo delle Favole, traslatato di Grammatica in Volgare." As Warnke says (*op. cit.*, p. lxxvi), this implies that the book was translated from Latin, though as a matter of fact it was from the French of Marie.

<sup>3</sup> J. de Serravalle, *Comentum*, Prati, 1891 (written in 1416); Landino, *Comento*, Vinegio, 1484; Bern. Daniello da Lucca, Venetia, 1568; and the *Ottimo Comento*, ed. Torri, Pisa, 1827, seem to refer to the Latin version rather than to the Italian. Stefano Talice da Ricaldone, *Comento*, ed. Promis e Negroni, Milano, 1888, says: "Esopus . . . fecit magnum volumen; et de ipso extractus est ille libellus qui dicitur Esopus," i.e. evidently Anon. Nev. Jacopo della Lana, *Comento*, Venice, 1477 (and ed. Scarabelli, Bologna, 1866), gives a long version with curious additions of his own.

<sup>4</sup> Beside the two published MSS. already mentioned, Ghivizzani (*op. cit.*, p. clxviii) describes a third.

<sup>5</sup> No. 3; see Hervieux, *op. cit.*, II, 514.

<sup>6</sup> No. 3. This version suggests the fable of the Town-Mouse and the Country Mouse, Halm, 297; Babrius, 108; Romulus, I, 12; Anon. Nev., 12; Marie, 9.

longer story: the frog sees the mouse sitting at the door of a mill, asks if it is her house, and is invited to visit her. They enjoy the provisions, but the frog desires more water, and with evil intent proposes that the mouse return the visit. When they reach the river the frog ties her own leg to the leg of the timid mouse, and then plunges under water; the cries of the mouse are heard by the kite (*escuffle*), which devours the frog, but lets the mouse go. The Italian versions<sup>1</sup> have a few minor changes, but in them also the mouse escapes. The Hebrew version of Berachyah<sup>2</sup> is still longer, but keeps close to Marie. The so-called LBG<sup>3</sup> follows Marie in the main, but in some details the Romulus Nilantii as opposed to Marie; it agrees with Berachyah in substituting the eagle for the kite. I see no conclusive reason, however, for assuming that Dante knew any of these versions, or others that might be mentioned.<sup>4</sup> The Anonimo Fiorentino certainly, and the other old commentators probably, supposed that he referred to the Anon. Nev. when he said 'Isopo';<sup>5</sup> and in this opinion they were probably correct, though, as we have seen, it is likely that he knew Romulus also. The elaborated version of the fable given by Jacopo della Lana does not go against this theory, for no known version seems more likely to have been its source than the Anon. Nev.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Rigoli, no. 14; Cod. Pal. (Lucca, 1864), no. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Hanel, no. 2, p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> No. 3, in Hervieux, II, 565. As in Rom. Nil., the frog ties its foot to the neck of the mouse, and the latter does not escape.

<sup>4</sup> The version in the *Dialogus Creaturarum* (Grässe, *Die beiden ältesten Fabelbücher des Mittelalters*, Tübingen, 1880, no. 107) follows the Anon. Nev. and quotes two lines from it *verbatim*. Alexander Neckam, no. 6, follows Romulus (Hervieux, II, 395). Kirckhof's *Wendunmuth* (ed. Oesterley, VII, 71) suggests somewhat the version in the *Life of Aesop*. The version by Odo of Cheriton (Hervieux, *op. cit.*, prem. éd., 1884, II, 638) is very short, and does not ascribe motives of treachery to the frog; and the same is true of that by Jacques de Vitry (ed. Crane, no. 3, p. 1).

<sup>5</sup> It is worth noting that in the passage from the *Convito* discussed above the form *Esopo* seems to have been used by Dante. The reading *Isopo*, which is apparently established for the present passage, may make it look possible that Dante had here in mind some collection of fables in an Italian translation; but this conclusion is by no means necessary.

<sup>6</sup> Jacopo says: "Pone Esopo che uno topo overo sorigo andava in uno suo viaggio. Quando elli fue ad una parte della sua via trovò uno fossato, etc."



In regard to the age of this fable it is significant to find that the Greek *Batrachomyomachia*, a burlesque epic describing the war of the frogs and the mice, begins with a similar tale. The mouse Psicharpax, being invited to visit the frog Physignathus, at first hesitates to enter the water, but finally mounts upon the back of the frog, holding him around the neck. Soon after they have entered the water a water snake appears, and the terrified frog dives; the mouse drowns, after calling for vengeance. This poem, long ascribed to Homer, is by many scholars assigned to a certain Pignes, of the fifth century B.C.; while by others it is put in the Alexandrian period.<sup>1</sup> It is perhaps impossible to decide whether the author of the poem made use of a fable already current, from which came the Greek and Latin versions that we know, or whether the fable had its origin in the poem.<sup>2</sup> At any rate, there seems to be some connection. In the Orient also we find tales which have a certain similarity. In the Anvar-i Suhaili a friendly tortoise carries a scorpion across a river; the scorpion stings the tortoise, which reflects that to cherish a base friend is to sacrifice oneself. This tale was put in the place of another that appears in the Panchatantra; and Benfey suggests that it may have been influenced by the Aesopic fable of the Frog and the Mouse.<sup>3</sup> In Talmudic literature there are accounts of a scorpion crossing a river on the back of a frog in order to sting a man resting on the other side.<sup>4</sup> In this connection it is of interest to remember that parts of the *Life of Aesop* may have come from Hebrew sources.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As *Homeri Ranarum et Murium Pugna* it was often printed in Greek and in Latin, with Aesop's fables, e.g., *Aesopi Phrygis Fabellae cum aliis opusculis*, Basileae, 1530, p. 264. W. Christ, *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*, Nördlingen, 1889 (Müller's *Handbuch*, VII), p. 56, and Ludwich, *Die Homerische Batrachomyomachia*, Leipzig, 1896, pp. 14-27, assign it to the fifth century. Van Herwerden in *Mnemosyne*, X, 163 ff.; Sittl, *Geschichte der griech. Lit.*, München, 1884-87, I, 151; III, 21, note; and Croiset, *Histoire de la litt. grecque*, Paris, 1896, I, 562 f., argue for the Alexandrian period.

<sup>2</sup> Both theories have been advanced; see Ludwich, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-37.

<sup>3</sup> Eastwick, *Anvar-i Suhaili, or the Lights of Canopus*, Hertford, 1854, p. 133; Benfey, *Panchatantra*, Leipzig, 1859, I, 223; Gaster, *Beiträge zur vergl. Sagen- und Märchenkunde*, Bukarest, 1883, p. 62.

<sup>4</sup> W. Bacher, *Die Agada der babylonischen Amoräer*, Strassburg, 1878, pp. 41 f. Cf. Gaster, *l. c.*; Jacobs, *op. cit.*, I, 111.

<sup>5</sup> See references above, concerning the *Life*.

These are hardly sufficient grounds, however, for assuming other than a Greek origin for our fable. On the history of the fable since Dante we have no occasion to dwell, further than to note that it occurs in numerous versions, derived from one or another of those already mentioned.<sup>1</sup> La Fontaine (iv, 11, and in his translation of the *Life*) knew the Greek version.

The commentators have devoted considerable attention to Dante's application of the fable. Benvenuto says: "Sed dices forsan, lector, nescio per me videre quomodo istae duae fictiones habeant inter se tantam convenientiam. . . . Ad quod respondeo quod passus vere est fortis." One commentator, Castelvetro (sixteenth century), sees no application.<sup>2</sup> The situation as it is described in *Inf.*, xxii is as follows: The barrator Ciampolo of Navarre, pretending that he will induce some Italians to come out from the boiling pitch, but in reality purposing to jump back unmolested himself, persuades the demons to withdraw a little. He jumps, and the demon Alichino tries in vain to catch him. Calcabrina scuffles with Alichino, and they fall together into the pitch, where the heat ungrapples them; Barbariccia then has them pulled out. There is here, in the first place, a superficial but striking similarity to the fable; like the frog and the mouse, the two demons, after being fastened together in the pool, are fished out together. Dante has already (xxii, 26-33) compared the sinners in the pitch to frogs in water. The barrator he has called a mouse (xxii, 58), but this comparison I do not believe was in his mind when he thought of the fable. When he says (xxiii, 5) *la presente rissa*, he means simply the scuffle between the two demons, disregarding the original cause, Ciampolo. As in the beginning (*principio*, xxiii, 9) the frog deceitfully proposes to aid the mouse, so Calcabrina pretends to aid Alichino, but in reality wishes a quarrel (*per aver la zuffa*, xxii, 135). As at the

<sup>1</sup> Goudanus, in his Latin prose arrangement of the Anon. Nev., has considerably changed the third fable; see edition already cited, and Braune, *Fab. des Alberus*, pp. xlii, xlv. This version is apparently the source of the fable by Sir Roger L'Estrange, quoted by Longfellow in the Notes to his translation of the *Divine Comedy*.

<sup>2</sup> *Sposizione di L. Castelvetro*, ed. G. Franciosi, Modena, 1886: "A me pare, considerando la favola d' Isopo e la presente rissa, non vedere cose che abbiano meno da fare insieme, e che sieno meno simili tra sè di queste."

end of the fable the frog as well as the mouse, the deceiver and the deceived, come to grief through the kite, so both the demons fall into the pitch. This in general is the interpretation given by Benvenuto, Buti, Jacopo della Lana, Serravalle, the Ottimo, Landino, and most of the modern editors. Benvenuto and Serravalle go further and compare Barbariccia to the kite in the fable; but obviously if we carry the comparison so far as this, we cannot say that it is as close as *mo* and *issa*.<sup>1</sup> Serravalle goes still further, and finds a symbolic meaning in the whole. The Anonimo Fiorentino gives a different turn to the comparison, making Ciampolo, the deceiver, correspond to the frog. Castelvetro, assuming that Dante meant to compare Ciampolo to the mouse, can find no correspondence at all. "Ora il Navarrese," he says, "non è punto simile al topo; ingannò i demoni per avere minor pena, ed ottenne per inganno quello che desiderava. . . . Ora mostri Dante in che consista questa sua parità, se può." This mistake only brings out more clearly the correctness of the interpretation given above. Mr. Paget Toynbee falls into a similar error, it seems to me, when he suggests (*L. c.*) that Dante may have referred to a fable of the Marie de France group. The fact that in this group the mouse escapes is of no significance unless Dante means to compare Ciampolo to the mouse. The only version of the fable that I have seen in which the mouse practices deception is that given by Jacopo della Lana. I conclude, then, that whether it be close or not the comparison was understood by the old commentators as it was intended by Dante.

One more point may appropriately find a place in this paper. It concerns a little poem which has been ascribed to Dante, but which is of doubtful authorship, beginning:

Quando il consiglio degli augei si tenne.

In a paper read before the Modern Language Association of America in 1897<sup>2</sup> I briefly discussed the authorship of this poem, and

<sup>1</sup> Benvenuto says: "Ista duo vulgaria tantum significant quantum de praesenti, sed aliqui tusci dicunt *mo*, aliqui lombardi dicunt *issa*."

<sup>2</sup> *A Sonnet ascribed to Chiaro Davanati and its Place in Fable Literature*, in *Publications of the Mod. Lang. Assoc. of Am.*, Vol. XIII, 1898.

attempted to show its place in fable literature, it being a version of the fable of the Borrowed Feathers. Since then my attention has been called to an article, which I had unfortunately not seen, by Salvatore Concato, — *Il sonetto rinterzato "Quando il consiglio" di Dante* (in *Propugnatore*, XX, 2 (1887), 297-317). This article discusses with more detail what I treated briefly, and arrives at the conclusion that the poem was written by Dante, — a conclusion that I myself see no sufficient reason for rejecting, although it cannot be regarded as absolutely certain. Concato then notes that the fable as told in the Italian poem differs greatly from the versions that descend from Phaedrus, and resembles rather the Greek versions, such as that of Babrius; but, he continues, "pensare ad una affinità tra le due favole non è possibile." In my article I have shown, however, that this is very decidedly possible, — not, to be sure, by direct knowledge of the Greek fable, but through the medium of popular tradition. We find in mediæval literature many scattered versions of the Borrowed Feathers which cannot have come from the Phaedrus-Romulus collections, and which show that from ancient times the fable in its Greek form was current orally among the people in various parts of Europe. This is the most plausible explanation of the sonnet of the Borrowed Feathers by Chiaro Davanzati, "Di penne di paone e d'altre assai," and also, if it really belong to the time of Dante, "Quando il consiglio." It may be suggested that Dante might have known the Frog and the Mouse in the same way, but there are several reasons against this supposition. His reference to the Cock and the Pearl shows that he knew Romulus, or at least one of the collections descended from it; the Frog and the Mouse, as contained in these collections, is sufficient to explain his reference in *Inf.*, xxiii; and finally in the case of this fable we do not have mediæval versions which distinctly correspond to the Greek as opposed to Romulus.

KENNETH MCKENZIE.

WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY, 1898.

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WORKS OF DANTE.

\*La divina comedia; con commenti secondo la scolastica del p.  
*Gioachino Berthier*. L' Inferno. Friburgo (Svizzero), nella libreria dell' Università. [1892-97.] 4°. pp. lxx, 659. Illus.

A part of the commentary was published in *Il rosario*.

\*La divina commedia; corredata dei segni della pronunzia e di nuovi spedienti utili all' evidenza, ai raffronti, alle ricerche, alla memorazione, ecc. dal prof. *Luigi Polacco* [fatta secondo la lezione dello Scartazzini]. Milano, Ulrico Hoepli. 1896. sm. 8°. pp. viii, (3), 400 +.

Reviewed by G. L. Passerini in *Giornale dantesco*, 1896, iv. 75-77.

Fragments of translation from Dante [Parad. xxxi.] and Schiller by the late *John Anster*. (Hermathena, 1896, ix. 408-414.)

The fourth canto of the Inferno [with comment and translation by *J. J. Chapman*]. (In CHAPMAN, J. J. Emerson, and other essays, New York, C. Scribner's Sons, 1898, sm. 8°, pp. 171-181.)

Reprinted, with revisions and omissions, from the *Atlantic monthly*, Nov. 1890.

\*Les plus anciennes traductions françaises de la Divine comédie. Publiées pour la première fois d'après les manuscrits, et précédées d'une étude sur les traductions françaises du poème de Dante, par C. Morel. Pt. i., ii. Paris, H. Welter. 1897. 8°. Ports. and 25 facsimile plates.

*Contents*: — i. Textes : Manuscrit de Turin; l'Enfer. Manuscrit de Vienne; l'Enfer, le Purgatoire, le Paradis. Traduction de Bergaigne; chants i., xi., xv. et xvii. du Paradis. — ii. Illustrations.

The introductory study on French translations of Dante is not yet published. A philological essay on the subject by Dr. Stengel of Greifswald is also promised.

Reviewed by R. Murari in *Giornale dantesco*, 1897, v. 556-563; by F. X. Kraus in *Literaturbl. f. germ. u. rom. philol.* 1898, xix. 301.

†Morte del conte Ugolino; quadro di Dante [Inf. xxxiii. 1-78] ritratto in metro latino dal giovane messicano Ugucione Nonvrai [*Alessandro Piegadi*] e da altri sei celebri autori. Vi si aggiungono note critiche ed una opinione del messicano contro un comentatore del secolo XIV. [Benvenuto da Imola]. *Ital. and Lat.* [Venezia.] Editore l' abate Alessandro Piegadi. [1864.] 1. 8°. pp. 70 +. Front.

Z Boskiej komedyi Piekła, pieśń v. Przekład *Edwarda Porębowicza*. [Kraków. 1894.] 8°. pp. (5).

*Przegląd polski*, 1894, iii. 351-355.

Gift of Dr. A. C. Coolidge.

Божественная комедія. Переводъ стихами съ итальянскаго А. П. Федорова, съ объяснительными примѣчаніями и біографическимъ очеркомъ Данте. 3 vols. in 1. Спб. 1893-94. 8°

Gift of Dr. A. C. Coolidge.

Божественная комедія Адъ. Переводъ В. В. Чуйко со вступительною статьею о жизни и произведеніяхъ автора. Спб. [1894.] 8°. Port. and wdcts.

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A question of the water and of the land. Translated into English, with an introduction and notes, by *C. H. Bromby*. London, David Nutt. 1897. sm. 8°. pp. 60. Diags.

Gift of the translator.

Reviewed in *Literature*, Nov. 20, 1897, i. 141; in the *Nation*, Dec. 9, 1897, lxxv. 458; in the *Athenæum*, Mar. 12, 1898, p. 339.

Обновленная жизнь. Переводъ стихами съ итальянскаго А. П. Федорова, съ объяснительными примѣчавіями и вступленіемъ. Спб. 1895. 8°. Port.  
Gift of Dr. A. C. Coolidge.

I livets vår; Dantes Vita nuova i svensk dräkt, med grundtexten vid sidan, av *Fredrik Wulff*. Stockholm, Hugo Gebers Förlag. [1897.] 8°. pp. (6), 188.

Gift of Dr. W. H. Schofield.

Noticed in the *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, 1898, xxxii. 216; in the *Athenæum*, Aug. 13, 1898, p. 222.

Il trattato De vulgari eloquentia. Per cura di *Pio Rajna*. Ed. minore. Firenze, Successori Le Monnier. 1897. 8°. pp. xl, 86.  
Gift of the editor.

Reviewed by P. Toynbee in *Romania*, Oct. 1897, xxvi. 576-578; by E. G. Parodi in *Bullettino della società dantesca italiana*, ott.-nov. 1897, n. s., v. 14-18; by Mario Pelaez in the *Giornale dantesco*, 1898, vi. 221; in the *Athenæum*, Aug. 13, 1898, p. 223; in *Literature*, Mar. 26, 1898, p. 345.

†Due componimenti inediti [un sonetto ed una canzone. Edited by *Francesco Selmi*. Torino. 1864.] 8°. pp. (7).  
*Rivista contemporanea*, 1864, xxxvi. 96-102.

†[Credo.] Catechismo cattolico in terza rima [con note del padre *G. M. Cornoldi*]. Roma, Aless. Befani. 1872. sm. 8°. pp. 22.

#### WORKS ON DANTE.

**Agnelli, Giov.** Di un nuovo disegno dell' "Inferno" dantesco di Antonio Manetti. (*Giornale dantesco*, 1897, v. 470-474.) 2 plans.

Criticises the new diagram in Manetti's "Dialogo," 1897, by L. Raitani, whose answer is given, p. 474.

*Plans*: — (1) Inferno dantesco secondo A. Manetti. (2) Sezione dell' Inferno dantesco di A. Manetti secondo antichi commenti, — secondo L. Raitani.

**Alunno, Fran.** Della fabrica del mondo libri dieci; ne' quali si contengono le voci di Dante, del Petrarca, del Boccaccio, & d' altri buoni auththori. Di nuovo ristampati et ricorretti da Borgarutio Borgarucci. Con un nuovo Vocabolario in fine di tutte quelle voci che mancavano nella Fabrica, & si leggono in diversi altri auththori antichi & moderni; aggiunto da Thomaso Porcacchi. Venetia. 1584. f°. ff. (34), 263, 18.

†**Ambrosi**, Fran. Dante e la natura; ovvero, Frammenti di filosofia e storia naturale desunti dalla Divina commedia. Padova. 1874. 8°. pp. 16.

“Dagli *Atti della società veneto-trentina di scienze naturali residente in Padova*, vol. iii., fasc. I.”

†—— Epilogo storico-filosofico-naturale della Divina commedia; esposto al popolo nell' occasione che si erige in Trento il monumento a Dante Alighieri. Trento. 1896. 8°. pp. 161.

**Armstrong**, Edward. Ser Manfredi da Vico. Convito, iv. 29. (*Modern language quarterly*, Oct. 1897, i. 60-62.)

Gift of Mr. Paget Toynbee.

\***Balsano**, Ferd. La Divina commedia giudicata da G. V. Gravina; ragionamento con prefazione e per cura di S. de Chiara. Città di Castello. 1897. sm. 8°. pp. 105+. (Collezione di opuscoli danteschi inediti o rari, 42, 43.)

Noticed in the *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, 1897, xxx. 496.

\***Balzo**, Carlo DEL, *compiler*. Poesie di mille autori intorno a Dante Alighieri. Vol. v. Roma. 1897. 8°. pp. 598.

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†**Bartolini**, Agos. L' odierno ravvivamento degli studi danteschi sotto l' aspetto religioso-politico. Discorso letto all' accademia di religione cattolica, 31 marzo, 1887. Roma. 1887. 8°. pp. 25.

**Bassermann**, Alfred. Catona o Crotona? [Par. viii. 62.] (*Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, 1898, xxxi. 88-91.)

Occasioned by De Chiara's article on the same subject.

†**Bellacchi**, Luigi. Francesca di Rimini; tragedia. Siena. 1824. 8°. pp. 80.

**Benivieni**, Girolamo. Difesa di Dante.

See Greco, Luigi.

†**Bierfreund**, Theodor. Dante Alighieri. (*In his Kulturbærere; studier i middelalderens digtning*, Kobenhavn, 1892, 8°, pp. 50-135.)

**Boccomino**, Luigi Leone. Dante. (*In his La poesia esplicata nei principali poeti italiani*, Terranova, 1895, 8°, i. 37-194.)



**Bonghi, Ruggiero.** Per la società "Dante Alighieri." [Roma. 1895.] 8°. pp. (5).

*Nuova antologia*, 1895, 3ª serie, lx. 601-605.

"Risponde ad alcune idee espresse dal senatore Graziadio Ascoli, nel suo articolo Gl' irredenti, pubblicato 1º luglio, 1895."

—— Il risveglio morale. Discorso detto il 19 nov. [1893], in Spoleto, nella inaugurazione di un comitato della società Dante Alighieri. [Roma. 1893.] 8°. pp. (9).

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†**Borinski, Karl.** Ueber poetische vision und imagination; ein historisch-psychologischer versuch anlässlich Dantes. Halle a. S. 1897. 8°. pp. xii, 128.

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**Buslaev, Fedor Ivanovitch.** Язычество и христианство. (In Починъ: сборникъ общества любителей россійской словесности, 1895, pp. 1-8.)

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**Butler, Arthur John.** Dante, his times and his work. London. 1895. sm. 8°. pp. ix, (3), '201.

Gift of the author.

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*Contents*: — The thirteenth century. — Guelfs and Ghibelines. — Dante's early days. — Florentine affairs till Dante's exile. — Dante's exile. — The "Commedia." — The minor works. — *Appendix*: — Some hints to beginners. Dante's use of classical literature.

—— "Fons pietatis." (*Athenæum*, April 2, 1898, p. 438.)

Occasioned by Toynbee's article, "The source of a hitherto unidentified quotation in the 'De monarchia.'"

**Butler, James Davie.** Dante; his quotations and his originality; the greatest imitator and the greatest original. (Wisconsin acad. of sciences, arts and letters. *Transactions*, 1898, xi. 149-164.)

**Butti, Attilio.** Una sezione pagana nell' Inferno dantesco. (*Giornale dantesco*, 1897, v. 175-181.)

—— Le parole di "colore oscuro" [Inf. iii. 10]. (*Ibid.* 1897, v. 408-409.)

**Butti, Attilio.** Nota al paragr. XII della Vita nuova. (*Ibid.* 1898, vi. 128-130.)

†**C., A.** Dante e i razionalisti. [Firenze.] N.D. 8°. pp. 8.  
"Estratto dal *Giglio di Firenze.*"

**Capelli, Luigi Mario.** Ancora del "Tesoro" [of Latini] nelle opere di Dante. (*Giornale dantesco*, 1897, v. 548-556.)

Occasioned by Dobelli's "Il Tesoro nelle opere di Dante."

**Carmignani, Giov.** Lettera [a] Giovanni Rosini sul vero senso di quel verso di Dante "Pocchia più che il dolor potè il digiuno" Inf. c. 33, v. 75. 2<sup>a</sup> ed., con l'aggiunta di una prefazione apologetica, e delle citazioni mancanti alla prima. Pisa. 1826. 8°. pp. 106+.

From the Ticknor bequest.

**Carneri, B.** Chiosa al Purgatorio, iii. 55-56. (*Giornale dantesco*, 1898, vi. 126-127.)

**Carollo, Nic.** La prescienza del futuro e l'ignoranza del presente ne' dannati di Dante. Trapani. 1897. sm. 8°. pp. 134.

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**Carrara, Enrico.** Tenebre e luce nell'Inferno dantesco. (*Giornale dantesco*, 1898, vi. 22-27.)

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\***Castravilla, Ridolfo.** I discorsi di Castravilla contro Dante e di Filippo Sassetti in difesa di Dante. A cura di Mario Rossi. Città di Castello. 1897. sm. 8°. (Collezione di opuscoli danteschi inediti o rari, 40, 41.)

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†**Caverni, Raf.** La fisica dantesca. I fiumi. ii.-v. [Firenze. 1879.] 8°.

*Lecture di famiglia*, 1879, xxxi. 5-14, 83-88, 153-160, 221-230, 272-278, 329-334, 404-411. *Imperfect*:—p. 335 is wanting.

**Chiara, Stanislao DE.** Catona; noterella dantesca. Parad. viii. 62. [Torino. 1897.] 8°. pp. 14.

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In his "Dante e la Calabria" De Chiara had supported the reading Crotona; in the above he supports the common reading Catona and gives reasons for his change of position.

See also **Bassermann, A.** Catona o Crotona? 1898.

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- Cipolla**, Fran., *Conte*. Il merlo nel canto xiii. del Purgatorio. (Atti del r. istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, 1894, liii. 56-60.)  
 ——— Intorno al verso 15 del canto xxx. del Purgatorio. (*Ibid.* 1895, liii. 438-443.)  
 ——— Noterelle dantesche: 1. Seconda morte. — 2. Pria (Purg. v. 135). — 3. Schiera bruna (Purg. xxvi. 34). — 4. Beatrice. (*Ibid.* 1895, liii. 639-647.)  
 ——— Il Gerione di Dante. (*Ibid.* 1895, liii. 706-710.)  
 †Also a copy separately printed.  
 ——— Nuove noterelle dantesche: 1. L' indicativo "alcuno" in tre luoghi danteschi. — 2. La petrificazione morale. — 3. Catone. — 4. Ancora sul nome di Beatrice. (*Ibid.* 1895, liii. 986-997.)  
 ——— Il falcone in Purg. xxiv. 49-63. (*Ibid.* 1895, liii. 1140-1146.)  
 ——— La lonza di Dante. (*Ibid.* 1896, liv. 224-227.)  
 ——— Ugolino e la pietà di Dante. (*Ibid.* 1896, liv. 294-297.)  
 ——— Le parole conte [Inf. x. 37]; noterella dantesca. (*Ibid.* 1896, liv. 526-527.)  
 †Also a copy separately printed.  
 ——— Quattro noterelle dantesche: 1. Seconda morte. — 2. La ruina. — 3. Peccato ermafrodito (Purg. xxvi. 83). — 4. Beatrice. (*Ibid.* 1896, liv. 987-996.)  
 ——— Dante osservatore. (*Ibid.* 1896, liv. 1127-1137.)  
 †Also a copy separately printed.
- \***Cochin**, Henry. La vie de Dante dans l'histoire et dans la légende. [Conférence du salon bibliographique, 20 mars, 1891. Paris. 1891.] 8°. pp. (3).  
*Bulletin de la société bibliographique*, 1891, xxii. 167-169.

[**Colonne, Guido DELLE.** Liber de casu Troie.] f°. pp. (242). MS.

An Italian manuscript of the fourteenth century on vellum. It contains one hundred and twenty-one folios with thirty-two to thirty-four long lines on a page. The romance is followed by the usual epitaphs with some which do not appear in the printed edition of 1487, including one of six lines on Dante by Menghino Mezzani. From a verse on fol. 118<sup>b</sup> it would appear that the manuscript was written between April and September, 1353.

The first page and the initial letters are illuminated.

Gift of Miss K. O. Petersen to the College Library.

†**Cortona, Icilio.** Vita di Dante Alighieri; [in occasione del suo sesto centenario]. Firenze. 1865. sm. 8°. pp. 8.

**Cosmo, Umb.** Le mistiche nozze di frate Francesco con madonna Povertà. (Giornale dantesco, 1898, vi. 49-82, 97-118.)

"A proposito della recente pubblicazione: Fratrís Johannis de Parma Sacrum commertium beati Francisci cum domina Paupertate."

Noticed in *Rassegna bibliog. della lett. ital.* 1898, vi. 278.

†[**Curti, Cesare.**] Dante Alighieri. Milano. 1889. 16°. pp. 63. Port. of Dante. (Biblioteca del popolo, 137. I grandi italiani.)

**Dante.** [A sonnet on Dante and Longfellow.] (The Arena, 1897, xvii. 1120.)

**Dantophilist, pseud.** Dante among his countrymen. (The Nation, Sept. 16, 1897, lxxv. 223.)

**Dobelli, Ausonio.** Il culto del Boccaccio per Dante. (Giornale dantesco, 1897, v. 193-221, 241-269, 289-320.)

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— Una scena della Commedia ed una del Don Chisciotte. — Di una minor fonte dantesca [the Apocalypse of St. John]. (*Ibid.* 1897, v. 519-522.)

— Alcune rime di Bartolommeo Scala. Per la fortuna di Dante nel Quattrocento. (*Ibid.* 1898, vi. 118-123.)

**Durand-Fardel, Max.** La jeunesse de Dante. (Revue bleue, 6 nov. 1897, 4<sup>e</sup> série, viii. 592-595.)

This is the introduction to the author's work on the "Vita Nuova."

**Earle, John.** Dante's "Paradiso" [xvii. 70-72]. (Literature, Feb. 19, 1898, no. 18, p. 211.)

†**Fanelli, Giov. Batt.** La Divina commedia, opera sacra-morale, storica-politica; dissertazione. Pisa. 1839. sm. 8°. pp. 94.

†**Fauriel, Claude Charles.** Dante. [Paris. 1834.] 8°. pp. 56.

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†**Fauriel**, Claude Charles. Dante e le origini della lingua e della letteratura italiana. Prima versione italiana con note di Girolamo Ardizzone. 2 vol. in 1. Palermo. 1856. 8°.

**Fearon**, Daniel Robert. Dante and paganism. (Nineteenth century, Feb. 1898, xliii. 301-311.)

Also in the *Living age*, March 26, 1898, ccxvi. 861-869.

**Federzoni**, Giov. Gli angeli nell' Inferno. (Inf. iii. 131-136; viii. 82-ix. 105.) Tre lettere alla signorina Erminia Vitali. Rocca S. Casciano. 1897. sm. 8°. pp. 39.

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——— Sopra Celestino V. e Rodolfo d' Absburgo nella Divina commedia; nuove osservazioni. Rocca S. Casciano. 1898. sm. 8°. pp. 18.

Gift of the author.

——— Filippo Argenti, Inf. viii. 25-64. Conferenza dantesca detta in Bologna il dì 6 maggio, 1894. Bologna. 1897. 8°. pp. 39.

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†**Ferrucci**, Luigi Crisostomo. Santo esercizio della via crucis secondo lo spirito di S. Leonardo da Porto Maurizio. *Ital.* and *Lat.* [Florence. 1865.] 8°. pp. 11+. Port. of Dante.

Published on the occasion of the sixth Dante centennial, and contains a short poem on Dante.

†**Fiammazzo**, Ant. Nuovo spoglio del codice lolliniano di Belluno [della Divina commedia] e raffronti con altri "del cento." Bergamo. 1897. 8°. pp. 33.

**Filomusi Guelfi**, Lor. La struttura morale del "Purgatorio" dantesco. (*Giornale dantesco*, 1897, v. 362-374.)

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See also **Ronchetti**, F. Polemica; ancora del Paradiso dantesco. 1898.

**Finali**, Gaspare. Le prime quattro edizioni della Divina commedia. [Lord Vernon's ed.] (Nuova antologia, 1 ott. 1897, clv. 385-394.)

\***Flower, Wickham.** Dante; a defence of the ancient text of the "Divina commedia." London. 1897. sm. 8°. pp. (4), 60.

Calls attention to the question, "whether or not an alteration that has been made during the nineteenth century in the text of the Divina commedia [Inf. xxviii. 135] ought to be permitted."

Reviewed in the *Saturday review*, March 19, 1898, p. 398; in *Literature*, March 26, 1898, p. 345; in the *Athenæum*, March 12, 1898, p. 338, with a reply by the author and a rejoinder from the reviewer in the issue for March 26, p. 407. Noticed by F. X. Kraus in *Literaturbl. f. germ. u. rom. philol.* 1898, xix. 240.

**Gardner, Edmund G.** Donna Pietra. (The gentleman's magazine, March, 1897, cclxxxii. 256-268.)

\***Giornale dantesco**, diretto da G. L. Passerini. Anno v.; vi. quad. 1-3 (ii., iii. della nuova serie). Firenze-Venezia. 1898 [1897-98]. 4°.

Noticed in the *Athenæum*, Aug. 13, 1898, p. 222.

**Giuliani, Giov. Batt.** La Divina commedia di Dante, dipinto del sig. Carlo Vogel di Vogelstein; discorso. Roma. 1844. 4°. pp. (2), 27. Front.

"Estratto dal *Giornale arcadico*, vol. xcix."

The same article appears in Giuliani's "Arte, patria, e religione," with this note:—"Il dipinto ora conservasi nella galleria de' quadri moderni dell' accademia di belle arti in Firenze."

From the Ticknor bequest.

†**Giulio, Angelo DI.** Il canto di Ugolino [Dante's Inferno, xxxiii. 1-84]; per voce di basso, con accompagnamento di piano-forte. Firenze, etc. [18—.] 4°. pp. (2), 19.

†**Gloria, Andrea.** Un errore nelle edizioni della Divina commedia [Parad. ix. 43-54], uno nei vocabolari. Padova. 1885. 8°. pp. 23.

From *Atti e memorie della r. accademia di scienze, lettere ed arti in Padova*, 1885, nuova serie, i. 5-23.

†**Goiorani, Ciro.** Nelle austere fidizie di Dante che la nuova Italia celebra degnamente in Firenze auspice il mondo civile; canzone. [Pistoia. 1865.] 8°. pp. (14).

**Greco, Luigi.** La difesa di Dante di G. Benivieni. (Giornale dantesco, 1897, v. 509-518.)

Reviews the new edition of Manetti's "Dialogo," and prints from a MS. in the Marucellian library an inedited defence of Dante by Benivieni.

**Harris, W. T.** The spiritual sense of Dante's *Divina commedia*. 1889; new ed. 1896.

Reviewed by C. J. Wood in the *Critic*, July 17, 1897, p. 32;—in the *Independent*, Sept. 16, 1897, p. 1213.

**H[art], J[ames] M[organ].** Dante and his countrymen. (*The Nation*, Sept. 23, 1897, lxx. 240.)

Gives extracts from Lord Byron asserting Dante's popularity.

**Harting, James Edmund.** Brunetto Latini in France. (*Athenæum*, Nov. 13, 1897, p. 674.)

Occasioned by E. J. L. Scott's "Brunetto Latini's home in France."

**Haselfoot, Frederick Kneller Haselfoot.** Chiosa dantesca; della vera interpretazione di Paradiso xiii. 52-87. (*Giornale dantesco*, 1898, vi. 27-35.)

Reviewed in the *Church quarterly review*, 1898, xlvii. 151-180.

**Hogan, J. F.** Brunetto Latini's "Trésor." (*Athenæum*, Nov. 20, 1897, pp. 710-711.)

Contributes to the discussion occasioned by E. J. L. Scott's discovery.

**Imbriani, Vitt.** Lettere al prof. Gius. Jac. Ferrazzi. (*Giornale dantesco*, 1898, vi. 123-126.)

†**Iorio, Gius.** Una nuova notizia sulla vita di Dante. [Teramo. 1895.] 8°. pp. (6).

*La rivista abruzzese di scienze, lettere ed arti di Teramo*, 1895, x. 353-358.

Discusses an account of a process against Matteo and Galeazzo Visconti for attempting to injure Pope John XXII. by sorcery, in which the name of Dante appears.

**Koch, Theodore W.** The treatise "De aqua et terra." (*Athenæum*, Nov. 13, 1897, p. 675.)

Supplements Toynbee's note on "The editio princeps of the treatise De aqua et terra," 1897.

**Kuhns, Levi Oscar.** Some verbal resemblances in the Orlando furioso and the *Divina commedia*. [Baltimore. 1895.] l. 8°. pp. 4-

"Deprinted from *Modern language notes*, vol. x. no. 6."

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**Kuhns, Levi Oscar.** Dante's treatment of nature in the *Divina commedia*. 1896.

Reviewed in the *Outlook*, June 12, 1897, p. 413; in the *Saturday review*, June 26, 1897, p. 699; by C. J. Wood in the *Critic*, July 17, 1897, p. 32; in the *Nation*, Aug. 26, 1897, p. 173; in the *Athenæum*, Sept. 11, 1897, p. 346; by F. F. Cooper in the *Bookman*, 1897, vi. 244; in the *Bookbuyer*, 1898, xvi. 433.

**Lamma, Ern.** Di una sezione di rime dantesche. (*Giornale dantesco*, 1897, v. 502-509.)

On the poems attributed to Dante in the Casanatense codex, d. v. 5.

†**Léfèbvre Saint-Ogan**, —. De Dante à l'Arétin; la société italienne de la renaissance. Paris. 1889. sm. 8°. pp. (4), 330+.

*Contents*: — Le caractère national. — La religion. — La démocratie. — La tyrannie. — La guerre. — Le commerce. — L'humanisme et les lettres. — La vie de cour. — La famille et l'éducation. — Les femmes. — Les campagnes et la vie champêtre. — Les fêtes.

**Lippert von Granberg, Josefine.** Duino, o lo scoglio di Dante [translated by G. Franciosi]. (*Giornale dantesco*, 1897, v. 238-239.)

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MISS M. T. LOUGHLIN . . . . .	Dorchester, Mass.
MISS GEORGINA LOWELL . . . . .	Boston, Mass.
*JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.	

ARTHUR R. MARSH . . . . .	Cambridge, Mass.
MISS ELLEN F. MASON . . . . .	Boston, Mass.
F. J. MATHER, JR. . . . .	New York, N. Y.
KENNETH MCKENZIE . . . . .	New Haven, Conn.
LUIGI MONTI . . . . .	New York, N. Y.
THOMAS B. MOSHER . . . . .	Portland, Me.
LEWIS F. MOTT . . . . .	New York, N. Y.
B. H. NASH . . . . .	Boston, Mass.
NEW BEDFORD FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY . . . . .	New Bedford, Mass.
MISS GRACE NORTON . . . . .	Cambridge, Mass.
C. E. NORTON . . . . .	Cambridge, Mass.
MRS. D. R. NOYES . . . . .	St. Paul, Minn.
AUSTIN O'MALLEY . . . . .	Notre Dame, Ind.
MISS KATHERINE OSBORN . . . . .	Binghamton, N. Y.
C. G. PAGE . . . . .	Boston, Mass.
MISS SELMA W. PAINE . . . . .	Bangor, Me.
*T. W. PARSONS.	
*THEODORE C. PEASE.	
MRS. E. W. PEET . . . . .	St. Paul, Minn.
MISS CATHERINE M. PHILLIMORE . . . . .	Henley-on-Thames, England.
E. K. RAND . . . . .	Chicago, Ill.
*MISS JULIA A. DE RHAM.	
F. N. ROBINSON . . . . .	Cambridge, Mass.
MRS. HÉLOISE DURANT ROSE . . . . .	New York, N. Y.
PIERRE LA ROSE . . . . .	Cambridge, Mass.
W. H. RUDDICK . . . . .	Boston, Mass.
G. H. SAVAGE . . . . .	Lynnfield Centre, Mass.
MRS. EBEN G. SCOTT . . . . .	Wilkesbarre, Pa.
MISS MARY AUGUSTA SCOTT . . . . .	Northampton, Mass.
MISS THEODORA SEDGWICK . . . . .	Cambridge, Mass.
E. S. SHELDON . . . . .	Cambridge, Mass.

\* Deceased.

CARROLL SMYTH . . . . .	Philadelphia, Pa.
MISS MARY L. SOUTHWORTH . . . . .	Cleveland, Ohio.
C. L. SPERANZA . . . . .	New York, N. Y.
C. CHAUNCEY STILLMAN . . . . .	New York, N. Y.
T. RUSSELL SULLIVAN . . . . .	Boston, Mass.
HENRY O. TAYLOR . . . . .	* New York, N. Y.
LUCIEN E. TAYLOR . . . . .	Providence, R. I.
WILLIAM R. THAYER . . . . .	Cambridge, Mass.
*MISS ANNA E. TICKNOR.	
HENRY A. TODD . . . . .	New York, N. Y.
PAGET TOYNBEE . . . . .	Burnham, Bucks, England.
MARS E. WAGAR . . . . .	Cleveland, Ohio.
*E. L. WALTER.	
MRS. M. A. WARD . . . . .	Cambridge, Mass.
BARRETT WENDELL . . . . .	Boston, Mass.
R. RADCLIFFE-WHITEHEAD . . . . .	Santa Barbara, Cal.
MRS. HENRY WHITMAN . . . . .	Boston, Mass.
*JUSTIN WINSOR.	
G. E. WOODBERRY . . . . .	New York, N. Y.
JOHN WOODBURY . . . . .	Boston, Mass.
FRANCIS WYATT . . . . .	New York, N. Y.

\* Deceased.

## STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS.

The following statement summarizes the receipts and expenditures of the Society from May 18, 1898, when the last report was submitted, until December 31, 1900, when the moneys and accounts of the Society were transferred to the hands of the present Treasurer.

Prize fund in the hands of the Treasurer of	
Harvard University, May 18, 1898 . . . . .	\$100 00
Balance in the hands of the Treasurer of the	
Society, May 18, 1898 . . . . .	129 57
Received from assessments . . . . .	420 00
	\$649 57
Prize fund in the hands of the Treasurer of	
Harvard University, December 31, 1900 . . . . .	\$100 00
Paid the Treasurer of Harvard University	
for the purchase of books for the College	
Library . . . . .	100 00
Postage, etc. . . . .	43 33
Printing . . . . .	7 95
Contribution to the San Gemignano Cele-	
bration . . . . .	9 81
Balance in the hands of the Treasurer of the	
Society, December 31, 1900 . . . . .	388 48
	\$649 57

## BY-LAWS.

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1. THIS Society shall be called the DANTE SOCIETY. Its object shall be the encouragement of the study of the Life and Works of Dante.

2. Any person desirous to become a member of this Society may do so by signifying his or her wish in writing to the Secretary, and by the payment of an annual fee of five dollars.

3. An Annual Meeting for the election of officers shall be held at Cambridge on the third Tuesday of May, of which due notice shall be given to the members by the Secretary.

4. Special meetings may be held at any time appointed by vote of the members at the Annual Meeting, or by call from the President and Secretary.

5. The officers shall be a President, a Vice-President, a Secretary and Treasurer, and a Librarian, who, together with three members thereto chosen, shall form the Council of the Society. All these officers shall be chosen at the Annual Meeting, and their term of service shall be for one year, or until their successors are elected. Vacancies in the Council shall be filled for the remainder of the year by the Council.

6. The President, or, in his absence, the Vice-President, or, in the absence of both, any member of the Council, shall preside at all meetings of the Society and of the Council.

7. The Secretary and Treasurer shall keep a record of the meetings of the Society and of the Council, shall collect and receive all dues, and keep accounts of the income and expenditure of the Society, shall give notice of meetings, and shall perform all other duties appropriate to his office.

8. The Council shall hold meetings at such times as it may appoint, shall determine on the use to be made of the income of the Society, shall endeavor to promote the special objects of the Society in such ways as may seem most appropriate, and shall make an annual report of their proceedings, including a full statement of accounts, at each Annual Meeting. This report shall be made in print for distribution to the members.

9. No officer of the Society shall be competent to contract debts in the name of the Society, and no expenditure shall be made without a vote of the Council.

10. A majority of the Council shall form a quorum for the transaction of business.

11. Any person distinguished for his interest in the purposes of the Society, or who has rendered it valuable service, may be chosen an Honorary Member at any regular meeting of the Society, and shall be entitled to all its privileges without annual assessment.

12. The preceding rules may be changed at any time by unanimous vote of the Council.



# THE DANTE PRIZE.

IN MEMORIAM CHARLES STERRETT LATHAM.

THE prize offered for 1889-90 was awarded to Mr. C. S. LATHAM, of the class of 1884, A. B. Harv. 1888, for a translation of the Letters of Dante with a historical and critical comment. Mr. Latham died on July 21, 1890. He did not live to learn the award of the prize.

In accordance with the desire of his mother, the prize adjudged to him of one hundred dollars is now offered again to be competed for. The competition is open not only to the students in any department of Harvard University, and to Harvard graduates of not more than three years' standing, but also to students and graduates, of similar standing, of any college or university in the United States.

The annual prize of one hundred dollars offered by a member of the Dante Society for the best essay by a student in any department of Harvard University, or by a graduate of not more than three years' standing, on a subject connected with the Life or Works of Dante, is withdrawn for the present, but the offer will be renewed after the award of the Latham Prize.

For the year 1899-1900 the subjects proposed are as follows :

1. *A Review of Kraus's "Dante" (1897), Paget Toynbee's "Dante Dictionary" (1898), and Scartazzini's "Enciclopedia Dantesca" (1896-98).*

2. *The credibility of Boccaccio's "Vita di Dante," and of what he tells concerning Dante in his "Commento."*

3. *The verse endings in the Divina Commedia in which Dante has made "li vocaboli dire nelle sue rime altro che quello ch'erano appo gli altri dicitori usati di sprimere" (Ottimo Commento, Inf. x, 85).*

For the year 1900-01 the same subjects are proposed, with the addition of *A translation of the "Quaestio de Aqua et Terra," and a discussion of its authenticity.*

For the year 1901-02 the same subjects are proposed, with the addition of (1) *A collection of all the passages in the prose works of Dante directly illustrative of the Divina Commedia, arranged in order as a comment upon it.* (2) *A critical comment of the De Vulgari Eloquentia.*

Essays must be deposited with the Dean of Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass., on or before the *first day of May.*

Essayists are at liberty to write on any one of the subjects which have been proposed in the years during which the Dante Prize has been offered.

On the title-page must be written an assumed name and a statement of the writer's standing, *i.e.*, whether he is a graduate or an undergraduate (and of what college or university); if he is an undergraduate, to what class he belongs, and to what department of the college or university. Under cover with the essay must be sent a sealed letter, containing the true name and address of the writer, and superscribed with his assumed name.

The essays must be written upon letter paper, of good quality, of the quarto size, with a margin of not less than one inch at the top, at the bottom, and on each side, so that they may be bound up without injury to the writing. The sheets on which the essay is written must be securely stitched together.

The judges of the essays are a committee of the Dante Society.

In case the judges decide that no essay submitted to them deserves the full prize, they are at liberty to award one or two prizes of fifty dollars, or to award no prize.

The Dante Society has the privilege of retaining and depositing in the Dante Collection of the Harvard College Library any or all essays offered in competition for the Dante Prize, whether successful or not.

Since its establishment, the Dante Prize has been awarded to the following persons :

HEINRICH CONRAD BIERWIRTH . . . . 1887.

For an essay upon the subject : *Dante's Obligations to the Schoolmen, especially to Thomas Aquinas.*

GEORGE RICE CARPENTER . . . . 1888.

For an essay upon the subject : *The Interpretation and Reconciliation of the Different Accounts of his Experiences after the Death of Beatrice, given by Dante in the Vita Nuova and the Convito.*

CHARLES STERRETT LATHAM . . . . 1890.

For an essay upon the subject : *A Translation into English of Dante's Letters, with Explanatory and Historical Comments.*

KENNETH MCKENZIE . . . . 1894.

For an essay upon the subject : *The Rise of the Dolce Stil Nuovo.*

JEREMIAH DENIS MATTHIAS FORD . . . . 1895.

For an essay upon the subject : *Dante's Influence upon Spanish Literature during the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries.*

ARTHUR NEWTON PEASLEE . . . . 1900.

For an essay entitled : *A Metrical Rhyming Translation of the Three Canzoni of the Convito.*

## ANNUAL REPORTS.

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IT has seemed best to the Council of the Society, since the publication of its reports has been so much delayed, to print simultaneously the two papers which were intended to accompany the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Reports. The material for the Twentieth Report is already in hand, and it will be published in the autumn of this year.

The Secretary regrets that he cannot furnish a detailed account of the activity of the Society during the years represented by this double report. The annual meetings were held, as usual, on the evening of the third Tuesday in May in Professor Norton's library. At the meeting in 1899 all the officers of the previous year were reëlected. At the meeting in 1900 Mr. A. R. Marsh resigned the office of Secretary and Treasurer, and Mr. F. N. Robinson was chosen to succeed him. All the other officers were reëlected.

The Latham Prize has not yet been awarded, and is offered again this year. But in 1900 a special prize was awarded to Mr. A. N. Peaslee for an essay entitled "A Metrical Rhyming Translation of the Three Canzoni of the Convito."

FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, *Secretary,*

*For the Council of the Dante Society.*

CAMBRIDGE, June, 1901.



A LIST OF  
DANTEIANA

IN AMERICAN LIBRARIES

*SUPPLEMENTING THE CATALOGUE OF THE  
CORNELL COLLECTION*

COMPILED BY

THEODORE WESLEY KOCH





A LIST OF  
DANTEIANA

IN AMERICAN LIBRARIES

*SUPPLEMENTING THE CATALOGUE OF THE  
CORNELL COLLECTION*

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DURING the four years and more which I spent in the compilation of the Catalogue of the Dante Collection presented to the Cornell University Library by Mr. Willard Fiske, I made it a point to note the titles of such books and articles as were not to be found in Mr. Fiske's magnificent collection. These notes were written in the same style as the entries for the regular catalogue and were carefully arranged in a separate box labelled "desiderata." They proved very useful in filling out gaps in the Cornell collection. A number of the more important titles were from time to time sent to Mr. Fiske in Florence and the procurable items were bought and added to the collection. Others were picked up from one source and another by myself. But as my chief duty was not the increasing of Mr. Fiske's Dante library but the compiling of the catalogue, there was comparatively little time to be devoted to the securing of these desiderata for Cornell. Yet when additions came from the breaking up of some collection in Italy, or from the catalogue of some dealer, it was extremely convenient to be able to turn to this desiderata box and find there some information about the books, — some note as to where they first appeared, the dates of later editions, or references to one or more reviews. Several hundred notes were in this way eventually transferred from the desiderata box to the printed pages of the Cornell Catalogue.

The great extent of the Fiske Collection makes its catalogue approach so near the limits of a reasonably exhaustive bibliography that I have deemed it advisable to bring it still nearer completeness by printing the majority of these titles. For practical purposes I shall divide them into two lists: (1) one comprising those found in American collections, and (2) another taking up those found in European libraries. The first is here printed with one deviation from its rule: for the sake of English students, references are included to books in the British Museum when they are also found in some American library. In a later Report of the Dante Society I hope to print the second of these lists, under the title of an "Additional list of Danteiana supplementing the Cornell Collection; being titles gleaned from European libraries."

T. W. KOCH.

May, 1900.

## ABBREVIATIONS.

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- AL = Astor Library.  
BA = Boston Athenæum.  
BM = British Museum.  
BPL = Boston Public Library.  
BU = Brown University.  
CL = Congressional Library.  
ColUL = Columbia University Library.  
CUL = Cornell University Library.  
DI = Drexel Institute, Philadelphia.  
HCL = Harvard College Library.  
LCL = Lowell City Library.  
LL = Lenox Library.  
MLUV = Marsh Library, University of Vermont.  
N = Private library of Professor C. E. Norton.  
PHS = Pennsylvania Historical Society.  
PI = Peabody Institute, Baltimore.  
PLC = Philadelphia Library Company.  
PPL = Providence Public Library.  
StLPL = St. Louis Public Library.  
UP = University of Pennsylvania.  
WSHS = Wisconsin State Historical Society.

## PART I.—DANTE'S WORKS.

### COMPLETE WORKS.—SELECTIONS.

Dante — di giorno in giorno — ; raccolta-diario di pensieri e sentenze dalle opere dell' Allighieri, con scelte traduzioni francesi, tedesche e inglesi, con una lettera di R. Bonghi, e prefazione di A. d' Ancona. 2<sup>a</sup> ed. Firenze, *Seeber*, 1896. obl. 16°. pp. xi + (4) + 412. BPL

### DIVINA COMMEDIA.

#### *Italian Texts.*

1472. Dantis Aligerii poetae florentini inferni capitulum primum incipit. *At end*: MCCCLxxII. Magister georgius & magister paulus teutonicus hoc opus mantuae impresserunt ad iuuante Columbino ueronensi. sm. f°. ff. (91). LL

The first folio contains "Capitolo di columbino Veronese al Nobile e presantissimo huomo philippo Nuuoloni." The volume contains no other introductory or supplementary matter.

"Some of the leaves mended by Bedford, and a few letters supplied; with stamp of presentation from Henry, Duke of Norfolk (?) to the Royal Society; 1st leaf of pre[liminary] matter in facsimile." — *MS. note by Mr. James Lenox on the fly-leaf of the above copy.*

"Excessively rare. No books exist with the imprint of Mantua of an earlier date than this — an undeniable fact, although the title of *editio princeps* of Dante may be claimed with equal right for the editions printed in the same year at Jesi and Foligno. It is, however, the rarest of the three, although Brunet calls it '*presque aussi rare*' as that of Jesi, — the latter being again much rarer than the edition of Foligno. The fact, however, is as I have stated; and in my bibliographical Index, while I have six entries of copies of the Foligno book that have occurred for sale during the last fifty years, and two of the Jesi edition, there is not a single instance of that of Mantua." — Clipping from Quaritch's *General catalogue*, London, 1874, no. 18096, inserted in the above copy.

- 1795.** La divina commedia, [edited by G. J. DIONISI]. Parma, *co' tipi Bodoniani*, 1795. 3 v. f°. *Port.* BM ; HCL  
Edition of 130 copies. Reprinted in 1796, under which date see description in CUL Catalogue. See also Colomb de Batines, i, p. 121.  
*Portrait*: — Engraving. "Stefano Tofanelli delineò. Raffaello Morghen incisè in Firenze."
- 1808-09.** La divina commedia. Milano, *Mussi*, 1808-09. 3v. 32°. HCL
- 1819.** La divina commedia, col commento di G. BIAGIOLI. Milano, *Silvestri*, 1819. 3 v. 8°. HCL
- 1822.** La divina commedia. Nuova ed. Parigi, *G. P. Aillaud*, 1822. 32°. 3 v. *Port.* BPL ; HCL  
Reissue of the edition published by J. Bain, London, 1819. See CUL Catalogue.  
*Portrait*: — Lithograph ; oval. "C. Knight sculpt."
- 1839.** La divina commedia, col commento del p. POMPEO VENTURI ; nuova ed., a miglior lezione ridotta ed arricchita d' inedite postille del dottor G. LAMI e di P. J. FRATICELLI. Firenze, *G. Molini*, 1839. 3 v. 24°. *Port.* and *plates.* HCL  
i, pp. iii-ix, Ai benevoli lettori, P. Fraticelli ; pp. x-xl, Della prima e principale allegoria del poema, discorso di P. Fraticelli ; pp. 1-5, Prefazione del p. P. Venturi all' edizione di Lucca del 1732 ; pp. 7-24, Vita di Dante scritta da Leonardo Aretino.  
This edition is mentioned neither by Colomb de Batines nor by Lord Vernon. It is a reprint, with slight changes, of that published by Formigli in 1837. It reproduces Venturi's comment, first published in 1732, freed from the many inaccuracies which had disfigured it in earlier editions. See Colomb de Batines, i, p. 181.  
*Portrait*: — Profile in outline.  
*Plates*: — Plans of hell, purgatory, and paradise.
- 1855.** See *French*. La divine comédie, précédée d'une introduction : œuvres posthumes de F. LAMENNAIS. *Ital.* and *French*.
- 1862.** La divina commedia, all' intelligenza di tutti ; studio d' un solitario [*i.e.*, P. I. LAMBRI DI LONGIANO]. 2<sup>a</sup> ed. Firenze, *Tipog. Fioretti*, 1862. 2 v. sm. 8°. *Port.* HCL  
Pagination continuous. With introductory discourses, and a "Repertorio alfabetico che somministra le cognizioni d' ogni maniera opportune all' intelligenza della D. C.," pp. 733-890.  
*Portrait*: — Woodcut of the marble medallion discovered by L. C. Ferrucci in Ravenna, and by him believed to represent Dante.

1865. La divina commedia, ridotta a miglior lezione dagli Accademici della Crusca, con le chiose di V. GIOBERTI. [Inf. i-iv. 102, edited by B. FABBRICATORE.] Napoli, *Stamperia del Vaglio*, 1865. 8°. pp. (4) + 24 + (4). HCL

The complete work was published in 1866.

1867. La divina commedia; testo comune colle variazioni dei codici pubblicati da C. WITTE. 1<sup>a</sup> ed. americana. Boston, *De Vries, Ibarra e C.*, 1867. 8°. *Port.* BPL; HCL

Reissued by Lee and Shepard, Boston, 1894. See CUL Catalogue.

*Portrait*: — Woodcut after Gustave Doré.

- 1876-[85]. See *Dutch*. De goddelijke komedie, in nederlandsche terzinen vertaald door J. BOHL. *Ital. and Dutch*.

1878. La divina commedia, con note tratte dai migliori commenti per cura di E. CAMERINI. Ed. stereotipa. 7<sup>a</sup> tiratura. Milano, *E. Sonzogno*, 1878. 8°. pp. 430 + (1). HCL

The cover-title has date 1879.

1880. La divina commedia, illustrata da G. Doré e dichiarata con note tratte dai migliori commenti per cura di E. CAMERINI. Ed. economica. Milano, *E. Sonzogno*, 1880. f°. pp. 679. *Port.* and 135 *plates*. HCL

- 1880-85. See *English*. The Purgatory, the Paradise, edited with translation and notes by A. J. BUTLER. *Ital. and Eng.*

1883. La divina commedia. Firenze, *G. Barbèra*, 1883. 32°. pp. 604. *Port.* (Collezione diamante.) HCL

pp. 1-4, Dante Alighieri, [by F. Ugolini].

*Portrait*: — Engraving, after the Bargello fresco, restored and reversed.

1883. La divina commedia, [edited by G. BIAGI]. Firenze, *G. C. Sansoni*, 1883. 64°. pp. vi + 531. (Piccola biblioteca italiana.) BM; HCL

1886. I quattro poeti italiani [Dante, Petrarca, Ariosto, Tasso]. Firenze, *G. C. Sansoni*, 1886. 1. 8°. pp. var. HCL

pp. ix-xiv, Vita Dantis, per Leonardum Arretinum.

pp. 1-114, [La divina commedia].

1886. La commedia, col commento inedito di S. TALICE DA RICARDONE pubblicato per cura di V. Promis e di C. Negroni. Torino, *V. Bona*, 1886. f°. pp. xix + 593. BM; CL; PLC

Privately printed, under the patronage of King Humbert. The work was reprinted, with additions, in 1888, (see CUL Catalogue).

1899. *La divina commedia, riveduta nel testo e commentata da G. A. SCARTAZZINI.* 3<sup>a</sup> ed., nuovamente riveduta, corretta e arricchita col Rimario perfezionato e indice dei nomi propri e delle cose notabili. Milano, *U. Hoepli*, 1899 [1898]. sm. 8°. pp. xvi + 1042 + 121. HCL
1899. *See English.* The Paradiso. [Italian text edited by H. OELSNER, with English translation by P. H. WICKSTEED.]

## TRANSLATIONS.

*Danish.*

- Guddommelige Komedie, oversat af C. K. F. MOLBECH. 2<sup>den</sup> Udgave. 4 deel. bd. in 2 v. Kjøbenhavn, *Thieles Bogtrykkeri*, 1865-66. 12°. *Port.* HCL
- i. Inledning. 1865. — ii. Helvede. 1865. — iii. Skaersilden. 1866. — iv. Paradiset. 1866.
- Portrait*: — "Efter en maske tagen over hans lig i Ravenna, 1321. Photo. af J. Wulff."

*Dutch.*

- De goddelijke komedie, in nederlandsche terzinen vertaald met verklaringen en geschiedkundige aantekeningen nopens den dichter door J. BOHL. *Ital. and Dutch.* Haarlem, *W. C. de Graaf*; Amsterdam, *Brinkman en Van der Meulen*, 1876-[85]. 3 v. 8°. *Frontisp.* HCL
- i. De hel. 1876. — ii. Het vagevuur. 1880. — iii. Het paradijs. [1883-85.] The frontispieces are the same as those in the Cornell copy.
- Inferno, [canto i, translated by Prudent van DUYSE]. (*In* Duyse, P. van. Nagelaten gedichten. Deel viii, Vertalingen en navolgingen. Roesselare, 1884. 8°. pp. 182-184.) HCL
- In rhymed couplets. With omissions.

- Divina commedia; metrische vertaling, voorzien van ophelderingen en afbeeldingen door A. S. KOK. Haarlem, *A. C. Kruseman*, 1863-64. 3 v. bd. in 2. 12°. *Port.* and 3 *folded plates.* HCL
- i. De hel. 1863. — ii. De louteringsberg. 1864. — iii. Het paradijs. — Dante Alighieri, zijn tijd en zijn werken. 1864.
- Portrait*: — Engraving. "D. J. Sluyter sculps." Apparently founded on the anonymous portrait of the Paduan edition of 1822, with which it corresponds in the somewhat peculiar character of the expression.
- Plates*: — Plans of hell, purgatory and paradise.

## English.

- The Purgatory, edited with translation and notes by A. J. BUTLER. *Ital.* and *Eng.* London, *Macmillan and Co.*, 1880. 8°. pp. xv + (3) + 458.  
First edition. BM ; BPL ; LCL ; StLPL
- The Paradise, edited with translation and notes by A. J. BUTLER. *Ital.* and *Eng.* London, *Macmillan and Co.*, 1885. 8°. pp. xiii + (2) + 436.  
First edition. BM ; HCL ; LCL ; PPL
- The Vision; or Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise, translated by H. F. CARY. Philadelphia, *Samuel Bradford*, 1822. 2 v. 24°. *Frontisp.* HCL ; UP  
Published as vols. xlv, xlvi of "The works of the English poets," edited by Robert Walsh, Jr. HCL has a second copy with the added imprint "New York, *James Eastburn*; Boston, *Charles Ewer & Timothy Bedlington*," issued as vols. vi, vii of the translated poets in the series.
- [Inf. i, iii, Purg. i and Par. i, translated by A. FORMAN.] (*In* Forman, A., and H. B. Forman. The metre of Dante's Comedy discussed and exemplified. 1878.)
- The Inferno, translated into English blank verse, with notes, historical, classical and explanatory, and a life of the author, by N. HOWARD. London, *J. Murray, etc.*, 1807. 16°. pp. xxiv + 293 + (1).  
pp. v-viii, Preface ; pp. ix-xxiv, Life of Dante. BM ; HCL ; UP
- The Inferno, a translation into English blank verse by J. HUME. London, 1812. 8°. pp. 273. ColUL ; UP
- The divine comedy, translated by H. W. LONGFELLOW. Boston, *Ticknor & Fields*, 1865-67. 3 v. 4°. N  
10 copies privately printed, without the notes or illustrations. The Inferno was issued in commemoration of the sixth centenary of Dante's birth.
- *Same.* London, *G. Routledge and Sons*, 1890. 3 v. 24°. (*Routledge's Pocket library.*) HCL
- *Same.* London, *G. Routledge and Sons*, 1893. sm. 8°. pp. viii + 760. (*Sir John Lubbock's hundred books.* 60.) HCL
- The divine comedy ; a version in the Spenserian stanza by G. MUSGRAVE. Hell. London, *Swan, Sonnenschein & Co., etc.*, 1893. sm. 8°. pp. 229. HCL  
"Provisional edition."
- [— *Same.* Advance sheets. London, 1893. sm. 8°. pp. 234.] HCL

The first canticle, *Inferno*, of the *Divine comedy*, translated by T. W. PARSONS. Boston, *De Vries, Ibarra and Co.*, 1867. 4°. pp. (1) + 216. *Port.* and 75 *plates*. HCL

The portrait and 75 engravings are after Gustave Doré. They are not found in the CUL copy.

The *Inferno*, translated by C. ROGERS. London, *J. Nichols*, 1782. 4°. pp. 135. BM (3 copies); ColUL

Fables; consisting of select parts from Dante, Berni, Chaucer, and Ariosto, imitated in English heroic verse by R. WHARTON. London, *Payne and Mackinlay*, 1804. 2 v. 8°. BA; BM

DANTE. i, pp. 1-9, The entrance of hell, *Inf. iii*; pp. 10-16, The story of Ugolino, *Inf. xxxii, xxxiii* [selections].

A free translation, in verse, of the "*Inferno*," with a preliminary discourse and notes, by A. BRUCE WHYTE. London, *Wright and Co., etc.*, 1859. 8°. pp. xxxi + 158. BM; HCL

With rhyme scheme *ab ab ab cd cd cd*.

The *Paradiso*. [Italian text edited by H. OELSNER, with English prose translation by P. H. WICKSTEED.] London, *Dent & Co.*, 1899. 16°. pp. 418. *Frontisp.* and *diags.* BPL

The Italian text is based on that of Casini. Mr. Wicksteed is responsible for the arguments, while the two editors are jointly responsible for the notes at the end of each canto.

*Frontispiece*: — Reproduction of Botticelli's drawing for *Par. iii. 19-33*.

Dante, translated by I. C. WRIGHT. A new ed., revised and corrected. London, *Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longman*, 1845. 3 v. 16°. *Port.* BM; HCL

*Portrait*: — Engraving. "Seymour Kirkup dissegno. Dante at the age of 25. Painted by Giotto."

Dante, translated into English verse by I. C. WRIGHT. 3<sup>d</sup> ed. London, *Henry G. Bohn*, 1855. sm. 8°. pp. xxiv + 460. *Port.* and 34 *engrs.* BPL

Has also engr. t.-p. with date 1854.

In this and the following editions of Wright's translation the portrait is after Raphael Morghen and the illustrations by Flaxman.

— *Same*. 4<sup>th</sup> ed. London, *Henry G. Bohn*, 1857. sm. 8°. pp. xxiv + 460. *Port.* and 34 *engrs.* HCL

Has also engr. t.-p. with date 1854.

— *Same*. 1861. BPL

— *Same*. 1866. StLPL



The divine comedy, translated into English verse by I. C. WRIGHT. 5<sup>th</sup> ed. London, *G. Bell & Sons*, 1883. 8°. pp. xxiv + 460. *Port.* and 34 *engrs.* HCL

Has also engr. t.-p. without date.

## FRAGMENTS.

Francesca da Rimini, [Inf. v. 115-138, translated by Mrs. M. B. CLARK]. (*In Clark, Mrs. M. B. Mosses from a rolling stone, etc.* Raleigh, (N. C.,) *W. P. Smith & Co.*, 1866. 12°. p. 161.) BPL

Count Ugoline; from the Divina commedia of Dante. [Translated by R. FURMAN.] (*In Furman, Richard. The pleasures of piety, and other poems.* Charleston, (S. C.,) *S. G. Courtenay & Co.*, 1859. 12°. pp. 178-184.) BU

A very free rendering of Inf. xxxiii into rhymed verse.

Francesca da Rimini, [Inf. v. 97 *et seq.*, translated by S. HALL]. [London?] n. d. 16°. pp. 7. UP

"No rule has been observed as to the strict law of metric measure. The only desire has been to reflect, however faintly, the thought and feeling of the original."—p. 4.

Translation from Dante, [Inferno] canto xxxiii, [by Frederick HOWARD, 5<sup>th</sup> earl of Carlisle]. (*In Howard, F., 5<sup>th</sup> earl of Carlisle. Poems, consisting of the following pieces: 1, Ode written upon the death of Mr. Gray, etc.* London, *J. Ridley*, 1773. 4°. pp. 13-17.)

BA; BM; ColUL

Three editions of this work were issued in 1773 (BA has the 1st and 2d eds.); later ones at Dublin in 1781, and London in 1807.

The translation from Dante, covering only the first 75 lines of Inf. xxxiii, is in rhymed couplets. It is also given in "The father's revenge, a tragedy, with other poems by Frederick, earl of Carlisle," London, *W. Bulmer and Co.*, 1800, 4°, pp. 129-136, (BPL), and in the author's "Tragedies and poems," London, *J. Wright*, 1801, 8°, pp. 259-265, (BPL).

Dante's prayer to the Blessed Virgin [Par. xxxiii. 1-36, translated by M. RUSSELL]. (*In Russell, Matthew. Madonna: verses on Our Lady and the saints.* Dublin, *M. H. Gill & Son*, 1880. 16°. pp. 45-46.)

HCL

The translation is in stanzas of three rhymed verses.

[Inferno xiii. 43-75, translated into prose by J. WARTON.] (*In* Warton, Joseph. An essay on the genius and writings of Pope. London, 1806. 8°. Vol. i, pp. 251-252.) BA ; HCL

First ed. published in 1756, but the above translation does not appear in all editions.

"Mr. Richardson was the first that gave an English translation in blank verse of this passage of Dante, in his book entitled a *Discourse on the dignity of the science of a connoisseur*, London, 1719, page 30." — Note by Warton.

See Sulger-Gebing, "Dante in der deutschen Litteratur des xviii. Jahrhunderts," in *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturgeschichte*, 1896, N. F., Bd. x, Heft 1, pp. 32-34, where the writer points out the connection between the above part of Warton's work and an article by Moses Mendelssohn.

#### *French.*

La divine comédie, contenant la description de l'enfer, du purgatoire et du paradis. [Translated into prose by Colbert COMTE D'ESTOUTEVILLE.] Paris, chez Sallior, successeur de Didot jeune, 1796. 3 v. bd. in 1. 8°. HCL

Tome ii and iii are paged continuously.

"È tenuta inesatissima." — Colomb de Batines, i, p. 253.

See also Oelsner, "Dante in Frankreich," 1898, p. 44.

L'enfer, avec les dessins de G. Doré, traduction française de P. A. FIORENTINO, accompagnée du texte italien. *Ital. and French.* Paris, L. Hachette et Cie, 1862. f°. pp. iv + 194. *Port. and 75 plates.* HCL

Le purgatoire, [et Le paradis], avec les dessins de G. Doré, traduction française de P. A. FIORENTINO, accompagnée du texte italien. *Ital. and French.* Paris, L. Hachette et Cie, 1872. f°. pp. 407. 60 *plates.* HCL

The above two vols. are reissues of the edition of 1861-68, entered in the CUL Catalogue.

La comédie : de l'Enfer, du Purgatoire & Paradis, mise en ryme française et commētee par M. B. GRANGIER. [Tom. i.] Paris, chez J. Gesselin, 1597. 12°. HCL

*Contents* : — L'enfer, ov premier cantique de la Comédie de Dante.

Identical, except as to the imprint of the title-page, with the edition of 1596. The portrait of Henry IV is wanting.

La divine comédie, précédée d'une introduction sur la vie, les doctrines et les œuvres du Dante : œuvres posthumes de F. LAMENNAIS, publiées

par E. D. Forgues. *Ital. and French.* Paris, *Paulin et Le Chevalier*, 1855. 3 v. 8°. *Port.* and 3 *plates*. BPL ; HCL

First edition.

*Plates* : — Plans of hell, purgatory and paradise.

*Portrait* : — Woodcut after Raphael Morghen.

[Purg. xxviii, Par. i, translated by M. V. A. THAON.] (*In* Thaon, M. V. A. *Notes philosophiques.* 1854.)

*German.*

Von der Hölle : aus dem Italiänischen übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen begleitet von L. BACHENSCHWANZ. 2<sup>e</sup> Aufl. Leipzig, *auf Kosten des Uebersetzers*, 1767. 8°. pp. xi + 268 + (1). *Port.* HCL

Reissue of the first edition of the same date entered in CUL Catalogue.

Die ersten [vi] Gesänge von Dante's Göttlicher Komödie als Probe einer neuen Uebersetzung von K. WITTE. Halle, *Ed. Heynemann*, 1861. 8°. pp. 32. HCL

*Greek.*

Δάντου Κόλασις. (*In* RANGABÉ, A. R. Ἐπαντα τὰ φιλολογικὰ τοῦ Ῥαγκαβή. Τόμος xii, *Μεταφράσεις.* Ἐν Ἀθήναις, A. Πέρρη, 1885. 8°. pp. 3-180.) HCL

A complete version of the Inferno into modern Greek verse.

*Hungarian.*

A pokol, fordította GARDONYI Geza. A Molnár és Trill Pokol-körképéből vett rajzokkal. Budapest, *Singer és Wolfner*, 1896. 8°. pp. 133. *Port.*, *plates*, and *wdcts.* HCL

In his preface Gardonyi states that the literal translating from the Italian was done by Viktor Gauss, and that he (Gardonyi) then turned the prose rendering into verse.

A pokol, a Divina commedia első része ; prózábá átírta és magyarázta Cs. PAPP József. Kolozsvár, *Gámnán János örököse*, 1896. sm. 8°. pp. vii + 175. *Port.* HCL

*Portrait* : — Woodcut after the Bargello fresco, restored.

A pokol első éneke. — A pokol harmadik éneke. — A pokol ötödik éneke. [Translated by Karoly Szász.] n. p., n. d. 3 pts. bd. in 1 v. 8° and 16°. HCL

Translations of Inf. i, iii, and v, extracted from various publications.

*Italian Dialects: Milanese.*

Della versione dell' Inferno in dialetto milanese, [by C. PORTA]. [Milano, 1821.] 12°. pp. (45). *Port. of the translator.* HCL

Extracted from Porta's "Poesie scritte in dialetto milanese," 1821, tom. i, pp. 171-215.

Canto i, and fragments of ii, iii, v, and vii. Has also the text.

*Polish.*

Komdeyi: pieśń xxv, *Piekło*, przekład Teofila LENARTOWICZA; pieśń ii, *Czysca*, pieśń xxiii, *Raju*, przekład Władysława KULCZYCKIEGO. [Kraków, 1857.] sm. 8°. pp. (18). HCL

"*Czas; dodatek miesięczny*, 1857, tom. v," pp. 89-107.

Zboskiej komedyi, *Piekła*, pieśń v, przekład E. PORĘBOWICZA. [Kraków, 1894.] 8°. pp. (5). HCL

"*Przegląd polski*, 1894, iii," pp. 351-355.

Boska komedyja, przekład A. STANISLAWSKIEGO. Poznań, *J. K. Zupańskiego*, 1870. 8°. pp. (2) + 840. *Port. in title.* HCL

*Russian.*

Божественная комедія; переводъ стихами съ итальянскаго А. П. ФЕДОРОВА, съ объяснительными примѣчаніями и биографическимъ очеркомъ Данте. С. Петербургъ, Тупографія Дома Прубр. Малол. Бѣдн., 1893-94. 3 v. bd. in 1. 8°. HCL

i, Адъ. ii, Чистилище. iii, Рай.

Божественная комедія: Адъ, переводъ П. КАНШИНА. С. Петербургъ, П. П. Сойкина, 1894. 8°. pp. xxiii + 208. HCL

*Spanish.*

La divina comedia, traducida y anotada en vista de sus más célebres comentadores por P. PUIGBÓ. Barcelona, *Juan Oliveres*, 1868. 8°. pp. 413 + (3). 18 *plates*. (Tesoro de autores ilustres.) HCL

An earlier issue than that in the CUL.

*Volapük.*

Kanit balid de Divina commedia, pelovepolöl volapüko fa CATTABENI GUGLIELMO. Torino, *L. Roux e K.*, 1889. 8°. pp. 15. HCL

"Pesezugöl se *Volapükabled talik* in Torino."

pp. 3-9, Prefazione. pp. 11-15, Kanit balid höla de Divina commedia.

The CUL copy has Italian t.-p., and different pagination, although issued in the same year as the above.

## MINOR WORKS.

## DE MONARCHIA.

Dantis Alligherii Monarchia (liber iii,) msstorum ope emendata per C. WITTE. Halis, *formis Hendeliis*, 1871. 4°. pp 50. HCL  
Programme. "Academiæ Fridericianæ halensis."

Dantis Alligherii Monarchia (liber i-iii). n. t.-p. 8°. pp. 144. HCL

Advance sheets of the text from Witte's ed. of 1874, collated by C. E. Norton with the late Sir T. Phillips's codex.

*French.*

La monarchie, traité en trois livres ; première traduction française, avec notice préliminaire, par Sebastien RHEAL. (*In* Cesena, S. GAYET de, called Sebastien Rheal. Le monde dantesque, ou Les papes au moyen âge. 1856. pp. 125-184.)

## DE VULGARI ELOQUENTIA.

De vulgari eloquentia libri dvo. Nunc primùm ad vetusti, & vnici scripti Codicis exemplar editi. Ex libris Corbinelli : Eiusdémque Adnotationibus illustrati. Parisiis, *apud Io. Corbon.*, 1577. 16°. N

The first edition of the Latin text. "L' annotatione" is paged separately.

A copy of this extremely rare book is said by Mr. Toynbee (*Mod. quar. lang. lit.*, i. 298) to be in the Bodleian library.

*French.*

La langue vulgaire, traité des origines et de la poétique de la langue nationale italienne, avec une introduction générale sur le langage humain ; première traduction française, précédée d'une notice. (*In*

Cesena, S. GAYET de, *called* Sebastien Rheal. Le monde dantesque, ou Les papes au moyen âge. 1856. pp. 185-216.)

*Italian.*

Della volgar eloquenza, libri due, tradotti dalla latina nella lingua italiana [by G. G. TRISSINO], ora ristampato à comodo e richiesta de' letterati. Venetia, *presso Girolamo Albrizzi*, 1696 [1697]. f°. pp. (2) + 38. *Vign. in t. p.* HCL

*Appended* (pp. 31-38): — Pistola latina del divino poeta Dante Alighieri, nella quale porge notizie, e dà ragione d' alcune cose, e massimamente dell' ordine e divisione tenuta da esso poeta nella sua Divina commedia al gran Cane de la Scala signor di Verona, &c.

Separately printed from "La galleria di Minerva," 1696-97, tom. i, pp. 35-64, tom. iii, pp. 220-228.

ECLOGAE.

Eclogae. (*In Carmina illustrium poetarum italorum.* Florentiæ, 1719-26. Tom. i, pp. 115-119.) BPL

EPISTOLAE.

\*\*\* The early anonymous Italian translation of the letter to Henry VII is given in Giovanni Villani, "Cronica, per cura d' I. Moutier," 1823, vol. viii. p. lxxv. The original of the letter to the Florentines is given in Jacob Bernays, "Florilegium renascentis latininitatis," [1849], pp. 1-3, and the letter to Can Grande is appended to Trissino's translation of the *De vulgari eloquentia*, 1696, pp. 31-38.

QUAESTIO DE AQUA ET TERRA.

Quistione trattata in Verona il dì 20 gennajo 1320 intorno alla forma del globo terracqueo ed al luogo rispettivamente occupato dall' acqua e dalla terra. Colla traduzione [di F. LONGHENA] a riscontro del testo latino. 4<sup>a</sup> ed. per cura del dottore A. TORRI. *Latin and Ital.* Livorno, *Paolo Vannini*, 1843. 8°. pp. xlv. *Diagrs.* BM; HCL

An edition of 56 copies, separately printed from Torri's edition of Dante's minor works, 1842-50, vol. v.

## RIME.

Incomincia le canzone di dante allighieri poeta fiorentino. *At end*: finite le canzone di dante allighieri poeta fiorētino, mcccclxiii: die 24 marzij. *Manuscript.* sm. 4°. ff. 39. HCL

In the same volume is bound Petrarch's Triumphs, written the same year and finished on Feb. 14th, 49 leaves. Of the 88 leaves in the book, 10 are vellum, the rest paper.

*English.*

What is love? [Sonnet beginning *Amore e 'l cor gentil sono una cosa.*] — Beauty and virtue, [sonnet beginning *Due donne in cima della mente mia.*] [Translated by Mrs. M. B. CLARK.] (*In Clark, Mrs. M. B. Mosses from a rolling stone, etc.* Raleigh, (N. C.,) *W. P. Smith & Co.*, 1866. 12°. p. 158.) BPL

Sonnet from Dante, [beginning *Deh peregrini, che pensosi andate.*] [Translated by Miss] L. I. GUINEY. (*In the Catholic world.* Oct. 1887. Vol. xlvi, p. 31.) BPL; HCL

Beatris. [Vita nuova, canz. iii. 15–28.] [Translated by T. W. PARSONS.] (*In Parsons, T. W. The Willey house, and sonnets.* Cambridge. *John Wilson & Son*, 1875. 12°. p. 27.) HCL

Dante and his circle, with the Italian poets preceding him; a collection of lyrics, edited and translated in the original metres, by D. G. ROSSETTI. Revised and re-arranged ed. Boston, *Roberts Bros.*, 1876. sm. 8°. pp. xxii + (1) + 468. BPL; StLPL; UP

From the plates of the London edition.

Various sonnets, [translated by D. G. ROSSETTI]. — Canzoniere, [translated by C. LYELL]. (*In* [Hitchcock, E. A.] *Notes on the Vita nuova and minor poems of Dante.* 1866. pp. 223–377.)

Dante's praise of Beatrice; [sonnet beginning *Tanto gentile e tanto onesta pare*, translated by M. J. SAVAGE]. (*In* Savage, M. J. *Poems.* Boston, *G. H. Ellis*, 1882. 16°. p. 91.) HCL

A very free rendering, not in the sonnet form.

*French.*

Rimes. — Sonnets, canzones et ballades. Traduction de F. FERTIAULT, précédée d'une étude littéraire et suivie de notes et commentaires par le même. Paris, *Victor Lecou*, 1847. 12°. pp. 324. HCL

## VITA NUOVA.

*English.*

- The Vita nuova, translated with an introduction and notes by T. MARTIN.  
2<sup>d</sup> ed. Edinburgh, etc., W. Blackwood & Sons, 1871. 16°. pp. liv +  
127. UP
- The new life, [translated by D. G. ROSSETTI]. (*In* [Hitchcock, E. A.]  
Notes on the Vita nuova and minor poems of Dante. 1866. pp. 117-201.)

*French.*

- Vita nuova, ou Vie de ses jeunes années écrite par lui-même. Version  
française du chevalier ZÉLONI, précédée d'une notice historique sur sa  
vie, extraite des auteurs du temps les plus accredités, par le même.  
Londres, Doleman, etc., [1844]. 32°. pp. 185. *Frontisp.* HCL
- Frontispiece*: — Engraving. Dante and Beatrice. "Mauduison sc." With  
the subscription: "Guardami ben! ben son, ben son Beatrice."

## SUPPOSITIOUS WORKS.

- Credo che Dante fece quando fu accusato per heretico allo Inquisitore  
essendo lui a Ravenna. [Firenze, 1490?] 4°. ff. (4). BM; UP
- Sonetto attribuito a Dante Allighieri [beginning *Chi guarderà giammai  
senza paura*. Edited by C. GIANNINI. Ferrara, D. Taddei e figli,  
1877.] n. t.-p. 8°. pp. (2). HCL
- "Edizione di 60 esemplari." Per le nozze Orlandi-Contucci.



## PART II. — WORKS ON DANTE.

- Accademia Dante Alighieri, Catania.** Statuto dell' accademia. Fondata in Catania l' anno 1881. Catania, 1882. 32°. pp. 16. HCL
- [**Agoult, Marie Catherine Sophie DE FLAVIGNY, comtesse de.**] Le cap Plouha : dialogues sur Dante et Goethe. [By Daniel Stern, *pseud.*] [Paris, 1864-65.] 5 pts. bd. in 1 v. 8°. HCL
- “*Revue germanique et française*, 1864,” tom. xxviii, pp. 229-270, tom. xxxi, pp. 193-243, 478-507. — “*Revue moderne*, 1865,” tom. xxxiii, pp. 197-226, 452-474.
- Alfieri, Vittorio.** [Sonnet beginning *O gran padre Alighieri, se dal ciel miri*, translated into French by M. V. A. THAON.] (*In* Thaon, M. V. A. Notes philosophiques. 1854.) BPL
- \* \* \* See also **Teza, E.** Il conte Ugolino e Scotta, tramedie ideate da V. Alfieri. 1867.
- Alger, William Rounseville.** Sketches of lonely characters : Dante. (*In his Solitudes of nature and of man ; or, the loneliness of human life.* Boston, 1867 (cop. 1866). 16°. pp. 213-223.) BPL
- *Same.* (*In same.* 1871. pp. 213-223.) StLPL
- *Same.* (*In same.* 11th ed. 1887. pp. 213-223.) BPL
- Alighieri, Pietro DI DANTE.**
- See **Bartoli, A.** Di un importante codice della collezione Ashburnham. [1886.]
- [**Bortolan, D.** Pietro di Dante Allighieri, giudice in Vicenza.] 1886.
- Alunno, Francesco.** Della fabrica del mondo libri dieci ; ne' quali si contengono le voci di Dante, del Petrarca, del Boccaccio, & d' altri buoni authori. Di nuovo ristampati et ricorretti da Borgarutio Borgarucci. Con un nuovo Vocabolario in fine, di tutte quelle voci, che mancavano nella Fabrica, & si leggono in diversi altri authori antichi & moderni ; aggiunto da Thomaso Porcacchi. Venetia, 1584. f°. ff. (34) + 263 + 18. HCL
- Ampère, Jean Jacques Antoine.** In the footsteps of Dante, translated by Emma B. Bates. *Manuscript.* 1889. 4°. ff. (8) + 237 + (3). HCL
- An inedited translation of his “*Voyage dantesque.*”  
 Inserted are a portrait of Dante and some Italian views.

- *Same, German.* Mein Weg in Dante's Fusstapfen. Nach J. J. Ampère bearbeitet von Theodor Hell [*pseud.* of K. G. T. Winkler]. Dresden, etc., 1840. 12°. pp. (2) + 171. HCL
- Antona-Traversi, Camillo.** Gli studi danteschi in Sicilia. [Torino, 1894.]  
Clipping from *Gazzetta letteraria*, 10 nov. 1894, in UP Dante scrap-book, p. 14.
- Applauso** poetico umiliato al principe Luigi Valenti Gonzaga dagli accademici provvidi convittori dello collegio [barberino] in occasione dell'insigne monumento innalzato alle ceneri di Dante Alighieri l' anno MDCCLXXXI. Ravenna, [1781]. 8°. pp. xii. HCL
- [**Atkinson, Mrs. Sarah.**] The Dittamondo [of Fazio degli Uberti]. By a discursive contributor. [Dublin, 1884.] 2 pts. bd. in 1 v. 8°. HCL  
"Irish monthly, Feb., March, 1884, vol. xii," pp. 78-84, 127-141.  
Contains, *inter alia*, "an exhaustive treatment of St. Patrick's Purgatory, as it was known to medieval writers, and the influence which the vision of the Knight Owen, the voyage of St. Brendan, and the vision of Tundale had upon Dante's Divina comedia." (Daniel O'Connor, *St. Patrick's Purgatory*, 1895, p. 92.)
- Bachenschwanz, Lebrecht, translator.** Von der Hölle. 1767. See Part I (D.C. — German).
- Ball, Benjamin West.** The lay of the condemned spirit in Dante. (*In his* Elfin land, and other poems. Boston and Cambridge, 1851. 16°. p. 50.) HCL
- Barbi, Michele.** Dante nel cinquecento. (*In* Annali della R. Scuola normale superiore di Pisa. 1890. Vol. xiii. pp. 1-407 + (2).) BPL  
From the same plates as his separately printed "Della fortuna di Dante nel secolo xvi," 1890.
- Barlow, George.** Dante and Beatrice; [two versions]. (*In his* Poems and sonnets. Pt. i. London, 1871. sm. 8°. pp. 134-136.) HCL  
— *Same.* [2<sup>d</sup> version.] (*In his* A life's love. London, [1873]. sm. 8°. p. 23.) HCL  
— 2 — Tra Beatrice e te è questo muro; [four versions]. (*In his* Poems and sonnets. Pt. iii. London, 1871. sm. 8°. pp. 228-231.) HCL
- Barthélemy, Charles.** Dante fut-il un hérétique et un révolutionnaire? (*In his* Erreurs et mensonges historiques. Série x. Paris, 1879. 12°. pp. 77-115.) BA

**Bartoli, Adolfo.** Di un importante codice della collezione Ashburnham. [Firenze, 1886.]

Clipping from *La nazione*, aprile 2, 1886, in HCL scrap-book, ii, p. 158.

The MS. contains the comment ascribed to Dante's son Pietro.

Reviewed in *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, 1886, vol. vii, p. 312.

— 2 — Il Veltro di Dante. (*In* Morandi, L., *compiler.* Antologia della nostra critica letteraria moderna. Città di Castello, 1893. 8°. pp. 270-273.) HCL

From his "Delle opere di Dante Alighieri," pt. 1, 1887, pp. 209-212.

**Bartolini, Agostino.** Dante e Bonifacio VIII; [poem]. [Roma, 1894.] l. 8°. pp. (4). HCL

**Bassermann, Alfred.** Dantes Spuren in Italien; Wanderungen und Untersuchungen. Kleine Ausgabe. München, etc., [1898]. 8°. pp. xii + (2) + 631. *Folded map.* HCL

pp. iii-vii, Vorwort; pp. viii-xii, Aus dem Vorwort zur grossen Ausgabe.

Reviewed by V. Rossi in *Bulletino della Società dantesca italiana*, luglio, 1899, n. s., vol. vi, pp. 218-219.

**Bastiani, Sante.** Del marchese Moroello Malaspina (Veltro allegorico) in relazione di Dante e della sua cantica. Parma, 1891. 8°. pp. 24. HCL

— 2 — Le due autorità, la filosofica e la imperiale, nei due primi canti del Purgatorio. Napoli, 1867. 8°. pp. 16. HCL

— 3 — La Matelda dell' Allighieri. [Pt. i, Della Matelda secondo la storia.] [Napoli? 1864?] 8°. pp. 8. HCL

The whole is contained in his "La Matelda e lo Stazio della Divina commedia."

**Bates, Mrs. Emma BARSTOW, translator.** See Ampère, J. J. A. In the footsteps of Dante. 1889.

**Belluso, A.** Il passo dello Stige. (*In* La cultura. 5-12 luglio, 1891. N. s., an. i, n. 23-24, pp. 20-22.) BPL

A review of Settimio Cipolla's article on the same subject in *Biblioteca delle scuole italiane*, 1891, nos. 11-13.

**Benson, Eugene.** Dante and Shakespeare. (*In* Appleton's journal. April 27, 1872. Vol. vii, pp. 468-469.) ColUL

**Bergaigne, François.** See Thomas, A. Note sur Fr. Bergaigne, traducteur de Dante. 1892.

- Bernardi, Jacopo.** [Review of] Quadri sinottici per la interpretazione della Divina commedia, colla aggiunta di alcuni schiarimenti, del prof. G. Fioretto, Treviso, 1888. (*In* Atti del R. Istituto veneto. 1889. Serie vi. tom. vii, pp. 603-607.) ColUL; HCL  
 — *Same, separately printed.* [Venezia, 1889.] 8°. pp. 5. HCL  
 Reprinted in *L'Alighieri*, 1889, an. i, pp. 152-155.
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- Bevir, Joseph Lewis.** Colours in Dante. [1894.] 4°. ff. (1) + 16. *Type-written.* HCL  
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 iii. Sulla Vita nuova di Dante Alighieri. pp. 35.  
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- Borghese, Filippo.** Commento originale al conte Ugolino di Dante. [Studio critico. Inf. xxxii e xxxiii.] Taranto, 1883. 16°. pp. 63. HCL
- [**Borghesi, Bartolomeo, conte.** Lettera alla contessa Anetta Serego Alighieri, nata Schio, sullo stemma del divino poeta. Dated Savignano, 9 sett. 1820. Bologna, 1864.] f°. pp. (4). HCL  
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pp. 40-43, Elogium Danthis Algerii. With two engraved plates, (1) of the tomb at Ravenna and (2) of the epitaph by Bernardo Bembo, beginning *Exigua tumuli Dantes hic sorte jacebas.*

**Briano, Giorgio.** Lettere su Firenze. Firenze, 1865. 8°. pp. 21. HCL  
Refers incidentally to Dante.

**Brodie, Erasmus Henry.** Dante. (*In his* *Sonnets*. London, 1885. 16°. pp. 88-89.) HCL

**Brogno, Gioachino.** Postille dantesche. (*In* *Biblioteca delle scuole italiane*. 1 genn. 1899. An. viii, ser. ii, n. 6.)

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**Butti, Attilio.** La chiosa dantesca pubblicata dal prof. Bertana e la obiezione del prof. Fiammazzo. (*In Biblioteca delle scuole classiche italiane.* 1 luglio, 1894. Ser. ii, an. vii, pp. 296-297.) HCL

The article referred to is Bertana's "Per l'interpretazione letterale del verso: 'Chi per lungo silenzio pareo fioco,' Inf. i. 63," which appeared in the *Biblioteca* for Nov. 1, 1893. See CUL Catalogue.

**Byron, George Gordon Noel** BYRON, 6<sup>th</sup> baron. La profezia di Dante. Tradotta in terza rima da L. da Ponte. Nuova Jorca, 1821. 24°. pp. 72. BM; ColUL

The English original and Italian translation are given on opposite pages. There is a prefatory letter to Lord Byron, and a dedication of the book to Miss Julia Livingston. Pp. 63-70 are given up to the translator's notes, while the last two pages of the volume contain a list of subscribers to the book, — very helpful in showing what excellent patronage Da Ponte enjoyed at this time of his life.

— *Same.* 2<sup>a</sup> ed., con note ed aggiunte di varie poesie originali. Nuova Jorca, 1822. 24°. pp. 100. *Port. of Da Ponte.* ColUL; MLUV

Pp. 1-70 are from the plates of the first edition; the remainder of the volume is taken up with additional translations from Byron, a Latin and an English version of the poetical portion of Da Ponte's letter to Byron, together with some original verse.

Carefully reviewed in the *Literary and scientific repository*, 1822, vol. iv, pp. 310-319, by an anonymous writer who knew well both his English and Italian and pointed out a number of liberties taken by the translator. To this was probably due the change of title to "Libera traduzione della profezia di Dante," when printed in Da Ponte's "Memorie," 2<sup>a</sup> ed., 1829-30, vol. iii, part ii, pp. 1-38. The translation and the letter to Byron are reprinted in Da Ponte's "Memorie, compendiate da Jacopo Bernardi, e scritti vari in prosa e poesia," Firenze, 1871, sm. 8°, pp. 243-271.

— [Review of] The prophecy of Dante. [*Anon.*] (*In the Western review and miscellaneous magazine* (Lexington, Ky.). July, 1821. Vol. iv, no. 6, pp. 321-328.) WSHS

With extracts from the poem. The edition reviewed is that of Philadelphia, *M. Carey & Sons*, 1821.

**Camerini, Eugenio**, editor. La divina commedia. 1878; 1880. See Part I (*D.C.*).

**Campani, Annibale**. Postilla dantesca. (*In Il Goliardo*. 16, 30 giugno, 1893. An. i, num. 9, 10.)

In HCL Dante scrap-book, i, p. 93. Lacks all before, viz. num. 5-7.

A discussion with A. Amore on Brunetto Latini.

"Il Campani crede che sia maestro in senso largo; l' Amore, ribadendo l'opinione che aveva accennato in un suo scritto sul Foscolo e il Perez, nel n. 2 del medesimo giornale *Il Goliardo*, vuole che il Latini sia stato un vero e proprio maestro di scuola. Nè l' uno nè l' altro adduce argomenti nuovi." — U. Marchesini, in *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, n. s., vol. i, p. 144.

See also *Giornale dantesco*, 1893, an. i, p. 284.

**Canale, Antonio**. La unità d' Italia non prevista da Dante Alighieri politicamente una e indivisibile nel trattato della Monarchia universale. [Napoli,] 1886. sm. 8°. pp. 147. HCL

**Cantù, Cesare**. Dante. (*In his Della letteratura italiana, esempj e giudizj*. Nuova ed. Torino, 1892-94. 8°. Vol. i, pp. 92-131.) HCL

**Capecelatro, Alfonso**. Dante, Pétrarque et sainte Catherine de Sienne. (*In Almanach catholique de France, pour l'année 1887*. An. viii. Lille, 1887. pp. (4).) HCL

Translated from his "Storia di Caterina da Siena e del papato del suo tempo," lib. v.

**Capetti, Vittorio**. Di una relazione simbolica tra i due monti Ida nel poema dantesco. (*In La biblioteca delle scuole italiane*. 15 genn. 1899. Ser. ii, an. viii, no. 7-8.)

Noticed in *Bullettino della Società dantesca italiana*, giugno, 1899, n. s., vol. vi, pp. 196-197.



— 2 — Perchè Raab sia nel sommo grado della sua spera. (*In* La cultura. 4 dic. 1893. N. s., an. iii, n. 45-46, pp. 342-344.) BPL

**Capovilla, Agostino.** Perchè Dante non è popolare. [Roma, 1895.]

Clipping from *Roma letteraria*, 10 ott. 1895, an. iii, n. 19, in UP Dante scrap-book, p. 25.

**Carbone, Giuseppe.** Breve risposta. (*In* [Zolese, G.] Sopra una variante del canto v. [93] dell' Inferno, nel codice di Stefano Talice da Ricaldone; lettera seconda al canonico G. Carbone. 1887. pp. 29-37.)

**Carducci, Giosuè.** Dante e il secolo xix: della varia fortuna di Dante. (*In* Nuova antologia. 1866-67. Vol. iii, pp. 260-293; vol. iv, pp. 454-479; vol. v, pp. 22-54.) HCL

*Contents:* — Della varia fortuna di Dante. — I primi commentatori e i poeti. — Il Boccaccio e il Petrarca.

Reprinted under the title "Della varia fortuna di Dante," in his "Studi letterari," 1874, 1893.

— 2 — L'opera di Dante; discorso. 2<sup>a</sup> ed. Bologna, 1888. 8°. pp. 62. HCL

A reissue of the first ed. of 1888 in CUL.

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**Carlisle, Frederick Howard,** 5th earl of. See **Howard, F.,** 5th earl of Carlisle.

[**Carlyle on Dante.**] (*In* Arcturus, (New York). 1841. Vol. i, pp. 356-357.) BA

Notes of a lecture given by Thomas Carlyle in May, 1839, in a series of lectures on the revolutions of modern Europe.

**Carollo, Niccolò.** La prescienza del futuro e l'ignoranza del presente ne' dannati di Dante. Trapani, 1897. sm. 8°. pp. 134. HCL

Noticed in *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, 1899, vol. xxxiii, pp. 449-450.

[**Carus, Carl Gustav.** Plan of Dante's Inferno.] Dresden, 1828. 26 × 18½ in., folded in 4° cover. *Lithographed.* HCL

**Cary, Henry Francis,** translator. The Vision; or Hell, Purgatory and Paradise. 1822. See Part I (*D.C. — English*).

**Casini, Tommaso.** Agli amici della verità. Pesaro, 1892. l. 8°. pp. (4). HCL

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- 3 — *Questione letteraria*. [Roma, 1892.]

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- 4 — *Rassegna letteraria: studi danteschi*. (*In Rivista d'Italia*. 15 marzo, 1898. Vol. i, pp. 563-572.) HCL

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- Cavarretta, Giuseppe**. *Virgilio e Dante; confronti critici tra l'Eneide e la Divina commedia*. Terranova, 1896. 8°. pp. 250 + (2). HCL

A later edition of this work was published at Palermo, *Reber*, 1898, pp. 245.

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- Cecchetti, Bartolommeo**. *Le "scaule" veneziane e Dante*. (*In Archivio veneto*. 1885. Tom. xxx, pp. 149-152.) HCL

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- Chiarini, Giuseppe.** Il nuovo monumento a Dante Alighieri in Firenze; lettera a Giosuè Carducci. Torino, 1864. 16°. pp. 30. HCL  
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- Cibrario, (Giovanni Antonio) Luigi, conte.** Les conditions économiques de l'Italie au temps de Dante; traduction de C. de La Varenne. Paris, 1865. 12°. pp. 72. HCL  
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- Cicchitti-Suriani, Filippo.** Nozioni elementari di logica, psicologia, etica, e storia della filosofia; riassunte e dichiarate in tavole. Torino, etc., [1887-88]. obl. 4°. 68 tables. HCL  
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 It is of special interest in that it contains information in regard to the mask of Dante and its history. See C. E. Norton, "On the original portraits of Dante," pp. 12-13.
- Cipolla, Carlo.** Quale opinione Petrarca avesse sul valore letterario di Dante. (*In* Archivio veneto. 1874. Tom. vii, pt. i, pp. 407-425.) HCL  
 \*.\* See also Billia, L. M. Sigieri nella Divina commedia, studio di C. Cipolla. 1887.  
 Scaetta, S. [Review of] Il trattato De monarchia e l'opuscolo De potestate regia et papali di Giovanni da Parigi; memoria di C. Cipolla. [1893.]
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- 2 — Due parole intorno a Dante osservatore. (*In same.* 1898. Vol. lvii, pp. 61-64.)

- 3 — Quattro lettere intorno al Catone di Dante. (*In same.* 1898. Vol. lvi, pp. 1111-1123.)  
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- Cipolla, Settimio.** See **Belluso, A.** Il passo dello Stige. 1891.
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— *translator.* What is love? — Beauty and virtue. 1866. See Part I (*Minor works. — Rime. — English.*)
- Clark, William.** Dante's Divine comedy. (*In the Canadian magazine.* June-Aug., 1899. Vol. xiii, pp. 111-116, 204-209, 337-342.) BPL; HCL
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- Clovio, Giulio.** See **Cozza-Luzi, G.** Il Paradiso dantesco nei quadri miniati e nei bozzetti di Giulio Clovio. 1893.
- Cochin, Henry.** La vie de Dante dans l'histoire et dans la légende. [Conférence du salon bibliographique, 20 mars, 1891.] [Paris, 1891.] 8°. pp. (3). HCL  
"Bulletin de la Société bibliographique, 1891, an. xxii," pp. 167-169.
- Colombo e Dante.** [Roma, 1892.]  
Clipping from *Il bazar*, 21-28 sett. 1892, in HCL scrap-book, ii, p. 163.
- Coluzzi, Gioacchino.** Dante; azione coreografica fantastica in 5 atti e 12 quadri. Napoli, 1883. UP  
Lacks the music by A. Chiti.
- Compagni, Dino.** See **Lungo, I. del.** Protestatio Dini Compagni. [1886.]
- Contesa prima sulle opere dell' antico poeta Dante Alighieri.** [Ferrara, 1779.] sm. 4°. pp. (21). HCL  
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- Corbinelli, Jacopo, publisher.** De vulgari eloquentia. 1577. See Part I (*Minor works. — De vulgari eloquentia.*)
- Cozza-Luzi, Giuseppe.** Il Paradiso dantesco nei quadri miniati e nei bozzetti di Giulio Clovio, pubblicati sugli originali della Biblioteca vaticana. Roma, 1893. 8°. pp. 82. *Frontisp., plate, and wdct.* HCL  
"Queste parole accompagnano la grande edizione in fototipia eseguita dallo stabilimento Danesi in molte tavole che rappresentano tutti i bozzetti e le esecuzioni delle figure che illustrano il Paradiso dantesco. Qui se ne mettono alcune per saggio. Nell' edizione grande il testo fu anche voltato in francese dal ch. E. Feron." — Note on p. 3.

- Cram, Ralph Adams.** Dante in exile; [sonnet]. (*In the New England magazine.* June, 1893. Vol. viii, p. 525.)
- Creighton, Mandell.** Dante. Bangor, Me., *etc.*, July 30, 1881. 12°. pp. 8. (The monograph. 16.) HCL  
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- [**Cutler, E. J.**] Longfellow's Dante. [Boston, 1867.]  
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- [— 2 —] Parsons's Inferno. [Boston, 1867.]  
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- Cuttica, F. S.** Saggio di studi su Dante. [Dissertazione intorno ad un' erronea interpretazione del terzetto: "Tu se' lo mio maestro e 'l mio autore, *etc.*," Inf. i. 85-87.] Torino, 1877. sm. 8°. pp. 48. HCL
- Cuvillier-Fleury, Alfred Auguste.** Dante. (*In his* Nouvelles études historiques et littéraires. Paris, 1855. 12°. pp. 1-18.) BA; HCL
- Dante.** (*In the* Philadelphia album and Ladies' literary portfolio. April 16, 1831. Vol. v, pp. 123-124.) PHS
- Dante.** (*In the* Southern literary messenger. Sept. 1846. Vol. xii, pp. 545-552.) BA; PHS  
A general article, with an excursus upon Dante's place in modern literature, a review of Cary's translation, and a very free original rendering of the Ugolino episode.
- Dante and Ariosto.** (*In* American notes and queries. Jan. 23, 1892. Vol. viii, p. 135.)
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- Dante's political ideal.** (*In the* Church quarterly review. April, 1890. Vol. xxx, pp. 50-78.) BPL; HCL
- Dantier, Alphonse.** Un commentaire inédit de la Divina commedia. (*In* Le Correspondant. 1868. Tom. lxxiv, pp. 1023-1072.) PI  
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- Davidson, Thomas.** The Paradise of Dante; a lecture at the Dante school, April 20, [1892]. (*In the* Parthenon, (Chicago). May 5, 12, 1892. Vol. i, nos. 25, 26.) HCL

- Deutsche Dante-Gesellschaft.** Die Bibliothek des deutschen Dante-Vereines in Dresden. 1<sup>es</sup>-7<sup>es</sup> Verzeichniss der eingegangenen Schriften. [Dresden, 1866-68.] 8°. 7 pts. bd. in 1 v. HCL  
 "Neuer Anzeiger für Bibliographie und Bibliothekwissenschaft, 1866-68."  
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- Dionisi, Giovanni Jacopo, editor.** La divina commedia. 1795. See Part I (D.C.).
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- Donati, Forese.** See **Eusebio, F.** L'amicizia di Dante e di Forese Donati. 1880.
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pp. 8-9, Circolare dantesca.
- Papalardo, V.** Sulla Beatrice svelata di F. Perez; esame critico. (*In Rivista europea; rivista internazionale*. 16 aprile, 1883. Vol. xxxii, pp. 249-271.) HCL  
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**Parsons, Thomas William.** On a bust of Dante. (*In his Poems.* Boston, 1854. 16°. pp. 47-49.) HCL

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— 2 — Ueber Petzholdt's Dante-Bibliographie. (*In Neuer Anzeiger für Bibliographie und Bibliothekwissenschaft.* Nov. 1881. pp. 345-347.)

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**Posocco, Cesare Ugo.** Chiose dantesche [Inf. i. 63; x. 82]. (*In* La biblioteca delle scuole classiche italiane. 15 genn. 1894. An. vi, n. 8, pp. 123-124.) HCL

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**Procaccini, Michele.** Interpretazione di un verso oscuro di Dante, [Inf. v. 123]. Ariano, 1890. 8°. pp. 15. HCL

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*Contents*: — Le rime veneziane di Dante. — Le terzine dell' Arzanà [Inf. xxi. 7 et seq.]. — Storia di Fra Dolcino. — Predizione di Niccolò Orsini. — Genealogia degli Scaligeri. — I viaggi di Dante.

— 2 — Dichiarazione d' alcune canzoni di Dante. [Nizza, 1886.] obl. 4°. HCL

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**Puigbó, Pedro, translator.** La divina comedia. 1868. See Part I (D.C. — *Spanish*).

**Pullen, C. L., and others.** ["Le mani alzò con ambedue le fiche," etc., Inf. xxv. 2–3.] (*In the American notes and queries.* Oct. 13, 1888. Vol. i, p. 287.)

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INDEX OF AUTHORS  
QUOTED BY BENVENUTO DA IMOLA  
IN HIS COMMENTARY ON THE  
*DIVINA COMMEDIA*

*A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF THE  
SOURCES OF THE COMMENTARY*

BY

PAGET TOYNBEE



INDEX OF AUTHORS QUOTED BY BENVENUTO DA  
IMOLA IN HIS COMMENTARY ON THE *DIVINA  
COMMEDIA*: A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY  
OF THE SOURCES OF THE COMMENTARY.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

THE index here printed was compiled originally for the purposes of a paper on Benvenuto da Imola, which was read a year or two ago before the Oxford Dante Society, and which has since been published by the Clarendon Press.<sup>1</sup> The notes and references to the various works quoted were added later, with a view to establish in some measure the sources upon which Benvenuto drew for his material, and incidentally to illustrate the relations in which he stood, as a scholar and humanist, to his two great contemporaries, Petrarch and Boccaccio.

I have not attempted to identify all the references in every case (for instance, to the works of Aristotle, Cicero, Livy, Ovid, Pliny, or Virgil), which would have involved an amount of labour altogether disproportionate to the value of the results; and in the cases where I have attempted to identify the references I have not by any means always succeeded (for example, in the cases of Orosius and Valerius Maximus).<sup>2</sup>

Some of the questions which have arisen in the course of my investigations are of considerable interest. The most important of these, namely, Benvenuto's knowledge of Homer, and the sources whence he derived it, I have dealt with at some length in an article which was published recently in *Romania* (XXIX. 403-415), and which, by kind permission of the directors of that journal, is now reprinted as an appendix to the present paper. Another point of interest is Benvenuto's reference to the lost *De Consiliis*

<sup>1</sup> In *An English Miscellany*, a volume of essays published in commemoration of Dr. F. J. Furnivall's seventy-fifth birthday. Oxford. 1901.

<sup>2</sup> This is in part due to the fact that Benvenuto often quotes very loosely; but I have little doubt that many of the references which I have missed might be identified by the expenditure of rather more time than I have been able to spare for the purpose.

of Cicero, which, if his quotation be actually made at first hand, must have been extant, in part at least, in the second half of the fourteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

To Petrarch, whose acquaintance he made at Bologna in 1364, Benvenuto's references are very frequent, the poet's name being mentioned no less than thirty times. Benvenuto twice (I. 10; IV. 230) records the fact that Petrarch had addressed an epistle to himself, from which he gives extracts. This letter, which was one of the last, if not actually the last, written by Petrarch before his death, was addressed to Benvenuto from Padua in February, 1374, and was written in response to an enquiry from the latter as to whether poetry ought to be included among the liberal arts. Benvenuto's reply, only a portion of which has been preserved, contains an interesting statement regarding his Commentary on the *Divina Commedia*, from which it appears that the first draft at any rate of his *magnum opus* was completed in the year 1373. Writing in the spring of the following year, he mentions this fact, and promises to send a copy of the work to Petrarch:—

‘Scias me anno praeterito extremam manum commentariis meis, quae olim tanto opere efflagitasti, in Dantem praeceptorem meum imposuisse. Mittam ubi fidum fuero nactus nuntium.’<sup>2</sup>

Benvenuto also refers to several of Petrarch's other writings, viz. the *Apologia contra Gallum*, the *Itinerarium Syriacum*, his *Eclogues*,<sup>3</sup> his *Penitential Psalms*, and his famous letter to Boccaccio concerning Dante. To the *Africa*, so far as I am aware, he makes no allusion, nor to the Italian Sonnets, with the exception of the one beginning ‘Dell' empia Babilonia,’ which is glanced at apparently in a passage relating to Avignon (II. 59).

Benvenuto's indebtedness to his ‘venerabilis praeceptor’ Boccaccio is very extensive, much more so than appears on the surface; for while he makes free use of Boccaccio's writings, Boccaccio's name is comparatively seldom mentioned as his authority (except where he derived his information from him by word of mouth). The *Decamerone*, for instance, is drawn upon, sometimes at considerable length, more than a dozen times, yet the book itself is only once named (III. 169). It is significant of the estimate in which works in the vulgar tongue (always excepting the *Divina Commedia*) were held in that age, that in his list of Boccaccio's works (V. 164) Benvenuto does not so much as hint at the existence of the *Decamerone*, though,

<sup>1</sup> See my note in the (London) *Athenaeum*, April 1, 1899.

<sup>2</sup> This letter, the authenticity of which has been impugned in some quarters, was first printed in the 1521 edition of Boccaccio's *Amorosa Visione* in the ‘Apologia di Gieronimo Claricio imolese contro i detrattori della poesia di Messer Giovanni Boccaccio.’

<sup>3</sup> Benvenuto wrote a commentary on Petrarch's *Eclogues*, which was printed at Venice in 1516.



as we have seen, he mentions it elsewhere, and made liberal excerpts from it. In like fashion, as is well known, Petrarch set no great store by his Italian poems, but based his hopes of immortality on his Latin poem *Africa*,<sup>1</sup> which at the present day is only known to the curious few.

Benvenuto's personal relations with Boccaccio must have been of a more or less intimate nature, to judge from the numerous passages in the Commentary in which he speaks of Boccaccio as having furnished him with information. It has been plausibly conjectured, indeed, that Boccaccio at one time was actually Benvenuto's preceptor — at any rate in one sense the latter sat at Boccaccio's feet, for he tells us in the Commentary that he attended part of his revered master's course of lectures on the *Divina Commedia*, which were delivered by him in the church of Santo Stefano in Florence as the first occupant of the newly founded Dante chair (V. 145).

Benvenuto also had relations with Coluccio Salutati, the Florentine secretary, with whom he corresponded, and to whom he was indebted for at least one item of erudition in his Commentary,<sup>2</sup> though Coluccio's name is nowhere mentioned.

The authors quoted by Benvenuto make a very imposing list, the total number being about a hundred and eighty. A considerable proportion of these, however, are quoted at second hand, including all the Greek authors named, it being certain that Benvenuto had hardly the smallest smattering of Greek. Nevertheless, after making due allowance for second-hand quotations, it will be seen that Benvenuto's range of reading was a pretty wide one.<sup>3</sup>

In compiling my index I have confined myself for the most part to the authorities actually named by Benvenuto. These, however, certainly do not cover the whole of the sources upon which he drew. For instance, he undoubtedly made considerable use of the Florentine Chronicle of Giovanni Villani, yet Villani's name is nowhere mentioned in the Commentary. Similarly, it is evident that Benvenuto availed himself of the labours of some of his predecessors, such as Jacopo della Lana, the author of the *Ottimo*

<sup>1</sup> It is an interesting fact that Benvenuto was largely instrumental in preserving the *Africa* from mutilation, if not destruction, at the hands of Petrarch's son-in-law, Francesco da Brossano, shortly after the poet's death. (See my paper on *Benvenuto da Imola and his Commentary on the Divina Commedia* in *An English Miscellany*, pp. 436-461.)

<sup>2</sup> Namely, for the quotation from Sidonius (I. 180). See the index.

<sup>3</sup> Among the more or less "out of the way" authorities (exclusive of classical writers) quoted by him are Walter Map ("Gualterius Anglicus"), Eginhard, Gautier de Lille ("Gallicus ille qui describit Alexandreidam metricè"), the *Pantheon* of Goffredo da Viterbo, Hélinand, the *Poieraticus* of John of Salisbury ("Johannes Anglicus"), Paulus Diaconus, Remigius Antissiodorensis, the *Chronica de Gestis Hispaniae* of Rodriguez of Toledo, and the *Historia Karoli* attributed to Archbishop Turpin.

*Comento*,<sup>1</sup> and others; as well as of such fertile mines of anecdote as the Provençal lives of the Troubadours.<sup>2</sup>

To indicate and identify all these unacknowledged obligations of Benvenuto was beyond the scope of my plan. I have drawn attention to a few of them here and there,<sup>3</sup> but I have left ample gleanings for any one who should follow in my track.

I can only express the hope, in conclusion, that my own work, such as it is, may serve as the groundwork of a more serious attempt on the part of some future worker in the same field. Such an attempt, if conscientiously undertaken, might be made to contribute, among other things, an interesting chapter to the history of humanism in Italy.

It remains for me to acknowledge my indebtedness to the following works, among others, which will be found constantly referred to in my notes, viz. *Studi sulle Opere Latine del Boccaccio* by Attilio Hortis (Trieste, 1879), and *Pétrarque et l'humanisme en Italie* by Pierre de Nolhac (Paris, 1892). I have also availed myself, in a lesser degree, of the *Epistolario di Coluccio Salutati*, in the course of publication under the editorship of F. Novati (Vols. I–III. Rome, 1891–6).

PAGET TOYNBEE.

DORNEY WOOD, BURNHAM, BUCKS,  
ENGLAND. July, 1900.

<sup>1</sup> For example, see the index under ALBUMASAR, ALCABITIUS, and MARTINUS.

<sup>2</sup> For instance, in the accounts of Bertran de Born (II. 377), and of Sordello (III. 177). In the case of the latter Benvenuto appears to have had access to a version which differs from the one now extant.

<sup>3</sup> See, for instance, ALBERTUS MAGNUS, BOCCACCIUS, and VILLANI, in the index.

INDEX OF AUTHORS QUOTED BY BENVENUTO DA  
IMOLA IN HIS COMMENTARY ON THE  
*DIVINA COMMEDIA.*

1. The references are to *volume* and *page* of Vernon and Lacaita's edition of the Commentary (*Benevenuti de Rambaldis de Imola Comentum super Dantis Aldigherii Comoediam, nunc primum integre in lucem editum, sumptibus Guilielmi Warren Vernon, curante Jacobo Philippo Lacaita*), published at Florence in five volumes (large 8vo) in 1887.

2. References to volume and page, or to page alone, *in brackets* [e.g. AESOPUS, (I. 111); (III. 104); BOCCACCIUS, *Decamerone* (I. 95, 167-8, etc.)], indicate that in the passages in question the works quoted are *not named* by Benvenuto.

3. The following *data*, though not strictly within the scope of the index, are supplied as being of general interest in connexion with Benvenuto and his Commentary. The chronological table serves to illustrate the list of contemporary allusions. The first draft of the Commentary was completed in 1373 (see *Introductory Note*), but additions were made to it subsequently. The latest of these which can be dated with certainty is the allusion to the antipope Robert of Geneva (Clement VII.) 'de anno praesenti MCCCLXXIX' (II. 8).

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

Dante Alighieri . . . . . 1265-1321	Boccaccio . . . . . 1313-1375
Petrarca . . . . . 1304-1374	Benvenuto . . . . . circ. 1338-1390 <sup>1</sup>

SOVEREIGNS CONTEMPORARY WITH BENVENUTO.

*Emperors.*

Louis IV. of Bavaria . . . . . 1314-1347	Wenceslas . . . . . 1378-1400
Charles IV. . . . . 1347-1378	

<sup>1</sup> For these dates, see Rossi-Casè, *Di Maestro Benvenuto da Imola*, pp. 20-1, 96 n. 1.

*Popes.*

Benedict XII. . . . .	1334-1341	Gregory XI. . . . .	1370-1378
Clement VI. . . . .	1342-1352	Urban VI. . . . .	1378-1389
Innocent VI. . . . .	1352-1362	(Clement VII. . . . .)	1378-1394)
Urban V. . . . .	1362-1370	Boniface IX. . . . .	1389-1404

*Kings of Aragon.*

Alphonso IV. . . . .	1327-1336	John . . . . .	1386-1396
Peter IV. . . . .	1336-1386		

*Kings of Castile.*

Alphonso XI. . . . .	1312-1350	Henry II. . . . .	1368-1379
Peter the Cruel . . . .	1350-1368	John . . . . .	1379-1390

*Kings of England.*

Edward III. . . . .	1327-1377	Richard II. . . . .	1377-1399
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*Kings of France.*

Philip VI. . . . .	1328-1350	Charles V. . . . .	1364-1380
John . . . . .	1350-1364	Charles VI. . . . .	1380-1422

*Kings of Naples.*

Robert . . . . .	1309-1343	Charles III. . . . .	1382-1386
Joanna . . . . .	1343-1382	Ladislas . . . . .	1386-1414

*Kings of Sicily.*

Peter II. . . . .	1337-1342	Frederick II. . . . .	1355-1377
Louis . . . . .	1342-1355	Mary . . . . .	1377-1402

*Allusions in the Commentary to Contemporary Events.*

The defeat and capture of King John of France by the English (at Poitiers, 19 Sept., 1356), I. 261; II. 55; III. 532; V. 248; the defeat and death of Peter the Cruel of Castile at the hands of his natural brother (Henry, 1368), I. 261; the defence of Pavia against the Visconti by the friar Jacopo Bossolaro, who by his eloquence stirred up the people to resistance (1356-1359), I. 322-3; the coronation of the Emperor Charles IV. at Arles during the reign of Pope Urban V. (4 June, 1365), I. 326; the excesses committed by the foreign mercenaries (English, Germans, Britons,

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*Autobiographical and Personal Details from Benvenuto's Commentary.*

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II. 81; his description of long-haired Greeks, II. 87; his acquaintance with the magical books of Michael Scot and Guido Bonatti, II. 88, 90; his disbelief in the magical powers of Virgil, II. 89; his experience of the demoralizing effect of the Papal Court, II. 96; and of the venality of the treasurer of Urban V. at Avignon, II. 118; and of many corrupt officials whom he could name if he chose, II. 122; the vicar of Urban V.'s legate in Bologna an instance, II. 137; the merciless extortions of such people, which he himself has known of, II. 139; his witness of a woman escaping from a fire, II. 162; his mention of the water mills on the Po, II. 164; his account of the hypocritical preacher, who by his maudlin tears, stimulated by Malmsey wine, extracted large sums from his congregation, where-with he subsequently purchased a fat bishopric, II. 166; his researches as to the history of the Frati Gaudenti, II. 174-5; his information as to certain thieving guilds composed of men of good position, II. 260; his account of the extravagance of the French mode of dress, and lament that French fashions were followed in Italy, II. 409-10; the Paduan who ran amuck and killed his wife and children, II. 418; his selection of Dante as an example to follow, III. 18; his comparison of the Mount of Purgatory to the amphitheatre at Verona, III. 43; his description of the tomb of Virgil, and Mt. Vesuvius, III. 86-7; his experience of the road along the Genoese Riviera, III. 95; his account of San Leo, III. 117; his denunciation of gambling and ignorance of games of chance, III. 167; his experience as a traveller, III. 201 (cf. I. 585-6); his testimony to the loss of caste by a woman who marries a second time, III. 232; his report of criticisms passed upon Giotto's paintings, III. 313; his description of the Campo at Siena, III. 320; his confession that he, like Dante, had been guilty of pride, but not of envy, III. 370; the account given him by a Siense Dantist of the meaning of the word *ammiragli*, III. 371; a reminiscence of his lectures on Dante at Bologna, III. 411; his experience while crossing the Apennines between Bologna and Florence, when he was caught in a fog, III. 453; his account of the three churches dedicated to San Zeno in Verona, III. 490; his disbelief in geomancy and astrology, III. 498; refers to his commentary upon Valerius Maximus, IV. 35 (cf. V. 107); a cure for wine-drinking in the case of a bishop he had known, IV. 70; the triumphal entry of Cardinals into Bologna witnessed by him, IV. 305; his experience of the difficulty of the *Divina Commedia* while lecturing on it at Bologna, IV. 335-6; his ridicule of the theologian who publicly denounced Dante for his ignorance of theology, IV. 339; his story of the unhappy end of a beautiful youth of his acquaintance, IV. 365; his denunciation of the ignorance of a rival commentator upon Valerius Maximus, V. 107 (cf. IV.

35) ; his description of the neglected state of the church of Santo Stefano at Florence, which he observed while attending Boccaccio's lectures on the *Commedia*, V. 145 ; stories of the eccentric lady Cianghella told him by his father, who had been a neighbour of hers at Imola, V. 151 ; his account of the ancient ruins at Orange in Provence, V. 214 ; the immense sums received by ecclesiastics for the absolution of the excommunicate, of which in one case in Romagna he had personal knowledge, V. 227 ; his experience of friendly disputations, V. 266 ; the cardinal of his acquaintance who took his concubine on the crupper of his horse when he went out hunting, V. 289 ; his testimony to the saintly lives led by certain communities of Benedictine monks, especially at Monte Oliveto, V. 301 ; his description of the boat's crew which stopped rowing instantly as one man on hearing the commander's whistle, V. 369.



## INDEX OF AUTHORS QUOTED.

### A

**Accius**,<sup>1</sup> the tragic poet (Lucilius Accius, circ. B.C. 170-100), III. 197<sup>2</sup>; IV. 36.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Accius is mentioned frequently by Macrobius (e.g. *Sat.* VI. i. §§ 55-59), as well as by Cicero and Horace (I. *Sat.* X. 53; II. *Epist.* I. 56; III. 258), whence no doubt Benvenuto's acquaintance with him. — <sup>2</sup> Benvenuto here, following Petrarch (*Rem. utr. Fort.* II. 125), makes Accius a native of Pisaurum (Pesaro), doubtless by a confusion with T. Accius, the Roman knight, mentioned by Cicero (*Brut.* § 78) as 'T. Accius Pisarenensis.' — <sup>3</sup> 'Actius.' Benvenuto's authority here was Macrobius (*Sat.* VI.).

**Actius.** [Accius.]

**Aegidius Romanus**, Egidio Colonna, author of the *De Regimine Principum* (circ. 1245-1316), I. 342.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A reference to Egidio's Italian commentary on Guido Cavalcanti's famous canzone 'Donna mi prega, perch' io voglio dire.'

**Aelius Lampridius**,<sup>1</sup> one of the six 'Scriptores Historiae Augustae,' II. 153,<sup>2</sup> 217,<sup>3</sup> 238,<sup>4</sup> (239),<sup>5</sup> 428.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Supposed to be identical with Aelius Spartianus, the writer's full name being probably Aelius Lampridius Spartianus. — <sup>2</sup> *Vita Alexandri Severi*, §§ 26, 36. — <sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* § 17. — <sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.* § 28. — <sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.* § 17; the same anecdote as before, but without mention of Aelius Lampridius. — <sup>6</sup> From the *Vita Hadriani* (§ 4); Benvenuto here gives Aelius Lampridius as the author of this life, elsewhere (III. 62; as well as in his *Romuleon*, Lib. X. Cap. 1-4) he calls the author Aelius Spartianus, thus confirming the conjecture that the two are in reality one and the same person.

**Aelius Spartianus**,<sup>1</sup> one of the six 'Scriptores Historiae Augustae,' I. 289<sup>2</sup>; III. 62.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Aelius Spartianus is supposed to be identical with Aelius Lampridius, the full name of the writer being probably Aelius Lampridius Spartianus [Aelius Lampridius]. — <sup>2</sup> Benvenuto is mistaken in ascribing to Aelius Spartianus a life of the Emperor Valerianus, whose life was written by Trebellius Pollio. The incident here referred to by Benvenuto, however, does not occur in the life (which is very fragmentary) as it has come down to us, but it is mentioned by Boccaccio in his *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium* (Lib. VIII. *De Valeriano*), and by Benvenuto again in his *Libellus Augustalis*, and in his *Romuleon* (X. 28, where Iulius Capitolinus is wrongly given as the authority). It is possible, therefore, that in the Middle Ages a more complete version of the life of Valerianus in the 'Scriptores Historiae Augustae' was current than the one we now possess. The incident in question, it may be noted, is mentioned both by Orosius (*Hist. adv. Paganos*, VII. 22. § 4) and by Paulus Diaconus (*Hist. Rom.*, IX. § 7). (See *Athenaeum*, March 31, 1900, p. 401.) — <sup>3</sup> Hadrian's letter here referred to does not occur in the life by Aelius Spartianus, as Benvenuto asserts, but in the life of Saturninus by Flavius Vopiscus (§ 8).

**Aeschylus**, Greek tragic poet (B.C. 525-456), IV. 37.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Aeschylus, and the other Greek poets here named, are all mentioned by Macrobius in the *Saturnalia* (e.g. V. 19. §§ 17, 24; 26. § 16; 22. § 12). Boccaccio mentions him, together with Sophocles, Euripides, and Simonides, in his *Comento* (II. 427); he is also mentioned (as 'Aeschylus Pythagoreus poeta'), in connection with his *Prometheus*, in the *De Genealogia Deorum* (IV. 44) Petrarch does not appear to speak of Aeschylus.

**Aesopus**, Aesop the fabulist (circ. B.C. 570), II. 29, 156-7,<sup>1</sup> 556; his *Fables* (I. 111)<sup>2</sup> (grasshopper and ant); (I. 225)<sup>3</sup> (dog and shadow); II. 29<sup>4</sup> (young man and harlot), 156-7<sup>5</sup> (mouse and frog), 556<sup>6</sup> (bat and eagle); (III. 104)<sup>7</sup> (lion and mule); (IV. 411)<sup>8</sup> (wolf and lamb).

<sup>1</sup> 'Aesopus antiquus poeta asianus, qui egregie finxit fabulas multas ad informationem vitae civilis, et graece scripsit magnum opus ex quo defloratus fuit iste parvus libellus quo latini utuntur.'—<sup>2</sup> Cf. Hervieux, *Fabulistes Latins*, II. 152, 232, etc.—<sup>3</sup> Hervieux, II. 133, 160, etc.—<sup>4</sup> 'Sic reste dicebat Thais ad juvenem de quo scribit Aesopus'; the reference is to the fable commonly known as 'Meretrix et Juvenis,' but called 'Thais et Damasius' in the collection of Gualterius Anglicus (Hervieux, II. 341), and not elsewhere.—<sup>5</sup> Apparently after the version of Gualterius Anglicus (Hervieux, II. 317).—<sup>6</sup> Hervieux, II. 215, 240, 338, etc.—<sup>7</sup> Hervieux, II. 272 ('De Vulpe et de Mulo').—<sup>8</sup> Benvenuto gives 'Aristoteles Secundo Rhetoricorum' as the source of this fable.

**Alanus**, Alain de Lille (Alanus de Insulis), author of the *Anti-Claudianus* and *De Planctu Naturae* (early Cent. XII.), I. 177.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Benvenuto here mentions that some mss. read *Alano* for *Lino* in *Inferno* IV. 141; he credits Alain with a commentary on the *Rhetorica Nova* (i.e. the *De Inventione Rhetorica*) of Cicero.

**Albertus Magnus**, Albert of Cologne, styled 'Doctor Universalis' (1193-1280), I. 178, 383, 474, 566, 582; II. 71, 206, 209, 212-13, 215, 231; III. 93, 161, 162, 406; IV. 70, 102, 176, 199, 278, 312, 322, 344; V. 122; his *Liber Methauroorum* (i.e. *De Meteoris*), I. 383, 474; III. 161; (IV. 199); V. 122; his *De Animalibus*, I. 566 (*Anim.* XXII. 1); (II. 131)<sup>1</sup> (*Anim.* XXIII. 1); (II. 150)<sup>2</sup> (*Anim.* XXIII. 1); (II. 205-7)<sup>3</sup> (*Anim.* XXV. 1); (II. 212)<sup>4</sup> (*Anim.* XXIII. 24); II. 215 (*Anim.* XXII. 1); II. 231 (*Anim.* XXV. 1); (II. 242)<sup>5</sup> (*Anim.* XXV. 1); (II. 254)<sup>6</sup> (*Anim.* XXVI.); (II. 269)<sup>7</sup> (*Anim.* XXVI.); (II. 399)<sup>8</sup> (*Anim.* XXVI.); (II. 555)<sup>9</sup> (*Anim.* XXIII.); (III. 232)<sup>10</sup> (*Anim.* XXVI.); (IV. 122)<sup>11</sup> (*Anim.* XXVI.); IV. 344 (*Anim.* XXIV.); his *Libellus de Potentia Daemonis*, III. 162; his *De Proprietatibus Elementorum*, III. 406; his *De Anima*, IV. 102; his *Liber Mineralium*, IV. 278; his *De Coelo et Mundo*, IV. 322.

<sup>1</sup> Most of Benvenuto's information about animals, birds, etc., is derived from the *De Animalibus* of Albertus Magnus, generally without acknowledgment, whole passages being often 'conveyed' verbatim, without a hint of the source from which they were taken. Here he borrows from Albertus on the dolphin.—<sup>2</sup> On the duck.—<sup>3</sup> On serpents.—<sup>4</sup> On the phoenix.—<sup>5</sup> On the lizard ('stellio').—<sup>6</sup> On the snail.—<sup>7</sup> On the fly.—<sup>8</sup> On the ant.—<sup>9</sup> On the bat.—<sup>10</sup> On the viper.—<sup>11</sup> On the ant.

**Albumasar**,<sup>1</sup> Arabian astronomer (Jafar ibn Muhammad Al Balkhi, Abū Mashar, A.D. 805-885), I. 264<sup>2</sup>; III. 147; IV. 349<sup>3</sup>; V. 217; his *Introductorium*, III. 147.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Albumasar is quoted by Dante (Conv. II. 14, ll. 170-4), not, however, directly, but at second-hand from the *De Meteoris* (I. 4. § 9) of Albertus Magnus.—<sup>2</sup> 'Aemulus Ptolomaei.'—<sup>3</sup> This reference is borrowed from the commentary of Jacopo della Lana (Vol. III. p. 37).—<sup>4</sup> The full title of the work is *Introductorium in Astronomiam*.

**Alcabitius**,<sup>1</sup> Arabian astronomer (Abd al Aziz ibn Uthman, Al-Kabisi) (fl. circ. 950), IV. 349<sup>2</sup>; V. 217.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> An astronomical work of Alcabitius was translated into Latin in Cent. XII. by Gerardus Cremonensis, and in Cent. XIII. by Johannes Hispalensis (the translator of Alfraganus) under the

title of *Liber isagogicus de planetarum conjunctionibus* (printed at Bologna in 1473, and three times reprinted in Cent. XV.). —<sup>2</sup> The name has been misread or misprinted as *Altabicius*. The reference here is borrowed from the 'Ottimo Comento' (Vol. III, p. 41) or from the commentary of Jacopo della Lana of Bologna (Vol. III, p. 37), by whom Alchabitus is frequently quoted under the name of *Alcabizio* or *Alcabiz* (e.g. II. 365; III. 8, 37, 280, 316, 329). —<sup>3</sup> Alchabitus.<sup>1</sup>

**Alcaeus**, Greek lyric poet (fl. circ. B.C. 600), IV. 37.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Alcaeus and the other Greek poets here named are all mentioned by Macrobius in the *Saturnalia* (e.g. V. 20. § 12).

**Alchabitus**. [*Alcabitius*.]

**Alcuinus**, Alcuin (circ. 735–804), Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical writer, and instructor of Charlemagne, V. 213.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Nutritor Caroli Magni.'

**Alexander**, Alexander Aphrodisiensis (i.e. of Aphrodisias in Caria), celebrated commentator on Aristotle (fl. circ. A.D. 200), IV. 102.

**Algazel**, Moslem theologian, usually described as Arabian philosopher (Muhammad ibn Muhammad, Zain Al-Din Abu Hamid, Al-Ghazzali, 1058–1111), IV. 108.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Imitator Avicennae.' For 'Algazelem' here the editors read 'Algazelem.'

**Altabicius**. [*Alcabitius*.]

**Ambrosius**, St. Ambrose, father of the Church (A.D. 334–397), I. 207; III. 78, 220, 222, 273, 291; IV. 14; V. 43, 44–5, 227; his *Exameron*, I. 207; his hymn 'Te lucis ante terminum,' III. 220; the hymn 'Te Deum laudamus,'<sup>1</sup> III. 273.

<sup>1</sup> The authorship of this hymn is mistakenly attributed to St. Ambrose.

**Anaxagoras**, Greek philosopher (B.C. 500–428), III. 172<sup>1</sup>; IV. 306; V. 107.

<sup>1</sup> The story here told comes from Valerius Maximus (*Mem.* V. 10. Ext. 3).

**Anaximander**, Greek philosopher (circ. B.C. 610–547), V. 107.

**Anaximenes**, Greek philosopher (fl. circ. B.C. 544), V. 107.

**Apuleius**,<sup>1</sup> author of the *Asinus Aureus* (Lucius Apuleius, born circ. A.D. 114), I. 170<sup>2</sup>; III. 380<sup>3</sup>; IV. 62.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Benvenuto appears to have possessed a ms. of Apuleius (now in the Vatican library), and to have annotated it. Nolhac in *La Bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini* (p. 192) says: 'Le célèbre commentateur de Dante à Bologne, Benvenuto Rambaldi, d'Imola, aurait, suivant Orsini, annoté un Apulée complet du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, le 3384 <M.L. 102>. Outre les marges qui contiennent des scholies et des leçons, les gardes ont des notes de deux mains distinctes; l'une d'elles serait celle de Benvenuto, d'après une tradition, qu'il ne m'a pas été possible de contrôler.' Petrarch also possessed and annotated a ms. of Apuleius (see Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*, pp. 296–7). —<sup>2</sup> A reference, apparently, to the *De dogmate Platonis*. —<sup>3</sup> References to the *Asinus Aureus*.

**Arator**, Christian poet (d. 556), III. 145, 417<sup>1</sup>; IV. 230, 307.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In these two passages Benvenuto quotes lines from Arator's poems. —<sup>2</sup> Benvenuto in these two passages evidently had in mind what Boccaccio says in the *De Genealogia Deorum* (XIV. 22).

**Archita**, Archytas, philosopher and mathematician of Tarentum (fl. circ. B.C. 400), III. 197,<sup>1</sup> 426.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cicero, *De Senectute*, § 12; Valerius Maximus, *Mem.* IV. 1. Ext. 1; VIII. 7. Ext. 3. —<sup>2</sup> Valerius Maximus, *Mem.* IV. 1. Ext. 2.

**Aristophanes**, Greek comic poet (circ. B.C. 444-380); 'antiquus comicus,' IV. 37.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Aristophanes and the other Greek poets here named are all mentioned by Macrobius in the *Saturnalia* (e.g. V. 18. § 5; 20. § 13). Benvenuto's description of him as 'antiquus comicus' is evidently borrowed from Macrobius, who speaks of him as 'vetus comicus' (V. 18. § 5). Neither Petrarch nor Boccaccio appears to have known anything of Aristophanes.

**Aristoteles**, Aristotle, Greek philosopher (B.C. 384-322), I. 7, 8, 10, 23, 26, 27, 34, 39, 53, 106, 159, 170, 171, 186, 261, 281, 293, 374, 375, 406; III. 4, 61, 75, 77, 91, 92, 93, 190, 197, 276, 311, 323, 405, 434, 481, 485, 500, 539; IV. 14, 17, 36, 57, 102, 103, 117, 275, 296, 307, 322, 324, 338, 342, 346, 357, 382, 391, 395, 396, 411, 415, 499; V. 28, 29, 40, 52, 80, 99, 104, 133, 188, 266, 277, 374, 376, 398, 409, 435, 436, 459, 468, 492, 520; 'Philosophus,' I. 1, 9, 22, 23, 25, 26, 38, 49 (n.), 50, 84, 91, 101, 105, 126, 154, 162, 171, 173, 218, 245, 252, 261, 262, 268, 311, 373, 379, 487, 582; II. 156, 163, 192, 402, 432, 463; III. 1, 19, 30, 75, 84, 89, 120, 132, 137, 142, 147, 153, 161, 190, 243, 278, 279, 307, 308, 420, 427, 436, 437, 440, 464, 481; IV. 28, 68, 200, 295, 306, 339, 474; V. 52, 104, 107, 122, 155, 167, 172, 187, 374, 377, 400, 426, 466, 494, 507, 510; his *De Anima*, I. 27; *De Animalibus*,<sup>1</sup> IV. 104; *De Bona Fortuna*,<sup>2</sup> I. 91, 261; *De Causis*,<sup>3</sup> V. 375; *De Coelo et Mundo*,<sup>4</sup> IV. 322, 382; V. 104; *De Generatione*, I. 171; *De Generatione Animalium*, IV. 296; *De Generatione et Corruptione*, V. 28 (n.); *De Intellectu*, IV. 103; *De Natura Animalium*, V. 468; *Ethica*, I. 22, 34, 49 (n.), 50, 84, 170, 218, 252, 268, 373, 379; III. 120, 132, 276, 279, 323, 481; IV. 69, 391; V. 52, 80, 99, 147, 266, 374, 375, 377, 398, 510; *Libri Morales*, II. 156; *Libri Naturales*,<sup>5</sup> V. 107; *Magna Moralia*, V. 510; *Metaphysica*, IV. 398; V. 375; *Methaura*, II. 192; III. 147, 161; IV. 295; V. 122, 409; *Physica*, I. 171, 262, 377, 391; II. 403; V. 107, 400, 427, 466, 493, 494; *Poëtria*, I. 1, 7, 8, 9, 106, 293; III. 1, 4; IV. 275, 307; V. 459; *Politica*, I. 23, 105, 173, 186, 487; II. 433, 463; III. 30, 75, 137, 190, 437, 440, 539; IV. 117, 474; *Posteriora (Analytica)*, IV. 346; *Priora (Analytica)*, V. 104; *Problemata*, III. 61, 75, 77, 84, 405, 500; V. 277; *Rhetorica*, I. 25, 26, 39, 173, 245; III. 190, 307, 308, 420, 427; IV. 17, 411; V. 510; *Secreta Secretorum*,<sup>6</sup> V. 188.

<sup>1</sup> Benvenuto here quotes the sixteenth book of the *De Animalibus*. The quotation comes actually from the second book of the *De Generatione Animalium*. On the composition of the collection of Aristotelian books quoted by mediaeval writers under the title *De Animalibus*, see my note in *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana* (Vol. XXXIV. p. 273). — <sup>2</sup> The so-called Aristotelian *Libellus de Bona Fortuna*, three times quoted by Benvenuto, appears to have been an extract from the second book of the *Magna Moralia*, in which (Cap. 9) all three of Benvenuto's quotations occur. I am indebted for the identification of these passages to Prof. J. A. Stewart, of Christ Church, Oxford, who, further, points out that Dante's quotation in the *Convivio* (IV. 11, ll. 83-5), which Dr. Moore failed to identify (*Studies*, I. 153), and which Mazzucchelli (through a collection of *Adagio*) traces to the *De Bona Fortuna*, comes from the same source. The *De Bona Fortuna* was printed at Cologne in the same volume with the *De Pomo et Morte*, and other supposititious works of Aristotle in Cent. XV. (1475?). — <sup>3</sup> The *De Causis*, which was commonly attributed to Aristotle in the Middle Ages, was ascribed by Albertus Magnus to one David the Jew. St. Thomas Aquinas identified portions of it as extracts from the *Elevatio Theologica* of Proclus, upon whose work it was probably based (see the article *De Causis* in my *Dante Dictionary*). — <sup>4</sup> That is, the Aristotelian *De Coelo*. (On the title *De Coelo et Mundo*, see the article *De Coelo* in my *Dante Dictionary*.) — <sup>5</sup> That is, the physical treatises, comprising the *Physica*, *De Coelo*, *De Generatione et Corruptione*, *Meteora*, *De Partibus Animalium*, *De Anima*, *Parva Naturalia*, *De Incessu Animalium*,

*De Generatione Animalium*, and *De Animalibus*. —<sup>6</sup> A treatise, attributed to Aristotle, which was very popular in the Middle Ages, and was translated into nearly every European language. (See Jourdain, *Traductions latines d'Aristote*, p. 185.)

**Athanasius**, Archbishop of Alexandria (circ. 296–373), III. 78.

**Augustinus**, St. Augustine (Aurelius Augustinus, 354–430), I. 10, 25, 28, 33, 34, 36, 48, 55, 69, 77, 82, 90, 97, 105, 106, 145, 166, 170, 172, 177, 179, 198, 210, 214, 262, 328, 407, 463; II. 251, 399, 467, 473, 484; III. 16, 17, 29, 31, 34, 36, 45, 48, 61, 62, 71, 78, 83, 90, 91, 92, 142, 149, 162, 191, 222, 251, 297, 298, 300, 301, 303, 328, 339, 340, 380, 395, 398, 414, 415, 435, 436, 485; IV. 3, 15, 56, 95, 105, 106, 124, 130, 140, 213, 254, 257, 259, 262, 284, 292, 294, 307, 319, 320, 328, 329, 331, 337, 372, 387, 402, 413, 426, 446, 464, 468, 471; V. 43, 44, 46, 99, 167, 221, 227, 232, 241,<sup>1</sup> 321, 374, 375, 377, 384, 392, 394, 419, 487, 489, 494, 517, 523; his *De Civitate Dei*, I. 10, 48, 55, 69, 77, 82, 105, 166, 172, 177, 179, 198, 210, 262, 463; II. 251, 399, 467, 473, 484; III. 16, 17, 29, 31,<sup>2</sup> 34, 36, 48, 61, 142, 222, 251, 328, 340, 395, 414, 415, 435, 436; IV. 95, 213, 257, 292, 294, 320, 372, 426, 446; V. 44, 232, 321, 375, 394, 489, 517; *Liber Confessionum*, III. 78; IV. 56; *De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio*, I. 97; (*De Haeresibus*, I. 328); *De Doctrina Christiana*, IV. 387, 413; *Sermones*, III. 45; *Contra Faustum*,<sup>3</sup> IV. 259; *Enchiridion*,<sup>4</sup> IV. 329; *De Fide ad Petrum*,<sup>5</sup> IV. 464.

<sup>1</sup> Augustinus scripsit ultra mille volumina, ita ut aetas hominis non sufficiat ad legendum quantum scripsit. —<sup>2</sup> *Theobrotto* here is a misreading for *Cleombrotto*. —<sup>3</sup> *Contra Faustum Manichaeum libri triginta*. —<sup>4</sup> *Enchiridion de Fide, Spe, et Charitate, liber unus*. —<sup>5</sup> *De Fide ad Petrum, sive de Regula Verae Fidei, liber unus*.

**Aulus Gellius**,<sup>1</sup> Latin grammarian, author of the *Noctes Atticae* (circ. A.D. 117–180), III. 20, 330; IV. 35; his *liber Noctium Atticarum*, III. 20 (*N.A.* XIII. 20); III. 330 (*N.A.* XX. 7. § 2); IV. 35 (*N.A.* III. 3. §§ 1–14); (IV. 261)<sup>2</sup> (*N.A.* VII. 3); (V. 385)<sup>3</sup> (*N.A.* I. 10. § 4).

<sup>1</sup> Always referred to by Benvenuto as *A. Gellius*, as he is by Petrarch, except in two instances (*Fam.* III. 18; IV. 15), where the form *Aulus Gellius* is perhaps due to the editors. From a letter of Coluccio Salutati (who writes *Agellius*) to Benvenuto, written from Florence on May 22, 1375 (at which time Benvenuto was lecturing on the *Divina Commedia* at Bologna, as we know from his own words in the Commentary: 'In MCCCCLXXV, dum essem Bononiae, ad legerem librum istum,' I. 523), we learn that there was a ms. of Aulus Gellius in Bologna in the possession of the heirs of Giovanni Calderini: — 'Vale felix, et petita de Agellio cum presentibus accipe. Attamen quod audivi et credo non ignores, totus Agellius Bononie est apud heredes domini Johannis Calderini. Inde querito ut videas et scias an mihi fuerint vera suggesta. Et quantus est ille liber rescribito.' (*Epistolario di Coluccio Salutati*, ed. F. Novali, I. 201–4.) This may have been the ms. of which Benvenuto made use. —<sup>2</sup> *Regulus and the serpent*. —<sup>3</sup> *Cæsar's De Analogis*.

**Ausonius**, Roman poet (Decimus Magnus Ausonius, fl. circ. A.D. 350), IV. 481.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ausonius was born at Bordeaux (Burdigala), hence Benvenuto speaks of him as 'poeta gallicus.' His works were known to Petrarch (who possessed a ms. of them) and to Boccaccio (see Nollac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*, pp. 170–2). Benvenuto's reference appears to have been taken from the *De Genealogia Deorum* (IX. 4) of the latter.

**Averroës.** [Averroïs.]

**Averroïs**, Averrhoes, Arabian philosopher and commentator on Aristotle (Muhammad ibn Ahmad, Ibn-Roschd, circ. 1120-1200), I. 7,<sup>1</sup> 8,<sup>1</sup> 10,<sup>1</sup> 181, 182; II. 68<sup>2</sup>; III. 91, 93,<sup>1,2</sup> 311; IV. 96, 101, 102, 103, 104, 275, 291; V. 40, 436; his *Colligeth*,<sup>3</sup> I. 182<sup>4</sup>; IV. 101,<sup>5</sup> 291.

<sup>1</sup> 'Averroïs commentator.'—<sup>2</sup> 'Averroës.'—<sup>3</sup> *Colligeth*, i.e. *Kitâb al Kollijât*, or *Universalis de Medicina*, one of the books prescribed in the medical curriculum at Bologna. (See Rashdall, *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, I. 247-8.)—<sup>4</sup> 'Liber in medicina qui dicitur *Colligeth*.'—<sup>5</sup> 'In secundo *Colligeth*.'

**Avicenna**, Arabian philosopher and physician (Husain ibn Abd Allah, Ibn-Sina, 980-1037), I. 222; II. 206<sup>1</sup>; III. 91, 131, 232,<sup>2</sup> 367; IV. 94, 108, 318, 499; V. 351, 521.

<sup>1</sup> From the *Liber Canonis* (IV. Fen. VI., Tract. III. Cap. 38), at secondhand from Albertus Magnus, *De Animalibus*, XXV. 1.—<sup>2</sup> From the *Liber Canonis* (IV. Fen. VI., Tract. III. Cap. 32), at secondhand from Albertus Magnus, *De Animalibus*, XXVI.

**B**

[**Bartholomaeus Anglicus**], sometimes also called Bartholomaeus de Glanvilla, author of an encyclopaedic work commonly known as *De Proprietatibus Rerum*<sup>1</sup> (written circ. 1250), which apparently is the work quoted under that title by Benvenuto, III. 80.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Fra Salimbene of Parma in his chronicle, speaking of elephants, says: 'Horum animalium naturam et proprietates frater Bartholomaeus anglicus ex ordine Minorum in libro, quem *De Proprietatibus Rerum* fecit, sufficienter exposuit' (p. 48, ed. 1857).—<sup>2</sup> I have not been able to identify this reference.

**Beda**, the Venerable Bede, Anglo-Saxon historian and theologian (circ. 673-735), V. 46.

**Bernardus**, St. Bernard of Clairvaux (1091-1153), I. 256; III. 145<sup>1</sup>; IV. 206; V. 51, 290,<sup>2</sup> 293.

<sup>1</sup> 'Devotus Bernardus.'—<sup>2</sup> 'Beatus Bernardus.'

**Boccaccius**, -acius, -atius, Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-1375), I. 227; III. 312, 376, 392; IV. 221; V. 191; 'B. de Certaldo,' I. 35, 79, 124, 339, 461, 509, 514, 515; III. 169, 171, 265, 341, 389, 536; V. 145, 164, 301; 'suavissimus B. de C.,' I. 35; 'venerabilis praeceptor meus B. de C.,' I. 79; V. 145, 164, 301; 'vir suavis eloquentiae B. de C.,' I. 124; 'poeta Florentinus B.,' I. 227; III. 312; 'modernus poeta B. de C.,' I. 509; 'vir placidissimus B. de C.,' III. 169; 'bonus B. de C.,' III. 171; 'B. de C. placidissimus hominum,' III. 265; 'B. de C. vir humillimus hominum,' III. 341; 'vir famosus B.,' III. 376; 'B. curiosus inquisitor omnium delectabilium historiarum,' III. 392; his anecdote of the Florentine boys and the *lonza* (leopard), I. 35; Petrarca's letter to him concerning Dante, I. 79; his tale of Abraham the Jew and Giannotto di Civignì (*Decam.* I. 2), I. 95-6; his anecdote of Saladin (*Decam.* X. 9), I. 167-8; his story of the groom who loved a queen (*Decam.* III. 2), I. 210-11;

testifies to the gluttony of the Florentines, I. 227; his tale of Biondello and Ciaccio (*Decam.* IX. 8), I. 284-7; his anecdote of the Florentine boys and the statue of Mars, I. 461; his account of the rocks of Fiesole (*De Montibus*, fol. 413, ed. 1532), I. 509; his tale of Guglielmo Borsiere and Erminio de' Grimaldi (*Decam.* I. 8), I. 546; his account of how Hannibal lost his eye owing to the floods of the Arno (*De Fluminibus*, fol. 443), I. 514; his description of lake Avernus, and of the casting up of dead fish witnessed by him (*De Lacubus*, fol. 438), I. 124; his tale of Ghino di Tacco and the Abbot of Clugny (*Decam.* X. 2), III. 169; his story of the fortitude of Marzucco, III. 171; his tale of Ser Ciappelletto and the monk (*Decam.* I. 1), III. 265; V. 262; his account of Giotti's marvellous talent as an artist (*Decam.* VI. 5), III. 312; his anecdote of Guido Cavalcanti and Betto Brunelleschi (*Decam.* VI. 9), III. 314; his account of the Arno (*De Fluminibus*, fol. 443), III. 376; his tale of Lizio da Valbona and his daughter Caterina (*Decam.* V. 4), III. 388-9; his tale of Nastagio degli Onesti and the daughter of Paolo Traversaro (*Decam.* V. 8), III. 392; his account (derived from his father who had been an eye-witness) of the execution of the Templars (*De Casibus*, IX.), III. 536; his account of the siege of Jerusalem (*De Casibus*, VII.), IV. 12-13; his tale of Charles of Anjou and the two Neapolitan maidens (*Decam.* X. 6), IV. 382; his lectures on the D.C. in the Church of San Stefano at Florence, V. 145; his residence at Certaldo, and Latin works, V. 164; his account of his visit to the library at Monte Cassino, V. 301-2; the ingratitude of Florence to him, V. 191; his *Vita di Dante*,<sup>1</sup> I. 339, 515; IV. 222; (I. 13 ff., 76, 79; III. 455; IV. 210-11; V. 462, 464); his *Decamerone*,<sup>2</sup> III. 169<sup>3</sup>; (I. 95,<sup>4</sup> 167-8,<sup>5</sup> 210,<sup>6</sup> 284,<sup>7</sup> 546<sup>8</sup>; III. 265,<sup>9</sup> 312,<sup>10</sup> 314,<sup>11</sup> 388-9,<sup>12</sup> 392<sup>13</sup>; IV. 382<sup>14</sup>; V. 262<sup>15</sup>); his *De Montibus*, *Sylvis*, *Fontibus*, etc., I. 124,<sup>16</sup> 514<sup>17</sup>; V. 164<sup>18</sup>; (I. 509<sup>19</sup>; III. 376<sup>20</sup>; IV. 488<sup>21</sup>); his *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium*, III. 341; V. 164; (I. 289<sup>22</sup>; IV. 12-13<sup>23</sup>); his *De Genealogiis Deorum*, V. 164; (II. 286<sup>24</sup>); his *De Mulieribus Claris*, V. 164; (IV. 32<sup>25</sup>); his *Bucolica*, V. 164.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Called by Benvenuto 'libellus de vita et moribus Dantis.'—<sup>2</sup> 'Liber qui dicitur Decameron.'—<sup>3</sup> *Giorn.* X. Nov. 2.—<sup>4</sup> *Giorn.* I. Nov. 2 (Zanothus).—<sup>5</sup> *Giorn.* X. Nov. 9 (Saladinus).—<sup>6</sup> *Giorn.* III. Nov. 2 ('Quot milia,' etc.).—<sup>7</sup> *Giorn.* IX. Nov. 8 (Blondellus).—<sup>8</sup> *Giorn.* I. Nov. 8 (Guiglielmus Bursierus).—<sup>9</sup> *Giorn.* I. Nov. 1 (Capellectus de Burgundia).—<sup>10</sup> *Giorn.* VI. Nov. 5 (Giottus).—<sup>11</sup> *Giorn.* VI. Nov. 9 (Guido de Cavalcantibus).—<sup>12</sup> *Giorn.* V. Nov. 4 (Licius de Valbona).—<sup>13</sup> *Giorn.* V. Nov. 8 (Anastasius de Honestis).—<sup>14</sup> *Giorn.* X. Nov. 6 (Carolus rex Siciliae).—<sup>15</sup> *Giorn.* I. Nov. 1 (Zapelectus de Burgundia).—<sup>16</sup> From *Liber de Lacubus* (fol. 438, ed. 1532); Benvenuto refers to the *Liber de Fluminibus*.—<sup>17</sup> From *De Fluminibus* (fol. 443), quoted by Benvenuto as *Liber de Montibus et Fluminibus*.—<sup>18</sup> 'Liber de Fluminibus,' here, as elsewhere (I. 124), used to indicate Boccaccio's collection of geographical books, commonly known as 'Liber de Montibus, Sylvis, Fontibus, Lacubus, Fluminibus, Stagnis seu Paludibus, de Nominibus Mariæ.'—<sup>19</sup> (Lapides Faesularum) *De Fluminibus* (fol. 413).—<sup>20</sup> (Ancisa) *De Fluminibus* (fol. 443).—<sup>21</sup> (Sorgia) *De Fluminibus* (fol. 435-6).—<sup>22</sup> (Valerianus) *De Casibus*, VIII.—<sup>23</sup> (Nero) *De Casibus*, VII.—<sup>24</sup> (Homerus in Odyssea) *De Geneal. Deor.*, IV. 14; XI. 40. Benvenuto undoubtedly made considerable use of this work; several instances of his indebtedness are pointed out in the course of the notes to this index.—<sup>25</sup> (Proba) *De Mulieribus Claris*, XCV.—<sup>26</sup> Benvenuto, at this reference, gives a list of Boccaccio's works; it is noticeable that only his Latin works are mentioned, there being no hint even of his many works in Italian. Elsewhere the *Vita di Dante* (I. 339, 515; IV. 222) and *Decamerone* (III. 169) are named.

**Boëtius**, Roman philosopher (Anicius Manlius Torquatus Severinus Boëtius, circ. A.D. 475-525), I. 27, 34, 156, 175, 186, 262, 264, 265, 290, 362, 441; II. 364, 468, 471; III. 76, 153, 175, 311, 436, 437, 522; IV. 156, 230, 283, 294, 321, 322, 336, 373, 389; V. 20, 45, 50, 80, 139; 'Boëtius christianissimus,' IV. 389; 'iste Boëtius totum scibile scivit,' V. 45; his *De Consolatione*,<sup>1</sup> I. 156; IV. 283; V. 80; *De Musica*, III. 76; IV. 321; *De Unitate et Uno*,<sup>2</sup> IV. 294; *Quomodo Trinitas unus Deus*,<sup>3</sup> IV. 336; *De Regulis Fidei*,<sup>4</sup> IV. 373.

<sup>1</sup> Though only named these three times (not in all the mss.) this treatise is repeatedly quoted by Benvenuto. — <sup>2</sup> The authenticity of this treatise is questioned. — <sup>3</sup> Otherwise known as *De Sancta Trinitate*; it is probably not by Boëtius, but Petrarch believed in its authenticity (*Sen.* V. 1). — <sup>4</sup> Otherwise *De Fide Catholica*; probably not by Boëtius.

**Bonatti, Guido.** [Guido Bonatti.]

**Brunettus Latinus**, Brunetto Latino of Florence, author of the *Trésor* (circ. 1210-1294), I. 165,<sup>1</sup> 526<sup>2</sup>; (II. 151)<sup>3</sup>; IV. 176<sup>4</sup> (*Trésor*, pp. 105, 108); V. 166<sup>5</sup> (*Trésor*, pp. 89 ff.).

<sup>1</sup> The statement here attributed to Brunetto by Benvenuto, viz. that Lucretia was the daughter or wife of Brutus, does not appear in the *Trésor*. — <sup>2</sup> An account of the contents of the *Trésor*. — <sup>3</sup> An account of the various kinds of hawks, taken from the *Trésor* (I. 149) but without mention of Brunetto. — <sup>4</sup> 'Brunettus Latinus qui nescivit philosophiam.' — <sup>5</sup> 'Brunettus Latinus in suo Thesaurō.'

## C

**Cæsar, Julius.** [Julius Caesar.]

**Calcidius**, translator and commentator of Plato's *Timæus* (Cent. V. A.D.), III. 4, 72, 75, 92, 395; IV. 106, 322, 332; 'Calcidius commentator super Timæum Platonis,' III. 72; IV. 106, 322; 'Calcidius commentator Platonis,' III. 92.

**Cassiodorus**, Roman historian, statesman, and monk (Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus, circ. 468-565), IV. 230; V. 471; (V. 89).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Benvenuto here refers to the life of St. John Chrysostom as given in the 'Historia tripartita,' i.e. the *Historia tripartita de regimine Ecclesie primitive* of Cassiodorus (X. 4 ff.).

**Cassius**, Latin poet (Cassius Parmensis, d. B.C. 30), III. 197.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Horace 1 *Epist.* IV. 3; and Petrarch, *Remed. Utr. Fort.*, II. 125.

**Cato**, Cato the Censor (Marcus Porcius Cato, B.C. 234-149); his *Origines* quoted, III. 488.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cato's *Origines*, which was intended to be a history of Rome and of the Italian towns, exists only in a fragmentary form.

**Catullus**,<sup>1</sup> Latin lyric poet (Valerius Catullus, B.C. 87-circ. 54), III. 197<sup>2</sup>; IV. 36.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Petrarch appears to have possessed a ms. of Catullus, whom he quotes several times (see Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*, pp. 137 ff.). Boccaccio mentions him in the *De Genealogia Deorum* (XIV. 16). — <sup>2</sup> Cf. Petrarch, *Remed. Utr. Fort.*, II. 125. — <sup>3</sup> Cf. Macrobius, *Sat.* VI. 1. §§ 41, 42.

**Cechus de Esculo**, Cecco degli Stabili, commonly called Cecco d'Ascoli (d. 1327), I. 264.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Benvenuto here quotes the *Acerba*, 'In cīō fallasti, fiorentin poeta' (II. 1. l. 19), where the usual reading is 'peccasti.'



Celsus, Julius. [Julius Celsus.]

Chalcidius. [Calcidius.]

Chronica Januensium, I. 509; III. 241.

Chronica Ravennae, I. 509; III. 393.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Liber Chronicae Ravennae, qui dicitur pontificalis.

Chronicae Florentinorum, I. 461, 509, 550.

Chrysostomus, St. John Chrysostom, Greek father of the Church (circ. 344-407), III. 270, 301; IV. 45.

Cicero, Roman orator and philosopher (Marcus Tullius Cicero, B.C. 106-43), I. 5; III. 17, 21, 33, 34, 323; IV. 496; 'Tullius,' I. 13, 29, 44, 46, 52, 150, 172, 225, 318, 319, 333, 334, 408, 409; II. 21, 75, 239, 296, 300, 448, 484, 560; III. 4, 5, 18, 22, 24, 25, 34, 35, 62, 75, 76, 79, 84, 92, 196, 197, 318, 409, 413, 426, 435, 464; IV. 35, 36, 76, 187, 217, 296, 297, 303, 306, 320, 322, 359, 372, 389, 409, 413, 415, 431, 434, 445, 446, 447, 499; V. 435; 'fons Romanae eloquentiae,' I. 150; 'princeps eloquentiae prosaicae,' III. 196; his *Pro Archia*, I. 13; II. 300; III. 5; IV. 187; *De Officiis*, I. 29, 46; II. 239; III. 33, 84; IV. 409; *Tusculanae Quaestiones*,<sup>1</sup> I. 150, 172, 408; *Tusculanae*, I. 333; II. 296; III. 79; IV. 35, 306; *Liber Tusculanus*, III. 62, 75, 426, 464; IV. 409; *Rhetorica Nova*, I. 177; *Philippicae*, I. 225; II. 560; *De Divinatione*, II. 75; *De Natura Deorum*, II. 484; IV. 359, 372; *De Republica*, III. 4; IV. 297; *Epistolae Quinto fratri*, III. 17; *De Consiliis*,<sup>2</sup> III. 76; *Somnium Scipionis*, IV. 322; *De Oratore*, IV. 413; *De Laudibus Pompei*,<sup>3</sup> IV. 434.

<sup>1</sup> From this work (III. 28) comes (without acknowledgment on Benvenuto's part) the saying of Theophrastus about the shortness of human life [*Theophrastus*]. — <sup>2</sup> Cicero is known to have written a work under the title of 'De meis Consiliis' or 'Meorum Consiliorum Expositio,' of which only a few sentences have been preserved. If Benvenuto were here really quoting direct from the 'De Consiliis,' it would be a proof that that work of Cicero, or at any rate some portion of it, was still in existence towards the end of Cent. XIV., but without some independent evidence it would not be safe to assume that the treatise was extant in Benvenuto's day, as he is habitually lax in his references (see *Athenaeum*, April 1, 1899, p. 400). — <sup>3</sup> That is, the *Pro Lege Manilia*, which was commonly known in the Middle Ages by the title of *De Laudibus Magni Pompeii* (cf. Petrarch, *Epist. Fam.* XXII. 14, ed. Fracassetti, III. 174; and Coluccio Salutati, *Epistolario*, ed. Novati, I. 332).

Claudianus, Claudian, Roman poet (Claudius Claudianus, d. circ. 408), I. 10, 104; III. 100, 197, 207, 222, 522; IV. 166; V. 521; 'florentinus poeta,'<sup>1</sup> I. 10; 'poeta paganus conterraneus Dantis,'<sup>1</sup> III. 222; 'placidus poeta,' IV. 166; his *Minor*,<sup>2</sup> I. 104; IV. 166; V. 521; (*De Laudibus Stilichonis*, III, Praef. 5-6, I. 10); (*De IV Consulatu Honorii*, III. 100); (*De Bello Gildonico*, III. 207); (*De III Cons. Hon.*,<sup>3</sup> III. 222).

<sup>1</sup> In describing Claudian as a Florentine Benvenuto is in agreement with Petrarch (*Rem. Utr. Fort.*, II. 125; and *Contra Gallum*; cf. Nulbac, *Petrarque et l'humanisme*, p. 167); Boccaccio, who several times quotes Claudian (e.g. *Geneal. Dear.* I. 1; IV. 44; XI; *Comento*, II. 198; cf. Hortis, *Opere Latine del Boccaccio*, p. 410); Filippo Villani, who gives a life of Claudian in his *De Civitate Florentinae Famosis Civibus*; and Coluccio Salutati (*Epistolario*, ed. Novati, III, 483, 591). The mistake arose from the name of Florentinus, to whom the introduction of the second book of the *De Raptu Proserpinae* is addressed. Claudian actually was a native of Alexandria. — <sup>2</sup> That is, his *De Raptu Proserpinae*, in three books (unfinished). — <sup>3</sup> This quotation is at secondhand from St. Augustine (*De Civitate Dei*, V. 26); or perhaps from Filippo Villani's life of Claudian. *Acolius* in the text is a misreading or misprint for *Aeolus*.

**Cleantes**, Cleanthes, Stoic philosopher (circ. B.C. 300–220), III. 435, 482.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In both these passages Benvenuto quotes (or rather misquotes) the line of Cleanthes translated by Seneca (*Epist.* CVII): 'Ducunt volentem fata, nolentem trahunt.' Benvenuto speaks of it (III. 435) as 'illud dictum Cleantis philosophi, quod totiens allegat Seneca'; which appears to be merely an echo of what Petrarch says in his *Epistola ad Senecam*, where he speaks of 'illum Cleantis versiculum, quo in Latinum verso uti soles: Ducunt volentem,' etc. (*Op.* 706). The line is also quoted by St. Augustine (*Civ. Dei*, V. 8), but without mention of Cleanthes.

**Cornutus**, tutor of Persius (L. Annaeus Cornutus, fl. A.D. 50), IV. 36.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Benvenuto's information about Cornutus and his relations with Persius was doubtless derived from the life of Persius by Probus Valerius (sometimes ascribed to Suetonius). Cornutus is mentioned by Persius himself, *Sat.* V. 23, 37.

**Curtius, Quintus**,<sup>1</sup> Roman historian of Alexander the Great (Quintus Curtius Rufus, Cent. I. A.D.), I. 39, 265, 399, 407, 473, 475; III. 329; IV. 301; Quintus Curtius qui curiose describit gesta Alexandri Magni,<sup>2</sup> I. 473; his *De gestis Alexandri*,<sup>3</sup> I. 39, 475 (*Lib.* X. 1); III. 329 (*Lib.* IV.); IV. 301<sup>4</sup> (*Lib.* III. 1).

<sup>1</sup> Quintus Curtius was utilised by Petrarch, by whom he is four times quoted by name (see P. de Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*, pp. 290–1). — <sup>2</sup> Benvenuto here remarks that the story of the rain of fire which fell upon Alexander and his host in India, to which Dante refers (*Inf.* XIV. 31–6), is not to be found in Quintus Curtius or in any other writer on Alexander. I have shown elsewhere that the source of Dante's information was a passage in the *De Meteoris* of Albertus Magnus (see my *Dante Dictionary*, s.v. **Alessandro** <sup>2</sup>). — <sup>3</sup> In ten books, of which the first two have been lost. — <sup>4</sup> Benvenuto here refers to Book II., one of the lost books; his quotation actually comes from the beginning of Book III.

**Cyprianus**, St. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage (Thasius Caecilius Cyprianus, circ. 200–258), III. 301.

## D

**Damascenus**, John of Damascus, Greek father of the Church (Johannes Damascenus, circ. 680–756), V. 106.

**Dares Phrygius**, supposed author of an alleged contemporary account of the Trojan war, V. 521.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A Latin translation of this alleged work (*Daretis Phrygii de Excidio Trojae Historia*) was one of the chief sources of the Troy stories of the Middle Ages. Petrarch appears to have had no doubt as to the genuineness of this work (see Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*, pp. 250, 357).

**De Proprietatibus Rerum.** [Bartholomaeus Anglicus.]

**Demosthenes**,<sup>1</sup> Greek orator (circ. B.C. 385–322), I. 191<sup>2</sup>; II. 27–8.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Benvenuto had, of course, no direct knowledge of Demosthenes. — <sup>2</sup> Anecdote about Demosthenes and the harlot, from Aulus Gellius (I. 8. §§ 5, 6); or Macrobius (*Sat.* II. 2. § 11); the name of the harlot is given by them as Lais, but Benvenuto calls her Thais, and tells the anecdote à propos of Dante's mention of the latter (*Inf.* XVIII. 133). — <sup>3</sup> The same anecdote, here wrongly attributed to Valerius Maximus. On the relative merits of Demosthenes and Cicero as orators, here referred to, cf. Petrarch, *Rer. Mem.* I. 'Demosthenes,' and *Trionf. della Fama*, III. 22; Boccaccio, *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium*, VI. 'De M. T. Cicerone'; and Coluccio Salutati, *Epistolario* (ed. Novati), I. 338.

**Dictys Cretensis**, supposed author of an alleged contemporary account of the Trojan war,<sup>1</sup> IV. 408.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A Latin translation of this alleged work (*Dictys Cretensis de Bello Trojano*) was one of the chief sources of the Troy stories of the Middle Ages. — <sup>2</sup> 'Dites Cretensis.' Benvenuto here refers to the claim of Dictys that he took part in the Trojan war (*Bell. Troj.* I. 13). What follows is summarised from *Bell. Troj.* I. 19-23. Both Petrarch (*Sen.* VIII. 2) and Boccaccio (*Geneal. Deor.* II. 26, 45; V. 36, 37, 38, 39, 40) believed in the genuineness of this work, of which Petrarch possessed a ms. (See Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*, pp. 228, 250; Hortis, *Opere Latine del Boccaccio*, p. 432.)

**Dinus Florentinus**, Dino del Garbo, Florentine physician (d. 1327), I. 342.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A reference to Dino's Latin commentary on Guido Cavalcanti's famous canzone, 'Donna mi prega, perch'io voglio dire.' This commentary was printed at Venice in 1498 under the title *Enarratio cantionis Guidonis de Cavalcantibus, de naturâ et motu amoris*.

**Dionysius Areopagita**, Dionysius the Areopagite, supposed first Bishop of Athens (d. circ. 95), V. 437.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> His alleged letter to Polycarp. Dionysius was universally in the Middle Ages believed to be the author of the *De Cœlesti Hierarchia*, and other mystic works.

**Dioscorides**, Greek physician (Cent. I. A.D.), I. 566<sup>1</sup>; III. 204; IV. 89.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Naturale*, XIX. 28-32. — <sup>2</sup> Cf. *Spec. Nat.* IX. 34.

**Dites Cretensis.** [*Dictys Cretensis.*]

**Donatus**, grammarian and rhetorician (Aelius Donatus, circ. A.D. 350), III. 197.

**Donatus**, grammarian<sup>1</sup> (Tiberius Claudius Donatus, circ. A.D. 400), I. 43; (his *Vita Virgilii*<sup>2</sup> quoted, I. 43, 45; III. 196; IV. 36, 96, 208).

<sup>1</sup> Not to be confounded with the celebrated grammarian and rhetorician, Aelius Donatus, the author of the famous Latin grammar. — <sup>2</sup> The *Vita Virgilii* is not quoted by name by Benvenuto, but he was indebted to it for most of his facts about the life of Virgil. It was known to (under that title) and utilised by Petrarch (Nolhac, *op. cit.*, p. 106, n. 6, 7).

**Dyascorides.** [*Dioscorides.*]

## E

**Eginardus**, Eginhard or Einhard (circ. 770-840), the biographer of Charlemagne, IV. 451.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> An account of Charlemagne's defeat of Desiderius, King of the Lombards, from the *Vita Caroli Magni*.

**Egisippus**,<sup>1</sup> Hegesippus, alleged author of a history of the wars of the Jews (circ. A.D. 370), II. 182; III. 54<sup>2</sup>; IV. 14.

<sup>1</sup> Hegesippus is credited with a work compiled from Josephus and other sources, which exists in a Latin translation attributed to St. Ambrose. This work was printed at Paris in 1510 with the title *Historia de Bello Judaico, Sceptri sublatione, Judæorum dispersione, et Hierosolymitano excidio*. — <sup>2</sup> Egisippus in libro de captivitate Judæorum.

**Egysippus.** [*Egisippus.*]

**Ennius**,<sup>1</sup> Roman poet (Quintus Ennius, B.C. 239-169), I. 18, 47; III. 5, 197<sup>2</sup>; IV. 36,<sup>3</sup> 306.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Benvenuto's acquaintance with Ennius was doubtless derived from Cicero, Ovid, Valerius Maximus, Aulus Gellius, and Macrobius. There is no reason to suppose that he had knowledge of anything more than the fragments which have come down to us. —<sup>2</sup> Benvenuto here makes Ennius a native of Tarentum; Boccaccio (*Comento*, II. 427) speaks of him as 'Ennio Brundisino'; he was actually born at Rudiae near Brundisium. —<sup>3</sup> Benvenuto's authority here was Macrobius (*Sat.* VI.). —<sup>4</sup> The anecdotes of Scipio Africanus and Ennius are from Valerius Maximus (VIII. 14, § 1). Cf. Cicero, *Pro Archia*, § 9.

**Euclides**, Euclid, Greek mathematician<sup>1</sup> (fl. circ. B.C. 300), V. 104.

<sup>1</sup> The geometry of Euclid was chiefly known in the Middle Ages through the commentary of Boëthius. Boccaccio says of him: 'Appare per Valerio Massimo nel suo ottavo libro, capitolo duodecimo, Euclide essere stato contemporaneo di Platone. E perciocchè insino ne' nostri di è perseverata la fama sua, puote assai esser manifesto, lui avere in geometria ogni altro filosofo trapassato. Eso adunque compose il libro delle Teoremate in geometria, il quale ancora consiste: sopra le quali fu da Boezio ottimamente scritto' (*Comento*, I. 404).

**Euripides**,<sup>1</sup> Greek tragic poet (B.C. 480-406), I. 18; III. 519; IV. 37,<sup>2</sup> 93, 109; 'clarissimus poeta tragicus,' IV. 37.

<sup>1</sup> Benvenuto's knowledge of Euripides seems for the most part to have been derived from Aristotle and Macrobius, whom he quotes as his authorities (IV. 37; cf. IV. 93), and from Valerius Maximus. —<sup>2</sup> The story of the death of Euripides is from Valerius Maximus (*Mem.* IX. 12, Ext. 4); the account of his tragedy on Meleager is from Macrobius (V. 18, § 16).

**Eusebius**, ecclesiastical writer, Bishop of Cæsarea (circ. A.D. 260-340); his *Liber Temporum*,<sup>1</sup> III. 38; IV. 35.

<sup>1</sup> The Chronicle of Eusebius, as translated and enlarged by St. Jerome, was one of the chief textbooks on chronology in the Middle Ages. It was very largely utilised by Boccaccio in his Latin works, and afterwards in his *Comento* (I. 120, 215, 286, 300, 327, 328, 331, 332, 346, 361, 386, 387, 394, 420, 438, 456; II. 48, 137, 166).

**Eustatius**,<sup>1</sup> commentator on Aristotle's *Ethics*, V. 147.

<sup>1</sup> Petrarch possessed a ms. of Aristotle, containing 'Eustachii metropolitani Nichee enarratio in priorem Aristotelis moralium ad Nichomacum.' This 'Eustachius' is doubtless identical with the 'Eustatius' of Benvenuto, who may have been the Archbishop of Thessalonica (1160-1198). Boccaccio also mentions (*Geneal. Deor.* VII. 41) a Eustachius who was perhaps the same person. (See Hortis, *Opere Latine del Boccaccio*, p. 385; Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*, p. 337.)

## F

**Florus**, Roman historian (Julius Florus, circ. A.D. 90-140), II. 143, 336<sup>1</sup> (*Epit.* I. 22. § 12), 479 (*Epit.* I. 22. § 58); III. 73 (*Epit.* I. 1. § 4), 94 (*Epit.* I. 20. § 4), 243, 272; IV. 440, 442 (*Epit.* II. 13. § 50), 447, 449 (*Epit.* II. 14. § 5).

<sup>1</sup> 'Florus brevior Livii,' the title of Florus' work being *Epitomae de Tito Livio Bellorum Omnium Annorum DCC Libri Duo*.

**Fronto**, 'the Orator' (Marcus Cornelius Fronto, fl. circ. A.D. 140), III. 196<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Benvenuto's mention of Fronto is taken direct from Macrobius, *Sat.* V. 1. § 7 (cf. Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* XIX. 8).

**Fulgentius**,<sup>1</sup> Latin grammarian, author of *Mythologiarum Libri tres* (Fabius Planciades Fulgentius, circ. A.D. 480–550), I. 385; II. 471; III. 6; his *Liber Mythologiarum*, III. 6.

<sup>1</sup> Fulgentius, who in the early editions of his works is described as 'Episcopus Carthaginiensis,' and by Boccaccio as 'dottore e pontefice cattolico' (*Com.* I. 131), is frequently quoted by the latter, both in his *De Genealogia Deorum* (see Hortis, *Opere Latine del Boccaccio*, pp. 461–3) and in his *Comento* (ed. Milanese, I. 94, 131, 204–7; II. 86, 179, 200, 206).

**Furius**, Roman poet (Aulus Furius Antias, fl. circ. B.C. 100),<sup>1</sup> IV. 36.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Not to be confounded with the satirist, Marcus Furius Bibaculus, who is ridiculed by Horace (2 *Sat.* V. 41). — <sup>2</sup> Cf. Macrobius, *Sat.* VI. 1. §§ 31, 32, 33, 34, 44; 3. § 5; 4. § 10.

## G

**Galenus**, Galen (Claudius Galenus, A.D. 130–circ. 200), celebrated physician of Pergamum, III. 480<sup>1</sup>; IV. 329<sup>2</sup>; V. 11,<sup>3</sup> 50,<sup>4</sup> 521.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Gallienus.' — <sup>2</sup> 'Galienus.' — <sup>3</sup> 'Galenus.' — <sup>4</sup> 'Galienus'; his commentary on the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates. — <sup>5</sup> 'Galienus.'

**Gallienus**, the Roman emperor Gallienus (253–268), III. 10.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Benvenuto here quotes the lines written by Gallienus from the *Vita Gallieni* (II. § 8) by Trebellius Pollio in the 'Scriptores Historiae Augustae.' For 'Ite, agite, o pueri' Benvenuto reads: 'Ite simul pueri.'

**Galienus.** [Galenus.]

**Gallicus ille qui describit Alexandreidam metricè.** Gautier de Lille or de Châtillon (commonly known as Gualtherus de Castellione, end of Cent. XII.), author of the *Alexandreis* (an epic poem in Latin hexameters on Alexander the Great, based upon the history of Quintus Curtius), I. 473; (I. 249).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Benvenuto here quotes the famous line 'Incidit in Scillam cupiens vitare Caribdim' from the *Alexandreis*, but without mention of the poem.

**Gallienus.** [Galenus.]

**Gallus**, Latin poet (Caius Cornelius Gallus, circ. B.C. 66–26), III. 197<sup>1</sup>; IV. 306.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Petrarch, *Remed. Utr. Fort.* II. 125.

**Gerius de Aretio**, Geri d'Arezzo, a satirist (apparently contemporary with Benvenuto), IV. 62.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I have been unable to identify the writer here referred to. According to Benvenuto he wrote a satire on the women of Tuscany, after the manner of Apuleius: 'Quid mulierum tuscarum mores referam, de quibus Gerius de Aretio satyram fecit ad imitationem Apulei?'

**Gotifredus Viterbiensis**, Goffredo da Viterbo, chronicles (Cent. XII.); his *Pautheon*,<sup>1</sup> III. 154.

<sup>1</sup> The title of Goffredo's chronicle, which comprises the history of the world from the Creation down to the year 1186. (See Tiraboschi, *Stor. Lett. Ital.* IV. 469 ff., ed. 1823.)

**Gregorius**, Gregory the Great (circ. 540–604), III. 44, 78, 83, 175, 301, 490, 498, 514; IV. 62, 194; V. 297, 392; his *Liber Dialogorum*,<sup>1</sup> III. 44, 490; V. 297.

<sup>1</sup> *Dialogorum libri quatuor de vita et miraculis patrum Italicorum, et de aeternitate animae.*

**Gualterius Anglicus**, Walter of England, i.e. Walter Map (fl. circ. 1200), the reputed author of the *Lancelot du Lac*, *Morte Darthur*, etc., II. 497.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Gualterius anglicus in sua chronica quae britannica vocatur, in qua admiscet multa falsa veris in exaltationem suae regionis.' Benvenuto here epitomises the chief events of the life of King Arthur from the *Morte Darthur*.

**Guglielmus Durantes**, more commonly **Wilhelmus Durandus**, canonist (1237-1296); his *Speculum Juris*, II. 329.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Guglielmus Durantes de Provincia, qui fuit magnus jurisperitus. Fecit enim librum qui intitulatur *Speculum* in jure civili, unde a juristis vocatur Speculator.' Durandus was Bishop of Mende in Languedoc (1286). His *Speculum* is mentioned by Dante (*Epist.* VIII. 7).

**Guido Bonatti**, soothsayer and astrologer of Forlì (fl. circ. 1270), III. 247.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. II. 89-91.

## H

**Haly**, Arabian commentator on the astronomer Ptolemy (Ali ibn Rudhwán ibn Ali Ibn Jafar, fl. circ. 1030), I. 263<sup>1</sup>; IV. 470.

<sup>1</sup> 'Commentator Ptolomaei.' Haly is quoted by Boccaccio in the *De Genealogia Deorum* (IX. 4) and in the *Comento* (I. 481) as having written a commentary on the *Quadripartitum* (i.e. the *De Judiciis Astrorum*) of Ptolemy ('A philosopho quodam, cui nomen fuit Hali, in commento Quadripartiti dictum est'; 'Ali nel comento del Quadripartito'). Haly also was the author of a *Centiloquium*, which was printed in the 1484 (Venice, Ratdolt) edition of Ptolemy's *Quadripartitum et Centiloquium*.

**Hegesippus**. [Egisippus.]

**Helynandus Gallicus**, Hélinand, French poet and chronicler (d. circ. 1229), III. 285.

**Hermes**, i.e. Hermes Trismegistus, reputed author of several works now attributed to the neo-Platonists, IV. 318.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Benvenuto is here perhaps quoting from St. Augustine (*Civ. Dei*, VIII. 23). Boccaccio in his *De Genealogia Deorum* (III. 20; V. 21; VII. 34) quotes Hermes through the medium of the Latin translation (attributed to Apuleius) of the *Hermetis Trismegisti Asclepius sive de Natura Deorum Dialogus*. (See Hortis, *Opere Latine del Boccaccio*, p. 456.)

**Herodotus**, Greek historian (born B.C. 484); 'magnus magister graecae historiae,' IV. 320.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Benvenuto here refers to the well-known story of Arion and the dolphin, which is told in the first book of Herodotus. (Cf. Cicero, *Tusc.* II. 27; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* IX. 8; Hyginus, *Fab.* 194; Isidore, *Orig.* XII. 6; Solinus, *Collect.* 7. § 6; Albertus Magnus, *De Animal.* XXIV; Brunetto Latino, *Trésor*, I. 135; Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. Nat.* XVII. 112; Bartolomæus Anglicus, *De Propriet. Rerum*, XIII. 26.) Benvenuto got the reference to Herodotus either from Petrarch, *Remed. utr. Fort.* I. 23, or from Aulus Gellius (XVI. 19), who was Petrarch's authority. Boccaccio does not appear anywhere to mention Herodotus. Petrarch includes him among the historians ('Herodoti di greca istoria padre') in his *Trionfo della Fama* (III. 55). Of course neither he nor Benvenuto had any direct knowledge of Herodotus. (Cf. Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*, pp. 318-19.)

**Hieronymus**, St. Jerome, father of the Church (Eusebius Hieronymus, circ. 346-420), I. 34, 56, 84, 90, 178, 179, 214, 220, 333, 374, 533; III. 91, 300, 329; IV. 14, 89, 124, 193, 217, 229, 259, 284, 406; V. 51, 90, 107, 290, 293, 298, 305, 429, 430; 'locorum orientalium sedulus indagator,'<sup>1</sup> V. 305; his *Proëmium supra Bibliam*, I. 56; *Proëmium super Genesis*, I. 84; *Liber Virorum Illustrium*,<sup>2</sup> I. 179; *Contra Jovinianum*, I. 199, 333, 374; IV. 259; *in principio libri Regum*,<sup>3</sup> IV. 193; *in epistola ad Titum*, V. 430.

<sup>1</sup> An allusion to his translation of the work of Eusebius on the sites and names of Hebrew places.

—<sup>2</sup> The passage here referred to (as to the inclusion of Seneca by St. Jerome in his catalogue of famous Christians) is quoted *in extenso* by Boccaccio in his *Comento* (I. 403, ed. Milanese). For the mediæval belief on the subject, see Graf, *Roma nel Medioevo*, II. 284-93. —<sup>3</sup> His preface to the Books of Kings, commonly known as the *Prologus Galeatus*. (See *Biblia Sacra Vulgate Editionis Sixti V. P. M. jussu recog.*, pp. xliii-iv, xlviii, ed. Paris, 1889.)

**Hippocras**. [Hippocrates.]

**Hippocrates**, Greek physician (circ. B.C. 460-357), V. 50, 521;<sup>1</sup> 'doctissimus medicorum,' V. 50.

<sup>1</sup> 'Hippocras.'

**Homerus**, Homer, I. 16, 18, 26, 34, 48, 51, 77, 87, 88, 124, 130, 150, 151, 159, 202, 203, 249, 295, 307, 321, 362, 581; II. 64, 70, 72, 77, 87, 88, 279, 280, 282, 285, 286, 287, 288, 290, 300, 365, 447, 448, 467, 468, 482, 518; III. 38, 128, 196, 225, 259, 330, 339, 356, 419, 460, 471, 501; IV. 14, 17, 20, 32, 36, 37, 162, 306, 336, 364; V. 72, 133, 160,<sup>1</sup> 354; 'poeta Graecus excellentissimus,' I. 150; 'poeta magnus,' I. 362; 'summus poeta,' I. 581; 'fons ingeniorum,' IV. 36; the *Iliad*, quoted, *Ilias Homeri*, V. 354; *libro suae Iliados*, I. 26; *in sua Iliade*, III. 259; *in Iliade*, III. 339; *Iliadam, in quo describit bella Trojana et gesta Achillis*, I. 151; *in principio Iliados*,<sup>2</sup> I. 77; *primo Ilyados*, II. 88; *secundo Ilyados*, II. 87; *IV. Iliados*, II. 282; *V. Iliados*, II. 280; *XXIII. Iliados*,<sup>3</sup> III. 259; the *Odyssey*, quoted, *Odyssea Homeri*, IV. 17; *per totam Odysseam*, II. 290; *in Odyssea*, II. 279, 286, 288; IV. 162; *Odisseam, in quo tractat de peregrinatione Ulyxis*, I. 151; *in principio Odysseae*, I. 77; *XI. Odysseae*,<sup>4</sup> I. 124, 159; II. 70, 72, 77, 280, 448, 467, 482; III. 38, 128, 330, 356, 460, 501; IV. 364.

<sup>1</sup> Benvenuto here refers to the Homeric phrase *ἕρεα πτερύερα*, 'winged words.' —<sup>2</sup> The opening line of the *Iliad* is quoted in a metrical version: 'Iram pande mihi Dea'; this recalls the opening line of the hexameter epitome commonly known as *Pindarus Thebanus de Bello Trojano*, in which form alone Homer was accessible in the Middle Ages till the middle of Cent. XIV. The line there runs: 'Iram pande mihi Pelidae diva superbi.' In the prose version of Leontius Pilatus, made at Florence, at Petrarch's expense, under the roof of Boccaccio, the line is rendered: 'Iram cane dea Pellidis Achillis Pestiferam.' (See Hortis, *Studi sulle Opere Latine del Boccaccio*, p. 543.) —<sup>3</sup> This reference, which should be to *Iliad* XXIV., not XXIII., comes from Boccaccio, *Comento*, I. 462. Benvenuto declines as follows, nom. *Ilias* (V. 354); gen. *Iliados* (I. 26, 77; II. 87, 88, 280, 282); acc. *Iliadam* (I. 151); *Iliadem* (I. 459, v. l. *Iliada*); abl. *Iliade* (III. 259, 339). Petrarch uses acc. *Iliadem* and gen. *Iliados*, but *Iliadis* occurs constantly in his ms. copied from the version of Leontius Pilatus, which was sent to him by Boccaccio for the purpose. (See Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*, pp. 346 ff.) —<sup>4</sup> Of the *Odyssey*, except in four instances (see below), Benvenuto quotes Bk. XI. only (sixteen times). This Book, of course, contains the account of Ulysses' visit to Hades, which

Benvenuto constantly compares with that of Aeneas described in *Aeneid* VI. It was precisely this episode which, at Petrarch's request ('partem illam Odysseae qua Ulixes it ad inferos et locorum quae in vestibulo Erebi sunt descriptionem ab Homero factam . . . , quam primum potes . . . utcunq; tuis digitis exaratam'), Boccaccio extracted from the translation of Leontius Pilatus, and sent separately to his friend (Nolhac, pp. 343-5). It is quite possible that this extract was subsequently placed at Benvenuto's disposal by Petrarch, who took a great interest in the progress of the Commentary, as we know from a fragment of a letter written to him by Benvenuto in the spring of 1374 ('Scias me anno praeterito extremam manum commentarii meis, quae olim tanto opere efflagitasti, in Dantem praeceptorem meum imposuisse'). An extract from the Latin prose translation used by Benvenuto is given (from *Odyssey* XI.) in the comment on *Purg.* IV. 61 (III. 128). The instances in which Benvenuto quotes otherwise than from Bk. XI. are as follows: (i) The rendering of Bk. I. 1 ('Dic mihi, Musa, virum') is quoted from the *Ars Poetica* (141) of Horace (I. 77). Petrarch, oddly enough, thought that Horace's lines were from a lost translation of Homer by Cicero: ' . . . translationem illam veterem Ciceronis opus, quantum intelligere est, cujus principium Arti Poeticae Flaccus inseruit, latinitati perditam' (*Var.* 25). (Nolhac, p. 153.) (ii) The account of Circe (II. 286-7) from *Odyssey* X. is borrowed from the *De Genealogia Deorum* (IV. 14) of Boccaccio. From the same source come the accounts (iii) of the shipwreck of Ulysses in the Straits of Messina (II. 288) from *Odyssey* XII. (*Gen. Deor.* XI. 40); and (iv) of the wallet of winds given to Ulysses by Aeolus (IV. 162) from *Odyssey* X. (*Gen. Deor.* XIII. 20). (See my article in appendix on *Benvenuto da Imola and the Iliad and Odyssey*, reprinted from *Romania*, XXIX, 403-415.)

**Horatius, Horace**<sup>1</sup> (Quintus Horatius Flaccus, B.C. 65-8), I. 9, 17, 18, 78, 79, 149, 151, 153, 156, 173, 268, 334, 335, 430, 453; II. 49, 354, 489; III. 75, 197, 362, 380, 439; IV. 37, 230, 306, 328; V. 133, 382, 384; 'Horatius Flaccus,' IV. 306; 'maximus moralis,' I. 151, 334; his *Liber Odarum*,<sup>2</sup> I. 149 (1 *Carm.* III. 8); *Epistolae*, I. 17; quoted, I. 17 (1 *Epist.* XVI. 52-3)<sup>3</sup>; I. 268 (1 *Epist.* II. 62); I. 334 (1 *Epist.* IV. 16); II. 354 (1 *Epist.* II. 54); III. 362 (1 *Epist.* II. 58-9); III. 380-1 (1 *Epist.* II. 26); IV. 37 (2 *Epist.* I. 116); *Poetria*,<sup>4</sup> I. 9, 79, 453; II. 489; V. 133, 384; quoted, I. 9 (*A. P.* 333-4, 343); I. 77 (*A. P.* 141); I. 79 (*A. P.* 38-9); I. 173 (*A. P.* 464-5); I. 335 (*A. P.* 335); I. 430 (*A. P.* 1 ff.); I. 453 (*A. P.* 162); II. 49 (*A. P.* 25); II. 489 (*A. P.* 394); III. 439 (*A. P.* 160); IV. 328 (*A. P.* 92); V. 133 (*A. P.* 128); V. 384 (*A. P.* 70); *Satirae*, quoted, III. 75 (1 *Sat.* III. 1-2).

<sup>1</sup> Petrarch possessed a complete ms. of Horace, which he purchased at Geneva in 1347 (Nolhac, p. 150). — <sup>2</sup> This quotation occurs in the *Confessiones* (IV. 6) of St. Augustine, but without mention of Horace. — <sup>3</sup> For 'Tu nihil admittis notae formidine poenae' in the second line Benvenuto reads 'Oderunt peccare mali formidine poenae,' in which form the line is quoted in the *Moralium Dogma* (Cap. XLIV.) of Guillaume de Conches. — <sup>4</sup> The *Ars Poetica* was usually known by this title in the Middle Ages. Cf. Dante, *V. N.* § 25, l. 92; *Conv.* II. 14, l. 88; *V. E.* II. 4, l. 35.

**Horsius. [Orosius.]**

**Hugo de Sancto Victore**, Hugh of St. Victor, mystic and theologian (circ. 1097-1141), I. 8; V. 46, 88; his *Didascalicon*, I. 8.

**Hyginus. [Iginus.]**

## I

**Iginus, Julius**, C. Julius Hyginus (fl. A.D. Cent. I), III. 522<sup>1</sup>; his *De Vita et Moribus Virorum Illustrium*,<sup>2</sup> III. 522.

<sup>1</sup> Printed in the text, by a misreading, *Julius Iginus*. — <sup>2</sup> This quotation is taken direct, without acknowledgment, from the *Policraticus* (V. 7) of John of Salisbury [*Johannes Anglicus*], who in



his turn borrowed it, also without acknowledgment, from Aulus Gellius (I. 14). Petrarch quotes a work of Hyginus, *De Urbibus Italicis*, which is mentioned by Macrobius (*Sat.* V. 18) and by Servius (on *Aeneid*, I. 281, 534; III. 553; VII. 47, 412, 678; VIII. 597, 638), whence his references (*Contra Gallum*, Op. 1083; *Var.* XXXIX, ed. Fracasetti) were doubtless taken. Both these works of Hyginus are now lost.

### Isaac, Arabian philosopher, IV. 108.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This Isaac is doubtless identical with the Isaac (Ishak ibn Sulaiman, al Israili) who was author of the *De Definitionibus* and *De Diaetis*, and who is frequently quoted by Vincent of Beauvais in his *Speculum*, and by Bartholomaeus Anglicus in his *De Rerum Proprietatibus*. (Cf. Jourdain, *Traductions latines d'Aristote*, pp. 85-6, 122.) A Latin translation of his works (doubtless that by Gherardo da Cremona, made in Cent. XII) was printed at Lyons in 1515.

**Isidorus**, St. Isidore of Seville (Isidorus Hispalensis, circ. 560-636), I. 19, 153, 566; III. 350; IV. 321; V. 46, 341; (his *Origines*,<sup>1</sup> I. 153, 566; IV. 321).

<sup>1</sup> Not quoted by name.

## J

### Jeronimus. [Hieronymus.]

**Johannes Anglicus**, John of Salisbury (d. 1180), II. 410; 'Policratus'<sup>1</sup> Anglicus,<sup>1</sup> I. 83; III. 285; IV. 446; 'Policratus,'<sup>1</sup> I. 179; III. 523; IV. 429; V. 245; his *Policraticus*,<sup>2</sup> I. 83 (*Pol.* V. 7); I. 179 (*Pol.* VIII. 13); II. 410 (*Pol.* VI. 17); III. 285 (*Pol.* V. 8); III. 523 (*Pol.* V. 4); IV. 429 (*Pol.* VI. 17); IV. 446 (*Pol.* V. 8); V. 245 (*Pol.* V. 7); (III. 522, *Pol.* V. 7).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> So the text, in every instance, for *Policraticus*. — <sup>2</sup> Always *Policratus* in text. — <sup>3</sup> Benvenuto's quotation from the lost *De Vita et Moribus Virorum Illustrium* of Julius Hyginus comes from this source [Iginus]. — He was probably also indebted to the *Policraticus* (II. 6) for his account of the woman Maria who devoured her own son during the siege of Jerusalem (IV. 51); and for his knowledge of the *Institutio Trajani* attributed to Plutarch [Plutarchus]. I am indebted to Mr. Clement C. J. Webb, of Magdalen College, Oxford, for the identification of several of Benvenuto's references to John of Salisbury.

**Johannes Messanensis**,<sup>1</sup> John of Messina, V. 51.

<sup>1</sup> I have not succeeded in identifying this writer.

**Josephus**, Jewish historian (Flavius Josephus, A.D. 37-circ. 100), II. 182, 323 (*Bell. Jud.* II. 18. § 10; III. 9. § 2); III. 62 (*Ant. Jud.* III. 11. §§ 3-4), 64<sup>1</sup> (*Ant. Jud.* II. 15. § 2), 73 (*Ant. Jud.* III. 12. § 3), 282 (*Ant. Jud.* VII. 2. § 2), 328 (*Ant. Jud.* III. 14. § 2; V. 2. § 3), 330 (*Ant. Jud.* VI. 4. § 6), 333 (*Ant. Jud.* VIII. 8. § 1), 335 (*Ant. Jud.* X. 1. § 5), 450 (*Ant. Jud.* I. 19. § 8), 456<sup>2</sup> (*Ant. Jud.* XI. 6. § 1), 539-40 (*Ant. Jud.* V. 1. §§ 1-12), 543 (*Ant. Jud.* XIV. 7. § 1; *Bell. Jud.* I. 8. § 8); IV. 14, 16 (*Bell. Jud.* VII. 4. § 2), 44 (*Ant. Jud.* X. 7. § 1; X. 10. § 1), 51 (*Bell. Jud.* VI. 3. § 4), 53, 85-6 (*Ant. Jud.* V. 6. §§ 2-5), 123<sup>2</sup> (*Bell. Jud.* IV. 8. § 4), 181 (*Ant. Jud.* I. 2. § 2), 305 (*Bell. Jud.* VII. 5. §§ 4-6), 307, 408 (*Ant. Jud.* V. 7. § 10), 417, 423.

<sup>1</sup> Benvenuto erroneously refers to the third book, and says 'luna quartadecima' instead of 'luna quintadecima.' — <sup>2</sup> 'Assuerus,' called 'Artaxerxes' by Josephus. — <sup>3</sup> 'Pentapolis,' called 'terra Sodomitica' by Josephus.

**Julius Caesar**,<sup>1</sup> the dictator (Caius Julius Caesar, B.C. 100-44), II. 317,<sup>2</sup> 326,<sup>8</sup> 391, 467<sup>4</sup>; V. 385.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As to the opinion of Benvenuto and other mediaeval writers regarding the authorship of the *Commentaries*, see **Julius Celsus**, note 1. —<sup>2</sup> 'Ut scribit Julius Caesar.' —<sup>3</sup> From Suetonius (*Vit.* I. § 77). —<sup>4</sup> There is a variant *Julius Celsus*. —<sup>5</sup> 'Unde Caesar in analogia : insolens, etc.' Benvenuto here quotes from Caesar's lost work, *De Analogia*, which is mentioned by Quintilian (I. 7. § 34) and Suetonius (*Vit.* I. § 56), and several times quoted by Aulus Gellius (*Noct. Att.* I. 10. § 4; IX. 14. § 25; XIX. 8. §§ 3-8). Benvenuto's quotation is evidently taken from Aulus Gellius: 'A C. Caesare . . . in primo *de analogia* libro scriptum est, habe semper in memoria atque in pectore ut tanquam scopulum, sic fugias inauditum atque insolens verbum' (I. 10. § 4).

**Julius Celsus**,<sup>1</sup> editor of Caesar's *Commentaries* (Cent. VII. A.D.), I. 162, 417, 579; II. 257, 373, 391, 462; III. 18, 31,<sup>2</sup> 111, 272, 487; IV. 379, 435.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Julius Celsus was a scholar at Constantinople in the seventh century, who made a recension of the text of Caesar's *Commentaries*. In the Middle Ages (and by some even in modern times) he was regarded as the author of the *Commentaries*, which he was supposed to have compiled from material supplied to him by Caesar himself, whose companion in arms he was believed to have been. Vincent of Beauvais (in the *Speculum Historiale*), Petrarch (in the *De Viris Illustribus*, ed. Razzolini, II. 30, 237), Boccaccio (in the *De Genealogia Deorum*, VII. 36), and Benvenuto, all quote the *Commentaries* under the name of Julius Celsus. (See Hortis, *Opere Latine del Boccaccio*, p. 414; Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*, pp. 247 n., 249.) Oddly enough, until the beginning of this century, the life of Julius Caesar included by Petrarch in his *De Viris Illustribus* was regarded as the work of Julius Celsus, and has frequently been printed with the editions of Caesar's *Commentaries* under the title of *Julii Celsi Commentarii de Vita Caesaris*. —<sup>2</sup> 'Julius Celsus socius Julii Caesaris, qui rebus istis praesens fuit.' Cf. IV. 435. 'Bellum Gallicum de quo Julius Celsus miles et socius Caesaris, qui omnibus interfuit, fecit satis magnum volumen'; and Petrarch: 'Julius Celsus, Caesaris comes et qui rebus interfuit' (*Vir. Illus.* ed. Razzolini, II. 237). —<sup>3</sup> See note 2.

**Justinianus**, Justinian the Great (Emp. A.D. 527-565), III. 443; IV. 415.

**Justinus**,<sup>1</sup> Roman historian, author of *Historiarum Philippicarum Libri XLIV*, an abridgment of the *Historiae Philippicae* of Trogus Pompeius, which has been lost (circ. A.D. 200), I. 34, 195, 407, 408, 420, 473, 559; II. 22, 547; III. 62, 192, 413; IV. 163, 170, 298, 308, 429, 480; V. 16, 147, 191; 'Justinus breviator Trogi,' I. 195; IV. 298; 'Justinus breviator Trogi Pompeii,' III. 62; his history quoted, I. 34 (*Hist.* V. 2. § 6); I. 195-6 (*Hist.* I. 2. §§ 1-10); I. 407 (*Hist.* IX. 8. § 15); I. 408 (*Hist.* XX. 1. § 1-2. § 2; 5. § 10); I. 420 (*Hist.* XVIII. 1. §§ 1-3; XXIII. 3. §§ 1-12; XXV. 3. §§ 1-10; 5. §§ 1-2); I. 559 (*Hist.* XLIV. 4. §§ 14-16); II. 22 (*Hist.* XLII. 3. §§ 1-2); II. 547 (*Hist.* XX. 1. § 11); III. 62 (*Hist.* XXXVI. 1. §§ 11-13); III. 413 (*Hist.* II. 8. §§ 6-10); IV. 163 (*Hist.* IV. 2. § 2)<sup>2</sup>; IV. 170 (*Hist.* II. 13. § 10); IV. 298-9 (*Hist.* XXIV. 6. §§ 6-9); IV. 308 (*Hist.* XXIV. 6. § 10); IV. 429 (*Hist.* XXV. 5. §§ 3-6); IV. 480 (*Hist.* XVIII. 5. §§ 3-4); V. 16 (*Hist.* XLIII. 4. §§ 11-12); V. 147 (*Hist.* I. 3. §§ 1-6); V. 191 (*Hist.* V. 3. §§ 4-6); also (without mention of Justin), III. 336 (*Hist.* I. 4. § 10; I. 8. §§ 1-13)<sup>3</sup>; III. 455 (*Hist.* XLII. 5. § 1)<sup>4</sup>; IV. 369 (*Hist.* II. 4. § 31).<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Petrarch possessed a ms. of Justin, whom he largely utilised (Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*, p. 245). —<sup>2</sup> Benvenuto here misreads *Eolus* for the *Cocalus* of the original. —<sup>3</sup> Cyrus. —<sup>4</sup> Phraates. —<sup>5</sup> Orithya.

**Juvenalis**,<sup>1</sup> Juvenal, Roman poet (Decius Junius Juvenalis, d. circ. A.D. 130), I. 18, 40, 41, 52, 263; II. 261; III. 62, 197, 323; IV. 15, 25, 27, 480; V. 41, 60; his *Satirae*, I. 40 (*Sat.* XIV. 139), 41 (*Sat.* III. 152-3), 52 (*Sat.* X. 122-6), 263 (*Sat.* X. 365-6)<sup>2</sup>; II. 261 (*Sat.* VIII. 140-1)<sup>3</sup>; III. 62 (*Sat.* XV. 1 ff.), 323 (*Sat.* XV. 144 ff.); IV. 15 (*Sat.* VII. 82-5), 27 (*Sat.* VII. 86-7), 480 (*Sat.* VI. 130)<sup>4</sup>; V. 60 (*Sat.* X. 22).

<sup>1</sup> Petrarch possessed a ms. of Juvenal, whom he quotes very frequently, and imitates even in his Italian works (Nolhac, *op. cit.* p. 153). — <sup>2</sup> Misquoted, for 'nos te Nos facimus.' Benvenuto reads 'sed te Non facimus,' thus completely altering the sense. — <sup>3</sup> For 'quanto major qui peccat' Benvenuto reads 'quanto qui peccat major.' — <sup>4</sup> For 'Et lassata viris nec dum satiata' Benvenuto (or his copyist) reads 'Et lassata quamvis nondum satiata.'

**Juvenicus**, Christian poet (C. Vettius Aquilinus Juvenicus, fl. Cent. IV.), IV. 230,<sup>1</sup> 307.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Juvenicus.' — <sup>2</sup> In these two passages Benvenuto evidently had in mind what Boccaccio says in the *De Genealogia Deorum* (XIV. 22).

## L

**Lactantius**, Christian apologist (Lucius C. Firmianus Lactantius, fl. circ. 300), IV. 307.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The writings of Lactantius were familiar to Petrarch (see Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*), and to Boccaccio, who quotes him frequently in his *Comento* (I. 390 ff.; II. 48, 136, 285), and in his *De Genealogia Deorum*. (See Hortis, *Opere Latine del Boccaccio*, pp. 472 ff.)

[**Legenda Aurea**], the 'Golden Legend' of Jacobus de Voragine (circ. 1238-1290), II. 105.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Benvenuto here gives the legend of the 'Santo Volto' of Lucca, 'sicut reperi in quadam scriptura apocrypha.' The legend is not included in the ordinary Latin editions of the 'Golden Legend,' but it is given at the end of the Italian translation, in the Venice edition of 1586, where it is said to have been written by one 'Lebonio Diacono.'

**Liber de Proprietatibus Rerum**,<sup>1</sup> II. 80.

<sup>1</sup> The best-known work under this title is that of Bartholomaeus Anglicus (circ. 1260), but I have not been able to identify the passage referred to by Benvenuto. [**Bartholomaeus Anglicus**.]

**Livius**,<sup>1</sup> Livy, Roman historian (Titus Livius, B.C. 59-A.D. 17), I. 29, 46, 478, 479, 509, 561; II. 128, 280, 335, 340; III. 87, 94, 102, 108, 109, 142, 190, 243, 271, 339, 360, 391, 427; IV. 171, 198, 282, 302, 308, 393, 424, 425, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 446, 489; V. 16, 174; 'Titus Livius,' I. 48, 67, 80, 162, 165, 452; II. 84, 127, 183, 228, 229, 326, 337, 398, 410, 442, 462, 469, 481, 492, 547; III. 21, 31, 155, 189, 197, 311, 339, 491; V. 57, 152, 171, 181, 500, 525; 'princeps historicorum,' II. 229; 'veritatis custos,' II. 340; 'Titus Livius paduanus nobilissimus historicorum,' III. 155; his (*Historiae*) *liber primus*, IV. 424; *liber primus circa principium*, I. 80; *in fine primi*, IV. 425; *liber primus ab urbe condita*,<sup>2</sup> I. 165; *liber primus ab origine urbis, Romulus, condita urbe*,

etc.,<sup>2</sup> V. 500; *liber secundus*, IV. 393, 431; *liber tertius*, IV. 430; *liber quintus*, IV. 428; *libri sextus, septimus, octavus*, IV. 429; *de secundo bello punico*,<sup>8</sup> I. 561; *secundum bellum punicum quod Livius eleganter describit in decem libris*,<sup>8</sup> IV. 432.

<sup>1</sup> Petrarch possessed a ms. of Livy (bought at Avignon in 1351), who was one of his favourite authors, and was largely utilised by him in his poem *Africa* (Nolhac, *op. cit.*, pp. 48, 132, 228).—

<sup>2</sup> These are evidently copied from the rubrics of mss.—<sup>3</sup> The third decade, books xxi-xxx.

**Livius**,<sup>1</sup> Roman poet (Livius Andronicus, d. circ. B.C. 220), I. 47.

<sup>1</sup> Livius Andronicus is several times mentioned and quoted by Aulus Gellius.

**Lucanus**, Lucan,<sup>1</sup> Roman poet (M. Annaeus Lucanus, A.D. 39-65), I. 39, 149, 152, 153, 156, 161, 167, 407, 421, 467, 469, 470, 471, 500, 510, 582; II. 75, 77, 204, 206, 207, 245, 246, 371, 372, 373, 432, 495, 561; III. 25, 39, 61, 112, 182, 188, 241, 270, 287; IV. 14, 275, 299, 302, 446; V. 16, 51, 60, 61, 66, 145, 157, 218, 287; 'magis excellens historicus et orator quam poeta,'<sup>2</sup> I. 152-3; his *Pharsalia*, III. 270; quoted, I. 39 (*Phars.* I. 206); I. 156 (*Phars.* IX. 984); I. 407 (*Phars.* X. 21); I. 421 (*Phars.* VI. 422); I. 469 (*Phars.* IX. 300 ff.); I. 470 (*Phars.* IX. 587 ff.); I. 500 (*Phars.* VI. 272 ff.); I. 510 (*Phars.* II. 424); I. 582 (*Phars.* II. 415); II. 75 (*Phars.* I. 584 ff.); II. 77 (*Phars.* VI. 507 ff.); II. 206 (*Phars.* IX. 712, 719, 721, 822 ff.<sup>8</sup>); II. 207 (*Phars.* IX. 734 ff.); II. 245 (*Phars.* IX. 723 ff.); II. 371 (*Phars.* I. 280-1); II. 372 (*Phars.* IV.<sup>4</sup> 824); II. 373 (*Phars.* IV. 762 ff., 789 ff., 809-10); II. 432 (*Phars.* IV. 332-6); II. 495 (*Phars.* I. 87,<sup>5</sup> 97); III. 25 (*Phars.* II. 372-6, 388, 390<sup>6</sup>); III. 39 (*Phars.* II. 327-8); III. 61 (*Phars.* VIII. 446<sup>7</sup>); III. 112 (*Phars.* VI. 819); III. 182 (*Phars.* ); III. 188 (*Phars.* I. 313); III. 241 (*Phars.* II. 426-7); III. 287 (*Phars.* V. 238); IV. 14 (*Phars.* IX. 980-1); IV. 275 (*Phars.* I. 608 ff.); IV. 299 (*Phars.* V. 83); IV. 302 (*Phars.* III. 207-8); IV. 446 (*Phars.* III. 108); V. 16 (*Phars.* III.<sup>8</sup> 497 ff.); V. 51 (*Phars.* X. 407); V. 60 (*Phars.* V.<sup>9</sup> 527-8); V. 61 (*Phars.* V. 528-9); V. 66 (*Phars.* VII. 819); V. 157 (*Phars.* V. 381 ff.); V. 218 (*Phars.* V. 711 ff.); V. 287 (*Phars.* II. 396 ff.).

<sup>1</sup> Lucan is quoted some forty times by Petrarch (Nolhac, *op. cit.*, p. 160, n. 4).—<sup>2</sup> This opinion, which was a common one in the Middle Ages (cf. Nolhac, p. 161; Moore, *Studies in Dante*, I. 228, 303-4), was doubtless due to Quintilian's remark: "Lucanus, ut dicam quod sentio, magis oratoribus, quam poetis adnumerandus" (X. 1).—<sup>3</sup> The Commentary here reads *Aulus*; the right reading is *Paulus*, as is evident from the passage in Lucan, and from the fact that Aulus is mentioned by Benvenuto, in his proper connexion, on the next page.—<sup>4</sup> The Commentary reads *in fine tertii*; for 'emere omnes' Benvenuto reads 'emere alii'.—<sup>5</sup> Benvenuto, or his copyist, reads 'nimia cupidine' for 'nimiaque cupidine'.—<sup>6</sup> Benvenuto quotes these two lines as if they were consecutive in the poem.—<sup>7</sup> For 'contenta bonis' Benvenuto reads 'foecunda bonis'.—<sup>8</sup> The Commentary reads *in quarto*.—<sup>9</sup> The Commentary reads *in secundo*.

**Lucilius**,<sup>1</sup> Roman satirist (B.C. 148-103), I. 47.

<sup>1</sup> Lucilius is several times mentioned by Petrarch, who, however, does not appear to have had any direct knowledge of his writings (Nolhac, *op. cit.*, p. 160, n. 1); he is frequently quoted by Aulus Gellius in the *Noctes Atticae*.

**Lucretius**,<sup>1</sup> Roman poet (T. Lucretius Carus, circ. B.C. 99-55), I. 47,<sup>2</sup> 156; IV. 36.

<sup>1</sup> Benvenuto, like Petrarch and Boccaccio (Nolhac, *op. cit.*, p. 134), had no direct knowledge of the poem of Lucretius, the text of which was not discovered until the next century, when a ms. was unearthed from a German monastery by Poggio in 1417. Such knowledge as Benvenuto (as well as Petrarch and Boccaccio) had of Lucretius was derived from Aulus Gellius, and from Macrobius, who quotes from all six books of the *De Rerum Natura*. — <sup>2</sup> Benvenuto here states that Lucretius died by his own hand on the same day that Virgil was born. This statement was evidently derived from a careless reading of what Donatus says in his *Vita Virgilii*: 'Quindecimo anno virilem togam cepit, illis Consulibus iterum quibus natus erat. Evenitque ut eo ipso die Lucretius poeta discederet.' That Lucretius died by his own hand Benvenuto learned from the fragmentary life of the poet by Suetonius, which was copied by St. Jerome in his additions to the Chronicle of Eusebius.

## M

**Macrobius**,<sup>1</sup> Roman grammarian, author of the *Saturnalia* (Ambrosius Aurelius Theodosius Macrobius, fl. circ. A.D. 400), I. 50, 51, 87 (*Sat. V. 3. § 16*), 115, (151),<sup>2</sup> 175 (*Sat. I. 18. § 22*; cf. I. 17. § 42; I. 18. §§ 12, 17, 18; I. 23. § 22), (191)<sup>2</sup> bis, 221 (*Sat. II. 8. § 15*),<sup>3</sup> 262 (*Sat. V. 16. § 8*),<sup>4</sup> 480 (*Sat. I. 20. § 8*), 573 (*Sat. I. 6. §§ 28, 30*); II. 284 (*Sat. V.*); III. 5, 92,<sup>5</sup> 194 (*Somn. I. 6. § 44*), 196 (*Sat. V. 1. §§ 4, 7, 8, 20, 13, 19*), 197, 313 (*Sat. II. 2. § 10*), 386 (*Sat. VII. 11. §§ 7, 8*), 447 (*Sat. II.*), 500 (*Sat. VII. 6. §§ 1-13*), 545 (*Sat. I. 17. §§ 53-6*); IV. 35,<sup>7</sup> 36 (*Sat. VI.*), 37 (*Sat. V. 18. § 16*); 21. § 7), 43, (93) (*Sat. V. 18. § 16*), 166 (? cf. *Sat. I. 12. § 23*); 17. § 44; 18. § 23),<sup>8</sup> 294, 297 (*Sat. I. 18. § 17*), 300 (*Sat. I. 18. §§ 1-24*), 322,<sup>9</sup> 369 (*Somn. I. 14. § 26*); V. 30 (*Sat. I. 17?*), 321, 377, 384.

<sup>1</sup> Macrobius was a very favourite author in the Middle Ages, both on account of his *Commentarius in Somnium Scipionis* and of his *Saturnalia*. Of the latter John of Salisbury, who quotes it frequently, says 'talīs liber [est], si inspicitur recte, et tantus, ut nihil aliunde oporteat mutuari' (*Policrat. VIII. 10*). Petrarch and Boccaccio were familiar with both works. Boccaccio justifies his introduction of Greek quotations into his *De Genealogia Deorum* (XV. 7) on the ground that Macrobius quotes Greek in the *Saturnalia*. The reference to Macrobius at the beginning of the *Roman de la Rose* is well known. Chaucer also several times refers to 'Macrobius, that writ the avision In Affrike of the worthy Cipion' (e.g. *Cant. Tales, B. 4313*; *Dethe of Blanche, 284*; and *Parl. Foules, 111*). — <sup>2</sup> On Virgil's imitations of Homer (*Sat. V*). — <sup>2</sup> bis Anecdote of Demosthenes from *Sat. II. 2. § 11*. — <sup>3</sup> Loosely quoted. — <sup>4</sup> Misquoted; for *soli decreto* Benvenuto reads *soli deo*. — <sup>5</sup> 'Macrobius commentator Tullii.' — <sup>6</sup> The editor of Benvenuto's commentary wrongly reads *apud Junium Maronem for apud unum Maronem*. — <sup>7</sup> Benvenuto here states that Macrobius frequently quotes Caecilius; as a matter of fact he only appears to have quoted him once (*Sat. III. 15. § 9*). — <sup>8</sup> Benvenuto's authority here appears to have been not Macrobius but Boccaccio, *De Genealogia Deorum* (VIII. 4). — <sup>9</sup> 'Macrobius commentator Tullii super somnium Scipionis.'

**Martialis**, Martial, Roman epigrammatic poet (Marcus Valerius Martialis, A.D. 43-circ. 104), V. 396.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Benvenuto, who calls Martial 'Valerius Martialis,' here refers to the obscenity of some of his poems. In the Middle Ages, owing probably to a corrupt passage in the life of Alexander Severus (*Hist. Aug.*, Cap. 38), in which mention is made of 'Martialis coei Epigramma,' Martial was often quoted by the name of Coquus (e.g. by John of Salisbury and Vincent of Beauvais). Both Brunetto Latino (*Treisor*, II. 56), however, and Pietro di Dante (*Comentum*, p. 568) speak of him as 'Martialis,' as does Boccaccio (*Geneal. Deor.* III. 26). Petrarch does not seem to have been acquainted with Martial. (See Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*, p. 173.) As to the alleged commentary of Boccaccio on the epigrams, see Hortis, *Opere Latine del Boccaccio*, pp. 411-12.

**Martianus Capella**,<sup>1</sup> author of the *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* (Martianus Minneus Felix Capella, fl. circ. A.D. 470), I. 158, 316; IV. 163, 230, 303; V. 311, 396; 'Martianus,' I. 260, 321; II. 204; III. 6<sup>2</sup>; V. 30; his *De Nuptiis*, I. 260; *De Nuptiis Mercurii*, I. 316; IV. 303.

<sup>1</sup> Martianus Capella was well known to mediaeval writers; he is quoted by John of Salisbury in the *Policraticus*, and also by Petrarch, who possessed an incomplete MS. of the *De Nuptiis* (see Nohac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*, p. 329), and by Boccaccio in the *De Genealogia Deorum*. — <sup>2</sup> Benvenuto here quotes the commentary on the *De Nuptiis* written circ. 880 by Rémi de St. Germain d'Auxerre (Remigius Antissiodorensis).

**Martinus**, Martinus Polonus, Archbishop of Gnesen (d. 1278), author of the chronicle known as *Chronica Martiniana*, V. 472.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Benvenuto says here: 'Palatium Lateranum quod est prope sanctos Marcellinum et Petrum, versus septemtrionem, fuit palatium Neronis, ut dicit Martinus'; this is taken direct from the *Ottimo Comento*, which says: 'Il palagio a Laterano, ch'è appresso Santo Marcellino e Pietro, di verso settentrione, fu il palagio di Nerone imperadore; del quale dice Martino Diacono, cardinale, nella sua Cronica, etc.' (II. 683). The passage in question occurs in Chap. 6 (*De Palatiis*) of Bk. I. of Martinus' chronicle: 'Palatium Neronis, Lateranense, prope sanctum Marcellinum et Petrum. Et dictum est Lateranense, a latere Septentrionalis plagae, in quo situm est.'

**Mussatus Paduanus**, Albertino Mussato, historian and poet of Padua (1261–1330), I. 410<sup>1</sup>; V. 6,<sup>2</sup> 8.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A reference to Mussato's tragedy *Ecclinus* on the subject of Ezzelino da Romano (cf. Boccaccio, *Comento* II. 299). — <sup>2</sup> 'Mussatus poeta Paduanus.' — <sup>3</sup> 'Mussatus poeta.'

## N

**Naevius**, ancient Roman poet (Gnaeus Naevius, born circ. B.C. 270), IV. 36.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Macrobius, *Sat.* VI. 2. § 31. Naevius is mentioned by Boccaccio in his *Comento* (II. 427), together with Ennius, Plautus, Terence, and Horace.

## O

**Origenes**, Origen, doctor of the Church (Origenes Adamantius, 185–253), IV. 104, 337<sup>1</sup>; V. 396.

<sup>1</sup> A reference to his voluminous writings, which have been estimated at 6000; St. Jerome puts them at a third of that number. Cf. Boccaccio (*Geneal. Deor.* XIV. 22): 'Fuere huic homini [Origeni] tam grandes in componendo vires, ut nunquam circa id exhaustum videatur fuisse ingenium, nec in scribendo fatigata manus, ex quo in millia volumina variarum materiarum excessisse credatur.'

**Orosius, Paulus**,<sup>1</sup> author of the *Historiarum adversum Paganos Libri VII* (circ. A.D. 400), V. 43, 189; 'Orosius,' I. 82, 197, 389, 392, 406; II. 19; III. 62, 222, 251, 272, 339; IV. 15, 34, 43, 257, 278, 442, 450; V. 43, 44, 45, 269; 'presbyter hispanus, magnus historicus,' V. 44; 'vir valens et utilis,' V. 45; his *Ormesta mundi*, I. 82, 392; V. 43; quoted, I. 82 (*Hist.* VI. 22. §§ 1–8); I. 197 (*Hist.* I. 4. §§ 7–8); I. 389 (*Hist.* I. 13. § 2)<sup>2</sup>; I. 392 (*Hist.* ); I. 406 (*Hist.* III. 7. § 5; III. 18. § 10); II. 19 (*Hist.* I. 12. § 8); III. 62 (*Hist.* I. 8. § 1–10. § 7); III. 222 (*Hist.* VII. 35. §§ 14–22); III. 251 (*Hist.* I. 11. § 3); III. 272 (*Hist.* VI. 15. § 5); III. 339 (*Hist.* VI. 2. § 11); IV. 34 (*Hist.* VII. 10. § 6);

IV. 257 (*Hist.* VII. 26. § 9; VII. 27. §§ 1-16); IV. 278 (*Hist.* IV. 15. § 2);  
IV. 442 (*Hist.* VI. 11. § 9)<sup>4</sup>; IV. 450 (*Hist.* ); V. 43 (*Prolog.* §§ 9-10);  
V. 189 (*Hist.* VI. 15. § 13); V. 269 (*Hist.* ).

<sup>1</sup> Orosius was largely utilised by Dante, especially in the *De Monarchia*. (See my article *Dante's Obligations to Orosius in Romania*, XXIV. 385-398.) Petrarch, who was also considerably indebted to him, refers to him somewhat contemptuously as 'ille mundi malorum coacervator Orosius' (*Fam.* XV. 9). Boccaccio quotes him frequently in the *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium*, twice only in the *De Genealogia Deorum*, twice in the *De Montibus*, etc., and not once in the *Comento*. (See Hortis, *Studi sulle Opere Latine del Boccaccio*, pp. 475, 519, 520.)—<sup>2</sup> The exact meaning of this mysterious name, by which the work of Orosius was commonly designated in the Middle Ages, has not yet been explained. It is usually supposed to have arisen from the abbreviation *Or[osii] m[undi] is[tori]a*. (See Fabricius, *Bibliotheca mediae et infimae aetatis*, s.v. *Orosius*.)—<sup>3</sup> Benvenuto (or his copyist) here reads 'inhumana bestia'; Orosius says: 'Minotauro, utrum fero homini an humanae bestiae aptius dicam nescio.'—<sup>4</sup> Benvenuto applies the passage quoted in the text to Caesar's victory over Pompey at Pharsalus; the words of Orosius actually apply to his victory over Vercingetorix.

**Orpheus**, mythical Greek poet; his *Liber de Sacris Liberalibus*,<sup>1</sup> I. 175.

<sup>1</sup> Quoted from Macrobius, *Sat.* I. 18. § 22.

**Ovidius**, Ovid, Roman poet (Publius Ovidius Naso, B.C. 43-A.D. 18), I. 8, 35, 104, 149, 152, 156, 175, 186, 202, 214, 391, 452, 481, 489, 491, 517, 581; II. 72, 245, 246, 247, 248, 290, 396, 416, 420, 424, 453, 467, 469, 483, 552; III. 6, 8, 197, 249, 315, 323, 329, 330, 331, 362, 399, 400, 415, 425; IV. 50, 54, 76, 84, 93, 115, 116, 146, 166, 169, 181, 199, 250, 295, 300, 305, 306, 316, 320, 365, 382, 409, 490; V. 18, 72, 123, 183, 396; 'Ovidius Naso,' IV. 306; 'magnus magister amoris,' I. 214; 'optimus magister transformationum,' II. 248; his *De Arte Amandi*, I. 35; *Metamorphoseos*, I. 581; II. 72, 248; III. 8; V. 72, 123, 396; *Metamorphoseon*, V. 183; *De transformatis*,<sup>1</sup> I. 156; IV. 274; *Major*,<sup>2</sup> I. 104, 175, 391, 491; II. 246, 247, 248, 290, 396, 416, 420, 424, 467; III. 249, 315, 329, 331, 399, 415; IV. 50, 84, 93, 115, 166, 169, 300, 316, 365, 490; *Liber Fastorum*, I. 481, 489; IV. 301, 320; *Liber Epistolarum*,<sup>3</sup> V. 18; *Liber de Ponto*, IV. 409.

<sup>1</sup> Another name for the *Metamorphoses*, which Dante similarly speaks of as *De Rerum Transmutatione* (*Mon.* II. 8, 82, 85) and *De Rerum Transformatione* (*Epist.* IV. 4).—<sup>2</sup> Also the *Metamorphoses*, so called as being Ovid's longest poem: Dante speaks of it as *Ovidio Maggiore* (*Conv.* III. 3, 51) [*Claudianus: Statius*].—<sup>3</sup> That is, the *Heroides*.

## P

**Pacuvius**, Roman tragedian (Marcus Pacuvius, circ. B.C. 220-130), III. 197<sup>1</sup>; IV. 36.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Petrarch, *Remed. Utr. Fort.* II. 125.—<sup>2</sup> Cf. Macrobius, *Sat.* VI. 1. § 36; 5. § 14.

**Palladius**,<sup>1</sup> Latin writer on agriculture, author of the *De Re Rustica* (Rutilius Taurus Aemilianus Palladius, fl. Cent. IV. A.D.), II. 281.

<sup>1</sup> The treatise of Palladius was immensely popular in the Middle Ages; it is first mentioned by Isidore of Seville, who refers to the author as 'Aemilianus' (*Orig.* XVII. 1, 10); it is incorporated almost bodily in the *Speculum* of Vincent of Beauvais, and was very largely utilised by Brunetto Latino in his *Treasure* (I. 126-30), though Palladius is only once mentioned by name (I. 126). Benvenuto (or possibly a glossator) drags in the mention of Palladius 'Fuit etiam Palladius quidam autor romanus qui tractavit de agricultura' (A propos of the Palladium of Troy!

**Patricius, Sanctus**, St. Patrick (fl. circ. 440), III. 44.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A reference to St. Patrick's Purgatory, which is described in the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine. (See also Wright, *St. Patrick's Purgatory*, pp. 4-5, 133 ff.)

**Paulus Diaconus**, author of the *Historia Romana* (a continuation of Eutropius) and the *Historia Langobardorum* (circ. 720-790), I. 418,<sup>1</sup> 464; (IV. 162)<sup>2</sup> (*Hist. Lang.* VI. § 49).

<sup>1</sup> Benvenuto here gives the account of Attila 'sicut scribit Paulus Diaconus in suo libro de gestis Longobardorum'; the account, however, comes not from the history of the Lombards but from the *Historia Romana* (XIV. §§ 1-13). Villani utilises the same account, without mention of his authority (II. 1); as does Boccaccio in his *Comento* (II. 305 ff.), 'secondochè scrive Paolo Diacono nelle sue Croniche.' Boccaccio quotes the *Historia Langobardorum* in his *De Genealogia Deorum* (XI. 43), and *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium* (XI). (See Hortis, *Opere Latine del Boccaccio*, p. 485.)—

<sup>2</sup> The destruction of Classis by Liutprand.

**Persius**,<sup>1</sup> Roman satirist (Aulus Persius Flaccus, A.D. 34-62), I. 18, 24; III. 142, 197<sup>2</sup>; IV. 36,<sup>3</sup> 181, 240<sup>4</sup>; V. 51, 436; his *Prologus*, IV. 181 (*Prol.* 2); *Satirae*, I. 24 (*Sat.* V. 52-3); III. 142 (*Sat.* I. 27-8)<sup>5</sup>; V. 51 (*Sat.* III. 35)<sup>6</sup>; V. 436 (*Sat.* I. 27).

<sup>1</sup> Persius was well-known in the Middle Ages; he is frequently quoted by John of Salisbury in the *Policraticus*, and by Brunetto Latino (at secondhand), Petrarch (who possessed a ms.), and Boccaccio.—<sup>2</sup> Cf. Petrarch, *De Remediis utriusque Fortunae*, II. 125.—<sup>3</sup> The details of the life of Persius here referred to were doubtless derived from the life by Probus Valerius (sometimes ascribed to Suetonius).—<sup>4</sup> A reference to *Prol.* 2.—<sup>5</sup> Line 28 is misquoted (or misprinted) 'dicere hic est' for 'dicier hic est.'—<sup>6</sup> For 'Magne pater' Benvenuto reads 'Summe parens.'

**Petrarca, -archa**, Francesco Petrarca (1304-1374), I. 10, 79, 83, 89, 125, 179, 224, 227; II. 59, 185, 186; III. 6, 86, 145, 225, 312, 326, 376; IV. 76, 134, 230, 284, 309, 379, 488, 494; V. 191, 230, 261; 'novissimus poeta P.', I. 10, 79, 125; II. 59, 185; III. 86, 225; IV. 76, 284, 309, 488; V. 230; 'P. modernus,' I. 83; 'poeta Florentinus P.', I. 89, 227; III. 312; 'modernus poeta P.', I. 179, 224; 'P. noster,' III. 145; 'clarissimus poeta P.', III. 376; 'vir famosus P.', III. 376; 'novissimus P.', V. 261; his epistle to Benvenuto, I. 10; IV. 230; his epistle to Boccaccio concerning Dante, I. 79; his *Apologia contra Gallum*, I. 83; his love for Laura, I. 89; his *Itinerarium Syriacum*, I. 125; (III. 86-7, 379); his doubts as to Seneca's salvation, I. 179; his temperate habits, I. 224; his testimony as to the gluttony of the Florentines, I. 227; his sonnet *Dell' empia Babilonia*, II. 59; his story of the two Cardinals at Avignon, II. 185-6; his third *Ecloga*, III. 6; his reply to King Robert of Sicily as to the building of the Castello dell' Uovo by Virgil, III. 86; his *Psalmi Poenitentiales*, III. 145; his coronation with the laurel crown, III. 225; his eulogies of King Robert, III. 225; IV. 494; his praise of Giotto's art, III. 312; his reflections upon pride and humility, III. 326; his birth-place at Incisa, near Arezzo, III. 376; his references to the Arno, III. 376; his poetry inspired by love, IV. 76; his adoption of the *Sestina* from Arnaut Daniel, IV. 134; his eulogy of the countess Matilda of Tuscany, IV. 284; compared with Dante, IV. 309; his high opinion of the House of Swabia,



IV. 379; his residence on the banks of the Sorgue, IV. 488; the ingratitude of Florence to him, V. 191; his denunciation of the corruption of the Papal Court, V. 230; his lines 'Aeternum gemat ille miser,' etc., V. 261.

**Petrus Comestor**, Chancellor of the University of Paris, author of the *Historia Scholastica* (d. 1179), III. 62.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Benvenuto (unless the text is corrupt) refers to the *Historia Scholastica* as *Historia Ecclesiastica*.

**Petrus de Abano**,<sup>1</sup> Pietro d' Abano, physician and astrologer of Padua (1250-1315), II. 68<sup>2</sup>; III. 438.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> According to Tiraboschi (*Lett. Ital.* V. 287, ed. 1823) Benvenuto's mention of Pietro d'Abano is one of the only two references to him which occur in the literature of Cent. XIV. Both Benvenuto's references consist of more or less entertaining anecdotes. — <sup>2</sup> 'Vir singularis excellentiae.' — <sup>3</sup> 'Eximius philosophus, astrologus, et medicus.'

**Petrus Lombardus**, Peter Lombard, author of the *Sententiarum Libri Quatuor*, whence he was commonly known as 'Magister Sententiarum' (circ. 1100-1164); quoted as 'Magister Sententiarum,' I. 113.

**Petrus Ravennas**,<sup>1</sup> Peter of Ravenna, V. 52.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps St. Peter Damian, who was a native of Ravenna (circ. 1000-1072). Benvenuto speaks of the Peter in question as 'Conterraneus meus,' which, in the loose sense of 'native of the same district,' would hold of St. Peter Damian, Imola being only about twenty miles from Ravenna; but if the term is to be taken in the strict sense of 'native of the same city,' of course St. Peter Damian is out of the question.

**Philemon**, Greek comic poet (fl. circ. B.C. 330); 'notissimus comicus,' IV. 37.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Benvenuto's description of Philemon as 'notissimus comicus' was derived from Macrobius (*Sat.* VI. 21. § 7). According to Valerius Maximus (VIII. 12. *Ext.* § 6), Philemon died of laughing, a story to which Petrarch refers in a note on the margin of one of his mss. (See Nollac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*, p. 297.)

**Pindarus**,<sup>1</sup> Pindar, Greek lyric poet (circ. B.C. 522-442), III. 197; IV. 37, 306.

<sup>1</sup> Benvenuto may have derived his knowledge of Pindar from Macrobius (*Sat.* V. 17. §§ 7-14); but it is not improbable that he is referring to the so-called Pindarus Thebanus, the reputed author of the Latin hexameter epitome of Homer which was current in the Middle Ages. [Homerus.]

**Plato**, Greek philosopher (circ. B.C. 428-347), I. 11, 27, 263, 581; III. 4, 35, 61, 72, 78, 79, 311, 395, 416, 426, 434, 481, 485; IV. 96, 105, 106, 108, 306, 322, 332, 357, 359, 385, 388, 389, 390, 423, 469, 499; V. 99, 133, 342, 436, 494; 'magnus philosophus et poeta,' I. 10; 'magnus musicus,' III. 78; 'vir divini ingenii,' III. 79; 'magnus metaphysicus etiam poeta,' IV. 390; his *Phaedo*, I. 11; *Timaeus*,<sup>1</sup> I. 581; III. 61, 72, 395; IV. 106, 198, 322, 332, 388, 469.

<sup>1</sup> The *Timaeus* Benvenuto read in the Latin translation of Chalcidius, which he frequently quotes as his authority [Chalcidius]. Petrarch possessed a ms. of Chalcidius, as well as a ms. of Plato in the original Greek, which, however, he could not read. ('Nec literatus ego, nec Graecus, sedesim vel eo amplius Platonis libros domi habeo.' *De Ignorantia*.) This is the ms. to which Boccaccio refers in his *Comento on the Divina Commedia*: 'Li quali [libri di Platone] non ha molto tempo che io vidi, o tutti, o la maggior parte, o almeno i più notabili, scritti in lettera e grammatica greca in un grandissimo volume, appresso il mio venerabile maestro messer Francesco Petrarca' (Vol. I. p. 370, ed. Milanese). See P. de Nollac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*, pp. 43, 323-4, 329-34.

**Plautus**,<sup>1</sup> Roman comedian (T. Maccius Plautus, circ. B.C. 254-184), I. 47.

<sup>1</sup> Benvenuto does not appear to have been acquainted with any of the plays of Plautus. Petrarch knew the eight plays (*Amphitruo*, *Asinaria*, *Aulularia*, *Captivi*, *Curculio*, *Casina*, *Cistellaria*, and *Epidicus*) which were accessible in his day, as well as the spurious *Querolus*. The complete collection was not discovered until Cent. XV. (Nolhac, *op. cit.*, pp. 154, 369.)

**Plinius**,<sup>1</sup> Pliny, Roman historian (C. Plinius Secundus, A.D. 23-79), I. 46, 162, 178, 313, 564; II. 76, 132, 204, 205, 252, 254, 335, 372, 391, 454, 481; III. 22, 87, 196, 197, 204, 233, 279, 280, 292, 294, 309, 313, 340, 380, 393, 420, 453, 470, 485, 507, 527, 539, 542; IV. 36, 37, 72, 76, 89, 99, 129, 130, 162, 216, 278, 283, 297, 298, 308, 312, 325, 423, 434, 439, 449, 472, 489; V. 107; 'Plinius Secundus Veronensis,'<sup>2</sup> III. 87; 'Plinius paganus,' III. 292; his *Historia Naturalis*, I. 46, 162 (*Lib. VII*), 178 (*Lib. VII*); II. 205; III. 22 (*Lib. VII*), 279 (*Lib. XXXIII*), 292 (*Lib. VII*), 313, 420 (*Lib. VII*); IV. 99 (*Lib. VII*), 162, 278 (*Lib. VII*), 297 (*Lib. I*), 325, 434 (*Lib. VII*).

<sup>1</sup> Petrarch possessed a ms. of Pliny, which he bought at Mantua in 1350; mss. of Pliny were rare in Italy in Cent. XIV. (See Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*, pp. 47, 270.) Boccaccio frequently quotes Pliny in his *De Genealogia Deorum* ('clarus homo et eruditus,' VII. 14; 'gravissimus vir,' VII. 10; 'inter scriptores celeberrimus homo,' XII. 25) and *Comento* (I. 352, 353, 406; II. 184). (See Hortis, *Opere Latine del Boccaccio*, pp. 433-4.)—<sup>2</sup> Verona, not Como, was commonly regarded in the Middle Ages as the birthplace of Pliny (cf. III. 197); thus Petrarch speaks of him as 'Plinius Secundus Veronensis' (*Res Mem.* I. 2), 'vicinus noster Veronensis' (*Rem.* I. 64), 'Plinio Veronese' (*Trionf. della Fama*, III. 42), etc. (See Nolhac, *op. cit.*, pp. 269, 271.)

**Plotinus**,<sup>1</sup> neo-Platonic philosopher (circ. AD. 203-269), III. 35, 436; V. 436.

<sup>1</sup> Benvenuto's knowledge of Plotinus was perhaps derived from St. Augustine, who frequently quotes him, especially in the *De Civitate Dei*. Petrarch, who styles Plotinus 'ingens Platonius' (*Remed.* II. 114), several times quotes him. (See Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*, p. 331.)

**Plutarcus**, Plutarch, Greek historian and moralist (fl. circ. A.D. 80), I. 178; IV. 36<sup>1</sup>; 'Plutarcus philosophus, magister Trajani imperatoris,' I. 178<sup>2</sup>; his *Parallila* or *Comparationes*, I. 178.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Petrarch, *Fam.* XXIV. 5. Nolhac (p. 314) states that Petrarch knew nothing of Plutarch save the apocryphal *Institutio Trajani*, but this reference seems undoubtedly to the *Parallel Lives*, which are quoted by Benvenuto by name (I. 178).—<sup>2</sup> The notion that Plutarch was tutor of the Emperor Trajan is due to an apocryphal letter of Plutarch to Trajan, known also as *Institutio Trajani*, which is quoted in the *Policraticus* (V. 1-2) of John of Salisbury; it is several times quoted by Petrarch (*Remed.* I. 81; *Fam.* XVIII. 16; XXIV. 5; XXIV. 7).

**Policraticus.** [Johannes Anglicus.]

**Pollio**, Roman poet, orator, and historian (Caius Asinius Pollio, B.C. 76-A.D. 4), IV. 306.

**Pomponius Mela**,<sup>1</sup> Roman geographer, author of the *De Situ Orbis*, otherwise known as *Chorographia* (fl. circ. A.D. 40), I. 196 (*Chor.* I. 63); II. 83 (*Chor.* I. 88), 142<sup>2</sup> (*Chor.* II. 123), 288 (*Chor.* I. 27); III. 339; V. 16 (*Chor.* II. 77 ff.).

<sup>1</sup> Pomponius Mela is frequently quoted by Petrarch (see Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*, p. 301, n. 8), and is largely utilized by Boccaccio, especially in his *De Montibus*, etc. (See Hortis, *Opere Latine del Boccaccio*, pp. 251 ff.; and *Accenni alle Scienze Naturali nelle Opere del Boccaccio*, pp. 71 ff.) Boccaccio quotes him several times in his *Comento* (I. 98, 138, 386; II. 184, 204, 368), where he refers to his work under the title *Cosmografia*.—<sup>2</sup> 'Chalari,' called by Mela 'Caralis.'

**Priscianus**, Priscian, Latin grammarian, author of the *Institutiones Grammaticae* (Priscianus Caesariensis, fl. circ. A.D. 500), I. 522<sup>1</sup>; III. 197; V. 435.

<sup>1</sup> Benvenuto, perhaps by a confusion of Priscian with Priscillian, the heretical Bishop of Avila, says of the grammarian, 'monarchus fuit et apostatavit.'

**Proba**, Falconia Proba, a Christian poetess of uncertain name, place, and family, who is supposed to have lived about the beginning of Cent. V.; her only extant work is the *Centones Virgiliani*, in which she uses Virgil's words to tell the events of the Bible from the Creation to the Ascension, IV. 32.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Benvenuto here, following Boccaccio, who in his *De Claris Mulieribus* devotes a chapter to Proba (Cap. 95), credits Proba with the authorship of the *Homero-centones*, which were in reality the work of Eudoxia, wife of the Emperor Theodosius II.

**Pronapides**,<sup>1</sup> ancient Greek poet, native of Athens, according to Diodorus Siculus, the tutor of Homer; 'magister Homeri,' IV. 306; V. 133.

<sup>1</sup> Benvenuto's acquaintance with Pronapides was no doubt derived from Boccaccio, who mentions him four times in his *Comento sopra la Divina Commedia* (I. 198, 270, 321; II. 177) and frequently in his *De Genealogia Deorum*. Boccaccio quotes him on the authority of 'Theodontius,' and refers to a poem of his entitled *Protocosmos*.

**Propertius**,<sup>1</sup> Latin elegiac poet (Sextus Aurelius Propertius, fl. circ. B.C. 30), III. 196,<sup>2</sup> 197.

<sup>1</sup> Propertius was known to Petrarch, who possessed a ms. (see Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*, pp. 75 ff.), and to Boccaccio (*Geneal. Deor.* XIV. 16). — <sup>2</sup> The distich here quoted is taken from Donatus' *Vita Virgilii*.

**Proprietatibus Rerum, De.** [Bartholomaeus Anglicus.]

**Ptholomaeus.** [Ptolomaeus.]

**Ptolomaeus**, Ptolemy the astronomer (Claudius Ptolemaeus, fl. circ. A.D. 150), I. 180–1, 263, 520; III. 137<sup>1</sup>; IV. 311, 349; V. 34.

<sup>1</sup> 'Ptolomaeus in principio sui quadripartiti,' i.e. the *Tetrabiblon* or *Quadripartitum de Apotelesmatibus et Judiciis Astrorum*, in four books.

**Pythagoras**, Greek philosopher<sup>1</sup> (B.C. 582–circ. 506), III. 4; IV. 306, 321, 322, 388; V. 52.

<sup>1</sup> Benvenuto's 'quotations' from Pythagoras are derived at secondhand from Chalcidius (the translator of Plato's *Timaeus*), Aristotle, Cicero, etc.

## Q

**Quintilianus**,<sup>1</sup> Roman rhetorician (M. Fabius Quintilianus, circ. A.D. 40–118), I. 178, 179; V. 245; 'Quintilianus orator,' I. 178; his *De Institutione Oratoria*,<sup>2</sup> I. 178; *Liber de Causis*,<sup>3</sup> V. 282.

<sup>1</sup> The complete text of Quintilian was discovered by Poggio at the monastery of St. Gall in Switzerland in 1416, during the Council of Constance. Petrarch possessed an incomplete ms., which was given to him by Lapo da Castiglionchio in 1350; this is the one to which he refers in his Epistle to Quintilian (*Fam.* XXIV. 7): 'Oratoriarum Institutionum liber heu! discretus et lacer venit ad manus meas.' (Cf. Nolhac, *op. cit.* pp. 281–289). — <sup>2</sup> Bk. IX. — <sup>3</sup> This work is also mentioned by Petrarch in the above-quoted Epistle to Quintilian, where he refers to it as 'liber quem de Causis edidisti.' Nolhac identifies it, not with the *De Causis Corruptae Eloquentiae* or *Dialogus de Oratoribus* (often attributed to Quintilian, but more probably the work of Tacitus), which was not discovered until the fifteenth century, but with the spurious *Declamationes*, which in some mss. are entitled *De Civilibus Causis* (*op. cit.* p. 282).

**Quintus Curtius.** [Curtius, Quintus.]

## R

**Rabanus**, doctor of the Church<sup>1</sup> (Hrabanus Maurus Magentius, circ. 766–856), IV. 230, 307.

<sup>1</sup> Rabanus is freely quoted by Boccaccio in his *Comento* (I. 390–2, 405–6) and *De Genealogia Deorum* (I. 8; V. 2; VIII. 6; IX. 1; XII. 70).

**Raynaldus Veronensis**, Veronese poet, V. 198.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Benvenuto here quotes a couple of lines from an epitaph on Can Grande written by 'Raynaldus poetista Veronensis.' I can find no mention of him elsewhere.

**Remigius**, Rémi de St. Germain d'Auxerre (Remigius Antissiodorensis, fl. circ. A.D. 880); his commentary on the *De Nuptiis* of Martianus Capella, III. 6; his commentary on Aelius Donatus, the grammarian,<sup>1</sup> V. 90.

<sup>1</sup> See Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* CXXXI. 49.

**Richardus de Sancto Victore**, Richard of St. Victor, scholastic philosopher and mystic (d. 1173), V. 46.

**Ricobaldus Ferrariensis**, Riccobaldo da Ferrara, chronicler (fl. circ. 1300), I. 412<sup>1</sup>; V. 166.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Magnus chronicista.' — <sup>2</sup> 'Ricobaldus Ferrariensis in sua Chronica.'

**Rodericus archiepiscopus toletanus**, Rodrigo, Archbishop of Toledo, Spanish chronicler (d. 1247); his *Chronica de gestis Hispaniae*,<sup>1</sup> II. 233.

<sup>1</sup> The chronicle of Rodrigo, together with that of Lucas, Bishop of Tuy (d. 1250), forms the basis of the *Cronica General de España* (see Ticknor, *Hist. Span. Lit.* I. 144).

**Ruffinus.** [Rufinus.]

**Rufinus**, of Aquileia (Tyrranius Rufinus, circ. 345–410), the translator of Origen and Eusebius, and friend of St. Jerome, IV. 15,<sup>1</sup> 230.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Coupled as an historian with St. Augustine, St. Jerome, and Orosius. Benvenuto here apparently is alluding to the translation of Josephus attributed to Rufinus. — <sup>2</sup> 'Ruffinus.'

## S

**Salustius**,<sup>1</sup> Sallust, Roman historian (Caius Sallustius Crispus, B.C. 86–34), II. 223 (*Bell. Cat.* 57. § 1), 228<sup>2</sup> (*Bell. Cat.* 61. §§ 1–3); III. 39 (*Bell. Cat.* 54. § 6), 196, 323 (*Bell. Cat.* I. § 1); IV. 283,<sup>3</sup> 434 (*Bell. Cat.* 36. § 1, 60. § 7); V. 52<sup>4</sup> (*Bell. Cat.* 2. § 8), 489 (*Bell. Jug.* 17. § 3).

<sup>1</sup> Sallust was widely known in the Middle Ages. Brunetto Latino utilised him largely in his *Trésor* (see Chabaille, p. 715). Dante, oddly enough, never mentions him, and hardly appears to have read him. The reference to Cicero as 'nuovo cittadino' and to Catiline in the *Convivio* (IV. 5, ll. 173–5) is perhaps a reminiscence of *Bell. Cat.* 23. § 6. Petrarch constantly quotes Sallust (see Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*, pp. 246–7); Boccaccio comparatively seldom (see Hortis, *Opere Latine del Boccaccio*, p. 415). — <sup>2</sup> 'Salustius, nobilis et veridicus historicus'; Petrarch calls him 'nobilis veritatis historicus.' — <sup>3</sup> The statement here attributed to Sallust, that Tigris and Euphrates spring from the same source, which is repeated by several mediaeval writers, is not to be found in any of Sallust's extant works. Tozer (*Hist. Anc. Geog.* p. 272) says: 'As to the passage in Sallust . . . though we are not told in what part of his works it occurred, yet, as that writer composed a history of the campaigns of Lucullus in Asia, which was partly carried on in Armenia, it seems probable that it was introduced in this.' Benvenuto's authority was probably Isidore of Seville, who says: 'Salustius autor certissimus asserit Tygrum et Euphratem uno fonte manare in Armenia' (*Orig.* XIII. 21). Isidore's statement was copied both by Brunetto Latino: 'Salustes dit que Tigris et Eufrates issent en Hermenie de une meisme fontaine' (*Trésor*, I. 123); and by Roger Bacon (*Opus Majus*, IV. *Geographia*). See the articles **Euftrate** and **Tigri** in my *Dante Dictionary*. — <sup>4</sup> For 'sed multi mortales' Benvenuto (or his editor) reads 'sed morti mortales.'

**Sappho**, Greek lyric poetess (fl. circ. B.C. 600), IV. 76.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Benvenuto's knowledge of Sappho was doubtless derived from Macrobius (*Sat.* V. 21. § 6) and from Ovid's 'Epistola Sapphus Phaoni' (*Her.* XV).

**Secundus philosophus**, Athenian sophist of the time of Hadrian (A.D. 117-138), reputed author of a collection of *Sententiae*, which are frequently quoted by mediaeval writers,<sup>1</sup> I. 279.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> By Vincent of Beauvais, for example, in his *Speculum Historiale* (X. 70-71), by the author (supposed by some to be Brunetto Latino) of the *Fiore di Filosofi*, and by Bartolommeo da San Concordio in his *Ammaestramenti degli Antichi*. (For an account of the mss. and editions of the *Sententiae*, see Fabricius, *Bibl. Graec.* I. 866-70).—<sup>2</sup> Benvenuto here says: 'navis est avis lignea, domus sine fundamento, ut ait Secundus philosophus.' This *sententia* is not included among those given by the writers mentioned in the preceding note. For 'Secundus philosophus' here, there is another reading 'sanctus philosophus.'

**Sedulius**, Christian poet (fl. Cent. V.), IV. 230, 307.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the two passages Benvenuto evidently had in mind what Boccaccio says in the *De Genealogia Deorum* (XIV. 22).

**Seneca**,<sup>1</sup> Roman philosopher and poet (Lucius Annaeus Seneca, B.C. 4-A.D. 65), I. 104, 177-9, 179-80,<sup>2</sup> 281, 324, 333,<sup>3</sup> 440, 520; II. 72, 276, 420, 421, 453, 471; III. 18, 21, 32, 34, 84, 86, 275, 321, 381, 426, 435, 464, (482), 522; IV. 29,<sup>4</sup> 34, 35, 44, 45, 116, 180,<sup>5</sup> 248, 278, 369, 446, 490; V. 50, 191, 521; his *liber tragoediarum*, II. 72, 276, 420, 471; V. 521; his *Hercules Furens* ('tragoedia prima'), I. 104; II. 421; V. 50; his *Hecuba* or *Troades* ('tragoedia quae dicitur Troas'), II. 453; his *Hippolytus* or *Phaedra*, IV. 116; V. 191; his *Declamationes* or *Controversiae*,<sup>6</sup> I. 324; III. 21; his *Epistolae ad Lucilium*, III. 18, 84, 86; IV. 490; his *De Beneficiis*, III. 321; his *De Ira*, III. 426, 464; his *Quaestiones Naturales*, IV. 278.

Benvenuto, like most mediaeval writers, regarded Seneca the philosopher as distinct from the author of the tragedies; on the other hand the philosopher was credited with the authorship of the *Declamationes* or *Controversiae*, which were written by his father, Marcus Annaeus Seneca, the rhetorician. (See my article on 'Seneca Morale' in *Giorn. Stor. Lett. Ital.* XXXV, 334-8).—<sup>2</sup> Benvenuto here discusses the question as to the identity or not of 'Seneca moralis' and 'Seneca tragoedus.' (See note 1.)—<sup>3</sup> 'Seneca moralis.'—<sup>4</sup> 'Seneca tragoedus.'—<sup>5</sup> Discussion of the question as to the two Senecas. (See notes 1, 2.)—<sup>6</sup> The *Declamationes* here attributed to Seneca the philosopher were actually written by his father, M. Annaeus Seneca. (See note 1.)

**Servius**, the commentator on Virgil (Servius Maurus, or Marius, Honoratus, fl. circ. A.D. 400), I. 48 (on *Aen.* I. 242).

**Sidonius**, Caius Sollius Apollinaris Sidonius, Bishop of Clermont, commonly known as (Saint) Sidonius Apollinaris (A.D. 431-480), I. 180<sup>1</sup>; V. 472.

<sup>1</sup> 'Sidonius in quodam suo libro metrico'; Benvenuto here quotes the opinion of Sidonius that Seneca the philosopher and Seneca the tragic writer were two distinct persons [Seneca]. This reference to Sidonius is taken from a letter of Coluccio Salutati to Tancredo Vergiolesi in which the Seneca question is discussed, and which was borrowed by Benvenuto from Coluccio for the purpose of his note on Seneca. (See Novati, *Epistolario di Coluccio Salutati*, I. 154, and 170, note 2.)

**Simonides**,<sup>1</sup> Greek lyric poet (B.C. 556-467), I. 18, 246<sup>2</sup>; IV. 37; 'poeta Graecus,' IV. 37.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Benvenuto gives Aristotle (I. 246) and Valerius Maximus and Pliny (IV. 37) as his authorities for what he says of Simonides.—<sup>2</sup> From Aristotle, *Æet.* II. 16: 'Unde a Simonide quoque de divitiis ac sapientibus ad Hieroniam uxorem dictum est, cum interrogasset utrum melius esse divitem an sapientem. Sapientes, inquit, in divitum januis video. Ad haec quoniam dignos se arbitrantur

principatu. Ea enim habent quorum gratia dignum putant se caeteris dominari.'—<sup>3</sup> Benvenuto here states that Simonides died of joy on hearing that he had gained the prize for tragedy. He has mistakenly applied to Simonides the story told of Sophocles by Valerius Maximus (*Mem.* IX. 12. Ext. 5). Boccaccio (*Comento*, II. 17-18) tells the story (from Cicero, *De Divinatione*, I. 27) of how Simonides was saved from drowning by means of a dream.

**Solinus**, Latin writer on natural history, etc. (Caius Julius Solinus, perh. circ. A.D. 250), II. 204, 206.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Solinus de mirabilibus mundi' (XXVII. 29), quoted at second hand from Albertus Magnus *De Animalibus* (XXV.). The more usual title of Solinus' work is *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium*, but it is quoted under the former title also by Boccaccio (e.g. *Geneal. Deor.* V. 12; *Comento*, I. 392). Solinus was largely utilised by Brunetto Latino in his *Trésor* (see my article *Brunetto Latino's obligations to Solinus*, in *Romania*, XXIII. 62-77); he plays the part of guide in Fazio degli Uberti's *Dittamondo*. His work is frequently quoted both by Petrarch and by Boccaccio. (See Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*, p. 302; Hortis, *Opere Latine del Boccaccio*, p. 434.)

**Sophocles**, Greek tragic poet (B.C. 495-406), IV. 37,<sup>1</sup> 306.

<sup>1</sup> Sophocles, and the other Greek poets here named, are all mentioned by Macrobius in the *Saturnalia* (e.g. V. 19. §§ 9-11, 21. § 6). Petrarch, who in his *Res Memorandae* tells a story of Sophocles at second hand from Valerius Maximus (VIII. 7. Ext. § 12), commissioned the Calabrian Greek, Leontius Pilatus, to bring him mss. of Sophocles and Euripides from Constantinople (*Sen.* VI. 1), but it does not appear that he ever received them. Boccaccio mentions Sophocles, together with Aeschylus, Euripides, and Simonides, in his *Comento* (II. 427).

**Soranus, Valerius.** [Valerius Soranus.]

**Stattius**,<sup>1</sup> Roman poet (Publius Papinius Statius, circ. A.D. 61-96), I. 18, 104, 321, 476, 477, 478, 479; II. 19, 70, 72, 74, 77, 78, 83, 87, 276, 489, 517, 518, 520; III. 77, 253, 485; IV. 15, 16, 25, 27, 29, 130, 274, 364; his *Thebaid*, quoted, in *prohemio sui Thebaidos*, IV. 16; in *Majori*,<sup>2</sup> I. 104; II. 72, 77; III. 77; IV. 29; in *suo Thebaidos*, II. 276; in *Thebaidos*, II. 489; in *primo Thebaidos*, IV. 274; in *II. Thebaidos*, II. 517; in *III. Thebaidos*, I. 476; in *V. sui Majoris*, II. 19; in *V. Majoris*, IV. 130; in *VI*, II. 83; in *VII. Thebaidos*, II. 70; in *VII*, II. 518; in *libro VIII*, II. 520; in *X*, I. 477; in *X. Thebaidos*, IV. 364; in *XII et ultimo Thebaidos*, II. 78; his *Achilleid*, quoted, in *prohemio Achilleidos*,<sup>3</sup> IV. 16; in *suo Minori, quod dicitur Achilleida*, III. 253; in *primo Achilleidos*, II. 87.

<sup>1</sup> Benvenuto (IV. 15), like Dante (*Purg.* XXI. 89), Petrarch (*Rem.* II. 125, *Op.* 214; *Contra Gallum*, *Op.* 1081), Boccaccio (*Amorosa Visione*, V. 34), Chaucer (*House of Fame*, III. 370), and most mediaeval writers, thought that Statius was a native of Toulouse. The mistake arose through a confusion of Statius the poet (who was actually born at Naples) with Statius Surculus or Ursulus, a rhetorician of Toulouse, who is mentioned by St. Jerome. (See Hortis, *Studi sulle Opere Latine di Boccaccio*, p. 408; Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*, p. 162; Cochin, *Lettres de F. Nelli à Pétrarque*, pp. 285-7.)—<sup>2</sup> That is, in the *Thebaid*, this being his longest poem. Similarly Ovid's *Metamorphoses* is spoken of as *Major*, and the *De Raptu Proserpinae* of Claudian is spoken of as *Minor* [Claudianus: Ovidius].—<sup>3</sup> Benvenuto here combats the opinion, — which was certainly held by Dante (*Purg.* XXI. 92-3) in spite of Benvenuto's quibble, — that the *Achilleid* was left unfinished. The question aroused some interest in the Middle Ages; thus we find Francesco Nelli writing in 1362 (*Ep.* XXVIII. ed. Cochin) to Petrarch to ask his opinion, which, though not recorded in reply to this letter, is given elsewhere (*Sen.* XI. 17. *Op.* 895) to the effect that the poem was complete, an opinion which was shared by Nelli and by Forese de' Donati. (See Nolhac, *op. cit.*, p. 165.)

**Suetonius**,<sup>1</sup> Roman historian, author of the *Vitae duodecim Caesarum* (Caius Suetonius Tranquillus, b. circ. A.D. 70), I. 48, 159 (*Vit.* VI. § 52), 162, 163 (*Vit.* I.

§ 45), 225 (*Vit.* VI. § 27), (228)<sup>2</sup> (*Vit.* III. § 42), (250-1)<sup>3</sup> (*Vit.* IV. § 41), (288)<sup>4</sup> (*Vit.* VII. § 17), 440 (*Vit.* VI. § 35), 459 (*Vit.* VI. § 38); II. (326) (*Vit.* I. § 77)<sup>5</sup>, 372 (*Vit.* I. § 29), 379 (*Vit.* VIII. § 1), 391, (460)<sup>6</sup> (*Vit.* II. § 90), 559-60 (*Vit.* I. §§ 80-9); III. 79 (*Vit.* VI. § 49), 188 (*Vit.* I. § 28), 272 (*Vit.* I. § 54), 392 (*Vit.* I. §§ 31-2), 486 (*Vit.* I. § 35), 487 (*Vit.* I. § 57); IV. 14, (33)<sup>7</sup> (*Vit.* VIII. §§ 19, 3, 22, 13, 14), (55)<sup>8</sup> (*Vit.* VIII. § 18), 128 (*Vit.* I. §§ 49-52), 156, 198 (*Vit.* II. §§ 80, 22), 363 (*Vit.* I. § 47), 440, 445 (*Vit.* I. §§ 55-6), (446)<sup>9</sup> (*Vit.* I. §§ 50, 52); V. 16 (*Vit.* I. § 35), 472 (*Vit.* VI. § 31).

<sup>1</sup> Suetonius was a favourite author in the Middle Ages; he is quoted, for instance, more than thirty times by John of Salisbury in the *Policraticus* (see Schaarschmidt, *Johannes Saresberiensis*, p. 89, n. 4), frequently by Petrarch in the *Res Memorandae* and elsewhere (see Nollhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*, pp. 243-4), and by Boccaccio in his *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium*, and in his *Comento* (I. 215, 350, 353). Benvenuto only twice in his *Comentum* speaks of Suetonius as 'Suetonius Tranquillus' (viz. I. 440; III. 487). He seems to have been under the impression that there were two writers of the name of Suetonius, one the author of the *Vitae duodecim Caesarum*, the other the author of a history of the wars of Julius Caesar. This latter, whom he regarded as the elder, he refers to as 'Suetonius major de bello civili' (V. 16), and elsewhere (IV. 440) he says 'alter Suetonius fecit satis magnum librum de ista materia' (i.e. Caesar's wars). In his *Romuleon* he constantly (e.g. Lib. VIII. Capp. 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 13, ff.) gives Suetonius as his authority when he is really quoting Caesar's *Commentaries*. In one place (*Romuleon*, VIII. 26; Vol. II. p. 255, ed. Guatterri) he actually quotes Caesar as 'Suetonius de duodecim Caesaribus.' Elsewhere (Vol. II. p. 303) he makes Suetonius the author of the *De Bello Alexandrino* and the *De Bello Africano*. This mistake is the more curious in that Benvenuto himself in his *Comentum* (IV. 445) quotes the statement of Suetonius (I. § 56) that Caesar wrote an account of his own wars. This confusion, which seems not to have been confined to Benvenuto, is supposed by Hortis (*Opere Latine del Boccaccio*, pp. 332 ff.) to have originated with Orosius, who in his *Historia adversus Paganos* (VI. 7. §§ 1, 2) says: 'Anno ab urbe condita DCXCIII C. Caesar et L. Bibulo consulibus lege Vatinia Caesar tres provinciae cum legionibus septem in quinquennium datae Gallia Transalpina et Cisalpina et Illyricus; Galliam Comatam postea Senatus adject. Hanc historiam Suetonius Tranquillus plenissime explicuit, cujus nos competentes portiunculas decerpimus.' Orosius then proceeds to give a long account of Caesar's doings which is simply compiled from the *Commentaries*. — <sup>2</sup> Claudius Tiberius Nero. — <sup>3</sup> Caligula. — <sup>4</sup> Vitellius. — <sup>5</sup> Sylla. — <sup>6</sup> Augustus. — <sup>7</sup> Domitian. — <sup>8</sup> Domitian. — <sup>9</sup> Julius Caesar and Cleopatra.

## T

**Tacitus, Cornelius**,<sup>1</sup> Roman historian (circ. A.D. 60-120), I. 152, 179, 201, 440; IV. 258.

<sup>1</sup> Tacitus was unknown to Petrarch; Boccaccio was acquainted certainly with books XIII.-XVI. of the *Annales*, and books II.-III. of the *Historiae*. (See Nollhac, *Boccaccio et Tacite*). Benvenuto, whose knowledge of Tacitus was probably derived from Boccaccio, refers only to *Annales* XV, except in one case (I. 201), where his reference appears to be an error. Tacitus is quoted by Boccaccio in his *Comento* (I. 333, 397, 400, 402), whence Benvenuto's references were apparently derived, and in his *De Genealogia Deorum*, and is utilised in the *De Claris Mulieribus*. (See Hortis, *Opere Latine del Boccaccio*, pp. 425-6.) Benvenuto refers to Tacitus also in his *Libellus Augustalis* in the life of Claudius Caesar.

**Terentius**,<sup>1</sup> Terence, Roman comedian (P. Terentius Afer, circ. B.C. 190-150), I. 47; II. 28; IV. 35; his *Eunuchus* ('secunda comoedia quae intitulatur Eunuchus'), II. 28.

<sup>1</sup> All the six plays of Terence were known in Benvenuto's day. Petrarch was acquainted with them and quotes them some thirty times (Nollhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*, pp. 154, 157). Boccaccio (*Comento*, I. 134) asserts that Christ quoted Terence to St. Paul, and regards this as a proof

that poetry is not *cibus diaboli*:— 'Non Cristo medesimo incontrò a Paolo, abbatuto dalla sua potenza in terra, usò il verso di Terenzio cioè: *Durum est tibi contra stimulum calcitrare?* Ma sia di lungi da me che io creda, Cristo queste parole, quantunque molto davanti fosse, da Terenzio prendesse; assai mi basta a confermare la mia intenzione, il nostro Signore aver voluto alcuna volta usare la parola e la sentenza prolata già per la bocca di Terenzio, acciocchè egli appaia che del tutto i versi de' poeti non sono cibo del diavolo.' The phrase 'adversus stimulum calces' occurs in the *Phormio* (I. 2. 28).

**Themistius**, Greek philosopher and rhetorician (fl. circ. A.D. 380), I. 183<sup>1</sup>; IV. 106.

<sup>1</sup> 'Themistius primus commentator Aristotelis.' A Latin translation of the commentaries of Themistius existed at an early date, made not direct from the Greek but through the medium of the Arabic. (See Jourdain, *Traductions Latines d'Aristote*, pp. 166, 405.)

**Theophrastus**, Greek philosopher (d. B.C. 278), I. 517.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Theophrastus' saying, here referred to, as to the shortness of human life is taken by Benvenuto (without acknowledgment) direct from Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.*, III. 28: 'Theophrastus autem moriens accusasse naturam dicitur, quod cervis et cornicibus vitam diuturnam, quorum id nihil interesset, hominibus, quorum maxime interfuisset, tam exiguum vitam dedisset.'

**Tholomaeus**, Tolo-, [Ptolomaeus].

**Thomas de Aquino**, St. Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274), I. 262; III. 91, 300, 303; V. 34, 41, 421, 428, 430, 461, 472; his *Contra Gentiles*, V. 428.

**Trogus Pompeius**, Roman historian, author of the lost *Historiae Philippicae*, of which an abridgment by Justin has been preserved (circ. B.C. 20), I. 195; III. 62, 311,<sup>1</sup> 339; IV. 298. [Justinus.]

<sup>1</sup> Benvenuto here states that Trogus was contemporary with Augustus, a fact which may be gathered from Justin, XLIII. 5. §§ 11, 12. There is an interesting mention of Trogus in the *De Civitate Dei* of St. Augustine (IV. 6), to which reference is made by Petrarch (*Contra Gall.*, Op. 1080, ed. 1581). Boccaccio mentions Trogus once only in his *Comento* (I. 357), in connection with Justin.

**Turpinus archiepiscopus remensis**, Turpin,<sup>1</sup> Archbishop of Rheims, traditional author of the *Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi*, II. 513; V. 213<sup>2</sup>; his chronicle (II. 456)<sup>3</sup> (*Hist.* §§ 22-3); (II. 473)<sup>4</sup> (*Hist.* § 17); II. 513 (*Hist.* § 21); V. 213 (*Hist.* § 20).

<sup>1</sup> Turpinus has been identified with Tilpinus, who was Archbishop of Rheims from about 753 to 800. (See Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of MSS. in the British Museum*, I. 546 ff.)—<sup>2</sup> By a blunder of the editor, or of the copyists, the text here reads *Tricipinus* instead of *Turpinus*.—<sup>3</sup> The defeat of Roland at Roncesvalles.—<sup>4</sup> The giant Ferracutus.

## V

**Valerius Maximus**,<sup>1</sup> compiler of the *De Factis et Dictis Memorabilibus Libri IX* (circ. A.D. 25), I. 115, 165, 177; II. 72, 318; III. 25; V. 107<sup>2</sup>; 'Valerius,' I. 34, 46, 166, 170, 173, 180, 196, 207, 230, 317, 322, 386, 404, 409, 479, 514; II. 11, 22, 27, 75, 84, 93, 296, 327, 335, 341; III. 24, 31, 232, 284, 413; IV. 35, 37, 44, 124; V. 16, 114, 191, 348, 398, 448; his *Liber de Memorabilibus*,<sup>3</sup> II. 296; quoted, I. 34 (*Mem.* VI. 9. *Ext.* 4); I. 115 (*Mem.* VIII. 14. *Ext.* 5); I. 165 (*Mem.* VI. 1. § 1); I. 166 (*Mem.* IV. 6. § 4); I. 173 (*Mem.* III. 3. *Ext.* 2); I. 174 (*Mem.* III. 3. *Ext.* 3); I. 177 (*Mem.* V. 3. § 4)<sup>4</sup>; I. 180 (*Mem.* VIII. 12. *Ext.* 1); I. 196 (*Mem.* IX. 3. *Ext.* 4); I. 207 (*Mem.* IX. 1. § 9); I. 230;



I. 317 (*Mem.* VIII. 9. § 2); I. 322 (*Mem.* VIII. 9. *Ext.* 3); I. 386 (*Mem.* VIII. 11. *Ext.* 4); I. 404; I. 409 (*Mem.* I. 7. *Ext.* 6); I. 514 (*Mem.* IV. 5. *Ext.* 2)<sup>5</sup>; II. 11 (*Mem.* VIII. 14); II. 22 (*Mem.* IX. 10. *Ext.* 2); II. 27<sup>6</sup>; II. 72 (*Mem.* VIII. 15. *Ext.* 3); II. 75 (*Mem.* I. 1. § 1); II. 84 (*Mem.* II. 1. § 1); II. 93 (*Mem.* VIII. 7. *Ext.* 2, 3); II. 296 (*Mem.* IX. 2. *Ext.* 9); II. 318 (*Mem.* VII. 3. *prol.*); II. 327 (*Mem.* II. 8. § 7); II. 335 (*Mem.* IX. 3. *Ext.* 2); II. 341 (*Mem.* I. 8. *Ext.* 19); III. 24, 25; III. 31 (*Mem.* VI. 2. § 5); III. 232 (*Mem.* II. 1. § 3); III. 284; III. 413 (*Mem.* V. 1. *Ext.* 2); IV. 44 (*Mem.* II. 1. § 5); IV. 124 (*Mem.* VIII. 11. *Ext.* 4); V. 16 (*Mem.* II. 6. § 7); V. 114 (*Mem.* II. 6. § 12); V. 191 (*Mem.* V. 3. *Ext.* 3); V. 6. *Ext.* 2); V. 348 (*Mem.* I. 8); V. 398 (*Mem.* VIII. 11. *Ext.* 4); V. 448; also (without mention of Valerius), III. 172 (*Mem.* V. 10. *Ext.* 3)<sup>7</sup>; III. 280 (*Mem.* VIII. 11. *Ext.* 4)<sup>8</sup>; III. 426 (*Mem.* IV. 1. *Ext.* 2)<sup>9</sup>; III. 455 (*Mem.* VIII. 7. *Ext.* 4, 5, 8; IX. 2. *Ext.* 5)<sup>10</sup>; IV. 37 (*Mem.* IX. 12. *Ext.* 4)<sup>11</sup>; IV. 306 (*Mem.* VIII. 14. § 1)<sup>12</sup>; IV. 367 (*Mem.* IV. 5. *Ext.* 1).<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Petrarch possessed a ms. of Valerius Maximus, whom he quotes very frequently (Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*, p. 250). — <sup>2</sup> Benvenuto wrote a commentary on Valerius Maximus (cf. IV. 35); in this passage he appears to refer to a rival commentator. His own work, which was completed between 1387 and 1388, and was dedicated to Niccolò II of Este, Benvenuto's patron at Ferrara, has not yet been printed. It appears from the following passage in a letter from Pier Paolo Vergerio (the biographer of Petrarch), written from Padua on June 17, 1390, to Ugo da Ferrara, shortly after Benvenuto's death, that it was uncertain at that time whether the commentary on Valerius had been completed: 'Fama erat quod super libro magni Valerii opus nulli priorum cessurum cudebat. Quod qui eventus exceperit dubium est. Creditur quod nondum in totam personam exuerat.' Two mss. of it have been preserved. (See Rossi-Casè, *Di Maestro Benvenuto da Imola, Commentatore Danteasco*, pp. 96, 146-7.) — <sup>3</sup> This is the only occasion on which the work of Valerius is mentioned by name. — <sup>4</sup> Loosely quoted. — <sup>5</sup> Loosely quoted. — <sup>6</sup> The story of Demosthenes and the harlot, here referred by Benvenuto to Valerius, is not found in that author; it is told by Aulus Gellius (I. 8. §§ 5, 6), who was doubtless Benvenuto's authority. — <sup>7</sup> Anaxagoras. — <sup>8</sup> Praxiteles' Venus. — <sup>9</sup> Architas and Plato. — <sup>10</sup> Socrates, Democritus, and Carneades; Ptolomaeus Physicon (or Phytton, as Benvenuto and some mss. of Valerius read). — <sup>11</sup> Euripides' death. — <sup>12</sup> Scipio and Ennius. — <sup>13</sup> Spurinna.

**Valerius Soranus**, Roman poet (Quintius Valerius Soranus, fl. circ. B.C. 100), III. 327-8.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Benvenuto here quotes the two hexameter lines of Soranus which have been preserved at second-hand from St. Augustine (*Civ. Dei*, VII. 9).

**Varo.** [Varro.]

**Varro**,<sup>1-4</sup> the most learned of the Romans' (Marcus Terentius Varro, B.C. 116-28), II. 84<sup>2</sup>; III. 197,<sup>3</sup> 328,<sup>4</sup> 432<sup>5</sup>; IV. 36,<sup>6</sup> 293,<sup>7</sup> 300,<sup>8</sup> 306.

<sup>1</sup> Benvenuto's knowledge of Varro was derived from St. Augustine and from Macrobius. On Petrarch and Varro, see Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*, pp. 304-8; on Boccaccio and Varro, see Hortis, *Opere Latine del Boccaccio*, pp. 434-6. — <sup>2</sup> From St. Augustine, *Civ. Dei*, XVIII. 9. — <sup>3</sup> *Civ. Dei*, III. 4; VI. 2. — <sup>4</sup> *Civ. Dei*, VII. 9. — <sup>5</sup> *Civ. Dei*, III. 4; VI. 2. — <sup>6</sup> From Petrarch, *Fam.* XXIV. 5. — <sup>7</sup> *Civ. Dei*, VI. 2; VII. 30. — <sup>8</sup> From Macrobius, *Sat.* I. i8. § 4.

**Varus**, Roman jurist (Publius Alfenus Varus, fl. circ. B.C. 40), III. 197<sup>1</sup>; IV. 306.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Petrarch, *Remed. Utr. Fort.*, II. 125. — <sup>2</sup> Benvenuto here speaks of Varus as 'Quintilius Varus,' and calls him a poet.

**Vicentius Belvacensis**, Vincent of Beauvais, the encyclopaedist (circ. 1190-circ. 1264); his *Speculum Historiale*, III. 38.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Benvenuto here severely criticises Vincent of Beauvais for his inaccuracy: 'Nota quod Vicentius Belvacensis in suo *Speculo Historiali*, quod fuit opus vere gallicum, scribit quod Cato Uticensis fecit libellum quo pueri scholastici utuntur; quod non solum est falsum sed impossibile, quia in illo libello fit mentio de Lucano, qui fuit tempore Neronis. Dicit etiam quod Cicero fons romanae eloquentiae fuit legatus Caesaris in Gallia, quod est similiter falsum, quia ille fuit Q. Cicero frater M. Ciceronis.' (As to the latter point, cf. Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*, p. 191.)

[**Villani, Giovanni**]<sup>1</sup>, Florentine chronicler (d. 1348), I. 230-3, 347, 414-16, 453, 463, 513, 537, 540; II. 42, 46, 49, 50, 56, 114, 176-8, 220, 262-4, 302, 306-8, 314, 319-20, 341, 342, 346-50, 503, 506, 510, 511, 512, 525-6; III. 102-3, 105-7, 108-9, 207-8, 210-11, 213, 215, 216, 233, 316-17, 345, 383, 444-6, 528, 531-5; IV. 79, 377, 484, 489.

<sup>1</sup> Benvenuto does not mention Villani by name, but he made very considerable use of his chronicle, sometimes whole consecutive chapters of it being translated almost word for word. It will be found that most of the matter on the pages referred to above comes from Villani, though his accounts are occasionally supplemented from other sources.

**Virgilius**, Virgil, Roman poet (Publius Virgilius Maro, B.C. 70-19); his *Aeneid*,<sup>1</sup> I. 34, 45, 46, 49, 60, and *passim*; his *Eclogues*, I. 46, 47, 51, 55, 56, etc., etc.; his *Georgics*, I. 51, 56, 156, etc., etc.

<sup>1</sup> On Benvenuto's declension of *Aeneis*, *Bucolica*, *Georgica*, see my note in *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, XXXIV. 274.

**Vitruvius**, Roman architect (Marcus Vitruvius Pollio, fl. circ. B.C. 50); his *Liber de Architectura*, IV. 37.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Vitruvius, who is apparently nowhere mentioned by Petrarch, is several times quoted by Boccaccio in his *De Genealogia Deorum* (III. 21; IV. 54; XII. 70), as well as in his *De Montibus*, etc. (See Hortis, *Opere latine del Boccaccio*, p. 434.) I have not been able to identify the passage about Homer, referred to here by Benvenuto. Perhaps he had in mind the description of Homer as 'poëtarum parens philologiaeque omnis dux' in Bk. VII. § 8.

## W

**Wilhelmus Durandus**. [Guglielmus Durantes.]

## Z

**Zeno episcopus Veronensis**, St. Zeno, Bishop of Verona (circ. 356-380),<sup>1</sup> author of various sermons and theological treatises; his *Liber de avaricia*, I. 256.

<sup>1</sup> See Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, II. 600-1. An edition of St. Zeno's works was published at Verona in 1739; and an Italian translation, by Dionisi, appeared at the same place in 1784.

## APPENDIX.

### BENVENUTO DA IMOLA AND THE *ILIAD* AND *ODYSSEY*.<sup>1</sup>

ONE of the striking features of the commentary of Benvenuto da Imola on the *Divina Commedia* is the frequency of his references to Homer. During the Middle Ages, down to about the middle of the fourteenth century, the Homeric poems were practically unknown to western Europe. The *Iliad* was accessible — the term is hardly appropriate — only in the miserable epitome in Latin hexameters, commonly known as *Pindarus Thebanus de bello Trojano*, in which the twenty-four books of the original are condensed into a little more than a thousand lines.<sup>2</sup> A few passages both from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were known to mediaeval writers through the medium of Cicero, and of the Latin translations of Aristotle, in certain of whose works Homer is quoted pretty frequently. Thus Dante, who quotes Homer six times (the *Iliad* four times, and the *Odyssey* twice), got all his quotations save one from Aristotle; viz. *Iliad*, XXIV, 258-9, quoted in the *Vita Nuova* (§ 2, ll. 51-2<sup>3</sup>), the *Convivio* (IV, 20, l. 37), and the *De Monarchia* (II, 3, l. 55) from *Ethics*, VII, 1; — *Iliad*, II, 204, quoted in the *De Monarchia* (I, 10, ll. 29-31), from *Metaphysics*, XII, 10; — and *Odyssey*, IX, 114, quoted in the *De Monarchia* (I, 5, ll. 34-6), from *Politics*, I, 2; the remaining passage, *Odyssey*, I, 1, quoted

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted from *Romania*, xxix. 403-415.

<sup>2</sup> Actually 1069 lines, which are distributed into eight books of very unequal length, the fifth and seventh books containing respectively only 26 and 55 lines each, while the eighth book contains 331 lines. This epitome, which was also known as *Homerus Latinus* or *Homerus de bello Trojano*, was several times printed in the fifteenth century, viz. at Venice, without date, but probably 1477 (*Proctor* 4264); at Parma, in 1492 (*Proctor* 6866); at Paris, in 1499 (*Proctor* 8327); it was also twice printed at Fano at the beginning of the sixteenth century, viz. in 1505 and 1515. There are four mss. of the work in the British Museum, viz. *Egerton* 2630; *Harl.* 2582; *Harl.* 2560; and *Add.* 15,601 (which is incomplete). Cf. Joly, *Benoît de Sainte-More et le Roman de Troie*, pp. 151-4. Owing to an acrostic (*Italicus*) in the first eight lines of the poem, some have thought that the author was Silius Italicus. Cf. Novati, *Epistolario di Coluccio Salutati*, III, 274, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> The line-references are to the text of the Oxford Dante.

in the *Vita Nuova* (§ 25, ll. 90-3), comes from the *Ars Poetica* of Horace (ll. 141-2).

Benvenuto da Imola, whose commentary on the *Divina Commedia* was completed in the year 1380 or perhaps a little later,<sup>1</sup> quotes the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* no less than twenty-eight times.<sup>2</sup> The question as to how he obtained his knowledge of them — he certainly was totally ignorant of Greek,<sup>3</sup> so that he could not have read them in the original, — is one of considerable interest. In Benvenuto's day, thanks to the untiring exertions of Petrarch and Boccaccio, a complete Latin translation of both the *Iliad*

<sup>1</sup> The date of the completion of the final draft of Benvenuto's commentary is fixed at about the year 1380 from internal evidence, the latest reference to contemporary events being, as is usually alleged, to the destruction of the Castle of Sant' Angelo at Rome in 1379, during the contest between the partisans of Pope Urban VI, and those of his rival, Cardinal Robert of Geneva, who became anti-Pope under the title of Clement VII (vol. II, pp. 8, 53). There is, however, another allusion in the commentary, which seems to have escaped the notice of Benvenuto's biographers, and which may possibly point to a somewhat later date than the year 1380. This allusion occurs in the comment on the word *Cesare* in the first canto of the *Paradiso* (vol. IV, p. 305), where, after speaking of the triumphs of the old Roman Emperors, Benvenuto adds, by way of contrast, that "our present Emperor devotes himself to the cult of Father Bacchus" (*Noster vero imperator Liberum patrem colit*). This seems, at first sight, to be a pointed reference to the intemperate habits of the Emperor Wenceslaus, which gained him the nickname of the "toper" or "wine bibber." In this case, unless we are to assume that Wenceslaus already within two years of his accession (in 1378) had become notorious for his drunken habits, of which there appears to be no evidence, we must suppose this part of the commentary to have been written later than 1380 by some years. I find, however, that in his *Libellus Augustalis*, which was certainly written within a year or two of the accession of Wenceslaus, Benvenuto uses a similar expression of the Emperor Charles IV (the father and predecessor of Wenceslaus), whom he describes as "Baccho immolans" — a reproach which appears to have been levelled at that emperor by Boccaccio also (see Cochin, *Études italiennes*, p. 110). The reference in the commentary, therefore, may very well be to the Emperor Charles IV, and not to his successor.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. I, pp. 26, 77, 124, 159; vol. II, pp. 70, 72, 77, 87, 88, 280, 282, 286-7, 288, 448, 467, 482; vol. III, pp. 38, 128, 259, 330, 339, 356, 460, 501; vol. IV, pp. 162, 364. His references to Homer altogether, including every mention of him, are seventy in number.

<sup>3</sup> That Benvenuto knew no Greek is plainly evident from the absurd etymologies with which his commentary abounds; e.g. "Acheron dicitur sine salute, ab a, quod est sine et chere, quod est Salve" (vol. I, p. 123); "hypocrita interpretatur desuper auratus" (vol. II, p. 168); "Calliope a chalo, quod est bonum, et phonos, quod est sonus" (vol. III, p. 7); "pedagogus a pedos, quod est puer, et goge, quod est ducere" (vol. III, p. 323); "geomantia dicitur a geos, quod est terra, et mantos, divinatio" (vol. III, p. 497); "ambrosia, quasi aurosia: aurosia enim graece dicitur cibus vel esca" (vol. IV, p. 89); "Eunoè, sic dictum ab eu, quod est bonum, et noys, quod est mens" (vol. IV, p. 179); "Crisostomo interpretatur os aureum, nam grisos graece, aurum latine, et stomox, id est os" (vol. V, p. 89); and so on. These etymologies, of course, are not Benvenuto's own, but are taken for the most part from the *Vocabularium* of Papias, the *Magnae Derivationes* of Ugucione da Pisa, or the *Catholicon* of Giovanni da Genova.

and the *Odyssey* was in existence in Italy. The story of how this translation came to be made is as follows.<sup>1</sup>

In the year 1353 Petrarch had made the acquaintance at Avignon of Nicolas Sigeros, who was present at the Papal Court as the envoy of the Greek Emperor, for the purpose of negotiating the projected union of the Greek and Latin Churches. In the following year Petrarch, to his great delight, received from Constantinople, through the good offices of Sigeros, who had returned thither, a ms. of the Homeric poems in the original Greek. His letter of thanks for this munificent gift, dated from Milan, has been preserved among the *Epistolae de rebus familiaribus*. "You have sent me," he writes to Sigeros, "from the confines of Europe a gift than which nothing could be more worthy of the donor, more gratifying to the recipient, or more noble in itself. Some make presents of gold and silver, others of gems and precious stones, others again of jewellery and goldsmith's work. You have given me Homer, and, what makes it the more precious, Homer pure and undefiled in his own tongue. Would, however, that the donor could have accompanied his gift! for, alas! your Homer has no voice for me, or rather I have no ears for him! Yet the mere sight of him rejoices me, and I often embrace him and sigh over him, and tell him how I long to hear him speak."<sup>2</sup> Petrarch's ignorance of Greek, over which he laments in the above letter to Sigeros, caused Homer to remain a sealed book to him for several years after he had come into possession of this precious ms., during which time he eagerly sought for some means of procuring a Latin translation, whereby he might become acquainted with the contents of his treasure, even if only at second-hand. At last the wished-for opportunity presented itself. In the winter of 1358-9 he made the acquaintance at Padua of a Calabrian Greek,<sup>3</sup> Leontius

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hortis, *Studj sulle opere latine del Boccaccio*, pp. 502 ff.; and Nollac, *Pétrarque et Phumanisme*, pp. 322-3, 339 ff.

<sup>2</sup> This letter, of which the above is a brief abstract, is printed by Fracassetti, *Francisci Petrarcae Epistolae de rebus familiaribus et variae*, vol. II, pp. 472-5 (*Lib. XVIII, Epist. ii*). Cf. Nollac, *op. cit.*, p. 323.

<sup>3</sup> Leontius, in order to pass as a pure Greek, gave himself out to be a native, not of Calabria, but of Thessaly, and Boccaccio consequently, not unwilling doubtless to enhance the value of the instruction he received from Leontius, frequently refers to him in his *Comento sopra la Divina Commedia* as "Leon Tessalo" (*Les. xii*, vol. I, p. 319; *Les. xix*, vol. I, p. 467; *Les. xxvi*, vol. II, p. 48; *Les. xxix*, vol. II, p. 83), or "Leone Tessalo" (*Les. xvi*, vol. I, p. 394); similarly in his *De Genealogia Deorum* he calls him "Leontius Thessalus" (*Lib. VII, cap. 41*) or "Leontius Pilatus Thessalonicensis" (*Lib. XV, cap. 6*). Boccaccio, however, must have known that Leontius was a Calabrian, for Petrarch had told him as much in a letter which is printed among the *Epistolae rerum senilium*: "Leo noster vere Calaber, sed ut ipse vult Thessalus, quasi nobilius sit graecum esse quam italum; idem

(or Leo) Pilatus by name, whom he employed to make translations of certain passages from his ms. of Homer. Shortly after (at the beginning of 1360), Leontius, at the invitation of Boccaccio, went to Florence, where he was domiciled under Boccaccio's own roof, and here, at the instigation of Petrarch and at his charges,<sup>1</sup> he made a complete translation into Latin prose of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, from a ms. which appears to have been purchased by Boccaccio for the purpose.<sup>2</sup> This translation, which was begun in 1360, at last came into Petrarch's hands in 1367, and was at once copied, under his superintendence, into two volumes which are still extant

tamen ut apud nos graecus sit, apud illos puto italus, quo scilicet utrobique peregrina nobilitetur origine" (*Lib. III, Epist. v.*, Basle ed., p. 775). Salvini, misled by Boccaccio's calling Leontius "Leon Tessalo," in a note to *Lex. xxix* of the *Comento* (vol. II, p. 83), says: "Quest'era un Greco di Tessalonica." Leontius seems to have been a repulsive personage, and it is a proof of their devotion to letters, and their ardent thirst for a knowledge of Greek, that Petrarch and Boccaccio endured his presence as they did. Petrarch, in the above-quoted letter to Boccaccio, speaks of him as "magna bellua"; and Boccaccio, under whose roof at Florence he lived for three years while the translation of Homer was being made, describes him as follows in his list of the authorities utilised in the *De Genealogia Deorum*: "Leontium Pilatum Thessalonicensem virum, et ut ipse asserit, praedicti Barlaae auditorem, persaepe deduco; qui quidem aspectu horridus homo est, turpi facie, barba proluxa, et capilitio nigro, et meditatione occupatus assidua, moribus incultus, nec satis urbanus homo . . . eum legentem Homerum, et mecum singulari amicitia conversantem ferè tribus annis audivi . . . illum in propriam domum suscepi, et diu hospitem habui (*Lib. XV, capp. 6. 7*). Cf. Hortis, *op. cit.*, pp. 502-3.

<sup>1</sup> Hortis (*op. cit.*, p. 508) says: "La prima versione completa d'Omero che, nell'Italia risorta alla classica letteratura, abbia veduto la luce, fu fatta per eccitamento di Francesco Petrarca, per opera di Leonzio Pilato, a spese di Giovanni Boccacci." Nolhac, however (*op. cit.*, p. 345, n. 2), contests this, and says it ought to be "per eccitamento e a spese di F. P." He reconciles the respective statements of Petrarch (*Sen. III, Epist. v.*, Basle ed., p. 776) and Boccaccio (*Geneal. Deor. XV, 7*), as to the expenses borne by each in the making of the translation, as follows: "Boccace a acquis de ses deniers le premier manuscrit d'Homère qui soit venu à Florence; Pétrarque a donné à Léon Pilate la rémunération nécessaire pour le travail exécuté à l'aide de ce manuscrit."

<sup>2</sup> See Nolhac, *op. cit.*, pp. 341-2, where he shows that it could not have been from Petrarch's ms. that the translation at Florence was made. It may be noted here that Boccaccio certainly possessed a ms. of Homer of his own, for he expressly mentions the fact in a passage of the *De Genealogia Deorum*, where he justifies himself for having introduced Greek quotations into his work: "Seu hos, seu alios dicturos non dubito quoniam ostentationis gratia graeca carmina operi meo immiscuerim, quod satis adverte non ex charitatis fomite emissum, quinimo uredine livoris impii impellente ex adusti cordis intrinseco haec emittatur objectio, impie factum est. Ast ego profecto non commovebor opitulante Deo, sed more solito humili gradu in responsum ibo. Dico igitur, si nesciunt carpentes immeritum, insipidum est ex rivulis quaerere quod possis ex fonte percipere. *Erant Homeri libri mihi, et adhuc sunt*, ex quibus multa operi nostro accommoda sumpta sunt." (*Lib. XV, cap. 7*.) It is obvious from the context that the "Homeri libri" referred to were not the Latin translation of Leontius Pilatus, but the original Greek.

with marginal annotations in the poet's own handwriting.<sup>1</sup> Leontius, meanwhile, who had gone to Constantinople in search of other Greek mss., had met with a somewhat singular death at the beginning of this same year, having been struck by lightning during a storm in the Adriatic on his voyage back to Venice.<sup>2</sup>

This Latin translation of Homer was largely utilised by Boccaccio, both in his Latin works,<sup>3</sup> and in his commentary on the *Divina Commedia*<sup>4</sup>; and there can be very little doubt that this same translation was, directly or indirectly, the source of Benvenuto da Imola's knowledge of Homer.

Benvenuto quotes the *Iliad* eight times, and the *Odyssey* twenty times<sup>5</sup>; but only in two instances does he quote with sufficient precision to make it possible to identify the version of which he made use. By means of these two instances, however, I am able to prove conclusively that this version is identical with that made by Leontius Pilatus. The first of these two quotations (vol. II, p. 88)<sup>6</sup> comes from *Iliad*, I, 69-72:

Homerus, primo Ilyados, dicit quod Calcas erat augur avium optimus, qui sciebat omnia praesentia, praeterita, et futura, . . . per divinationem quam sibi dederat Apollo.

<sup>1</sup> Hortis, *op. cit.*, p. 507, n. 4; Nolhac, *op. cit.*, p. 247. These two volumes are now in the Bibliothèque nationale (*Par.* 7880. 1, 2). Hortis (*op. cit.*, pp. 543-76) has printed the first book of the *Iliad* and the first book of the *Odyssey* from these mss. Nolhac (p. 349) gives good reasons for supposing that Petrarch was engaged upon the annotations to Homer at the time of his death, which took place in his study at Arqua on 18 July, 1374.

<sup>2</sup> The manner of his death is related by Petrarch in a letter to Boccaccio: "O male igitur, o pessime actum de Leone dicam nostro, cogit enim pietas atque ingens miseratio, sine stomacho jam de illo loqui, de quo pridem multa cum stomacho, mutatus est animus semper meus, cum illius hominis fortuna, quae cum misera fuerit, nunc horrenda est. . . . O quid dicam, miserabilem, terrificamque rem audies. Jamque Bosphorum atque Propontidem, jamque Hellespontum, Aegaeumque, et Ionium, maria Graeca transiverat, jam Italicae telluris, ut auguror, aspectu laetus dicerem, ni natura respueret: at equidem minus moestus, Adriacum sulcabat aequor, dum repente, mutata coeli facie pelagique, saeva tempestas exoritur, caeterisque ad sua munera effusis, Leo miser, malo affixus inhaeserat. Malo (inquam) vere, malorumque ultimo, quod per omne aevum multa perperso, dura in finem fortuna servaverat. Horret calamus infelicis amici casum promere; ad summam, inter multas et horrissonas coeli minas, iratus Juppiter telum torsit, quo disjectae antennae, incensaque carbasa in favillas abiere, et lambentibus malis flammis aethereis, cunctis stratis ac territis, solus ille noster periit — hic Leonis finis." (*Sen.* VI, *epist.* 1; Basle ed., pp. 806-7.)

<sup>3</sup> Chiefly in the *De Genealogia Deorum*. See the list of passages given by Hortis (*op. cit.*, pp. 371-2); which is, however, far from being complete.

<sup>4</sup> In the *Comento the Iliad* is quoted three times (*Les.* xviii, vol. I, p. 462; *Les.* xix, vol. I, p. 467; *Les.* xxii, vol. I, p. 511), and the *Odyssey* three times (*Les.* i, vol. I, p. 97; *Les.* vii, vol. I, p. 201; *Les.* xviii, vol. I, p. 466).

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 46, n. 2. The *Iliad* references are, vol. I, p. 26 (*Il.* xviii, 109-10); vol. I, p. 77 (*Il.* i, 1); vol. II, p. 87 (*Il.* ii, 123-8); vol. II, p. 88 (*Il.* i, 68-73); vol. II, p. 280 (*Il.* v, 4); vol. II, p. 282 (*Il.* iv, 358); vol. III, p. 259 (*Il.* xxiv, 765-6); vol. III, p. 339 (*Il.* ii, 690-1).

<sup>6</sup> In the comment on *Inferno*, xx, 110.

The rendering of Leontius is as follows :

Calcas Thestorides augur avium valde optimus,  
 Qui sciebat queque presentia queque futura et preterita . . .  
 Quam divinationem hanc enim dedit sibi  
 Phebus Apollo.<sup>1</sup>

The second quotation (vol. III, p. 128),<sup>2</sup> which is from *Odyssey*, XI, 298-300, is more convincing still, as it contains a mistranslation, which occurs also in the version of Leontius. Benvenuto, à propos of Castor and Pollux, says :

Homerus, XI *Odysseae*, introducitur Ulysses dicentem :  
 Et Ledam vidi Tyndari uxorem,  
 Quae sub Tyndaro fortissimos<sup>3</sup> genuit filios,  
 Castorem equo bellicosum,<sup>4</sup> pugillo bonum Pollucem.

Leontius Pilatus renders :

Et Ledam vidi Tyndarei uxorem,  
 Que sub Tyndareo fortes sensibus genuit filios,  
 Castorem equo bellicosum<sup>3</sup> et pugillo bonum  
 Polydeuchea.<sup>5</sup>

Of Benvenuto's twenty quotations from the *Odyssey* no less than sixteen are from the eleventh book. The eleventh book of the *Odyssey*, of course, is that which contains the description of Ulysses' visit to Hades ; and this

<sup>1</sup> From Hortis, *op. cit.*, pp. 545-6. See above, p. 49, n. 1. The passage in the original is :

Κάλχας Θεστορίδης, οἰωνοπόλων ὄχ' ἄριστος·  
 ὅς ῥ' ἦδη τὰ τ' ἔοντα, τὰ τ' ἐσόμενα, πρό τ' ἔοντα, . . .  
 ἦν διὰ μαντοσύνην, τήν οἱ ποιε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων.

<sup>2</sup> In the comment on *Purgatorio*, IV, 61.

<sup>3</sup> *Fortissimos* is no doubt a copyist's error for *fortes sensibus* (= κρατερῶφρονε), for which it might easily be mistaken in mss., where *sensibus* would appear in the abbreviated form.

<sup>4</sup> *Equo bellicosum* is meant to represent the Greek ἵππόδαμον, of which, of course, it is a misrendering, the Greek word meaning "tamer of steeds."

<sup>5</sup> I am indebted to the kindness of M. Gaston Raynaud of the Bibliothèque Nationale for the transcript of this passage from ms. lat. 7880, 2 (fol. 83 r<sup>o</sup>), which, as has already been mentioned, is one of the two identical volumes into which the version of Leontius Pilatus was copied for Petrarch, and which contain his own annotations. See above, p. 49, n. 1. The passage in the original is :

Καὶ Λήδην εἶδον, τὴν Τυνδαρέου παράκοιτιν,  
 ἣ ῥ' ὑπὸ Τυνδαρέφ κρατερῶφρονε γείνατο παῖδε,  
 Κάστορά θ' ἵππόδαμον καὶ πύξ ἀγαθὸν Πολυδεύκεα.



may perhaps be the reason why Benvenuto quotes almost exclusively from that book. But another explanation is possible. While the Latin translation of Homer by Leontius Pilatus was in progress at Florence, under Boccaccio's roof, Petrarch became impatient, and wrote to Boccaccio to send him at least that portion of the *Odyssey* which describes the adventures of Ulysses in the nether world.<sup>1</sup> In compliance with this request Boccaccio copied out the desired extract, and despatched it separately to Petrarch.<sup>2</sup> Now it is by no means improbable that, when later he became possessed of the whole of the Latin version of Homer, Petrarch may have placed this fragment from the eleventh book of the *Odyssey* at the disposal of Benvenuto, in whose commentary on the *Commedia* he took a warm interest, if we are to believe the evidence of Benvenuto himself. Writing to Petrarch in the spring of 1374, only a few weeks before the old poet was found dead among his books at Arquà — the death he had longed for,<sup>3</sup> — Benvenuto says: "You must know that last year I put the finishing touch to my commentary on Dante, about which you used so often to enquire. I will send you a copy of it as soon as I can find a safe messenger."<sup>4</sup> From this reference to the commentary it is obvious that Petrarch was not only acquainted with the fact that Benvenuto was engaged upon it, but that he also encouraged him in his task. That Benvenuto da Imola was on terms of friendship, if not of intimacy, with Petrarch is well known. One of the last letters written by Petrarch before his death, if not actually the last, was addressed to Benvenuto from Padua in February 1374, in response to an enquiry from the latter as to whether poetry ought to be

<sup>1</sup> "Partem illam Odyssee, qua Ulixes it ad inferos . . . quam primum potes . . . utcumque tuis digitis exaratam" (*Sen.* III, *Epist.* v, *ad fin.*, Basle ed., p. 776). Cf. Nohac, *op. cit.*, pp. 343-4.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Nohac, *op. cit.*, p. 345.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Fam. praeft.*, *ad fin.*: "Scribendi mihi vivendique unus (ut auguror) finis erit" (*Fracassetti*, I, 25-6); *Sen.* XVI, *Epist.* 11 (Basle ed., p. 968, *ad fin.*): "me . . . opto ut legentem aut scribentem . . . mors inveniat." Cf. Nohac, *op. cit.*, pp. 74, 332 (n. 1), 349.

<sup>4</sup> "Scias me anno praeterito extremam manum commentarii meis, quae olim tanto opere efflagitasti, in Dantem praeceptorem meum imposuisse." Of course Benvenuto can here only be referring to the completion of the first draft of his commentary, for he certainly made subsequent additions to it, as is evident from the reference, for instance, to the destruction of the Castle of Sant' Angelo at Rome in 1379 (vol. II, pp. 8, 53). See above, p. 46, n. 1. The authenticity of this letter of Benvenuto to Petrarch (of which only a portion has been preserved) has been questioned, but, as it appears, on insufficient grounds. (See Lacaita, *Benvenuti de Rambaldis de Imola Comentum super Dantis Aldigherii Comediam*, vol. I, pp. xxviii-xxx; and Rossi-Casè, *Di Maestro Benvenuto da Imola, commentatore dantesco*, pp. 75 ff.; and *Ancora di Maestro Benvenuto*, p. 14. For the other side of the question see articles by Novati in *Giornale storico della Letteratura Italiana*, XIV, 258 ff.; XVII, 93.)

included among the liberal arts<sup>1</sup>; and it was in reply to this epistle, to which allusion is twice made in his commentary on the *Commedia*,<sup>2</sup> that Benvenuto wrote the letter in which the passage quoted above occurs. Further, from a reference of Benvenuto's to Petrarch's personal habits,<sup>3</sup> it is evident that he had, on one occasion at least, lived under the same roof with him, either as his guest, or as his host, or at the house of a common friend. There is nothing, therefore, inherently improbable in the supposition that Petrarch supplied Benvenuto with his duplicate of the Latin version of the eleventh book of the *Odyssey*, by way of helping him in his *magnum opus* upon Dante.

Benvenuto's references to the *Odyssey*, other than to the eleventh book, are, as has been noted, four in number. The opening line of the first book is quoted (vol. I, p. 77) from the *Ars Poetica* of Horace — "Dic mihi, Musa, virum" (l. 141) — a passage which Petrarch, oddly enough, thought was a relic of a lost translation of Homer by Cicero.<sup>4</sup> From the tenth book are taken the accounts of Circe (vol. II, pp. 286-7), and of the wallet of winds given to Ulysses by Aeolus (vol. IV, p. 162); and from the twelfth book the account of the shipwreck of Ulysses in the straits of Messina (vol. II, p. 288).<sup>5</sup>

Of Benvenuto's quotations from the *Iliad*, one, that of the opening line of the first book (vol. I, p. 77): "Iram pande mihi Dea," appears to be cited (inaccurately, doubtless from memory) from the metrical epitome known as *Pindarus Thebanus de bello Trojano* already mentioned,<sup>6</sup> which begins

Iram pande mihi Pelidae diya superbi.

<sup>1</sup> *Sen. XIV, Epist. XI*, Basle ed., pp. 941-2. A corrected text of this letter is printed by Rossi-Casè, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-4.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. I, p. 10; vol. IV, p. 230. It may be noted here that Benvenuto mentions Petrarch, whom he usually describes as "novissimus poeta Petrarcha," no less than thirty times in his Commentary.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. I, p. 224.

<sup>4</sup> "Translationem illam veterem Ciceronis opus, quantum intelligere est, cujus principium Arti poeticae Flaccus inseruit, latinitati perditam, ut multa alia, et doleo et indignor" (*Var. XXV*, Fracassetti, III, 369).

<sup>5</sup> It is not impossible that Benvenuto may have derived these three accounts at second hand from the *De Genealogia Deorum* of Boccaccio with which he was certainly acquainted, for on one occasion at least he refers to it by name: "Johannes Boccacius, verius bucca aurea, venerabilis praeceptor meus, . . . ibi [sc. Certaldo] pulcra opera edidit; praecipue edidit unum librum magnum et utilem ad intelligentiam poetarum, *De Genealogiis Deorum*" (vol. V, p. 164). Boccaccio's account of Circe is in *Lib. IV, cap. 14*, and *Lib. XI, cap. 40*; that of the shipwreck of Ulysses in *Lib. XI, cap. 40*; and that of Ulysses and Aeolus in *Lib. III, cap. 20*. In one instance, however (that of Circe) Benvenuto's account is somewhat fuller than that of Boccaccio.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 45.

At any rate it does not come from the version of Leontius Pilatus, whose rendering of the first line of the *Iliad* is

Iram cane dea Pellidis Achillis.<sup>1</sup>

*Iliad*, XVIII, 109-10, is quoted (vol. I, p. 26) from Aristotle<sup>2</sup>: "Ira est tam delectabilis quod Aristoteles refert Homerum dixisse quod ira est dulcior melle distillante. . . . Hoc autem scribit Homerus libro suae Iliados."

Benvenuto's other quotations from the *Iliad* are (vol. II, p. 88) from *Iliad*, I, 69-72, which has already been mentioned<sup>3</sup>; (vol. II, p. 87) from *Iliad*, II, 123-8; (vol. III, p. 339) from *Iliad*, II, 690-1; (vol. II, p. 282) from *Iliad*, IV, 358; (vol. II, p. 280) from *Iliad*, V, p. 4; (vol. III, p. 259) from *Iliad*, XXIV, 765-6. This last passage, as printed in Lacaita's edition of Benvenuto's commentary, refers to the *twenty-third* book of the *Iliad*, but this is doubtless due, either to a misprint, or to a mistake on the part of the copyists (XXIII, instead of XXIIII), for the reference is certainly to the twenty-fourth book.<sup>4</sup>

In what way Benvenuto da Imola obtained access to the Latin version of Homer made by Leontius Pilatus remains a matter of conjecture. The eleventh book of the *Odyssey*, from which sixteen out of Benvenuto's twenty-eight quotations from Homer are taken, may very likely, as I have

<sup>1</sup> From Hortis, *op. cit.*, p. 543.

<sup>2</sup> The passage occurs at the beginning of chap. 2 of the second book of the *De Rhetorica*. Aristotle, as a matter of fact, does not mention Homer, but merely gives the quotation with the observation *καλῶς εἰρηται* ("praeclare dictum est"). Benvenuto doubtless got the reference to Homer from a marginal gloss.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 49.

<sup>4</sup> Benvenuto says: "Debes scire quod tempore mortis Hectoris Helena jam steteret in Troia per spatium viginti annorum, ut scribit Homerus XXIIII (corr. XXIIII) Iliados."

That the passage Benvenuto had in mind comes from the twenty-fourth book is proved by the fact that Boccaccio in his *Comento* refers to the same passage, which he expressly states to be in the last book of the *Iliad*. He says (on *Inferno*, V, 64-5): "la quale lunga dimension di tempo fu per spazio di venti anni, cioè dal dì che Elena fu rapita, al dì che a Menelao fu restituita; perciocchè tanto stette Elena in Troia, e alquanto più, siccome Omero nell' ultimo libro della sua Iliade dimostra laddove lei piangendo sopra il morto corpo di Ettore, fa dire quasi queste parole, che essendo ella stata venti anni appo Priamo e i figliuoli, mai Ettore non le avea detta una ingiuriosa parola." (*Loc. xviii*, vol. I, p. 462.) The passage referred to in the *Iliad* is the following (XXIV, 765-7):—

"Ἦδη γὰρ νῦν μοι τόδ' ἑικοστὸν ἔτος ἐστίν,  
 ἐξ οὗ κείθεν ἔβην, καὶ ἑμῆς ἀπελήλυθα πάτρης·  
 ἀλλ' οὔπω σεῦ ἄκουσα κακὸν ἔπος, οὐδ' ἀσύφλον.

It is not unlikely that Benvenuto took his reference to this passage at second-hand from the *Comento* of Boccaccio.

shown above, have been supplied to him by Petrarch. Complete mss. of Leontius' version cannot have been common in Benvenuto's day — nor indeed do they appear to have been common at any time, for only two copies apparently are known at the present day, viz. the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, which formerly belonged to Petrarch, now in the Bibliothèque nationale (Ms. lat. 7880, 1, 2), and the *Iliad* in the Magliabechiana, and *Odyssey* in the Laurenziana at Florence.<sup>1</sup> We may suppose, therefore, that for his other references, in so far as they were not taken at second-hand from the *Comento*<sup>2</sup> or the *De Genealogia Deorum*<sup>3</sup> of Boccaccio, Benvenuto was indebted either to the oral instruction of "venerabilis praeceptor meus Boccaccius de Certaldo,"<sup>4</sup> or to friendly communications on the part of "Petrarcha noster,"<sup>5</sup> who alone, so far as we know, were in possession of copies of the translation by Leontius Pilatus.

<sup>1</sup> See Hortis, *op. cit.*, pp. 508, 543, 562. We find Coluccio Salutati in a letter to Francesco Bruni, dated July 15, 1867 (ed. Novati, I, 267) referring to Homer for an account of the Sirens, but his description has every appearance of having been taken from the *De Genealogia Deorum* of Boccaccio (VII, 20). From a letter of Salutati to Antonio Loschi, dated July 21, 1392 (ed. Novati, II, 354), it appears that the latter, who had in mind to make a metrical version of the *Iliad*, had read, and perhaps transcribed the translation of Leontius Pilatus, which Salutati refers to as "Homerice translationem Iliados, horridam et incultam." In another letter to the same correspondent, dated Sept. 29, 1392 (ed. Novati, II, 398), Salutati refers to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in a way which gives the impression that he had read portions at least of both poems. To judge, however, from the infrequency of his references to Homer, Salutati's acquaintance with the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* cannot have been very extensive. Besides the references already mentioned I have only noted the following: ed. Novati, III, 269, 274 (where the first line of the so-called Pindarus Thebanus is quoted), 389, 491, 545, 548; none of these is to the *Odyssey*.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 53, n. 4.

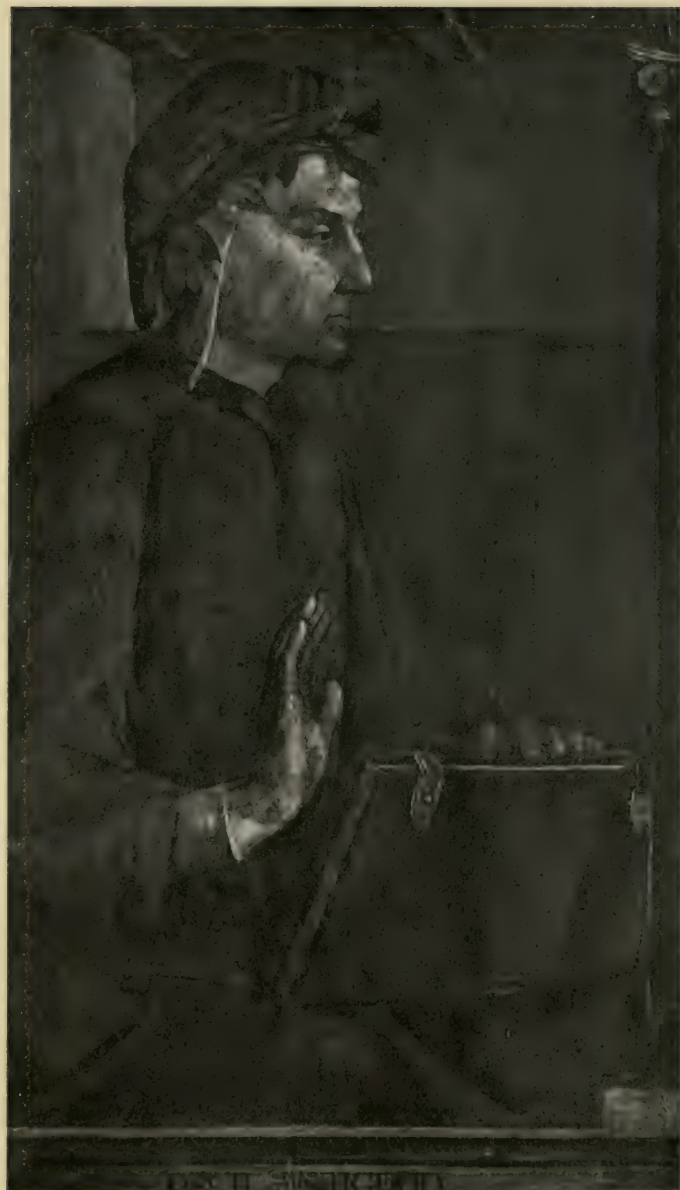
<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 52, n. 5.

<sup>4</sup> *Benevenuti Comentum*, vol. I, p. 79; V, pp. 145, 164, 301. Benvenuto several times in his commentary mentions that he derived information from Boccaccio (see, for instance, vol. I, pp. 34, 461; vol. V, p. 301; and we know from his own statement (vol. V, p. 145: "dum audirem venerabilem praeceptorem meum Boccaccium de Certaldo legentem istum nobilem poetam in ecclesia sancti Stephani") that he was present during a portion at least of Boccaccio's lectures on the *Divina Commedia* at Florence.

<sup>5</sup> *Benevenuti Comentum*, vol. III, p. 145.

PAGET TOYNBEE.





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LUIGI MONTI . . . . .	New York, N. Y.
LEWIS F. MOTT . . . . .	New York, N. Y.
B. H. NASH . . . . .	Boston, Mass.
MRS. CHARLES H. NETTLETON . .	Derby, Conn.
NEW BEDFORD FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY	New Bedford, Mass.
MISS GRACE NORTON . . . . .	Cambridge, Mass.
C. E. NORTON . . . . .	Cambridge, Mass.
AUSTIN O'MALLEY . . . . .	Notre Dame, Ind.
MISS KATHERINE OSBORN . . . .	Binghamton, N. Y.
C. G. PAGE . . . . .	Boston, Mass.
MISS SELMA W. PAINE . . . . .	Bangor, Me.
*T. W. PARSONS.	
*THEODORE C. PEASE.	
MISS CATHERINE M. PHILLIMORE .	Henley-on-Thames, England.
MISS KATHERINE REED . . . . .	Washington, D. C.
*MISS JULIA A. DE RHAM.	
F. N. ROBINSON . . . . .	Cambridge, Mass.
MRS. HÉLOISE DURANT ROSE . .	New York, N. Y.
PIERRE LA ROSE . . . . .	Cambridge, Mass.
W. H. RUDDICK . . . . .	Boston, Mass.
G. H. SAVAGE . . . . .	Lynnfield Centre, Mass.
MRS. EBEN G. SCOTT . . . . .	Wilkesbarre, Pa.
MISS MARY AUGUSTA SCOTT . . .	Northampton, Mass.
MISS THEODORA SEDGWICK . . .	Cambridge, Mass.
E. S. SHELDON . . . . .	Cambridge, Mass.
MISS EVELYN B. SHERRARD . . .	Wellesley, Mass.
CARROLL SMYTH . . . . .	Philadelphia, Pa.
MISS MARY L. SOUTHWORTH . . .	Cleveland, Ohio.
C. L. SPERANZA . . . . .	New York, N. Y.
C. CHAUNCEY STILLMAN . . . . .	New York, N. Y.
T. RUSSELL SULLIVAN . . . . .	Boston, Mass.

\* Deceased.

- HENRY O. TAYLOR . . . . . New York, N. Y.  
 LUCIEN E. TAYLOR . . . . . Providence, R. I.  
 WILLIAM R. THAYER . . . . . Cambridge, Mass.  
 \*MISS ANNA E. TICKNOR.  
 HENRY A. TODD . . . . . New York, N. Y.  
 PAGET TOYNBEE . . . . . Burnham, Bucks, England.  
 MARS E. WAGAR . . . . . Cleveland, Ohio.  
 \*E. L. WALTER.  
 MRS. M. A. WARD . . . . . Cambridge, Mass.  
 BARRETT WENDELL . . . . . Boston, Mass.  
 R. RADCLIFFE-WHITEHEAD . . . . . Santa Barbara, Cal.  
 MRS. HENRY WHITMAN . . . . . Boston, Mass.  
 \*JUSTIN WINSOR.  
 G. E. WOODBERRY . . . . . New York, N. Y.  
 JOHN WOODBURY . . . . . Boston, Mass.  
 FRANCIS WYATT . . . . . New York, N. Y.

\* Deceased.

## STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS.

The following statement summarizes the receipts and expenditures of the Society from December 31, 1900, when the present Treasurer assumed charge of the accounts of the Society, until May 21, 1901.

Prize fund in the hands of the Treasurer of Harvard College . . . . .	\$100 00	
Balance received from the previous Treasurer of the Society . . . . .	388 48	
Received from members' fees until May 21, 1901 . . . . .	485 00	
		\$973 48
Prize fund in the hands of the Treasurer of Harvard College . . . . .	\$100 00	
Paid for printing, postage, etc. . . . .	14 59	
Balance in the hands of the Treasurer of the Society . . . . .	858 89	
		\$973 48



## BY-LAWS.

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1. THIS Society shall be called the DANTE SOCIETY. Its object shall be the encouragement of the study of the Life and Works of Dante.

2. Any person desirous to become a member of this Society may do so by signifying his or her wish in writing to the Secretary, and by the payment of an annual fee of five dollars.

3. An Annual Meeting for the election of officers shall be held at Cambridge on the third Tuesday of May, of which due notice shall be given to the members by the Secretary.

4. Special meetings may be held at any time appointed by vote of the members at the Annual Meeting, or by call from the President and Secretary.

5. The officers shall be a President, a Vice-President, a Secretary and Treasurer, and a Librarian, who, together with three members thereto chosen, shall form the Council of the Society. All these officers shall be chosen at the Annual Meeting, and their term of service shall be for one year, or until their successors are elected. Vacancies in the Council shall be filled for the remainder of the year by the Council.

6. The President, or, in his absence, the Vice-President, or, in the absence of both, any member of the Council, shall preside at all meetings of the Society and of the Council.

7. The Secretary and Treasurer shall keep a record of the meetings of the Society and of the Council, shall collect and receive all dues, and keep accounts of the income and expenditure of the Society, shall give notice of meetings, and shall perform all other duties appropriate to his office.

8. The Council shall hold meetings at such times as it may appoint, shall determine on the use to be made of the income of the Society, shall endeavor to promote the special objects of the Society in such ways as may seem most appropriate, and shall make an annual report of their proceedings, including a full statement of accounts, at each Annual Meeting. This report shall be made in print for distribution to the members.

9. No officer of the Society shall be competent to contract debts in the name of the Society, and no expenditure shall be made without a vote of the Council.

10. A majority of the Council shall form a quorum for the transaction of business.

11. Any person distinguished for his interest in the purposes of the Society, or who has rendered it valuable service, may be chosen an Honorary Member at any regular meeting of the Society, and shall be entitled to all its privileges without annual assessment.

12. The preceding rules may be changed at any time by unanimous vote of the Council.

# THE DANTE PRIZE.

IN MEMORIAM CHARLES STERRETT LATHAM.

THE prize offered for 1889-90 was awarded to Mr. C. S. LATHAM, of the class of 1884, A. B. Harv. 1888, for a translation of the Letters of Dante with a historical and critical comment. Mr. Latham died on July 21, 1890. He did not live to learn the award of the prize.

In accordance with the desire of his mother, the prize adjudged to him of one hundred dollars is now offered again to be competed for. The competition is open not only to the students in any department of Harvard University, and to Harvard graduates of not more than three years' standing, but also to students and graduates, of similar standing, of any college or university in the United States.

The annual prize of one hundred dollars offered by a member of the Dante Society for the best essay by a student in any department of Harvard University, or by a graduate of not more than three years' standing, on a subject connected with the Life or Works of Dante, is withdrawn for the present, but the offer will be renewed after the award of the Latham Prize.

For the year 1899-1900 the subjects proposed were as follows :

1. *A Review of Kraus's "Dante" (1897), Paget Tynbee's "Dante Dictionary" (1898), and Scartazzini's "Enciclopedia Dantesca" (1896-98).*

2. *The credibility of Boccaccio's "Vita di Dante," and of what he tells concerning Dante in his "Commento."*

3. *The verse endings in the Divina Commedia in which Dante has made "li vocaboli dire nelle sue rime altro che quello ch'erano appo gli altri dicatori usati di sprimere" (Ottimo Commento, Inf. x, 85).*

For the years 1901-02 and 1902-03 the same subjects are proposed, with the addition of (1) *A translation of the Quaestio de Aqua et Terra, and a discussion of its authenticity*; (2) *A collection of all the passages in the prose works of Dante directly illustrative of the Divina Commedia, arranged in order as a comment upon it*; (3) *A critical comment of the De Vulgari Eloquentia*.

Essays must be deposited with the Dean of Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass., on or before the *first day of May*.

Essayists are at liberty to write on any one of the subjects which have been proposed in the years during which the Dante Prize has been offered.

On the title-page must be written an assumed name and a statement of the writer's standing, *i.e.*, whether he is a graduate or an undergraduate (and of what college or university); if he is an undergraduate, to what class he belongs, and to what department of the college or university. Under cover with the essay must be sent a sealed letter, containing the true name and address of the writer, and superscribed with his assumed name.

The essays must be written upon letter paper, of good quality, of the quarto size, with a margin of not less than one inch at the top, at the bottom, and on each side, so that they may be bound up without injury to the writing. The sheets on which the essay is written must be securely stitched together.

The judges of the essays are a committee of the Dante Society.

In case the judges decide that no essay submitted to them deserves the full prize, they are at liberty to award one or two prizes of fifty dollars, or to award no prize.

The Dante Society has the privilege of retaining and depositing in the Dante Collection of the Harvard College Library any or all essays offered in competition for the Dante Prize, whether successful or not.

Since its establishment, the Dante Prize (in full or in part) has been awarded to the following:

HEINRICH CONRAD BIERWIRTH . . . . 1887.

For an essay upon the subject: *Dante's Obligations to the Schoolmen, especially to Thomas Aquinas*.

GEORGE RICE CARPENTER . . . . 1888.

For an essay upon the subject: *The Interpretation and Reconciliation of the Different Accounts of his Experiences after the Death of Beatrice, given by Dante in the Vita Nuova and the Convito.*

CHARLES STERRETT LATHAM . . . . 1890.

For an essay upon the subject: *A Translation into English of Dante's Letters, with Explanatory and Historical Comments.*

LUCY ALLEN PATON . . . . 1891.

For an essay upon the subject: *The Personal Character of Dante, as Revealed in his Writings.*

KENNETH MCKENZIE . . . . 1894.

For an essay upon the subject: *The Rise of the Dolce Stil Nuovo.*

JEREMIAH DENIS MATTHIAS FORD . . . . 1895.

For an essay upon the subject: *Dante's Influence upon Spanish Literature during the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries.*

ANNETTE FISKE . . . . 1897.

For an essay upon the subject: *Dante's Obligations to Old French and Provençal Lyric Poetry.*

ARTHUR NEWTON PEASLEE . . . . 1900.

For an essay entitled: *A Metrical Rhyming Translation of the Three Canzoni of the Convito.*

HENRY LATIMER SEAVER . . . . 1901.

For an essay entitled: *A Translation of the Canzoni in the Convito.*

## ANNUAL REPORT.

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THE twentieth annual meeting of the Dante Society was held at the house of Professor Norton, in Cambridge, on May 21, 1901. The officers of the previous year were all reëlected, with the exception of Mr. Woodbury, who asked to be released from further service on the Council. Professor James Geddes, Jr., was elected in his place.

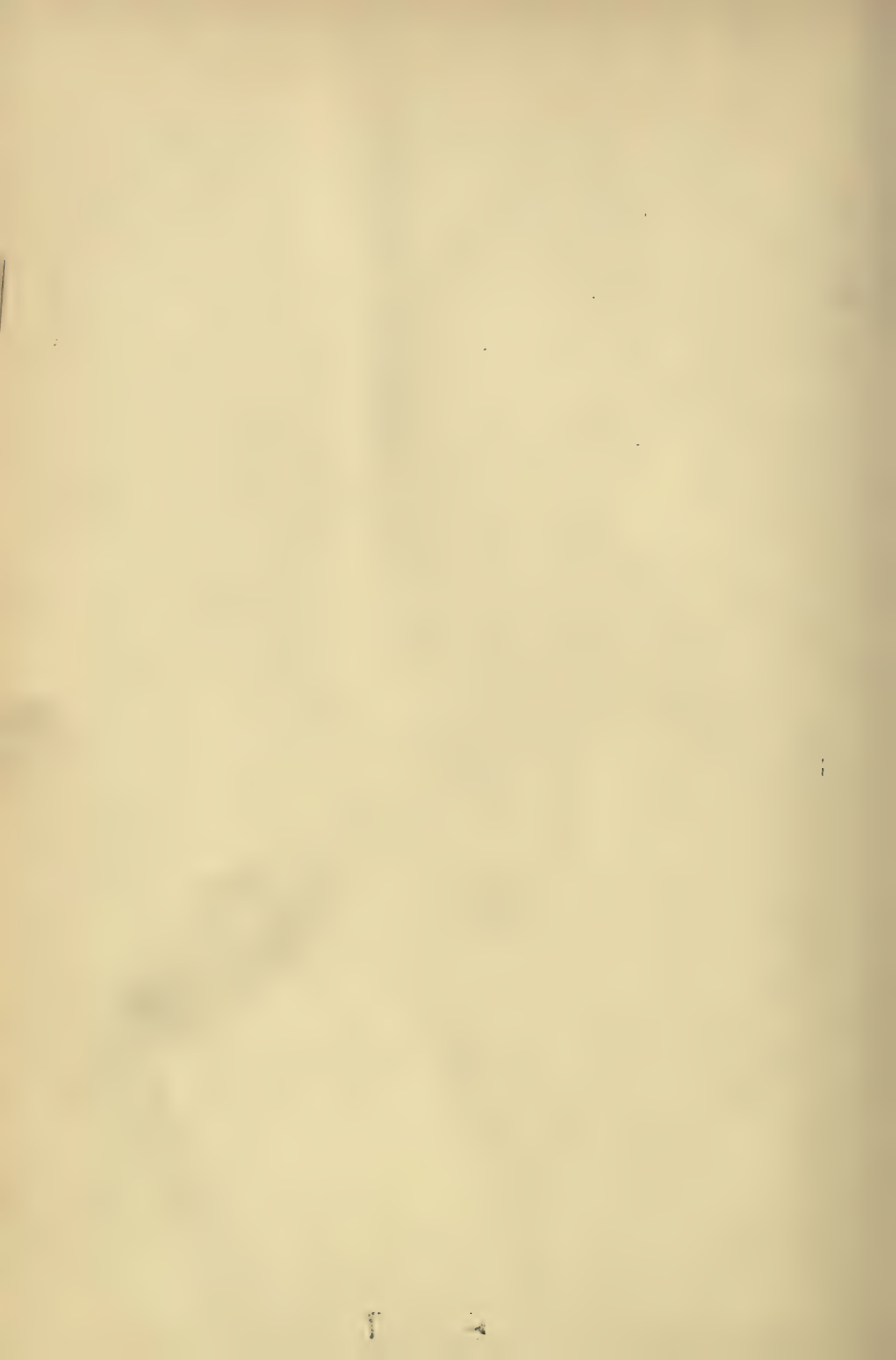
In opening the meeting the President spoke briefly of recent literature relating to Dante. Then Mr. L. E. Taylor, at Professor Norton's request, gave some account of the present state of the Concordance of Dante's minor works, for which nearly all the material has now been collected. After this the Society discussed at some length the possibility of increasing its membership and of adding thereby to its resources. A committee, consisting of Professor Geddes, Mr. L. E. Taylor, and the Secretary, was appointed to take steps toward the attainment of this object; and a circular, prepared by the committee with the coöperation of the President, is sent with this Report to all members in the hope that they will bring the matter to the attention of persons interested in Dante. Without some addition to its income

the Society cannot undertake certain desirable publications or provide adequately for the increase of its collections in the Harvard University Library.

A word of explanation is perhaps necessary with regard to the Treasurer's account presented in this Report. At the time when this statement was rendered a large balance happened to be in the hands of the Treasurer. But against this were to be charged, besides other current expenses, the cost of printing three annual Reports (the Eighteenth, Nineteenth, and Twentieth), the publication of which was unavoidably delayed. Two special prizes were also to be drawn from the same fund. The next statement, to be published shortly with the Twenty-First Report, will therefore show a considerably depleted treasury.

The Latham Prize still remains unawarded. Competition for this ought to be more general, and members of the Society might help to stimulate an interest in Dante by encouraging eligible competitors in all the American colleges. A special prize of fifty dollars was awarded in 1901 to Henry Latimer Seaver for "A Translation of the Canzoni in the *Convito*."

FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, *Secretary,*  
*For the Council.*





## PORTRAIT OF DANTE.

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The accompanying portrait is reproduced from an anonymous painting in the Louvre, No. 504, in the *Salle des Primitifs*. The original dating from the end of the fifteenth century, is on wood, measuring 1.11 by .64 metres. It is one of a series of fourteen portraits, belonging to the Musée Napoléon III., which includes those of Pope Sixtus IV., Cardinal Bessarioni, Vittorino da Feltro, Pietro Apponio, Dante, Saint Jerome, Saint Augustine, Saint Thomas Aquinas, Virgil, Solon, Seneca, Plato, Aristotle, and Ptolemy. Together with fourteen others preserved in the Barberini Palace at Rome these portraits were executed for Federigo da Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino. Raphael Sanzio, in his youth, copied several of the series in pen-and-ink drawings; the Academy of Venice possesses eleven of these sketches. The fourteen paintings in the Louvre had, in the distribution of the series, fallen to the Sciarra family and were afterwards acquired by the Marquis Campana. These portraits have been successively attributed to Melozzo da Forlì and to a Flemish painter working at Urbino under the direction of Justus de Gand. (See "Notice des tableaux exposés dans les galeries du Musée nationale du Louvre," by the Vicomte Both de Tauzia, Paris, 1877, p. 270.)

This portrait is now for the first time brought to the attention of Dante students. Though comparatively unimportant, inasmuch as it is so far from being an original portrait, yet it is interesting as a variety of the familiar profile type which goes back to the time of the portrait in the Bargello at Florence. It recalls, in some respects, the panel portrait owned by the late Morris Moore, which he claimed to be a copy by Raphael Sanzio of the Bargello portrait.

THEODORE WESLEY KOCH.



EPITAPH OF  
DIETZMANN, LANDGRAVE OF  
THURINGIA,

ASCRIBED TO DANTE.

BY

CHARLES ELIOT NORTON.



EPITAPH OF  
DIETZMANN, LANDGRAVE OF THURINGIA,

ASCRIBED TO DANTE.

---

Among the papers left by Carlyle was an envelope addressed to him, on which he had written : —

“The (soi-disant) *Dante Inscription* on *Titzmann's* Tomb at Leipzig (May, 1855). [No probability of its being genuine : seemingly not the least knowledge to judge about it, in Italy among “the learned.”]”

The envelope contained the following note from Carlyle's friend, Count Pepoli : —

MY DEAR MR. CARLYLE : Here is the copy of a letter from Doctor A. Torri to the Countess Allighieri-Gozzadini upon the Epitaph attributed to Dante.

This Lady tells me that many other literati partake the opinion of the learned Doctor.

I am truly yours

C. PEPOLI.

The 1st of May, 1855.

11 ST. GEORGE'S TERRACE, NEW KENSINGTON.

To TH: CARLYLE Esqr.

5 Cheyne Row,  
Chelsea.

The copy referred to was on a separate sheet, and was as follows : —

LATINA EPIGRAFE ATTRIBUITA A DANTE, ETC.

Il Dottor Alessandro Torri celebre collettore di tutte le cose che si riferiscono a Dante, scrive così da Pisa alla Contessa Allighieri :

“Già da ben otto anni io conosceva la iscrizione o epitaffio metrico latino attribuito a Dante pel Langravio di Turingia Dieterico Tizmanno, avendolo pubblicato con illustrazioni fino dall' a : 1846 il Cav<sup>te</sup> Carlo

Promis nell' *Antologia* di Torino, fascicolo I<sup>o</sup> Luglio, pagine 99-107. Fattone ora riscontro colla copia ch' Ella ebbe da Londra trovai alcune lievi differenze, ma una *non* lieve nel v. 2 del disticho 10: e tutte qui le vedrà da me trascritte. Il Cavalier Promis mostrasi persuaso della originalità della Iscrizione riguardo a Dante, ed io pure vorrei essere del sentimento suo, ma m' imbarazzano le Date sottopostevi, oltre ad altre considerazioni che mi fanno dubbioso. Nondimeno dica al Conte C. Pepoli (cui ricambio cordialissimi saluti) ed al inglese letterato Mr Carlyle, che io ristamperò l'Iscrizione nel ultimo dei volumi delle Opere Minori Dantesche (Tomo VI) destinato alle poesie liriche, avendomi permesso il sud<sup>to</sup> Cavaliere di far uso delle sue illustrazioni molto ingegnose nel sostenere il proprio parere."

Here follows a list of the variants referred to, with two or three brief notes upon them by Carlyle, and on the back of the leaf are other notes by him on the German authorities for the inscription and on its various readings, closing with "Enough! (25 April, 1855)."

At this time Carlyle was hard at work on his "Life of Frederick," which had been seriously begun about two years before, toiling, as he said, on his "dim dreary course through 'the desert of Brandenburg sand,'" and it was in his study of the early history of the Hohenzollerns that he had come across this epitaph ascribed to Dante, and, moved by his lifelong interest in the poet, desired to satisfy himself concerning its genuineness.

Although there is little reason for supposing Dante to have been the author of the inscription, yet the fact that it was long since attributed to him, and that some later scholars have maintained its genuineness, give to it a certain interest in the eyes of the student of Dante's work. As appears from his letter, it was Dr. Torri's intention to print it in the final volume of his edition of the Minor Works of Dante, but this volume was never published, and so far as I am aware, the epitaph is not to be found in any book easily accessible to the student. It seems therefore worth while to reprint it, with some account of its origin and fate. There is the further reason for doing so that its subject was a victim of the "Alberto Tedesco" denounced by Dante for his neglect of the garden of the empire, in the well-known magnificent verses in the sixth canto of the Purgatory.

This Alberto was Albert I., Kaiser from 1298 to 1308. "Albert," says Carlyle ("History of Frederick the Great," Book ii. ch. 9), "was by no means a prepossessing man, though a tough and hungry one . . . a Kaiser dreadfully fond of earthly goods, too. Who indeed grasped all round him, at property half his, or wholly not his: Rhine-tolls, Crown of Bohemia, Landgraviate of Thuringen, Swiss Forest Cantons, Crown of Hungary, Crown of France even:—getting endless quarrels on his hands, and much defeat mixed with any victory there was. Poor soul, he had six-and-twenty children by one wife; and felt that there was need of apanages! He is understood (guessed, not proved) to have instigated two assassinations in pursuit of these objects: and he very clearly underwent *one* in his own person. Assassination first, was of Dietzmann the Thuringian Landgraf, an Anti-Albert champion, who refused to be robbed by Albert,—for whom the great Dante is (with almost palpable absurdity) fabled to have written an Epitaph still legible in the Church at Leipzig."

Dietzmann was assassinated in December, 1307 (the day is variously given by different authorities), at night, in the Church of St. Thomas at Leipzig.\*

\* Dietzmann was the younger brother of Frederick, Landgrave of Thuringia, known as *Fredericus Fortis*, or still better as *Fredericus Ad-morsus*, in German *Friedrich mit der gebissenen Wange*. They were the children of Albert, Landgrave of Thuringia, whose evil nature and wicked deeds gained for him the appellation of *degener*, and of Margaret, daughter of the great Emperor Frederick II. It was a hard fate for her to be transferred from the splendor and refinement of her father's court at Palermo to the cold and rude surroundings of the Thuringian landgrave, and its paths deepened into tragedy. After several unhappy years of marriage, her husband plotted her murder. The plot was revealed to her by the poor fellow whom Albert had hired for the deed, and she was forced to fly hastily by night from the old hill-castle of Wartburg. "Dum colliguntur a ministris quæ viderentur necessaria, ipsa in cubiculum suorum filiorum properat, et inter oscula atque amplexus, suam miseriam, filiorum deplorat solitudinem, et mente intuetur futuram calamitatem. Fredericus trium annorum erat, Dicemanus anni unius et dimidii. Cum iis etiam atque etiam valedixisset fœmina in magna fortuna maxime ærumnosa, majoris natu incumbens cunis, dextram ejus malam morsu impetit. . . . Amoris perpetui hoc vulnus erit nota (inquit) et justî doloris testimonium." It was thus that Frederick

He was buried in the Church of St. Paul in the same city. "At that time," says Fabricius, in the work cited in the preceding note, "Dante Alighieri of Florence was in exile in Germany, a man excelling alike in genius and in dignities, for he was the most noble of the Tuscan poets of his time, and he had been one of the Council of Eight in his city. Admiring the virtue of these princes, he composed an epitaph which still exists at Leipzig cut in stone, in which he told the title and deeds of Dietzmann. According to the custom of those days, the epitaph is written in verse, of tolerable elegance, as follows." (p. 605.) This was, I believe, the first appearance of the epitaph in print. It was frequently reprinted in subsequent years in Germany, but it does not seem to have become known elsewhere till within a comparatively recent period.\*

It was in 1846, as we have already seen in the letter of Doctor Alessandro Torri, that the epitaph was apparently printed for the first time in Italy, in an article by the Cavalier Carlo Promis. Promis rejects the statement of Fabricius that Dante as an exile was in Germany, but he nevertheless holds the epitaph to be his composition, and sug-

gained the designation of "The Bitten Cheek." The flight of Margaret was in June, 1270. She found refuge in a convent at Frankfort, and there she died in March of the next year. See pp. 589-590 of the posthumous work of the scholar, antiquary, and poet, Georg Fabricius, entitled *Originum illustrissimæ stirpis Saxonicae libri septem*, Jena, 1597.

\* It is to be found in S. Reyheri, *Monumenta Landgraviorum Thuringiæ et Marchionum Misniæ*, Gotha, 1692: reprinted in the second volume of Menckenius, *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*, Leipzig, 1728: the inscription is on col. 845. It is also given in Tentzel's *Fredericus Fortis Redivivus, hoc est Vita et Fata Frederici Fortis sive Admorsi, Landgravii Thuringiæ* in the same volume of Menckenius, col. 950. It is printed in *Variorum in Europa Itinerum Deliciæ: seu ex variis manuscriptis selectiora tantum inscriptionum maxime recentium monumenta . . . nuper collecta . . . a Nathane Chytræo*. Ed. secunda, 1599.

I have not seen the following works in which it is printed:—

C. Manlius, *Commentarii rerum Lusaticarum*, iv. 26: and *Epitome Comn. rerum Lus.* in Hoffmann's *Scriptores R. Lusat.* vol. i. 1719; V. Stepner, *Inscript. Lips.* p. 13; Brotuffius, *Genealogia Anhaltina*, lib. ii. fol. 43.



gests that it may have been written at the instance of some friend or relative of Dietzmann who had accompanied Henry of Luxemburg on his fatal expedition to Italy in 1310. His only ground for believing in the genuineness of the inscription is the concurrence of the German historians who had reported it, which he considers "ne dà estrinseca e pianissima prova che sua sia quell' iscrizione," — a proof which the historical student of the present day will hardly regard as valid.

Fabricius states that the inscription was cut on stone, but his contemporary Christopher Manlius (Fabricius died in 1571, Manlius in 1575) in his *Commentariorum rerum Lusaticarum Epitome*, first published in 1719, gives a different account. He says that Dietzmann was buried opposite the High altar of the church, and, "sub effigie principis lapidea, affixi leguntur in *tabula chartacea* versus epitaphii doctissimi illa ætate in Italia viri Dantis Aligherii," Manlius seems to write from personal inspection, for he says further, "Epigramma totum cum apud alios non satis emendate legatur, integrum hic et correctissimum, hoc est minime correctum, sed originali simillimum ponere non pigebit." (I cite these words of Manlius from the article by Promis.)

But whether the epitaph was originally inscribed on stone or on paper is of little concern, for about the middle of the seventeenth century, Ernest the Pious, Duke of Saxe-Gotha and Altenburg, substituted for its earlier form a copy of it in bronze. Tenzel, writing toward the end of the century, says: "Nos Epitaphium damus ex tabulis æneis, quas Ernestus Pius, Dux Gothanus, magnis sumptibus æri incidi curavit." (Menckenius, ii. 950.) (Duke Ernest died in 1675, Tenzel in 1707.)

Such being the information which I was able to collect concerning the epitaph, I desired to learn if it was still in existence in the Paulinerkirche, and in the spring of 1899, I wrote to my friend, the eminent scholar, the late Rev. Professor Joseph Henry Thayer of Harvard University, then for a time resident at Leipzig, asking him to be so good as to make inquiry concerning it. Under date of April 12, 1899, he wrote to me: "Unfortunately the Paulinerkirche (which is the University 'chapel') is undergoing at present a complete internal

renovation from pavement to roof-tree, and its monuments are boxed and inaccessible: but I am promised access to Dietzmann's before I leave the city (in midsummer) and shall then be able to speak with something approximating to first-hand knowledge.

"Meantime I send you a collation of your manuscript with the text as given in Steche and Gurlitt's *Beschreibende Darstellung der älteren Bau-und-Kunstdenkmäler des Königreichs Sachsen*, — a very careful and admirably illustrated work.\*

"The inscription is described as to be found in the Southwest Chapel, on a wooden tablet, measuring 60 × 87 cm., which is framed in wood and bears letters in oil-paint apparently of the seventeenth century."

Professor Thayer wrote again on the 21st of June, as follows: —

"The renovated church was rededicated with very stately ceremonies on the 11th of this month, and the next day I began a search for the alleged inscription. Strange to say, it was nowhere to be found. The new cenotaph of stone surmounted by a full-length recumbent figure [of Dietzmann] (an idealized reproduction of the photograph given in Gurlitt), a work executed by the sculptor Rietschel (the father of the present professor and head-pastor), seems to have thrown the preceding memorial of the man into oblivion. No clue to the inscription could I get from Capellan, Baumeister, Baurath, Rector, or Decorator, till at length a servant brought it to light from a little closet where it had been tucked away probably for the moment and then forgotten. It is a slab of board some 35 inches by 23, and  $\frac{1}{2}$  an inch thick, bearing the inscription painted in yellow Latin letters on a black ground. The typographical mistakes, *e. g.*, in l. 5 "*pianis*" for "*planis*," in l. 11 "*Brenburg*" for "*Bernburg*," and the general character of the lettering stamp it as a rude piece of work, and I can hardly believe it to be a century old. Beneath the inscription proper (as given in Fabricius) is added, evidently by the same hand,

'OBIIT VIII CAL: JAN: ANNO CHRISTI MCCLXXX  
DANTES ALLIGERIUS FF.'

\* Parts XVII. and XVIII. relating to Leipsic were published in 1895-1896.

“The error in the date (for 1307) and the mode in which it is ascribed to Dante evidently deprive it of any authoritative significance. I suspect, therefore, that Fabricius is the oldest and most trustworthy voucher for the singular story.”

The inscription as given by Fabricius (p. 608) (very nearly as it now appears on the painted board) runs as follows. The other texts afford some various readings, of which I note those of importance. I take no note of mere varieties of spelling or typography. They appear mainly to proceed from the bronze plate set up by Ernest the Pious, for which the existing copy on wood seems to have been substituted. The letters appended to the various readings show their source, — T., Tentzel; R., Reyher; P., Promis; G., Gurlitt.

- Sum Dizemanus ego<sup>1</sup>: me olim genuere parentes,  
 Albertus Princeps, Margaritæque pia.  
 Imperium titulumque dedit Turingia<sup>2</sup> nobis,  
 Marchia Lusatiaë, Misena & ipsa potens,  
 5 Quaque<sup>3</sup> patet vetus in planis Libonotria campis,  
 Et quæ montano flumine Pleissa<sup>4</sup> lauat.  
 Frater erat Fridericus, item Mavortius heros  
 Pro patria mecum prælia dura tulit.  
 Nam superare datum est nobis victricibus armis,  
 10 Boemiaë populos, Saxoniamque Duces.  
 Marchio de Bernburg<sup>5</sup> Vualdemar<sup>6</sup> nomine dictus,  
 Agmine devictus, vincula nostra tulit.  
 Ascanius Princeps cecidit quoque cuspede nostra:  
 Sed vitam supplex is<sup>7</sup> miser emeruit.  
 15 Romulidum Reges Albertus, Adolfus, & alter,  
 Non poterant nostras frangere Marte manus.  
 Viribus, ô pietas, nostris sed terga dederunt:  
 Cæsareis opibus tunc<sup>8</sup> ego diues eram.

<sup>1</sup> Titz. ego sum Mannus, T., R., G. Tismannus ego sum, P.

<sup>2</sup> Thuringia, T., P.

<sup>3</sup> Quæque, T., G.

<sup>4</sup> Plisna, T., R., P.

<sup>5</sup> Brenburg, R., G.

<sup>6</sup> Waldemar.

<sup>7</sup> hic, R., P.

<sup>8</sup> tum, G.

- Innumeri nostro<sup>9</sup> cæsi sunt ense<sup>10</sup> Sueui,  
 20       Audentes patrios sollicitare Deos.  
 Omnia sic vici : durum sed vincere fatum  
       Non potui, Lachesis quod dedit atra mihi.  
 Obiicit illa mea crudelis<sup>11</sup> pectora ferro,  
       In medio incautus dum steteram<sup>12</sup> Ecclesiæ.  
 25   Sic victor victus cecidi virtute : triumphos<sup>13</sup>  
       Et laudes meritas non rapit<sup>14</sup> vlla dies.

The assertion of Fabricius, and the ascription to Dante in the words added to the epitaph appear to be the only external evidences in respect to his authorship of it. No weight can be given to either : both may be founded on an untrustworthy tradition of uncertain origin. The determination of the question whether or not the verses were written by Dante rests consequently upon the evidence which they themselves afford, and this is amply sufficient. There is no touch in them of poetic imagination or expression. They are essentially commonplace, and such as any second-rate scholar in the fourteenth century might have produced. They bear no likeness in style to Dante's genuine Latin poems.\* They exhibit a knowledge of persons, localities,

<sup>9</sup> nostri, G.

<sup>10</sup> omitted, G.

<sup>11</sup> o crudelis! R. meo crudelis! P.

<sup>12</sup> Dum steteram incautus in medio, T., R., P.

<sup>13</sup> cecidi sed nulla virtute triumphos, G.

<sup>14</sup> dedit. This and the preceding (13) are noted in the margin by R.

In verse 4 Misena stands for the Mark of Meissen; Libonotria, in verse 5, is a pedantic designation of, probably, the southern district of Thuringia; v. 6, Pleissa is the Pleiss which flows through Meissen, and enters the Elster not far from Leipsic; v. 11, Bernburg is the chief town of the Duchy of Anhalt-Bernburg; v. 13, Ascanius can hardly be identified: he was doubtless one of the many members of the Ascanien line of Markgraves of Brandenburg, who derived their name from Ascanica, a stronghold in lower Saxony not far from Halberstadt; v. 15, By the "et alter," to which the poet was compelled by the necessity of his verse, the Emperor Rudolph of Hapsburg (1273-1291) seems to be designated; v. 19, Suevi: who are intended by this name can hardly be ascertained, and the meaning of v. 20 is obscure.

At the close of the verses Reyher adds, as part of the inscription, the words which, as appears from the letter of Professor Thayer, are to be found appended to it to-day.

\* They possess, as has been pointed out by Promis, a trait frequent in mediæval Latin verse, but which is not markedly characteristic of Dante's

and events with which Dante can hardly be supposed to have had even hearsay acquaintance, and in which he can scarcely have felt interest. Not a single Dantesque trait appears in the verses, and the ascription of them to Dante may be safely rejected as false.

C. E. NORTON.

genuine verse, namely, the employment of phrases and epithets derived from the *Aeneid*. For instance: —

- |  |                                |
|--|--------------------------------|
| v. 2. me olim genuere parentes.<br>qui tanti talem genuere parentes. | <i>Aen.</i> i. 606 and x. 597. |
| v. 6. montano flumine.   | <i>Aen.</i> ii. 305.           |
| v. 8. proelia dura subit.<br>proelia virgo Dura pati.                | <i>Aen.</i> vii. 807-8.        |
| v. 9. victricibus armis.<br>victriciaque arma.                       | <i>Aen.</i> iii. 54.           |
| v. 17. sed terga dederunt.<br>versi terga dedere.                    | <i>Aen.</i> ix. 686.           |



NOTES

ON THE LATIN TRANSLATION OF, AND  
COMMENTARY ON THE

DIVINA COMMEDIA BY GIOVANNI  
DA SERRAVALLE.

BY

G. L. HAMILTON.





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The first and, so far as has yet been noticed, the only prose translation of the *Divina Commedia* into Latin, was made by Giovanni dei Bertoldi (1), generally known by the name of Serravalle, from the town, in the small republic of San Marino, in which he was born. The date of his birth is unknown — it was probably about 1350 — and the only details that we have of his earlier life are to the effect that he entered the Minorite Order as a young man, and was an attendant at the readings on Dante by Benvenuto da Imola, either at Bologna or at Ferrara (2). He was honored with the highest offices of his order; between the years 1393 and 1397 he was a very popular preacher at the Church of Sta. Croce — later the Laurenziana — in Florence, a position which he returned to fill in subsequent years (3). He had then travelled in the East and to England (4), probably under some papal commission, and in 1400 we find mention of him as a successful preacher, lecturer, and ambassador at Perugia (5). Made Bishop of Fermo before 1410, he was present as a member of the Italian *Natio*

1. In the index to the *Catalogue of Additions to the MSS. of British Museum, 1882-1887*, s. v. Dante, p. 554, s. v. Bertaldi, p. 439; the Woodhul MS. is indexed under the incomprehensible head of Berthaldi.

2. *Benvenuti de Imola, Comentum*. Florentiæ, 1887, vol. I. pp. xxxiii-xxxv; *Fratris de Serravalle translatio et comentum totius libri Dantis Aldigherii . . . nuno primum edita*. (By Marcellino da Civezza e Teofilo Domenichelli.) Prati. 1891, p. xvi.

3. F. Novati in *Bulletino della società Dantesca*. No. 7 (1891), pp. 11 ff.

4. *Translatio*, p. 258.

5. F. Novati in *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, vol. XXIX. p. 565.

at the Council of Constance, 1414-1418, where, at first a faithful ally of Gregory XII., he finally took up the cause of the newly elected Pope, Martin V. Later on he was translated to the see of Fanò, and died in 1445 at a very advanced age (6).

During the intervals of the long-delayed sessions of the Council of Constance, the subject of Dante was brought up in conversation in the group of prelates with which Serravalle associated, and at the pressing request of two members of the English deputation, Nicolas Bubwith (7),

6. *Translatio*, pp. xi-xxiii. For additions and corrections cf. H. Grauert in *Historisch-Politische Blätter für das Katholische Deutschland*, vol. CXX. pp. 176-185; F. X. Kraus, *Dante* (1899), pp. 12, 497; M. Delfico, *Memorie della Repubblica di San Marino* (Firenze, 1844), vol. III. app. p. xxiv; Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, vol. XV. col. 950 b; Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, vol. VII. p. 258. The notices of Serravalle in Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, vol. II. cols. 786-787; vol. I. cols. 529, 726; vol. IV. col. 1014, are partly confusions, partly errors. I have not been able to verify references to Ughelli and to Labbe's *Concilia* made by Le Clerc, *Histoire littéraire de la France*, vol. XXI. p. 110.

7. As there is no article on Bubwith in the *National Biography*, I here state the few sources I have consulted. Le Neve, *Fasti Angl. Eccl.*, ed. Hardy, vol. I. pp. 140, 394, 616, 622; vol. II. pp. 221, 294, 601, 637; vol. III. pp. 139, 183. W. Hunt, *Bath and Wells* (Diocesan Histories), pp. 87, 132, 139, 142. W. H. Jones, *Salisbury* (Dioc. Hist.), pp. 136-137. *Fasti Sarib. Eccl.*, 1879, Index, s. v. H. H. Milman, *Annals of St. Paul's Cathedral*, 1869, p. 88. W. Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's Cathedral*, pp. 219, 402. *Monasticon*, ed. 1819, vol. II. p. 279. T. Rymer, *Fœdera*, 1727, vol. VIII pp. 152, 686; vol. IX. pp. 167, 168, 170, 370, 410, 437, 466, 567. Ulrich von Richtental, *Chronik des Constanzer Concils*, ed. Buch, 1882, p. 169. A. Wood, *Hist. et Antiq. Oxon.*, 1672, vol. I. pp. 201-205. W. Phelps, *Hist. of Somersetshire*, 1839, vol. II. pp. 113, 145, 156. J. Britton, *Cathedral Antiquities*, vol. IV. pp. 42, 110. A. J. Jewers, *Wells Cathedral*, 1892, pp. 1, 9, 275, 296. *Wells Cathedral*, ed. H. E. Reynolds, 1881, pp. xxxi, xxxvii, lvii, lxx, lxxxi. *Proc. of the Somerset Arch. & Nat. Hist. Soc.*, vol. I. 2, pp. 81, 176; XII. 2, pp. 34, 55; XIX. 2, pp. 42, 74; XXXIV. 2, pp. 47, 80, 87; XXXVIII. 2. p. 19. *Proc. of the Privy Council*, ed. H. Nicolas, vol. I. pp. 331, 332, 334, 335, 337, 340, 341, 343, 348, 349, 350, 358, 395; vol. II. pp. 7, 31, 32, 36, 38, 103, 114, 236, 286, 300; vol. III. p. 124. *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, vol. III. 486 a, 522 b, 545 b, 582 a, 583 a, 585 b, 586 b, 590 a, 609 a, 632 b, 623 a, 648 a, 649 a; vol. IV. 4 a, 16 a, 50 b, 116 b, 117 b, 123 b, 129 b, 150 b; vol. V. 425 a. *Translatio*, pp. xx-xxi.

Bishop of Bath and Wells, and Robert Hallam, Bishop of Salisbury, and of his own countryman, Amadeo, Bishop of Saluzzo, he made in Latin prose a line-for-line translation of the *Divina Commedia*, accompanying it with a commentary and introductory discourses upon the poet and his work. Further, in order to please one of his petitioners who was too impatient to wait for the completion of the translation, he wrote a summary — “Summa seu Epilogus, Summarium” are the words he uses — of every canto (8). The most remarkable thing about this composition is the short time in which it was written; for the translation was made between January and May, 1416, and the commentary, commenced on the first of February, 1416, had been carried as far as the end of the *Purgatorio* on October 22 of the same year, and was completed by January 1 or 16 of the following year (9). The translation has no pretensions to elegance: it is at best a closely literal “crib” (10). The commentary, for the most part (11) an

8. *Translatio*, pp. xvii–xix. None of the “ristretti” of the *Divina Commedia* noted by Batines, *Bibliografia Dantesca*, vol. I. pp. 213 ff., by G. Biagi, *Giunte*, etc., inedited, pp. 80 ff., and by L. Prati, *Miscellanea Dantesca*, pp. 8–11 n., seem to be exactly similar to Serravalle’s “Epilogi.”

9. *Translatio*, p. 3, “sexta decima die mensis Januarii,” p. 1215, “sexta die mensis januarii.” The first and longer date is probably the correct one. Cf. *Translatio*, pp. xxi, 814. Tiraboschi, *Storia della letteratura italiana* (1789), vol. V. p. 509, gives dates of work on both translation and commentary as Feb. 1, 1416–Feb. 16, 1417. The MS. Egeriano, through a mere scribal error, gives for dates of the translation Jan.–May, 1417. Cf. I. Vaisz in *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, vol. II. p. 364.

10. He himself says: “Ipse liber per me transferreretur de ydiomate vulgari ytalico in illam talem prosam rudem et ineptam;” and again, “scilicet quod hoc opusculum facere accellerarem non curantes de rusticana latinitate, in corrupta translatione, quam si fieri necesse fuit propter temporis brevitatem.” (*Translatio*, p. 5.)

11. Cf. *Transl.* p. 570: “Benvenuto de Ymola, qui fuit magister meus in hoc libro quem et cujus opinionem secutus sum quasi semper.” Where he keeps closely to his original, it can be seen that the MS. of Benvenuto which he used certainly belonged to the same family as that of the Laurenziana, which is used as the basis of the text of Vernon’s edition. On the other hand, the text used by Barbieri (*Dell’ origine della poesia rimata*, 1790, pp. 49, 73–74, 97, 139, 146, 148, 149–150, 151, 156), if he quoted it as written, does not seem to be, as might be expected, the MS. Etenseano used

abbreviated version of that of Benvenuto da Imola, has no additional historical or critical apparatus to give the author a place among the valuable older commentators (12). In fact, that he is not one of the great majority to whom apply the words of Dante,

“Fama di loro il mondo esser non lassa” (13),

is due not to any general merit of this work of his, but to a specific fault. The good intentions of the author were of little avail, while misstatements in the work have given substance to a distressing literary heresy — Dante’s visit to England. When treating of the life of Dante, in the general preamble, or preliminary discourse to the whole work, among other gross mistakes evidently due to ignorance, Serravalle intentionally makes the most absurd statements to satisfy the college pride (14) of his English colleagues, both of whom were greatly interested in (15), and one of whom, Hallam (16), had been Chancellor of the University of Oxford. After telling how the poet had met Beatrice, he continues, “*Modo nota quod Dantes dilexit hanc puellam Beatricem hystorice et litteraliter; sed allegorice et anagogice dilexit Theologiam sacram in qua diu studiit tam in Oxoniis in Regno*

as a variant in the Vernon edition, and of which parts were published by Muratori (*Antiquitates italicæ mediæ ævi*, 1738, vol. I. pp. 1028 ff. Cf. Barbieri, l. c., p. 187, Tiraboschi’s note). On cases of statements disagreeing with those of Benvenuto, cf. below, Note 20; U. Foscolo, *Discorso sul testo*, etc., London, 1825, vol. I. pp. 123–124.

12. Cf. Grauert, l. c., pp. 178–179; Kraus, *Dante*, p. 518. The mere lack of time and the composition of the “*Epilogi*” are enough to discredit the assumption that the commentary and translation were the outcome of public readings upon the *Commedia*; cf. K. Witte, *Litbl. f. germ. und rom. Phil.*, 1881, col. 445; E. Sulger-Gebing, *Zeit. f. vergleich. Lit.*, N. F., vol. VIII. p. 223; Grauert, l. c., pp. 178–179.

13. *Inf.*, III. 49.

14. Grauert, l. c., p. 183, n. 1.

15. As the earliest Registers of Oxford, that are preserved, only go back to 1449, and as the names of neither Hallam nor Bubwith appear on the separate college lists of an earlier date, there is no documentary evidence of their graduation from the University; but on Bubwith’s interest see H. C. M. Lyte, *Hist. of Oxford*, 1886, p. 316, note 3.

16. *Nat. Dict. of Biog.*, vol. XXIV. p. 99, R. L. Poole.

Anglie; quam Parisius (17) in regno Francie" (18). Further on, after stating that the poet had studied at Bologna and Padua, he goes on to say, "demum Oxoniis et Parisius ubi fecit multos actos mirabiles" (19). There is no other evidence whatsoever (20) to substantiate

17. "Parisii" is given in the printed text quoted; but in the Woodhull MS. the regular mediæval form (which appears elsewhere in MS. Capponiano, Transl., pp. 163, 549, 655, 941), "Parisius" is given. Academy, vol. XXIX. p. 133. On the source of the error, cf. A. Bonnet, *Le latin de Grégoire de Tours*, 1890, pp. 337-338; D'Arbois de Jubainville, *La déclinaison latine en Gaule à l'époque mérovingienne*, 1872, pp. 62-66, 70-72; Krusch in *Opera Gregorii Turonensis*, 1894, vol. I. p. 941.

18. Transl., p. 15; cf. Acad., vol. XXIX. p. 133; *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, vol. II. p. 361; E. Moore, *Early Biographers of Dante*, pp. 111-112; *Cat. of Add. MSS. of the Brit. Mus.*, 1882-1887, pp. 357-358.

19. Transl., p. 21; cf. Acad., vol. XXIX. p. 133; *Early Biog.*, p. 112; *Revista Europea*, 1874, vol. III. p. 409.

20. Boccaccio's line in his metrical letter to Petrarch in praise of Dante,

"Pariseos dudum, serusque Britannos."

(On the correct reading "serusque," instead of "extremos" as in some texts, cf. G. Carducci, *Opere*, vol. VII. pp. 288, 292-293; but on the use of "serus" in the sense of "extremos" in Valer. Flac., *Arg.*, 705, as adduced by Carducci, compare Boccaccio's use of it apparently in the sense of "tardus" in the *Lettere*, ed. Corazzini, pp. 243, 363). Foscolo (*Discorse sul testo*, etc., vol. I. pp. 124-125) was, I believe, the first to point out this line in connection with Serravalle's statement, and it was used also by Missirini, *Vita di Dante*, 1840, vol. I. pp. 123-124, and by Balbo, *Vita di Dante*, 1853, p. 473; cf. also Nation, vol. LVI. p. 311. (For a bibliography of the variant texts cf. A. Hortis, *Studj sull'opere latine del Boccaccio*, Trieste, 1879, p. 791.) Contrary as it is to the specific statements of its author in his *Comento* and *Vita*, it may be better to take it as a classical reminiscence of Horace's "ultimos Orbis Britannos," *Od.*, I. 35 and 29-30, or of Catullus in *Carm.*, XI. 11-12 (on Boccaccio's acquaintance with Catullus cf. Hortis, l. c., p. 944; P. de Nolhac, *Petrarche et l'Humanisme*, 1893, pp. 131, 137 ff.), than on account of it to seek to impugn the authenticity of the poem; cf. Moore, *Early Biog.*, p. 179. On the British Isles as Ultima Thule may be compared a passage in Boccaccio's *Comento* (ed. Milanese, vol. I. p. 192; Moore, *Early Biog.*, p. 179), where, speaking of the westward trend of the sway of empire, he ends with "già che il cielo ne minacci di portarle in Inghilterra," cf. the quotation from Benvenuto in this note. It

this biographical detail. Yet elsewhere in Serravalle's work does the cloven foot of sly flattery show itself with another uncalled for allusion to Oxford. In the preamble introductory to the *Purgatorio*, after stating why Dante and his guide had not needed to come to the Mount of Purgatory in a boat, he proceeds: "Et sicut Anglia, existens insula

would only work more confusion to suggest that "Britannos" is used in the same sense as in a letter of a correspondent of Abelard, where "remota Britannia" is used when Brittany is evidently referred to (P. Abælardi Opera, ed. V. Cousin, 1854, vol. I. p. 59). We should then have merely another comment on Villani's expression, "e più a Parigi e in più parti del mondo" (Chron., IX. 136), and a transference of the difficulty to Dante's travels in Western Continental Europe, that is, an unnecessary confusion of the insular and the continental "Britannia" question.

Yet by certain enthusiastic Englishmen this poetical statement of Boccaccio is used as an argument a posteriori, to support Serravalle's false statement: cf. E. H. Plumptre, *Contemporary Review*, vol. XL. pp. 843 ff.; *Translation of the Divina Commedia*, etc., vol. I. pp. xlii, 63, 118, and vol. II. pp. 113, 424, 427; Lyte, *History of Oxford* (reviewed in *Acad.*, vol. XXX. p. 419, by E. Moore and in the *Litbl. f. germ. u. rom. Phil.*, col. 125, by F. X. Kraus), pp. 89-91; W. E. Gladstone, *Nineteenth Century*, vol. XXXI. pp. 1032 ff.; *Recollections of Sir Algernon West*, 1899, vol. II. p. 236; W. Flower, in *Athenæum*, 1898, pp. 693-694; *Scartazzini*, *Allgemeine Zeitung*, Beilage Num. 81, April, 1893; *Dantologia*, 1894, p. 151; F. X. Kraus, *Litbl. f. germ. u. rom. Phil.*, 1894, col. 157; *Giornale Dantesco*, vol. II. pp. 256-258, 452, and vol. III. pp. 263, 370; *Notes and Queries*, Ser. 8, vol. II. p. 101 and vol. IX. pp. 184-185. It is curious that the passages in the *Commedia* which according to these writers denote Dante's acquaintance with English history and topography are more fully commented on by Serravalle than by Benvenuto. On *Inf.*, XII. 118, he has much more to say (*Transl.*, pp. 162-163) than Benvenuto (*Comentum*, vol. I. 414), introducing flattering remarks on the "pulcherissimo et ditissimo" kingdom of England. Dealing with *Inf.*, XXVIII. 135, although writing for Englishmen, he makes "Rex Joannes, vulgariter dicebatur rex Jovene," the son of Richard (*Transl.*, p. 350), adding one more to the list of mistaken commentators; cf. E. Moore, *Contributions to the Textual Criticism of the Divina Commedia*, p. 349. According to Moore's statement here, the Woodhul MS. does not contain a text of the commentary as complete as that of the Capponiana. For illustrations of this passage not yet noticed by Dante scholars, cf. P. Meyer, *Fragments d'une vie de St. Thomas de Canterbury*, 1885, I. 32; Ambroise, *L'Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, v. 95,

sicuti est, est sic circumdata mari, quod ad illam non est possibilis accessus sine adjutorio navis nisi quis volaret, ita ad hanc terram, sic elevatam sursum ad istum montem, nemo venire potest nisi per mare fultus adjutorio navis. Sed nota quod si de alio emisperio poli anthartico veniret versus nostrum emispirium per foramen terre perforate, sic et taliter quod foramen inciperet illuc in alio emispirio, et veniret per centrum terre, et postea terminaret illud foramen in Oxoniis sive alio loco medio insule Anglie, vel etiam in circumferentiis insule, dummodo esset infra insulam, ille veniens de alio emispirio per illud foramen, non indigeret navi ad intrandum insulam Anglie, quia jam esset in ea" (21).

This translation of a vernacular composition into the universal tongue met with none of the success that was the fortune at an earlier period of Guido delle Colonne's rendering of the *Roman de Troie* of Benoit de Sainte-More, and, in the next century, of Locher's translation of Brandt's *Narrenschiff*. The earliest (22) notice of the existence of

ed. G., Paris; A. Thomas, Francesco Barberino, etc., p. 183. When treating of Purg., VII. 130 ff., Benvenuto, l. c., vol. III. p. 216, says, concerning "Seder la sola" (cf. Inf., IV. 129; XII. 118): "quia Anglicus; Anglia enim angulus terræ et reposita in Oceano occidentali. Unde Virgilius; Et penitus tota divisa Britannos." To this Serravalle, l. c., p. 509, adds, "Ideo dat magnam laudem auctor domui regum Anglie, quia multi et multi successerunt boni et valentes." There is nothing noteworthy on Par., XIX. 121-122; cf. Benvenuto, l. c., vol. V. p. 248; Serravalle, l. c., p. 105.

21. Transl., pp. 429-430. On flattery as the cause of the statements, cf. Grauert, l. c., p. 183, note.

22. There is a possibility that there is a reference to the work of Serravalle in a note of the librarian of Benedict's collection of books at the castle of Peñiscola in Catalonia, to which the deposed Pope had retired, temporarily in 1408 and permanently in 1417, and where he died in 1424. The library already contained the *Divina Commedia* and some of the Latin works of Dante, and in a memorandum of books to be bought we find noted, "Dantes reductus de lingua florentina ad latinam. Lectura magistri Benvenuti super eodem in latino;" cf. L. Delisle, *Le Cabinet des MSS. de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, vol. I. pp. 486-488; M. Faucon, *La librairie des Papes d'Avignon*, 1887, vol. I. pp. 59-61, 85, note and vol. II. pp. 140, 151; Pastor, *Hist. of the Popes*, vol. I. pp. 190, 200, 201, 274; Creighton, *Hist. of the Popes*, vol. I. pp. 222, 364, and vol. II. p. 22. The translation of

such a translation and its accompanying commentary was in the first — and only completed — book of the learned archivist of Modena, Giovanni Maria Barbieri (23) (1519–1574), entitled *Dell' origine della poesia rimata*. He is treating of the earliest Italian poetesses, and, after mentioning the Nina of Dante da Maiano, he goes on: “L'altra, quella Gaja figliuola del buon Gherardo da Camino, della quale fa mentione nel XVI canto del Purgatorio quando dice di esso Gherardo;

‘Per altro soprannome io nol conosco  
S'io nol togliesse da sua figlia Gaja.’

Il qual loco comentando Fra Giovanni da Serravalle della Diocesi di Rimini e Vescovo di Fermo, che fu discepolo di Benvenuto, & traslatò e comentò in latino la Commedia di Dante a petitione di certi Prelati della Magna dice di Gaja le seguenti parole, ‘De ista Gaja filia dicti boni Guerardi possent dici multæ laudes, quia fuit prudens domina, literata, magni consilii, & magnæ prudentiæ, maximæ pulchritudinis, quæ scivit bene loqui rythmatice in vulgari’” (24).

Serravalle would seem to be the very book to bear company with the commentary of his master, Benvenuto, on the shelves of the pontiff whom he helped to depose at the Council of Constance, but the work wanted may have been that earlier and better known rendering into hexameters of Matteo Ronto; cf. Colomb de Batines, *Bibl. Dant.*, vol. I. pp. 237–242; K. Witte, in *Divina comœdia hexametris latinis* ab . . . Dalla Piazza, pp. xiii–xv; L. Auveray, *Les MSS. de Dante des bibliothèques de France*, 1892, pp. 127–128; Grauert, *l. c.*, pp. 174–175.

23. On his life and works, cf. G. Tiraboschi, *Bibliotheca Modenese*, vol. I. pp. 158 FF; A. Mussafia, *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Ak.*, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, vol. LXXVI. pp. 201 ff.; G. Groeber in *Romanische Studien*, vol. II. pp. 606 ff.; P. de Nolhac, *La bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsino*, pp. 314, note 4; 322, note 1.

24. *Dell' origine della rimata poesia*. Opera di Giammaria Barbieri Modense, pubblicata da G. Tiraboschi, Modena, 1790, p. 169; cf. *Transl.*, p. 613. This quotation was noted by Quirico Viviani in his edition of the *Divina Commedia*, 1823–1828, vol. II. p. 126. U. Foscolo, who did not have Barbieri's work at hand, attributed the statement “Prelati della Magna” to Viviano, and corrected it by Tiraboschi's account, *Discorso*, etc., 1825, vol. I. pp. 121–124. Witte (note to *Goettliche Comœdie*, *Purg.*, XVI. 140) rejects both the testimony of Serravalle and the directly contrary information given by Benvenuto (*l. c.*, vol. III. p. 451). Todeschini (*Scritti su*



But as this work of Barbieri was not published until 1790, the earliest accessible notice of Serravalle's composition dates from 1736. In that year, Giustini Fontanini, in his *Dell' eloquenza italiana* (25), published posthumously at Rome by his nephew, when laying out a plan for an improved edition of the *Divina Commedia*, notes, among unpublished documents which might be used to advantage, first, the commentary ascribed to Pietro di Dante (26), and then states that "un altro Dante tradotto *ad literam* in latino e comentato pure in latino da Giovanni da Seravalle, Frate Minore della diocesi di Rimino, e Vescovo e Principe di Fermo, si trova a penna presso Signor Marchese Capponi, fatica da quel Prelato composita nel 1416 mentre si ritrovava al concilio di Costanza, e ciò a richiesta di Amadeo da Saluzzo, Cardinal Diacone di santa Maria nova, di Niccolo Bubvit, Vescovo Batoniense et Vellense, e di Roberto Alam, Vescovo Saresberienese, Amendue Inglesi" (27).

In the *Catalogo della libreria Capponi, ossia dei libri italiani del Marchese A. G. Capponi, con annotazioni in diversi luoghi*, Roma, 1747, partly compiled by the proprietor of the collection, and completed after his death by D. Giorgi (28), is the shorter notice, "seravalle Johannes, ordinis Minorum & Episcopus Firmanus, Commentarius in Dantem Aldigherium de Aldigheriis; concinatum Constantiæ, dum

Dante, vol. II. pp. 400-401) accepts Benvenuto's evidence. Blanc (*Versuch einer bloss philologischen Erklärung*, etc., 1861-1865, Heft II. pp. 63-64) and Fransonì (*Studi vari sulla D. C.*, Firenze, 1887, pp. 212-240), support Serravalle's assertion, but the latest comments on the passage in question seem to justify Benvenuto's statements; cf. *Giornale Dantesco*, vol. I. p. 413, and P. Rajna in *Arch. Stor. Ital.*, Ser. V., vol. IX. pp. 284 ff.

25. On various editions of this work cf. *Biographie Universelle*, ed. Michaud, vol. XIV. p. 353b, 355 a.

26. Barbieri, who perhaps had consulted codices in the Laurenziana (cf. Bandini, *Catalogus Codicum Latinorum*, vol. V. pp. 201 f., 392 ff.; Tiraboschi, *Dell' origine*, etc., p. 177), speaks of Giacompo di Dante as author of both *Comento* and *Capitolo* (*Dell' origine*, etc., p. 163). He was also the first to quote the commentary of Buti (l. c., p. 83).

27. *Dell' eloquenza italiana*, Venezia, 1737, p. 422.

28. *Biog. univ.*, ed. Michaud, vol. VI. p. 630b; XVI, p. 499a.

Constantiense concilium celebraretur. (Inscribitur Amideo diacono Cardinali S. Mariæ Novæ nuncupato)" (29).

Capponi's library, after the death of its proprietor, became by will a part of the Vatican collection; and it was here that the MS. of Serravalle was carefully read by the antiquarian G. Giuseppe Garampi, as is evidenced by passages in his *Memorie ecclesiastiche della beata Chiara di Rimini*, published at Rome in 1755. In speaking of the use of a title of nobility he notes that "il nostro Giovanni da Seravalle ne' suoi Comenti MS. sopra Dante nota, che 'ille qui regit Marchiam conjunctim solet habere illum titulum: Marchio Marchie Anconitanæ, Capitaneus Urbini, & Rector Massæ Trabariæ'; *Cod. 1 MS. Bibl. Vatic. Cappon.*" (30). In the index he refers to the passage cited above, and then continues: "Il suo Comento sopra Dante fu compilato in Costanza nel dì I Gennajo dell' anno 1417. *Editum a Rev. in Chr. Patre & D.D. Fr. Johanne de Seravalle Ariminen. dioc. Dei & Apostolice Sedis gratia Episcopo & Principe Firmano, Sacre Theologie Professore de Ordine Minorum assumpto.* Ivi alla pag. 18 (31) asserisce di essere stato Lettore e Maestro Reggente nel suo Convento in Firenze nell' anno 1395, dove dimorò per 4 anni (pag. 56) (32). Nel 1398, andò a visitare il S. Sepolcro di Cristo in Gerusalemme (ivi al 34. *Can. del Parad.*) (33). Prima pero, cioe nell' anno, 1390, era egli stato creato da Bonifacio IX lettore del libro nelle Scuole del Palazzo Apostolico (Pl. 50, Cod. 18, p. 20 in Arch. Vat.); onde converrà aggiugnere il suo nome al catalogo de' lettori dell' Archigimnasio Romano, che da quelle credesi derivare. Altre notizie del medesimo si potranno avere dall' Ughelli, e dagl' Istorici dell' Ordine" (34).

Girolamo Tiraboschi, the great historian of Italian literature, as the curator of the Libreria Estense in Modena, and the biographer of the

29. Catalogo, etc., p. 452; cf. G. Pelli, *Memorie*, etc., 1759, p. 120, note; Cancellieri, *Osservazione*, etc., 1814, p. 56.

30. *Memorie ecclesiastiche*, etc., p. 38, note g. Batines, *Bibl. Dant.*, vol. III. p. 335, wrongly gives p. 138. Cf. *Transl.* p. 332, where, however, "communiter" appears instead of "conjunctim."

31. Cf. *Transl.*, p. 58.

32. *Ib.*, 176.

33. *Ib.*, p. 419, note 39. But the reference is *Inf.*, XXXIV.

34. *Memorie*, etc., p. 553. Batines, *l. c.*, p. 335, again gives wrongly p. 533. Cf. *Transl.*, pp. xvi, xxvi.

literary men of that city, knowing of the existence of the above-quoted work of Barbieri by contemporary notices, had sought for it without success up to the publication of the first volume of his *Biblioteca Modenese* in 1781 (35), and the completion of the first edition of his *Storia della letteratura italiana* (36). Shortly after this, however, he found the autograph MS. of the work in the possession of the lineal descendants of Barbieri, and prepared it for publication with an introduction and notes of his own (37). In a note of the fourth volume of the second edition of the *Storia*, where he treats of early Italian poetry, he quotes, without mentioning his source, the comment of Serravalle on Gaja (38). Moreover, informed of the existence of a MS. of the commentary by the notice in the *Catalogo della libreria Caponi*, he had made (39) a copy of the introductory Preamble — he calls it a “lunga prefazione” — and in the fifth volume, in the section on Dante, he added notes in which, more or less correctly, he stated the facts relative to the composition of the commentary and translation, and

35. *Bibl. Modenese*, vol. I. pp. 163 ff.; cf. vol. VI. p. 24.

36. Cf. vol. IV. p. 363; vol. V. pp. 415, 431, with reference to 2d ed. cited in notes below.

37. Although published in 1790, the notes of Tiraboschi seem to have been written prior to the publication of the *Storia*, as in the note on the Gaja passage cited in Barbieri, l. c., pp. 169, note, and p. 187, note, he does not correct the phrase “prelati della Magna.” He seems acquainted only with the notice in the *Catalogo*, which is cited by him on another matter (l. c., p. 170, note), even though his words “appena v’ha, chi abbia notizia” would indicate an acquaintance with the mention of Serravalle’s work in other quarters. It seems impossible that he did not know the correct statement as given in the book of Fontanini, of which he made constant use. Although in the *Storia*, vol. IV. p. 425 (1788), he quotes the Gaja passage as his own discovery, yet he seems not to have verified Barbieri’s quotation by a reference to the MS. Capponiano. In the *Storia* (vol. IV. p. 396) he mentions its future publication, and cites passages from it. Cf. Barbieri, l. c., pp. 82-83.

38. *Storia*, 2d ed., vol. IV. p. 425 (1789).

39. This copy is at present in the *Libreria Estense* of Modena. Colomb de Batines, *Bibl. Dant.*, vol. II. p. 335; I. Vaisz in *Giorn. stor. della lett. Ital.*, vol. II. p. 363.

cited the first of the two passages in the Preamble which speak of Dante's studies at Oxford (40).

Up to a very recent date, in the many works on Dante, all the notices — save the noted exception of Serravalle and his statements appertaining to the English journey — were based upon these remarks of Tiraboschi (41). V. Monti, in the second number of his *Biblioteca Italiana* (Feb., 1816), proposed his erratic and unfounded reading of *Inf.*, III. 42: "Che niuna gloria i rei avrebber d'elli." He was violently attacked for his somewhat more than bold suggestion, and then, following, as a forlorn hope, a perfectly groundless hint of Perticari's, he looked to find support for his view in Serravalle's translation. Deceived therein, yet he expressed his regret that De Romanis in his edition of the *Divina Commedia* had not taken it into account (42). Colomb de Batines in the first volume of the *Bibliografia Dantesca* notes, and in the second volume gives, a fairly accurate description of the MS. (43). Barlow in the "fifties" also noted it, but only, it seems, in reference to the "English" statement which he thought was based upon information obtained by the author from the English

40. Storia, 2d ed., vol. V. pp. 490, 509. Vita di Dante in La Divina Commedia, Milan, 1804, vol. I. pp. xxx, lxii, and all subsequent editions of Storia and Vita.

41. M. Missirini, Vita di Dante, vol. I. p. 143 (1840); U. Foscolo, Discorso, etc. (1825), vol. I. p. 123; E. Balbo, Vita di Dante, 1853, p. 473; F. X. Wegele, Dantes Leben, 3d ed., p. 95, note; Scartazzini, Prolegomeni, p. 94; Id., Dante Handbuch, p. 123; H. F. Cary, in the Life of Dante in his Transl. of D. C., 2d ed., 1819, vol. I. p. 5; F. Cancellieri, Osservazione, pp. 45-46; A. Bartoli, Storia della lett. ital., vol. V. p. 21; Taaffe, A Comment on the Divina Commedia, 1822, vol. I. p. 48. Cf. Witte, Dante-Forschungen, vol. I. p. 433, where the author of the commentary is referred to as "il dotto Inglese," a term not quite so appropriate as the sharp criticism of the book by Colomb de Batines, *Bibl. Dant.*, vol. I. p. 677, "Vi sono particolari poco noti o meglio ignoti sopra Dante ed alcuni de' suoi contemporanei con cui fu legato in amicizia." (For a few details concerning the life of this eccentric personage, cf. E. Dowden, *Life of Shelley*, vol. II. p. 362.)

42. *Giornale Dantesco*, vol. II. pp. 151, 152.

43. Colomb de Batines, *Bibl. Dant.*, vol. I. p. 257; vol. II. pp. 333,

prelates, who merely reported an Oxford tradition (44). Finally the MS. has been published under the patronage of Pope Leo XIII., carefully edited by two Minorite brothers (45).

In 1819, an anonymous writer in the *Tudományos Gyűjtemény* (Scientific Miscellanies), an Hungarian literary journal, and, again, in 1860, Francesco di Czazar, the translator of the *Vita Nuova* in the *U. Magyar Museum* (New Hungarian Museum), called attention to the existence of a copy of the work of Serravalle, in the Library of the Archiepiscopal Academy at Erlau (Eger) in Hungary (46). The first notice of general accessibility was a summary of the second article in a communication of Geza Kuuns in the *Revista Europea* for 1874 (47). In 1883, there appeared in the *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* an article describing the MS., written by Ignazio Vaisz (48), who supposed that his own paper was the earliest contribution to the subject (49). All these notices are meagre and unsatisfactory.

44. Critical, Historical, and Philosophical Contributions to the Study of the Divina Commedia, 1846, pp. 18, 19; Ferruzzi, *Manuale Dantesco*, vol. IV. p. 34, notes an article by Barlow in the *Partenone di Londres*, 1852, No. 13, on "Dante at Oxford." I have not been able to find such an article in the *Athenæum* for that year, or in the other volumes of the same periodical, to which Barlow regularly contributed from 1857 on. Ferruzzi also notes (either on his own account, or merely in summarizing Barlow's article) Boccaccio's "serusque Britannos."

45. For title see note 2. As the expense of publishing was borne by the Pope, it is sometimes called "il Dante del Papa." Rev. in *Lit. Rundschau f. d. katholische Deutschland*, XVIII. Jahrg., pp. 149-153; *Arcadia*, vol. III. p. 659; *La Cultura*, 1891. Anno 6, 732-735; *Bulletino della Società Dantesca*, Nos. 10-11, p. 6; *Giornale Dantesco*, vol. II. p. 152 and vol. III. p. 564. From a lack of substantial facts, I have not discussed the possible identity of the MS. Capponiano with that used by Barbieri. The only variant in the Gaja passage cited in the text is that in the Latinizing of the name Gherardo; Barbieri gives the form "Guerardi," as against the "Gherardi" found in the Transl. and in Benvenuto.

46. C. J. Ferruzzi, *Manuale Dantesca*, vol. V. p. 292; *Giornale storico della lett. ital.*, vol. IV. p. 58, note; Transl., p. xxv. Grauert, l. c., p. 183, note.

47. *Revista Europea*, 1874, vol. III. pp. 406-407.

48. *Glor. stor.*, etc., vol. II. pp. 360ff.

49. *Ib.*, vol. II. p. 360; vol. IV. p. 58, note.

The MS., in its present condition, is inferior to the MS. Capponiano (50), and contains only the preamble (51), the translation, and the commentary on the *Inferno*. A copy, made probably in 1417 (52), it begins with a dedication addressed, not to the prelates at whose request the work was undertaken, but to the Emperor Sigismund, and the mere dedicatory greeting is grafted in and made one with the dedicatory letter, which in the MS. Capponiano is quite separate. This same dedication is found at the beginning of the commentary, but the original statement of the wherefore of the work is found in the colophon of both the translation and commentary of the more complete MS. (53). This copy seems to have been made by one of the prelates who accompanied the Emperor to Constance (54), or given as an honorary presentation copy, by the men who were interested in the work, to Sigismund on account of his having been the protector of the Council, and more particularly on account of his close relations with the English people (55), especially with Bishop Hallam, one of

50. Cf. Transl., pp. xxiv-xxv.

51. The MS. Capponiano contains only the preamble, introductory to the whole poem, and to the *Purgatorio*. It is possible that in one of the other two existing MSS. — which, it is true, are inferior — there is a preamble introductory to the *Paradiso*.

52. 1417 is a reasonable date to assign to the MS., as it was probably copied from the completed autograph; and, if it was a gift on the part of the English prelates, presented before the death of Hallam (4th Sept., 1417; Ulrich von Richtenthal, *Chronik*, p. 113; Grauert, l. c., p. 183, note 2) and the break between the English Nation and Sigismund (M. Creighton, *Hist. of Papacy*, vol. I. p. 392). Vaisz accepts a scribal error which wrongly gives as dates of the translation, Jan. 6-May, 1417 (*Giorn. Stor.*, vol. II. p. 364; cf. note 9).

53. Transl., pp. 1214-1215. If Witte had been acquainted with this MS. there would have been more reason for his criticism of Scartazzini, who, in his *Dante in Germania*, had not thought it necessary to mention a Latin translation made at the request of two Englishmen, members of a largely alien assembly in a German town. Cf. *Litbl. f. germ. u. rom. Phil.*, 1881, col. 445, and E. Sulger-Gebing, l. c., p. 223; Grauert, l. c., pp. 176, 180ff.

54. As suggested by Vaisz, who goes so far as to specify a Hungarian prelate; cf. *Giorn. stor.*, vol. II. pp. 364-365.

55. Lappenberg u. Pauli, *Geschichte von England*, vol. V. pp. 125 ff.; Creighton, l. c., vol. I. pp. 367 ff., 447-449.

the petitioners (56). Certainly, a translation of Dante would not have had purely humanistic attractions for the monarch whose ignorance has been made familiar to English readers by the passage in the *History of Frederick the Great*, where Carlyle relates how, when criticised for a confusion of genders in a speech, the King quashed all future remarks in that direction by his proud answer, "Ego sum Rex Romanus et supra Grammaticam" (57). The preservation of the Eger MS. is attributed to the collecting work of Carlo Esterhazy, in the last century (58).

The earliest date of a copy making its appearance in England, so far as has yet been pointed out by Dante scholars, was 1886, when the

56. Creighton, l. c., vol. I. pp. 368, 391-392; R. S. Poole, in *Nat. Dict. of Biog.*, vol. XXIV. p. 100.

57. T. Carlyle, *Hist. of Fred. the Great*, Bk. II. ch. xiv. vol. I. p. 192 (ed. 1871). The original source of this story may be Matteo Castiglione, *Elogi Historici*, 1606, p. 234. Modern German historians give a more favorable view of Sigismund than does the Italian humorist; cf. T. Lindner, *Deutsche Geschichte unter den Hapsburgern und Luxemburgern*, vol. II.: "Es kam dem Könige nicht darauf an, welcher Sprache er sich zu bedienen hatte, da er das Deutsche, Lateinische, Böhmisches, Polnische, Ungarische, Französische und Italienische vollkommen beherrschte; er wurde deswegen mit dem sprachkundigen Mithridates verglichen. Er zog auch in seinen letzten Lebensjahren italienische Gelehrte an seinen Hof." See also J. Aschbach, *Gesch. Kaiser Sigismund*, vol. IV. pp. 401 ff.; and Grauert, l. c., p. 184, Note 1. The classic authority upon the history of the revival of learning expresses an opinion hardly favorable on the whole to Sigismund's humanistic interests; cf. G. Voigt. *Die Wiederlebung des classischen Alterthums*, vol. II. pp. 272-276. By a most curious coincidence, Sigismund comes in touch with the "Vision" of Dante. The *Purgatory of St. Patrick*, by Henry of Saltry, is certainly a somewhat close analogue to the *Inferno*, if not one of its actual sources. Various *rifacimenti* of the work were made at different times, and the last of these was the account, written by James Yonge, of Dublin, upon the visit to the Purgatory made by one Laurentius Ratold, a Hungarian knight, who came to England in 1408, with letters of commendation from Sigismund; cf. H. L. D. Ward, *Cat. of MSS.*, etc., vol. II. p. 489. But on the historical worthlessness of the most precise dates given in accounts of visions, cf. B. Haureau, *Notices et Extraits*, vol. II. pp. 328 ff.; and G. Paris, *Romania*, vol. IX. pp. 534-536.

58. *Giorn. stor.*, vol. II. p. 365; *Revista Europea*, 1874, vol. III. p. 407.

"Woodhul" MS. was acquired by the British Museum. Bought by Woodhul in 1809, it contains the bookmark of the Marquis of Donegal. Its earlier history is unknown, and no detailed description of it has been published (59). Dr. Edward Moore, who was the first to call attention to it, being unacquainted with the notices of the Hungarian MS., and supposing that, with the exception of the MS. in the Capponiana, it was unique, conjectured that it came from Italy, and that it had been acquired by a namesake of the Marquis of Donegal, who had held an ecclesiastical position in Italy (60). But there is a possibility that its *provenance* may be English.

In the deed of 135 books that were given by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, in 1443, to the University of Oxford, are noted "Item Commentaria Dantes; secundo folio, tormentabunt" (61), and "Item

59. Very sparing are the notices of it in *Cat. of the Add. to the MSS. of Brit. Mus.*, 1882-1887, pp. 357-368; E. Moore, *Contr.*, etc., pp. i-ii.

60. *Acad.*, vol. XXIX. pp. 132, 133. Misled by a note in Batines (*Bibl. Dant.*, vol. II. p. 333, note, cf. *Aggiunte*, p. 93; *Giorn. stor.*, vol. II. p. 365) to the effect that an inhabitant of San Marino whose evidence could be depended on had told him that the autograph copy which had been kept in the Archives of San Marino, had been loaned to and lost by Melchiorre Delfico, Moore suggested that the Woodhul MS. was the same. Neither the statement of Batines nor the suggestion of Moore rests on any possible facts. Delfico, writing in 1802, and his editors only know of the MS. Capponiano (cf. M. Delfico, *Memorie della Reppublica di San Marino*, 1844, vol. I. p. 235, where Delfico, with commendable patriotic sentiment, speaks of it as the MS. of "un pregiato commento," see vol. III. App. p. xxv). The MS. lost by Delfico was that of the commentary of Giovanni Tonzi, the successor of Serravalle in the Bishopric of Fano (*not* Fermo, as in Brizzi, *Quadro storico della Reppublica di San Marino*, Firenze, 1842, p. 89); cf. *Transl.*, p. xvi.; Batines, *Bibl. Dant.*, vol. II. pp. 339-340; Delfico, *l. c.*, vol. I. p. 235; vol. III. p. xxvii; Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, vol. I. col. 716; P. de Nolhac, *La Bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini*, pp. 226-227, Note). The autograph MS. of his work, preserved in the *Cenobio de' Conventuali*, was loaned to Delfico, and could not be found in his library after his death; cf. Delfico, *l. c.*, vol. III. App. pp. xxvi-xxviii. Brizzi, *l. c.*, p. 89, gives a different account of its fate. Witte seems to accept the note of Batines as trustworthy; cf. Herzog u. Plitt, *Realencyclopaedie f. prot. Theol. u. Kirche*, 2d ed., vol. III. p. 491.

61. H. Anstey, *Monumenta Academica*, p. 771. On the source of the document, cf. *ibid.*, p. xvii.



Librum Dantes; secundo-ate" (62). That the first MS. here mentioned was a Latin commentary — as is to be inferred from the word "tormentabunt" which marks the folio division — and the commentary, too, of Serravalle, cannot be reasonably doubted when we find that among the books in the Oxford Public Library catalogued by John Leland (63), in his visitation of 1530–1546 (64), is noted "Commentarii Joannis de Seravala episcopi Firmani, ordinis Minorum, Latine scripti, super opera Dantis Aligerii ad Nicolam Bubwice, Bathon et Wellensem, episcopum, & Robertum Halam episcopum, Sarisbur: Commentarii editi sunt tempore Constantiense consilii" (65). The commentary alone is catalogued, but the MS. probably contained the translation, as is the case with the entries in the catalogues of the Libreria Capponiana (66) and the British Museum (67), where merely the title-pages of the several MSS. are copied. Or, the second MS. mentioned in the deed and not noted by Leland may have been the translation bound separately (68), if it were not a copy of the Italian text. There is proof positive that Humphrey was interested in the vernacular literature of Italy, as at present his copy of the *Decamerone* is in the Bibliothèque Natio-

62. H. Anstey, *Monumenta Academica*, p. 772.

63. On Leland's knowledge of Italian and his interest in Dante, cf. Leland and Bale, *Newe Yeaere's Gift*, ed. Copinger, pp. 23, 27; Huddesford, *Lives of Leland*, etc., vol. II. pp. 48, note, 77; J. Leland, *Itinerary*, ed. Hearne, 1745, vol. II. p. xiii; Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.*, ed. P. Bliss, vol. I. col. 125; Leland, *Collectanea*, ed. Hearne, vol. V. p. 141.

64. On the date of Leland's visitation, cf. T. Tyrwhitt, *Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, App. to the Preface, note e.

65. Leland, *Collectanea*, vol. IV. p. 58; cf. Macray, *Annals of the Bodleian*, 2d ed., pp. 399–400, for a reprint of Leland's list of books in the Public Library at Oxford.

66. Cf. p. 25 *supra*.

67. *Cat. of Add. to MSS.*, 1882–1887, p. 357.

68. As perhaps in the case of the MS. at Wells, referred to below. On a possible source of Humphrey's MS., as a gift from Whethamstede, Abbot of St. Albans, cf. Dugdale, *Monasticon*, 1817, vol. II. p. 20; T. Warton, *Hist. of Eng. Poetry*, 1840, vol. II. pp. 265–266; F. Madden, *Hist. Minor of Mathew of Paris*, vol. I. p. xxxix; F. Gasquet, *The Old English Bible and other Essays*, pp. 142, 257.

nale (69). A few MSS. are to-day to be found in the Bodleian Library, which once formed a part of Humphrey's gift to Oxford (70), but after Leland, there are no further details concerning the fate of these "Commentarii." Perhaps at the visitation of the University under Edward VI., it shared the same hard fortune as those works which smelt rank of Mariolatry and superstition and were burnt in a pile before the Library (71), or else became the prey of one of the Puritan commissioners. There is a possibility that the Woodhul MS. may be

69. L. Delisle, *Le cabinet des MSS. de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, vol. I. p. 52, note 5.

70. Wood's information about the library presented by Humphrey is hardly reliable (*Historia et Antiquitates*, ed. 1672, vol. II. pp. 49-50). Leland seems to have known only the list of Humphrey's first gift of 129 books, not that of 135 in which the codices of Dante were included (*Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis*, p. 443). The number 143, given in Leland & Bale, *Newe Yeare's Gift*, p. 94, must be a mistake. Only 129 books are mentioned in a University Statute of 1478 pertaining to the care of Humphrey's gift (T. Hearne, *Collection of Curious Discourses*, 1720, p. 300), as also in an old document copied by G. Langbaine (*Ib.*, p. 303). Delisle, *l. c.*, vol. III. p. 334, through a mere slip in referring to Anstey, *l. c.*, p. 758, makes the same statement. On the history of the library and its remains, cf. Macray, *Annals of the Bodleian*, 2d ed., pp. 6ff., 78, note 3; Anstey, *l. c.*, p. 758 ff.; Leland, *Coll.*, vol. IV. pp. 59-60; Warton, *l. c.*, vol. II. pp. 264-265; B. Casley, *Cat. of the MSS. of the King's Library*, 1784, pp. 87, 88, 291; H. Ellis, *Letters of Eminent Literary Men*, pp. 356-358; H. Ellis, *Three Books of Polydore Virgil's English History*, 1844, pp. xxvff.; H. Rashdall, *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, vol. II. pp. 744-745; F. Madden, *Hist. Min. of Math. of Paris*, vol. I. p. xxxix; Delisle, *l. c.*, vol. I. p. 52, notes 7 and 8, and vol. II. p. 338; *Cat. of Libri MSS.*, 1859, p. 215, No. 957.

71. A. Wood, *Hist. et Antiq.*, vol. I. pp. 271-272; vol. II. p. 50; A. Wood, *Athenæ Oxon.*, ed. Bliss, vol. I. cols. 466-468; Macray, *Annals of the Bodleian*, 2d ed., pp. 13, 36; J. Collier, *Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain*, vol. V. p. 428 (ed. 1845). Cf. T. Fuller, *Church History of Britain*, 1837, vol. II. pp. 317-318; and see Aubrey's *Brief Lives*, ed. A. Clark, vol. II. p. 297: "My old cosen, parson Whitney, told me that in Edward VI's time they burned mathematical bookes for conjuring bookes, and, if the Greeke professor had not accidentally come along, the Greeke testament had been thrown into the fire for a conjuring booke too;" *ibid.*, vol. I. pp. 250-251; "when Oxford was surrendered — the first thing gen-

identified with it, by the noted folio division, and Humphrey's arms or book-mark motto, "Moun bien moundain" (72).

Hallam, one of the English bishops at whose request the work of Serravalle was made, died at Constance before the end of the Council. Bubwith, on the other hand, returned to his diocese, and, after a busy useful life of service, died in 1424. To-day he is remembered as one of the founders of the noble cathedral of Wells, and we are told that among his other additions he built the library and "libris pretiosis ditavit" (73). One of these volumes may well have been that translation and commentary for which he was largely responsible, and Leland notes among the books in that library, "Dantes translatus in carmen Latinum" (74). In calling it a verse translation, Leland only committed the error made by two of the most prominent Dante scholars of this century, Batines (75) and Moore (76). On the other hand

erall Fairfax did was to sett a good guard of soldiers to preserve the Bodleian Library. 'T is said there was more hurt donne by the cavaliers (during their garrison) by way of embezzilling and cutting-off chaines of bookes, than there was since. He was a lover of learning, and had he not taken this special care, that noble library had been utterly destroyed — quod N. B.; for there were ignorant senators enough who would have been contented to have it so. This I doe assure you from an ocular witsesse, E. W. esq."

72. Leland, *Collectanea*, vol. IV. p. 58. This book-motto has already been noticed in Lappenberg und Pauli, *Geschichte von England*, vol. V. p. 669, note 1; Pauli, *Bilder aus Alt-England*, 1860, p. 350.

73. J. Leland, *Itinerary*, ed. Hearne, vol. III. p. 106; *Proc. of the Somersetshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.*, vol. XXXIII. 2, p. 107 and vol. XL. 2, p. 40. On the library anterior to Bubwith's work, *ibid.*, vol. XXXIV. 2, pp. 109 ff.; T. W. Williams, *Somerset Mediæval Libraries, and Miscellaneous Notices of Books in Somerset prior to the Dissolution of the Monasteries*, Bristol, 1897, pp. 26 ff., 40. Bubwith's gift has already been noted in *Reports of the Historical Commissioners of Great Britain*, vol. X. App. 3, p. 387.

74. J. Leland, *Collectanea*, vol. IV. p. 155.

75. *Bibl. Dant.*, vol. II. p. 335, Note, where he changes his correct statement of vol. I. p. 257; cf. *Agglunte*, p. 93.

76. *Contributions*, etc., pp. i-ii, where the statement in *Bibl. Dant.*, vol. I. p. 257, is again wrongly corrected. Williams, l. c., p. 116, Note, presumes it to be "probably the translation of Ronto." He thinks that mention of

he may not have seen the MS. at all, but may have taken the title from a catalogue made prior to the dispersion of the monastic libraries by the act of Henry VIII., and to his own visitation (77). Both the translation and commentary may have been together in this Wells MS., but with a title-page differing from that of the MSS. already mentioned, while the arrangement of the text was the same, and the translation, coming first, was alone noted (78). If it has not met with one of the possible mishaps of the Oxford MS., it may still remain unnoticed among the MSS. of the Cathedral Library,

the work of Dante is "rare if not unique in the annals of English monasteries." It is not clear whether a writer in the *Quarterly Review* (vol. CLXXI. p. 448), who seems to be generally accurate, refers to the same instance, when he writes, "In Monastic libraries, as far as we are aware, only one copy of Dante can be traced. It was a prohibited work amongst Churchmen." The second of these statements must be read in the light of Carducci's essay, "Della Varia Fortuna di Dante," *Opere*, vol. VIII. pp. 178-212; cf. Reusch, *Die Index der verbotenen Buecher*, vol. I. pp. 488-489. The copy noted in the library of Westminster Abbey at the end of the seventeenth century (E. Bernard, *Catalogi Librorum Manuscriptorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ*, etc.) may have formed part of the old library which underwent Puritan expurgation in Edward VI.'s time (J. Collier, *Ecclesiastical Hist. of Great Britain*, vol. V. p. 417, ed. 1845), or it may merely go back to the foundation of Dean John Williams in 1625.

77. E. Edwards, *Memoirs of Libraries*, vol. I. p. 363, Williams, l. c., p. 120, speaks of the list of books "recorded to have been or were probably in the library." Leland himself sent books from various monastic libraries as gifts to the King (C. J. Leland, *Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis*, 1709, ed. A. Hall, pp. 160, 299), so we are not surprised to find the less scholarly visitors guilty of the same action. (Gasquet, *Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries*, 1889, pp. 144, 417.) On the general destruction of monastic libraries, under the act of Henry VIII., cf. T. Fuller, *Church History*, vol. II. pp. 245-248. J. Bale, in *Newe Yeare's Gift*, pp. 13 ff. : Boyle's complaint in *Cambridge Antiquarian Soc. Proc.*, vol. III. p. 157. On robberies from the Wells Cathedral cf. W. Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. II. p. 284; *Hist. Com. Ibid.*, p. 264. On the fate of the two MSS. abstracted from the Cathedral Library of Canterbury at the time of the Dissolution, cf. W. De G. Birch, *The Utrecht Psalter*, pp. 103-106.

78. The translation comes first in both the Capponiana and Hungarian MSS.

as documents of a contemporary and much earlier date have been found there (79).

After these two notices of MSS. of Serravalle's work by Leland, no one even suspected the existence of a copy in England, until Henry Cary, by far the most learned of all English Dantophilists, when speaking in his *Life of Dante* of the English journey, and basing his remark upon passages of a Latin prose, line-for-line translation of the poem cited as the work of F. S. in the *Origines Sacræ* of Bishop Stillingfleet (80), wrote: "I would suggest the probability of others"—he has been speaking of the MS. Capponiano,—“existing in this country” (81). A comparison of the quotations in the translation of F. S. with the published text of Serravalle's reveals an entirely distinct version, so that a different source must be sought for Stillingfleet's quotation.

79. Reports of the Hist. Com. of Great Britain, vol. X. App. pp. 92, 93, 94, 360. Among these that are of particular interest in this investigation, is a copy of the Canons of Constance, promulgated under Martin V., as affecting the English nation, and inserted in the book of the Chancery of the Apostolic See, granted at Florence on the 17th of April, 1419, *Ib.*, p. 360.

80. *Origines Sacræ*, Book II., ch. IX., sect. xix, 4; Book II., ch. X. sect. v, 2. Works of Stillingfleet, 1710, vol. II. pp. 193-194, 219.

81. *Life of Dante in Divina Commedia*, 2d ed., 1819, pp. 5-6, note.

G. L. HAMILTON.

## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

From a personal examination of the Woodhul MS. I find that various statements and conjectures in the text and notes must be modified. The manuscript is in a modern binding, and has not any book-marks or other signs of its earlier owners, except the book-plate of the Marquis of Donegal and some notes and clippings from catalogues, made by Woodhul. From these it appears that it was bought by him, May 29, 1811, for £10 10s from the bookseller, William Ford of Manchester, in whose catalogue of 1811 it is entered as No. 15119. Before passing into the library of the Marquis, it was offered for sale by the London bookseller, James Robson, in his catalogue published in 1781. It contains only the commentary, and the preambles to the *Inferno* and *Purgatorio*. Cf. p. 30, note 51, and pp. 32-35.

To Drs. Ford and Robinson, of Harvard University, my sincere thanks are due for having, during my absence, prepared for the press and corrected the proof-sheets of this paper, to which I have been able to give a final revision, with the aid of new material I have collected.

Page 18, note 6. Serravalle was only nominated Bishop of Fermo June 20, 1412, but was translated to the see of Fano as early as Dec. 15, 1417. C. Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Ævi*, 1898, pp. 255, 260, where corrections are made of statements in Gams, *Series Episcoporum Ecclesiæ*, pp. 690, 693.

Page 23, note 20, line 1. On "Il re Giovane" see P. Toynbee, *Acad.*, vol. XXXIII. p. 274; XLIV. p. 590.

Page 26. There is another mention of the work of Serravalle in the *Memorie ecclesiastiche*, p. 4, note p. "E forse per simil ragione chiamò Dante 'citta partita' Firenze, perchè divisa nelle sue contrarie faz'one. *Inf. Can. VI. v. 61*, dove F. Giovanni da Serravalle (MSS. Cappon. Vatic. num. I. pag. 28), nota, che 'Partialitas et divisio, de qua textus loquitur, intelligitur de Parte Guelfa et Gebellina.'" Cf. *Transl.* p. 92.

Page 36, note 76, line 11, *complete* Hiberniæ, etc., *with*, Oxford, 1697, vol. II. Part I. p. 28. Line 14, *add*, On the destruction of the old library at Westminster, cf. J. W. Clark in *Cambridge Antiquarian Soc. Proceedings*, etc., N. S., vol. III. pp. 50-53; on Williams's gift, *Ibid.* pp. 53-54.

Page 37, note 79. The library at Wells has not been disturbed since it was refitted by Bishop Robert Creighton, 1670-72. J. W. Clark, l. c. vol. II. p. 9.







TWENTY-FIRST  
ANNUAL REPORT  
OF THE  
DANTE SOCIETY  
(CAMBRIDGE, MASS.)

1902

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ACCOMPANYING PAPERS

A TRANSLATION OF THE QUAESTIO DE AQUA ET TERRA, AND A  
DISCUSSION OF ITS AUTHENTICITY.

*By Alain Campbell White.*

SEVEN NOTES.

*By C. H. Grandgent.*

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BOSTON  
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## STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS.

The following statement summarizes the receipts and expenditures of the Society from May 21, 1901, to May 20, 1902.

Prize fund in the hands of the Treasurer of		
Harvard College . . . . .	\$100 00	
Balance in the hands of the Treasurer of the		
Society, May 21, 1901 . . . . .	858 89	
Received from members' fees . . . . .	529 74	
Copyright account . . . . .	54 74	
A contribution to the Concordance . . . . .	2 50	
	\$1545 87	
Prize fund in the hands of the Treasurer of		
Harvard College . . . . .	\$100 00	
Typewriting, postage, etc. . . . .	13 75	
Paid the Treasurer of Harvard College for		
books for the Library . . . . .	25 00	
Paid Messrs. Ginn & Company . . . . .	500 55	
Expenses of the Concordance . . . . .	10 00	
Two special Dante prizes . . . . .	100 00	
Paid Mrs. J. L. Gardner, on account of		
Dr. Fay's Concordance . . . . .	78 00	
Balance in the hands of the Treasurer of the		
Society, May 20, 1902 . . . . .	718 57	
	\$1545 87	

## BY-LAWS.

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1. This Society shall be called the DANTE SOCIETY. Its object shall be the encouragement of the study of the Life and Works of Dante.

2. Any person desirous to become a member of this Society may do so by signifying his or her wish in writing to the Secretary, and by the payment of an annual fee of five dollars.

3. An Annual Meeting for the election of officers shall be held at Cambridge on the third Tuesday of May, of which due notice shall be given to the members by the Secretary.

4. Special meetings may be held at any time appointed by vote of the members at the Annual Meeting, or by call from the President and Secretary.

5. The officers shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary and Treasurer, and a Librarian, who, together with three members thereto chosen, shall form the Council of the Society. All these officers shall be chosen at the Annual Meeting, and their term of service shall be for one year, or until their successors are elected. Vacancies in the Council shall be filled for the remainder of the year by the Council.

6. The President, or, in his absence, the Vice President, or, in the absence of both, any member of the Council, shall preside at all meetings of the Society and of the Council.

7. The Secretary and Treasurer shall keep a record of the meetings of the Society and of the Council, shall collect and receive all dues, and keep accounts of the income and expenditure of the Society, shall give notice of meetings, and shall perform all other duties appropriate to his office.

8. The Council shall hold meetings at such times as it may appoint, shall determine on the use to be made of the income of

the Society, shall endeavor to promote the special objects of the Society in such ways as may seem most appropriate, and shall make an annual report of their proceedings, including a full statement of accounts, at each Annual Meeting. This report shall be made in print for distribution to the members.

9. No officer of the Society shall be competent to contract debts in the name of the Society, and no expenditure shall be made without a vote of the Council.

10. A majority of the Council shall form a quorum for the transaction of business.

11. Any person distinguished for his interest in the purposes of the Society, or who has rendered it valuable service, may be chosen an Honorary Member at any regular meeting of the Society, and shall be entitled to all its privileges without annual assessment.

12. The preceding rules may be changed at any time by unanimous vote of the Council.

## THE DANTE PRIZE.

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The prize offered for 1889-1890 was awarded to Mr. C. S. LATHAM, of the class of 1884, A.B. Harvard, 1888, for a translation of the Letters of Dante with a historical and critical comment. Mr. Latham died on July 21, 1890. He did not live to learn the award of the prize.

In accordance with the desire of his mother, the prize adjudged to him of one hundred dollars was offered again to be competed for. The competition was opened not only to the students in any department of Harvard University, and to Harvard graduates of not more than three years' standing, but also to students and graduates, of similar standing, of any college or university in the United States.

The Latham Prize was awarded in 1902. The Dante Society, therefore, now renews its offer of an annual prize of one hundred dollars for the best essay by a student in any department of the University, or by a graduate of not more than three years' standing, on a subject drawn from the life or works of Dante. The competition will henceforth be open to students and graduates, of similar standing, of any college or university in the United States.

For the year 1902-1903 the subjects proposed are as follows:

1. *A Review of Kraus's "Dante" (1897), Paget Toynbee's "Dante Dictionary" (1898), and Scartazzini's "Enciclopedia Dantesca" (1896-1898).*

2. *The credibility of Boccaccio's "Vita di Dante," and of what he tells concerning Dante in his "Commento."*

3. *The verse endings in the Divina Commedia in which Dante has made "li vocaboli dire nelle sue rime altro che quello ch'erano appo gli altri dicatori usati di sprimere" (Ottimo Commento, Inf. x, 85).*

4. A translation of the *Quaestio de Aqua et Terra*, and a discussion of its authenticity.

5. A collection of all the passages in the prose works of Dante directly illustrative of the *Divina Commedia*, arranged in order as a comment upon it.

6. A critical comment of the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*.

For the year 1903-1904:

1. The credibility of Boccaccio's "*Vita di Dante*," and of what he tells concerning Dante in his "*Commento*."

2. The verse endings in the *Divina Commedia* in which Dante has made "*li vocaboli dire nelle sue rime altro che quello ch' erano appo gli altri dicatori usati di sprimere*" (*Ottimo Commento*, *Inf.* x, 85).

3. A collection of all the passages in the prose works of Dante directly illustrative of the *Divina Commedia*, arranged in order as a comment upon it.

4. A critical comment of the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*.

5. *Visions of Hell, Purgatory, or Paradise of earlier date than the Divina Commedia.*

Essays must be deposited with the Dean of Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass., on or before the *first day of May*.

Essayists are at liberty to write on any one of the subjects which have been proposed in the years during which the Dante Prize has been offered.

On the title-page must be written an assumed name and a statement of the writer's standing, *i.e.*, whether he is a graduate or an undergraduate (and of what college or university); if he is an undergraduate, to what class he belongs, and to what department of the college or university. Under cover with the essay must be sent a sealed letter, containing the true name and address of the writer, and superscribed with his assumed name.

The essays must be written upon letter paper, of good quality, of the quarto size, with a margin of not less than one inch at the top, at the bottom, and on each side, so that they may be bound up without injury to the writing. The sheets on which the essay is written must be securely stitched together.

The judges of the essays are a committee of the Dante Society.

In case the judges decide that no essay submitted to them deserves the full prize, they are at liberty to award one or two prizes of fifty dollars, or to award no prize.

The Dante Society has the privilege of retaining and depositing in the Dante Collection of the Harvard College Library any or all essays offered in competition for the Dante Prize, whether successful or not.

Since its establishment, the Dante Prize (in full or in part) has been awarded to the following persons :

HEINRICH CONRAD BIERWIRTH . . . . 1887.

For an essay upon the subject : *Dante's Obligations to the Schoolmen, especially to Thomas Aquinas.*

GEORGE RICE CARPENTER . . . . 1888.

For an essay upon the subject : *The Interpretation and Reconciliation of the Different Accounts of his Experiences after the Death of Beatrice, given by Dante in the Vita Nuova and the Convito.*

CHARLES STERRETT LATHAM . . . . 1890.

For an essay upon the subject : *A Translation into English of Dante's Letters, with Explanatory and Historical Comments.*

LUCY ALLEN PATON . . . . 1891.

For an essay upon the subject : *The Personal Character of Dante as revealed in his Writings.*

KENNETH MCKENZIE . . . . 1894.

For an essay upon the subject : *The Rise of the Dolce Stil Nuovo.*

JEREMIAH DENIS MATTHIAS FORD . . . . 1895.

For an essay upon the subject : *Dante's Influence upon Spanish Literature during the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries.*

ANNETTE FISKE . . . . 1897.

For an essay upon the subject : *Dante's Obligations to Old French and Provençal Lyric Poetry.*

ARTHUR NEWTON PEASLEE . . . . 1900.

For an essay entitled: *A Metrical Rhyming Translation of the Three Canzoni of the Convito.*

HENRY LATIMER SEAVER . . . . 1901.

For an essay entitled: *A Translation of the Canzoni in the Convito.*

ALAIN CAMPBELL WHITE . . . . 1902.

The Latham Prize for an essay entitled: *A Translation of the Quaestio de Aqua et Terra, and a Discussion of its Authenticity.*

ALPHONSO DE SALVIO . . . . 1902.

A second prize for an essay entitled: *The Verse Endings in the Divina Commedia in which Dante has made "li vocaboli dire nelle sue rime altro che quello ch' erano appo gli altri dicatori usati di sprimere."*



## ANNUAL REPORT.

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THE Dante Society is still somewhat in arrears with its publications, and the Report now submitted deals with the year which ended in May, 1902. The Secretary, however, has not abandoned the hope of catching up with the years; and if the contribution promised for the Twenty-Second Report can be prepared (as now seems probable) during the summer, the Report will be issued in the fall of 1903. It will then be no longer necessary to apologize for a discrepancy between the dates on the title-page.

The twenty-first annual meeting of the Society was held at the house of Professor Norton on May 20, 1902. The President, Vice President, Librarian, and Secretary and Treasurer were all reëlected. In the case of the additional members of the Council the committee on nominations proposed a system of rotation by which a new member should be elected each year in place of the member with the longest term of service. In accordance with this recommendation Miss Scott was chosen to succeed Dr. Knapp, and Professors Sheldon and Geddes were reëlected. Besides transacting the usual routine business the Society discussed at length the choice of additional honorary members, the increase of its regular membership, and the publication of the Concordance to Dante's minor works. All these matters

were referred to committees. The Librarian called attention to the fact that for three years the Society had made almost no provision for increasing its Dante collection. It was thereupon voted to appropriate one hundred and fifty dollars for the purchase of books relating to Dante for the Harvard College Library.

As a result of the belated issue of the Twenty-First Report the Treasurer's statement, rendered in 1902 and now printed, again showed a somewhat misleading balance. Against this balance were to be charged, besides appropriations for the Library, for the Dante Prize, and for other current expenses, the cost of two Reports — those for 1901 and 1902.

There was a gratifying increase in the competition for the Dante Prize in 1902. Four essays were submitted and were referred for judgment to a committee consisting of Miss Scott, Professor Geddes (Chairman), and Mr. W. R. Thayer. The Latham Prize, which had remained unawarded since it was first offered in 1890, was awarded to Mr. Alain C. White, of the senior class in Harvard College, for an essay entitled: "A Translation of the *Quaestio de Aqua et Terra*, with a Discussion of its Authenticity"; and a second prize of fifty dollars was awarded to Mr. Alphonso de Salvio, of the Harvard Graduate School, for a study of "The Verse-Endings in the *Divina Commedia* in which Dante has made 'li vocaboli dire nelle sue rime altro che quelle ch'erano appo gli altri dicatori usati di sprimere.'" Mr. White's essay is printed with this report.

FRED NORRIS ROBINSON,

*Secretary.*

A TRANSLATION OF THE  
QUAESTIO DE AQUA ET TERRA

BY

ALAIN CAMPBELL WHITE

## NOTE

THIS paper was begun at the welcome suggestion of Professor Charles Eliot Norton, and its completion has only been made possible by his frequent advice, and constant and invaluable assistance, and by the kindness of Mr. William C. Lane, Librarian of Harvard University, in placing at my service books and pamphlets I could not have hoped to reach otherwise. I have also to acknowledge much useful criticism from the Judges of the Dante Society. In the Introduction and in my Notes I have availed myself extensively of the labors of Signor Giuliani, Mr. Paget Toynbee, and Dr. Edward Moore. Indeed, these notes could not have been made at all complete without the references in both volumes of Dr. Moore's Studies in Dante (First Series: *Scripture and Classical Authors in Dante*; Second Series: *The Genuineness of the "Quaestio de Aqua et Terra"*). I have followed, almost exactly, the Translations of Mr. Longfellow for the *Divine Comedy*, of Miss Hillard for the *Convito*, of Dr. Church for the *De Monarchia*, of Mr. Howells for the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, and of Mr. Latham for the *Letters*.

## INTRODUCTION

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IN 1508, one hundred and eighty-seven years after the death of Dante, Giovanni Benedetto Moncetti da Castiglione Aretino — an Italian monk whose position and character have never been definitely settled — printed, in Venice, a small treatise, the *Quaestio de Aqua et Terra*, professing to be a scientific discussion held by Dante in Verona, on Jan. 30, 1320, concerning the relative levels of earth and water on the surface of the globe.

At the time of its publication no interest was taken in the subject-matter of the treatise. Dante himself was read but little, the *Divine Comedy* and the *Convito* being the only works of his accessible to the public. Consequently the *Quaestio* immediately sank into complete obscurity. We have no evidence that anybody besides Moncetti ever laid eyes on the manuscript from which it was supposed to have been printed; and the first edition became so rare that in 1843 Torri knew of only one copy. Up to the present time, however, five other copies have been found. These six are now respectively in the library of Marchese Trivulzio in Milan, the Marucellian library in Florence, the public library at Perugia, the University of Bologna, the British Museum, and Cornell University. So little was the treatise known that early writers mention it under various incorrect names — as *De Aqua et Igni* — their knowledge of it being evidently at second hand.

But with the publication of Dante's minor works in the course of the sixteenth century, interest in the *Quaestio* reawoke a little, and the year 1576, which saw the first edition of the *Vita Nuova*, also beheld a reprint of the treatise, by one Francesco Storella, a bookseller of Naples.

The authorship of the work was not called into serious question for over three hundred years; but since the beginning of the last century there has been a tendency to consider it spurious, a mere exercise, or, in cruder language, a forgery of Moncetti. In Italy and Germany

opinion has been especially hostile to its authenticity, although the point is one by no means easily settled.

Once definitely proved a forgery, the *Quaestio* would, of course, lose every claim to the attention of the student; but once proved genuine, its value as an interesting commentary on many cosmographical passages in the Divine Comedy would be considerable, as is shown in Professor Wilhelm Schmidt's excellent article, "*Über Dante's Stellung in der Geschichte der Kosmographie*" (Graz, 1856).

In this Essay, Professor Schmidt, who accepts the genuineness of the *Quaestio*, argues that it is just such a treatise as Dante could and would have written; every important idea is to be found in the author's other works, and the form and expression are completely in his style. Further than this, the proof of the genuineness of a work concerning which no definite external evidence exists cannot go; and the object of the following pages will be to show as fully as possible the truth of Professor Schmidt's opinion, by first explaining that what little external evidence there is, is not adverse to the genuineness of the *Quaestio*, and then by throwing on the text what light thereon has been drawn from the works of Dante and of his predecessors. I shall endeavor to show by the references in my notes that the author of the *Quaestio* had a remarkable knowledge of Dante's writings, that he exhibits marked sympathy with his later ideas, that he treats similar thoughts with entire similarity of manner, and finally that he bases all his arguments on those very authorities whom Dante knew and studied. Some of these authorities, it is important to notice, were very little read two centuries later. Dr. Moore (*Dante Studies* ii., 358, *Dante and Ristoro d'Arezzo*), indeed, has proved almost conclusively that Moncetti, for instance, could never have read Ristoro d'Arezzo, who is evidently referred to in the *Quaestio*.

If we consider the list of opinions in respect to its genuineness cited by Lodrini, who contests it (*Commentari dell' Ateneo di Brescia*, 1890, pp. 55, 75-6), we are struck by the large number of critics favoring the authenticity of the *Quaestio*, — there being eighteen for it, four against, and five non-committal. The advocates of its genuineness date from Storella, the editor of the second edition, 1576; whereas the sceptics do not appear for almost two centuries, the first being Pelli, 1758; the real opponents not finding a voice until Foscolo, 1825. This list is not of great value, however, for it not only contains the names of various writers who have only touched on the work in the most cursory manner,

and can consequently hardly be ranked as critics of it, but it actually places among the supporters of the work's genuineness the dogmatic Scartazzini, who is really one of its strongest denouncers. Whatever may be the reason that Lodrini mustered up this large array of champions, he himself does but little to overthrow them, using as his main argument the assertion that any good Dante scholar could easily have forged the *Quaestio*, and assuming that the worthy Father Moncetti, monk and mathematician, was thus capable.

As to Father Moncetti's mental capacity, diversity of opinion exists. Dr. Prompt (*Œuvres Latines du Dante*, Paris, 1888), who takes the negative side of the debate, clamorously proclaims his complete imbecility, dubbing him "homme ignorant et stupide, incapable de faire un calcul exact, du moment que ce calcul offrait une légère difficulté," and so — the wherefore is perhaps not wholly obvious — just the man to be our forger. Messrs. Luzio and Rénier (*Giornale Storico*, Vol. XX, pp. 125-150, *Il Probabile Falsatore della Quaestio*) paint what is most likely a more accurate portrait of the "probable forger of the *Quaestio*." In their hands Moncetti appears as a clever mathematician, crammed with much physical lore, bombastic withal and self-assertive, fond of linking his own name to those of the great in station and in brains, the editor incidentally of a perfectly genuine, but new-found, Treatise, by Egidio Colonna (a Cardinal in Dante's day), which he dedicates to Henry VIII. of England. The picture is interesting, but does not necessarily incline us to see in Moncetti the author of the moderate, sober *Quaestio*, in which surely there are no anachronisms, no bombast, no "shallow vehemence" (such as would be almost inevitable in the composition of a sixteenth-century student), while at the same time it displays on the part of the author, whoever he may have been, a profound knowledge of and sympathy with, Dante's works, both those extant in print and those not yet thus extant in 1508, — a knowledge which Moncetti gave no other hint of possessing, a sympathy he never again exhibited. It is an out-of-date discussion, barren of all interest to the century of the Renaissance, while close at hand lay tempting bait for a skilful forger, — endless classic models, and those offered by Dante himself in the unwritten books of the *Convito* or the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, — inviting composition.

Here is, in fact, a remarkable monument of mediæval study; and these modern critics would have us believe it the forgery of a monk of

the cinquecento, who apparently had not the patience even to complete the "diligent and accurate correction" he boasts of undertaking! Was not this rather the sort of "correction, revision, renewal, and argumentation" that he administered seven years later to the avowedly genuine filth and absurdities of the famous Cardinal, so as not to appear his mere transcriber? Or again, we may ask, if Moncetti thus diligently corrected the proof-sheets of his own forgery, so that many portions of the first edition are incomprehensible, how could he have resisted the temptation of correcting these wilful errors of his in erudite foot-notes?

Scartazzini's arguments against the genuineness have more violence, if but little more force. Out of four pages of invective, I venture to quote two typical extracts:<sup>1</sup>—

"We are here in presence of a miracle. Dante must have known the theory developed two hundred years later by Leonardo da Vinci, or must at least have had a clear presentiment of it. He must have been in possession of discoveries which future generations were the first to make. Stoppani<sup>2</sup> has discovered that the little work contains nine truths of cosmology hitherto undreamt of which were in part foreseen, in part distinctly asserted, and in part proved, and which form the bases of modern science, namely, (1) the moon is the main cause of ebb and flow, (2) equality of the level of the sea, (3) centripetal force, (4) spherical form of the earth, (5) that the dry land is merely excrescences from the earth's surface, (6) the grouping of continents towards the north, (7) universal attraction, (8) the elasticity of steam as a motive power, (9) upheaval of the continents. Dante must indeed have been a wonderful man!" How much more wonderful the perspicuity of Stoppani and the easy credulity of Scartazzini!

"If Dante delivered that treatise before all the learned world of Verona, it is obvious that its contents must have aroused very considerable notice, and yet not a word was said about it. No single chronicler, no single member of the audience, no single contemporary writer has, so far as we know, taken the very slightest notice of these new facts of cosmology. No word, no sound was uttered against it in spite of the many opponents who are spoken of in the treatise. No report,

<sup>1</sup> Scartazzini: *Companion to Dante*. (*Butler's Translation*, pp. 367-9.)

<sup>2</sup> See Stoppani's Letter to Giuliani in the latter's *Opere Latine di Dante*. ii. pp. 451-63.



direct or indirect, has been preserved of a fact of such importance which took place in the presence of the whole city of Verona, and it would have remained forever forgotten had not the good Father Moncetti, two hundred years later, produced and made known the treatise which, according to him, had rested for many olympiads in the bookcase."

These remarks have been more than answered by Dr. Moore. His comments on Stoppani's "marvellous anticipations" I have followed as these arise, or seem to arise, in the text. If so-called anticipations and prophecies were proof of a work's lack of authenticity, what would become of the *Inferno* and the *Purgatorio*, in whose verses have been discovered the theories and doctrines of Harvey, Luther, and even Swedenborg?

Finally, as regards the points raised in the second paragraph of the preceding citation I cannot do better than quote Dr. Moore's own words:

"It is true that no ancient biographer or commentator mentions or alludes to this work. But, assuming the account given on the face of it to be true, the discussion was held only about eighteen months before Dante's death, and there is no reason to suppose that it was ever put forth or published by him (whatever publication may have meant in those days). Probably, like a Paper read before a Society, or the MS. of a Lecture, the document was afterwards thrown aside and forgotten or mislaid, until (according to the account given) it was accidentally unearthed two centuries later. Such things have often happened in other cases, and in respect of works of much greater importance and general interest than this. It must be remembered also that the subject was highly technical, and one that would appeal to a very limited and special class of readers or hearers. We need not be surprised if the learned author was not 'requested to publish his interesting discourse,' and if no one took the trouble to copy it (even if any one had the chance), or if it never came to the knowledge of any early writer about Dante, none of their works (be it noted) falling within forty years or so of his death."<sup>1</sup>

The text of the *Quaestio* is not an easy one for the translator to deal with. Even admitting the genuineness of the treatise, the text is in many places evidently corrupt. Its first editor did not follow the

<sup>1</sup> Moore: *Studies in Dante. Second Series.* p. 308.

manuscript exactly, as appears from the words on his title-page : *diligenter et accurate correctæ* ; while subsequent editors—notably Torri—have made yet further changes, not always emendations. Besides the state of the text, the scholastic method of expression is a constant obstacle to fluent translation : it is frequently confused, and involves the use of terms hard to render, and of trains of reasoning that in several cases cannot but seem false to us.

In following the text of the Oxford Dante, I have changed two readings, which were almost certainly not the author's, and, with the approval of Professor Norton, I have moved the position of two commas, where the sense was improved by the change. I have further ventured to omit the paragraph headings, as they are of the most doubtful authenticity and frequently unsatisfactory and misleading. I have substituted an analysis of the treatise, by reference to which the argument can be a little more readily followed.

## ANALYSIS OF THE TREATISE

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- § I. *Introduction*: Author's reasons for undertaking the discussion.
- § II. *The Question*: Is Water, or the surface of the sea, anywhere higher than the Earth, or habitable dry land?  
Five affirmative arguments generally accepted.
- § III. *Reason 1*. Geometrical Proof: Earth and Water are spheres with different centers; the center of the Earth's sphere is the center of the universe: consequently the surface of the Water is above that of the Earth.
- § IV. *Reason 2*. Ethical Proof: Water is a nobler element than Earth: hence it deserves a nobler, or higher, place in the scheme of the universe.
- § V. *Reason 3*. Experimental Proof: based on sailors seeing the land disappear under their horizon when at sea.
- § VI. *Reason 4*. Economical Proof: The supply of Water, namely the sea, must be higher than the Earth: otherwise, as Water flows downwards, it could not reach, as it does, the fountains, lakes, etc.
- § VII. *Reason 5*. Astronomical Proof: Since Water follows the moon's course, its sphere must be excentric, like the moon's excentric orbit; and consequently in places be higher than the sphere of Earth.
- § VIII. These Reasons unfounded.
- i. *Refutation by observation*. Water flows down to the sea from the land; hence the sea cannot be higher than the land. Cf. § VI.
- ii. *Refutation by reasoning*.
- § IX. Order of Refutation.
- I. Proof that Water cannot be higher than the dry land. §§ X-XIII.
- II. Demonstration that land is higher than the sea. §§ XIV-XV.
- III. Possible objections, and refutation thereof. §§ XVI-XIX.
- IV. Causes of the elevation of the dry land. §§ XX-XXII.
- a. Final cause.
- b. Efficient cause.
- V. Refutation of arguments in §§ III-VII. § XXIII.

- § X. I. Water could only be higher than the Earth:
1. If it were excentric, or
  2. If it were concentric, but had some excrescence.
- § XI. but since:
- A. Water naturally moves downwards, and
  - B. Water is naturally a fluid body:
- § XII. 1. cannot be true, for three impossibilities would follow:
- a. Water would move upwards as well as downwards;
  - b. Water and Earth would move downwards in different directions;
  - c. Gravity would be taught ambiguously of the two bodies.
- Proof of these impossibilities by a diagram.
- § XIII. 2. cannot be true, for
- a. The Water of the excrescence would be diffused, and consequently the excrescence could not exist;
  - b. It is unnecessary, and what is unnecessary is contrary to the will of God and Nature.
- § XIV. II. It has been shown that Water is of one level, and concentric with the Earth:
- § XV. Therefore, since the shores are higher than the edges of the sea, and since the shores are the lowest portions of the land, It follows that all the land is higher than the sea.
- § XVI. III. *Possible argument*: Earth is the heaviest body; hence it is drawn down to its own center, and lies beneath the lighter body, Water.
- § XVII. *Objection to this argument*: Earth is the heaviest body only by comparison with others; for Earth is itself of different weights.
- § XVIII. *Refutation of this objection*: On the contrary, Earth is a simple body, and as such subject to be drawn equally in every part.  
*Conclusion*: Since the objection is in itself sound, and Earth by its own Particular Nature, due to the stubbornness of matter, would be lower than the sea; and since Universal Nature requires that the Earth project somewhere, in order that its object, the mixture of the elements, may be fulfilled:  
 It follows that there must be some final and efficient cause, whereby this projection may be accomplished.
- § XIX. The form of this emerging continent has been studied, and it is that of a half-moon, extending 180 degrees longitudinally from Cadiz to the River Ganges, and 67 degrees latitudinally from the Equator to the neighborhood of the Arctic Circle.

§ XX. IV. The causes of the elevation of the land.

*a.* The final cause has been seen to be the purpose of Universal Nature.

*b.* The efficient cause cannot be (i) the Earth, (ii) the Water, (iii) the Air or Fire, (iv) the heaven of the Moon, (v) the Planets, nor (vi) the Primum Mobile: Therefore it must be ascribed to the heaven of the Fixed Stars (for this has variety in efficiency, as is seen in the various constellations), and in particular to those Stars of the Northern Hemisphere which overhang the dry land.

*First objection:* Why is the projecting continent then, not circular, since the motion of these stars is circular?

*Answer:* Because the material did not suffice for so great an elevation.

*Second objection:* Why is this elevation in this particular place?

*Answer:* Because God, whose ways are inscrutable, willed it so.

§ XXII.

We should therefore desist from examining too closely the reasons, which we can never hope to fathom.

§ XXIII.

V. *Refutation of the original arguments:*

*Reason 1.* Invalid because Earth and Water are spheres with the same center.

*Reason 2.* Invalid because of the external influence of Universal Nature, counteracting the internal influence of Particular Nature.

*Reason 3.* Invalid because it is the sphericity of the sea and not the lowness of the land which interferes with one's view at sea.

*Reason 4.* Invalid because Water does not flow to the tops of mountains, but ascends thither in the form of vapors.

*Reason 5.* Invalid because Water imitating the moon in one respect, need not imitate it in all.

§ XXIV. (*Conclusion:* Date and place of the discussion.)



QUAESTIO  
DE AQUA ET TERRA

Universis et singulis praesentes litteras inspecturis, Dantes Aligherius<sup>1</sup> de Florentia, inter vere philosophantes<sup>4</sup> minimus,<sup>8</sup> in Eo salutem, qui est principium veritatis et lumen.

§ I. Manifestum sit omnibus vobis quod, existente me Mantuae, quaestio quaedam exorta est, quae dilatata multoties ad apparentiam magis quam ad veritatem,<sup>6</sup> indeterminata restabat. Unde quum in amore veritatis a pueritia mea continue sim nutritus, non sustinui quaestionem praefatam linquere indiscussam: sed placuit de ipsa

<sup>1</sup> *Purg.* XXX. 62-3. " . . . Mi volsi al suon del nome mio,  
Che di necessità qui si registra."

<sup>8</sup> *Epist.* VIII. 70-2. " Quippe de ovibus pascuis Iesu Christi minima una sum."

<sup>4</sup> *Conv.* I. i. 67-8. " Io . . . che non seggo alla beata mensa."

<sup>6</sup> *Conv.* III. Canz. ii. 82-3. " Non considera lei secondo 'l vero,  
Ma pur secondo quel che a lei pareo."



Dante Alighieri<sup>1</sup> of Florence,<sup>2</sup> least<sup>3</sup> among real philosophers,<sup>4</sup> to each and every reader of these words, greeting in His name, who is the source and beacon of truth.<sup>5</sup>

§ I. Let it be known to you all that, whilst I was in Mantua, a certain Question arose, which, often argued according to appearance rather than to truth,<sup>6</sup> remained undetermined. Wherefore, since from boyhood I have ever been nurtured in love of truth,<sup>7</sup> I could not bear to leave the Question I have spoken of undiscussed: rather I wished to demonstrate the truth concerning it, and likewise, hating untruth as

<sup>1</sup> In its Latin form Dante's surname (variously spelled by various editors) occurs only here, in § XXIV, and in some of the Letters.

For Dante's dislike to the use of his name: *Purg.* XXX. 62-3.

“ . . . At the sound I turned of my own name,  
Which of necessity is here recorded.”

<sup>2</sup> *Florentia*: so spelled by Dante nine times in his other works.

<sup>3</sup> *Epist.* VIII. 70-2. “In truth I am one of the least among the sheep in the flock of Jesus Christ.”

<sup>4</sup> Those who dwell with E. Lodrini (*Commentari dell' Ateneo di Brescia*, 1890, pp. 61-3) on Dante's frequent contempt for contemporary philosophy, and hence do not think him capable of condescending to the present expression, should understand that by the “real philosophers” referred to here, “contemporary philosophers” are not intended.

*Conv.* I. i. 67-8. “And I . . . who do not sit at the blessed table.”

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Moore does not insist on the genuineness of this introduction and of the colophon. If, as Moncetti boasts, the Treatise was “diligenter et accurate correcta” by himself, these are the parts he would most likely have retouched. They are, however, no more out of place than similar paragraphs in the Letters; this is particularly the case with the concluding words of the Treatise, which are fairly Dantesque in expression.

<sup>6</sup> *Conv.* III. Canz. ii. 82-3. “Do not consider what she says as truth,  
But only such as seemeth truth to her.”

<sup>7</sup> See Aristotle: *Nic. Eth.* I. vi. 1. Quoted by Dante four times elsewhere, viz.: *De Mon.* III. i. 17-8; *Conv.* III. xiv. 79 ff.; IV. viii. 142; and *Epist.* VIII. 84 (see Moore, II. 329). Cf. also *Nic. Eth.* I. iv. referred to in Letter IX. (Latham, p. 167).

verum ostendere, nec non argumenta facta contra dissolvere,<sup>2</sup> tum veritatis<sup>1</sup> amore tum etiam odio falsitatis. Et ne livor multorum qui absentibus viris invidiosis<sup>3</sup> mendacia confingere solent, post tergum benedicta transmutent,<sup>4</sup> placuit insuper in hac cedula meis digitis<sup>5</sup> exarata, quod determinatum fuit a me relinquere, et formam totius disputationis calamo designare.

§ II. Quaestio igitur fuit de situ et figura, sive forma duorum elementorum, *Aquae* videlicet et *Terrae*; et voco hic *formam* illam, quam Philosophus ponit in quarta specie qualitatis in *Praedicamentis*.<sup>7</sup> Et restricta fuit quaestio ad hoc, tamquam ad principium investigandae

<sup>1</sup> *Conv.* IV. i. 18-24. "Onde io fatto amico di questa Donna . . . , cominciai ad amare e a odiare secondo l' amore e l' odio suo. Cominciai dunque ad amare li seguitatori della verità, e odiare li seguitatori dello errore e della falsità, com' ella face."

*Par.* XVII. 118-9. "E s' io al vero son timido amico,  
Temo," etc.

*Par.* XXVIII. 108. "Nel vero in che si queta ogn' intelletto."

<sup>2</sup> *Conv.* IV. ii. 134-41. "Nel Trattato prima si riprova lo falso, acciocchè, fuggate le male opinioni, la verità poi più liberamente sia ricevuta. E questo modo tenne il Maestro della umana ragione, Aristotile, che sempre prima combattéo cogli avversari della verità, e poi, quelli convinti, la verità mostrò."

<sup>3</sup> *Par.* X. 138. "Invidiosi veri."

*Inf.* III. 48. "Che invidiosi son d' ogni altra sorte."

<sup>4</sup> *Conv.* I. iv. 49-50, 53-5. "Quando questi cotali veggiono la persona famosa, incontanente sono invidi . . . E questi non solamente passionati mal giudicano, ma, diffamando, agli altri fanno mal giudicare."

<sup>5</sup> "Manu propria scripta a Dante Florentino Poeta clarissimo."

<sup>7</sup> *De Mon.* III. xv. 58-9. "Ut doctrina Praedicamentorum nos docet."

well as loving truth,<sup>1</sup> to refute contrary arguments.<sup>2</sup> And lest the spleen of many, who, when the objects of their envy<sup>3</sup> are absent, are wont to fabricate lies, should behind my back transform well-spoken words,<sup>4</sup> I further wished in these pages traced by my own fingers<sup>5</sup> to set down the conclusion I had reached and to sketch out, with my pen, the form of the whole controversy.

§ II. The Question then concerned the location and the shape, or form, of two of the elements, Water namely and Earth; and here I call "form" that which the Philosopher<sup>6</sup> in the Categories<sup>7</sup> ranks as the fourth species of Quality. And the Question was confined to this — as the very foundation of the truth to be investigated — that the inquiry

<sup>1</sup> *Conv.* IV. i. 18-24. "Whence I, having become the friend of this lady, . . . began to love and to hate according to her love and hatred. Therefore I began to love the followers of the truth, and to hate the followers of error and falsehood as she does."

*Par.* XVII. 118. "And if I am a timid friend to truth,  
I fear," etc.

*Par.* XXVIII. 108. "The Truth, in which all intellect finds rest."

<sup>2</sup> *Conv.* IV. ii. 134-41. "In the treatise we first refute the false, in order that, false opinions being dispelled, the truth may be more liberally received. And this method was used by the master of human reason, Aristotle, who always in the first place combated the adversaries of truth, and then, these conquered, demonstrated that truth."

<sup>3</sup> *Par.* X. 138. "Invidious verities."

The usual meaning occurs *Inf.* III. 48. "They envious are of every other fate."

<sup>4</sup> *Conv.* I. iv. 49-50, 53-5. "When such people see a famous person, they immediately become envious . . . and thus they not only misjudge, being swayed by passion, but their calumnies cause others to misjudge."

<sup>5</sup> Moncetti says, in the first edition — 1508 — that the treatise was "written by the very hand of the far-famed poet, Dante the Florentine."

<sup>6</sup> Aristotle so called 39 times elsewhere in the Latin works (including the Letters and the *Quaestio*), and "*Il Filosofo*" upward of 40 times in the *Vita Nuova* and the *Convito*.

<sup>7</sup> *De Mon.* III. xv. 58-9. "As we learn from the doctrine of the Categories." *Arist. Categories*, viii. (10a, 11).

Dante elsewhere shows knowledge of, if not familiarity with, the two logical works of Aristotle quoted in the *Quaestio* (*Categ.* and *Prior Anal.*). Dr. Moore (ii. 351) remarks, "The formal logical treatment of the present subject would make such references probable and natural."

veritatis, ut quaereretur:<sup>1</sup> Utrum aqua in sphaera sua, hoc est in sua naturali circumferentia, in aliqua parte esset altior terra quae emergit ab aquis,<sup>2</sup> et quam communiter quartam habitabilem<sup>3</sup> appellamus; et arguebatur quod sic<sup>4</sup> multis rationibus, quarum (quibusdam amissis propter earum levitatem) quinque retinui, quae aliquam efficaciam habere videbantur.

§ III. Prima fuit talis: Duarum circumferentiarum inaequaliter a se distantium impossibile est idem esse centrum: circumferentia aquae et circumferentia terrae<sup>6</sup> inaequaliter distant; ergo etc. Deinde pro-

<sup>1</sup> *Il Libro di Sidrach.* ch. ccxxxvii: "Lo re domanda: quale è più alto o la terra o lo mare? Sidrac risponde: 'La terra è assai più alta che 'l mare.'"

<sup>2</sup> Rist. d'Arezzo. *Comp. del Mundo.* I. 20. "E noi troviamo una parte della terra scoperta dall'acqua; e secondo i savi è la quarta parte scoperta."

<sup>3</sup> Rist. d'Arezzo. *Comp. del Mundo.* VI. 2. "La chiamarono 'quarta abitabile.'"

<sup>4</sup> Brunetto. *Trésor.* I. iii. c. 106. "La mers est plus haute que la terre."

S. Thomas Aquinas. *Summa.* i. 69, i. § 2. "Nam mare est altius terra, ut experimento compertum est in mari rubro."

Rist. d'Arezzo. *Comp. del Mundo.* VI. 7. "Secondo questa via sarà più alta l'acqua della terra."

<sup>6</sup> Alfraganus. *Elem. Astron.* iii. init. "Haud secus inter sapientes convenit, terram uno cum aqua globosam esse."

should be<sup>1</sup>: whether water in its own sphere, that is in its natural circumference, is anywhere higher than the earth which emerges from the waters<sup>2</sup> and which we commonly call the "habitable quarter:"<sup>3</sup> and this was argued to be so<sup>4</sup> for many reasons, of which, discarding some for their shallowness, I have retained five which appeared to have some weight.

§ III. The first was as follows: It is impossible for two circumferences not equidistant from one another to have the same center;<sup>5</sup> the circumference of the water and the circumference of the earth<sup>6</sup> are not

<sup>1</sup> *Il Libro di Sidrack* (quoted by Dr. Moore, II. 370): "The king asks: which is higher, the earth or the sea? Sidrac answers: 'the earth is considerably higher than the sea.'"

<sup>2</sup> Ristoro d'Arezzo. I. 20. "And we find part of the earth not covered by the waters, and philosophers say a fourth part is thus uncovered."

<sup>3</sup> Ristoro d'Arezzo. VI. 2. "They called it the 'habitable quarter.'"

<sup>4</sup> Almost every one held this view.

Brunetto Latini. I. iii. c. 106. "The sea is higher than the land."

S. Thomas Aquinas. *S. i.* 69. i. § 2. "For the sea is higher than the land, as has been found by experiment in the Red Sea."

Ristoro d'Arezzo. VI. 7. "According to this, water will be higher than the earth."

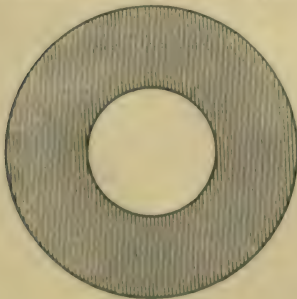


FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.

<sup>5</sup> By "circumference" is here meant the surface of a sphere. In Fig. 1, the shell between the two spherical surfaces is equally thick, and the two surfaces have the same center. Fig. 2 is the case discussed in the text: if the shell included between the two spherical surfaces is not everywhere equally thick, the two surfaces cannot have the same center.

<sup>6</sup> The sphericity of the earth is the fourth Anticipation of Stoppani. The idea, however, is far older than Dante. Besides many of the Greek philosophers who held it, as Aristotle, *De Coelo*. II. xiv., Dr. Moore (II. 323) quotes Alfraganus, *Elem. Ast.* iii.: "Philosophers agree that the earth and water together form a globe."

cedebatur: Quum centrum terrae sit centrum universi,<sup>1</sup> ut ab omnibus confirmatur; et omne quod habet positionem in mundo aliam ab eo, sit altius;<sup>2</sup> quod circumferentia aquae sit altior circumferentia terrae concluderetur, quum circumferentia sequatur undique ipsum centrum. Maior principalis syllogismi videbatur patere per ea, quae demonstrata sunt in geometria; minor per sensus, eo quod videmus in aliqua parte terrae circumferentiam includi a circumferentia aquae, in aliqua vero excludi.

§ IV. Nobilior corpori debetur nobilior locus;<sup>3</sup> aqua est nobilior corpus quam terra: ergo aquae debetur nobilior locus.<sup>4</sup> Et cum locus tanto sit nobilior quanto superior, propter magis propinquare nobilissimo continenti,<sup>5</sup> qui est coelum primum; ergo etc. Relinquo, quod locus aquae sit altior loco terrae, et per consequens quod aqua sit altior terra, quum situs loci et locati non differat. Maior et minor principalis syllogismi huius rationis quasi manifeste<sup>7</sup> dimittebantur.

<sup>1</sup> *Conv.* III. v. 61-5. "Assai basta alla gente, a cui parlo, per la sua grande autorità sapere, che questa terra è fissa e non si gira, e che essa col mare è centro del cielo."

<sup>2</sup> Ristoro d'Arezzo. *Comp. del Mondo.* I. 20. "Da qualunque part noi ne movemo da questo punto andiamo verso il cielo e alla insù."

Sacrabosco. *De Sphaera.* I. 8. "Quidquid a medio movetur versus circumferentiam coeli ascendit."

<sup>3</sup> Aristotle. *De Coelo.* II. xiii. "τῷ γὰρ τιμιωτάτῳ οἰονταὶ προσήκειν τὴν τιμιωτάτην ὑπάρκειν χώραν."

<sup>4</sup> *Conv.* III. v. 37-9. "Dicea che 'l fuoco era nel mezzo di queste, ponendo quello essere più nobile corpo che l'acqua e che la terra."

<sup>5</sup> *Epist.* X. 461-3. "Sed in naturali situ totius universi primum coelum est omnia continens."

*Par.* II. 112-4.

"Dentro dal ciel della divina pace  
Si gira un corpo, nella cui virtute  
L'esser di tutto suo contento giace."

*Conv.* II. iv. 35-6. "Questo è il sovrano edificio del mondo, nel quale tutto il mondo s' inchiude."

<sup>7</sup> Boehmer suggests reading *manifestae*.

equidistant ; therefore, etc. Then the argument proceeded : since the center of the earth is the center of the Universe <sup>1</sup> as everybody acknowledges ; and since everything that has its place in the world other than there, is above it ;<sup>2</sup> it follows that the circumference of the water is above the circumference of the earth, inasmuch as a circumference everywhere follows its own center. The major premise of the principal syllogism seemed evident from the demonstrations of geometry ; the minor from the fact that we see the circumference of the earth in some part to be within, in another indeed to be outside of, the circumference of water.

§ IV. The nobler body deserves the nobler place :<sup>3</sup> water is a nobler body than earth ; hence water deserves the nobler place.<sup>4</sup> And as a region is nobler the higher it is, because it draws nearer the noblest all-enfolding,<sup>5</sup> which is the first heaven ; therefore, etc. I admit, that the region of water is higher than the region of earth,<sup>6</sup> and that consequently water is higher than earth, since the location of a region and of whatever occupies that region do not differ. The major and minor premises of the principal syllogism of this reason were dismissed as virtually self-evident.

<sup>1</sup> *Conv.* III. v. 61-5. "It is quite enough for those to whom I speak, to know on his (Aristotle's) great authority that this earth is immovable, and does not revolve, and that, with the sea, it is the center of the heavens."

<sup>2</sup> Ristoro d'Arezzo. I. 20. "However we move from this point, we go towards heaven, and to that which is above."

Sacrabosco. I. 8. "Whatever moves from the center towards the circumference of heaven ascends."

<sup>3</sup> *Arist. De Coelo.* II. xiii. (293 a. 30). "They deem it fitting for the nobler place to belong to the nobler body."

<sup>4</sup> *Conv.* III. v. 37-9. "He said that fire was between these two [stars], asserting that it was a more noble element than water and earth."

<sup>5</sup> *Epist.* X. 461-3. "But in the natural relation of the whole universe, the first heaven containeth all things."

*Par.* II. 112-4. "Within the heaven of the divine repose  
Revolves a body, in whose virtue lies  
The being of whatever it contains."

*Conv.* II. iv. 35-6. "This is the supreme edifice of the universe, in which all the world is included."

<sup>6</sup> This refers to the theory generally held in the Middle Ages that a sphere of water surrounded the sphere of earth.

§ V. Tertia ratio erat: Omnis opinio quae contradicit sensui, est mala opinio; opinari aquam non esse altiore terra, est contradicere sensui: ergo est mala opinio. Prima dicebatur patere per commentatorem<sup>1</sup> super tertio *de Anima*: secunda, sive minor, per experientiam nautarum, qui vident, in mari existentes, montes sub se; et probant dicendo, quod ascendendo malum vident eos, in navi vero non vident; quod videtur accidere propter hoc, quod terra valde inferior sit et depressa a dorso<sup>2</sup> maris.

§ VI. Quarto arguebatur sic: Si terra non esset inferior ipsa aqua, terra esset totaliter sine aquis, saltem in parte detecta,<sup>3</sup> de qua quaeritur; et sic essent nec fontes, neque flumina, neque lacus;<sup>4</sup> cuius oppositum videmus: quare oppositum eius ex quo sequebatur, est verum,<sup>5</sup> quod aqua sit altior terra. Consequentia probabatur per hoc, quod aqua naturaliter fertur deorsum: et cum mare sit principium omnium aqua-

<sup>1</sup> *Conv.* IV. xiii. 67-9. "Chi intende il Commentatore nel terzo dell' *Anima*."

*De Mon.* I. iii. 77-8. "Averrois, in Commento super iis quae de *Anima*."

*Inf.* IV. 144. "Averrois, che il gran comento feo."

*Purg.* XXV. 63. "Più savio di te."

<sup>2</sup> *Conv.* III. v. 83 and 94. "In su quel dosso del mare."

<sup>3</sup> *Conv.* III. v. 73. "Terra discoperta."

<sup>4</sup> *Li Livres dou Trésor.* i. 106. "La terre est toute pertuisie dedans et pleine de vaines et de cavernes, par quoi les aigues qui de la mers issent vont et viennent parmi la terre et dedanz et dehors sourdent, selonc ce que les vaines les maintent ça et là."

<sup>5</sup> *De Mon.* II. xii. 26-8. "Consequens est falsum, ergo contradictorium antecedentis est verum."

*De Mon.* II. xiii. 5-5. "Hoc autem est falsum; ergo contradictorium eius ex quo sequitur est verum."



§ V. The third reason was: Every hypothesis that contradicts the senses is a wrong hypothesis; to suppose that water is not higher than earth is to contradict the senses; hence it is a wrong hypothesis. The first premise was said to be evident from the Commentator<sup>1</sup> on the third "Of the Soul;" the second, or minor, by the experience of sailors who when at sea behold mountains beneath them, and to prove this say that climbing the mast they see them, whereas indeed from their decks they do not see them; which seems to be because the earth is really lower than, and sunk beneath, the crest<sup>2</sup> of the sea.

§ VI. The fourth argument was this. If the earth were not lower than the water, the earth would be completely without water, at least in the uncovered<sup>3</sup> regions with which the Question is concerned; and so there would be neither fountains, nor streams, nor lakes;<sup>4</sup> now we see the opposite of this to be the case; therefore that on which this opposite depends is true<sup>5</sup>—namely, that the water is higher than the earth. This conclusion was confirmed by the fact, that water naturally flows downward; and since the sea is the source of all waters

<sup>1</sup> *Conv.* IV. xiii. 67-9. "He who understands the Commentator, in the third *Of the Soul.*"

*De Mon.* I. iii. 77-8. "Averroes, in his comment on [Aristotle's] treatise on the *Soul.*"

*Inf.* IV. 144. "Averroes, who the great Comment made."

*Purg.* XXV. 63. "A wiser man than thou."

These quotations show Dante to have been familiar with Averroes' Commentary on Aristotle, although here—as in all of Dante's references to Averroes—the passage is difficult to locate.

<sup>2</sup> *Conv.* III. v. 83 and 94. "Above this crest of the ocean."

<sup>3</sup> *Conv.* III. v. 73. "The discovered earth."

<sup>4</sup> Brunetto Latini. i. 106. "The earth is all honeycombed inside and full of arteries and caverns, whereby the waters that issue from the sea go and come through the earth and surge within and without, according as the arteries lead them hither and thither."

<sup>5</sup> *De Mon.* II. xii. 26-8. "But the consequent is false: therefore the contradictory of the antecedent is true."

*De Mon.* II. xiii. 3-5. "This is false, therefore its contradictory is true."

rum (ut patet<sup>1</sup> per Philosophum in *Meteoris*<sup>2</sup> suis), si mare non esset altius quam terra, non moveretur aqua ad ipsam terram; quum in omni motu naturali aquae principium oporteat esse altius.

§ VII. Item arguebatur quinto: Aqua videtur maxime sequi motum Lunae,<sup>3</sup> ut patet in accessu et recessu maris; cum igitur orbis Lunae sit excentricus, rationale videtur quod aqua in sua sphaera excentricitatem imitetur orbis Lunae, et per consequens sit excentrica: et quum hoc esse non possit, nisi sit altior terra, ut in prima ratione ostensum est; sequitur item quod prius.

§ VIII. His igitur rationibus, et aliis non curandis, conantur ostendere suam opinionem esse veram, qui tenent aquam esse altiore terra ista detecta, sive habitabili, licet in contrarium est sensus et ratio. Ad sensum enim videmus, per totam terram flumina descendere ad mare tam meridionale quam septentrionale, tam orientale quam occidentale; quod non esset, si principia fluminum et tractus alveorum non essent altiora ipsa superficie maris. Ad rationem vero patebit inferius; et hoc multis rationis demonstrabitur in ostendendo sive determinando de situ et forma duorum elementorum, ut superius tangebatur.

<sup>1</sup> *De Mon.* III. vii. 19. "Ut patet ex iis. . ."  
*Epist.* X. 614. "Ut patet per Iohannem ibi."

<sup>2</sup> Arist. *Meteor.* II. ii. "τελευτή μᾶλλον ὑδατος ἢ ἀρχή."

<sup>3</sup> *Par.* XVI. 82-3. "E come il volger del ciel della luna  
Cope e discopre i liti senza posa."

Lucan. *Pharsalia.* X. 204. "Luna suis vicibus Tethyn terrenaque miscet."

Pliny. II. 97. (quoted by Vincent de Beauvais (V. 18) and by Dr. Moore (II. 320)):  
"Aestus maris accedere et reciprocare mirum est, verum causa est in sole et luna."

S. Thomas Aquinas. *Summa.* I. Q. 110. Art. 3. "Sicut fluxus, et refluxus maris non consequitur formam substantialem aquae, sed virtutem lunae."

(as is made clear<sup>1</sup> by the Philosopher in his *Meteorics*<sup>2</sup>) if the sea were not higher than the earth, the water would not flow to the earth — for in every natural movement of water the source must be the higher.

§ VII. Further it was argued fifthly: Water seems in the main to follow the course of the moon,<sup>3</sup> as is seen in the ebb and flow of the sea; therefore since the orbit of the moon is excentric it seems reasonable that water in its sphere should imitate the excentricity of the moon's orbit, and consequently be excentric: and — since this could not be unless it were higher than the earth as was shown in the first reason — the same follows as before.

§ VIII. For these reasons, then, and for others of no account, those who hold that water is higher than the uncovered or habitable land endeavor to show the truth of their opinion, although observation and reason are against it. For as to observation, we see throughout the earth rivers flowing down to the sea, in the south and in the north, in the east and in the west, which would not occur if the sources of the streams and the course of their channels were not higher than the surface of the sea. As to reason, indeed, we shall see further on; and the truth will be demonstrated by many reasons in showing, or rather determining, the location and form of the two elements, which was touched on above.

<sup>1</sup> *De Mon.* III. vii. 19. "As is plain from."

*Epist.* X. 614. "As doth appear in St. John where he saith."

<sup>2</sup> *Arist. Meteorics.* II. ii. (356 a. 33, b. 1). Aristotle, as Dr. Moore points out (I. 336), maintains that the sea "is the destination rather than the source of water."

Aristotle's *Meteorics* are also quoted by name in § XXIII., but nowhere else directly by Dante. He probably refers to Bk. II. seven times altogether; and in the *Convito* twice quotes Albertus Magnus "*della Meteora.*"

<sup>3</sup> The moon as the cause of the tides is the first Anticipation noted by Stoppani. Giuliani, Dr. Moore, and others have shown in the quotations given below, and others, that the author was not propounding anything very new, while his expression in § XXIII, *corpus imitabile orbis lunae*, does not suggest a scientific forger.

*Par.* XVI. 82-3. "And as the turning of the lunar heaven  
Covers and bares the shores without a pause."

Lucan. *Pharsalia.* X. 204. "The moon mingles land and sea with her changes."

Pliny. *Nat. Hist.* II. 97. "Very wonderful the flux and reflux of the tossing sea, and varied the manner thereof, but the cause lies in the sun and the moon."

S. Thomas Aquinas. *S. I.* 110.3. "The flux and reflux of the sea does not depend on the material form of the waters, but on the virtue of the moon."

§ IX. Hic erit ordo. Primo demonstrabitur impossibile, aquam in aliqua parte suae circumferentiae altiolem esse hac terra emergente sive detecta. Secundo demonstrabitur, terram hanc emergentem esse ubique altiolem totali superficie maris. Tertio instabitur contra demonstrata, et solvetur instantia.<sup>1</sup> Quarto ostendetur causa finalis et efficiens huius elevationis sive emergentiae terrae. Quinto solvetur ad argumenta superius praenotata.

§ X. Dico ergo propter primum, quod si aqua, in sua circumferentia considerata, esset in aliqua parte altior quam terra, hoc esset de necessitate altero istorum duorum modorum; vel quod aqua esset excentrica, sicut prima et quinta ratio procedebat; vel quod, excentrica<sup>2</sup> existens, esset gibbosa<sup>3</sup> in aliqua parte, secundum quam terrae superemineret: aliter esse non posset,<sup>4</sup> ut subtiliter<sup>5</sup> inspicienti satis manifestum est. Sed neutrum istorum est possibile: ergo<sup>6</sup> nec illud ex quo, vel per quod, alterum sequebatur.<sup>7</sup> Consequentia, ut dicitur, est manifesta

<sup>1</sup> *Par.* II. 94-5. "Da questa istanzia può diliberarti Esperienza."

*Con.* IV. xxii. 98. "Qui non ha luogo l' istanza."

*De Mon.* II. vi. 67. "Instantia nulla est."

*De Mon.* III. v. 36-7. "Et sic instantia videtur errare."

*De Mon.* III. vii. 23. "Et si quis instaret."

<sup>2</sup> Almost all editors correct the obvious textual error, and read *Concentrica*.

<sup>3</sup> *Par.* XXI. 109. "E fanno un gibbo che si chiama Catria."

<sup>5</sup> *Inf.* XXXI. 53. "Chi guarda sottilmente."

*Par.* VII. 88-9. ". . . Se tu badi.

Ben sottilmente."

*Par.* XIX. 82. "Certo a colui che meco s' assottiglia."

*Par.* XXVIII. 63. "Ed intorno da esso t' assottiglia."

<sup>6</sup> Angelitti. *Rassegna*, p. 5. "Ergo nec illud, ex quo alterum vel alterum sequebatur."

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the parallel specific use of sequebatur in § VI.

§ IX. This will be the order. First, we shall demonstrate that it is impossible for water in any part of its circumference to be higher than the emergent or uncovered land. Secondly, we will show that this emerging land is everywhere higher than the whole surface of the sea. Thirdly, we shall argue against our conclusion and refute the objections.<sup>1</sup> Fourthly, we shall show the final and efficient cause of this elevation or emerging of the land. Fifthly, we shall refute the arguments above set down.

§ X. I therefore say, in the first place, that if water, considered in its circumference were in any place higher than the earth this would necessarily be in one of these two ways: either because the water was excentric, as the first and fifth reasons assumed; or because being concentric it was gibbous<sup>3</sup> in some part, at which it would overtop the earth: Otherwise this could not be so,<sup>4</sup> as is sufficiently evident to one who considers subtly.<sup>5</sup> But neither of these ways is possible: hence<sup>6</sup> neither the fact from which, nor the argument by which, the contrary hypothesis proceeded is admissible. The conclusion, as stated, is

<sup>1</sup> *Par.* II. 94. "From this reply experiment will free thee."

*Conv.* IV. xxii. 98. "There is no place here for such an objection."

*De Mon.* II. vi. 67. "The example proves nothing."

*De Mon.* III. v. 36-7. "Therefore their objection appears to err."

*De Mon.* III. vii. 23. "And if any one raises the objection."

<sup>2</sup> *Par.* XXI. 109. "And form a ridge that Catria is called."

<sup>4</sup> i. e.: If the water were not excentric or gibbous, it could not be higher than the earth.

<sup>5</sup> *Inf.* XXXI. 53. "Whosoever looketh subtly."

*Par.* VII. 88-9. " . . . If thou notest  
With nicest subtilty."

*Par.* XIX. 82. "Truly to him who with me subtilizes."

*Par.* XXVIII. 63. "And exercise on that thy subtilty."

See also *Conv.* II. ix. 107-8; II. xiv. 143; II. xv. 24-5; IV. i. 58-9.

<sup>6</sup> This difficult passage based on the obscure mediaeval scholastic terms might be rendered: "Therefore neither that *ex quo* nor that *per quod* can be deduced from the contrary supposition." The *ex quo* is the fact from which another derives; the *per quod* the means of that process.

Sig. Angelitti's reading is certainly preferable: "Therefore that is not possible which was deduced from one or the other."

per<sup>1</sup> locum a sufficienti divisione causae ; impossibilitas consequentis, per ea quae ostendentur, apparebit.

§ XI. Ad evidentiam igitur dicendorum, duo supponenda sunt : <sup>2</sup> primum est, quod aqua naturaliter movetur deorsum ; secundum est, quod aqua est labile corpus naturaliter, et non terminabile termino proprio.<sup>3</sup> Et si quis haec duo principia vel alterum ipsorum negaret, ad ipsum non esset determinatio ; quum contra negantem principia alicuius scientiae non est disputandum in illa scientia,<sup>4</sup> ut patet ex primo *Physicorum* : sunt etenim haec principia inventa sensu et inductione, quorum est talia invenire, ut patet ex primo *ad Nichomachum*.

§ XII. Ad destructionem igitur primi membri consequentis dico, quod aquam esse excentricam est impossibile : quod sic demonstro : Si aqua esset excentrica, tria impossibilia sequerentur ; quorum primum est, quod aqua esset naturaliter movibilis sursum et deorsum ; secundum est, quod aqua non moveretur deorsum per eandem lineam cum terra ; tertium est, quod gravitas equivoce praedicaretur de ipsis : quae omnia

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Moore reads *de*.

<sup>2</sup> *De Mon.* III. iv. 45-7. "Ad meliorem . . . evidentiam, advertendum quod."  
*De Vulg. Eloq.* II. ii. 46-7. "Ad quorum evidentiam sciendum est, quod."

<sup>3</sup> Latini. *Trésor.* I. Part iii. Ch. 106. "Il est propre nature des aigues que eles montent tant comme eles avalent."

<sup>4</sup> *De Mon.* III. iii. 122-4. "Nam cur ad eos ratio quaereretur, quum . . . principia non viderent ?"

*Conv.* IV. xv. 159-64. "E di costoro dice il Filosofo, che non è . . . d' avere con essi faccenda, dicendo nel primo della *Fisica*, che contro a quello che nega li principii 'disputare non si conviene.'"

manifest in its place [by?] a sufficient analysis of the causes. The impossibility of the deduction will appear from our future exposition.

§ XI. For the clear understanding of the discussion two things must be granted: <sup>2</sup> the first, that water naturally moves downwards; the second, that water is naturally a fluid body, and not limitable by a special limit.<sup>3</sup> And if any one should deny these two axioms, or either thereof, it would be impossible to convince him; for there is no disputing with a man about a science the first principles of which he denies,<sup>4</sup> as is clear from the first of the *Physics*:<sup>5</sup> because truly these axioms are founded on observation and induction, the province of which is to discover such axioms, as is clear from the first of the *Ethics*.<sup>6</sup>

§ XII. To overthrow the first part of the deduction, therefore, I say, that it is impossible for water to be excentric: and I prove it thus: If water were excentric three impossibilities would follow; of which the first is, that water would be naturally movable upwards as well as downwards; the second, that water would not be moved downwards along the same line as earth; the third, that gravity would be predicated ambiguously of these two elements: all of which are evidently not only

<sup>2</sup> *De Mon.* III. iv. 45-7. "To make it more clear . . . we must remark."

*De Vulg. Eloq.* II. ii. 46-7. "In order to make this clear, it must be observed that . . ."

<sup>3</sup> The uniformity of the sea-level is the second Anticipation noted by Stoppani. Apart from the references below, which Dr. Moore quotes from books certainly known to Dante, written by Dante's two teachers, there is surely nothing previously so unheard of in these axioms.

Arist. *De Coelo*. II. xiv. (297 b. 7-9).

Latini. *Trésor*. I. 106. "It is the nature of water to rise as far as it falls."

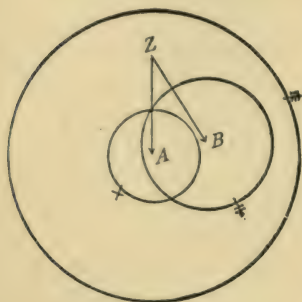
<sup>4</sup> *De Mon.* III. iii. 122-4. "Why should we seek to reason with these, when they . . . cannot even see our first principle?"

*Conv.* IV. xv. 159-64. "The Philosopher says, we are not . . . to have anything to do with them, saying, in the first of the *Physics*, that with him who denies first principles it is not fitting to dispute."

<sup>5</sup> Arist. *Physics*. I. ii. (185 a. 1-3).

<sup>6</sup> Arist. *Ethics*. I. vii. 21 (1098 b. 3). A chapter six times referred to by Dante.

non tantum falsa sed impossibilia esse videntur. Consequentia declaratur sic: Sit coelum circumferentia, in qua tres cruces, aqua in qua



duae, terra in qua una; et sit centrum coeli et terrae punctus in quo A: centrum vero aquae excentricae punctus in quo B, ut patet in figura signata. Dico ergo, quod si aqua erit in A, et habeat transitum, naturaliter movebitur ad B; quum omne grave moveatur ad centrum propriae circumferentiae naturaliter; et quum moveri ab A ad B sit moveri sursum; quum A sit simpliciter deorsum ad omnia; aqua movebitur naturaliter sursum: quod erat primum impossibile, quod supra

dicebatur. Praeterea sit gleba<sup>1</sup> terrae in Z, et ibidem sit quantitas aquae, et absit omne prohibens: quum igitur, ut dictum est, omne grave moveatur ad centrum propriae circumferentiae,<sup>2</sup> terra movebitur per lineam rectam ad A, et aqua per lineam rectam ad B; sed hoc oportebit esse per lineas diversas, ut patet in figura signata; quod non solum est impossibile, sed rideret Aristoteles,<sup>3</sup> si audiret:<sup>4</sup> et hoc erat secundum quod declarari debebatur. Tertium vero declaro sic: Grave et leve sunt passiones corporum simplicium, quae moventur motu recto;<sup>5</sup> et levia moventur sursum, gravia vero deorsum.<sup>6</sup> Hoc enim intendo per grave

<sup>1</sup> *De Mon.* I. xv. 38-40. "Nam sicut plures glebas diceremus concordēs, propter condescendere omnes ad medium."

<sup>2</sup> *Inf.* XXXII. 73-4. ". . . In ver lo mezzo  
Al quale ogni gravezza si raduna."

*Inf.* XXXIV. 110-1. ". . . Il punto  
Al qual si tragon d' ogni parte i pesi."

<sup>3</sup> Aristotle so called by Dante three times elsewhere.

<sup>4</sup> *Conv.* IV. xv. 58-9. "E senza dubbio forte riderebbe Aristotile, udendo."

<sup>5</sup> Albertus Magnus. *De Nat. Loc.* I. 3. "Locus igitur ignis erit in concavo lunae super omnia corpora habentia motum rectum."

<sup>6</sup> *Conv.* III. iii. 8-11. "Le corpora simplici hanno amore naturato in sè al loro loco proprio, e però la terra sempre discende al centro."



false but impossible. Let the conclusion be stated thus: Let heaven be the circumference marked with three crosses, water that with two, earth that with one; and let the center of heaven and earth be the point A, and the center of the excentric water the point B, as in the figure. I say, then, that if there were water at A, and it had passage, it would naturally be moved to B: since every heavy body is moved naturally to the center of its own circumference; and since to be moved from A to B is to be moved upward inasmuch as A is simply beneath everything: water would be moved naturally upward, which

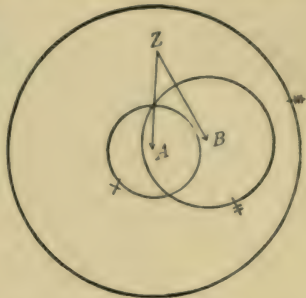


FIG. 3.

was the first impossibility, mentioned above. Again, let there be a clod<sup>1</sup> of earth at Z, and at the same point a certain amount of water, and let nothing oppose them: since, then, as we have said, every heavy body is moved to the center of its own circumference,<sup>2</sup> the earth would be moved along a straight line to A, and the water along a straight line to B; but this would necessarily be along different lines, as appears from the figure; which is not merely impossible, but Aristotle would laugh were he to hear it:<sup>4</sup> and this was the second impossibility to be made clear. The third, truly, I demonstrate thus: Heaviness and lightness are qualities of simple bodies, which move with right-line motion;<sup>5</sup> the light move upward, the heavy downward.<sup>6</sup> For by heavy and light I

<sup>1</sup> *De Mon.* I. xv. 38-40. "For as we should say that many clods of earth are concordant, because they all gravitate together towards the center."

<sup>2</sup> *Inf.* XXXII. 73-4. ". . . Tow'rds the middle,  
Where everything of weight unites together."

*Inf.* XXXIV. 110-1. ". . . The point  
To which things heavy draw from every side."

<sup>4</sup> *Conv.* IV. xv. 58-9. "And undoubtedly Aristotle would have laughed heartily to hear . . ."

<sup>5</sup> Albertus Magnus. *De Nat. Loc.* I. 3. "The region of fire, then, lies in the concave of the moon, above all bodies having right-line motion."

<sup>6</sup> *Conv.* III. iii. 8-11. "Simple bodies have a natural love for their own place; wherefore earth always falls towards the center."

et leve, quod sit mobile ; sicut vult Philosophus in *Coelo et Mundo*. Si igitur aqua moveretur ad B, terra vero ad A ; cum ambo sint corpora gravia, movebuntur ad diversa deorsum ; quorum una ratio esse non potest, quum unum sit deorsum simpliciter, aliud vero secundum quid. Et cum diversitas in ratione finium arguat diversitatem in iis quae sunt propter illa, manifestum est quod diversa ratio fluitatis erit in aqua et in terra : et quum diversitas rationis cum identitate nominis equivocacionem faciat, ut patet per Philosophum in *Antepredicamentis*,<sup>3</sup> sequitur quod gravitas equivoce praedicetur de aqua et terra : quod erat tertium consequentiae membrum declarandum. Sic igitur patet per veram demonstrationem de genere illarum, qua demonstravi non esse hoc, quod aqua non est excentrica : quod erat primum consequentis principalis consequentiae quod destrui debebatur.

§ XIII. Ad destructionem secundi membri consequentis principalis consequentiae dico, quod aquam esse gibbosam est etiam impossibile ; quod sic demonstro : Sit coelum, in quo quatuor cruces, aqua in quo tres, terra in quo duae ; et centrum terrae et aquae concentricae et

*Conv.* III. iii. 41-3. "Chè per la natura del *semplice corpo*, che nel soggetto signoreggia, naturalmente ama l'andare in giù."

*De Mon.* I. xv. 46-8. "Qualitas una formaliter in glebis, scilicet gravitas, et una in flammis, scilicet levitas."

*Conv.* IV. ix. 55-7. "Perchè noi volessimo che le cose gravi salissimo per natura suso, non potrebbero salire."

<sup>3</sup> Arist. *Categ.* I. init. (Ia. 1-4). "Aequivoce dicuntur, quorum nomen solum commune est, secundum nomen vero substantiae ratio diversa."

understand that which is movable, as the Philosopher asserts in Heaven and Earth.<sup>1</sup> If, therefore, water were moved to B, and earth to A, since both are heavy bodies, they would be moved downwards to different points — for which there could not be a single cause, since one is directly downwards, but the other only relatively so. Since difference in the cause of results implies differences in whatsoever depends thereon, it is manifest that the cause of fluidity<sup>2</sup> would differ in water and in earth; and since a different cause and identical name results in an equivocation, as is clear from the Philosopher in his Categories,<sup>3</sup> it follows that gravity would be predicated ambiguously for water and earth: which was the third part of the deduction to be cleared away. Thus then it results from the true demonstration of the nature of these things (by which I have demonstrated that this cannot be), that water is not excentric — which was the first deduction drawn from the main conclusion that was to be overthrown.

§ XIII. To overthrow<sup>4</sup> the second deduction of the main conclusion I say, that it is impossible for water to be gibbous: and I prove it thus. Let heaven be [the circumference] with four crosses, water that with three, earth that with two; and let the center of the concentric earth and water, and heaven, be at D. And first be it granted that the water

*Conv.* III. iii. 41-3. "Therefore, as far as the nature of *simple bodies* predominates in man, he naturally likes to descend."

*De Mon.* I. xv. 46-8. "There is one quality formally in the clods of earth, that is gravity, and one in the flame of fire, that is lightness."

*Conv.* IV. ix. 55-7. "Because we may wish that heavy things should rise naturally, they cannot therefore rise."

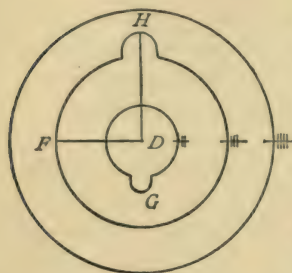
<sup>1</sup> Arist. *De Coelo.* IV. i. (307 b. 31). This particular book is not quoted elsewhere by Dante.

<sup>2</sup> Does not the use of *fluitatis* (or *fluiditatis*?) instead of *gravitatis*, disprove any accurate knowledge of the latter word by the author of the treatise?

<sup>3</sup> Arist. *Categ.* I. init. (I a. 1-4). "Things are termed homonymous, of which the name alone is common, but the definition (of substance according to the name) is different."

<sup>4</sup> See Arist. *De Coelo.* II. iv. (287 b. 4-14) for a similar, though not quite parallel, argument and diagram.

coeli sit D. Et praesciatur hoc, quod aqua non potest esse concentrica terrae, nisi terra sit in aliqua parte gibbosa supra centram circumferentiam, ut patet instructis in mathematicis.



Si in aliqua parte emergit circumferentia aquae, et ideo gibbus aquae sit in quo H, gibbus vero terrae in quo G: deinde protrahatur linea una a D ad H, et una alia a D ad F; manifestum est quod linea quae est a D ad H est longior quam quae est a D ad F; et per hoc summitas eius est altior summitate alterius: et cum utraque contingat in summitate sua superficiem aquae, neque transcendat; patet quod aqua gibbi

erit sursum per respectum ad superficiem ubi est F. Cum igitur non sit ibi prohibens (si vera sunt quae prius supposita erant), aqua gibbi dilabatur, donec<sup>1</sup> coaequetur ad D cum circumferentia centrali sive regulari: et sic impossibile erit permanere gibbum, vel esse; quod demonstrari debebat. Et praeter hanc potissimam demonstrationem, potest etiam probabiliter ostendi, quod aqua non habeat gibbum extra circumferentiam regularem; quia quod potest fieri per unum, melius est quod fiat per unum quam per plura: <sup>2</sup> sed totum oppositum<sup>3</sup> potest fieri per solum gibbum terrae, ut infra patebit: ergo non est gibbus in aqua; quum Deus et natura semper faciat, et velit quod melius est, ut patet per Philosophum *de Coelo et Mundo*,<sup>4</sup> et secundo *de Generatione*

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Moore (I. 128) calls attention to this passage; “ὥστε περιρρέυεται τὸ ὕδωρ ἕως ἄν ἰσαοθῆ . . . σφαιροειδῆς ἄρα ἡ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐπιφάνεια.”

<sup>2</sup> *De Mon.* I. xiv. 1-3. “Et quod potest fieri per unum, melius est per unum fieri quam per plura.”

*De Mon.* I. xiv. 21-2. “Sed fieri per unum est propinquius fini, ergo est melius.”

Dr. Moore (I. 116). “ἀρχὴν δὲ τούτων ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι μίαν· ὅπου γὰρ ἐνδέχεται, μίαν βέλτιον ἢ πολλὰς.”

<sup>3</sup> Angelitti, p. 8, suggests that *totum oppositum* may be a corruption of *terrae emersio*, but he does not state on what grounds he makes the suggestion.

<sup>4</sup> *De Mon.* I. iii. 21-2. “Propter quod sciendum est primo, quod Deus et natura nil otiosum facit.”

*De Mon.* I. xiv. 12-3. “Omne superfluum Deo et Naturae displiceat.”

cannot be concentric with the earth, unless the earth be in some place gibbous over its central circumference, as is evident to those versed in mathematics. If the circumference of the water emerges anywhere, let the excrescence of the water be at H, and the excrescence of the earth at G: then if a line be drawn from D to H, and another from D to F, clearly the line DH is longer than the line DF; and therefore its vertex is higher than the vertex of the latter; and since each touches at its vertex the surface of the water, but does not cut it, it is clear that the water of the excrescence is higher than the surface at the point F. So, as there is nothing to oppose it there, if our previous suppositions are true, the water of the excrescence will be diffused, until<sup>1</sup> it becomes equally far from D as the central or regular circumference: and so it is impossible for an excrescence to remain, or to exist; which was to be demonstrated. And besides this rigorous proof, we can show it to be probable that water has no excrescence beyond its regular circumference; for what can be done by one, is better done by one than by many:<sup>2</sup> but the whole opposite<sup>3</sup> can be effected by the excrescence of the earth only, as will be evident later: therefore there is no excrescence in the water; for God and Nature always do and will what is best, as is clear from the Philosopher in Heaven and Earth<sup>4</sup>

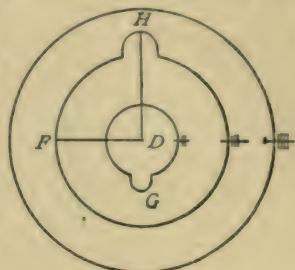


FIG. 4.

<sup>1</sup> Arist. *De Coelo*. I. s. "So the water scatters until it becomes level, . . . and its shape is that of a sphere."

<sup>2</sup> *De Mon.* I. xiv. 1-3. "And where a thing can be done by one agent, it is better to do it by one than by several."

*De Mon.* I. xiv. 21-2. "But for a thing to be done by one agent is better, for so it comes nearer to the end."

Arist. *De Part. Anim.* III. iv. (665 b. 14-5). "The beginning of these things must needs be one; for wherever it is practicable, one is better than many."

<sup>3</sup> i. e., the excentricity of the water.

<sup>4</sup> Arist. *De Coelo*. I. iv. (271 a. 33 and elsewhere).

*De Mon.* I. iii. 21-2. "Let it then be understood that God and nature make nothing to be idle."

*De Mon.* I. xiv. 12-3. "All that is superfluous is displeasing to God and Nature."

*Animalium*.<sup>1</sup> Sic igitur patet de primo sufficienter; videlicet, quod impossibile est aquam in aliqua parte suae circumferentiae esse altiozem, hoc est remotiorem a centro mundi, quam sit superficies huius terrae habitabilis: quod erat primum in ordine dicendorum.

§ XIV. Si ergo impossibile est aquam esse excentricam ut per primam figuram demonstratum est; et esse cum aliquo gibbo, ut per secundam est demonstratum: necesse est, ipsam esse concentricam et coaequam, hoc est aequaliter in omni parte suae circumferentiae distantem a centro mundi: ut de se patet.<sup>2</sup>

§ XV. Nunc arguo sic: Quidquid superemineret alicui parti circumferentiae distantis aequaliter a centro, est remotius ab ipso centro quam aliqua pars ipsius circumferentiae; Sed omnia littora tam ipsius Amphitritidis,<sup>3</sup> quam marium mediterraneorum supereminet superficiei contingentis maris, ut patet ad oculum: Ergo omnia littora sunt remotiora a centro mundi, quum centrum mundi sit et centrum maris (ut visum est), et superficies littorales sint partes totalis superficiei maris. Et quum omne remotius a centro sit altius, consequens est quod littora omnia sint supereminentia toto<sup>4</sup> mari;<sup>5</sup> et si littora, multo magis aliae regiones terrae, quum littora sint inferiores partes terrae; et id flumina ad illa descendencia manifestant. Maior vero huius demonstrationis demon-

<sup>1</sup> *Par.* VIII. 113-4. “. . . Impossibil veggio  
Che la natura, in quel ch'è uopo, stanchi.”

*Conv.* IV. xxiv. 106-7. “La buona Natura, che non vien meno nelle cose necessarie.”

*De Mon.* II. vii. 2-3. “Natura enim in providendo non deficit ab hominis providentia.”

<sup>2</sup> *De Mon.* III. ii. 25, etc. “Ut de se patet.”

<sup>3</sup> Boehmer reads *Amphitrites*.

*Epist.* VII. 58. “Fluctus Amphitritidis.”

<sup>4</sup> Boehmer reads *toti*.

<sup>5</sup> “*Il Libro di Novelle*” (c. 1285), p. 103. “La terra si è più alta assai che llo mare; chè lla più bassa ripa del mondo è più alta che 'l mare.”

and in the second of the Generation of Animals.<sup>1</sup> So the first is sufficiently plain, that it is impossible for water in any part of its circumference to be higher—that is, farther from the center of this world—than is the surface of this habitable earth. And this was the first point in the order of the discussion.

§ XIV. If, then, it is impossible for water to be excentric, as proved by the first figure; or to have any excrescence, as proved by the second—it must be concentric and of one level, that is, in every part of its circumference equidistant from the center of the world, as is self-evident.<sup>2</sup>

§ XV. Now I argue thus: Whatever overtops some part of a circumference equidistant from its center is further from that center than any part of that circumference. But every shore of the Ocean<sup>3</sup> as well as of the inland seas overtops the surface of the adjacent sea, as is clear to the eye. Therefore all shores are further from the center of the world, since, as we have seen, the center of the world is also the center of the seas, and the surface along the shores is part of the whole surface of the seas. And since everything further from the center of the world is higher, it follows that all the shores are more elevated than the whole sea;<sup>4</sup> and if the shores, then much more the other regions of the earth, since the shores are the lowest regions of the earth, as the rivers that flow down thereto show. The major premise of this proof, indeed, is proved by geometric theorems; and the proof

<sup>1</sup> Arist. *De Gen. Anim.* II. vi. (744 a. 36— and elsewhere in Bk. II.).

*Par.* VIII. 113-4. “. . . ’T is impossible

That nature tire, I see, in what is needful.”

*Conv.* IV. xxiv. 106-7. “Bountiful Nature, who never fails to provide all necessary things.”

*De Mon.* II. vii. 2-3. “Nature in its providence does not come short of men’s providence.”

<sup>2</sup> *De Mon.* III. ii. 25, etc. “As is self-evident.”

<sup>3</sup> In Albertus Magnus: *Amphitrix* = circumambient ocean.

*Epist.* VII. 58. “The waves of Amphitrite.”

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Moore. II. 370. quotes: “*Il Libro di Novella et di Bel Parlare Gientile* :” “The land is considerably higher than the sea; for the lowest shore of the land is higher than the sea.”

stratur in theorematibus geometricis ; et demonstratio est ostensiva, licet vim suam habeat, ut in iis quae demonstrata sunt superius per impossibile. Et sic patet de secundo.<sup>1</sup>

§ XVI. Sed contra ea quae sunt determinata, sic arguitur. Gravissimum corpus aequaliter undique ac potissime petit centrum ; terra est gravissimum corpus ; ergo aequaliter undique ac potissime petit centrum. Et ex hac conclusione sequitur, ut declarabo, quod terra aequaliter in omni parte suae circumferentiae distet a centro, per hoc quod dicitur *aequaliter*: et quod sit substans omnibus corporibus, per hoc quod dicitur *potissime* ; unde sequeretur (si aqua esset concentrica, ut dicitur), quod terra undique esset circumfusa et latens ; cuius contrarium videmus. Quod illa sequantur ex conclusione, sic declaro : Ponamus per contrarium sive oppositum consequentis illius, quod est<sup>2</sup> in omni parte aequaliter distare, et dicamus quod non distet ; et ponamus quod ex una parte superficies terrae distet per viginti stadia, ex alia per decem : et sic unum hemisphaerium eius erit maioris quantitatis quam alterum : nec refert utrum parum vel multum diversificentur in distantia, dummodo diversificentur. Quum ergo maioris quantitatis terrae sit maior virtus ponderis, hemisphaerium maius per virtutem sui ponderis praevalet impellet hemisphaerium minus, donec adaequetur quantitas utriusque, per cuius adaequationem adaequetur pondus ; et sic undique redibit ad distantiam quindecim stadiorum : sicut et videmus in appensione ac adaequatione ponderum in bilancibus. Per quod patet quod impossibile est terram aequaliter centrum petentem diversimode sive inaequaliter in sua circumferentia distare ab eo. Ergo necessarium est oppositum suum inaequaliter distare ; quod est aequaliter distare,<sup>3</sup> quum distet ; et sic declarata est consequentia, ex parte eius quod est aequaliter distare. Quod etiam sequatur, ipsam substare omnibus corporibus (quod sequi etiam ex conclusione dicebatur), sic declaro. Potissima virtus potissime attingit finem ;<sup>4</sup> nam per hoc potis-

<sup>1</sup> *De Mon.* II. vi. 67-8. " Patet igitur quod quaerebatur."

<sup>2</sup> Boehmer places the comma after, instead of before, *quod est*.

<sup>3</sup> Boehmer reads *aqua quum distet* instead of *aequaliter distare*.

<sup>4</sup> *Conv.* I. v. 71-4. " Ciascuna cosa è virtuosa in sua natura, che fa quello a che ella è ordinata ; e quanto meglio lo fa, tanto è più virtuosa."



is self-evident, besides having its own force, as those had that were proved above by the theory of impossibility. And so this second point is clear.<sup>1</sup>

§ XVI. But against these conclusions which we have reached, it is argued as follows: the heaviest body equally and most forcibly seeks its center from every side; earth is the heaviest body; hence equally and most forcibly it seeks its center from every side. From this hypothesis it follows, as I will show, that earth at every point of its circumference is equidistant from its center — from the definition of the word “equally;” and that it lies beneath all other bodies — from the definition of the words “most forcibly;” whence it would follow (if water were concentric, as is asserted) that the earth was everywhere surrounded and hidden; but we see the contrary of this. That this follows from the hypothesis, I show thus: Let us suppose the contrary or converse of this hypothesis, that (earth) is everywhere equidistant, and let us say it is not equidistant; and let us suppose that on one side the surface of the earth is twenty furlongs from the center, on the other ten: so one hemisphere of the earth will have greater volume than the other: nor does it matter whether they differ in distance more or less, as long as they do differ. Since therefore the greater volume of earth has the more efficient weight, the greater hemisphere by the prevailing efficiency of its weight will press upon the lesser hemisphere, until the volume of each becomes equal, by which equality the weight will become equal, and so both sides will return to a distance of fifteen furlongs — just as in the weighing and equating of weights in a balance. Hence we see that it is impossible for earth equally seeking the center to be differently or unequally distant therefrom in its circumference. Therefore the converse of its being unequally distant is necessary; that is, it must be equidistant at every point of its distance. And so the conclusion is made clear, in respect to the fact that it is equidistant. That it also follows that the earth lies beneath all substance (as was said to follow from the hypothesis) I show thus: — the most powerful efficiency most powerfully reaches its end; <sup>4</sup> according to the proposi-

<sup>1</sup> *De Mon.* II. vi. 67-8. “What was sought, therefore, is clear.”

<sup>4</sup> *Conv.* I. v. 71-4. “Everything is virtuous in its nature that fulfils the purpose for which it was ordained; and the better it does this, the more virtuous it is.”

sima est, quod citissima est, quod citissime ac facillime finem consequi potest; potissima virtus gravitatis est in corpore potissime petente centrum, quod quidem est terra; ergo ipsa potissime attingit finem gravitatis, qui est centrum mundi; ergo substabit omnibus corporibus, si potissime petit centrum:<sup>2</sup> quod erat secundo declarandum. Sic igitur apparet esse impossibile quod aqua sit concentrica terrae; quod est contra determinata.

§ XVII. Sed ista ratio non videtur demonstrare, quia propositio maioris principalis similiter non videtur habere necessitatem. Dicebatur enim, gravissimum corpus aequaliter undique ac potissime petere centrum; quod non videtur esse necessarium: quia licet terra sit gravissimum corpus comparatum ad alia corpora; comparatum tamen in se, scilicet in<sup>3</sup> suas partes, potest esse gravissimum et non gravissimum; quia posset esse gravior terra ex una parte quam ex altera. Nam quum adaequatio corporis gravis non fiat per quantitatem, in quantum quantitas, sed per pondus; poterit ibi esse adaequatio ponderis, quod non sit ibi adaequatio quantitatis; et sic illa demonstratio est apparens, et non existens.

§ XVIII. Sed talis instantia nulla est, procedit enim ex ignorantia naturae homogeneorum et simplicium: corpora enim homogenea et simplicia sunt; homogenea, ut aurum depuratum;<sup>4</sup> et corpora simplicia, ut ignis et terra,<sup>5</sup> regulariter in suis partibus qualificantur omni naturali

<sup>2</sup> Brunetto Latini. *Trésor*. I. 105. "Toutes choses se traient et vont tozjors au plus bas, et la plus basse chose e la plus parfonde qui soit au monde est li poins de la terre, ce est li mileu dedans, qui est apelez abimes, là où enfers est assis."

<sup>3</sup> Angelitti suggests reading *secundum*, instead of *scilicet in*.

<sup>4</sup> *De Mon.* I. iii. 48-50. "Nec esse complexionatum, quia hoc etiam reperitur in mineralibus."

<sup>5</sup> *De Vulg. Eloq.* I. xvi. 51-2. "Magis in minera, quam in igne: in igne, quam in terra."

*Conv.* III. iii. 10-3. "La terra sempre discende; . . . il fuoco . . . sempre sale."

tion that that is most powerful which is most swift, since it can most swiftly and easily attain its end; the most powerful efficiency of gravity lies in the body most powerfully seeking the center, namely, the earth; hence the earth most powerfully attains the end of gravity, which is the center of the globe;<sup>1</sup> hence it lies underneath all substances if it seeks the center<sup>2</sup> most powerfully: which was the second point to be made clear. So, then, it seems impossible for water and earth to be concentric, because it is contrary to what has now been established.

§ XVII. But the reasoning does not seem to hold: since the principal proposition of the major premise does not in truth seem to have necessity. For it was said, the heaviest body everywhere equally and most forcibly seeks its center—but this is not necessarily true: for, although the earth is the heaviest body compared to other bodies, compared to itself, namely, to its parts, it may be most heavy or not most heavy—for earth may be heavier in one part than in another. And inasmuch as the equating of heavy bodies is not brought about by quantity in the sense of mass, but by weight: there might be equation of weight where there was no equation of mass; and so that proof is apparent, and not real.

§ XVIII. But such an objection amounts to nothing, and proceeds from ignorance of the nature of homogeneous and simple bodies; for there are homogeneous and there are simple bodies; homogeneous, such as refined gold;<sup>4</sup> and simple, such as fire and earth,<sup>5</sup> which reg-

<sup>1</sup> The force of gravity is the third of Stoppani's Anticipations. The author uses the term *gravitas* several times in the Treatise—but, in his own words, *diversitas rationis cum identitate nominis equivocationem faciat*. The centripetal force of Dante and the author of the *Quaestio* differs as much from that of Newton, as the *passiones grave et leve* of the *Quaestio* from modern atoms and molecules.

<sup>2</sup> Brunetto Latini. *Treſor*. I. 105. "All things draw and move ever to the bottom, and the lowest and deepest spot in the world is that point of the earth which is the center, which is called the abyss, there where hell is seated."

<sup>4</sup> Minerals and elements are frequently distinguished by Dante. *De Mon*. I. iii. 48-50. "Nor is it existence under complex conditions; for we find this in minerals too."

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Moore suggests that when Dante speaks of the elements, without mentioning all four, he selects Earth and Fire, as the two extremes.

*De Vulg. Eloq.* I. xvi. 51-2. "God is more perceptible in a mineral than in fire, in fire than in earth."

*Conv.* III. iii. 10-3. "Earth always falls . . . and fire . . . always mounts."

passione. Unde cum terra sit corpus simplex, regulariter in suis partibus qualificatur naturaliter et per se, sic loquendo:<sup>1</sup> quare cum gravitas insit naturaliter terrae, et terra sit corpus simplex; necesse est ipsam in omnibus partibus suis regularem habere gravitatem, secundum proportionem quantitatis: et sic perit ratio instantiae principalis. Unde respondendum est, quod ratio instantiae sophistica est, quia fallit secundum quid, et simpliciter propter quod. Sciendum est quod natura universalis non frustratur suo fine: unde licet natura particularis aliquando propter inobedientiam<sup>2</sup> materiae ab intento fine frustretur; natura tamen universalis nullo modo potest a sua intentione deficere, quum naturae universali aequaliter actus et potentia rerum, quae possunt esse et non esse, subiaceant. Sed intentio naturae universalis est, ut omnes formae quae sunt in potentia materiae primae,<sup>4</sup> reducantur in actum: et secundum rationem speciei sint in actu; ut materia prima, secundum suam totalitatem, sit sub omni forma materiali, licet secundum partem sit sub omni privatione<sup>5</sup> opposita, praeter unam. Nam cum omnes formae, quae sunt in potentia materiae idealiter, sint in actu in motore coeli, ut dicit Commentator in *de Substantia Orbis*;

<sup>1</sup> Boehmer reads: *Quum terra sit corpus simplex, regulariter in suis partibus qualificatur naturaliter et per se loquendo.*

<sup>2</sup> *Par. I. 129.* "Perch' a risponder la materia è sorda."

*De Mon. II. ii. 29-31.* "Quidquid in rebus inferioribus est peccatum, ex parte materiae subiacentis peccatum sit."

<sup>4</sup> *Conv. IV. i. 63-5.* "Io cercava se la prima materia degli elementi era da Dio intesa."

<sup>5</sup> *Conv. II. xiv. 138-40.* "Li principii delle cose naturali . . . cioè *materia, privazione e forma.*"

ularly throughout their parts are possessed of all their natural characteristics. Whence, since earth is a simple body, it is possessed regularly throughout its parts of these characters naturally and by itself, so to speak: wherefore, as gravity naturally inheres in earth and as earth is a simple body, it must necessarily have equal gravity throughout its parts in direct proportion to their mass: and so the main reasoning of the objection falls through. Accordingly, it is to be answered, that the reasoning of the objection is sophistical, being without method or even foundation. We know that Universal Nature never fails to attain its ends; wherefore, although Particular Nature sometimes fails of the end it aims at, owing to the stubbornness<sup>2</sup> of matter, yet Universal Nature can in no wise fail of its aim, since the activity and potentiality of things, which are capable of being and not being, are subject to Universal Nature.<sup>3</sup> But the aim of Universal Nature is that all forms existent in potentiality in primary matter<sup>4</sup> should be brought into act, and should exist in act according to the nature of their species; so that though primary matter, in respect to its sum, underlies every material form, yet in respect to a part of it, it may underlie every opposite privation<sup>5</sup> save one. For as all forms, which ideally exist potentially in matter, are in act in the Mover of the Heavens, according to the Commentator in the Substance of the World;<sup>6</sup> if all these

<sup>2</sup> *Par.* I. 129. "Because in answering is matter deaf."

*De Mon.* II. ii. 29-31. "Whatever fault is to be found in the lower world is a fault on the part of the subject matter."

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Moore (II. 333.) dwells on the Dantesque character of this passage. Dante drew his distinction between Universal and Particular Nature (four times mentioned in the *Convito*) from Albertus Magnus (*Physica*. II. i. v.), or more likely from St. Thomas Aquinas (*S. i.* 22. 2.).

<sup>4</sup> *Conv.* IV. i. 63-5. "I sought to find out if the first matter of the elements were created by God."

<sup>5</sup> The passage is technical and obscure. In Aristotle *privation* (*στέρησις*) is the lowest grade of metaphysical reality — thought of in abstract, as deprived of all form; opposite to Godhead — the absolutely pure exclusion of all possibility of Becoming.

*Conv.* II. xiv. 138-40. "The principles of natural things, which are three: matter, privation, and form."

<sup>6</sup> Mr. Toynbee thinks the author drew this opinion from Albertus Magnus (*De Nat. et Orig. Anim.* II. vii.); but he considers the *De Substantia Orbis* to be the source of Dante's Lunar Theory as given in the *Convito*.

si omnes istae formae non essent semper in actu, motor coeli<sup>1</sup> deficeret ab integritate diffusionis suae bonitatis: quod non esset dicendum.<sup>2</sup> Et quum omnes formae materiales generabilium et corruptibilium, praeter formas elementorum, requirant materiam et subiectum<sup>3</sup> mixtum et complexionatum, ad quod, tanquam ad finem, ordinata sunt elementa in quantum elementa;<sup>4</sup> et mixtio esse non possit, ubi miscibilia simul esse non possunt, ut de se patet: necesse est, esse partem in universo ubi omnia miscibilia, scilicet elementa, convenire possint: haec autem esse non posset, nisi terra in aliqua parte emergeret,<sup>5</sup> ut patet intuenti. Unde cum intentioni naturae universalis omnis natura obediat; necesse fuit etiam praeter simplicem naturam<sup>6</sup> terrae, quae est esse deorsum, inesse aliam naturam<sup>7</sup> per quam obediret intentioni universalis naturae; ut scilicet pateretur elevari<sup>8</sup> in parte a virtute coeli, tanquam obediens a praecipiente:<sup>9</sup> sicut videmus de concupiscibili et irascibili in homine:

<sup>1</sup> *Par. I. i.* "La gloria di colui che tutto move."

*Par. II. 129.* "Dai beati motor."

*De Mon. I. ix. 12.* "Et unico motore, qui Deus est."

*Epist. X. 349-50.* "Gloria primi Motoris, qui Deus est."

<sup>2</sup> *De Mon. I. iv. 1-4.* "Satis igitur declaratum est, quod proprium opus humani generis . . . est actuare semper totam potentiam intellectus possibilis."

<sup>3</sup> *Conv. III. iii. 14-5.* "Le corpora composte prima, siccome sono le miniere."

*Par. VII. 124-5.* ". . . Io veggio l' acqua, io veggio il foco,  
L' aer, e la terra, e tutte lor misture."

<sup>4</sup> *Par. VII. 133-5.* "Ma gli elementi che tu hai nomati,  
E quelle cose che di lor si fanno,  
Da creata virtù sono informati."

<sup>5</sup> *Ristoro. VI. 7.* "A cagione della generazione è cessata e ammollata l' una acqua sopra la terra."

<sup>6</sup> Boehmer reads *Simplici naturae* instead of *Praeter simplicem naturam*.

<sup>7</sup> *Arist. Nic. Eth. I. xiii.* "ἄλλη τις φύσις τῆς ψυχῆς."

<sup>8</sup> *Par. XXIII. 40-2.* "Come foco di nube si disserra,  
Per dilatarsi sì che non vi cape,  
E fuor di sua natura in giù s' atterra."

<sup>9</sup> *Arist. Nic. Eth. I. xiii.* "ὡσπερ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀκουστικόν τι."

forms were not always in act, the Mover of the Heavens<sup>1</sup> would fail in the completeness of the distribution of his goodness, which is not supposable.<sup>2</sup> And as all material forms of generated and corruptible things, save the forms of the elements, require matter, and their substance<sup>3</sup> is mixed and complex, to provide which, as their aim, elements, as elements, are ordained;<sup>4</sup> and a mixture cannot take place where the things to be mixed cannot be at the same time, as is self-evident: — it follows necessarily that there is some place in the universe where all the things to be mixed, that is, the elements, can come together: and this could not be, unless the earth projected somewhere,<sup>5</sup> as is obvious to any one considering it. Therefore, inasmuch as all nature is obedient to the purpose of Universal Nature, it was necessary for earth, besides its simple nature, which is to fall downwards, to have another nature<sup>7</sup> whereby it should be obedient to the purpose of Universal Nature, — namely, that it should suffer itself to be partially drawn up<sup>8</sup> by the efficiency of heaven, as if obedient to its teacher;<sup>9</sup> just as we see in respect to lust and proneness to anger in men, which accord-

<sup>1</sup> *Par.* I. i. "The glory of Him who moveth everything."

*Par.* II. 129. ". . . The blessed motors."

*De Mon.* I. ix. 12. "One mover, who is God."

*Epist.* X. 349-50. "*The glory of Him who moveth everything*, which is God."

<sup>2</sup> *De Mon.* I. iv. 1-4. "It has thus been sufficiently set forth that the proper work of the human race is to set in action the whole capacity of that understanding which is capable of development."

<sup>3</sup> *Conv.* III. iii. 14-5. "The primary composed bodies, such as minerals."

*Par.* VII. 124-5. ". . . I see the air, I see the fire,

The water, and the earth, and all their mixtures."

<sup>4</sup> *Par.* VII. 133-5. "But all the elements which thou hast named,  
And all those things which out of them are made,  
By a created virtue are informed."

<sup>5</sup> Ristoro d'Arezzo. *Comp. del Mundo.* VI. 7. "For the purpose of generation is the water upon the earth limited and gathered together."

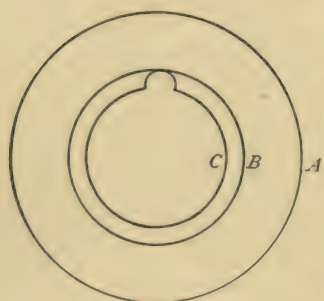
<sup>7</sup> *Arist. Eth.* I. xiii. 15. "Now another natural power of the soul."

<sup>8</sup> *Par.* XXIII. 40-2. "As fire from out a cloud unlocks itself,  
Dilating so it finds not room therein,  
And down, against its nature, falls to earth."

<sup>9</sup> *Arist. Eth.* I. xiii. 19. "As though listening to the suggestions of a parent."

quae licet secundum proprium impetum<sup>1</sup> ferantur secundum sensitivam affectionem, secundum tamen quod rationi obedibiles sunt, quandoque a proprio impetu retrahuntur,<sup>2</sup> ut patet ex primo *Ethicorum*.

§ XIX. Et ideo, licet terra secundum simplicem eius naturam aequaliter petat centrum, ut in ratione instantiae dicebatur; secundum tamen naturam quandam patitur elevari in parte, naturae universali obediens,



ut mixtio sit possibilis; et secundum haec salvatur concentricitas terrae et aquae; et nihil sequitur impossibile apud recte philosophantes; ut patet in ista figura. Sit coelum circulus in quo A, aqua circulus in quo B, terra circulus in quo C; nec refert, quantum ad propositum verum, aqua parum vel multum a terra distare videatur. Et sciendum quod ista est vera, quia est qualis est forma et situs duorum elementorum: aliae duae superiores falsae; et positae sunt, non

quia sic sit, sed ut sentiat discens, ut ille dicit in primo *Priorum*. Et quod terra emergat per gibbum et non per centram circulum

<sup>1</sup> *Par. I. 134-5.*

“ . . . Se l' impeto primo  
L' atterra.”

<sup>2</sup> *De Vulg. Eloq. II. ii. 47-54.* “ Sicut homo tripliciter spirituatus est, videlicet spiritu vegetabili, animali, et rationali, triplex iter perambulat; nam secundum quod vegetabile est, utile quaerit, in quo cum plantis communicat; secundum quod animale, delectabile, in quo cum brutis; secundum quod rationale, honestum quaerit, in quo solus est. . . .”



ing to their own impulse<sup>1</sup> are carried along by the promptings of sense, but yet inasmuch as they are capable of obedience to reason, sometimes are drawn back from their own impulse,<sup>2</sup> as we see in the first of the Ethics.<sup>3</sup>

§ XIX. And therefore,<sup>4</sup> although the earth according to its own simple nature may equally seek the center, as was shown in the reasoning of the objection: still according to another nature it admits of being drawn up in part, obeying Universal Nature, so that a mixture may be possible; and on this theory the concentricity of earth and water is preserved, and nothing impossible results from it, for those philosophizing correctly — as we see in this figure. Let heaven be the circle A, water the circle B, earth the circle C; nor does it matter, for the truth of the proposition, whether the water seems to be more or less distant from the earth. And knowing that this figure is the true one, because it agrees with the form and location of the two elements: the two preceding figures are false; and they are introduced, not because they are correct, but that the learner may understand, as he [Aristotle] says in the first of the Priors.<sup>5</sup> And when we consider the shape of the earth that emerges, we see that without any doubt the earth emerges with an excrescence and not

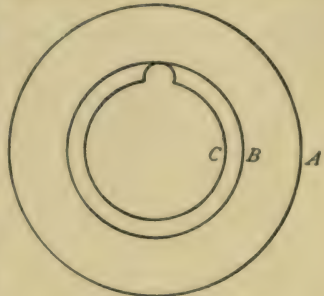


FIG. 5.

<sup>1</sup> *Par. I.* 134-5.

“ . . . If the first impetus  
Earthward is wrested.”

<sup>2</sup> *De Vulg. Eloq.* II. ii. 47-54. “As man has been endowed with a threefold life, namely, Vegetable, Animal, and Rational, he journeys along a threefold road: for in so far as he is Vegetable, he seeks what is useful in that which he has in common with plants; and in so far as he is Animal, he seeks for what is pleasurable in that which he has in common with the brutes; and in so far as he is Rational, he seeks for what is right.”

<sup>3</sup> *Arist. Eth.* I. xiii. 15-7 (1102 b. 13 ff.) a chapter well known to Dante, but not elsewhere quoted in his Latin works (except § XX *infra*) under this name. Cf. § XI.

<sup>4</sup> *Conv.* III. v. Gives an outline of Dante's knowledge of Geography, agreeing throughout with the statements made in this section, though here, as Dr. Moore points out, there is not the direct copying which we should expect from a forger.

<sup>5</sup> *Arist. Anal. Pr.* I. xli. (49 b. 36 ff.) This work is perhaps quoted as *De Syllogismo* in *De Mon.* III. vii. 19.

circumferentiae, indubitabiliter patet, considerata figura terrae emergentis. Nam figura terrae emergentis est figura semilunii; qualis nullo modo esse posset, si emergeret secundum circumferentiam regularem sive centram: nam, ut demonstratum est in theorematibus mathematicis, necesse est circumferentiam regularem sphaerae a superficie plana sive sphaerica, qualem oportet esse superficiem aquae, emergere semper cum horizonte circulari.<sup>2</sup> Et quod terra emergens habeat figuram qualis est semilunii,<sup>3</sup> patet et per naturales de ipsa tractantes, et per astrologos climata describentes, et per cosmographos regiones terrae per omnes plagas ponentes. Nam, ut comuniter ab omnibus habetur, haec habitabilis extenditur per lineam longitudinis a Gadibus,<sup>5</sup> quae supra terminos occidentales ab Hercule<sup>6</sup> ponitur, usque ad ostia fluminis Ganges, ut scribit Orosius.<sup>7</sup> Quae quidem longitudo tanta est, ut occidente Sole in aequinoctiali existente illis qui sunt in altero terminorum, oritur illis qui sunt in altero,<sup>8</sup> sicut per eclipsim<sup>9</sup> Lunae comper-

<sup>2</sup> Ristoro d'Arezzo. VI. 11. "L' acqua è cessata della terra circolarmente, come ella dee essere per ragione alla spera della terra."

<sup>3</sup> *Inf.* XXXIV. 122-4. " . . . La terra che pria di qua si sporse  
Per paura di lui fe' del mar velo,  
E venne all' emisperio nostro."

<sup>5</sup> *Par.* XXVII. 82-3. "Sì ch' io veda di là da Gade il varco  
Folle d' Ulisse."

<sup>6</sup> Brunetto Latini. I. 134. "En Espagne est la fins de la terre, et meismement le tesmoizne la terre de Calpe et Albina, ou Hercules ficha les colonnes. . . ."

<sup>7</sup> *De Mon.* II. iii. 87-9. "In Africa dicit Orosius, in sua mundi descriptione, sic: 'Ultimus autem finis eius est mons Atlas.'"

<sup>8</sup> *Purg.* IV. 70-1. " . . . Ambo e due hanno un solo orizzon  
E diversi emisperi."

<sup>9</sup> *De Mon.* III. iv. 141-2. "Ut in eius [Lunae] eclipsi manifestum est."

with the central circle<sup>1</sup> of its circumference. For the shape of the earth that emerges is the shape of a half-moon, which could in no wise be if it emerged in a regular, or central, circumference: for, as the theorems of mathematics show, the regular circumference of a sphere must necessarily emerge from a plane, or spherical surface — such as the surface of the sea — with a circular horizon.<sup>2</sup> And that the earth which emerges has a shape like a half-moon<sup>3</sup> is shown by students of nature treating thereof, both by astronomers describing the climates,<sup>4</sup> and by geographers laying out the regions of earth everywhere. For as is the universal opinion, this habitable region extends on a longitudinal line from Cadiz,<sup>5</sup> which was founded on the westernmost boundaries by Hercules,<sup>6</sup> even to the mouths of the river Ganges, as Orosius<sup>7</sup> writes. This longitude indeed is such, that when at the equinox the sun sets on those who are at one extremity, it rises on those who are at the other,<sup>8</sup> as astronomers have discovered from the lunar eclipses.<sup>9</sup> Therefore the extremities of the afore-mentioned

<sup>1</sup> The fifth marvellous Anticipation noted by Stoppani is that the dry land is merely humps, or excrescences, or gibbosities, on the surface of the globe. It is hard to see what the anticipation consists of.

<sup>2</sup> Ristoro d'Arezzo. VI. 11. "Water is limited by the earth circularly, as must needs be by reason of the globe of the earth."

<sup>3</sup> The grouping of continents to the North is the sixth Anticipation noted by Stoppani. This is an ancient rather than a modern conception, and the treatment here given, as well as the idea itself, thoroughly Dantesque.

*Inf.* XXXIV. 122-4. ". . . The land, that whilom here emerged,  
For fear of him made of the sea a veil,  
And came to our hemisphere."

<sup>4</sup> The early geographers divided the earth into seven zones, called climates, by circles parallel to the equator.

<sup>5</sup> *Par.* XXVII. 82-3. "So that I saw the mad track of Ulysses  
Past Gades."

<sup>6</sup> Brunetto Latini. *Treſor.* I. 134. "In Spain is the end of the world, and thereto testifies the land of Calpe and Albina, where Hercules planted the columns."

<sup>7</sup> Orosius. *Adv. Pag.* I. ii. 7, 13. Orosius was doubtless Dante's chief authority on all geographical subjects. This same chapter is quoted in *De Mon.* II. iii. 87-9. "Orosius says that it is in Africa, in his description of the world, where he writes: 'Its boundary is Mount Atlas.'"

<sup>8</sup> *Purg.* IV. 70-1. ". . . They both one sole horizon have,  
And hemispheres diverse."

<sup>9</sup> *De Mon.* III. iv. 141-2. "Which is manifest at the time of its eclipse."

tum est ab astrologis. Igitur oportet terminos praedictae longitudinis distare per CLXXX gradus, quae est dimidia distantia totius circumferentiae. Per lineam vero latitudinis, ut comuniter habemus ab eisdem, extenditur ab illis quorum zenith est circulus aequinoctialis, usque ad illos quorum zenith est circulus descriptus a polo zodiaci circa polum mundi, qui distat a polo mundi circiter XXIII gradus: et sic extensio latitudinis est quasi LXVII graduum, et non ultra, ut patet intuenti. Et sic patet, quod terram emergentem oportet habere figuram semilunii,<sup>1</sup> vel quasi;<sup>2</sup> quia illa figura resultat ex tanta latitudine et longitudine, ut patet. Si vero haberet horizontem circularem, haberet figuram circularem cum convexo: et sic longitudo et latitudo non differrent in distantia terminorum; sicut manifestum esse potest<sup>3</sup> etiam mulieribus.<sup>4</sup> Et sic patet de tertio proposito in ordine dicendorum.

§ XX. Restat nunc videre de causa finali et efficiente huius elevationis terrae, quae demonstrata est sufficienter: et hic est ordo artificialis; nam quaestio an est, debet praecedere quaestionem propter quid est. Et de causa finali sufficiant quae dicta sunt in praemeditata distinctione. Propter causam vero efficientem investigandam, praenotandum est, quod tractatus praesens non est extra materiam naturalem, quia inter ens mobile, scilicet aquam, et terram, quae sunt corpora naturalia; et propter haec quaerenda est certitudo secundum materiam naturalem, quae est hic materia subiecta: nam circa unumquodque

<sup>1</sup> Rist. d'Arezzo. *Comp. del Mondo*. VI. 11. "Ed avemo la terra scoperta, come è la figura della luna, quando noi la veggiamo mezza."

Albertus Magnus. III. i. "Haec habitatio quadrangula est inter quattuor arcus."

<sup>2</sup> *Par.* I. 44. "Tal foce quasi."

<sup>3</sup> *De Mon.* I. iv. 30-1. "Ut omnibus manifestum esse potest."

*De Mon.* I. xii. 38-9. "Iterum manifestum esse potest."

<sup>4</sup> *Conv.* IV. xix. 88-9. "Alle donne non è tanto richiesto."

*De Vulg. Eloq.* I. i. 6. "Etiam mulieres . . . nitantur."

*Epist.* X. 224-5. "Loquutio vulgaris, in qua et mulierculae communicant."

longitude must be 180 degrees distant, which is half the length of the total circumference. As to the latitudinal line, indeed, as we generally learn from the same [authorities], it extends from the people whose zenith is the equinoctial circle, to those whose zenith is the circle described by the zodiacal pole about the world's pole, which is some 23 degrees from the world's pole, and so the extent of the latitude is some 67 degrees and no more, as is plain to one who considers. And so it is clear that the earth which emerges must have the shape of a half-moon,<sup>1</sup> or nearly so;<sup>2</sup> because that shape results from such latitude and longitude, as is obvious. If in truth it had a circular horizon, it would have a convex circular shape; and so the longitude and latitude would not differ in the distance between their extremities, as can be made manifest<sup>3</sup> even to women.<sup>4</sup> And so the third proposition in the order of our discussion is made clear.

§ XX. It now remains to consider the final and efficient cause of this elevation of the earth, which has been sufficiently proved to exist; and this is the artificial order; for we should inquire whether a thing exists before we inquire why it exists.<sup>5</sup> Concerning the final cause, what has been said in the division already considered is sufficient. In order to investigate the efficient cause, we must first note that the present treatise is not concerned with things outside of natural matter, since it treats of movable entities, namely water and earth, which are natural bodies, and in regard to these we should seek certainty in accordance with natural matter, which in this case is the subject matter: for concerning any class of things we should seek certainty as far as the

<sup>1</sup> Ristoro d'Arezzo. VI. 11. "And we have the uncovered earth, shaped like the moon, when we see her half full."

Albertus Magnus. *De Nat. Loc.* III. i. "This habitable region is quadrangular and bounded by four arcs."

<sup>2</sup> *Par.* I. 43. "Almost that passage."

<sup>3</sup> *De Mon.* I. iv. 30-1. "As may appear manifest to all."

*De Mon.* I. xii. 38-9. "It is therefore again manifest."

<sup>4</sup> *Conv.* IV. xix. 88-9. "From . . . women we do not require so much."

*De Vulg. Eloq.* I. i. 6. "Even women . . . strive."

*Epist.* X. 224-5. "The vulgar tongue, in which even housewives hold converse."

<sup>5</sup> Arist. *Anal. Post.* II. vii. (93 a. 20).

genus in tantum certitudo quaerenda est, in quantum natura rei recipit ; ut patet ex primo *Ethicorum*.<sup>1</sup> Quum igitur innata sit nobis via investigandae veritatis circa naturalia ex notioribus nobis naturae, vero minus notis, ad certiora naturae et notiora, ut patet ex primo *Physicorum* ;<sup>8</sup> et notiores sint nobis in talibus effectus quam causae, quia per ipsos<sup>4</sup> inducimur in cognitionem causarum, ut patet : quia eclipsis solis<sup>6</sup> duxit in cognitionem interpositionis lunae ;<sup>7</sup> unde propter admirari coepere philosophari ; viam inquisitionis in naturalibus oportet esse ab effectibus<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Inf.* XI. 79-80. " Non ti rimembra di quelle parole,  
Colle quai la tua Etica pertratta."

*Inf.* XI. 101. " E se tu ben la tua Fisica note."

*Conv.* IV. xiii. 74-7. " Nel primo dell' *Etica* dice 'che 'l disciplinato chiede di sapere certezza nelle cose, secondochè la loro natura di certezza riceva.'"

*De Mon.* II. ii. 63-6. " In primis ad Nichomachum : ' Non similiter in omni materia certitudo quaerenda est, sed secundum quod natura rei subiectae recipit. ' "

<sup>3</sup> *Conv.* II. i. 107-12. " Dice il Filosofo nel primo della *Fisica*, la natura vuole che ordinatamente si proceda nella nostra conoscenza, cioè procedendo da quello che conoscemo meglio, in quello che conoscemo non così bene."

*Epist.* V. 122-3. " Si ex notioribus nobis innotiora ; similiter. . . ."

<sup>4</sup> This word is missing in the edition of 1508. A marginal note in the copy belonging to Cornell University inserts: *eos*.

<sup>6</sup> *Par.* II. 79-80. ". . . Fora manifesto  
Nell' eclissi del sol."

<sup>7</sup> *Conv.* II. iii. 57-8. " Nello eclissi del Sole appare sensibilmente la Luna essere sotto il Sole."

<sup>8</sup> Boehmer places a comma after *philosophari*, and a full stop after *causas*.

nature thereof allows; as we see from the first of the Ethics.<sup>1</sup> Since, therefore, the way is innate in us to investigate truths concerning natural phenomena, proceeding from the better known facts of nature, to those less known, (to the more certain and better known facts in nature<sup>2</sup>) as we see from the first of the Physics:<sup>3</sup>—and since in such matters effects are better known to us than causes, because by them we are led to a knowledge of the causes,<sup>5</sup> (as for instance a solar eclipse led men<sup>6</sup> to understand the transit of the moon,<sup>7</sup> so that from wondering men began to philosophize,) the path of research in natural philosophy

<sup>1</sup> Cf. this mention of the Ethics, and, *infra*, the Physics, with:

*Inf.* XI. 79-80: "Hast thou no recollection of those words  
With which thine Ethics thoroughly discusses."

and *Inf.* XI. 101: "And if thy Physics carefully thou notest."

Arist. *Nic. Eth.* I. iii. 4 (1094 b. 23-5).

*Conv.* IV. xiii. 74-7. "In the first of the *Ethics* he says that 'the educated man demands certainty of knowledge about things, in so far as their nature admits of certainty.'"

*De Mon.* II. ii. 63-6. "In the first book of his *Ethics*, where he says: 'We must not seek for certitude in every matter, but only as far as the nature of the subject admits.'"

<sup>2</sup> The bracketed clause is perhaps better omitted altogether. The whole passage is probably corrupt.

<sup>3</sup> Arist. *Phys.* I. i. (184 a. 16 ff.).

*Conv.* II. i. 107-12. "The Philosopher says, in the first of the *Physics*, nature wills that our knowledge should increase in due order, that is, that we should proceed from what we know best, to what we do not know so well."

*Epist.* V. 122-3. "If from the things better known those less known are evident to us, in like manner . . ."

<sup>6</sup> Arist. *Met. H.* iv. (1044 b. 10-15), and elsewhere. But Aristotle generally draws his illustration from the Eclipse of the Moon, not as here, of the Sun.

<sup>6</sup> *Par.* II. 79-80. " . . . In the sun's eclipse  
It would be manifest."

<sup>7</sup> Arist. *Met. A.* ii. (982 b. 12).

*Conv.* II. iii. 57-8. "In solar eclipses we can plainly see that the moon is below the sun."

ad causas;<sup>1</sup> quae quidem via, licet habeat certitudinem sufficientem, non tamen habet tantam, quantam habet via inquisitionis in mathematicis, quae est a causis, sive a superioribus, ad effectus, sive ad inferiora: et ideo quaerenda est illa certitudo, quae sic demonstrando haberi potest. Dico igitur quod causa huius elevationis efficiens non potest esse terra ipsa; quia quum elevari sit quoddam ferri sursum: et ferri sursum sit contra naturam terrae: et nihil, per se loquendo,<sup>2</sup> possit esse causa eius quod est contra suam naturam; relinquitur, quod terra huius elevationis efficiens causa esse non possit. Et similiter etiam neque aqua esse potest; quia quum aqua sit corpus homogeneous, in qualibet sui parte, per se loquendo, uniformiter oportet esse virtutem; et sic non esset ratio qua magis elevasset hic quam alibi. Haec eadem ratio removet ab hac causalitate aerem et ignem; et quum non restet ulterius nisi coelum, reducendus est hic effectus in ipsum, tanquam in causam propriam. Sed quum sint plures coeli, adhuc restat inquirere in quod, tanquam in causam propriam, habeat reduci.<sup>4</sup> Non in coelum lunae; quia quum organum suae virtutis sive influentiae sit ipsa luna: et ipsa tantum declinet per zodiacum ab aequinoctiali versus polum antarcticum quantum versus arcticum,<sup>5</sup> ita elevaret ultra aequinoctialem,

<sup>1</sup> *Par. II.* 94-6. "Da questa istanzia può diliberarti  
Esperienza, se giammai la provi,  
Ch' esser suol fonte ai rivi di vostr' arti."

<sup>2</sup> *De Mon. II.* vi. 25-6. "Unde impossibile est aliqua duo per se loquendo. . ."

<sup>4</sup> *De Mon. III.* xii. 60 and 100-1. "Habent reduci."

<sup>5</sup> Alfraganus. *Elem. Astron.* XVIII. "Eccentrici Lunae planum . . . a zodiaci plano deflectit ad septentrionem et austrum declinatione rata et immutabili."



must be from effects to causes.<sup>1</sup> This path, indeed, although it has considerable certitude, has not as much as the path of inquiry in mathematics, which leads from causes, that is, from superior things, to their effects, that is, to the inferior: and therefore that certitude is to be sought, which may be had from demonstration of this sort.

I say then that the efficient cause of this elevation cannot be the earth itself: for to be elevated implies being drawn up: and to be drawn up is contrary to earth's nature: and nothing, considered by itself,<sup>2</sup> can be the cause of anything contrary to its nature — it follows that earth cannot be the efficient cause of this elevation. And for like reason water cannot be so; because water being a homogeneous body, its efficiency must be uniform in its every part, considered separately; and hence there would be no reason for it to be more elevated in one place than in another. The same reasoning shows that neither air nor fire can be the cause; and as nothing further remains save heaven,<sup>3</sup> this effect must be ascribed to the heaven, as its proper cause. But since there are many heavens, it remains to inquire to which, as the proper cause, it is to be ascribed.<sup>4</sup> Not to the heaven of the moon; for the organ of its power or influence is the moon itself; and as it declines in the zodiac as far from the equinox towards the antarctic pole as towards the arctic,<sup>5</sup> it would therefore raise up the earth on the

<sup>1</sup> *Par.* II. 94-6. "From this reply experiment will free thee  
If e'er thou try it, which is wont to be  
The fountain to the rivers of your arts."

<sup>2</sup> *De Mon.* II. vi. 25-6. "And therefore it is impossible that any two things, spoken of as separate things . . ."

<sup>3</sup> Aristotle. *De Mundo.* III. (392 b. 35-393 a. 4). *αἰθήρ*, the fifth element, is for Dante equivalent to the heaven. And Aristotle, also, frequently says that the two terms are interchangeable. Dr. Moore (I. 124, 300), besides the passage from Aristotle, quotes St. Augustine, Plato, Sacrabosco, and others, to show that this idea of a "quinta essentia" was familiar to the philosophers of Dante's day.

<sup>4</sup> *De Mon.* III. xii. 60 and 100. "They have to be brought."

<sup>5</sup> Alfraganus. (Moore. II. 339). "The plane of the moon's eccentricity inclines from the plane of the zodiac to the North and to the South by an immutable and computed declination."

sicut citra ; quod non est factum. Nec valet dicere quod illa declinatio non potuit esse propter magis appropinquare terrae per excentricitatem ; quia si haec virtus elevandi fuisset in luna (quum agentia propinquiora virtuosius operentur), magis elevasset ibi quam hic.<sup>1</sup>

§ XXI. Haec eadem ratio removet ab huiusmodi causalitate omnes orbis planetarum ; et cum primum mobile, scilicet sphaera nona,<sup>2</sup> sit uniforme per totum,<sup>3</sup> et per consequens uniformiter per totum virtuatum, non est ratio quare magis ab ista parte quam ab alia elevasset. Cum igitur non sint plura corpora mobilia, praeter coelum stellatum, quod est octava sphaera,<sup>4</sup> necesse est hunc effectum ad ipsum<sup>6</sup> reduci. Ad cuius evidentionem sciendum, quod licet coelum stellatum habeat unitatem in substantia, habet tamen multipliciter in virtute ;<sup>7</sup> propter quod oportuit habere diversitatem<sup>8</sup> illam in partibus quam videmus,<sup>9</sup> ut per

<sup>1</sup> The text is here corrupt beyond hope of correction.

<sup>2</sup> *Conv.* II. iv. 9-12. "Lo nono è quello . . . lo quale chiamano molti cielo Cristallino."

<sup>3</sup> *Par.* XXVII. 100-1. "Le parti sue vivissime ed eccelse  
Si uniformi son."

*De Mon.* I. ix. 11-2. "Coelum totum unico motu, scilicet primi mobilis.

<sup>4</sup> *Conv.* II. xiv. 59. "All' ottava spera, cioè alla stellata. . . ."

<sup>6</sup> Ristoro. I. 20. "Questa forza fue a cagione della congiurazione delle pianete e degli animali c' abitano sopra la terra."

<sup>7</sup> *Par.* II. 136-8. "Così l' intelligenza sua bontate  
Moltiplicata per le stelle spiega,  
Girando sè sopra sua unitate."

<sup>8</sup> *Par.* II. 70. "Virtù diverse esser convengono frutti."  
*Par.* II. 139. "Virtù diversa fa diversa lega."

<sup>9</sup> *Par.* II. 64-6. "La spera ottava vi dimostra molti  
Lumi, li quali nel quale e nel quanto  
Notar si posson di diversi volti."

further side of the equinox as well as on this side, which is not the case. Nor does it avail to say that this declination cannot be, because of its closer approach to the earth through its excentricity, for if this elevating efficiency existed in the moon (since active forces are more potent as they are nearer) it would raise the earth more in one place than in another.

§ XXI. The same reasoning rejects as the cause all the orbs of the planets; and as the *primum mobile*, or ninth sphere,<sup>2</sup> is throughout uniform,<sup>3</sup> and consequently throughout of uniform efficiency, there is no reason why it should elevate more in one place than in another. As therefore there are no further movable bodies, except the heaven of the fixed stars, or eighth sphere,<sup>4</sup> we must ascribe this effect<sup>5</sup> to that heaven.<sup>6</sup> As evidence of this, it is to be known that, while the starry heaven has uniformity in substance, it has nevertheless variety in efficiency;<sup>7</sup> and it must have that diversity<sup>8</sup> in the parts which we see,<sup>9</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *Conv.* II. iv. 9-12. "The ninth is that . . . which is called by many the Crystalline."

<sup>3</sup> *Par.* XXVII. 100-1. "Its parts exceeding full of life and lofty  
Are all so uniform."

*De Mon.* I. ix. 11-2. "The whole heaven is regulated with one motion, to wit, that of the *primum mobile*."

<sup>4</sup> *Conv.* II. xiv. 59. "To the eighth sphere, that is, to the Starry Heaven."

<sup>5</sup> i. e., the elevation of the earth.

<sup>6</sup> Ristoro d' Arezzo explains all natural phenomena by the influence of the stars; *Comp. del Mundo.* I. 20. "This force results from the combination of the planets and the animals of the Zodiac."

<sup>7</sup> According to Professor Schmidt — *Über Dante's Stellung, etc.* p. 17. — the Moon was supposed to exert its influence on Water; the Stars on Earth; the Sun on Fire; the planets on Air. This, however, may be seriously questioned.

*Par.* II. 136-8. "So likewise this Intelligence diffuses  
Its virtue multiplied among the stars,  
Itself revolving on its unity."

<sup>8</sup> *Par.* II. 70. "Virtues diverse must be performe the fruits."

*Par.* II. 139-40. "Virtue diverse doth a diverse alloyage  
Make . . ."

<sup>9</sup> *Par.* II. 64-6. "Lights many the eighth sphere displays to you  
Which in their quality and quantity  
May noted be of aspects different."

organa diversa<sup>1</sup> virtutes diversas influeret: et qui haec non advertit, extra limitem philosophiae se esse cognoscat.<sup>2</sup> Videmus in eo differentiam in magnitudine stellarum et in luce, in figuris et imaginibus constellationum; quae quidem differentiae frustra esse non possunt, ut manifestissimum esse debet omnibus in philosophia nutritis.<sup>3</sup> Unde alia est virtus huius stellae et illius, et alia huius constellationis et illius; et alia virtus stellarum quae sunt citra aequinoctialem, et alia earum quae sunt ultra.<sup>4</sup> Unde cum vultus inferiores sint similes vultibus superioribus, ut Ptolemaeus dicit; consequens est,<sup>6</sup> quod iste effectus non possit reduci nisi in coelum stellatum, ut visum est; eo quod similitudo virtualis agentis consistat in illa regione coeli quae operit hanc terram detectam. Et cum ista terra detecta extendatur a linea aequinoctiali usque ad lineam quam describit polus zodiaci circa polum mundi, ut superius dictum est; manifestum est, quod virtus elevans est illis stellis quae sunt in regione coeli istis duobus circulis<sup>7</sup> contenta, sive elevet per modum attractionis, ut magnes attrahit ferrum, sive per

<sup>1</sup> *Par.* II. 121. "Questi organi del mondo così vanno."

<sup>2</sup> *Conv.* II. xiv. 26-30. "Della quale induzione, quanto alla prima perfezione, cioè della generazione sostanziale, tutti li filosofi concordano che i cieli sono cagione."

<sup>3</sup> *Epist.* IX. 32-3. "Philosophiae domestico."

<sup>4</sup> Ristoro. I. 2. "E vedemo la parte di settentrione, la quale è inverso lo polo arctico, spessa e vestita di stelle, e la parte del mezzodì, la quale è inverso lo polo antarctico, a quello rispetto rada e ignuda di stelle."

<sup>6</sup> This is the reading of Torri, followed by Dr. Moore. Angelitti — p. 6. — keeps closer to the text of the first edition, and reads: "Consequens est (cum iste effectus non possit reduci nisi in coelum stellatum, ut visum est) quod similitudo . . ."

<sup>7</sup> *Conv.* II. iv. 75-7. "Le stelle . . . sono più piene di virtù tra loro, quanto più sono presso a questo cerchio."

Ristoro. I. 20. "E troviamla scoperta inverso la parte di settentrione, sotto quella parte del cielo la quale è piue stellata."

that it may through its diverse organs<sup>1</sup> exert its divers efficiencies: and whoso does not perceive this must know himself to be outside the boundaries of philosophy.<sup>2</sup> We see in it differences in the sizes of stars, and in their light, in the shapes and images of the constellations; which differences cannot be purposeless, as must be entirely evident to all who are nurtured in philosophy.<sup>3</sup> So that this star and that, this constellation and that, have different degrees of efficiency; and different efficiency have the stars on this side of the equinox, and those on the other.<sup>4</sup> And as aspects below resemble aspects above, as Ptolemy<sup>5</sup> says, it follows that this effect cannot be ascribed save to the starry heaven, as we have seen; and therefore that the virtual correspondence of the agent is located in that part of the heaven which overhangs this uncovered earth. And as this uncovered earth stretches from the equinoctial line even to the line that the zodiacal pole describes about the world's pole, as has been said above, it is evident that the uplifting efficiency<sup>6</sup> lies in those stars which are in the region of heaven contained between these two circles,<sup>7</sup> whether it elevates by attraction, as magnets

<sup>1</sup> *Par.* II. 121. "Thus do these organs of the world proceed."

<sup>2</sup> *Conv.* II. xiv. 26-30. "Of which influence, in so far as it concerns the primal perfection, that is, material generation, all philosophers are agreed that the heavens are the cause."

<sup>3</sup> *Epist.* IX. 32-3. "A man familiar with philosophy."

<sup>4</sup> Ristoro d'Arezzo. *Comp. del Mundo.* I. 2. "We see the northern portion, towards the arctic pole, thickly covered with stars, and the southern portion, towards the antarctic pole, comparatively deprived and bare of stars."

<sup>5</sup> Ptolemy is here quoted vaguely, as Dante does twice in *Conv.* II. xiv. Mr. Toynbee says that Dante's knowledge of Ptolemy was doubtless derived at second hand from Alfraganus, whose *Elementa Astronomica* is to a great extent based on the *Almagest*, or *Great Composition of Astronomy* of Ptolemy.

<sup>6</sup> Universal attraction of the great bodies in space, including the earth, is the seventh Anticipation found by Stoppani. The only foundation for this statement is the present passage, which, as Dr. Moore says, is hard to distort into the modern doctrine.

<sup>7</sup> *Conv.* II. iv. 75-7. "The stars . . . have more virtue among themselves as they are nearer to this circle."

Ristoro d'Arezzo. *Comp. del Mundo.* I. 20. "And we find it uncovered towards the north, beneath that part of the sky which is the most starry."

modum pulsionis, generando vapores pellentes,<sup>1</sup> ut in particularibus montuositatibus.<sup>2</sup> Sed nunc quaeritur: Quum illa regio coeli circulariter feratur, quare illa elevatio non fuit circularis? Respondeo quod ideo non fuit circularis, quia materia non sufficebat ad tantam elevationem. Sed tunc arguitur magis, et quaeritur: Quare potius elevatio hemisphaerialis fuit ab ista parte quam ab alia? Ad hoc est dicendum, sicut dicit Philosophus in secundo *de Coelo*, quum quaerit quare coelum movetur ab oriente in occidentem et non e converso: ibi enim dicit, quod consimiles quaestiones vel a multa stultitia vel a multa praesumptione procedunt, propterea quod sunt supra intellectum nostrum.<sup>4</sup> Et ideo dicendum ad hanc quaestionem, quod ille dispensator<sup>5</sup> Deus gloriosus, qui dispensavit de situ polorum,<sup>6</sup> de situ centri mundi, de distantia ultimae circumferentiae universi a centro eius, et de aliis consimilibus, haec fecit tanquam melius sicut et illa. Unde quum

<sup>1</sup> *Purg.* XXI. 56. “. . . Vento che in terra si nasconda.”

Dr. Prompt. *Les Œuvres Apocryphes du Dante*, p. 40. “Torri n'hesite pas à dire que ces sottises scolastiques sont des traits de génie.”

<sup>2</sup> *Catholicon. Gutenberg Ed. 1460.* “Montuus, a mons; et hinc montuosus in eodem sensu, id est plenus montibus; unde hec Montuositas, -tatis.”

<sup>4</sup> *Purg.* XXIV. 61. “E qual più a guardar oltre si mette.”

*Conv.* II. vi. 150-1. “Iddio lo sa; chè a me pare presuntuoso a giudicare.”

*Conv.* III. xv. 105-7. “Conoscere di Dio, e dire di certe cose, . . . non sia possibile alla nostra natura.”

<sup>5</sup> *Conv.* I. iii. 15-6. “Al Dispensatore dell' universo.”

<sup>6</sup> All the later editors, including Dr. Moore, read: *populorum*; but as Angelitti asks (p. 6), how are the nations concerned here?

attract iron, or by a manner of impulse, generating impelling vapors,<sup>1</sup> as in some mountainous region.<sup>2</sup>

But now it is asked: Since this region of the heaven has a circular motion, why is not the elevation circular? I answer that it is not circular, because the material did not suffice for so great an elevation. But men will argue further and ask: Why is this hemispherical elevation on this side and not on the other? To this one can answer, as the Philosopher in the second of Heaven and Earth<sup>3</sup> when he asks why heaven moves from east to west and not conversely: for he says there, that such questions proceed from great folly or great presumption, since they are above our understanding.<sup>4</sup> And the same may be said to this question, that God the glorious Ordainer,<sup>5</sup> who ordained the location of the poles,<sup>6</sup> and the location of the world's center, the distance between the extreme circumference of the universe and the center thereof, and all like things, made each and all these even for the best. So when he said, "Let the waters be gathered together unto one place, and let the

<sup>1</sup> *Purg.* XXI. 56. ". . . The wind that in the earth is hidden."

Arist. *Meteor.* II. viii. (366 b. 15-367 a. 4).

Elasticity of vapor as a motive power is the eighth of Stoppani's Anticipations. It is not easy to recognize this idea in the present statement.

The elevation of the continents towards the northern hemisphere, is the ninth of Stoppani's Anticipations; but this is as ridiculous as the others. Even Dr. Prompt, who pooh-poohs the genuineness of the treatise, exclaims: "Torri does not hesitate to call these scholastic follies, marks of genius!"

<sup>2</sup> The curious word *montuositas* is only known to occur twice in the thirteenth century: in Nicolaus de Jamsilla, *de Gestis Frederici Secundi*, tom. 8., col. 55. (1258); and in Balbus Johannes de Janua, *Catholicon* (1286). In the latter work is this definition: "Montuus, from Mons; and hence Montuosus in the same sense, namely, full of mountains; whence Montuositas." (Moore. II. 325.)

<sup>3</sup> Arist. *De Coelo.* II. v. (287 b. 26-31), a book very familiar to Dante.

<sup>4</sup> *Purg.* XXIV. 61. "And he who sets himself to go beyond."

*Conv.* II. vi. 150-1. "God knows, for to me it seems presumptuous to judge."

*Conv.* III. xv. 105-7. "To know God and certain other things . . . is not possible to our nature."

<sup>5</sup> *Conv.* I. iii. 15-6. "The Dispenser of the universe."

dixit: 'Congregentur aquae in locum unum, et appareat arida,'<sup>1</sup> simul et virtuatum est coelum ad agendum, et terra potentiata ad patiendum.

§ XXII. Desinant ergo,<sup>2</sup> desinant homines quaerere quae supra eos sunt, et quaerant usque quo possunt, ut trahant se ad immortalia et divina pro posse,<sup>3</sup> ac maiora se relinquunt. Audiant amicum Iob, dicentem: 'Numquid vestigia Dei comprehendes, et Omnipotentem usque ad perfectionem reperies?'<sup>5</sup> Audiant Psalmistam dicentem: 'Mirabilis facta est scientia tua; et me confortata est, et non potero ad eam.' Audiant Isaiam dicentem: 'Quam distant coeli a terra, tantum distant viae meae a viis vestris.'<sup>7</sup> Loquebatur equidem in persona

<sup>1</sup> Ristoro. VI. 2. "Se la virtù del cielo, che dee tenere l'acqua cessata che non spanda, per mantenere la terra scoperta, si cessasse e andasse via, l'acqua cessata converrebbe in suo luogo, e coprirebbe tutta la terra."

<sup>2</sup> *Purg.* III. 34-5. "Matto è chi spera che nostra ragione  
Possa trascorrer la infinita via."

*Conv.* IV. v. 7-10. "Ma da maravigliare è forte, quando la esecuzione dello eterno consiglio tanto manifesto procede che la nostra ragione lo discerne."

<sup>3</sup> *Conv.* IV. xiii. 71-2. "L' uomo si dee trarre alle cose divine quanto può."

Aristotle. *Eth.* X. vii. 8. οὐ χρὴ δὲ κατὰ τοὺς παραινῶντας ἀνθρώπινα φρονεῖν ἀνθρώπων ὄντα οὐδὲ θνητὰ τὸν θνητόν, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ὅσον ἐνδέχεται ἀθανατίζειν."

S. Thomas Aquinas. *Summa.* I. v. "Homo debet se ad immortalia et divina trahere quantum potest."

<sup>5</sup> *Conv.* III. v. 202-5. "O ineffabile Sapienza che così ordinasti, quanto è povera la nostra mente a te comprendere."

<sup>7</sup> *Purg.* XXXIII. 88-90. "E veggi vostra via dalla divina  
Distar cotanto, quanto si discorda  
Da terra il ciel che più alto festina."



dry land appear,"<sup>1</sup> forthwith the heaven received virtue to act and the earth power to be acted upon.

§ XXII. Desist then,<sup>2</sup> let men desist from seeking into things that are above them, and let them seek only so far as their faculties allow, that they may draw near to things immortal and divine so far as they have power to do so,<sup>3</sup> and things beyond their power let them leave. Let them hear Job's friend<sup>4</sup> saying: "Canst thou understand the ways of God? canst thou find out the Almighty unto perfection?"<sup>5</sup> Let them hear the Psalmist saying: "Marvellous is thy knowledge; it has comforted me, and I cannot attain unto it."<sup>6</sup> Let them hear Isaiah saying: "As the heavens are higher than the earth, so are my ways higher than your ways";<sup>7</sup> and he was speaking even in the person of

<sup>1</sup> *Genesis*, I. 9.

Ristoro d'Arezzo. *Comp. del Mundo*. VI. 2. "Were the virtue of heaven that restrains the water from scattering, to keep the earth uncovered, to cease and depart, the withholden water would gather to its place, and cover the whole earth."

<sup>2</sup> *Purg.* III. 34-5. "Insane is he who hopeth that our reason  
Can traverse the illimitable way."

*Conv.* IV. v. 7-10. "But we have reason to wonder greatly, when the execution of the Eternal Counsel proceeds in so manifest a way that our reason can discern it."

<sup>3</sup> *Conv.* IV. xiii. 71-2. "Man should draw near to divine things as far as he can."

Arist. *Nic. Eth.* X. vii. 8 (1177 b. 31 ff). "A man ought not to entertain human thoughts, because he is human, nor mortal thoughts, because he is mortal: but as far as is possible he should make himself immortal."

Quoted by Aquinas: *Summa contra Gentiles*, I. v. "Man should draw near to things immortal and divine as far as he can." This chapter was familiar to Dante (*Conv.* IV. xv. 25; IV. xxx. 29), while the word *immortal* would hardly have been added by a forger copying from *Conv.* IV. xiii. 71-2.

<sup>4</sup> Zophar the Naamathite.

<sup>5</sup> *Job*, xi. 7. The Vulgate differs slightly from the English Version. The Book of Job is nowhere else directly quoted by Dante.

*Conv.* III. v. 202-5. "O ineffable Wisdom, that has ordered thus! how poorly our minds can comprehend Thee!"

<sup>6</sup> *Ps.* cxxxviii. 6. (*Vulg. Ps.* cxxxix. 6). Verses 7-9 of this Psalm are quoted in *Epist.* X. 416-9.

<sup>7</sup> Isaiah, lv. 9.

*Purg.* XXXIII. 88-90. "And mayst behold your path from the divine  
Distant as far as separated is  
From earth the heaven that highest hastens on."

Dei ad hominem. Audiant voci Apostoli ad Romanos: 'O altitudo divitiarum scientiae et sapientiae Dei! quam incomprehensibilia iudicia eius, et investigabiles viae eius!' <sup>2</sup> Et denique audiant propriam Creatoris vocem dicentis: <sup>3</sup> 'Quo ego vado, vos non potestis venire.' Et haec sufficiant ad inquisitionem intentae veritatis.

§ XXIII. His visis, facile est solvere argumenta quae superius contra fiebant; quod quidem quarto <sup>4</sup> proponebatur faciendum. Cum igitur dicebatur: Duarum circumferentiarum inaequaliter a se distantium impossibile est idem esse centrum; dico quod verum est, si circumferentiae sunt regulares sine gibbo vel gibbis. Et cum dicitur in minori quod circumferentia aquae et circumferentia terrae sunt huiusmodi, dico quod non est verum, <sup>5</sup> nisi per gibbum qui est in terra: et ideo ratio non procedit. Ad secundum, cum dicebatur: Nobiliori corpori debetur nobilior locus, dico quod verum est secundum propriam naturam: et concedo minorem: <sup>7</sup> sed cum concluditur quod ideo aqua debet esse in altiori loco, dico quod verum est secundum propriam

<sup>2</sup> *Conv.* IV. xxi. 56-8. "O altezza delle divizie della sapienza di Dio, come sono incomprendibili i tuoi giudicii, e investigabili le tue vie."

*De Mon.* II. ix. 75-6. "O altitudo divitiarum sapientiae et scientiae Dei."

<sup>3</sup> *Epist.* X. 36-7. "Spiritum Sanctum audiat."

<sup>4</sup> This is generally changed to read *quinto*, and translated *in the fifth place*, inasmuch as refutation of arguments was the fifth point that the author promised, in § IX, to take up. However, as Professor Norton pointed out to me, the reading may be correct and refer to the ninth section itself, which, if §§ III-VIII are grouped as they should be under one head, becomes § IV.

<sup>5</sup> *De Mon.* III. xi. 14-5. "Dico quod nihil dicunt."

<sup>7</sup> *De Mon.* III. viii. 23. "Minorem concedo."

God to man. Let them hear the voice of the Apostle<sup>1</sup> to the Romans :  
 "O the depths of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God !  
 how unsearchable are His judgments, and His ways past finding out !"<sup>2</sup>  
 And finally let them hear the very voice of the Creator saying :<sup>3</sup>  
 "Whither I go, ye cannot come."<sup>4</sup>

And let these words suffice for the inquiry after the truth we have sought.

§ XXIII. Now that we have seen these things, it is easy to refute the arguments above urged, which indeed we proposed doing in the fourth section. So when it was asserted that it is impossible for two circumferences not equidistant from one another to have the same center, I say that this is true, if the circumferences are regular, without one excrescence or more. But when it was asserted in the minor premise that the circumference of the water and the circumference of the earth are of this kind, I say that this is not true,<sup>6</sup> because of the excrescence which exists on the earth, and therefore the argument does not hold good. And secondly, when it was asserted that the nobler body deserves the nobler place, I say that this is true, according to its own nature ; and I grant the minor premise ;<sup>7</sup> but when it was concluded that therefore water must occupy the higher place, I say that this is true according to the proper nature of the two bodies : but because of

<sup>1</sup> St. Paul so called nine times elsewhere by Dante, including once in the Epistles.

<sup>2</sup> *Romans*, xi. 33.

*Conv.* IV. xxi. 56-8. "O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God ! how unsearchable are His judgments, and His ways past finding out !"

*De Mon.* II. ix. 75-6. "Oh the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God !"

<sup>3</sup> *Epist.* X. 36. "Let him hearken to the Holy Ghost."

<sup>4</sup> John, viii. 21.

<sup>6</sup> *De Mon.* III. xi. 14-5. "I reply that what they say is nought."

<sup>7</sup> *De Mon.* III. viii. 23. "Now I admit the minor premise."

naturam utriusque corporis; sed per supereminentem causam (ut superius dictum est) accidit in hac parte terram esse superiorem; et sic ratio deficiebat in prima propositione. Ad tertium, cum dicitur: Omnis opinio quae contradicit sensui est mala opinio, dico quod ista ratio procedit ex falsa imaginatione. Imaginantur enim nautae, quod ideo non videant terram in pelago existentes de navi, quia mare sit altius quam ipsa terra: sed hoc non est; immo esset contrarium, magis enim viderent. Sed est hoc quia frangitur radius rectus rei visibilis inter rem et oculum, a convexo aquae: nam cum aquam formam rotundam habere oporteat ubique circa centrum, necesse est in aliqua distantia ipsam efficere obstantiam alicuius convexi.<sup>2</sup> Ad quartum, cum arguebatur: Si terra non esset inferior etc.; dico quod illa ratio fundatur in falso; et ideo nihil est. Credunt enim vulgares et physicorum argumentorum ignari, quod aqua ascendat ad cacumina montium, et etiam ad locum fontium in forma aquae;<sup>3</sup> sed istud est valde puerile, nam aquae generantur ibi (ut per Philosophum patet in *Meteoribus* suis), ascendente materia in forma vaporis.<sup>4</sup> Ad quintum, cum dicitur quod aqua est corpus imitabile orbis lunae, et per hoc concluditur quod debeat esse excentrica, cum orbis lunae sit excentricus; dico quod ista ratio non habet necessitatem: quia licet unum adimitetur aliud in uno, non

<sup>2</sup> Roger Bacon. *Opus Majus*. IV. 10. "Relinquitur quod aliquid impedit visum illius qui est in navi. Sed nihil potest esse nisi tumor sphaericus aquae. Ergo est sphaericae figurae."

<sup>3</sup> Ristoro. VI. 7. "Secondo questa via potemo per ragione dire che l'acqua che corre giù per lo fiume sia già corsa molte volte, e l'acqua che piovve sia già piovuta molte volte."

<sup>4</sup> *Purg.* V. 109-11. "Ben sai come nell' aere si raccoglie  
Quell' umido vapor che in acqua riede,  
Tosto che sale dove il freddo il coglie."

the cause of supereminence (explained above) it happens that earth is higher in this part; and so the argument failed in the first proposition. And thirdly when it is asserted that every hypothesis which contradicts the senses is a wrong hypothesis, I say that this argument proceeds from a false supposition. For sailors suppose that on the sea on board ship they do not see the earth, because the sea is higher than the land itself; but this is not so, rather it would be contrary for they could see more.<sup>1</sup> But it is because the direct line of vision between the object and the eye is broken by the convexity of the water, for as water must be everywhere of spherical shape about its center, so in an appreciable distance it must make an obstacle of considerable convexity.<sup>2</sup> Fourthly, when it was argued that if the earth were not lower, etc., — I say that this reasoning is based on error and therefore null. For the vulgar herd and those ignorant of physical arguments think that water ascends to the summits of mountains and even to places where fountains are, in the form of water;<sup>3</sup> but this is surely puerile, for the waters are generated there — as the Philosopher shows in his *Meteorics* — the material ascending in the form of vapors.<sup>4</sup> And fifthly, when it is asserted that water is a body imitating the moon's orbit, and hence the conclusion is drawn that it must be excentric because the moon's orbit is excentric, I say that this reason is not necessarily sound; for while a thing may imitate an-

<sup>1</sup> Sacrabosco — says Dr. Moore, II. 323 — explains the shape of the earth, proving its sphericity by a diagram, "which explains why, unless the surface of the water were spherical, the view from the deck would be better, because the line of sight would be shorter."

<sup>2</sup> Roger Bacon. *Op. Maj.* Part IV. ch. 10. "It follows that something hinders the sight of one at sea. But this can be nothing other than the spherical swelling of the water; hence its shape is spherical."

<sup>3</sup> Ristoro d'Arezzo. *Comp. del Mundo.* VI. 7. "Thus we can say with reason that the water flowing in the stream has often flowed before, and water that rains down has often rained before."

<sup>4</sup> Arist. *Meteor.* I. ix. (346 b. 26-31) and II. iv. (360 b. 30-35). Both of these Books were familiar to Dante.

*Purg.* V. 109-11. "Well knowest thou how in the air is gathered  
That humid vapor which to water turns,  
Soon as it rises where the cold doth grasp it."

propter hoc est necesse quod imitetur in omnibus. Videmus ignem imitari circulationem coeli, et tamen non imitatur ipsum in non moveri recte, nec in non habere contrarium suae qualitati:<sup>1</sup> et ideo ratio non procedit. Et sic ad argumenta.

Sic igitur determinatur determinatio et tractatus de forma et situ duorum elementorum, ut superius propositum fuit.

§ XXIV. Determinata est haec philosophia dominante invicto Domino, domino Kane Grandi de Scala<sup>2</sup> pro Imperio sacrosancto Romano,<sup>4</sup> per me Dantem Aligherium, philosophorum minimum, in inclyta urbe Verona, in sacello Helenae gloriosae, coram universo clero Veronensi, praeter quosdam qui, nimia caritate ardentis,<sup>5</sup> aliorum rogamina non admittunt, et per humilitatis virtutem Spiritus Sancti pauperes,<sup>6</sup> ne aliorum excellentiam probare videantur, sermonibus eorum interesse refugiunt. — Et hoc factum est in anno a nativitate Domini nostri Iesu Christi millesimo trecentesimo vigesimo, in die Solis, quem praefatus

<sup>1</sup> *Conv.* IV. xxiii. 11-35. "Secondo li quattro combinatori delle contrarie qualitadi che sono nella nostra composizione."

Brunetto Latini. *Tesoro.* II. 31. "Come tutte le cose furo fatte del mischiamento delle complessioni."

<sup>2</sup> *Epist.* X. "Magnifico atque victorioso domino, domino Kani Grandi de Scala."

<sup>4</sup> *Epist.* VI. 4. "Sacrosancto Romanorum imperio."

*Epist.* VIII. 21. "Sacrosanctum ovile."

<sup>5</sup> *De Mon.* III. iii. 67. "Caritate arserunt."

<sup>6</sup> *Par.* XII. 93. ". . . Pauperum Dei."

*De Mon.* II. xii. 4-5, and cf. III. x. 130. "Pauperes Christi."

other in one point, it does not therefore necessarily imitate it in all. We see fire imitating the circling of heaven, and yet it does not imitate its not moving straight, nor its not having contrary quality :<sup>1</sup> and so the reasoning does not hold good. So much for the arguments.

Thus is completed the discussion and exposition of the form and location of the two elements, as was above proposed.

§ XXIV. This philosophical inquiry was held, beneath the rule of the unconquered lord, the Lord Can Grande della Scala,<sup>2</sup> Vicar<sup>3</sup> of the Holy Roman Empire,<sup>4</sup> by me, Dante Alighieri, least among philosophers, in the famous town of Verona, in the Chapel of the glorious Helen, before the entire Veronese clergy, save a few, who, burning<sup>5</sup> with excess of love do not admit the inquiries of others, and, by virtue of their humility, poor<sup>6</sup> in the Holy Spirit, lest they should appear to testify to the worth of others, avoid attending their discourses. And this was done in the year 1320<sup>7</sup> after the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, on Sun-

<sup>1</sup> Arist. *De Gen. et Cor.* II. ii. and iii. (330 a. 26-b. 7).

*Conv.* IV. xxiii. 113-5. "According to the four combinations of contrary qualities that exist in our composition."

Latini. *Tesoro.* II. 31. "All things (save the stars. Ch. 32) were made from the combination of the qualities."

<sup>2</sup> *Epist.* X. "To the magnificent and victorious lord, the Lord Can Grande della Scala."

<sup>3</sup> Can Grande was appointed Imperial Vicar in Verona by the Emperor Henry VII., in 1311.

<sup>4</sup> *Epist.* VI. 4. "The Holy Empire of the Romans."

*Epist.* VIII. 21. "The sacred fold."

<sup>5</sup> *De Mon.* III. iii. 67. "Burning with love."

<sup>6</sup> *Par.* XII. 93. ". . . Poor in God."

*De Mon.* II. xii. 4-5 and III. x. 130. "Poor of Christ."

<sup>7</sup> Boccaccio tells us that Dante spent the years 1313-1321 in Ravenna, which he left only twice, in 1316 or 1317, to go to Verona, and early in 1321, to Venice. If Moncetti forged the *Questio*, and was the Dante scholar such a forgery would prove him to be, is it likely that he would deliberately have invented this visit to Verona in 1320, apparently for no purpose? The vague answer given by Luzio and Renier (p. 26) is that to interpret such facts, we require to understand Moncetti's purposes and be better acquainted with his life than we are!

noster Salvator per gloriosam suam nativitatem, ac per admirabilem suam resurrectionem nobis innuit venerandum; qui quidem dies fuit septimus a Ianuariis idibus, et decimus tertius ante Kalendas<sup>3</sup> Februarias.

<sup>3</sup> Prompt. *Ceuvres apocryphes du Dante*, p. 41. "De quelque manière qu'on puisse compter les jours avant les calendes, c'est-à-dire le 1<sup>er</sup> février, il est impossible d'en trouver treize, si l'on part du 20 janvier."



day, which our predestined Saviour bade us keep holy because of his glorious nativity<sup>1</sup> and his marvellous resurrection ; which day<sup>2</sup> was the seventh after the ides of January and the thirteenth before the calends<sup>3</sup> of February.

<sup>1</sup> No other writer is known to have fixed the birth of Jesus Christ on a Sunday. Dr. Prompt by a long calculation makes it fall on the same day of the week as Jan. 19, 1320.

<sup>2</sup> Jan. 20, 1320, was, indeed, a Sunday.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Prompt, who finds the forger of the *Quaestio* to be a man devoid of any mathematical knowledge, says : "Howsoever one count the days before the calends, that is, before the first, of February, it is impossible to find thirteen, starting Jan. 20." Does not Dr. Prompt know that the Romans counted back from the Calends including the Calends, so that Jan. 31 was Prid. Kal. Feb., or a. d. II. Kal. Feb. ?

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## SEVEN NOTES

### I. VITA NUOVA, SONETTO QUARTO, 55-6

In the prose *ragione* that begins Chapter VIII, Dante tells us (ll. 8-12, Witte edition) that he has sometimes seen the departed *gentildonna* in company with Beatrice; and of this fact, he adds, he has made mention "in the last part of the words" that he wrote on her death, "as is plainly evident to one who understands." We are to seek, then, in the closing lines of the fourth sonnet, a covert reference to this lady's companionship with the *gentilissima*; moreover, Dante's phraseology leads us to suspect a double meaning in these verses. This suspicion is heightened by the statement, in the following *divisione* (ll. 59-61), that the author, in the passage in question, is addressing "an indefinite person," although in his own mind the person addressed is "definite."

I would propose, therefore, the following double interpretation of the verses

"Chi non merta salute,  
Non spera mai d'aver sua compagnia."

As addressed to an "indiffinita persona," they obviously signify: "Let no one undeserving of salvation ever hope to enjoy her company (inasmuch as she is to be found only in heaven)." But to the "persona diffinita" — namely, Dante himself — they convey the warning: "Unless thou deservest *salutation* (or, perhaps, *blessedness*), never hope to enjoy *the company that she had* (that is, the company of Beatrice)."

### 2. INFERNO, XVI, 136

The monster heaving up into sight through the thick air is compared to a diver returning to the surface,

"Che in su si stende, e da piè si rattappa."

Benvenuto explains: "Manus ampliatur et extenditur superius, et pedes restringit inferius." Subsequent commentators have followed him. This interpretation seems perfectly satisfactory to one not used to swimming under water, but to any one accustomed to diving it presents

difficulties. A diver does not draw up his feet, unless it be to kick them out again; the best position for the legs, after a smart push, is one of rigid extension, so as to offer the least possible resistance.

Casini assumes that the diver is climbing up the anchor rode, and clinging to it with his legs, — a most laborious and time-consuming process, quite out of place in a situation where a second's delay may prove fatal. Such a rope almost always slants diagonally through the water, forming a line very much longer than the vertical ascent; it is, moreover, exceedingly hard to hold. Why should a diver be so foolish as to attempt to crawl along it, when he knows that by simply letting go he will pop up to the surface?

I think Dante is referring here to the *appearance* of a body seen through the water. Such a body is magnified in its upper part, and at the same time violently foreshortened. The effect is heightened if the body be that of a swimmer who is reaching out with his hands.

### 3. PURGATORIO, IX, 5-6

In all the discussion of the "freddo animale" no one seems to have observed that the words

"Che con la coda *percuote* la gente"

look like a simple translation of *Revelation*, IX, 5: "Et cruciatus eorum, ut cruciatus scorpionum cum *percutit* hominem." This fact ought to go far toward settling the vexed question of the identity of the "animale." Dante's thought may well have been: "The cold creature which, as is written in the *Apocalypse*, 'percutit hominem.'"

### 4. PURGATORIO, XXII, 40-42

For the interpretation of the difficult lines

"Per che non reggi tu, o sacra fame  
Dell'oro, l'appetito de' mortali?"

which, it will be remembered, are a reproduction of Virgil's

"Quid non mortalia pectora cogis,  
Auri sacra fames!" (*Aen.* III, 56-57),

I have to offer an explanation slightly different from those given by Scartazzini, Casini, Pellegrini, and Moore (*Studies*, I, pp. 186-187). The Italian words apparently mean: "Why, O righteous hunger for



gold, dost thou not govern mortals' desire?" That is, why does not a moderate and therefore blessed love of worldly goods check the excesses of avarice and prodigality? On the other hand, it is inconceivable that Dante should have misunderstood Virgil's phrase, which, of course, means something quite different. Why may we not assume that Dante saw in the Latin poet's lines a double meaning? Beneath the obvious literal signification he may have discerned a moral sense, which he expressed in his version. In this case the words of Statius (v. 38),

"Quand' io *intesi* là dove tu esclame,"

would mean: "When I *comprehended the hidden significance* of thine exclamation."

The use of *reggi* may have been suggested by the lines of Boethius (*De Cons. Phil.*, Lib. II, end of Met. 8) :

"O felix hominum genus  
Si vestros animos amor,  
Quo cœlum regitur, regat!"

### 5. PURGATORIO, XXXI, 132

The word *caribo*, which apparently means a dance measure or tune, occurs also, as has been pointed out, in Giacomino Pugliese (D' Ancona e Comparetti, *Le antiche rime volgari*, I, p. 388) :

"Però a voi m' apresento  
A tal convento,  
Isto caribo  
Ben distribo :  
Dele maldicente  
Bon' ò talento :  
Lo stormento  
Vo sonando,  
E cantando,  
Blondetta piagente."

The editors remark (V, p. 351) : "Questo caribo . . . sembra, per quel che segue, una danza o un canto." The earliest commentators on Dante seem to have found the word perfectly intelligible. As far as I can discover, nobody has pointed out the evident identity of *caribo* with the Provençal *gariips* in the *Leis d'amors* (Appel, *Provenzalische Chrestomathie*, No. 124, l. 173) : "De *gariips* no nos entremetem, quar solamen han respieg a cert e especial so d' esturmens, ses verba."

It is natural to connect this word with the Arabic *gharb*, "strange" or "foreign;" and, in fact, we find a word akin to *gharb* used to indicate a kind of music. The following excerpt from G. Höst's *Nachrichten von Maròkos und Fes im Lande selbst gesammelt, in den Jahren 1760-1768, aus dem Dänischen übersetzt* (Kopenhagen, 1781), was procured for me, in the library of Leyden, by Dr. M. M. Skinner, of Harvard University: "§ 7. *Poesie und Musik der Mauren.* — Sie haben keine geschriebene Musik aber sie müssen doch notwendig einige *Notas characteristicas* oder Kennzeichen haben, um die eine Melodie von der anderen zu unterscheiden, zu denen sie verschiedene Namen haben." A list of forty-two names follows, among them "Rgrabt elhastün." The word that Höst transcribes "Rgrabt" is an abstract noun derived from *ghrb*, the root of *gharb*. The author adds: "Einige von diesen Melodien haben sie von Spanien mitgebracht, andere haben sie von den Türken bekommen."

#### 6. PARADISO, XIII, 133-135

I cannot find that any one has called attention to the striking resemblance between these lines and a passage in *Ab la dolchor del temps novel*, by Guilhem de Peitieu (Appel, *Provenzalische Chrestomathie*, No. 10, vv. 13-18):

"La nostr' amor va enaissi  
Com la branca del albespi,  
Qu'esta sobre l'arbr' entrenan,  
La nuoit, ab la ploia ez al gel,  
Tro l'endeman, que l sols s'esperan,  
Par la fueilla verz el ramel."

Dante's verses are:

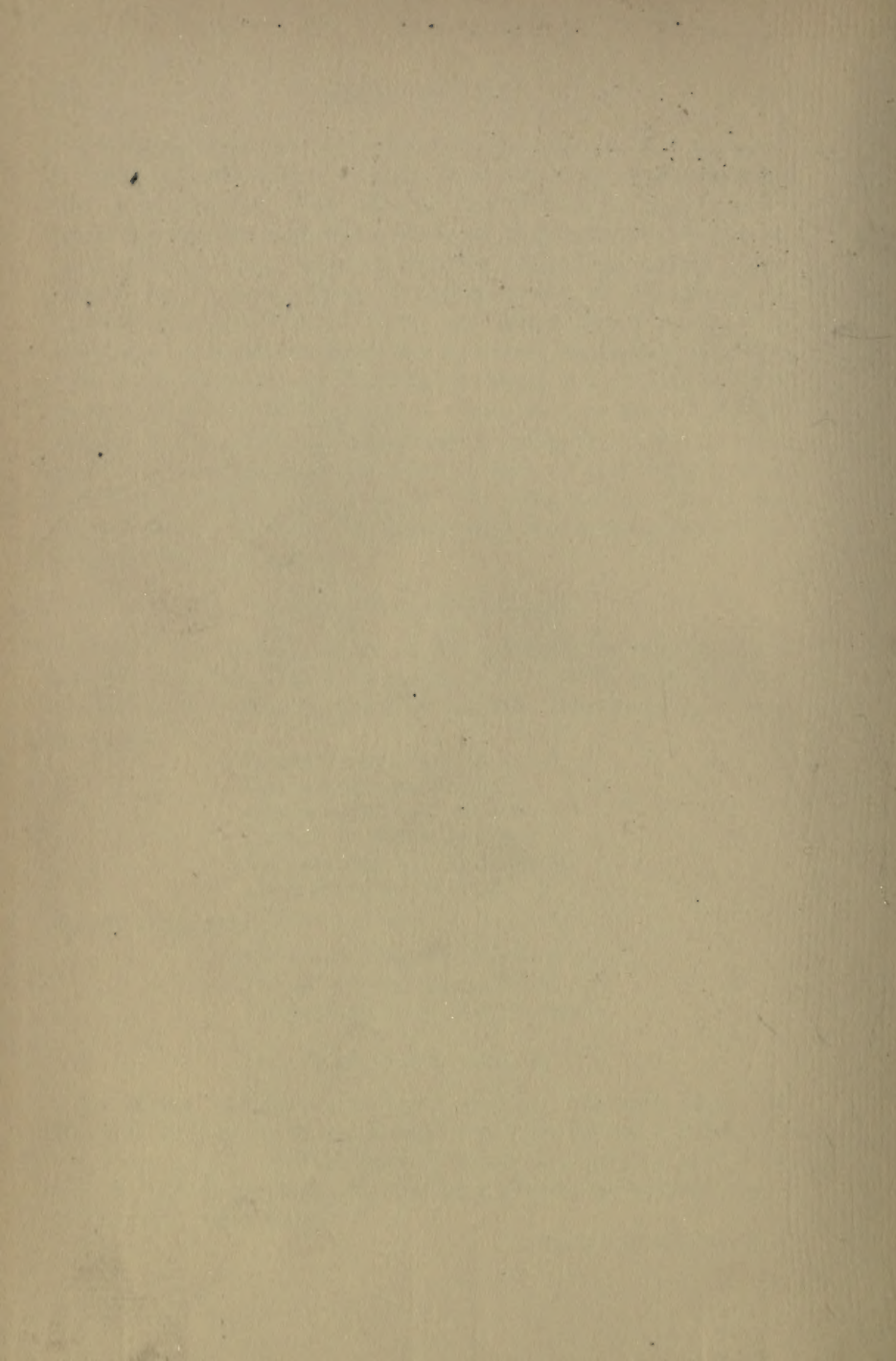
"Ch' io ho veduto tutto il verno prima  
Il prun mostrarsi rigido e feroce,  
Pocia portar la rosa in su la cima."

#### 7. PARADISO, XXII, 75

The phrase "per danno delle carte," meaning "as waste paper," is obviously allied to the Provençal expression *getar* (or *metre*) *a son dan*, "to throw away" or "to despise," which may perhaps have been originally a book-keeping term. See Levy, *Provenzalisches Supplement-Wörterbuch*, under *Dan*.

C. H. GRANDGENT.





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